THE CISTERCIAN GRANGE IN SOUTHERN ENGLAND BEFORE 1350

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ABSTRACT

This thesis makes a contribution to later medieval archaeology by presenting a new archaeological view of the nature and distinctiveness of Cistercian granges in southern England, thus providing a pointer to the nature of those elsewhere in Britain. No similar extensive study has been undertaken before. Cistercian granges were a rare combination of a cenobitic monastic settlement with a predominantly economic function, which makes them a significant subject for research. Previous studies have focused almost exclusively on the economic aspects of Cistercian granges. This thesis is original in considering also their spiritual and social aspects.

The central argument of the thesis is that, contrary to prevailing hypotheses, the distinctiveness of Cistercian granges lay in their occupation by lay brothers who were professed religious members of the Order and, as a result, mainly in the cenobitic nature and physical features of grange settlements, rather than in the economic nature and topography of grange estates. The Cistercians took a sophisticated approach to managing their economic resources in which granges and lay brothers played only a part, their importance varying greatly between Cistercian houses. The economic aspects of Cistercian granges contributed little to their distinctiveness, because the operation and resources of grange estates often were integrated and intermingled with those of other Cistercian-owned resources. This makes the discrete physical features and spatial and economic extents of grange estates difficult and often impossible to determine. The focus of future archaeological research should be on Cistercian granges as monastic settlements, and the thesis suggests the priorities for more extensive such research.

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ABBREVIATIONS:

AHBR	Archaeology and Historic Buildings Record
DMH	Deserted medieval hamlet
DMV	Deserted medieval village
GA	Gloucestershire Archives
HBSMR	Historic Buildings, Sites and Monuments Record
HER	Heritage Environment Record
TNA	The National Archives
NHLE	National Heritage List for England
NRHE	National Record of the Historic Environment
OSNGR	Ordnance Survey National Grid Reference
RCHME	Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England
VCH	Victoria County History

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

> Since they had acquired granges (*curtes*) in different places for the exercise of agriculture, they determined that these houses should be administered by the above-mentioned laybrothers rather than by the monks, since according to the Rule the monks should keep to their cloister.[1]

1.1 Aims and objectives

In the late 1110s, the nascent Cistercian monastic order decided that it would directly manage all of its properties. Since most Cistercian monks were confined to their monastery and its surroundings, the Order instituted another category of 'professed religious', the lay brotherhood, who could occupy and manage any remote properties, and work them together with hired secular labour.[2] Most of these properties were agricultural and became termed '*grangia*' (granges).[3]

The aim of this thesis is to make a contribution to later medieval archaeology by presenting a new archaeological view of the nature and distinctiveness of the Cistercian granges established in southern England, and thus provide a pointer to the nature and distinctiveness of those elsewhere in Britain. It argues that, contrary to prevailing hypotheses, the distinctiveness of Cistercian granges lay mainly in the cenobitic monastic nature and physical features of the settlements where the lay brothers lived, rather than in the economic nature and topography of grange estates.

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1. Dubois 1972, 166, translation from the twelfth-century Cistercian *Exordium Parvum*.
2. Ibid., 183-4.
3. The background to the introduction of lay brothers and granges, and the etymology of '*grangia*', are explained below. Except where specified otherwise, references to granges includes cell-granges where some monks also lived, and whose roles also were primarily economic.

Despite an initial desire to directly manage all properties, Cistercian communities relatively soon also began to hold and manage properties in other and often interrelated ways, and establishing a grange became a choice.[4] Many existing studies have failed to differentiate clearly between grange and non-grange resources, and the term 'grange' has often been used indiscriminately. Therefore, although the Cistercians are one of the most studied monastic orders, their granges remain an elusive subject and poorly understood, a situation not helped by the sparsity of archaeological evidence. Moreover, previous archaeological studies have tended to follow historical studies in focusing almost exclusively on the economic aspects of Cistercian granges.[5] An original feature of this thesis is that it also considers their spiritual and social aspects. A cenobitic monastic settlement with a predominantly economic function is a rare combination. This makes Cistercian granges a significant subject for archaeological research.

Due to the limited focus of previous archaeological research and the current lack of evidence, a complementary aim of this thesis is to identify potential as well as known possible sources of archaeological evidence. In doing so, the thesis probably will raise more questions than it provides answers, although that may inspire others to also research the subject. The results of both aims will provide a basis for further research, and the thesis will suggest the priorities for more extensive archaeological research.

To achieve these aims, the thesis will first clarify and refine the definition of a Cistercian grange to reflect the cultural background to their introduction and operation, before considering the following interrelated research questions:

4. Lekai 1978; Bouchard 1988.
5. See 'Historiography of British archaeological thinking' below.

1. Why, when, where, and how were granges established in southern England?
2. How did granges operate, and what was the role of granges in the Cistercian economy, the role of lay brothers in granges, and the relationship between granges and other Cistercian-held properties, and with secular society?
3. What were the physical and topographic features of granges, particularly within grange settlements?
4. In what ways were Cistercian granges distinctive?

1.2 Methodology

The thesis will identify and consider the granges established by the 27 Cistercian abbeys and two nunneries founded within the 19 modern ceremonial counties of southern England (Figure 1.1).[6] The study area was designed to provide a sufficiently large and varied, yet manageable body of evidence for consideration, within a single cohesive geographic territory. To put the extent of this study into perspective, over 40% of English Cistercian abbeys were founded in southern England. The status of most English Cistercian nunneries is ambiguous, with only two recognised officially by the Order, including one, Tarrant Kaines, which is covered by this study.[7] There were possibly another 25 'unofficial' Cistercian nunneries in England, but only one, Wintney, was located in southern England.

[6] Counties as defined by the Lieutenancies Act 1997; The Association of British Counties 2020.
[7] Freeman 2004; 2006; 2013.

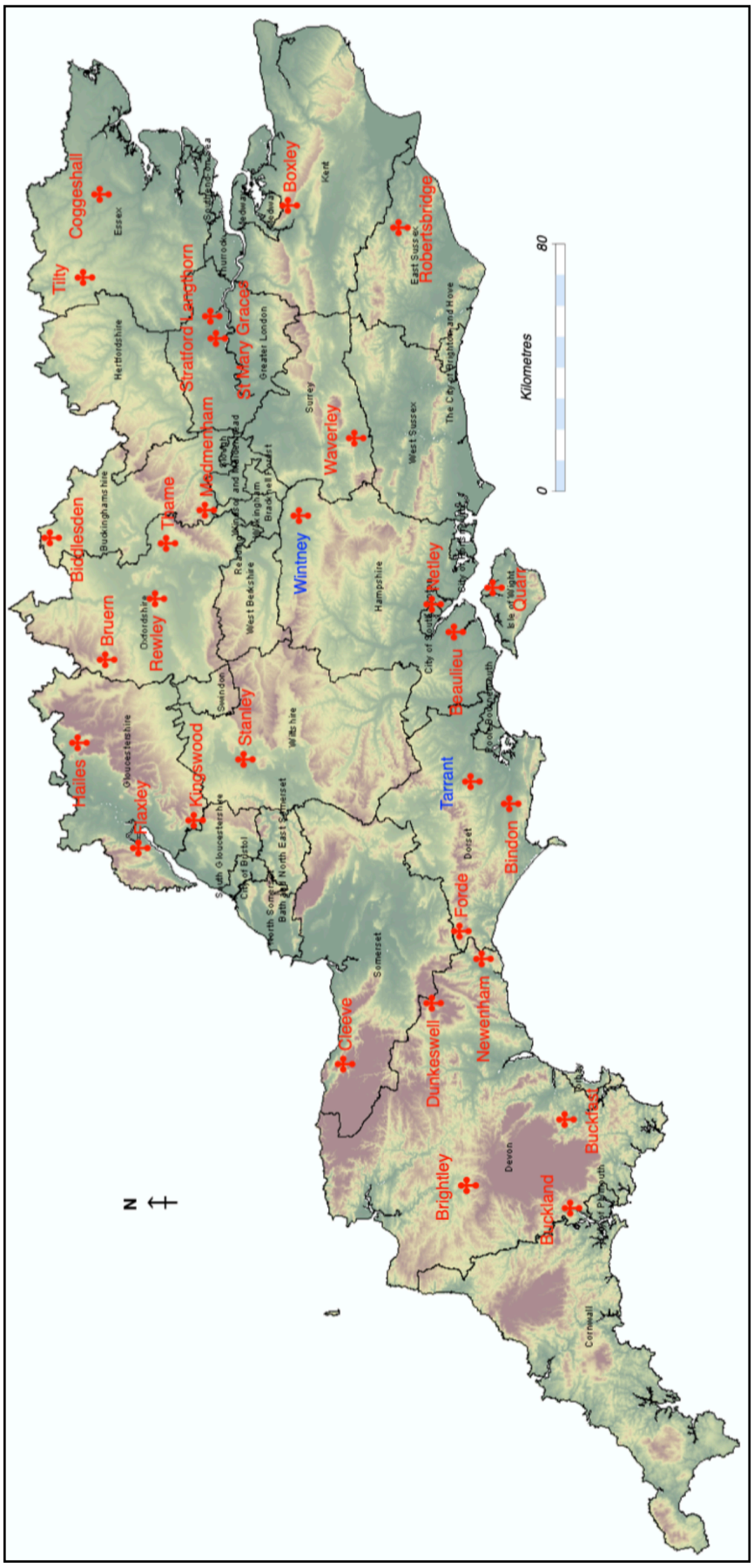


Figure 1.1: Map of Cistercian abbeys and nunneries in southern England.

The abbeys and nunneries researched, and the *c*.90 to *c*.120 possible granges identified are summarised in the Gazetteer.[8] These include granges established outside of the study area by abbeys and nunneries based within. It can be very difficult to identify which Cistercian properties were settled by lay brothers. Therefore, subjective decisions have been made based on the balance of available information, including making a distinction between 'certain and probable' granges and 'possible' granges. This generally discounts, or at most classifies as 'possible', granges only postulated by scholars, and properties or landholdings first given the appellation 'grange' in fifteenth-century or later documentary sources, where the term is often applied loosely to any Cistercian-owned or previously-owned landholding. For clarification, the Gazetteer also lists a number of properties suggested to be granges by other authors, and briefly explains why they were probably not. It is appreciated that other scholars may have different views.

This is fundamentally a synthetic study that relies mainly on existing archaeological evidence and documentary sources. It has both the benefits and disadvantages of a synthesis. The benefits come from basing interpretations on a wide and comparatively large, although diverse and fragmented, body of evidence and the disadvantages lie in not being able to consider and discuss the approach of individual abbeys and nunneries to establishing and operating granges, or consider and discuss individual granges in as much detail as might be wished. Because of the widely varying amounts and types of evidence currently available, some abbeys, nunneries, and granges are employed in arguments more frequently than others. That might present a distorted picture. There is

[8]. The names of the parishes and counties where abbeys, nunneries, and granges were located are shown in the Gazetteer and not repeated throughout the text.

also the danger of oversimplifying or overgeneralising findings. However, the benefits of adopting a synthetic approach outweigh the disadvantages until more archaeological evidence and interpretation becomes available.

Research for the thesis entailed visiting the sites of Cistercian granges and monasteries, consulting archaeological and heritage databases, using information from aerial, topographic, geophysical, and building surveys, published and unpublished archaeological and architectural reports, historical maps and plans, and primary and secondary documentary sources on individual Cistercian houses and the Order in general. Although originating as a wider landscape archaeology study, it became apparent during the course of research that the main focus of the study should be on grange settlements, irrespective of how little evidence was presently available in southern or elsewhere in England. Therefore, to round-out, complement, and explain that evidence, a number of granges in France were also considered, and some with standing remains visited and photographed.

In view of the wide range of perspectives, methodologies, and evidence consulted and employed, this thesis is best described a later medieval archaeological study, rather than pigeonholed into the sub-genres of either 'monastic', 'landscape', or even 'monastic landscape' archaeology.[9] Such pigeonholing probably has contributed to the study of monastic granges in general and of Cistercian granges, in particular, remaining somewhat detached from the investigation of the medieval landscape as a whole.[10]

[9.] Gerrard & Gutiérrez 2018, viii-x.
[10.] Bond 2008.

1.3 Thesis Structure

The structure of the thesis is thematic, therefore a degree of overlap sometimes is unavoidable. Spatially, the study focuses in from the wider picture of Cistercian settlement in southern England to that of individual granges and their estates, to grange settlements, and finally to the lay brothers' and other accommodation within the settlements.

Temporally, the study covers Cistercian settlement from the establishment of Waverley Abbey, the first Cistercian settlement in Britain in 1128, up to 1350. The terminal date has been set to include all Cistercian houses founded in southern England, and the period when granges probably were in operation. There is no evidence to suggest that granges were in operation after *c*.1350, although lay brothers continued to live in some monasteries until the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1536-41.[11]

This chapter sets out the historical context of lay brothers and granges, before summarising the historiography of current archaeological thinking. It argues that a key reason why Cistercian granges remain poorly understood is that, apart from being little researched, they are presently ill-defined. Therefore, a refined definition of a Cistercian grange is presented, employed throughout the thesis, and proposed for future use.

Granges should not be considered in isolation from the wider socio-economic circumstances of each Cistercian house and the Order in general. Therefore, Chapter 2

[11.] Williams 2014a, 41.

discusses the foundation of abbeys and nunneries, the settlement of their monasteries and nunneries, and the settlement of some Cistercian-owned properties with granges. For clarity, the term 'abbey' is used throughout the study to describe a male community of monks and lay brothers, and 'monastery' the community's home base. 'Nunnery' is used to describe both a female community and its base. Some nunneries had lay brothers as well as lay sisters, but details of them are very vague.[12]

The Cistercians were initially not only a fast growing monastic order, but also a continuously changing one, and the Order's development needs to be set against the equally changing political, social, economic, and cultural backdrop of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Chapter 2 endeavours to capture how these changes may have affected Cistercian settlement by considering it within shorter time periods. The aim is to provide a chronological framework for discussions here and for future research.

The economic aspects of granges are better documented, and at first sight appear to be easier to research than the spiritual and social aspects. However, Cistercian abbeys soon began to hold and manage their economic resources in a number of different ways. As a result, scholars largely have been unable to differentiate the spatial and economic extents of granges, except by making broad generalisations that tend to ignore or downplay the extent and contribution of non-grange resources to the Cistercian economy.[13] This has had the effect of exaggerating the economic role of granges. Chapter 3 discusses the issues, and argues that a focus on the economic aspects of granges is of limited value in understanding their distinctiveness. A related

12. Gilchrist 1994; Freeman 2013.
13. Alfonso 1991, 25-9; Coppack 1998, 99-100 fig. 59 illustrates that Rievaulx Abbey in North Yorkshire had three times as many 'other properties' as 'granges' by 1188.

generalisation often found is that lay brothers constituted all or most of the grange workforce during the twelfth century. Therefore, the chapter discusses the recruitment and numbers of lay brothers, and the staffing of grange estates, and argues that these aspects should be approached from a different viewpoint.

Historically, the most discussed physical features of Cistercian grange settlements are their enclosures and barns, rather than the monastic accommodation. Chapter 4 covers enclosures and barns, but first discusses the siting and establishment of the settlements. The need for physical enclosures is put into perspective, and the subject of barns is expanded to cover alternative forms of crop storage and other types of agricultural building. The grange and, for comparison, the monastery barns identified in southern England are placed within the context of Cistercian and medieval barns in general.

The Order stipulated the accommodation facilities that had to be provided for lay brothers in every grange. Chapter 5 gives an overview of the requirements, and then considers chapels and oratories in particular. The chapter introduces a little recognised, but significant site-type, the ‘short-time’ or ‘temporary’ monastery site, the buildings of which were normally retained within a grange settlement. The important distinction made in this thesis between ‘short-term’ and ‘temporary’ monastery sites is that the Cistercians intended the former to be permanent. That may have affected the nature of the buildings that might now be found. It is also suggested that some ‘short-time’ monasteries, or at least their churches, were later commemorated.

Other aspects of the monastic accommodation and any secular grange accommodation within the settlements are covered in Chapter 6. Examples of Cistercian grange accommodation elsewhere, particularly from archaeological investigations in France, are introduced to complement and explain the evidence from southern England. The chapter concludes by comparing the configuration of the accommodation in Cistercian grange settlements with that found in secular and most other ecclesiastical manorial complexes and farmsteads.

Final conclusions on the nature and distinctiveness of Cistercian granges are set out in Chapter 7, and the priorities for future archaeological research are suggested.

1.4 Historical context of Cistercian lay brothers and granges

The Cistercian Order

In 1098, a new monastic community, subsequently named Cîteaux, was established between Dijon and Beaune in France by a group of Benedictine monks who wished to return to the simpler, more austere, and more secluded form of monastic life advocated centuries earlier by St Benedict (480-547).[14] The Rule of St Benedict required monks to dedicate themselves to a cenobitic and mostly silent life of humility, obedience, and poverty, achieved through the three complementary activities of prayer, study, and manual labour.

[14] For key modern, although sometimes differing overviews of the establishment of Cîteaux and the Cistercian Order see Bouchard 1991; Newman 1996; Williams 1998; Kinder 2002; Burton & Kerr 2011; Bruun 2013; Jamroziak 2013; cf. Knowles's 1963 influential, but now mainly dated scholarly views.

Cîteaux was not unique in that respect, as during the late eleventh century and early twelfth century a number of other new, and to some extent experimental religious communities, such as Grande Chartreuse, Savigny, and Tiron in France, and Vallombrosa in Italy, endeavoured to return to the original principles of the Rule in their own ways. This revival arose, in part, from a reaction to how religious life was being conducted by established Benedictine communities, such as the Abbey of Cluny in southern Burgundy. The monks of Cluny had greatly extended and elaborated their liturgical practices, and did not participate in any form of manual labour.

Cluny, like most Benedictine communities, was supported economically by revenues from *spiritualities*, largely income from churches and tithes, and from *temporalities*, largely rents and manors employing secular staff and using the services of dependant tenants, managed mainly through a system of deaneries overseen by monks or seculars.[15] Cîteaux's early economic practices are vague to us and masked by the rhetoric of later Cistercian foundation narratives. Scholars are increasingly questioning these narratives and documentary research has found that the abbey appears to have been willing, at least initially, to accept some of these same sources of revenue, since they were not contrary to the Rule.[16]

Cîteaux enjoyed the patronage of the Dukes of Burgundy, but its initial development was slow. However, according to Cistercian narratives, a large influx of new adherents from the knightly class of the duchy in the early 1110s, most notably Bernard de Fontaine (1090-1153) (later St Bernard of Clairvaux) and his followers, resulted in more

15. Dubois 1972, 169-74; Constable 1998; 2012.
16. Bouchard 1987, 186; 1988; 1991, 95-128; Newman 1996; Jamroziak 2013, 13-5.

widespread patronage and benefactions.[17] That led to the establishment of Cîteaux's first four daughter houses of La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux, and Morimond between 1113 and 1115. They, together with Cîteaux, formed the nucleus of a Cistercian 'order' that subsequently spread throughout Europe under a highly-regulated system of filiation with one these five 'families'. New abbeys were founded by the Cistercians, but many were formed by incorporating established religious communities.

The rules, regulations, and practices of the new order, which became formalised in the 1120s and 1130s, at some stage forbade revenues from *spiritualities,* rents, and the services of dependant tenants but, significantly, did not reject the use of hired labour.[18] The Order was then in the process of establishing a strong identity, and an image of adhering more closely to and in some ways employing a more austere interpretation of the Rule of St Benedict, thus being more devout than other monastic orders.[19] Official rejection of some forms of revenue was one thing, and actual rejection another. Documentary sources are littered with direct and indirect indications that officially prohibited forms of revenue were being accepted by one abbey or another, almost from the beginning.[20] Some forms of revenue, such as churches unconnected with landholdings possessed by Cistercian abbeys, were resisted longer than others. Benefactions of tenanted land could, if thought necessary, be exchanged or sold, or the

17. Cîteaux was not the only new form of religious life then gaining support in the duchy, although it became very popular. However, the narratives possibly overstate the significance of Bernard and his followers entering Cîteaux. See Bouchard 1987, 114-24; Burton & Kerr 2011, 21-5; Jamroziak 2013, 28.
18. Bouchard 1987, 184; 1991, 25-6; Newman 1996, 67-82; Jamroziak 2013, 4, 19-28; 56 Table 1 for the organisational structure of a Cistercian abbey; 183-4; Lawrence 2015, 25, 161-2.
19. Lekai 1977, 31.
20. Bouchard's 1988 important paper on early Cistercian economic practices. See also Graves 1957; Dubois 1972; Berman 1986; Bouchard 1987; 1991; Alfonso 1991; Holdsworth 1991; Constable 1998, 223; Conyers 2001 compares Savignac and Cistercian practices; Fawcett & Oram 2004, 22 show that Melrose Abbey in Scotland accepted rents and labour services from its foundation in 1137; Oram 2012; Jamroziak 2013; Lawrence 2015, 176.

tenants removed and the land directly cultivated, although the latter can hardly have taken place overnight. Offers of officially prohibited forms of revenue simply could have been refused, but as Christopher Holdsworth points out when discussing monastic, mainly Cistercian patronage:

> Monastic custumals, or statutes of general chapters, were scarcely the stuff to circulate around possible benefactors, or flaunt in their faces. What university, after all, would advertise their scruples about some types of profit when hoping for support from the pockets of wealthy industrialists? Beggars, as they say, can't be choosers, or not if they want to obtain alms easily.[21]

Based on the assumption that Cistercian regulations were followed to the letter for some considerable time, and that infractions were rare, a common topos permeating scholarly thinking is a perceived decline from early Cistercian 'ideals' and 'conformity', to 'realities' and 'compromises' increasingly being made, until Cistercian economic practices became similar to those of other monastic orders.[22] The arguments made are sometimes quite confusing, with different scholars arguing for uniformity in some aspects and diversity in others, and disagreements between them on why and when changes occurred. The Cistercians, themselves, were probably more ambivalent and pragmatic in recognising that ideals and realities can and, to some extent, had to co-exist.[23] This is understandable, given the Order's rapid expansion into different socio-political regions of Europe, and as incorporated religious communities were allowed to continue their existing economic practices.[24] In any case, the Order's economic practices never defined its monastic identify.[25] However, the creation and development of a

[21.] Holdsworth 1991, 17.
[22.] Donnelly 1954; Graves 1957; Roehl 1972; Donkin 1978; Berman 1986; Williams 1998; 2001; Burton 1998; Coppack 1998; Robinson 1998; Burton & Kerr 2011; Bond 2018; cf. Alfonso 1991.
[23.] Lekai 1977; 1978.
[24.] Jamroziak 2013, 50.
[25.] Ibid., 3, 185. See also Newman 1996.

distinctive Cistercian monastic identity initially resulted in a move to direct property management, the introduction of the lay brotherhood, and the establishment of granges.

Since most Cistercian monks were restricted to their monastery, the decision to directly manage properties led to the issue of how best to manage any remote properties on a day-to-day basis. In theory, abbeys could have employed secular managers, which they probably did initially when acquiring a new property.[26] However, continuing to do so would have required increased involvement by monastic obedientiaries, particularly the cellarer, the community's provisioner and business manager.[27] There was also a recognition that the contemplative focus of the increasing number of monks required additional temporal support within monasteries. Therefore, to maintain and perhaps demonstrate the Order's ethos of self-sufficiency it was decided to create a new category of professed religious, the lay brothers (*conversi*), who were subject to monastic discipline, yet could deal with most day-to-day temporal matters.[28] Their introduction did not relieve the monks from manual labour, nor were lay brothers expected to fully replace hired labour.[29]

Lay brothers

As suggested by the quotation at the head of this chapter, there was a symbiotic relationship between lay brothers and granges, although they need to be considered separately, as whilst there were no granges without lay brothers, lay brothers also lived

[26.] Bouchard 1988.
[27.] Williams 1998, 269-71.
[28.] Dubois 1972; France 2012; 2013; Jamroziak 2013, 63-6.
[29.] The Cistercian secular workforce consisted of *famuli* and other types of labour. cf. Claridge & Langdon 2015 on 'first-tier' and 'second-tier' labour in demesne estates.

and worked in monasteries, nunneries, and other Cistercian properties, and travelled on business on behalf of their communities.

It is unclear exactly when the lay brotherhood was instituted into the Order, although the late 1110s is most the likely period.[30] The most realistic and balanced description of their institution and form of monasticism is provided by Dom Dubois, who makes the key point that, whatever their social background, men freely chose to join the Order to perform temporal, mainly manual tasks.[31] He adds that, if the lay brothers were few in number 'they occupied posts of responsibility and engaged in varied work requiring initiative and ability. On the other hand, if they were numerous, and especially if they were very numerous, most of them were condemned to lowly and monotonous labouring' – although the latter was the lot of most of the population of the period.[32] The interrelated issues of roles and numbers are important because, as discussed by Dubois and in Chapter 3, there has been a tendency for scholars to suggest, with little evidence, that Cistercian abbeys had large numbers of lay brothers who fully or mainly manned granges during the twelfth century.

Lay brothers followed a monastic life parallel to and in a number of ways similar to that of the monks, with the *Usus Conversorum* of the early 1120s designed to regulate their daily life of work and devotion and their behaviours wherever they lived or travelled.[33] Physically, the lay brothers were differentiated from the monks by being bearded and

30. Key published studies of lay brothers in English are Dubois 1972; Waddell 2000; Noell 2006; France 2012; cf. Bouchard's 2013 review of France 2012 and why lay brothers have been little studied. The main unpublished study is Plunkett-Latimer 2010. See also Kinder 2002, 305-31; Cassidy-Welch 2001, although Yorkshire-centric; 2020.
31. Dubois 1972.
32. Ibid., 187-90; Faith 1997; Mate 2006; Baxter 2011; Pelteret 2011.
33. Waddell 2000. Almost the entire *Usus* was reused in and replaced by *De conversis* in 1202, which itself evolved and was replaced by further codifications in 1237 and 1257, ibid., 21-2.

un-tonsured, and usually are depicted wearing outdoor hooded cloaks to denote their temporal function (Figures 1.2-1.4).[34] Their appearance also differentiated them from monk and lay brother novices, and from secular staff.

In monasteries, the lay brothers were housed separately from the monks, but within the same claustral complex, and undertook their greatly simplified devotions in a separate choir, but within the same church.[35] Every Cistercian grange was provided with an oratory or chapel to enable the lay brothers to communally chant their offices, and which also could be used for private devotion. Grange chapels enabled Mass to be performed by visiting or resident monks.[36] The monks and lay brothers in monasteries had separate refectories, although their food usually came from the same kitchen, and probably both were bled (phlebotomy) in the monks' warming room.[37] They worked side-by-side inside and outside of the monastery and, officially, monks and lay brothers were to be treated the same in life and death. However, lay brothers were not allowed to become literate in Latin or have books, and had no say in the overall management of the abbey. On the other hand, every grange was managed and, as importantly, spiritually led by a lay brother 'grange master' or 'granger', except when there were resident monks.[38] A granger could have considerable authority depending on a grange's importance, the number of lay brothers and secular staff managed, and his role as the abbey's representative with local secular society, markets, and merchants.

34. France 1998, 122-38; 2012.
35. Waddell 2000, 166-71. The introduction of lay brothers appears to have changed the nature of Cistercian church architecture, Fergusson 1984, 5; Rudolph 2019 on differences between pre- and post-*c*.1120 churches.
36. See Chapter 5.
37. Monks and lay brothers probably shared a refectory, but not a dormitory at cell-granges. See Chapter 6.
38. France 2012; Plunkett-Latimer 2010. See Chapter 3.

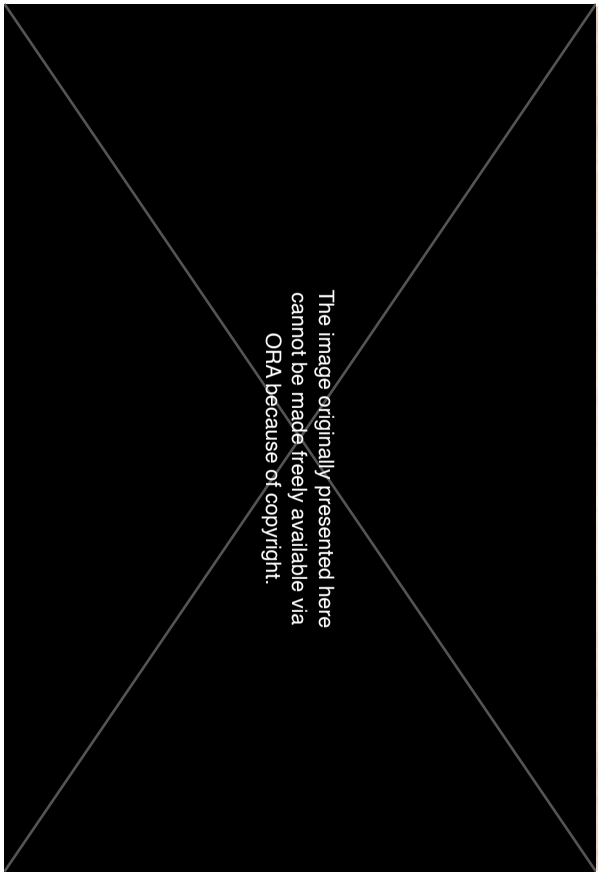


Figure 1.2: Sketch of a lay brother in Beaulieu Abbey's Accounts, 1279/80.



Figure 1.3: Depiction of lay brothers on the tomb of St Etienne, *c*.1260 (extract from Figure 1.4).

