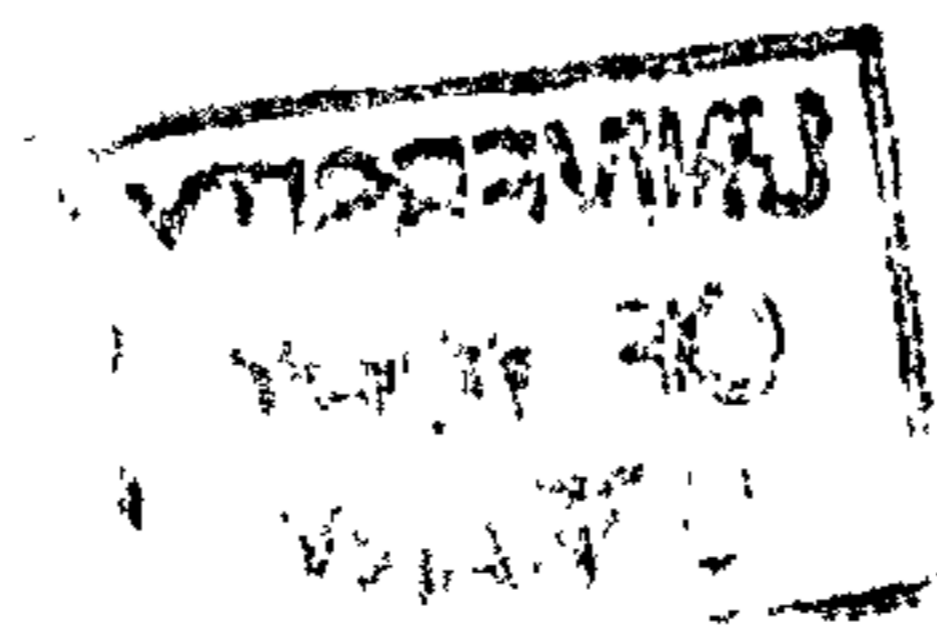


Croxden Abbey
Buildings and Community

Two volumes
Volume One

Jackie Hall

Thesis submitted for PhD
University of York, Centre for Medieval Studies
May 2003



Abstract

Croxden Abbey is worth studying both because it has been neglected in the past and because it is a very ordinary English Cistercian abbey without claims to wealth, power or especial spirituality. Here, Croxden is approached through its buildings and other material culture. Documentary material, such as the abbey's chronicle and the Cistercian statutes, is used to illuminate that culture. Close study of the buildings and the ways they were used also shows the monastic body as a living community (with different parts) and something of the interactions of that community with other communities, living and dead.

Chapter Two looks at the buildings near the entrance to the abbey, with a detailed comparative study of gatehouse chapels, showing that they were used by dependant communities, but with a growing emphasis on pilgrimage and private patronage. Chapter Four, on the infirmary and abbots' lodgings indicates the communal nature of the former and the multiple character of the latter, even from an early period. Chapters Three and Five, on the cloister and church respectively, stick closest to the buildings of Croxden. The cloister and its ranges are essential to understanding the life of the house, but also demonstrate the existence of long-lived early conventual buildings. Chapter Five reveals a complex building sequence in the church and establishes a date for the only unique feature of Croxden, its chevet with radiating chapels. The chevet is the subject of Chapter Six, seen initially in its role as a burial ground of the patronal family, showing the importance of patronal bodies to the convent, and then examining its architectural and patronal origins and how perceptions of it may have changed over time.

Contents

Volume One

Acknowledgments

1	Introduction	1
	Apologia	1
	Brief history	3
	Previous work	9
	The evidence	14
	Physical evidence	14
	Antiquarian evidence	15
	Documentary evidence	17
	Structure of the thesis	24
2	West of the Cloister: the Gatehouse Chapel and Other Buildings	26
	The Gatehouse	27
	Guesthouses	28
	Gatehouse Chapels	29
	The Early Chapels	32
	Chapels in the 14th and 15th Centuries	40
	Conclusion	48
3	The Cloister and Claustral Buildings	50
	The Garth and Alleys	54
	The West Range	57
	The South Range	60
	The East Range	65
	Sacristy and Bookroom	65
	The Chapter House	67
	The Parlour	73
	The Slype, Dormitory Undercroft and Latrines	74
	The East Range, First Floor	76
	The East Range in Context	77
	Summary and Conclusions	81
4	East of the Cloister: The Infirmary and Other Buildings	83
	Abbots' Lodgings	84
	The Annexe to the Latrines: the First Abbots' Lodging?	84
	The Second Abbots' Lodging and the yard to the North	86
	Abbots' Lodgings and Eastern Complexes	89
	The Infirmary	95
	The Infirmary at Croxden, the Historical Context and Other Infirmarys	98

5	The Church: Structure and Chronology	107
	The Extant Building 109	
	The South Transept 109	
	The North Transept 116	
	The Chevet 117	
	The West Front and Nave 120	
	The South Aisle 123	
	The North Aisle, Crossing and Fragments 125	
	Interpretation and Chronology 126	
	The First Church at Croxden 131	
	Summary 134	
6	Burial, Patronage and the Chevet	136
	Burial 136	
	Cistercian Background 136	
	Life, Death and Burial of the Verduns 140	
	Interpretation: the Importance of Bodies 146	
	Other Burials at Croxden 153	
	The Chevet 154	
	The Architectural Source of the Chevet 155	
	The Choice of the Chevet 158	
	Perceptions of the Chevet 162	
	Epilogue	166
	Appendices	
	Appendix 1: Loose Architectural and Monumental Stone	168
	Introduction 168	
	The Sources of the Stones 168	
	Aims and Arrangement of the Report 170	
	The Catalogue 171	
	Stones from the Church 171	
	Stones from the Cloister and Conventual Buildings 176	
	Unlocated Stones up to c.1275 184	
	Unlocated Stones after c.1275 199	
	Undiagnostic 201	
	Appendix 2: EDM Survey of Croxden Abbey Church	202
	Appendix 3: Geophysical Survey	205
	Bibliography	206
	List of Tables	
	Table 1: Table showing the abbots and patrons of Croxden Abbey from 1176 to the mid-14 th century	7
	Table 2: More important illustrations of Croxden Abbey	16
	Table 3: Excerpts from the Chronicle relating to the buildings	21

Volume Two

The Illustrations

Figure 1: Map of England and Wales showing Croxden and pre-1176 Cistercian foundations.

Figure 2: Croxden Abbey: plan of precinct c.1910. (after Lynam 1911 and 1st edition O.S).

Figure 3: Plan of Abbey, showing extent of visible remains in the church and claustral buildings. (Courtesy English Heritage, with additions and corrections).

Figure 4: Charles Lynam's post-excavation plan. (Lynam 1911).

Figure 5: Croxden Abbey church, west front. Sketch with measurements, by Thomas Lynam, 1904. (Courtesy William Salt Library).

Figure 6: Published drawing of west front of Croxden church, 1911. (Lynam 1911).

Figure 7: West front of Croxden Abbey church. Postcard, 1933 or earlier. (Courtesy Public Record Office).

Figure 8: The chevet, looking north-east. (Courtesy English Heritage).

Figure 9: View from south of latrines, with dorter undercroft on left and south transept in background. (Courtesy English Heritage).

Figure 10: View of cloister east range and south transept.

Figure 11: Croxden Abbey viewed from the north-west. Engraving by S & N Buck, 1731. (Courtesy William Salt Library).

Figure 12: Croxden Abbey church from the east. Water-colour by S. Shaw, undated. (Courtesy William Salt Library).

Figure 13: Croxden Abbey nave, from the east. Anonymous water-colour, 1805. (Courtesy William Salt Library).

Figure 14: Croxden Abbey, south transept, with parts of the chevet and nave. Engraving from a drawing by R. Blore, 1810. (*The Antiquarian and Topographical Cabinet* 1811).

Figure 15: The gatehouse, Croxden Abbey. Pencil drawing by T. Flower, 1836. (Courtesy William Salt Library).

Figure 16: Croxden Abbey chapel, from the south-east. Sepia drawing by J. Buckler, 1839. (Courtesy William Salt Library).

Figure 17: Croxden Abbey, possible guesthouse. Anastatic drawing by P. Gresley, 1855. (*Anastatic Drawing Society* 1854-5).

Figure 18: Conjectural plan of Croxden Abbey gatehouse.

Figure 19: Plan of Croxden Abbey gatehouse chapel by Charles Lynam, 1885. (Wardle 1886).

Figure 20: Plan by Charles Lynam showing location of Croxden Abbey gatehouse chapel. (Wardle 1886).

Figure 21: The precinct of Fountains Abbey. (after Coppack 1994).

Figure 22: Estate map of some of the former lands of Coggeshall Abbey, 1639. (Courtesy Essex Record Office).

Figure 23: Kirkstead Abbey precinct. (Based on 2nd edition Ordnance Survey map).

Figure 24: Plans of 13th century Cistercian gatehouse chapels.

Figure 25: Coggeshall gatehouse chapel from south-east. (Photo: Bob Hall).

Figure 26: Tilty gatehouse chapel from north-west. (Photo: Bob Hall).

Figure 27: Kirkstead chapel from west.

Figure 28: Kirkstead chapel, interior.

Figure 29: Furness Abbey precinct. (Hope 1900).

Figure 30: Outer yard and gatehouse of Beaulieu Abbey. (Hope and Brakspear 1906).

Figure 31: Plan of cloister, ranges and reredorter. (Courtesy English Heritage, with additions and corrections).

Figure 32: North-west corner of cloister, looking north. (Courtesy English Heritage).

Figure 33: Processional door, from cloister. (Courtesy English Heritage).

Figure 34: Wall to west of processional door, showing misalignment of ashlars.

Figure 35: West cloister wall (west range east wall), north end. (Courtesy English Heritage).

Figure 36: East cloister wall, north end (south transept and books). (Courtesy English Heritage).

Figure 37: West range, west wall, external, with door into south aisle of church. (Courtesy English Heritage).

Figure 38: West range, west wall, internal, north end. (Courtesy English Heritage).

Figure 39: West range, north wall, internal. (Courtesy English Heritage).

Figure 40: West range, east wall, internal, south end. (Courtesy English Heritage).

Figure 41: East wall of south range, internal (west wall of dorter undercroft, external). (Courtesy English Heritage).

Figure 42: South range, south wall, internal, east end. (Courtesy English Heritage).

Figure 43: South range, south wall, internal, west end (refectory partition). (Courtesy English Heritage).

Figure 44: South range, south wall, external, west end, showing projecting wall of earlier refectory. (Courtesy English Heritage).

Figure 45: Kirkstall Abbey, lavabo wall arcade.

- Figure 46: East range, west wall, external, book room door and north window of chapter house. (Courtesy English Heritage).
- Figure 47: Early east range capitals.
- Figure 48: Furness Abbey, book cupboard flanking chapter house.
- Figure 49: Sacristy and south transept from chapter house. (Courtesy English Heritage).
- Figure 50: Chapter house façade.
- Figure 51: Chapter house, north wall, internal.
- Figure 52: Chapter house, capitals of south window.
- Figure 53: Chapter house, south-west vault respond capital.
- Figure 54: East range, west wall from cloister, entrances to parlour and slype. (Courtesy English Heritage).
- Figure 55: Worksop Priory, west front, north door.
- Figure 56: Dormitory undercroft, west wall, internal. (Courtesy English Heritage).
- Figure 57: Dormitory undercroft, west wall, external. (Courtesy English Heritage).
- Figure 58: Fountains Abbey, east range from cloister, south transept and entrance to book room.
- Figure 59: Fountains Abbey, east range from cloister, chapter house and parlour entrances.
- Figure 60: Kirkstall Abbey, east range from cloister.
- Figure 61: Furness Abbey, east range from south. (Harrison and Wood 1998).
- Figure 62: Furness Abbey, parlour doorway, detail.
- Figure 63: Tintern Abbey, book room entrance, from cloister.
- Figure 64: Netley Abbey, east range from cloister.
- Figure 65: Valle Crucis Abbey, east range from cloister. (Courtesy David Robinson).
- Figure 66: Kirkstall Abbey church, showing north door into nave aisle.
- Figure 67: East of the cloister: Plan of 1956-7 and 1975-7 excavations. (after Ellis 1995, with additions).
- Figure 68: Scar in south-east buttress of latrines. (Courtesy English Heritage).
- Figure 69: South-east window of abbot's lodging. (Courtesy English Heritage).
- Figure 70: Window in west bay of abbot's lodging. (Courtesy English Heritage).
- Figure 71: Plan of eastern buildings of Jervaulx Abbey. (Hope and Brakspear 1911).

- Figure 72: Plan of Roche Abbey. (Fergusson 1990).
- Figure 73: Plan of Netley Abbey. (VCH Hampshire 1908).
- Figure 74: Plan of Furness Abbey. (Harrison and Wood 1998).
- Figure 75: Stone table ends.
- Figure 76: Eastern building at Netley Abbey, interior showing flattened vaults.
- Figure 77: Plan of eastern buildings of Beaulieu abbey. (Hope and Brakspear 1906).
- Figure 78: Plan of Rievaulx Abbey's infirmary around 1160. (Fergusson and Harrison 1999).
- Figure 79: Plan of Kirkstall Abbey's infirmaries. (Moorhouse and Wrathmell 1987).
- Figure 80: Plan of Waverley Abbey's first stone infirmary. (Coppack 1990).
- Figure 81: Plan of parchmarks on computer rectified aerial photograph of Tilty Abbey. (Hall and Strachan 2001).
- Figure 82: Plan of Tintern Abbey's infirmary. (Robinson 1995).
- Figure 83: Plan of Fountains Abbey's infirmary. (Coppack and Gilyard-Beer 1993).
- Figure 84: Plan of Church. (Courtesy English Heritage with additions and corrections).
- Figure 85: Partial reconstruction of church plan.
- Figure 86: South transept west wall, external.
- Figure 87: South transept internal, looking west.
- Figure 88: South transept south wall, internal, corrected photogrammetry.
- Figure 89: South transept south wall, external, corrected photogrammetry.
- Figure 90: South-east corner of south transept, showing stub of arcade and triforium.
- Figure 91: South transept arcade respond.
- Figure 92: Copy of north transept arcade base, now in display area.
- Figure 93: Sketched reconstruction of one bay of south transept elevation.
- Figure 94: South transept, south wall internal, corrected photogrammetry with interpretation.
- Figure 95: South transept, south wall external, corrected photogrammetry with interpretation.
- Figure 96: Wind-blown foliage capitals.
- Figure 97: Stiff-leaf foliage capitals.
- Figure 98: Stiff-leaf foliage capitals.
- Figure 99: Bench foundation against north transept west wall, looking south-west.

- Figure 100: North chevet chapel, looking west. (Courtesy English Heritage).
- Figure 101: North chevet chapel, looking north. (Courtesy English Heritage).
- Figure 102: Foliage capitals in north chevet chapel.
- Figure 103: Lichfield Cathedral, north choir aisle window.
- Figure 104: Comparative chevet roof structures. (Bony 1983).
- Figure 105: Conjectural section through chevet and eastern chapel, showing possible roofing arrangement.
- Figure 106: Cist in north side of central vessel of chevet.
- Figure 107: Sketch of structure excavated in chevet. (Courtesy English Heritage).
- Figure 108: West door of church, external.
- Figure 109: West front, internal, corrected photogrammetry with interpretation.
- Figure 110: West front, internal detail, showing cut-out features above main arcade. (Courtesy English Heritage).
- Figure 111: Dore Abbey, choir elevation. (Harrison 1997a).
- Figure 112: South aisle, western bays. (Courtesy English Heritage).
- Figure 113: Possible reconstruction of south aisle window.
- Figure 114: North-east corner of cloister.
- Figure 115: Lincoln Minster, pier from St. Hugh's choir.
- Figure 116: Roche Abbey, north transept elevation. (Fergusson 1984)
- Figure 117: Ashbourne church, south transept door.
- Figure 118: Ashbourne church, windows in north transept.
- Figure 119: Possible plans of eastern arm of first church at Croxden.
- Figure 120: Palimpsest brass presumed to be for Matilda de Verdun. (Page-Phillips 1980).
- Figure 121: Lead coffin found in cist in choir. (Lynam 1911).
- Figure 122: Plan of Bonport Abbey church. (Grant 1991).
- Figure 123: Plan of Beaulieu Abbey church. (Hope and Brakspear 1906).
- Figure 124: Plan of Longpont Abbey church. (Bruzelius 1979).
- Figure 125: Plan of Royaumont Abbey church. (Bruzelius 1979).
- Figure 126: Plan of Mortemer Abbey church. (Gallagher 1982).

Figure 127: Mortemer Abbey, north-west corner of north transept. (Gallagher 1982).

Figure 128: Noyon Cathedral, from south-east. (Wilson 1992).

Figure 129: Noyon Cathedral, choir interior. (Bony 1983).

Figure 130: St-Germer-de-Fly, from south-east. (Bony 1983).

Figure 131: St-Germer-de-Fly, ambulatory looking east. (Wilson 1992).

Figure 132: St-Leu-d'Esserent, plan reconstructed as originally built. (Bony 1983).

Figure 133: St-Remi, Reims, plan. (Kramp 1995).

Figure 134: St-Remi, Reims, choir from south-east. (Wilson 1992).

Figure 135: St-Germain-des-Prés, plan. (Kramp 1995).

Figure 136: Senlis Cathedral, plan reconstructed as originally built. (Bony 1983).

Appendix Illustrations

Guide to stone illustrations

Figure A1: Stones from the chevet and transept.

Figure A2: Vault stones related to the south transept.

Figure A3: Vault stones from the north transept and the choir and/or the infirmary.

Figure A4: Base, probably from nave or choir aisle. .

Figure A5: Respond capital, probably from the nave aisles.

Figure A6: Respond capital fragments and shaft, probably from the nave aisles.

Figure A7: Pier base, from nave north aisle or crossing.

Figure A8: Pier shaft fragments, probably from church.

Figure A9: Fragment of effigy.

Figure A10: Fragments of cross slab.

Figure A11: Elements of the cloister arcade, design 1.

Figure A12: Elements of the cloister arcade, design 2.

Figure A13: Springers with foliage label stops, from cloister arcade, design 2.

Figure A14: Selection of capitals from cloister arcade, designs 1 and 2 with graph showing distribution of shaft diameters.

Figure A15: Selection of bases from cloister arcade, designs 1 and 2.

Figure A16: Reconstruction of cloister arcade, design 2.

Figure A17: Elements of the cloister arcade, design 3.

Figure A18: Stones from the chapter house.

Figure A19: Other stones from the east range.

Figure A20: Stones from the south and west ranges.

Figure A21: Stones from the infirmary and abbot's lodging.

Figure A22: Unlocated stones from lancet and other simple windows 1.

Figure A23: Unlocated stones from lancet and other simple windows 2.

Figure A24: Unlocated stones from lancet and other simple windows 3.

Figure A25: Tracery fragments: group 1.

Figure A26: Reconstruction of tracery based on fragments in group 1.

Figure A27: Tracery fragments (group 2) and associated pieces.

Figure A28: Octagonal capital and base (unlocated).

Figure A29: Shaft profiles (unlocated).

Figure A30: Chamfered capital and respond, and triple shafts (unlocated).

Figure A31: Corner Capital (unlocated).

Figure A32: Blank arcading (unlocated).

Figure A33: Triple capitals and bases, possibly associated with blank arcading.

Figure A34: Corbel block (unlocated).

Figure A35: Corbels (unlocated).

Figure A36: Bases and shafts (unlocated).

Figure A37: Corner capitals, for shafts of c.100mm.

Figure A38: Capital, annulet and base, small (unlocated).

Figure A39: Voussoirs, inner orders and those relating to the chapter house.

Figure A40: Voussoirs, middle and outer orders and hoodmoulds.

Figure A41: Unlocated vault ribs and keystone.

Figure A42: Vault elements (unlocated).

Figure A43: Vault ribs by spine design – pointed spine and angular spine – and parlour vault mouldings.

Figure A44: Vault ribs by spine design – flat spine and no spine.

Figure A45: String-courses and abaci.

Figure A46: Roof weathering and coping stones.

Figure A47: Cross fragment.

Figure A48: Late window tracery 1.

Figure A49: Late window tracery 2.

Figure A50: Later medieval fragments: base, capital and hearth.

Figure A51: Chimney fragments.

Figure A52: Plan of church showing survey points.

Figure A53: Plan of church from survey points, showing axes of nave and chevet.

Figure A54: Plan of eastern arm of church showing location of lines used for geophysical survey.

Figure A55: Results of geophysical survey using pseudosection approach, lines 1-4. (Courtesy John Szymanski).

Figure A56: Results of geophysical survey using pseudosection approach, lines 5-10. (Courtesy John Szymanski).

Figure A57: Results of geophysical survey using resistive tomography, lines 1-4. (Courtesy John Szymanski).

Figure A58: Results of geophysical survey using resistive tomography, lines 5-10. (Courtesy John Szymanski).

Figure A59: Results of geophysical survey using resistive tomography, area wide. (Courtesy John Szymanski).

Acknowledgments

The production of a thesis always leaves a trail of debts and a part-time one perhaps an even longer trail dating back many years. It is a pleasure now to acknowledge some of the very many people and organisations who have made this work possible. In the first instance, I must thank English Heritage who funded the first three years of my research into Croxden Abbey and who put their whole archive of material on it at my disposal. Within English Heritage, my particular thanks go to Glyn Coppack (who was largely responsible for me starting at all and whose continued interest has been so valuable) and to Sara Lunt (who provided the budget and moral support at crucial times). The British Archaeological Association made it possible for me to finish by awarding me the Ochs scholarship in 2002 and they have been unfailingly courteous when faced with delays on my part.

The Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of York supplied the perfect environment within which to undertake this thesis. I owe my biggest debt to my supervisors there, Jane Grenville and Christopher Norton. Their forbearance, advice and intellectual generosity have contributed in no small way to every chapter. Also at the Centre, Lawrence Butler advised on the thesis at an early stage; Jim Binns and Shelagh Sneddon gave me invaluable assistance with various Latin texts; and my colleagues (and former colleagues) there, particularly Danielle Westerhof, Abigail Wheatley and Lara McClure, enlarged my understanding in different ways.

I am additionally grateful to Richard K. Morris for his insight into Croxden's mouldings and stone collection (in person and through the card catalogue); to the owners of the abbey, Martin and Hazel Bolton for giving me access to their gardens and stones; to Philip Morgan for providing me with a transcript of the Croxden Chronicle; to Julian Harison for sharing with me his unpublished work on the Louth Park and Croxden chronicles and Judy Frost for looking at the manuscript with me; to John Szymanski of the Electronics Department of the University of York for undertaking a geophysical survey; to Jason Wood for discussing many aspects of Furness Abbey; to Ben Middleton for helping me survey the church plan; to Philip Lankester for discussing the effigy; to Caroline Atkins for practical advice; to Bob Hall and David Robinson for photographs and to the staff of numerous record offices and libraries, particularly the William Salt Library in Stafford. Lastly, I must thank my sister, Julie Mottershead for indefatigable proof-reading and my husband, Tom Oldfield for practical and technical support of every variety. Needless to say, any remaining errors of every sort are entirely my own.

Author's Declaration

Much of the work undertaken for Chapter Two has been published as 'English Cistercian gatehouse chapels', in *Cîteaux, commentarii cistercienses*, 52, 2001, 61-92.

Chapter One

Introduction

Apologia

It is customary in these circumstances to justify the study of the chosen subject and this must be done in the context of similar studies. Although the scholarship relating to many religious houses still rests with local antiquarians or the monographic studies of William St. John Hope and Harold Brakspear, there has recently been a rise in detailed studies of Cistercian abbeys and their buildings.¹ One of the most recent, on Rievaulx, has been of surpassing scholarship, casting the buildings and the activities and relationships they embody in fresh light by exploring a wide range of evidence, while the growth of general works on the Cistercians has seemed exponential.²

How can a study of a minor English abbey almost no-one has heard of contribute to scholarly debate? With only one modern piece of significant research on the buildings of Croxden between now and its antiquarian past (see below), such a study will always find a place in the local history of Staffordshire and the north-west Midlands, especially since no other reformed house of this area has much by way of substantial remains. Moreover, its relative insignificance provides a reason to study Croxden Abbey. Croxden was valued at only £90 in 1535, compared with £1115 for Fountains, £388 for Bordesley and £278 for Rievaulx.³ Detailed study of individual Cistercian abbeys has been concentrated on the wealthier ones even though more than half the English and Welsh abbeys on the eve of the dissolution had an

¹ The list of monographs produced by Hope and Brakspear is immense, but some of the more important are on Fountains (Hope 1900b), Furness (Hope 1900a), Beaulieu (Hope and Brakspear 1906) and Waverley (Brakspear 1905). Newer works include, for instance, those on Bordesley (Rahtz and Hirst 1976; Astill 1993), Fountains (Coppack 1993), Dore (Shoesmith and Richardson 1997), and Merevale (Austin 1998), while for the continent, works on Longpont (Bruzelius 1979) and Villers (Coomans 2000) are noteworthy. For more examples see bibliography.

² For Rievaulx see Fergusson and Harrison 1999. This renewed surge of interest in the Cistercians began in the 1980s, with such works as Fergusson 1984; Norton and Park 1986 and Stalley 1987, coinciding with the publication of important discoveries at Fountains Abbey (Gilyard-Beer and Coppack 1986) which demanded a reassessment of the beginnings of Cistercian houses. The 900th anniversary of the foundation of Cîteaux prompted another flurry of publications, many more popular than academic, including Coppack 1998; Kinder 1998; Robinson 1998 and Williams 1998. Before, between and after there has been an increasing stream of academic articles (both historical and architectural), guide books, pamphlets and other volumes devoted to either particular abbeys or various aspects of Cistercian life and history. See bibliography for a small selection and the bibliographies of Robinson 1998, Williams 1998 and Fergusson and Harrison 1999 for a larger selection.

³ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 3:125. Though Dore, one of the better-studied abbeys, had an income of only £101.

income of £200 or less (43% of all English houses).⁴ Croxden Abbey can arguably be seen as at least as typical of English Cistercianism as any of the richer abbeys, or as a representative of a relatively understudied, i.e. poorer, section of English Cistercian abbeys. Wealth is only one measure of a monastery, however, and in other ways Croxden is not at all typical. In particular, it is (for England) a fairly late foundation made in 1176 well after the flurry of Cistercian abbeys established in the 1130s and after the temporary ban on new foundations in 1152, when the order was extremely well-established.⁵ Additionally, its church has a most unusual form of east end, a chevet with radiating chapels (see Chapters Five and Six) – usually the only reason why Croxden is remembered at all.

However, its modest wealth and late foundation are background as much as justification since here Croxden Abbey is approached through its buildings and other material culture (including burials). This approach does not ignore documentary evidence – the existence of a chronicle is as vital as the existence of extant buildings in making Croxden an appropriate object of detailed study. The Croxden Chronicle is, alas, no Abbot Suger or Gervase of Canterbury and the documents, both those particular to Croxden and those general to the Cistercians, are seen from the somewhat skewed perspective of the buildings historian for whom they were certainly not written. This viewpoint emphasises quotidian aspects of monastic life as well as revealing something of the abbey's prosperity in the longer-term patterns of building programmes. Close study of the buildings and the ways in which they were used can show the monastic body as a living community as well as something of its different parts, abbot, prior, gatekeeper, infirmarer, choir monks and lay brothers (Chapter Three and Four). Moreover, such a study allows a glimpse of the relations of that community with neighbouring communities in its interactions with the living and the dead, particularly dependants, visitors and patrons (Chapters Two and Six).

Before turning to details, it should be pointed out at once that there is very little evidence for the period after the mid-14th century. Although there are a few documentary references after this date and even buildings later than this (the much-overgrown foundations of a water-mill and a late medieval barn, still in use), for the sake of coherence, the study is limited to 1176-1350. Before a survey of previous work and an examination of the types of evidence

⁴ These figures are based on Knowles and Hadcock 1971, 112-5. Of the seventy-five abbeys for which figures are given, thirty-nine had an income of £200 or less. Moving the boundaries slightly, forty-seven abbeys had an income of between £51 and £200. The modal income was between £151 and £200. Although not perfect, the income stated in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* is generally a close guide to the previous prosperity of each abbey.

⁵ See Canivez 1933-41, 1:45; Donkin 1978, chp. 1; Burton 1986 and Burton 1998, 14-21. It should also be noted here that a case has recently been made that the Cistercian order did not exist at all prior to 1150, and that many early Cistercian documents, and other material implying the existence of an order or General Chapter prior to c.1150 require either re-dating or re-assigning as forgeries. However, this is hotly contested (see for example McGuire 2000, Waddell 2000b) and this thesis follows conventional chronologies in supposing an order to have been in existence before the 1120s, albeit one which was to evolve significantly in the course of the 12th century.

available and what they can offer, a brief historical introduction to Croxden is given, to set the scene for what follows.

Brief History

The ruins of the Abbey of St. Mary stand in the valley of Croxden Brook, a tributary of the river Churnet, on the east side of Staffordshire, some 6km (3.7 miles) north-north-west of Uttoxeter and 13km (8 miles) south-west of Ashbourne, towards the north of a precinct of 28 hectares (c.70 acres), as cut-off now as it must have felt 800 years ago (figs. 1-2). This was not its location when first founded, however. Like so many Cistercian houses, a third of those in England and Wales, it moved within a few years of its foundation.⁶ Where those cases are documented, as for instance at Louth Park, Forde, Kirkstall, Byland or Whalley, the moves were caused by factors such as flooding, poor agricultural land or proximity to another foundation. Although Donkin suggested that the convent at Croxden might have moved for similar reasons (its first site was c.240m/790ft OD),⁷ other evidence suggests that Croxden was always intended to be the permanent site of the abbey.

According to its Chronicle, the abbey was founded by Bertram de Verdun, in 1176. He originally gave land at 'Chotes', usually thought to be Cotton near Alton, for a daughter house of the abbey of Aunay, in Normandy. The abbot, the Englishman Thomas Woodstock, was not chosen until 1178 suggesting that no convent may have gathered in England before this time. Their removal to Croxden only one year later could imply that Cotton was never intended as the permanent residence.⁸ The delay between the initial foundation and the occupation of the new site would have allowed the first temporary buildings to have been erected. The earliest legislative documents specify the 'prior construction of such places as an oratory, a refectory, a dormitory, a guesthouse, and a gatekeeper's cell',⁹ a formula that continued in succeeding versions of the Cistercian customary. It is inconceivable that a late foundation such as Croxden Abbey started its life without these essentials.

The abbey's founder, Bertram de Verdun, owed his prosperity to Henry II. He had been brought up by Henry's constable, Richard de Humez, appointed sheriff of Warwick and Leicester in 1170 and played an increasingly prominent role in the English court.¹⁰ By 1176 he must have had the means, as well as the will, to make a major religious foundation, a necessary

⁶ Donkin 1978, chp. 3.

⁷ Donkin 1978, 33.

⁸ This was first suggested by Hibbert (1914, 138-41) and subsequently taken up by Laurence and Hoey (Laurence 1951-5, B21; Hoey 1993, 37).

⁹ The dates of the earliest Cistercian legislative texts have been the subject of enormous debate. The most recent, and most scholarly, study is that of Chrysogonus Waddell (1999). He suggests that the early *Instituta*, including the one concerning buildings, likely date from the abbacy of Stephen Harding, 1109-1133 (although no manuscript of it survives from that era; Waddell 1999, 299 and *passim*).

¹⁰ For the patrons, see particularly Hagger 2001, but also Laurence 1951-5 and Chapter Six.

step on the secular ladder as well as an act of piety and salvation.¹¹ Although Bertram chose to locate his foundation close to the *caput* of his English honour at Alton, he did not choose an English mother house for it, but instead the former Savignac house of Aunay-sur-Odon, close to his Norman lands and the house most favoured by de Humez. The latter is also mentioned in the foundation charter (and its confirmation), since the abbey was founded not only for Bertram, his wife, predecessors and successors, but also for Richard de Humez 'who brought me up'.¹² The foundation charter lists the lands and gifts of Bertram to the abbey and they were liberal and compact, being mostly within 15-30km (10-20 miles) of Croxden. The gifts included feudal services, mills and churches, all excluded from Cistercian property in the original reforming spirit of the order, but by this time refusal of such gifts had already been found impractical as well as impolitic. The concentration of land around Croxden adds to the evidence that it was always intended as the final site – or at least that the final endowment was not made until a final site had been chosen.¹³

Even though Staffordshire suffered badly in William the Conqueror's depredations of 1069-70 and the population was low, by the late 12th century it is highly unlikely that a settlement could have been made in wasteland in the fertile valleys of that county.¹⁴ At around the same time as Croxden was founded, Walter Map famously observed that Cistercians 'raze villages, they overthrow churches...and level everything before the ploughshare'.¹⁵ Although there is no evidence in the records for Croxden and almost no mention of lay brothers in the Chronicle it is highly likely that, in common with other Cistercian houses, the granges were farmed directly by the abbey's lay brothers at its foundation and for most of the 13th century. Many families may have been moved to achieve this, but this might have been done as part of the preparation by the founder, rather than by the abbey itself. Musden, for instance was a hamlet in 1086 and Palliser argues that Croxden Abbey was responsible for its disappearance since Bertram de Verdun gave his lands of Musden to the convent and it became a grange which they held until the dissolution,¹⁶ although the acceptance of feudal services suggests that elsewhere families may have stayed in place.

Records for the early years of the abbey are scant, but its history was unexceptional. It took little part in national affairs and the course of its history followed much the same lines as other Cistercian houses. The house was first dedicated in 1181¹⁷ and the first abbot ruled for an

¹¹ For a discussion of the motives to found a religious house see Holdsworth 1991, 5-13; Hill 1968, chp. 1 and 2; Wood 1955; Mortimer 1978 and Lawrence 1989, 69-71.

¹² A facsimile can be found in Dugdale (1846, 5:663) and also in Lynam, together with a translation (Lynam 1911, appendix). For a useful discussion of the charter see Lawrence 1951-5, B22-4.

Unfortunately the charter is not dated.

¹³ A map of the lands of Croxden can be found in Stuart 1984, 8.

¹⁴ Palliser 1976, 57-9.

¹⁵ Brooke, Mynors, and James 1983, 92-3.

¹⁶ Palliser 1976, 72-4.

¹⁷ Much has been made of the fact that this was a dedication of the place, not of the church (the Chronicle reads 'Dedicacio loci de Croxsden', Chronicle 1181) e.g. Hoey 1993, 37; Fergusson 1984, 122, but the

astonishing fifty-one and a half years. During that time he undertook 'many labours' and the Chronicler says that 'Even in the course of very many works of buildings, he wrote with his own hands two excellent volumes containing the greater part of the bible for the perpetual memory of his name'.¹⁸ By the time of his death in 1229, the third patron was now in residence at Alton, and in possession of substantial estates in Ireland and England, although no longer in Normandy (see Table 1 and Chapter Six).

Although Bertram himself did not endow the abbot and monks of Croxden Abbey with Irish lands, they did in fact receive some from King John, since in 1200 he commanded 'the justiciary of Ireland to cause the abbot and monks of the Vale of St. Mary of Crokeden to have an annuity of 100s receivable at the Exchequer in Ireland, in exchange for their land in that country, which the king, when Earl of Morton, gave to them; to hold till the King shall assign a rent to them'.¹⁹ Relations soon deteriorated and following the interdict John took money from all sections of the church, but particularly the Cistercians.²⁰ The Chronicler, writing at the end of the century, does not know how much Croxden had to give, but quotes instead the vast amount given by Louth Park (1624 marks and 10 shillings).²¹

The story still circulates locally that King John's heart is buried at Croxden.²² It was mentioned by Dugdale, and again in 1844, but specifically dismissed in 1912 by Dr. Hibbert, who unfortunately did not give the reasons for this dismissal.²³ However the story of King John's death is told by most of the 13th and 14th century chroniclers: several of them have John attended by the abbot of 'Crokestone';²⁴ a few have the abbot taking the king's entrails for burial at the abbey;²⁵ and a few have a posthumous gift to the abbey.²⁶ However, several make it clear that it was the Premonstratensian abbey of Croxton Kerrial in Leicestershire that received the entrails (and also several gifts from Henry III, on account of his father).²⁷ While this clears up the mystery surrounding the story of King John's heart, it also disposes of any

word *locus* was used to mean religious house (see Latham 1980, 280) and this is surely another example of this use.

¹⁸ Chronicle 1178.

¹⁹ *Cal. Irish Docs.*, 18; Laurence 1951-5, B31; *Rot. Chart.*, 61b and 162b.

²⁰ Knowles 1966, 366-9.

²¹ Chronicle 1210; Laurence 1951-5, B32.

²² I was first told the story by the abbey's owners, Mr and Mrs Bolton.

²³ Garner 1844, 94; Dugdale 1846, 661; Hibbert 1912b, 42; Hibbert 1912a, 11.

²⁴ Roger Wendover (Hewlett 1887, 2:196); Matthew Paris (Luard 1890, 2:161; Madden 1866-1869, 2:192-3; Luard 1872-1883, 2:668); Bartholomew Cotton (Luard 1859, 104) and John Oxenedes (Ellis 1859, 135) all mention the presence of the abbot of 'Crokestone' or 'Croxton' at King John's death.

²⁵ Walter Coventry (Stubbs 1873, 2:232, copying the Barnwell Chronicle) and Matthew Paris (Madden 1866-1869, 2:193-4; Luard 1872-1883, 2:668) both have King John's entrails buried at 'Crokeston', while John Oxenedes has the heart left to the abbey (Ellis 1859, 136). Ranulph Higden has John disembowelled actually at 'Croghtoun' (Lumby 1865-1886, 8:196).

²⁶ The posthumous gift (of £10) appears in Matthew Paris (Luard 1872-1883, 2:669) and John Oxenedes (Ellis 1859, 136).

²⁷ Walter Coventry actually calls the house Premonstratensian as does Ranulph Higden much later (Stubbs 1873, 2:232; Lumby 1865-1886, 8:196), while Matthew Paris, by referring to the 'abbot of the canons of Crokeston' makes clear that the abbey was not Cistercian (Madden 1866-1869, 2:192; Luard

substantial link between royal patronage and Croxden Abbey. In view of the design of the abbey church's east end and the perceived connection between English royalty and French-style chevets (see Chapter Six), this is a matter of some importance.

After the death of Abbot Thomas, three abbots followed in quick succession (see Table 1), and they are barely mentioned by the Chronicler. There are no records of gifts made to the abbey by Nicholas de Verdun, patron from 1199 to 1231, but the abbot of Croxden was one of his executors, and his daughter Roesia (the next patron) made at least three gifts.²⁸ The fifth abbot, Walter London, came from Stratford Langthorne Abbey, where he had been prior, ruled from 1242 to 1268, and oversaw a most prosperous time for the abbey, during which vocations increased and many of the abbey buildings were either completed or built from scratch. The baronial wars, in which their patron (by now, John, Roesia's son) was involved appear to have had no adverse impact on Croxden. The next abbot, William Howton, built the first abbot's chamber (the second was built in 1335 by Richard Ashby), and the abbey's prosperity continued into the early 14th century under the aegis of abbots Henry Meisham, John Billesdon, Richard Twyford and William Over, who enlarged the library and bought a house for the abbey in London.²⁹ They also received further gifts from their patrons – one each from Roesia's son and grandson.³⁰

Throughout its life Croxden maintained contact with other Cistercian houses, especially its close neighbours Dieulacres and Hulton.³¹ On a number of occasions, especially in the 13th century, the abbots of these houses witnessed deeds together or for each other, sometimes also with the abbots of Combermere, Stanlaw, Buildwas and Rufford. The abbots of Croxden, Burton (Benedictine), Combermere, Dieulacres, Hulton and Beauchief (Premonstratensian), and the priors of Augustinian Worksop and Ecclesfield were all present at Croxden for the burial of Joanna Furnival (the last of the Verdun family) in 1334. Croxden provided an abbot for Dieulacres in 1251, and later the fifth abbot of Hulton, while John Shipton, the 24th abbot of Croxden, who succeeded in 1519, transferred from Hulton.³² A few monks were also received from other houses: Alan de Combridge, from Fountains, was received between 1297 and 1309; from then until the late 15th century, monks came from Combermere, St. Alban's, Calder, Hulton, Rufford, Roche and Furness. Formal links were, of course, kept throughout the order by the systems of filiation and visitation as well as the obligation of the abbots to attend the

1872-1883, 2:668). Bartholomew Cotton and John Oxenedes (possibly following Paris) use the same expression (Luard 1859, 104; Ellis 1859, 135).

²⁸ Hagger 2001, 70-1, 75.

²⁹ Chronicle 1274, 1308, 1335 and *passim*.

³⁰ Hagger 2001, 228.

³¹ Chronicle fos. 93r-94v and Laurence 1951-5, B9-B17

³² Laurence 1951-5, B29, B39-B40, B55 and B59. Although the Chronicle has Nicholas Kesteven admitted as a monk at Croxden, by Walter London (1242-68), and as the fifth abbot of Hulton, other evidence suggests he was the tenth abbot c.1320 and that he was abbot of Combermere even later than this (VCH Staffordshire, 3:237).

Abbots	Patrons
Thomas Woodstock 1178-1229 (died)	Bertram de Verdun c.1152-1192
	Thomas de Verdun (son of above) 1192-1199
	Nicholas de Verdun (brother of above) 1199-1231
Walter Chacombe 1230-1234	Roesia de Verdun (daughter of above) 1231-1247
William Ashbourne 1234-1237 (died)	
John Tilton 1237-1242 (retired)	
Walter London 1242-1268 (died)	John de Verdun (son of above) 1247-1274
William Howton 1269-1274 (died)	Theobald I de Verdun (son of above) 1274-1309
Henry Meisham 1274-1284 (retired)	
John Billesdon 1284-1293 (died)	
Richard Twvford 1294-1297 (died)	
William Over 1297-1308 (deposed)	
Richard Ashby 1309-1313 (retired)	Theobald II de Verdun (son of above) 1309-1316
Thomas Castleton 1313-1319	
Richard Ashby 1319-1329 (retired)	Thomas Furnival (son-in-law of above) 1316-1339
Richard Shepished 1329-?	
Alexander Cubbeley ?-1368 (deposed)	?Thomas Furnival (son of above) 1339-65

Table 1: Table showing the abbots and patrons of Croxden Abbey from 1176 to the mid-14th century. The later abbots were William Gunstone (1368-fl.1398); Philip Ludlow; Roger Prestone (fl.1433); John Dronefield; William Burton; Ralph Leylonde (fl.1439 and 1450); John Walton (fl.1467 and 1507); Stephen Cadde (fl.1509 and 1514); John Shipton (1519-fl.1521); Richard Snape (fl.1529-d.1531); Thomas Chawner (1531-1538). The dates in the table are taken from the Chronicle and the later dates from Smith and London 2001 and VCH Staffordshire.

General Chapter. Although they must have attended more often, there is only direct evidence of a few visits to Cîteaux: William Ashbourne died on his return journey in 1237; William Howton died in Dijon in 1274; John Billesdon may have gone in 1284 and 1285.³³ In 1308

³³ Hibbert 1914, 129; Laurence 1951-5, B39 and B42; VCH Staffordshire, 3:227; Chronicle, 1237 and 1274. Protections for travel, not necessarily overseas, can be found in *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1258-66, 314 and 463 and 1281-92, 72, 125, 127 and 190.

William Over was deposed for failing to attend.³⁴ A visitation, probably from the mother house, was received in 1313, when the abbot's seal was replaced by a common seal.³⁵ A further visitation, by the Abbot of Garendon commissioned by Aunay, took place in 1368, which deposed Croxden's Abbot Alexander because of the amount of debt the abbey faced.³⁶ While Croxden's contacts with other houses may not have been extensive, it was not insular, and from the beginning of the 14th century, it also had a house in London.³⁷

The Croxden Chronicler kept a close interest in the affairs of the abbey's patrons and relations with them remained good until 1316 when, there being no male heirs, the patronage of Croxden passed by marriage to the Furnivals. From then, the demands of Thomas Furnival made life increasingly difficult for the monks of Croxden, demanding stabling for his horses, kennelling for his dogs, meals for his bailiffs every Friday and seizing their animals and other belongings.³⁸ In 1320, the return of more normal relations was marked by the baptism of his daughter by the abbot. After the final demise of the Verdun family at Alton with the death of Joan Furnival in 1334 the positive patronal influence on the house was probably minimal. Contacts with royalty, however, never appear to have been close – the principal contact appears to have been via the numerous taxes, 'loans' and 'gifts' demanded by the crown from most religious houses from the 13th century onwards. The abbey was also obliged to receive corrodians: Edward II sent an old servant to be housed there in 1318.³⁹ This is not something mentioned in the Chronicle, and neither is the visit of the king in 1323, evidenced by two letters dated from Croxden.⁴⁰

From the early 14th century, like the rest of the country, the abbey suffered from numerous instances of cattle disease, crop failure, severe winds, floods and other meteorological disasters.⁴¹ For instance, as well as flooding in 1330, two days before Christmas a strong wind 'uncovered the buildings of the abbey and the whole country'.⁴² Croxden suffered as much as the rest of the country from the black death in the time of Abbot Alexander,⁴³ but even before this, the number of lay brothers had probably begun to fall, making difficult the observance of the rule as originally intended. From the beginning, Croxden was involved in numerous law-

³⁴ Chronicle 1308.

³⁵ Chronicle 1313. In fact, while 'visitors' are mentioned (*visitoribus*), it is not specifically stated that they are from Aunay. If they are the official visitors, this raises an interesting question, since they were witnesses to an act only decreed by English law and not by ecclesiastical or Cistercian law. Common seals were only included in Cistercian law in 1335, following a papal decree. Before this they were specifically banned. On seals and related legislation see Heslop 1986.

³⁶ Chronicle 1367.

³⁷ Chronicle 1308.

³⁸ Chronicle 1319; Laurence 1951-5, B55-56.

³⁹ *Close Rolls* 1318-23, 116; Laurence 1951-5, B52. Sister Laurence also found evidence for corrodies in the 13th century, one provided by the Prior of Birkheved (1951-5, B38).

⁴⁰ Laurence 1951-5, B52. *Close Rolls* 1323-27, 42 and 142.

⁴¹ Chronicle *passim*; Britten 1937.

⁴² Chronicle 1330.

⁴³ The Chronicler says that in 1361 'there was a second pestilence and every child born since the first pestilence died'; Laurence 1951-5, B60.

suits with its neighbours, and neighbours of land it owned, and its standing in these suits gradually deteriorated, such that, despite a number of gifts by local benefactors at this time, by the late 14th century, the abbot frequently appeared as a debtor.⁴⁴ Things did not improve in the 15th century. The 22nd abbot, John Checkley-Walton, described in the list of monks as 'a great peacemaker both among the magnates and among the poor' was nevertheless sued for threatening a tenant with violence and on another occasion of stealing 300 sheaves of oats and 20 cartloads of hay with one of his monks.⁴⁵ Few records remain for much of the rest of the century, and for the 16th, little apart from the documents relating to the dissolution. The abbey was charged £100 for exemption in 1537,⁴⁶ but surrendered on 17 September 1538.⁴⁷ John Scudamore, a receiver of the Court of Augmentations, held the sale of Croxden's goods within a month.⁴⁸ The sale, however, raised only £9 9s 8d, and indeed only seven items were sold. These were 'a lytle gatehouse on the north syde of the comyn wey'; 'the loft under the organs'; 'the lytle smythes forge'; 'the bott of an asshe'; 'the roffe of the church'; 'the roffe of the dorter' and 'all the old tymber in the cloyster'. Such meagre takings suggest that the abbey may already have been looted or that, in his hurry, Scudamore was less than thorough. Clearly, more was sold from Croxden, since in 1555 Scudamore was being sued for arrears from the sales of lead from six Staffordshire houses, including Croxden,⁴⁹ although in 1552 the remaining valuables from the church seemed scant.⁵⁰

Previous Work

Work on Croxden Abbey can be roughly divided into three types - antiquarian, modern academic and physical - which overlap with one another to some extent.

Turning first to the antiquarian work, at a national level Croxden appeared in the survey of monastic houses by Dugdale (first edition 1655-73), and parts of its Chronicle in *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica* in 1835.⁵¹ It was mentioned in passing in early histories of Staffordshire by Robert Plot, William Pitt and Robert Garner (in 1686, 1817 and 1844

⁴⁴ Land was alienated to the abbey in 1342, 1345, 1392 and 1402 (Laurence 1951-5, B63-4; *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1340-43, 535; 1343-5, 449; 1391-6, 109; 1401-05, 88).

⁴⁵ Laurence 1951-5, B16 and B65-B66; Chronicle, fo. 94v; *Coll. Hist. Staff.* 1901, 157-8 and 192.

⁴⁶ Hibbert (1910, 145, 214-19); *L. & P. Henry VIII*, 12:ii:165.

⁴⁷ Laurence 1951-5, B76; *L. & P. Henry VIII*, 13:i:144. A complete transcription of the document can be found in Hibbert 1910, 220-23.

⁴⁸ Hibbert 1910, 255; Laurence 1951-5, B77.

⁴⁹ Hibbert 1910, 199. Unfortunately Hibbert does not here provide the original reference.

⁵⁰ The valuables listed by the king's commissioner were 'Fyrste iij old alter clothes, on littell bell, ij sacring belles. Itm. on old vestement of fustian, with albe, ames, stolle, and fanne. Itm. on corporas clothe with a case, on old surples, on towell.' and also 'on littell bell in the chapel there, ij lynen clothes for the Holli Communion table, saffeli to be kepte untill the Kinge's Majesties pleasure be therein further knowen'. Flood 1893, 365:435. Flood unfortunately also does not give the original reference to this document.

⁵¹ Dugdale 1846; *Coll. et Top.* 1835.

respectively), but the first serious history of Croxden, after Dugdale, was that of Gordon Hills in 1865.⁵² This was based on a careful study of the Chronicle and a more analytical approach to the buildings than the slight descriptions of the county histories. Although largely superseded by more recent work, this paper by Hills still contains some astute insights into Croxden. It was also the basis for papers by Charles Lynam, W. H. Grattan Flood and Robert Moxon.⁵³

Altogether, these added little to Hills' piece, which was not significantly enlarged upon until the numerous works of the Rev. Francis Hibbert, headmaster of nearby Denstone College, which were published in the early 20th century.⁵⁴ Hibbert took a wider approach than previous studies, sometimes looking at all the religious houses in Staffordshire and he consulted a greater range of historical material. His paper on the buildings of Croxden, in 1912, contained the most complete analysis up to that time, which was not superseded for many years. Hibbert was undoubtedly helped in his study of the buildings by the work of Charles Lynam. Lynam, a local architect, produced stone-by-stone drawings of every extant elevation. In 1910, he also undertook the first physical intervention on the site to further research. With the help of numerous labourers, the whole site was excavated to some degree. The results of these endeavours were privately published in 1911, together with some historical appendices.⁵⁵ The excavations produced no more than a plan (fig. 4), a reconstruction plan, and a few photographs showing newly revealed foundations including, in the north aisle, monochrome floor tiles. Many of the numerous loose architectural fragments were drawn, and some provenanced.⁵⁶ Some of Lynam's original records from the time of the excavation survive, but they add little to his published record.⁵⁷ The impression gained from both these sources is that the early excavations at Croxden stopped at foundation level or, as in the case of the north aisle, at a clear floor surface. As one would expect for this period, the excavations chased walls, rather than being area-wide.

The original pencil drawings of the published elevation drawings also survive.⁵⁸ In his acknowledgements to the monograph, Charles Lynam thanked 'my staff, as to the Geometrical Drawings; particularly to my late Son, THOMAS RICKMAN LYNAM, who was for some years in the Royal Engineers'.⁵⁹ They were made in two seasons in 1904 and 1905; drawings 1-34, mostly of important elevations by Thomas Lynam and drawings 35-57 by perhaps three other draughtsmen. Looking at the west front (figs. 5 and 6), one can see that architectural

⁵² Plot 1686; Pitt 1817; Garner 1844; Hills 1865. An account of Staffordshire historians may be found in Greenslade 1994.

⁵³ Lynam 1881; Flood 1893; Moxon 1894.

⁵⁴ Hibbert 1909; Hibbert 1910; Hibbert 1912b; Hibbert 1912a; Hibbert 1914; Hibbert 1918.

⁵⁵ Lynam 1911.

⁵⁶ Lynam 1911. The plans are plates 3 and 4, the photographs from the excavations plates 45-47 and 50, and the architectural details can be found in plates 59-69.

⁵⁷ In William Salt Library, Stafford, Lynam 275/38 and Lynam 276/38. The first contains photographs and the second a sketch-book with rough architectural sketches, with measurements and comments.

⁵⁸ William Salt Library, Stafford, Lynam 277/38.

⁵⁹ Lynam 1911, vii.

features were measured, but some 80% of intracourse stone divisions relied on the eye of the illustrator, more than half of these without any nearby measured references. When compared with the building itself, the overall impression is one of a general qualitative correctness, which falls down only when examined closely. Valuable for their time, Lynam's drawings do not fulfil modern requirements, but their usefulness would still be great had they not been superseded by photogrammetric plots commissioned by English Heritage in 1998.⁶⁰ The appendices of his book look at historical matter and include translations of the foundation charter, the list of monks and parts of the Chronicle and a history of the early founders. Though sometimes flawed and often superseded, much of this material remains useful.

Around the time that Lynam and Hibbert were doing most of the new work on Croxden, two other small pieces of importance were produced. One was the description by George Wardle in 1886, of the recently destroyed gatehouse chapel (including illustrations by Lynam) and the other was the unearthing by Thomas Barns of an early 18th-century description of Croxden (and other places).⁶¹

The enthusiasm of amateurs appeared to wane at this point, no doubt dampened by two world wars, a depression and the gradual disappearance of a class who could afford the time for unpaid scholarship. It is also clear, from pre-Guardianship correspondence, that the condition of the monument had deteriorated badly; several feet of the west range, for instance, had collapsed.⁶² It was the condition of the abbey which prompted its being taken into Guardianship. This happened in three stages: the majority of it in 1936; a section north of the south wall of the latrines in 1941 and a small area currently used for parking in 1952.⁶³ Up until 1952 only a few records remain of intervention on the building. Worryingly, however, one of them, dated 1939 shows a scheme for reinforcement of the west end of the church which would have involved taking down the whole central section to ground level, renewing the foundations and rebuilding the wall around steel girders joined above the lancets by a third girder.⁶⁴ Evidence that this did in fact take place comes in a letter dated 1962 to a secondary school teacher wishing to take a party to Croxden: 'The west end of the church was largely dismantled and rebuilt stone by stone because it was structurally unsafe. This was done about 1937-9'.⁶⁵ As well as this scant evidence, the current owner, Martin Bolton can recall from childhood visits, the stones being laid out on the ground during this work. Rebuilding is not obvious but comparison with both Lynam's drawings and a 1933 (or earlier) photograph show that new core work was added to the top (fig. 7).⁶⁶ The stones of the west front today match exactly those of

⁶⁰ I used them myself for annotation in my first analysis of the buildings, prior to the photogrammetric work undertaken in 1998.

⁶¹ Wardle 1886; Barns 1912.

⁶² PRO Work/14/1325.

⁶³ PRO Work/14/1325.

⁶⁴ English Heritage Plans Room 457/6.

⁶⁵ English Heritage File AM 090911/01.

⁶⁶ The photograph is on a postcard in PRO Work/14/1325.

the photograph, even down to their depth of colour. The work was obviously done with an immense amount of care, such as to make it indistinguishable from its earlier self. So, although the central section is not a medieval wall but a rebuilt medieval wall, interpretations based on it can be reasonably relied upon. There was another less intrusive scheme, dated 1937, for the south transept south and west walls.⁶⁷ In this instance girders are not shown descending far into the wall, and apparently no rebuilding would have been required, though new rough core work would have been necessary to hide the girders.

General consolidation was also taking place, since in 1946 the inspector for Croxden Abbey, P. K. Baillie Reynolds, wrote a memo stating that 'Work has been going on quietly here all through the war, and considerable progress has been made with the treatment of standing walls'.⁶⁸ After 1952 better records exist, and a substantial amount of work continued to take place.⁶⁹ The whole site was cleared down to foundation level (work usually described as excavations); it was re-turfed; and during the course of the 1950s, 60s and early 70s every foundation and wall of the site was subject to consolidation. Only the upstanding walls of the church receive scant mention, presumably because they had already been dealt with prior to 1952. In many instances the foundations uncovered were reset, but it was always stressed that they were 'fixed as found'. The extant tiles found in the church were taken up and fixed to cement slabs in their original location, with the apparent exception of three square yards found in 1955, reburied for frost protection. As one would hope, the monument was treated with some care and it is unlikely that the works on the building during this time should have affected their interpretation. The Ministry of Works files also contained records of two unpublished structures, probably cists, one in the south transept and one in the choir, which will be looked at in Chapter Five.⁷⁰

Baillie Reynolds did undertake some 'archaeological' excavations in the 1950s and 60s, principally at the east end of the church and chapter house, but almost no records survive. A further, properly recorded, excavation of the site took place in 1975-77, of the infirmary, latrines and area in-between, under the direction of Peter Crane. Together with Baillie Reynold's excavations it was only recently published and, as with earlier clearance of the site, the excavators stopped at the latest monastic floor levels.⁷¹ Nevertheless, they revealed many structures not seen since 1910 and where possible established the relationships between them. Most of these walls and foundations are still visible. Equally important was the discovery of

⁶⁷ English Heritage Plans Room 257/5.

⁶⁸ English Heritage File AA 090911/2B.

⁶⁹ English Heritage Files AM 090911/05 PT1 (instructions for work); AM 090911/04 PT1 and AM 37 (reports of the Superintendent of Works).

⁷⁰ English Heritage Files AM 090911/04 PT1 September 1956 and April 1957; AM 090911/05 PT1; AM 090911/04 PT1 January 1960.

⁷¹ Ellis 1995. Baillie Reynolds published interim notes in 1957, 1958 and 1963 and Crane in 1978.

stratigraphic groups of finds, even though these were limited to overburden, dissolution and a few late medieval contexts.

While all this clearance and excavation was taking place, other academic interest in Croxden Abbey revived. In the 1950s, Sister Mary Laurence published an extended essay on the history of the house, using a wide range of documentary sources as well as including the first published palaeographical analysis of the Chronicle, and looking more closely at the economy of the abbey.⁷² Her history remains the best account today and has already been drawn on extensively for the brief history of the abbey given above. Following her (and earlier work), M. W. Greenslade and A. P. Duggan completed the section on Croxden in the Victoria County History in 1970, in the inimitable style of that excellent series, and local enthusiasm revived with a study of the parish under the aegis of Keele University in 1984.⁷³ In the same year, Professor Fergusson's catalogue of 12th century houses included the first examination of Croxden by a modern architectural historian.⁷⁴ His suggestion that there must have been an earlier church was taken up by the late Professor Hoey, whose paper on the church provides such a useful starting point for the architectural study of the church here (Chapters Five and Six).⁷⁵ The church and other buildings do, of course, appear in numerous general surveys, histories and archaeologies of religious houses, as well as related papers.⁷⁶ While these surveys both contribute to and benefit from the vast increase in monastic studies, the lack, until now, of a detailed examination of Croxden Abbey, its buildings and the people they served, has led in some cases to continued misunderstandings, such as Colin Platt's belief that the plan of the conventual church was copied from its mother house⁷⁷ or Glyn Coppack's view that the west range was not built until the 1280s and included a guest chamber.⁷⁸ Since the buildings and their use are the primary focus here, such errors will be dealt with in due course, but it should be acknowledged that this study has benefited greatly from two recent historical works – the first a new critical edition of the Chronicle by a group based at Keele University (unfortunately not yet published) and the second a detailed study of the Verdun family by Mark Hagger.⁷⁹

⁷² Laurence 1951-5.

⁷³ Stuart 1984.

⁷⁴ Fergusson 1984, 122-3.

⁷⁵ Hoey 1993.

⁷⁶ Examples include Platt 1984; Coldstream 1986; Greene 1992; Robinson 1998.

⁷⁷ Platt 1984, 53. An error repeated in the 1995 edition, despite the conclusive evidence against it (Coldstream 1986, 143-5; Grant 1987, 137).

⁷⁸ Robinson 1998, 92.

⁷⁹ Hagger 2001. I am grateful to Dr. Philip Morgan of Keele University for giving me access to the transcription of the Chronicle.

The Evidence

The Physical Evidence

Since the focus of this work is the buildings, it is only appropriate to consider these first, albeit briefly since they are the subject of every subsequent chapter. Some idea of the remains can be grasped in figs. 3 and 7-10. The church is diagonally bisected by a 19th-century road, but the west front still stands to almost full height, as do the south and west walls of the south transept and about half of the nave south aisle wall. Only foundations remain of the nave north aisle, north transept and chevet, with the exception of a fragment of the north radiating chapel. The north end of the west cloister range survives to the top of the ground floor, as does the whole façade of the east range, with a nearly intact book room at the north end and an intact slype at the south end. The south range is much more ephemeral comprising only a much-altered south wall and a few foundations to the north. Some of the inner cloister wall foundations can still be seen. In a continuation of the east range, about half of the monks' dormitory undercroft survives to first floor level, as far south as its original gable end. The east wall of an extension still stands that also served as the west wall of the latrine undercroft, the drain of which is visible. Low walls and foundations mark out the latrine undercroft and east of this are a number of somewhat confusing foundations and low walls, the northern group of which has been identified as the infirmary complex and the southern as the abbot's chamber built in 1335. To the west of the cloister the heavily overgrown brick foundations of a mill can be found (Victorian, probably on medieval) and to the east, a still-functioning late medieval barn, but these will not be looked at here.

Stated thus, the building remains seem unimpressive, but in many cases it is possible to trace structural (stratigraphic) relationships within and between buildings as well as stylistic similarities and differences across the whole complex. Furthermore, Croxden harbours a substantial collection of loose architectural stone – more than 600 pieces, together with several hundred sections of various vault ribs and a handful of sepulchral fragments. These have been examined and analysed fully in Appendix 1, with the principal aim of reconstructing more of the former appearance of the abbey buildings, including parts of them otherwise completely unknown, such as the cloister arcade, the eastern nave, the vaulting of the presbytery, and some early tracery. This information and comparative analyses of different groups of stones within the building complex, contributes significantly to Chapters Three, Four and Five. Appendix 1 is organised in the first instance by location (church, cloister, claustral ranges etc.) and in the second by date and function, so that it is possible to find the relevant sections for each chapter easily.

In addition, a new accurate plan has been made of the church interior (Appendix 2) and a partial geophysical survey of the church has been undertaken (by John Szymanski; Appendix 3). The results of both of these are considered in Chapter Five, though the former, which answers questions of alignment is more important.

Antiquarian Evidence

Still focussing on the buildings, new information can be gleaned from antiquarian sources. As with so many picturesque ruins, there are a few early descriptions of Croxden Abbey, and numerous drawings, water-colours and engravings. References to pre-1863 illustrations are to be found in *Staffordshire Views*⁸⁰ and to post-1863 illustrations and some other early ones in the catalogues of the William Salt Library, Stafford (far more than discussed here). Interestingly, many of the surviving illustrations were made by national figures, presumably as part of wider tours. While most attention was devoted to the abbey church, some notes and drawings were also made of the claustral buildings and of buildings at the western end of the precinct. The value of these varies considerably; many are repetitious and some demonstrably wrong. They are briefly surveyed here; the most valuable are listed in Table 2 and their contents are examined in detail as appropriate in Chapters Two to Five.

In his *Natural History* of 1686, Robert Plot barely mentioned Croxden (and Leland not at all), so the earliest useful description of the abbey was made by Edward Arblaster. He made some notes on the antiquities of Staffordshire in 1719, and parts of his notes were transcribed by his friend and famous antiquary Thomas Hearne, and subsequently published in 1912. His description of Croxden Abbey is quite detailed, including of parts which are either no longer extant or visible. Concerning the church he says that ‘about the middle... on the North side of it, there is a large heap of ruines, wch Tradition says was the Belfry, and that there were ten bells’ and he importantly records the existence of two cloisters and a gatehouse.⁸¹

Only a little later, in 1731, the Buck brothers made the first known illustration of Croxden Abbey, an engraving viewing the ruins from the north-west (not from the north-east, as titled; see fig. 11). Their work is not romantic but it is so fantastical when compared with the extant remains that it is impossible to put much faith in the representation of parts which have disappeared. One S. Bentley must have visited in 1772, when he made a drawing of the west door,⁸² but the next important picture is an undated water-colour by S. Shaw, showing the south transept and nave, looking west (fig. 12). This is almost certainly Stebbing Shaw (1762-1802), a local priest and topographer who had worked nationwide before retiring to nearby Hartshorn in 1791 and beginning a history of Staffordshire, which was incomplete at his death and has no

⁸⁰ *Coll. Hist. Staff.* 1942-3, 58-9.

⁸¹ Barns 1912, 147.

⁸² William Salt Library, *Staffordshire Views* 719.

Artist	Date	Medium	Description	Location
Buck, S. & N.	1731	engraving	view from north-west	WSL, Staffordshire Views 718
Shaw, S.	n.d.	water-colour	church from E end, looking W	WSL, Staffordshire Views 724
Anon.	1805	water-colour	view from E of chp ho, sacristy, S transept & W front	WSL, Staffordshire Views 725
Anon.	1805	water-colour	nave, looking W	WSL, Staffordshire Views 726
Blore, R. engraved by J. Storer	1810	engraving	S transept, with parts of chevet and nave, looking SW	WSL, Staffordshire Views 737 also in <i>The Antiquarian and Topographical Cabinet</i> , 1811
?Duncan, E.	1830	water-colour	chapel	WSL, Topog: Croxden
Flower, T.	1836	pencil	gatehouse	WSL, 110/34
Buckler, J.	1839	sepia	chapel from SE	WSL, Staffordshire Views 742
Gresley, P.	1853	anastatic drawing	Building opposite chapel	<i>Anastatic Drawing Society</i> , 1854-5 also WSL, xpbox/Croxden/4

Table 2: More important illustrations of Croxden Abbey. (WSL = William Salt Library, Stafford)

mention of Croxden.⁸³ An early date for the picture is confirmed since the road is not shown and the church is only slightly overgrown. Two anonymous water-colours of 1805 follow next, in a romantic style but more skilled; the church (fig. 13) is now very overgrown and a track runs through it, bending to the north. This artist's painting of the northern half of the east range is remarkable for its accuracy, so the illustration of the church, which shows now-lost details, must be taken seriously. In 1810, a drawing of the church was made by R. Blore, now surviving only as a small engraving published in the *Antiquarian and Topographical Cabinet* which also shows lost detail (fig. 14). It is tempting to think that the 'R' is a typographical error and that the artist was either Thomas Blore (1764-1818), a topographer born in Ashbourne or his son Edward (1787-1879), the well-known architect and promoter of Gothic, especially since two sketches of Croxden Abbey by Edward Blore survive in the British Library.⁸⁴ In spite of the idyllic rural setting, the building appears to be quite precisely and reasonably accurately drawn.

In the next twenty years or so, the abbey became an increasingly popular subject of illustration, including for works such as *The Beauties of England and Wales*, and by figures such as the London drawing-master George Harley.⁸⁵ It was also described in 1817 by William Pitt who described the west end of the church, and then went on to say:

About 90 feet from this ruin, another part of the abbey wall stands bare and grey, distinctly marking the length of the edifice. A small arch, ready to crumble into ruins, stands on the north side, between these two high walls. At the west-end, besides the large and perfect arch before-mentioned, there are four small arches of exquisite workmanship, and perfectly entire. The interior has the remains of a large fire-place,

⁸³ *DNB* 51:445-6; Shaw 1798-1801 (1976); Greenslade 1994.

⁸⁴ *DNB* 5:237-9; British Library MS Add 42039 fos. 17-18, but they do not show lost information about the buildings.

⁸⁵ Nightingale 1813; William Salt Library Topog:Croxden; *DNB* 24:396.

and an arched door-way leads to the cemetery, or court, where there is a stone coffin preserved on a level with the surface of the ground.⁸⁶

This description is as confusing and barely useful as the Buck brothers' engraving, since apart from the clear reference to the cloister (the court), nothing can be placed with any certainty. As we have seen, though, the representation of the abbey buildings in pictures was becoming increasingly accurate, and illustrators were beginning to turn their attention to buildings outside the claustral nucleus. The church, and to a lesser extent the cloister, continued to be the focus of artistic endeavour, but no illustrations after Blore's add anything significant to our knowledge of these buildings. The first illustration of other buildings was made in 1830 of the gatehouse chapel (then the parish church) by Edward Duncan, a London-based painter and lithographer.⁸⁷ A few years later Thomas Flower, who made other illustrations of the abbey, including the gatehouse chapel, and who was presumably a local man, made the only known drawing of the gatehouse (fig. 15). The high point of early 19th century illustration of Croxden must be John Chessel Buckler's visit in 1839. Buckler was an architect and topographical artist, who illustrated many of the medieval buildings of Britain and also wrote a lengthy unpublished treatise on Cistercian architecture. At Croxden, he made three sepia drawings of the church, two of the cloister and the best one of the gatehouse chapel (fig. 16), as well as three of details.⁸⁸ The gatehouse chapel drawing is important not only for showing the chapel, but also an adjacent building, better seen in Penelope Gresley's collection of anastatic drawings of the abbey in 1853 (fig. 17).

Later in the 19th century, the topographical and romantic approach to illustrating Croxden begins to change into a more historical and academic one, with works like Wardle's on the gatehouse chapel and Lynam's on the conventual buildings (see above). Lynam made upwards of a hundred illustrations of the abbey which varied from watercolours to sketches to engravings and architectural drawings, sowing the seeds for an analytical approach to the buildings.

Documentary Evidence

The later history of the abbey can be gleaned from the usual range of official, royal and ecclesiastical documents.⁸⁹ Chronicles of other abbeys, such as Meaux and Louth Park,⁹⁰ are also extremely valuable as are many Cistercian texts, such as the early accounts of the order, the

⁸⁶ Pitt 1817, 225-6.

⁸⁷ *DNB* 16:165; see Table 2 for picture reference.

⁸⁸ William Salt Library, Staffordshire Views 720-2, 739-40, 742-3. *Coll. Hist. Staff.* 1942-3, 58-9. Buckler's original sketches of Croxden are in BL Add 36386 fos. 14-20, and his treatise on Cistercian architecture in BL Add 27763 but neither reveals extra information.

⁸⁹ As for instance in Laurence 1951-5 and *VCH Staffordshire*, 3:226-30.

⁹⁰ Bond 1866; Venables 1889.

Instituta, the *Capitula*, the statutes and the choir monks' customary, the *Ecclesiastica Officia*.⁹¹ While all of these will be referred to extensively, this is not the place for a major critical assessment of them.

The single most important document is the abbey's Chronicle, to which considerable reference has already been made.⁹² It is the most valuable guide to the development of the abbey, and indeed has been mined as such in almost every published work on Croxden from Dugdale onwards. The Chronicle deals with many subjects⁹³ – English history; ecclesiastical history; especially the succession of bishops at Lincoln and Lichfield and Coventry; the foundation of other Cistercian monasteries and other religious orders; and the record of natural events such as eclipses, earthquakes, storms and floods, along with their effect on the abbey, as well as the achievements of each abbot, and the affairs of the patronal family, including their burial at Croxden. Since specific buildings are occasionally mentioned, its value to this study is inestimable, making a careful assessment of it all the more important. Laurence's analysis of the Chronicle shows it to have been written by four scribes, all of whom contributed to the accompanying register of monks and abbots.⁹⁴ These registers, which originally preceded the Chronicle, were continued in many hands and are almost complete from 1242 to the early 16th century. The principal scribe was William Shepished 'who compiled these names in memory of the dead and the following chronicles for the comfort of the living' and who received the tonsure in 1288.⁹⁵ The Chronicle appears to be contemporary from about ten years after his profession and he continued the Chronicle into 1327, and again between 1336 and 1339, after which the entries made by the later Chroniclers rather tail off. The second Chronicler was responsible for 1327-36, the third for 1340-46 and the fourth for 1347-77.⁹⁶ For ease of reference and because subsequent palaeographers may disagree, the authors are henceforth referred to as the 'Chronicler'. Like other medieval documents, the Chronicle was not written for the benefit of buildings historians and the entries are often far from clear. Furthermore,

⁹¹ Canivez 1933-41; Choisselet and Vernet 1989; Waddell 1999 and Waddell 2002. Unfortunately, I have not yet had access to this last publication, and references to the early statutes in this thesis rely on Canivez.

⁹² Two versions of the Chronicle survive, the most important being BL Cotton Faustina fos. 68v-94v. The second, Bodleian Dodsworth 79 fos. 71 and 71v, concentrates on the family history of the patrons. For a study of the Chronicle and its authors, see Laurence 1951-5, B3-B8. A transcription and translation of the first version is in preparation by a team led by Dr. Philip Morgan of Keele University to whom I am very grateful for having provided me with a copy. Extracts can also be found in *Coll. Top. et Gen.* 1835, 297-310 and in Dugdale 1846, 662-664 and translated extracts in Lynam 1911, appendix.

⁹³ See Hills 1865, 294-6.

⁹⁴ Laurence 1951-5, B3-B8

⁹⁵ Chronicle, fo. 93v and 1288. He also recorded detailed of many members of his family and close friends, a number of whom were monks at Croxden.

⁹⁶ These dates differ from those suggested by Laurence (1951-5, B3-B8) who has William Shepished writing up to 1336 and then the 1339 entry with the second scribe only responsible for 1336-8. Julian Harrison (pers. com.) puts the division between the first two scribes even earlier than me, at 1323. It should be said though that the hand of William and scribe II are very similar, though the latter is larger and less neat. At the very least a degree of collaboration took place between the first two chroniclers. I am grateful to Judy Frost for examining the manuscript with me at the British Library.

given the apparent triviality of some information it cannot be assumed that inclusion in the Chronicle is a sign of importance (from a modern perspective). Nonetheless, the Chronicler had personal knowledge of events after 1288 and could rely on the memories of his elders for the account of many of the previous years. Thus, while the references may be incomplete or randomly chosen, the later ones at least can be taken at face value. Earlier entries must be treated with more care, especially since the Chronicler appears to have compiled them not from an earlier recension of the Croxden Chronicle but from an early recension of the Louth Park Chronicle.⁹⁷ This is shown by several features: both chronicles note every tenth year of the age of the world, using a then-outdated chronology;⁹⁸ like the Louth Park chronicler the Croxden Chronicler lists some of the bishops of Lincoln up to 1280; he also tells us how much King John extorted from Louth Park and has a similar list of Cistercian foundations.

It is not surprising that at more than a century's distance the Chronicler's entry for the first abbot, including his work on the buildings is so laconic (see above) nor perhaps that the works of the next three abbots, Walter Chacombe, William Ashbourne and John Tilton, who between them ruled Croxden from 1229 to 1242, are not mentioned at all. The eulogy to the next abbot, by contrast, contains the single most important collection of building references in the Chronicle, which shall be referred to over and over again in subsequent chapters:

Lord Walter London, Prior of Stratford, was elected abbot by divine provision and received the rule of this house on the Sunday next before Ascension. At his entry we believe the Lord specially blessed this house, since at his arrival he enlarged the convent of Croxden in a remarkable way and, in his time, he built, skilfully, very beautiful buildings in that place, namely, the gates of the monastery; the halves of the church, the chapter house, and the refectory; the kitchen; the lay brothers' dormitory; the infirmary and its cloister; the novices' house and very many other buildings, and he prepared them with other necessary offices, for his successors, most laudably. Finally in his last days, he fortified half the circuit of the abbey with a stone wall. Lord Henry de Meisham, seventh abbot of the house completed the remaining part adequately.⁹⁹

It is clear that Walter London's impact on the abbey lasted well beyond his term of office (1242-68). In the first place he greatly increased the number of monks - the convent - and in the second he undertook lots of building. The passage seems to suggest that the church, chapter house and refectory were enlarged, added to or completed and that the other buildings mentioned were built from new. There is clear confirmation here that the infirmary had a cloister while the listing of the buildings in a coherent geographical order around the main cloister may also suggest the proximity of the infirmary and the novice's building on the ground. The 'preparation' is probably a reference to furnishing or decoration rather than to the

⁹⁷ Laurence noted this in the 1950s (1951-5, B4 and B32), but her scholarship has not been noticed by students of the Louth Park Chronicle until very recently, even though it shows the existence of an earlier recension than actually survives of the Louth Park Chronicle. See Venables 1889; Laurence 1951-5, B4 and B32; Owen 1979. Julian Harrison (pers. com.) brought the last article to my attention, and is responsible for the foregoing analysis of similarities between the two chronicles.

⁹⁸ Hills 1865, 313n.

⁹⁹ Chronicle 1242.

erection of buildings (which has already been noted). The whole passage about Walter London is markedly different to the final sentence about Henry Meisham who, we are told, finished the precinct wall *sufficienter*.

Although a dedication is not necessarily a sign that a church has been rebuilt, the dedication of Croxden in 1253,¹⁰⁰ combined with the earlier references to Abbot Walter strongly suggest that the work he undertook was quite substantial. He was praised further in the Chronicle's entry for 1268, the year of his death, when he is described as having 'brought that abbey fully to completion'.

The events which took place in 1242-68, might be reasonably well-remembered by the turn of the century, if not by William Shepshed. Nonetheless, it remains important to rule out the influence of the Louth Park chronicle here. Louth Park had an abbot of similar standing, Richard Dunholm, r.1227-46, who is eulogised in similar but lengthier terms.¹⁰¹ Richard Dunholm appeared

as it were a second Moses, loveable and exceedingly meek. On his entrance the day-spring from on high visited this place of Louth Park. For he ruled the house for about twenty years wisely and prudently, and raised it as it were from dust and ashes. When raised he added to its lands, its buildings, its possessions; supplied it decently and suitably with the best books, costly vessels, and valuable vestments, and other necessary articles.¹⁰²

He built an infirmary and a chamber for the seriously ill, a kitchen, the western half of the church, the lay brothers' cloister, the monks' dormitory and warming room, the chapter house and the cloister abutting the dormitory and warming room. He also built a chamber and its appurtenances for Lord William Tournay, the gatehouse chapel and gatehouse, various mills, barns, granges and many other buildings, and added many lands to the monastery, as well as increasing the convent (both choir monks and lay brothers) and acting in a pious and holy manner. To an extent, the Croxden Chronicler's account of Walter London's abbacy looks like an abbreviated version of the Louth Park account of William Dunholm, but the references to the refectory and noviciate at Croxden, as well as the absence of many of the buildings mentioned at Louth Park, suggest that the Chronicler took some care to ensure that Abbot Walter was credited with the right works. The overlapping rules of these two abbots and the similarity of their works may be a fortuitous reflection of contemporary Cistercian prosperity, as well as a reminder that neither house had the means (or perhaps the need) to build many of their permanent buildings for a long time after their foundation.

¹⁰⁰ Chronicle 1253. Laurence gives the dedication as 1254 (1951-5, B30), no doubt because of a hand which comes up from the 1254 entry (though not from the date) and points at the *dedicatio* sentence (BL Cotton Faustina vi, fo.74v). Hibbert, Fergusson and Hoey also have an interim dedication in 1232, but this is almost certainly due to an overly selective translation by Lynam (Hibbert 1912b, 43; Fergusson 1984, 122; Hoey 1993, 38; Lynam 1911, appendix; see also Chapter Five).

¹⁰¹ Venables 1889, 12-15.

¹⁰² Venables 1889, 13.

Subsequent references to buildings are much briefer and they are brought together in Table 3 since some may not be looked at again while others only in passing. After Abbot Walter, only a few new building works are noted: the building of the first abbot's chamber by William Howton (1268-1274) and the erection of the second by Richard Shepished in 1335-6. Other than that, the few references relate principally to damage and repair. Damage is mentioned in 1300 when 60ft of wall was blown down, in 1330 when a strong wind 'uncovered the buildings of the abbey', in 1369 when a house called 'Botelston' fell down and in 1372 when winds once more caused great damage to the abbey and its barns. The re-roofing of the abbey took place from 1332 to 1334, Botelston was repaired the year after it fell and the damage of 1372 was repaired in the two following years. The Chronicler also records two occasions on which bells were hung – the bell of collation in 1302 and the new great bell in 1313, an event fraught with difficulty, since it had to be founded a second time from scratch. The Chronicle stops after 1377, but there are two building references in the register of monks, appended to the Chronicle. The first concerns John Walton, abbot near the end of the 15th century and it implies that he rebuilt the cloister and the parlour. However, given that there is absolutely no material evidence of a 15th century cloister arcade and that the building traditionally called the parlour clearly belongs to an early period (see Chapter Three), this passage raises some questions. The very last reference does not refer to the abbey itself but to one of her churches. It concerns John Shipton who became abbot in 1519 and he 'made and raised the new chancel at Alton both with stone covering and in timber'.

Table 3: Excerpts from the Chronicle relating to the buildings. The transcriptions are from the forthcoming edition of the Chronicle (courtesy Philip Morgan) and the translations are the author's, aided by Charles Lynam's version (1911).

Year/ref	Transcription	Translation
1178	Qui eciam inter opera edificorum quamplurima scripsit manu propria ut dicitur ad perpetuam nominis sui memoriam duo egregia volumina maiorem partem biblie continentia.	Even in the course of very many works of buildings, he [Abbot Thomas Woodstock] wrote with his own hands two excellent volumes containing the greater part of the bible for the perpetual memory of his name.
1181	Dedicacio loci de Croxden.	Dedication of the house of Croxden.
1242	Item Dompnus Walterus London' Prior de Stratford provisione divina electus est in Abbatem et Dominica proxima ante Ascencionem huius domus regimen suscepit. Ad cuius introitum credimus dominum locum istum specialiter benedixisse quoniam in adventu suo conventum de Crok' mirabiliter augmentavit et domos ibidem perpulcras videlicet portas monasterii, medietates Ecclesie Capituli et Refectorie Coquinam Dormitorium conversorum Infirmatorium et Claustra eiusdem Probatorium at alias domos quamplurimas in tempore suo artificialiter edificavit et eas successoribus suis cum ceteris officinis	Lord Walter London, Prior of Stratford, was elected abbot by divine provision and received the rule of this house on the Sunday next before Ascension. At his entry we believe the Lord specially blessed this house, since at his arrival he enlarged the convent of Croxden in a remarkable way and, in his time, he built, skilfully, very beautiful buildings in that place, namely, the gates of the monastery; the halves of the church, the chapter house, and the refectory; the kitchen; the lay brothers' dormitory; the infirmary and its cloister; the novices' house and very many other buildings, and he prepared them with other necessary offices, for his successors, most laudably. Finally in his last days, he

	necessariis laudabiliter preparavit. Denique in diebus suis ultimis medietatem circuitus abbacie lapideo muro vallavit. Partem reliquam dominus Henricus de Meisham Abbas domus septimus sufficienter consummavit.	fortified half the circuit of the abbey with a stone wall. Lord Henry de Meisham, seventh abbot of the house completed the remaining part adequately.
1253	Dedicacio Ecclesie de Crok'	Dedication of the church of Croxden
1268	Successit autem ei die Sancti Petri in Cathedra Dominus Willelmus de Howton' qui inter cetera memoranda edificavit egregie cameram Abbatis superiorem et Inferiorem dans pro fractione et posicionem lapidum politorum ad opus eiusdem C libras sterlingas.	Lord William Howton succeeded him on the feast of St. Peter in Cathedra and among other memorable deeds he built excellently the upper and lower Abbot's chamber, giving for the breaking and laying of the polished stone, for the same work, £100 sterling.
1274	Successit autem ei in regimine huius Cenobii die beate Lucie sequenti Dominus Henricus de Meysam qui domum istam per x annos optime rexit et medietatem muri abbacie perfecit.	Lord Henry Meisham succeeded him in the rule of this monastery on the day of St. Luke following and he ruled this house well for ten years and finished the half of the abbey wall.
1277	Ecclesia de Alveton' dedicata est Kalendas Junii a fratre Aniano Assaph' Episcopo.	The church of Alton was dedicated on 1 st June by brother Anian, Bishop of St. Assaph's. ¹⁰³
1299/1300	Item die Sanctorum Fabiani et Sebastiani ventus vehemens irruit ab austro murumque versus le Hee prostravit per Lx pedes in longitudine.	On the day of Saints Fabian and Sebastian [20 th January] a violent wind blew from the south and knocked over 60ft of wall against the Hee.
1302	Isto anno appensa est Campana collacionis primo in ecclesia.	In this year a bell of collation was hung for the first time in the church.
1313 1313 cont.	Campana magna domus per infortunium fracta st vigilia Pasche et venit magister Henricus Michel de Lich' ad fundendam alaim et laboravit circa eam cum pueris suis ab Octavis trinitatis usque as festum Nativitatis beate virginis. Et tunc in fundacione defecit et totum laborem et sumptus perdidit. Iterum autem comparata de novo magna parte eris et stagni totum negocium reincipiens tandem ut modo auditur circa festum Omnium Sanctorum negotium consummavit	The great bell of the house was broken by misfortune at the vigil of Easter and master Henry Michael of Lichfield came to found another and he worked on it with his men from the Octaves of the Trinity [17th June] right up to the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin [8th September]. And then he failed in founding and lost all his labour and costs. But, having acquired a great part of brass and tin from new, beginning the whole business again, at length he finished the work around the feast of All Saints [1st November], as it is now heard.
1330	Nocte precedente vigiliam Natalis Domini in Creusculo ventus vehementissimus irruit ab occidente et domos Abbacie ac tocius patrie terribiliter discooperuit ...	On the night before Christmas Eve, at dusk, a very strong wind blew up from the west and uncovered the buildings of the abbey and the whole country in a terrifying way ...
1332	Isto anno coopertum est de novo totum Claustrum monachorum per circuitum et cepit de scindulis secundeum Compotum Carpentariorum xxv ^m et v ^c et dimidium.	the whole cloister of the monks was covered from new all round, and it took 25,550 shingles, according to the accounts of the carpenters. ¹⁰⁴
1333	Item Refectorium monasterii cum Campanili suo magnis sumptibus	The refectory of the monastery with its belfry was roofed from new at great expense, that

¹⁰³ Alton church is also recorded as having been dedicated on the same day in 1267 (Chronicle 1267), but this is clearly a mistake. Anian, Bishop of St. Assaph's who undertook the dedication was bishop 1268-93 (Fryde et al. 1986, 295).

¹⁰⁴ The number may not be 25,550, since at this time it was very common to count using 'long' hundreds and 'long' thousands, particularly for goods (Jens Ulff-Moller, International Medieval Congress 1998). The Croxden Chronicler appears to be inconsistent, since in the entry for 1316, he must be using 'long' pounds (35.25 weeks of charcoal at 15 shillings a week yielded £22:5:0), but in the entry for 1372 he must be using short hundreds (280 perches at 4d/perch cost 7 marks).

	coopertum est de novo ut posteri vacent quiecius servicio divino. Et cepit de scindulis xix ^m et amplius.	those who might come after might be free for divine service in peace. And it took 19,000 shingles and more.
1334	Dormitorium monachorum cum domibus sibi contiguis Thesaurum scilicet et necessariorum ac eciam dormitorium Abbatis de novo decenter novis scindulis coopertum est, videlicet plus quam xxx ^m , et omnia illarum domorum stillicidia et tecta que prius erant lignea facta sunt plumbea.	The dormitory of the monks with the adjoining buildings, namely the treasury, the reredorter and also the abbot's dormitory were suitably roofed from new with new shingles, namely more than 30,000, and all the gutters and roofs of those buildings which before were wooden were made of lead.
1335	Isto anno construere cepit dompnus Ricardus de Schepisheved Abbas tercius decimus de Crokesden' novam Cameram suam inter Coquinam Infirmatorii et Dormitorium. Et anno sequente magnis sumptibus perfecit eam	This year Lord Richard of Shepished 13th abbot of Croxden began to build his new chamber between the infirmary kitchen and the dormitory. And the following year he completed it at great expense.
1369	Et domus que vocatur Botelston cecidit ab ecclesia usque ad hostium aule exceptis tribus copulis.	The house which is called Botelston fell down away from the church right up to the door of the hall, except for three ties.
1370	Isto anno domus que vocatur Botelston reedificata fuit in grosso meeremio. Et cooperta fuit xix milibus et dimidio singulis.	That year the house which is called Botelston was rebuilt with great timbers. And it was covered with 19,500 shingles.
1372	Eodem anno in vigilia Purificacionis beate Marie, et in die ita fuit ventus tempestuosus et validus quod discoperuit plumbum de dormitorio, firmitario et camera Abbatis, ac eciam prostravit medietatem arborum Pomerii, et xxx quercus in Gret', et magnum orreum de eiusdem [sic] et orreum decimale, que vocatur Sponberne...	In the same year on the vigil of the Purification of the blessed Mary [February 1 st] there was a stormy and strong wind that uncovered the lead from the dormitory, the infirmary and the abbot's chamber and also threw down half the trees in the orchard and 30 oaks in Greatgate, and the large barn of ? the tithe barn which is called Sponberne...
1373	Constructum fuit orreum decimale del Spon'...et domus iuxta Gretzates incepte fuerunt...	The tithe barn, Sponberne was rebuilt...and the houses next to Greatgate were begun...
1374	Isto anno reparati fuerunt quattuor anguli Clausterii... Et ambulatorium iuxta ecclesiam de novis meeremio Et... iuxta ecclesia de novo singulis coopert' ac eciam ecclesiam hamis ligatis.	In this year the four corners of the cloister were repaired....And the walkway next to the church from new timber And.... next to the church covered anew with shingles and also the church, having been tied with hooks.
Fo. 94v	Recepicio dompni Johannis Walton boni abbatis qui fecit tectum monasterii et magnum orreum in pistrina et multa alia edificia circa monasterium videlicet claustum et cameram vocata parper chambre et alia bona inferita et dedit in presentacionem ecclesie de Alveton scilicet j holme et ipse erat magnus concordator tam magnatum quam pauperum cuius anime propicietur deus Amen	Received by the good abbot John Walton, who made the roof of the monastery and a great barn in the bakehouse and many other buildings around the monastery, namely the cloister and the chamber which is called the parlour chamber and other good gifts and he gave in presentation to Alton church, namely 1 holme and he was a great peacemaker both among magnates and among the poor. On whose soul may God have mercy
Fo. 94v	Recepicio Johannis Shipton...qui fecit et exaltat Cancellam novam de Alveton tam in lapidibus tecturis quam in miremiis ...	Received by John Shipton...who made and raised the new chancel at Alton both with stone covering and in timber...

Table 3: Excerpts from the Chronicle relating to the buildings. The transcriptions are from the forthcoming edition of the Chronicle (courtesy Philip Morgan) and the translations are the author's, aided by Lynam's version (Lynam 1911, appendix).

Aside from those relating to buildings, there is another group of references in the Chronicle of equal importance to this thesis, concerning the death and burial of the abbots and patrons of Croxden. In many cases the burials are located fairly precisely, and what this has to say about the use of buildings – the use of the chapter house in the case of the abbots and the use of the eastern arm of the church in the case of the patrons – and about conventual attitudes to dead bodies, will be examined and discussed in detail in Chapters Three and Six respectively. It is interesting to note here though that, although deaths are usually noted in the entries for the years in which they occurred, the location of the burial is very often a later addition to the text. Apart from the exceptional burial of William Howton at Cîteaux, which was attended by more than 400 abbots, all references to abbatial burial appear to have been added to the text. These additions are all in the hand of the second scribe up until the death of Richard Ashby in 1329, the first abbot to be buried in the church rather than the chapter house, an entry also written by the second scribe, but this time as part of the original entry.¹⁰⁵ In the case of patronal burials, their location is not inserted into the old entries, but instead the record of them begins with the death of Theobald II de Verdun in 1309, from which point the Chronicler records the day of death and the day of burial. Until 1334, however, with one exception, the location is just given as ‘at Croxden’ but at that point the locations of those patrons buried in the abbey church are all gathered together in a single entry, also made by the second scribe. We can only guess at the reasons for the second scribe’s interest in these matters (though see Chapter Six), and be grateful that they took a form which, in the absence of any *in situ* monuments, can be closely related to the archaeology of the buildings.

The Structure of the Thesis

The content of the thesis is determined primarily by the nature of the evidence which, as already noted, is largely restricted to 1176-c.1350. Although monographs tend to turn to the church first, as the most prominent, symbolic and quintessentially ‘monastic’ of buildings, this approach is not taken here. On a practical level, the church at Croxden contains the most stratigraphically complex sections of building, poorly dated by documentary references. For the better understanding of the church it makes sense to examine other parts of the complex first – principally the claustral ranges – with which the church has either structural or stylistic links, and which themselves are easier to date and understand. At another level, I wish to emphasise other aspects of life at Croxden, aspects in which the interactions of different communities of monks and of seculars come to the fore.

¹⁰⁵ See note 96 above.

The approach is topographical since this leads naturally from the secular outside world to apparently increasingly monastic space.¹⁰⁶ Chapter Two, therefore, looks at the buildings at the west of the precinct, gatehouse, guesthouse and chapel, at or close to the abbey's junction with the rest of the world. Nothing in fact survives of these buildings save some old descriptions and a handful of drawings, but with the aid of copious comparative material it has been possible for the first time to come to a proper understanding of gatehouse chapels in general and thus the sorts of communities the chapel at Croxden might have served. The cloister is entered next, in Chapter Three – heart of the monastery and at Croxden apparently utterly conventional. To understand the claustral buildings is to understand something of the daily rhythms of Cistercian life as well as the growing prosperity of the abbey in the 13th century. Since these buildings do exist, however partially, they are examined in some detail and related to each other and to other cloisters. The interactions of different groups can be glimpsed – lay brothers, choir monks, the prior and other officers, as well as, perhaps, the presence of high-ranking secular visitors.

Chapter Four moves east of the cloister, where the monks' infirmary and abbot's lodging are located. With the aid of documentary material and a critical examination of the physical remains at other abbeys, a world emerges in which abbots live close to other high-status individuals in a variety of separate private chambers. Some of these may have been attached to the infirmary, which is shown to have been a space in which communal life and communal eating were as important as in the cloister, for all save the gravely ill.

Two chapters are devoted to the church. Chapter Five unpicks the building structurally and architecturally in order to establish stratigraphic sequences and an absolute chronology. This is done by a minute examination of the surviving parts and loose material which must have originated in the church. The church is related to the better-known and dated claustral buildings in the first instance as the most error-free method of dating. Parts of the building are analysed stylistically with reference to other churches, Cistercian and secular, but the chevet plan is excluded from this. Since the chevet is the most unusual feature of the whole abbey, it was most important to establish a date for it which did not depend on a stylistic analysis of that feature itself. The chevet is the subject of the next and last chapter, but seen initially in its role as the burial ground of the patronal family in a return to the theme of communities. The *Chronicle* is a gratifyingly rich source and it is possible to construct a model of the relationship between the convent and the Verduns, both living (occasionally ambiguous) and dead (always mutually beneficial). With this in mind, it was possible to examine the origins of the chevet, both architectural and patronal, place it in its proper historical context, and speculate on how perceptions of it, particularly by the patrons, may have changed over time.

¹⁰⁶ See Cassidy-Welch 2001 for the conceptualisation of monastic space.

Chapter Two

West of the Cloister: the Gatehouse Chapel and Other Buildings

The entrance area of monastic enclosures, including Cistercian precincts, was a crucial area. On the one hand it helped to protect monks from the outside world, and on the other it provided an interface with that world. It was a space that witnessed the welcoming of guests, the giving of alms and the admission of postulants. The importance of the gatehouse, and the porter, are attested in the Rule of St. Benedict. A gate with a porter's room and a guesthouse with a separate kitchen are two of the buildings mentioned in the rule (the others are an oratory, in which only worship or prayer takes place; some sort of infirmary; somewhere for the monks to sleep; somewhere to eat; a kitchen, also a store-room, bakehouse and garden and a novices' house) and we learn that the porter should be 'a wise old man'.¹

The desire of the early Cistercians to follow the strict letter of Benedictine rule is well known, as is the fact that this desire extended even to their buildings. Thus, in a reflection of the Rule, one of the earliest documents of the new order specified 'the prior construction of such places as an oratory, a refectory, a dormitory, a guesthouse, and a gatekeeper's cell'.² Recent work has shown that early Cistercian gatehouses controlled access to both the great court and the outer court.³ Additionally, many abbeys (perhaps all) had a chapel near the gatehouse, even though this was not specified in either the Rule or in early Cistercian documents.

At Croxden this vital area of the precinct is witnessed not by extant remains but by a series of antiquarian illustrations and an early description from 1719 made by Edward Arblaster:

There is now remaining the Gate-House, almost intire, on the North West side of the Abbey. It is very large and strong, built of Stone. On the left hand of it stands the present Chapell, one side of which is part of the Abbey Wall.⁴

¹ McCann 1952, chps. 36, 46, 48, 52, 53, 58 and 66.

² The dates of the early Cistercian legislative texts have been the subject of enormous debate. The most recent, and most scholarly, study is that of Chrysogonus Waddell (1999). He suggests that the early *Instituta*, including the one concerning buildings, likely dates from the abbacy of Stephen Harding, 1109-1133 (299 and passim; even though there are no recensions of such an early date).

³ Fergusson 1990a, 47-59. Rowell has recently suggested that access may have been managed but was far from restrictive, and pointed to the importance of the porter rather than the gate itself in managing that access (Rowell 2000, 42-3, 201-5).

⁴ Barns 1912, 146-7.

The illustrations also indicate the presence of another building opposite the chapel, tentatively interpreted here as a guesthouse. These buildings will be looked at in turn, starting with the gatehouse, then possible guesthouses and finally turning to the gatehouse chapel, for which there are the most complete records. In order to provide a context for the Croxden chapel, Cistercian gatehouse chapels are then examined more extensively, since until now no precise account has been given of their architecture, location or varied functions.

The Gatehouse

In 1719, Edward Arblaster described the gatehouse as strong, built of stone and ‘almost intire’ with the chapel on one side of it.⁵ Even though the gatehouse stood for at least a century longer, only a single illustration was made of it, in 1836 (fig. 15). This sketch shows a broad two-centred entrance arch, either moulded or chamfered and with a hoodmould, through which the road ran. Behind is a vaulted chamber, the ribs supported by corbels, with a much smaller arch beyond. The small arch into the precinct looks as if there is barely room for a horse, which may indicate there was a separate entrance for horses and wagons, or evidence of post-dissolution alterations or just an error in the drawing. On the far side of the entrance porch, on the right, the gatehouse projects to the south. From the sketch, there is no reason to doubt that this gatehouse was ‘the gates of the monastery’ built, according to the Chronicler, by Abbot Walter (1242-68).⁶ It may also have been the ‘lytle gatehouse on the north syde of the comyn wey, sold to Mr. Bassett’ for 13s 4d,⁷ but a little gatehouse may have been by a second entrance (for which there is clear evidence) north of the church, rather than the great gatehouse at the main entrance to the north-west. In either case, it would seem that the ‘comyn wey’ no longer went through the gatehouse but around it.

Professor Fergusson’s study of late 12th century Cistercian gatehouses has shown that they controlled access to the outer court on the one hand, and the inner (great) court on the other.⁸ Though rather later, the Croxden gatehouse must have been used in exactly the same way. Entry to the first vaulted chamber was unimpeded, but entry to the gate-hall and inner court beyond would have to be requested from the porter, whose room was probably housed within the projecting block. Access to the outer court could have been obtained through the western arch, which may have led through a further vaulted chamber (witness the wall stub above). A conjectural reconstruction of the gatehouse plan has been attempted in fig. 18. It seems that in the mid-13th century, management of access to different parts of a monastery

⁵ Barns 1912, 146-7.

⁶ Chronicle 1242.

⁷ Hibbert 1910, 255.

⁸ Fergusson 1990a.

was as tight as it had been in the late 12th, although Rowell has recently emphasised the role gatehouses may have played in drawing visitors in and focussing their attention on the church.⁹

Guesthouses

Travellers, pilgrims and those on business to the abbey were housed in the inner or great court, usually located between the great gates and the western façade of the church. At Croxden, there are two candidates for a guesthouse in this area. The first is the illustrated but unidentified building opposite the gatehouse chapel (the parish church after the dissolution). It appears in three drawings, but in two partially and merely as the background to illustrations of the chapel. In the earliest, by Edward Duncan, absolutely no details of the building are shown.¹⁰ The second was by John Buckler in 1839 (fig. 16). Behind the chapel, facing its west gable, is a two-storey thatched building. Three small square windows are visible at different levels, and on the ground floor is a fine 13th-century door of probably two orders, either moulded or chamfered. The walls are blank suggesting rendering, though it may just be due to the artist's lack of interest in the building. The most recent illustration, made in 1855 by Penelope Gresley, is the most important (fig. 17). It shows the whole building, which may, perhaps, be c.21m (70ft) long. Similar features are shown as in Buckler's drawing with, additionally, an inserted door onto the road near the south end, and a large inserted window in the south gable which can now be seen as built of stone. In the northern half of the building, the outline of two roof trusses can be seen (the roof sagging a little on each side of the truss), while the vertical area beneath each truss is highlighted, as if a buttress stood there.

Wardle, in 1886, said that 'on the other side of the gate [from the chapel] tradition places the old stable of the abbey'.¹¹ This must be the building just discussed. While its agricultural use in the 19th century is clear, its use as the abbey stables cannot be confirmed and it could equally have been a guesthouse or secular infirmary. In any event, it almost certainly belonged to the group of buildings associated with guests. If it was a stable, then it may be significant that it appears to be inside the precinct, as prescribed in a statute of 1220, which refers specifically to England.¹²

The second candidate for a guesthouse is the mysterious 'Botelston', which in 1369 'fell down away from the church right up to the door of the hall, except for three ties'.¹³ In 1370, it was repaired: 'That year the house which is called Botelston was rebuilt with great timbers. And it

⁹ Rowell 2000, chp. 3.

¹⁰ See Table 2 for details of this and the other illustrations discussed here.

¹¹ Wardle 1886, 434.

¹² Canivez 1933-41, 1:523. This is discussed in more detail below.

¹³ Chronicle 1369. 'Et domus que vocatur Botelston cecidit ab ecclesia usque ad hostium aule exceptis tribus copulis'.

was covered with 19,500 shingles'.¹⁴ Because of the reference to the church, this building has usually been taken to be the west range. Furthermore, the name has been considered to be a corruption of Billesdon, the abbot who ruled from 1284 to 1293, and thus an indication that the lay brothers' range was built in this time.¹⁵ However neither of these arguments is secure. On the one hand, there is no supporting evidence connecting John Billesdon with the Botelston building, while on the other the Chronicle does not say that the building actually adjoined the church. In all likelihood, the reference to the church was only meant to indicate which end of the building collapsed. The reference to ties, and when it was rebuilt to great timbers, would seem to suggest at least a partially timber-framed building – whereas what remains of the west range appears to be both early and of stone (see Chapter Three). The number of shingles used, 19,500 compared with 25,500 for all sides of the cloister, suggest that the building was very substantial. A guest-house would be a most plausible use for this building since these are usually sited in the great court, often very close indeed to the west end of the church, could be of substantial size, and are likely to have included a hall for eating. It is quite possible that both the illustrated building and 'Botelston' were guesthouses, since abbeys provided different lodgings for the different gradations of expected guests and their servants – remains of three still survive at Fountains.¹⁶

Gatehouse Chapels¹⁷

Not just Cistercian documents, but the extant evidence suggest that gatehouse chapels were not an original feature of Cistercian houses but a later development, and one that seems to have its beginning at the end of the 12th and in the early years of the 13th century, irrespective of the foundation date of the individual house. Croxden is no exception. Although the building is not mentioned in the Chronicle, it is tempting to suppose that the chapel, St. Giles' was built at the same time as the first permanent gatehouse, namely in the time of Abbot Walter (1242-1268). Architecturally plain and possibly earlier, the chapel building at least is not at odds with this hypothesis. The best illustration of St. Giles' is a water-colour by John Buckler (a generally reliable source; fig. 16) and George Wardle's article adds considerable detail, including a plan made by Charles Lynam (fig. 19).¹⁸ It was a single-celled building, 50½ -54ft by 18½ft (c. 15.4-16.5m by 5.6m), with three single lancets in the south wall, two in the north

¹⁴Chronicle 1370. 'Isto anno domus que vocatur Botelston reedificata fuit in grosso meeremio. Et cooperta fuit xix milibus et dimidio singulis'.

¹⁵It appears to be Gordon Hills who started this, connecting the name Billesden to Botelston via Bitliden, a monk admitted in the time that John Billesden was abbot (1865, 303). He was followed by Lynam (1881), Flood (1894), Laurence (1955) and VCH Staffordshire (1970).

¹⁶For Fountains, see Emerick and Wilson 1992 and for discussion of the different treatment of guests Williams 1991.

¹⁷Much of the following has been published in Hall 2001.

¹⁸Wardle 1886; see Table 2 for Buckler's painting.

and a larger one in the east gable. The plan also shows the location of an earlier screen, which would have divided the chancel from the nave. An accompanying illustration shows details of a simple aumbry with a trefoiled head, and a section through the church, showing part of one of the roof trusses (the rest is ceiled off).¹⁹ The design is very simple, with a tie-beam, two struts, and in all probability a collar at the level of the ceiling. An internal view, also by Charles Lynam, shows that the trusses related in no logical way to the windows in the chapel²⁰, though two of them supported the bellcote, and it was probably this which led Wardle to believe that the roof was not original.²¹ Internally, the destruction of the chapel revealed the scar of a string-course beneath the windows, and two layers of wall paintings. The earlier set were mainly red and included the outlining of architectural features, and a picture of the virgin and child, while the later set, probably post-reformation, were texts, and also a figure of death standing on a grave²².

The plan is rather unusual in that the west wall was markedly oblique, as if it had been laid out parallel to the road, while the rest of the building was liturgically aligned. There was also a massive buttress against the northern third of the west wall. Although Wardle believed that the west wall and part of the north wall had been to some degree rebuilt, he did not doubt the genuineness of the angle, which suggests that there was a particular reason why the chapel should have a wall square onto the road. This may be because, as described by Arblaster, one side of the chapel served as part of the ‘Abbey wall’. If this were the case this could make sense of both the oblique angle and the massive buttresses. If the precinct wall turned east, before heading north again, it might also explain the relative lack of windows in the north wall.

However, as clearly shown in Lynam’s plan (fig. 20), the chapel is not at the precinct boundary but some 160ft (49m) inside it. The foundations of the precinct wall are also still clearly visible on the ground. Although the chapel was close to the great gates, by the time Lynam made his plan their relationship was a matter of memory since Wardle could write ‘Dr. Garner, who wrote a short history of Staffordshire about forty years ago, says the remains of the gatehouse might then be seen adjoining the parish church.’²³ In all likelihood, the ‘Abbey Wall’ observed by Arblaster formed part of a wall creating a yard or lane between the inner and outer gates (as at Fountains, Rievaulx and Furness). If this yard constituted some sort of no-man’s-land, within the jurisdiction of the convent, but with open access from the outside, then it is not surprising that it should have had walls recognised as substantial as those of the precinct. Against this proposed location the chapel is not shown in the single illustration of the gatehouse (fig. 15), and the gatehouse is not shown in a more distant view of the west end of

¹⁹ Wardle 1886, pl. 3.

²⁰ Lynam 1911, pl. 71.

²¹ Wardle 1886, 435.

²² Wardle 1886, 435-6.

²³ Wardle 1886, 434.

the chapel (fig. 17). The former may be the result of a little distance between the two buildings and the latter the result of the prior destruction of the gatehouse. In a 1544/5 grant of the property of Croxden abbey, the rectory was listed as worth £16 16s 5d, less £5 14s 4d for stipends,²⁴ which could suggest that St. Giles' chapel was being used as a parish church immediately after, or even before, the dissolution.

Up to this point, the role gatehouse chapels are thought to have played in Cistercian life has been based on ideas regarding enclosure and in particular on the Cistercian statutes relating to women.²⁵ The usages given have taken various forms: that the chapels were used for dependants of the abbey, who were not bound to attend worship at the local parish church; that they were used by women and people not allowed within the gates; that they were used by local lay people; that they were chapels for guests or wayfarers.²⁶ Less attention has been paid to the individual buildings and their context, even the two recent and useful Europe-wide surveys of the phenomenon²⁷ and so the remainder of this chapter is devoted to them in order to develop models of use, based on English examples.

Of the sixty plus houses in England at the time of the reformation, at least twenty-one left some sort of record of a gatehouse chapel, either in stone or on vellum.²⁸ They present a variety of data, of both type and quality, which form the basis of the following analysis. The original intended use of these buildings will be examined by defining a group of early chapels and then considering physical and documentary evidence and afterwards looking at later buildings and documentary evidence relating to later medieval use of chapels.

²⁴ Laurence 1951-5, B80-B82.

²⁵ For a useful survey of Cistercian statutes regarding women see Williams 1998, 131-3.

²⁶ Hope 1900a, 236; Crossley 1939, 54; Dickinson 1967, 63; Gilyard-Beer 1976, 46; Ashmore 1996, 13; Stalley 1987, 176; Williams 1991, 92.

²⁷ See Williams 1998, 203-205, and Kinder 1998, 373-374 for recent Europe-wide surveys.

²⁸ They are: Beaulieu; Bordesley; Coggeshall; Croxden; Fountains; Furness; Hailes; Kingswood; Kirkstall; Kirkstead; Louth Park; Meaux; Merevale; Rievaulx; Robertsbridge; Sibton; Stratford Langthorne; Thame; Tilty; Waverley and Whalley. In addition there are two others, with evidence so slight as to add nothing to the analysis. These are Sawley, where traces of the chapel *may* survive (Robinson 1998, 171), and Sawtry, where a 'stone house', believed to have been the gatehouse chapel was inventoried after the dissolution (*ibid.*, 172; Fergusson 1984, 144; VCH Huntingdon, 3:203). However, this does not appear in the published transcription of the inventory, (Ladds 1914, 308-318). Other abbeys have documentary references to chapels or churches which may have served as gatehouse chapels, for instance the chapel-of-ease at Netley, part of lands given to the abbey before the monks moved in (Meekings 1979, 10); a chapel at Cleeve rebuilt by the abbot in the 15th century (VCH Somerset 2:116); and the appropriated church of Whitegate, which stood at the outer gate of Vale Royal (VCH Chester 3:163-164).

The Early Chapels

Dating Evidence

Of the twenty-one houses of this study, at least twelve can be confirmed as dating to the mid-13th century or earlier.

At Fountains there is a building that might belong to the late 12th century, but only the north-west corner now survives, with a single round-headed window of dubious date.²⁹ Three of the complete and better known buildings, the chapels of Coggeshall, Tilty and Kirkstead are all datable, on architectural grounds, to 1220-1240, and 1240 is also the date suggested for the earliest parts of the chapel at Merevale.³⁰ Rievaulx and Croxden both had buildings of lesser architectural pretensions (Rievaulx's ruined but rebuilt 1906-1907), likely to belong to the early or middle years of the 13th century.³¹ The chapel of Louth Park, also lost, was erected in the time of Abbot Roger (1227-1246), and documentary evidence suggests that the lost chapel of Sibton was in existence in the 1230s.³² There is a reference to one at Bordesley in 1244, even though architecturally it looks a little later.³³

Distinguished by its wall paintings, Hailes is probably the most famous of all Cistercian *capellae extra portas*. Although it fulfilled this role as early as 1246, the foundation date of the abbey, it cannot be seen as a typical example since it pre-dates the abbey. A parish church built in the 12th century, it formed part of the original endowment of Hailes, and retained its parish use up to and beyond the dissolution, even though it may have taken on other uses associated more specifically with gatehouse chapels. Whalley parish church was in a similar position. This church has never been seen as a Cistercian *capella extra portas*, yet its history is similar to that of Hailes. A pre-existing parish church, dating from before the conquest,³⁴ it was given to the abbey of Stanlaw just prior to and in preparation for its removal to Whalley in 1296,³⁵ and it continued in parish use thereafter, close to one of the gates of the abbey.³⁶ The earliest date of the parish church of St. Mary and All Saints, believed to lie within

²⁹ The fresh tooling on some of the faces of the window head, and the different lichen growth compared with that below suggests that the stone may have been reset. The main reason for calling this the chapel is its position and orientation (Hope 1900b, 398-399 and Robinson 1998, 115). However, the wall-width and deeply-splayed window are also suitable for a chapel.

³⁰ RCHME 1916, 320-321; Salzman 1947.

³¹ Hope 1914, 496; Wardle 1886.

³² For Louth Park see Venables 1889, 14 and for Sibton Williams 1998, 203 and Brown 1985-8, 307-308.

³³ VCH Worcestershire 3:229. The documentary evidence is a 1345 charter concerning the payment of a vicar at St. Stephen's, confirming 1244 usage. The architectural date is based on antiquarian illustrations (Rahtz and Hirst 1976, pls. 1, 3 and 4), since the chapel was pulled down in 1805.

³⁴ The earliest part of the building now is Romanesque. See Pevsner 1969, 257-258 and Snape 1978.

³⁵ VCH Lancashire 2:133. The monks seem also to have used the church for themselves prior to the erection of the abbey buildings at Whalley.

³⁶ The gatehouse in that position now dates to the 15th or 16th centuries. The convent, in fact, never obtained the appropriation of the church although they were allowed to present their own monks from the mid-14th century onwards (VCH Lancashire, 2:134-135).

the precinct of Stratford Langthorne Abbey, is not known,³⁷ and neither are the dates of the chapels of Waverley, Robertsbridge or Meaux (for which see below). The buildings of the remaining gatehouse chapels are all late 13th or 14th century, and will be looked at later here.

Ten chapels (at Bordesley, Coggeshall, Croxden, Fountains, Kirkstead, Louth Park, Merevale, Rievaulx, Sibton, and Tilty) therefore have a reasonable claim to be gatehouse chapels erected by Cistercian abbeys in the half-century or so following their first appearance.

The Physical Evidence: Location and Architecture

Their location vis-à-vis the main claustral complex is not here regarded as crucial, since this rested on prior decisions regarding the locations of the precinct boundary and of gates (not always west of the cloister, of course; that at Croxden is north-north-west). Of greater interest is their detailed relationship to the abbey gatehouses and to precinct walls or boundaries.

At Fountains, the chapel stood about 135 feet west of the inner or great gatehouse (itself deep within the precinct), in a walled enclosure connecting the inner gatehouse to the outer gatehouse, itself considerably further west (fig. 21).³⁸ The chapel of Rievaulx Abbey is in an exactly equivalent position, in a walled yard between the inner and outer gatehouses.³⁹ As we have seen the evidence suggests that the chapel of Croxden was also between an inner and an outer gatehouse (fig. 20).⁴⁰ Post-dissolution estate maps of the lands of Tilty Abbey and Coggeshall Abbey are informative regarding location.⁴¹ That of Tilty (dated 1593) clearly shows both the inner and outer gatehouses, with the chapel in a yard between. By the time the Coggeshall map (fig. 22) was made in 1639, most of the abbey buildings had been lost. However, the chapel is shown quite close to the 'Abbye', on the abbey side of the 'Beerehouse' and 'Beerehouse feilde'. Since brewhouses were frequently sited within precincts, it is likely that St. Nicholas' chapel was also within the precinct.⁴²

Kirkstead chapel was outside the main monastic enclosure, as shown by the clear earthworks (fig. 23) and by Stukeley's plan, made in the early 18th century.⁴³ Although the main entrance was clearly on the north side of the moated precinct, the chapel was sited some distance south of the southern causeway. A recent earthwork survey by the Royal Commission, however, suggests that the southern causeway across the monastic moat is a post-

³⁷ Powell 1973.

³⁸ Hope 1900b, 398-9. The western third of these walls has been lost, probably when Fountains Hall was built, but the assumption here is that they continued to the outer gatehouse.

³⁹ Coppack 1986, 110. See also Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 182, 184 and 230.

⁴⁰ Lynam 1911, pl. 1.

⁴¹ Essex Record Office D/DMg P25 (Tilty) and D/Dop P1 (Coggeshall). The Tilty map is published in Hall and Strachan 2001.

⁴² The undated chapel of Kingswood probably also lay between two gatehouses, since it was described as such in a papal letter. See Lindley 1954, 133 and *Cal. Pap. Reg. Letters* 4:38.

⁴³ Pevsner, Harris, and Antram 1989, 418; Hartshorne 1883, 297 and Stukeley 1776 (1969), 1:pl. 28.

monastic feature.⁴⁴ Aerial mapping, on the other hand, revealed two enclosures around the chapel which the surveyors suggested might be pre-monastic.⁴⁵

The locations of the other early chapels are less clearly known. No physical evidence remains of Louth Park's chapel but, in its chronicle, it was referred to as *ad portam*.⁴⁶ The chapel of Sibton was also described, in its cartulary, as *ad portam*.⁴⁷ Though destroyed in 1805, both antiquarian records and modern surveys suggest that the chapel of Bordesley stood outside the precinct immediately next to a gatehouse.⁴⁸ There are no published plans showing the relationship of the Merevale or Hailes chapels to any other part of their abbey's walls or gates. Merevale's chapel was described as 'without the abbey gate' in the fourteenth century, but it is not clear whether this refers to the outer gate or the inner gate.⁴⁹

Earlier commentators have located Cistercian gatehouse chapels between the inner and outer gates,⁵⁰ based primarily on the evidence of Fountains, Rievaulx and Furness. The wider picture supports this view but also complicates it since at Kirkstead and Bordesley a location close to, but outside, the precinct seems likely.

Overall, the siting of the chapels does not seem to point to a use for guests. Guest-houses were nearly always located in the great court, with direct access to the conventual church although high status guests might have been lodged separately.⁵¹ Having invited guests so far into the enclosure, it seems unlikely that they would be sent out again to worship, either right out of the precinct, or even just out of the great gates. It seems much more likely that they would go either into the nave of the church or into the narthex, where there was one, easily accessible from the great court. The topographical evidence suggests that the chapels were provided for people living or staying outside the precinct or in the chapel court between the inner and outer gatehouses. Exactly who these people were is a question to which we shall return. It is possible that the poor and the sick were housed outside the enclosure but little remains of their buildings to tell.⁵²

⁴⁴ RCHME 1994a, 3.

⁴⁵ RCHME 1994b. The authors also suggested that the larger enclosure could have been the documented earlier location of Kirkstead Abbey. Unfortunately most of the earthworks in this area are ploughed out.

⁴⁶ Venables 1889, 14.

⁴⁷ Brown 1985-8, 307-308.

⁴⁸ Rahtz and Hirst 1976, 28, 42, 50-52, plates 1-4 and figs. 7 and 43. The undated chapel of Kirkstall may also have been outside the precinct, since it is described as *ultra portam* in a 14th century episcopal register (Brown and Hamilton Thomson 1931-1940, 2:177).

⁴⁹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1345-1348:10.

⁵⁰ For example Gilyard-Beer 1976, 46 and Coppack 1998, 108.

⁵¹ See especially Fountains Abbey, where a third guest-hall in this area was recently discovered (Emerick and Wilson 1992). At Furness, due to the topography of the site, the great court and the guest house were north of the church, but the main public entrance to the church was through the north transept (Dickinson 1965, 11-12; Dickinson 1967, 61-62; Fergusson 1984 60-61).

⁵² Though David Williams believes they were probably within the precinct (1991, 89-90).

Remains, or records of the architectural form,⁵³ survive for eight of these early chapels (nothing survives for Louth Park and Sibton) and they show a remarkable degree of uniformity. Like Croxden, four of the other chapels (fig. 24) are known to have had originally only a single cell, these being Coggeshall, Tilty (now with a fourteenth century chancel), Kirkstead and Rievaulx. Their modest plans are reflected by their internal dimensions: Coggeshall is c. 13.3m by 6.1m (43½ft by 20ft); Tilty c. 14.5m by 5.6m (47½ft by 18½ft) and Kirkstead c. 12.8m by 5.9m (42ft by 19½ft), with Rievaulx the smallest at c. 10.1m by 4.0m (33ft by 13ft). Too little remains at Fountains to fully determine its size or plan, but a width of approximately 6.1m (20ft) is likely. Antiquarian evidence suggests that Bordesley's chapel was somewhat larger, perhaps c. 22.5m by 9.8m (74ft by 32ft), but it is likely also to have been a single-celled building.⁵⁴ Turning to Merevale last, we find the chapel was planned at a similar modest scale to the others - its nave is only 10.5m by 6.1m (34½ft by 20ft). Its plan, however, is closer to that of an ordinary parish church, since its earliest features (c. 1240) include the nave arcades and the chancel arch, implying the original presence of both aisles and a chancel.⁵⁵

The superstructure of the chapels combines the simplicity one might expect of building of such modest plan and scale with some fineness of execution. Too little remains at Fountains to attempt a useful description, while only part of the original superstructure survives at Rievaulx (fig. 24e), including a lancet window in the north wall and a simple western doorway.⁵⁶ The chapel of Coggeshall (figs. 24a and 25) has drawn some architectural interest principally due to its early use of brick, including moulded brick, made especially for it (as well as for other abbey buildings). Otherwise it has grouped lancets in the east and west walls, four single lancets in the north wall, and four in the south where the two eastern windows are raised above a credence, double piscina and sedilia.⁵⁷ The nearby chapel of Tilty

⁵³ The following discussion of the architecture is limited here to a brief appreciation of the plans and superstructures of the chapels at the time when they were first built. Later developments are referred to in a later section. There is not space here for a detailed examination of the development and style of each of the buildings, which they surely deserve, and descriptions are based largely on published material. Visits to the buildings themselves suggest that greater analysis may refine the dating of the chapels in some instances but that this is unlikely to be by more than ten years or twenty years. Further architectural analysis is not likely to reveal more about how the chapels were used, the principal subject of this paper.

⁵⁴ Reconstructions of the Bordesley chapel, made about sixty years after its destruction, and the illustration by the Buck brothers, made in 1730, show it to be a single-celled structure. The conjectural plan, however, made by Woodward in 1866 (from which the dimensions given here are taken), shows the chapel to have had a chancel as well. This was presumably based on the arch above the east window visible in some of the other illustrations and perhaps still remembered by people still alive in 1866. The arch, however, is above a very late square-headed window, and may be a relieving arch for that window, the arch of an older medieval window or an old chancel arch. See Rahtz and Hirst 1976, pls. 3 and 6, and fig 7. The foundations of the chapel have been laid out in recent years, however, as a single-celled building c. 21.5m by 6.7m. The matter should be resolved when the analysis of the 1980s excavations is completed (S. Wright, in preparation).

⁵⁵ Salzman 1947, 144-145.

⁵⁶ Hope 1914, 496; Pevsner 1966, 306.

⁵⁷ Gardner 1955; RCHME 1922, 165.

(figs. 24b and 26) is similar, with a triple lancet in the west wall, and four lancets in the north and south walls, the south-eastern one raised above a piscina.⁵⁸ The chapel of St. Leonard at Kirkstead (figs. 24d, 27 and 28) has been described as ‘one of the finest pieces of 13th century architecture in Lincolnshire’.⁵⁹ It is fully vaulted in three bays, with stiff-leaf capitals and dogtooth on the transverse ribs. The easternmost bay is sexpartite, with a boss showing the lamb and cross. The lancets (two per bay) have shafts, and the east windows stiff leaf capitals and dogtooth. The church also contains an early wooden screen and an early military effigy, both contemporary with the building, and, like Tilty and Coggeshall, rare contemporary decorative wall painting.⁶⁰ Also like Tilty and Coggeshall, it has a piscina indicating that it was intended from the first to celebrate mass here.

As seen above, the destroyed chapel of Croxden Abbey (figs. 24c and 16) was, if anything, simpler than those of Coggeshall and Tilty with just a single lancet for its eastern window, three lancets in its south wall and two in its north. The eastern lancet in the south wall was not raised above a piscina or sedilia, although an aumbry was squeezed between this window and the east wall. Part of a screen was still extant in 1884, although somewhat later than the building itself. Bordesley chapel is shown, in a drawing by Samuel Buck, to be a church of four bays, with a window of fairly early geometrical tracery over its doorway and early 14th century windows in the other bays.⁶¹ However, it is not clear how much of this to trust, given that engravings made by Samuel Buck and his brother are often very unreliable. Although Merevale chapel survives, it has been subject to so many later alterations (see below) that its early superstructure cannot be usefully described.

The modesty of the buildings perhaps speaks of a modest use for humble people, but this could apply equally to poor visitors or local inhabitants. The one exception to this is Kirkstead chapel, which though small is extremely fine. It may be, as Albert Hartshorne suggested in 1883, that the chapel was built to serve as a burial place for the knight whose effigy lies there.⁶² The location of the chapel at Kirkstead is also unusual since it is not close to the main gates but to a different possible gate, on the south side of the cloister.

⁵⁸ RCHME 1916, 320-321; Pevsner 1954, 359.

⁵⁹ Pevsner, Harris, and Antram 1989, 418. See both this and Hartshorne 1883 for the foregoing architectural description.

⁶⁰ Park 1986, 190, 195-196. Although some has been lost in recent memory, the painting at Coggeshall included typical red masonry pattern, a probable consecration cross in the sedilia, and some foliate scrollwork in the spandrels of the east window. Tilty has masonry pattern on the walls and window splays, red and white quoin stones and scrollwork in the spandrels of the piscina. Kirkstead has traces of grey masonry pattern and coloured decoration.

⁶¹ Rahtz and Hirst 1976, pl. 4.

⁶² Hartshorne 1883, 299. The effigy, however, is not in its original location, and might have been moved from the abbey church. Tummers suggests a date of c. 1250 for both the chapel and effigy (1980, 36 and 138), but this is in part based on the similarity of the stiff leaf capitals of the chapel and the stiff leaf carving on the slab. It is questionable, however, whether architectural features and sepulchral ones were carved by the same mason. I am indebted to Philip Lankester for discussing the effigy with me.

Documentary and Dissolution Evidence

The documentary records, from the 13th century and from the dissolution, combined with post-dissolution usage, throw some light on the issue of use. The earliest reference is to Coggeshall Abbey, which appropriated the church of the nearby town of Great Coggeshall in 1223,⁶³ yet very close to this time built its own gatehouse chapel. A distinction soon came to be made between the parishes of Great and Little Coggeshall (Little Coggeshall being the location of the abbey), and at some time, not necessarily contemporaneously, a font was installed in the gatehouse chapel and burials were taking place.⁶⁴ This is clear evidence of the cure of non-monastic souls and, in the case of the font, of the presence of families. There was a vicarage of Little Coggeshall in 1541, and in the 1639 estate map the building is shown roofed and labelled 'ye Chappel' (fig. 22). At some point, however, it was used as a barn and only returned to ecclesiastical use in the 1890s.⁶⁵ At nearby Tilty, the abbey is described as appropriating the church (i.e. the chapel, for there is no other) although the evidence for this is not secure.⁶⁶ This reference is obscure, since why should an abbey need to appropriate a chapel which it had built itself and which lay within its domain?

The answer may lie in the distinction between *capellae* and *ecclesiae*. The chapels were just that, chapels, with chaplains appointed by the abbey, rather than vicars instituted by the bishop. Their remit was limited since responsibility for the cure of souls belonged to the parish church and, ultimately, the bishop. If Cistercian gatehouse chapels did indeed cater for the cure of souls, or for the burial of the local dead, they would certainly come into conflict with the local parish church. They would also have come under the jurisdiction of the diocesan bishop, from which Cistercian precincts were otherwise excluded. Such a conflict did indeed take place in 1314, where the rector of Leeds complained that some of his parishioners received sacraments in the gatehouse chapel of Kirkstall Abbey.⁶⁷

At Bordesley, we find that a district may have been assigned to its chapel as early as 1244 and, after the dissolution, the advowson of St. Stephen's (the chapel) was one of the assets of the abbey which was sold. Despite this, as at Coggeshall, the building became

⁶³ That is, Coggeshall Abbey became the rector of the parish of Great Coggeshall, taking its tithes and other income and in return supplying it with a vicar, probably from the ranks of its own monks. For a study of this phenomenon see Desmond 1976.

⁶⁴ VCH Essex 2:125; Gardner 1955 21 and Dale 1863, 75-76. The burials and a font base are known from 19th century excavations, but their dates are not known, although they are assumed to be medieval, since the chapel went out of use after the dissolution. However, in the estate map of 1639, the building is shown in good repair, and is still called 'the chappel'.

⁶⁵ Dale 1863, 68.

⁶⁶ VCH Essex 2:134. The reference for this is not given, but it is implied that it is the *Taxatio* of Nicholas IV. However, there is definitely no record of it there. There is also a reference to the church of Croxden, that is to say the gatehouse chapel, being appropriated, but no original references are given and it seems extremely unreliable, probably based on a misreading of the chronicle (Hutchinson 1893, 65 used as a reference by Laurence 1951-5, B57).

⁶⁷ Williams 1998, 203 and Lindley 1954, 53.

deserted, and was not restored for religious use until 1687.⁶⁸ Similarly at Rievaulx it is clear that the chapel had a parish function at the dissolution, since it is described in the inventory as ‘The chapell without the gate garneshid for the parish’,⁶⁹ yet it too became deserted and was still in ruins at the beginning of the 20th century.

The rectory of Croxden Abbey was not listed in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* and this suggests that the change in status of St. Giles (Croxden’s gatehouse chapel), from a chapel to a revenue-accruing church, took place at the dissolution. It is likely that the people who lived nearby were already using the chapel as their *de facto* parish church, even though their tithes went elsewhere (probably to nearby Alton church, which had been held by the abbey since its foundation and appropriated by it in 1398⁷⁰). This situation may have pertained elsewhere, since the sale of rectories, with the same name as the abbey, is common after the dissolution.⁷¹ At Merevale, a parish-like use for the chapel at the dissolution is suggested by its continued use as a parish church, even though it is not mentioned in the inventory or other dissolution documents.⁷²

Thus for three of the ten houses (Coggeshall, Tilty and Bordesley), there is medieval evidence that they provided some sort of parish function, and for three of them (Croxden, Bordesley and Rievaulx), documentary evidence of parish function at the dissolution. Perhaps five of the chapels continued in use as churches after the dissolution (Tilty, Kirkstead, Merevale, Croxden, and possibly Coggeshall), while the others, despite in some instances earlier parish use, fell into ruins or disappeared altogether (Fountains, Louth Park, Rievaulx and Bordesley). The last abbey with a chapel dating from the mid-thirteenth century or earlier is Hailes. Like the other examples, Hailes’ chapel was probably used as a parish church, since, as already noted, it was a parish church prior to the abbey’s foundation and formed part of its endowment.

So eight of the eleven chapels (including Hailes) dating from the late-twelfth to mid-thirteenth century chapels had a parish function at some time, and for the remaining three (Fountains, Louth Park and Sibton) there is no information. Although it is a mistake to assume that usage at the dissolution reflects usage in the 13th century, the topographic evidence also supports the use of these chapels by a lay community living at the gate. Could this be a reflection of the amount and permanence of hired labour? Although some have argued that the

⁶⁸ VCH Worcestershire, 3:229.

⁶⁹ See note 39.

⁷⁰ Laurence 1951-5, B23 and B64

⁷¹ Beaulieu provides a good example of this, since the farm of the rectory of Beaulieu appeared as an asset in the first post-dissolution accounts, but its refectory became the parish church (Hockey 1976, 219-220; Hope and Brakspear 1906, 160). At Bordesley, the advowson of the chapel was sold in 1542 (VCH Worcestershire, 3:229), while at Whalley, the rectory of Whalley is listed in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (5:229), but this is less surprising, since the church pre-dated the abbey.

⁷² Austin 1998, 152-159 and VCH Warwickshire, 2:78.

number of lay brothers was already beginning to fall in the 13th century,⁷³ this was certainly not universal. In 1249 at Meaux, for instance, there were 90 lay brothers (and 60 monks), but only seven a century later (and 42 monks).⁷⁴ Louth Park, in 1246, had 150 lay brothers (and 66 monks).⁷⁵ This does not seem to imply a large need for hired labour in the mid-13th century. Around the same time buildings were being erected or rebuilt or altered at most abbeys.⁷⁶ The chapels may have been erected to fulfil a pastoral need for skilled hired labour associated with building activity. Skilled masons, however, must also have been used in the great building campaigns of the 12th century. If they are indeed the reason for the building of *capellae extra portas* then this may imply a change in practice, with a more permanent workforce living with their families. In addition to specialist hired workers, monasteries had always employed servants and the gatehouse chapels might also reflect a change in their status perhaps from single men living within the abbey to men with families living outside the abbey.⁷⁷

Interestingly, domestic houses (*domus ad habitandum*) outside abbey gates are mentioned in the Cistercian statutes on several occasions.⁷⁸ In the earliest *Instituta*, dating to the abbacy of St. Stephen Harding (1109-1133) they are specifically banned, except for animals, because they might put souls in peril.⁷⁹ In both the 1157 and 1158 statutes, there is an instruction to let houses outside the gate fall.⁸⁰ It is the earlier formulation, however, that is repeated in the codifications of 1202 and 1220.⁸¹ Although the original statute may refer to monks living outside the gates, it is possible that the later repetitions were directed at different circumstances. These statutes could have been a reaction to the sort of communities which may already have been growing up at the gates, and to which the construction of gatehouse chapels was a more pastoral response.

One of the statutes of the General Chapter for 1220 says ‘the horses’ stables in England, which are outside the gate where the lay-brothers sleep, and where many

⁷³ For instance at Netley, where the west range of the cloister was never completed (Coppack 1998, 73).

⁷⁴ VCH Yorkshire, 3:146; Bond 1866, 2:65 and 3:77.

⁷⁵ VCH Lincolnshire, 2:139; Venables 1889, 15.

⁷⁶ At Fountains, the cloister ranges and church were being completed after 1170, and in the first half of the 13th century new building included the presbytery, the large infirmary complex, the cloister arcades, and buildings in the outer court (Coppack 1993, 47-62). Analogous to Croxden, the chronicle of Louth Park also records large-scale building from 1227-1246 (Venables 1889, 13-17). Meaux, which had a chapel of unknown date was also undertaking major building work in the first half of the 13th century (Fergusson 1984, 134 and Bond 1866, 1:234, 236, 380, 421 and 2:64), while at Rievaulx the presbytery was rebuilt. Although little from the 13th century remains at Bordesley, Coggeshall and Kirkstead, as very little is extant this hardly precludes building activity at that time. Tilty is recorded as being built principally 1188-1214, was ransacked in 1215 and reconsecrated five years later (VCH Essex, 2:134), while Merevale had a 13th century refectory and kitchen (Salzman 1947, 143).

⁷⁷ A recent and valuable discussion of the role of servants can be found in Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 55-58.

⁷⁸ I am grateful to Dr. Jim Binns for assisting me with the translation of these statutes.

⁷⁹ Waddell 1999, 464. ‘Non est congruum ut extra portam monasterii nulla domus aliqua ad habitandum construatur nisi animalium, quia periculum animarum inde potest nasci’. For the dating of these early statutes see note 2.

⁸⁰ Canivez 1933-41, 1:61, 69 (1157.16 and 1158.14).

⁸¹ Lucet 1964, 36.

dishonourable actions can happen, should be brought within the bounds of the abbey before the following chapter'.⁸² Although the wording is ambiguous, since it is not clear whether the lay-brothers are sleeping in the stable or the gatehouse, the implication is that some people are sleeping in the stable, otherwise there would be no danger of *inhonesta*. The specific mention of England suggests that this undesirable practice took place in this country. The necessity to use stables as accommodation may have been the result of slow building programmes at many abbeys. At Croxden, for instance, the dormitory of the lay-brothers was not built until 1242-1268.⁸³

In the codifications of 1237, 1257, 1289 and 1316, it is specified that horses' stables, like buildings for habitation, should be within the precinct, as opposed to those of animals which might be outside.⁸⁴ The repetition of this at generational intervals suggests both that men (servants or lay-brothers) were sleeping in the stables and that it may have been a widespread practice in Cistercian monasteries.⁸⁵ It is possible that the occupiers of the stables formed part of the communities that gatehouse chapels were erected to serve.

Whether the chapels were built to serve women guests, as well as servants and lay communities is not known. Just as there are numerous injunctions against allowing women into the precincts, there are many indulgences granting them access on particular occasions or for particular reasons.⁸⁶ A church on the boundaries of the precinct might solve the problem of women visitors as well as that of workers' families. The more grudging acceptance of lay communities by the Cistercians may account for their large number of gatehouse chapels of early date. The conventual churches of other orders were frequently more accessible and their monks or canons often took a greater part in the pastoral life of their diocese.⁸⁷

Chapels in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

Only four chapels are known to have been built in the 14th century: Beaulieu, Furness, Thame and Whalley. However, the documentary evidence for gatehouse chapels in this century and to a lesser extent in the 15th century, is very rich. Thus we have evidence about the chapels of Kingswood, Kirkstall (discussed above), Meaux, Robertsbridge, Stratford Langthorne and

⁸² Canivez 1933-41, 1:523 (1220.30). 'Stabula equorum in Anglia, quae sunt extra portam ubi conversi iacent, et ubi multa possunt fieri inhonesta, infra sequens Capitulum intra septa abbatiarum redigantur'.

⁸³ Chronicle 1242.

⁸⁴ Lucet 1977, 212; Paris and Séjalon 1892 (quoted in Norton 1986, 388).

⁸⁵ Accommodation of servants in stables is also likely to have been common in secular households, and there is documentary evidence of this in the 15th century (Woolgar 1999, 63).

⁸⁶ Good examples come from Waverley, where papal indulgences were granted in 1245 and 1252 and in 1278, many women attended the dedication of the new church and the subsequent feast (VCH Surrey, 2:80).

⁸⁷ An example of an Augustinian gatehouse chapel occurs at Kirkham Priory, where the chapel was built in the 15th century, despite long-standing and continued use of the conventual church by laypeople. Although this may be related to Cistercian practice, at this late date it is more likely to be a response to

Waverley, none of which survive. In addition, there are valuable documentary sources for Furness and for the later uses of some of the early chapels, particularly Bordesley, Merevale and the parish church of Whalley. The records and buildings together demonstrate that as well as having a quasi-parish use, they were pilgrimage centres and foci for chantry provision. At a number of abbeys there is evidence for the provision of more than one chapel.⁸⁸

Pilgrimage

The chapel at Furness is the first of the late group since it dates to the very early years of the 14th century.⁸⁹ Despite this, it appears in many ways like the earlier chapels. It is located between the inner and outer gates (here its north wall is the precinct wall; fig. 29), and it is a single celled structure of modest size, measuring 49ft by 20ft internally (c. 14.9m by 6.1m). Its late date has been explained as a consequence of the earlier, and unusual, use of the north transept as a lay chapel, which appears to have been separated from the rest of the church, and which had a distinctive doorway.⁹⁰ This description suggests that the chapel of Furness belongs with the group of early chapels. Documentary evidence, however, suggests another use as a pilgrimage centre, which may either have been secondary, or which may have prompted the building of a chapel separate from the church. It is first mentioned in 1344 when Bishop Thomas of Lincoln granted an indulgence to those who venerated an image of the virgin either 'in the conventual church of the said monastery or the chapel constructed outside the inner gate'.⁹¹

Just as with the proposed early parish use, pilgrimage constituted a public use, to which the most open access was appropriate, even to those not staying in the abbey's guest-halls. The gatehouse chapel, therefore, would have been particularly well-sited for this function. Indeed, for Bordesley the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* mentions a second chapel, dedicated to St. Mary, annexed to the monastery. This chapel was worth 7s 6d in Easter offerings and a further 6d in offerings to images inside the chapel and to a cross outside the gate of the monastery. Although a small sum, it may be representative of much greater pilgrimage interest in the chapel at an earlier date.

More concrete evidence comes from Kingswood and from Merevale in the 14th century. For Kingswood, the pope granted indulgences in 1364 for those who gave alms in the chapel of St. Mary between the two gates, since 'as it is asserted, miracles are done by her intercession, and to which many blind and lame come from England, Wales, France, Ireland

specific conditions at Kirkham. See Burton 1995, 24-25 (I am grateful to Emma Goodman for drawing my attention to this paper).

⁸⁸ That is, more than one gatehouse chapel. Dr. Terryl Kinder, in a paper given at Kalamazoo in 1997, has identified a number of other chapel types which can be found in Cistercian precincts, including pilgrimage chapels.

⁸⁹ Dickinson 1965, 9; Hope 1900a, 234.

⁹⁰ Dickinson 1967, 61-62; Fergusson 1984, 60-61; Hope 1900a, 242.

⁹¹ Dickinson 1967, 62.

and Scotland' and indulgences were also granted to Tintern.⁹² At Merevale the Bishop of Lichfield wrote to the monk-priest in 1361 saying:

We have been told that a great multitude of the faithful, for the expiation of their offences, pour almost daily to the chapel built beside the gateway of your monastery which is dedicated to the praise and honour of the most glorious Virgin Mary, The Mother of God, and we have further gathered, by the testimony of people of credence, that it often happens that many of our subjects, both men and women, travelling there away from home, are brought to the point of death by the crush of people or by falling sick of various illnesses prevalent in these days.

We wish to make provision for the spiritual health of these people and accordingly (having complete faith in your circumspection and the sedulous affection which you are known to have towards the health of men's souls) we give you full and unlimited power to absolve those of our subjects who, while on pilgrimage to the aforesaid chapel, find themselves at the point of death and wish to make full confession to you, and to impose a salutary penance upon them according to the nature of their fault. This power is also to extend to cases normally reserved to us, and is to last as long as we decide.⁹³

The object of this pilgrimage is presumed to have been a statue or painting of Mary, since in 1535 offerings at the image of our lady were listed as contributing £2 a year to the income of the abbey, although the image was in the conventual church at that time.⁹⁴ As well as showing that pilgrims were attracted to Merevale chapel, this letter demonstrates the interest of the bishop in the chapel because of its ministry to lay people, which came under his jurisdiction. Here, it is clear that the chapel was not an *ecclesia*, but perhaps it was activities like this one which were crucial for establishing parish church status for Merevale chapel, either at the dissolution or earlier. According to tradition, the chapel at Kingswood was also used subsequently as a parish church.⁹⁵ It has been suggested that the pilgrimage prompted the enlargement of the chancel at Merevale (originally 14th century, but now mainly c. 1500),⁹⁶ but pilgrimage was not the only activity taking place in these chapels.

Chantries

A chantry was set up in the chapel at Kingswood in 1317 for the Berkeley family and masses were to be performed by two monks daily.⁹⁷ In 1345, a licence was granted to establish a chantry in the chapel of Merevale for the souls of William de Henore and his ancestors.⁹⁸ This chantry is another possible reason for the enlargement of the chancel in the mid-14th century, with the addition of a south chancel aisle at the same time. Another gift associated with the chapel was made by John de Lisle in 1357 for 15 tapers to burn in the chapel of Our Lady near

⁹² Lindley 1954, 120; Webb 2000, 101.

⁹³ Austin 1998 108. Austin also makes the connection between the pilgrimage at Furness and that at Merevale.

⁹⁴ Austin 1998, 12; VCH Warwickshire, 2:77; *Valor Ecclesiasticus* 3:72.

⁹⁵ Lindley 1954, 133.

⁹⁶ Austin 1998, 12.

⁹⁷ *Hist. MSS Com. Rep.*, 5:337.

⁹⁸ Salzman 1947:147 and *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1345-1348:10.

the abbey gate.⁹⁹ Merevale also had at least one chantry in the conventual church.¹⁰⁰ The disproportionately large 14th century chancel of the chapel at Tilty (fig. 26) may also be associated with private patronage.¹⁰¹

The gatehouse chapel at Meaux receives a remarkable amount of attention in the abbey's chronicle. This is because of its close connection with a substantial chantry, originally located at Otringham. It was founded by Richard of Otringham in 1293 for seven monks, later six monks and one secular chaplain.¹⁰² After describing the foundation in some detail the chronicle tells us that 'after 31 years [1324], on the vigil of St. Laurence, the same chantry of six monks moved, to the chapel outside the gates of the monastery, to do there what it had been accustomed to do at Otringham'.¹⁰³ The next relevant entry describes this move in more detail, which was requested by the abbey to prevent the scandalous behaviour of the monks, who had to live away from the abbey to undertake the chantry. They were no doubt afflicted by the dangers to souls envisaged in the early statutes, whose words find an echo in those of Thomas Burton, the chronicler. Although the description is lengthy, it is quoted here almost in full, since it contains numerous references to the chapel:

Wherefore the aforesaid master Richard, after 24 years [1317] when the said chantry at Otringham had been established, having been entreated by us many times, he granted that the said chantry of six monks should be made by them at the gates of our abbey in perpetuity... Lord king Edward II granting the licence for a fine as arranged, that we and our successors are able to hold the aforesaid chantry inside our abbey and to do this in perpetuity. And because the neighbourhood appointed to the said chantry at Otringham, little fitted for the habitation of religious men, was making ready a pernicious example and easiness of sinning to the scandal of religion, we beseeched William of Melton, then Archbishop of York, that he should consider worthy, for the avoidance of dangers to souls and for the avoidance of religious scandal, from his pastoral office, to allow that, in some other suitable place outside the close and boundaries of our monastery, we should be able to erect [*erigere*] one chapel and to undertake the aforesaid chantry therein. In the event of his licence, we should offer ourselves prepared without all prejudice, and we submitted equally ourselves and our churches of Naffreton and Skypse to his jurisdiction decree and administration, for thus transferring and observing the chantry. Wherefore the said archbishop granted to us that we might build a chapel [*construeremus*], and cause a chantry to be made in it, in another suitable place wholly subject to his ordinary jurisdiction and even entirely existing outside the boundaries and close of our monastery, however not much distant from our monastery, but near and next to it, and we might bring that chantry to the same chapel, [and] he granted a special licence... Therefore after 30 years [1323] from the first institution of the chantry, the said archbishop approved a place outside the gates of the monastery where the chapel is constructed, so that six of the monks having been transferred to that place, with the due observance of religion, to the exclusion of

⁹⁹ VCH Warwickshire, 2:76.

¹⁰⁰ Austin 1998, 6 and VCH Warwickshire, 2:76.

¹⁰¹ There is, however, no evidence to suggest whether there was a chantry in Tilty's gatehouse chapel or not.

¹⁰² Bond 1866, 2:192-196. It formed part of the exchange of lands for the abbey's manor of Wick, where Edward I founded the port of Kingston-upon-Hull (VCH Yorkshire, 3:147).

¹⁰³ Bond 1866, 2:196. 'cantaria eadem sex monachorum post 31 annos translata est, in vigilia Sancti Laurencii, ad capellam extra portas monasterii, facienda ibidem ut apud Otryngham fuerat consueta; sicut in tempore domini Adae abbatis 14 plenius apparebit'.

all sins of fornication, under the influence of sincerity and devotion, that chantry should be salvation-giving for ever and should provide more effectively for those living people who are resolved on salvation and the expiation of sin. Therefore the monks were recalled to the monastery from the accustomed place of Otringham for the celebration of the said chantry in the chapel outside the gates... Thereafter, after 11 years [1334] the same abbot Adam succeeded in obtaining from the archbishop a licence that we might be able to move the aforesaid chantry to a chapel over against [*supra*] the entrance of our great gates. For then the same abbot was intending to build a certain chapel from squared and polished stones against [*supra*] the entrance of the great gates. But however the said work begun, as in part it can still be discerned today, death intervening he left unfinished.¹⁰⁴

There is one last substantial reference to the chapel:

And when Lord Adam, predecessor of that abbot Hugo, began to build a chapel over against [*supra*] the entrance of the great gates, on account of the chantry of six monks made by tradition at the chapel outside the gates, and, when his death intervened, he left that same work unfinished, abbot Hugh, little valuing the same work or without power to finish it; he left part of the foundations of the said chapel which are still today perceived, and removing part of them from there he destroyed almost the whole work; and among other things, of that stone for the building of the said chapel, he had made a

¹⁰⁴I am grateful to Dr. Jim Binns for assistance with this and other passages from the Meaux chronicle. Bond 1866, 2:294-296. 'Quapropter praedictus magister Ricardus, post 24 annos postquam dicta cantaria apud Otringham fuerat stabilita, a nobis multipliciter exoratus, concedebat quod dicta cantaria sex monachorum fieret per eosdem apud portam abbatae nostrae imperpetuum; ita quod nos aut successores nostri, occasione subtractionis cantariae praedictae a locis consuetis, in aliquo non graveremur seu per aliquem inquietaremur infuturum, dum tamen ipsa cantaria apud monasterium nostrum debite perficeretur. Hoc idem praefatus Alanus de Ulbryght et Johannes de Lasceles concedebant, domino rege Edwardo secundo, pro fine cum eo facto, licentiam concedente, quod nos et successores nostri cantariam praedictam infra abbatiam nostram tenere et facere possemus imperpetuum. Et, quia loca ad dictam cantariam apud Otringham deputata, ad habitationem religiosorum minus apta, pernicioso exempla at peccandi facilitatem in religionis scandalum praeparabant, supplicavimus domino Willelmo de Meletona, tunc Eboracensi archiepiscopo, quatinus, ad evitacionem periculorum animarum et religionis scandali, ex suo officio pastorali licentiam concedere dignaretur, ut, in aliquo alio loco congruo extra clausuram et septa monasterii nostri, unam capellam erigere et praedictam cantariam inibi facere valeremus. Ad quam cantariam sic transferendam et observandam, in eventum suae licentiae, nos absque omni praejudicio obtulimus paratos, nosque et ecclesias nostras de Naffretona et Skyse suis jurisdictioni, decreto et executioni, pariter submittebamus. Unde dictus archiepiscopus nobis concessit ut, in aliquo loco congruo, suae jurisdictioni ordinariae omnino subjecto, ac etiam extra septa et clausuram nostri monasterii penitus exsistente, non tamen multum distante a nostro monasterio, sed prope et juxta illud, capellam construeremus, et ipsam cantariam in eadem fieri faceremus, licentiam concessit specialem; ad quam memorati sex monachi, ipsam cantariam facturi et celebraturi, cito accedere conjuntim, et post officia complete simul redire, valerent, absque suspicione aliquali. Ad quae omnia et singula facienda et observanda nos et dictas ecclesias nostras sententialiter et definitive condemnavit. Post 30 ergo annos a prima institutione dictae cantariae, dictus archiepiscopus locum extra portas monasterii ubi capella construitur approbavit, ut illuc ipsa cantaria sex monachorum translata, sub debita religionis observantia, omni excluso peccati fornice, sub sinceritatis ac devotionis affectu, fiat salubris in aeternum, vivus ad salutem, et ad expiationem proficiat efficacius reolutis. Monachi ergo a loco consueto de Otringham ad monasterium, pro dicta cantaria in capella extra portas celebranda, sunt revocati; quos cantor ex toto convento collectos, per singulas septimanas vicissim, ad dictam cantariam inibi perpetuo celebrandam discernit intabulandos. Deinde, post annos xj., idem abbas Adam impetravit ab archiepiscopo licentiam ut praefatam cantariam ad capellam supra introitum magnae portae nostrae transferre valeremus. Nam tunc idem abbas quandam capellam lapidibus quadris et politis supra ipsum introitum magnae portae construere proponebat. Sed tamen dictum opus, ut partim inpraesentiarum cernitur, inchoans, morte interveniente reliquit imperfectum.'

certain vessel prepared of very beautiful stone, next to the malt kiln in which our barley is usually moistened for making beer.¹⁰⁵

The references here to the chapel are as detailed as any medieval references to building, which is to say that one is still left asking questions. Nevertheless, the chapel is nearly always described as being outside the monastery, either *extra portas*, which may mean outside the inner gatehouse, or *extra septa et clausurum*, outside the close and boundaries of the monastery. Only in the licence from the king is it allowed that the chantry might be within the monastery. In the negotiations with the archbishop, however, it is clear that the chapel must be constructed outside the monastery, albeit very close, and even for this the monks were obliged to give up much of their independence from his authority. The chapel is described only in relationship to the chantry, and despite the first reference, where the chantry is described as moving to the chapel outside the gates, the implication seems to be that the chapel was built especially to house the chantry. This may explain the six-year delay between the appeal to the archbishop and the transferral of the monks back to Meaux. An alternative explanation is that there was an existing *capella extra portas* which was expanded to house the chantry. This would perhaps fit better with the ambition of the same abbot to replace it after only eleven years by building a new chapel against the great gates. Although the new chapel is described as *supra introitum magnae portae*, since its foundations were abandoned, this may mean that it was a free-standing structure built against the gatehouse and not above it.¹⁰⁶ The chantry presumably remained in the original chapel outside the gates up until the dissolution.¹⁰⁷

Immediately before the last reference to the chapel, a better-known story is told, of some interest. A crucifix was carved in the lay brothers' choir (in the time of Abbot Hugh, 1339-1349) by a craftsman who worked on it only on Fridays, while fasting on bread and water, and who used a naked model in order to carve the crucifix more skilfully. The crucifix proved to be miraculous, drawing many people, so permission was obtained for women to visit it. In a rare documented example of Cistercian hospitality being extended to ordinary women, the convent found that they came only out of curiosity, and that their entertainment cost more than their alms.¹⁰⁸ The convent did not take advantage of its gatehouse chapel for the influx of

¹⁰⁵ Bond 1866, 3:36. 'Et cum dominus Adam, praedecessor ipsius abbatis Hugonis, capellam supra introitum magnae portae, propter cantariam sex monachorum apud capellam extra portam fieri consuetam, construere inchoasset, et, morte ejus interveniente, ipsum opus relinqueret imperfectum, abbas ipse Hugo, ipsum opus aut parvipendens aut supplere nonvalens; partem fundamenti dictae capellae quae adhuc conspicitur sic reliquit, et partem ejus inde auferens opus paene omne destruxit; et, inter alia, de ipsis lapidibus pro dicta capella construenda praeparatis vas quoddam lapideum pulchrum valde, juxta torale in quo ordeum nostrum ab brasium conficiendum solet humectari, fieri fecit.'