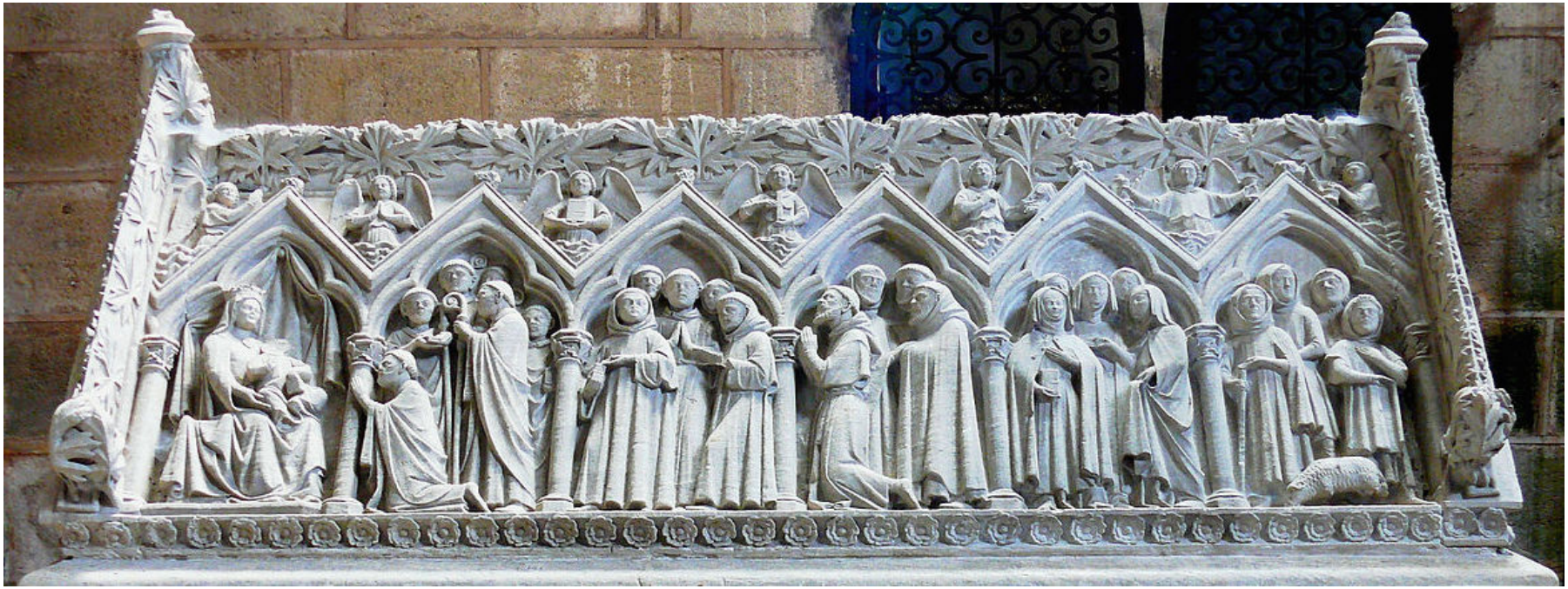


Figure 1.4: Tomb of St Etienne, Obazine Abbey, Limousin, France, *c*.1260. Depicting (left to right) the Virgin and Child, Cistercian abbots, monks, lay brothers, nuns, and secular staff of the dual communities of Obazine (monks) and Coyroux (nuns). (Photo by Mossot, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Aubazine_-_Abbatiale_-_Tombeau.JPG, CC BY-SA 3.0.)

The twelfth-century Cistercian monk, Idung of Prüfening, best characterises both the social approach and physical arrangements when he describes his order as having 'two monasteries within the precincts of the monastery, one of lay brothers and another of clerics'.[39] This is a valuable characterisation to bear in mind when considering the archaeology of Cistercian monasteries, and also of grange settlements where the lay brothers' accommodation was separated from any secular accommodation, and probably distanced or enclosed from areas of the settlement frequented by seculars.[40]

Lay brothers could come from all levels of society until at least 1188, when a regulation required or strongly suggested that 'noblemen' should at least become unlettered monks, rather than lay brothers.[41] However, lay brothers normally came from a lower social class than monks, and that continued to be reflected in their position within Cistercian society. Whatever their background, the Cistercian lay brotherhood was relatively rare in the twelfth century in enabling men to participate in the religious fervour of the period by serving God in a way other than by contemplative devotion. In modern times, men have continued to be attracted to a Trappist (Cistercian) monastic life focused on manual work, rather than as clerics.[42]

Necessarily, the above is a brief overview that cannot cover all aspects. There is no single scholarly-agreed definition of Cistercian lay brothers.[43] Therefore, avoiding

39. Idung of Prüfening 1977, 133; Kinder 2002, 309.
40. See Chapters 4-6.
41. France 2012, 57-75; Jamroziak 2013, 64.
42. Dom Donald 2011 on the life and work of the late Brother Aidan. The Trappists are a post-medieval reformed branch of the Cistercians that returned to the original, more austere form of the twelfth century, see Kinder 2002, 39-50.
43. For example, Coppack 1998, 150; Waddell 2000, 52-3; Kinder 2002, 389; Burton & Kerr 2011, 205; Jamroziak 2013, 293.

generalisations about their social background, degree of literacy, or comparative status to monks, this thesis defines Cistercian lay brothers as follows:

> Cistercian lay brothers were professed religious members of the Order whose role was to provide temporal support to their communities. The individual roles of lay brothers varied from managing granges to undertaking skilled and unskilled manual tasks at monasteries, nunneries, granges, and elsewhere on behalf of their communities.

Granges and other properties occupied by lay brothers

Granges have not been discussed until now to illustrate that Cistercian abbeys owned properties and employed secular staff before the establishment of the lay brotherhood and granges and because lay brothers had a wider role in Cistercian society.

The term 'grange' ('*grangium(ia)*' in medieval Latin) first requires clarification, as it can and sometimes has been misinterpreted by scholars. 'Grange' and '*grangia*' originate from the Classical Latin word '*granarium'* for a granary, through provincial Gallo-Romance '*granica*', into the Medieval Latin word '*grangium*(*ia*)' and the Modern French word '*grange*' for a barn or granary.[44] This latter meaning appears to have first arrived in England shortly after the Norman Conquest, and continued to be used in documents throughout the medieval period to describe a barn, particularly an ecclesiastical barn.[45]

Probably in the 1120s or 1130s, the Cistercians began to describe the agricultural properties managed by lay brothers as '*grangia*', although references to '*curtes*' and '*domus*', indicating estate centres and habitation respectively, appear in Cistercian

44. Adams 2007, 326.
45. Latham 1965, 215; Weller 1986a; Brady 1996.

literature first.[46] During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Cistercians carried their own particular use of the term '*grangia*' throughout much of Europe.[47] Therefore, '*grangium(ia)*' can have one of two sometimes confusing meanings in medieval documents, and the context of its use is important in relation to any Cistercian-owned or previously owned landholdings.

This thesis introduces the term 'cell-grange' to denote granges inhabited by both monks and lay brothers.[48] Cell-granges have not been studied as a particular type of Cistercian settlement, but the monastic accommodation would have differed from granges, as some degree of separation would have been required between the monks and lay brothers.[49] Some Cistercian properties, usually termed 'cells' rather than 'granges' by scholars, were managed and permanently inhabited only by monks. However, references to 'cells' are often ambiguous, and sometimes refer to such properties as a 'cell and grange', a 'cell or grange', or 'a cell, but probably just a grange'.[50] There do not appear to have been any cells in southern England.

In towns and cities the Cistercians operated properties that are variously described by scholars as 'urban granges', 'courts', 'warehouses', 'town houses', and 'hospices'.[51] These usually are discussed within general studies of Cistercian urban properties, although a distinction is necessary between urban properties simply owned by abbeys

46. Dubois 1972, 166; France 2012, 114. Scholars in France and other parts of Europe often make a distinction between arable/pastoral granges and wine-producing estates termed '*celliers*'.
47. Adams 2007, 326.
48. Williams 1998, 287 suggests that the earliest known cell-grange dated to *c*.1150.
49. See Chapters 5-6.
50. For example, NRHE: 225795; 427243; 1307806.
51. Donkin 1959a; Berman 1994, 205; Fergusson 1984, 24; Williams 1998, 389-95; Jamroziak 2013, 198-201.

and properties permanently or regularly inhabited by members of a Cistercian community.[52] The monastic accommodation facilities provided at 'urban granges/ hospices' (for simplicity) were probably similar to those required at granges.

Urban granges/hospices may have had multiple roles connected with the trading and storage of produce and goods and have been where formal business transactions were carried out. They also provided temporary lodgings for members of the community, particularly abbots and obedientiaries, when visiting or travelling on business. Some urban granges/hospices may have acted as administrative centres for other Cistercian-owned properties in and around towns. However, demonstrating the extent and complexity of Cistercian-secular interactions, Cistercian produce could be sold directly from monasteries and granges, and subsequently a number of abbeys, such as Forde and Robertsbridge in southern England, established their own towns, markets, and fairs to benefit from the growing market economy.[53] Urban granges/hospices have been very little researched in Britain, especially archaeologically. Although the accommodation provided would be of great interest and importance to the bigger picture of Cistercian settlement, urban granges/hospices are not covered by this study.

The Cistercians referred to an abbey's home farm as the '*grangia juxta abbatiam*' (home grange).[54] These were managed from and at least partially worked by monks and lay brothers who lived in the monastery. Home farms may have had a separate complex of farm buildings outside and at a little distance from the monastery.

52. Donkin 1959a; 1978.
53. Graves 1957; Donkin 1959a; 1978; Waddell 1994; Keen 1999; Bond 2004; Fradley 2006; Noell 2006; Griffiths 2011; France 2012; Oram 2012.
54. Coppack 1994; Coomans 2013a.

To avoid confusion, this study much prefers and recommends the use of the term 'home farm' to distinguish them from granges. A sizeable 'home estate' near a monastery may have had more than one home farm, as well as 'home' granges where lay brothers lived.

Temporary or seasonal accommodation for lay brothers, such as Buckfast Abbey's small homestead on Dean Moor in Devon, do not appear to have been regarded as granges by the Cistercians and, therefore, are not covered here.[55] However, some aspects of their accommodation may have reflected Cistercian cultural practices. For example, it appears that the homestead on Dean Moor had separate accommodation for the lay brother and the secular herdsman.[56] In general, Cistercian-owned upland and marshland farmsteads and huts may have been used solely by secular shepherds and herdsmen, and their use by lay brothers should not be presumed.

Cistercian properties directly managed by seculars were not regarded as granges. This is important to note, as sometimes it is assumed that all Cistercian directly managed properties were operated as granges, especially during the twelfth century. Since Cistercian properties could have been directly managed in different ways, this thesis avoids using the term 'demesne' in respect of any Cistercian-owned holdings. More problematically, the term 'grange' has been widely used in scholarly literature to refer to former granges or home farms. A property ceased to be a grange when it was no longer occupied by lay brothers. This thesis seeks to minimise textual ambiguities concerning Cistercian granges, and establish clarity between archaeological evidence relating to the period of lay brother occupation and any that may not.

55. Fox 1958; Fox *et al*. 2012, 92-3; Fleming 2013.
56. Fox's 1958 excavation records may be worth revisiting with this in mind.

There have been few attempts at estimating the total number of Cistercian granges in England. Donkin and Chapman provide the most comprehensive numbers, with the latter discussing the difficulties in attempting to do so from documentary sources.[57] Later medieval, particularly fifteenth- and sixteenth-century references to granges can be misleading, as often they just refer to parts of former granges or home farms that had been subdivided earlier. 'Adding up' all documentary references to properties labelled 'grange' is likely to over-represent their twelfth- to fourteenth-century numbers. That, and discounting home farms, are the reasons why the number of granges discussed in this thesis may differ significantly from those in other studies.

1.5 Historiography of British archaeological thinking

British monastic archaeology has concentrated on monasteries and to a lesser extent nunneries, and the elites of Cistercian society, the monks and nuns.[58] If mentioned, granges and lay brothers are viewed almost exclusively from an economic perspective.[59] Medieval settlement and landscape archaeologies take a similar economic perspective, and tend to regard Cistercian granges as a special, isolated type of dispersed settlement and landholding.[60] Except for a few archaeologists, such as James Bond, the study of Cistercian granges has become something of a 'no-man's land'.

57. Donkin 1964a, 124-38; Chapman 1977, 7, 12-21, 217-25.
58. See recent overviews of monastic archaeology by Gilchrist 2014; 2020.
59. For example, Bond *et al*. 1989; Gilchrist & Myntum 1989; Aston 2009; Austin 2013; Gilchrist 2014; 2020; Bond 2004; 2008; 2018. This is little different elsewhere in Europe, see papers in Pressouyre 1994; Kinder 2002; 2004; Coomans 2013b; Stout 2015; Blary 2017.
60. For example, Gardiner & Rippon 2007; Rippon 2008, 210, 214-5, 226; Christie & Stamper 2012; Williamson *et al*. 2013, 93-4; Gerrard & Gutiérrez 2018.

Partly as a result, archaeological thinking on Cistercian granges and lay brothers has hardly changed over the last 50 years, and mostly can be directly or indirectly linked to Robin Donkin's historical geography studies of the Cistercian economy and Colin Platt's archaeo-historical doctoral thesis on monastic, not just Cistercian granges.[61] Many British and European archaeological studies utilise information from Donkin and Platt, but more significantly continue to accept their interpretations and characterisations.[62] A few studies present a different picture on some aspects, although any differences are usually regarded as distinctive in not conforming to the generally accepted paradigms, rather than representing the diversity that might be found.[63]

Donkin's and Platt's interpretations and characterisations in some respects differ because of their different scholarly perspectives. Although drawing on sources from elsewhere in England and Wales, Donkin focuses on Yorkshire and northern England, places an importance on animal husbandry, and has relatively little to say about arable farming, except in respect of assarting and the improvement of 'wastes'. He emphasises the seclusion of Cistercian granges, in part achieved through secular depopulation and the consolidation of landholdings. Donkin says little about grange settlements or lay brothers, although he recognises their monastic nature, that secular staff probably were always needed, that the Cistercians also held tenanted land, that completely

61. Donkin 1957; 1958a; 1958b; 1959a; 1959b; 1960a; 1960b; 1962a; 1962b; 1962c; 1963; 1964a; 1964b; 1969; largely synthesised in 1978; Platt 1966, which this author arranged to be digitised; 1969 slightly revised published version.
62. For example, Butler 1982; 1989; 2011; Griffiths 1982; Bond *et al*. 1989; Moorhouse 1989; Astill 1994; Gilchrist 1994; 1995; 2014; Coppack 1998; 2009; Williams 2001; 2014b; Bond 2004; 2018; Pestell 2004; Everson & Stocker 2005; 2011; Greene 2005; Hodges 2006; Aston 2009; Hurst 2011; Dyer & Everson 2012, 17; Gardiner 2012c, 110; Roberts 2014; Stout 2015 on Irish granges; Bonvalot & Rouzeau 2017 on French granges; Brady 2018; Historic England 2018.
63. For example, Brown 2012; Bezant 2014.

consolidated grange estates were the exception rather than the rule, and that contact with secular agriculture was inevitable. However, these points are lost within the overall impression that the Cistercian economy operated mainly through what could be termed a 'Yorkshire model' of granges that were well-manned by lay brothers during the twelfth century. On the other hand, Donkin's studies remain invaluable for the detailed economic information they contain. His historical geography approach contributed towards the development of landscape archaeology in the 1970s, and in particular to monastic landscape archaeology through Mick Aston and James Bond.[64] Current archaeological thinking following Donkin can be found in Bond's characterisation of Cistercian estates in a recent major synthesis of later medieval archaeology.[65]

Platt's interest also lies mainly in Cistercian granges in Yorkshire, and his viewpoint is also economic. He clearly sets out his approach to the subject:

> the grange was scarcely a monastic community in the true sense of the term. Neither exclusive in its common life nor deliberately isolationist in its setting, its purpose had little to do with its inmates living out a rigid monastic ideal. Rather it should be thought of as an economic unit.[66]

Influenced by the historian John Le Patourel, and by Maurice Beresford and John Hurst's contemporary research on deserted medieval settlements, Platt recognises that historical studies show little interest in the physical aspects of granges, particularly their settlements, and endeavours to rectify that from an archaeological perspective.[67] However, the lack of archaeological evidence of twelfth- and thirteenth-century

64. Bond 2000; 2004; Gerrard 2003, 136, 145; Darvill 2008, 64; Aston 2009; Everson & Stocker 2011; Austin 2013.
65. Bond 2018, 575-6.
66. Platt 1969, 14.
67. Ibid., 10; Beresford & Hurst 1971.

Cistercian grange settlements, including from his own excavation of Fountains Abbey's Cowton Grange in North Yorkshire, led Platt to broaden his study to include other monastic orders, and use the physical nature of their grange and manorial complexes as analogies for the most that might be expected to be provided for Cistercian lay brothers, given their economic role and low social status.[68] On that basis, and rejecting any similarities with monastic-type accommodation, Platt posits that most Cistercian grange accommodation consisted of a basic hall, chamber, and kitchen.[69] He incorrectly suggests that an oratory was provided for private, informal worship, and that there was a change in the character of religious worship and the fundamental purpose of grange accommodation when a chapel was provided. Suggested similarities between Cistercian grange, monastic grange, and ecclesiastically-owned estate settlements permeate and intermingle throughout the study. Platt's economic approach, misplaced analogies, use of secular terminology, and a focus on form without consideration of monastic ownership or the function of Cistercian grange accommodation have the overall effect of secularising Cistercian granges and lay brothers.

Platt makes a number of good points about granges, especially the close relationship between granges and secular settlements. He also makes one of two questionable ones. In particular, he suggests that consolidation was the most important factor in establishing a grange and that, as a result, the extents of grange estates can be mapped

68. Platt 1969, 183-245. Platt made other unsuccessful exploratory excavations of Cistercian grange settlements, Wessex Archaeology 2006, 18.
69. Platt 1966, 12-74; 1969, 16-48; cf. Aubert 1947, 159-71; Gilyard-Beer 1971. Platt 1966, 15, 45 suggests that the hall possibly doubled as a refectory and dormitory, and that the granger had his own private chamber. This latter suggestion is omitted from Platt's 1969 published work, although the analogy with secular accommodation remains. A private granger's chamber would have been contrary to Cistercian cenobitic principles, see Chapters 5-6.

from the tithe-free lands documented in nineteenth-century tithe apportionments.[70] The subject of tithes is rather more complicated, and Chapter 3 will explain why that suggestion is misleading.

Platt is important as the pioneering archaeo-historical study of monastic granges. Contemporary scholars recognised that, and some of their reviews provide a valuable insight into the thinking of the period, and sometimes even now.[71] Platt's focus on the physical aspects of monastic granges has been of more interest to British archaeologists than the works of Donkin, which are more relevant to general landscape studies of the Cistercian economy. Demonstrating the lack of progress in archaeological thinking, Historic England recently has re-endorsed Platt's over 50-year-old study as still the best on monastic granges.[72]

There are two principal reasons why Donkin and Platt remain relevant. Firstly, there has been little new targeted archaeological research, new evidence, or reinterpretations made of existing evidence. There have been very few excavations of possible Cistercian grange settlements in England.[73] Apart from Garendon Abbey's Roystone Grange in Derbyshire, the results of excavations have been inconclusive, and that excavation did not consider the spiritual aspects of the grange or its lay brother inhabitants.[74] All of the excavations were conducted within the paradigms of their period, with Platt more or less their only British benchmark.

70. Platt 1969, 57.
71. Crossley 1970; Dobson 1970; Knowles 1970; Gilyard-Beer 1971.
72. Historic England 2018, 4, 12. Bond 2004 basically covers the same ground in his wider, more comprehensive, and arguably better study of monastic estates.
73. Platt 1969; Gardiner *et al.* 1991; Bond 2004; Greene 2005; Hodges 2006; Aston 2009.
74. Gardiner *et al.* 1991; Hodges 2006; *Time Team* 2007; Wessex Archaeology 2007; Moreland 2010, 12-15; 2013, 19-24.

Secondly, the study of Cistercian granges is mainly subsumed within general studies of the Cistercian economy, or of monastic granges or monastic-owned estates.[75] The distinction between a 'monastic grange' and a 'monastic estate' requires some clarification. For almost 30 years a 'monastic grange' was defined archaeologically by Bond *et al*. for English Heritage's (now Historic England) *Monument Class Descriptions* as a consolidated block of monastic demesne land of *c*.30ha or more in size worked more or less independently of the manorial system, although the term applied also to the central building or complex.[76] This largely follows the Yorkshire-centric characterisations of grange estates by Bishop, Donkin, and Platt, and the latter's characterisation of grange settlements.[77] It is appropriate to also mention here that, incorporating some aspects of Donkin and Platt, the historical geographer, David Williams, has written extensively about the Cistercian economy and granges in Wales, and has also applied his skills to a very detailed and valuable pan-European study of the Order, evidence of grange chapels, and a recent overview of granges in Europe.[78]

Owing to the broad and often vague definitions, descriptions, and examples used by Bond *et al*., Donkin, and Platt, the characteristics of Cistercian granges, monastic granges, and monastic-owned estates are intermingled and interchangeably used in many studies. Paul Everson and David Stocker rightly suggest that, as a result, the term 'grange' has become debased, and often is used to mean any farm or estate with a monastic origin, although only the Cistercian, Gilbertine, and Premonstratensian orders

75. Bond *et al*. 1989; Moorhouse 1989; Coppack 1998; Bond 1994; 2004; 2018; 2019.
76. Bond *et al*. 1989; Gilchrist 1994; Darvill 2003, 268.
77. Bishop 1936; Donkin 1978; Platt 1969.
78. Williams 1990; 1994; 1998; 2001; 2004; 2014b. On Wales see also Griffiths 1982; Butler 2011; Bezant 2014; Roberts 2014.

operated a fully fledged 'grange system'.[79] Vestiges of Bond *et al*. remain in individual HER, NHLE, and NRHE records, but Historic England and other archaeological and heritage bodies now simply and rather meaninglessly define a 'monastic grange' as:

> an outlying farm or estate, usually belonging to a religious order or feudal lord. Specifically related to core buildings and structures associated with monastic land holding. Use specific term [such as Cistercian] where known.[80]

Archaeological approaches to Cistercian and other monastic granges may now be beginning to slowly change. In a general critique of the functionalist approach of British medieval landscape archaeology, John Moreland, who was involved with the excavation of Roystone Grange, questions that study's focus on the mundane aspects of Cistercian life.[81] Likewise, Everson & Stocker extensively critique the functionalist approach in their study of the estates of the Premonstratensian abbey of Barlings, although both they and Roberta Gilchrist, whose approach to monastic archaeology they commend, still follow Platt's flawed interpretations and characterisations of Cistercian granges and lay brothers.[82]

There are two secondary reasons for the lack of archaeological research or changes to thinking. Firstly, English medieval landscape archaeology has tended to be rather insular, with Continental and sometimes other British examples of Cistercian granges perhaps mentioned, but rarely explored further.[83] That said, most European studies also

79. Everson & Stocker 2011, 298.
80. FISH 2019.
81. Moreland 2013, 19-25.
82. Gilchrist 1994, 63-91; 2014, 239-40; Everson & Stocker 2011, 3-24, 298-303, 349. David Austin 2013 also critiques earlier approaches to monastic landscape archaeology.
83. For example, Blary 1989; various papers in Pressouyre 1994; Barrière 1998 and Wissenberg 2007 re France; Hall 2006 and Oram 2008 re Scotland.

continue to adopt a functionalist approach, although they use monastic terminology when discussing the nature of the lay brothers' accommodation.[84]

Another reason is the difficulty, especially for individual researchers, in engaging with the massive amount and diversity of historical literature on the Cistercians. Historical sources and their interpretations by monastic historians cannot easily be ignored or questioned, certainly not until more archaeological evidence and interpretation becomes available. As Gerrard & Gutiérrez point out, later medieval archaeology is essentially, or rather ideally, a 'team game', and collaborations with documentary historians have become more important, particularly where palaeography and an understanding of Latin and other languages are required.[85]

A review of archaeological thinking would be incomplete without discussing the influence of historical studies. In these, granges and lay brothers also have been subsumed within general discussions of the Cistercian economy, and to a large extent secularised. There are only two recent published studies of lay brothers, and none of granges.[86] Granges are discussed mainly within synthetic studies that conflate examples from different parts of Europe and time periods to construct their narratives.[87] Some of the studies are ambiguous by describing the diversity of the Cistercian economy from an early date, whilst suggesting that granges were its central feature, despite their contribution never being quantified. These studies often refer to the economic and physical interpretations of English and Welsh granges made by Donkin, Platt, or

84. Blary 1989; 2017.
85. Gerrard & Gutiérrez 2018, viii-x.
86. Noell 2006; France 2012. Williams 2014b draws on his earlier work on granges.
87. For example, Lekai 1977; Williams 1998; 2014b; Burton & Kerr 2011; Oram 2012; Berman 2013; Bruun 2013; Jamroziak 2013.

Williams, although Constance Berman's historical studies of the Cistercian economy, granges, and lay brothers in southern France widely influence scholarly thinking.[88] However, interpretations based mainly on southern France or Yorkshire should not be assumed to be representative of, or benchmarks for granges elsewhere.[89]

The historical perspective is based largely on Cistercian normative texts, such as rules, statutes, and customaries, and on narrative texts, such as cartularies and chronicles. The normative texts have recently been characterised as 'Rules to Follow (or Not)', and printed editions of them characterised as no more than collections of 'flotsam and jetsam'.[90] The normative texts need to be put into perspective, and weighed rather than simply accepted against other evidence.[91] The partisan perspective of many narrative texts suggests that they too cannot be taken at face value. Although lay brothers are mentioned in some normative texts, most significantly the *Usus Conversorum*, Cistercian primary sources say little about granges, probably because their operation was an internal and mainly unrecorded matter for each abbey.[92] Cellarer records or accounts, such as those for Kingswood and Beaulieu abbeys, probably provide the most neutral and useful information on granges and the Cistercian economy.[93] They also provide pointers to the physical aspects and the material culture that might be found in granges, as well as the manning and operation of grange estates.

88. Fergusson 1984; Berman 1986; 1994; 2007; 2013; 2014; 2020; Burton 1994; Constable 1998, 220; Williams 1998; Campbell 2000; Kinder 2002; Dyer 2009; Bonde *et al*. 2011; Burton & Kerr 2011; France 2012; Oram 2012; Jamroziak 2013; Lucas 2014; Cassidy-Welch 2020.
89. For example, Berman 2013; 2020 generalises from the findings of her 1986 regional study.
90. Grélois 2016; Pansters 2016, 13, 45; Pansters & Plunkett-Latimer 2016.
91. Bouchard 1988; Waddell 1994; Berman 2010; Oram 2012, 332; Jamroziak 2013, 54, 215-24.
92. Waddell 1994; 1999; 2000; 2002; Williams 1998; France 2012.
93. Perkins 1899; Hockey 1975; Williams 1998, 272-3.

Based primarily on Cistercian sources, the historical perspective traditionally presents a picture of uniformity throughout the Order, with anything different regarded as an aberration or deviation, rather than a variation. Although there always has been some questioning voices, historians increasingly regard 'Cistercianness' as an amorphous concept that was continually being reinvented, significantly so over the course of the twelfth century.[94] However, the Order's spiritual practices and those affecting the behaviours of monks and lay brothers changed far less than its temporal practices.

Since Cistercian documentary sources say relatively little about granges, the subject remains open to scholarly speculation.[95] In that respect, historical geography and economic history perspectives of the Cistercian economy, granges, and lay brothers intertwine, with the very broad-brush perspectives of the latter, perhaps unquestionably, relying largely on the detailed information and interpretations of the former, as well as the summary interpretations of monastic scholars.[96] As a result, generalisations and contradictions abound about the contribution of granges to the Cistercian economy, the role of lay brothers, and the development of what is sometimes termed, without further explanation, a Cistercian grange 'model', 'system', or 'style' of agriculture.[97]

94. Jamroziak 2013, 19.
95. Burton 1994, 253-7; 1998; Constable 1998, 217-21; Oram 2012.
96. These approaches can be found in Graves 1957; Madden 1963; Roehl 1972; Donkin 1978; Fossier 1983; 1994; Berman 1986; Williams 1998; 2001; Alfonso 1991; Campbell 2016, 72-3; Andersen *et al*. 2017 is a particularly speculative economic study that employs aspects from Donkin and Berman.
97. For example, Donkin 1963, 123; 1978, 44; Higounet 1983, 165; Berman 1986, 57; 2013, 114; 2020, 835; Williams 1998, 276; Noell 2006, 265; Burton & Kerr 2011, 167; Jamroziak 2013, 189; Bezant 2014; Stout 2015; Bond 2018, 576, where one or more of these terms may be found.

1.6 Redefining the subject

It can be seen from the above why Cistercian granges have been a 'slippery subject' for archaeological research. Although this thesis probably will make granges more slippery from an economic perspective, it aims to make them less so from an archaeological one. To do so, a new refined definition of a Cistercian grange is first required. Therefore, the following encompasses the spiritual, social, and economic aspects of granges and their lay brother inhabitants, with the first paragraph useable alone as a simplified version:

> A Cistercian grange was a cenobitic monastic settlement and estate that was permanently inhabited, managed, and at least partially manned by lay brothers who were professed religious members of the Order. Cell-granges were granges also inhabited and overseen by monks. The purpose of granges and cell-granges was economic, and most were agricultural and rural. Granges often, if not usually, employed secular staff and sometimes utilised tenant services. A few granges, here termed 'urban granges/hospices', were located in towns. These mainly had a commercial role, and also were used as hospices, as were some rural granges.
>
> For clarity, the landholdings directly managed from and at least partially manned by lay brothers living within monasteries and nunneries are best termed 'home farms'. The landholdings lying near monasteries and nunneries that could be regarded as comprising their 'home estates' may have contained both home farms and 'home' granges. It is important to note that the Cistercians also held and managed properties, rights, and economic resources in other ways.

This definition is used throughout the thesis and is suggested for future archaeological studies of Cistercian granges.

CHAPTER 2: CISTERCIAN SETTLEMENT IN SOUTHERN ENGLAND

> So they choose a proper place to abide in, a place not uninhabitable but inhabited, clean, fertile, responsive to tillage, receptive of crops, embowered in woods, bubbling with springs, a very horn of plenty, a place outside the world in the heart of the world, remote from men in the midst of men, as wishing not to know the world yet to be known of it.[98]

2.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the settlement of granges in southern England, and discusses why some abbeys and nunneries established only a few granges, and some none at all. The foundation and settlement of abbeys and nunneries are covered first, as the locations of their monasteries and nunneries determined the wider territories where most granges were established. More importantly, the sizes, types, and locations of properties granted to abbeys and nunneries on and shortly after their foundation probably affected whether, as well as where and when, granges were established. A key output of the chapter is the phasing of Cistercian settlement which, together with details in the Gazetteer, provides a socio-political, cultural, and economic framework for the rest of the study, and more focused targets for future research.

Previous archaeological research on Cistercian settlement in Britain and elsewhere in Europe has concentrated almost exclusively on monasteries and nunneries, particularly their churches, but evidence of the earliest structures remains slight.[99] On the other hand, documentary information on the foundation and settlement of abbeys, but less so

98. Map *et al*. 1983, 75, from the late twelfth-century *De Nugis Curialium = Courtiers Trifles*.
99. Fergusson 1983; 1984; Halsey 1986; Gilchrist 1994; Coppack 2004; 2016; 2018; Robinson 2006; 2014; Coppack *et al*. 2002; Kinder 2002; Astill *et al*. 2004; Astill 2011; Bonde *et al*. 2011; Coppack & Harrison 2014; Kinder & Cassanelli 2014; Bond 2018.

nunneries, is extensive, with Cistercian normative and narrative texts greatly influencing scholarly thinking.[100]

Cistercian texts say little about the establishment of granges, except that they should be managed by lay brothers, and describe the accommodation facilities that should be provided for them.[101] The lack of further details and archaeological evidence has left the subject open to speculation. Therefore, an aim of this and the following chapter is to deconstruct some of the interlinked generalisations made about the spread of the Order, the foundation of abbeys and nunneries, the settlement of monasteries, nunneries, and granges, the development of what has been characterised as a distinctive Cistercian grange model of agriculture, and the recruitment, numbers, and role of lay brothers.

Necessarily, this chapter is based almost entirely on documentary sources. However, these are considered with an archaeological eye on material culture, landscapes, spatial and temporal relationships, and an open mind to the diversity that might be found.[102]

2.2 Foundation and settlement of abbeys and nunneries

Cistercian regulations, principles, and processes for the foundation of abbeys, and the location and siting of their monasteries are discussed by many scholars and, therefore, will not be repeated here in detail.[103] Some of these scholars also discuss aspects not

[100.] Fergusson 1983; 1984; Burton 1986; 2007; Williams 1998; Waddell 1999; 2002; Coppack 2004; 2016; Bond 2007; Astill 2011; Burton & Kerr 2011; Jamroziak 2013.
[101.] Waddell 1994; 2000; Williams 1998.
[102.] Moreland 2001; 2006; McClain 2012, 156-63.
[103.] Fergusson 1983; 1984, 23-5; Holdsworth 1986; Bouchard 1987, especially 206-7; Waddell 1994, especially 29, 37 n.19; Williams 1998, 146, 172-93; Kinder 2002, 81-130; Robinson 2006, 45-53; Bond 2007; Jamroziak 2013, 49-54.

covered by Cistercian texts, such as the problems faced by individual abbeys and variations in practice. There were no regulations on the foundation of nunneries, although official nunneries were expected to conform to certain Cistercian principles once they were established or incorporated.[104]

Almost one-third of all Cistercian abbeys in Europe were founded by incorporating established religious communities, such as hermitages and the Congregation of Savigny, provided they were willing to follow Cistercian regulations, particularly on spiritual and organisational matters.[105] On the other hand, their existing economic practices were allowed to continue.[106] Also contrary to normal Cistercian practice, some incorporated communities, such as the Savignacs, had established their monasteries next to secular settlements. Savignac practices were almost certainly adopted by any daughter houses, such as Stanley Abbey, founded shortly after the Congregation's incorporation in 1147. Stanley, as well as Poulton Abbey in Cheshire (founded 1146x53), may best be thought of as 'semi-Savignac' in the way they settled their monasteries and held properties.[107]

From a landscape archaeology perspective, James Bond discusses the social and physical factors that may have affected the locations and sitings of Cistercian monasteries.[108] These are: Cistercian legislation, patronage, proximity to castles, local settlement patterns, communications, the influence of earlier religious communities, proximity of pre-existing monasteries of other orders, proximity to earlier Cistercian

[104.] Freeman 2004; 2006; Lester 2011; Jamroziak 2013.
[105.] Lekai 1977, 49; Waddell 1994, 31; Williams 1998, 21-5; Conyers 2001; Jamroziak 2013, 50; Lawrence 2015, 176.
[106.] Bouchard 1991, 186, 191; Long 1992; Conyers 2001; Jamroziak 2013, 50.
[107.] Conyers 2001; cf. Emery *et al*. 1996; Wessex Archaeology 2007; Brown 2012.
[108.] Bond 2007.

foundations, previous land use, relief and altitude, water requirements, and access to building materials. Bond's study includes abbeys founded in five counties of southern England: Gloucestershire, Devon, Dorset, Wiltshire, and Somerset. All of the factors suggested may have been relevant to varying degrees, although it might be wondered whether the Cistercians themselves were as methodical or as rigorous in their approach to founding new abbeys in the face of an offer by a well-connected potential founder and patron, the rejection of which could lose them the goodwill of other potential founders, patrons, and benefactors.[109] Bond also discusses abortive attempts to found new abbeys in Wales and Shropshire, and the possible reasons why they were aborted. There were two abortive attempts in southern England.[110] Both were at South Tawton in Devon in the early thirteenth century by members of the same family. The reasons why they were aborted remains unclear.

The development of the Cistercian Order relied fundamentally on patronage, with the possible motives for wishing to found a Cistercian abbey, rather than or as well as a house of another religious order, discussed by a number of scholars.[111] Most point to the importance of familial connections, with some suggesting that Cistercian abbeys were cheap to found because they were less demanding in the quality of landholdings they

[109.] Holdsworth 1991, 17.
[110.] Weston 2015.
[111.] To a large extent ecclesiastical patronage followed fashion, which varied in place and over time. Patrons may have had sacred and/or profane motivations and have distributed their largesse widely, especially during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when many new forms of religious life were being established, Hill 1968; Holdsworth 1980; 1989; 1991; 1992; 1994a; Burton 1986; 1994; 2007; Bouchard 1987; 1988; 1991; Constable 1998; Jamroziak 2005; 2013. See Jordan 2012 for a comparison between the patronage of Cistercian abbeys and nunneries.

were willing to accept.[112] Sometimes that is repeated as a fact or used as a benchmark, rather than the perception created mainly by Cistercian foundation narratives.[113] These narratives, usually written long after abbeys were founded, often follow a topos of playing down the amount or quality of landholdings received initially, and playing up an abbey's early struggles.[114]

Some Cistercian abbeys may have been cheap to found from their patrons' perspectives, because they had 'acquired' the properties by various means during the Anarchy of Stephen's reign (1135-1154). However, as will be argued, the properties granted to most new Cistercian foundations in southern England, both during and after the Anarchy, were of good quality, valuable land, and sometimes quite extensive. That also applied to some properties where granges were established. Sometimes these had been 'acquired' by benefactors as a result of the 'restorations' of Henry II's reign (1154-1189).[115]

The topos of early struggles is reflected also in the reasons given in Cistercian narratives for abbeys being refounded or monasteries relocated. It will be argued that most re-foundations and relocations in southern England were a result of abbeys taking advantage of opportunities presented by acquiring new patrons, rather than being

112. Other religious communities often were relatively cheap and in some respects more advantageous to found. For example, houses of Augustinian canons regular tended to be small, may have been founded with and have enjoyed the revenues from appropriated churches, had close ongoing relationships with their patrons, and were more submissive to diocesan authority than Cistercian abbeys. See Bouchard 1987, 110-6, Burton 1994, 219-32; Constable 1998, 56-8, 117, 243-4.

113. For example, Creighton & Wright 2016, 202-3. Jenkins 2010, 61-7 notes that this characterisation is applied also to Premonstratensian foundations, and that Dunkeswell (Cistercian) and Torre (Premonstratensian), which shared a founder, were exceptions to the norm.

114. Jamroziak 2013, 54, 220-1.

115. White 2000.

rescued from a lack of resources or from environmental threats to their survival.[116] This highlights the importance of continuing patronage, particularly in an abbey's early years to help finance the development of its monastery complex.[117]

The foundation of a new abbey and the location of its monastery depended on a potential founder and patron, sometimes with other benefactors, offering sufficient landholdings to support at least the founding colony. That normally consisted of an abbot and 12 monks although, contrary to Cistercian regulations, both Tilty and Medmenham were settled with six or seven. It would, no doubt, have been preferable from the monks' perspective if the initial landholdings also could support some lay brothers or secular staff. With little evidence, some scholars suggest that ten or even 20 lay brothers had to be or usually were part of every new colony.[118] The actual or anticipated numbers of monks and lay brothers that colonised a new monastery are relevant to the landholdings and buildings required, and what might now be found.

As Walter Map suggests, a Cistercian abbey ideally would be founded in 'a very horn of plenty' of which it had complete control.[119] The monastery would be sited on uncultivated land with a good supply of potable water and good drainage, beside a sizeable amount of cultivated or easily cultivable land, grazing for livestock, and the ownership of, or rights to, building materials. Some abbeys in southern England were so founded, and that probably affected their need or desire to establish granges, with a home farm, a few granges, and other types of property always sufficing the community.

116. cf. Donkin 1959b; 1978; Williams 1998, 181-6; Bond 2007.
117. See Jansen 1984 re Beaulieu's monastery; Jamroziak 2005 on Rievaulx, North Yorkshire.
118. For example, Knowles & Hadcock 1971, 110-28; Williams 1998, 53; Fergusson & Harrison 1999, 38, 45-7; Astill *et al.* 2004, 150.
119. Map *et al*. 1983, 75.

Before a new monastery was settled, the founder was expected to provide some existing buildings, or construct or supply the funds or the materials to construct buildings that met with Cistercian accommodation requirements.[120] An 1130s statute specified these to be an oratory, dormitory, refectory, guesthouse, and gatehouse. The facilities are specified, but not their form, and as Holdsworth observes 'one cannot fail to be struck by what is not covered' by Cistercian regulations on architecture.[121] As discussed further in Chapters 5 and 6, mirroring the facilities provided for lay brothers in monasteries, the first three facilities also were expected to be provided in every grange, although any cost was usually met by the abbeys themselves.[122]

In essence, the locations and sites of monasteries and nunneries were determined by the landholdings offered by founders and patrons. The prime considerations for new abbeys were the adequacy of the landholdings to support at least the founding community, and a suitable, relatively secluded site for its monastery – however these were judged at the time an offer was accepted.[123]

2.3 Establishment and settlement of granges

In comparison, the establishment of a grange was entirely an internal decision by an abbey or nunnery to fully or partially settle one of its existing properties with enough

120. Robinson 2006, 50; Jamroziak 2013, 51.
121. Holdsworth 1986, 55.
122. The *Usus Conversorum* required lay brothers to observe silence in the grange dormitory, refectory, and calefactory (warming room) and that they begin the *Miserere mei, Deus* before entering the oratory after meals, Waddell 2000, 178-81. Scholars accept this as evidence that these facilities were provided in every grange, although differ on their physical nature, for example, Aubert, 1947; Knowles 1963, 216; Platt 1969, 16-17, 26-7; Williams 1998, 281, 286; 2004, 213; Coppack 1998, 113-4; France 2012, 116, 338-9; Bezant 2014, 53; Stout 2015, 32.
123. cf. Altet 2014; Robinson 2014; Coppack 2016.

lay brothers to at least manage the grange.[124] Two lay brothers, one the granger, may have sufficed. For organisational reasons, probably two was the minimum number that occupied any grange except, perhaps, one shortly before its demise.

By the time the Cistercians began to spread throughout Britain, they did not need to establish a grange at every property they owned, although they may have felt obliged to do so in some instances. For example, when a monastery was relocated its earlier site almost always was retained as a grange. That might have been as much for cultural or commemorative reasons as for economic ones, and mirror the reverence given to 'first churches' at some final monastery sites.[125] Apart from managing a directly-farmed landholding, other reasons to settle a few lay brothers at a particular property would have been to establish a presence in the area, either to demonstrate Cistercian tenure, to attract new benefactors and converts to monastic life, or to exercise greater seigneurial control over all of an abbey's local properties, rights, and resources.[126] There is no indication, at least in southern England, that any property was granted to an abbey on the prerequisite that it became a grange, although grants of land sometimes were linked to the right of burial and annual obit at the monastery, or that benefactors or members of their family would be accepted as monks, lay brothers, or corrodians.[127]

Apart from specifying the facilities that had to be provided for lay brothers, there were only three Cistercian regulations, or rather principles, regarding the location of granges, none of which applied to the granges of nunneries. The first, which in some respects did

124. Dubois 1972, 166; Constable 1998, 220-1; Waddell 1999, 435; France 2012, 114.
125. Astill & Wright 1993, 126; Bonde *et al.* 2011. See Chapter 5.
126. Berman 1986; Bouchard 1991.
127. Williams 1998, 258-67; Lawrence 2015, 116.

not apply to cell-granges because of the probable presence of an ordained monk, required granges to be located no more than a day's journey from the monastery.[128] The distance would have depended on the topography and individual circumstances, and is variously estimated to be between 15km and 40km.[129] The regulation was made so that, as required by the *Usus*, lay brothers could return to their monastery every Sunday for Mass and their chapter where they would receive spiritual direction and punishment of faults, could attend services on over 20 feast days a year, all funeral Masses for monks and lay brothers, and to be bled.[130] The regulation was made to reinforce their religious identity, but probably also for practical purposes, such as receiving work instructions. In practice, it was interpreted liberally and applied pragmatically.[131]

The second early regulation required granges, probably meaning grange settlements, to be located at least two Burgundian leagues (*c*.10km) from the grange of another Cistercian abbey.[132] As this did not apply to other Cistercian directly-managed properties or tenanted holdings, it was almost certainly intended to prevent friction between the lay brothers of different abbeys, rather than for economic reasons.[133] Again, the regulation was not always followed. Also, grange settlements were not supposed to be located in or near centres of population, although sometimes that happened. In any case, the Cistercians soon began to establish urban granges/hospices, initially provided lay

128. Initially, not many Cistercian monks were ordained priests, although their numbers grew over the twelfth century, Constable 1998, 228-30.
129. Platt 1969, 26 n.3; Berman 1986, 6, 69-70; Waddell 1994, 29; Williams 1998, 278; Burton & Kerr 2011, 168; France 2012, 117-8; Bonvalot & Rouzeau 2017, 65.
130. Waddell 2000; France 2012, 154-8, 333-44. Williams 1998, 80-85 covers these aspects in more detail by assembling diverse references and indicators from primary and secondary sources. The *Usus* also required lay brothers to receive Communion on *c*.12 days a year, a large number for non-clerics in the twelfth century, although that was reduced later to seven days, see Waddell's 2000, 175-7 discussion of the subject.
131. Waddell 1994, 29-30.
132. Ibid., 29; Williams 1998, 278; Bonvalot & Rouzeau 2017, 65.
133. Kinder 1995, 158; Williams 2014b, 259.

brothers did not inhabit them permanently.[134] That condition was open to interpretation. There was no regulation on the siting of grange settlements and, as argued in Chapter 4, they were not sited to avoid contact with secular society, as is sometimes suggested.

In general, what was officially frowned upon in the 1120s or 1130s was not necessarily what happened from the 1140s onwards. The repetition of Cistercian regulations on some matters indicates that they were not always followed, and became increasingly difficult to justify as the Order expanded into different regions of Europe and was willing to accept the existing temporal practices of incorporated communities.[135]

2.4 Settlement of abbeys, nunneries, and granges in southern England

2.4.1 Overview

There is no single way to encapsulate the time and spatial pattern of Cistercian settlement in southern England. Therefore the following tables, based on the Gazetteer, provide an overview. The earliest possible date for the establishment of a grange was in the early 1140s, and the last one probably was established in the 1270s.

The numbers of granges, including cell-granges, for each of the 29 abbeys and nunneries in southern England are shown in Table 2.1 in order of their original foundation dates as either Cistercian or Savignac. Savignac houses, shown in italics, were incorporated into the Order in 1147, and that date is shown also.

134. Waddell 1994, 33; Williams 1998, 392.
135. Grélois 2016.

Abbey or Nunnery	**Foundation Date**	**All Granges including possible ones**	All Pre-1203 Granges including possible ones	**Certain & Probable Granges**	Certain & Probable Pre-1203 Granges
Waverley	1128	11	11	10	10
Quarr	*1132/47*	*15*	*10*	*10*	*6*
Stratford Langthorne	*1135/47*	*1*	*1*	-	-
Buckfast	*1136/47*	-	-	-	-
Brightley (failed 1141)	1136	-	-	-	-
Thame	1137x8	8	7	6	6
Kingswood	1139	9	6	9	6
Coggeshall	*1140/47*	-	-	-	-
Forde	1141	4	3	3	3
Boxley	1146	5	3	2	1
Biddlesden	1147	1	-	1	-
Bruern	1147	5	4	5	4
Bindon	1149	8	5	5	2
Stanley	1151	10	8	5	5
Flaxley	1151	3	3	3	3
Tilty	1153	7	4	6	4
Wintney (nuns)	1154x71	1	-	-	-
Robertsbridge	1176	8	5	5	4
Cleeve	1198	3	3	-	-
Dunkeswell	1201	6	2	5	2
Beaulieu	1203	11	-	11	-
Medmenham	1204	-	-	-	-
Tarrant Kaines (nuns)	1228	-	-	-	-
Netley	1239	1	-	-	-
Hailes	1246	1	-	1	-
Newenham	1247	5	-	4	-
Buckland	1278	-	-	-	-
Rewley	1281	-	-	-	-
St Mary Graces	1350	-	-	-	-
Totals		**123**	75	**91**	56

Table 2.1: Numbers of granges, including cell-granges, established by abbeys and nunneries in southern England.

The distinction made between ‘certain and probable’ granges and ‘possible’ granges is based on the balance of available information. The numbers of granges established before 1203, the date of Beaulieu’s foundation, are shown separately. That date was chosen because the foundation of Beaulieu by King John undoubtably created a renaissance of Cistercian settlement in southern England, with Beaulieu and her daughter houses forming the majority of subsequent new abbeys, although not new granges.[136]

Based on the number of granges established, each community’s possible size, and an analysis of the other types of property possessed, it is postulated that only the 11 abbeys highlighted in Table 2.1 actively sought to build a portfolio of granges. That did not preclude nearly all of them from concurrently developing other types of property. For instance, in the 25 years following Robertsbridge’s foundation it established five granges and operated six manors.[137]

Excluding Brightley, which was an early failure, the remaining 26 abbeys established 91 certain or probable granges, and possibly 122 granges in total, an average of four to five per abbey.[138] This average is influenced by ten abbeys, three formerly Savignac and six post-1203 foundations, establishing only a single grange or none at all. Neither of the nunneries appear to have been interested in establishing granges, although Wintney possibly established one. Quarr may have established 15 granges, although that is probably an overestimate, as many only can be classified as ‘possible’. The number of

136. Holdsworth 1992.
137. Chapman 1977.
138. cf. Williams 1998, 279; Jamroziak 2013, 185.

Stanley's granges also may be overstated, since several are just postulated.[139] Therefore Waverley, Quarr, and Beaulieu, all very different abbeys, each probably established between ten and 12 granges at most.

It would be relatively meaningless to show all of the granges as dots on a small scale map, such as Figure 1.1, whilst maintaining a distinction between 'certain and probable' and 'possible' granges, and allowing for the different phases of Cistercian settlement. Instead, Table 2.2 provides an overview of Cistercian settlement grouped by counties. Counties outside of the study area where abbeys had granges are shown in brackets. The spatial relationships between the monasteries of some individual abbeys and their granges and other properties are shown below in Figures 2.1-2.5.

The largest numbers of granges established before 1203 were located in Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire, and nearly all were owned by abbeys based there. In comparison, Waverley had as many granges in Hampshire as in its home county of Surrey. The Isle of Wight was exclusively the grange territory of Quarr. Dunkeswell, Beaulieu, and her daughter house of Newenham accounted for the large increase in the number of granges established in Hampshire and Devon after 1203. Cistercian monasteries and granges were widely distributed throughout southern England except for Cornwall, Hertfordshire, and Bristol, although Beaulieu, Rewley, and Hailes had valuable interests in Cornwall, and Coggeshall and Tilty had properties in Hertfordshire.[140]

139. Brown 2012.
140. Holdsworth 1992, 149.

Ceremonial County	**Abbeys and nunneries**	**All granges including possibles**	Pre-1203 granges including possibles	**Certain & probable granges**	Pre-1203 certain & probable granges
Hampshire	3	17	6	14	5
Gloucestershire	3	14	10	14	10
Oxfordshire	3	14	10	12	9
Isle of Wight	1	13	8	8	4
Devon	5	12	3	10	3
Dorset	3	11	7	7	4
Kent	1	7	5	3	2
East Sussex	1	6	3	4	3
Wiltshire	1	6	5	3	3
Somerset	1	6	5	1	1
Surrey	1	5	5	5	5
Essex	2	4	1	3	1
Buckinghamshire	2	3	2	3	2
(Cambridgeshire)	n/a	2	2	2	2
West Sussex	-	1	1	1	1
(Suffolk)	n/a	1	1	1	1
Berkshire	-	1	1	-	-
Greater London	2	-	-	-	-
Bristol	-	-	-	-	-
Cornwall	-	-	-	-	-
Hertfordshire	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	**29**	**123**	75	**91**	56

Table 2.2: Numbers of granges in each modern ceremonial county.

Table 2.2 shows only where granges were established. It is, therefore, totally valueless from an economic perspective, as it does not include the locations, numbers, sizes, or values of the other types of property and resources held. Individual case studies best do that.[141] In addition to employing Cistercian normative and narrative texts, most of these

[141.] Roundell 1858; 1859; Marshall *c*.1945; Lindley 1954; Hockey 1970; 1974; 1975; 1976; 1991; Chapman 1977; Butterworth 1999 on religious houses in Somerset and Wiltshire; Service 2010; Brown 2012; Weston 2012; Cousins 2013 on religious houses in Dorset; Eastlake 2014.

studies rely on late thirteenth-century and later documentary sources, particularly the 1291 *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535, and nineteenth-century tithe awards to identify the possible existence, locations, and extents of granges.[142] These sources provide an indication, but are not reliable in locating twelfth- and thirteenth-century granges and, in particular, in identifying their then extents and relationships with other Cistercian-owned properties. Only a few of the studies consider sites, landholdings, and landscapes prior to Cistercian ownership, or make much use of information from the Domesday Book.[143] However, nearly all of the individual studies illustrate the proximity of many granges to other types of property held by abbeys, the difficulty of making a clear distinction between the economic activities conducted in granges and those in the other properties and, to some degree as a consequence, the difficulty of identifying the spatial and economic extents of grange estates.

2.4.2 Spatial relationships of granges to monasteries

As mentioned, an early Cistercian regulation required granges to be located no more than a day's journey from the monastery, or presumably a cell-grange. Since the subject is mentioned by a number of scholars, usually with only a few examples of the most distant granges given, this thesis enables a large sample to be considered. As the transport network in southern England was quite well developed by the twelfth century, this study uses 30km as a reasonable maximum road distance to assume.[144] That roughly equates to a six to seven hour walk or journey by cart. Depending on circumstances,

142. Caley *et al*. 1802; Caley & Hunter 1810.
143. Chapman 1977; Butterworth 1999; Brown 2012; Weston 2012.
144. Ohler 2010; Brookes & Huynh 2018.

some lay brothers may have travelled on horseback.[145] Where available, water transport may have been used when goods also were being transferred between grange and monastery. However, absolute distances from monasteries may not have mattered that much where lay brothers could stop overnight at another grange en route. Excluding Quarr's cell-grange of Forwood, and Beaulieu's of St Leonard's and Wyke, Table 2.3 shows the number of granges located at different road distances from their monasteries, or the cell-grange of Wyke in the case of Great Coxwell. As discussed later, Great Coxwell appears to have been a grange before it became a cell-grange. Table 2.4 was produced to see whether granges established prior to 1203 followed the regulation more closely, or were located at different distances from monasteries than granges in general. The numbers exclude the twelfth-century cell-grange of Forwood.

<2.5km	2.5-5km	6-10km	11-20km	21-30km	>30km
14	19	27			
	60		17	22	20

Table 2.3: Numbers of granges at various road distances from monasteries (n=119).

<2.5km	2.5-5km	6-10km	11-20km	21-30km	>30km
7	12	13			
	32		10	17	15

Table 2.4: Numbers of pre-1203 granges at various road distances from monasteries (n=74).

The percentage distribution of distances is broadly similar between the two tables, with 17% of all and a slightly higher percentage of 20% of pre-1203 granges located over

145. Waddell 1994, 29-30.

30km from their monasteries. The earliest abbey founded, Waverley, appears to have taken a pragmatic approach, and accounts for five such granges in both tables: Dummer, Swarraton, Northolt, Nutshelf, and Boyatt (Figure 2.1).



Figure 2.1: Waverley Abbey's granges and other properties (after Service 2010, 224-5 figs. 13-14). (*Saga*, possibly in Surrey, is excluded as its location is unknown.)

Beaulieu's granges of Burgate and Soberton were located over 30km from the monastery, and possibly were established primarily as 'estate centres' for all of the abbey's properties in the area (Figure 2.2). Other distant granges may have been established specifically as transit stations for people, goods, and livestock.[146] For example, Beaulieu's Upton Grange in north Hampshire (outside maps) was located half way between Beaulieu's monastery and estates in its Faringdon *camera* (Figure 2.3).

146. See Chapter 6 on Cistercian travel networks.



Figure 2.2: Beaulieu Abbey's granges and other properties in Hampshire (after Hockey 1974, xliv-xlix figs. VI-VII).

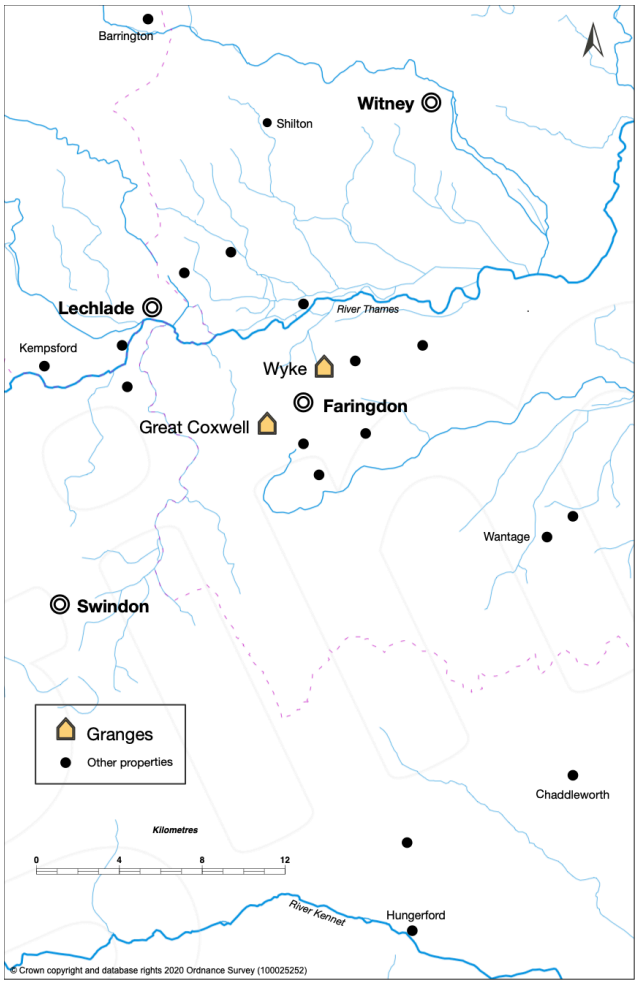


Figure 2.3: Beaulieu Abbey's granges and other properties in its Faringdon *camera* (after Hockey 1974, xliv, fig. V).

Robertsbridge's distant granges of Broomhill and Snergate (Figure 2.4), and Stanley's Wicklesham Grange (Figure 2.5) also may have acted primarily as 'estate centres'. Other distant granges, such as Tilty's Ringmere Grange in Suffolk, appear to have been established mainly to access or oversee valuable rights of pasture.[147] Ringmere was located 70km from the monastery, and is the most distant grange in southern England. Control of pastures and marshlands probably applied to other distant granges, such as Stratford Langthorne's Swinley, Boxley's La Chene, and Stanley's possible granges of Easton and Merecombe in Somerset (Figure 2.5).

147. Taylor 2005, 143.

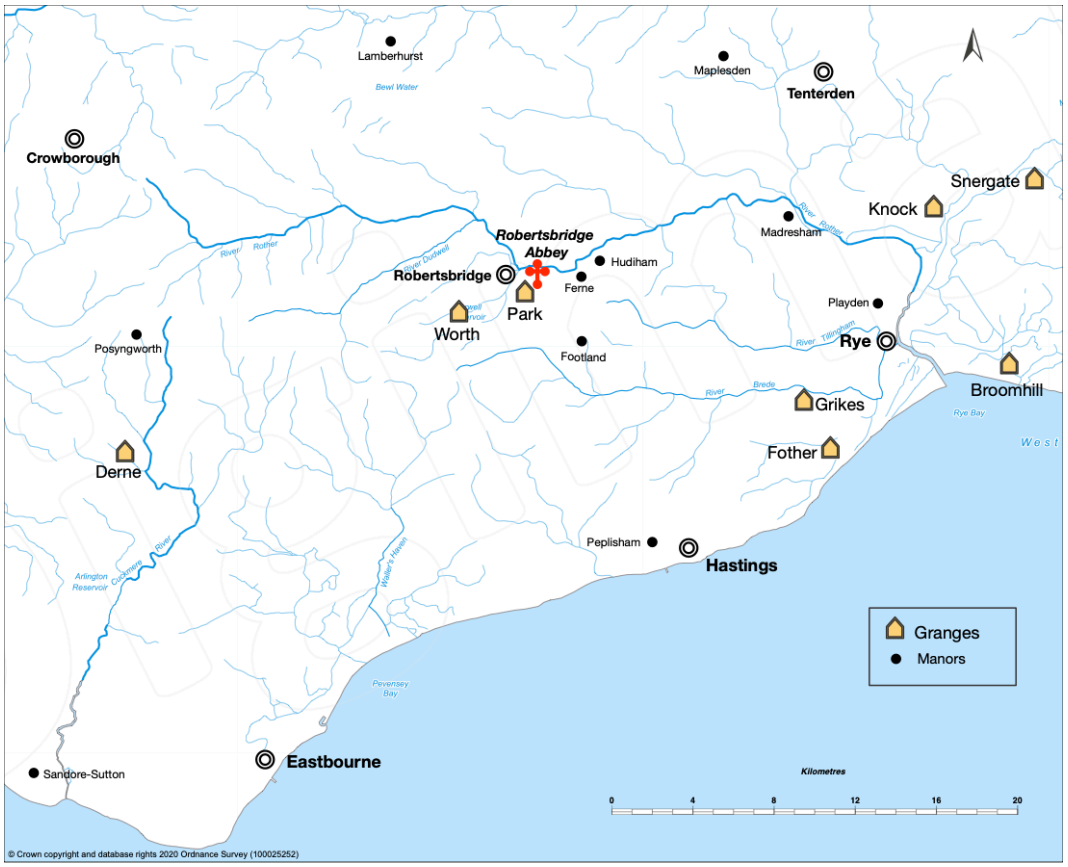


Figure 2.4: Robertsbridge Abbey's granges and 'manors' (after Chapman 1977, 236).