¹⁰⁶ Previously, the second chapel has been interpreted as over the gates (Bond 1866, 3:xxix; Hope and Brakspear 1906, 146; Robinson 1998, 143). However, 'against' is an acceptable translation of *super* (Latham 1980, 464) and is used as such in other similar contexts e.g. in the Louth Park chronicle (Venables 1889, p. 14).

¹⁰⁷ There is a reference to the chapel in passing in the time of the eighteenth abbot, 1372-1396 (Bond 1866, 3:229).

¹⁰⁸ Bond 1866, 3:35-36.

pilgrims, as at Furness and Merevale, probably because the crucifix in question was immovable.¹⁰⁹

A preference for a gatehouse chapel rather than the conventual church occurs in the foundation of a chantry in 1310 at Waverley, for Nicholas, Bishop of Winchester, whose body had been buried in the abbey church (in 1281). The masses were to be sung in the chapel of the Blessed Mary that stood at the abbey gate, or, failing that, at an altar in the monastic church.¹¹⁰ Robertsbridge Abbey undertook a major chantry in the 14th century. In 1314, two chaplains were established at their chapel at Salehurst and in 1325, five more chaplains were added, four in the abbey church and one in the chapel of St. Mary at the abbey gate.¹¹¹

The chapel at Thame is a separate building, on the north-west side of the precinct, dating to the early 14th century. Thame Abbey undertook a chantry in exchange for land given to them by Edward II in 1317, although there is no evidence it took place in the gatehouse chapel. The licence states that it was to take place in the abbey,¹¹² but the licence for Meaux is also for a chantry ‘within the abbey’, although we know it was actually in the gatehouse chapel.¹¹³ A number of chantry licences do not specify their precise location (including one for thirteen monks to celebrate at Roche¹¹⁴), and it tempting to suppose that at least a few of them may have taken place in gatehouse chapels.

Further evidence comes from Stratford Langthorne. Although later they undertook two chantries in the conventual church,¹¹⁵ in 1334 the convent received land from Edward III to support two monks, or other suitable chaplains, for celebrating daily and annual masses for the souls of Edward II and the parents of Geoffrey Scrope in their chapel by the abbey’s gate.¹¹⁶ This is believed to be the chapel of St. Richard, documented after the dissolution as being close to the great gates.

As already described, the parish church at Whalley was in many respects like a gatehouse chapel, excepting that it had not been built for the abbey, but instead formed part of the foundation, as at Hailes. At Whalley, two chantries were founded, with the endowment given to the abbey. These chantries were preceded by the endowment of a hermitage by Henry, Duke of Lancaster, in 1361, for a female recluse and two female servants. The hermitage was located in the churchyard, and was maintained by the abbey, which also

¹⁰⁹ A non-Cistercian example of an image attracting pilgrims to a gatehouse chapel is at the Carmelite friary in York. In fact, the image of the Virgin attracted so much income away from the parish church that in 1350 it had to be removed and public services in the chapel ceased (VCH Yorkshire, 3:292 and Greatrex 1999). I am grateful to Professor David Smith for drawing my attention to this example.

¹¹⁰ VCH Surrey, 2:86; Cook 1963, 81. The licence, however, implies that the chantry was in the abbey church, see *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1307-1310:269.

¹¹¹ VCH Sussex, 2:72.

¹¹² VCH Oxfordshire, 2:84 and *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1313-1317:672.

¹¹³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1321-1324:299.

¹¹⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1345-1348:16.

¹¹⁵ VCH Essex, 2:132 and *Hist. MSS Com. Rep.*, 5:436 and 9:56.

¹¹⁶ See Dyson forthcoming and *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1327-1330:306, 309. A chantry was also made in 1301 or earlier in the chapel of St. Mary, presumably the abbey church rather than the parish church.

maintained a monk-chaplain to chant mass daily in the oratory of the hermitage. In 1437, the abbot and convent of Whalley complained about the behaviour of the anchorites and their servants to Henry VI, also Duke of Lancaster. As a consequence, the hermitage was dissolved in 1444 and the endowment was applied to a chantry for two priests to say mass daily for the souls of Duke Henry and the king, and for the celebration of their obits by 30 chaplains.¹¹⁷ The two chantries were at the east ends of the north and south aisles and called the St. Nicholas Chantry and the St. Mary Chantry, respectively.¹¹⁸

Multiple Chapels

Some examples of multiple chapels have already been mentioned. Meaux would have had two, if its chapel over or against the gates had been completed. Concerning Bordesley, reference has already been made to two chapels, St. Stephen and St. Mary, listed in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. The chapel of St. Stephen was located by the main gates (see above) while the chapel of St. Mary, annexed to the monastery, received offerings at images inside the chapel and at a cross outside the gate of the monastery.¹¹⁹ This strongly suggests that the two chapels were located at different gates of the abbey.

There is also evidence of two buildings with similar functions at Stratford Langthorne since, as well as the chapel, the parish church of St. Mary and All Saints is believed to have been located within the precincts.¹²⁰ At Whalley, as well as the parish church, close to its north-east gate, the abbey possessed a chapel above its 14th century north-west gatehouse. Local lay people were well-provided for by the parish church and the purpose of this undocumented chapel is unknown. An answer may lie in the very slow work on the abbey buildings. Although the convent moved there in 1296 when the foundation stone was laid (and probably occupied the rectory), work on the church began again in 1330, at which point the Abbot and convent moved into the abbey, and a 'first mass' was celebrated in 1380.¹²¹ A possibility is that the convent used the chapel above the gatehouse when they could not worship in the conventual church – it may even have been especially built for the purpose. A similar use has been suggested for the chapel at Merevale.¹²²

Like Whalley, Beaulieu housed a chapel above a gatehouse.¹²³ In this instance there were two parallel chapels on the first floor of the inner gatehouse, indicated by two piscinas

¹¹⁷ Taylor-Taswell 1905, 107-112 and 137.

¹¹⁸ Taylor-Taswell 1905, 61-62 and 71-72. In this instance, the aisles were not built to accommodate the chantries, but existed already.

¹¹⁹ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 3:273.

¹²⁰ Powell 1973, 112-114.

¹²¹ Taylor-Taswell 1905, 114; VCH Lancashire, 2:133 and Ashmore 1996, 6-7.

¹²² Austin 1998, 12.

¹²³ In recent literature, the chapel at Kirkstall has also been interpreted as being above the gate (see Barnes 1982 53 and 63 and Williams 1998, 203). However, in the registers of William Greenfield, Archbishop of York, the chapel is referred to as *ultra portam*, which seems fairly conclusive that, as at

(fig. 30).¹²⁴ They lay parallel, probably divided by a partition. To gain access from outside the precinct, one would have had to pass through the outer gate, crossed a yard, requested entrance at the inner gatehouse, entered, and then climbed a spiral stair, which may have had doors at both top and bottom. This does not suggest quasi-parish use, nor provision for guests not wanted in the conventual church, nor a centre for pilgrimage. On the contrary, it speaks of a private use, with access from the inner court. While it might be associated with a chantry, there is no documentary evidence for this interpretation.¹²⁵ One of the chapels might have served as an oratory for the porter, when he could not attend services in the choir.

Alternatively, the chapel may have been a place for guests to give thanks for their safe journey on their first arrival, or to fulfil the rule of Benedict that after their first reception guests should be led to prayer.¹²⁶

Interestingly, the farm of the rectory of Beaulieu appeared as an asset in the first post-dissolution accounts. Set against this was the salary of the chaplain.¹²⁷ In this instance, however, the gatehouse chapels did not become the parish church, but instead the refectory was converted to a church.¹²⁸

Conclusion

From this discussion, it is apparent that English Cistercian gatehouse chapels do not constitute a uniform group, but rather are diverse, both in their architecture and even more in their usage. Most seem to have fulfilled a parish function but without the formal status of an *ecclesia*.

While some evidence for this is early most of it dates from the dissolution. Four of the twenty-one houses examined were also used for pilgrimage and seven for chantries. While it could fairly be argued that both of these were aspects of parish church life, it could also be argued that there was something about gatehouse chapels that made them peculiarly suitable for pilgrimage and chantries. They could perhaps be seen as occupying a symbolic space between the world and devil on the outside and the heavenly Jerusalem represented by the monastery on the inside. Certainly, the foundation details of the Waverley chantry show a preference for the gatehouse chapel over the conventual church. Elsewhere chantries were founded within the abbey church, and at other houses still, within the abbey church *and* the gatehouse chapel. The double provision of *capellae extra portas* at Whalley, Stratford, and perhaps planned at Meaux was probably the result of different functions taking place in different buildings, while at

so many other abbeys, the chapel lay beyond the gate (Brown and Hamilton Thomson 1931-1940 2:177).

¹²⁴ Hope and Brakspear 1906, 146.

¹²⁵ Although Beaulieu held a chantry for four monks from 1329, the precise location of this is not stated in the Patent Rolls. See *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1327-1330:363.

¹²⁶ McCann 1952, chp. 53.

¹²⁷ Hockey 1976, 169, 219-220.

¹²⁸ Hope and Brakspear 1906, 160.

Bordesley, it may have been the result of two lay communities located at different gates of the abbey.

With the exception of the chapels over the gatehouses (at Beaulieu and at Whalley) the evidence suggests that the *capellae extra portas* were intended for the use of people living or staying outside the precinct, or, indeed, just passing by. They served populations living close to the abbey and also pilgrims, including women and perhaps indigent guests. Some questions remain unanswered but it is at least clear that the majority of gatehouse chapels were a point of pastoral contact between lay people and the Cistercian monastic world. This pastoral care extended to local communities, pilgrims and benefactors (the provision of chantries). At another level they were a point of contact, and sometimes friction, between diocesan and Cistercian authorities.

Chapter Three

The Cloister and Claustral Buildings

The cloister is at the heart of monastic life, and understanding its chronology and development is central to understanding the prosperity and early life of any convent. At Croxden the claustral buildings have never been studied in any depth, so it is necessary here to present a detailed structural and architectural analysis and relate this both to the available documentary evidence and to what is already known of mature Cistercian cloisters.

As regards the structure, the cloister at Croxden is far from complete (fig. 31); little survives above the ground floor and only the east range has any very substantial remains, which includes the whole cloister façade to the beginning of the first floor. Of the south range, only a much altered south wall survives from the middle of the refectory eastwards; of the west range only a northern stub, and of the north cloister wall, the east and west ends. In addition, there is evidence from excavations and loose stones. The results of Charles Lynam's investigations of 1910 may be seen in fig. 4.¹ There is less record of the 1950s clearances made by the Ministry of Works, but it is clear that more of the chapter house had been uncovered by 1963.² Hundreds of loose stones survive, many of which can be located in the cloister and these have been fully analysed in Appendix 1. Thus, the circumstances of survival dictate that the discussion below will only relate to what can reasonably be deduced from the evidence at Croxden. Conversely, many subjects relating to claustral complexes, such as collation seats or the weekly *mandatum* or the laver, while very interesting, will not be addressed since little pertains to them at Croxden.

The crucial documentary evidence, already cited in Chapter One, is from the Chronicle, which defines two documentary building periods. The first is in reference to the first abbot, Thomas (1178-1229) who undertook 'many building works'³ and the second in the eulogy to Abbot Walter (1242-68):

¹ Lynam 1911, especially plates 3, 41, 45, 46, 47, 50. Some of his original records from the time of the excavation survive (in William Salt Library, Stafford, Lynam 275/38 and Lynam 276/38), but unfortunately they add little to his published record. The excavations of the 1950s are recorded in brief notes in Baillie Reynolds 1957 and Baillie Reynolds 1958. They, along with the 1975-77 excavations of Peter Crane were recently published by Peter Ellis (Ellis 1995).

² Baillie Reynolds 1963.

³ Chronicle 1178.

At his entry we believe the Lord specially blessed this house, since at his arrival he enlarged the convent of Croxden in a remarkable way and, in his time, he built, skilfully, very beautiful buildings in that place, namely, the gates of the monastery; the halves of the church, the chapter house, and the refectory; the kitchen; the lay brothers' dormitory; the infirmary and its cloister; the novice's house and very many other buildings, and he prepared them with other necessary offices, for his successors, most laudably. Finally in his last days, he fortified half the circuit of the abbey with a stone wall.⁴

While parts of this eulogy are ambiguous (what are 'the halves of the church, the chapter house and the refectory'; what are the 'other necessary offices?'), much is, on the face of it, clear. Furthermore, some of the claustral buildings have a reasonably clear structural history and can be assigned with certainty to the time of Abbot Walter or before. This opens the possibility of using the analysis of the claustral ranges to better understand the church. Since certain motifs, mouldings and foliage styles occur in the cloister and in the church, analysis of the former can be used to date parts of the church, which in general has a more complex and obscure structural history (see Chapter Five).

Concerning mature monastic cloisters, it can seem that almost everything is known, and they have certainly been the subject of much research and enquiry from an early period.⁵ It is unnecessary here, for instance, to justify the attribution and function of rooms such as the chapter house or refectory, especially as much of this knowledge is part of a living tradition in formerly monastic cathedral cloisters. This is perhaps even more the case for Cistercian cloisters, which, subject to central guidance, are famously uniform.⁶ In the case of the relatively late foundation of Croxden, its cloister did not even experience any early changes of plan, such as the well-documented change of refectories from east-west to north-south aligned,⁷ with the concomitant move of the day stairs from the east range to the refectory range – it emerged with the fully-developed mature Cistercian plan. Nonetheless, some basic

⁴ Chronicle 1242.

⁵ The very great number of studies of individual houses and their cloisters, from which much of our knowledge derives, cannot be listed here, but only as they arise throughout the chapter. However, the starting point for any modern study of the cloister and claustral buildings must be the incomparable study of the plan of St. Gall by Walter Horn and Ernest Born (1979). This early 9th century plan represented an idealised monastery springing from the Carolingian reform movement based on the classical colonnaded court, and on the functional components of earlier monasticism. While the origins of the St. Gall cloister may not be known precisely (see Horn and Born 1979, 1: 241-5 and also Frazer 1973 and Horn 1973), it is clear that it was forms like this which formed the basis for Benedictine cloisters throughout Europe, and they in their turn the basis of the cloisters of other orders (see especially Horn and Born 1979, 315-57 and Braunfels 1972, 27-9). Descriptions of quintessential, or stereotypical, claustral arrangements for different orders occur in many books, for example Crossley 1939, 43-51; Gilyard-Beer 1958; Dickinson 1961, 28-56; Braunfels 1972, especially important for the architecture; Butler and Given-Wilson 1979, 68-71; Coppack 1990, chp. 3. These books also demonstrate the development of knowledge about the cloister. Brooke (1987) provides a particularly useful overview. The growth of knowledge of Cistercian cloisters is considered in more detail in the main text.

⁶ The uniformity of the Cistercian cloister is often remarked upon, leading to the notion that a blind monk of the order might find his way round any of its abbeys. However, as Christopher Brooke noted 'relatively few monks travelled and relatively few were blind' (1987, 21).

⁷ Best explored in Fergusson 1986.

questions remain unresolved. For instance, the attribution of the chamber between the church and the chapter house remains more open, and possibly subject to change over time. Similarly, the use of the dormitory undercroft – work room, scriptorium, occasional warming room or noviciate – in the absence of reliable documentary evidence, remains a matter of guesswork to which, unfortunately, Croxden can add little. There has recently been a growing realisation that the parlour was as much an office for the prior as a place of conversation,⁸ and here Croxden, with its complete east range façade, can perhaps contribute.

Aside from the buildings themselves, much of our information on the location and function of the various claustal buildings comes from the *Ecclesiastica Officia*, one of the early documents which make up the so-called *Consuetudines* of the Cistercians. The *Ecclesiastica Officia* describes in detail liturgical practice, everyday activities, and the duties of monastic officials, and includes such vital information on buildings as the route of the Sunday procession around the abbey. The customs were not radically new and, like other early Cistercian documents, both reinforced the links of the order with Benedictine tradition and emphasised its return to the roots of that tradition.⁹ It was first made widely available in 1878 when a version was published by Philippe Guignard, along with other documents.¹⁰ The fruits of this may have been first used in this country when J. T. Micklethwaite published ‘Of the Cistercian plan’, combining the then-available archaeological evidence, including that from Walbran’s excavations of Fountains Abbey, with the new documentary evidence and with material such as the plan of St. Gall. He was able to correct a number of Edmund Sharpe’s misinterpretations in an earlier generalised description of a Cistercian Abbey.¹¹ Although there are still errors of interpretation – for instance he has the retrochoir in the south transept, the lay brothers’ choir in the north transept and the guest house in the west range – Micklethwaite’s observations are remarkably astute. He correctly places the main rooms of the cloister, including the parlour, discusses the attribution of the room between the church and the chapter house (though ultimately favours its use as a treasury), and judges the north-south alignment of the refectory to be a consequence of a desire to bring the kitchen, where the monks worked by turn, into direct communication with the cloister.¹²

At the time Micklethwaite wrote this, William St. John Hope had already started his majestic career, in which he excavated upwards of twenty-five religious houses, including the

⁸ See for instance the important article by Sheila Bonde and Clarke Maines on this subject (1997) and in a Cistercian context Coomans 1998, 125; Kinder 1998, 268; Williams 1998, 243 and Fergusson and Harrison 1999. In fact, Aubert appreciated this use of a parlour in his seminal work (1947, 1:43-4) and see also Braunfels 1972, 76.

⁹ Lekai 1977, 27.

¹⁰ Guignard 1878. There was in fact a 17th century edition by Julien Paris, republished by Hugues Séjalon in 1892, but this never appears to have become widely available in Britain (Paris and Séjalon 1892; Lekai 1977, 401).

¹¹ Sharpe 1874-1877.

¹² A solution also proposed by Fergusson, 1986, 168-72, as part of a much more sophisticated argument.

claustal ranges.¹³ Limited though his technique was by modern standards, he none-the-less established the ground plans of the monasteries and assigned functions to almost every room or building, interpretations which, in most cases, have gone unchallenged (as we shall also see in Chapter Four). For many years he collaborated with Harold Brakspear, and between them they left a monumental legacy to the archaeology and history of monastic buildings and archaeology, so much so that all subsequent ideas about those buildings are, within the English-speaking historiographic tradition, influenced by them. Like Micklethwaite, Hope and Brakspear used both the physical evidence of the buildings and the early Cistercian documents made available by Guignard.

The *Ecclesiastica Officia* was regularly revised by the order in line with contemporary practice,¹⁴ but MS Dijon 114, used as both the basis for the 1878 edition and for the central text of a modern edition by Danièle Choisselet and Placide Vernet, dates to around 1185.¹⁵ Thus it is this version which is likely to have been found at Croxden, not when the first buildings were being constructed (prior to the arrival of the convent in 1179), but during the planning and construction of the permanent cloister. The references to buildings are brief and largely incidental, dealing with matters such as who should be where and when. Best-known is the Sunday procession, in which the chapter house, parlour, dormitory and latrine, warming room, refectory, kitchen and cellar are asperged by turn (chp. 55). It is also the *Ecclesiastica Officia* that locates two parlours, ‘next to the kitchen and in the cellar’ and ‘next to the chapter house’ (chp. 117.23 and 113.13) and that hints at the location of the bookroom between the chapter house and the church, since lights must be placed in front of the armarium to light the way from the chapter house to the choir (chp. 74). The customary also makes plain the liturgically-charged nature of both the refectory and chapter house (chp. 74 and 70). Apart from the daily meeting of the convent, the chapter house had other uses, including as a place for reading (like the cloister), for the distribution of books at Lent, and where monks who had been bled might sit (chp. 71, 15, 90). All of the lower claustal rooms are mentioned to some degree or another, and many of those outside the cloister. Indeed, compared with the brief list of buildings listed as necessary for a new abbey (see Chapter Two), and of which only the refectory, dormitory and kitchen are claustal, the cloister conjured by the *Ecclesiastica Officia* is rich and fully developed. In short, it is one to which the cloister at Croxden bears a close resemblance, and it is to the examination of this that we now turn.

¹³ Coppack 1990, chp. 1 provides an excellent account of the development of interest in monastic history, architecture and archaeology.

¹⁴ Lekai 1977, 251.

¹⁵ Choisselet and Vernet 1989, 11 and 16.

The Garth and Alleys (figs. 32-36 and A11-17)

The cloister (fig. 31) at Croxden is 33.3m (109 ft) square and the central garth is surrounded by broad alleys, c.3.2m wide (10ft 6in), except for a widening in front of the chapter house and the south alley which is only 2.7m (8ft 8in) wide. Evidence of the cloister roof exists in all the cloister walls which stand to any height, namely the western half of the north cloister wall, and the northern thirds of the west and east walls (figs. 32, 35 and 36). Evidence is most abundant in the north wall, where four massive sockets can be seen which would once have housed stone corbels to support the upper wall plate some 4.9m (16ft) from the ground (fig. 32). Seatings for the wall plate are cut into the buttresses in the course above, while the weathering a course farther up again threw water from the wall onto the roof. At c.3.4m (11ft) from the ground, and not in line with the upper corbels are another corbel and a corbel position, for the support of the lower roof timbers. Both sets of corbel positions appear inserted (they do not sit on top of a course and the stones above are poorly spaced), as do the seatings for the wall plate in the buttresses. Farther down there are four more sockets, not so regular and only c.1.7m – 2m (5ft 7in – 6ft 7in) from the ground. It is possible that they are related to the two hacked-in grooves for lead flashing located midway between the two upper sets of corbel positions, and for which sections of the pilaster buttresses were removed. They must be associated with a replacement roof.

The other main feature of the north cloister wall is the processional door leading into the church at the east end and sitting within a thickened wall (fig. 33). This was framed each side by eight water-holding bases supporting detached fluted shafts – ‘an unusually florid effect for Croxden’¹⁶ – badly mutilated stiff-leaf capitals, similar to those of the chapter house, and three moulded external orders above (including motifs such as gouged rolls). That this doorway might be an insertion into the wall is indicated by two small features: significant miscoursing with the south transept wall (fig. 114) and, c.3.5m (11ft 6in) west of the corner two sections of wall which do not lie in a plane – those to the east projecting slightly from those to the west (although the latter might be due to post-depositional deformation; fig. 34).

In the west wall, by contrast with the north, the lower corbel positions of the first roof are clearly contemporary with the wall (fig. 35). Only one upper position survives, right at the north end of the wall, and like the examples in the north wall it appears inserted. The single flashing groove here between the two levels of corbel positions runs through the middle of a course – its height probably dictated by the coursing in the north cloister wall, as it lines up with the lower of the two grooves there.

In the east cloister wall there are no massive upper corbel positions but only a single smallish socket, near the end of the south transept (fig. 36). There may have been others

¹⁶ Hoey 1993, 45.

below the south transept windows but these are now lost.¹⁷ Seatings for the wall plate survive in the south transept west buttress however. The flashing groove for the lower roof only continues as far as the bookroom door but restarts south of the parlour where it continues into the corner. Two of the lower corbel positions survive, one on the shoulder of the bookroom door and one further north. South of this, in front of the chapter house and to either side, any signs have been obscured by inserted vaulting (see chapter house, below).

This structural evidence tells us that the high first cloister roof was inserted into the north wall and the corner of the west wall but not elsewhere, suggesting that this wall was built early in the history of the cloister and without much thought for the cloister alley roof which must always have been planned. Further evidence for this is given by the finely worked waterleaf-style chamfer stops on the shallow buttresses to the church (fig. 32), which would have been completely obscured by the roof timbers.

The roof must have spanned more than 3.6m (12ft; the alley plus the supporting wall), and it would in fact have been shallowly pitched, probably less than 30°, which is surprising in view of the fact that it was covered in shingles (wooden tiles). We can deduce this from the Chronicle, which records that in 1330, two days before Christmas, a strong wind uncovered the buildings of the abbey and the whole country.¹⁸ Repair began in 1332, when ‘the whole cloister of the monks was covered from new all round, and it took 25,550 shingles, according to the accounts of the carpenters’.¹⁹ A tile or lead covering is unlikely to be replaced by a timber one, so it is probable that the original covering was also shingles.

As well as the re-covering of the cloister pentice with shingles, more work on the cloister is recorded. In 1374, the Chronicle, unfortunately torn, reads:

In this year the four corners of the cloister were repaired....And the walkway next to the church from new timber And.... next to the church covered anew with shingles and also the church, having been tied with hooks²⁰

Although it can be read in many ways, this passage could imply that the whole covered way of the north alley was replaced, including the cloister arcade, and so this might be associated with the later, lower roof evidenced in the cloister walls. It is difficult to see the replacement of a high-roofed stone cloister by a low-roofed timber one as an improvement, and this may be a sign that the abbey was falling into disrepair. One other reference to the cloister occurs in the list of monks appended to the Chronicle, concerning John Walton, who was abbot near the end of the 15th century:

¹⁷ The stones below the south window are replacements, a fact clear from the fabric and from Lynam's drawings which show no facing stones in this area (1911, pl. 16).

¹⁸ Chronicle 1330.

¹⁹ Chronicle 1332.

²⁰ Chronicle 1374.

who made the roof of the monastery and a great barn in the bakehouse and many other buildings around the monastery, namely the cloister and the chamber which is called the parlour chamber...²¹

There is absolutely no material evidence of a 15th century cloister arcade and the building traditionally called the parlour clearly belongs to an early period (see below), so this passage raises some questions. Perhaps the writer is referring only to repairs or to particular claustal buildings rather than to the cloister alleys.

The cloister roof would have been supported by a cloister arcade sitting on a low wall. At Croxden, this is represented by more than 180 loose stones analysed in detail in Appendix 1 (section 2.1; figs. A11-17, especially reconstruction A16), but the results can usefully be summarised here. There were three designs of cloister arcade, two of which share the same bay width and overall shape – a semicircular hoodmould over a rounded trefoil opening – but with quite distinct moulding details. One version is richly moulded with four soffit rolls (three filleted) while the other has a single roll, a flat soffit and a rear chamfer; both have hoodmoulds. The third design is a variation on the latter, with larger springers, and larger rolls, to give a wider and higher light (c.0.95m/3ft 1in wide compared with c.0.89m/2ft 11in). All versions were supported by double bases and capitals with their accompanying shafts – designs one and two could have been supported by the same pieces, and design three probably by a slightly larger group of stones. Typical of early to mid-13th century English architecture no two capitals or two bases are the same. They are all moulded, however, with the additional occasional use of nailhead decoration. Alongside all the arcade material are three springers with foliage label stops, one of which probably stood by a gated entrance and another of which may have stood between a double entrance from the alleys to the garth (see Appendix 1, section 2.1.2; fig. A13). Another capital (182, Appendix 1, section 3.3.11; fig. A37) may be associated with one of these doors.

As well as the main cloister, the arcades could have lined the walkway on the eastern side of the dormitory undercroft and the passage leading to the infirmary, and it is proposed that the larger group may have been used to support the vault outside the chapter house (see below). The arcade elevation is very similar indeed to the arcade at Tintern, although that one is syncopated and this is not. This has been dated to the 1260s,²² without the aid of documentary records. However, this is after the introduction of bar tracery, and contemporary with its use in Salisbury cloister. At Croxden too, where we know that early bar tracery was introduced, albeit sparingly (see Appendix 1, section 3.2), it seems far more likely that these arcades belong to an earlier era, but they might belong equally to the later years of Thomas Woodstock or the early ones of Walter London.

²¹ Chronicle fo. 94v.

²² Robinson 1995, 31; Harrison 1997, 73.

The West Range (figs. 35, 37-40, A20, A41 and A44)

Little survives of the west range at Croxden: most of the north wall shared with the church, little more than one bay of the west wall and four bays of the east wall, all to just above ground floor level and foundations of the east and west walls extending to c. 10m and c. 18m south of the church respectively. In his excavations Charles Lynam located the south wall in line with the north wall of the south range (fig. 4), but also found fragments of another wall in line with the south wall of the south range, leading him to reconstruct the west range the length of the cloister, with a further room to the south. The range is narrow, at only 6.55m (21ft 6in) internally²³ and, in common with similar structures elsewhere, the undercroft had a quadripartite rib vault, supported by a central line of piers. Along the walls, the vault was supported on two-part moulded corbels (Appendix 1, section 2.5.1; fig. A20).²⁴ The wall ribs were keeled while the transverse and diagonal ribs were chamfered. In the first bay of the west wall stand a pair of narrow windows, lancets internally, but square-headed externally (figs. 37 and 38). The soffits are now flat, but it is clear that a moulding, probably just a splay and rebate, has been worked off all the jambs, perhaps to widen the openings for use as doors when the range was used as a farm outbuilding. The square heads cut right across the inner lancets at springing level and it is possible that they are in fact the sills of the same windows turned upside down and reused, though, if so, the blocking stones above have been coursed in exceptionally well.

The external arrangements on the west confirm the use of this range by lay brothers since in the south buttress of the west front of the church are a corbel and a chasing for a pentice roof which covered the west side of the range including the south aisle door. The pentice did not turn west even though a wall projected from the buttress to enclose the lay brothers' cloister or yard (figs. 4 and 7) which here, as also at Fountains and Furness lay away from the cloister, the alternative to the walled lanes in the cloister provided at Byland, Kirkstall and elsewhere.²⁵ The north wall of the range has two more entrances into the church (fig. 39). At first floor level the eastern jamb of the lay brothers' night stair survives, along with the springing for a shallow segmental arch, while in the undercroft there is a narrow passage at the east side of the north wall, which opens into the second bay of the nave south aisle. This passage is completely unfinished internally, with the wall core fully visible, raising doubts as to whether it is an original feature. The jambs on the church side are nicely chamfered,

²³ In fact, exactly the same width as the early ranges at Rievaulx (Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 55).

²⁴ Jansen provides an interesting analysis of the architecture of undercrofts, including features such as corbels, which she relates to the utilitarian function of the rooms (1990). See also Braunfels 1972, 96-7.

²⁵ The early lack of walled lanes at Rievaulx and Fountains, and their use in the 1160s at Byland and Kirkstall has been used as evidence of the changing status of lay brothers from quasi-monks to quasi-servants (Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 57). The lack of such a lane at Croxden, and other contemporary later cloisters suggests at least an architectural resolution of this issue.

however, and if plastered, this doorway would have been acceptable. It is clear, in any event, that those who laboured and slept in the west range were expected to play their full part in the liturgical life of the abbey.²⁶

In the east wall, in the third and fourth bays, there are two steeply sloping sills at first floor level (fig. 40), late insertions, which cut through wall ribs to light the undercroft using the windows of the floor above, probably after the collapse of the vault. Lynam recorded another late usage, in the blocking of the door in the fourth bay with bricks to make a fireplace.²⁷ Now unblocked, this doorway is extremely simple, with a segmental arch both sides, a square rebate and no splay. The rebate faces the cloister, thus giving control of this door to those on the cloister side i.e. the choir monks (or whichever of them held the key or had the relevant authority) rather than the lay brothers. This lends weight to the conventional designation of this space as the outer parlour where, if allowed, monks might talk with visitors from outside, although here it is not next to the kitchen, as suggested in the *Ecclesiastica Officia*. Screens may have run right across the range with a door to either side – one for the cellarer to enter the northern half of the range, and an entrance to the south into the lay brothers' refectory. As it stands now there is a profusion of sockets in the west range east wall, and it is difficult to be sure which are medieval (and if so, whether they belong to a first phase of use or a later) and which relate to the farm-building phase of use when there were many partitions. Further partitions, of unknown date, along the central axis of the building, were uncovered by Lynam (fig. 4); they are no longer visible.

In Chapter Two, two persistent antiquarian misapprehensions were disposed of - namely that the range was built during the abbacy of John Billesdon (1284-93) and that it was called Botelston, the building which fell down in 1369 'from the church right up to the door of the hall, except for three ties'.²⁸ There is then no *prima facie* reason to reject the Chronicler's claim that the lay brothers' dormitory was built by Abbot Walter (or to believe it was not in its conventional location). The chronicle was not written so long after the event as to make error more plausible than accuracy nor are the surviving mouldings – the corbels, vault ribs and wall ribs – at all inconsistent with the middle years of the 13th century (see figs. A20 and A44). The ribs, indeed, are the same as those in other undercrofts built in Walter London's time as abbot (Appendix 1, sections 3.5.2-4; fig. A44) and the simple corbel mouldings are very similar to the single stone corbels of the east range extension (see below).

²⁶ The *Usus Conversorum* makes it clear that on ordinary days they were expected to go to the end of Vigils, Lauds and Prime; later in the 12th century they were to attend compline as well (Waddell 2000a, 169-77). This is *contra* earlier interpretations which suggest that the lay brothers only attended divine service in church on Sundays (e.g. Lekai 1977, 336-7; Williams 1998, 83-4). In the light of the new edition, the number of doors from their part of the cloister to the church at Croxden does not appear excessive.

²⁷ Lynam 1911, 5 and pl.12.

²⁸ Chronicle 1369.

If, then, the west range dates to 1242-68, its structural relationship with the church may be crucial if, in Chapter Five, the structural history and chronology of the church are to be properly understood. The starting point for the following examination is the premise that it is highly likely that the church predates the west range. Viewed from the west, there is no evidence at all of any building break – the stones course perfectly; there are no butt joints. Inside the range, a slightly different picture is apparent in the west wall (fig. 38). Between the north jamb of the two light window and the north wall of the range several courses are cut into, or cut around, up to the height of the vault corbel. One possible explanation of this is if the north cloister/ south church wall along with a small stub for the west range, at least up to a certain level, predated the completion of the range and that more effort was made in facing the outside than the inside, which would certainly have been whitewashed.²⁹

A similar conclusion may be drawn from the east wall of the range. Internally and externally, at around 1.3m (4ft 3in) south of the north wall, there are a discontinuous series of butt joints, near-butt joints and mis-coursings which rise almost to the top of the vault (externally it steps towards the north) and another four courses of anomalies 1.1m (3ft 7in) farther south (fig. 35). The distinctive moulding, like a pipe channel, for the flashing of the later cloister roof only starts south of this break. Furthermore, both the western section of the north cloister wall and the first 1.3m of the west range east wall, with which it keys and courses, are built from a distinctively red and easily eroded variety of Hollington Stone, while the remainder of the west range wall has a much greyer appearance. Geologically speaking this is a superficial difference (see Appendix 1), but probably suggests quarrying from different beds or areas within the quarry.

In the north wall, there is an apparent building break to the west of the door into the church (fig. 39), and the corbels have the appearance of being inserted, although such insertion patterns are common around architectural features. Above, the wall face and wall ribs abut perfectly. At first floor level, the remaining pilaster buttress to the church is treated differently from those in the cloister, with larger chamfers uninterrupted by the delicate chamfer stops visible in the cloister (compare figs. 32 and 39).

An overall explanation for these features might be the very early building of the north cloister wall, at least up to the height of the weathering course at the top of the pentice roof, and as far as the building break west of the church door, along with the stub of the west range east wall in preparation for the completion of the west range. The north wall may have been continued first possibly with the beginnings of the vault, and certainly with a small stub for the west wall (and presumably the west front of the church). The second partial building break south of the stub end in the east wall might indicate a aborted attempt to complete the lay

²⁹ Lynam observed that the north wall of the range had a plaster coating, although none of this now remains. He also observed traces of whitewash in the chevet chapel, the bookroom, the parlour and the slype (1911, 5, 8, 11). Some of this is likely to date to the agricultural use of these buildings.

brothers' range. When the range was finally completed an unspecified length of time later (but before 1268), the door into the church was cut through the north wall. Although too close to the buttress for certainty, the remaining jamb of the night door also appears to be inserted. The relative shortness of the range, not extending beyond the cloister, may reflect falling lay vocations by the mid-13th century. Unfortunately, nothing is known of *conversi* numbers at Croxden. The numbers elsewhere have already been discussed in Chapter Two – the large provision at Meaux and Louth Park in the mid-13th century, and the possibly small numbers at Netley, with its never completed west range. Judging from its building, Croxden seems to lie somewhere between these two extremes, and while the presence of lay brothers is affirmed by the Chronicle, their numbers were probably not generous.

The South Range (figs. 41-45, A20-1, A31-3 and A37)

What remains of the south range at Croxden is incomplete and complex, with rather more than the usual number of alterations and alterations of alterations, especially in the post-monastic era. The following account shall skip over the late changes to a degree, since the focus here is the monastic buildings, especially those from the foundation to the 14th century. What is visible today is the south wall from the east range to halfway through the refectory, which stands as high as the beginning of the first floor, and the foundations of the north wall from the refectory eastwards.

Moving from east to west, the stub of the north wall is well-bonded and coursed with the east range, as is the south wall (fig. 41). An abacus-like impost block supports the springer of the arch leading to the day stair, and there was no door at this point. The beginning of the stair was solid, as the foundation shows, although most of it, along with a small half landing, was supported on a barrel vault, the chasing of which is still visible. The chasing is roughly and shallowly cut into the wall, a sign that the east range was completed first, with only the projections for the south range built at the same time. There would probably have been a cupboard under the stairs as is visible in other abbeys, for instance Netley and Hailes. Elsewhere, for instance at Rievaulx,³⁰ it has been suggested that this space (there in the east range) was used as a treasury, but the small size of the cupboard does not support such a thesis at Croxden. To accommodate the stairs more easily, and to ensure that they could be supported on the transverse rib of the dormitory undercroft vault, the range here projected c.0.8m (2ft 7in) southwards (fig. 31). With the exception of an external niche, this projection was solid up to landing level where the stair divided, with one part heading east into the dormitory and the other west into the upper floor of the south range. The stairs and landing were lit from the south. The window now is a two-light late medieval insertion with four-

³⁰ Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 103-5.

centred heads and an external label (square hoodmould). Blocking below suggests it may have replaced a taller original window (fig. 42).

Adjacent to the day stair was a passage through the south range, lit by a narrow square-headed window above. It would have given access to the stair cupboard, and perhaps to the warming room to the west. Although a stone dividing wall is likely, and might be considered necessary to carry the timbers of the floor above (for which only three possible sockets survive in the south wall), there is no evidence of this. The function of the warming room, however, is well-attested by the remains of a huge hooded fireplace, much altered, including partial blocking and the removal and re-blocking of the projecting chimney breast; the new arrangements including a segmental arch and an external weathering course (fig. 42). The room was lit by two long narrow square-headed windows west of the fireplace.

The functions of the chamber above the warming room are not well-attributed, but at Croxden a use may be proposed from the evidence of the Chronicle combined with comparative evidence. Following the winds of Christmas 1330, already mentioned in relation to the cloister alleys, in 1334:

The dormitory of the monks with the adjoining buildings, namely the treasury, the reredorter and also the abbot's dormitory were suitably roofed from new with new shingles, namely more than 30,000, and all the gutters and roofs of those buildings which before were wooden were made of lead.³¹

It is clear that in 1334, the treasury adjoined the dormitory, which means that the chamber above the warming room is a candidate. It would have been warm and dry, and potentially well-lit,³² an ideal place in which to store and consult charters and documents, one of the most important constituents of treasuries, since they proved the right of the abbey to their lands, mills etc. It is also in an exactly analogous location to the muniments room at Fountains.³³ On the other hand it might be argued that the access to this space was too open, even with a locked door and that the chamber above the sacristy is a better candidate (see below).³⁴ A second interesting aspect of this passage is the reference to lead. The Chronicler has just said that the buildings were recovered with shingles i.e. with wood, but then goes on to say that the gutters and roofs which were formerly of wood were made of lead. However, *tecta* also means covering, and this may refer to flashing or guttering.

Turning now to the central room of the south range, the refectory, the early arrangements are even more heavily obscured by later alterations (fig. 43 and 44). Late in its life, though almost

³¹ Chronicle 1334.

³² Lynam recorded a window sill here, but this is now lost. Lynam 1911, 14 and pl.20.

³³ See Hope 1900b, 359-60 and Coppack and Gilyard-Beer 1993, 40.

³⁴ A chamber over the sacristy, and over the south transept chapels has been suggested at Augustinian Easby, while at Augustinian Thornton a strong-room was located in a chamber between the transept and chapter house which was only accessible from above. See Thompson 1948; Clapham 1951; for a recent discussion of this dating of this area of the abbey see Alexander 1993.

certainly a monastic phase, the refectory was shortened to bring it in line with the rest of the south range, and it is this wall, with a butt joint on its east side, which is visible now. It reuses many elements of the 13th-century wall arcade, but unlike the former refectory this space was probably divided into two floors, the upper of which was lit by a broad two-light window. Still later changes include the blocking of a window and the insertion of a fireplace on the ground floor. The first set of changes – reduction of the room and conversion to two floors – probably relates both to a reduction in the numbers of choir monks and to increasing use of a misericord or dining room where meat could be eaten, with the consequent devaluation of the refectory as an important space.³⁵ The number of monks at Croxden can be roughly estimated from the lists of admissions in the time of each abbot appended to the Chronicle. In the second quarter of the 14th century, numbers were stable and probably around twenty-five to thirty, a reduction from the prosperous heights of the late-13th century when there may have been between fifty and seventy.³⁶ Although there is no obvious physical evidence of a misericord at Croxden, buildings ascribed to this purpose elsewhere have usually been located between the cloister and the infirmary.³⁷ Here, of the known buildings, a place to eat meat might have been found either in the abbot's lodging or in the ground floor of the infirmary, which was at least partially occupied with tables, and both of which had access to the same kitchen (see Chapter Four). The second set of changes in the refectory – blocking of window and insertion of fireplace – may represent a conversion of the room into a private chamber, which is perhaps more likely after the suppression, as a communal eating room will always have been wanted up to that point, even if it was only used infrequently.

Evidence of the earlier arrangements can be found in a number of places. First of all, Lynam exposed fragments of the foundations of the refectory wall in 1910 including the well-buttressed southern corners showing it to be a north-south chamber of c.20.3m (66ft 6in) long and c.8.59m wide (28ft 2in; fig. 4). Evidence of the interior arrangements can be found in the inserted wall, with its reused 13th century architectural elements. They show that the earlier refectory had a moulded arcade with arches c.1.5m (4ft 11in) wide and fairly simple capitals and bases, not dissimilar from those of the cloister arcades. Loose stones from this arrangement show that the arches framed both blank surfaces and splayed windows, and that different areas of the refectory had different degrees of moulding detail (see Appendix 1, section 2.4.1; fig. A20). The windows could only have been present in the projecting part of

³⁵ See Lekai 1977, 368-71.

³⁶ The list of monks admitted starts only with the fifth abbot in 1242 but includes all those in residence at his entry. The numbers suggested here are based on several assumptions: that 20 monks were in residence in 1242 aged evenly between 18 and 50; that all subsequent monks entered when they were 18 and died when they were 50; and that the monks professing in each abbatial period entered evenly over that time. No account has been taken of the few who left to take up positions elsewhere or who apostatised.

³⁷ For instance at Beaulieu, Fountains and Furness. See Hope and Brakspear 1906, 171-2; Coppack and Gilyard-Beer 1993, 51 and Harrison and Wood 1998, 20.

the room, and there would probably have been a series of distinct bays, each with a pattern of blind arches and open arches, or open arches framed by a blind one on either side.³⁸ More evidence survives in the stub of the east wall (fig. 44), which forms a buttress to the reduced refectory. Buried within this buttress, and now exposed, are an *in situ* wall shaft and base. The base is set at c.2.2m (7ft 3in) from current internal ground level, and the shaft extends upwards for at least a further 4.1m (13ft 6in) – no capital survives to mark the springing level.

As with other 13th century refectories, this was a room of towering magnificence, smaller in plan than the infirmary, but greater in height than any room or building at Croxden except the church, and with architectural detailing to match. As well as the arcades, a number of other pieces may have originated in the refectory including corner capitals from multi-order doorways of some importance (Appendix 1, sections 3.3.6 and 3.3.11 and figs. A31 and A37), two sections of heavily moulded trefoil-shaped blind arcade and associated capitals and bases (Appendix 1, section 3.3.7; figs. A32-3), which might have framed the lavabo in the cloister wall (and which are very similar to the surviving lavabo at Kirkstall – fig. 45) and fragments of table legs similar to those still extant in the infirmary, which would have lined the sides of the refectory (Appendix 1, section 2.6.2; fig. A21). Nothing remains of other standard refectory features such as cupboards, kitchen hatch or lectern.

The grandeur of the building, of course, is due to the importance of the meal³⁹ in monastic life and no modern writer has failed to make the link between this meal and the defining one of Christ's life. The liturgical significance of the occasion was sometimes emphasised by an iconographic decorative scheme⁴⁰ and always by the reading of holy texts during the meal, for which the lectern and sometimes a book cupboard were provided.⁴¹ The symbolic importance of the meal as expressed in the architecture of the building has been most closely revealed by Professor Fergusson, who has proposed a deliberate association between first floor refectories and the *cenaculum* in which the Last Supper was believed to have taken place. The lavabo may also have been used in some English abbeys for the weekly *mandatum*, when the abbot washed the feet of the brethren, a highly charged liturgical ceremony which others have supposed took place in the alley next to the church.⁴²

Given the primary importance of the refectory, it seems somewhat surprising to find no evidence of a vaulted ceiling. There is, in fact, a collection of moulded ribs, of the same

³⁸ Compare for instance the refectories of Tintern, Fountains, Beaulieu and Rievaulx.

³⁹ Of which there was one between September 14th and Easter and two in Summer. Breakfast was also allowed to certain members of the community. Lekai 1977, 368-9.

⁴⁰ The best known refectory painting in Britain is the now-lost crucifix in the 15th century building at Cleeve. Wall 1914, 107, Park 1986, 206. See also Alexander and Binski 1987, 313.

⁴¹ Reading during the meal dates back at least to the Rule of St. Benedict (McCann 1952, 44).

⁴² Fergusson 1986; Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 148-9. Edmund Sharpe may have been the first, in the 1870s, to locate the *mandatum* outside the refectory (Sharpe 1874-1877), beginning a tradition continued by Hope, Fergusson and others (Hope 1900b, 361; Fergusson 1986; Rochet 1998, 196). It has, however, been resisted elsewhere e.g. Kinder 1998, 138. It is possible, of course, that practice varied across the Cistercian world.

overall size as those in the chapter house and with a matching boss which could have the correct geometry for the refectory (Appendix 1, section 3.5.1; fig. A42). However, this only works if there were two or three very three large bays⁴³ but these ribs are significantly smaller than those for the church or cloister undercrofts, and it is not feasible, in the context of Croxden, that such very large bays would have been supported by relatively small ribs. It should also be pointed out that no evidence survives to suggest that Cistercian refectories in England and Wales were ever vaulted (although a barrel ceiling has been suggested for Fountains⁴⁴). Furthermore, I am not aware of the refectories of any other order being vaulted. This is quite different from the rest of Europe, where there are many examples of vaulted refectories from Villers in Belgium to Maulbronn in Germany, Noirlac, Royaumont and Reigny in France to Alcobaca in Portugal and Poblet in Spain.⁴⁵

The refectory at Croxden clearly belongs to a strong English or British tradition which did not deem it appropriate for refectories to be ceiled in stone. Given both the more varied continental tradition and the well-established high status of the room in monastic life, it is far from clear why this should be the case. It might possibly be related to secular hall building practice – not even royal halls, like Westminster and Winchester, were vaulted but this might be related to their more diverse (and sometimes noisy) uses throughout the day.⁴⁶

Turning to the date of the refectory and south range, the evidence is equivocal. The mouldings are not overly complex or distinctive and might as easily belong to the later years of the first abbot as to the earlier years of the fifth abbot (Walter London). Although the latter was said to have built 'the half of the refectory', such a statement might mean many things – an enlargement or remodelling or even a rebuilding from scratch. Within the surviving wall of the south range there is a building break c. 1.5m (4ft 11in) east of the refectory east wall (further west at first floor level; figs. 43-4). This would seem to indicate the erection of the refectory prior to the eastern half of the south range, however brief an interval there may have been between the two. On the west side, the relationship between the refectory and the kitchen is lost. This is most unfortunate since the Chronicler tells us that Abbot Walter built the kitchen. Although it is likely that the wall arcading belongs to Walter London's remodelling/rebuilding this cannot be proved. Perhaps the most important point is that the refectory must

⁴³ Neither of which fits well with Lynam's measurements, but his measurement of the width of the refectory is not accurate (30ft compared with an on-site measurement of c.28ft, which takes into account the width for foundation offsets).

⁴⁴ Goodall 2001, 60.

⁴⁵ Good illustrations of these and others can be found in books such as Kinder 1998, Leroux-Dhuys 1998 and Tobin 1995.

⁴⁶ For Winchester, see Biddle, Clayre, and Morris 2000, 72-3 and in general see Grenville 1997, chp. 3. Secular halls also appear to be less commonly vaulted on the continent – see Impey 1993; Mesqui 1993; Meirion-Jones, Jones, and Pilcher 1993 and Thompson 1995, chp. 3. Dr. Christopher Norton has suggested to me that, quite apart from appropriateness, the acoustics of a vaulted chamber are hardly suited to a secular hall, in which speaking was not forbidden, as compared with a monastic hall in which only the single voice of the reader should be heard.

have replaced an earlier, temporary, one for which no evidence remains above ground, but which was legislated for almost from the beginning of the Cistercian order.⁴⁷

After the great winds of 1332, the refectory was re-roofed in the following year: ‘the refectory of the monastery with its belfry was roofed from new at great expense, that those who might come after might be free for divine service in peace. And it took 19,000 shingles and more’.⁴⁸ Although the refectory probably did have a bell (according to the practice outlined in the *Ecclesiastica Officia*⁴⁹) it is likely to have been small, not requiring a belfry, and the reference to divine service perhaps implies that the belfry in question rather belonged to the church.

The East Range (figs. 46-57 and A8, A10, A18, A25-7, A34, A43)

The east range survives, substantially complete, up to first floor level. Each section shall be examined in turn, before reviewing the range as a whole. As with the west range, the northern part of the east range is important not just for understanding the development of the cloister at Croxden, but for understanding the development of the church as well.

Sacristy and Bookroom (figs. 47-9 and 89)

Since the time of Hope the narrow space adjacent to the church has been interpreted at most Cistercian abbeys as a bookroom to the west which opened onto the cloister, and a vestry or sacristy to the east which opened into the transept.⁵⁰ Dr. Terryl Kinder has recently suggested that in general, and including Croxden, this space was an originally undivided sacristy, with access from the cloister for the weekly serving monk-priest and that this later changed to accommodate the growing libraries of the Cistercians.⁵¹ Such an interpretation might be initially justified at Croxden since the dividing wall between the book cupboard and vestry butts both the buttress and the south wall, and earlier commentators have stated that the barrel vault over the western (book) end of the space is rebuilt.⁵² These alternative interpretations will be re-examined after a closer look at the structure. It should be noted, however, that all references to the vestry in the *Ecclesiastica Officia* are in relation to church services, in which the vestry is entered from the church.⁵³

⁴⁷ See Chapter Two for the buildings which had to be in place before a convent could enter a new abbey.

⁴⁸ Chronicle 1333.

⁴⁹ References to the prior ringing the bell occur in chapter 111 and to the bell not being sounded in chapters 21 (on Maundy Thursday) and 94 (after the death of a brother). Choisselet and Vernet 1989, *passim*.

⁵⁰ See for instance Hope 1900a, 260.

⁵¹ Kinder 1998, 241-3. See also Aubert 1947, 2: 44, 49.

⁵² Baillie Reynolds 1946, 4;

⁵³ Choisselet and Vernet 1989, chps. 13.3, 23.21-3, 53.11 and 55.16.

Viewed from the outside, the door to the bookroom appears to be of one build with the south transept west wall, at least on the north side (fig. 46). The north jamb was originally built without its inner order – with the exception of a single stone, the inner order butts the outer – and the north base does not sit on a half-round string-course as the southern base does, a string-course which continues past the chapter house. The north and south capitals and abaci are also different – as far as it is possible to tell in their very poor state (fig. 47). Both foliate, the north capital appears to have had a single row of stems, while the southern one consists of broad pointed leaves. The arch above shows no such differences (though it is heavily repaired) and it consists of three moulded orders, all carved on the square and each sporting a sharply pointed keel as the principal moulding. Above the arch and to the south, the stone is of a different quality to that of the south transept below sill height – less pink and less subject to erosion.

Externally, then, as with the west range, the east range suggests that the church/cloister wall – in this case, the south transept up to sill level – was built first along with a stub ready to be continued later, namely the north jamb and capital of the bookroom door. The equally early style of the south capital and arch moulding suggest that building was not long delayed in the east range.

Internally, immediately behind the arch of the door, a very open mortar joint is visible around the whole span of the barrel vault which covers the bookroom – no doubt the main reason the vault was thought to have been rebuilt (fig. 89). However, an alternative explanation is that the west façade was built first, and that the bookroom itself was constructed slightly later. In fact, exactly the same feature, of an open joint just behind the arch, is visible in the two book cupboards of Furness Abbey which flank the door to the chapter house (fig. 48). There is no question here of the barrel vaults being later and the cracks once again probably indicate the prior building of the façade. The book cupboards of Furness also demonstrate a preferred use of barrel vaults for these small rooms. This can be seen as well at Tintern and Fountains, which, like Croxden, have a barrel vault for the books section of the space and a quadripartite rib vault for the eastern parts.⁵⁴ For a given overall height barrel vaults provide the largest possible area of flat wall space, particularly important at Croxden since the sacristy rib vaults spring from a very low level indeed (see fig. 89). Shelves or free-standing book cupboards can therefore fit in more efficiently in the barrel-vaulted west end. Although there are a number of vertical grooves (five each in the north and south walls) visible

⁵⁴ For Tintern see Robinson 1995, 54-5 and for Fountains, Coppack and Gilyard-Beer 1993, 31. The library at Fountains has a half-barrel vault. At Fountains some change of use in the space is indicated by the extension of the sacristy eastwards and the provision of a door at the east end. Provision for books was also made in the now blocked recesses in the south transept wall and the north cloister wall. At Netley, all the bays of the bookroom/ sacristy are quadripartite vaulted, but here (as also at Hailes) the church was much loftier and there were no windows in the south transept gable, so the adjoining cloister buildings could be commensurably higher. The vaults therefore spring from a sufficiently high level which would not interfere with the placing of book cupboards.

in the walls at Croxden, there are no horizontal ones and free-standing cupboards must have been used, although the grooves may have had some part in securing the cupboards to the walls.⁵⁵ The absence at Croxden of any book niches in the south transept or north cloister wall as visible in most abbeys e.g. Kirkstall, Fountains, Beaulieu and Hailes, also points to the original intention that this room should be used for book storage (though, with no light other than through the door, not for reading). Only eleven titles from Croxden abbey were recorded in the *Registrum Anglie* and a further five survive in libraries, not enough to comment on the reading habits of the Croxden monks.⁵⁶

Moving east, the next two bays, belonging to the sacristy, with its door leading into the south transept, are rib-vaulted with very plain corbels of identical form (fig. 89 and 49). In each case, an original lower vault has been replaced by raised pointed vault, and the arch between the two bays is also raised. In the west bay of the sacristy the chasing for the original vault is cut into the wall face (as it was for the raised vault), while in the eastern bay the same chasing is provided by an offset i.e. it was part of the original design of the wall. This suggests that the eastern bay and associated transept chapels were a later addition and that the massive wall/ buttress between the two bays may have been the original east wall of a very small sacristy. On the other hand the similarities between the two bays, including the corbel blocks that support the bay divisions on the south side, suggests they were planned and built together, or at least in a relatively short time span. As we shall see in Chapter Five, the structural complexities of the south transept south wall have barely been touched on, but it is at least clear that the beginning of the bookroom/ sacristy are coeval with the earliest work on the church and that the two western bays at least, were probably finished shortly afterwards.

The Chapter House (figs. 47, 50-3 and A8, A10, A18, A25-7, A34, A43)

Typically for the chapter house of any religious order, that at Croxden is an architecturally enriched space, both inside and outside. Externally, the façade is framed at the bottom by a large half-round string-course, which is discontinued at the parlour door and at the bookroom where, as we have seen, it is present underneath the south door base but not the north (fig. 50). There was another string-course (now badly damaged) running under the windows punctuated by shield-shaped projections. The openings themselves – a central door and two windows, probably unglazed – each had four external orders plus a hoodmould and two internal orders, all supported by bases with two rolls (extremely worn), shafts and stiff-leaf capitals (fig. 52).

⁵⁵ A useful account of book shelves and presses, especially the injunction at Augustinian Barnwell that the shelves should be lined with wood, can still be found in Clark 1902, especially 61 and 72-6. Several free-standing cupboards are described by Eames, and ones like that from Bayeux may once have stood in the bookroom at Croxden (Eames 1977, pls. 12-13).

⁵⁶ Rouse and Rouse 1991, 297; Ker 1964, 56; Ker 1987, 15 David Bell's introduction to *The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians* (1992, xxiii-xxx) provides a useful outline of what the monks read and a bibliography of earlier works. See also Bell 1984.

Both window and door openings now lack their inner order and there is much blank replacement stone in the doorway. Between each major *en-delit* shaft was a minor coursed shaft with its own capital and base.

The cloister alley outside the chapter house was vaulted, and the extant vault supports and springers are clearly inserted into the façade (fig. 50 and 46). The moulded corbels and capitals of this vault are also quite different from the adjacent foliage capitals. The ribs, however, are of exactly the same design as those which support the internal vault. The lobby to the chapter house provided by the vaulted alley may also have extended into the garth where the foundations of a heavily buttressed porch can be seen opposite the entrance (fig. 31). As visible now, these foundations show signs of widening and they also reuse fragments of moulded stone, such as a fragment of keeled shaft, probably from a clustered pier similar to those once in the church (it matches precisely fragment 196; see Appendix 1, section 1.3.2; fig. A8). Without dismantling and a degree of excavation, it is impossible to say whether the reused stones are part of the original build of the porch or a post-dissolution feature – there is some evidence that the chapter house continued to be used (see Appendix 1, section 2.2.1). There is, however, a substantial loose corbel block (Appendix 1, section 3.3.8; fig. A34) of the same basic design as those of the inserted vault, and it is tempting to see this as a specialised piece perhaps made for the porch. North of the chapter house is another, inexplicable, section of narrow, thickened and then replaced inner cloister wall.

Returning to the chapter house, the internal space is as enriched as the façade: the step below the entrance arch was made up of diamond-shaped stones, while the floor inside was tiled in monochrome chequerboard pattern (of which a tiny proportion survives),⁵⁷ and the three aisles of five bays were divided by small piers with eight roll mouldings around an octagonal core supported by water-holding bases (fig. A18). The piers supported a quadripartite vault with beaked ribs, framed with complex moulded wall ribs which match those in the parlour, in contrast to the simple keeled wall ribs seen elsewhere at Croxden (Appendix 1, sections 2.2.2 and 3.5.4; figs. A18 and A43-4). Some parts of the interior itself appear to be emphasised over others by the use of stiff-leaf foliage bosses in some places and chamfered keystones in others (see Appendix 1, section 2.2.2; fig. A18). The surviving keystone has a hole drilled through it, possibly to hang a lamp – this would have been particularly useful in the area of the lectern – while the foliage boss is of a more fluid style

⁵⁷ The tiles are 92-96mm square, but with no thickness visible; matching those extant in the floor of the church and also those in the fireplace of the infirmary. It is impossible to say whether they are original to the extended chapter house, or part of a later decorative scheme. However, plain mosaic patterns were not unusual by the mid-13th century, and earlier dates are likely for the mosaic pavements of Byland, Rievaulx and Meaux (Eames 1980, 34-5, 73). Many floor tiles are held in the English Heritage store at Atcham, some from the 1970s excavations but many more not labelled, perhaps from the chapter house (Heather Bird, English Heritage, pers. com.). It is unfortunate that no-one was aware of their existence at the time of the post-excavation project, since only two floor tiles are recorded there (Ellis 1995, 46).

than the other surviving examples, which are mainly from the church. No pier capitals survive, but the extant vault responds have triple bases, shafts, and stiff-leaf capitals very similar indeed to those of the façade, apart from the one in the north-west corner (fig. 47), which has a single row of pointed leaves, like the south capital of the bookroom door. The first two bays of the north wall stand almost to the full height of the room and within each is a wide, shallow niche framed by a moulded arch, and supported on simply moulded capitals (fig. 49). Below these niches, and level with the respond bases, lies the broken-off projection for the wall bench, where the monks sat.

It is obvious from the foundations (fig. 31) that the chapter house was initially contained within the width of the east range, of three by three bays with four piers, a type which has recently been associated with ‘centrality’ and the architectural emphasis of the liturgical functions of the chapter, including discipline and the reception of novices.⁵⁸ Later, it was extended to project two bays east of the range. It also seems highly likely that that this extension is the ‘half of the chapter house’ built by Walter London. Apart from the bases to the vault piers, which could conceivably have been copied from existing ones, the extension survives only as foundations. Confirmation that Abbot Walter was responsible for the extension comes from the record of burials in the Chronicle. As elsewhere, it was the tradition for abbots to be buried in the chapter house,⁵⁹ and thanks mainly to the second Chronicler who added many of the details to earlier entries (see Chapter One) there is a remarkably good record of the burial places of the abbots of Croxden. The first reference comes in 1229, following the death of Thomas, the first abbot. The Chronicle tells us that he was:

buried in the chapter house there below in the middle between two other abbots, his successors, of whom he on the north side was the eighth abbot Lord John de Billesdon. And he on the other side is believed to be Lord Walter de Chacombe who succeeded him [i.e. the second abbot]⁶⁰

The abbot could have been commemorated with the one surviving cross slab (Appendix 1, section 1.4.2; fig. A10) or a similar grave cover. The third abbot, William Ashbourne, was buried overseas and it is not clear whether the fourth abbot, John Tilton, died in office or not.⁶¹ The sixth abbot, William Howton, died on the way to Cîteaux, where he was buried and references to the burial of abbots from this point do not appear to be added to the text.⁶² The seventh, Henry Meisham, retired and so may not have been accorded the full honours of an

⁵⁸ Bonde, Boyden, and Maines 1990.

⁵⁹ The burial of abbots in the room where the chapter was held took place from the very earliest times, see Braunfels 1972, 29.

⁶⁰ Chronicle 1229. ‘Et sepultus est in capitulo ibi subtus in medio inter alios duos Abbates successores suos, quorum ille ex parte boreali fuit Abbas octavus dominus Johannes de Billisdon’. Et ille ex altera parte creditur dominus Walterus de Chakumbe qui sibi successit.’

⁶¹ Chronicle 1237 and 1242.

⁶² Chronicle 1274.

abbot in burial, although his death two years later in 1286 is recorded.⁶³ The burial of the eighth abbot, John Billesden, in the chapter house next to Thomas Woodstock is mentioned again in the year of his death (1293), and the entry for the following year contains the first mention of a particular altar, that of the Holy Trinity, owing to the devotion to it of the next abbot, Richard Twyford.⁶⁴ He died only three years later but despite his devotion to the altar of the Holy Trinity he was still buried in the chapter house like the earlier abbots. It is this entry that also contains the first reference to the burial of Abbot Walter: 'He [Richard Twyford] is buried in the chapter house above the pulpit next to Abbot Walter'.⁶⁵ Given Walter London's good standing with the Chronicler this seems an odd omission, but perhaps is less so when one considers that these notes of burial place were added, and they presumably had to fit in where there was room in the manuscript. Abbot Richard's successor, William Over, was deposed in 1308, but in the same year he 'died in the Lord and is buried in the monks' cloister outside the door of the church next to the bench',⁶⁶ where a grave cover with no visible markings can still be seen. Clearly, deposed abbots did not merit burial in the chapter house. Thomas Castleton's death and burial are not recorded, but his successor (and predecessor) Richard Ashby was buried in the church in 1329, apparently the first abbot to be accorded that honour:

And on 12th November he was honourably committed to church burial in front of the altar of his most holy patron the blessed Benedict so that he who in life was a distinguished law-giver might be a perpetual intercessor to the Lord for him after death.⁶⁷

From these burials, it is clear that there was a spatial hierarchy similar to that inside a church. The prime location within a church was in front of the high altar (that is, to the west of the altar, so that the resurrected body would face it) and this was usually afforded to the founder of a monastic church. The equivalent location in a chapter house was the space between the abbot's chair in the centre of the east end and the lectern in the next bay or bay but one. This makes most sense at Croxden if we understand the eastern extension to have been built by Abbot Walter – as the first builder of the new chapter house he is buried in the place of highest honour, 'above the pulpit'. The founding abbot was buried 'there below in the middle', for the central bay of the enlarged chapter house was the eastern bay of the first chapter house and he was therefore buried in the place of highest honour at the time and, unsurprisingly, his

⁶³ Chronicle 1286.

⁶⁴ Chronicle 1293 and 1294. '... Nam a tempore professionis sue usque ad abbatiam electus est ad altare sancte trinitatis panem vite pro illis tribus qui in tribus partibus eukaristie nominantur eidem trinitate offerre consuevit'.

⁶⁵ Chronicle 1297. 'Sepultus est in Capitulo supra Pulpitum juxta Abbatem Walterum'.

⁶⁶ Chronicle 1308. 'tandemque in Domino moritur et sepultus est in claustro monachorum extra hostium Ecclesie iuxta Scanum'.

⁶⁷ Chronicle 1333. 'Et ij Id. Novembris traditus est honorifice ecclesiastice sepulture coram altari sanctissimi Patroni sui beati Benedicti. Ut cui in vita fuerat egregius Legis lator pro eo fieret post mortem ad dominum perpetuus intercessor'.

successor was buried close to him, on the south side. The next abbot known to have been buried at Croxden is Walter London, but the next, the eighth, was buried on the north side of the first abbot, either because this position still carried cachet or because the convent wished to particularly distinguish Walter London, although the ninth abbot, particularly revered for his piety and devotion, was buried next to Abbot Walter only three years later. The spatial hierarchy of chapter house burial can also be seen at Fountains and Jumièges, and no doubt at many other abbeys.⁶⁸ At Fountains, as at Croxden, after the central position was taken, the south side seemed to be favoured, while at Jumiège the north side seemed slightly to be preferred. Croxden started to bury its abbots in the church in 1329, some twenty years ahead of the abbots of Fountains.

The first completion of the chapter house by Abbot Thomas, before his death in 1229, and its subsequent extension between 1242 and 1268 raise the question of which parts, other than the foundations, of the scheme belong to the first phase and which to the second i.e. how far the chapter house we see now is original and how far remodelled by Abbot Walter. As we have already seen, the piers of the chapter house are uniform throughout, but the design is not so marked as to distinguish between the two phases of building. In fact very similar piers can be found in chapter houses elsewhere, for instance at Roche and Furness and in Chester Abbey's vestibule, suggesting that this was a widespread type, but the dating for these buildings is no better than for that at Croxden.⁶⁹ The foliage capitals of both the façade and the interior (figs. 52-3) have close parallels in the region, most particularly Lichfield and Chester, giving rise to the suggestion of shared craftsmen,⁷⁰ although it is possible to find very similar capitals elsewhere, for instance in Lincolnshire at Thornton Curtis and in Lincoln Minster itself (figs. 97-8). As ever with such features, it can be difficult to distinguish between the products of a single workshop and those of a milieu. As already noted, the dating of the Chester chapter house (where the similar capitals are to be found) is uncertain and cannot be used to date Croxden. That at Lichfield is better, but not much. The closest capitals at Lichfield are in the transepts, crossing and choir aisles, loosely dated to 1200-1230, principally on stylistic grounds.⁷¹ In terms of Croxden, this is singularly unhelpful since the chapter house interior could equally antedate the work at Lichfield (in which case it belongs to Abbot Thomas' work) or post-date it (in which case it belongs to Abbot Walter's).

⁶⁸ See Gilyard-Beer 1987 for Fountains and Norton 1984, 150-3 for Jumièges. See also Butler 1993 for a study of the significance of abbatial burial in chapter houses.

⁶⁹ The remodelling of Roche's chapter house (with an eastern extension, just like that of Croxden) is presumed to have taken place in the rule of the fifth abbot, Osmund r.1184-1213 (Fergusson 1990b, 15-18, 28). The chapter house of Furness is believed to be early to mid-13th century, which must be on stylistic grounds alone, since there is no documentary evidence (Hope 1900a, plan; Dickinson 1965; Harrison and Wood 1998, plan). Thurlby (1993, 58-9) has recently suggested a date in the 1220s for Chester chapter house and vestibule, though thought the 1250s was equally likely.

⁷⁰ Thurlby 1993, 59-60. For more on the foliage capitals see Chapter Five.

⁷¹ Rodwell suggests dates of 1200-20 for this work (1993, 29-31), while Thurlby favours the 1220s or 30s for the transepts (1993).

In fact, it seems better to turn to the internal evidence to decide which parts belong with which phase. The inserted external vault uses the same rib moulding as the internal one, and this could be taken as evidence that the entire vault was remodelled when the eastern extension was built and that this was contemporary with the works in the alley. If so, this shows that the entrance façade belongs to the first chapter house, and the closeness of the façade capitals to those of the internal responds suggests that they also belong to the first phase. However, if this interpretation is correct then the vault springers have been inserted with considerable care into the interior (though there certainly are some gaps around the springers in the north wall), far more so than on the exterior, and they faithfully copy the moulding of the wall rib. If they replace an earlier vault, then such a near-invisible insertion would be possible,⁷² and the beaked moulding and flat spine of the chapter house ribs also point to the work of Walter London (see Appendix 1, section 3.5.4 for full argument). At other abbeys with projecting chapter houses, such as Tintern and Fountains,⁷³ the projecting bays rise higher than those under the dormitory, but there is no evidence whether this was the case or not at Croxden. It is quite likely, though, that the windows in the extension contained the new bar tracery which was sweeping the country shortly after Walter London's arrival from Stratford Langthorne; several fragments of early tracery survive and can be reconstructed (see Appendix 1, section 3.2; figs. A25-7). The use of decorative rather than plain chamfered ribs as a unifying feature inside and outside the chapter house suggests that the vaulted bays outside were meant to be seen as an extension of the chapter house. They might have been used as a vestibule rather in the way that other houses made their first chapter house a vestibule, and built the new chapter house behind or used the area within the range as a lobby.⁷⁴ Making the cloister the vestibule would have been a considerably cheaper alternative, but might also suggest some pressure on space, if all five bays were intended for monks. Allowing around two feet for each monk,⁷⁵ then sixty-eight, not counting the abbot, could be accommodated along its sides in a single row, more if the end walls were used as well. In fact, the register of monks, which accompanied and preceded the Chronicle, lists eighty monks below Abbot Walter.⁷⁶ Although some of these were said to have been admitted in the time of the first abbot, there may have been between fifty and sixty-five monks towards the end of Walter's abbacy.⁷⁷ This gives some idea that the first chapter house was not overly large, and it was no doubt enlarged with expanding numbers in mind. Indeed, in the following three short abbacies, from 1268 to 1294, another thirty-nine monks were admitted, more than

⁷² And in fact a vault has been inserted into the external face of the first south wall of the dormitory undercroft in an equally invisible manner – see below.

⁷³ For Tintern see Robinson 1995, 56 and for Fountains, Coppack and Gilyard-Beer 1993, 32.

⁷⁴ See Butler 1993, 80 for a brief discussion of this phenomenon.

⁷⁵ See Bonde, Boyden, and Maines 1990, 211-2 for a discussion of seating arrangements and space per monk.

⁷⁶ Laurence 1951-5, B9-11. Chronicle fo. 93r-93v.

⁷⁷ See note 36.

enough one would have thought, to compensate for mortality. At this period of Cistercian prosperity, there may have been little scope for most abbeys to use only their projecting bays as their chapter house proper.

The Parlour (figs. 55 and A43)

The parlour was a two-bay vaulted chamber immediately south of the chapter house, with entrances both to the cloister and to the east (the door to the east is represented only by the foundations of a single plain jamb). Just as we saw some signs of a pause in building between the bookroom and the chapter house, there are also a few slight signs of another pause between the chapter house and the parlour, although the use of the same wall rib in each suggests that it was of short duration. Here, a pause is indicated by the discontinuation of the lower string-course (which ran from under the bookroom door, south side and below the chapter house) and a degree of mis-coursing up to capital height. Similar mis-coursing suggests there may have been a similar pause before the slype was built and again before the dorter undercroft was begun.

In the foundations there is a butt joint between the east wall of the parlour and the south wall of the chapter house, again demonstrating the prior completion of the chapter house. Externally, the parlour is quite different from the chapter house. In the doorway, there are no coursed-in intermediate shafts and the capitals are very simply moulded, although those below the hoodmould each sport a tendril which sweeps outwards. The three orders of the arch bear no relation to each other or to those of the chapter house (fig. 54). The inner arch is highly moulded with beaks and a roll-and-three-fillets; the middle order is just chamfered and the outer order is the oddest of all, with a series of cusps carved over a small keeled roll, like some sort of degraded gothic beakhead (the internal outer order is only chamfered). In fact, it is quite without parallel at Croxden although similar features can occasionally be seen elsewhere and it has been described as 'a motif quite common in the north'.⁷⁸ Perhaps closest to Croxden are the late 12th century west doors of Worksop Priory (Augustinian) church in Nottinghamshire (fig. 55). The north doorway has a fringe of cusping over a roll – here the door arch is round and the foils described by the cups are pointed – and the central door has the same motif in combination with chevrons and billet, set within a late Romanesque façade of the utmost severity.⁷⁹

Internally, the parlour is more like the chapter house since the vault responds have the same overall dimensions and design and the respond capitals support identical wall ribs.

⁷⁸ Fergusson 1984, 118. In fact similar concepts continued to be used in English Gothic, witness the west door at Louth church in Lincolnshire.

⁷⁹ For analyses of Worksop (Radford) Priory see Pevsner and Williamson 1979, 386-8, McAleer 1990 and Thurlby 1998. McAleer's looks at the west façade in particular, although none gives much attention to the west doors.

However, the two bays are vaulted with ribs different from each other and from the chapter house – indeed different from all other vaulted spaces at Croxden (fig. A43). Analysis of all the Croxden ribs in Appendix 1 (section 3.5.4) suggested that the parlour vault belonged with the first main phase of building. Although no ribs survived complete from the parlour vault and it is therefore impossible to tell what type of spine they had, the strong central moulding and tiny rear chamfers seems to mark them as belonging with other early work i.e. that associated with Thomas Woodstock. In any event, the parlour comes across as an idiosyncratic chamber, highly decorated, but rather differently from the chapter house, despite the use of a number of common elements. It is a theme to which we shall shortly return.

The Slype, Dormitory Undercroft and Latrines (figs. 54, 56-7)

By comparison with the rest of the east range the entrance to the slype, which lies between the parlour and the dormitory undercroft, is plain. It has a hoodmould and chamfered arches of two orders, supported on simple capitals like those of the parlour door. The shafts and bases below have been hacked back. Within, the passage is covered with a ribbed barrel vault, the ribs supported on long simply-moulded corbels each carved out of two stones. This is the only area of the abbey in which several masons' marks can be seen (mainly arrows and stars) and, although wear might account for the lack in the rest of the buildings, which are all exposed to the elements, the use of a temporary workforce paid by piece is another possibility.⁸⁰ A door opens through the south wall into the dormitory undercroft (fig. 31).