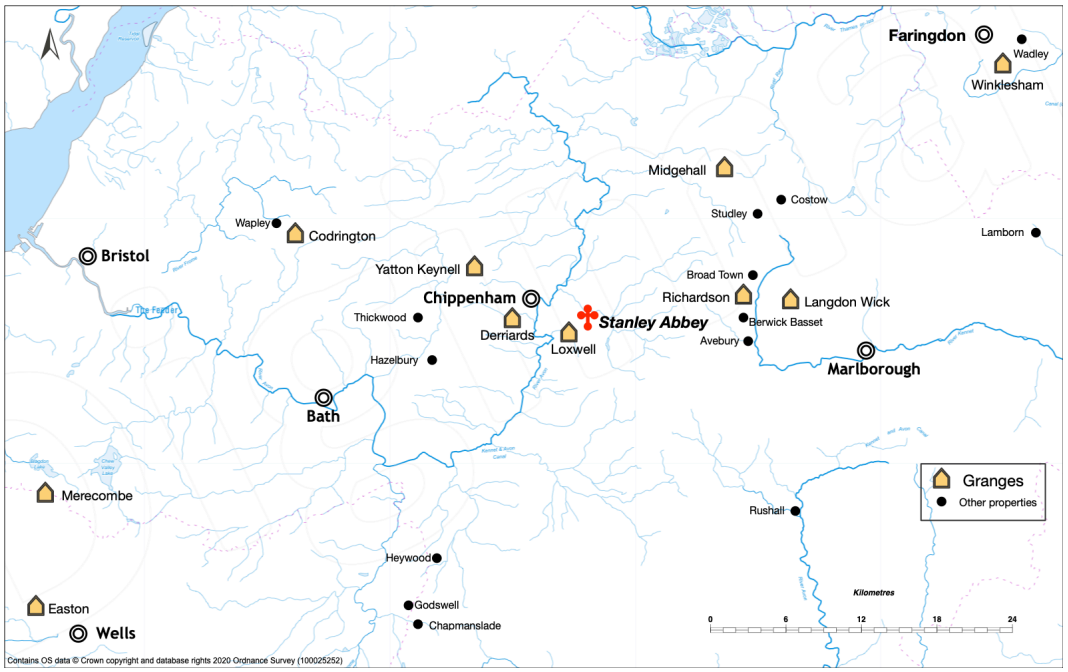


Figure 2.5: Stanley Abbey's granges and main landholdings (after Brown 2012, 76 fig. 5:1).

Granges may have been located quite close to monasteries because the travel time to and from a landholding would have taken up too much of the lay brothers' day.[148] In southern England, 10-12% of all granges were established within 2.5km, say half an hour's walk, from their monasteries. Some abbeys, especially those with substantial landholdings around the monastery, such as Coggeshall, had only home farms, whilst others, such as Kingswood, Boxley, Cleeve, Beaulieu, and Newenham, also established 'home' granges. An abbey's contiguous or largely contiguous 'home estate' could have consisted of home farms and 'home' granges, as well as secular settlements and tenanted properties. Abbeys could have had more than one home farm and, as discussed in Chapter 6 in connection with Robertsbridge's possible grange at Park, it can be difficult to establish whether agricultural complexes located near monasteries were those of home farms or 'home' granges. Failing documentary evidence, the key to the latter is in identifying the lay brothers' accommodation, as its physical nature differed from the secular accommodation that may have been provided in some home farms.[149]

There were few cell-granges in southern England, and their distances from monasteries differed. Forwood was 160km from Quarr's monastery and Wyke 112km from Beaulieu's. It is unclear why Great Coxwell became a cell-grange, as it lay less than 5km from Wyke (Figure 2.3), although it may have been to establish greater seigneurial control within the abbey's Faringdon *camera*. St Leonard's was unusual in lying only 6km from Beaulieu's monastery but, as argued later, it probably served a special function as the base for the abbey's trading port at Gins (Figure 2.2).

148. Waddell 2000, 188-9.
149. Chapters 5 and 6.

2.4.3 Phasing Cistercian settlement

Excluding the special case of St Mary Graces, which was essentially a post-Black Death royal free chapel with an abbot and six monks, the foundation of abbeys and nunneries in southern England spanned *c*.150 years, and the establishment of granges *c*.130 years. None of the three abbeys founded after 1250 established any granges. To avoid over-generalisations and provide more focus for archaeological research, it is best to consider Cistercian settlement within shorter time periods. This enables the development of grange settlements to be related more closely to the development of monastery complexes, and to contemporary building practices, which changed over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[150]

Table 2.5 tentatively places Cistercian settlement in southern England into seven phases. The table is based on the accepted foundation dates of abbeys or the year an established religious community was incorporated, and for nunneries the year they were regarded as being Cistercian, either 'officially' or 'unofficially'. The date when a grange was established is very rarely known, except perhaps when a monastery moved to a new location and the original site was retained as a grange. Therefore, the dates in the Gazetteer and used here generally are the dates when the properties subsequently settled with granges were possibly first acquired. A grange may have been established within a few weeks or after several, perhaps many years. The impression from the evidence is that abbeys often established a grange within months of acquiring a property, but did not necessarily aim to operate the entire property as a grange, either initially or eventually.

150. See Chapters 4-6.

Phases of Cistercian settlement	Abbeys & Nunneries	Probable Granges	Possible Granges	All Granges
1. 1128-39: Inauspicious beginnings	3	-	-	-
2. 1139-44: Disruption of the civil war	2	2	-	2
3. 1145-54: Less turbulent conditions	7	12	-	12
4. 1147: Incorporation of Savignac houses	4	-	-	-
5. 1155-1202: The age of the grange	4	42	19	61
6. 1203-50: Renaissance and consolidation	6	31	8	39
7. 1251-1350: The end of an era*	3	4	5	9
Totals	**29**	**91**	**32**	**123**

Table 2.5: Phases of Cistercian settlement, with the numbers of abbeys and nunneries founded, and granges established in each phase.
*No granges were established after *c*.1270.

Although concerning purely the foundation of abbeys, Snyder's network analysis of the spatial-temporal expansion of the Order throughout Europe provides a valuable comparison to this study.[151] The analysis shows that, including incorporated communities, 1098 to 1128 was a period of slow growth, with 31 foundations in Europe, 1128 to 1158 was one of explosive growth with 330 foundations, 1158 to 1218 was a period of steady growth, and from 1218 to 1398 the growth across Europe was scattered. There was a strong similarity between the expansion of the Cistercian and Premonstratensian orders, particularly between 1128 and 1158, although not in the same

[151] Snyder 2008, particularly 35 Fig. 10, 141 Table A.30.

parts of Europe at the same time.[152] Providing another comparison, Rasmussen maps the settlement of Cistercian abbeys in France in ten-year periods. The peak period of expansion there was between 1130 and 1140.[153] The following decade was almost as successful owing to the incorporation of Savignac abbeys. In comparison, the peak period of growth in southern England was between 1145 and 1155, whether or not Savignac abbeys are included. The reasons for the difference are discussed below.

The only broadly comparative data on the settlement of granges comes from a summary of a recently completed long-term research project in France.[154] It identified 230 'granges', which includes home farms and *celliers* under that term, owned by 23 abbeys in Franche-Comté and part of Champagne. All of the abbeys and 155 of the 'granges' were established before 1200. The abbeys each had between two and 20 'granges', with only six abbeys possessing more than 12, including Clairvaux with 20 and Morimond with 16. These two early abbeys were heads of Cistercian families. The figures for the two regions differ slightly, but broadly there appears to have been a rapid growth in the number of 'granges' between *c*.1135 and *c*.1160, probably partially because of the inclusion of home farms, a steady but slower rate of growth until *c*.1220, and then the establishment of granges was spasmodic, but continued until *c*.1350. As with the foundation of French abbeys, the establishment of 'granges' appears to precede those in southern England by 15 to 20 years.

152. cf. Aston 1993; Bond 1993.
153. Rasmussen 2015.
154. Bonvalot 2012; Bonvalot & Rouzeau 2017, particularly 61 Fig. 2. See Chapter 6 on the archaeology identified.

Whilst Table 2.5 shows the periods when granges were probably established, it does not illustrated the length of time it may have taken to establish them. Table 2.6 illustrates that only 20% of granges in southern England were established within 10 years of the foundation of an abbey or nunnery, 46% within 25 years, and 68% within 50 years. In comparison, roughly 50% of 'granges' (including home farms) in the Cistercian heartland of Burgundy were established within 30 years of abbeys being founded, and therefore little different from southern England.[155]

<5yrs	5-10yrs	11-25yrs	26-50yrs	51-75yrs	76-100yrs	>100yrs
20	5	32	Granges			
57 granges			27	20	12	7

Table 2.6: Minimum length of time taken by abbeys and nunneries after their foundation to establish granges (n=123 granges).

To ascertain whether the period when abbeys were founded bore any relevance to how long it took to establish granges, the 11 abbeys (excluding Brightley) founded before the start of Henry II's reign (December 1154) are tabled for comparison (Table 2.7). Savignac houses that became Cistercian in 1147 are excluded, as it is unclear when they, principally Quarr, first established granges.

<5yrs	5-10yrs	11-25yrs	26-50yrs	51-75yrs	76-100yrs	>100yrs
6	2	16	Granges			
24 granges			17	17	8	5

Table 2.7: Minimum length of time taken by pre-1155 abbeys after their foundation to establish granges (n=71 granges).

155. France 2012, 132.

In this instance, only 11% of granges were established within ten years of abbeys being founded, 34% within 25 years, and 58% within 50 years. Perhaps contrary to expectations, the earliest abbeys on average took longer to establish their granges than abbeys in general, although some initial delay in acquiring properties might be attributed to the unrest of Stephen's reign.

These two tables and the evidence from Burgundy illustrate that the establishment of granges was generally a gradual and long-term process. The rapid expansion in the number of Cistercian abbeys did not automatically result in as rapid an increase in the number of granges, supporting the argument that abbeys did not necessarily need or desire to establish granges. This possibly cements the suggestion that granges were contemporaneous with abbeys operating landholdings in other ways, although their acquisition dates would also need to be considered.

A more detailed discussion of Cistercian settlement is now possible within the above chronological framework. This enables the issues of patronage and the socio-political background of the periods to be introduced into discussions, as well as the construction of the earliest monasteries. A number of individual examples are discussed because their circumstances varied, and as some of the details and a number of the interpretations made here differ from previous studies, or are covered for the first time.

Phase 1 (1128-1139): Inauspicious beginnings

The first suggested phase of Cistercian settlement is the 11 year period from the foundation of Waverley in 1128 until the effective start of the civil war in England

between King Stephen and the Empress Matilda in 1139. Only three abbeys were founded, although Brightley soon failed. No granges were established during the period.

There is no intention of repeating here the much discussed, complicated, and confused history of the reign of Stephen, the civil war, and the subsequent 'restorations' of Henry II's reign.[156] A useful chronology to follow is in Oliver Creighton and Duncan Wright's recent archaeological study of the conflict.[157] Partly because they discuss the Cistercians, and their interpretations in some ways differ from those made here, the abbeys and granges established in the first four phases of Cistercian settlement will be covered in more detail than those established in later phases.

Waverley was founded by William Giffard, the Bishop of Winchester, on a floodplain near his country house in Farnham and the main road between Winchester and London. It was hardly an isolated location, although the monastery had a secluded site. Giffard and his early successor, Henry de Blois (King Stephen's brother), provided the abbey with a home estate of no more than 240ha of land, which seems to have consisted almost entirely of meadow, pasture, and woodland.[158] Waverley does not appear to have acquired further landholdings during the period, although was granted quarrying rights in Farnham.[159] These would have been vital to the construction of its first stone church.

The number of Waverley's monks appears to have increased rapidly, as colonies were soon sent to establish daughter houses at Garendon in Leicestershire in 1133, which was

156. King 1994; Crouch 2000; White 2000.
157. Creighton & Wright 2016.
158. Franklin 1990, 47-8; Service 2010, 212-23, Appendix I; cf. Ware 1976, 2-5.
159. Fergusson 1984, 25-7; Coppack 2016.

generously endowed, then Brightley in 1136, and Otley in 1137x8. Although there probably was a desire to expand the Order rapidly in southern England, Waverley might have been pressed into sending out new colonies because of its lack of resources to support a large community.[160] It was another ten years before Waverley sent out a colony to establish Bruern in 1147. There may have been several reasons for the hiatus. The anarchy of Stephen's reign was probably the main one, enhanced by Waverley first beginning to acquire valuable landholdings and establish granges in the early 1140s, and therefore more able to support a larger community.

Garendon may have been a successful colonisation, but Brightley was not. In 1133, Waverley was given a landholding of an unknown extent or quality by Richard FitzBaldwin de Brionne to establish an abbey near his castle and borough of Okehampton.[161] Brightley was not settled until 1136. FitzBaldwin died within a year and was buried in the monastery church. It is, therefore, debatable whether the motive behind the abbey's foundation was little more than to secure a suitable burial place and the intercessory powers of the Cistercians for the elderly FitzBaldwin.[162] The three year delay in settling the site may have been to enable a small stone church to be built with that intention in mind. The colony continued at Brightley for another four years before deciding to return to Waverley, allegedly because they were friendless, destitute, and had a barren landholding.[163] The latter is the reason given in most landscape studies, although it is argued here that following FitzBaldwin's death his even more elderly

160. Hill 1968, 90; Burton 2007, 29-32 regarding similar economic pressures on the Savignac abbey of Furness.
161. Rowe 1878, 171-3; Cooke 1893, 643-4; Holdsworth 1989, 182-3; Upham 2006.
162. Williams 1998, 133-6; Jamroziak 2010, 49-58.
163. Cooke 1893, 643; Donkin 1978, 34; Holdsworth 1989, 183; Bond 2007, 72.

sister and heir, Adelicia, did nothing to help the community remain at Brightley. As explained below, she may have had good reason for her inaction.

In the same year Brightley was settled, Waverley accepted, perhaps too readily, land for another daughter house at Otley on the Oxfordshire clay vale. Otley was colonised in 1137x8 after suitable, probably timber, monastery buildings were constructed by its founder, Robert Gait. His own barely adequate donation of land was supplemented by other benefactors, with donations of arable in adjacent Weston-on-the-Green, at Little Chesterton 8km away, and with *c*.50ha of land in parcels at (Brize) Norton *c*.30km distant.[164] Otley's foundation grants appear to have been a rather cobbled together set of properties to make the new community viable.[165] A grange was probably not established at Little Chesterton until the 1150s when additional land was acquired. (Brize) Norton, which might have been granted to Waverley in 1130x37 for its own benefit, rather than to help found Otley, was always either secularly managed or tenanted.[166]

Otley's monastery site was allegedly soon found unsuitable, which some scholars suggest was due to flooding (see Figure 5.2 below).[167] This is surprising given the Cistercians' reputation for water management.[168] It is suggested here that, rather than the monastery being poorly sited, Bishop Alexander of Lincoln made a better offer to be the abbey's long-term patron.[169] In 1139, the abbey was granted the bishop's park at Thame, together with valuable lands, including tenanted properties. The community moved and

164. Salter 1947-8, 65; Postles 2008, 11-12.
165. cf. Dyson 1975, 5-6; Burton 1986, 29.
166. Salter 1947-8, 65.
167. Donkin 1959b, 253-4; Fergusson 1984, 24, 150.
168. Bond 2001a; Kinder 2002.
169. Salter 1947-8, 4-5; Dyson 1975.

changed its name to Thame in *c*.1141, with Otley retained as probably the first grange in southern England, and possibly in Britain.[170] It is therefore significant in the history of Cistercian settlement.

Two points emanate from the above. Firstly, Waverley was quick to establish daughter houses, and may have done so whilst its own community remained relatively small. Secondly, there does not appear to have been a rush of patrons wishing to found Cistercian abbeys, despite them allegedly being cheap to found. The Anglo-Norman nobility of the region seem to have favoured Savignac abbeys, with Quarr, Stratford Langthorne, and Buckfast all founded and well endowed.[171] Queen Matilda's grant to establish Coggeshall also may have been made during this period.[172]

Phase 2 (1139-44): Disruption of the civil war

Southern England became a hostile environment from late 1139 until *c*.1145, with little new Cistercian settlement. Only two abbeys were founded, and one grange established in addition to Otley. No Savignac abbeys were founded after Coggeshall in 1140.

Kingswood, founded in 1139, has a complicated early history, and appears to have been more directly affected by the civil war and the 'restorations' of Henry II's reign than any other abbey in southern England. The settlement history summarised here differs from most other studies.[173] Kingswood's foundation, with the grant of the small, one hide manor of Acholt in King Stephen's extensive fee-farm of Berkeley, seems to have been

[170.] cf. Donkin 1960a, 149.
[171.] Conyers 2001.
[172.] Hartcher 1982, 125-6.
[173.] Barkly 1883-4; Weston 2012; 2013; in prep.; cf. Lindley 1954; Knowles & Hadcock 1971, 113-4, 121; Bond 2007.

a political act, made without permission by the sub-tenant to ingratiate himself with the Angevin cause. However, before the first Cistercians arrived in England, Henry I had given a general licence to alienate Acholt to monks or canons, but it had never been acted on.[174] Kingswood appears to have been settled in less than a year, and there is no indication that buildings were prepared for the colony. The founder had no further involvement with the abbey. For him, the abbey had been very cheap to found.

The subsequent grant of the seven plough manor of Hazleton, and the monastery's early move there in *c*.1140, was partially also for political reasons and cheap from the new patron's perspective. The pious act, this time by one of King Stephen's supporters, appears to have been the rapid disposal of an untenable property in an area greatly disputed during the war. Stephen, who had earlier confiscated Hazleton from an Angevin supporter, gave his approval for the grant.[175] Acholt was left unoccupied until well into Henry II's reign, when it became the abbey's Upper Grange. The 'restorations' of Henry II's reign resulted in the return of some properties to their pre-war owners. This directly affected Kingswood, with its monastery moving twice more under a further two new patrons. The abbey accumulated valuable granges in the process, acquired a large home estate, and secured the long-term patronage of the second house of Berkeley from *c*.1168 until the Dissolution. Changes in patronage and location greatly influenced and benefited Kingswood during its first 30 years.

Possibly to recognise and legitimise Kingswood's tenurial rights, Hazleton was later recorded as having being 'purchased' by the abbey. That was probably because Henry II

[174.] Barkly 1883-4, 197-8; Johnson *et al*. 1956, 208.
[175.] GA, BCM/F/1/6/1/i.

generally refused to recognise grants of land made by Stephen.[176] Other confiscated properties granted to the Cistercians were documented later either as having been 'purchased' by abbeys or granted by Angevin supporters. The landholdings granted to Biddlesden on its foundation, and the landholdings that became Waverley's Wanborough and Thame's Wyfold granges, fall into one of these categories.

It was suggested above that Richard FitzBaldwin's sister Adelicia did nothing to support the continuation of Brightley after her brother's death. Instead, in 1141 she founded the abbey of Forde with the grant of her extensive manor of Thorncombe and its church, and the community from Brightley moved there.[177] Adelicia, who died the following year, possibly desired, and as the founder of a Cistercian abbey had a greater entitlement to be buried in her own foundation's church, since the Cistercians were very restrictive on who could be buried inside their monastery churches.[178] The community was housed temporarily in an existing manorial complex at Westford until its new monastery, situated 3km away, was suitably ready in *c*.1148. The seven-year delay suggests that at least the chancel of a stone church was built to hold Adelicia's remains, together with the exhumed remains of her brother and the first abbot of Brightley who also had been buried in that monastery.[179] Westford became a grange, and the size of the foundation grant may explain why the abbey established few granges.

176. Salter 1947-8, 115.
177. Heath 1911; Holdsworth 1989. Thorncombe is recorded in Domesday as having over 2,000ha of land and 12 ploughs.
178. Hall 2005; 2007, 83-4; Jamroziak 2010, 49-57; 2013, 101-7; Gilchrist 2020, 52-3.
179. See Chapter 5.

The only grange established during the period, apart from Otley, was in the valuable manor of Neatham, granted to Waverley by King Stephen in 1140.[180] It is difficult to ascertain the extent of the grange, although the entire property is recorded later as having *c.*450ha of arable.[181] It is not known exactly when the grange was established, but it may have been contemporaneous with Otley. However, it was at least 12 years before Waverley was able to establish its first grange. For comparison, Rievaulx Abbey in North Yorkshire, founded in 1132, did not establish any granges before 1147.[182]

Several manors were granted to abbeys during this period of settlement (Acholt and Hazleton to Kingswood, Thorncombe to Forde, and Neatham to Waverley), two with the involvement of King Stephen. Three of the manors were large, and it is very unlikely that they were completely replaced by granges or home farms fully manned by lay brothers. As argued in Chapter 3, recruiting large numbers of lay brothers was not as straightforward or as rapid as sometimes assumed.

By 1145, only four monasteries (Waverley, Thame, Kingswood at Hazleton, and Forde at Westford) and two granges (Otley in Oxfordshire and Neatham in Hampshire) had been settled in southern England. In comparison, 12 monasteries and an unknown number of granges had been settled elsewhere in England. The earliest grange suggested elsewhere, Fountains Abbey's Aldburgh Grange in North Yorkshire, is dated to 1145, some 13 years after that abbey was founded.[183] It would therefore appear that, whilst the

180. Franklin 1990, 58-9 n.95; Service 2010, 228-9.
181. Hardy 1903, 471, 512-4; Hopkins 2004; cf. Service 2010, 228-9.
182. Burton 1998, 69.
183. Donkin 1960a; 1964a.

rate of the settlement of monasteries may have been slower in southern England than elsewhere, the rate of the settlement of granges may not.

Phase 3 (1145-54): Less turbulent conditions

From *c*.1145 until Henry II came to the throne in late 1154, southern England began to stabilise between areas supporting Stephen and those supporting Matilda and her son Henry.[184] This provided better opportunities for the foundation of abbeys and the granting of properties that could be settled with granges.

Nearly all of the new foundations can be divided between those associated with Stephen (Boxley, Biddlesden, Tilty, and Bruern) and those associated with Matilda and Henry (Stanley and Flaxley).[185] It is unclear whether Forde's daughter house, Bindon, had any particular association, and little is known of its foundation or the extent of its initial landholdings. However, they appear to have been sufficient for the community to occupy its monastery at Little Bindon, above Lulworth Cove on the Dorset coast, for over 20 years before the abbey was refounded, relocated, and granted some manorial holdings. Owing to its location on limestone geology and length of occupation, the monastery at Little Bindon was probably built partially in stone.

The seven abbeys founded during this period can be placed broadly into two other categories. Boxley and Biddlesden were well endowed on their foundation with surrounding landholdings, and did not need or apparently seek to establish many granges. Until the royal foundation of Beaulieu in 1203, by far the largest initial

184. Creighton & Wright 2016, 26-30.
185. cf. Holdsworth 1994a, 222-7.

endowment to any Cistercian abbey in southern England was made to Boxley. The substantial manor of Boxley, together with some or all of its tithes, was granted in *c*.1143 by William of Ypres, Earl of Kent, but the abbey was not settled for three years. This might suggest that a simple church of local ragstone was prepared for the colony that came directly from the important abbey of Clairvaux, where (St) Bernard was then the abbot.[186] The manor consisted of *c*.20 carucates of arable (*c.*1,000ha), and the abbey accepted and maintained tenanted lands and mills.[187] A large secular settlement was relocated to provide seclusion for the monastery, and the abbey soon acquired other surrounding landholdings. Boxley does not seem to have established granges until the late twelfth century, and then just a few.

Biddlesden was founded with substantial surrounding manorial holdings that had been confiscated during the civil war.[188] The abbey appears to have relied almost entirely on its home farms and diverse properties in no less than 21 parishes in Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, and Gloucestershire. Only a single thirteenth-century grange is known, and it was associated with a manorial holding. Flaxley also received a reasonably large foundation grant, which included iron-working rights and a sizeable arable landholding at Dymock, *c*.20km from the monastery. Although a grange was established at Dymock, much of the landholding was tenanted in the thirteenth century and may always have been so.[189] Henry II supplemented the foundation grants with other properties, with the tithe of chestnuts from the entire Forest of Dean, common

186. Robinson 2006, 55-66; Coppack 2016 on early stone churches, particularly of the Clairvaux family.
187. Hasted 1798, 324-53; Eastlake 2014.
188. Roundell 1858; 1859.
189. Crawley-Boevey 1887, 15-20; Jurica 2010, 122-74.

pasture throughout the forest, and as much wood and timber as the abbey wished. The abbey's only three granges were established within three or four years of its foundation.

In comparison, Bruern, Bindon, and Tilty were not well endowed initially. It was over 10 years before Bruern was able to establish its first grange at Holwell, 23 years for Bindon, and it may have taken Tilty even longer. The earliest evidence of its granges comes in 1199, by which date four widely-distributed granges had been established. Tilty was founded in an area of dispersed settlement and endowed with a small manor, recorded in Domesday as having three ploughs. However, that may have been sufficient for the founding colony of only seven monks. Little is known about the abbey's early years or how quickly it accumulated properties, but the second phase of the monastery's construction did not begin before 1188.[190]

Only 12 granges were established in this period, despite the more settled political conditions. Forde's temporary monastery site at Westford became a grange, as did Stanley's initial monastery site at Loxwell. Thame possibly added Chesterton, Shipton Lee, which was part of a large manor, Stoke Talmage, which also continued to be held partly as a manor, and Wyfold. The latter had been granted by King Stephen out of his extensive Benson estate, but under Henry II the grant was attributed instead to an Angevin supporter.[191] More significantly, Stephen also granted Thame his very substantial 31-hide manor of Wadley (Worth) near Faringdon, although it was later taken back by Henry II and by 1186x9 granted to his favoured abbey of Stanley (Figure

[190.] Fergusson 1984, 151.
[191.] Salter 1947-8, 115, n.1; Dyson 1975, 6.

2.5).[192] Thame does not appear to have established a grange at Wadley, but Stanley established a small grange at Wicklesham in part of the manor.

Waverley acquired the large manor of Wanborough, as well as the smaller properties of Nutshelf, Northolt, and Oxenford (Figure 2.1). Henry II's confirmation charter records that Wanborough had been 'purchased' by the abbey for the incredibly large sum of 120 marks. As with Hazleton, this appears to have been a device to legitimise the abbey's tenure. Contrary to Service's suggestion that the property was acquired and became a grange in 1130, Wanborough had been held by Geoffrey de Mandeville, an Angevin follower, until it was seized after his death in 1144 by Stephen.[193] He granted the manor to Faramus de Bologne, who passed it on to Waverley. Hence the reason to later record that the abbey had 'purchased' Wanborough.

In summary, by the beginning of Henry II's reign the Cistercians had settled 11 new monasteries (excluding Brightley) and 14 granges in southern England, three at former monastery sites. Settlement was in diverse locations, and consisted of different types and sizes of landholding. Many originally were manors, and may have continued partly to be so. There is no evidence that any large secular settlement was displaced to establish a grange.

The 'anarchy' period of Stephen's reign does not appear to have provided any special impetus for Cistercian expansion in southern England.[194] The history of Cistercian

192. Brown 2012, 86-7.
193. Brayley *et al*. 1841, 457-8; Service 2010, 225.
194. cf. Creighton & Wright 2016, 196-204, 288.

settlement was more nuanced. Arguably, it was the increased degree of stability between 1145 and 1155 that led to more abbeys being founded and granges established, although sometimes that involved previously 'appropriated' properties. Indeed, the rate of expansion of Cistercian abbeys and granges may well have been greater during the previous ten years, and in line with that elsewhere in Europe, had it not been for the uncertainty of the early part of Stephen's reign. The contemporary conflict in Normandy also resulted in a slower rate of Cistercian expansion there prior to 1143, compared to elsewhere in France and Europe.[195] The reduction in the number of new foundations in England after 1154 was entirely the result of the Order restricting further expansion, rather than partly because of the establishment of peace in England.[196]

Phase 4 (1147): Incorporation of Savignac houses

Part of the generalisation often made about the rapid spread of the Cistercians in England comes from including the incorporation of Savignac abbeys in 1147, and treating their history as 'a mere subsidiary of Cistercian history'.[197] Savignac incorporation should be treated as a separate matter, especially as the abbeys retained their own economic practices. There is little evidence that Savignac abbeys had lay brothers, although sometimes they are presumed, and there are no references to Savignac abbeys establishing granges until after they became Cistercian, nor indications that they were quick to do so.[198] All of the Savignac houses in southern England were well endowed on their foundation and, with the exception of Quarr, made little attempt

195. Snyder 2008, 35 Fig. 10.
196. Burton 1986, 33; 2007, 29; Burton & Kerr 2011, 44; cf. Creighton & Wright 2016, 202-3.
197. Conyers 2001, 10. For example, Barber *et al*. 2004 apply Cistercian characteristics from other studies in their interpretation of Stratford Langthorne, and Roberts 2014, 53 suggests that the Savignac abbey of Neath established a Cistercian grange at Monknash (Glamorgan) in *c*.1130.
198. Conyers 2001, 216, 222-37.

to establish granges. Although Quarr's daughter Stanley is given Cistercian attributes, it followed Quarr in how it settled the landscape and it accepted parish churches and mills from the start.[199]

Phase 5 (1155-1202): The age of the grange

The reign of Henry II resulted in the restoration of some pre-war properties and the reconstruction of landholdings, mainly in favour of his Angevin supporters. Illustrating that his 'restorations' affected matters for decades, in *c*.1173 the remainder of the parish of Bruern was confiscated from its owners whose family had been followers of Stephen.[200] Henry granted it to Bruern who established two 'home' granges, although some tenanted holdings continued and the abbey maintained the parish church. However, Bruern never recovered fully from its slow beginnings.