In the absence of clear documentary evidence, commentators remain chary of allocating a definite use to this space and explanations have ranged from novices' room (especially in older literature) to scriptorium to most commonly 'day room' – the room in which the choir monks could carry out their work while remaining within the claustal enclave.⁸¹ The room at Croxden was initially 14.91m by 8.13m internally (48ft 11in by 26ft 8in) divided into two aisles of four bays with a chamfered rib vault supported on moulded corbels each carved from two blocks, but different from those of the west range (compare figs. 56 and 39). There is no evidence of fireplaces and the chamber was very well lit, with tall narrow lancets in every available bay – a total of six lights which rose to the top of the vault and dropped to c.1.2m (4ft) above current ground level. The lancets exhibited a peculiarity which we shall also see in the church, of rising significantly higher externally than internally (0.46m, 1ft 6in). Although this would have allowed in a little extra light it is not as significant as widening the windows would have been, and externally the conceit is easily visible as the

⁸⁰ A good account of the various uses of masons' marks is given in Alexander, 1996.

⁸¹ See for example Hope 1900b, 348; Aubert 1947, 2:120-2; Robinson 1995, 57-8; Kinder 1998, 269-70; Williams 1998, 244; Jansen 1998, 65-6; Harrison 1999, 13-14.

soffit does not slope between the inner and outer faces (fig. 57). The intention must have been aesthetic, to have the highest lancet possible in each face of the wall.

In the third bay from the slype, the openings to east and west have both been subject to alteration. The west window was dropped to floor level (fig. 56), perhaps a consequence of conversion into a door and was subsequently blocked to c.2.6m (8ft 6in) above current ground level leaving a tiny central opening, also later blocked. In the east wall a door was originally planned in the third bay but this was blocked with some care, matching the external ground-course. As only two to four courses remain it is not possible to say whether the door was blocked as part of an early change of plan or later, after a period of use. The former seems likely, however, in view of the fact that another door was built in the fourth bay, opposite one in the fourth bay of the west wall. Doors near the end of the day room are a typical feature and are thought to be connected with the work which the monks undertook in this room. The good lighting available at Croxden, including two lancets in the south wall, would certainly make the chamber suitable for either manual work or book production. The lancets in the east wall, however, may have been partially blocked by the covered passage which ran next to it, perhaps suggesting that this covered way was not part of the original plan.

The east range was later extended to the south by two bays,⁸² also vaulted, and this extension is of one build with the latrine block, of which only a few courses survive aside from the east wall. The latrines, as usual, were on the first floor, and the chamber below was vaulted – most of the chamfered ribs were found in situ (fig. 67).⁸³ The main door, of two chamfered orders, appears to have been in the east wall and there are also signs of door jambs in each end of the north wall, possibly not original. Opposite each of these doorways is the bottom of another inserted and then blocked doorway in the south wall, with the beginnings of a chute hacked into the foundations. This suggests that the chamber was divided into two private rooms each with its own latrine and door to the north (and, presumably, some method of heating).

The latrine itself was served by the main drain, which was left open at ground floor level, probably to facilitate cleaning, and the wall above was supported by large arches. Only the foundations are extant at Croxden, but a more complete set can still be seen at Jervaulx.

Although there is little by way of dating evidence in this series of buildings, and they are not specifically mentioned in the Chronicle, it seems more than reasonable to suppose that the dormitory extension was built by Abbot Walter. Such an extension would have been necessitated by the increasing numbers of monks during his abbacy. Even so, the register of monks suggests that provision was not generous. At times there must have been at least two monks to each bay on each side. If Walter London was responsible for the east range

⁸² The extent of the addition is not now visible, but was exposed by Charles Lynam in 1910 (1911, pl. 3).

⁸³ Ellis 1995, 33-6. See also Appendix 1.

extension, then he must also have been responsible for the latrine block. This makes sense both of London bringing the abbey ‘fully to completion’ and having prepared ‘other necessary offices’, which latrines surely are.⁸⁴ He is also said to have built the novices’ house. This is a room which cannot be located with any certainty. Although at some French abbeys there is good documentary evidence placing it in the dorter undercroft, at some English ones it has been located in the latrine undercroft – without any strong supporting evidence.⁸⁵ If Abbot Walter received sixty monks during his twenty-six year abbacy, and if the pattern of vocations was uniform (unlikely), then the noviciate would usually have housed only two or three novices, the noviciate lasting a year.⁸⁶ The latrine undercroft at 14.7m by 6.6m (48ft 3in by 21ft 8in) would have been more than adequate and could also have housed the necessary books and writing materials required. At Netley and Rievaulx, the latrine undercroft is heated but there is no evidence for a fireplace here.

The southern extension to the east range has previously been thought to be the first abbot’s lodging, built between 1268 and 1274,⁸⁷ but for the reasons given above it seems far more likely that it was, in fact, a dormitory and day room extension, added to which if it were the abbot’s lodging, monks would have had to pass through it on their way to the latrines.

The East Range, First Floor (fig. 89)

The first floor of the east range was occupied by the dormitory of the choir monks, but very little evidence survives at Croxden. It is clear from the roof weathering on the south transept buttresses that the chambers above the sacristy and bookroom were roofed separately from the dormitory, with the ridge set perpendicular to the cloister. This must indicate a separate use for this area, a treasury perhaps, or private accommodation for the sacristan.⁸⁸ A passage at the west end was probably screened off to allow access between the dormitory and the night stair into the transept, the door of which is extant (fig. 89).

As already noted, the day stairs into the dormitory rise from the south range over a transverse rib between the second and third bays from the slype. The dormitory may have extended eastwards over the chapter house (if the projecting bays of the latter did not rise higher than the western bays) in which case it is possible that the abbot commanded some slightly more private accommodation in this area as is sometimes suggested. The limited

⁸⁴ The vault ribs of the latrine block also fit with the pattern of ribs suggested for the work of Abbot Walter, see Appendix 1.

⁸⁵ Aubert 1947, 2:119-122. For English examples see Coppack and Gilyard-Beer 1993, 39; Robinson 1995, 58 and Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 117, 129-30. In older texts, however, the noviciate is more often located in the dorter undercroft e.g. Hope 1900a, 265; VCH Hampshire, 3:475. There is also an old Ministry of Works notice at Tintern which labels the dormitory undercroft as the novices’ lodging.

⁸⁶ McCann 1952, 63; Choisselet and Vernet 1989, 294.

⁸⁷ Baillie Reynolds 1946, 6; VCH Staffordshire, 3:229.

⁸⁸ The sacristan is one of the officials, along with the cellarer, hospitaller and infirmarer, who may sleep outside the dormitory, according to the *Ecclesiastica Officia* (Choisselet and Vernet 1989, chp. 82).

space available for each monk at the height of the abbey's prosperity has already been alluded to in relation to the extension of the range.

A second extension, this time to the north, was made at some point, when a new roof was made over the sacristy which partially obscured the south transept windows (fig. 89). It has usually been supposed that this took place in 1334 when we are told that the dormitory was roofed from new,⁸⁹ and this seems entirely reasonable. There is also evidence of such an alteration at Fountains, while at Netley, provision for a dormitory which ran right up to the transept was planned from the beginning, since there are no windows in the south transept gable. At Croxden in the early 14th century, monk numbers were stable and may have been around twenty-five to twenty-eight.⁹⁰ The remodelling of the dormitory and the possible extra space available over the chapter house since the building of an abbot's chamber (initially in 1268-74) allowed each monk more space and perhaps also more privacy if internal changes were made at the same time.⁹¹ Once again, as with refectories, Croxden seems to partake of an English tradition of open-roofed structures, compared with a more varied continental tradition which included stone-vaulted dorters.

The East Range in Context (figs. 58-66)

It is apparent from the discussion so far that the east range was built in the time of Thomas Woodstock and was subsequently extended by Walter London. With the exception of the pause between the bookroom and the chapter house, it appears to have been built fairly swiftly. This led, however, not to a strong stylistic continuity but to a series of very individual spaces, with a series of equally individual entrances. It is the latter, in particular, that I wish to explore here, and how far the differences evident at Croxden mirror the architectural evidence elsewhere. Viewed from the cloister the doorways of the east range can be characterised as moderately and conventionally decorated (the bookroom); ornately decorated (the chapter house façade); moderately and eccentrically decorated (the parlour) and rather plain (the slype). At first sight, the degree of decoration is a direct reflection of the importance of the room behind but, apart from the chapter house, it is not so immediately clear that the architectural expression of status of the other chambers is uniform throughout Cistercian houses nor is the meaning of the eccentric decoration of the parlour clear.

Examination of this facet of cloister architecture is limited by the small numbers of Cistercian east ranges that survive in a complete enough state for comparison, and discussion here is limited to English and Welsh examples. Turning to the earliest examples first, the east

⁸⁹ Chronicle 1334.

⁹⁰ See note 36.

⁹¹ For a discussion of commonality and privacy in monastic dormitories, see Bauer 1987 and Jansen 1998.

ranges of Fountains, Kirkstall and Buildwas all date to c. 1150-80, with Fountains probably the first (figs. 58-60).⁹² Although there are manifest differences in architectural richness between the abbeys, there is remarkable consistency in the relative treatment of the elements of the façade. It goes without saying that the arches of the chapter house façade were most sumptuous, but at Fountains the parlour door is of equal grandeur (but a single not a triple arch) while those of Kirkstall and Buildwas are only slightly less rich. The bookroom entrances make a stark contrast – in each case a single arch without moulding, chamfer or capital (although Kirkstall's has a hoodmould). At Fountains and Kirkstall the slype/ dorter undercroft doorways are plainer than their respective parlour doors (Buildwas does not have a slype separate from the parlour).

A little later (c. 1180-90⁹³), the east range of Combe Abbey in Warwickshire is slightly different, with the doors to the north and south as rich as the arches to the chapter house, and chevron was also used on the outer orders of most of the arches.

There are more examples from the 13th century than the 12th, most of them closely contemporary with Croxden, including Furness, Tintern, Beaulieu, Netley and Hailes (fig. 61-5).⁹⁴ At Furness, every doorway in the whole façade is rather ornate. The chapter house doorway and flanking book cupboards were of five moulded orders (the lost inner orders probably dividing each arch into two), while the parlour and slype doorways each have four rather different orders. Although badly eroded the parlour arch appears to have a raised section in the middle of each outer-order voussoir (like billet, but running across all the mouldings).

Tintern was more like the earlier examples, with a parlour door like that of the chapter house and a plain slype entrance. The bookroom entrance, however, which belongs to the early 14th century was particularly ornate (fig. 63). Beaulieu also has an ornate bookroom entrance added in the 14th century – a double doorway of which only the Purbeck marble bases survive, while the book niche on the south transept wall is vaulted with moulded ribs and Purbeck bases, shafts and capitals. South of the rich chapter house entrance the parlour/ slype has a segmental chamfered arch (no capitals or shafts) and the entrance to the dormitory undercroft is almost equally plain, with chamfered jambs surviving. Netley's east range was probably complete by around 1260 and unsurprisingly it shares some features with that of

⁹² For Fountains see Hope 1900b, 343-8 and Coppack and Gilyard-Beer 1993, 10-11. For Kirkstall Hope and Bilson 1907, 3-4, 27-30; Fergusson 1984, and Robinson 1998, 132. Most recent architectural research has been directed at the church, while the excavations of the 1950s and 60s barely touched the east range (Moorhouse and Wrathmell 1987, 8 and 12). For Buildwas see Fergusson 1984, 116-7; Coppack 1998, 51-3 and Robinson 2002.

⁹³ Fergusson 1984, 121-2; VCH Warwick, 2:72-3; Robinson 1998, 89-90.

⁹⁴ For the architecture of the east range of Furness see particularly Hope 1900a, 258-67; Harrison and Wood 1998 and Robinson 1998, 117. For Tintern see Robinson 1995, 30 and 54-6; for Beaulieu see particularly Hope and Brakspear 1906, 131-9 and 153-6 and Jansen 1984, 82. For Netley, see Brakspear 1908; Meekings 1979 and Robinson 1998, 151-3 and for Hailes see Winkless 1990, 7-19; Robinson 1998, 122-5.

Beaulieu, its mother-house. Like Beaulieu, the capitals, shafts and bases of the east range are of Purbeck marble throughout. The chapter house façade is of three orders with complex arch mouldings; the bookroom has one moulded order and one chamfered order with, according to Brakspear, a trefoil oculus over the doorway.⁹⁵ The doorway to the parlour/ slype by contrast is very plain, with no capitals and shafts and a single chamfered order and there is a similar doorway to the dormitory undercroft. Also a daughter of Beaulieu, Hailes' conventual buildings were complete by 1251. Once more, the bookroom/ sacristy entrance was moderately complex with double trefoil doorways and a quatrefoil oculus. The details of the chapter house entrance are mostly lost but appear to have been similar, perhaps with more orders and perhaps with tracery in the windows. The entrances to the parlour/ slype and to the dormitory undercroft are both much lower and both round-headed; the parlour doorway is multi-foiled below and the mouldings of the undercroft doorway are noticeably less complex.

Later in the 13th century, the east range of Calder Abbey is distinguished by a completely plain parlour/ slype and a bookroom which occupies part of the chapter house.⁹⁶ There is no separate sacristy. This must partly be due to the smallness of the cloister at Calder, and the enduring poverty of the house. Valle Crucis, in north Wales, also has a small cloister and has a similarly compressed east range, which was largely rebuilt in the mid-14th century (fig. 65). The (very plain) opening south of the chapter house door leads to the day stairs, while that to the north leads to a shallow book cupboard fronted on the cloister side by a flamboyant tracery screen. The chapter house door itself is quite severe, with two orders of continuous mouldings, and the entrance to the broad passage to the south matches it. North of the chapter house, the entrance to the sacristy/ bookroom dates to the first phase of building at Valle Crucis (after its foundation in 1201).

The east range of Whalley Abbey in Lancashire belongs to the later 14th century.⁹⁷ In the south transept and west wall of the sacristy (which is not accessible from the cloister) are three large deep book cupboards, completely unmoulded. The chapter house vestibule has simple traceried windows and a doorway of three continuous moulded orders with fleurons, all with crockets climbing the hoodmoulds. The parlour door is the same as that of the chapter house, but without the fleurons and crockets, while the slype entrance is smaller and simpler still, with two orders, the inner supported by a capital.

Reviewing all this comparative evidence, it is obvious and unsurprising that, with the possible exceptions of Valle Crucis (and also Cleeve, which has a multi-period façade), the chapter

⁹⁵ Brakspear 1908, 474. This feature is now lost.

⁹⁶ For description and comments on the architecture of Calder, see Fair 1954; Fergusson 1984, 118 and Robinson 1998, 84-5.

⁹⁷ Little has been written about the architecture of Whalley Abbey, but see Pevsner 1969, 259-60; Ashmore 1996 and Robinson 1998, 202-4.

houses are the most important element in any given façade. The entrances to either side do not follow such a clear pattern. The entrances to (separate) slypes and to dormitory undercrofts appear to be universally of less architectural pretension than the other doorways of the east range apart from the early bookrooms. The early bookrooms (and also the niches at 14th-century Whalley) by contrast with the parlours at the same abbeys, are plain to a fault – treated as nothing more than oversized cupboards. Most of the later examples, starting with Combe and including that at Croxden, appear to be moderately decorated and occasionally, as at Valle Crucis and Tintern, with as much flourish as the chapter house. The *lectio divina* always played an important role in Cistercian life, as is evident from the *Ecclesiastica Officia*, and the apparent rise in the architectural status of the bookroom is intriguing – does it imply an overt emphasis on the role of learning by the later convents; is it a reflection of regional identity (the early plain ones being mostly in the north), or a desire on the part of the architect or convent to provide a more fitting neighbour to the chapter house and to raise the architectural level of the whole cloister?

On the other side of the chapter house, the parlour was a place for necessary conversation during the hours of reading and of work, but the *Ecclesiastica Officia* makes clear that access was not free but had to be granted by the prior, who should arrange his own work in that place, and this may have been where he distributed the necessary tools for the monks' work.⁹⁸ One wonders if the presence of the prior was enough to guarantee the architectural marking of the parlour as a special place, since the activities within seem far from special – yet at Fountains, Kirkstall, Buildwas, Combe, and a little later, Tintern, the parlour entrance is framed in exactly the same way as the chapter house. As well as the external architectural embellishment of the parlour, there is evidence that it was also enriched internally. This is shown at Croxden by the delicate responds of the vault (like the chapter house, although the capitals are moulded rather than carved) and the unique rib designs. At Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, Soissons (Augustinian), Bonde and Maines have suggested that a small space with architectural embellishment 'comparable to liturgically-charged spaces' and including a decorated tiled floor, may have functioned as a high status parlour. They consider that it may have functioned in this way particularly before the building of a separate abbot's lodging, as a place where the abbot might converse both with brothers and elite secular visitors.⁹⁹ Aside from occasional records of business transactions in parlours,¹⁰⁰ an architectural link with the secular world might perhaps be suggested at Furness, where the parlour door shares its distinctive raised motif (which, like the cusped motif of Croxden's parlour, has its origins in English Romanesque) and its moulding details with the north transept north door. One

⁹⁸ Choisselet and Vernet 1989, 214 and 220.

⁹⁹ Bonde and Maines 1997.

¹⁰⁰ Williams 1998, 243.

explanation for the unusual transept door, as described in Chapter Two, is that it was the entrance to a lay chapel within the north transept, prior to the building of the gatehouse chapel.

Elsewhere, as we have seen at Worksop Priory (fig. 55), but also at Calder Abbey¹⁰¹ such ‘un-Cistercian’ decorative designs can be seen in the west doors of the conventual church, and also in the north door to Kirkstall abbey church (which faces towards the gatehouse; fig. 66). These are also doorways through which high status secular guests may have passed. Thus it is just possible that Croxden’s eccentric parlour entry may be an architectural indication that lay folk might enter here (as porches were on guest halls¹⁰²). The few abbeys where such contrasts – in either parlour or church entrances – can be pinpointed, however, suggests caution, especially at Worksop, where the entrances belong to a late Romanesque tradition (albeit with early gothic bases, shafts and capitals).¹⁰³ It is not at all clear that such a device would have been legible to all who entered the cloister and at best it seems only to have been used in a particular region (the northern half of England) and for a limited time (the early 13th century).

Elsewhere, Beaulieu, Netley, Calder and to a lesser extent Hailes, all gathered round the middle third of the 13th century, have markedly plain parlour entrances, by comparison with their respective chapter houses and in each of these cases the parlour probably also acted as the slype. The lack of architectural distinction in these cases is almost enough to suggest that there has been some realignment of functions, and possibly that the monks’ activities associated with the parlour may have been located elsewhere – perhaps in the warming room or in part of the day room – while conversations with high ranking visitors may have taken place in the abbot’s lodging.¹⁰⁴

Summary and Conclusions

This analysis of the claustral buildings at Croxden Abbey shows that there was a piecemeal development. The lower reaches of the south aisle/ north cloister wall and the south transept west wall (up to string course height) were the first to be built along with stubs for the west and east ranges. At first, the north cloister wall did not continue as far as the present west end of the church, although this was probably built shortly afterwards and there may have been one

¹⁰¹ Fergusson 1984, 118 and pl. 58.

¹⁰² Rowell 2000, 208.

¹⁰³ The possible origins of the Worksop façade are discussed at length by McAleer 1990, who rules out Cistercian influence. The possible meanings of the decorative scheme of the west doors are not discussed, unsurprisingly since they are not unusual within a late Romanesque context. It may be that, in relation to Croxden, Worksop represents only an example of the types of model available to the Croxden master who designed the parlour door.

¹⁰⁴ There is only definite evidence of a contemporary abbots’ lodging at Netley, but this does not rule out its existence elsewhere.

early abandoned attempt to complete the west range. The east range was started in earnest not long after the lower parts of the south transept were completed but there was clearly a pause between the bookroom, sacristy and the chapter house. Despite the presence of a single capital matching those of the bookroom, the chapter house was completed in a quite different style, certainly before the death of the first abbot in 1229, and the rest of the east range as far south as the end of the first dayroom/ dormitory followed swiftly, with a carefully nuanced façade which in some way displayed the functions of the rooms behind. The south range is harder to date, but keys in well with the east range, while the documentary evidence avers that the kitchen and the lay brothers' dormitory, in the west range, were not completed until the abbacy of Walter London in 1242-68. He was also responsible for the extension and remodelling of the chapter house, including a vaulted external lobby, the extension of the east range southwards, with the first stone latrine and its undercroft (possibly the novices' house), and a remodelling or rebuilding of the refectory.

The question this summary poses is 'What was there before?' There is no suggestion in any of the remains of an earlier cloister than the one outlined above. Given the style of building and its relationship with the rest of the cloister, it seems reasonable to suppose that the north cloister wall and north part of the east wall (the south transept west wall) were in fact present before the convent entered in 1179. The chapter house, on the other hand, with its foliage capitals could not possibly have been built much before 1210 and might be twenty years later. It must have replaced another structure. The same can be said, with equal force, for the dormitory and latrines, the refectory and the lay brothers' range. Evidence for a whole series of late 12th century temporary Cistercian buildings may lie below the turf at Croxden, yet not so temporary that they could not be used for fifty or more years before their permanent replacement. Quite a lot of research and speculation has surrounded the earliest buildings of the Cistercians (before c.1150), especially since the recovery of earlier churches at Fountains, and a variety of building types appear to have been used, including the well-known two-storey buildings at Meaux, with a chapel above and dormitory below.¹⁰⁵ Less is known of the temporary buildings of second or third generation houses, who were not pioneers, but who represented an accepted norm. However, fragments of five timber buildings were excavated at Sawley (founded in 1148, but with its claustal ranges not complete until the 1220s) and these, along with the timber building identified below the infirmary at Kirkstall (not replaced in stone until the mid-13th century) perhaps give some idea of what might once have existed at Croxden.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Fergusson 1983; Fergusson 1984, chp. 2; Halsey 1986; Coppack 1997.

¹⁰⁶ For Sawley see Coppack 2002, Coppack 2001 and Coppack 1997 and for Kirkstall, Bellamy and Mitchell 1961, 110, 118; Pirie 1967, 33-6 and Moorhouse and Wrathmell 1987, 51-6.

Chapter Four

East of the Cloister: The Infirmary and Other Buildings

The complex of buildings east of the cloister and latrine block at Croxden now comprises four groups of foundations and low standing walls (fig. 67). They are Abbot Walter's infirmary with adjoining buildings (1242-68); an annexe to the latrine block; the abbot's chamber of 1335,¹ and some foundations in the area bounded by these sets of buildings. Given the evidence of both the architecture and the Chronicle, they form one of the best dated and attributed complexes of eastern buildings in a British Cistercian abbey. Although little survives above foundation level, the study of these buildings still offers new insights into this area of a monastery, and monastic life in the mid-13th to mid-14th centuries.

Excavation of these areas was undertaken in 1956-7 (abbot's lodging) and 1975-77 (rest of area), stopping in each case at floor level. They were essentially clearance excavations prior to the laying-out and consolidation of the foundations,² many of which had not been exposed since Lynam's excavations of 1905 (fig. 4). While Lynam took some care recording his excavations, of the later ones only those of the 1970s were recorded in any detail.³

Analysis of Croxden's eastern buildings, along with comparative examples, showed a close relationship between infirmaries and abbot's lodgings. In particular, the interpretation of abbot's lodgings, suggested here, significantly affected the interpretation of infirmaries. For this reason the abbot's lodging and the extension to the latrine block are considered first, even though the infirmary pre-dates them. In each case the structures and excavation results are considered in some detail before a discussion of the way in which these buildings were used.

¹ Although early commentators considered this to be William Howton's abbot's chamber of 1268-84 e.g. Hills 1865, 304; Lynam 1881, 270.

² Although all the exposed parts of Croxden Abbey have been subject to consolidation, the eastern foundations are in places more ephemeral than others, and it is the one area where the misplacement of a few stones may affect the interpretation of the structure. This should be borne in mind in the following analysis. Where possible measurements have been taken from consolidated foundations rather than from small-scale excavation plans.

³ Details of the 1910 excavations can be found in Lynam 1911, especially plates 3, 41, 45, 46, 47, 50. The excavations of the 1950s are recorded in brief notes in Baillie Reynolds 1957 and Baillie Reynolds 1958. They, along with the 1975-77 excavations of Peter Crane were published by Peter Ellis (Ellis 1995).

Abbots' Lodgings

The Annexe to the Latrines: the First Abbots' Lodging?

The eastern annexe to the latrines is incomplete and complex. The excavator's nomenclature has been retained in the following discussion. The south wall of the drain, F21, is butted in its lower courses to the south-east buttress of the latrine block. Above this, however, the scar in the buttress suggests that this wall may be contemporary with the latrine (fig. 68). The wall is only 0.69m (2ft 3in) wide and shows a clear return 4.90m (16ft) east of the buttress. A single latrine sits above the drain in this corner; it butts F21, although the arch below is integral with F21. No entrance to this latrine is visible. The good east face of F21 does not appear to be continued in the east wall of the single latrine, which is ragged. A very rough continuation was found by the excavators (F20), but this is no longer available for examination. As the excavations were not deep it may be either a late feature or the foundation for a partition. At its north end F20 butts a wall of similar width and build to F21 (F56). Only one course is visible, which is keyed with the lower course of the east wall of the latrine block. It also has a ragged east end implying that it originally continued eastwards. North of F56 is another wall, F19, which acts as a thickening to F56 at the west end and, having cleared the door to the latrine undercroft, dog-legs before continuing eastwards. Like F56, F19 has a ragged east end but, at 0.79-0.96m (2ft 7in – 3ft 2in), it is somewhat wider. Northwards again, abutting the north-east buttress of the latrine block are the scant remains of another wall, F23, which, with F56, formed a new passage to the east door of the latrine undercroft. At the west end of F23 is what appears to be a blocked doorway into this passage. Lastly, a short row of ashlar (F22) was excavated between F56 and F19, interpreted by the excavator as forming part of a stair-base along with F19. However, this looks much more ephemeral than the other features and gives every impression of forming a drain or piped water-course between itself and F56. It is no longer available for examination.

The incompleteness of these foundations makes interpretation difficult, but the south wall (F21) and the first north wall (F56) must have formed an initial annexe to the latrine block of unknown size (since the east end is now lost) and which *may* be contemporary with the latrines. The walls are narrow but since the building is also narrow (c.3.20m, 10ft 6in internally), a first floor is possible. Later, a new north wall (F19) was built, 1.40m (4ft 7in) north of the old one. At its west end, it had to dog-leg south in order to retain access to the east door of the latrine undercroft. This seems a small gain for a lot of effort (up to 2m/6ft 7in in an upper chamber). Another possibility is that this formed a new supporting wall to a much enlarged upper floor that reached as far as F23. The door jamb set near the west end of F23 would seem to support this, but it is not clear why F56 could not have been used for this support.

Could this annexe to the latrine block be a candidate for the first abbot's lodging built at Croxden? The first abbot's lodging, built between 1268 and 1274 has sometimes been considered to be the southern extension to the dormitory.⁴ However, the analysis of Chapter Three has dismissed this for several reasons, including the need for extra space in the rule of Abbot Walter and the fact that he brought the abbey 'fully to completion' – something which must have included decent latrines, which are of a single build with the dormitory extension.

Certainly, much of the documentary and comparative evidence points towards the annexe being the first abbot's lodging. Extensions to the reredorter were an accepted way of building early abbot's lodgings – they survive for instance at Fountains, Kirkstall, Tintern and Waverley⁵ and possibly at Jervaulx and Roche (see below). This is believed to be because of the injunction for abbots to sleep in common with their monks and a feeling that if the choir monks' dormitory and the abbot's chamber were linked, however distantly, then this injunction would be fulfilled.⁶ There is more specific support in the Croxden Chronicle. As we saw in Chapter Three, after strong winds two days before Christmas in 1330, most of the abbey buildings were un-roofed. Repairs took some time, the cloister first in 1332 and in 1333 the refectory and the belfry.⁷ In 1334:

The dormitory of the monks with the adjoining buildings, namely the treasury, the reredorter and also the abbot's dormitory were suitably roofed from new with new shingles, namely more than 30,000, and all the gutters and roofs of those buildings which before were wooden were made of lead.⁸

As well as containing the implication that the treasury was above the warming room, this passage suggests that the latrines (the *necessariorum*) adjoined the other side of the dormitory, and also implies that the abbot's dormitory also adjoined.

Could the annex, though, fulfil the first description of the abbot's lodging in the Chronicle? We are told of William Howton, the sixth abbot, that 'among other memorable deeds he built excellently the upper and lower Abbot's chamber, giving for the breaking and laying of the polished stone, for the same work, £100 sterling'.⁹ From this description it was clearly a two-storey building, constructed of ashlar (the usual meaning of 'polished stone'). As discussed above, it is possible that the annexe to the latrines was of two storeys and it was certainly built of ashlar but it is not clear that it would have cost at least £100 to build. In 1313 a two-storey stone gatehouse, forty feet by eighteen feet (12.2m by 5.5m), was contracted to be

⁴ Baillie Reynolds 1946, 6; VCH Staffordshire, 3:229.

⁵ For Fountains see Hope 1900b, 335-9 and Coppack and Gilyard-Beer 1993, 47; for Kirkstall Hope and Bilson 1907, 34-8 and Moorhouse and Wrathmell 1987, 50; for Tintern Robinson 1995, 31 and 34 and for Waverley Brakspear 1905, 70-1.

⁶ The instruction for abbots to sleep in the dormitory can be found in the *Ecclesiastica Officia*, (Choisselet and Vernet 1989, 313). See also Williams 1998, 72-3.

⁷ Chronicle 1332 and 1333.

⁸ Chronicle 1334.

⁹ Chronicle 1268.

built for 25 marks in Lapworth, Warwickshire, although this price did not include carriage, timber, sand or lime. In 1321, a large (60ft by 36ft, 18.3m by 11.0m) single-storey hall was contracted to be built in Hamsey, Sussex for 35 marks and a quarter of wheat.¹⁰ However, the Louth Park chronicler informs us that between 1227 and 1247 ‘the Lord W. *only* left forty marks’ (my italics)¹¹ to the building of his private chamber, which we may imagine to have been rather similar to an abbot’s lodging (see below). These contracts put the Croxden building into some sort of context and, assuming the Chronicler to be correct about the sum spent and notwithstanding the Louth Park evidence, suggest that the first abbot’s lodging was a very grand affair indeed. Since the eastern end of the latrine annexe is not known, this is still possible. Given the careful keying of the early walls with the latrine block, the abbot’s lodging may be only the extension and remodelling of the first small chamber, which could, perhaps, have served as a prison as at Fountains.¹²

A further idea of the scale of the abbot’s chambers may be glimpsed from the *Calendar of Inquisitions* in 1274, when the king writes to enquire into the death of Thomas Hody who was wounded in an affray between stable grooms at Croxden. In consequence of this, the abbot ‘dismissed his whole household’.¹³ It is not clear, however, whether the abbot dismissed his own household or that of Thomas Hody (possible if Hody was a corrodian, with servants supplied by the abbey).

The Second Abbots’ Lodging and the Yard to the North

By comparison with the latrine extension, the later abbot’s lodging at Croxden is easy to understand despite heavy consolidation. It is a two-storey building of four bays, with a vaulted ground floor divided by a central line of octagonal piers, supported on octagonal bases with three quarter-rolls and corbels for the responds (see Appendix 1, section 2.7.1; fig. A21). The vault was quadripartite, and the chamfered ribs had a similar profile to those of the earlier claustral buildings. The ground floor was generously lit with broad two-centred openings in each available bay (fig. 69). Not enough remains to determine the tracery they once contained, but the remaining jambs, simply moulded with chamfer, rebate, splay and internal angle shaft, do not have a glazing groove, suggesting either shuttered windows or glazing held within wooden frames. In fact, the lower 1.17m (3ft 10in) has an interior rebate, while above that the chamfer is smaller and the rebate external, perhaps suggesting shutters below and glazing above with a transom between.¹⁴ Similarly proportioned half-shuttered, half-glazed transomed windows can be found in numerous contemporary buildings – for instance Haughmond

¹⁰ Salzman 1952, 421-2 and 426-7.

¹¹ Venables 1889, 14.

¹² Coppack 1993, 75; Hope 1900b, 337.1; Walbran and Fowler 1863-1918, 67:142.

¹³ Laurence 1951-5, B38 and *Cal. Inq. Misc.*, 1219-1307, 582.

¹⁴ I am grateful to Dr. Richard Morris for drawing this to my attention.

Abbey's abbot's lodging, Stokesay Castle's hall (both Shropshire), Jervaulx's 'infirmary' (North Yorkshire), the first floor hall of Markenfield Hall (West Yorkshire) and the hall of Haddon Hall (Derbyshire) – where they are of two trefoiled light with an oculus above.

At Croxden a small stair tower was housed in the north-west corner buttress and there was a fireplace in the south bay of the east wall. The central buttress in the north wall has previously been considered an addition, along with the integral door,¹⁵ presumably because it is larger than the only surviving complete buttresses on the west wall, and the odd treatment of its north end where the ground course appears to be cut off. Structurally, however, it appears to be one with the rest of the building, although only the foundations now survive. The doorway, of one build with this buttress, has its rebate and splay facing the outside, not the inside as would be normal, implying the existence of a building or gallery to the north which formed an integral part of the complex. In all likelihood this led to a private latrine, since the main drain is to be found on this side, and it is highly unlikely that an abbot should not be provided with such facilities. There was also a doorway west of this, which could have been the main doorway leading to either the main cloister or the infirmary cloister, and a third doorway through the north wall is implied by the covered way leading from the easternmost bay. This led directly to the infirmary kitchen showing that the abbot shared this facility. The later wall partitioning off the western bay may always have been intended since only very small rectangular windows survive in this bay (fig. 70) suggesting that it was designed as a buttery or service area. If so, this seems rather poor planning since the kitchen and access to it were on the east side of the building. The very rough paving in the west bay post-dates the partition wall and on top of this lies evidence of dissolution destruction, including a possible furnace.

The architectural details in themselves are not enough to date the building more closely than the late 13th or first half of the 14th centuries, but its appearance as a domestic building of some grandeur, with a buttery, fireplace, private latrine and easy access to the infirmary kitchen all strongly suggest that it was the abbot's lodging built in 1335 by Richard Shepished. The description of that building as between the infirmary kitchen and the dormitory, though not perfect, is reasonable and the fact that 'in the following year he completed it at great expense' seems only too likely given the size and appurtenances of the building.¹⁶

Emery has recently pointed out that although the substantial and utilitarian ground floor piers suggest an upper chamber, the character of the surviving window (fig. 69) argues against this.¹⁷ That is to say, he believes the hall would have been on the ground floor with a two-storey chamber block at the west end, reflecting contemporary secular high-status

¹⁵ Baillie Reynolds 1957; Ellis 1995, 33.

¹⁶ Chronicle 1335.

¹⁷ Emery 2000, 377-8

domestic houses (Haddon Hall and Stokesay Castle provide particularly fine local examples).¹⁸ However, the bases clearly indicate that the vault covered all four bays of the ground floor and this argues for an equally uniform upper floor. Since, as Emery noted, the piers would have cluttered the interior, it is possible that there was a further hall above, as well as the abbot's bed-chamber (and perhaps parlour and oratory). Although this does not fall within the usual pattern of house design, it was clearly built to supply those principal parts – hall and chamber – of any domestic residence. That they were integrated at Croxden under a single roof may be indicative of a spatial and financial economy fitting for a minor Cistercian house. At Haughmond Abbey (Augustinian, Shropshire) the single-storey abbot's hall was far bigger with a typical storied chamber block at one end. Since few contemporary buildings survive in Staffordshire¹⁹ the inspiration for Croxden's abbot's lodging may not be found. Further afield, in Yorkshire, Spofforth Castle and Markenfield Hall, both early 14th century, provide examples of well-lit and spacious ground floors beneath better lit and loftier upper floors, albeit on a somewhat grander scale than Croxden and with chambers and halls alongside one another.²⁰

Closer to home, a prototype could have been found in the earlier buildings at Croxden as well as at other monasteries. The east range of the cloister typifies a well-lit hall-type structure with a chamber, the dormitory, above. In fact the heights of the vaults in the two buildings are identical (c.5.90m/ 19ft 4in). The infirmary might have provided another model (see below). The 'infirmary' of Jervaulx (c.1300), lofty, vaulted, generously lit and heated also invites comparison, although this building is not free-standing but connected to the latrine block (see below). Unlike the latter two buildings, the central piers were retained in the second abbot's lodging at Croxden, precluding the possibility of an open lower hall.

Of the area north of the second abbot's lodging, little can be said, and most of it has been said already in the excavation report.²¹ The foundations on the east side are the remains of covered ways from the infirmary and the abbot's lodging to the infirmary kitchen. On the west and south two walls (F29 and F30) revet what appears to be a yard. Within the corner of these walls is a substantial mass of masonry more than 0.65m (2ft 2in) deep. Within this is a hearth, and there is also a late medieval hearth in the width of the west wall (facing west). East of the mass of masonry is a second small stack of masonry (F49) with the appearance of a buttress. The yard is bounded on the north by a wider wall, F31, which, along with the north-south parch mark F46 (excavated by Lynam) suggests an annexe at the south-west corner of the

¹⁸ Clear statements of the development of this house type can be found in Blair 1993 and Emery 2000 and a useful discussion in Grenville 1997, chp. 3 and 4. For Haddon Hall and Stokesay see Emery 2000, 383-91 and 574-6.

¹⁹ Emery 2000, 331-4.

²⁰ For Markenfield Hall and Spofforth Castle see Emery 1996, 363-7 and 399-401.

²¹ Ellis 1995, 38-40.

infirmary. The junction between walls F29 and F31 no longer survives. Inside the yard and to the west of it, narrow drains (no longer visible) ran from the north towards the main drain.

The purpose of this area is far from clear, although industrial uses have been suggested. The south wall is precisely parallel with the north wall of the second abbot's lodging, suggesting at least a degree of contemporaneity between the yard and the lodging. The west wall, however, is very close to where the east end of the putative first abbot's chamber may have been and bears no relation to the alignment of that building, perhaps suggesting that it had gone out of use by this time. Indeed the most likely sequence is first abbot's lodging, second abbot's lodging, yard, since when the second abbot's lodging was begun, the first must still have been standing, as we shall see next.

Abbots' Lodgings and Eastern Complexes

When the second abbot's lodging was begun in 1335, the first must still have been standing since it was only re-roofed in the previous year, along with the treasury and latrine block. Given such a recent major repair, it is highly likely that it continued in use for some time after the completion of the Richard of Shepshed's chamber.²² Its later use can only be surmised. It could have been the 'visiting abbot's lodging' which appears on so many abbey plans,²³ or other accommodation for honoured guests or retired abbots. This last is perhaps most likely. Abbots are recorded as having retired, or been deposed, at Croxden in 1242, 1284, 1308, 1313, 1329 and 1368 and abbots from other houses were received in the rules of John Billesdon (1284-1293) and William Over (1297-1308).²⁴ Retirement, of course, was common both in Cistercian houses and those of other orders.²⁵ Thomas Burton, the Meaux chronicler recorded the provisions made for retired abbots at his house in some detail and it is clear from his descriptions that chambers in three different places were used for this purpose at different times. The first reference, though not necessarily the first case, in 1310 is perhaps the most interesting, since we learn that Abbot Roger, planning his retirement, built a chamber especially for that purpose. It was built on the east side of the monks' infirmary and later it

²² As opposed to Laurence, who suggests it showed 'a gross lack of foresight' since the whole structure was rebuilt only one year later (1951-5, B44).

²³ For instance, those of Kirkstall, Tintern and Waverley. See Hope and Bilson 1907, loose plan; Robinson 1995, 69; Brakspear 1905, loose plan.

²⁴ Henry Meisham retired in 1284, and died in 1286; William Over was deposed in 1308 and may have died in the same year; Richard Ashby retired in 1313, was reappointed in 1319, retired again in 1329 and died in 1333; whether Richard Shepshed retired or died in post is not recorded; Alexander Cubbeley was deposed. Subsequent deaths or retirements (and some of the earlier ones) are not recorded. An 'abbas Andreas de London' is among those listed as received by John Billesdon and 'Nicolaus de Thokeyby qui et abbas de cumbremar' was received by William Over. See Chronicle, *passim*.

²⁵ See Knowles, Brooke, and London 1972 and Smith and London 2001, *passim*, for an idea of the frequency of resignations.

became the abbot's chamber.²⁶ We find another chamber prepared (not built) for William of Drynghowe in 1353, after his deposition. It was located between the monks' infirmary and dormitory, and it can easily be imagined as an extension to the latrines, as tentatively suggested for Croxden.²⁷ Lastly, Thomas Burton mentions the arrangements for William of Scarborough, who retired in 1396. Thomas was William's successor, which no doubt accounts for the fact that the arrangements for his retirement are mentioned three times.²⁸ As well as receiving the usual pension etc., he was to inhabit a chamber at the south end of the infirmary, which Thomas had decently repaired for him. This retired abbot's lodging was probably within the infirmary, and shows the sort of use to which that building was put after the decline in monk numbers in the 14th century and after the division of the infirmary into separate chambers. The chamber in question, though, must have been a little above the ordinary since much is made of William's former status.

This honouring of past (but living) abbots with the provision of special chambers, as well as other privileges, is certain to have continued up to the dissolution. There is a record of a 'white chamber' being assigned to John Colyngham, a former abbot of Kirkstall in 1432.²⁹ The chamber at Louth Park built 1227-46 has already been mentioned, in relation to its cost. This is of interest both because of its early date, and because it was neither for an abbot nor a retired abbot, but for one William of Tournay (*Thornaco*), who was formerly Dean of Lincoln but who became a monk of the abbey. He is described as 'venerable and most pious, amiable and religious, who on his coming raised the house in divers ways, and enriched its offices exceedingly from his own wealth'.³⁰ Seemingly, a man with the status and wealth which he had was accorded the trappings of that status and wealth even though he became a monk, just as retired abbots were accorded those trappings even though they remained monks. This

²⁶Bond 1866, 2:238 'et, cedere abbatiatu deliberans, aedificavit pro receptaculo suimet post abbatiatum quandam cameram, quae post illud tempus dicitur et est camera abbatis; uti cernitur in praenti ab orientali parte infirmitorii monachorum'. Around the same time a large chamber was built next to the cemetery by the Dean of York. It may have been his residence, but its purpose is not clear: Bond 1866, 2:237 'Hic autem abbas Rogerus, cum quando magnam summam pecuniae magistro Roberto de Scardburgh decano Eboracensi, qui construi fecit in monasterio magnam cameram juxta cimiterium versus orientem, pro dimissione ecclesiarum...'

²⁷Bond 1866, 3:86-7 'Conventus tamen eidem domino Willelmo unam cameram, quam dominus Hugo de Levena fecerat pro cessione sua praeparari, inter infirmitorium et dormitorium monachorum...'

²⁸Bond 1866, 3:234 'Et, in memoriam status sui, habuit cameram unam ad borealam finem infirmitorii, officio prioris consuetam, annuam pensionem...'

3:275 'ac eidem, in memoriam status sui abbatialis, concessit, ac voluntate et expressa scienta successoris ipsius auctoritate sua paternali confirmavit eidem, unam camera in infirmitorio monachorum, annuam pensionem xl solidorum, gratias, libertates, et alia [quae] requisivit'.

3:242 'Cameram quoque in boreali fine infirmitorii monachorum, pro domino Willelmo de Scardburgh, praedecessore suo, in fenestris, in celatura, pictura, caeterisque fecit decentius repari'.

²⁹VCH Yorkshire, 3:144.

³⁰Venables 1889, 16.

apparently did not cause any resentment, since William of Tournay is eulogised in the Louth Park chronicle.³¹

What this documentary evidence shows, as the physical evidence at Croxden suggests, is that we should expect to find two, three or even four abbatial or sub-abbatial residences in the area beyond the cloister in Cistercian abbeys, some free-standing and some incorporated into other buildings.³² The date at which private chambers began to be built for monks other than the abbot is not clear, though the Louth Park chronicle suggests that it started at least as early as the mid-13th century. The evidence of extant buildings may not help since the use of extra-claustral buildings may have been very fluid (as implied by the evidence of the Meaux chronicle). Many may have changed use more than once or become disused by the time of the dissolution. Frustratingly, at Rievaulx, despite a wealth of dissolution material, there is no reference to a building conveniently called 'the retired abbot's chamber', although the survey lists 'on the east side of the same dorter a howse of 4 bays wt a steap roffe coveryd wt lede', which has not been adequately located.³³

This documentary evidence, however, has not seriously impinged on the interpretation of abbey remains.³⁴ In a few instances, it is true, where two buildings of obvious importance and domestic character have survived east of the cloister, such as at Kirkstall, Fountains, Tintern and Waverley, one of them has been suggested as the visiting abbot's lodging.³⁵ This attribution appears to be based solely on the Cistercian visitorial system which specified that the abbots of mother houses should visit their daughter houses once every year.³⁶ It seemed to originate in the 19th century, at least by the time of Hope's pioneering studies of individual houses,³⁷ yet it seems inherently unlikely that a chamber should exist to be occupied for only a few days a year. Visiting abbots could as appropriately be accommodated in a room in the

³¹ The chronicler says 'And, what is still of greater importance, by his pious, holy and religious life, he set a praiseworthy example to us all. Moreover, during the whole time he was with us, he universally and cheerfully showed kindness and very great solace to both upper and lower servants and to strangers'. Venables 1889, 16-17.

³² This probably followed the practice of other orders. At Westminster Abbey, several senior monks occupied chambers in the infirmary, although most of the evidence for this is 15th century (Harvey 1993, 87-9). Gilyard-Beer also notes that obedientiaries had chambers near the infirmary at Ely, Durham and Bardney (1976, 42). At Bardney, indeed, a 'new chamber' was made next to the infirmary in 1318 for the occupation of a deposed abbot (Brakspear 1922, 4).

³³ Coppack 1986, 112, 125.

³⁴ With the notable exception of Coppack (1990, 77), who suggests that in practice the visiting abbot's lodging was used by abbots who had resigned. In addition, he suggests that the chambers north-east of the infirmary at Fountains were used by Abbot Peter Ayling who resigned in 1279 (Coppack 1993, 71).

³⁵ See note 23. For Fountains see Hope 1900b, 329-30.

³⁶ For visitation see Lekai 1977, 26-9 and 463; Williams 1998, 41-3.

³⁷ For instance, Hope in his study of Fountains Abbey suggested that the north chamber east of the infirmary hall may have been used for this purpose. Earlier, Micklethwaite in his study of Cistercian plans suggests the use of a chamber by the visiting abbot, probably in the infirmary (Hope, 1900, 329-30; Micklethwaite 1882, 256). The move from the suggestion of use to seeing this use as permanent in a single building had occurred by the time of Hope's study of Kirkstall and Brakspear's of Waverley (Hope and Bilson 1907, 40 and plan; Brakspear 1905, 65-6).

abbot's lodging or else in a chamber set aside for all important guests. He would certainly have dined with the abbot, part of whose remit it was to eat with guests.³⁸

At other abbeys, buildings which look like abbots' lodgings, or early private chambers, have been given entirely different attributions. Jervaulx provides a particularly good example of this (fig. 71). At Jervaulx, there are four buildings, or parts of buildings which could arguably be called abbots' lodgings, yet only one of them is suggested as such.³⁹ The earliest is the early 13th century southwards extension to the east range. Although apparently not much later than the rest of the range, the extension is in quite a different style. East of this is a chapel, which is later still. While the chapel may seem excessively large for the private prayers of an abbot,⁴⁰ in other respects this little annexe is entirely suitable for an early abbot's chamber (perhaps later for a retired abbot). It is quite modest and communicates directly with the monks' dormitory. The second two buildings appear to be contemporary, dating to the late 13th century.⁴¹ They are the building east of the latrine block, called the infirmary and the building south of the latrine block, called the abbot's lodging. Taking the latter first, this is really a chamber on one floor, which sits on top of a cellar (not vaulted). At its north end it butts an earlier structure and, judging by the position of the external stair, it would have spanned this at first floor level, giving direct access to the latrines. As well as a transomed and traceried window in its south wall, the chamber had a fireplace and a small sink within a trefoiled cupboard. Overall, it was not much bigger, though perhaps more private, than the putative first abbot's chamber and it was in communication with the monks' dormitory via the reredorter.

The 'infirmary' was rather different. Like the former building it was in communication with the dormitory via the reredorter but in this instance the ground floor was not for storage but contained a substantial hooded fireplace, was fully vaulted, and had, perhaps, a private latrine in the south-east corner. On the first floor were transomed and traceried windows very similar to that of the lodging to the south, access to a small chapel on the north side and to a chamber on the east side. This chamber has previously been interpreted as a garderobe, but other than the fact it is over the main drain there is no positive evidence to confirm this. The whole could certainly have made a very impressive abbot's lodging. The

³⁸ Choisselet and Vernet 1989, 313. This Cistercian custom follows closely the Rule of St. Benedict (and contemporary monastic custom) – see McCann 1952, 58 and 61 (rules 53 and 56).

³⁹ Hope and Brakspear 1911, plan facing 308 and 332–4. Subsequent commentators have accepted their interpretation of the buildings, including of the infirmary e.g. Dimier 1982; 818–9; Davies 1997; Bell 1998, 227.

⁴⁰ The chapel, though, is rather smaller than the one for the proposed abbot's lodging at the south end of the dorter of Coggeshall abbey. At Coggeshall, however, the chapel is on the first floor. See Gardner 1955, 26–7.

⁴¹ Despite the slightly different dates given to them by Hope and Brakspear (1911, plan facing 308, 325 and 332), the window details are close to identical, with transomed windows (with tracery above and probably shuttered below) and matching mouldings. The trefoiled opening in the building south of the latrines also has a very late 13th century look about it, despite the suggested 14th century date. Both buildings also have identical Carnaervon arches in some of their doors.

hall is c.19.4m by 6.6m (63ft 8in by 21ft 8in) compared with Croxden's second abbot's lodging of c.18.8m by 7.7m (61ft 8in by 25ft 3in). However, the lack of an internal stair might suggest different users for the two storeys of the building; the noviciate, for example could have moved into the ground floor.

It could also, of course, have been the infirmary as proposed by Hope and Brakspear and every subsequent commentator,⁴² with a refectory on the ground floor and sleeping arrangements on the first floor (as suggested for Croxden below). Since both infirmaries and abbot's chambers are likely to have had fireplaces, private latrines, chapels and (often shared) kitchens, distinguishing between them is not obvious.⁴³ The added hall in the 14th century, at a time of low monk numbers and presumed decreased use of the infirmary, would seem to favour the use of this complex as an abbot's lodging however. If this were the case, the contemporary southern building could indeed have been intended for a retired abbot, or another abbey official of sufficient status. But if this were the case, where was the infirmary? The covered passage from the parlour leads now to a much later building called the infirmary's lodging. Before this was built, the covered passage could have led further east to what would, in fact have been a very conventional location for an infirmary. Immediately north of the 16th century building is a substantial north-south rectangular bank, recently interpreted as a post-dissolution garden structure.⁴⁴ It could, though, have been the infirmary, but it is more likely that that building lay to the east, in a completely levelled field which now retains no monastic features other than the bottom of the main drain. The fourth high status building on the east side of Jervaulx is the late medieval building called the infirmary's lodging and if it was not this it is likely to have been occupied by some other obedientary or high status individual.

While this is speculative, previous interpretations of this area of many monastic complexes seem to have turned on the assumption that the infirmary must exist and be identified, even though many equally substantial buildings have disappeared.⁴⁵ This may also be true of Roche (fig. 72), where, of the two major two-storey buildings south-east of the cloister, one has traditionally been called the abbot's lodging, and the earlier, early 13th century one has been called either the infirmary or the infirmary's lodging.⁴⁶ Yet, as at Jervaulx, the covered passage from the cloister heads more-or-less due east – surely this could have led to a now lost infirmary? Indeed, Hamilton Thompson identified this as the site of the infirmary in 1935, but did not go on to draw the logical conclusion that the building to the

⁴² See note 39.

⁴³ Ramey recognised this in her study of late medieval Cistercian abbots' lodgings (1996, 5).

⁴⁴ RCHME 1999, fig. 15.

⁴⁵ The earthwork survey of Jervaulx's precinct, for instance, was unable to locate the main gatehouse, calling into question the identification of the building usually called the gatehouse (RCHME 1999, 15-17 and fig. 14).

⁴⁶ Pevsner and Radcliffe 1967, 416; Fergusson 1990b, 23-4; a particularly useful account of archaeological work on the abbey can be found in Rodgers 1996.

south is then unlikely to be the infirmary's lodging.⁴⁷ It is not conveniently sited for the infirmary, and it seems unlikely that an infirmary could have commanded such a building at apparently such an early date. The building would seem better interpreted as the first abbot's lodging. The mass of masonry at its north-west corner joins it to the latrine block, which means that, as at other abbeys, it could have communicated with the monks' dormitory indirectly. When the new abbot's lodging was built in the 14th century the old one could have been used for either retired abbots or important guests, including visiting abbots.

The desire to locate the infirmary has also, I believe, led to a misinterpretation of the buildings at Netley (fig. 73) and possibly Furness (fig. 74). Netley's infirmary is usually located in the latrine undercroft, rather than the detached eastern building, interpreted as the abbot's lodging.⁴⁸ The basis for this attribution appears to be on the one hand the lack of a suitable infirmary building elsewhere, and on the other the presence of internal buttresses, possibly marking bays for the placement of beds. Yet why did the monks at Netley feel able to do without the use of dormitory undercroft (in Dimier's interpretation, part of the infirmary) and why should we not see the latrine undercroft as the novice's room, as traditionally located elsewhere? The latter does have a fireplace, but this was also true of the much earlier proposed novices' room at Rievaulx.⁴⁹ Furthermore, the space is minute and without a chapel, a *sine qua non* of medieval infirmaries. The two-storey eastern building seems a better candidate since it had a chapel but it is still very small compared with the massive infirmaries recently built elsewhere, including at its mother house, Beaulieu (see below). Something more in keeping with the scale of its own buildings would seem appropriate. Although Netley was never rich, it completed all its necessary buildings swiftly and with some style. If the eastern building is the abbot's lodging, then the lack of an infirmary should not worry us – equally substantial buildings have disappeared without trace, both at Netley and elsewhere.

Furness Abbey has an early 13th century eastern building similar to the slightly later one of Netley. It was two-storied, with a well-lit ground-floor hall with a fireplace yet here this building is interpreted as the early infirmary and later as abbot's lodging rather than as an abbot's lodging from the beginning. While it might seem early for an abbot's lodging separate from the monks' dormitory, earlier examples survive at Rievaulx and Byland.⁵⁰ The absence of a projecting chapel, usually a prominent feature of infirmary buildings is also significant.

⁴⁷ Thompson 1935, 17-18.

⁴⁸ Brakspear thought the latrine undercroft may have been the novices' infirmary, and Thompson thought it the monks' infirmary, an interpretation continued by Dimier (who also added the dormitory undercroft) and Bell (Brakspear 1908, 475-6; Thompson 1953; Dimier 1982, 819-20; Bell 1989, 163n). Brakspear also interpreted the eastern building as the visiting abbot's lodging, while subsequent studies have suggested that it is the abbot's lodging.

⁴⁹ Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 117.

⁵⁰ For Furness see Hope 1900a, 290-7; Dickinson 1965, 15-16; Harrison and Wood 1998, 19; for Rievaulx, Fergusson and Harrison 1999, chp. 7 and for Byland Harrison 1990, 18. Rievaulx, of course was exceptional, for the early date of its lodging and the sanctity and illness of its abbot, Aelfred. I am

It should be stated that these interpretations are no more engraved in stone than the early ones should have been. Many monastic buildings, especially those outside the cloister, have not been reinterpreted since the studies of William St. John Hope and Harold Brakspear a century ago. Their brilliance and comprehensiveness has made it harder to examine these buildings in a new light. Yet I have only suggested that if something looks like an abbot's lodging then it probably was, regardless of their number, and that the survival of the infirmary should not be taken for granted.

The Infirmary

Croxden's infirmary (fig. 67) comprises a long narrow hall orientated north-south, with the bays separated by prominent internal buttresses, each projecting 0.93m (3ft) into the room. Where they survive to sufficient height, these buttresses have inset nook shafts on their inner corners resting on slightly raised bases with a water-holding profile, with two lower rolls. The foundations of matching external buttresses, 0.68m (2ft in) deep, are visible in places. A small chamber, the chapel, projects eastwards from the third bay north. This has external buttresses and one surviving respond base, with a simple moulding of two rolls. There are signs of a change in design during the building of the chapel – the lack of a central buttress on the north side, an extra buttress or wall keyed with the north chapel wall, but apparently not supporting anything, and the discontinued ground course at the eastern junction of this buttress with the chapel wall.

Only the four southern bays of the hall are now visible since its north end is lost in the bank and beneath the road. Lynam, however, traced the walls in places for about 14m north of the chapel i.e. for two further bays (fig. 4).⁵¹ He also found a square building to the south-east, interpreted as a kitchen, now no longer visible.

Four stone table ends survive in three different bays of the infirmary, on both sides and both north and south of the chapel. The top of each of these is roughly chalice-shaped and chamfered round the edges, while the bottom part is buried in the ground (fig. 75). In addition, fragments of three others survive in the loose stone collection (Appendix 1, section 2.6.2; fig. A21), although the origin of these cannot be confirmed and there is marked variability among the whole group, including the extant examples.

On the west side of the hall, in bay 2, there are the remains of a wall fireplace, which may originally have been hooded. The south end bay is emphasised by its greater width and enlarged internal buttresses. The external south-east buttress is also enlarged, making it larger

grateful to Jason Wood for discussing the early structure of the eastern building at Furness Abbey with me in detail on site.

⁵¹ Mainly on the west side. Lynam 1911, plan 3.

than the stair block of the later abbot's lodging, and it could easily have housed a vice. Access, however, may have been external, since there are no signs of a step over the internal south-east buttress. The excavator also suggested that a later wall (F37), north of the corner buttress and parallel with the hall may have supported a stair.⁵²

Adjoining the hall and chapel, there are signs of added structures to the south, south-east, south-west and also possibly north of the chapel. At some point, a chamber with a fireplace was added to the south-east corner around the putative stair tower, and later still this appears to have been cut into to make a covered way to the kitchen. This covered way may also be associated with the late wall (F37) built inside the south-east chamber, which has a narrow door at its north end, suggesting a further door leading into the infirmary proper. There is another door to the infirmary in the south wall on the east side which leads to a covered way butted to the infirmary hall. Since this covered way runs over the main drain for some length, the infirmary latrines are likely to have been located in this area, and the sole purpose of the covered way may have been to lead to them.⁵³ A chamber on the west side of the south end of the hall is indicated by parchmark F46 and by wall F31, which butts the south-west buttress of the hall. Lynam located its north wall in line with the top of the first bay of the hall (fig. 4). The north-south wall north of the chapel may also be indicative of another added chamber, but too little remains to say confidently to what this belonged.

Its general position, east of the cloister, and appearance, of a large open hall with a chapel on the east side, strongly suggest that this building is indeed Croxden's infirmary. Furthermore, the few architectural details which survive fit comfortably between 1242 and 1268, which is when the infirmary was built (in the time of Abbot Walter), according to the *Chronicle*.⁵⁴

At six bays long (*contra* Lynam, who reconstructed it with seven bays) the hall would have been 10.5m wide by approximately 31.4m long (34ft 4in by 103ft), assuming the north end to have been constructed like the south end, with an extra-wide internal buttress. The main entrance to the infirmary must have been on the west side of the building, facing the cloister and giving access to the church. Lynam identified steps leading into the fourth bay from the south, although these were not found during the re-excavation of the site, and one of the extant table legs is situated within this bay. Low walls for a covered way were found outside the slype door heading in the direction of the second bay, but these were only traced for a short distance.

If the covered way from the slype did continue in a straight line then it would meet the

⁵² Ellis 1995, 39. He believed, however, that the structure was more likely to be single storey (p.48).

⁵³ A similar structure is located to the south of the infirmary hall of Kirkham Priory (Augustinian, North Yorkshire), and recent analysis suggests that the latrines were on the first floor (Coppack, Harrison, and Hayfield 1995, 104-5).

⁵⁴ Chronicle 1242.

infirmary at the second bay, approximately at right angles. For most of its length it could have formed the south alley of an infirmary cloister. If it turned north for the proposed length of the infirmary hall, and if a parallel alley grazed the south-east buttresses of the chapter house, then the infirmary cloister would have made a space approximately 25m (82ft) square, though leaving a peculiar triangular space to the south. A cloister like this would conform to Arblaster's 1719 description:

On the South side of the church stood the Abbey, almost close to it, where now remains two noble cloysters, about thirty Yards distant from each other. There are three palisades in each of them, and they are about thirty Yards in length. There are now several little places near to these (now Cart-Houses and Baking Places), all wonderfully fortify'd with Stone.⁵⁵

At the north end at least, the infirmary cloister could have been about 30 yards from the main cloister, although the 'palisades' of the infirmary cloister would have been somewhat shorter than Arblaster's estimate. Concerning the 'little places', nothing definite can be said except that a lot more was standing then than now. A little later he says 'A small distance from these, there is some strong stone work, which tradition says was the Gaol, and 'tis probable it was so' – but this is too vague to attribute to any particular building.

The substantial buttressing of the infirmary hall clearly requires explanation, the simplest of which is that it supported a stone vault. Analysis of the loose stones did indeed provide some evidence that the infirmary might have been vaulted and, moreover, with a moulded rib vault – an architectural enrichment seen only in the chapter house, parlour and one unlocated space besides the church (see Appendix 1, sections 2.6.3 and 3.5; figs. A3 and A43). The main problem with a vault in such a wide hall – wider than the widest vaulted space of the church (7.8m/ 25ft) – is its height, since the vault must be at least half the height of the bay diagonal (assuming it to be semi-circular and assuming a quadripartite vault as in the rest of the abbey⁵⁶). This may have been the reason for the substantial internal buttresses since they reduced the width of the hall by 1.86m (6ft 1in), and thus the height of the vault by half that (by 0.93m/ 3ft). The vault may have been as little as 4.9m (16ft 1in) high, but if so only the north-south wall-ribs would have been pointed. Contemporary parallels for such flat, but gothic, vaults do survive. At Netley Abbey, round arches are used in the vaults of the sacristy, the dormitory undercroft and the eastern building (see fig. 76), all closely contemporary with Abbot Walter's work at Croxden. In the latter, in fact, the vault ribs are centred on a point lower than the corbels, themselves only a few feet from the ground. If Croxden followed a

⁵⁵ Barns 1912, 147.

⁵⁶ As opposed to a reconstruction drawing made in 1970, which has a ridge rib, making a sexpartite vault. EH plan 457/20A. There is in fact one exception to the quadripartite scheme at Croxden, which is the south bay of the south transept, which was provided with an additional rib to divide the gable into two bays.

similar pattern, then the overall interior height of the infirmary hall need be no greater than that of other domestic two-storied structures in the abbey, such as the dormitory undercroft (c.5.9m/ 19ft 4in) or the later abbot's lodging.

Projecting internal buttresses can also be seen at Netley, in the south side of the latrine undercroft.⁵⁷ This is a very small building, however, and there could have been no requirement to reduce the vault span or height. Netley may have borrowed the idea from her mother house, Beaulieu, which has an infirmary remarkably similar in plan and probably of similar or slightly earlier date to that of Croxden (fig. 77; unfortunately only the foundations survive).⁵⁸ It has seven bays plus a narrow eighth bay (situated towards the middle), perhaps for the housing of a central chimney, with an eastern projecting chapel just as at Croxden. Internal buttresses divide the bays and project c.0.7m (2ft 4in) into the hall each side. Again this results in a significant reduction of the span, to 10.7m (35ft), and thus a reduction in the height of the putative vault. There are the remains of what appears to be an external stair base on its west side, which along with the heavily buttressed structure suggests a first floor. Hope and Brakspear proposed that only the north end of the infirmary was two-storey,⁵⁹ but the uniformity of the ground plan, either side of the narrow bay, combined with the likelihood of a vault, argue against this.

A two-storey infirmary is also likely at Croxden, since, by comparison with the claustral buildings, and with extant domestic buildings elsewhere (including Jervaulx's 'infirmary', discussed above), a fully vaulted ground floor implies the presence of an upper floor. This is confirmed to an extent by the enlarged buttress block at the south-east corner of the building, suggested to house a vice. Small, and situated away from the cloister, its main purpose must have been to provide access to the kitchen. This gives an impression of access from the kitchen to both floors of the infirmary, implying the preparation of food for two (at least) sections of the infirm community. There could also have been an external stair on the west side or an internal one at the north end of the hall, although no evidence survives.

The Infirmary at Croxden, the Historical Context and other Infirmaries

Examination of a single infirmary complex, in the absence of deep excavations, is unlikely to further understanding of the history of medicine and discussion of that subject is not attempted

⁵⁷ Interpreted as an infirmary by Brakspear, Dimier and Bell. See above, note 48.

⁵⁸ The monks first entered their church at Beaulieu in 1227, and it was dedicated in 1246. An infirmary date towards the end of this time, or just afterwards, therefore seems likely. See Hope and Brakspear 1906, 136 and Jansen 1984, 86-7.

⁵⁹ Hope and Brakspear 1906, 170.

here.⁶⁰ Instead, analysis of Croxden's infirmary and its context does have the potential to inform about the use of space within a Cistercian infirmary – how the space was divided and how it was used by the monks. From the time of the plan of St. Gall onwards (c.815), monastic infirmaries had to cater for a number of different groups and functions. The St. Gall plan thus has a room for the very ill, as well as a dormitory, a refectory and a room for the infirmarer with a separate house for blood-letting nearby.⁶¹ The very differently planned infirmaries of the later Middle Ages must have had to provide for a similar range of functions. There are usually considered to be three groups within a Cistercian infirmary: sick monks, old monks and those recovering from the three-month bleeding undergone by the whole community. How many monks were sick at a any one time can only be guessed at, and that many old monks occupied the infirmary has been questioned,⁶² but the whole community may have retired to the infirmary in groups chosen by the abbot, four times a year for a few days or more to recover from losing a considerable volume of blood. The early usages and statutes are clear that the monks were not to leave the cloister for this activity, but it is likely that, later, certainly by the time the Croxden infirmary was built, the Cistercians had begun to adopt the custom of other orders, which allowed their brethren to recover in the infirmary, or elsewhere outside the cloister.⁶³

There is some documentary evidence concerning divisions in the infirmary for the different groups (as opposed to the division into individual cells which happened later). In the Louth Park chronicle, we learn of Richard of Dunham, abbot 1227-46, that 'His first step on coming was to build the infirmary for the monks, and a chamber for those who were seriously ill'.⁶⁴ Rather later, Thomas Burton, the Meaux chronicler, tells us that William of Scarborough, abbot 1372-96, furnished the house of the gravely ill *and* instituted private

⁶⁰ Although it might be argued that the study of medicine is only tangentially related to that of infirmaries, since the treatment of sickness was not their primary purpose, as opposed to the care of the sick, and more importantly, their souls – see especially Rawcliffe 1995, Amundsen 1996 and Rawcliffe 1999. Rubin 1989 emphasises the charitable nature of medieval hospitals for seculars, which were mainly for the poor, while how little medicine was used is made clear in Carlin 1989, 29-31, Park 1992, and Getz 1998. The monastic context is looked at in Rubin 1974, Dawtry 1982 and Park 1992 which make clear that some medicine was practised in a monastic context. Harvey's study of Westminster Abbey from the 14th century shows a substantial use of medicines, medics, surgeons and apothecaries and Rawcliffe gives a valuable overview of healthcare in East Anglian monasteries (Harvey 1993; Rawcliffe 2002). Bell's study of medicine in Cistercian houses suggests a range of provision (Bell 1989). His further study suggests that the size and location of infirmaries may have been influenced by current theories of disease and health (Bell 1998). All of these books and articles contain detailed bibliographies concerning the history of medicine and hospitals.

⁶¹ Horn and Born 1979, 1: 314 and figs. 247-50, 2:184.

⁶² Bell 1989, 163n.

⁶³ Bell 1989, 163; Williams 1998, 252; Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 123n. For the early usages see Choisselet and Vernet 1989, 254-60. In the later Middle Ages, some of the larger Benedictine houses at least had a separate house for blood-letting and recovery and the whole event was regarded as a holiday. At Bardney (Lincolnshire), a grave cover records that Prior Walter Langton built the new place for the *minuti* at Southrey two miles from the abbey before 1426 (Brakspear 1922, 65-7).

⁶⁴ Venables 1889, 13.

chambers in the monks' infirmary.⁶⁵ Both these comments would seem to suggest a different room, if not a different building, for the seriously ill, which was spoken of separately from the monks' infirmary. Whether the 'seriously ill' (*grave infirmantium* and *graviter infirmantium monachorum* respectively) were on the point of death or were only seriously infirm i.e. old, must be a matter for debate. The famous early 16th century description of Clairvaux, however, describes a similar room, *la chambre griefve*, for those with infectious diseases.⁶⁶ One of the many chambers attached to the main hall at Croxden could have provided a suitable room for this purpose. Rievaulx's infirmary hall, built in the 1150s, was divided in a complex manner into many rooms but the date and purpose of the divisions is not known.⁶⁷ In other orders, too, the infirmary was divided into areas for long-stay patients and areas for day patients.⁶⁸

Such a basic division as that between two floors, as suggested at Croxden and Beaulieu, may well have been to accommodate the different communities who used the infirmary. However, the stone table legs deserve serious discussion here, since they may indicate a rather different sort of spatial division. Furniture like this does not often survive, which makes dating and comparison difficult.⁶⁹ Examples were found in the clearance of the refectory at Rievaulx which were rectangular, with chamfered vertical edges, and they are likely to be contemporary with the refectory building.⁷⁰ A more similar table-end to the Croxden examples was recently recognised at Fountains (fig. 75) within the guest hall discovered by remote sensing, provisionally dated to the late 12th century, as well as the stubs of twin supports, reminiscent of late 12th and 13th century cloister arcading, in the refectory.⁷¹ A rather more sophisticated example believed by Brakspear to date to the third quarter of the 14th century, survives at the Benedictine Abbey of Bardney in Lincolnshire (fig. 75).⁷² Aside from the principal – of a support carved from a single stone and with a single leg – the table supports of Fountains guest-hall and Croxden infirmary could hardly be more different than

⁶⁵Bond 1866, 3:223-4. 'Dormitorium etiam monachorum in tabulis et lectisterniorum apparatu, refectorium quoque tabulis post terga discumbentium, ac domum graviter infirmantium monachorum lectisterniis cum tabulis separatis, decoravit. Cameras privatas in infirmitorio monachorum separari et inhabitari per singulas instituit.'

⁶⁶Dimier 1982, 811.

⁶⁷Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 111-5.

⁶⁸Rawcliffe 2002, 49.

⁶⁹In 1905 Roe could comment 'of monkish tables there is an almost entire absence in England for most of them were destroyed' (1905, 209-10) and there is much truth in this comment, although many moveable tables may just have found new homes. Of stone tables the literature is almost bare. Eames catalogue includes no examples of tables with stone ends, although she notes one documentary reference to a marble one in Westminster Hall. There are more documentary references to fixed tables, which in the absence of other evidence might have had stone ends, while (wooden) slab-ended tables are thought to start from an early date. Eames 1977, 216 and 223-6.

⁷⁰Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 144-5. A more ornate design was also found.

⁷¹Emerick and Wilson 1992, 9; Hope 1900b, 364. Stuart Harrison has also recognised examples at Roche and Jervaulx, presumably in the stone collections (Harrison 1997, 114).

⁷²Brakspear 1922, 42-4. I am grateful to Dr. Glyn Coppack for drawing this example to my attention. As with the rest of Bardney Abbey, the table legs are no longer to be seen, having been reburied in 1931 as a conservation measure.

those of Bardney and this may be indicative of different dates for the two styles. In any event, they show that the buildings in question were a place for formal eating and that this use was, literally, fixed in stone (and buried in the ground). The lack of surviving examples may imply a distinctively monastic tradition, with no post-dissolution use, one where the functions of buildings were not mutable throughout the day as in a secular hall, nor even during the course of years.

At Croxden, the survival of the table legs in so many of the visible bays (three out of six, not counting one for the chapel, the fireplace and a door), as well as the loose examples, strongly suggests that much of the ground floor hall was used as a refectory. Yet even if only half the bays were used, the infirmary eating space would still be almost as large as the contemporary claustral refectory.⁷³ Tables could have other uses – the preparation and dispensing of medicines for example. A refectory use, however, may have been partly responsible for the decision to ceil the building in a single span, with open spaces being seen as more appropriate for a monks' refectory, just like the claustral eating hall. The internal buttresses here are problematic, since they divide the tables from each other, unlike either monastic refectories or secular halls in which tables below the dais would have been continuous.⁷⁴ Perhaps those who had been bled were served at one or more tables; old monks at another; the convalescent at another and so on. Following usual practice, the monks would have sat with their backs to the wall and no-one would have faced them. Allowing 3 feet of table per person, only two monks may have been accommodated at each table (the space between the legs is 1.85m/ 6ft 1in), although they might also have sat at the ends. If all the bays were occupied (allowing for the chapel, the fireplace and two lateral doors) then between sixteen and thirty-two monks could eat here, a substantial proportion of the convent even at its height.

This use of the ground floor at Croxden as a refectory may show the increasing use of the infirmary by the mildly infirm and convalescent – probably those who had just been bled, but who were not expected to sleep in the infirmary.⁷⁵ Earlier in the century, Stephen of Lexington required that monks and lay-brothers should eat together in their own infirmaries, save for the bed-ridden and blind, in one of his injunctions to the abbeys of Ireland.⁷⁶ Given the appalling conditions in the Cistercian abbeys of Ireland at the time, this comment can

⁷³ The size of the claustral refectory can only be determined from the plans of Charles Lynam, who located substantial buttresses at its southern end in his excavations (1911, plans 3 and 4).

⁷⁴ For the social context of eating see Girouard 1978, 30-50 and Wilson 1991. Monastic dining was as ritualised and hierarchical as secular dining, although with different overtones, and the basic layout of the hall was the same, confirmed, for example, by the foundations of the raised wall benches in the claustral refectory at Fountains Abbey.

⁷⁵ Aside from the strictures of the Cistercian statutes (see above), ordinary Benedictine practice was for bled monks to sleep in the cloister. This can be seen from the 13th century customary of Westminster. At Westminster, it was also usual for all but the very ill to be admitted only as 'day-cases', even in the later middle ages. Harvey 1993, 98 and 91-2.

⁷⁶ O'Dwyer 1982, 164, quoted in Williams 1998, 251.

almost certainly be read as a reflection of the norm elsewhere – a norm only practicable for the relatively fit. In 16th century Clairvaux, the convalescent are described as eating in the cloister, though this could only rarely be suitable in England.⁷⁷ Eating has always been recognised as one of the most important activities in an infirmary (hence the refectory in the plan of St. Gall, and the widespread identification of infirmary kitchens), yet this has not always translated into our understanding of 12th and 13th century infirmary buildings. Indeed, it may have been facilities such as those at Croxden that provided the kernel of truth in early criticism of the order as in the following satirical verse, describing the visitation of a father abbot:

Hinc facturus scrutinium
ad abbatiam equitat,
intrat infirmitorium,
illud in primis visitat;
ibi sumit edulium,
ibi libenter habitat⁷⁸

In this scenario, the abbot of Croxden and his guests might have eaten at the infirmary table prior to the construction of the new abbot's hall in 1335 since there they might eat meat and other fare not served in the claustral refectory. After the completion of the abbot's hall, if not before, the ground floor could easily pass into use as a misericord, where all members of the community could take turns to eat meat away from the cloister. If eating took place downstairs at Croxden the upper floor must have been used primarily for sleeping (though it may have been partitioned). This may have been awkward for the movement of infirm monks and indeed most Cistercian infirmaries were single-storey, as were Benedictine infirmaries and most secular hospitals.⁷⁹ Late 12th and early 13th century examples of two-storey infirmary halls include St. Thomas the Martyr, Canterbury; St. Mary's, Dover and St. Bartholomew, Bristol, all for secular inmates. In general, early secular hospitals do not provide good comparanda for monastic infirmaries. On the one hand they needed to provide all the necessary facilities for inmates, the religious and other staff and on the other they catered for a diverse range of groups, almost always poor – men, women, lepers, long and short term sick,

⁷⁷ Dimier 1982, 811.