Few new abbeys were founded in this period, principally because of the Order's attempt to restrict further expansion. The three abbeys that were founded, Robertsbridge, Cleeve, and Dunkeswell, were all quite well endowed. Wintney appears to have been recognised locally as a Cistercian nunnery, although the exact date is uncertain.[201] It might have established a grange at Herriard in the thirteenth century.[202]

The improving economy of the late twelfth century presented abbeys with opportunities to acquire more properties by gift, exchange, or purchase. Some properties became granges, whilst many others did not. In some instances, granges and manorial holdings

199. Brown 2012.
200. Page 2019, 299.
201. Freeman 2004.
202. Hare 2015.

were operated side by side. Official Cistercian attitudes to the ownership of churches, rents, and dependant tenants became more relaxed during this period, although all had been accepted unofficially from an earlier date.[203] This phase has been entitled 'the age of the grange', but it was also the period when properties increasingly became held in other ways. It is no coincidence that this was the period when Cistercian exemptions and freedoms from tithes became hotly disputed. The following chapter discusses this complicated subject from an archaeological perspective.

Between *c*.40 and *c*.60 granges, including Quarr's cell-grange of Forwood, were established in a period of just under 50 years. They cannot be characterised in any single way, appear to have been established relatively evenly over the period, were located widely throughout southern England, and the types and possible extents of their landholdings varied. At the same time, a few abbeys, such as Waverley, Flaxley, and possibly Cleeve, permanently stopped establishing any new granges. Each, no doubt, had its own reasons for doing so.

Phase 6 (1203-50): Renaissance and consolidation

The richly-endowed royal foundation of Beaulieu led to a Cistercian renaissance in southern England. However, of the five abbeys founded during this period, only Beaulieu, possibly influenced by its colony coming directly from Cîteaux, appears to have been interested in establishing a portfolio of granges. Also during this period, the anchorage of Tarrant Kaines became an official Cistercian nunnery.[204] It obtained royal patronage and considerable wealth, and did not establish any granges.

[203.] Alfonso 1991; Williams 1998, 302-4, 332-3; Jamroziak 2013, 184.
[204.] Freeman 2004; 2006.

Although other types of property became increasing important, there was not a massive reduction in the numbers of granges established in the *c*.50 years from 1203, compared to the number established in the previous *c*.50 years. Nearly half of all abbeys established new granges. As in the twelfth century, a number of granges were established in parts of existing manors, and some existing granges became more important as estate centres as Cistercian property ownership became more diverse.

The changing role of granges within the Cistercian economy is best exemplified by Beaulieu. The abbey is discussed by many scholars, with Hockey's historical works the main source of their and this study's information.[205] Possibly because the abbey's properties were located in two separate parts of southern England there has been no synthetic archaeological study of its granges. Therefore, this thesis will start to draw together some of the evidence for further research. Beaulieu held all types of property from its foundation, and established a number of granges that might be classified into two main, although not exclusive, types: 'home' granges and 'estate centres' (Figures 2.2-2.3). Six 'home' granges were established to exploit, develop, and extend the agricultural potential of landholdings within and just outside of Beaulieu's Great Close, basically its very extensive 'home estate'. Some of the land had been exploited previously, and some had not. Cell-granges and some granges appear to have been established as 'estate centres' for all of the abbey's properties and resources in an area. Estate centres were established at Wyke in Oxfordshire, then later at Soberton in east Hampshire and Burgate in west Hampshire. The extensive estates around Wyke had

[205] Hockey 1974; 1975; 1976.

formed part of King John's foundation grant. The large manor of Soberton was purchased then extended by the abbey, and Burgate formed the centre of a scattered group of holdings around the Hampshire Avon.

There are no particular features that distinguish other Cistercian granges established during this period, although there is an indication that some abbeys adopted the same approach as Beaulieu, and perhaps earlier by Robertsbridge. For example, Boxley's La Chene, Kingswood's Ozleworth, Biddlesden's Gorral, and Bindon's Chaldon Herring granges all can be associated with adjacent manorial holdings and may have primarily acted as estate centres.

It is difficult to identify granges established principally to develop new land, utilise grazing rights, or exploit mineral resources, although Stratford Langthorne's Swinley, Stanley's Merecombe, Easton, and Yatton Keynell, Netley's Roydon, and some of Boxley's, Robertsbridge's, and Quarr's granges might be placed into one of these categories. In some instances, the roles of developing new land, conducting animal husbandry, and exercising seigneurial oversight were coeval.[206]

Phase 7 (1251-c.1270 for granges, -1350 for abbeys): the end of an era

The three abbeys founded in the final period of Cistercian settlement, Buckland, Rewley, and St Mary Graces, were located in very different landscapes. None established granges.[207] Only Buckland seems to have had lay brothers. Interest in establishing granges had waned by the mid thirteenth century. Nine granges were

[206.] Chapman 1977; Brown 2012; Eastlake 2014.
[207.] *pace* Barber 1984; Gaskell Brown 1995 and Robinson 1998, 77 re Buckland.

established between 1251 and 1270, with five classifiable only as 'possible'. Beaulieu and her daughters Newenham and Hailes established granges, although the latter established just one. No granges were established after *c.*1270. The situation elsewhere in Britain is presently unclear but, as mentioned, granges continued to be establishment spasmodically in Franche-Comté and Champagne in France until *c.*1350.

2.5 Conclusions

The foundation and settlement of Cistercian abbeys and nunneries and the settlement of the earliest granges depended on the generosity of founders, patrons, and benefactors. Some abbeys may have been cheap to found from their patrons' perspectives, but many abbeys were granted substantial properties on or shortly after their foundation, or already had substantial properties when incorporated into the Order. That affected whether, when, and where granges were established.

The generosity and motives of some founders and patrons, the length of time before a site was settled, the availability of building stone, and local building traditions suggest that a number of first monastery churches, and perhaps other buildings, were constructed in stone. Some abbeys moved their monastery as a result of the opportunities offered by acquiring new patrons, rather than due to problems with their initial sites or locations. Most former monastery sites were retained as grange settlements.

Establishing a grange at a property was a choice that depended on a number of factors. A new abbey's agricultural priorities probably were to develop its home farm and then a wider home estate. The latter may have required 'home' granges to be established. There is little indication that offers of distant properties were refused, especially in the early years after an abbey was founded. Southern England was already well-populated and relatively well-exploited, and any properties acquired by abbeys either were left in their original organisational form, exchanged, replaced by a grange, or a grange was established in part of the property. The latter seems to have been a frequent choice at large properties. This indicates that granges almost always were part of a mixed portfolio of home farms, granges, and manorial holdings, the proportions of each varying between Cistercian houses and at different times.

Granges seem to have been established for three broad, although not mutually exclusive reasons. The nearest granges, say those within 5km of a monastery, appear to have been established because the distance of a landholding was too great for it to be managed as a home farm. Granges up to, say, 30km away were established either to gain a foothold in an area, or to directly manage and exploit an important or valuable property. Some later also became estate centres. Cell-granges and more distant granges either were established mainly as estate centres, pastoral granges, or to develop new lands. There were always exceptions to these generalisations.

Only a small number of lay brothers, perhaps just two, one the granger, would have been needed to establish a grange of any size. There is unlikely to have been a large reserve of lay brothers waiting within a monastery to fully man every new property acquired, or even every grange established. The most important Cistercian regulation

regarding the establishment of a grange was that the lay brothers and any monks were provided with suitable monastic accommodation.

The key to this chapter has been in creating a socio-political, cultural, and economic framework of Cistercian settlement. The phasing of settlement shows that no granges were established in southern England until *c*.1140, and only 14 prior to *c*.1155. Improving economic conditions and the development of a market economy then provided abbeys with the opportunity to increase and maximise the use of their landholdings and rights. Although the number of granges increased over the following 100 years, the rate of increase mostly, but not always, reduced inversely to that of other forms of property. However, the increasing importance of the latter did not stop granges from continuing to be established well into the mid thirteenth century. In general, the establishment of granges was a relatively slow and sometimes spasmodic long-term process.

A significant historical conclusion is that, contrary to perceived wisdom, King Stephen, Queen Matilda, and their followers supported the Cistercian Order in southern England as well as, if not more than, the Empress Matilda, her son Henry, and their followers.[208]

[208.] cf. Fergusson 1984, 18; Holdsworth 1994a, 226; Bond 2007, 54; Burton & Kerr 2011, 41.

CHAPTER 3: GRANGE ESTATES IN THE CISTERCIAN ECONOMY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter considers the roles of granges and lay brothers in the Cistercian economy, the difficulties of identifying the spatial and economic extents of grange estates, and the degree that Cistercian monastic identity might be found outside of grange settlements. It argues that, apart from the involvement of lay brothers, there appears to be little to differentiate grange estates from other directly managed Cistercian estates, or the estates of other monastic orders. It also argues that only two lay brothers were needed to operate any grange and that should be the starting point for any consideration of lay brother numbers.

To provide context to the chapter, Table 3.1 shows the number of granges operated by Cistercian abbeys and nunneries in the late twelfth and late thirteenth centuries. In both centuries, the majority of houses with granges operated between one and five.[209]

Number of granges operated	No. of abbeys and nunneries in the late 12th century	No. of abbeys and nunneries in the late 13th century
None	4	6
1-5	10	11
6-10	4	7
Over 10	1	3

Table 3.1: Number of granges operated by abbeys and nunneries in southern England in the late twelfth century and the late thirteenth century.

[209] For suggested numbers elsewhere in Europe see Williams 1998, 279; France 2012, 130; Bonvalot & Rouzeau 2017.

The total number of granges in the late twelfth century and in the late thirteenth century are shown in Table 3.2. It will be recalled that *c*.60 of the *c*.75 granges in operation in *c*.1200 were established after 1155. Therefore, many were still at an early stage of their development in *c*.1200. Although the establishment of granges was mainly a late twelfth-century phenomenon, their operational heyday was the thirteenth century. The numbers are split between houses established before and from 1203, with 11 granges in the latter period belonging to Beaulieu, five to her daughter Newenham, and one apiece to Beaulieu's other two daughters, Netley and Hailes. Beaulieu may appear to have prompted a resurgence in establishing granges, but that must be tempered by six of its granges effectively 'home' granges, as were most of Newenham's.

	Total number of granges in operation in the late 12th century	Total number of granges in operation in the late 13th century
Established by pre-1203 houses	*c*.75	*c*.97
Established by 1203 and later houses	-	*c*.18
Total	*c*.75	*c*.115

Table 3.2: Total number of granges in southern England in the late twelfth century and the late thirteenth century.

The development of granges and the Cistercian economy in general must be set against the wider social and economic changes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Basically, the population grew rapidly, land became more extensively and intensively utilised, and a market economy developed, although the extent and speed of the changes varied across England.[210] However, by the late thirteenth century the population growth was unsustainable and economic pressures increased, in part because of fluctuating climatic

[210.] Campbell 1990; Britnell 2004.

conditions, failed harvests, and animal diseases.[211] Cistercian abbeys took advantage of the opportunities and suffered from the economic difficulties to varying extents, depending on their resources and how they had decided to utilise them.[212]

No less importantly, from *c*.1200 there was a general trend by large landowners to increase the amount of their directly managed land.[213] In some respects, Cistercian abbeys in southern England appear to have gone against that trend by increasing the number of tenanted properties, by leasing existing granges, and perhaps moving in that direction by appointing secular managers. That was not unique to southern England, as grange estates, particularly the smaller and more distant granges, were being leased elsewhere in Europe by the 1180s.[214] Eight granges established in southern England in the twelfth century had ceased operation by *c*.1270, and there may have been others. Two of Waverley's granges ceased in the early thirteenth century, with Boyatt fully or partially let by 1219. Three of Quarr's granges, one of Kingwood's, and at least one of Robertsbridge's granges had ceased by the mid thirteenth century. Bindon's Little Bindon Grange was incorporated within Burngate in the early thirteenth century, and similar consolidations may have taken place elsewhere. As new granges were established until *c*.1270, granges were being established at the same time as others were ceasing to operate. This suggests that abbeys became more selective in where to establish granges, which ones to retain, and which to develop.

211. Campbell 2006; 2008; 2016; Platt 2012; Pribyl 2017; Slavin 2018.
212. For overviews of changes in the Cistercian economy see Graves 1957; Madden 1963; Williams 1998, 296-8; Burton & Kerr 2011, 175-7; Jamroziak 2013, 183-207.
213. Bond 2001b, 55; 2004, 35-9; Britnell 2004.
214. Williams 1998, 296-7.

It is difficult to establish when individual granges ceased to operate, except from documentary references to secular managers, leases, or sales. The impression from documentary sources is that nearly all grange estates in southern England were transferred into lay hands, or became directly managed from a monastery before the arrival of the Black Death.[215] Therefore, there may have been a relatively short period of four or five decades between some abbeys investing in new grange buildings and the granges ceasing to operate. Investment in new buildings had probably ceased at some small or financially peripheral granges, such as Boyatt, earlier in the thirteenth century, or even in the late twelfth century. That may be reflected in the archaeological evidence found. Although further settlement research is required, apart from Little Bindon Grange, there is presently no evidence to suggest that any grange settlement became fossilised immediately after it ceased to operate.

Structural changes to former grange accommodation may indicate the move to secular occupancy, such as the introduction of heating into the previously unheated lay brothers' dormitory and refectory, the repurposing of an oratory as a private chapel, or a grange chapel becoming a secular church.[216] Reflecting the introduction of secular family life, there is likely to have been a significant change in the type and amount of material culture and environmental evidence found in grange settlements. On the other hand, unless a grange estate was dismembered, there is no reason to suppose that the physical and topographic features of a grange outside of its settlement changed fundamentally in the short to medium term whilst the estate remained directly managed, or even when first tenanted. As will be discussed, outside of the settlements there does not seem to

[215.] Traditional suggestions on why granges ceased to operate are discussed below in connection with lay brother numbers.
[216.] See Chapters 5-6.

have been a particular physical signature or combination of features characteristic of Cistercian grange estates that distinguished them from other directly managed Cistercian estates, such as Beaulieu's Shilton estate, or former granges that remained Cistercian owned.[217] The main issue with the latter is in identifying discrete features, material culture, and environmental evidence that date to and can be clearly attributed to the grange and, in particular, to the lay brothers.

3.2 Discrete archaeological evidence in grange estates

National and local archaeological databases contain varying degrees of information on about 60% of the granges in this study, although much of the information is based on not entirely reliable documentary sources.[218] Unfortunately, very few of the discrete physical and topographic features identified outside of grange settlements have been dated as medieval, let alone to the twelfth to mid fourteenth centuries. Most of the features identified from aerial or surface survey, such as a possible fish pond at Bruern's Sandbrook Grange, sheepcotes at Kingswood's Hazleton Grange, and secular settlement at Stanley's Richardson Grange, can be only loosely associated with the grange.[219] Sheepcotes are an example where there is no evidence, so far, that sheepcotes in Cistercian grange estates in any way differed from those in Cistercian non-grange estates, or ecclesiastical and some secular estates in general.[220] That is also the case for animal enclosures, fishponds, and secular settlements.

217. Hockey 1975, 14 classifies Shilton and other similar estates as 'granges'.
218. See Gazetteer; Archaeology Data Service 2020; Heritage Gateway 2020; Portable Antiquities Scheme 2020. Also overviews by Austin 2013, 8-9; Astill 2018; Bond 2018.
219. Bond 1991; Dyer 2002; Brown 2012; Weston 2013.
220. Dyer 1995; Page 2003; Bond 2004, 143-5; Hurst 2005; Fleming & Barker 2008.

Despite Graham Brown's extensive research of Stanley's estates, he found no archaeological evidence that can be dated and definitely linked to a grange estate.[221] The only known feature in any of Waverley's granges is the thirteenth-century centre arch of a bridge at Riehull near Oxenford Grange, one of several bridges constructed by the abbey throughout its estates.[222] There is documentary evidence of Cistercian mills associated with granges but, so far, no dated archaeological evidence.[223] Tenanted mills, where the upkeep was the tenant's liability, may not have been as well maintained as directly managed mills, and that might be evidenced archaeologically. However, it has yet to be established whether mills managed and, perhaps, operated by lay brothers differed from mills directly managed and operated by seculars on an abbey's behalf.

A recent survey of Cistercian industry in England and Wales shows relatively little evidence of industry being conducted by granges, although industrial activities may have been undertaken within grange estates by lessees.[224] The only evidence in southern England come from an early fourteenth-century watermill race serving a probably tenanted bloomery in Boxley's Chingley Grange.[225] Activities such as stone quarrying, iron working, and lead mining were undertaken by some Cistercian abbeys, but are difficult to associate with the operation of individual granges. However, a stone quarry sited close to Beaulieu's Great Coxwell grange settlement was almost certainly used to build its late thirteenth-century barn.[226] The sources of building materials used in grange settlements is a little explored subject, and local sources cannot be presumed.[227]

221. Brown 2012.
222. Service 2010, 216-7, Fig. 4.
223. Bond 1994; 2004; Lucas 2005; 2006; 2014 on Cistercian milling, especially Beaulieu's.
224. Bond 2019; Coppack 2019.
225. Bond 1994, 373; Eastlake 2014, 63.
226. James Bond pers. comm.
227. See Chapter 3 on Beaulieu's barns.

Similarly because of its situation, as well as its geology and south-west orientation, a hillslope near Kingswood's Hazleton grange settlement was almost certainly the site of a previously unrecognised grange vineyard.[228] There is no record of when the vineyard was planted, its extent, or the quantity, quality, or use of its production. However, the vineyard was valued at 3s 4d in the the early fourteenth century, despite the climate instability and agrarian crisis of the period (Table 3.3).[229] There are very few known Cistercian vineyards in England, and all of the others are at monasteries.[230] It is therefore worth considering which other granges may have had vineyards.[231]

As a result of the present lack of clear discrete archaeological evidence, it is necessary to consider the wider context of grange estates outside of settlements, and the prevailing generalisations made about the nature and distinctiveness of granges based on their economic function.

3.3 Relationship of granges with other Cistercian properties

Grange estates were only one form of Cistercian economic resource and they should be considered together with and in relation to the other resources, rather than in isolation. Every Cistercian house differed, but from *c*.1200, if not well before, the contribution of granges often was supplemental, rather than central to many abbeys' economies.[232] For

228. TNA, C131/1/2. There is now no evidence of terracing, cf. Petit *et al*. 2012..
229. See Table 3.3 below; Platt 2012; Pribyl 2017, 137-41; Slavin 2018.
230. Seward 1979; Williams 1998; Bond 2001a; 2004; 2016; Selley 2008; Creighton 2009, 73-5.
231. Williams 2001, 201 suggests a possible vineyard at Dore Abbey's Llanfair Cilgoed Grange in Gwent.
232. Graves 1957; Alfonso 1991; Bouchard 1991; Jamroziak 2013.

example, Boxley's foundation grant subsequently formed the abbey's monastery, home farm, a 'home' grange, tenanted properties, and a secular settlement. Notwithstanding the limitations and accuracy of the 1291 *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* (see below), these resources appear to have together accounted for £63 of the abbey's total assessed temporal value of £75 in 1291.[233] Boxley's daughter house of Robertsbridge seems to have always relied more on its home farm and manorial holdings than on its five to eight granges, the latter accounting for only £20 of the abbey's temporal value of £110 in 1291.[234] Despite Waverley establishing 11 granges, the significance of King Stephen's early grant of Neatham is demonstrated by the combined grange and non-grange holding accounting for over half of the abbey's total temporal value in 1291.[235]

A number of authors have endeavoured to map all or most of an abbey's or nunnery's landholdings to varying degrees and from different perspectives.[236] Some of these maps are replicated in Figures 2.1-2.5, with the granges identified in this study, not the original studies, indicated. However, an important caveat to make is that the maps, which may not include every property, are based primarily on late- and post-medieval records. Therefore, they tend to show the final position, not the one, say, in the mid-thirteenth century. Another caveat is that dots on distribution maps do not show the extents, or the social or economic importance of individual properties, Neatham a prime example. Nevertheless, the basic 'dots on the map' approach illustrates that many grange and non-grange landholdings were closely located spatially, and probably also economically and administratively. That is most clearly illustrated in Beaulieu's

233. Eastlake 2014.
234. Chapman 1977.
235. Service 2010.
236. Hockey 1974; 1976; 1991; Chapman 1977; Sparks 1978; Bond 1991; 2004; Gaskell Brown 1995; Hobbs 1998; Service 2010; Brown 2012; Hare 2015.

Faringdon *camera*, which included granges, secularly-managed properties, tenanted holdings, leased mills, and appropriated churches (Figure 2.3). By the early thirteenth century, and arguably from the mid twelfth century, the types of property held by nearly all Cistercian houses in southern England were, apart from granges, fundamentally the same as those held by other monastic orders.[237]

Intermediate spatial scales that illustrate territories, 'zones of influence', or 'zones of exploitation' may better represent how monastic institutions viewed their properties, although there is a danger that these also compress time periods or are environmentally deterministic.[238] However, modern mapping cannot illustrate a Cistercian abbey's own perspective in quite the same way as the representative territorial plan produced by Zwettl Abbey (Austria) in 1310x14 (Figure 3.1).[239] The plan illustrates the abbey's extensive foundation properties in 1137, the granges established, the buildings and villages owned, other resources such as mills, woods, and rivers, and the important figures involved with the abbey's foundation. Overlaying the plan with a geological map, Sonnlechner demonstrates how closely the plan matches the physical landscape of the region, and postulates that some granges, indicated on the plan as former granges, were unsuccessful because of a lack of lay brothers, but especially because of ecological factors.[240]

237. cf. Bond 1979; 2004.
238. For example, Brown 2012, 75-6.
239. Kleine 2014; cf. Lauwers 2020, 331-7 on other representations of monastic territories.
240. Sonnlechner 2003.

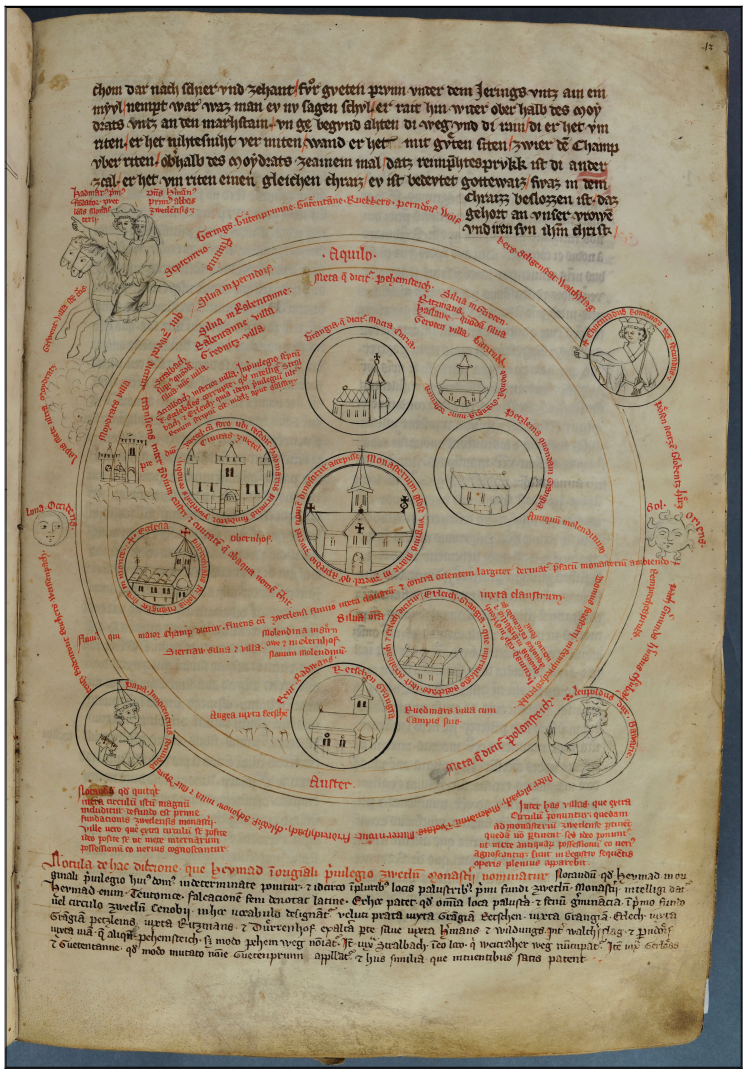


Figure 3.1: Representative plan of the foundation properties of Zwettl Abbey, Lower Austria. From *Liber fundatorum Zwetlensis monasterii: de 'Bärenhaut'*. (Downloadable from: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Zwettler_Gründungssage_Bärenhaut_f._12r.jpg, accessed 25/5/2020.)

Another indication of the close spatial and economic relationships between Cistercian grange and non-grange holdings comes from an early fourteenth-century valuation of Kingswood's properties in the Cotswolds (Table 3.3). It also provides detailed information on Hazleton and Tetbury granges and the abbey's other properties in the area. The combined properties appear to have been leased en bloc to a Florentine merchant as security in a complicated series of transactions for wool, hence their nominal lease for £400 per annum for ten years (fully paid in advance), compared to

their assessed value of £50.[241] The Extent for Debt, requested by a creditor of the merchant, records that the lessee did not possess any goods or chattels in the properties. Therefore the properties, which accounted for half of Kingswood's assessed temporal value in 1291, almost certainly continued to be operated by the abbey, especially as it had to meet its commitment for wool and the properties had extensive grazing.[242]

At Hazleton:	
Capital messuage and other houses	6s 8d
Vineyard	3s 4d
Divers closes	£ 2 0s 0d
Windmill	13s 4d
1,440 acres of arable at 4d per acre	£24 0s 0d
Pasture on the down	£ 1 10s 0d
In Culkerton [an adjacent township]:	
A sheepfold and close	£ 1 0s 0d
A pasture	13s 4d
Eleven free tenants paying rent	18s 8d
Seven villeins paying rents and services	£ 4 15s 11½d
Tetbury Grange with lands in Charlton:	
At Tetbury:	
Capital messuage and other houses	6s 8d
A watermill and windmill	£ 1 0s 0d
[120] acres in and out of closes	£ 3 0s 0d
Two pastures	11s 8d
In Charlton [an adjacent township]:	
A free tenement	8s 0d
360 acres of arable at 6d per acre	[£ 9 0s 0d]
Total value of properties	£50 7s 7½d

Table 3.3: Extent for Debt valuation of Kingswood's Hazleton and Tetbury granges and associated properties in 1318x20.[243]

Several points arise from the valuation, the most notable being that grange and non-grange holdings were treated as single economic units, as they probably had been in the

241. Pamela Nightingale pers. comm.
242. Lindley 1954, 182.
243. TNA, C131/1/2 amended and corrected by the author.

previous century. Most of Tetbury Grange's arable lay in the neighbouring township of Charlton, almost certainly in pieces in open fields, as did much of Hazleton's in Cherington, as discussed further below regarding the subject of tithes (Figure 3.2).



Figure 3.2: Hazleton Grange's extra-parochial 'core' landholding and surrounding townships with their open fields. Postulated early thirteenth-century downland highlighted in green, and possible small secular settlement at Paswell (after Weston 2013, 40 Fig. 3).
(OS First Series 1828 Sheet 34 © GB Historical GIS Project 2004-12.)

Nearly all of Hazleton's pasture lay in neighbouring Cherington, and consisted of an unrestricted half-share of that township's pastures. The grange also had lands in the adjoining township of Rodmarton, with the grange settlement and extra-parochial core landholding later becoming a part of and an appendage to that parish. It is impossible to untangle Kingswood's resources in Culkerton between those let, those shared, those employed by Hazleton Grange, and those centrally utilised by the abbey for its sheep

flocks.[244] The latter applies also to pastures in Cherington and Tetbury. All of the mills lay within grange estates, and at least one had been leased from the previous century.

This interrelated mixture of resources, of which granges were only elements, was not unique to Kingswood, Beaulieu, or other Cistercian abbeys in southern England.[245] Probably more than any other scholar, Chapman has grappled with the nomenclature used in documentary sources to try to distinguish between grange and non-grange holdings, and concludes that 'over-all, the evidence suggests that, as was the case with granges, manors, and other outlying estates, the Robertsbridge monks' possessions in the abbey's immediate vicinity were also, for all their contiguity, a patchwork of manorial and non-manorial elements'.[246]

3.4 Effects of direct Cistercian management

This leads on to the issue of what actually changed to a Cistercian-owned property when a grange was established, or indeed when a property became directly managed as a home farm or under a secular manager. Jamroziak suggests that historians have long abandoned the idea that Cistercian agricultural techniques were in any way superior and, following Berman, suggests instead that Cistercian economic distinctiveness lay in better management structures and the development of large grange estates.[247] Berman postulates that large numbers of lay brothers were recruited when small tenanted lands

[244.] Centralised flock management is discussed further below.
[245.] Hockey 1970; 1975; 1976; Chapman 1977; Brown 2012; Eastlake 2014. See also Wright's 2003; 2008, 52 studies of Kirkstall Abbey's granges in West Yorkshire, where it is suggested that granges did not so much as by-pass the manorial system, but acted as substitutes for it.
[246.] Chapman 1977, 164.
[247.] Jamroziak 2013, 187; cf. France 2012, 115-6 follows Donkin and other traditional views.

were acquired to develop large consolidated grange estates, and that Cistercian grange agriculture was more productive because of the lower dependency costs and greater dedication of lay brothers.[248] As discussed below, there is no evidence in southern England to support these generalisations.