⁷⁸ From *De visitatione abbatis* in Wright 1841, 185 and quoted in Micklethwaite 1882, 256. Wright ascribed the poem to Walter Map, but as modern scholars ascribe only a single prose work and a few short poems to him (Rigg 1992, 88) it is more likely that this belongs to one of the thousands of anonymous poems of the Middle Ages (Rigg 1996, 564). It is 'probably 13th century' (British Museum 1834, 37) and given that satire remained popular throughout that century it cannot even be confirmed that the criticism was directed at a Cistercian Abbot. The reference to a visitation by another abbot makes this most likely, however, since even after the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, it was some time before visitation became an accepted part of the life of other orders, and, aside from the Cistercian order, visitation within an order was never as important as that by the diocesan or metropolitan bishop (Knowles 1948-59, 1:78-84).

⁷⁹ One of the best sources on secular hospital buildings remains Godfrey 1955, though this has been recently supplemented by Orme and Webster 1995; Prescott 1992, chp. 5 and Gilchrist 1995, chp. 2. The last three, particularly Gilchrist, take into account more recent architectural and archaeological research.

travellers and occasionally students.⁸⁰ Monastic infirmaries, by contrast, catered only for choir monks and obedientaries, an elite group by any standards. That said, the difficulties of having patients upstairs is exactly the same for a secular community as for a monastic one, and on that basis a two-storey infirmary is no less likely for a Cistercian house than for a secular institution.⁸¹ It may further be significant that the three Kentish examples quoted above all have chapels set perpendicularly to the infirmary hall, as was commonly the case in Cistercian infirmaries (and contrary to the early Benedictine and secular norms⁸²). Perpendicular chapels were also common with single-storey infirmary halls in Kent where the earliest is early 12th century⁸³ and may suggest that Cistercian infirmary builders drew on this tradition, and a Kentish tradition may also have been the source for the probable two-storey halls at Beaulieu and Croxden. If so, the method of transmission requires more research.

If the chambers imply divisions between different parts of the infirm community, and the storied structure a possible division between eating and sleeping, then what of the chapel? Certainly the eastern annexe gives every appearance of being a chapel; it is a suitable size (6.86m by 4.21m/ 22ft 6in by 13ft 8in), with appropriate proportions and correct alignment, although it could not have accommodated many at a time. The external buttresses and the single remaining base suggest a vaulted structure, or at least an enriched one, yet it opens off what is essentially a refectory. This implies that the monks recovering from blood-letting were not expected to attend services in the conventual church or at least not all of them, but does it also imply that the bodies of the recently deceased were housed next to an eating area? There could, of course, have been a second chapel on the first floor, for those who could not move and to serve as the chapel for the dead, but any evidence for this has been lost. Structurally, a two-storey extension would not be unusual – perhaps the best example is in the eastern building at Netley, which has two two-storey extensions, the lower part of the southern one served as a chapel, but the arrangements above are not known.⁸⁴

So far, only two other Cistercian buildings have been looked at in any detail – the infirmary hall of Beaulieu Abbey and the eastern building of Netley Abbey, since both aided our understanding of the structure of Croxden's infirmary. Unfortunately, remarkably few Cistercian infirmaries in this country survive where the structure is well-characterised,

⁸⁰ See Orme and Webster 1995, 40-1 and chp. 3 for an account of the diversity of secular provision.

⁸¹ There was also a late 12th century two-storey hall in the infirmary complex at Ely. Holton-Krayenbuhl suggests that it may originally have been the cellarer's range, as it was later, but as it connected directly with the infirmary hall, this seems unlikely. Other possible uses include as an early infirmary's chamber or a more secluded dwelling for a privileged section of the infirm community. See Holton-Krayenbuhl 1997, 138-40 and 164-5.

⁸² The norm in both cases was an aisled hall with an axial chapel, sometimes with a nave and sanctuary and sometimes with just a sanctuary. The best early secular example is St. Mary's, Chichester, illustrated in every book on the subject (see note 79) and Benedictine examples of this plan abound. Three of the best can be found at Canterbury, Ely and Peterborough (Sparks 1991; Holton-Krayenbuhl 1997; Dean 1984).

⁸³ Prescott 1992, 10.

⁸⁴ Brakspear 1908, 476.

reasonably dated and well-attributed. Reasons for doubting the attribution of buildings at Roche, Netley, Jervaulx and the first 'infirmery' at Furness have already been discussed. At Buildwas, Calder, Coggeshall, Quarr and Whalley too little remains to characterise the infirmery sufficiently. Up to the end of the 13th century (essentially the end of infirmery building, as opposed to alteration and compartmentalisation) this leaves only Beaulieu, Croxden, Fountains, Furness II, Kirkstall I and II, Rievaulx, Tilty, Tintern and Waverley I and II (see figs. 67, 74, 77-83). Of these very little remains of Waverley I and Kirkstall I. In the case of Waverley only enough to suggest that the first infirmery was an early timber hall and provided the footprint for the later stone hall, and in the case of Kirkstall enough foundations to suggest a timber hall (fig. 79), probably with a single aisle but possibly with two.⁸⁵ They are important here because of their early date (mid-12th century and c.1200 respectively) and they, along with the other two early examples, Rievaulx (c.1150; fig.78) and Waverley II (c.1190-1200; fig. 80) suggest that early Cistercian infirmaries were single-aisled halls, markedly smaller than their respective monks' dormitories. Rievaulx's infirmery hall is proportionately much the largest since it is closest in size to the dorter (c.85% of the size of the dormitory).⁸⁶ This is perhaps a reflection of the emphasis which Aelred gave to care for the sick.⁸⁷ Of interest is the contrast between this single-aisled plan for monks' infirmaries and the double-aisled hall more common in the lay brothers' infirmaries of a similar date, though it is arguable that they are in fact misinterpreted guesthalls.⁸⁸

As far as one can tell from such a small group, later Cistercian infirmery halls are more diverse and, proportionately, much bigger – larger than their respective claustral

⁸⁵ For the infirmery complex at Waverley, the best account remains Brakspear 1905, 57-70. For Kirkstall, Hope's interpretation of the buildings is still important, although excavations in 1959 and 1964 revealed the foundations of a timber-framed building beneath the stone infirmery, and these excavations themselves were subject to a major reassessment more recently. The principal result of this was that the stone infirmery dated by Hope to the early 13th century may belong to the mid-13th century or later, and that the timber building, the supposed first infirmery, may be as late as 1200. See Bellamy and Mitchell 1961, 110, 118; Hope and Bilson 1907, 38-43; Moorhouse and Wrathmell 1987, 51-6; Pirie 1967, 33-36.

⁸⁶ In working out ratios for the following analysis, some effort was taken to discover at what point the dormitory ends. In many buildings, the separate roofing of the room above the sacristy/ bookroom, perpendicular to the cloister, suggests that this was not part of the dormitory (at Croxden); at others the east range was roofed continuously (Netley, and the remodelled dormitory at Fountains); at others still the dormitory clearly stops at the chapter house (Rievaulx, Furness) or, in Waverley's case south of the chapter house. Where there was an absence of clear evidence, it was assumed that the dormitory ran only as far as the sacristy, and the space above the chapter house projecting from the east range was nowhere included. Analyses of this sort are fraught with difficulties: technical ones, for instance in sometimes taking measurements from small-scale or old plans; and interpretational ones, for instance in looking simply at area, taking no account of doorways or fireplaces i.e. the amount of usable space within a building. Nevertheless, the exercise was found to be useful, especially since the ratios produced were often very different from each other, that is to say the differences are valid even with a large margin of error. The small number of examples did not allow for a worthwhile statistical analysis, however.

⁸⁷ Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 67, 123.

⁸⁸ Buildings interpreted as lay brothers' infirmaries survive at Fountains, Furness, Jervaulx, Roche, Waverley, and all of these have the double-aisled plan, also common to many early secular hospitals, and Benedictine infirmaries, but without the characteristic axial chapel.

dormitories. Tilty and Tintern (figs. 81-2), early and mid-13th century respectively, and probably erected not much later than their dormitories, both had double-aisled halls, 40-50% larger than their dormitories⁸⁹ while Fountains' infirmary had an aisle round all four sides of the building (fig. 83). The infirmary hall at Fountains appears exceptionally large, since it is more than twice the area of the monks' dormitory (240%). This may be due to the fact that the dormitory was built by 1170 and the infirmary not until 1220-47. At such a large and important abbey, what is odd is not the size of the infirmary, but the fact that, apparently, the east range was not further expanded. As already discussed, both Croxden and Beaulieu (mid and early-13th century; figs. 67 and 77) appeared to have two-storey infirmary halls, with a vaulted ground floor supported on internally projecting buttresses. If the area of the upper floors is taken into account then these too were somewhat larger than their contemporary dormitories (170%). Thus, these five examples (Tintern, Tilty, Fountains, Beaulieu and Croxden) appear to be proportionately larger and structurally more varied than the early examples. Their size may mirror a change in usage of infirmaries from sick and very old monks to include those recovering from blood-letting as well. It might also reflect changes in medical practice and attitudes, or the prosperity and wealth enjoyed by many Cistercian abbeys at this time or even the living out of certain members of the convent from an early period, aside from those whom the *Ecclesiastica Officia* allows to sleep outside the dormitory.⁹⁰ It seems too early a date to suggest that the monks went regularly to the infirmary to eat food forbidden in the claustral refectory, a building which, at Croxden, was contemporary with the infirmary and architecturally more impressive. Whatever the case, there seems to have been a move away from a monolithic idea of what was appropriate for a Cistercian infirmary. While aisles were retained in some buildings, in others two storeys were seen as the response, allowing for a greater segregation between different sections of the sick and convalescent community and for the provision of a generous refectory.

By contrast, the second infirmary at Kirkstall (mid-13th century, though the date is not well-determined⁹¹) was only a little larger than the first, and built on the same single-aisled model as the first one. Perhaps it was the result of innate conservatism or a sign of an early decline in numbers and wealth.⁹² Elsewhere, at Waverley and Rievaulx for example and perhaps Coggeshall,⁹³ convents either did not feel it necessary or have the means to rebuild their infirmaries according to new mores.

⁸⁹ For Tintern see Robinson 1995, 58, 64 and 69. The assumption made here that Tilty's infirmary was built by the time the abbey 'was brought fully to completion' by 1214 may not be correct given that all we know about it comes from parchmarks (see VCH Essex, 2:134; Galpin 1926; Hall and Strachan 2001).

⁹⁰ The sacrist, the cellarer, the hospitaller and the infirmarer (Choisselet and Vernet 1989, 236).

⁹¹ See note 85.

⁹² Although there is very little evidence either way - see Barnes 1982.

⁹³ For Waverley and Rievaulx, see above and for Coggeshall see Gardner 1955, 25.

The last of the great Cistercian infirmary halls, the second infirmary at Furness, built around 1300, enclosed a massive space (38.4m by 14.3m/ c.126ft by 47ft), unvaulted and apparently undivided by piers and with one of the largest single-span roofs of its time. As a single-storey hall, however, it was proportionately somewhat smaller (95% of dormitory area).⁹⁴ This is best seen as a result of its late date. Erected nearly a century after the east range, it probably catered for much smaller numbers of monks, and the space available per monk is likely to have been as great as that for the monks of Fountains or Beaulieu.

While this analysis is based on very few examples it does suggest that the infirmary hall at Croxden falls firmly within the diverse norm for Cistercian infirmary buildings of the mid-13th century. Although no attempt has been made to calculate the number of beds at Croxden, as has been done for some other houses,⁹⁵ the evidence suggests that provision – of beds and tables – was adequate or even generous by comparison with other examples.

As Barbara Harvey pointed out in her seminal study of Westminster Abbey, a monastic infirmary can provide the institutional analogue for the mass of secular, but invisible, care of the sick that took place in the home (as opposed to that for the indigent which took place in charitable hospitals).⁹⁶ While documentary sources are particularly valuable in the later medieval period, for the 12th and 13th centuries the buildings themselves are a most valuable record of attitudes to and treatment of the sick. This would be best understood by looking across all orders, at urban and rural examples and rich and poor houses. Not only might this have the power to inform about provision to the sick in general, but the characteristic aspects of the different orders, for instance the differently planned infirmaries of the Cistercians, would come into sharper focus.

⁹⁴ The issue of whether Furness' infirmary hall had one or two storeys has not been previously resolved. Hope appeared to have no opinion on the matter, while Dickinson said that it might have had one or two storeys and Bell asserted that it had two. However, in the one remaining wall which stands to full height (the east gable) and the stubs returning from it, there is absolutely no evidence of timber positions for a floor nor any other evidence which might suggest a floor other than the aesthetic division of the wall into storeys. I am extremely grateful to Jason Wood for taking the time to discuss this matter with me in depth at Furness.

⁹⁵ Hope made probably the earliest attempt, relating beds to bay divisions in the infirmary hall at Furness (1900a, 283). Yet, as a single-storey hall, it is highly likely to have been divided into eating space and sleeping space. The very ill could have been accommodated in the western chamber block. The eastern chamber block was divided into a chapel and service room on the ground floor and the first floor was almost completely cut off from the infirmary, with just one stair emerging externally close to the main entrance to the infirmary hall. It seems more likely that this suite was used by high status guests or officials. Fergusson and Harrison (1999, 121-3) make a similar analysis of the different infirmaries of Cluny and of Aelred's infirmary at Rievaulx.

⁹⁶ Harvey 1993, 72-3.

Chapter Five

The Church: Structure and Chronology

If the cloister is the heart of a monastery, then the church must be its soul. The *Opus Dei* was the most important work of a monk and this is shown in the coverage given to it in the *Ecclesiastica Officia*, where around seventy of the 121 chapters are given to the various offices and feast days, not including the chapters detailing burial services.¹ Although the Cistercian liturgy was pared down by comparison with Cluny and other contemporary Benedictine houses to allow time for manual labour and reading, at the beginning of the order the eight Divine Offices (Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers and Compline) still occupied three or four hours not including the time for mass.²

The aim of this chapter, though, is not to examine the liturgical arrangements of Croxden Abbey church since, beyond the locations of a handful of altars, no evidence on this subject survives at the site. The aim instead is to establish a structural and architectural history for the building and an absolute chronology, essential for understanding the early life of the convent. The principal architectural mystery of the building is its chevet with radiating chapels. Because this is such an unusual plan in English church architecture, it is most important to establish a date and a context for it which does not depend on the stylistic analysis of that plan itself (as opposed to other architectural elements such as the elevation or foliage details). Only once such a date is established is it possible to look for the sources for the chevet and, more particularly, the motivation behind its use. Sources and motivation are the subject of the next chapter, seen through the use of the chevet as a burial ground for the patronal family, for which the Chronicle is a rich documentary source.

Before beginning the architectural analysis, it is useful to point out the principal divisions of a Cistercian church so that the building can be understood clearly.³ The monks' choir was usually situated beneath the crossing and in the eastern bays of the nave. The high altar lay east of the crossing in the presbytery – at Croxden, in the chevet. The retro-choir, where infirm monks sat, occupied the bay west of the monks' choir, between the pulpitum

¹ Choisselet and Vernet 1989.

² Lekai 1977, 248-56 and 364-5.

³ Harrison, Morris, and Robinson 1998, 247-250 and Hillaby 1997a. See also King 1955, 66-77 and Draper 1987. For a discussion of the use of chapels see Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 165-6. For numbers of Croxden monks ordained in the late 14th century see Laurence 1951-5, B67-8.

screen to the east and the rood screen to the west. The rood screen also backed the altar of the lay brothers' choir which occupied most of the rest of the nave. The chief development in the period in question was the increasing need for altars, a consequence of more Cistercian monks taking holy orders.

The development of the church is examined here in relation to the development of Croxden's conventual buildings, its documentary history, and contemporary Cistercian and secular architecture. In the Chronicle, as we have seen before, two main building periods are suggested – a long one overseen by the first abbot, Thomas Woodstock, who ruled until 1229, and a second, energetic period between 1242 and 1268, overseen by the fifth abbot, Walter London, who famously 'built the half of the church'.⁴ The Chronicle also records the burial before the high altar of Nicholas de Verdun, the son of the founder, in 1231 and the dedications of the house in 1181 and the church in 1253.⁵

Before the 1980s, students of Croxden confined their studies of the church to different interpretations of the documentary history. Thus, Baillie Reynolds suggested that the whole church was built between the foundation and c.1250 – undoubtedly true, but hardly illuminating,⁶ while others have suggested that either the east or west end was built by Walter London. In the 1980s, Professor Fergusson drew attention to the absence of the 12th century building which must have served the first convent and suggested that the only part of this church surviving was the pier base in the north transept, and a few external courses in the south transept.⁷ In a subsequent more extended study of the church, the late Professor Hoey believed that, with the exception of parts of the south transept (discussed below), the extant remains 'accord best with the three decades before 1253'.⁸ Following a few earlier scholars, he also noted an 'ambiguous' dedication of the church in 1232, but this in fact did not take place – its record is the result of poor editorship on the part of Charles Lynam.⁹ Hoey thus suggests that the east end was complete by 1231 and that Abbot Walter then built the nave or nave and transepts, thus completing the 'half of the church' prior to its final recorded dedication in 1253. While Hoey's analysis is frequently used as the springboard for the one presented here, my conclusions are very different.

The remains of the church do not fall so neatly into the documentary periods as parts, at least, of the claustral complex. The analysis of the cloister in Chapter Three has already

⁴ Chronicle 1242 and see Chapters One and Three.

⁵ Chronicle passim. The year of Nicholas' death is not given in the 1334 entry but can be found in the Complete Peerage (Cokayne et al. 1910-59), and VCH Buckinghamshire, 3:227. The Chronicle, by contrast notes Nicholas' death in the entry for 1199, but this appears to be in error for his elder brother Thomas, who died in that year.

⁶ Baillie Reynolds 1946, 2.

⁷ Fergusson 1984, 123.

⁸ Hoey 1993, 38-9.

⁹ Hoey 1993, 38 following Lynam (1911, appendix), Hibbert (1912, 43) and Fergusson (1984, 122). The Chronicle entry for 1232 actually reads 'Judei sinagogam Lond' satis accurate construxerant. Christiani impetraverunt ut in honore beate Marie dedicaretur ecclesia'.

suggested that the north cloister/ south aisle wall, along with small projections for the ranges, was built before the rest of the conventual buildings, perhaps before the arrival of the convent in 1179. Much of the rest of the church, especially the south transept, is significantly more complex. There is no easy division into a Croxden I and a Croxden II, although these terms may be used as a shorthand. Croxden I (or the early or first church) then, signifies the building which was used by the first convent, however temporary, incomplete or unfinished it may have been, a building, in fact, which remains mysterious even at the end of this chapter. Croxden II (or the new work or later church) represents the building whose fragments can be seen today, certainly complete at its dedication in 1253. Between these two, however, were various Croxdens I or II a, b, c etc. as the church lurched from one form to the other in a series of building campaigns, resulting in the south transept gable in a wall of great structural complexity, although elsewhere few structural relationships survive.

In recent years there has been a growing tendency to appreciate the complexity of Cistercian church development more fully and this study is part of that trend. Where once we might have seen a straightforward sequence of separate churches, now the survival of one phase into another and the often unclear structural sequences that leaves behind are more fully understood – as for instance at Fountains, Byland and Tintern, to name a few.¹⁰ The areas of greatest structural complexity, or obscurity, can be found at the junctions with the cloister. At Croxden, examination of the church building is severely hampered, as in so many ruins, by its incomplete nature, partly the result here of the road driven through the church. Many parts of the building are only tenuously, or not at all, connected to other parts and some are represented only by foundations or by loose stones. In brief (fig. 84), most of the west front survives; most of the south transept's south and west walls; the east and west ends of the nave south aisle wall; the foundations of the north transept; and the foundations of the chevet along with half of the north-east chevet chapel. In order to better understand the whole, each discrete, or almost discrete section is described and analysed separately, with conclusions about the overall building sequence drawn at the end.

The Extant Building

The South Transept

The south transept is both the most complete and the structurally most complex part of the church still extant, so it is appropriate that it should be dealt with first. The south and west walls stand to almost full height, including the south wall of the south chapel together with

¹⁰ For Fountains, see Coppack 1993, 37-43 and Coppack and Gilyard-Beer 1993, 20-22; for Byland Harrison 1988, 53-107; and for Tintern see Robinson 1995, 50 and plan.

stubs of both the chapel east wall and the east wall of the main transept (figs. 85-90). The scene is dominated by tall, widely spaced lancets – two in the south gable and one and a half in the west wall – which rise as high as the vault allows (to c. 15.3m/ 50ft 2in from the bottom of the respond) and drop to just above the gutter of the sacristy roof and just above the cloister pentice respectively. The lancets are supremely plain – and set in an equal amount of plain wall face, with no mouldings other than a splay and rebate in those of the south wall and an additional simple nook shaft in those of the west. Many elements of a high stone vault survive. It was basically a quadripartite vault (fig. 85), but with a fifth rib in the south bay, which allowed each lancet to rise the full height of the vault. The ribs are moulded, with paired reverse beak mouldings and at the centre of each bay was a stiff-leaf boss (Appendix 1, section 1.1.5; fig. A2). Corbels, with separate abaci, set at window sill level, support the vault shafts. In the south wall, *en délit* shafts (all missing) ran to the stiff-leaf capitals of the vault which springs from the bottom of the east wall clerestory. The vault springers (built in shallow *tas-de-charge*) are stilted against the south wall – a result of the extra rib between the two lancets here. Hoey found comparisons for this feature in Tynemouth Priory, Southwell and Fountains,¹¹ but it can also be seen in the aisles of Hugh's choir at Lincoln.

In the west wall, the vault shaft is large, coursed and strongly keeled, and the capital above is a moulded triple capital rather than the single foliage capitals favoured elsewhere in the transept. A capital of the same shape and dimensions, but with wind-blown, stiff-leaf foliage survives in the loose assemblage, almost certainly also from the west wall of the south transept (Appendix 1, section 1.1.3; fig. A1).

Below the level of the windows, the west wall is blank, while in the south wall doors lead to the sacristy and to the dormitory. The sacristy door is very simple, round-headed, with two continuous chamfered orders and it is set low, commensurate with the level of the cloister some 0.80m (2ft 7in) below the transept floor. The night door has a pointed arch, a continuous inner chamfered order and an outer chamfered order supported by moulded capital, shafts (now missing) and bases. Above, on the west side, is an incomplete hoodmould, with only two pieces each with a different moulding. The lower has a crozier-like termination.

In the stub of the east wall of the main vessel of the transept (fig. 90), some of the elements of the elevation are apparent: the respond of the chapel entrance, with part of the arch above; the string-courses which separate the three storeys; one jamb and part of the arch of the triforium opening; the springing of the vault; and part of the external sill of the clerestory. The two chamfered orders of the arcade (the inner one is missing), were supported by a substantial respond with large central keeled shaft and, on each side, a chamfered element, a small round shaft and a chamfered backplate, all coursed (fig. 91). The base and capital of the respond are simply moulded and the base has an extra keeled element to the west, presumably initially to

¹¹ Hoey 1993, 45.

support a keeled wall shaft, a design clearly abandoned.¹² As with the south and west walls, the triforium of the main elevation is largely blank wall, although in this instance it is relieved by the abaci continuing as string-courses. The outer chamfered order of the opening was supported by a foliage capital (with coursed shaft and moulded base), while only a chamfered jamb remains of the inner order. A double opening, with a central shaft and capital and an oculus above, is most likely, as is most common in many early Gothic buildings (fig. 93).¹³ Of what remains of the clerestory, all that can confidently be said is that the window was about the same width as the middle storey opening, and by comparison with the west and south walls, it would have risen to the vault and the internal sill would have dropped to the string-course. With such limited space given to it, it was probably a single lancet. The external sill is set at a high level and there would have been room for external windows to the triforium, unless the roof had an abnormally steep pitch (fig. 94). While external triforium windows are not a common feature of English Gothic, parallels can be found, including at St. Hugh's choir, Lincoln.

The (missing) corner vault shaft rose from the bottom of the triforium, and this would probably have been the case in the rest of the elevation, although the shafts may have risen from the top of the arcade capitals. In either case, particularly the latter, these bay divisions would have given some vertical articulation to an elevation which otherwise has a strong horizontal emphasis. The narrow openings of the upper two storeys add to the vertical feel, however. These slight remains show the proportions of the elevation to have been approximately 17:9:12.

The chapel to which the arcade leads is tiny (approx. 3.7m/ 12ft 2in square) but high (6.32m / 20ft 9in). It was covered by a quadripartite vault with chamfered ribs (and chamfered wall ribs) with a pointed spine (see Appendix 1, section 1.1.4; fig. A1), supported on the west by the respond and on the east by a foliage capital and (missing) corner shaft which dropped to the ground. There is a piscina in the south wall, although the bowl is now missing.

Anomalies, Building Breaks and Structural Development

Little can be said about the west wall of the transept, although there is a building break at its junction with the south aisle wall and the stonework above and below string-course level has a different appearance (colour and texture). Externally, the analysis of the east range (Chapter Three) suggested that the north side of the book room door and the lower west transept wall with which it is continuous, belonged early in the building of Croxden, perhaps before the monks moved to their new abbey in 1179.

¹² Indeed this could never have worked, since the base projects too far west to support a shaft in the south-east angle of the transept.

¹³ Hoey 1993, 42-3.

The south gable wall, however, is far more complex, as Hoey recognised. He suggested that the sacristy door, seven courses above it and all the wall to the west up to this level belonged to the 12th century.¹⁴ My analysis largely follows this but looks at all the possible building breaks throughout both elevations, as shown in figs. 94-5 where mis-coursings are shown in green and interpreted breaks in blue. The interpreted breaks are not observable, but the logical consequence of the visible building breaks. Given the uniformity of geology and masonry across the whole site and all the building periods at Croxden, the invisibility of some building breaks is not surprising. Some of the mis-coursing, such as that around the late rough-tooled refacing under the piscina and occasionally around architectural elements can be discounted as peripheral to the principal inquiry here. The features which require explanation internally are, as Hoey identified, the stepped joint above the east shoulder of the sacristy door and higher still, the vertical joggled joint running parallel to the east wall of the transept. It was doubtless these which made Hibbert believe, in 1912, that the transepts were originally planned and partly built at only 26ft east-west.¹⁵ Additional to these two main building breaks are two joints above the night door and, at the top, some uncomfortable coursing between the windows and the vault. Some of these features are replicated externally: there is a stepped course above and east of the sacristy door (further east externally than internally); and there is a joggled joint higher up lying close and parallel to the buttress (once again further east than the equivalent internal joint). One straight joint is also visible above the night door. Two things are apparent: firstly, that the block of masonry on the west side at the bottom, labelled (1), including all or most of the door to the sacristy is the earliest element in the building sequence; secondly, that the vertical joggled joint is indicative of the eastern section (the chapel wall and respond) having been built up against a pre-existing feature, probably a north-south wall, located hard by the sacristy door.

If these two deductions are accepted, then the structural sequence of the south transept can be explained in the following way (numbers follow those on figures):

- 1) The original transept, built prior to the arrival of the convent, includes the lower courses of the current west wall, probably up to window sill height, and the western section of the current south wall, up to the top of the stepped joint and including the lower jambs of the night door and most (originally all) of the sacristy doorway. Although the sacristy doorway is so low, there is no evidence to suggest that the first church was at this level. Indeed, the slope of the land probably always favoured a church higher than the cloister.
- 2) With the transept still standing and in use, the new chapel was built up against the old east wall, which would later create the vertical joggled joint. On the south elevation, the new wall stopped on the west side of the buttress/ arch, 0.15m (6in) further east than internally.

¹⁴ Hoey 1993, 39-40.

¹⁵ Hibbert 1912, 44-5.

- 3) The east wall of the old transept was removed and the south and west walls lowered to c.3.5m (11ft 6in) above the floor. The east jamb of the sacristy door must also have been taken down before the old work and the new were joined. Internally, this join was coursed in with the new work and cut around the old, although in the area between the sacristy door and the respond, the coursing works both ways in order to reuse the stones of the eastern jamb which required rebuilding. Externally, the upper half was cut around both the new and old work. Lower down, stone was reused for the inner orders of the east jamb of the sacristy door, which are coursed with the west jamb, but the outer order appears to have been mostly rebuilt, since all but the lower four courses course not with the door, but with the eastern buttress. The new work shows that the vault for a second, eastern, bay of the sacristy was already planned as the seating for it projects from the wall face, and the transverse arch here is pointed (see also Chapter Three). The seating for the vault of the western bay of the sacristy is, by contrast, cut into the wall face and, because it has to go around the arch of the door, it is not pointed. The sacristy vault corbels must all belong to this phase, with the one on the west being an insertion into the old work, skilfully done.
- 4) At some point, the upper parts on the west side of the transept were begun. Internally this shows as a straight joint immediately below the rerearch of the lancet above, showing that the sill level of the lancets was originally intended to be lower. The arch of the night door was begun, with a hoodmould on the west side. Externally, the boundary of this work is not obvious.
- 5) Certainly later than (3), but possibly at the same time as (4), the upper levels on the east side were begun, the courses of which are cut around the joggled vertical joint of (2), both internally and externally. The western extent of this work is marked internally by a stepped joint and externally by three courses of butt jointing. The plan to have lower sills for the lancet windows was abandoned.
- 6) This small area of masonry joins the new west work (4) with the new east work (5). The hoodmould for the night door was abandoned.
- 7) Once a level course had finally been established across the whole of the gable wall, the upper half could be built altogether. The uncomfortable coursing between the wall ribs and the rerearches of the lancets may be indicative of no more than the usual break in build between walls and vault – the roof being constructed in-between.

There could have been a considerable break between the beginning of the new work (2) and the dismantling of the old transept but once this had taken place there would have been some imperative for (3) to (7) to have been built as quickly as resources allowed, the new transept to be roofed and available for the use of the choir monks. The vaulting may also have been delayed for some time after this, and this would fit well with the analysis of the vault ribs

presented in Appendix 1 (section 3.5.4), which suggests that the lower parts of the church were vaulted under the auspices of Abbot Thomas, before 1230, and that Abbot Walter was responsible for the high vaults. This would also explain why the liturgically more important chapel space had only chamfered ribs, while the main transept had highly moulded ribs with foliage bosses (Appendix 1, sections 1.1.4 and 1.1.5; figs. A1-A3), bosses, incidentally, which are formal and poorly carved by comparison with the foliage capitals of the transept and chapter house.

Stiff Leaf Foliage

Aside from the chapter house, the south transept contains the largest group of stiff leaf capitals and corbels at Croxden, and they are more varied than those in the chapter house. They can usefully be compared both with those of the chapter house and those in influential buildings elsewhere, to establish both the chronology of and the influences on the second south transept.

Although badly eroded, certain characteristics are clear. Most of the surviving foliage in the south transept (five of nine examples) are ‘wind-blown’, with strongly carved stems and gently sideways-curving leaves, usually in a single tier, occupying the top third or half of the bell, without any great outward projection (fig. 96). The chapter house façade also has many examples like this (fig. 52) and they are closely paralleled at Lichfield, in the south transept, crossing and choir aisles, and in the chapter house of Chester Abbey (fig. 96).¹⁶ Despite the superfluity of different designs in Lincoln Cathedral, there is no foliage there so similar. There are leaves in both the eastern transepts (fig. 96) and the nave which are beginning to curl round their capitals, but they are more undercut and cling less to the bell. Some of the work at Thornton Curtis (North Lincolnshire; fig. 96), clearly derived from Lincoln, is also a little like the Croxden capitals.

The remaining examples divide into two further groups; a single stone in the chapel and three in the east side of the main vessel. The former comprises upright stems clinging to the bell in a convex manner, each dividing into several small leaves (fig. 97). Work similar to this can be seen at Lincoln (Hugh’s choir and the south-east transept) and also at Thornton Curtis, where the many-leaved effect is created by having two tiers each dividing into three leaves.

The last three foliage capitals in the south transept, in the south-east corner and in the triforium, have (or had, as they are badly eroded) broad upright stalks each with a single outward projecting curled leaf (fig. 98). The lower of them has two tiers. Something similar can be seen at Lichfield (south transept, loosely dated to 1200-30), Lincoln (Hugh’s choir, 1192-1200) and chapter house, (suggested date 1220 onwards) and also in Croxden’s chapter

¹⁶ These similarities have been pointed out before (Hoey 1993, 45-6; Thurlby 1993, 59-60). Rodwell suggests dates of 1200-20 for this work (1993, 29-31), while Thurlby favours the 1220s or 30s for the transepts (1993). The date of the Chester chapter house is not well established (Thurlby 1993, 58-9).

house façade, built before 1229 (figs. 98 and 52).¹⁷ Another variety can be found in the south-west corner of the chapter house, with two layers of broad leaves (with a central vein) narrowing to a single tier of outwardly-curling leaves (fig. 53), and again this seems to have its closest parallels in the choir and chapter house of Lincoln.

The Croxden foliage does not point to links with the west – there is no similarity with foliage at Dore or Valle Crucis for instance. Instead the evidence points to Lincoln as a source of inspiration, especially in the transept chapel and arcade. By the time the new work on the south transept was completed in the south gable wall, more tightly-gathered wind-blown leaves were in use. The identical forms of the foliage with work at Chester and Lichfield suggest that Croxden was sharing masons with them, or perhaps the development of a north-west Midlands workshop with its own distinctive foliage. At Croxden, however, it should be noted that in the chapter house wind-blown foliage was used in combination with other styles.

Excavations

Although no formal archaeological excavations of the south transept have been undertaken, in 1956, during the clearance of the church, a ‘well’ was dug to provide access between the south transept and the sacristy.¹⁸ This uncovered a wall running parallel to the south wall, 3ft away (c.0.90m). It was 9ft 6in long (c.2.90m), starting 10ft (c.3.05m) from the west wall with returns at each end – 3ft 2in (c.0.95m) at the east end and 3ft 4in (c.1.00m) at the west (see fig. 84). It is not clear whether the ends of these returns were discovered. The accompanying sketch suggests that the top of the feature was at ‘floor level’, presumably the bottom of the respond rather than the bottom of the sacristy door, which was inaccessible and it was recorded as having a level bottom at a depth of 3ft 6in (c.1.05m). It was described by the visiting officers as a ‘pit-lining’ and it was removed to facilitate access to the transept from the cloister.

Although it is possible that this feature belongs to some sort of post-suppression industrial usage, it is at least equally likely that it represented the remnant of a burial vault or cist. Its size need not be problematic, since many 14th and 15th century slabs, including continental imports, are this size or bigger.¹⁹ If it had functioned as a cist, then stairs could easily have been provided on its south side to span the difference in height between the sacristy and transept floors. The question of who might have been buried there will be discussed in Chapter Six.

¹⁷ For the Chester and Lichfield dates see note 16. For Lincoln see Kidson 1986, 160-6; Pevsner, Harris, and Antram 1989, 449-65, 480; Wilson 1992, 160-9; Baily 1991 and Kidson 1994.

¹⁸ English Heritage File AM 090911/04 PT1, September 1956 and April 1957 and English Heritage File AM 090911/05 PT1.

¹⁹ I am grateful to Sally Badham for clarification of this point.

The North Transept

Only partially robbed foundations survive of the north transept, showing it to be a distorted mirror of the south transept, since no two corresponding dimensions are exactly the same (figs. 84-5). Both the chapels and the main vessel are heavily buttressed indicating that, like the south transept, it was vaulted. This was confirmed by an analysis of the loose ribs and bosses (Appendix 1, section 1.1.5; fig. A3), which strongly suggested that the north transept was vaulted with a different rib from that of the south transept – in the north transept, a central roll-and-fillet flanked by reversed beaks.

A narrow foundation, either for a wall bench or blind arcade or both, lies against the west wall, on top of monochrome floor tiles (c.93-98mm/4in square). Both the foundation and the tiles were reset in the 1950s by the Ministry of Works, but care was taken that everything should be 'fixed as found'.²⁰ Enclosed by the bench foundation are a circular corner base at the north end and the ghost of a respond base halfway along the wall (fig. 99), showing that this wall was fully articulated, with round *en délit* shafts rising from the ground, in contrast to the south transept west wall, with its single keeled shaft rising from sill height.

One block of the north respond base of the main arcade survives. Although larger in plan, it is similar to that of the south transept, with an ogee keeled central base and subsidiary semicircular bases (the one on the east is lost). The moulding is a single projecting roll, with a chamfered platform for the shafts above, also like but unlike the south transept, since the proportions are different. The arcade base or sub-base, which marks the division between the two chapels has been reburied for protection for many years, but the accurate copy in the display area shows it to be completely unmoulded, with incised lines set out on top (fig. 92). In plan it is cut in the shape of an early Gothic clustered pier, with large keeled shafts in the cardinal directions and small round shafts in the diagonals. Comparison of the dimensions with those of the respond base strongly suggests that this piece is not a base with the setting out for shafts (as suggested by Hoey²¹), but that it is a sub-base, with setting out lines for the base, although it is unusual in being cut to the same shape as the clustered pier above. This is the base which Fergusson interpreted as belonging to an original 12th century church, while Hoey suggested that it belonged to a rebuilt church of the 1220s or 30s (see below for a new interpretation).

The eastern side of the base, towards the chapels, is not shaped but cut off square. This was clearly to facilitate the erection of a screen between the two chapels. Blank mouldings on one side of the piers occur in a number of Cistercian churches and here the narrow (0.25m/ 10in) smooth foundations behind point to a timber screen. Against the robbed east wall of each chapel is a narrow masonry block (c.0.2m/ 8in deep), three courses high and

²⁰ English Heritage File AM 090911/04 PT1.

²¹ Hoey 1993, 39.

faced only on the west. They might represent the bases of later medieval reredoses, although the southern one in particular is not at all centred within the chapel space. The foundation to the south of the chapels is peculiar and possibly robbed but there are no obvious breaks in the foundations either within the north transept or between it and the adjoining choir.

In the external angle of the north transept and nave north aisle there is a block of masonry foundation approximately 1.8m by 2.5m (5ft 11in by 8ft 2in), partially keyed with the north aisle foundation. It has all the appearance of the base of a small stair tower which could have given access to the vaults of the nave aisle and across them to the main elevation of the nave.

The Chevet

The chevet has two straight aisled bays, an apsidal east end with ambulatory and five projecting circular chapels. With the exception of half of the north chapel (fig. 100-1), the superstructure is lost, but almost the whole plan of the chapels, with small axial buttresses and larger ones at the angles of the chapels, is apparent in the foundations. The inner wall of the chevet ambulatory is also visible in partly-robbled continuous foundations, while the western end of both the south presbytery and south aisle wall, including the junction with the south transept, has been lost to the road. It was found by EDM survey (see Appendix 2) that the axes of the chevet and nave, although parallel, are misaligned by c.0.4m (1ft 4in) with respect to each other, suggesting either that they were not laid out together, or that they were laid out around a pre-existing church with no sight-lines between them.

At the junction of the north aisle and north chapel the entire respond survives (fig. 101). As in the transepts, the base moulding is a single roll (overhanging in the chapel entrance) with a platform above for the shaft, although once again, the profile is not exactly the same as any other in the church. There are two main shafts, both coursed and ogee keeled (the ogee worn away in many places), one to the aisle and one to the chapel entrance. The latter is flanked by two small circular shafts, which respectively support, via the subsidiary capitals above, the diagonal rib of the ambulatory and the diagonal rib of the chapel. As in the south transept the abacus is separate, but the mouldings of the capital are even simpler. The arch and vault elements appear to have been placed on top of the capital with no attempt at *tas-de-charge* or of using the space available fully. Since *tas-de-charge*, on a very small scale, is used competently inside the chapel, this cannot be the result of technical inadequacy.²² The chapel entrance arch and the transverse arch of the ambulatory are the same – a single broad chamfered order. The diagonal rib of the ambulatory vault is moulded with a prominent axial roll flanked each side by a projecting fillet and hollow and it has a pointed spine (Appendix 1,

²² Richard Morris believed there may have been some rethinking of the design at this level (English Heritage Croxden Abbey Moulding Survey, card RKM 0119).

sections 1.1.2 and 3.5.4; figs. A1 and A43). The diagonal rib of the chapel is also moulded and also has a prominent axial moulding (a fillet) and a pointed spine. The chapel has two different wall ribs;²³ that in the outer bay is chamfered while that in the inner bay, flanking the window, is moulded with two rolls, an interesting architectural emphasis of the liturgically more important area close to the altar. In the extant wall the vault is supported on a foliage corbel but opposite the entrance there must have been a respond, since a small circular base can be found here. The corbel itself is badly worn but may originally have looked like the external nook shaft capital of the window (fig. 102), which has a single row of broad leaves, rather like those of the south jamb of the book room door and the north-west corner capital of the chapter house (fig. 47). It is also remarkably like those in the north choir aisle at Lichfield, which have a suggested date of 1190-1200 (fig. 103).²⁴ Like those, and unlike all the corbels and capitals of the south transept, the abaci in the chevet chapel are square. The chapel window was a simple lancet with a large internal splay and small external chamfer and nook shaft. The glazing was held in place by a wooden frame, the rebate for which is cut down into the sill, just as in the south transept. Thurlby noted this and believed it to be the expression of a local workshop, also found in Lichfield cathedral.²⁵

Another indication of the architectural arrangements of the chevet can be found in an engraving by Blore made in 1810 (fig. 14). It clearly shows the south aisle wall of the first two bays, with one complete respond. Blore shows it as a triple respond, which seems to be at odds with the evidence of the extant respond on the north side. Perhaps of greater importance is the representation of a small centrally placed door in the second bay from the crossing. It has a pointed arch and hoodmould and would have led to the east side of the claustral buildings. It was perhaps for those monks whose daily work took place in that area of the precinct, as well as for those infirm but well enough to attend the hours.²⁶ Later it would certainly have served the abbot, when he had a separate residence. In the first bay, behind Blore's rustic farm-worker, are the indications of what may be a similar door, offset to the west, leading into the northern chapel of the south transept.

Patches of floor tiles show the presbytery floor to have been level with those of the ambulatory and transepts, with the chapels a step up. The rough top of the inner chevet foundations is at a similar height to the presbytery showing that when standing, the piers of the choir and ambulatory arcade must have been raised above the surrounding floor level on a continuous plinth. Similar features can be seen in France, at Noyon Cathedral (late 12th

²³ A feature first spotted by Hoey (1993, 44).

²⁴ Rodwell 1993, 26-9.

²⁵ Thurlby 1993, 60.

²⁶ Though these sat in the bay between the pulpitum and rood screens. See note 3 and Choisselet and Vernet 1989, 258, 296.

century) and in the square choir and ambulatory of Salisbury Cathedral, where Peter Draper ascribed it to a subtle architectural differentiation of liturgically more important areas.²⁷

Moving from the floor to the roof, only speculation is possible but it should be pointed out that the chapels were the same height internally as the ambulatory. Although they might have been roofed separately (as with the later roofs at Noyon) a lean-to arrangement seems more likely. Some idea of how it might have looked can be seen in figs. 104-5. The roofing arrangements of the chevet might even explain the high rear wall to the triforium chamber in the south transept (fig. 94). In the chevet, that rear wall could have supported the chapel roofs, its continuation in the transept part of the consistent architectural character of the different parts of the church. The high triforium, externally rising as far as the clerestory sill would also have adequately buttressed the high vaults of the chevet and transept. There is strong evidence for high vaults in the chevet from the stone collection (Appendix 1, section 1.1.5; fig. A3) and they had ribs matching those of the north transept high vaults. Like the transepts, the chevet high vaults appear to belong to a later period than the walls and low vaults, probably to the time of Abbot Walter (1242-1268).

Within the chevet, a number of *in situ* coffins can be found, four monolithic and four cists, including one of a child abutting that of an adult (fig. 84). Medieval coffin shape is not very susceptible to analysis, but for the record three of the monolithic coffins are tapered with a head recess, the most common type of medieval coffin, while one is hexagonal (tapered both ends), another standard form.²⁸ One of the cists also has a head recess, while this and two other cists, including the infant's are tapered. The three coffins in the ambulatory are unusually not aligned east-west, but slightly splayed, perpendicular to the tangent of the apse. This may indicate that, contrary to usual English practice, the chevet chapel altars were not set on the east sides of the chapels, but at their axes, such that the dead lying in the ambulatory were pointing directly to them. This ties in with the wall ribs of the north chapel giving greater emphasis to the bays either side of the axis.

The almost rectangular cist on the north side of the presbytery uses the foundations to form one side of the coffin and slightly cuts into them (fig. 106). In fact, the cist is well-bonded with the foundations and it is very difficult to say whether it was built at the same time as the chevet or cut in afterwards. If the former, this is not to say that a member of the patronal family serendipitously died during the digging of the foundations, only that accommodation was already being made in that place of highest honour, in front of the high altar, for the patrons of Croxden. One burial might have taken place as soon as the chevet was complete, and that is the translation of the bones of the founder's father, but this is recorded next to the

²⁷ Draper 1987, 87.

²⁸ See for example Willmore 1939, Bruce-Mitford 1976, figs 2-3, Greene 1989, 12 and Kemp and Graves 1996, 266.

altar of the Holy Trinity, on the north side.²⁹ The first recorded burial in front of the high altar was not until 1231 and it was of Nicholas de Verdun, the son of the founder,³⁰ since Bertram, the founder, died on Crusade in 1192 and was buried in Acre. Other candidates for this coffin are John de Verdun (d.1274) and Joan Furnival (d.1334).³¹ The position, to one side of the presbytery, points to the presence of a carved effigy above, since this was a convenient location – still close to the high altar, but not interfering with the sight-lines from the choir to the altar. The only surviving effigy at Croxden might have belonged to John de Verdun (Appendix 1, section 1.4.1; fig. A9). The subject of patronal burial will be dealt with in more detail in the next chapter.

Excavations

Clearance by the Ministry of Works in 1960 uncovered an otherwise unrecorded north-south stretch of wall, probably reburied (fig. 107).³² It was found ‘approximately in the centre of a line running from the East wall of the North and South Transepts’ and ‘just below the floor level which we are bringing along.’ This almost certainly refers to the east walls of the transept chapels and this little wall must have lain below the level of the inner chevet foundations (fig. 84). Since most of the east wall of the south transept chapel is missing, it is not clear where the mid-point between this and the north transept chapel east wall was measured, but it must have been within the chevet. The workmen revealed two courses 1ft 1in (0.33m) deep and 2ft 11in (0.89m) north to south, still with plaster on the west face and two small westward-projecting returns. Fragments of tile were found at the bottom. It seems most likely that this marked the east end of a cist, like those seen elsewhere in the chevet and transept. It could not be better placed with respect to the high altar and could belong to any of the people listed above. Nicholas is perhaps the most likely, since he died before effigies became very popular, which could not be allowed to clutter this vital space of a Cistercian church.

The West Front and Nave

Before beginning, it should be briefly remembered that the whole central section of the west front was taken down and rebuilt in the late 1930s (see Chapter One) and this included the

²⁹ *Chronicle* 1334. See Chapter Six for the full quotation.

³⁰ This is also recorded in the *Chronicle* reference for 1334. See note 5.

³¹ In fact, seven boxes of human bone, probably from five burials, lie in the English Heritage store at Atcham. They appear to have been removed from Croxden in the late 1950s (judging by the newspapers), but unfortunately no-one was aware of them when the post-excavation was done in 1997. They include the bones from ‘the grave with the lead coffin’, which if they are female, may allow a provisional identification of that burial with Joan. I am grateful to Heather Bird, of English Heritage (Atcham store) for finding this information for me. Oddly, there is no record of bones being found in the Ministry of Works files on Croxden.

³² English Heritage File AM 090911/04 PT1, January 1960.

north jamb of the south window and the south jamb of the north window. After rebuilding, new core work was piled on top. However, it was done with such care that although the central section is not a medieval wall but a rebuilt medieval wall, interpretations based on this wall can be reasonably relied upon (see fig. 7 for pre-reconstruction photograph).

The initial impact of the west front is not dissimilar to that of the south transept. The wall is completely dominated by the stepped three lancets and externally, by the doorway. The lancets are narrower than in the transept and drop lower, with no cloister or east range to prevent this. The lancets, with only a small external chamfer and an internal rebate and large splay, sat below a continuous external hoodmould. To either side, large unchamfered buttresses were carried up as pinnacles – the bottom of the northern one is still visible. There is also the remnant of a lancet at the west end of each aisle. As in the chevet and south transept, the rebate for the frame in the west front lancets is cut down into the sill.³³ Although rose windows are now seen as a typical feature of Cistercian church gables,³⁴ there is no evidence for one at Croxden either in the buildings or the loose fragments.

The central door has five moulded orders, and a hoodmould (fig. 108). The inner order is supported on an impost block and comprises a gouged roll and flanking beaks. The four outer orders, supported on capitals, shafts and bases, divided by small intermediate coursed shafts, are all the same with an axial roll-and-fillet flanked by a chamfered beak on one side and a roll on the other. The capital and base mouldings are slightly more complex than those of the south transept; the former with a beaked roll and demi-roll-and-fillet below an integral abacus and the latter with a classic water-holding moulding. The door for the lay brothers at the end of the south aisle is small, and has only chamfered jambs and an impost block; the voussoirs above carry a series of rolls, much simpler than those of the west door, although the hoodmould is the same. Both doors are severely plain when viewed internally (fig. 109). The south aisle door is set much lower than the west door of the nave (the floor of which is about 0.3m/ 1ft lower than the transept and presbytery), no doubt because it connected directly to the lay brothers' range via a pentice, as seen in Chapter Three. Although this range was not completed until some time after the church, this arrangement must have been planned from an early period.

Large parts of the nave arcade responds survive. They are nearly identical to that of the south transept, with a large central keeled shaft and on each side a chamfer, subsidiary round shaft and another chamfer against the wall. The base, by contrast, is not moulded at all, and the capital is slightly more complex, with two members below the abacus, which is not integral. Above, a fragment of the arch shows it to have been made up of chamfered orders, probably two, also as in the south transept. Loose stones, and the records of Charles Lynam

³³ The south lancets in the south transept have not been examined for this feature as they are too high.

³⁴ See for example Harrison 1987 and Harrison 1995.

provide evidence that the piers of the arcade were clustered, with keeled shafts in the cardinal and round shafts in the diagonal directions (Appendix 1, section 1.3.2; fig. A8).

Aside from the arcade, the west front gives other clues regarding the nave elevation (figs. 109-10). Above each respond a line of projecting stones can be seen marking the line of the nave wall. Just inwards of these, *c.* 7.0m (23ft) from the ground are substantial cut-outs around 0.55m (1ft 10in) high. Another *c.* 3.05m (10ft) higher again are further cut-outs, narrowing one and a half courses higher to create a very thin strip of masonry next to the rerearches of the lancets. These four features are best interpreted as marking the divisions of the nave elevations. The lower square cut-outs are close in height to the top of the aisle vaults and would have housed a corbel with an abacus cum string-course above which would have sat at the bottom of the triforium, with a corner shaft above, just as in the south transept. Similarly, the upper cut-outs would have housed a capital and abacus/ string-course, which would have marked the bottom of the clerestory. Above this, the narrow strip of wall face strongly indicates at least an intention to vault the nave, which would also explain the massive buttresses to the west front. There is no positive evidence at all in the loose stone collection that the nave was vaulted in stone, and while this is not conclusive, it should probably be assumed that this was not the case. Ceiling a nave in wood, more common in England than elsewhere, seems more likely and the transepts or choir at nearby Lichfield were covered by a wooden vault before 1243.³⁵ That a quadripartite (or sexpartite) vault existed rather than a barrel ceiling (as at Byland³⁶) is apparent, since otherwise there could have been no clerestory. A last possibility is that the lancets were enclosed within a wall rib, that the masonry extended beyond this and that the nave just had a wooden roof, but there is little comparative evidence for this solution.

Above the west end of the north aisle, a roof weathering can be seen which must mark the line of the aisle roof. This shows that the triforium chamber was quite large, and that the external aisle wall could have stood as high as *c.* 1.5m (4ft 11in) at the back of this chamber, perhaps with external windows, as proposed for the south transept. Unfortunately, nothing can be said of the openings of the middle storey at all, although the marked similarities between the transept and the nave suggest a similar opening (fig. 93). The external sill of the clerestory windows could not have sat below the aisle roof weathering which is some way above the internal string thought to mark the bottom of the clerestory, so there must have been a very high internal sill. Again, it is impossible to know more about the clerestory openings. I have so far assumed that the nave elevation was of three distinct storeys, given the evidence and the many other similarities between it and the south transept. The possibility that there was no middle storey, as in earlier Cistercian architecture but also in the nave and presbytery of

³⁵ Thurlby 1993, 50, 53; Rodwell 1993, 33. See also Hearn and Thurlby 1997.

³⁶ Harrison 1999, 6-7.

Gothic Dore (c.1180s, fig. 111),³⁷ cannot be ruled out, but the proportions of the Croxden elevation, with a very large middle storey and small clerestory windows, make this less likely. In fact, the arcade and the middle storey are the same heights as those in the south transept (c.6.97m/ 22ft 10in and 3.67m/ 12ft respectively). If the vault of the nave rose no higher than the central lancet, then the clerestory would have been c.0.6m (2ft) shorter than that of the south transept, although it is possible that there was blank wall above the lancet and that the elevation had exactly the same height and proportions as that of the south transept.

That the cut-outs are just that, cut-out (see fig. 110), may indicate that the west façade was built prior to the nave walls, just as the cloister east range façade was built prior to the building behind. Furthermore, since the lower features are cut into facing stones and the upper ones appear not to have been cut square to the face, it is possible that the nature of the elevation, and of the vault above, were not fully worked out when the west front went up.

The South Aisle

At the west end of the south aisle south wall, bays two and three survive to full height (fig. 112), together with parts of bays one and four. At the east end, the lower sections of bays seven and eight survive, faced only on the cloister side. A few revetted courses (since the church stands higher than the cloister) connect these two sections. The aisle is narrow, only 2.85m (9ft 4in) and in the western section the bay widths are 5.27m, 5.23m and 5.19m (c.17ft 2in). The aisle wall bonds reasonably with the west front and the details are very similar. Save for the south-west corner, which must have been corbelled, the vault is supported on keeled responds, with an unmoulded base and a capital with almost the same profile as that of the arcade respond. The remains of the vault springers above show that the diagonal ribs were chamfered, and that the transverse ribs were broad and chamfered, just as in the chevet ambulatory. The wall ribs were keeled, unlike the chevet and transept chapels (the ambulatory wall rib is lost) but like other conventual buildings at Croxden with chamfered vault ribs, such as the west range and dormitory undercroft. The building break just west of the western respond, which corresponds with a break visible inside the west range, has already been noted in Chapter Three (figs. 112a and 39). It should also be noted that each of the responds is poorly coursed with the surrounding masonry, although the mis-coursing is sometimes at a little distance from the shaft.

The stub of the fourth bay contains the only information regarding the lighting of the aisle, since the first three bays have no windows. The first two bays back onto the west range, but the lack of a window in the third bay is surprising. Externally, the window sill of the fourth bay is set just above the cloister pentice, on top of the string-course; internally, it is set c.0.50m (1ft 8in) lower, but with no splay between. There are simply moulded bases internally

³⁷ Harrison and Thurlby 1997.

and externally and the internal jamb looks as if it is about to burst through the wall rib of the vault while the external jamb rises higher still. Both lack their capital. The initial impression is of a later window inserted into an aisle which had lost its vault but the details are all early Gothic. Three antiquarian illustrations show a feature in the south aisle, those by the Buck brothers and Stebbing Shaw (figs. 11-12)³⁸ and an anonymous water-colour (fig. 13), dated 1805. The latter depicts the south aisle and much overgrown west front. The window is shown clearly in the fourth bay as a group of three lancets, with an inner screen with moulded capitals and missing shafts – the central lancet may rise slightly higher than the flanking ones, although the capitals appear to have been set at the same height. The jamb apparently cutting through the wall-rib is in the fifth bay. Another painting by the same artist, of the chapter house, sacristy and south transept, is remarkable for its accuracy, so the details shown in the nave south aisle can be reasonably relied upon.

The pictorial evidence, combined with the physical evidence, is clear that the aisle windows were triple lancets, with a separate inner screen. The outer jamb shows that externally the lancets rose to make maximum use of the wall space; they were probably all of equal height. The inner jamb also rises as high as possible and the side lancets were probably asymmetrical (fig. 113). Asymmetrical lancets can be seen in clerestories (e.g. St. Hugh's choir, Lincoln, Ely choir and Salisbury where the asymmetry is masked by cusping) but are rare lower down. Local to Croxden, the arrangement can be seen at ground storey in the three western bays of the choir north aisle at Lichfield (although little survives in the central of these bays; fig. 103). The earliest of this work has been recently dated by Rodwell to c. 1190-1200, although he subscribes the asymmetrical lancet head to a later phase, when the western group of lancets was built and the vaulting added (suggested c. 1220),³⁹ although surely the vaulting was planned from an early stage. The central lancet may also have been stilted, a feature which can be seen at Pershore, Worcester, Salisbury and Ely (all 1220s – 1240s). One stone from the loose collection is indicative of stepped lancets, although probably not from a window with an inner screen, while another is indicative of grouped lancets of equal height, and has a similar profile to the external jamb of the south aisle window (fig. A23).

The surviving eastern section of aisle wall contains one feature, the processional door from the cloister (fig. 33), the inner face of which is no longer extant and which has already been briefly

³⁸ The Buck engraving contains so many gross errors that it is impossible to put much faith in the representation of parts which have disappeared. However, it shows a blind triple arch against the south aisle wall, near its east end. There is also a partially buried trefoiled opening north of this, which might relate to the screening of either the monks' or lay brothers' choirs. The Shaw water-colour also shows a triple opening in the south aisle wall, the central arch rising higher than the lateral arches. Here it is shown, surely incorrectly, in the fifth bay, with capitals to the arches but missing shafts. In the next bay, the sixth, is one side of a straight jamb which looks as though it would have cut through the vaulting of the aisle, as the now extant one does.

³⁹ Rodwell 1993, 26-9.

described in Chapter Three. To recap, on each side are eight water-holding bases which once supported detached fluted shafts, badly mutilated stiff-leaf capitals, probably similar to those of the chapter house, and three moulded external orders above. Although the rolls of the voussoirs are grooved rather than beaked, the mouldings are quite similar to those of the west door, particularly the inner order which also has beaks either side of a roll, here with an ogee fillet. The stylistic links of this doorway to the west door and to the chapter house suggest that it should belong with the new work identified in the south transept and not the old, although Morris suggests that the grooved roll 'is seldom encountered after 1200'.⁴⁰ Against this, it was suggested in Chapter Three that the north wall of the cloister, up to the string-course, was one of the first parts of the new abbey to be built. As Hoey also noted, however, there is a very clear break at the junction of the aisle with the south transept below string-course level (above string-course level, the wall belongs to the new work; fig. 114).⁴¹

The North Aisle, Crossing and Fragments

There is little indeed of the north aisle; a return against the west front and the foundations of the eastern two-and-a-half bays, not even those complete, the relationship with the north transept lost. Charles Lynam uncovered an area of monochrome floor tile inside the aisle wall, with three rows set square to the wall and at least three more rows set diagonally.⁴² Parch marks can be seen in dry summers which locate the crossing piers and the easternmost arcade pier (fig. 84). The marks were squares set diagonally, *c.*0.75m (2ft 6in) north-south in the case of the arcade pier parch mark and *c.*2.05m (6ft 9in) in the case of the north-west crossing pier, and they showed that the width of the eastern nave bay was only *c.*4.5m (14ft 10in) as opposed to an average for the remaining bays of 5.22m (17ft 2in). The parchmark of the north-east crossing pier measured *c.*2.85m north-south (9ft 4in). The massive size of the crossing piers clearly show that the crossing was differentiated, most probably with a tower above and the narrow width of the eastern bay may have been to provide buttressing for that tower – indeed the bays of the presbytery are even narrower at *c.*4.0m. The exceptional size of the parchmark for the north-east crossing pier might indicate the location of a vice (as at Lichfield) which could have given access to the aisle vaults of the chevet and transepts, and to the high vaults of the chevet and north transept. Cistercian legislation against towers makes it likely that the tower was low and the convenient answer to a structural problem (that of joining four roofs coming from different directions) rather than the opportunity for an architectural display.⁴³

Other evidence about the aisles and possibly the crossing comes from the loose architectural stonework (see Appendix 1, sections 1.2 and 1.3; figs. A4-7). Perhaps most

⁴⁰ Morris 1992, 5.

⁴¹ Hoey 1993, 39.

⁴² Lynam 1911, pl. 50.

⁴³ Fergusson 1970; Fergusson 1984, 46-8.

interesting is pier base 429 with a water-holding profile, which can be reconstructed as an octagonal base, with the main sides concave, each with a shaft set-in (Appendix 1, section 1.3.1; fig. A7). As reconstructed, at c. 1.30m (4ft 3in) north-south, this base is only slightly larger than the clustered respond bases of the nave arcades. Although larger than the parchmark of the eastern pier, it is somewhat smaller than the parch mark of the crossing pier. This pier form is not common but an almost identical type can be seen in St. Hugh's choir in Lincoln Minster (fig. 115), itself inspired by a similar feature at Canterbury. Hoey recently identified similar pier types in a handful of parish churches in Nottinghamshire,⁴⁴ which must have been inspired by Lincoln directly or indirectly. The pier which he identified at Marnham is of particular interest since the form of the stiff-leaf foliage above is particularly close to those of Croxden.

In addition, five respond capitals are represented (Appendix 1, section 1.2.2; figs. A5-6), all with different moulding profiles, but all for semi-circular shafts of c. 260mm (of which eight sections survive) i.e. very close in size to the keeled respond shafts of the south aisle. Their most obvious origin is the north aisle since only four responds are missing from the south aisle and only two from the chevet, plus two corner responds (not counting the six of the chapels, which would have had a different geometry). Aside from their scale, they are quite different from similar extant features in the south aisle and chevet, with their round shafts, integral abaci and noticeably more ornate mouldings, which, in fact, are very similar to those of the cloister arcade, down to the occasional use of nailhead. However, since these responds are also quite different from the nave north arcade respond, which is the same as that of the south arcade, other possibilities must be sought. In the case of the pier base, one possibility is alternation of pier types or a creative variety, popular in English early Gothic.⁴⁵ In the case of the aisle responds, the evidence of the south aisle makes this less likely and a better possibility is the building of the nave in different sections, with all the loose respond shafts and capitals, and probably the pier base, coming from the eastern half, now completely destroyed.

Interpretation and Chronology

The analysis above has revealed many important features of the building. In particular, there is a substantial degree of uniformity between the different extant parts: the use of keeled responds throughout; the lack of elaboration of any details; the emphasis on lancets in the gables rather than a division into storeys; the use of moulded capitals in the lower parts of the main vessels; the vaulting of the lower levels, with broader transverse ribs in both the ambulatory and the nave aisles; the use of responds rather than corbels in both the nave aisle

⁴⁴ Hoey 1998, 77-8 and pls. 24-5.

⁴⁵ Hoey 1986.

and ambulatory; the strong horizontal divisions of both the nave and south transept elevations into three storeys. There are differences, of course: the unmoulded bases of the nave compared with the eastern arm, but the slightly more complex capital mouldings in the nave; the simplicity of the chevet chapel capitals compared with the stiff-leaf of the south transept; the different arrangements of the west walls in the north and south transepts. While these differences may be indicative of a developing design, they are, with the exception of the loose aisle capitals (Appendix 1, section 1.2.2), pier base 429 (Appendix 1, section 1.3.1), and possibly the stiff-leaf in the south transept, pretty minor. It seems likely that the whole building – that is to say the whole extant building after the earliest work identified in the south transept and the north cloister wall – was planned in one and built largely in one campaign, although not necessarily a short one.

The close similarity of the chevet capitals both to those in the book room door, previously identified as early in the building history of Croxden (see Chapter Three) and to some of the earliest Gothic work identified at Lichfield suggests that the east end was the earliest part of the new work to be laid out and begun, certainly by 1200. This would also fit well with the use of clustered northern piers and keeled responds, in use in Cistercian contexts at Byland and Roche from the 1170s and with the beginnings of the English Cistercian experiments with more elaborate east ends at Byland in the 1170s and Dore in the late 1180s.⁴⁶ As we have seen, Fergusson thought that the incised base (or sub-base) of the north transept must belong to the 12th century church, while Hoey gave examples of later uses of this pier type, part of his argument that the church at Croxden was not started before the 1220s.⁴⁷ In the interpretation presented here, the piers belong to the second church but are also as early as the 12th century. By the time work on the chevet had reached the south transept chapels, a new form of foliage capital was in use, and when the main vessel of the south transept was raised, the foliage was more varied and lively again. As we have seen, the stiff-leaf capitals of the south transept have close parallels in a number of other buildings – Croxden's own chapter house (finished before 1229); the chapter house at Chester (poorly dated); at Lichfield, in the crossing, part of the south transept, and the remodelled part of the choir aisles (suggested dates span 1200-20); and capitals in Hugh's choir and the eastern transepts at Lincoln Cathedral (c.1192-1200). Equally importantly, the Croxden capitals are not very closely related to the slightly later ones in the nave at Lincoln (conventionally considered to have been finished but not vaulted by 1233⁴⁸).

⁴⁶ For Byland see Harrison 1999, 27-8; also Fergusson 1984, 69-83, Wilson 1986 and Harrison 1988; for Roche see Fergusson 1984, 62-6 and Fergusson 1990b and for Dore see Fergusson 1984, 94-100 and Harrison and Thurlby 1997.

⁴⁷ Fergusson 1984, 123 and Hoey 1993, 39. See also Fergusson 1979, 13-17 and Kemp and Graves 1996, 239-40.

⁴⁸ Pevsner, Harris, and Antram 1989, 460.

The clustered piers of Lincoln nave, and also Southwell choir, where each shaft sprouts from a central core are also different from the northern piers to which group the Croxden piers belong, where the shafts key behind one another.⁴⁹ It may also have been northern and early Gothic Cistercian buildings, like Roche and Byland, which influenced the Croxden master's choice of elevation, with its strong horizontal divisions (also seen at Lincoln) and single paired opening at triforium level (whereas Lincoln has two paired openings in each bay) with blank wall space either side. By comparison with all of these buildings, however, there is a much greater emphasis on blank wall at Croxden. The lack of wall passages, as Hoey pointed out, has few parallels in great church architecture, including Gothic Cistercian churches, with the exceptions of Roche (fig. 116) and Dundrennan.⁵⁰ The three-storey design of the elevation, apparent in the south transept and in the nave is also best paralleled in 12th rather than 13th century Cistercian buildings – Roche, Byland, Dundrennan, Kirkstead, although the elevations of Roche and Dundrennan are dominated by the main arcade. Rievaulx choir may have been the last Cistercian building to have adopted three storeys in the 1220s, since the move back to two-storey elevations had already begun at Fountains around the same time, albeit in a very different form from the early Cistercian ones.⁵¹ Local buildings in the 13th century were also adopting two-storey elevations, for instance in the choir of Southwell Minster, begun before 1233 and in the transepts at least of Lichfield Cathedral.⁵² Despite the exceptionally tall attenuated lancets of the nave and transept gables and in the transept west walls, there was an apparent lack of interest at Croxden in reducing the main elevations to only two storeys. As with the clustered piers, the use of broad transverse ribs in the aisles and ambulatory (also visible in the aisles of Hugh's choir) and the flat foliage capitals of the chevet, once again suggests a fairly early date for the design of the new work.

The very unusual form of pier base 429 (see above) must relate to the similar piers in Hugh's choir at Lincoln and, as with the foliage capitals, shows more than a passing knowledge of this hugely influential building – how this might relate to the plan of Croxden will be discussed in the next chapter. The modesty of Croxden Abbey Church, of course, can in no way be compared with the creativity and exuberance of St. Hugh's Lincoln. Base 429 is different from anything else at Croxden and this suggests that it represents the last element to be built in a campaign lasting many years. Although they are more conventional than this pier, similar to many of the moulded examples in the transepts at Lichfield and to those of the cloister arcade at Croxden, the loose aisle capitals are also different from all other material from the church. On this basis alone it is tempting to relate them to the pier and it is logical to

⁴⁹ For Southwell choir see McNeill 1998.

⁵⁰ Hoey 1993, 45.

⁵¹ Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 169, 164; Coppack and Gilyard-Beer 1993, 7; Coldstream 1986.

⁵² For Southwell see Engel 1998 and for Lichfield see Thurlby 1993.

propose that both the respond capitals and the pier belong to a now-lost section of the nave aisles, namely the eastern section, flanking the monks' choir, rather than to the north aisle alone. In such a location, the elaborated details could properly mark a liturgical difference. The earlier chevet also has more elaborate details, including moulded bases, moulded ribs and foliage capitals, than the western half of the nave.

The evidence of the second church at Croxden is incomplete and it is surely possible to construct more than one outline of its structural history, but the similarities and differences, comparisons and building breaks, suggest to me the following building sequence:

- 1) A small early church, built after the first foundation of Croxden in 1176 but perhaps prior to the entry of the convent in 1179 and certainly before the first dedication in 1182. It probably only comprised the monks' choir, transepts and presbytery, although the south aisle wall was built beyond the length of the cloister. The nature of this first church will be discussed in more detail below.
- 2) Within twenty years, a decision had been made to rebuild the church to a grander design and a slightly larger scale. With no evidence of an earlier *conversi* choir, the west end may have been started first, with the insertion of the aisle responds into the north side of the cloister wall, and completed as far as the west end of the first monks' choir. It was as much the completion of the old church as the beginning of the new. At almost the same time, the chevet was laid out and begun, along with the north and south transept chapels. The few architectural details (clustered piers, main elevations) point to the influence of the Yorkshire Cistercian houses, particularly Byland and Roche, as well as the beginning of the close relationship between the builders of Croxden and of Lichfield, visible in the chevet capitals. The slightly later foliage capitals of the transept chapel and arcade show the distinct influence of St. Hugh's choir at Lincoln.
- 3) The old presbytery, north transept and upper parts of the old south transept were dismantled and the new eastern half was completed, probably including the crossing. This must have been done before (possibly well before) the burial of Nicholas de Verdun in 1231. In the south transept, the new work was joined to the old and the upper parts completed, using a new style of foliage for corbels and capitals. This seems less dependent on Lincoln, and almost similar details can be found at Lichfield Cathedral and Chester chapter house, as well as the chapter house at Croxden itself. The delay between this and the beginning of the chevet could be due to interruptions in patronage (Bertram de Verdun died in 1192 and Thomas in 1199) or to the adverse effect of the interdict on Cistercian houses.⁵³

⁵³ Knowles 1966, 366.

- 4) The eastern section of the nave, replacing the old monks' choir was built last, using a different architectural vocabulary, probably indicative of a new architect, influenced by different aspects of Lincoln Minster, from which the unusual pier design is directly copied. The aisle respond capitals are richly moulded and semi-circular shafts are used instead of keeled ones. The processional door probably belongs to this phase of building and here a connection might be made with contemporary building at Lincoln, where the chapter house entrance (begun by 1220-30⁵⁴) is also framed with numerous fluted shafts – a motif copied from Croxden at nearby Ashbourne parish church (fig. 117). It is also tempting to suppose that the west door, which has similarities with the processional door, might have been remodelled at this time. Whether or not the screened lancets of the south aisle belong to the western section of the nave or the eastern is a moot point. With their grouped lights and inner screen, these windows have no obvious links with other architecture at Croxden, which perhaps suggests that it belongs with the new monks' choir (even if, in the fourth nave bay, it may have been a remodelling), although such features can be found in the early work at Lichfield and in the clerestory at Lincoln. Like the processional door, it was copied at nearby Ashbourne (fig. 118).
- 5) Despite the Chronicler's statement that Walter London built *medietatem ecclesiae* none of the new work obviously belongs to his period in office (1242-68), although a case might be made for the last section of the nave (the monks' choir). We are on safer, but still speculative, ground when proposing that Abbot Walter was responsible for the high vaults since the ribs, with their flanking beak mouldings and flat spines have a family resemblance to ribs used in claustral buildings built by Abbot Walter (see Appendix 1, section 3.5.4, for full argument). The mouldings of the high vault also have more links with southern buildings rather than the northern ones to which the earlier architecture refers.⁵⁵ Since Walter London came from Stratford Langthorne, and since some of his other buildings such as the infirmary have close links with work at Beaulieu and Netley, this may be significant. The stiff-leaf foliage bosses of these vaults (Appendix 1, section 1.1.5; figs. A2 and A3) are quite simple, in contrast to both the foliage capitals at Croxden and to bosses in Lincoln and Lichfield, to which the Croxden foliage is related – a further argument that the vaulting was part of a different campaign. The proposed wooden vault in the nave may well have been constructed at the same time – it is certainly unlikely that a vault for the nave should have been constructed before those in a more-or-less contemporary eastern arm and many of the fittings, such as the screens and benches of the

⁵⁴ Pevsner, Harris, and Antram 1989, 480-1; Kidson 1994, 26.

⁵⁵ Jansen 1984, 84-7 and 96-7. In her analysis of beaked mouldings, Jansen identified only 11 buildings in the north of England, which used this type compared with 36 through the whole country. It is possible, of course, that more remain to be discovered. See also Hoey 1993, 45.

two choirs, might have been renewed. Certainly the work must have been substantial enough to justify a new dedication of the building in 1253.

Apart from the few structural sequences, and the likely completion of the eastern arm before 1231, the arguments regarding the dating of the church at Croxden are largely stylistic. Some of these connect work on the church with work in the cloister e.g. the beginning of the chevet with the book room entrance and the later work in the transepts with work in the chapter house, complete in its first phase by 1229. The stylistic indicators which point to other buildings appropriately enough suggest dates earlier than these documentary *termini ante quem*, starting as early as the 1170s. This means that the first abbot, Thomas Woodstock, was largely or wholly responsible for the gradual augmentation and rebuilding of the church. This is a contrast with the work in the cloister, where it is Walter London whom we find enlarging and remodelling, as well as completing the cloister by building the kitchen and west ranges from new. In Chapter Three, the enlargement of buildings such as the chapter house and dormitory was associated with the growth of the convent and, while the opportunity may have been taken to update buildings, particularly the chapter house and refectory, the spur was essentially necessity coupled with adequate means. Thomas Woodstock's decision might have started with the necessity of completing the nave with the lay brothers' choir, but the new eastern arm cannot be explained in this way. In any event, the works reflect tellingly on both the more-than-adequacy of the first 'temporary' domestic and claustral buildings, many of which were not replaced for many years, and on the attitudes of the abbot and convent to their church. Despite the disruption rebuilding must cause, a greater building would reflect more greatly the glory of God, more so, presumably than the completion of a stone cloister.⁵⁶ The motivations behind the rebuild and design of the east end will be examined more closely in the next chapter. The decision to rebuild must also reflect on the nature of the first church, of which little has been said so far, and it is to this that we now turn.

The First Church at Croxden

If some of the discussion of the extant ruins was speculative, then this must be more so. Ostensibly, all that remains is the lower part of the south transept south wall (west of the arcade respond), including the round-headed door into the sacristy and the lower courses of the north door; the lower courses of the south transept west wall, with no architectural features other than a chamfered buttress; and part of the south aisle wall between the processional door and a building break in the first bay, with shallow chamfered buttresses with waterleaf-style

⁵⁶ The building of the cathedral was one of the acts which illustrated the saintliness of Hugh of Avalon at Lincoln. See Smith 1987, 24-5.

stops and no internal features. This is little to go on indeed. If it were not for the obvious complexity of the south transept gable wall it would be possible to think that there had only ever been one church at Croxden, albeit with a longer-than-average building history.

The architectural context for the first church must be that belonging to the time of the abbey's foundation i.e. the 1170s. In terms of the plan, this means that the unaisled early Cistercian churches can be discounted, although many Augustinian churches were still built in this fashion.⁵⁷ Aisleless churches were still extant at Waverley, Tintern, Sawley and perhaps Neath at Croxden's foundation,⁵⁸ but they are unlikely to have served as models except possibly for a building only ever conceived to be temporary.