Also, except where Donkin or Platt are followed, there is no evidence in key studies of English medieval agriculture or papers in *The Agricultural History Review* to suggest that Cistercian grange estates were better managed or more productive, were generally larger or more consolidated, operated a different type of field system, or practised agriculture in a fundamentally different way from other directly managed ecclesiastical estates.[249] For instance, although the Cistercians and granges are not specifically mentioned, Moorhouse & Bond cite Donkin and suggest that townships may have been lost because of the reorganisation of field systems following settlement desertion through monastic acquisition.[250] However, they point out that a 'subtle but crucially important distinction' must be made between 'townships' and 'settlements'. That distinction applies also to 'field systems', which varied greatly throughout England, even between neighbouring townships.[251] The Cistercian acquisition of tenanted lands is another separate issue and, as argued earlier, their incorporation within a grange estate cannot be presumed, especially as many Cistercian abbeys always held tenanted lands and some abbeys had even began to lease former grange lands from the 1180s.

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248. Berman 1986; 2013; 2020; cf. Alfonso 1991 who rightly critiques the often assumed link between granges, consolidated holdings, Cistercian organisational skills, and the perceived economic efficiency of employing a lay brother workforce.
249. Baker & Butlin 1973; Fenoaltea 1975, 703; Astill & Grant 1988; Dyer 1988, 22, 25; Faith 1997, 188-9; Campbell 2000, 101; Bond 2001b, 58; Hallam 2011; Miller 2011; Hall 2014; British Agricultural History Society 2020.
250. Donkin 1960a; 1978; Moorhouse & Bond 2016, 6-7; cf. Jones 2010, 21-2 who also makes generalisations on settlement desertion based on Donkin.
251. Gray 1915; Baker & Butlin 1973; Hall 2014.

Cistercian land acquisition and direct management, in particular the establishment of granges, may have affected townships, settlements, field systems, tenanted lands, and local populations separately and to varying degrees, and any effects may have been mitigated by any changes being protracted over several decades. An example of the possible varying effects comes from the establishment of Bruern's monastery and home farm in 1147, the abbey's acquisition of the remainder and bulk of the township and its church in *c*.1173, and the establishment of its Sandbrook and Tangley 'home' granges.

Existing studies suggest that the establishment of granges initially manned entirely by lay brothers led to secular depopulation, the expulsion of tenants, and the desertion of the main secular settlement of Treton.[252] However, the sites of Treton and its church have not yet been identified. When compared to the spatial relationships between the main settlements and field systems of adjacent townships, Bruern's grange settlements appear to have been sited peripherally to the main area of arable, probably intentionally to avoid the main settlement of Treton (Figures 3.3-3.4).[253] The continuation of secular settlement is evidenced by the abbey maintaining the parish church until the Dissolution, some tenant farming continuing until at least the early thirteenth century, and secular staff employed by the 1220s.

[252.] Allison *et al*. 1966, 5; Bond 1991, 47; 2004, 237, 247; Page 2019, 293-315; NRHE:332277; Oxfordshire HER:5487. Bruern manor (then named Treton) had ten plough teams in 1086.
[253.] The points made here on settlement locations and below on field systems are accepted by Page 2019. Other details from this thesis's research are taken into account when presenting published characterisations of the Cistercians and granges, ibid., 293.

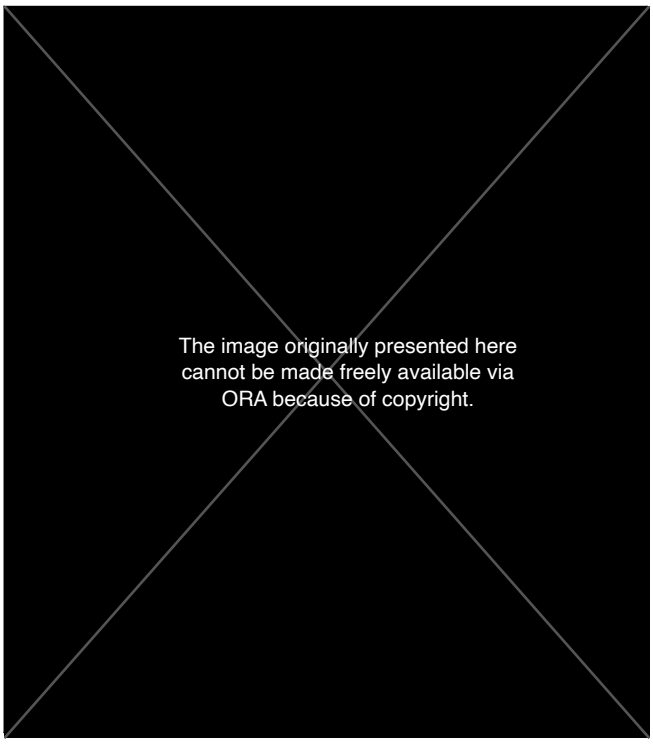


Figure 3.3: Locations and landscapes in Bruern parish.
(© Oxfordshire County Council 2004. Accessible from http:owls.oxfordshire.gov.uk/wps/wcm/connect/occ/OWLS/Home/Oxfordshire+Districts/Oxfordshire+Districts+-+Parishes/West+Oxfordshire+Parishes/, accessed 22/3/2020, annotated by author.)

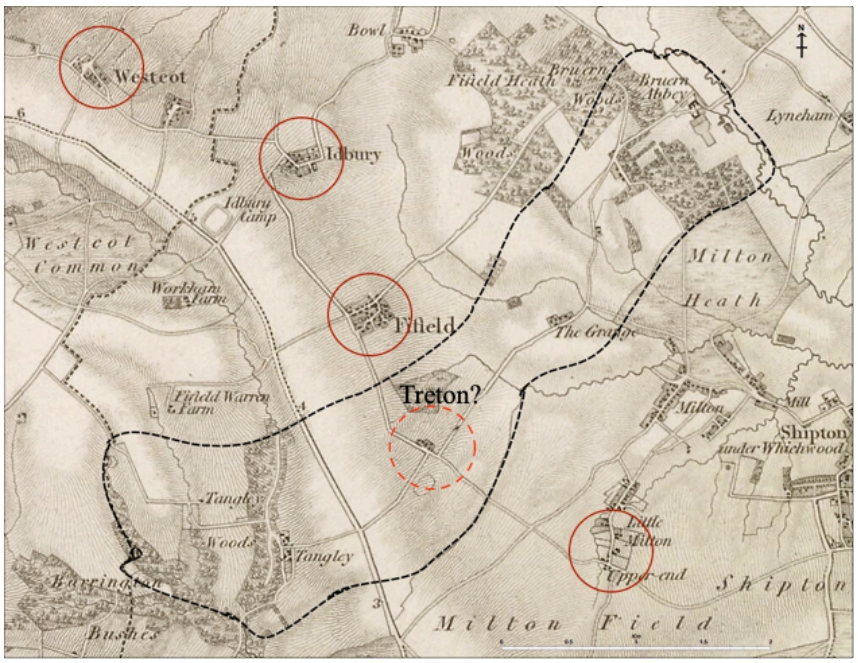


Figure 3.4: Possible location of the lost secular settlement of Treton in Bruern, compared to settlements in neighbouring parishes.
(OS First Series 1828 Sheet 44 © GB Historical GIS Project 2004-12.)

The establishment of two granges might suggest that the township's earlier field system was modified, although there would have been little good agricultural reason to do so in that area of predominantly sheep-corn husbandry. Therefore, one grange may have inherited and continued the existing field system, with the other, established on different soils, developing new land or being mainly pastoral. Complicating matters spatially, economically, as well as socially, Bruern also acquired open field arable and pasture rights in adjoining Fifield and Milton at about the same date or shortly afterwards.[254] These could have been utilised by the granges, directly by the monastery, or tenanted, mirroring the same mixture of holdings and rights found at Kingswood's Hazleton and Tetbury granges. This thesis is not arguing that the establishment of Bruern's granges had little or no effect, but that they probably affected the local townships, settlements, secular populations, and field systems to differing degrees and at different times.

Sometimes a grange's existing agricultural practices were changed or had to conform to local ones. This is worth considering from a landscape perspective, with an example coming from Bruern's Holwell Grange (Figure 3.5). The estate spanned two townships, and in 1242 Bruern agreed that land it had habitually cultivated separately in Sibton Ferris, probably a continually cropped infield, in future would be cultivated to coincide with the adjacent two-course system of Sandford Preceptory's (Templars) manor.[255] At the same time, the two parties agreed to share pastures. This indicates that the Cistercians could have employed, or may have been obliged to employ different field systems in different parts of their grange estates depending on a number of factors, such as soil conditions, local customs, how much and where land lay in unconsolidated

254. ibid., 184-215, 315-40.
255. Marshall *c*.1950, 4; Crossley 1972, 225-60.

strips, private agreements, and whether part of an estate's holding had been only temporarily granted or leased.[256]

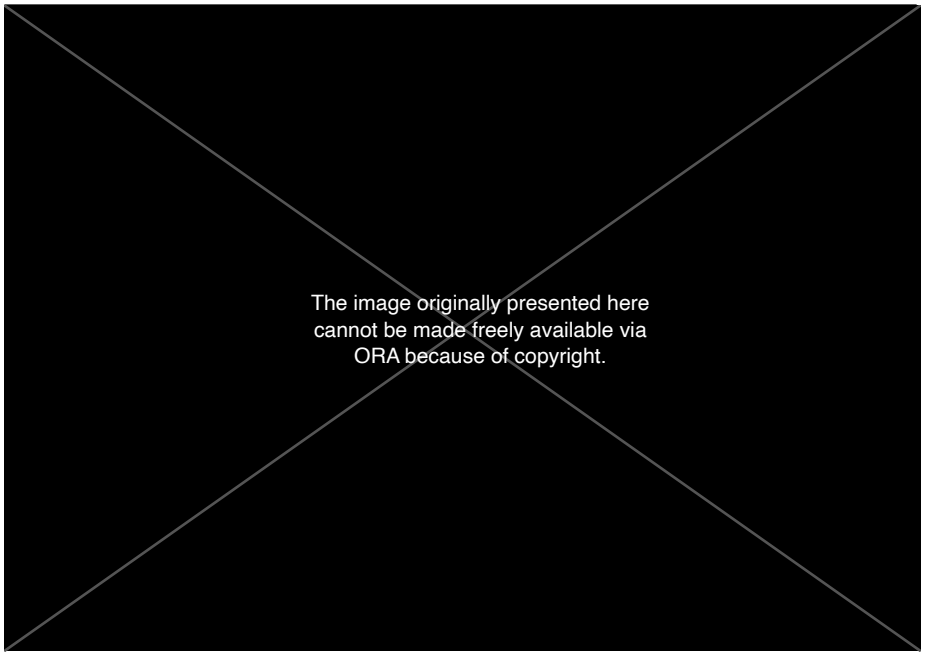


Figure 3.5: Bruern Abbey's Holwell Grange in Swalcliffe and Sibton Ferris. (© Oxfordshire County Council 2004, accessed as for Figure 3.3.)

The suggestion of a continually cropped infield at Holwell is significant, since it sits comfortably with the ways that many Cistercian granges may have been established and developed, particularly those straddling or on the edge of townships, those located on previously undeveloped land, those formed on 'old landholdings' or existing 'block' demesnes (sometimes referred to as an 'inland' or 'infield'), or those with extra-parochial core landholdings.[257] The concept of a 'core' landholding might have applied also at granges established next to tenanted holdings.[258]

256. Taylor 2005; Weston 2013; cf. Hallam 2011, 373-4 on land leased to Flaxley; Moorhouse & Bond 2016 on types of field system and commons.
257. Taylor 2005 on Tilty's Chrishall Grange where a field is named '*No Shire*'; Oosthuizen 2010; Weston 2013; Hall 2014, 95-105, 185-6 on 'compact' or 'block' demesnes.
258. Baker & Butlin 1973, 415-7 on Canterbury Cathedral Priory's *c*.50ha arable infields in Kent; Hall 2014.

It is postulated from this that 'core' and 'non-core' grange landholdings may have been worked primarily by different members of a grange workforce. There were strict regulations on which lay brothers could communicate with seculars, and when they could do so.[259] Therefore, to help maintain their monastic vow of silence and for practical reasons, the lay brothers may primarily have worked an estate's 'core' lands, perhaps infields or consolidated lands near the settlement, and secular staff the 'non-core' and unconsolidated or temporary lands and grazing, particularly any in other townships. The different emphasis may have been reflected in where grange staff lived, and have minimised the need to establish dedicated staff settlements.

3.5 The consolidation of estate landholdings

3.5.1 Putting consolidation into perspective

Some scholars particularly associate consolidation with Cistercian granges, but the significance of consolidation is overstated.[260] Cistercian abbeys acted no differently from other contemporary institutional landowners in seeking to increase and consolidate their landholdings, rights, and other resources in certain geographic areas, and at times increase the amount that was directly managed. Whilst a general consolidation of resources may have been desirable and often sought, especially to develop an abbey's home estate, it may have been achieved only to a degree. As perpetual institutions, Cistercian abbeys could take a long-term view on acquiring, exchanging, and leasing

259. See Chapter 6.
260. For example, Platt 1969; Donkin 1978; Berman 1986; 2013; 2020; Bond *et al*. 1989; Bond 2004; 2018; Burton & Kerr 2011; Jamroziak 2013; cf. Alfonso 1991.

landholdings, with cartularies, deeds, charters, and other records demonstrating the ongoing process.[261] These may document acquisitions, but rarely record what happened to them afterwards. That is why it is difficult to identify which properties were settled with granges and the spatial extents of grange estates, let alone whether and how grange estates were extended, or the degree they were consolidated. Some instances of grange expansion and consolidation may be clearer than others, but it should not be presumed that all acquisitions in an area were used to extend or consolidate a grange estate.

In that respect, there is no evidence to support Donkin's assertion that '*grangia* in Cistercian records' meant 'a largely consolidated, independently controlled estate', or that granges were less common in well settled areas because random donations of small landholdings were more difficult to assemble into large, consolidated estates.[262] The latter may reflect how some granges in Yorkshire and southern France were established but, as demonstrated, many granges in southern England were established in previously consolidated, or what could be termed 'nominally-consolidated' landholdings, such as entire parishes, townships, or manors that contained 'compact' or 'block' demesnes or 'old landholdings'.[263] In many instances, the granges did not encompass entire properties, and abbeys often were content for grange and non-grange holdings to co-exist. A 'balanced resource portfolio' was probably as desirable then as it is today.

Consolidation is often linked to the size of a grange estate, although Jamroziak defines a grange as a farm ranging from 15ha to 200ha in size, without suggesting that it had to

261. For example, Salter 1947-8; Hockey 1974; 1991; Chapman 1977.
262. Donkin 1960a, 149; 1978, 44, 55; Berman 1986; 2013; 2020, 835.
263. Baker & Butlin 1973; Oosthuizen 2010; Hall 2014.

be consolidated.[264] On the other hand, a long-employed archaeological definition of a 'monastic grange' is 'a consolidated block of monastic demesne land, varying from *c*.30ha to *c*.2,000ha or more in size'.[265] In both instances, the sizes mentioned are relatively meaningless, as they cover all types of land: arable, pasture, marsh, moorland, and woodland, and effectively set a low threshold for a single 'block' of arable. This makes a grange, or indeed any other directly managed Cistercian estate, almost indistinguishable from other institutionally-owned and some secular 'block' or 'compact' demesnes.[266] For instance, a secular 'block' demesne of *c*.50ha of arable was granted to Thame to establish Stoke Talmage Grange, with the grange settlement sited on adjacent land probably used for grazing.[267] On the other hand, many grange estates remained small, with some lands unconsolidated. Robertsbridge's Derne Grange had only 24ha of land in total, and none of Robertsbridge's other seven granges had more than 40ha of arable (Figure 2.4).[268] As mentioned above and discussed further below in connection with tithes, some grange estates may have had a large amount of unconsolidated land.

The grazing rights of some granges were shared with others, did not necessarily lie contiguous with a grange's arable, and often were just leased.[269] The leasing of land, particularly for grazing, was always common practice by Cistercian abbeys, and the temporary nature of some landholdings and grazing rights are indicated in a number of

264. Jamroziak 2013, 294.
265. Bond *et al*. 1989; Gilchrist 1994, 69.
266. Hall 2014 makes no distinction between monastic and secular demesnes.
267. Salter 1947-8, 96–9; Lobel 1964; Hall 2014, 101.
268. Chapman 1977. See Donnelly 1954, 406-8 for examples of small grange estates elsewhere in England; Williams 1998, 279 for Europe; Stout 2015 for Ireland.
269. Donkin 1962b, 308-10.

cartularies and records.[270] Many, if not most, Cistercian sheep flocks and possibly some cattle herds were centrally and directly managed from monasteries.[271] As a result, grazing was not necessarily dedicated to serve or be managed by individual granges. Some granges, such as Boxley's Sharpness/Ham Grange on the Medway marshes and La Chene on Romney Marsh, were probably established primarily for animal husbandry, although their role also may have been to facilitate land reclamation. Boxley held over 400ha of marshland on Romney Marsh in its manor of La Chene, but it is not known how much was operated by the grange.[272] Understandably, most studies of Cistercian animal husbandry discuss the subject in broad terms, although sometimes individual granges are mentioned and associations presumed.[273]

In summary, 'consolidation' and 'consolidated' are relative terms, and in practice a very general grouping of landholdings, rights, and resources, including human resources, was probably the more realistic expectation, particularly for large grange estates. Berman describes the consolidation process as 'horizontal' and 'vertical' compacting, which often required purchasing tithe liabilities and various other rights.[274] This two-dimensional consolidation illustrates that 'spatial consolidation' and 'economic consolidation' are two very different things. A grange was a grange because it was inhabited and managed by lay brothers, not by its size or its degree of consolidation.

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270. Perkins 1899; Salter 1947-8; Hockey 1974; 1991; Bouchard 1991, 43-52 on early Cistercian practices; Hobbs 1998.
271. Donkin 1962a; 1978; Britnell 2004, 216 shows that it was a common medieval practice to centralise sheep management out of the hands of local officials; Hurst 2005.
272. Eastlake 2014. Robertsbridge had Broomhill Grange and tenants in the area, Chapman 1977.
273. Power 1941; Donkin 1957; 1958a; 1958b; 1962a; 1962b; 1973; 1978; Graves 1957; Waddell 1994, 31-2 on the ambiguities and flexibilities found in Cistercian legislation on animal husbandry; Dyer 1995; 2012; Page 2003; Bond 2004; Slavin 2013 on the importance of sheep farming to the Templars and comparisons with the Cistercians.
274. Berman 1986.

3.5.2 Defining grange estates from a landscape perspective

In view of the above, a grange estate might best be considered from a landscape perspective as consisting of a 'core' landholding containing the grange settlement and domestic and semi-domestic features, such as orchards, ponds, and paddocks, together with some arable and/or pasture, and other resources. The spatial extent of the 'core' landholding varied, and may have had consolidated and unconsolidated lands.

Outside of the 'core' landholding was a fuzzy 'outer area of exploitation' (for want of a better term). This may have contained arable, pasture, grazing rights, woodland, and other resources and rights. Sometimes the outer area may have been relatively consolidated, but it should not be expected. The area of exploitation could be blurred further where an abbey had other properties, resources, and rights in the area. A grange may have utilised some of these other resources, including human resources, such as tenant services. This outer area was where the spatial and the economic extents of a grange are likely to have diverged, and where an area of exploitation became more of an 'area of influence'. It could be argued that economic divergence sometimes began within a grange settlement if it stored and processed non-grange crops, and other produce, such as from rents, gifts, and tithes. The latter leads on to the murky subject of Cistercian exemptions and freedoms from tithes, and the Order's acceptance of tithes, and their relevance to the landscape archaeology of grange estates.

3.6 Tithes and the Cistercians in landscape studies

Cistercian exemptions from the payment of tithes sometimes have been closely associated with the consolidation of grange landholdings. This is relevant to landscape studies as, without much discussion, a number of authors have followed or refer to Platt's suggestion that the spatial extents of grange estates, and also home farms, can be established from the consolidated blocks of 'tithe-free' or 'tithe-exempt' land recorded in nineteenth-century tithe apportionments and maps.[275] However, the relationship between grange estates and tithes is rather more complicated than portrayed. Without oversimplifying or overcomplicating the subject, this section endeavours to explain why Platt's approach is flawed and can be quite misleading.

3.6.1 The Cistercians and tithes

The principle of tithes was based on ecclesiastical doctrine and law, but operated in accordance with local common laws, customs, and private agreements. There were many disputes about tithes over the centuries that resulted in increasingly complicated laws and customs, especially following the dissolution of the monasteries and the dispersal of their properties and rights.[276] Tithes were not based on the extents of landholdings, but on agricultural output, basically the produce from crops and animals, and tithes were due where the output arose. That posed problems in respect of animals moved between parishes, between tithable and non-tithable lands within a parish, or to

[275.] Platt 1969, 57, 66-7. For example, Barber 1984; Gardiner *et al*. 1991, 89; Astill 1994, 544; Emery *et al*. 1996, 58-9; Williams 1990; 1994; 2001; Hobbs 1998, ix; Hunt & Stone 2003, 9-10; Astill *et al.* 2004, 139; Everson & Stocker 2005, 13 n.21; Service 2010; Burton & Kerr 2011; Brown 2012; Bezant 2014.
[276.] Tomlins 1820, 'Tithes'; Eagle 1830; Constable 1964; Kain & Prince 2000.

extra-parochial lands. For example, the tithes of lambs, cheese, and wool could have been due in different places. Freedom from the liability to pay tithes, 'tithe-free', a general term that incorporates 'tithe-exempt', may have arisen in a number of ways, have applied to different types of produce, and have changed over time.

Too much is made of Cistercian tithe exemptions, particularly as they were never directed at granges *per se*, and tithe-exemption was never a prerequisite to establishing a grange.[277] Other monastic orders sought exemptions and freedoms from tithes and the mitigation of tithe liabilities, but the Cistercians appear to have been the most successful in achieving these in the twelfth century, and later in maintaining their privileges. All monastic orders, including by the mid twelfth century the Cistercians, also sought to acquire the ownership of tithes to mitigate their future liabilities, but more significantly as a valuable source of income.

The standard and most comprehensive text on monastic tithes remains Constable.[278] He shows that the nature of tithes changed over the twelfth century, especially towards its end when his narrative ceases. Other scholars continue the narrative in respect of the Cistercians, although in far less detail and not always in agreement.[279] Disagreement is unsurprising, since 'even within a specific congregation or order, such as the Cistercians, there was no strict uniformity of rights and privileges'.[280] The rights and privileges of Cistercian abbeys changed over time, and the formula of words used in general and individual papal privileges differed. Therefore, Constable suggests that

277. cf. Bezant 2014, 53.
278. Constable 1964 especially 1-8, 190-7, 220-309.
279. Lekai 1977; Berman 1986; 2013; Bouchard 1991; Williams 1998; Desmond 1976; Conyers 2001 compares Savignac and Cistercian abbeys; Jamroziak 2013.
280. Constable 1964, 7.

abbeys might best be considered individually. Ideally, a further step is necessary as the tithe history of each grange estate also differed.

Cistercian exemptions from tithes

The first, and most often cited general papal privilege to the Cistercians, was made by Innocent II in 1132, although there had been some earlier individual exemptions and private agreements made with existing tithe holders.[281] Innocent II exempted the Cistercians from 'the tithes of the goods which you and the brothers of your entire congregation produce by your own hands and for your own use'.[282] The term 'by your own hands' is usually taken by scholars to mean by members of the monastic community, their secular staff, or at an abbey's own expense. The privilege does not state specifically the ownership of the lands worked, or the location of the animals owned.[283] Later general and individual papal privileges use different prescriptions and formulas of words, with individual privileges perhaps having more credence than general ones. For example, Pope Eugene III's 1147 confirmation bull to Waverley exempted it from tithes on income from its animals, and on lands it worked itself or paid to be worked.[284] The wording implies that income from animals was exempt irrespective of where they were located when a 'tithable event' occurred, or who tended them.

Papal policy on Cistercian tithe exemptions continued to change over the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, particularly in 1215 when existing exemptions were

[281.] Ibid., 251-3.
[282.] Williams 1998, 268; Constable 1964, 241-2; cf. Jamroziak 2013, 27 who describes the privilege as exempting 'all Cistercian lands' – a very different thing.
[283.] See Constable 1964 on the subsequent confusions and disagreements of interpretation.
[284.] cf. Dugdale 1846, 242, cf. 237 where this is interpreted as exemption on 'cattle' and on lands 'occupied' by the abbey.

allowed to continue, but produce from arable lands acquired after that date was exempted only if the lands were newly brought into cultivation.[285] Further muddying the waters, in 1224 existing tithe exemptions were extended to lands leased out by abbeys. Significantly, these changes did not stop abbeys from establishing new granges, or extending existing ones with tithable lands.

Composition of tithe liabilities

Cistercian exemptions from tithes frequently led to disputes with previous tithe owners, especially during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries when there were many criticisms of the privileges the Order had acquired. Sometimes this resulted in pensions compulsorily or voluntarily being paid in composition of tithe liabilities. To maintain good ecclesiastical relationships, to mitigate future liabilities, and to avoid future disputes, compositions were made even where an abbey already had, or felt it had the right of tithe exemption. Abbeys also sought to make compositions for their manorial holdings to potentially increase their future profitability. The pensions may have made produce from these lands 'tithe-free', but came at a perpetual fixed annual cost, irrespective of their subsequent revenues. Waverley's Neatham manor is an example where the abbey made a composition of some tithe liabilities.[286]

The values of pensions paid in composition have been little utilised by landscape archaeologists and historians. These pensions may give an indication of the value, and therefore the possible extents of twelfth- and thirteenth-century landholdings, and provide an intermediary link between information in Domesday and the 1291 *Taxatio*

[285.] Williams 1998; Berman 2013.
[286.] Baignet 1882, 6-7; cf. Denton *et al*. 2014, 'Holybourne'.

Ecclesiastica.[287] It is recognised that the printed version of the *Taxatio* contains significant errors, and may be unreliable for a number of reasons.[288] Cross-matching different documentary sources is often necessary, since both the printed and database versions of the *Taxatio* sometimes record pensions as 'portions' of *spiritualities*.

Cistercian acceptance of tithes

Early Cistercian regulations forbade the acceptance of tithes, but in practice they were often accepted, particularly where an abbey owned a related landholding.[289] In 1140, King Stephen gave Waverley the church of Farnham and some of its tithes. On Forde's foundation in 1141 it was given the church and tithes of Thorncombe. Boxley received tithes on it foundation in 1146, Waverley probably acquired the church of Wanborough in 1147, and in *c*.1155 Flaxley received the tithe of chestnuts from the Forest of Dean.[290] Savignac houses always had accepted churches and tithes, and the semi-Savignac abbey of Stanley followed suit.[291] Therefore, the Cistercians in southern England were regularly accepting churches and tithes from the 1140s, at the same time as the earliest granges were being established. Also, when an abbey owned some or all of the landholdings associated with an appropriated church, as in Beaulieu's Great Coxwell and Shilton manors, produce from such landholdings were 'tithe-free' by 'unity of possession'.[292] This freedom from tithes does not appear to have been a factor in deciding where granges were established. For instance, Beaulieu established a grange in Great Coxwell, but not in Shilton.

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287. Caley *et al*. 1802; Dugdale 1846; Denton *et al*.'s 2014 *Taxatio* database covers *spiritualities*.
288. Graham 1908; Lunt 1926; Davnall *et al.* 1992; Denton 1993.
289. Constable 1964; Desmond 1976; Long 1992; Williams 1998.
290. Crawley-Boevey 1887; Desmond 1976; Long 1992.
291. Conyers 2001; Brown 2012.
292. Tomlins 1820, 'Tithes VII' re 'Spiritual persons or corporations…'; Hockey 1976, 42-6 on tithes in Beaulieu's Faringdon *camera*.