By the 1170s, by far the most common Cistercian church plan in England was still that based on the second church of Clairvaux, rebuilt from 1135 (to the so-called 'Bernardine' plan, since it was built in the lifetime of St. Bernard). Churches built to this plan had an aisled nave, square-ended aisleless presbytery and unsegregated crossing lower than the nave, and projecting transepts each with two or three chapels in the eastern aisle. Although the theory, proposed by Esser and developed by Hahn in the 1950s, that these churches shared the same precise proportions has gradually been abandoned in the face of more detailed measurement,⁵⁹ there is no doubt that this basic plan form remained influential. There were significant variations from it, including the *en echelon* arrangement of the inner transept chapels seen at Melrose, Rievaulx and Fountains II, all standing in the 1170s. From around the 1160s the differentiation of the crossing, with a small tower above, became commonplace, seen for instance at Fountains II, Bordesley (these two in modification of the first design), Roche and Dundrennan. Although this was a minor change to the plan, it was a major change to the massing of the buildings and even to the interior feel. The four arms were now all of equal height (though this has been reconstructed for Rievaulx before its crossing tower) and this adoption of towers, combined with changes like the updating of elevations and the removal of solid walls between the transept chapels, enabled the cruciform square-ended presbytery to be the plan of choice well after the adoption of the Gothic style of architecture.⁶⁰ After all, it served the functions of any modest Cistercian convent and many communities retained it up

⁵⁷ For instance Lanercost (Cumberland), after 1169 (Summerson and Harrison 2000, 5, 177-81) and Kirkham (Yorkshire) around 1180 (Coppack, Harrison, and Hayfield 1995, 64-70). Both these cite other contemporary examples of aisleless Augustinian churches.

⁵⁸ For discussion of Cistercian aisleless churches see Coppack 1993, 26-7 and Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 47-50. For Waverley, see Brakspear 1905 and Robinson 1998, 199-201; for Tintern Robinson 1995 and Robinson 1996; for Sawley, Coppack 2001 and Coppack, Hayfield, and Williams 2002; and for Neath Butler 1984 and Robinson 1998, 149-51.

⁵⁹ Esser 1953a; Esser 1953b; Hahn 1957, especially 66-82; Walsh 1980; Hirst, Walsh, and Wright 1983, 222-9; Stalley 1987, 68-75.

⁶⁰ See the gazetteer in Robinson 1998 for numerous examples, also Stalley 1987, chapter 3. Hulton, local to Croxden and founded in 1218-20, still retained the 'Bernardine' plan (Morris forthcoming).

until the dissolution – it might even have been a deliberate reference to the early years of the order.⁶¹

If the first church at Croxden was not a purely temporary building, it is most likely that it was built to this common Cistercian plan. Based on the architecture of the church and the analysis of the cloister, it has already been proposed that the presbytery and the nave as far as the end of the monks' choir was in place before the arrival of the convent in 1179. This would make the first church contemporary with that of Roche, also laid out to the 'Bernardine' plan and one of the earliest Gothic buildings in the north of England.⁶² Croxden I may have been Gothic but its early replacement makes this seem unlikely. Roche may have made Croxden church look out-dated as soon as it was built, as would Byland, slightly earlier than Roche.⁶³ Byland, however, had already taken account of the liturgical need for more altars and this is certain to have been another factor in the replacement of the eastern arm at Croxden, while the needs of the patronal family (to be discussed in the next chapter) may have been a third, even decisive, reason.

Size may also have been a factor – research at Fountains, for instance has revealed two smaller earlier churches, and a small early church is also proposed for Rievaulx.⁶⁴ However, it is clear that the cloister garth at Croxden was always planned at its final size and at this period of Cistercian prosperity it seems unlikely that a new and reasonably endowed abbey would have built its first church (or the eastern half of it) to a scale designed to last only a generation. Other factors may have been at work in its replacement – perhaps the church was in some way inappropriate. At Meaux, the first stone church begun by the second abbot (1160-1182) was torn down by the third abbot (1182-1197) because 'it had been arranged and constructed less appropriately than was proper', and the church begun by the third abbot was swept away by the fourth and begun again in 1207, finally taking some thirty years to build.⁶⁵ This suggests that at Meaux there was some debate over what constituted an appropriate Cistercian church. At Croxden, though, there was no grand sweeping away or destruction of earlier work (and the actuality at Meaux may have been less dramatic than the chronicle) and every effort seems to have been made to keep each part of the first church functioning until the last moment.

The physical evidence unfortunately is not sufficient to determine the scale of the first church or even whether it was aisled or not. Assuming, in the south transept, that the junction of the new work with the old marks the return of a narrow first transept, this can be extrapolated in different ways (fig. 119). It could be in proportion with an aisleless nave

⁶¹ Coldstream 1998, 50.

⁶² See note 46.

⁶³ See note 46.

⁶⁴ For the early churches at Fountains see Gilyard-Beer and Coppack 1986, 173-83 and for Rievaulx Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 48-51.

⁶⁵ Fergusson 1984, 133-4; Bond 1866, 1:171, 234, 326.

(perhaps always planned as temporary) with a high corbelled springing for the arcade. This reconstruction accounts well for the apparent lack of any earlier fabric in the north transept (although it is all foundations) and the apparently early buttress on the south wall which could have supported the first arcade.

Alternatively, if the first nave (monks' choir) was aisled then the first transepts may have been almost on the same footprint as the new ones, with an east end not far from the apse of the chevet. In this scenario, scale was not a major part of the incentive for the new transepts and presbytery. Only the ring of chapels and parts of the choir aisle walls could have been built before the old presbytery and transepts were dismantled. The conjectured north-south wall just east of the sacristy door can be accounted for in different ways. Perhaps the original intention was to rebuild the chapels but not the entire transept and a temporary west wall was provided to minimise the disruption to conventual life. Or perhaps the early transepts had no chapels at their extremities (as at Augustinian Bolton and Colchester) or were planned *en echelon*, as at Melrose, Fountains and Rievaulx (fig. 119).⁶⁶ This hypothesis, with Croxden I on the same scale as the later church makes better sense of the proposed replacement of the eastern bays of the nave last in the sequence. The construction of the western four or five bays of the nave can be seen not as the beginning of a new church, but as the necessary completion of the old. Similarly, the construction of the new presbytery and transept chapels at close to the same time is part of a move by Cistercian convents to rebuild the east ends of their churches to a grander scale and with more chapels, given sufficient funds and sufficient will. Given the enormous care taken initially to preserve the early fabric of the south transept, its subsequent rebuilding is less explicable, except as part of a careful programme to keep the *opus dei* as little disturbed as possible.

Questions surrounding the form of the first church are likely only to be solved by excavation, and given the presence of the road, perhaps not even then. In the last few years geophysical investigations have indicated possible features in the north transept and possible north-south walls in line with the eastern crossing and the east chapel walls (see Appendix 3). The results, however, are far from complete and much more work needs to be done.

Summary

Although the first church remains mysterious, it is likely to have had a square-ended presbytery and to have been built only as far west as the end of the monks' choir. The sequence and chronology of the extant Gothic church are now reasonably clear. The beginning of the new work dates from the 1190s and probably started with the western half of the nave

⁶⁶ For a useful series of comparative plans of Augustinian churches see Summerson and Harrison 2000, 179 and for the Cistercian churches see Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 51.

and the chevet chapels more-or-less contemporaneously. There appears to have been a slow building programme, or some delay before the transept was rebuilt from the height of the sill of the west window with a new form of foliage decoration for the capitals and corbels. The south transept was certainly complete by c. 1230 and could have been finished ten or twenty years earlier. The eastern bays of the nave (perhaps with the crossing) were replaced last with an entirely new aesthetic – round responds rather than keeled, more complex capital mouldings, screened grouped lancets in the aisles rather than the emphasis on blank wall visible elsewhere and an unusual octagonal shafted pier form copied straight from the choir of Lincoln Minster. While this change in style is undoubtedly the result of a longish building programme, and surely a new architect, it is not possible to say whether it belongs to the last years of the first abbot (Thomas Woodstock, 1178-1229) or to the early years of the fourth (Walter London, 1242-1268). The documentary evidence certainly favours the latter, while the physical evidence suggests that the high vaults over the eastern arm were the work of Abbot Walter. Physical and comparative evidence suggests a wooden vault over the nave may have been completed at around the same time, perhaps just before the dedication of 1253.

The early date of the chevet, some twenty-five years earlier than previously thought, is of particular interest since the origins of this unusual plan and the motivations for it are of some importance. This is the subject of the next chapter, to be approached through the documented use of the eastern arm of the church as a burial ground for the Verdun family.

Chapter 6

Burial, Patronage, and the Chevet¹

Burial

On 7th January 1335, the last representative at Alton of Croxden's founding family, Joan, was buried in the abbey three months after her death. We may imagine that the funeral was one of some pomp and ceremony: her body was interred before the place of highest honour and greatest holiness, the high altar; the abbot of Croxden officiated and was assisted by the abbots of Burton, Combermere, Dieulacres, Hulton and Beauchief and by the priors of Worksop and Ecclesfield.²

This scene was the culmination of a relationship between the Verdun family and Croxden Abbey which had lasted for over a century and a half. The aim of this chapter is to explore that relationship, particularly the way in which it was represented through church burial, and in the writings of the Croxden Chronicler. The enduring importance of the abbey to the founders and more especially the importance of the founders, and their bodies, to the abbey will become apparent. In the light of this, the second half of the chapter returns to the architecture of the church, and re-examines the plan of the chevet, taking likely patronal influence into account.

Cistercian Background

Before looking in detail at the Croxden burials, however, it is worth remembering that burial in the abbey was, or should have been, mediated not only by the wishes of patrons and benefactors and of the convent but also by the institutes of the Cistercian order. Almost all comparative literature which touches on burial in Cistercian abbeys discusses the legislation to some degree or another, although few have dealt with the material in a comprehensive and

¹ I am pleased to acknowledge the influence of Danielle Westerhof, with whom I have had many conversations concerning burial over a long period, and the invaluable help of Shelagh Sneddon with the Latin texts used in this chapter.

² Chronicle 1334.

logical manner.³ Cistercian legislation was apparently strict, concerned with keeping the dead out, in keeping with the perceived practice of St. Benedict,⁴ but almost from the beginning exceptions were allowed. The earliest legislative texts, of the *Capitula*, issued c. 1136-7, but probably based on earlier texts, allow that guests and servants might be buried in an abbey if they happen to die while inside the monastery.⁵ A later addition (possibly of 1147) grants that 'two only whom we wish to receive from among our friends or familiars, along with their wives' might be received for burial and this was repeated in the codification of 1202.⁶ According to a later statute of c. 1190, 'this was understood to mean that at any given time two individuals could be given right to burial; but upon their deaths, two more individuals could be accorded the same right; then two more' and so on.⁷ Between 1157 and 1179 it was stated that none might be received for burial except founders – and, as before, those travellers who could not be sent back without grave scandal.⁸ Probably because of the number of exceptions allowed, these institutes appear to have been breached only infrequently: the abbot of Valroi was punished in 1196 for burying a woman 'to whom he owed nothing';⁹ the abbot of La Vieu-Ville in 1201,¹⁰ also for burying a woman and in 1213-4, the abbots of Valroi, Fourcarmont and La Bussière were all punished for receiving the dead for burial.¹¹ Shortly after this, however, in 1217, the burial of seculars in Cistercian cemeteries was universally allowed, if they had chosen this and if they had the licence of their priests.¹² This provision was repeated in the codifications of 1220 and the number of men who might be chosen from an abbey's friends and familiars rose to four – unlike others who chose burial with the consent of their priests, their wives were also allowed the privilege.¹³ After 1217, the burial of seculars

³ The more thorough treatments can be found in Aubert 1947, 329-32, Williams 1998, 133-6 and Cassidy-Welch 2001, 230-5. However, the most important insights into the subject are to be found hidden in the footnotes of Waddell 1999.

⁴ Waddell 1999, 434-5. The *Exordium Parvum*, written before 1147, says 'And because neither in the Rule nor in the *Life* of Saint Benedict did they read that this same teacher had ever possessed churches and altars, or offerings or burial dues, tithes of other men, ovens and mills, or manors and serfs, that women had ever gone inside his monastery, or that he had given anyone burial there, except his sister, they accordingly renounced all these things...'

⁵ Waddell 1999, 412, 436. For dating see p. 167-75.

⁶ Waddell 1999, 412, 436, 466-7; Lucet 1964, 127-8.

⁷ Canivez 1933-41, 1:119; Waddell 1999, 436n and 467.

⁸ Canivez 1933-41, 1:68.

⁹ Canivez 1933-41, 1:202. 'Abbas Vallisregiae qui mulierem mortuam cui nihil debebat dum adhuc viveret, recepit ad sepulturam, tribus diebus sit in levi culpa, uno eorum in pane at aqua.'

¹⁰ Canivez 1933-41, 1:266. 'Abbas de Veteri villa qui contra statuta et formam Ordinis in abbazia sua mulieram tumulavit, tribus diebus sit in levi culpa, uno eorum in pane et aqua et omnes alii qui huic interfuerunt consilio, poena simili puniantur, et similia de cetero non praesumant.'

¹¹ Canivez 1933-41, 1:410, 421. The statutes are phrased in similar language to those above and the abbots received exactly the same punishment.

¹² Canivez 1933-41, 1:465. 'Mortui saeculares qui in coemeteriis nostris sepulturam sibi eligunt, si de licentia sacerdotum suorum hoc faciant, recipiantur.' Prior to this, secular men and sometimes women might obtain monastic burial if they became novices on their death bed. For a useful survey of this phenomenon see Williams 1998, 133.

¹³ Lucet 1964, 127-8.

within the cemetery continued to come to the sporadic attention of the General Chapter, but only if it impinged on the rights of the ecclesiastical authorities, who were also concerned that excommunicates were not given ecclesiastical burial.¹⁴ The conditions for burial were confirmed in the codifications of the statutes made in 1237 and 1257, in which all who chose to be buried in Cistercian cemeteries might be, as long as they had the licence of their priest and were not 'excommunicate or under interdict or public usurers'.¹⁵

All the above, however, relates to graveyard burial and not to burial within the church, with which I am principally concerned in this chapter. Church burial was specifically restricted as early as 1152, when 'none except kings or queens, or archbishops and bishops may be buried in our churches', a provision repeated in 1180 (in which it is said that they may also be buried in the chapter house if they prefer), and in the codifications of 1202, 1220, 1237 and 1257.¹⁶ The importance of the church, and indeed the chapter house, is seen not only in these generalised statutes but in the punishments handed out when transgressions came to the attention of the General Chapter. Three days light penance (one on bread and water) for the abbot was the punishment for improper burial in a cemetery but six days light penance (one or two fasting) and forty days outside the abbot's stall was the punishment for improper burial in the conventual church in 1193 (Salmonsweiler), 1205 (the abbey 'of the Valley of St. Mary'), 1213 (La Prée), 1215 (Fontfroid) and 1219 (Bebenhausen).¹⁷ However in 1194, when the abbot was buried in the church at Bonnevaux, an enquiry was set up while the abbots of Clairmont and Vauluissant received only three days light penance for burying their founders in the chapter house in 1197 and 1198 respectively.¹⁸ The abbot of Himmerod received the same punishment for burying a canon in the chapter house in 1197, but the abbot of Swineshead, six days light penance for burying an 'advocate' in the chapter house in 1199.¹⁹ Chapter house burial was clearly seen as less of an infringement than church burial, while the improper burial of more important people, such as patrons or founders²⁰ or abbots may also have attracted less severe punishments. Inexplicably, the abbots of Le Miroir and Persigne, 'in whose churches secular people are buried contrary to the statutes of the order', received only three days light penance in 1219, but the bodies had to be moved to a more appropriate place as soon as

¹⁴ Burial without licence came up in General Chapter in 1217 and 1219, and the burial of excommunicates in 1221 and 1225 (Canivez 1933-41, 1:472, 507, 2:5, 39).

¹⁵ Lucet 1977, 245, 322.

¹⁶ Canivez 1933-41, 1:47, 87; Lucet 1964, 128; Lucet 1977, 322.

¹⁷ Canivez 1933-41, 1:161, 310, 409, 441 and 507. The abbey 'of the Valley of St. Mary' might be one of many, including Croxden, but there is no evidence to determine which house is referred to.

¹⁸ Canivez 1933-41, 1:176, 212 and 225.

¹⁹ Canivez 1933-41, 1:215 and 247. An advocate was chosen by the monastery or feudal lord to defend the interests of a house, but this rarely occurred in England. However, 'advocate' might also mean any considerable benefactor and that is probably its meaning here. See Wood 1955, 16-21.

²⁰ Both words indicate the original founder and his descendants; patron might also mean the holder of the lordship, if the original family died out. See Wood 1955, 21-5.

possible.²¹ It may be that this year marks the beginning of a change in attitude towards church burial and in 1222, a nicely ambiguous statute says ‘concerning the burials of founders, ancient custom should be adhered to’ – as we shall see later a number of abbeys might have reasonably claimed that their ancient custom was to bury founders within the church.²² Certainly, the absence of condemnations of improper church burial for more than thirty years after the cases at Le Miroir and Persigne suggests at least that a blind eye was being turned. In this context, and the context of the many burials which were now taking place in Cistercian churches throughout Europe, including Croxden, it comes as a surprise to find the senior monks of Clairefontaine (not the abbot) receiving six days light penance for burying an earl in their church as late as 1251.²³ One year later, a request to translate two bodies from the cemetery of Pforta to the church was granted only ‘insofar as that they may be buried in the cloister or chapter house of the monks’, and the year after that the burial of a miracle-working man, recently received as a monk, was allowed within the church at Longpont.²⁴ Indeed, after the case of Clairefontaine in 1251, no-one is condemned for burying a secular, founder or otherwise, inside a church, or at least not at the General Chapter. 1322 has frequently been cited as the year in which anyone who contributed towards the construction of a church might receive burial there, but in fact what they would receive was ‘full participation in all spiritual goods which take place there and in the whole order’, which is certainly not a ratification of church burial.²⁵ It is clear, however, that such a ratification, though unstated, had already taken place, perhaps as much as a century earlier.

In the light of the statutes then, the burial of founders inside the church at Croxden from 1231 is neither surprising nor ‘un-Cistercian’. Although the provisions restricting church burial to royalty and bishops were repeated in 1237 and 1257, by this time transgressions were rarely punished and the abbots of Croxden were unlikely to have been concerned about receiving the bodies of their patrons.

²¹ Canivez 1933-41, 1:508. ‘Abbates de Miratorio et de Persenia, in quorum ecclesiis sepultae sunt personae saeculares contra statuta Ordinis, tribus diebus sit in levi culpa, uno eorum in pane et aqua, et locus aptus provideatur corporibus transferendis tempore opportuno.’

²² Canivez 1933-41, 2:15. ‘De fundatoribus sepeliendis antiqua consuetudo teneatur’.

²³ Canivez 1933-41, 2:373-4. For a selection of church burials across the Cistercian world see Williams 1998, 134-6 and also below.

²⁴ Canivez 1933-41, 2:379, 394; Williams 1998, 134.

²⁵ Canivez 1933-41, 3:358. ‘Item, ut in tam solemni loco solemnis ecclesia divino cultui deputanda, fieri per fidelium personarum liberale subsidium procuretur, concedit generale Capitulum illis omnibus, qui de bonis sibi a Deo collatis ad dictum aedificium construendum aliquid obtulerint, plenum participationem omnium bonorum spiritualium quae ibidem et in toto Ordine fient de cetero in vita eorum et in morte pariter...’ The misapprehension that this was the year in which universal church burial was allowed in Cistercin churches seems to have begun in Fergusson 1984, 10 and is repeated in Astill and Wright 1993, 125; Daniell 1997, 187 and Williams 1998, 134.

Life, Death and Burial of the Verduns

The principle burial information comes from the Croxden Chronicle which was contemporary from around 1300 (see Chapter One).²⁶ Although death dates (see table 1) are generally noted in the entry for the year in which they occurred, almost all the information about the geography of patronal burial, in contrast to that for abbatial burial, comes in a single entry. It is that for 1334, which records the funeral of Joan, already mentioned and it is quoted here at length:

Lady Joan de Furnival, Lady of Alton, daughter and first heir of Lord Theobald de Verdun the younger was overtaken by untimely death there in childbirth on 2nd October. For, on the day on which she died she was only 30 years and almost two months old. And on the following 7th January, namely the next Sunday after the feast of Epiphany, she was laid with honour before the high altar of the church, by Lord Richard de Shepished, abbot of the house, assisted by the venerable fathers the abbots of Burton, Combermere, Dieulacres, Hulton and Beauchief, and also the priors of Worksop and Ecclesfield, near her fathers, namely between Lord Nicholas de Verdun son of the founder, her forebear [d.1231] and Lord John de Verdun her great-grandfather [d.1274]. Furthermore, separately, on the south side, in front of those two altars are buried Lord Theobald her grandfather [d.1309], Lord Theobald her father [d.1316], Lady Matilda her mother [d.1312], and Theobald her infant son. Lord Bertram de Verdun, however, distinguished founder of this house, as our elders have related to us, died in the Holy Land where he was on crusade there with the most famous Lord Richard, King of England and he was buried at Acre. However, Lord Norman his father is buried next to the altar of the Holy Trinity (namely his bones) on the north side. Furthermore, Lords Robert and Thomas de Verdun, children of the founder, died and were buried in Ireland. May he who not only created but also redeemed them have mercy on the souls of all these.²⁷

This entry clearly reflects the importance placed on the Verdun family and their burials by the Chronicler (as we saw in Chapter One, the second scribe), and by extension by the rest of the convent, at a particular point in the history of the abbey. This is best understood by looking both at the previous Chronicle entries concerned with the family and at the history of that family itself. The recent monograph of Mark Hagger has made it possible for the first time to

²⁶ A second version survives which only contains those passages relating to the patronal family, and the changes of abbots, but this is a copy made in the 17th century by Roger Dodsworth. Laurence 1951-5, B3-B4; Bodleian 1964, 865, 912.

²⁷ Chronicle 1334. 'Domina Johanna de Furnival Domina de Alveton' quia filia et prima heredum domini Theobaldi de Verdun' Junioris in matura morte in pariendo ibidem preventa est vj Non. Octobris. Nam die quo obiit tantum xxx annorum et fere duorum mensium extitit. Et vij Id. Januarii sequente scilicet dominica proxima post festum Epiphanie per Dominum Ricardum de Schepisheved Abbatem loci, coassistentibus sibi venerabilibus patribus Abbatibus de Burton', de Cumbremare, de Deulacres, de Hulton' et de Bello Capite, ac Prioribus de Wirsop et Ecclisfelt, apposita est honorifice coram magno altari Ecclesie ad patres suos videlicet inter dominum Nicholaum de Verdun' filium Fundatoris progenitorem suum et dominum Johannem de Verdun' Proavum suum. Porro in latere australi seorsum coram illis duobus altaribus humati sunt Dominus Theobaldus avus suus, Dominus Theobaldus pater suus, Domina Matildis mater sua, et Theobaldus infans filius suus. Dominus autem Bertramus de Verdun' Fundator egregius domus huius ut tradiderunt nobis seniores nostri obiit in terra sancta cum peregrinaretur ibi cum domino Ricardo Rege famosissimo Anglie et sepultusque est apud Acon'. Dominus autem Normannus pater eius sepultus est iuxta altare Sancte Trinitatis scilicet ossa eius ex parte aquilonari. Porro domini Robertus et Thomas de Verdun' filii Fundatoris mortui sunt et sepulti in Hybernia. Quorum omnium animas absolvat ille qui non solum creavit set eciam redemit eas.'

understand the lives and historical context of the Verduns.²⁸ As far as Croxden Abbey goes, a thumbnail sketch of their lives, in combination with the evidence of the Chronicle is useful to grasp how much time they spent at Alton Castle, their *caput*, only two miles away, and what is known of their interactions with the abbey.

Bertram,²⁹ the founder, was brought up by Henry II's constable, Richard de Humez and this relationship remained important for many years – visible for instance in gifts he made to Aunay-sur-Odon in Normandy, the Cistercian Abbey most favoured by de Humez and to which de Humez retired in 1178. Bertram's increasingly prominent place in the court and household of Henry II was also a result of his friendship with de Humez. He became sheriff of Warwick and Leicester, acted as a royal justice and remained loyal to the king throughout the rebellions. In 1185, he went with John to Ireland as his seneschal, where he made his most significant gains, centred on the lordship of Dundalk, where he founded a borough, church and hospital; he also administered the de Lacy lordship of Meath after 1186. He consolidated his English lands, built (or rebuilt) the castle at Alton and, of course, founded Croxden Abbey in 1176. Unsurprisingly, given the de Humez connection and the proximity of his Norman lands there he chose Aunay as the mother house of his foundation and it was founded 'for the souls of Norman de Verdun, my father, and Lecelina, my mother and Richard de Humez who brought me up and the souls of my predecessors and for my salvation and that of Rohais, my wife, and my successors'.³⁰ The endowment of the abbey was varied, liberal and compact, the furthest lands being in Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire. Bertram may have founded the abbey both as a secular status symbol to give his family the same dignity as an earldom (which in fact it never achieved), and because the prayers of others were needed to bridge the gap between actual life and Christian life.³¹ It is impossible to say whether he also intended the church to become a family mausoleum, as succeeding generations did – in view of Cistercian attitudes, in 1176 that would perhaps have been an unwise thing to predict (though burial was already taking place at Forde at this time). It may not have been Bertram, then, who was responsible for the translation of his father's bones to the altar of the Holy Trinity in Croxden Abbey church – indeed by the time of his death, the church which housed the bones may not even have been begun. He also gave gifts to Savigny and to Kenilworth Priory. Bertram remained attached to the court when Richard became king and went with him on crusade, during which he died in 1192 at Acre according to the Croxden Chronicler or Jaffa according to Roger of Howden.³²

²⁸ Hagger 2001.

²⁹ For Bertram see Hagger 2001, 34-57.

³⁰ Lynam 1911, appendix; Dugdale 1846, 5:662; Laurence 1951-5, B22-3.

³¹ See Wood 1955; Hill 1968, chps. 1 and 2; Mortimer 1978; Harper-Bill 1979; Lawrence 1989, 69-71; Holdsworth 1991, 5-13; Hagger 2001, 43.

³² Chronicle 1192, 1334; Hagger 2001, 57.

Bertram's elder son, Thomas,³³ seems to have spent much of his time in France, where he confirmed a gift to Aunay, and Ireland, where he agreed the marriage of his sister to Hugh de Lacy, granting him almost half his Irish possessions. According to the Chronicle, he died in Ireland in 1199. He was succeeded by his brother Nicholas. Here the Croxden Chronicler makes a rare mistake regarding the founding family, since he places Nicholas' death in the same year. Nicholas, however, did not die until 1231.³⁴ Nicholas seems to have experienced some delay in possessing his Irish lands, and lost the family's whole Norman lands in 1204, with little resistance, even though he was in France on and off both before and after this.³⁵ He was not closely involved with the court and appears to have taken little part in national affairs, although in Ireland he may have been involved with the expulsion of de Lacy. Like other Anglo-Irish tenants-in-chief he remained loyal to John during the baronial rebellion, although unlike the rest he fought against John in 1215. After John's death, he quickly returned to the king's fealty, probably because of an association with William Marshall, guardian of Henry III. He appears to have spent much of the next ten years in Ireland, trying to recover the lands given to de Lacy. After 1226, he spent more of his time with the king in England, during which he improved his Warwickshire Castle (Brandon), and made grants to nearby Combe Abbey and Kenilworth Priory, as well as founding a hospital at Lutterworth. He also made a grant to Rocester Abbey, which, like Croxden, lay close to the Alton *caput*, where he expanded his liberty. There is a record of one minor dispute with Croxden Abbey over a mill,³⁶ but when he died in 1231 he was buried there and the place of his burial, in front of the high altar, is recorded in the 1334 Chronicle entry. He was, it seems, the first person to be buried inside Croxden Abbey church and the abbot of Croxden was one of his executors.³⁷ Although no records of Verdun gifts to the abbey survive up to this point, other than those of the foundation, Croxden was in receipt of at least a few gifts from other benefactors: before 1200 they received land from King John which was exchanged in that year for a pension from the Irish exchequer, and swapped again for land six years later; before 1233 they had received pasture from Henry Audley; and around the same time they received a rent of half a mark from Stephen Meverel (later exchanged with another rent for 100s), and in 1236 they received another grant from Peter de Saucheveral.³⁸

The next holder of the Verdun patrimony was Nicholas' daughter Roesia,³⁹ already twice a widow, able to control her own estates, and she fined not to marry again. She seems to have been particularly active in Ireland, where she recovered lands lost to Hugh de Lacy, built

³³ For Thomas see Hagger 2001, 57-9, and Chronicle 1199.

³⁴ The correct year of his death can be found in many sources including Dugdale 1675-6, VCH Buckinghamshire, 3:22, and Hagger 2001, *passim*.

³⁵ For Nicholas see Hagger 2001, 59-71.

³⁶ Hagger 2001, 71 and *Curia Regis Rolls*, 5: 19, 82, 84.

³⁷ Hagger 2001, 73.

³⁸ Laurence 1951-5, B31, B33-4; Hagger 2001, 174.

³⁹ For Roesia see Hagger 2001, 72-83.

(or rebuilt) two castles, enlarged her lordship of Dundalk, and founded the Franciscan Friary there. She also founded the Augustinian nunnery of Grace Dieu in Leicestershire between 1231 and 1241. She made at least three gifts to Croxden, which she called 'my abbey' but when she died in 1247 she was not buried there but at Grace Dieu (her effigy is now in Belton Church).⁴⁰ Although this might possibly be associated with Cistercian opinion concerning the reception of women, the analysis of the statutes given above, and even more the recent burial of Isabella, Duchess of Cornwall at Beaulieu in 1240,⁴¹ suggest that Roesia actively preferred to be buried at her own foundation.

John de Verdun⁴² took both the name and the patrimony from his mother, but through his marriage to the de Lacy heiress, Margaret, he acquired considerable lands in England, Ireland and the Welsh Marches. He spent much of his time in Ireland, where he was considered to be a harsh landlord, but was also involved in the campaign against Llywlyn ap Gruffydd. In 1258 John supported the Baronial movement for reform, but had come over to the Royalist side by 1264 – an action perhaps connected with his possible upbringing by Richard of Cornwall, since custody of 'the lands and heirs of Theobald Walter [John's father]' was given to Richard on Theobald's death in 1230.⁴³ In the following war Alton Castle was damaged or destroyed.⁴⁴ John was captured in the battle of Lewes, and after Evesham he played a part in the mopping-up operation (no doubt including necessary repairs to Alton Castle). After 1268 he raised money to crusade with Lord Edward, and around this time his two elder sons were killed in an Irish resurgence. He returned to Ireland in 1272 and died two years later, probably in England. According to the Croxden Chronicle he died in October, although Irish records suggest that he died in May, possibly poisoned.⁴⁵ In his lifetime, he had made at least one gift to the abbey and was buried there, near the high altar, like his grandfather. The surviving effigy at Croxden, of a knight with kite-shaped shield, crossed legs, and long surcoat, with his right hand on the hilt of his sword (see Appendix 1, section 1.4.1; fig. A9) is very likely to have belonged to John. Quite apart from family ties, the recent royal burials at Hailes of Sancha de Provence (1262), Henry of Cornwall (1272) and Richard of Cornwall (1273) with whom his political affiliations rested, may also have influenced his choice of burial place.⁴⁶

John was succeeded by his third son, Theobald,⁴⁷ who spent much time in Ireland in the early years of his patrimony, as he did again after disturbances in 1284, when he suffered a

⁴⁰ Cokayne et al. 1910-59, 12:247n; Pevsner and Williamson 1984, 95.

⁴¹ Hockey 1976, 47.

⁴² For John see Hagger 2001, 84-98.

⁴³ Hagger 2001, 71, although Hagger does not make the inference about John's upbringing.

⁴⁴ Though the Croxden Chronicle says only: 'Die vero Jovis sequenti Robertus Comes de Ferariis miles sternuissimus cepit Castrum de Alveton et communivit cum habitatoribus eius.'

⁴⁵ Chronicle 1274; Hagger 2001, 98.

⁴⁶ For Hailes and the Cornwalls, see below.

⁴⁷ For Theobald I see Hagger 2001, 98-115.

substantial defeat. His eldest son, John, died in Ireland in 1297, a fact recorded in the Chronicle, possibly as a result of violence. Like his father, Theobald invested a great deal of energy and money in the maintenance of his Irish Lordships, but he saw a reduction in the area under Verdun control. Unlike John, he played little active part in Irish politics even though he was Constable of Ireland. His English and Marcher estates also commanded his attention and he was there in person in Edward's second Welsh war of 1282-3. From as early as 1279, he made the first of many undue exactions against the Augustinian priory of Llanthony Prima, even though the patronage of this house had succeeded to him through his mother, Margaret de Lacy. He was also summoned in 1293 by the abbot of Croxden for arrears on a rent given to the abbey by Roesia.⁴⁸ He briefly forfeited his Marcher lordship in 1291, but fought in France in 1294. In 1297, he did not fight with the king, who demanded that he send his son (also Theobald) in his place. The Chronicle records that the younger Theobald returned from Ireland in 1298 and was knighted by Edward at Lincoln. The Chronicler also makes a point of saying that, although requested, the abbey gave nothing at all to the expenses of making the eldest son a knight.⁴⁹ Theobald I was called on several times in Edward's Scottish wars, but may not have served. His only known piece of religious patronage was directed to Croxden Abbey (a grant of pasture in nearby Threapwood), although in his will he provided for eighteen houses of friars to pray for his soul – but not the monks of Croxden or Llanthony Prima. In this will, dated 1295, he asked to be buried at his grandmother's foundation of Grace Dieu, but in the event, in 1309, he died at Alton Castle and was buried in Croxden Abbey church on the south side 'in front of those two altars', perhaps in the chevet or south transept. Despite an apparently equivocal relationship, the Chronicle entry for the year of Theobald's death reads:

Lord Theobald de Verdun, our patron, departed to the Lord on Sunday on the feast of St. Bartholomew the Apostle [24th August] at Alton. And he was laid with great honour by the side of his fathers at Croxden on 12th October. About whom the words of the wise man may fitly be spoken (Ecclesiasticus 21) 'He died and it was as though he were not dead' for he left behind him one like unto himself both in name and deed. And further it can truly be said that which follows: he left behind a defender of the house against enemies and one that to his friends gives respect.⁵⁰

Shortly after Theobald II received his patrimony,⁵¹ he gave the Irish parts of it to the guardianship of his brother Milo and did not go to Ireland until 1313, after Milo's rebellion,

⁴⁸ Hagger 2001, 138.

⁴⁹ Chronicle 1298. 'Item Theobaldus filius et heres T. de Verdun rediit de Hibernia in Angliam et factus est miles apud Nicol' a rege Edwardo die Sancti Johannis Baptiste una cum Philippo de Barinton commilitone suo. Memorandum quod exigebatur hic a nobis auxilium ad faciendum primogenitum Domini militem sed nihil omnino dedimus.'

⁵⁰ Chronicle 1309. 'Dominus Theobaldus de Verdun patronus noster die dominica in festo Bartholomey apostoli apud Alveton' migravit ad dominum. Et apud Crokysden' cum magno honore appositus est ad patres suos iij Idus Octobris. De quo congrue dici potest illud sapientis (Ecclesiasticus 21) mortuus est et quasi non est mortuus similem enim sibi et nomine et re reliquit post se. Et utrum veraciter dici possit quod sequitur ibidem. Reliquit defensorem domus contra inimicos et amicis reddentem gratiam.'

⁵¹ For Theobald II, see Hagger 2001, 115-9.

when he was appointed Justiciar, a post he held until January 1315. Despite this, when the Irish estates were devastated by Edward Bruce, he appears to have taken no particular interest in them.

Theobald II's first wife was Matilda, the daughter of Lord Edmund Mortimer. She bore two sons and four daughters, the sons and one daughter dying before their father. She herself died six weeks after the birth of her fourth daughter, at Alton Castle, on 18th September, 1312 and

On the day of the blessed martyr Denis and his companions [October 9th] she was honourably surrendered to ecclesiastical burial before the altar of St. Benedict in the conventual church of Croxden, by Lord Gilbert, Bishop of Annaghdown, in the presence of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster and all the nobility of the land.⁵²

Her brass survives as a palimpsest in Norbury church (fig. 120). In keeping with the grandeur of her funeral, it is a fine piece, showing the graceful figure of a woman with a lion at her feet, beneath a canopy with Christ in the pediment and a monk in the surviving side niche, until recently thought to be Flemish but now considered a product of a London workshop active from c.1333.⁵³ If both the date and attribution are correct (the fragmentary inscription identifies it as belonging to the wife of a Theobald de V...), then the brass must have been made an unusually long time after her death.

Theobald II married again in February 1316, arousing the anger of the king, since he married the king's ward and de Lacy heiress, Elizabeth de Burgh, for whom Edward had other plans. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the *Chronicler* records the event without commenting on this aspect.⁵⁴ However, Theobald died at Alton Castle shortly afterwards and Elizabeth stayed at the abbey after his funeral:

On the 27th July, which was a Tuesday, Lord Theobald de Verdun, patron of this house, died in the morning, at dawn, at Alton Castle and was buried at Croxden by the Abbot of the house on 19th September, namely the day of St. Sequanus the abbot. But Lady Elizabeth, his wife, after his burial, stayed within the abbey for a month and more.⁵⁵

⁵² Chronicle 1312. 'Die beati Laurencii peperit Matildis de verdun' domina de Alveton ibidem quartam filiam suam nomine Margeriam et die beati Lamberti Episcopi sequente scilicet xiiij kalendas Octobris in castro se Alveton' ab hac Luce migravit. Die vero beatorum martirum Dyonisii sociorumque eius in ecclesia conventuali de Crokysden' coram altari Sancti Benedicti per dominum Gilbertum Enagdunensem Episcopum tradita est honorifice ecclesiastice sepulture, occurrente ibidem Thome Comite Lancastrie, cum omnibus magnatibus patrie.'

⁵³ Hope 1880; Page-Phillips 1980, 1:88 and 2:159; Norris 1977 1:2. The new identification of it as the product of a London workshop can be found in Binski 1987, 104, 110-3 and Blair 1987, 208.

⁵⁴ Chronicle 1315. 'iiij. Non' Februarii scilicet die mercurii proximo post festum Purificacionis Dominus Theobaldus de Verdun' huius domus patronus desponsavit Elizabet filiam Domini Gilberti de Clare Comitis Glovernie et domine Johanne de Acres filie Edwardi Regis apud Bristoll'. Prius namque nupta erat filio primogenito Comitis de Oluester in Hibernia et peperit ei filium et heredum. Frater autem dicte domine Elizabet scilicet Gilbertus de Clare Comes Glovernie occisus erat in bello Scotorum anno preterito apud Strivelin.' By comparison with other accounts (see Hagger 2001, 119), the *Chronicle* places the event one year too early, but this may be because the *Chronicler's* year ran from March-March.

⁵⁵ Chronicle 1316. 'vi kal' Augusti qui erat dies martis mane diluculo dominus Theobaldus de Verdun patronus huius domus apud Castrum de Alveton' ab hac luce migravit sepultusque est apud Crokesden

Sixty years earlier the prior and cellarer of Beaulieu were deposed for allowing even a queen to stay in their abbey⁵⁶ but at Croxden no sanctions appear to have been taken. Elizabeth de Burgh was pregnant, but gave birth to a daughter on 21st March following and so the estates were divided between the four daughters of Theobald II. His eldest daughter, Joan, inherited the Alton part of the estate and thus the patronage of Croxden Abbey. Joan⁵⁷ was married by the king first to John Montague and secondly to Thomas Furnival - in the interval Alton Castle was occupied by the king's opponents. Furnival's loyalty was assured by granting him two-thirds of the Verdun English and Irish estates. This unfair division could not last and new partitions between the four heirs were made in 1327 and finally in 1332, although Alton Castle was to remain in the hands of Thomas Furnival. In the same year as the final partition Thomas also inherited from his own father, and the Croxden Chronicler sees this as the point at which the Verdun family finally ceased to exist, since he says:

Thus, that honourable and distinguished name of Verdun was passed to the Furnivals, for them and their descendants for as long as it pleases that one who sweetly disposes all things. However, let not the memory of that name pass from the hearts of the inhabitants of this house for eternity, lest they should be found to be ungrateful because there is no other name under heaven given to them to which they should show such great reverence in prayers or thanksgiving. But let them say to themselves without ceasing, in their hearts, prayers, and works that saying of the prophet Isaiah 'Thy name and thy memorial is the desire of my soul.'⁵⁸

Two years later, Joan died in childbirth at Alton Castle on 2nd October, and her funeral was celebrated in the manner we have already seen, in the presence of six abbots and two priors, three months after her death.

Interpretation: the Importance of Bodies

It is apparent from the previous entries that delayed burial was by no means uncommon, in contrast to the swift burial of monks⁵⁹: Theobald I died on 24th August but was buried seven weeks later on 12th October; Matilda, Theobald II's first wife was buried after a three-week delay and the body of Theobald II remained above ground for nearly eight weeks. Even by

per Abbatem loci xiiij Kal' Octobris scilicet die Sancti Sequani abbatis. Domina autem Elizabet uxor eius post sepulturam infra Abbatiam perhendinavit per mensam et amplius.'

⁵⁶ Hope and Brakspear 1906, 137; Hockey 1976, 29-30.

⁵⁷ For Joan and the division see Hagger 2001, 119-23 and Laurence 1951-5, B60-B68.

⁵⁸ Chronicle 1332. 'Obiit dominus Thomas de Fournival, dominus de Schefelt et Wirsop cum pertinenciis circa Pasham et successit sibi dominus Thomas filius eius qui prius desponsaverat dominam Johannam Eyneccam filiam domini Theobaldi de verdun et ibi translatum est nomen illud honorabile et memorie dignum de Verdun in Le Fournival, pro se et posteris suis quamdiu placuerit illi qui suaviter disponit omnia. Non tamen transferatur illius nominis memoria a cordibus inhabitancium domum istam in Eternum ne ingrati inveniantur quia non est aliud nomen sub celo datum eis cui in oracione seu graciaram accione tantum reverenciam tenentur exhibere. Set dicant sibi sine intermissione corde ore et opere illud ysaye prophete, Nomen tuum et memoriale tuum in desiderio anime.'

⁵⁹ Choisselet and Vernet 1989, 276-8.

these standards, the length of time before Joan's interment seems excessive, and all of these bodies must have been subject to expensive and unreliable evisceration and embalming.⁶⁰ The lead coffin (fig. 121) which Charles Lynam found in 1910 in the cist in the chevet apse probably contained an embalmed body.⁶¹ Of the four known delayed burials Theobald I, Matilda and Theobald II were all buried on the south side and so the lead coffin may be associated with Joan. Although not directly in front of the high altar it is probably close enough to merit the description *coram magno altari*. The delays, particularly in the case of Joan may be indicative of the time needed to prepare such a grand funeral – as has been suggested for the six-month delayed burial at Hailes of Edmund, Earl of Cornwall in 1301. In that case, the funeral was arranged by his cousin and heir Edward I, who wrote to three bishops eleven abbots and one prior, and it was further attended by two other bishops and members of the nobility.⁶² Such delayed burials and lengthy funeral preparations also throw an interesting light on the will of Elizabeth de Burgh, widow of Theobald II de Verdun. She willed that her funeral should take place fifteen days after her death, *sans plus outre delai*. Compared with contemporary funerary practice this could be seen as an act of humility rather than fear of being buried alive or a declaration of her status.⁶³

Joan's long-delayed funeral may also have been the consequence of lengthy negotiations regarding place of burial – none of the Furnivals were buried at Croxden; Joan's widower was buried at Beauchief, but his four next successors at Worksop Priory. It is not hard to imagine that her husband wished her buried in a house of his own patronage, while the abbot and convent of Croxden desired her burial there. Other studies have given some idea of the importance of patronal burial to religious houses. Hillaby suggests that Dore Abbey fostered its relationship with the new patronal family after the founding family died out and patronage changed hands at the end of the 13th century – but Dore was fortunate, since their new patron alienated land and an advowson to them in exchange for a chantry of three monks.⁶⁴ Golding has shown that the Benedictine monks of Worcester were aggrieved when the Franciscan house was preferred as a place of burial to their own⁶⁵ and in 1228 Beaulieu petitioned the Pope for the body of their founder, King John, who was buried at Worcester, so that they could pray more effectively for him.⁶⁶ Cistercian legislation also shows clearly the

⁶⁰ For discussion of the treatment of bodies see Brown 1981, Park 1995 and Daniell 1997, 120-3.

⁶¹ Lynam 1911, pl. 3 and 47.

⁶² Dugdale 1675-6, 1:766.

⁶³ Nichols 1780, 23. 'It'm je devise et ordeine en toles maneres despenses afaire pur mon corps enterer la veille et le jour de mon enterrement et pur la departison de povres mesme le jour II cli. Et je voel et ordeine q' mon corps ne demoerge de seu terre outre quis'ze jours apres mon deces, deinz queu temps je voel q' la solempnite de mon enterrement se face sans plus outre delai...' I am grateful to Danielle Westerhof for bringing this example to my attention. For other accounts which suggest that funeral rites had gone too far see Daniell 1997, 206-8.

⁶⁴ Hillaby 1997b, 100-1. This paper also shows the gifts gained from other benefactors in exchange for burial and prayer.

⁶⁵ Golding 1985, 65-6.

⁶⁶ Hockey 1976, 26; Holdsworth 1992, 140.

desire of abbeys to obtain for themselves the bodies of their patrons. The earliest statute which deals with the issue is in the codifications of 1202 which state that founders may not be received for burial at other abbeys without the consent of the abbeys they founded.⁶⁷ Almost exactly the same language is used in 1205 when the abbey of Mazières received the body of a man belonging to the founding family of Cîteaux. Since Cîteaux wished to claim the body, the General Chapter ordered the abbot and convent of Mazières to restore it to them at once, adding:

And that such a thing should not be presumed in the future, it is decreed and established by the chapter that the founders or heirs of the founders are no longer to be received for burial, except by the consent and licence of those of whom they are known to be founders.⁶⁸

The codifications of 1237 and 1257 further state that none 'of our order may encourage founders of the abbeys of the order to choose burial for themselves other than in the abbeys whose founders they are.'⁶⁹ This may well have been felt necessary after a number of other disputes over bodies. In 1208 the abbeys of Fontaine-Daniel and Savigny were both concerned to obtain the burial of a particular man, still alive. He wished to be buried in Fontaine-Daniel, which he founded, but the abbot of Savigny claimed him for his own abbey.⁷⁰ In 1216, the abbess of Le Beton was ordered to return the body of a countess,⁷¹ and between 1214 and 1220 there was a long-running dispute between the abbeys of Clairlieu and Stürzelbronn over the body of the Duke of Lorraine, who had chosen burial in the latter abbey but in fact had been buried in the former. The General Chapter ordered the removal of the body, but the recalcitrance of the abbot of Clairlieu led to a series of escalating punishments. In 1214 he was sentenced to six days in light penance; in 1215 the abbey was to be laid under interdict if the translation did not happen; in 1216 failure to move the body was to result in all the officers of the abbey fasting for three days each week, and the rest two days; in 1217 the abbot was deposed and other officials were to be exiled if they did not carry back the body; in 1218 an enquiry was set up to hear an oath from the convent and in 1220 both houses were forbidden to raise the question again.⁷² After this it is possible that abbeys tried harder to avoid such issues

⁶⁷ Lucet 1964, 127-8.

⁶⁸ Canivez 1933-41, 1:311. 'Abbas et conventu Maceriarum qui in praeiudicium Cisterciensis monasterii virum bonae memoriae Alexandrum, cum esset filius ducis Burgundiae et fundatoris Cistercii, ad sepulturam praesumpsit recipere et priore Cistercii et quibusdam suis fratribus contradicentibus, auctoritate Capituli generalis, praecipitur humatum corpus in praesenti restituere Cistercio et sepulturae patrum suorum fundatorum. Quod si contigerit retineri, divina ibidem minime celebrentur. Et ne tale quid praesumatur in posterum, statutum est et firmatum a Capitulo ne fundatores seu haeredes fundatorum ad sepulturam aliquam recipiantur ulterius, nisi de consensu et licentia eorum quorum eos esse constiterit fundatores.'

⁶⁹ Lucet 1977, 322.

⁷⁰ Canivez 1933-41, 1:356. 'Petitio domini Ioelis de sepultura sua in abbazia Fontis Danielis quam fundavit, sibi concessa differtur usque ad sequens Capitulum general, et abbas de Saviniaco instrumenta quibus obtinere vult dicti domini sepulturam exhibeat, vel a Capitulo quod iustum fuerit indicetur.'

⁷¹ Canivez 1933-41, 1:458.

⁷² Canivez 1933-41, 1:422, 439-40, 450-1, 482, 488, 516.

– or avoided sending them to Cîteaux – since body disputes do not appear again at the General Chapter until 1243, when two abbots are sent to reconcile the Abbey of Foigny with the chapter of Laon over the burial of Lord Enguerrand. After this more than a century passes until 1344 when two noblewomen ask for the return of the body of their father.⁷³

In the 12th century particularly, it was common for a single individual, or family to found several abbeys (for instance, William of Aumâle founded Vaudey, Meaux, and Thornton abbeys, and co-founded a priory, while Earl Ranulf of Chester founded five Cistercian monasteries and helped to found six others⁷⁴), and families had a habit of dying out. Clearly there were not enough founding families to go round to fill the burial spaces of every monastic church. Although all abbeys had a founder, by no means all of them had a dynasty, still less a dynasty that chose to be buried there. On this basis Croxden Abbey had more in common with Benedictine Tewkesbury, mausoleum to the Gloucesters and Despencers, or royal Hailes, or Forde, than it did with Meaux or Bordesley or Louth. At Bordesley, only one person who might be called a patron was buried in the church, in 1315, although other church burials were made from the late 13th century, particularly in the south transept, perhaps representative of other family groups of benefactors.⁷⁵ Given the largesse of its founder, Meaux was perhaps fortunate in securing the body of its patron in 1212 (the second husband of the founder's daughter) which was buried in their chapter house, and also the heart of their patron in 1260, which was buried next to one of his children, in the presbytery.⁷⁶ Thomas Burton, who wrote the Meaux chronicle, does not expend so much energy on the details of patronal burial as Croxden's Chronicler, but these burials took place more than a century before he started writing and the family was also long dead. Nonetheless, he still troubled to record the family's genealogy and the burials he knew of which took place at Meaux. More surprising is his notice of a gift given in 1150-60, to secure burial for William Fossard and his wife (though presumably not in the church).⁷⁷ This was probably thought sufficiently interesting to record after 250 years because of a scandal which afterwards enveloped the family.

Louth Park also provides an interesting contrast with Croxden, particularly since Croxden's first Chronicler used the Louth Park annals as the basis for the early years of his account (see Chapter One). Louth Park was founded by the Bishop of Lincoln, and thus the patronal interests of the Louth Park chronicle are centred on the bishops.⁷⁸ Because the bishop-patrons were buried in Lincoln Minster and not Louth Park, burial does not feature

⁷³ Canivez 1933-41, 2:264, 3:487-8.

⁷⁴ Holdsworth 1991, 24-5; Hill 1968, 35.

⁷⁵ Astill and Wright 1993, 132-5

⁷⁶ Bond 1866, 1:379, 2:106. The date of the first burial is given as 1222, but is, in fact 1212 (Gilyard-Beer 1983, 66).

⁷⁷ Bond 1866, 1:103-4.

⁷⁸ Venables 1889.

largely in its chronicle. However, the death and burial of William Tournay is treated at length. He was formerly Dean of Lincoln and in 1239 entered Louth Park, where, as we saw in Chapter Four he had a private chamber. The entry for 1258, when he died, eulogises Tournay and he was buried in the ‘Chapel of the Blessed St. Mary, which he had caused to be built and dedicated’ (although the chronicler previously told us that it was built by Richard Dunham, abbot). Furthermore, ‘Whoever shall come to his tomb to pray will be able to obtain many days of indulgence granted by different bishops’,⁷⁹ something which emphasises William Tournay’s saintly character and puts him on a par with the miracle-working monk of Longpont who was also granted burial within the church. Other church burials recorded at Louth Park are few – an abbot in 1349 and Sir Henry Vavasour before the high altar in 1345, whose death-bed gift for the privilege provoked a sustained quarrel with his widow.⁸⁰ Although few burials are recorded, they are those of the people most important to the abbey, equivalent in fact to those of the patrons at Croxden. Where a founding family – such as the Verduns – did locate their family identity and family piety in a particular house such a relationship seems to have been highly prized, not only by the family, but by the house. For Byland, Gilyard-Beer suggested that the convent may have erected a memorial to their founder, which they located in a wall-recess in their chapter house, like a similar monument at Meaux and which was interpreted as a tomb later in the Middle Ages.⁸¹

At Forde, as at Croxden, there is a near-continuous pattern of patronal burial in a single abbey even though the family changed through marriage twice in the 12th century.⁸² The bones of the founder, along with those of the first abbot, were moved from the first home of the convent at Brightley to the presbytery at Forde. The founder was laid close to his sister Adelia who refounded the abbey and died in 1142, although the building could not have been complete at that time since all the bodies were placed *ultra quod jam summum altare erigitur*. The burial places of the next generation are not known, but the following patrons, Reginald Courtney and Hawisia (grand-daughter to Adelia) were each buried in the presbytery in 1194 and 1209 respectively. Their descendants chose burial at Forde in 1242 (when a military effigy was erected over the grave of Robert) and 1273, but after this the pattern of patronage, characterised by mutual good-will, generous gifts and miracle-working prayers, was broken. The next patron, although still a Courtney, started a series of acrimonious disputes with the abbey and the relationship never appears to have recovered, since only one Courtney subsequently chose burial at Forde in 1419. More famously Hailes was certainly always intended to be a mausoleum for Richard of Cornwall and his heirs, whatever other piety may

⁷⁹ Venables 1889, 13, 16-17.

⁸⁰ Venables 1889, 38-9; VCH Lincolnshire, 2:139.

⁸¹ Gilyard-Beer 1983.

⁸² The source for Forde and its patrons is the foundation history (Dugdale 1846, 5:376-82; Dugdale 1675-6, 1:634-42; see also Wood 1955, 161-2).

have been behind the foundation.⁸³ Although his first wife died before its foundation and was buried at Beaulieu, his second wife was buried there before the high altar in 1261, alongside her infant son whose bones had been moved there when the church was finished. The bones of Richard's eldest son were brought to Hailes from Italy after his murder in 1271 and Richard himself was buried there a year later. The last family burial there was in 1301, following the death of Edmund the preceding year, at which point the patronage fell to the crown.

The examples given here could be multiplied many times. Every abbey had its own tale of burials, some better recorded than others, and some with more surviving effigies.⁸⁴ Most managed to obtain at least one important person for their presbytery. The most significant distinction in church burial patterns is likely to be that between abbeys which could claim the allegiance of its patronal family over many generations and those which could not, although this distinction needs to be tested by excavation, as at Bordesley.

Clearly, in its attitudes to its founding family, and particularly their bodies, Croxden is very much in the mainstream of monastic practice. What is less clear is precisely why patronal bodies were so highly prized. Golding assumed that the reason was a straightforward one of benefactions; that is the monks thought that possession of their patrons' bodies would lead to increased benefactions from those families, even though he showed that such a belief was largely mistaken and often in the teeth of bitter disputes between the patron and the convent.⁸⁵ However, although convents may have lived in hope of further benefactions (other than the burial payment and mortuary fee) as reward for their prayers for and care of the dead, the frequent absence of those gifts suggests that other reasons were involved with monastic desire for founders' bodies. Perhaps, just as patronal families saw 'their' houses as loci of family identity and piety rather than merely the objects of charity, so convents saw the burials of their patrons not entirely or even at all in terms of money. Dynastic burial may have been closely associated with the identity of the abbey itself, reminding monks of the beginnings of their house. Or the patronal burials may have been important in establishing the status of the abbey both in terms of affirming the power of that convent's prayers for the dead and in terms of giving the abbot more clout in his secular dealings with the secular world.

In the case of Croxden and the Verduns, as we have seen, the relationship does not appear to have been acrimonious. The record of only two disputes with the Verduns survives (one in 1208 and one in 1293), as compared with evidence of five gifts, not counting those of

⁸³ The literature on the Earls of Cornwall and Hailes abbey is large but see for example Dugdale 1675-6, 1:761-7; Bazeley 1899; Denholm-Young 1947; Winkless 1990; Holdsworth 1992;

⁸⁴ For the effigial remains see Coldstream 1986, 156-8.

⁸⁵ Golding 1985. Daniell takes a similarly materialist approach (1997, chp. 4). For good and bad patron-abbey relations and related burials see Wood 1955, chps. 7-9.

the foundation.⁸⁶ Three of these were given by Roesia (1231-47), one by her son John and one by her son grandson, Theobald I (d.1309). Although one can never be sure what records are missing, this speaks at least of amicable relations between the abbey and the Verduns. The Chronicler would have us believe that the prayers of the convent were given out of love and respect alone and that the patrons' bodies were received in a similar spirit. In the case of the last burial, however, the abbey may also have been making a point. I have already suggested that, given the burial choices of the Furnivals and the exceptionally long delay, Croxden may have had to try quite hard to secure the burial of Joan for themselves.

The almost hagiographical style of the Chronicle certainly makes it clear that the Verdun family and name should be revered by the convent. This is in stark contrast to the Furnivals, who are not mentioned in that context at all, and with whom the abbey had a bitter dispute described at length in the Chronicle entry for 1319 (not dissimilar to the depredations made by Theobald I de Verdun against Llanthony Prima).⁸⁷ As the last representative of the Verduns at Alton, Joan's burial at Croxden appears to have been of huge significance to the abbey, and this must be the reason her body was placed before the high altar, next to the first two members of her family to be buried there, whereas other later members of the family were buried before side altars. Aside from its internal importance to the convent, were they also pointing out to the Furnivals, in no uncertain terms, the spiritual advantages they were passing up, by declining to act as proper patrons should? Some support for this interpretation comes from the very monastic nature of Joan's funeral congregation, in contrast to that of her mother, whose funeral, we are informed, was attended by 'the Earl of Lancaster and all the nobility in the land'.⁸⁸ The former has all the appearance of monastic organisation and the latter all the appearance of secular organisation.

The Chronicle gives no idea at all that there might have been any wider patronage of Croxden Abbey than that of its patronal family nor, with two related exceptions, which I shall discuss shortly, that there may have been any more burials there than those of the Verduns.

As we saw in Chapter Five, four monolithic coffins and four cist coffins survive and Ministry of Works clearance in the 1950s revealed parts of two 'walls' each with small returns, one in the south transept and one in the presbytery, both interpreted as the remains of cist coffins (fig. 84). Thus the number of known coffins at Croxden is scarcely more than the number of recorded burials. The vicissitudes of coffin survival are not to be compared with the better knowledge of excavation, and the geography of the chronicled burials does not entirely match the geography of the coffins. Nonetheless it is possible that the coffins and

⁸⁶ Hagger 2001, 71, 75, 138 and 228. *Curia Regis Rolls* 5:19, 82, 84; *Coll. Hist. Staff.* 6/1:223; *Rot. Hund. Tur. Lond.* 1:59.

⁸⁷ For similar tales of the exploitation of patronal rights see Wood 1955, chp. 6.

⁸⁸ Chronicle 1312.

even a few more, may have been filled with lesser members of the family not mentioned by the Chronicler, and in the case of the earlier burials, not known to him. If the Chronicle does indeed reflect the actuality, as compared with suggested patterns of burial at, for instance, Bordesley or Augustinian Norton,⁸⁹ where patronal burial was less important, then it would be good to know who protected those burial rights. Was it the convent, with observance of Cistercian custom uppermost in its mind, or was it the Verduns, protective of the family nature of the mausoleum church? The lack of burials within presbyteries, however, was not just a product of Cistercian and patronal opinion, but general ecclesiastical practice. For instance, the Statutes of Chichester in 1292 decreed that there should be no indiscriminate burials in chancels.⁹⁰ Yet the feeling of the convent for its founders seems to have been pretty close to the family-feeling of the Verduns for 'their' abbey. The interests of the abbey and the Verduns may have coincided in keeping the eastern half of the church, aside from its conventual role, special as the memorial place of a single family (in likely contrast with those abbeys with few patronal burials). Tewkesbury has a similar pattern of patronal family burial but more than one family is represented. There is a retrospective tomb for the original founder; the Gloucesters lie in front of the high altar and the Despencers have raised tombs around the edge of the sanctuary (which they were responsible for remodelling).⁹¹ Most of the monuments are still visible, and prior to the demise of the Despencers in 1375, there appear to be no burials in the east end of the church other than those of abbots and patronal family members.

Other Burials at Croxden

Now I want to turn, briefly, to the only other burials mentioned by the Chronicler which do not belong to the Verdun family – that of Philip Barinton in 1326 before the altar of St. Laurence two weeks after his death, and his son in the same place at an unspecified time.⁹² Even though this is past the time when burials were taking place more generally within churches, the fact that the Chronicler chooses to mention them is significant. Philip Barinton is first mentioned in 1298, when he is knighted by the king at the same time as Theobald II de Verdun. The marriage of his sister is mentioned in 1304, actually at Croxden; it is the only one the Chronicler thinks to mention apart from those of the later Verduns and royal marriages.⁹³

⁸⁹ For Bordesley see note 75 and for Norton see Greene 1989, 9-12, 128-44.

⁹⁰ Daniell 1997, 96-7, 186-7; Powicke and Cheney 1964, 117.

⁹¹ For the Tewkesbury monuments see VCH Gloucestershire, 8:161; Morris 1974; Pevsner and Verey 1976, 365-8. See also Golding 1985 and Martindale 1988.

⁹² Chronicle 1326. 'Obiit dominus Philippus de Barinton' vij Id' Septembris scilicet vigilia Navitatis beate Marie sepultusque est in ecclesia de Crok' coram altari Sancti Laurencii in crastino Sancti Mathei Apostoli [22nd September]. et Hugo filius eius.'

⁹³ Chronicle 1304. 'Johannes de Twiford filius domini Radulfi Pipard desponsavit Margaretam filiam domini Philippi de Barinton' apud Crokton' ii Idus Aprilis.' The dates suggest that the Philip Barinton mentioned here is the father of the Philip knighted in 1298, and thus that Margaret is the younger Philip's sister.

Lastly, the year after Philip's death, the death of his widow is noted, though not the place of her burial. There are no surviving records of gifts to Croxden by the Barinton family, although there is a record of a law suit between Philip Barinton (probably the father of the *commilito* of Theobald de Verdun) and the abbey in 1277. Neither are the Barintons of the same status as the Verduns. Philip indeed was steward of the neighbouring Tutbury estates of the Earl of Lancaster. One possible explanation for the Chronicler's interest might be if Philip and Theobald were 'brothers-in-arms', a relationship which, as Maurice Keen has shown, could transcend finer class distinctions and which was like a family relationship.⁹⁴ Philip Barinton's burial in their church and, more particularly, the treatment of him in the Croxden Chronicle suggest that the convent saw Philip Barinton in the same light as the members of their patronal family, and that the pseudo-familial and chivalric concept of brotherhood-in-arms might stretch out beyond the members of that brotherhood. The abbey was clearly a willing participant in this, since by the time of Philip Barinton's death, Theobald de Verdun had been long buried and would not have been able to press the case for Philip's interment there. It remains to be seen if other houses treated their patrons' friends with equal deference.

Alternatively, of course, while the Chronicle must be marking some sort of special relationship, either with the abbey or with the Verduns, the burial may also be the only remaining record of many now taking place in the abbey church, albeit not at the east end. Land was alienated to the abbey in 1342, 1345, in the 1390s and in 1402 by local benefactors and it is difficult to believe that these gifts were not recompensed by prayer and burial.⁹⁵ Although there is no evidence for it, and certainly not in the Chronicle, the nave of Croxden may have once housed as many monuments as Roche or Dore.⁹⁶

The chevet

It is clear then that the whole eastern arm of Croxden Abbey church served as a mausoleum to the Verdun family over an extended period. Although the first known burial did not take place there until 1231, some thirty to forty years after the chevet was started, it is possible that it was designed with patronal burial in mind. Since there are no documentary references connecting the patrons to actual building works the key to this issue must be found in the architecture, and the meaning it would have had to those who witnessed it.

Disregarding the plan of the chevet, it was shown in Chapter Five that the final church had connections with many other English buildings, both Cistercian and otherwise, connections which do not require explanations invoking exceptional or unusual influences.

⁹⁴ Keen 1996, 43-62.

⁹⁵ Laurence 1951-5, B63-4. *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1340-43, 535; 1343-5, 449; 1391-6, 109.

⁹⁶ Many monuments are still visible in the nave of Roche, while Leland recorded a list for burials for Dore (Hillaby 1997b, 100).

However, the plan of the east end is exceptional. Indeed, it is a one-off in the early Gothic English context, mainly the northern Cistercian churches and St. Hugh's choir at Lincoln, which supplied the comparative material for the other features of the church. Because of this, it is the chevet which must be the focus of any inquiry regarding patronage and architectural design. This is explored through examining possible sources for the chevet and looking at the men who may have been behind it, abbot, mason and patron. Subsequently, the meanings the chevet may have carried are reviewed.

The Architectural Source of the Chevet

Up until the last twenty years, the source of the chevet plan has traditionally been ascribed to the mother house at Aunay-sur-Odon, seemingly without the need for further explanation.⁹⁷ However, as pointed out by both Nicola Coldstream and Lindy Grant, the 14th century choir at Aunay has a square end that, in Normandy, is very unlikely to have replaced an apsidal one. Furthermore, the earlier choir at Aunay was started in 1151, an implausibly early date for a radiating chapel east end in a Cistercian context.⁹⁸ Hoey's subsequent analysis of the church at Croxden, therefore, looked to different sources for the chevet plan.⁹⁹ He ruled out other Norman abbeys such as Bonport and Breuil-Benoit because, like Beaulieu in 1204, they followed Clairvaux III in having radiating chapels enclosed within a single exterior wall (figs. 122-3). He also ruled out the High Gothic French plans of the Cistercian churches of Longpont and Royaumont (the former consecrated in 1227 and the latter built swiftly from 1228 to 1236; figs. 124-5) on the basis that these buildings have seven projecting chapels integrated with a double-aisled choir and furthermore each chapel has three windows and two buttresses (not counting those between the chapels), as compared with the two windows and single buttress of the Croxden chapels.¹⁰⁰ Instead, Hoey suggested that the model for Croxden was the Norman Cistercian house of Mortemer, some of which survives, including part of the transepts and part of the chevet foundations (figs. 126-7).¹⁰¹ The plan is one of a hemicycle (an apse and ambulatory) with seven deeply projecting chapels, each circular inside and out like those of Croxden and with two windows and one buttress per chapel, also like Croxden. The western chapels that abut the transept are rather squashed. Based on firm documentary evidence, the choir was laid out and partially raised between 1174 and 1179. Although the church was not finally consecrated until 1209, the chevet was probably complete by 1200 at the latest. Mortemer was one of the most important abbeys of the Duchy of Normandy and

⁹⁷ Hills 1865, 307; Hibbert 1912, 46; VCH Staffordshire, 3:229; Pevsner 1974, 111.

⁹⁸ Coldstream 1986, 143-5; Grant 1987a, 137.

⁹⁹ Hoey 1993, 40-42.

¹⁰⁰ For detailed discussion of both Longpont and Royaumont see Bruzelius 1979.

¹⁰¹ For Mortemer, see Gallagher 1982; Grant 1987a, 113-24; Grant 1987b, 83-90 and for Henry II's patronage in general see Grant 1994b.

was the object of considerable Angevin patronage, especially from Henry II who paid for the building of the nave and contributed to the beginning of the chevet. Since Hoey believed the church at Croxden to have been built between c.1220 and 1250, the date of Mortemer's chevet did not fit well with his hypothesis, as he acknowledged. Although Bertram de Verdun was close to Henry II, his influence on a building which supposedly began thirty years after his death is unlikely, and by this time the design of Mortemer would have been dated in France and idiosyncratic in England.

In Chapter Five, however, I argued that the design of the Gothic church at Croxden should actually be dated to the last decade of the 12th century, based on a number of features such as the clustered-pier type, the differentiation of diagonal and transverse ribs in the aisles and ambulatory, the three-storey elevation in a Cistercian context with its emphasis on blank wall, and the foliage capitals in the surviving chevet chapel. Building work was not fast though, and the eastern foliage capitals in the transept show the influence of St. Hugh's choir at Lincoln (finished c.1200), while the western ones are a match for similar material in the chapter house, which was finished by 1229. The whole east end is also presumed to have been complete before the first burial there in 1231. The western half of the nave is stylistically similar to the chevet and transept and, while the eastern half of the nave (the monks' choir) *may* have been of similar date and have similar influences (principally Lincoln), it has a different aesthetic and could have been the product of a second architect, post-dating all other architectural work bar the high vaults. In summary, there are good grounds, which do not include a consideration of the plan itself, for dating the layout of the chevet to before 1200 and its completion to before 1230. In the light of these dates, the attribution of Mortemer as the likely source for Croxden becomes more reasonable. It is also worth looking beyond this to the likely source of Mortemer's plan – Noyon cathedral, which was used in fig. 104 to give an idea of how the chevet at Croxden might have appeared externally. Noyon was a very important diocese and its cathedral building was similarly important (figs. 104, 128-9).¹⁰² Probably begun before 1157, it was one of the first responses to Suger's choir of Saint-Denis and it has five projecting chapels connected to the transept by a double aisle divided into chapels and small western towers. Building was apparently slow, but the choir was in use by 1185.¹⁰³ Aside from its similarity of plan and date, there are other links between Noyon and Mortemer.¹⁰⁴ Mortemer was the daughter of Ourscamp, which lay only a few miles from Noyon, and the second abbot of Mortemer had been a canon at Noyon and the prior of Ourscamp. Though he ruled the abbey only from 1154 to 1164, he later retired to Mortemer after a career elsewhere. This is enough to establish Noyon as the source for Mortemer, rather than any closer Norman buildings, but it does not establish any link between either Noyon or

¹⁰² For Noyon, see Seymour 1939; Bony 1983, 106-7; Grant 1983.

¹⁰³ Although Christopher Wilson suggests that it was finished by 1160 (1992, 68).

¹⁰⁴ See Gallagher 1982, 60-1.

Mortemer and Croxden. However, the choir of Noyon was complete before the rebuilding of Croxden was thought of and that of Mortemer may have been in its final stages.

There is no obvious Cistercian link between Mortemer and Croxden – they had different mother houses and Mortemer was on the other side of Normandy from Croxden's mother house of Aunay. However, Mortemer does have a three-storey elevation (unusually early for Normandy) and set a precedent for future projecting-chapel chevets in later French Cistercian houses, although not a model, since Mortemer was as unusual in French and Norman Cistercian architecture as Croxden was in English.¹⁰⁵ Noyon, by contrast, has a four-storey elevation, an extremely rich interior and detailing utterly different from that of Croxden (and pretty different from Mortemer, see fig. 129). However, it lies in an area of north-east France where, as Grant has argued, architectural and artistic exchange with England in the Early Gothic period was more common than between England and Normandy – both before and after 1204.¹⁰⁶

As soon as the appropriate comparisons for Croxden's chevet are widened beyond the Cistercian, many other buildings in north-east France and the Ile-de-France could have provided a frame of reference. As well as Noyon, they might include the Benedictine abbey churches of St-Germer-de-Fly, St-Leu-d'Esserent (Cluniac), St-Remi in Reims, St-Germain-des-Prés and the cathedral of Senlis (figs. 104, 130-6). Senlis, St-Germer-de-Fly and St-Leu-d'Esserent (figs. 136, 130-2) all have very shallowly projecting chapels, however, and St-Germer-de-Fly has been seen as a proto-Gothic church dating to the 1130s, rather than an Early Gothic one of the 1150s.¹⁰⁷ The lack of transepts at St-Leu-d'Esserent and Senlis (which also has very irregularly designed chapels) perhaps make them less obvious models while St-Remi (begun c. 1170; 133-4), with its elongated eastern chapel, enlarged chapel entrances, broad central vessel, almost continuous bands of window glass at three levels and other innovations may seem just too different and advanced (in plan and elevation) to have been an inspiration for Croxden. Despite its lack of projecting transepts, St-Germain-des-Prés (figs. 104, 135) is perhaps a more convincing model. It is very similar to Noyon in plan (with which it was probably contemporary, although Seymour considered it the model for Noyon¹⁰⁸) and it has a three-storey elevation, although with rectangular openings in the triforium. In all likelihood, none of the buildings provided a 'model' for Croxden, though they may all have contributed to an atmosphere in which it was possible for Croxden's chevet to be designed. If a single building did serve as an inspiration then it must have been Mortemer with its Cistercian and patronal connections.

¹⁰⁵ See Bruzelius 1979, 57-9.

¹⁰⁶ See Grant 1991 and Grant 1994a.

¹⁰⁷ Jean Bony has St-Germer-de-Fly dating to the 1150s, albeit with archaic elements (1983, 125, 482n, 484n), while Christopher Wilson has it in the 1130s (Wilson 1992, 28-31).

¹⁰⁸ Seymour 1939, 53.

The French background to Croxden's chevet adds support to the conclusions of Chapter Five that it was planned in the 1190s. The Cistercian churches of Longpont and Royaumont, which Hoey ruled out as models on account of minor plan differences, can be ruled out on much stronger grounds. Firstly, of course, they post-dated Croxden by twenty or thirty years but even had Croxden not been re-dated, the superstructures of these High Gothic buildings were of a completely different order of scale, grandeur and sophistication. Plans and superstructures cannot be separated and only early Gothic French and Norman buildings, with their low tiered masses, could possibly have provided the context for Croxden, as opposed to the tall heavily articulated churches of later French architecture.

As well as seeming relevant to the needs of Croxden, Mortemer, Noyon and perhaps St-Germain-des Prés would still seem reasonably up-to-date in the 1190s in a way which would certainly not have been true twenty or more years later. More particularly, in that decade, Gothic Canterbury was still new, St. Hugh's choir at Lincoln was begun and mostly finished and only a few years later, Beaulieu was laid out with a Clairvaux III-style chevet (fig.123). Together with Croxden, the plans of these chevets are very different from one another and none of them had any following, however influential (or not) other aspects of their architecture were. Taken as a group, however, they are an indication of English experimentation with a variety of types of east end. In this context, Croxden's chevet was not perhaps such an anomaly as it now appears, in the same way as the first master of Hugh's choir at Lincoln surely did not expect his highly eccentric chevet to spawn no offspring – or to be replaced within sixty years.

The Choice of the Chevet

Although the choice of a radiating-chapel chevet was not quixotic, it was still highly unusual. On the one hand, English Cistercian retrochoir experiments concerned with the provision of more chapels centred on a rectangular east end, as at Dore or Byland or Jervaulx. On the other hand many abbeys were still happy to retain or build churches with the now-traditional Cistercian east end with a short unaisled square-ended presbytery. While at Beaulieu the architectural connections with Clairvaux III and later Cistercian churches, combined with royal patronage, might be enough to explain its choice of plan, this is not so at Croxden. At Croxden, by contrast, there was no exceptional patronage and the plan corresponds most closely to Benedictine and secular French churches – with the single exception of Mortemer, itself an oddity in the Norman and French Cistercian world. In short, there must have been a prime mover.

The search for a central figure on whom to pin the blame or kudos is a recurrent theme of architectural history, perhaps best exemplified by the many studies of Gothic Westminster

Abbey.¹⁰⁹ Westminster, however, is blessed with an excess of documents and an extant building. At Croxden, the building campaigns are only slightly documented and only with reference to the abbots; the architect is unknown, except through his fragmentary surviving work and the patrons' relation with the building is only known by their later use of it as a mausoleum. Nonetheless, because of the unique plan of the church in England it is worth trying to investigate the role of its three possible instigators further.

The Abbot

At most abbeys, the abbot is usually the person credited with church building and Croxden is no exception. Thomas Woodstock could have instructed the mason both as an individual and as a representative of the Cistercian order. From the early years of the order, Cistercians were responsible for the dissemination of ideas concerning appropriate building types and may have played an active part in the building process, particularly during the erection of temporary buildings. In the 1130s, individuals were sent to new abbeys to establish the traditional customs and buildings of the Cistercian order,¹¹⁰ but by the time Croxden was founded the building needs of a new community would have been well-established. Although records of monastic building activity can be found later, with monks serving as masters of the works, particularly in Germany, the greater complexity of building projects makes a hands-on approach by the convent increasingly less likely. It is just possible that the first convent helped to build their temporary buildings and first church, even though they are almost certain to have employed a master builder. When the second church was planned Abbot Thomas would have discussed at least the outline of the design with its architect to ensure that it fulfilled the liturgical needs of the community and that the building would not be inappropriate for the order.¹¹¹ Although the Chronicler gives the impression that Abbot Thomas was assiduous, we are given no idea at all of his ambition or propensity for making architectural statements. He would, though, have had the opportunity for viewing French churches at first hand when he travelled to and from Cîteaux for the General Chapter, even if he did not do so every year. If he took a direct route, then he could have passed through Noyon on several occasions (to have visited St-Germain-des-Prés in Paris would have been more of a detour). As a former monk of Aunay, it is also possible that he had visited other Cistercian abbeys in the Duchy. However, without very strong supporting evidence, it is difficult to credit such an un-Cistercian plan to any Cistercian abbot. Moreover, it would make sense for the resources of the convent and the efforts of the abbot at this early period in the life of the abbey to have been directed toward the

¹⁰⁹ Among others see Branner 1964; Wilson and al 1986; Wilson 1992, 178-83 and Binski 1995.

¹¹⁰ In 1133, Geoffroi of Aini was sent from Clairvaux to Fountains and he and may have passed on his skills to other monks, notably Robert, Alexander and Adam, who between them were responsible for the first buildings at Newminster, Kirkstall, Woburn, Kirkstead, Vaudey and Meaux. See Fergusson 1983.

¹¹¹ See Norton 1986.

provision of more permanent buildings, or at least to the provision of a complete set of abbey buildings, liturgical, domestic, agricultural and industrial.

The Architect

The mason who laid out the plan, drew the templates, designed the elevations and oversaw much of the building operation is arguably the most important person in the whole process. Although the details and elevation of the church are manifestly English, the Frenchness of the chevet plan and its relation to particular churches (Noyon, Mortemer, St-Germain-des-Prés) suggest that the master mason had visited at least one of these buildings before beginning Croxden. If the abbot or one of the Verduns had instructed him to build the church in a particular way, or provided him with a back-of-the-envelope sketch, would he have been able to effectively translate that into a three-dimensional building with its continuous ambulatory and chapel space, complex roofing structure and passageless clerestory? However, a prolonged exposure to French Gothic does not seem likely either since, aside from the otherwise English aesthetics of the building, the master appears to have had some difficulties with the chevet design. In particular, the springers on top of the ambulatory/ chapel respond are very awkwardly placed. This may be indicative of an original plan to demarcate the chevet chapels with an emphatic entrance arch, later changed to one which unified the chapels and ambulatory by using entrance arches that matched the transverse ribs of the ambulatory vault. The lack of integration between the projecting chapels and the transepts is also something of a solecism. In French architecture, the straight sections of the choir are double-aisled, although at Mortemer the space is filled with one misshapen-looking chapel on each side – a solution clumsier than that of Croxden.¹¹²

The Patrons

The Verduns probably had more opportunity to experience French Gothic buildings than the abbot. They may also have wished for the architectural aggrandisement of the church to enhance the status of themselves and their *caput* – a wish that could have coincided with the convent's desire for more chapels. The connection between the castle and the abbey would have been no secret to visitors to either and the knowledge that the Verduns were in some way responsible for an unusual but nonetheless austere chevet could focus the minds of monks on their patrons' need for prayer and the minds of others on their very real power and wealth.

Before 1204, each holder of the Verdun patrimony would have been concerned with his Norman estates even if they were already investing more time and effort in their newly-acquired and very valuable Irish estates. Bertram de Verdun left on crusade in 1190 and died two years later. Only fourteen years had elapsed between Bertram's sizeable investment in the

¹¹² See Hoey 1993, 40, 42.

initial endowment of Croxden Abbey and his crusade. Ostensibly, it seems unlikely that he would have made a further considerable investment by beginning a second church. However, Bertram is the one who was deeply involved in the court of Henry II, to whom he owed the greater part of his patrimony. The imitation, by him, of Henry II's great church at Mortemer would seem particularly fitting. At this point, though, Lincoln's choir had not yet been laid out and it must be considered that this architectural event would have made a radiating-chapel chevet more acceptable in England.

The death and burial of Bertram in the Holy Land would have left his successors without a tomb with which to honour his memory or as a focus for monastic prayers for his immortal soul. Of course, the entire abbey was founded for the salvation of his soul and those of his predecessors and successors, but this does not have the immediacy of a tomb as a memorial. If Bertram had, before his death, discussed with his sons the possible aggrandisement of the church, or that he admired the church of Mortemer (or others in France), then it is difficult to think of a more fitting memorial to him than a chevet unique within Britain. While it might only have triggered the memory and prayers of his immediate successors and hopefully the convent, few could expect more. As the dynastic tradition of burial at Croxden became established, the ties of prayer and patronage between the Verduns and the monks would become even closer, as we have seen.

The idea that a memorial might be constructed in England for a knight who had died on crusade is not well-attested, but neither is it new. Gilyard-Beer suggested that such a memorial was erected in Byland's chapter house to Roger Mowbray their founder, who died in 1188 in Palestine.¹¹³ The memorial does not survive but its existence would account for two discrepant medieval chronicles. The earlier one is that of Byland Abbey, which records Mowbray's death and burial on crusade and the much later one is that of Newburgh Priory, also of Mowbray's foundation, which has him buried at Byland in the south wall of the chapter house. This later description is confirmed by a bishop's account of 1535 and the circumstantial evidence of arched recesses in the north and south walls of the east bay of the chapter house. There is, however, no body or grave slab and Gilyard-Beer interpreted this as indicative of a memorial built after the Byland chronicle was written but well before the Newburgh one, by which time the memorial had evolved into a grave in the collective memory. It is equally possible, though, that the memorial had been erected shortly after Roger Mowbray's death and that the fact it was a memorial had not yet been forgotten by the time the Byland chronicle was written. The presence of the founder's grave would most certainly have been recorded since this clearly redounded to an abbey's glory; a memorial may not have had quite the same impact. The Croxden Chronicler appears to have been scrupulous in recording the patronal burial places he knew, even though he never described a single effigy, brass or

¹¹³ Gilyard-Beer 1983.

incised slab. Memorials may not have been perceived as important as bodies, but it seems unlikely that he would have omitted to mention a small-scale monument to the founder, had one existed.

In summary, the arguments in favour of either the master-mason or the abbot being the prime mover behind the chevet are poor. Patronal links with French churches or Mortemer via Henry II and Bertram de Verdun are not provable but are plausible. If Bertram did not plan to rebuild the east end himself, then it could have been started by his elder son Thomas, perhaps in his father's memory. Thomas took up his patrimony in 1194 and died in Ireland only five years later.¹¹⁴ Burial inside the church may not have been guaranteed at this time since it was still more usual to bury founders in an annexe to the church, such as the western narthex, as at Rievaulx or a specially built chapel, as at Cîteaux¹¹⁵ and this is perhaps why no effort appears to have been made to return Thomas' body from Ireland, although the unfinished state of the chevet may have been another factor.

His brother Nicholas, then, either brought to completion a project started by Bertram or Thomas, or began and finished the whole eastern arm himself. Although he does not appear to have spent much time at Alton, his burial at Croxden, before the high altar, did mark the beginning of a dynastic tradition, and he may have emphasised the family association with the abbey by moving the bones of his grandfather there. Such an act would have emphasised the familial nature of the church, a nature already embodied in the very structure of the chevet with its references to a building largely financed by the founder's patron.

Such a project could not be started without the consent of the abbot and they may even have agreed between them the architectural nature of the project. The importance of close relations with the patronal family to an abbey has already been demonstrated. The rebuilding of the east end may have seemed a small price to pay for their goodwill and for the eventual deposition of their bodies there. With no evidence for a narthex or burial chapel, it looks as if the abbot of Croxden made an early decision to allow patronal burials in the church. In the event, by the time of the first burial in 1231, the tenor of Cistercian custom had changed and the burial of founders within churches was widely overlooked, if not actively encouraged.

Perceptions of the Chevet

It has become a truism of English architectural history that radiating-chapel Gothic chevets were associated with royal patronage, and to an extent with royal burial. However, in the 1190s, this was not the case, nor was it obvious that it would become the case. Aside from Canterbury, with its single large Trinity chapel and corona, the only church in England with a

¹¹⁴ Hagger 2001, 57.

¹¹⁵ Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 242n; Aubert 1947, 1:330.

Gothic chevet – in the process of being built and nothing like the available French models – was Lincoln. Neither of these places were associated with either royal or baronial burial. Indeed, at Canterbury, efforts were made to keep bodies out of the Trinity chapel in order to emphasise the holiness of the space associated with the relics of St. Thomas Becket.¹¹⁶

In France, because of the Capetian association with the abbey of Saint-Denis from 1120 and the subsequent building of the Gothic choir by Abbot Suger (1140-44), the situation was different. There is no suggestion that either Suger or Louis VI were involved in the highly original architectural design, but the decoration of the abbey promoted the ideal of priestly kingship.¹¹⁷ Although the burial of kings in Saint-Denis took place as of right, in Suger's lifetime and afterwards they were not commemorated with ornate tombs nor was the movement of their bodies permitted. Elsewhere very rich tombs, sometimes retrospective, were being installed – including for the Merovingians at Saint-Germain-des-Prés.¹¹⁸ This was probably one of the reasons why Louis VII (d.1180) chose to be buried at Cistercian Barbeaux, where he could be both commemorated in style and attract the prayers of the order. This led to a rethink concerning the sorts of tombs which might be allowed on the part of the Abbey of Saint-Denis and later kings were again buried there. However, although the identification between Saint-Denis and the Capetian monarchy was very close, a Saint-Denis-style chevet, or one descended from it, would not have brought the French monarchy to mind since by the time that the Croxden chevet was laid out, chevets of one sort or another were the standard eastern termination to great churches in France. The French churches may have served to impress upon Bertram, Thomas or Nicholas de Verdun the appropriateness and grandeur of a chevet as a place of burial, while the probable reference to Mortemer may have served as a private memorial to Bertram. When first built, the east end of the church could have held many meanings: for the Verduns a memorial to their forefathers, a focus for familial piety and a demonstration of their status through their patronage; for the convent, at a practical level it provided more chapels and it would have served as a remembrance of the link with their patrons as well as displaying appropriate Cistercian austerity in its superstructure. Some of these meanings may have persisted, others lost and new ones added in succeeding generations.

In 1204, shortly after the chevet was laid out at Croxden, and certainly before the eastern arm was finished, Normandy was lost to Philip II of France and King John founded Beaulieu Abbey in 1204, partly to serve as his mausoleum.¹¹⁹ The former may have had the effect of making French and Norman architectural models less relevant and desirable in England, while at the same time Beaulieu used those very models (from Clairvaux via Norman Bonport, itself founded by Richard I, see fig. 122). A Norman architect was employed on

¹¹⁶ Wilson 1995, 451-4.

¹¹⁷ The literature on Saint-Denis is vast, but see Gerson 1986; Wilson 1995, 31-40; Grant 1998.

¹¹⁸ For the treatment of bodies and tombs of the French kings at Saint-Denis and elsewhere see particularly Brown 1991, and also Martindale 1988, 9-10. See also Kramp 1995.

¹¹⁹ Holdsworth 1992, 140.

Beaulieu and for the first time a French-style chevet was associated with an English king in England. John's standing with the church and baronage would have done nothing to increase the popularity of the chevet in England.

Before the loss of Normandy and the construction of Beaulieu, Croxden's plan could be seen as part of the creative variety of English early Gothic design, despite its French origins. Afterwards, to the few in the know, it is possible that perceptions of it would have changed. Whether this would have adversely affected the building programme is highly debatable. By the time of Nicholas de Verdun's decision to be buried there these new perceptions may have been largely forgotten, or eclipsed by the renewed patronage of Beaulieu by the young Henry III.¹²⁰ Additionally, by the time the chevet was finished the modest superstructure and austere Cistercian interior may have been a more important feature than its unusual plan.

After Beaulieu, an apsidal chevet was not started again in England for the next forty years, but before Henry III began Westminster Abbey, the choir of the Capetian coronation church of Reims had been rebuilt, Royaumont had been founded as a burial place for lesser members of the royal family, the reconstruction of Saint-Denis had begun, and the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris was almost finished. Westminster Abbey was partly a reaction to these buildings, as well as a result of Henry's piety, and an attempt to establish the sacramental nature of kingship as Louis IX and his predecessors had done so successfully in France.¹²¹ It did not succeed in this aim, but it did firmly entrench the link in England between the radiating-chapel chevet and royalty (at least in the minds of modern architectural historians). Whether this changed the Verduns' perception of 'their' abbey is, unfortunately, unknowable. Although everything else about the buildings was utterly different, the similarity in plan is unmistakable. Is it possible that the link between Croxden and Westminster and thereby the flawed English crown contributed, however slightly, to Roesia de Verdun's decision to be buried at her own foundation rather than her grandfather's? At this point (1247), more than seventy years after the foundation, Croxden Abbey still housed the body of only one patron, plus the bones of the founder's father. Roesia's choice might so easily have marked the beginning of a more random and individual pattern of Verdun burial and Croxden would have been just another abbey with a single patronal burial. In the years prior to John de Verdun's death in 1274, the affiliation of particular families to particular places may have been gaining ground. The Courtneys at Forde, the Clares at Tewkesbury and the family of the Earl of Cornwall at Hailes have already been mentioned and in the 1260s, the royal remains in Saint-Denis were dug up and rearranged beneath a series of retrospective tombs with Charles the Bold at the entrance to the choir, Merovingians and Carolingians down one side, Capetians

¹²⁰ Hockey 1976.

¹²¹ See note 109.

down the other and Louis VIII and Philip II in the centre (soon to be joined by Louis IX) in a powerful show of dynastic affirmation.¹²² John de Verdun did not need to make such a grand gesture – with so few of his ancestors buried there, there was still space for him in front of the high altar and indeed this position could have been offered to him as an incentive to will his body there. Furthermore, by this time Hailes Abbey had received the Holy Blood and had embarked on a Westminster-style chevet.¹²³ Interestingly, like Croxden, the chevet of Hailes is also not integrated with its choir and perhaps this solecism had as much to do with their Cistercian affiliation – a double choir aisle not being necessary to the proper functioning of a Cistercian abbey, even one which would attract numerous pilgrims – or to indigenous taste as to the apparent inability of English architects to deal with this feature. Architecturally, the similarities between Croxden and Hailes (of which only the foundations remain) would have been barely closer than between Croxden and Westminster, but Hailes was Cistercian and an association with Richard of Cornwall would have been more welcome.

Theobald I de Verdun's very equivocal relationship with the abbey has already been discussed, and it was doubtless this which led him to will his body to Grace Dieu in 1295. His change of heart (or his son's) is most likely to have been influenced by the familial claims which the abbey now had and which the abbot doubtless stressed to his neighbour. The status of Croxden Abbey as the natural resting place of the Verduns was by now assured.

The construction of the polygonal chevet at Tewkesbury by Hugh le Despencer in the 1320s, with its deliberate referral to royal buildings and the reconstruction of Vale Royal's east end by the Black Prince in the 1360s continued the link between English chevets and royalty, even after the demise of the Verdun family. Apart from the probable initial reference to Mortemer, at Croxden such architectural allusions were accidental and may have been seen as unfortunate, fortunate or irrelevant to both the patrons and the convent as circumstances dictated. However, at no point did either party reject these connotations by deciding to rebuild, and the chevet may have been seen by its instigator and later generations as the epitome of a baronial family burial church.

¹²² Brown 1991, 245-6. Another rearrangement of the tombs took place in 1306, as a consequence of the canonisation of Louis IX eight years previously.

¹²³ For Hailes see note 81.

Epilogue

Croxden was an ordinary Cistercian abbey, without claims to worldly wealth and importance like Fountains or to especial spirituality like Rievaulx. On the one hand this ordinariness has contributed to its scholarly neglect and on the other made it a suitable subject for the study of a more representative type of monastery. Minor abbeys have as much potential for broadening our understanding of aspects of Cistercian life as well-known ones. Most of the themes picked up in the preceding chapters apply to most abbeys, demonstrating the usefulness of such overlooked sites. The study of gatehouse chapels has shown that they were used for different communities, especially dependent communities living near the gates but with a growing emphasis on pilgrimage and private patronage in the 14th century. The chapter on infirmaries and abbots' lodgings has indicated the communal nature of the former and more particularly the multiple character of the latter, even from an early period. Chapter Six demonstrated the importance of patronal bodies within Cistercian churches, not just to the patrons but to the convents. Chapters Three and Five on the cloister and church respectively stuck closer to the buildings of Croxden, central to grasping the growth, prosperity and life of the house, yet also revealing the existence of long-lived early, but lost, conventual buildings, something which must be the case at many other abbeys. The study of the church revealed a complex building sequence, a feature seen at an increasing number of abbeys, and established a date for the one unique feature of Croxden – its chevet with radiating chapels. Though unique in Britain, it is no longer necessary to see it as bizarre or anomalous since it can now be understood in the context of late 12th century English and French architecture and in the context of active artistic patronage by the Verdun family.

The exigencies of the evidence, which is concentrated in the period before the mid-14th century, resulted in omitting two structures which do still exist. One is the late medieval 'tith barn' on the eastern side of the precinct, and the other is the foundations of the small water mill which continued in use into the 19th century on the west side of the precinct. Study of these structures would not only have diluted the chronological focus of the thesis, but also the thematic one. Arguably, these buildings belong in a quite different sort of study which might look at farm buildings, agriculture and estate management. The monks of Croxden were estate managers, of course, and potentially the evidence is there to illuminate that side of their lives in an institutional if not in an individual way. The Chronicle includes references to the draining of fish ponds, the burning of woods (i.e. coppicing and charcoal-burning) and the digging of ditches as well as to particular fields, orchards and barns. Moreover, the surrounding landscape,

of former precinct and granges is largely pasture and seething with earthworks. A detailed survey of these, along with the agricultural/ industrial buildings and related documentary evidence would cast the monks in a quite different light and allow an examination of their relationship with the land, and perhaps with the people who worked that land for them (lay brothers, servants or tenants), and with the surrounding landowners. Such a survey might also discover whether or not the convent moved a pre-existing settlement prior to its own settlement of the valley at Croxden.

This is only to say that the research on Croxden Abbey has barely begun – the evidence and context for other parts of monastic life remains rich enough to fill another thesis, despite the relative insignificance of the house. The research undertaken here on the buildings also only marks a beginning: the Cistercian context of gatehouse chapels has been thoroughly examined but not in relation to the use of gatehouse chapels in other religious orders; so much more remains to be understood of early infirmary life through buildings as well as customaries, and across the orders; the appearance of the first church (and, to an extent, the second) remains open to debate for those who care to engage with it.

The most pressing question raised centres on the first buildings of the monastery, since so little of them survive (only the lower courses of the south transept, the north wall of the cloister/ south wall of the nave and stubs for the claustral ranges). Most of the 'temporary' buildings of the early abbey must, in fact, have been long-lived, between thirty and eighty years. Where were they, how did the convent function in them and what were they like, how did the lack of a cloister affect claustral life? These are basic questions, yet ones which must be answered to have a full understanding of monastic life in the late 12th to mid-13th century. These questions are not unique to Croxden. Indeed, the buildings of very many Cistercian monasteries indicate that they were built many years after the foundation of their abbey, while at others surviving documentation shows that the buildings were only brought to completion after generations. Glimpses of long-lived temporary buildings have been seen in excavations at Kirkstall and Sawley, but was there such a thing – after the trials of the very earliest foundations – as a standard temporary Cistercian monastery? How was the distinction between choir monks and lay brothers maintained, especially where, as at Croxden, a nave had not yet been built? Were the building expected to function for as long as they did, or were there in fact series of temporary buildings? The questions go on but at present can be answered with little more than speculation. Only a well-funded research programme with earthwork surveys, remote sensing and carefully-chosen excavations can hope to address such big issues. The missing decades highlighted by this study of Croxden Abbey can no longer be ignored.

Appendix 1

Loose Architectural and Monumental Stone

Introduction

Many hundreds of loose stones and fragments from the abbey survive, and these have been the subject of intense recording. They were first assessed by Hall in 1994¹, and following this a catalogue was completed, which included 1:1 profiles, scale drawings and photographs, as well as record cards. This was done by David Kendrick, Eilis Hague and Anna Barsby under the aegis of Dr. Richard Morris of Warwick University and monitored, for English Heritage, by Jackie Hall. Excluding more than 750 duplicate ribs of various types, 554 stones merited a separate entry in the catalogue (here numbered as 001,002 etc. without the 88105 prefix), and Hall additionally catalogued 58 stones in the gardens and buildings of the owners, the Boltons (numbered B1, B2 etc.). Dr. Morris, with Jackie Hall, also made a survey of all the extant moulding profile designs in the abbey buildings. In summary then, the best possible ground was laid for future analysis of the material and the following study owes almost everything to it.

The Sources of the Stones

The geological source of the stone is not here an issue, since the abbey was built entirely from Hollington Stone, a Triassic sandstone, quarried within a mile of Croxden (geologically, the Hollington Formation, the highest formation of the Sherwood Sandstone group). Fine to medium-grained and easy to work when freshly quarried, it hardens considerably on exposure and it less subject to wear than most of the Triassic sandstones. The colour varies from white and pale grey to mottled to, most commonly, dull red.² The use of a single geological type adds to Croxden's air of homogeneity but robs researchers of an extra tool with which to understand its architectural history. The use of different colours is barely more informative with only thirty stones recorded as anything other than pink or pink-brown, with no obvious clustering.

¹ Hall 1994.

² Ashurst and Dimes 1990, 1:76; Clifton-Taylor and Ireson 1983, 33-4.

The find-sites of the loose stones are known from three sources. The earliest is Lynam, who located fifteen architectural stone types.³ With one exception, from the west range, they were found in the abbot's lodging, the infirmary and the rick yard i.e. from buildings on the east side of the site. Of these fifteen types, three can be confirmed as coming from the church, one from the abbot's lodging, five from cloister arcade or similar and two from undercrofts. This distribution lends weight to the suspicion that the eastern side of the site was used as a storage area for loose stone, leaving the church and especially the cloister clear of rubble in favour of its use as a farm until the abbey was taken into guardianship.

The second source is the 1970s clearance excavations by Peter Crane.⁴ Of the 249 pieces recorded in these excavations, 131 were associated with the latrine undercroft, being the *in situ* collapsed vault together with fragments from it found within a modern drystone wall and clearance contexts in the undercroft. Also in the latrine undercroft were a fragment of arcade capital and a fragment of associated shaft; a fragment of cloister arcade head; a keeled shaft fragment; a fragment of early tracery; a wall rib; and a chamfered voussoir; and, not identified in the current collection, a chamfered corbel; two plinths; a rebated block; a post support and an unidentified moulding. Forty-five other fragments were found to the north and east of the latrine undercroft, in a context extending from the south end of the dormitory undercroft to the infirmary. Thirty-three of these (five capitals, two bases and twenty-six shaft fragments) relate to the cloister arcade, while the remainder are rather miscellaneous: two 14th century base fragments, probably from micro-architecture; a small rib, probably also from micro-architecture; another rib fragment, possibly from the chapter house; a polygonal engaged capital; one section of chamfered string course; one shaft fragment, diameter 135mm; one rebated block; two wall ribs and, not located within the present collection, three moulding fragments.

In the excavations of the covered way east of the dormitory undercroft a similar assemblage was found: six cloister arcade bases; thirteen cloister capitals and fragments and twenty-four matching shaft fragments; two springers from the arcade head, with seven possible fragments of arcade head; three shafts of diameter c. 125mm; a rib springer from the church and, not identified in the current collection, a door jamb, a rebated block and one moulding fragment.

With the exception of the stones related to the vault of the latrine undercroft, these excavation assemblages once again speak strongly of clearance from other areas. Although the cloister arcade could have originated in passages east of the cloister, the lack of such material in the cloister itself suggests that at least some of the material was moved from there. Furthermore, it seems highly likely that much of the material recorded in the 1970s may have come from the dry stone walls which once stood either side of the road running through the church but which have been replaced by wire fences.⁵ Just how much abbey stone was used in

³ Lynam 1911, pl. 65, 66, 68 and 69.

⁴ Hall 1995. This brief account is amplified here by returning to the excavation records.

⁵ English Heritage Photographic Library, A 6328/4.

boundary walls became apparent in May 1996, when the north churchyard wall was dismantled: the third known source of the loose stone collection. Twenty-seven architectural stones came from this source: thirteen sections of arcade springer and head (from all three designs) and one associated base; five chamfered vault ribs and one moulded one from the choir; five fragments of shaft (plain, triple shaft and nook shaft); one fragment of newel stair and one chamfered jamb. While much of this assemblage originated in the cloister, it is clear that other structures also contributed to the building of this wall – the source may even have been an intermediate stockpile, rather than the buildings themselves.

Aims and Arrangement of the Report

The central aim of the study is to reconstruct, on paper or in the mind, more of the former appearance of the abbey buildings. This is achieved by a careful analysis of the form and function of every stone type and comparing each with other relevant stones in the collection and in the extant remains, with the intent of locating as many of the pieces as possible in the buildings. As a corollary of this, the report is organised in the first instance by building, in the second by date and in the third by function.

In many instances, the loose stones match exactly with the extant remains, adding little to the architectural history of Croxden. All the stones, however, are included here, partly for the sake of completeness and partly so the work should never need to be repeated (a point of some moment given the difficulties of curating and permanently labelling stone collections). In addition, of course, these stones had to be identified, in order to isolate those which genuinely contribute to the sum of knowledge concerning the buildings of Croxden Abbey. For a proportion of this group, the exact location cannot be pinpointed, although it can be narrowed down to a group of buildings. In these cases, the sections on individual buildings are cross-referenced with the functional sections.

It is conventional in a stone report to organise the material chronologically, but in this instance, the only division is between material before c.1275 and material after that date. The amount of material after that date is in fact very small (even including those fragments assigned to specific buildings), while material from the foundation of the monastery up to that time makes up the bulk of the collection. This is not separated into smaller date groups since that would pre-empt discussion concerning the main building phases of the abbey. The documentary evidence suggests one long building period overseen by the first abbot, Thomas Woodstock, who ruled until 1229, and a second, energetic period between 1242 and 1268, overseen by the fifth abbot, Walter London. While some categories of stonework fall almost self-evidently into these periods – for instance the keeled responds are highly likely to belong to the first period, while the early tracery must belong to the second – the majority of details are less amenable. The sort of chronological limitations within which it is possible to place

mouldings and design details in this period – with the exception of the early tracery, a quarter-century at the very best - means that division by date at this point may blur real divisions or worse, that any minor errors in dating may lead to major phasing errors, as well as confounding discussion of ‘advanced’ or ‘archaic’ use of motifs. Contrariwise, the possibility that the documentary building periods obscure actual more continuous building practice should not be neglected.

For the same reason, discussion of comparative material from other great churches and abbeys is limited, since this is liable to either assume or dictate a particular date for a given feature. What the report offers instead is a contribution towards a more complete view of each building or group of buildings, in many cases substantial e.g. the appearance of the cloister arcade, the eastern nave and the vaulting of the choir would otherwise be unknown. Furthermore, the analyses of certain groups of stones *within the context of Croxden* e.g. the vault ribs and the nave aisle responds, revealed significant phasing information and, overall, a clearer understanding of what is similar and what is different within the buildings at Croxden. All these factors then contribute to the overall discussion of the buildings, where the details can be considered together with larger design elements such as planning or massing.

The Catalogue⁶

1 Stones from the Church

1.1 The Eastern Arm

1.1.1 String-course from the chevet chapels (fig. A1): 366, with a single prominent undercut roll, clearly matches the external string of the chevet chapel, of which only part of the hollow survives undamaged. It is a similar design, although a different scale, to the string-course below the windows on the west front.

1.1.2 Vault ribs from the chevet (fig. A1): 017 (seven examples) is an unusual variety of moulded rib, with a single central fillet flanked by hollows. It matches the diagonal rib of the extant chevet chapel. 110-112, with a single keeled roll flanked each side by a fillet (or reversed chamfered beak) and deep hollow, match the remaining diagonal rib of the ambulatory. One was found by Lynam in the infirmary.

1.1.3 Transept capital (fig. A1): 180 is a triple capital with wind-blown stiff-leaf foliage, and an integral backplate. The central capital was supported by a large keeled shaft, c.260mm across, while the two side capitals terminate in foliage tufts. In the south transept west wall, the

⁶ The nomenclature used throughout this catalogue is based as far as possible on Morris 1992.

vault capital between the two southernmost bays is very similar, with the important exception that it is moulded and not carved. The height of the two pieces is identical (assuming 180 also to have had a separate abacus), but the width of the loose piece is c.75mm narrower than that of the extant one, which also sits on top of a single keeled shaft of the same dimensions. It could not, however, have occupied the same position in the north transept, since the bases of smaller, circular wall shafts still survive in the foundations, and in the east wall the evidence also favours small circular shafts. Although it might have occupied a position in either the nave or the choir aisles, the differences between it and extant examples (it is carved, and a triple capital above a single shaft) suggest that it did not. Most likely, it came from the south transept, where the style of foliage is identical to that of several other extant capitals (and also to the chapter house façade), and where the form matches that of the western vault capital.

1.1.4 Transept chapel vault ribs (fig. A1): The extant transept chapel has only chamfered ribs of which five survive loose (stones 010).

1.1.5 The high vaults (figs. A2-3): The high vault of the south transept has ribs with paired reverse beak mouldings flanked by beaks of which seventeen examples survive (stones 015) and there is also a stiff-leaf boss of this moulding (stone 157) and a very similar foliage fragment (016, not illustrated). The boss has a geometry of c.133°/47°, matching the geometry of the first bays of the transepts (next to the crossing). Additionally, 199 (found in the passage east of the dorter undercroft) may be a specialist springer with the same profile. Rib 454 has at one end the rib profile of the transept and at the other a profile close to the ribs of the chevet chapels. This implies a change of design at some point – for further discussion see the analysis of vault ribs (section 3.5.4).

Although there is no other extant evidence of high vaults, 156 stones exist in the stone collections with a moulding not matched elsewhere with a central roll-and-fillet flanked by reversed beaks (stones 014 plus stones B20, B21, B23 and B53, at least one of which was found by Lynam in the infirmary; B53 was found in the north churchyard wall). They are the same overall dimensions as both the ribs of the south transept high vault and the ribs of the chapter house, and there are three simple stiff-leaf bosses with this rib profile (stones 154-156). The bosses have a slightly smaller diameter than the boss of the transept (0.36m, compared with 0.4m), and one of them projects significantly less from the ribs (154 projects c.65mm compared with 120mm), but nevertheless these stones were surely capable of supporting a high vault similar to that in the transept. Bosses 154 and 155 have a geometry c.54°/126° which matches that of the straight choir bays and bay 2 of the north transept, is close to that of bay 3 of both transepts but is not close to the geometry of any of the conventual buildings. Since bay 3 of the south transept has 5 ribs, and a different moulding design, this can be discounted. This shows

then, that either the north transept or the choir also had high vaults, at least partly using ribs with a different profile from the south transept. In all probability, both the choir and transepts were covered with stone vaults.

The last boss, 156, has a geometry *c.*59°/121° which matches that of the nave aisles and is close to that of the second bay of the south transept and perhaps the choir bays. However the second bay of the south transept has at least one rib (extant) of different design, so, discounting the possibility that some of the nave aisle bays had moulded ribs (the extant ones are chamfered), this boss may also suggest that the choir east of the crossing was vaulted. Importantly, the bays of the infirmary shared this geometry (see below) and this may account for the high survival of this rib type – almost nine times as many of this rib survive as any other identifiably from the church. Excluding the unprovenanced chamfered ribs (for which many locations are possible), only an unlocated moulded type (65 examples), the ribs of the latrine undercroft (130 examples) and the ribs of the chapter house (231 examples) have anything like these numbers. This probably reflects the importance of slighting the church immediately after the dissolution, whereas some of the other conventual buildings remained ceiled if not roofed and the ribs were not therefore immediately used in other buildings.

Cross-refs: Discussion on vault ribs (3.5.4), and the section on string-courses for a type which might have originated in the transepts (3.6.1).

1.2 The Nave Aisles

1.2.1 Bases (fig. A4): Only one or two pieces matching the architecture of the south aisle appear in the stone collection. 219 is a completely unmoulded keel-shaped base (not illustrated), exactly like the extant examples but rather shorter, 140mm compared with *c.*275mm, perhaps indicating a different location or a two-part base. Base 224, by contrast, is for a shaft of the same shape and dimensions as the aisle respond, but moulded with a single large roll, a profile similar to those of extant bases in the transepts and chevet (closest to the north transept base). If the choir aisle responds were triplets, as shown in the illustration by Blore, then the most likely location for this base is perhaps the nave aisle. Although the extant bases are unmoulded, it is possible that mouldings were used in the eastern parts of the nave or in north aisle.

1.2.2 Capitals and shafts (figs. A5-6): Two almost complete capitals of some size survive in the stone collection (383, found in the infirmary by Lynam and 428), together with three fragments of similar dimensions (187-189, the last is two joining pieces). The moulding designs are close but different, indicating that at least five capitals of this type once existed. They are single respond capitals, of semicircular plan, height *c.*380-405mm, for semicircular

shafts of diameter c.260mm, of which eight survive (162-168 and 223). Though a little shorter, these dimensions match very closely both with the extant south aisle respond capitals and with the extant north ambulatory respond (both of which have the same moulding design as the south transept respond). However the extant examples are all keeled, have noticeably less ornate mouldings, and a separate abacus. Compared with the two rolls below abacus level of the standing examples, the loose stones have up to three filleted rolls (428, whose integral abacus moulding also continues onto the backplate for a short distance), or two filleted rolls and a band of nailhead decoration (383). In addition, only four responds are missing from the south aisle, and only two from the chevet (not counting the six of the chapels, which would necessarily have a different geometry), one of which is shown in an engraving by Blore (1810) to have a triple shaft, base and capital (fig. 14). It seems, therefore, that these capitals and shafts must have originated in the north aisle or eastern bays of the south aisle. They would additionally appear to indicate a rather different, and probably later, style from either the west end of the church or the surviving eastern arm of the church, including the south transept.

Cross-refs: Window springer 247 (3.1.4); pier base 429 (1.3.1).

1.3 Piers

1.3.1 Pier base 429 and related shafts (fig. A7): This is a fragment of a large base with a classic waterholding profile. A rebate at its rear may mark a slot at the centre of the base, and at either side is a small return. It can be reconstructed as an octagonal base, with the main sides concave, each with a shaft set in, of c.125mm diameter. As reconstructed here, this pier base is around the same size, at c.1.30m N-S, as the pier responds of the nave arcades, although the design of 429 is quite different from the clustered design of the extant nave responds. The extant evidence of the chevet is also of clustered piers with alternating keeled and round shafts. The evidence for the piers of the north and south transepts – the south transept respond and the north transept pier sub-base – suggest a pier base of c.1.40m N-S, but again a clustered design with keeled shafts in the cardinal directions and round shafts in the diagonals. Such a different design, however, is commensurate with the very different design details of the loose aisle vault responds vis-à-vis the extant details of the south aisle, though this begs the question of why a section of arcade and aisle was designed differently from the rest of the church.

A second possibility is the crossing piers, but the parch mark of the north-west crossing pier, visible in the summer of 1995 was very large – approximately square and set diagonally it was c.2.00m N-S. The parch mark of the adjacent nave arcade pier, however, also a square set diagonally, was only c.0.75m N-S, considerably smaller than the size of either the pier bases extrapolated from the respond or pier base 429.

The circular shaft fragments which survive, of 122-130mm may have been associated with this and related piers (archive numbers 352-356, three found in the covered way next to the dormitory undercroft, not illustrated).

Cross-ref: Sub-base 169-72 (3.3.1)

1.3.2 Piers shafts (fig. A8): In 1910, Lynam recorded a fragment of 'nave pillar' in the garden, presumably of the farmhouse.⁷ Unfortunately this fragment cannot now be found, but Lynam shows it with a large keeled shaft (c.345mm across) flanked by round shafts c.280mm. This would reconstruct as a clustered shaft c.1.35m across, with keeled shafts in the cardinal direction and round ones in the diagonals. Although this size suggests it might have belonged to an unmoulded base, of the type still visible in the south aisle and nave responds, the survival of four semicircular shaft segments of diameter 300mm (138-141), and a further one of 280mm diameter (030), suggests that piers of this size did exist at Croxden. Such large circular shafts makes the pier design a significant variation on that still extant in the transepts and in the nave arcade responds. In addition, both these pieces, and the keeled shaft segment 136, which has a tail projecting at an angle from it, show that at Croxden, clustered piers were constructed with the cardinal, keeled shafts keying in behind the round shafts, as opposed to the usual practice of northern piers, from whence this design came.⁸ 136, however, at c.250mm across, has a much smaller shaft than that of Lynam's pier. Perhaps one belonged to the nave and one to the choir, or again perhaps the larger pier belonged to the crossing. In addition, there is a single keeled ogee shaft (196), with very similar dimensions but whose tail projects at a rather unusual angle, and it might be possible to see this in the specialised piers of the ambulatory. A matching stone can be found in the porch foundations outside the chapter house, although not necessarily original to those foundations.

1.4 Sepulchral Fragments

1.4.1 Effigy (fig. A9): 153 is a mutilated and worn effigy of a knight, with a short kite-shaped shield, crossed legs, long surcoat and with his right hand on the hilt of his sword, although his arm is at too awkward an angle to be drawing the sword. The effigy lies on an integral tapering slab and his head, right elbow and lower legs are lost. Effigies such as this are common in the later 13th and early 14th centuries and follow formulaic designs, making dating difficult.⁹

There are several patrons recorded in the Chronicle to whom this could have belonged (see Table 1): John de Verdun d.1274; Theobald de Verdun d.1309; Theobald de Verdun d.1316 and Philip Barinton d.1326. The centrally placed sword hilt perhaps favours the earliest of these,

⁷ Lynam 1911, plate 64.

⁸ See for example St Andrew, Fishergate, York in Kemp and Graves 1996, 239-42.

⁹ For this and the foregoing discussions see Tummers 1980, *passim*.

but the uncarved hauberk may suggest a later date (unless it has just worn away). The carving of the effigy in the local freestone suggests that it was originally painted and indicates the use of a local workshop. The carving is certainly not crude but (as far as it is possible to tell in its mutilated state) neither is it especially distinguished. It is, in fact, very similar in appearance to another Staffordshire example in Draycott-in-the-Moors, dated to 1260-70, possibly a product of the same workshop.

1.4.2 Cross slab fragments (fig. A10): 421 is a very worn fragment of an early 13th century cross slab of bracelet and round leaf design, with a small hollow chamfer around the unbroken edges. It is carved in shallow sunk relief within an incised circle. Both the design and the relief carving are consistent with cross slabs in south Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire¹⁰ although the slab is unusually thick (270mm).

553 is probably also a fragment of grave cover, representing the bottom of a tapered slab, 122mm thick with a 50mm chamfer around the three remaining edges. In the middle of the slab there are two almost parallel incised lines, but the cross shaft, if this is what it is, has no calvary or base of any kind.

2 Stones from the Cloister and Conventual Buildings

2.1 The Cloister Arcade

As well as the main cloister, it is known that Croxden had an infirmary cloister of similar size east of the chapter house.¹¹ In addition, the paved paths, revealed in the 1975-7 excavations¹² alongside the dormitory and latrine undercrofts and between the slype and the infirmary cloister were also covered, as indicated by the low stone walls bounding the paths. All of these paths could have been faced with stone arcading, of the sort typical on monastic sites everywhere. Not only was much of it still standing in the two cloisters in 1719,¹³ but large amounts of loose springers, arcade heads, capitals, bases and shafts from just such arcades survive, some of it recorded in 1910, some retrieved in the 1970s excavations and some from the dismantled dry stone wall of the churchyard. The very large numbers of fragments from the arcades may indicate the unsuitability of these small pieces for reuse as well as their relatively recent destruction and the fact, of course, that they could not be burned for lime.

Within this material three different arcade designs have been discerned: the first two share the same bay width and overall shape, but have quite distinct moulding details. The third is very similar to the second but is somewhat larger (though no deeper). It should be noted, however, that the arcade head can be put together, as it has been in the on-site exhibition so that

¹⁰ Butler 1964, 128-30.

¹¹ Barnes 1912, 147.

¹² Ellis 1995, 34-6.

¹³ Barnes 1912.

the design difference is barely noticeable. It is questionable therefore, whether these groupings were recognised by the Croxden masons or are a modern construct. The same set of double bases and capitals, of numerous moulding designs (with specialised end pieces) with their accompanying shafts, could have supported all the arcade heads. The largest arcade springers, however, (design 3) would have been a tight fit and it seems likely that a handful of very similar but larger capital and base fragments were associated with these. It is not possible to tell from the stones whether the moulded side was visible from the alley or from the garth, but the provision of a hoodmould on one side only might suggest that the moulded side was external rather than internal.¹⁴

2.1.1 Design 1 (fig. A11): The moulding consists of four soffit rolls, three of them with fillets. The overall form is of a round trefoil, which is emphasised by a front fillet and square hollow, the whole surrounded by a hoodmould describing a semicircle. The centre to centre width of the lights is c.0.89m. Most of the stones are damaged or worn to a greater or lesser extent, including one found in the latrine undercroft, while the four discovered in the churchyard wall in 1996 have all had their tops recut to form a flat wall surface. The geometry of the pieces is highly variable, and each double springer-arcade head combination must have been individually worked. One springer and up to seven other fragments may have been found in the covered way next to the dormitory undercroft.

Archive numbers

Double springers: 001, 020, 021.

Right-hand arcade head: 229, 230, 231, B39, B54, B56 (last three recut).

Left-hand arcade head: 228, B55 (recut).

2.1.2 Design 2 (figs. A12-13, A16): The overall form is identical to that of design 1, but the moulding comprises a prominent undercut front roll (55-64mm), a flat soffit and a rear chamfer. The trefoil is emphasised with a hollow while the hoodmould (of various designs) again describes a semicircle. Once again the geometry of the pieces is highly variable and each arcade head must have been specifically made to fit its springer, or vice versa. One piece (452) has a rebate to the rear instead of a chamfer, probably for the provision of a gate into the garth, or possibly for late glazing, and two of the double springers have stiff-leaf label stops. Interestingly, one of these has no rear chamfer on one side (B7), and the other no rear chamfer on both sides (134). This could suggest that they stood beside a gated entrance, or perhaps multiple entrances in the case of 134, and one which was of more significance than others e.g. from the garth to the processional door or chapter house. B7 was markedly wider than the other

¹⁴ Stuart Harrison's recent study of syncopated arcades suggests that at Monk Bretton the mouldings faced the cloister alley, while at Tintern the more decorated side faced the garth (1997, 69).

double springers, perhaps to compensate for the bay widths not fitting exactly into the length of the cloister sides. A single springer with an eroded foliage label stop also survives (381), but this specialised piece could indicate many things: that the mouldings were internal not external; that the arcade died into a wall at the end of a covered way other than a cloister; or the presence of an intermediate pier somewhere along the length of the cloister. As before, one of the arcade heads has been recut to form a facing stone in the churchyard wall.

Archive numbers

Springers with label stops: 134, 381 (single springer), B7

Other double springers: 142-151, B24

Right-hand arcade head: 408, 434, 436, 438, 439, 440, 442, 443, 449, 451

Left-hand arcade head: 405, 447, 450, 452, B30 (recut),

Fragments: 441

2.1.3 Capitals relating to designs 1 and 2 (fig. A14): As well as the arcade head itself, large numbers of double capitals survived, although only one was close to complete (046 found in the covered way next to the dormitory undercroft); there are twenty-seven other fragments, including one found in the infirmary by Lynam, and four found in clearance east and north of the latrine undercroft, one in the latrine undercroft and eleven in the covered way next to the dormitory undercroft. Numerous moulding designs were used, but a typical capital would have, from bottom, necking, hollow, demi-roll-and-fillet, bead and then another demi-roll-and-fillet or a double roll for the integral abacus (not unlike the loose nave aisle respond capitals). A few additionally had a band of nailhead decoration. The overall size of each double capital would have been c.390mm deep x c.220mm wide x c.215mm high and they were supported by shafts c100mm diameter. One of the pieces (049) was only 191mm high, but in every other respect like the other double capitals, and many were so fragmentary (e.g. only the necking survived) that it was impossible to confirm their origin in double capitals. They were assigned as double capitals because of their very close resemblance to the other pieces. One of these fragments clearly belonged to an engaged capital, and it might have supported the single springer 381 noted above (in cloister arcade design 2).

Archive numbers

Moulded capitals: 046-48, 050-55, 058, 060-64, 071 B16

Capitals with nailhead decoration: 045, B13

Shorter capital: 049

Fragments impossible to confirm as double capitals: 059, 065-69, 072

Engaged capital: 057

See also corner capital 182 (unlocated), which may have once belonged to a doorway through the arcade.

2.1.4 Bases relating to designs 1 and 2 (fig. A15): As with the capitals, numerous fragments of double base survived, including two almost complete (074 and B19) and an unspecified number found by Lynam in the infirmary along with the shafts, one found by Crane in clearance east and north of the latrine undercroft, and six in the covered way next to the dormitory undercroft. While the mouldings show a similar degree of variability to the capitals – no two are identical – they fall more clearly into different moulding groups. One group has a double roll, one a separated double roll and the third a water-holding profile. Their overall dimensions are c.350mm x c.177mm but a height which varies between 120 and 130mm. Although in a few instances their origin in a double base could not be recognised all the pieces listed here were so close to the other double bases to make identification certain.

In addition to the double bases and associated fragments, two quadruple bases survived, one with a separated double roll (B18) and one with a water-holding profile (103). In both instances the separation between the shafts was slightly greater than that between the shafts of the two complete double bases, but in other respects they were so similar as to make their origin at the corners of a cloister arcade certain.

A possibility for the sub-base or plinth of the arcade are three slabs 480mm wide with an angle roll each side, and an upper flat surface equal to or just greater than the depth of the double bases. 390 has a height of 160mm; 397 and 398 a height of 140-3mm and slightly larger rolls. 397 however has the roll running around three sides, though this might mark the beginning of a straight section of arcade, and 398 only has the roll surviving on one side. Similar stones, with rolls both sides, were found by Lynam in the abbot's lodging,¹⁵ although this may be the result of earlier clearance activity. If these stones did form the plinth to the arcade, then this would be similar to the surviving details of the arcade leading from the cloister to the infirmary at Fountains Abbey.

Archive numbers

Double bases with double roll moulding: 074-77, B19

Double bases with separated double roll moulding: 078-81, 088, 221, B12, B15

Double bases with water-holding moulding: 082-87, 090-92

Quadruple bases: 103, B18

Plinth: 390, 397-8

2.1.5 Shafts relating to designs 1 and 2 (fig. A14): In all 103 plain round shaft fragments were recovered at Croxden. Initially they appeared to cover a wide range of diameters, but plotting them graphically clearly showed three distributions centred on 100mm, 110mm and 125mm respectively. The 62 stones centred on 100mm (here including all those of 105mm

¹⁵ Lynam 1911, pl. 69.

diameter, even though some of these should belong in the next distribution) could all have supported the cloister arcade, although doubtless shafts of this diameter were used in other contexts as well. Twenty were recovered in the clearance east and north of the latrine undercroft, one from within the latrine undercroft and fifteen from the covered way next to the dormitory undercroft. As well as the plain shafts, there are two shafts of diameter 102mm each worked at one end, creating an irregular fluted effect. These may be the product of post-dissolution reuse, or else made for some specialised function.

Archive numbers

Plain shafts of c.100mm diameter: 256-316, B17

Plain shafts worked at one end: 363-64

2.1.6 Design 3 (fig. A17): This is represented by a collection of double springers and arcade head very similar to those of design 2 but with a front roll of much larger diameter (70-76mm). In this instance, the arcade head has a hoodmould while the springers do not but it seems better to suppose they belong to a single composition rather than to suppose two designs each with a peculiar survival pattern favouring a particular element of arcade. Two of the arcade heads were found recut in the north churchyard wall, while a third was also recut, presumably also for use in a wall.

The springers are the same depth as the previous two designs but are higher by 90mm and wider by some 55mm making a light width of at least 0.95m. This fits remarkably well with the widths of the vaulted bays outside the chapter house which are 3.5m/3.8m/3.5m. The outer bays could each have held four lights of design 1 or 2 arcade, while the central bay four lights of design 3. It should be noted, however, that the situation outside the chapter house is complicated by the presence of a porch or antechamber and that more elements survive than can be accounted for here alone.

Archive numbers

Double springers: B32, B37, B42, B44, B50, B51.

Right-hand arcade head: 406, 407, 444(recut), B49 (recut)

Left-hand arcade head: 404, 409, 410, B45 (recut)

2.1.7 Unknown: In many instances, the stones were so mutilated that it was impossible to tell whether they belonged to design 2 or design 3.

Archive numbers

Right-hand arcade head: 448

Left-hand arcade head: 433, 435, 437, 445, 446

2.1.8 Capitals, bases and shafts relating to design 3 (fig. A17): As already noted, the larger arcade springers would have fitted rather uncomfortably on top of the capitals described above, and it is likely that larger capitals and bases were made to fit. It is of no surprise then to find some candidates in the stone collection (one, B41, from the north wall of the churchyard) with very similar mouldings to the ones already described. Three base fragments exist, one clearly part of a double base, one part of a double or larger base, which is either engaged or reworked, and the other more fragmentary. What they have in common is a width of 215-225mm, around 45mm wider than the other bases, while the height is 125-150mm. Five capital fragments survive, with an original top width of 245mm, 250mm and more than 230mm, all identifiably from double capitals. One of these (B14) is more than half complete and would have had an original length c.420mm. In each side is a substantial socket (60mm x 80mm x 50mm), perhaps for a screen or glazing. This piece is constructed differently both from the other two capitals and from the smaller ones of the rest of the cloister. Here, the two capitals do not divide until low down the main hollow. This could be either to accommodate the timber sockets, or because, in fact, this capital is not part of the cloister arcade series at all. In addition, there are two fragments with only part of the bell and abacus, for shafts of 110mm or greater diameter, which are likely to have been associated with design 3.

The thirty-six shafts (including six found in the clearance east and north of the latrine undercroft) centred around 110mm diameter may be associated with the larger cloister arcade design.

Archive numbers

Capitals: 056, 070, 073, B14, 070, 237

Bases: 089, 104, B41

Plain shafts of c.110mm diameter: 317-51, 362

2.2 Stones from the Chapter House

2.2.1 Shaft (fig. A18): 367, with eight engaged roll mouldings around an octagonal core (two broken off) is unequivocally from the chapter house, since the bases still survive and a number of other lengths of the same moulding have been reset upon them. Like all the reset pieces, 367 has two opposing rolls worked off, perhaps indicating a post-suppression partitioning of the room.

2.2.2 Vault ribs and bosses (fig. A18): The moulded wall ribs and extant vault springers of the chapter house and the cloister bays outside, show this to have been a generously enriched space. The vault ribs have a central roll flanked each side by a beaked roll and a very large number survive; 234 in total (stones 007 plus B8, B9 and B22). They are all flat-backed, with no spine, with the exception of twelve (stones 007a) which have a rebate cut into them each side,

probably to fit to a springing arch. Although this substantial survival might be indicative of the use of this rib type in more than one location there is no evidence to confirm this. A more likely explanation is a more recent collapse of the chapter house vault, as with the latrine undercroft, after the mass removal of stone for building elsewhere. This would fit both with the survival of the cloister arcade into the 18th century and with the evidence of the piers, which suggests that the room was in use after its demise as a chapter house. As well as the plain ribs, 544 (not illustrated) has a sloping rebate on top, perhaps to create a corner springer, and one boss and one keystone survive. They both have the correct geometry for the chapter house c.98°/82°. The boss, B1, has stiff-leaf foliage but less formal and more richly carved than the examples from the church, while the keystone, 214 has a hole drilled through it, possibly to hang a lamp. The presence of both bosses and keystones suggests the greater emphasis of some parts of the chapter house over other parts. The three bays of the cloister outside the chapter house are vaulted using the same rib design. Since this vaulting is obviously inserted into the chapter house facade, the rib design must be copied or part of a refurbishment contemporary with the bays outside.

Cross-refs: Early tracery (3.2); unlocated voussoirs (3.4.1); corbel block 380 (3.3.8) and vault ribs (3.5.4).

2.3 Stones from the rest of the East Range, including the Latrine

2.3.1 Parlour vault rib (fig. A19): The two-bay parlour has two varieties of moulded rib (fig. A43). One is chamfered with a large flat fillet, and the other has a roll-and-fillet flanked by rolls, hollows and small chamfers or fillets, rather like the ribs of the chevet chapel. Only one fragmentary example survives among the loose stones (248), which probably belongs to the latter design.

2.3.2 Latrine undercroft vault ribs and keystones (fig. A19): Plain chamfered ribs were found in profusion in the collapsed vault of the latrine undercroft¹⁶ (009, 133 examples, 130 of which were found within the latrine undercroft) along with two keystones of the correct geometry c.61°/119° (only one, 013, now in the collection).

Cross-refs: Vault ribs (3.5.2-4).

2.4 Stones from the Refectory and Related Mouldings

2.4.1 Wall arcade (fig. A20): Two loose stones with identical mouldings to those reused in the later medieval re-modelled refectory survive, with a demi-roll-and-fillet, roll-and-fillet and a

¹⁶ Hall 1995.

further demi-roll-and-fillet to the rear on each side of an axial slot. 031 is nearly complete, with a deep window splay on one side and the beginnings of a rebate on the other, while B26 (not illustrated) is badly damaged but with deep rear rebates and no significant splays, presumably for a section of blank arcading. In addition, 238 has mouldings of exactly the same overall form as those in the refectory, but with different details, in this instance no double demi-roll-and-fillet at the front and broad beaks rather than a demi-roll-and-fillet each side to the rear. This piece springs each way from the centre, showing that it sat immediately above one of the capitals of the refectory arcade. The two slightly different but dimensionally equal designs may suggest greater and lesser elaboration for different areas of the refectory.

Cross-refs: Also possibly related to the refectory are unlocated corner capitals 382 and 432 (the doorway? 3.3.11 and 3.3.6), shaft fragment 365 (3.3.3), double springers 113 and 160 (the lavabo? 3.3.7) and the table legs listed with the infirmary (2.6.2). There is also the very faint possibility that ribs 006 and boss 026 might have come from this building (3.5.1).

2.5 Stones from the West Range

2.5.1 Corbel (fig. A20): Only one stone can be securely identified with the west range, namely a half-octagonal corbel, with integral back-plate and simple mouldings (159). The stone ends part-way through the cone showing it to originally have been made of two blocks, as still visible in the west range and it has the same dimensions.

Cross-refs: Octagonal shafts and bases (3.3.1); unlocated vault ribs (3.5.2).

2.6 Stones from the Infirmary

2.6.1 Shafts and angle-rolls (fig. A21): Three fragments of quadrant shaft, of diameter 120mm (357-9, not illustrated) would fit perfectly on the corner shaft set between two buttresses at the south end of the infirmary. Either side of the shaft an angle roll ran up the sides of the buttresses, and five loose fragments of this moulding survive (391-5).

2.6.2 Table legs (fig. A21): The three loose fragments of table legs (108, 177-8), chalice-shaped and with a narrow chamfer around the edge, are very similar to the extant examples in the infirmary, though they all vary from each other to a degree. In particular, the loose fragments are rather thicker than the standing table legs and while they are most likely to have come from the same location, a origin in the contemporary refectory should not be ruled out.

2.6.3 Vault ribs and bosses (fig. A3): Stones 014, B20, B21, B23, B53 and bosses 154-156 have already been discussed in relation to the high vaults of the transepts and choir, where it was pointed out that boss 156 has a geometry (c.120°/60°) which also matches that of the bays

of the infirmary (though the only extant evidence for a vault comes from its heavily buttressed plan). Furthermore, in the context of Croxden, the sheer numbers of rib surviving (156 altogether) make a church location for all of this collection unlikely, and where other large numbers have survived they have come from conventual buildings other than the church.

2.7 Stones from the Abbot's Lodging

2.7.1 Corbel (fig. A21): Corner corbel 218, octagonal in plan, has the same dimensions and similar mouldings to the extant example in the abbot's lodging, and indeed, was found there by Lynam.¹⁷

2.7.2 Angle shafts (fig. A21): Two angle shafts, 043 and 044, are very similar to the angle shaft of the extant window jamb - they have the same splay angle but a slightly larger shaft diameter.

2.7.3 Wall ribs (fig. A21): Five wall ribs (123-7), with a chamfered roll, are an exact match for those in the abbot's lodging.

Cross-refs: Unlocated chamfered ribs (3.5.2).

3 Unlocated Stones up to c.1275

3.1 Fragments from Lancet Windows and other Simple Openings

A few of the stones in the collection at Croxden look strongly as if they belong to lancet windows. Only two of this group are moulded. The rest have simple profiles with a range of chamfers, rebates and splays, and could thus belong to a broad period of time. Since this profile is ubiquitous, analysis of this group of stones was limited to those perceived to be of most interest.

3.1.2 Springers 197 and 198 (fig. A22): These are mirror image springers, with an unusual projecting front roll with three intersecting grooves, giving a partially fluted affect, a little like that on the rolls above the fluted shafts of the processional door, with a further roll-and-fillet behind. They are only c.260mm front to back and the back is flat; one of them has a rough hole in its canted bed. Emerging as they do from unadorned blocks, it seems most likely that they should have framed either a single small lancet, or formed part of a simple plate tracery composition.

¹⁷ Lynam 1911, pl. 65.

3.1.3 Angle-shaft 035 (fig. A22): This has an ogee keel and is of similar dimensions to the arcade/ window splay fragments from the refectory. Like them it probably formed the rerearch of a window.

3.1.4 Double springer 247 (fig. A23): This has a front chamfer and a rear rebate and would have stood between two lights. It does not match any other of the loose jambs or voussoirs, but its profile is very close to that of the surviving jamb of the south aisle window, with the exception that the tail of 247 is rather longer (330mm versus 280mm), and probably not chamfered at the rear corners. Therefore, although this could not have originated in the most westerly south aisle window, it seems likely that it came from a window made to a similar design, perhaps another aisle window. It would confirm the presence at Croxden of a window with grouped lancets of equal height – perhaps the outer face of an inner screen of graduated lancets.

3.1.5 Springer 430 and related pieces (figs. A23-4): 430 has a jamb on one side, and a springer of identical profile on the other. It could have come from a series of graduated lancets, but here the depth of the stone (485mm) suggests that it did not come from a window with an inner and outer screen.

A series of five voussoirs (242, 244, 245, 474 and 465, one found in the latrine undercroft; only 474 illustrated) all have the same profile, and three of them, 242, 245 and 474, are apex stones. Reconstructed on paper they could have made a lancet c.0.46m wide and c.0.29m high, above the springing, though the precise dimensions are not easy to determine. The stones have an angled rebate or splay, suggesting unglazed windows. Neatly cut slots in the soffits of two of them suggest they were barred, while secondary holes in the splays of four of the stones suggest later glazing. Although there is a degree of variability, jambs 412, 413, 414, 420, and 463 have profiles matching that of this series of voussoirs, as does sill 497.

Two other voussoirs, 243 and 246, have a similar profile. 246 is fragmentary, but 243 is complete. It is half of a lancet about the same size as the one above, but with a slightly different curvature.

3.1.6 Cusped voussoir 213 and related piece (fig. A24): 213 also has a chamfer and a rear rebate, but in this instance the entire stone describes a cusp and it probably came from a trefoil-headed window. While the original glazing was held in the rebate, a glazing-groove was hacked into the soffit at a later date. 552 (not illustrated) may have come from a similar feature, although in this case no glazing-groove was hacked in later.

3.1.7 Other fragments: Detailed analysis of the remaining chamfered voussoirs, jambs and sills was not undertaken as it was felt that this would reveal no new information about the buildings of Croxden Abbey. They are listed below, in groups according to profile.

Archive numbers

Voussour 464 and jambs 459-462; voussoir 466; jambs 403, 416, 551 and probably 473; jamb 415; jamb 453; jamb 463; jamb 467; jambs 468, B43 (found in north churchyard wall) and sill 498; jamb 469; jambs 470-1; jamb 472 ; jamb 475; sill 378; sill 399

3.2 Early Tracery and Associated Fragments

The collection of early tracery from Croxden is small but significant. On the one hand the documentary evidence, with its emphasis on the works of Abbot Walter (1242-68) and the apparent absence of any later important building works with the exception of the two abbots' chambers, might suggest that the bar tracery belongs to a period shortly after its introduction to England. On the other, the constructional technique, with the cusping fitted separately, rather than carved integrally with the main arches and oculi also suggests an early date. Two groups of tracery can be identified. The first consists of seven fragments, possibly all from the same window. The second group is represented by only two pieces. In addition there are three other stones that may be associated with windows of this type: a moulding fragment; a capital and a possible spandrel moulding. Although reconstruction can be attempted, unfortunately too little remains either in the stones or in the buildings to confidently place them, although the extended chapter house is a likely possibility.

3.2.1 Early tracery group 1 (figs. A25-6): The principal pieces of this collection are two stones that mirror each other (004 and 005). Each forms the head of a lancet and supports an oculus on one side, as evidenced by a cusping slot, and an open spandrel on the other. The spandrel has flattened roll mouldings on the lancet side but is completely plain where the oculus springs up from the lancet except for a hollow behind the front roll. The front mouldings are a single roll-and-three-fillets on the oculus but a double roll, each with two fillets on the lancet which in addition has a further roll-and-two-fillets on its reveal. The rear is flat. This complete range of mouldings was crucial to determining the provenance of the other pieces in this group, all of which were fragmentary. 191 is a long curved section with the rear mouldings of the spandrel and the lancet and it proved to be a jigsaw piece with 005. 193 and 192, both badly damaged, are also jigsaw pieces, making a substantial tracery section with the beginnings of lancet mouldings on the left hand side but only rear mouldings survive on the right hand side. Oculus mouldings survive in places on top and there was probably a small open spandrel in the centre of the two lights. The curvature of the surviving side matches that of 191, confirming this to be from the same series of lancets.

194 is a double springer of 'Y' shape, with the left arm mostly complete and the right arm mostly missing. There is the remains of a carved foliage sprig where the two arms join. In so far as they exist the front and lancet mouldings are identical to those of the stones already described, but the total depth of the stone is not known. The spandrel moulding differs in that it is completely blank, and rough tooled. Apart from this one difference, 194 could come from the same window as the other pieces – perhaps it comes from an identical window which underwent alteration – perhaps glazing of the open spandrels – at some point. Of the last piece, 195, only the front roll-and-three-fillets survives, but these show oculus mouldings on the concave side, with the beginnings of a cusping slot, and spandrel mouldings on its convex side. It could have adjoined either 004 or 005.

The simplest window design that can be constructed from these fragments is of two lancets surmounted by an oculus. The window would have been broad (c.2.5m including outer mouldings and capitals) and could have comfortably occupied the available bay width in the chapter house extension, although locations in the refectory, the first abbot's lodging or the infirmary chapel cannot be ruled out.

3.2.2 Early tracery group 2 (fig. A27): 210 is also a double springer, but with mouldings symmetrical front to back. The front and rear mouldings are a roll-and-fillet; the spandrel mouldings three rolls separated by hollows, not unlike the moulding of the cloister arcade design 1, while the lights both have cusping slots. The two arms describe the same circle but one is longer than the other and the piece could either be a springer between two lancets, as shown in fig. A27, or a piece between two oculi – part of an arrangement of three circles. This could have belonged either by itself, as for example on the outside of the triforium of Westminster Abbey or the clerestory of Lichfield nave, or above a group of three lancets, like Westminster cloister. Although the mouldings and dimensions of 210 are not the same as group 1, they are linked by their cusping slots which are the same width. One cusp fragment survives, 209, but its curvature fits only 210.

3.2.3 Other pieces associated with early tracery (fig. A27): 206 is a tiny fragment whose surviving mouldings are very similar to those of 210 (early tracery group 2), and it may have belonged to the same series of windows. B10 may also be related to 210, since it is the capital for a slender elongated quatrefoil shaft, and would have comfortably supported the tracery of the window from which 210 originated (as shown in fig. A27). The capital has mouldings including a hollow, bell and integral abacus, but they are both worn and badly damaged. The two side capitals have been cut off, and clumsy glazing grooves hacked in, clearly showing this to be the capital from a window. It is not clear whether the bar slots belong to later or earlier glazing.

232 is a roughly triangular block with a carved recessed trefoil on its front face. Although rather crude, it might possibly have come from a spandrel area of early tracery.

3.3 Bases, Shafts, Capitals, Springers and Corbels

These are roughly arranged in scale from biggest to smallest equivalent shaft size.

3.3.1 Octagonal sub-base, capitals and shafts (fig. A28): Octagonal capital 379, with necking, bell and simple upper mouldings along with three matching octagonal pier sections (455-7) are, at 400mm across, larger than the shaft remains in the abbot's lodging (nor are the mouldings a good match for the extant corbels), but, in the absence of extant remains, could have come from the west range, the dorter undercroft or its extension. Three base fragments (169-72) may have belonged with the same pier, although if the worked end of 169 represents the halfway point of the octagon then they would be far too large for such a position and perhaps a location in the church should be sought, possibly beneath pier base 429. The surviving moulding includes two prominent rolls, and the angle is a little greater than that of a regular octagon.

3.3.1 Large circular shafts (fig. A29): Two shaft fragments, 215-216, are quarter-plus circles, with a diameter of c.420mm, and a return at each end, while B6 (not illustrated) is a fragment of shaft of diameter 460mm. Probably from a window or door surround of some size, it is just possible that they could have belonged to a putative earlier church. 179 is also a section of angle-shaft, with a diameter of c.280mm and a return at one end, but keyed at the other side. 373, B38 and B40 are three almost complete shafts of diameter 225-230mm, two of them found in the north churchyard wall. In each case the rear is broken off suggesting they were once engaged. The scale of these shafts, compared with the extant remains, might suggest a location in the church but no other evidence can be adduced for this.

3.3.3 Shaft 365 (fig. A29): This is a fragment of a complex engaged shaft, 280mm wide, with a long tail; the stubs at the front may have been rolls-and-fillets with, behind on each side, a roll-and-fillet (one surviving) and a further partial roll. Overall the moulding has some similarities with those in the refectory, but a location there cannot be confirmed.

3.3.4 Polygonal capital and chamfered responds (fig. A30): 137 is a polygonal engaged capital with a rebated backplate, found in clearance outside the latrine block. It has only two rolls, one keeled and one slightly beaked and no necking and probably stood on a shaft 230mm wide. Double-chamfered block 377, with an inner order 270mm across, may be part of a half-octagonal respond, though given the use of corbels in the undercrofts, where the main use of

octagonal elements can be seen, its original location is not clear. Chamfered responds are used in the church, but in combination with moulded inner orders. Three other possible chamfered responds survive (not illustrated): 480 which is 525mm across; 514, which is 225mm across, but with a different chamfer from capital 137; and 515, 265mm across and matching the voussoirs of the chevet chapel entrance and the transverse ribs of the nave and choir aisle, but all of which have moulded responds.

3.3.5 Triple shafts (fig. A30): 029 appears to be a triple shaft, overall width 200mm, with a central shaft of 103mm diameter, flanked each side by a demi-roll-and-fillet, with hollows behind. B47 and B48, both found in the north churchyard wall, are similar, though lacking the rear hollows and wider (215mm), and with a broad fillet at the front.

3.3.6 Corner capital 432 (fig. A31): This piece, with a similar series of mouldings to the cloister arcade capitals and with one capital projecting forwards, and two others set on a splay behind is probably the outer capital of a multi-order doorway or window of some importance. Although it is only 195mm high, it was supported by shafts of c. 160mm, 180mm and 145mm diameter. A likely possibility is the refectory doorway.

3.3.7 Blind arcade springers and related bases and capitals (figs. A32-3): 113 and 160 are two double springers for trefoil-headed blank arcading. Superficially similar, both with double, though slightly different roll-and-fillet mouldings, and both for arches of c. 510-520mm wide centre to centre, these stones are actually of rather different geometry. 113, which additionally has a hood mould with a trefoil stop, is shorter from the spring to the soffit and would have formed a sharply pointed trefoil, as compared with 160 which would have formed a broader, higher and round-headed trefoil. If they came from the same composition, perhaps a choir screen or aisle wall dado, then some pause or development must have occurred in its construction. Another possible origin is the surround to the lavabo which would have been found in the cloister wall of the refectory – a very similar example survives at Kirkstall (fig. 45) – though if so the troughs must have projected beyond the wall face since the projection of the mouldings is not great. Four capitals and bases survive that, from their dimensions, might have supported this arcade, all for triple shafts with a front fillet and all much smaller than extant details of triple shaft arrangements in the chapter house and parlour. The capital, 003, is engaged with a long tail. The necking is damaged and it has simple upper mouldings similar to those of one of the cloister arcade capitals (052); it would have supported 160 most comfortably, although it would also be a suitable piece for the inner screen of a lancet or early tracery window, the tail providing a through-stone with the outer screen. 002 is the matching base for 003 – like the latter it has a long tail and a fillet running onto the double roll moulding.

Bases 023 and 161 have almost the same horizontal profile but the moulding is a single chamfer while above this the first section of shaft is integral. Like 002 and 003, they are engaged but these two have an integral backplate; 161 for a corner and 023 for a wall.

128 (not illustrated) is an almost complete springer for a simple two-centred opening framed by a small angle roll and with an integral back plate; 129-131 are matching fragments. The opening was c.0.48m wide and c.0.33m high from the springing point and might have formed part of a blind arcade or a simple niche within a wall.

3.3.8 Corbels (figs. A34-5): 380 is a massive block with a moulded semi-conical corbel at each end (top diameter c.260mm), separated by three smaller ones. There is a small rebate at the bottom of the block. The corbels are very similar in appearance to the triple corbel inserted into the east range for the support of a vault capital outside the chapter house. The height of the large corbel is also the same as that outside the chapter house (215-220mm) and it is possible that it formed part of the vaulting arrangement here, though how it would have worked in practice, with two vault supports only 0.52m apart, is not so clear. Additionally, there is a fragment (181, not illustrated) of a very similar cone which may be part of the same group.

There are three more semi-conical corbels, of quite different design to 380 above: 158 (found by Lynam in the infirmary¹⁸) and B57-8. They are almost identical, although B58 has one less roll-and-fillet and the bottom and sides of this stone have been trimmed for use in a wall. The overall (original) height of these corbels is 320mm.

3.3.9 Bases and shafts 125-140mm diameter (fig. A36): Nook shafts 418 and B52 (found in the churchyard wall), of diameter 125-130mm, have splayed angles and almost certainly came from a window or door. 027 and 028 are engaged bases of similar dimensions, the former for a respond with a shaft of up to 135mm diameter and the latter for a corner shaft of diameter 120mm. 027 has the more complex water-holding profile, with filleted rolls while 028 has a simple double roll, similar, though not identical, to examples in the chapter house and parlour. They are, however, highly unlikely to have originated there as the extant forms are triple. 135 is a fragment of engaged shaft, with a $\frac{3}{4}$ roll moulding c.140mm diameter (possibly that found by Crane near the latrines).

3.3.10 Keeled shafts (fig. A36): 183, 360 and 361 are three small keeled shafts with no obvious home, for, although there are many large keeled shafts within the ruins of the church there are no small keeled shafts extant within the abbey. 360 is the smallest at only 102mm diameter and also has an ogee keel, while 183 and 361 have a very similar profiles to one another; 183, found within the latrine undercroft, has a diameter of 105mm and 361 of 114mm.

¹⁸ Lynam 1911, pl. 66.

183 also has a flattened area at its rear, perhaps to help attach the shaft to its surround. It was found in the south side of the latrine undercroft.

3.3.11 Corner capitals for shafts c.100mm diameter (fig. A37): 182 and 382 are rather similar capitals of some complexity both for some sort of corner location. Less than 230mm high, they are not of a scale commensurate with the extant (or loose) details of the church and are most likely to have originated in the cloister arcade, the claustral buildings, the infirmary or similar. The simplest is 182, which is a corner capital for a detached shaft of c.100mm diameter, with necking, bell, demi-roll-and-fillet and damaged abacus. An engaged shaft runs through the front to the top of the capital where it is finished with incised trefoil carving. It is very similar to the capitals of the refectory, both in appearance and dimension, but the main shaft is set back from the front face and there are no signs of an immediately adjacent capital. Nevertheless, this piece probably occupied a somewhat similar position, with its left hand side forming the splay of a window or arcade. Its height is very similar to the capitals of the cloister arcade (210mm c.f. 211-215mm) and its depth c.50mm greater than that of the cloister arcade heads. It could also, therefore, have formed part of a simple door into the cloister, ornamented on one side only. 382 is a similar piece also for a shaft of c.100mm, but 230mm high with multiple mouldings above the bell, and an engaged shaft running behind the capital mouldings which themselves project forward of the stone face. In this instance there is a dowel hole for fixing the detached shaft, with an extension in the side for pouring lead. This stone is probably the outer capital from a multi-order doorway or window of some importance (the overall geometry is similar to that of the chapter house entrance capitals) – as with 432, a likely possibility is the refectory doorway.

3.3.12 Capital 186 (fig. A38): 186 is a polygonal capital similar to 137 above, but somewhat smaller and may be read as either a capital or a base for a respond, with a polygonal plan, flat back and integral shaft 105mm across. The moulding is two flattened rolls and a plain abacus/plinth.

3.3.13 Annulet (fig. A38): 093 is a chunky engaged annulet, with a chamfered central ring which has a roll above and below. It is for a shaft of no more than 105mm diameter. Although there are numerous shafts, capitals and bases taking shafts of this size at Croxden the survival of a single annulet, with no extant examples, makes it impossible to locate in the buildings.

3.3.14 Base 022 (fig. A38): 022 is a base originally for a group of three or four shafts. It is very similar to the double bases of the larger arcade (the moulding is very close to that of 104), but the shafts, of only 90mm diameter, were set much more closely together than even the

smaller cloister arcade. Overall, it is much smaller than the somewhat similar respond bases in the chapter house and parlour.

3.4 Voussoirs and Hoodmoulds

Twenty-two fragments of moulded voussoirs and hoodmoulds survive as loose stones, representing thirteen different moulding designs all of 13th century origin. Of the many doors and windows likely to take such elaborate surrounds, the west doors and the processional door of the church are intact, as is the parlour door. The chapter house doors and windows are all missing the innermost order, while the door also has some of the next order missing. The book room door is similarly incomplete. However, although one or two of the loose examples may be associated with these extant doors, there are very many other doors and windows, now lost, that may have housed these voussoirs. The refectory is very likely to have had a grand entrance, the north transept door may have been moulded as might the infirmary entrance. The doorway to the building next to the gatehouse chapel, seen in antiquarian illustrations, was clearly moulded, and the evidence below points to at least three other doorways of greater or lesser grandeur.

3.4.1 Voussoirs related to the chapter house mouldings (fig. A39): The mouldings of 034 are an exact match for those of the chapter house façade, except for the lack of a triangular hollow on the front face, with the mouldings (semi-circular groove and roll-and-two-fillets) carved on the square. This voussoir is also only 155mm wide compared with the 235mm width of the extant chapter house examples. Since it is not an inner order but a middle or outer one, it cannot have come from the chapter house façade, as it now exists, although it may have formed an extra order between the surviving soffit and an inner tracery or plate tracery order. Alternatively, it may have originated in the east windows of the original chapter house, where it would have matched the contemporary west façade.

The design of stones 236 and 252 is related, and may have occupied a position in the same series of windows. Possibly also related to the chapter house are inner-order voussoirs 233 and 251. Originally one block, they were separated by a diagonal cut through the mouldings, probably associated with post-suppression use. Complete, the total depth would have been c.400mm, and could have fitted neatly in the space for an inner order in the chapter house door, which is 420mm, while the width is also reasonable (280mm, compared with 320mm, taken from the inner window capitals; those of the door no longer survive). The mouldings however, with an axial roll-and-fillet flanked each side by two beaks, are unlike the extant chapter house mouldings. However, the door of the adjacent and contemporary parlour sports a similar inner order, with an axial roll-and-three-fillets flanked each side by a beak-and-

fillet and then by a further beak, and this inner order is also very different from its surrounding orders.