3.6.2 Tithes and landscape archaeology and history

Nineteenth-century tithe apportionments and maps

Tithe apportionments and maps are very useful to landscape archaeologists and historians, but the Tithe Commutation Act of 1836 was designed to solve a nineteenth-century problem that had not been solved previously by private or public enclosure acts under which tithe liabilities were extinguished in exchange for allotments of land.[293] The tithe apportionments were therefore more concerned with tithe liabilities than with lands classified as 'customarily exempt'.[294] That term included 'lands owned before 1215 by the Cistercians, Templars or Hospitallers', 'lands which formerly belonged to one of the greater monasteries and which had not paid tithes at the time of the dissolution', and a catch-all 'lands which had paid no tithes from time immemorial'.[295]

Delineating the extents of grange estates

It can be seen from the above that the approach suggested by Platt can be inaccurate and misleading for quite a number of reasons.[296] Fundamentally, Platt conflates 'tithe-exempt' and 'tithe-free' lands, and associates these with consolidated blocks of land in grange estates. His approach also discounts the extents of non-arable and temporary lands that granges may have utilised. Platt generally adopts a rather 'pick-and-mix' approach to monastic estates, selecting characteristics from different monastic orders. In this instance, the construct of 'tithe-exempt/consolidated land' is regarded as a Cistercian characteristic followed by some other monastic orders. Butterworth

293. Kain & Prince 2000, 10-15.
294. Tomlins 1820, 'Tithes'; Eagle 1830; Kain & Prince 2000, especially 2-3. Tithe apportionments do not always record the category of exemption.
295. Kain & Prince 2000, 3 give simplified descriptions, cf. Eagle 1830, 246-90.
296. Platt 1969, 57, 66-71.

illustrates that many monastic orders had 'customarily exempt' landholdings, including some orders predating the Norman Conquest.[297]

Examples from southern England

The Cistercians may have been able to only partially consolidate their grange landholdings. Therefore, lands held in scattered strips or parcels in open fields that may appear to be 'ungrangelike' or 'characteristically manorial', and therefore possibly ignored by scholars, could have been tithe-exempt or tithe-free and part of a grange estate.[298] Equally, separate, apparently consolidated landholdings if relatively near to each other, such as Bruern's Dunthrop and Showell landholdings, and Waverley's landholdings around Nutshelf (Figure 2.1), may have been parts of a single grange estate, irrespective of tithe status or whether they were in different parishes.[299]

Because of its history and size, Kingswood's Hazleton Grange illustrates a number of the aspects discussed above: exemption and freedom from tithes, associated manorial holdings, composition of tithes for pensions, lands and grazing rights in several townships and parishes, and an extra-parochial 'core' landholding where the grange settlement was sited.[300] The grange's arable amounted to *c*.580ha by the beginning of the fourteenth century. However, when the post-dissolution remnant estate was surveyed in 1617 its arable was just *c*.333ha. That consisted of an extra-parochial, tithe-exempt, consolidated 'core' of *c*.110ha (including a 32ha arable field named 'Inlande' near the grange settlement), *c*.70ha (in 40 pieces) of tithe-free and possibly tithe-exempt arable

297. Butterworth 1999.
298. Chapman 1977, 67.
299. cf. Bond 2004, 248; Service 2010, 235-6.
300. Weston 2013. See Taylor 2005 on the extra-parochial status of parts of Tilty's Chrishall and Ringmere granges.

in two open fields in the neighbouring township of Cherington, and *c*.153ha (in 54 pieces) of tithable land in the same and in two other townships, together with extensive grazing rights in all three (Figure 3.2). This clearly shows that the grange was far from consolidated, and in the thirteenth century consisted of tithe-exempt, tithe-free, and tithable lands. Tithe liabilities were extinguished during the eighteenth century following privately-agreed land exchanges, and enclosure acts that excluded Hazleton's extra-parochial core holding. If there had been tithe apportionments, Platt's approach would have suggested that the extent of the grange was only *c*.110ha, or at most *c*.180ha allowing for the tithe-free pieces in the neighbouring township.

Platt's approach also would be flawed for Waverley's Tongham Grange, which is recorded as having 12.5ha of consolidated tithe-free land and several unconsolidated tithe-free fields.[301] However, with tithable land the whole estate probably exceeded 60ha. Beaulieu's Great Coxwell Grange also had unconsolidated lands. In the early fifteenth century, the leased former grange estate had 21ha of consolidated arable, another 161ha (in 54 pieces) in three open fields, plus 9ha in crofts.[302] Under direct management, whether or not by a grange, these lands would have been 'tithe-free' by 'unity of possession', and most also may have been 'tithe-exempt' in being directly cultivated before 1215.

In conclusion, tithe exemptions and other freedoms from tithes were far from static during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and continued to be so after abbeys began to sub-divide and lease their grange estates from the early thirteenth century. There is no

[301] Service 2010, 241-3, Appendix 13.
[302] Gray 1915, 454. France 2012, 132 suggests that the grange arable totalled 160ha.

link between Cistercian tithe exemptions and the spatial or economic extents of grange estates. Tithe exemptions were never specifically granted to granges, but to produce from any directly worked land and from animal husbandry. There was nothing to prevent grange estates from consisting of tithe exempt, tithe-free, and tithable holdings, depending on where, when, and how different parcels or strips of land were acquired and employed, and who owned the tithes. The identification of a 'tithe-exempt', 'tithe-free', or 'customarily exempt' landholding where there is thought to have once been a grange estate may betray its presence, rather than its extent. If anything, it is likely to understate the estate's spatial extent, and almost certainly its economic extent. On the other hand, an extra-parochial or tithe-exempt landholding may betray a grange's core landholding and the location of its settlement. This returns focus back on the numbers of lay brothers living in these settlements and the staffing of grange estates.

3.7 Lay brothers and the staffing of granges

3.7.1 Recruitment of lay brothers for granges and monasteries

A key issue arising from the phasing of Cistercian settlement is the recruitment of lay brothers. The traditional view, or at least the impression given by many scholars, is that, irrespective of the size of a grange estate, lay brothers initially comprised the entire or almost the entire workforce before their numbers reduced from the late twelfth century.[303] This has led to the generalisation, apparently based also on the assumption of

[303] Donnelly 1949; 1954; Roehl 1972; Lekai 1977; Donkin 1978; Higounet 1983; Alfonso 1991; Newman 1996; Burton 1998; Coppack 1998; 2009; Williams 1998; Cassidy-Welch 2001; Bond 2004, 48; 2018; Noell 2006; Dyer 2009, 135-6; Burton & Kerr 2011; France 2012; Oram 2012; Jamroziak 2013, 64-5.

the rapid establishment of many granges, that 'within a few decades of the establishment of the earliest foundations in England, the Cistercians attracted thousands of lay brethren to their monasteries, transforming the early poverty of the order into substantial wealth'.[304] However, it has been shown that some of the earliest abbeys had substantial foundation grants, Savignac abbeys already had valuable properties when incorporated into the Order, only 14 granges were established in southern England during the first 25 years of Cistercian settlement, and that a number of abbeys and nunneries never established granges. There is no proven link between the suggested 'substantial wealth' of Cistercian abbeys and the number of their lay brothers, especially because the latter is very rarely known, as shown below.

Any suggestion that lay brothers fully manned new granges would have to assume that abbeys already had or were able to quickly attract and, as importantly, support sufficiently large numbers of able-bodied men willing to commit themselves to a highly regulated, silent, possessionless, and celibate monastic life. However, lay brothers did not simply 'turn up' to man monasteries and granges. Any man interested first had to obtain permission from his local diocesan bishop, and then successfully complete a year as a novice before being accepted into the Order.[305] The second requirement, at least, almost certainly would have been enforced. Therefore, the recruitment of a large number of lay brothers may have been a relatively slow process and, although unstated, have required the novices to live and work within the monastery and home farm.

304. Lucas's 2014, 27 'rags to riches' narrative is echoed by Gilchrist 2014, 239-40.
305. Lekai 1977, 336; Waddell 2000, 164-5, 183-7. Abbeys recorded newly professed lay brothers just as they recorded new monks.

There appear to be no surviving records of lay brother recruitment in Britain, but an indication of the rate of their recruitment comes from the records of the important abbeys of Vaucelles (Hauts-de-France, France) and Ten Duinen (Belgium). Vaucelles was founded shortly after Waverley in 1131 and was also relatively slow to establish granges, with probably only five of its eventual 16 granges established before 1151.[306] Over the 20-year period the abbey recruited 126 lay brothers to man its monastery, home farm, and granges, an average of six per annum. This indicates that the abbey may have had *c*.100 lay brothers in 1151. The number increased to 300 by the mid thirteenth century, although that also was when the abbey began to lease out some of its granges. In comparison, Ten Duinen recruited 118 lay brothers between its incorporation into the Order in 1138 and 1189, an average of just over two per annum in the 50 year period, three to four per annum in 1189-1230, eight per annum in 1230-58, increasing to 15 per annum in 1259-99, decreasing to four per annum in 1305-1354.[307]

Every Cistercian abbey no doubt differed, but these two examples indicate that men did not necessarily flock to become lay brothers during the twelfth century, and suggests that there may have been a practical limit to how many lay brothers could be recruited and managed as novices at any one time. These examples show also that the number of lay brothers at some abbeys increased, rather than decreased during the thirteenth century. The recruitment of lay brothers may have been a balancing act between attracting men to become lay brothers, turning unsuitable ones away, being able to support a certain number administratively and materially, and deciding how individuals could best be utilised between the monastery, home farm, and granges.

306. Salzer 2009, 53; 2017, 120-2, 195-7.
307. Southern 1990, 266.

Resource matching the supply of lay brothers with property acquisitions and the establishment of granges would not have been straightforward. For example, Waverley's ability to support a large community with its initial landholdings was questioned earlier. When the abbey began to acquire substantial properties and establish granges in the 1140s, it then, and only then, obtained the resources to support a large community. At the same time the abbey had to decide how to man its new acquisitions, although it would have benefited economically whoever worked them. The same situation would have occurred when Bruern acquired the bulk of Bruern parish and lands in adjoining parishes in *c*.1173.

It is unlikely that sufficient numbers of lay brothers were readily available to fully man all of the properties that abbeys acquired, or even all new granges established, unless the latter were at first kept small. This accords with the earlier suggestion that the paramount importance may have been to establish a Cistercian presence in an area, rather than swarming a grange with lay brothers. It would have been easiest to fully man small or pastoral granges, such as Waverley's Nutshelf, Northolt, and Oxenford, Bruern's Holwell, and Netley's Roydon granges, and granges established primarily as estate centres. The extents of some grange estates may even have been constrained, at least initially, to enable them to be manned largely by lay brothers.

Most importantly, an abbey had to find suitable candidates to become grangers. Their selection was crucial as they were entrusted to manage the often distant granges, other lay brothers, and employ and manage secular staff, all in accordance with Cistercian

monastic principles and an abbey's economic goals.[308] Managing a pastoral grange would have been a very different proposition from managing a 300ha arable grange with a large workforce, especially one well-manned by lay brothers. The granger was the grange's day-to-day spiritual leader as much as its temporal manager, and could decide and administer some punishments.[309] He was responsible for relationships with local secular communities and markets, and sometimes was the collector of tenant rents and other payments and donations to an abbey. Grangers could have come from any class of society until at least the late twelfth century, and the role probably would have suited the better educated and those with a military background.

Since abbeys could always employ secular labour if they wished or needed to, and as the initial size of a grange estate could be constrained, it would be best to think in terms of the minimum number of lay brothers required to establish and man any grange. It is unlikely that the Cistercians would send out a granger on his own, therefore two lay brothers were probably the minimum number. More were no doubt sent out to establish many granges, with other lay brothers subsequently recruited, but there are unlikely to have been many instances where granges, especially large arable granges, were manned entirely by lay brothers. From this and Tables 2.5-2.7 it is postulated that, at least until the 1160s, most lay brothers in southern England were recruited to man monasteries and home farms, rather than granges. That continued to be the case for many abbeys.

308. Dubois 1972, 174-7; Williams 1998, 287-8; France 2012, 139-50.

309. In accordance with the *Usus Conversorum*, the granger, as the most senior lay brother, led the others in prayer, and as 'master' could assign penances prior to further discipline in chapter, Waddell 2000, 166-8, 179-81, 191, 202. Other normative texts appear silent on the spiritual role of the granger, perhaps because in that respect he was overseen by the *magister conversorum*, the monk in charge of the spiritual discipline of lay brothers and their confessor. The *magister* was expected to visit granges regularly, where he could hold chapter, hear confessions, and instruct the granger, Williams 1998, 85; France 2012, 59-60, 139-9. Also, scholars have taken very little interest in the spiritual aspects of lay brothers, particularly those living in granges.

3.7.2 Numbers of lay brothers in abbeys and granges

The numbers of lay brothers in abbeys and granges are extremely difficult to establish. There are very few records of lay brother populations anywhere in Europe, especially dating to the twelfth century, and most of the accounts come from large abbeys.[310] Table 3.4 gives all pre-Black Death lay brother populations in England and Wales that are recorded in or indicated by documentary sources. It is a sparse list.

Abbey	Date of Population	Number of Lay Brothers
Rievaulx, Yorks.	1167	*c*.240 (roughly estimated)
Waverley, Surrey	1187	120
Louth Park, Lincs.	1227x46	150
Byland, Yorks.	1231	<160 (maximum 'quota')
Kingswood, Glos.	1240x55	*c*.35 (estimated)
Meaux, Yorks.	1249; 1349	90; 7
Beaulieu, Hants.	1269/70	68 (probably)
Bordesley, Worcs.	1332	7-10
Margam, Glamorgan	1336	40
Newenham, Devon	1338	3-5

Table 3.4: Pre-Black Death lay brother populations in English and Welsh abbeys.[311]

The figure for Waverley, which has been accepted unquestionably by scholars, comes from its annals and is probably relatively accurate.[312] The Rievaulx figure is based on the hagiography of Abbot Aelred and is possibly less so. Scholars disagree on whether the hagiography refers to 500 lay brothers, or whether that number includes secular staff and servants, although this and other authors agree that 500 seems an exaggeration and

310. Dubois 1972, 187-8 comments on the unqualified and exaggerated accounts sometimes found in discussions of lay brother numbers.
311. Sources are Donnelly 1954, 452-8; Knowles & Hadcock 1971, 110-28; Williams 1998, 82-3; France 2012, 128-30. See below re Kingswood.
312. Luard 1865, 244. The entry, which also gives the number of plough teams and monks, appears to be an interjection into the greater historical narrative, rather than making a point.

follow Daniel & Powicke's suggestion that perhaps there were *c*.240 lay brothers.[313] That figure is based on the assumption that Rievaulx had the same ratio of lay brothers to monks as Waverley (accepting the numbers in its annals). Illustrating a point Dubois makes about unqualified citations, Williams notes that Byland was allowed a maximum quota of 160 lay brothers, whereas France represents that as the actual population.

Suggested numbers of Cistercian lay brothers and how the numbers are described vary greatly. Lekai suggests that the 'average' abbey in Europe may have had about 20 lay brothers during the twelfth century.[314] On the other hand, Knowles & Hadcock suggest that the *c*.70 abbeys in England and Wales had a population of *c*.3,200 lay brothers in *c*.1200, an average of 46 lay brothers per abbey, whereas Williams postulates a European average of 80 lay brothers per abbey, which he thinks may be an underestimate.[315]

Employing a different approach, France relates the average number of lay brothers at each grange (probably including home farms in the definition) to the number of granges an abbey had, and postulates that a 'small abbey', classified as one with five granges, had on average five lay brothers at each, whilst a 'large abbey', like Fountains in North Yorkshire with 26 possible granges, had on average 15 lay brothers at each.[316] Although expressed in a rather different way, these numbers are broadly similar to Barrière's

313. Hill 1968, 138; Knowles & Hadcock 1971, 124; Fergusson 1984, 33 n.12; Daniel & Powicke 1994, 119; 164 n.84; Williams 1998, 82 suggests the 500 may be the number recruited over the 20 year period of Aelred's abbacy; France 2012, 129; Jamroziak 2013, 65; Cassidy-Welch 2020, 1033; cf. Dubois 1972, 188 n.237; Fergusson & Harrison 1999, 47-58, 98 are ambiguous on numbers, although suggest that Rievaulx's west range could accommodate only *c*.150.
314. Lekai 1977, 44.
315. Knowles & Hadcock 1953, 54 n.2, 360 n.1; 1971, 488-95; Williams 1998, 82-3. Campbell 2008, 900, Table 1 assumes that Knowles & Hadcock's numbers still applied in *c*.1291.
316. France 2012, 130, 133 suggests that Fountains had 390 lay brothers, although the monastery dormitory could accommodate only 170.

generalisation that French granges each housed on average between five and 15 lay brothers at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[317] Barrière also suggests that an 'ordinary abbey' then had between 30 and 120 lay brothers in total, that abbeys had more secular staff than lay brothers, and that lay brothers had become a small body of supervisors and specialists by the first half of the thirteenth century. There is little basis for most of these generalisations, although Barrière's numbers accord well with the possible numbers in southern England discussed below.

The above generalisations mainly reflect the position in the early thirteenth century, at a time when the numbers of lay brothers are suggested to have started to decline, although peak numbers and their dates are never given.[318] There is no agreement on when a decline began or how fast it occurred, although Jamroziak suggests that it began in the 1180s, indicating the peak, with a sharp decline from the late thirteenth century. In many studies, the reductions in the numbers of lay brothers and granges are linked in a rather 'chicken-and-egg' debate about which came first, the causes of the reductions, and when they occurred, and are often portrayed as a sequential and retrograde step from a perceived Cistercian 'ideal' of granges entirely or predominantly worked by lay brothers, to granges partially manned or only managed by them, to granges becoming secularly managed or let.[319]

317. Barrière 1994, 47 citing and developing on Higounet 1983, 172, who suggests that the number of lay brothers at any grange rarely exceeded 20.
318. For example, Donnelly 1949; 1954; Williams 1998, 279; Fergusson & Harrison 1999, 56-7; Cassidy-Welch 2001, 178-180; Noell 2006, 273-4; Burton & Kerr 2011, 152, 159, 175 give contradictory chronologies on the extent of the decline in lay brother numbers; France 2012, 300-22; Berman 2013, 120; Jamroziak 2013, 64, 186-9; Lawrence 2015, 162 suggests that lay brother numbers remained buoyant until the fourteenth century, as does Campbell 2006, 206.
319. For example, Donnelly 1949; 1954; Graves 1966; Berman 1968; Alfonso 1991; Coppack 1998; Williams 1998; Bond 2018.

Disciplinary problems with lay brothers, which are probably exaggerated as they were recorded by monks, and the difficulty of recruiting new lay brothers, are cited as the reasons for their decline in numbers and, consequently, the manning levels and numbers of granges.[320] Although the point on manning levels is valid, Beaulieu must have been able to recruit 150-200 lay brothers from its foundation in 1203 to have had *c*.68 in 1269/70, the numbers of lay brothers in Vaucelles and Ten Duinen abbeys increased during the thirteenth century, as did the number of granges in southern England.

An alternative, although not entirely opposing view, is that abbeys had more freedom to hold properties in different ways from the early thirteenth century and, therefore, needed fewer lay brothers. It is also suggested that restrictions on tithe exemptions made it less worthwhile to establish new granges or expand existing ones, except on uncultivated lands. However, it has been shown that abbeys in southern England always held properties in various ways, restrictions on tithe exemptions did not affect whether or not granges were established or extended, and the number of granges increased in the thirteenth century. Abbeys were also relatively slow in bringing in secular managers or leasing out granges, especially large granges, until the fourteenth century.

There does seem to have been a general decline in the numbers of lay brothers and granges in England and Wales in the thirteenth and early fourteen centuries, but the number of lay brothers cannot be directly related to the number of granges although, obviously, the number of grangers can. Every house differed, and it would be wrong to overgeneralise on the timing, extent, and causes of any declines.

320. cf. Noell 2006; France 2012.

3.7.3 Lay brothers and staffing in southern England

Moving on from generalisations, the lay brother numbers and staffing of a few abbeys in southern England can be considered in more detail.

Waverley is recorded as having 120 lay brothers in 1187, when it probably operated ten or 11 granges and possessed about 30 plough teams.[321] As Waverley had a number of non-grange estates, it is unclear whether all of the plough teams were for its home farm and granges. Assuming they were and that mixed farming was practised, the number of lay brothers seems insufficient to have fully manned the monastery, home farm, and granges. Waverley's two most important granges, Neatham and Wanborough, are likely to have housed the largest numbers of lay brothers, with possibly up to 30 at each.

Waverley appears to have had the largest number of lay brothers of any abbey in southern England during the twelfth century, although the number probably dropped below Beaulieu's during the thirteenth century. Despite possibly having as many granges, there is no indication that Quarr had as many lay brothers as Waverley or Beaulieu, both of which had larger monastery west ranges.[322] In that respect, Knowles & Hadcock suggest that Stanley's late twelfth- or early-thirteenth century west range could accommodate no more than *c*.40 lay brothers.[323] That number would have been insufficient to fully man Stanley's monastery, home farm, and its possible five to ten granges.

321. Luard 1865, 244.
322. Hockey 1970; Robinson 1998.
323. Knowles & Hadcock 1971, 125; cf. Brakspear 1908.

The most detailed information on grange staffing for any abbey in Britain comes from Kingswood's little exploited cellarer accounts.[324] Kingswood was quite different from neighbouring Stanley and had few non-grange landholdings, with its manors of Culkerton and Ozleworth, both thirteenth-century purchases, associated with granges.[325] Lay brother numbers are not given in the accounts, but the accounts for 1240/41 record the expenses for drink for lay brothers and grange servants in the abbey's then seven granges. Lay brother and servant numbers, or in theory the multiples thereof, can be extrapolated from the information. The number of lay brothers living within the monastery is unknown, but there are unlikely to have been many, perhaps less than ten, as the abbey's Upper and Lower granges encompassed nearly all of its home estate. The number of monks is also unknown, but there were possibly less than 30. Archaeology is presently unable to provide an indication of the size of Kingswood's claustral ranges since, although there is an extant late-fifteenth century gatehouse, their exact site remains unknown.[326]

The cellarer accounts give detailed information of the abbey's secular staff for the winter terms to Hockday in 1255 and 1256, and show that the abbey had one property directly managed by a secular 'master'.[327] A number of scholars mention some of the details, but not the overall context.[328] Therefore, incorporating the slightly earlier probable numbers of lay brothers and servants, Table 3.5 provides an unparalleled

[324.] Perkins 1899, based on manuscripts now held in University of Bristol Library DM104/12, DM104/24. The manuscripts are worth revisiting by a documentary historian.
[325.] Lindley 1954; Weston 2013.
[326.] Lindley 1954, Plate XX. Mark Horton postulates that the gatehouse was the entrance to the abbot's lodgings, not the monastery, Newcombe 2019.
[327.] The numbers therefore exclude harvest labour or allow for tenant services.
[328.] Donnelly 1954; Graves 1957; Platt 1969. Higounet 1983, 173 and Williams 1998, 289 also mention staff numbers in some European granges.

picture of the abbey's personnel and their roles in, say, *c*.1250. It indicates the forms of agriculture practised at each property, the numbers and types of plough teams, hence the possible arable extents of the estates. All of Kingswood's granges practised mixed farming, whether they lay in the clay of the Severn Vale or the predominantly limestones of the Cotswolds. Reflecting the latter, the three Cotswold granges of Hazleton, Tetbury, and Calcot had all-horse plough teams, although variations in soils and terrain within the estates also required ox teams.[329] Significantly, the abbey's 35 shepherds were not allocated to individual granges, but centrally accounted for and almost certainly centrally managed.[330] Their numbers suggest that Kingswood had a flock of at *c*.12,000 sheep, which probably increased by the end of the century.[331] In general, Cistercian sheep farming, wool production, and the substantial income derived from exports occurred mainly during the thirteenth century.[332]

In *c*.1250, Kingswood possibly had in total *c*.30 monks and *c*.35 lay brothers, and regularly employed *c*.190 secular staff and servants. It operated eight granges and one directly managed property, together utilising 23 plough teams. The abbey possessed two principal manorial holdings, both linked to granges, and a number of other smaller properties.[333] This illustrates that an average-sized abbey with more than five granges conducting mixed farming would have required a considerable amount of temporal support, which is very unlikely to have been provided solely by lay brothers. For instance, Waverley would have required considerably more than 120 lay brothers to have fully manned its monastery and worked lands with 30 plough teams.

329. cf. Langdon 1986, 107-12.
330. For Beaulieu's shepherds see Talbot 1958; Hockey 1975, 16, 22.
331. Donkin 1978; Page 2003; Bond 2004; Fleming & Barker 2008, 270; Dyer 2012, 150-1.
332. Power 1941; Donkin 1957; 1962b; 1978; Munro 1978; Jamroziak 2003; Bell *et al*. 2007.
333. Perkins 1899; Lindley 1954; Weston 2012.

GRANGE	Lay Brothers	Grange Servants	Ploughmen+Drivers	Carters and Harvestmen	Horsemen	Cowherds	Swineherds	'Boys' of the grange	Cooks	Cooks' boys	TOTAL STAFF
Upper Grange	4	-	3 + 4	2	1	1	-	-	1	-	16
Lower Grange	3	-	4 + 5	2	1	1	-	-	1	-	17
Hazleton	7	3	Horse 3 + 3 Ox 4 + 5	4	1	1	1	2	1	1	36
Tetbury	3	1	Horse 1 + 2	2	1	1	-	-	1	-	12
Calcot	4	1	Horse 1 + 1 Ox 1 + 2	2	1	1	1	-	1	1	17
Ozleworth	2	-	2 + 3	2	1	1	-	-	1	1	13
Egge	2?	-?	2 + 3	2	1	1	-	-	1	-	12
Charteshull	3	-	1 + 1	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	8
TOTALS	28	5	22 + 29	16	8	8	2	2	8	3	131

In addition:

At Bagstone (formerly a grange):	1 'master', 1 ploughman, 1 driver, 1 horseman, and 1 cowherd;
Under 'Pag'[enses] ('men in the country'):	35 shepherds, 7 peasants, and 10 threshers;
Under 'Curtill'[age]:	2 carters, 2 ditchers, 1 laundryman;
In the Abbey:	1 forester, 1 brushwood cutter, 4 carters, 1 cowherd, 1 stableman, 1 skinner, 1 boy each for the cellarer and sub-cellarer, 5 boys for the abbot, 1 baker/brewer, 1 miller/baker, 1 sifter, 1 baker's boy, 1 brewer's boy, and 1 swineherd.

Total additional personnel: 84 (excluding monks and lay brothers living in the monastery).

Table 3.5 Kingswood's staffing levels in *c*.1250, based on lay brother and servant numbers in 1240x41 and secular staff numbers in 1255x56.

A more detailed account can be made of the development of Kingswood's Hazleton Grange estate, and the possible number of lay brothers required to fully man it. Hazleton is recorded in Domesday as having seven ploughs (four demesne and three tenanted) and 25 heads of households, and is unlikely to have differed much in size when acquired by the abbey in *c*.1140.[334] The same number of plough teams were in operation 100 years later, when the grange had a regular total workforce of 36. If some shepherds were added, about 40 lay brothers would have been required to fully work the estate from *c*.1140. That almost certainly never happened, and some regular and seasonal staff were always employed, and tenanted lands only gradually incorporated into the grange. The seven plough teams recorded in 1255-6 (*c*.450ha of two-course arable based on the local carucate of 160 field acres) increased to nine carucates (*c*.580ha) when assessed in 1291, and 1,440 acres (*c*.580ha) were recorded in 1318x20.[335] The increased hectarage may be why a large barn, discussed in the following chapter, was constructed in 1290. Although the estate's size increased, the number of lay brothers reduced from seven in 1240 to two by 1313. This illustrates that there is no direct association between the size of a grange estate and the number of its lay brothers. However, the size of an estate provides a rough parameter for the possible size of the lay brother accommodation, which, in theory, may originally have been built in anticipation of communally housing 30 to 40 lay brothers. As discussed and demonstrated in Chapter 6, the size of a building required to house even 20 to 30 lay brothers would have been considerable. Other granges could be considered in a similar way.

334. Weston 2013.
335. Lindley 1954, 182; TNA, C131/1/2.

The richly endowed, royal foundation of Beaulieu was a very different abbey from Kingswood, and indeed all other abbeys in southern England. As Beaulieu was founded in 1203 there is no reason to suppose that its lay brother numbers were ever significantly greater than the *c*.68 indicated by the abbey's accounts for 1269/70.[336] The accounts are more sophisticated and detailed than Kingswood's, but less clear on total staffing numbers. Hockey suggests that Beaulieu's six 'home' granges each housed between two and eight lay brothers, and that its other granges housed no more.[337] Including lay brothers, St Leonard's perhaps had a regular workforce of *c*.40, Beufre *c*.35, and Wyke perhaps *c*.30. It can be seen from this that the 19 granges operated by Kingswood and Beaulieu each housed between two and eight lay brothers in the mid thirteenth century. Stanley may have had similar numbers at each of its possible ten granges, and there is no reason to believe that Quarr had any more at its 15 possible granges. As Waverley established no new granges after 1189 and had financial problems from the early thirteenth century, there may then have been similar numbers in its granges. Therefore, at least 55, if not almost all, granges in southern England may each have had between two and eight lay brothers in the mid to late thirteenth century. The numbers of lay brothers during the twelfth century remains open to speculation.

No two grange estates were the same, and their arable extents cannot be directly compared by reference to their staff numbers, since the quality, agricultural regimes, and productivity of lands differed. However, as broad indicators, St Leonard's, Beufre, and Hazleton, which were almost certainly the largest arable granges in southern

336. This number is based on the numbers of pairs of shoes and outfits distributed to Beaulieu's lay brothers over the year, Talbot 1958, 196, 201; Hockey 1975, 17-18; Oldland 2013.
337. Hockey 1975, 18-22 for possible numbers of lay brothers and secular staff in each grange.

England, all appear to have had more than 35 staff in total, and over 400ha of arable.[338] In comparison, Meaux's Wharram and Fountains's Bradley granges in Yorkshire, where staffing levels are unknown, are reported to have had 445ha and 400ha of arable respectively, and Neath's Monknash and Gelligarn granges in Glamorgan are both suggested to have had *c*.325ha.[339] However, illustrating that the sizes of individual grange estates can be misleading when considering Cistercian agriculture, Bruern's home estate, consisting of its home farm and Sandbrook and Tangley granges, farmed at least 580ha of arable in 1279.[340] Other home farm and 'home' grange groupings, as at Boxley, Cleeve, and Newenham, could be considered in the same way.

3.8 Conclusions

This chapter has continued to illustrate that grange estates were only one form of sustenance and revenue, and that for many Cistercian houses their contribution was not substantial, even during the twelfth century. The operational and economic heyday of granges was the thirteenth century, when new granges continued to be established and existing ones increased in size. That happened at the same time as lay brother numbers reduced, although that reduction was probably not as great as often suggested because the peak numbers of lay brothers were never as high as sometimes assumed.

The establishment of a grange affected local secular societies in different ways and to differing degrees. A number of granges were established in previously consolidated or

338. cf. France 2012, 132 who suggests that St Leonard's had 330ha of arable and Great Coxwell 160ha; Service 2010, Appendix 2, S21 suggests that Wanborough may have had *c*.300ha. The extent of Neatham grange in unclear, although it may have had only *c*.90ha of arable.
339. Griffiths 1982, 260-6; Bond 2014, 48.
340. Page 2019, 303.

‘nominally-consolidated’ properties, such as townships or manors with ‘block’ demesnes, and grange estates did not necessarily encompass entire properties. Grange and non-grange resources often were operated side by side, and sometimes were spatially, economically, and administratively intertwined. This created a forever-changing mixture of Cistercian economic resources. Granges were never managed in isolation, but as a part of a house’s overall resource portfolio.