3.4.2 Other inner orders (fig. A39): Three other moulded inner orders survive. 175 and 176 have an axial roll-and-fillet flanked each side by a roll. These separated rolls are reminiscent of the inner order of the bookroom door, although this inner order is very large – at c.410mm deep it would barely squeeze into the chapter house door, and viewed from the front it would also look much too narrow. 239 and 240 are almost as large, at 390mm deep and c.190mm wide, and while neither is complete, reconstructed they would have had a central axial roll flanked each side by another roll moulding and a beak, with a broad fillet, and then the beginning of a hollow. Last of the inner orders is 019, which at 300mm deep is the smallest of the voussoirs (although no curvature shows in this short section). As, however, it is rather larger even than the ribs known to have supported high vaults at Croxden, it seems much more likely that it belonged to a door arch. It has a large axial keeled roll; the hollows to either side are flanked by small projecting mouldings, now mutilated.

3.4.3 Middle and outer orders (fig. A40): Stones 234, 253 and 254 have two roll-and-fillets, and a chamfered mitre at the front, all separated by hollows. The mouldings are cut on the square and in this way only resemble the mouldings of the chapter house façade (though they are quite similar to lancet springers 197-8). Emphasising the diagonal plane slightly more are the mouldings of 235 and 255. This is one of the more complex mouldings for a single order seen at Croxden, with four elements separated by hollows; two demi-roll-and-fillets each side of a roll-and-two-fillets and a beaked roll-and-two-fillets. The somewhat similar mouldings of 032 and 033 are simpler, but with an integral hoodmould of keeled profile. Like 233 and 255, discussed above, both these stones have been roughly recut at a plane diagonal to the main mouldings. In neither case is the purpose clear, but must be associated with some type of late reuse, probably post-dissolution.

3.4.4 Hoodmould (fig. A40): 241 has a demi-roll-and-fillet; a further moulding set between two hollows has been lost. The second, 509-10, has a large chamfered moulding projecting to the front, a flat soffit and a hollow chamfer at the rear. Lastly the single stop, 109, is a simple keel, with a flattened double roll moulding, supporting a keel moulding above, similar in design to the many wall-ribs associated with chamfered vaults at Croxden.

3.4.5 Simple voussoirs (fig. A40): As well as these heavily moulded examples, numerous simpler voussoirs survive. One piece, 458, has a single hollow chamfer (different from that of the hoodmould 509, described above). This is a typical research moulding, and this stone might

have come from such a feature. Five others (417 and 476-479, not illustrated) are broad inner orders (c.440mm deep), with a chamfer on each side. Their main interest is that they all have fine mason's marks, and one has a sketch of the profile on its soffit. Except in the slype, where they appear frequently on the ashlar, mason's marks are not common at Croxden. Although this may be the result of weathering, it may equally be due to different methods of payment being used for different masons.¹⁹ There are numerous other voussoirs with a chamfer rebate and splay, and these are considered elsewhere, with similar jamb stones.

3.5 Vault Ribs, Wall Ribs and Bosses

Most of the vault ribs of Croxden Abbey have already been considered, since it is known in which building they originated. Some remain unassigned, while the many chamfered examples could belong to one of several buildings. These are described below. After this follows a section which brings all the ribs together since it became apparent that an analysis of the whole group (irrespective of other comparative material) could yield an interesting analysis of the buildings as a whole.

3.5.1 Moulded ribs and boss (figs. A41-2): 018 (3 examples, one found in the clearance east and north of the latrine undercroft), with an axial roll-and-three-fillets flanked each side by a beaked roll is very small, only 100mm x 115mm not including the spine. It must certainly have come from a piece of church furniture, such as a tomb canopy or sedilia. Perhaps of more importance are ribs 006 (65 examples plus B25, and engaged springer 011; an unspecified number were found by Lynam in the infirmary²⁰). They are somewhat smaller than the chapter house and church ribs, though clearly belonging to a room (rather than micro-architecture - it has the same dimensions as the parlour vault rib: 165mm x 190mm). Each has a roll-and-fillet flanked by beaks. One boss (026), carved like a cross with four simple leaves, similar to some of the bosses from the east end of the church, survives with this rib design and it has a geometry of c.103°/77°. Of the vaulted and possible vaulted spaces without a known rib moulding, only the first refectory could have had remotely the correct geometry (if it had a pattern of alternating blind arches and windows). However, these bays would have been very large, and by comparison with the known vaulted spaces at Croxden, these ribs cannot be considered substantial enough to cover such an area (there are also other reasons for considering a vaulted refectory unlikely). It should be pointed out that the geometry of the nave bays is similar (c.108°/72°), but, for the same reasons, these ribs are not large enough. In this instance, a further vaulted building of some status must be postulated – perhaps one of the lost guest-houses. The degree of survival suggests that parts of the building at least may have stood until

¹⁹ A good account of the various uses of masons' marks is given in Alexander 1996.

²⁰ Lynam 1911, pl. 68.

relatively recently, making an origin in the building illustrated opposite the gatehouse chapel a possibility.

3.5.2 Chamfered ribs, keystones and springers (figs. A41-2): Aside from the ribs of the transept chapel, see above, four types of chamfered rib were recognised in the loose stone collection. 008 (17 examples) and 009 (133 examples, all but three of which were found in the latrine undercroft, already discussed) were identical, with the exception of the spine design – 008 had an angular spine and 009 a flat spine. The chamfer had an angle of 120°-125° and length 100-115mm. 555 (144 examples) was similar but had no spine, but was taller i.e. the full width of the stone was probably used as a spine. B31 (with B33-36 5 examples, all from the north churchyard wall), also with no spine appeared to be slightly thinner, shorter and with longer chamfers. However, all the stone types showed a high degree of variation of width, chamfer length and angle. A full analysis of these variations was impracticable and probably useless. Roughly speaking, they could all probably have been used for each of the locations with similar chamfered ribs, namely: the nave aisles; the dormitory undercroft; the west range; the dormitory undercroft extension and latrine undercroft; the abbot's lodgings. However, it is known that the latrine undercroft, and therefore the contemporary dormitory undercroft extension had ribs of the flat spine type (009), while in the west range the flat spine of the rib springer is still visible. A keystone (012) with this profile and the correct geometry (90°/90°) for both the west range and the dormitory extension survives.

Also surviving, in the owners' garden, are six of the vault springers of the central piers, from either the west range or the dormitory undercroft (B2-B5 and B27-9, last three illustrated), and there is also one in the main collection, together with an engaged springer and a corner springer (384, 225 and 250, not illustrated).

3.5.3 Wall ribs (fig. A42): The wall ribs of the chamfered vaults are not chamfered, but keeled, and this is true throughout the building complex, with the exception of the transept chapel and probably the sacristy. A chamfered version of a keeled wall rib even occurs in the much later abbot's lodging (see above). A few other wall ribs occur in the loose stone collection. Seven (114-120), including one found in the latrine undercroft, are similar to the south aisle moulding, but slightly thinner, perhaps from a different bay; and two (121-2) are broader than anything extant, though again may just come from a different bay of, for example, the west range.

3.5.4 Analysis of rib design (figs. A43-4): The foregoing description of chamfered vault ribs has revealed some of the different types of spine design. This is worth looking at in more detail. There were basically four types – no spine at all (or rather the spine was the whole width of the stone); a low wide spine (flat spine); a high pointed spine and a spine with a truncated point

(angular spine). Where it was possible to assign a spine design with a particular building the results were as follows. Within the church, pointed spines were used in the transept chapels, the ambulatory and the chevet chapels i.e. all the lower levels of the eastern arm. Flat spines were used in the transept high vaults, the choir high vault/ infirmary vault, the latrine undercroft and the west range. The use of no spine at all can only be securely identified in the chapter house. Very few examples of angular spine survive, the seventeen chamfered examples noted above (stones 008) and the single stone from a tomb canopy or similar.

This evidence suggests that the lower levels of the eastern arm were built by one group of masons and the high vaults, the west range, latrine undercroft (and therefore also the dormitory extension) and the infirmary by another. Since at least two of these structures (the west range and the infirmary) and most probably a third (the latrines – see Chapter Three) are known to have been built or completed by Abbot Walter (1242-68), this evidence is highly suggestive. It is even more so if the no-spine ribs, very similar to the flat ribs are added to this group, since Abbot Walter also enlarged the chapter house and, it might be suggested, remodelled the vault (although it must be pointed out that the wall-ribs are the same in the chapter house and parlour). Whether the flat spine came first or second cannot be determined – if first, it might have been replaced by no-spine as this would be quicker and therefore cheaper; if second it might have been used preferentially as it would be easier to fill the cells.

If, to this evidence of spines, the evidence of the moulding profiles is added, the results are equally interesting. The lower vaults of the eastern arm of the church, with pointed spines, are either chamfered (transept chapel) or have an emphasis on the axial moulding. This is also true of the east bay of the parlour, while the west bay of the parlour has a rib with a small chamfer or fillet each side at the top, a characteristic only found elsewhere in the chevet. The spine design of the ribs in the parlour is not known. By contrast, the high vaults, and the vaults of the infirmary and the chapter house have a strong emphasis on flanking beak mouldings. Thus two groups can be characterised, an earlier group with pointed spines and axial mouldings, and a later group with flat spines or no spines and flanking beaked rolls. One piece, 454 (see above) has chevet chapel mouldings on one end and high vault mouldings at the other end, showing that there was at least some small overlap between the two series of designs identified here.

What then of the examples with an angular spine? It is tempting to suppose that they are related to the pointed-spine ribs, and that the chamfered ones belong to the other low vaults of the church, namely the nave aisles and also to the dormitory undercroft since this must have preceded its extension. Although disappointing, the small number surviving (seventeen) is commensurate both with the poor survival of vault ribs from the church and with the poor survival of ribs from the west range (a maximum of three). I have suggested above that the unlocated moulded rib, which has a flat spine, might come from a guest-house, and since Abbot

Walter is known to have built the gates of the monastery, the erection of other buildings of the western complex at the same time would fit well within this analysis.

3.6 Weatherings, String-Courses, Coping Stones and Ground-Courses

This set of stones, mainly designed to throw water off, do not provide good dating material and the information that Croxden had string courses other than those still *in situ* is not overwhelming (though see the chevet section above).

3.6.1 String-course (fig. A45): 036-039, one of them an external corner, with a single undercut roll, are the same design as, but shorter than, the external string-course of the south transept and the upper string-course of the south aisle, and taller than the string above the west door. 040-041 and corner piece 222, with a lower roll and projecting upper roll, are probably similar to the very worn string-course inside the south transept at the level of the bottom of the triforium. This basic design is also similar to a number of the separate abaci in the church. 042 is also similar, but smaller still and with the upper moulding broken off or possibly absent – it may match the very eroded string-course/abacus on the south side of the book room doorway. 185 has a single roll of the same diameter as the string-course below the chapter house entrance, but in addition a sloping surface below.

As well as these string-course fragments which may have some relation to the extant remains, there are eight other pieces which do not. Three of them (431, 506, and 226, found in the clearance east and north of the latrine undercroft) are double-chamfered, all different and different from the many examples of this design in the buildings (e.g. chevet chapel, south aisle, abbot's lodging). One of them (226) has a slight concave curve, as if it were originally part of a large abacus or similar and one (431) an external corner.

132 has a single large roll (but for its slight asymmetry, it might be interpreted as an engaged shaft); 184 has a single large roll-and-fillet; 205 has a single damaged undercut roll; 376, also slightly curved, has a chamfer, fillet and hollow beneath; lastly 375 has a vertical face with a small chamfer and hollow below – for no known reason it tapers from one side of the block to the other and, probably as a result of reuse, has a rebate cut into one side.

3.6.2 Roof weathering (fig. A46): Four blocks survive with a projecting sloping moulding set at 35° to the horizontal, flat underneath and chamfered on top, (422-425). They are designed to receive the end principal rafter of a sloping roof and to stop water trickling into the roof space by throwing it onto the roof. Weatherings are only needed if the gable wall rises above the level of the roof, for instance to create a façade (e.g. Howden Minster west front) or because the building abuts another that rises higher. In the context of Croxden such a façade might have existed above the aisle roofs but a similar weathering still survives on the west front for the

north aisle roof, against the corner buttress, but it appears to have a slightly steeper slope. The later dormitory roof, which abutted the south transept, was cut into the wall. Other possible positions for this weathering could include against a crossing tower, or perhaps the infirmary chapel roof against the infirmary.

3.6.3 Coping stones (fig. A46): A number of coping stones survive, the most interesting of which are finished with fleur-de-lis trefoils at the apex. 095 and 096 are both unfinished and with a very narrow splay, possibly suggesting they are wasters. Finished they would probably have looked like 105, which might have come from the top of a wall or buttress offset. 105 has a small slot cut into one side, of unknown purpose. In addition there are three matching fragments of trefoil (106, 107 and B11, not illustrated) and a further fragment which has only one half carved (212). Since there is room for the rest of the moulding, it is likely that this is an unfinished piece. Possibly occupying a similar position, or perhaps from a roof gable, are three finial fragments. 202 and 203 have a central keel moulding, with a large hollow on each side with some sort of cut-out beneath; 204 is similar but the ends are carved, giving a bud-like appearance.

As well as these carved pieces, there are several pieces of plain coping stone (not illustrated), in particular 499-503 which have similar dimensions to 105 above and which are almost equilateral triangles. 504 is rather wider and shallower and 505 narrower and steeper but both with flattened tops, perhaps associated with reuse. 400 and 401 are blocks steeply chamfered on each side, but with a flat top with a projecting tenon, which might have formed a lower course of a wall coping. The coping moulding of 401 projects perpendicularly from a flat surface making an L-shaped block.

3.6.4 Ground-course (not illustrated): There are many other stones with a long chamfer on just one side, which might either be from a lower course of coping or, more probably, from a ground-course, many of which survive of similar form in the extant buildings. No attempt was made to match the loose examples with the extant ones as this would add little to the analysis of either the stones or the buildings. They are listed below and grouped where they match one another.

Ground-course/ coping: 511, 521, 523-5; 512; 513, 532, 533, 535; 522; 528; 534; 536

3.7 Stairs

As with the coping above, the material in this section could as easily belong to later work on Croxden Abbey as to the two main phases of building in the 13th century.

3.7.1 Newel stairs (not illustrated): Seven sections of newel stair survive loose, five of them with the same post diameter of 210-225mm (stones 369-72 and 374) and two with diameters of 196mm and 175mm (368 and B46 respectively, the latter found in the north churchyard wall), probably representing three different stairs – no hard thing to find as for instance in the abbots lodging, the infirmary, against the north transept etc.

3.8 Miscellaneous (not illustrated)

227 is a block with a quarter-hollow, of diameter c. 192mm, possibly the housing for a detached shaft.

529 is the intersection of a large hollow chamfer with a plain chamfer and may be a transition stone between a jamb and its rerearch.

427 is a chamfer stop with a bead and cushion moulding at the bottom of a jamb with a single chamfer 170mm long.

385-387 are three slabs, one fragmentary, 330-5mm wide, with angle rolls either side, although 385 has an angle roll one side and a rebate the other. Although the angle roll matches that of springers 228-31, the function of these pieces is not clear. They may perhaps be bench seats. 389 has the same dimensions, but rounded edges and a graffito of five intersecting circles on top; 388 narrower at 300mm and with small chamfered edges; and 507, 395mm wide and chamfered round three edges may share the same function. Fragment 396, a little higher and with a more prominent roll may also be related, as may 402 which has been recut to make a wedge-shaped stone.

419 is a geometrically complex stone with a vertical hollow chamfer from which springs a straight unmoulded section. It might possibly be a springer for a rerearch.

4 Unlocated Fragments after c.1275

4.1 Carved Fragments

4.1.1 Cross fragments (fig. A47): (152) is a cross with a figure of Christ on one side and Mary praying on the other, her upper half is badly worn or damaged. One arm of the cross and the upper finial are missing, though fragment 133 is clearly one of them. The arm that remains finishes in a rather bulbous finial, and bulbous crockets, of the sort so often seen on compositions of the first half of the 14th century, one each side, can be seen climbing the upright.

There is a later medieval cross in a garden in the village of Hollington, but found originally in the quarry, not quite finished. It has an octagonal stem and a pannelled upper part.

4.2 Window Fragments (figs. A48 – A49)

Ten fragments of cusped tracery and chamfered mullions survive, dating from the 14th to the early 16th centuries, showing that Croxden Abbey updated or renewed at least some its buildings during this time, although now only the blocked windows of the reduced refectory and another small window in the south range survives to witness this. Fragments 190 and 200, with a hollow chamfer profile, are both from windows (possibly the same window) in which the main mullion rises straight to the window-head, where it is flanked by cusps forming trefoil-headed lights. There is no glazing groove, suggesting it came from open tracery, perhaps the cloister arcade supposedly renewed by John Shipton in the 16th century.²¹ 201 is a fragment of tracery head, with a cusp on one side. The mullion profile is very similar to that of 190, but the cusp is much bigger and differently designed. 211 is a double springer with a cusp on each side, with a flat back and hollow chamfers to the front – it may have come from blind tracery against a wall or screen. 207 and 208 (not illustrated) are two fragments of cusp, too small to associate with anything else. 217 is a curved section, but with a mullion profile throughout, chamfered at the front and rebated at the rear for shutters perhaps indicating a domestic context. 173 and 174 are joining pieces of a complete mullion, with plain chamfers, no glazing groove, a single bar hole and a very shallow rebate on the side of the socket, while 220 is a much larger mullion, also with plain chamfers but in this instance with glazing grooves.

4.3 Other Fragments

4.3.1 Base (fig. A50): 024 and 025 are jigsaw fragments of a 14th century small triple base with complex mouldings and an integral shaft which has equally complex mouldings including scrolls. It almost certainly came from a monument or fitting within the church, although it was found in clearance outside the latrines.

4.3.2 Capital (fig. A50): 094 is a fragment of crenellated capital, 360mm wide though it might also be part of a parapet or buttress offset .

4.3.3 Hearth (fig. A50): 550, a slab with a double-chamfered raised edge is almost certainly a late medieval or post-dissolution stone hearth with kerb (see similar examples from Mount Grace Priory²²), similar to the one in the west wall of the yard north of the abbot's lodging.

4.3.4 Chimney (fig. A51): 097 is a complete quarter section of a roughly tooled cone, with an interior bottom diameter of c.600mm and an upper one of c.200mm, while 98-101 are fragments of the same. 102 and 411 by contrast are fragments of octagonal chimney shaft, clearly from

²¹ Chronicle fo. 94v.

²² Glyn Coppack, in preparation.

different chimneys, since 411 is much thicker than 102. Either if these pieces could have come from the same chimney as the cone fragments, with the octagon supporting the cone above.²³

5 Undiagnostic (not illustrated)

There are many stones which add little to the analysis of the abbey, but which have been noted because they are related to other more important features (e.g. the many jambs with chamfers and rebates noted with the window fragments) or because they belong to an easily recognisable subset (e.g. the coping stones). A number more remain which are not worth considering in any detail (though they may indeed match extant details). They are listed briefly below, and grouped together where they match.

Chamfered blocks (plinths, jambs etc): 481-86; 487-88; 489-90; 491-94, 542; 495-6; 516-19; 537; 538; 539; 540; 541; 543

Blocks with two chamfers: 520

Blocks with rebate: 526-7 (one found in the clearance east and north of the latrine undercroft); 530; 531; 545

Blocks with sockets/ slots: 546; 547; 549

Trough: 554

Wedge-shaped block (from sloping soffit): 548

Post-medieval gatepost and jamb: 249; 426

²³ Wood 1965, 281-91.

Appendix 2

EDM Survey of Croxden Abbey Church

An EDM survey of the interior of Croxden Abbey church was undertaken in order to test the theory that the chevet may have been built around the pre-existing east end of an earlier church, thus causing a noticeable misalignment between the nave and choir. While a misalignment would be strong evidence in favour of an earlier east end, its absence would not prove the absence of an earlier church.

The slight remains of the chevet makes it impossible to apprehend any such misalignment visually, while the presence of a road between the east and west ends makes a conventional theodolite survey difficult to carry out to any degree of accuracy. An EDM survey¹ was therefore undertaken on 22nd October 1996, of all points on wall surfaces and foundation edges which would inform about the alignment of the church. It was in addition anticipated that the survey would help assess the accuracy of a survey of the whole abbey undertaken in the 1970s for the Department of the Environment, the original of which no longer exists.

The survey was carried out using a Sokkisha SET5 EDM and a Psion computer for trigonometric calculations. Two stations were used, one on the east and one on the west side of the road. Due to hardware problems, it was impossible to collect data from both stations using the same eastings/ northings axes (the location of which was arbitrary). The results were later normalised graphically using the points taken from station 2 as standard. In addition a few points were moved back to a wall-face, where the prism was unavoidably in front of it. See fig. A52 for location of points.

point no.	E'ing	N'ing	point no.	E'ing	N'ing
1	93.09	88.87	48	132.50	116.05
2	92.41	94.68	49	132.12	118.79
3	91.80	99.75	50	136.05	119.12
4	91.27	104.61	51	140.08	119.45
5	97.99	89.44	52	146.28	100.25
6	103.17	90.06	53	147.29	100.26
7	108.35	90.65	54	147.22	99.99
8	110.47	90.95	55	148.47	99.87

¹Carried out with the invaluable aid of Ben Middleton, 3rd year archaeology student, University of York.

point no.	E'ing	N'ing	point no.	E'ing	N'ing
9	128.80	93.44	56	149.78	100.29
10	132.63	94.08	57	151.30	100.88
11	130.41	109.80	58	152.49	101.07
12	125.11	109.13	59	153.57	101.59
13	119.82	108.47	61	154.78	103.44
14	150.53	111.99	62	154.78	104.78
15	151.97	96.68	63	154.23	105.83
16	142.32	103.58	64	153.85	106.40
17	135.50	91.93	65	153.42	106.70
18	135.93	87.88	66	153.18	107.24
19	136.26	85.20	67	151.19	107.37
20	140.35	85.76	68	150.28	107.38
21	144.20	86.30	69	149.52	107.47
22	145.35	86.44	70	146.94	107.21
23	148.31	86.86	71	146.02	107.00
24	148.28	96.02	72	144.64	106.82
25	150.56	96.23	73	143.41	106.83
26	150.57	96.45	74	142.90	108.56
27	151.99	96.96	75	144.50	108.62
28	153.30	97.08	76	145.04	108.86
29	156.14	98.28	77	146.73	108.81
30	157.23	99.28	78	149.68	109.35
31	158.77	102.19	79	151.38	109.23
32	159.03	103.65	80	152.96	109.02
33	158.61	106.70	81	154.25	108.56
34	157.99	107.94	82	155.91	106.81
35	155.55	110.24	83	156.40	105.89
36	155.01	110.73	84	156.62	103.67
37	154.46	111.25	85	156.52	102.68
38	151.64	111.48	86	155.75	101.47
39	150.36	111.27	87	154.84	100.18
40	147.96	111.67	88	153.48	99.49
41	147.91	111.52	89	152.69	99.09
42	146.13	111.20	90	152.26	98.80
43	144.84	111.03	91	150.58	98.89
44	143.22	110.80	92	149.61	98.79
45	141.90	110.80	93	148.67	98.09
46	141.20	110.82	94	146.22	97.74
47	132.98	112.49	47	132.98	112.49

Table 2: Table of points to nearest 0.01m

The Results

The EDM survey showed that, on the whole, the 1970s theodolite survey preserved the overall pattern, size and alignments of the different parts of the church (fig. A53). There were, however, discrepancies by as much as 0.30m and some foundations do appear to be misaligned. The north foundations of the choir, for instance, appeared to be mis-drawn (probably by connecting a respond foundation to the wall foundation); the south chevet foundations were slightly misplaced and the angle of the west front to the south wall was 87° instead of the 89° it actually is (though the corner itself is an exact right angle).

The EDM survey also showed clearly the relationship of the nave and chevet. Their alignment in fact is remarkably close, differing by less than 0.5° , but the axis of the chevet is offset 0.40m south of the axis of the nave. The north wall of the chevet was also shown to be 0.4-0.5m south of the nave north aisle wall, and the north wall of the north transept was shown to be remarkably skewed (2° off). The latter is almost certainly the result of the former - the non-alignment of the nave and chevet north walls giving rise to a botched junction at the north transept. This can be seen particularly clearly in the reconstruction drawing (fig. 85). The west side of the north transept is also 0.67m (2ft 2in) shorter than the equivalent measurement in the south transept. This could again be the result of the north transept being the last element of the eastern arm to be built, and connecting two pre-existing and non-aligned sections. The non-alignment of the nave with the chevet is most likely the consequence of a previous structure (presumably an earlier north transept) remaining extant until quite late in the building programme, and interfering with the line of sight of the masons.

Appendix 3

Geophysical Survey

In Autumn 1996, Dr. John Szymanski of the Department of Electronics, University of York, undertook a small resistivity survey within the church of Croxden Abbey. The data was collected along ten lines in the north transept, crossing and chevet (fig. A54) at 0.5m intervals. Two methods of interpretation were used; a 'conventional' pseudosection approach (figs. A55-6) and the more powerful technique of resistive tomography (figs. A57-9). It should be noted that the depth scale of the pseudosection approach, which uses a limited data-set, is arbitrary and the apparent relative strengths of individual features can be misleading. The tomographic approach uses a wider data-set (with sub-surface current flow patterns between electrodes) and requires heavy computer processing to create image-like results. In this approach a small change in the measured data can lead to large variations in the reconstructed image and there are an infinite number of interpretations of the data.

Although the conditions at Croxden proved to be highly suitable for this sort of investigation, the very limited nature of the survey makes archaeological interpretation of the results difficult, and that is not attempted here. A more extensive survey could prove valuable, although investigation of the church will always be hampered by the presence of the road.

Bibliography

Manuscripts and Unpublished Illustrations

British Library

Add. 27763 John Buckler's treatise on Cistercian architecture.

Add. 36386 fos. 14-20 John Buckler's original sketches of Croxden Abbey.

Add. 42039 fos. 17-18 Edward Blore's drawings of Croxden Abbey.

Cotton Faustina fos. 68v-94v Chronicle of Croxden Abbey, with register of monks and abbots.

English Heritage

AM 37 Ministry of Works' documents relating to Croxden.

AA 090911/2B Ministry of Works' documents relating to Croxden.

AM 090911/01 Ministry of Works' documents relating to Croxden.

AM 090911/05 PT1 Ministry of Works' documents relating to Croxden.

AM 090911/04 PT1 Ministry of Works' documents relating to Croxden.

Plans Room 257/5 Plan for repair of south transept of Croxden Abbey church.

Plans Room 457/6 Plan for repair of west end of Croxden Abbey church.

Essex Record Office

D/DMgP25 Map of the lands of Tilty Abbey, made by Ralph Agas in 1594.

D/DopP1 Map of the lands of Coggeshall Abbey, made by Samuel Parsons in 1639.

Lincolnshire Archives

Sher plan K4 Plan of St Leonard's chapel, Kirkstead, made by Sherwin Reynolds c.1860

Public Record Office

PRO Work/14/1325 Pre-guardianship papers relating to Croxden.

William Salt Library, Stafford

Lynam 275/38 Photographs of Croxden by Charles Lynam.

Lynam 276/38 Sketches of Croxden with measurements and comments by Charles Lynam.

Lynam 277/38 Measured sketches of elevations of Croxden by Charles Lynam and others.

Staffordshire Views 718-743 Pre-1863 illustrations of Croxden.

Topog: Croxden Pictures of Croxden

110/34 Pencil drawing of Croxden's gatehouse by T. Flower.

Abbreviations

Cal. Charter Rolls. *Calendar of the Charter Rolls, preserved in the Public Record Office.* PRO.

Cal. Inq. Misc. *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, preserved in the Public Record Office.*
PRO.

Cal. Irish Docs. *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, preserved in the Public Record Office.* PRO.

Cal. Pap. Reg. Letters. *Calendar of entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland.* PRO.

Cal. Pat. Rolls. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, preserved in the Public Record Office.* PRO.

Chronicle. The Chronicle of Croxden Abbey as transcribed by Philip Morgan and an extra-mural group at Keele University, forthcoming in *Coll. Hist. Staff.*

Close Rolls. *Calendar of Close Rolls, preserved in the Public Record Office.* PRO.

Coll. et Top. *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica.*

Coll. Hist. Staff. *Collections for a History of Staffordshire.* Staffordshire Record Society
(formerly the William Salt Archaeological Society).

Curia Regis Rolls. *Curia Regis Rolls, preserved in the Public Record Office.* PRO.

DNB. *Dictionary of National Biography.* London.

Hist. MSS Com. Rep. *Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts.* Historical Manuscripts Commission.

L.&P. Henry VIII. *Letter and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII, preserved in the Public Record Office, the British Museum and elsewhere.* PRO.

RCHME. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England).

Rot. Chart. *Calendarium Rotulorum Chartarum et Inquisitionum ad quod damnum, preserved in the Public Record Office.* PRO.

Rot. Hund. Tur. Lond. Rotuli Hunredorum in Turri Londinensi et in Curia Receptae Scaccarii Westm' asservati. Record Commission.

Valor Ecclesiasticus. Valor Ecclesiasticus Tempore Henrici VIII Auctoritate Regis Institutus. Record Commission.

Other Published Material and Theses

Alexander, Jonathon, and Paul Binski, eds. 1987. *Age of Chivalry*. London.

Alexander, Jennifer S. 1993. 'The building of Thornton Abbey Chapter House.' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 146:113-20.

Alexander, Jennifer S. 1996. 'Masons' marks and stone bonding.' In *The Archaeology of Cathedrals*, edited by T. Tatton-Brown and J. Munby. Oxford, 219-36.

Amundsen, David. 1996. *Medicine, Society and Faith in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*. Baltimore.

Ashmore, Owen. 1996. *A Guide to Whalley Abbey*. 5th ed. Blackburn.

Ashurst, J., and F. G. Dimes. 1990. *Conservation of Building and Decorative Stone*. London.

Astill, Grenville, and Susan Wright. 1993. 'Perceiving patronage in the archaeological record: Bordesley Abbey.' In *In Search of Cult. Archaeological Investigations in honour of Philip Rahtz*, edited by M. Carver. Woodbridge, 125-37.

Astill, Grenville G. 1993. *A Medieval Industrial Complex and its Landscape: the Metalworking Watermills and Workshops of Bordesley Abbey*. CBA Research Report 92.

Aubert, Marcel. 1947. *L'Architecture Cistercienne en France*. 2 vols. Paris.

Austin, John D. 1998. *Merevale Church and Abbey*. Studley.

Baillie Reynolds, P. K. 1946. *Croxden Abbey, Staffordshire*.

Baillie Reynolds, P. K. 1957. 'Croxden Abbey.' *Medieval Archaeology* 1:153.

Baillie Reynolds, P. K. 1958. 'Croxden Abbey.' *Medieval Archaeology* 2:191.

Baillie Reynolds, P. K. 1963. 'Croxden Abbey. Report of the Summer Meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute at Keele.' *Archaeological Journal* 120:278.

Baily, John. 1991. 'St. Hugh's Church at Lincoln.' *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain* 34:1-35.

Barnes, Guy D. 1982. *Kirstall Abbey, 1141-1539*. Publications of the Thoresby Society 58.

Barns, Thomas. 1912. 'Mr. Edward Arblaster's notebook 1719.' *Transactions of the North Staffordshire Field Club* 46:146-7.

Bauer, Nancy. 1987. 'Monasticism after dark: from dormitory to cell.' *American Benedictine Review* 38:95-114.

- Bazeley, William. 1899. 'The Abbey of St Mary, Hailes.' *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* 22:257-71.
- Bell, David N. 1984. 'The books of Meaux Abbey.' *Analecta Cisterciensia* 43:25-83.
- Bell, David N. 1989. 'The English Cistercians and the practice of medicine.' *Cîteaux, commentarii cistercienses* 40:139-73.
- Bell, David N. 1992. *The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians*. Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 3.
- Bell, David N. 1998. 'The siting and size of Cistercian infirmaries in England and Wales.' In *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture 5*, edited by M. P. Lillich. Kalamazoo, 211-37.
- Bellamy, C. Vincent, and C. M. Mitchell. 1961. 'Tenth Report, 1959.' In *Kirkstall Abbey Excavations, 1955-1959*. Publications of the Thoresby Society 48.
- Biddle, Martin, Beatrice Clayre, and Michael Morris. 2000. 'The setting of the Round Table: Winchester Castle and the great hall.' In *King Arthur's Round Table. An Archaeological Investigation*, edited by M. Biddle. Woodbridge, 59-101.
- Binski, Paul. 1987. 'The stylistic sequence of London figure brasses.' In *The Earliest English Brasses*, edited by J. Coales. London, 69-132.
- Binski, Paul. 1995. *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: Kingship and the Representation of Power 1200-1400*. London.
- Blair, John. 1987. 'English-made brasses and indents before 1350.' In *The Earliest English Brasses*, edited by J. Coales. London, 180-215.
- Blair, John. 1993. 'Hall and chamber: English domestic planning 1000-1250.' In *Manorial Domestic Buildings in England and Northern France*, edited by G. Meirion-Jones and M. Jones. London, 1-21.
- Bodleian. 1964. *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*. Oxford.
- Bond, E. A., ed. 1866. *Thomas de Burton, Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*. 3 vols. Rolls Series 43.
- Bonde, Sheila, Edward Boyden, and Clark Maines. 1990. 'Centrality and community: liturgy and Gothic chapter house design at the Augustinian Abbey of Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, Soissons.' *Gesta* 29:189-213.
- Bonde, Sheila, and Clark Maines. 1997. 'Elite spaces in monasteries of the reform movement and an abbot's parlour at Augustinian Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, Soissons (France).' In *Religion and Belief in Medieval Europe. Papers of the Medieval Europe Brugge 1997 Conference 4*, edited by G. de Boe and F. Verhaeghe. Zellik, 43-53.
- Bony, Jean. 1983. *French Gothic Architecture of the 12th and 13th Centuries*. London.
- Brakspear, Harold. 1905. *Waverley Abbey*. Guildford.

- Brakspear, Harold. 1922. 'Bardney Abbey.' *Archaeological Journal* 79:1-92.
- Branner, Robert. 1964. 'Westminster Abbey and the French Court Style.' *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 23:3-18.
- Braunfels, Wolfgang. 1972. *Monasteries of Western Europe: The Architecture of the Orders*. London.
- British Museum. 1834. *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum. Volume I, The Arundel Manuscripts*. London.
- Britten, Charles. 1937. *A Meteorological Chronology to AD 1450*. London.
- Brooke, Christopher. 1987. 'Reflections on the monastic cloister.' In *Romanesque and Gothic: Essays for George Zarnecki*, edited by N. Stratford, 19-25.
- Brooke, C. N. L., R. A. B. Mynors, and M. R. James, eds. 1983. *De Nugis Curialium by Walter Map*. Oxford.
- Brown, E. A. R. 1981. 'Death and the human body in the later Middle Ages.' *Viator* 12:221-70.
- Brown, E. A. R. 1991. 'Burying and unburying the Kings of France.' In *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial*, edited by E. A. R. Brown. Aldershot.
- Brown, P., ed. 1985-8. *Sibton Abbey Cartularies and Charters I-IV*. Suffolk Record Society: Suffolk Charters 7-10.
- Brown, W., and A. Hamilton Thomson, eds. 1931-1940. *The Register of William Greenfield, Lord Archbishop of York 1306-1315*. Surtees Society 145, 149, 151-3.
- Bruce-Mitford, R. 1976. 'The chapter house vestibule graves at Lincoln and the body of St. Hugh of Avalon.' In *Tribute to an Antiquary: Essays presented to Marc Fitch*, edited by F. Emmerson and R. Stephens. London, 127-40.
- Bruzelius, Caroline. 1979. 'Cistercian High Gothic: The abbey church of Longpont and the architecture of the Cistercians in the early 13th Century.' *Analecta Cisterciensia* 35:1-204.
- Burton, Janet. 1986. 'The foundation of the British Cistercian houses.' In *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, edited by C. Norton and D. Park. Cambridge, 24-39.
- Burton, Janet. 1995. *Kirkham Priory from foundation to dissolution*. Borthwick Papers 86.
- Burton, Janet. 1998. 'The Cistercian adventure.' In *The Cistercian Abbeys of Britain*, edited by D. Robinson. London, 7-33.
- Butler, Lawrence. 1964. 'Minor medieval monumental sculpture in the East Midlands.' *Archaeological Journal* 121:111-53.
- Butler, Lawrence. 1984. 'Neath Abbey: the twelfth-century church.' *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 133:147-51.
- Butler, Lawrence. 1993. 'Cistercian abbots' tombs and abbey seals.' In *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture 4*, edited by M. P. Lillich. Kalamazoo, 78-88.
- Butler, L., and C. Given-Wilson. 1979. *Medieval Monasteries of Great Britain*. London.

- Canivez, Joseph-Marie. 1933-41. *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab Anno 1116 ad Annum 1786*. 8 vols. Louvain.
- Carlin, Martha. 1989. 'Medieval English hospitals.' In *The Hospital in History*, edited by L. Granshaw and R. Porter. London, 21-39.
- Cassidy-Welch, Megan. 2001. *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings: Thirteenth Century English Cistercian Monasteries*. Turnhout.
- Choisselet, Danièle, and Placide Vernet. 1989. *Les Ecclesiastica officia: Cisterciens du XIIème siècle*. Reiningue.
- Clapham, Alfred. 1951. *Thornton Abbey, Lincolnshire*. London.
- Clark, John Willis. 1902. *The Care of Books*. 2nd ed. Cambridge.
- Clifton-Taylor, Alec, and A. S. Ireson. 1983. *English Stone Building*. London.
- Cokayne, G. E., V. Gibbs, H. A. Doubleday, et al, eds. 1910-59. *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*. 12 in 13 vols. London.
- Coldstream, Nicola. 1986. 'Cistercian architecture from Beaulieu to the Dissolution.' In *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, edited by E. C. Norton and D. Park. Cambridge, 139-159.
- Coldstream, Nicola. 1998. 'The mark of eternity: the Cistercians as builders.' In *The Cistercian Abbeys of Britain*, edited by D. Robinson. London, 35-61.
- Cook, G. H. 1963. *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels*. 2nd ed. London.
- Coomans, Thomas. 1998. 'The east range of Val-Saint-Lambert (1233-34).' In *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture*, edited by M. P. Lillich. Kalamazoo.
- Coomans, Thomas. 2000. *L'Abbaye de Villers-en-Brabant. Construction, Configuration et Signification d'une Abbaye Cistercienne*. Brecht.
- Coppack, Glyn. 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, Glyn. 1990. *Abbeys and Priories*. London.
- Coppack, Glyn. 1993. *Fountains Abbey*. London.
- Coppack, Glyn. 1997. 'The development of monasteries in Yorkshire. Some recent research at Fountains, Rievaulx, Sawley and Mount Grace.' *Archaeological Journal* 154:230-8.
- Coppack, Glyn. 1998. *The White Monks. The Cistercians in Britain 1128-1540*. Stroud.
- Coppack, Glyn. 2001. 'Sawley Abbey: an English Cistercian abbey on the edge of 'stabilitas'.' *Cîteaux, commentarii cistercienses* 52:319-336.
- Coppack, Glyn, and Roy Gilyard-Beer. 1993. *Fountains Abbey*. London.

- Coppack, Glyn, Stuart Harrison, and Colin Hayfield. 1995. 'Kirkham Priory: the architecture and archaeology of an Augustinian house.' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 148:55-136.
- Coppack, Glyn, Colin Hayfield, and R. Williams. 2002. 'Sawley Abbey: the architecture and archaeology of a smaller Cistercian abbey.' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 155:22-114.
- Crane, P. 1978. 'Croxden Abbey.' *Medieval Archaeology* 22:161.
- Crossley, F. H. 1939. *The English Abbey*. London.
- Dale, B. 1863. *The Annals of Coggeshall*. Coggeshall.
- Daniell, Christopher. 1997. *Death and Burial in Medieval England, 1066-1550*. London.
- Davies, S. 1997. *Jervaulx Abbey*. Jervaulx.
- Dawtry, Anne F. 1982. 'The *Modus Medendi* and the Benedictine order in Anglo-Norman England.' In *The Church and Healing*, edited by W. J. Sheils. Oxford, 25-38.
- Dean, Mary A. 1984. 'Architecture at Peterborough in the 13th century.' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 137:114-29.
- Denholm-Young, N. 1947. *Richard of Cornwall*. Oxford.
- Desmond, L. A. 1976. 'The appropriation of churches by the Cistercians in England to 1400.' *Analecta Cisterciensia*, 31:246-66.
- Dickinson, J. C. 1961. *Monastic Life in Medieval England*. London.
- Dickinson, J. C. 1965. *Furness Abbey, Lancashire*. London.
- Dickinson, J. C. 1967. 'Furness Abbey, an archaeological reconsideration.' *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 67:51-80.
- Dimier, A. 1982. 'Infirmes cisterciennes.' In *Mélanges à la mémoire du Père Anselme Dimier* 2, edited by B. Chauvin. Arbois, 804-25.
- Donkin, R. A. 1978. *The Cistercians: Studies in the Geography of Medieval England and Wales*. Toronto.
- Draper, Peter. 1987. 'Architecture and liturgy.' In *Age of Chivalry*, edited by J. Alexander and P. Binski. London, 83-91.
- Dugdale, William. 1675-6. *The Baronage of England*. 2 vols. London.
- Dugdale, W. 1846. *Monasticon Anglicanum. A History of the Abbeys and other Monasteries etc.* 6 vols. London.
- Dyson, Tony. forthcoming. 'History.' In *Excavations at the Cistercian Abbey of Stratford Langthorne, Essex*.
- Eames, Elizabeth. 1980. *Catalogue of Medieval Lead-Glazed Earthenware Tiles in the Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, British Museum*. London.
- Eames, Penelope. 1977. *Furniture in England, France and the Netherlands from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century*. London.

- Ellis, Henry, ed. 1859. *Chronica Johannis de Oxenedes*. Rolls Series 13.
- Ellis, Peter. 1995. 'Croxden Abbey, Staffordshire: report on excavations 1956-57 and 1975-77.' *Transactions of the Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society* 36:29-51.
- Emerick, Keith, and Kate Wilson. 1992. 'Fountains Abbey: some interim results of remote sensing.' *English Heritage Conservation Bulletin* 18:7-9.
- Emery, Anthony. 1996. *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales 1300-1500. Volume I. Northern England*. Cambridge.
- Emery, Anthony. 2000. *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales 1300-1500. Volume II. East Anglia, Central England and Wales*. Cambridge.
- Engel, Ute. 1998. 'Two-storeyed elevations: the choir of Southwell Minster and the West Country.' In *Southwell and Nottinghamshire. Medieval Art, Architecture and Industry*, edited by J. S. Alexander. British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 22, 33-43.
- Esser, K. H. 1953a. 'Die Ausgrabungen der romanischen Zisterzienserkirche Himmerod als Beitrag zum Verständnis der frühen Zisterzienser architektur.' *Das Münster* 7-8:221-3.
- Esser, K. H. 1953b. 'Über den Kirchenbau des HL. Bernhard von Clairvaux.' *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 5:195-222.
- Fair, M. C. 1954. 'Calder abbey.' *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 53:80-97.
- Fergusson, Peter. 1970. 'Early Cistercian churches in Yorkshire and the problem of the Cistercian crossing tower.' *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 29:211-221.
- Fergusson, Peter. 1979. 'Notes on two Cistercian engraved designs.' *Speculum* 54:1-17.
- Fergusson, Peter. 1983. 'The first architecture of the Cistercians in England and the work of Abbot Adam of Meaux.' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 136:32-46.
- Fergusson, Peter. 1984. *Architecture of Solitude. Cistercian Abbeys in 12th Century England*. Princeton.
- Fergusson, Peter. 1986. 'The 12th century refectories at Rievaulx and Byland Abbeys.' In *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, edited by E. C. Norton and D. Park. Cambridge, 160-80.
- Fergusson, Peter. 1990a. 'Porta patens esto': notes on early Cistercian gatehouses in the north of England.' In *Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context. Studies in Honour of Peter Kidson*, edited by E. Fernie and P. Crossley. London, 47-59.
- Fergusson, Peter. 1990b. *Roche Abbey*. London.
- Fergusson, Peter, and Stuart Harrison. 1999. *Rievaulx Abbey*. London.
- Flood, W. H. G. 1893. 'History of Croxden Abbey.' *The Month* 360-365:511-19.

- Frazer, Alfred. 1973. 'Modes of European courtyard design before the medieval cloister.' *Gesta* 12:1-12.
- Fryde, E. B., D. E. Greenway, S. Porter, and I. Roy, eds. 1986. *Handbook of British Chronology*. London.
- Gallagher, P. F. 1982. 'The Cistercian church at Mortemer: a reassessment of its chronology and possible sources.' In *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture I*, edited by M. P. Lillich. Kalamazoo, 53-70.
- Galpin, F. W. 1926. 'The abbey church and claustral buildings of Tilty.' *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society* 18:89-95.
- Gardner, J. S. 1955. 'Coggeshall Abbey and its early brickwork.' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 18:19-32.
- Garner, R. 1844. *Natural History of the County of Stafford*. London.
- Gerson, P. L., ed. 1986. *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis*. New York.
- Getz, Faye. 1998. *Medicine in the English Middle Ages*. Princeton.
- Gilchrist, Roberta. 1995. *Contemplation and Action: the Other Monasticism*. London.
- Gilyard-Beer, Roy. 1958. *Abbeys*. London.
- Gilyard-Beer, Roy. 1976. *Abbeys*. 2nd ed. London.
- Gilyard-Beer, Roy. 1983. 'Byland Abbey and the Grave of Roger de Mowbray.' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 55:61-6.
- Gilyard-Beer, Roy. 1987. 'The Graves of the Abbots of Fountains.' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 59:45-50.
- Gilyard-Beer, Roy, and Glyn Coppack. 1986. 'Excavations at Fountains Abbey, North Yorkshire, 1979-80: the early development of the monastery.' *Archaeologia* 108:147-88.
- Girouard, Mark. 1978. *Life in the English Country House*. London.
- Godfrey, Walter H. 1955. *The English Almshouse*. London.
- Golding, Brian. 1985. 'Burials and Benefactions: an aspect of monastic patronage in thirteenth-century England.' In *England in the Thirteenth Century. Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium*, edited by W. M. Ormrod. Grantham, 64-75.
- Goodall, John. 2001. 'How the monks of Fountains sat down to eat.' *Country Life*, 29 November, 58-61.
- Grant, Lindy, ed. 1983. *Medieval Architecture and Sculpture in Europe. Part 11, France: Noyon Cathedral*. Courtauld Institute Illustration Archives.
- Grant, Lindy. 1987a. 'The Architecture of the Early Savignacs and Cistercians in Normandy.' In *Anglo-Norman Studies X. Proceedings of the Battle Conference*, edited by R. A. Brown. Woodbridge, 111-43.

- Grant, Lindy. 1987b. *Gothic Architecture in Normandy*. Unpublished PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute, London.
- Grant, Lindy. 1991. 'Gothic architecture in southern England and the French connection in the early thirteenth century.' In *Thirteenth-Century England III*, edited by P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd. Woodbridge, 113-26.
- Grant, Lindy. 1994a. 'Architectural relationships between England and Normandy, 1100-1204.' In *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, edited by D. Bates and A. Curry. London, 117-29.
- Grant, Lindy. 1994b. 'Le patronage architectural d'Henri II et son entourage'. *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale, Xe-XIIe Siècles* 37:73-84.
- Grant, Lindy. 1998. *Abbot Suger of St Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France*. London.
- Greatrex, Joan. 1999. 'The dispute between the Carmelite Friars and the rector of St Crux, York, 1350.' In *The Church in Medieval York*, edited by D. M. Smith. Borthwick Texts and Calendars 24, 69-74.
- Greene, J. P. 1989. *Norton Priory: The Archaeology of a Medieval Religious House*. Cambridge.
- Greene, J. P. 1992. *Medieval Monasteries*. Leicester.
- Greenslade, M. W. 1994. 'Staffordshire.' In *English County Histories. A Guide*, edited by C. R. J. Currie and C. R. Lewis. Stroud, 355-65.
- Grenville, Jane. 1997. *Medieval Housing*. London.
- Guignard, P., ed. 1878. *Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne*. Dijon.
- Hagger, Mark S. 2001. *The Fortunes of a Norman Family. The de Verduns in England, Ireland and Wales, 1066-1316*. Dublin.
- Hahn, Hanno. 1957. *Die Frühe Kirchenbaukunst der Zisterzienser*. Berlin.
- Hall, Jackie. 1994. *Croxden Abbey, Staffordshire. Assessment of Loose Architectural Stone*. English Heritage, unpublished report.
- Hall, Jackie. 1995. 'The architectural fragments.' In *Croxden Abbey, Staffordshire*, edited by P. Ellis. Transactions of the Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society 36.
- Hall, Jackie. 2001. 'English Cistercian gatehouse chapels.' *Cîteaux, commentarii cistercienses* 52:61-92.
- Hall, Jackie, and David Strachan. 2001. 'The precinct and buildings of Tilty Abbey.' *Essex Archaeology and History* 32:198-208.
- Halsey, R. 1986. 'The earliest architecture of the Cistercians in England.' In *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, edited by E. C. Norton and D. Park. Cambridge, 65-85.
- Harper-Bill, C. 1979. 'The piety of the Anglo-Norman knightly class.' *Anglo-Norman Studies* 2:63-77.

- Harrison, Stuart. 1987. 'Byland Abbey, North Yorkshire: the west front and rose window reconstructed.' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 140:134-51.
- Harrison, Stuart. 1988. *The Architecture of Byland Abbey*. Unpublished MA Thesis, University of York.
- Harrison, Stuart. 1990. *Byland Abbey*. London.
- Harrison, Stuart. 1995. 'Kirkstall Abbey: the twelfth-century tracery and rose window.' In *Yorkshire Monasticism*, edited by L. Hoey. British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 16, 73-8.
- Harrison, Stuart. 1997a. 'The cloistral ranges and a fresh look at the chapter house.' In *A Definitive History of Dore Abbey*, edited by R. Shoesmith and R. Richardson. Little Logaston, 113-24.
- Harrison, Stuart. 1997b. 'A syncopated arcade from Keynsham Abbey.' In *'Almost the Richest City': Bristol in the Middle Ages*, edited by L. Keen. British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 19, 68-74.
- Harrison, Stuart. 1999. *Byland Abbey*. London.
- Harrison, Stuart, Richard Morris, and David Robinson. 1998. 'A fourteenth-century pulpitum screen at Tintern Abbey, Monmouthshire.' *Antiquaries Journal* 78:177-268.
- Harrison, Stuart, and Malcolm Thurlby. 1997. 'An Architectural History.' In *A Definitive History of Dore Abbey*, edited by R. Shoesmith and R. Richardson. Little Logaston, 45-62.
- Harrison, Stuart, and Jason Wood. 1998. *Furness Abbey*. London.
- Hartshome, A. 1883. 'On Kirkstead Abbey, Lincolnshire.' *Archaeological Journal* 40:296-302.
- Harvey, Barbara. 1993. *Living and Dying in England 100-1540. The Monastic Experience*. Oxford.
- Hearn, M. F., and Malcolm Thurlby. 1997. 'Previously undetected wooden ribbed vaults in medieval Britain.' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 150:48-58.
- Heslop, T. A. 1986. 'Cistercian seals in England and Wales.' In *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, edited by E. C. Norton and D. Park. Cambridge, 266-83.
- Hewlett, Henry G., ed. 1887. *The Flowers of History by Roger de Wendover*. 2 vols. Rolls Series 84.
- Hibbert, F. A. 1909. *Monasticism in Staffordshire*. Stafford.
- Hibbert, F. A. 1910. *The Dissolution of the Monasteries in Staffordshire*. London.
- Hibbert, F. A. 1912a. *Croxden Abbey: a short guide and history, with two illustrations and a plan*. Stafford.
- Hibbert, F. A. 1912b. 'Croxden Abbey: its Buildings and History.' *Church Quarterly Review* October 1912:39-71.

- Hibbert, F. A. 1914. 'The Date of Croxden Abbey.' *Transactions of the North Staffordshire Field Club* 48:129-141.
- Hibbert, F. A. 1918. 'Croxden Abbey and Musden Grange.' *Transactions of the North Staffordshire Field Club* 52:47.
- Hill, Bennett D. 1968. *English Cistercian Monasteries and their Patrons in the Twelfth Century*. Urbana.
- Hillaby, Joe. 1997a. 'The buried evidence: the opus dei.' In *A Definitive History of Dore Abbey*, edited by R. Shoesmith and R. Richardson. Little Logaston, 37-44.
- Hillaby, Joe. 1997b. 'Cults, patrons and sepulture.' In *A Definitive History of Dore Abbey*, edited by R. Shoesmith and R. Richardson. Little Logaston, 97-102.
- Hills, G. M. 1865. 'Croxden Abbey and its Chronicle.' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 21:294-315.
- Hirst, S M, D A Walsh, and S M Wright. 1983. *Bordesley Abbey II*. British Archaeological Reports 111.
- Hockey, F. 1976. *Beaulieu: King John's Abbey*. Beaulieu.
- Hoey, Lawrence. 1986. 'Pier alternation in early English Gothic architecture.' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 139:45-67.
- Hoey, Lawrence. 1993. 'Croxden Abbey.' In *Medieval Archaeology and Architecture at Lichfield*, edited by J. Maddison. British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 13, 36-49.
- Hoey, Lawrence. 1998. 'The Early Gothic Parish Church Architecture of Nottinghamshire.' In *Southwell and Nottinghamshire. Medieval Art, Architecture and Industry*, edited by J. S. Alexander. British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 22, 73-82.
- Holdsworth, Christopher. 1991. *The Piper and the Tune: Medieval Patrons and Monks. The Stenton Lecture 1990*. Reading.
- Holdsworth, Christopher. 1992. 'Royal Cistercians: Beaulieu, her daughters and Rewley.' In *Thirteenth-Century England IV*, edited by P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd. Woodbridge, 139-50.
- Holton-Krayenbuhl, Anne. 1997. 'The infirmary complex at Ely.' *Archaeological Journal* 154:118-72.
- Hope, W. H. St John. 1880. 'On a palimpsest brass in Norbury church, Derbyshire, with some remarks on the monumental brasses of Derbyshire.' *Transactions of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* 2:1-9.
- Hope, W. H. St John. 1900a. 'The abbey of St Mary in Furness, Lancashire.' *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 16:221-302.
- Hope, W. H. St John. 1900b. 'Fountains abbey.' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 15:269-402.

- Hope, W. H. St John. 1914. 'Rievaulx Abbey.' In *The Victoria History of the County of Yorkshire*. London, 494-502.
- Hope, W. H. St John, and John Bilson. 1907. *The Architecture of Kirkstall Abbey Church, with some general remarks on the Architecture of the Cistercians*. Publications of the Thoresby Society 16.
- Hope, W. H. St John, and Harold Brakspear. 1906. 'The Cistercian abbey of Beaulieu in the County of Southampton.' *Archaeological Journal* 63:129-86.
- Hope, W. H. St John, and Harold Brakspear. 1911. 'Jervaulx Abbey.' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 21:303-44.
- Horn, Walter. 1973. 'On the origins of the medieval cloister.' *Gesta* 12:13-52.
- Horn, Walter, and Ernest Born. 1979. *The Plan of St Gall*. 3 vols. Berkeley.
- Hutchinson, S. W. 1893. *Archdeaconry of Stoke-on-Trent*. London.
- Impey, Edward. 1993. 'Seigneurial domestic architecture in Normandy, 1050-1350.' In *Manorial Domestic Buildings in England and Northern France*, edited by G. Meirion-Jones and M. Jones. London, 82-120.
- Jansen, Virginia. 1984. 'Architectural Remains of King John's Abbey, Beaulieu (Hampshire).' In *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture 2*, edited by M. P. Lillich. Kalamazoo, 76-114.
- Jansen, Virginia. 1990. 'Medieval 'service' architecture: undercrofts.' In *Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context*, edited by E. Fernie and P. Crossley. London, 73-9.
- Jansen, Virginia. 1998. 'Architecture and community in medieval monastic dormitories.' In *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture 5*, edited by M. P. Lillich. Kalamazoo, 59-94.
- Keen, Maurice. 1996. *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages*. London.
- Kemp, R. L., and C. P. Graves. 1996. *The Church and Gilbertine Priory of St Andrew, Fishergate, The Archaeology of York 11/2*. York.
- Ker, N. R. 1964. *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: a List of Surviving Books*. 2nd ed. London.
- Ker, N. R. 1987. *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: a List of Surviving Books. Supplement to the Second Edition*. London.
- Kidson, Peter. 1986. 'St. Hugh's Choir.' In *Medieval Art and Architecture at Lincoln Cathedral*, edited by T. A. Heslop and V. A. Sekules. British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 8, 29-42.
- Kidson, Peter. 1994. 'Architectural history.' In *A History of Lincoln Minster*, edited by D. Owen. Cambridge, 14-46.
- Kinder, Terry. 1998. *L'Europe Cistercienne*. La Pierre-qui-Vire.
- King, Archdale. 1955. *Liturgies of the Religious Orders*. London.
- Knowles, David. 1948-59. *The Religious Orders in England*. 3 vols. Cambridge.

- Knowles, David. 1966. *The Monastic Order in England: a history of its development from the times of St Dunstan to the 4th Lateran Council*. 2nd ed. Cambridge.
- Knowles, David, C. N. L. Brooke, and Vera C. M. London, eds. 1972. *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales 940-1216*. Cambridge.
- Knowles, D., and R. N. Hadcock. 1971. *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*. 2nd ed. London.
- Kramp, Mario. 1995. *Kirche, Kunst und Königsbild : zum Zusammenhang von Politik und Kirchenbau im capetingischen Frankreich des 12. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel der drei Abteien Saint-Denis, Saint-Germain-des-Prés und Saint-Remi, Reims*. Weimar.
- Ladds, S. I. 1914. 'Sawtry Abbey, Huntingdonshire.' *Transactions of the Cambridge and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society* 3:295-322, 339-74.
- Latham, R. E. 1980. *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*. London.
- Laurence, M. 1951-5. 'Notes on the Chronicle and other documents relating to St. Mary's Abbey, Croxden.' *Transactions of the North Staffordshire Field Club* 85-88:B1-B90.
- Lawrence, C. H. 1989. *Medieval Monasticism: forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*. 2nd ed. London.
- Lekai, L. J. 1977. *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality*. Kent, Ohio.
- Leroux-Dhuys, Jean-Francois. 1998. *Cistercian Abbeys. History and Architecture*. Paris.
- Lindley, E. S. 1954. 'Kingswood Abbey.' *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 73:115-91.
- Luard, Henry R., ed. 1859. *Bartolomaei de Cotton, Monachi Norwicensis, Historia Anglicana*. Rolls Series 16.
- Luard, Henry R., ed. 1872-1883. *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora*. 7 vols. Rolls Series 57.
- Luard, Henry R., ed. 1890. *Flores Historiarum [by Matthew Paris]*. 3 vols. Rolls Series 95.
- Lucet, Bernard. 1964. *La Codification Cistercienne de 1202 et son Evolution Ulterieure*. Rome.
- Lucet, Bernard. 1977. *Les Codifications Cisterciennes de 1237 et de 1257*. Paris.
- Lumby, Joseph R., ed. 1865-1886. *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, Monachi Cestrensis*. 9 vols. Rolls Series 41.
- Lynam, Charles. 1881. 'Croxden Abbey: its history and architectural features.' In *History of Cheadle etc.*, edited by R. Plant. Leek, 259-76.
- Lynam, Charles. 1911. *The Abbey of St. Mary, Croxden, Staffordshire*. London.
- Madden, Frederick, ed. 1866-1869. *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Historia Anglorum*. 3 vols. Rolls Series 44.
- Martindale, Andrew. 1988. *Heroes, Ancestors, Relatives and the Birth of the Portrait, The Fourth Gerson Lecture*. Maarssen.

- McAleer, J. Philip. 1990. 'Southwell, Worksop and stylistic tendencies in English twelfth-century facade design.' In *Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context: studies in Honour of Peter Kidson*, edited by E. Fernie and P. Crossley. London, 61-72.
- McCann, Justin. 1952. *The Rule of St Benedict*. London.
- McGuire, Brian. 2000. 'Charity and unanimity: the invention of the Cistercian Order. A review article.' *Cîteaux, commentarii cistercienses* 51:285-97.
- McNeill, John. 1998. 'The chronology of the choir of Southwell Minster.' In *Southwell and Nottinghamshire. Medieval Art, Architecture and Industry*, edited by J. S. Alexander. British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 22, 24-32.
- Meekings, C. A. F. 1979. 'The early years of Netley Abbey.' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 30:1-37.
- Meirion-Jones, Gwyn, Michael Jones, and Jon R. Pilcher. 1993. 'The seigneurial domestic buildings of Brittany, 1000-1700.' In *Manorial Domestic Buildings in England and Northern France*, edited by G. Meirion-Jones and M. Jones. London, 158-91.
- Mesqui, Jean. 1993. 'Notes sur l'habitat noble rural dans le nord et l'est de l'Ile-de-France.' In *Manorial Domestic Buildings in England and Northern France*, edited by G. Meirion-Jones and M. Jones. London, 121-40.
- Micklethwaite, J. T. 1882. 'Of the Cistercian plan.' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 7:239-58.
- Moorhouse, Stephen, and Stuart Wrathmell. 1987. *Kirkstall Abbey. The 1950-64 excavations: a reassessment*. Wakefield.
- Morris, Richard. 1974. 'Tewkesbury Abbey: the Despenser mausoleum.' *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 93:142-55.
- Morris, Richard K. 1979. 'The development of later gothic mouldings in England c. 1250-1400 - part II.' *Architectural History* 22:1-48.
- Morris, Richard K. 1992. 'An English glossary of medieval mouldings with an introduction to mouldings c. 1040-1240.' *Architectural History* 35:1-17.
- Morris, Richard K. forthcoming. 'Hulton Abbey: the Architecture and Worked Stones.' In *Hulton Abbey Excavations*, edited by W. D. Klemperer.
- Mortimer, Richard. 1978. 'Religious and secular motives for some English monastic foundations.' In *Religious Motivation: Biographical and Sociological Problems for the Church Historian*, edited by D. Baker. *Studies in Church History* 15, 77-85.
- Moxon, R. 1894. 'Croxdon Abbey.' *Transactions of the Burton-on-Trent Natural History and Archaeological Society* 3:131-136.
- Nichols, John. 1780. *A Collection of all the Wills, now Known to be Extant of the Kings and Queens of England etc.* London.
- Nightingale, Joseph. 1813. *Staffordshire. The Beauties of England and Wales* 13.
- Norris, Malcolm. 1977. *Monumental Brasses: the Memorials*. London.

- Norton, Christopher. 1984. 'The thirteenth-century tile tombs of the abbots of Jumieges.' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 137:145-67.
- Norton, E. C. 1986. 'Table of Cistercian legislation on art and architecture.' In *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, edited by E. C. Norton and D. Park. Cambridge, 315-93.
- Norton, E. C., and D. Park, eds. 1986. *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*. Cambridge.
- O'Callaghan, B. 1995. 'An analysis of the architecture of the Cistercian church at Abbey Dore.' In *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford*, edited by D. Whitehead. British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 15.
- O'Dwyer, Barry, ed. 1982. *Stephen of Lexington, Letters from Ireland 1228-1229*. Kalamazoo.
- Orme, Nicholas, and Margaret Webster. 1995. *The English Hospital, 1070-1570*. London.
- Owen, A. E. B. 1979. 'An early version of the Louth Park Chronicle.' *Cîteaux, commentarii cistercienses* 30:272-5.
- Page-Phillips, John. 1980. *Palimpsests: The Backs of Monumental Brasses*. 2 vols. London.
- Palliser, D. M. 1976. *The Staffordshire Landscape*. London.
- Paris, Julien, and Hugues Séjalon, eds. 1892. *Nomasticon Cisterciense*. Solesmes.
- Park, David. 1986. 'Cistercian wall painting and panel painting.' In *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, edited by E. C. Norton and D. Park. Cambridge, 181-210.
- Park, Katherine. 1992. 'Medicine and society in medieval Europe.' In *Medicine in Society: Historical Essays*, edited by A. Wear. Cambridge, 59-90.
- Park, Katherine. 1995. 'The life of the corpse: division and dissection in late medieval Europe.' *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 50:111-132.
- Pevsner, Nikolaus. 1954. *The Buildings of England: Essex*. London.
- Pevsner, Nikolaus. 1966. *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire, The North Riding*. London.
- Pevsner, Nikolaus. 1969. *The Buildings of England: North Lancashire*. London.
- Pevsner, Nikolaus. 1974. *The Buildings of England: Staffordshire*. London.
- Pevsner, Nikolaus, John Harris, and Nicholas Antram. 1989. *The Buildings of England: Lincolnshire*. 2nd ed. London.
- Pevsner, Nikolaus, and Enid Radcliffe. 1967. *The Buildings of England: Yorkshire, the West Riding*. London.
- Pevsner, Niklaus, and David Verey. 1976. *The Buildings of England: Gloucestershire, the Vale and the Forest of Dean*. 2nd ed. London.
- Pevsner, Nikolaus, and Elizabeth Williamson. 1979. *The Buildings of England: Nottinghamshire*. 2nd ed. London.

- Pevsner, Nikolaus, and Elizabeth Williamson. 1984. *The Buildings of England: Leicestershire and Rutland*. 2nd ed. London.
- Pirie, Elizabeth, J. E. 1967. *Kirkstall Abbey Excavations, 1960-1964, with appraisal of results since 1950*. Publications of the Thoresby Society 51.
- Pitt, William. 1817. *A Topographical History of Staffordshire*. Newcastle-under-Lyme.
- Platt, C. 1984. *The Abbeys and Priories of Medieval England*. London.
- Plot, Robert. 1686 (1974). *The Natural History of Staffordshire*. Manchester.
- Powell, W R. 1973. 'Stratford Langthorne.' In *Victoria History of the County of Essex*. London, 112-15.
- Powicke, F. M., and C. R. Cheney, eds. 1964. *Councils and their Synods relating to the English Church*. Oxford.
- Prescott, Elizabeth. 1992. *The English Medieval Hospital 1050-1640*. Melksham.
- Rahtz, P. A., and S. Hirst, eds. 1976. *Bordesley Abbey*. British Archaeological Reports 23.
- Ramey, Rochelle. 1996. *Abbots' Lodgings of the Cistercian Order in the Late 15th and Early 16th Centuries*. Unpublished MA Thesis, University of York.
- Rawcliffe, Carole. 1995. *Medicine and society in Later Medieval England*. Stroud.
- Rawcliffe, Carole. 1999. *Medicine for the Soul*. Stroud.
- Rawcliffe, Carole. 2002. 'On the threshold of eternity': care for the sick in East Anglian monasteries.' In *East Anglia's History*, edited by C. Harper-Bill, C. Rawcliffe and R. G. Wilson. Norwich, 41-72.
- RCHME. 1916. *Essex, 1: North West*. London.
- RCHME. 1922. *Essex 3: North East*. London.
- RCHME. 1994a. Field Survey Report. Kirkstead Abbey Precinct, Lincolnshire.
- RCHME. 1994b. Kirkstead Abbey, Lincolnshire. Air Photographic Transcription.
- RCHME. 1999. Survey Report, Jervaulx Abbey, Richmondshire, North Yorkshire.
- Rigg, A. G. 1992. *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 1066-1422*. Cambridge.
- Rigg, A. G. 1996. 'Satire.' In *Medieval Latin*, edited by F. A. C. Mantello and A. G. Rigg. Washington D. C., 562-567.
- Robinson, David. 1995. *Tintern Abbey*. 3rd ed. Cardiff.
- Robinson, David. 1996. 'The twelfth-century church at Tintern Abbey.' *Monmouthshire Antiquary* 13:35-9.
- Robinson, David, ed. 1998. *The Cistercian Abbeys of Britain*. London.
- Robinson, David. 2002. *Buildwas Abbey*. London.
- Rochet, Anne Claire. 1998. 'The refectory wing of the Cistercian abbey of Vaux-de-Cernay.' In *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture, 5*, edited by M. P. Lillich. Kalamazoo, 187-210.

- Rodgers, A. 1996. 'Lifting the dark veil of earth': Roche Abbey excavations 1857-1935.' In *Aspects of Rotherham 2*, edited by M. Jones. Barnsley, 95-114.
- Rodwell, Warwick. 1993. 'The development of the choir of Lichfield Cathedral: Romanesque and Early English.' In *Medieval Archaeology and Architecture at Lichfield*, edited by J. Maddison. British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 17-35.
- Roe, Fred. 1905. *Old Oak Furniture*. London.
- Rouse, Richard H., and Mary A. Rouse. 1991. *Registrum Anglie de Libris Doctorum et Auctorum Veterum*. Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 2.
- Rowell, Rochelle. 2000. *The Archaeology of Late Monastic Hospitality*. Unpublished DPhil Thesis, University of York.
- Rubin, Miri. 1989. 'Development and change in English hospitals, 1100-1500.' In *The Hospital in History*, edited by L. Granshaw and R. Porter. London, 41-59.
- Rubin, Stanley. 1974. *Medieval English Medicine*. London.
- Salzman, L. F. 1947. 'Merevale.' In *Victoria History of the County of Warwickshire*. London, 142-147.
- Salzman, L. F. 1952. *Building in England down to 1540*. Oxford.
- Seymour, Charles. 1939. *Notre-Dame of Noyon in the Twelfth Century*. New Haven.
- Sharpe, E. 1874-1877. *The Architecture of the Cistercians*. 3 vols. London.
- Shaw, Stebbing. 1798-1801 (1976). *The History and Antiquities of Staffordshire*. Wakefield.
- Shoesmith, Ron, and Ruth Richardson, eds. 1997. *A Definitive History of Dore Abbey*. Little Logaston.
- Smith, David. 1987. 'Hugh's administration of the diocese of Lincoln.' In *St. Hugh of Lincoln*, edited by H. Mayr-Harting. Oxford, 19-47.
- Smith, David, and Vera London, eds. 2001. *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales vol. 2 1216-1377*. Cambridge.
- Snape, H. C. 1978. *The Parish Church of Saint Mary and All Saints, Whalley, Lancashire, England*. Whalley.
- Sparks, Margaret. 1991. 'The monastic infirmary and choir house.' *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle*:28-35.
- Stalley, Roger. 1987. *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland: an Account of the History, Art and Architecture of the White Monks in Ireland from 1142 to 1540*. London.
- Stuart, Denis, ed. 1984. *Croxden, Staffordshire: a History of the Parish*. Keele.
- Stubbs, W., ed. 1872-1873. *Memoriale Walteri de Coventria*. 2 vols. Rolls Series 58.
- Stukeley, W. 1776 (1969). *Itinerarium Curiosum*. 2 vols. London.
- Summerson, Henry, and Stuart Harrison. 2000. *Lanercost Priory, Cumbria*. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Research Series 10.
- Taylor-Taswell, S. T. 1905. *Whalley Church and Abbey*. Blackburn.

- Thompson, A. Hamilton. 1935. *Roche Abbey*. London.
- Thompson, A. Hamilton. 1948. *Easby Abbey, Yorkshire*. London.
- Thompson, Hamilton A. 1953. *Netley Abbey*. HMSO, London.
- Thompson, Michael. 2001. *Cloister, Abbot and Precinct*. Stroud.
- Thompson, M. W. 1995. *The Medieval Hall*. Aldershot.
- Thurlby, Malcolm. 1993. 'The Early Gothic Transepts of Lichfield Cathedral.' In *Medieval Archaeology and Architecture at Lichfield*, edited by J. Maddison. British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 13, 50-64.
- Thurlby, Malcolm. 1998. 'Worksop Priory Church: the Romanesque and early Gothic fabric.' In *Southwell and Nottinghamshire. Medieval Art, Architecture and Industry*, edited by J. S. Alexander. British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 22, 101-9.
- Tobin, Stephen. 1995. *The Cistercians*. London.
- Tummers, H. A. 1980. *Early Secular Effigies in England*. Leiden.
- VCH, Buckinghamshire. 1969. *The Victoria History of the County of Buckingham*. Vol. 3. London.
- VCH, Chester. 1980. *The Victoria History of the County of Chester*. Vol. 3. London.
- VCH, Essex. 1907. *The Victoria History of the County of Essex*. Vol. 2. London.
- VCH, Gloucestershire. 1968. *The Victoria History of the County of Gloucestershire*. Vol. 8. London.
- VCH, Hampshire. 1908. *The Victoria History of the County of Hampshire*. Vol. 3. London.
- VCH, Linclonshire. 1906. *The Victoria History of the County of Lincoln*. Vol. 2. London.
- VCH, Surrey. 1905. *The Victoria History of the County of Surrey*. Vol. 2. London.
- VCH, Sussex. 1907. *The Victoria History of the County of Sussex*. Vol. 2. London.
- VCH, Somerset. 1911. *The Victoria History of the County of Somerset*. Vol. 2. London.
- VCH, Staffordshire. 1970. *The Victoria History of the County of Stafford*. Vol. 3. London.
- VCH, Warwickshire. 1902. *The Victoria History of the County of Warwick*. Vol. 2. London.
- VCH, Worcestershire. 1913. *The Victoria History of the County of Worcester*. Vol. 3. London.
- VCH, Yorkshire. 1913. *The Victoria History of the County of York*. Vol. 3. London.
- Venables, E. 1889. 'Chronicon Abbatie de Parco Lude.' *Lincolnshire Record Society* 1:1-85.
- Waddell, Chrysogonus. 1999. *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux*. Brecht.
- Waddell, Chrysogonus. 2000a. *Cistercian Lay Brothers. Twelfth Century Usages with Related Texts*. Brecht.
- Waddell, Chrysogonus. 2000b. 'The myth of Cistercian origins: C. H. Berman and the manuscript sources.' *Cîteaux, commentarii cistercienses* 51:299-386.
- Waddell, Chrysogonus. 2002. *Statutes from Twelfth-Century Cistercian General Chapters*. Brecht.

- Walbran, J. R., and J. T. Fowler, eds. 1863-1918. *Memorials of the Abbey of St Mary of Fountains*. 3 vols. Surtees Society 42, 67, 130.
- Wall, J. 1914. *Medieval Wall Paintings*. London.
- Walsh, David. 1980. 'Measurement and Proportion at Bordesley Abbey.' *Gesta* 19:109-113.
- Wardle, G. Y. 1886. 'The Gate-House Chapel at Croxden Abbey.' *Archaeologia* 49:434-438.
- Webb, Diana. 2000. *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*. London.
- Williams, David H. 1991. 'Layfolk within Cistercian precincts.' In *Monastic Studies II*, edited by J. Loades. Bangor, 87-117.
- Williams, David H. 1998. *The Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages*. Leominster.
- Willmore, H. H. 1939. 'Stone coffins, Gloucestershire.' *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 61:135-77.
- Wilson, Christopher. 1986. 'The Cistercians as 'missionaries of Gothic' in northern England.' In *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, edited by E. C. Norton and D. Park. Cambridge, 86-116.
- Wilson, Christopher. 1992. *The Gothic Cathedral. The Architecture of the Great Church 1130-1530*. 2nd ed. London.
- Wilson, Christopher. 1995. 'The medieval monuments.' In *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, edited by N. Ramsey and M. Sparks. Oxford, 451-510.
- Wilson, Christopher, et al, eds. 1986. *Westminster Abbey (New Bell's Cathedral Guide)*. London.
- Wilson, C. Anne. 1991. 'From medieval great hall to country house dining room: the furniture and setting of the social meal.' In *The Appetite and the Eye*, edited by C. A. Wilson. Edinburgh, 28-55.
- Winkless, Dorothy. 1990. *Hailes Abbey, Gloucestershire*. Stocksfield.
- Wood, Margaret. 1965. *The English Mediaeval House*. London.
- Wood, Susan. 1955. *English Monasteries and their Patrons in the XIIIth Century*. Oxford.
- Woolgar, C. M. 1999. *The Great Household in Late Medieval England*. London.
- Wright, Thomas, ed. 1841. *The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*. Camden Society 17.