There appear to be few discrete archaeological features outside of grange settlements that distinguish grange estates from other directly managed Cistercian estates or from ecclesiastical estates in general. Apart from being managed and partially worked by lay brothers, there is no evidence that the Cistercians operated a distinctive system or style of agriculture. Granges mostly followed local agricultural practices, particularly where some of their lands lay in open fields, were shared with others, or were only temporary leased. The presence of lay brothers may have led to granges being more closely and better managed but, so far, there is no evidence that grange estates were any more productive as a result. There is no evidence that the productivity of a grange was related to the number of its lay brothers.

Like other institutional landowners, the Cistercians endeavoured to consolidate their landholdings and rights as much as possible. However, the significance of consolidated grange estates is presently overstated. Spatially and economically, it would be better to regard a grange estate as consisting of a central core of mainly consolidated lands, plus a more ‘fuzzy’ outer area of exploitation and influence. Different parts of a grange

estate may have been worked by different members of the workforce, with lay brother labourers concentrating on the core lands.

The use of nineteenth-century tithe apportionments to determine the spatial extents of twelfth and thirteenth century grange estates can be very misleading, since produce from granges could have been tithe-exempt, tithe free, or tithable, and as grange estates may have consisted of consolidated and unconsolidated lands and rights. However, the tithe apportionments may indicate a grange's core landholding where the settlement lay.

The extent that lay brothers manned granges is open to speculation as there are almost no records of their numbers, especially from the twelfth century. There are practical problems with the assumption that granges, especially large arable granges, were fully or mainly manned by lay brothers. The largest granges in southern England would have required about 40 lay brothers to regularly man them. The recruitment of lay brothers could not, nor was intended to keep up with the acquisition of landholdings and the establishment and operation of granges. Permanent and temporary secular staff were nearly always employed, and tenant services used where available. There was no direct correlation between the numbers of lay brothers and the numbers or sizes of grange estates. Although a number of grange estates grew in size during the thirteenth century, by the middle of the century many, if not most, granges in southern England were manned by only two to eight lay brothers. Probably only two lay brothers would have been required to operate any grange, although a lone granger may have been acceptable by the late thirteenth century.

Granges became secularly managed or let by the mid thirteenth century, increasingly so during the early fourteenth century until probably none was in operation by the arrival of the Black Death. It would be wrong to generalise on why Cistercian granges stopped being established, as some abbeys in southern England stopped establishing granges before the end of the twelfth century, and some never started.

CHAPTER 4: GRANGE SETTLEMENTS, ENCLOSURES, AND THE AGRICULTURAL BUILDINGS

4.1 Introduction

The day to day operational centres of granges, and sometimes also of an abbey's other nearby properties, were the settlements where the lay brothers lived. Cistercian grange settlements were not expected to resemble miniaturised monasteries or secular farmsteads. In endeavouring to capture the possible diversity that might be found throughout Europe over a wide period of time, Williams characterises grange settlements as ranging from 'almost miniature monasteries – with precinct wall, gatehouse, hostelry, chapel, calefactory, refectory and dorter, as well as having a barn, animal shelters, and possibly a mill', to 'little more than sheep runs with a bare minimum of essential buildings'.[341] Although perhaps accurately reflecting the extremes, this fails to bring out the point that all Cistercian grange settlements were social and physical constructs that mediated the requirements of a cenobitic monastic settlement with those needed to conduct economic, mainly agricultural, activities.

The physical features and forms of the settlements, and the activities carried out within them were influenced by the presence of lay brothers and any monks, with the siting and form of their accommodation designed to enable them to follow the rules, regulations, and customs of the Order.[342] The monastic accommodation had to be kept separate from any provided for secular staff or visitors, and any agricultural buildings

341. Williams 1998, 276.
342. Waddell 2000, 177-81.

frequented by seculars. That probably influenced the layout of a settlement, perhaps with the agricultural buildings and any secular accommodation sited towards the fore, and the monastic accommodation sited towards the centre or rear, and whether the latter needed to be physically enclosed in any way.[343] The less the presence of seculars, probably the less the need to enclose or separate the monastic accommodation.

Although the types of agricultural and industrial buildings may have differed little from those found in local manorial farmsteads, their number, sizes, and quality of construction may have differed, since the buildings could also have served other granges and Cistercian-owned properties in the area. It was not necessarily the home farm or nearest granges that provisioned a monastery, and large-scale storage and processing facilities may have been needed in some settlements. Conversely, small or predominantly pastoral granges probably had the bare minimum of essential buildings. However, irrespective of a grange's type or size, some buildings, such as barns and the monastic accommodation, may have been constructed to make a statement about an abbey's authority or importance in the area.

This chapter considers the siting, establishment, and enclosure of grange settlements, and the agricultural and industrial buildings. The following two chapters will consider the accommodation provided for lay brothers, monks, and monastic visitors, and the separate accommodation required for any male secular staff and visitors. Women were not permitted to live in grange settlements, or enter them without an abbot's permission, but were allowed to live and work in grange estates.[344]

343. cf. Gardiner 2017 on the opposite layout of manorial farmsteads.
344. Williams 1998, 131-3, 282; Waddell 2000.

4.2 Siting and establishment of grange settlements

The siting of grange settlements

Granges were a type of dispersed settlement, which could be described as detached or isolated farmsteads. However, they were not sited to avoid or minimise contact with secular society, as many granges, especially arable granges, required a sizeable workforce of local men and women, were estates centres for all of an abbey's holdings in an area, and required good access to their monasteries and local markets. A number of grange settlements, such as Tilty's Chrishall, Kingswood's Calcot, Thame's Stoke Talmage, Stanley's Richardson, and Beaulieu's Great Coxwell granges, were sited close to existing secular settlements or major routeways (Figures 4.1-4.2).

Apart from a suitable site for the buildings and access to a supply of potable water, the diversity of sites chosen can be seen from some of the landscape studies of granges in southern England.[345] The possible extents of Waverley's granges indicate that the settlements of Wanborough, Neatham, Oxenford, Dockenfield, Swarraton, and Dummer were placed relatively centrally within their core landholdings.[346] All were established by the acquisition of the entire, or the core part of an existing manor or township. The settlements of Wanborough and Neatham, and Bruern's Sandbrook and Tangley granges appear to have been sited to avoid existing secular settlements, and at the same time better exploit the territory (Figures 3.3-3.4). In comparison, the settlements of the small properties acquired by Waverley at Northolt, Nutshelf, and Tongham seem to have been located near their estate boundaries. It is unclear why that was, except to suggest that it

345. Taylor 2005; Kidd 2006; Service 2010; Brown 2012; Weston 2013.
346. Service 2010.

may have been in anticipation of acquiring further lands in adjoining manors or townships. However, these granges had little subsequent expansion.

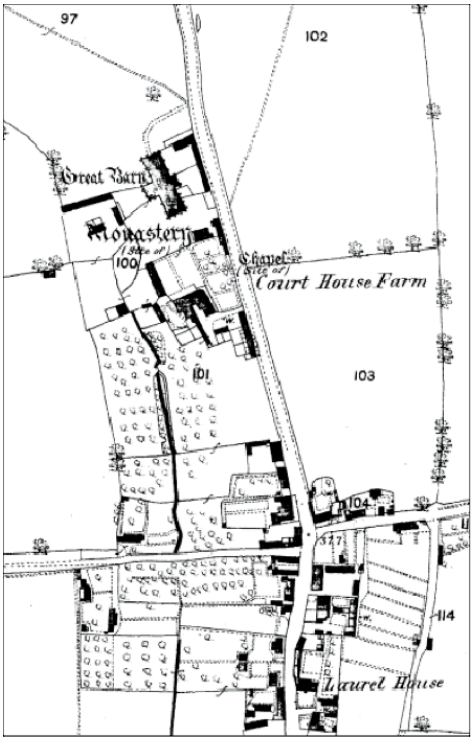


Figure 4.1: The siting of Great Coxwell Grange in relation to the secular village. (1876 OS map © Crown Copyright 2013)



Figure 4.2: Great Coxwell Grange with barn set in its wider landscape, from the north-west.

Whether or not anticipated, a number of grange estates initially or eventually spanned township or parish boundaries. Although some of their settlements may now appear to be liminal in one township or parish, and sometimes are treated as such within the parochial constraints of Victoria County History studies and archaeological databases, the grange settlements were relatively centrally placed within their areas of exploitation. Examples in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire are Thame's Stoke Talmage, Saunderton, Wyfold, and Towersey granges, and Bruern's Holwell and Dunthrop granges. A particularly good example is Tilty's Chrishall Grange in Cambridgeshire, formerly in Essex, which also straddled county boundaries.[347] The location of Chrishall's, Kingswood's Hazleton's, and a number of other grange settlements and their core landholdings almost certainly influenced the position of ecclesiastical and civil boundaries.

With one possible exception, there is no evidence in southern England that any grange settlement was re-sited, even if a better site, buildings, or further lands were later acquired. The only exception is Bindon's Little Bindon settlement, which appears to have been abandoned in the early thirteenth century when the grange was incorporated into a new one at Burngate.

The establishment of grange settlements

There was no standardised Cistercian model of grange settlement, and it appears that no individual abbey had its own standardised model. Since circumstances differed and new

[347.] Taylor 2005.

granges were established over a *c*.130 year period, the initial nature of each settlement and the buildings constructed probably varied.

Some granges, such as Thame's Stoke Talmage Grange, were formed on previously uninhabited land that required the construction of a settlement *de novo*.[348] Most granges in southern England were located in areas of dispersed, or mixed nucleated and dispersed settlement. Therefore, a new grange settlement may have been able to utilise existing buildings, and the reuse of secular buildings was probably greater than previously recognised.[349] Except, perhaps, at Robertsbridge's Park Grange, there is no archaeological evidence for the reuse of secular accommodation. However, Taylor suggests that Tilty's Chrishall Grange may have reused part of an earlier secular settlement, retaining the remainder for grange staff.[350] If so, the lay brothers' accommodation would have needed to be separated and enclosed from family homes, unless the whole settlement was male-only. As with Bruern's Sandbrook and Tangley granges, a study of the settlement patterns in the wider area may indicate whether a grange settlement replaced an earlier secular settlement or farmstead.

Documentary sources, such as a land grant or later confirmation charter, may refer to existing buildings that could have been reused, for example at Bindon's Chaldon Herring and Beaulieu's Upton granges.[351] Some granges were not established until sufficient, or the right type of landholding made one desirable, and a later grant may mention buildings that could have been used, as at Thame's Little Chesterton and

348. Lobel 1964.
349. Dyer 2009, 135.
350. Taylor 2005.
351. Hutchins 1861, 351; Hockey 1974, lxviii.

Stanley's Yatton Keynell granges.[352] Only a single farmstead would have been required. Therefore, a fundamental distinction is necessary, but not often made, between the eviction or displacement of tenants from their landholdings to form a grange estate, and as a result sometimes their homes, and the specific removal of homes to make way for a grange settlement.

Although some settlements may have replaced single farmsteads or small hamlets, it would have been rarely in an abbey's interest to depopulate a large secular settlement. Also, as lay brothers were required to share a dormitory and refectory, one or two sufficiently large buildings would have been required. Unless there was a good topographical reason, such as access to a water supply, there would have been little point in appropriating a number of small peasant homes simply for the sake of establishing a grange settlement. An existing manorial complex would have been a different matter due to its possible size and range of buildings.

When an abbey acquired a property with a village or sizeable hamlet, the choices were likely to have been either to site the grange settlement away from the main secular settlement, as seems to have happened at Waverley's Wanborough, Bruern's Sandbrook and Tangley, Stanley's Codrington, and Kingswood's Ozleworth granges, to locate the grange settlement close to but separate from the secular settlement, as at Stanley's Richardson, Beaulieu's Great Coxwell, and Forde's Charmouth granges, or to remove and perhaps relocate the secular settlement and replace it with a grange settlement.

352. Salter 1947-8, 128-31; Brown 2012, 89.

There is no evidence for the removal or relocation of any large secular settlement in southern England, except to make way for Boxley's monastery and home farm.

4.3 Grange settlement enclosures

4.3.1 Overview

Although not stated specifically in Cistercian normative texts, it is inferred that the monastic accommodation should be segregated from seculars in some way. This could have been achieved without the need for physical enclosures by behavioural prohibition and/or by distancing the lay brothers' accommodation from other buildings, although there may still have been a token physical enclosure, such as a fence or hedge.

A more substantial enclosure may sometimes have been required, or the whole settlement substantially enclosed to more securely separate it from a nearby secular settlement or routeway. Substantial walling and the fortification of grange settlements may have been needed in areas and times of marauders, civil unrest, or war, although the effectiveness of such enclosures is questionable.[353] Documentary references to walled enclosures may give the impression that they were substantial, rather than the normal agricultural practice in, say, areas of drystone walling. For comparison, there is no evidence that substantial precinct walls were built around Cistercian monasteries during the twelfth century.[354] Precinct walls were first constructed at Fountains Abbey's (North Yorkshire) monastery in the 1220s, Croxden's (Staffordshire) in the 1270s, and

353. Platt 1969, 29-32; Berman 1994; Williams 1998, 285; Bond 2004, 121-3.
354. Williams 1998, 200; Kinder 2002, 367.

Stanley's in the 1290s. If natural features, banks and ditches, timber fencing, or drystone walls were all that were required around monasteries, it is unlikely that any more would have been provided at granges until a later date, or in particular circumstances. The form of enclosure at grange settlements would have depended on local topography, geology, resources, constructional practices, and the choices made by individual abbeys about each grange. When considering the archaeological evidence it is necessary, but not always easy, to differentiate between the enclosure of the settlement *per se*, and any ancillary enclosures required for livestock or domestic features, such as gardens.[355]

Cistercian grange enclosures mostly have been characterised within general studies of monastic granges and estates. The most influential study is by Platt, who bases his characterisations mainly on possible Cistercian grange enclosures in Yorkshire and the East Midlands. He suggests that, irrespective of an estate's size, the settlements of arable granges on lowland sites followed a 'classic' grange plan, with double enclosures 'virtually a rule', for example at Jervaulx Abbey's Melsonby Grange (North Yorkshire).[356] The accommodation was situated in the inner enclosure and the agricultural buildings in the outer.[357] The accommodation at undrained marshland sites was encircled by a moat. Some moated sites were later drained and converted into the 'more traditional', 'classic' double enclosure form. The nature of settlements and enclosures on upland sites may have been limited by the terrain, although 'shepherds huts' and 'diminutive lodges' were more characteristic of the uplands than granges.

355. Bond 2001b; 2016.
356. Platt 1969, 71-5, 216; Bond *et al*. 1989; Bezant 2014, 53-5; Stout 2015, 52.
357. Citing Platt, Jones & Page 2006, 177-80 postulate that the enclosures of monastic grange settlements followed an idealised plan, which possibly provided a model for large, detached, secular demesne farmsteads to emulate.

Bond presents a similar, although more sophisticated, double enclosure plan where the accommodation buildings were 'normally enclosed by a wall, ditch, or moat, and entered through an inner gateway that separated them from an outer court containing the farm buildings'.[358] The outer enclosure normally was entered through a gatehouse with a cart entry and narrow pedestrian door, and spanned by an upper chamber. At least 15% of settlements were moated, especially in clayland areas, although Bond notes that it is unclear why some settlements were moated and others not. However, some had inherited the moats of former secular manor houses, others were moated by abbeys, and many were moated when held by tenants or after properties were sold. Bond's characterisations appear mainly relevant to enclosures constructed after the mid thirteenth century.

By comparison, Williams adopts a more developmental, period-based approach when discussing Cistercian grange settlements across Europe.[359] He suggests that the earliest settlements were singularly enclosed by a bank and ditch that was sometimes hedged to exclude wandering animals, although large settlements may have had double earthwork enclosures. Boundary walls with gated entrances replaced some enclosure banks from the mid thirteenth century. Following Platt, some of Meaux's Yorkshire granges are given as examples of moated inner enclosures. However, Williams generally presents a single outer enclosure plan, where the monastic accommodation was simply distanced from the agricultural buildings.

358. Bond 2004, 103, 119-21, 124-6.
359. Williams 1998, 280-2; 2014, 260-1.

4.3.2 Grange enclosures in southern England

Enclosures have been identified from remote sensing or field survey at a number of possible grange sites in southern England, although the dates and purposes of the enclosures remain speculative. Therefore, they may be misleading when trying to understand the nature of twelfth- and thirteenth-century grange settlements. The view taken here is to cautiously consider what evidence there is, for want of anything better.

Few sites in southern England display evidence of ever having been enclosed, although evidence may have been lost or subsumed by later medieval or post-medieval development. Sites not largely overlain by later structures and which may provide further evidence include Bindon's Burngate, Bruern's Holwell, Dunkeswell's Dotton, Stanley's Wicklesham, Thame's Otley, and Waverley's Northolt granges. There is no clear evidence of a 'classic' double enclosure plan or an outer gatehouse at any grange in southern England, although both are suggested at Stanley's Langdon Wick Grange.[360] Contrary to Platt's characterisation of a 'classic' grange plan, Langdon Wick was an upland, mainly pastoral grange with a small amount of arable. There is evidence to suggest that a number of grange settlements in southern England were singularly enclosed, and that others may not have been physically enclosed at all. For no more than convenience, the following groups settlements into those that were possibly unenclosed, those possibly singularly enclosed, and those possibly moated.

360. Brown 2005; 2012, 81-4.

Possible unenclosed grange settlements

There is no clear evidence of enclosures at any of Beaulieu's grange settlements within its Great Close. Since its very extensive geographic boundary was delineated partly by dykes and probably policed by abbey staff, individual grange settlements, or just their monastic accommodation, may have been 'enclosed' only by explicit or implicit behavioural prohibition.[361] Remnants of explicit prohibition still exist in the area, with 'No Access' signs, displayed like Cistercian boundary crosses, located throughout much of the present-day Beaulieu Estate.[362]

Although St Leonard's Grange (Figures 4.3-4.5) is suggested to have had an outer enclosure wall, the only extant section does not encompass the medieval barn and probably was a later addition. However, as an important cell-grange, the accommodation buildings may have been physically enclosed. They appear to have been purposely distanced from the barn, the only known agriculture building on the site, which was extensively landscaped by 1718.

Elsewhere where abbeys had a large degree of territorial control of the surrounding area, there was possibly also little need for physical outer enclosures around the settlements of 'home' granges, for example at Bindon (Woodstreet, Bovington, and Woolbridge granges), Boxley (Upper and Newenham), Cleeve (Old Cleeve, Croydon, and Leigh Barton), and Kingswood (Upper and Lower). In these situations, the lay brothers' accommodation may simply have been distanced from any buildings frequented by seculars, or only lightly enclosed, for example by a wicker fence.

361. Page 1911. cf. Gardiner & Kilby 2018, 219 on peasant behaviour on demesne land.
362. Moorhouse 1989, 37; Kinder 1995, 168-71; Barrière 1998, 101-2.

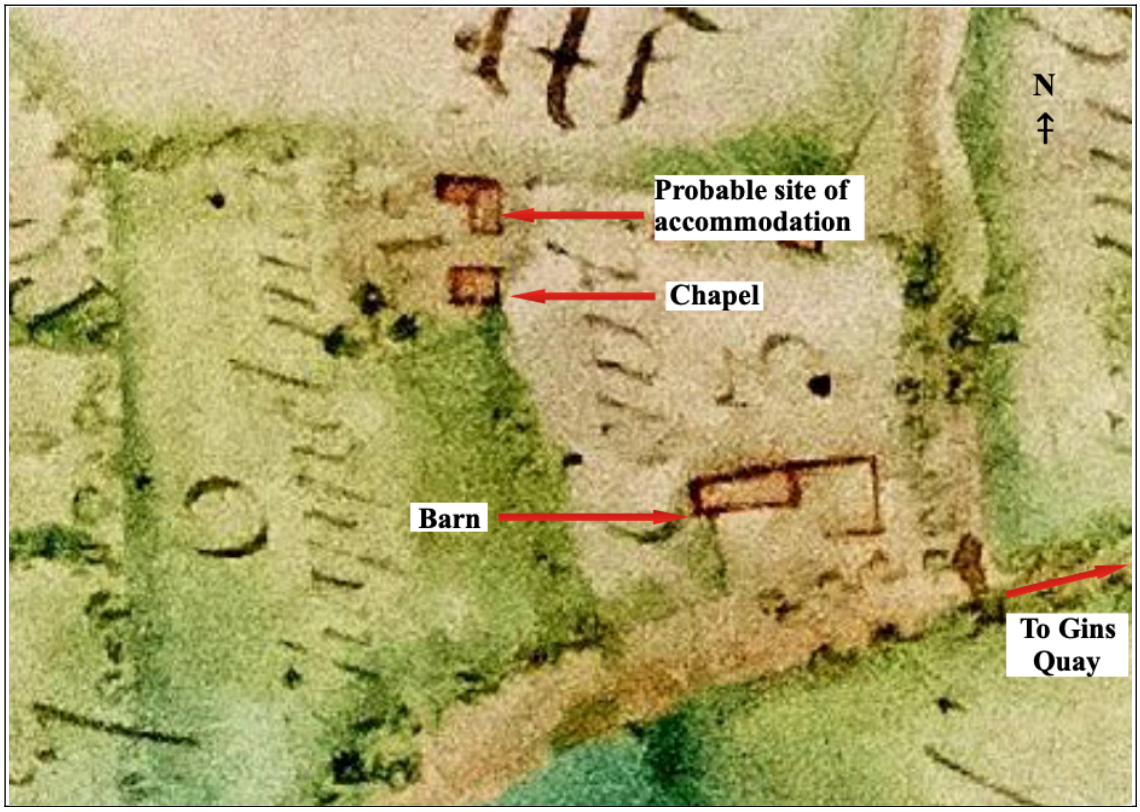


Figure 4.3: St Leonard's Grange settlement in a 1718 plan of Beaulieu Estate. (Photographed by the author at Beaulieu Abbey.)



Figure 4.4: Remains of St Leonard's barn, facing south-west.



Figure 4.5: Remains of the gable wall of St Leonard's barn with probably later enclosure wall, facing north-west.

Possible singularly enclosed grange settlements

The monastic accommodation of Beaulieu's Great Coxwell cell-grange may have been enclosed by a high wall (Figures 4.1-4.2). The agricultural buildings lay separate from the accommodation and do not appear to have been enclosed. The settlement lay beside a routeway and close to the village that provided the grange's labour. In comparison, Beaulieu's cell-grange of Wyke is suggested to have had a cloister or courtyard building and over a dozen large agricultural buildings set within a single, large rectilinear ditched enclosure (Figures 4.6-4.7). All of the possible buildings and features identified cannot be associated with the cell-grange as the estate was leased from 1351x7, and a large country house and Tudor farm, derelict by 1750, was built in the sixteenth century.

Other settlements, such as Waverley's Wanborough Grange, appear to have been enclosed by a single outer bank and ditch.[363] Walls may have replaced earlier enclosure banks at some granges, although which method was used initially would have depended on the nature of the landscape, the geology, and local practices. For example, Bruern's Holwell Grange, situated in an area of ironstone rubble walling, is recorded later in the Middle Ages as enclosed by a wall.[364] It could have been first constructed before or after the grange was leased. Similarly, Kingswood's Hazleton and Calcot granges have possible evidence of single outer enclosures of drystone walling which, if originating from the period of lay brother occupation, would have required continual renewing (Figures 4.9, 4.14 below re barns). There is no evidence of an inner enclosure at either grange and, as at St Leonard's and Wanborough, the lay brothers' accommodation appears to have been distanced from the agricultural buildings, or vice versa.

363. Service 2010, 228.
364. Crossley 1972.

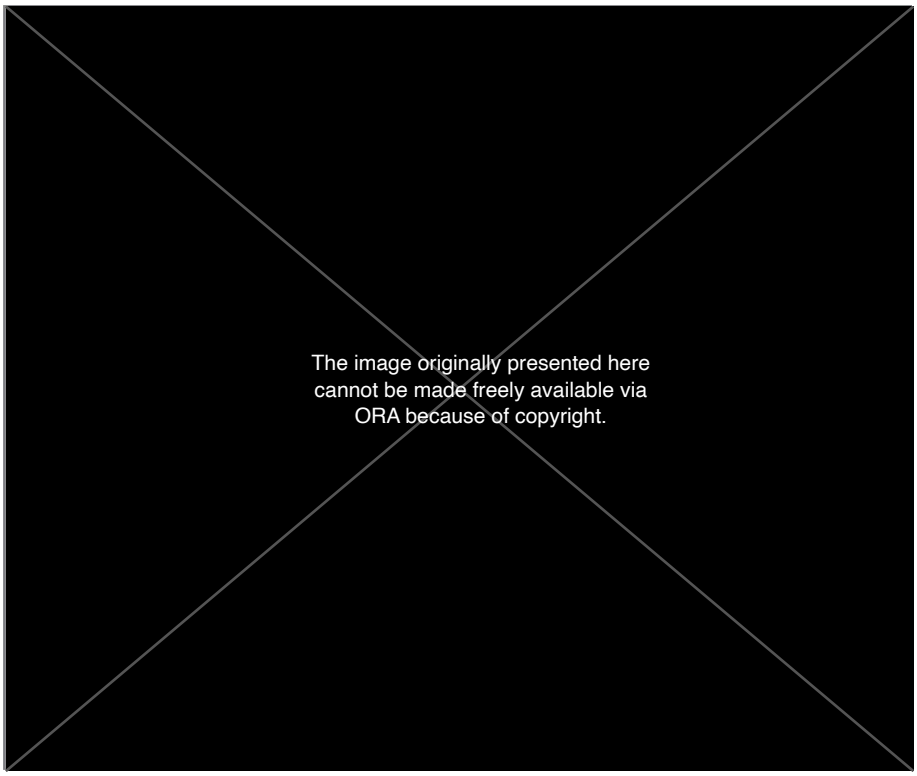


Figure 4.6: Aerial photographic interpretation of the Wyke Grange complex. (Leech & Soffe 1994, 304; RCHME: AF1033382-1044931).

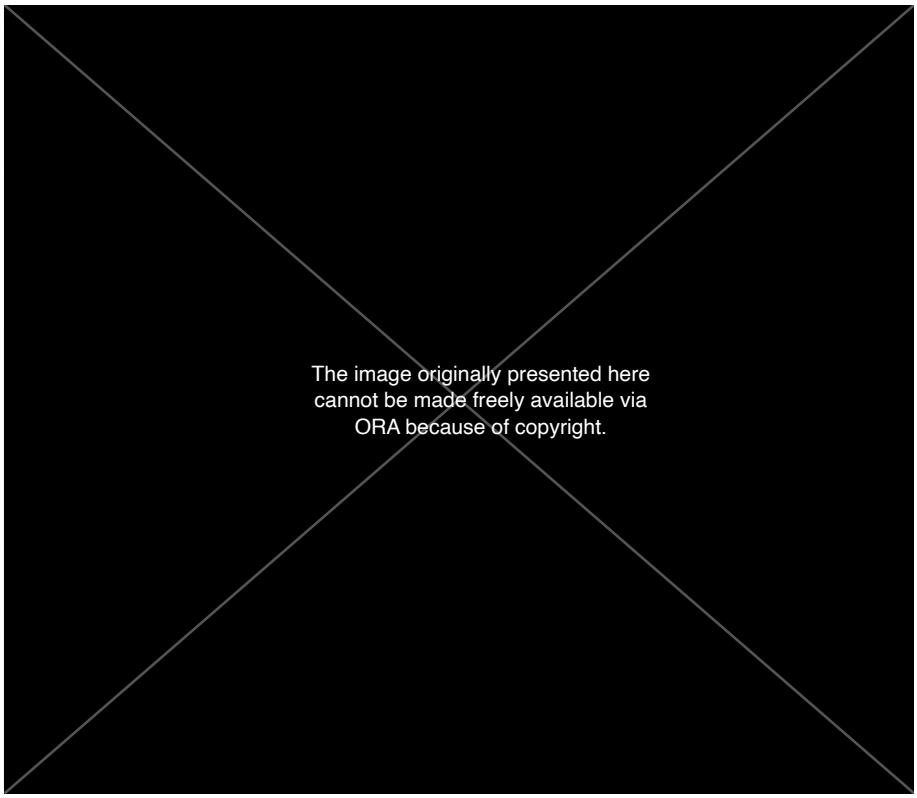


Figure 4.7: Earthworks plan of Wyke Grange. (RCHME: AF1033382-1044933)

Possible moated grange enclosures

The majority of moated sites in England date to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and are associated mainly with lordly display.[365] A number of grange settlements with possible evidence of moats, such as Stanley's Richardson and Midgehall, and Thame's Otley, Stoke Talmage, and Wyfold granges, were established in the mid twelfth century. Therefore, any moats are likely to have been later additions. Midgehall was leased in 1324 and the moat could be of that date. Tilty's early thirteenth-century grange settlement at Boxworth was replaced by a hall house with a moat in *c*.1400, and the abbey's Radwinter Grange may have been moated later. The possible site of Robertsbridge's Fother grange settlement also may have been moated at some date.

The settlements of Thame's Otley and Stoke Talmage granges were established on marshy land where draining was probably necessary. Moats may have been built, although ditches would have sufficed initially. Thame's Wyfold grange, where the abbey had manorial holdings, was moated despite being situated on river gravels in an area of commons and woodland. The moat may have been built as a display of the abbot's lordship, or because the grange was used as his abbatial retreat or hunting lodge.[366] Based on research for this thesis, it has recently been accepted that Bruern's Sandbrook and Tangley granges were not moated as previously suggested.[367]

In general, there is little tangible evidence of enclosures dating to the period of lay brother occupation. It would appear that the forms of enclosures varied and cannot easily be classified archaeologically – nor perhaps need they be. Geographical,

365. Creighton 2009, 88-95; Creighton & Barry 2012, 65-7.
366. Townley 2011, 302-37.
367. Page 2019, 297 n.6.

topographical, physical, and social factors contributed to whether and how each settlement was enclosed. Notwithstanding the need for livestock control, the main purpose of enclosures was to ensure the privacy of the monastic accommodation.

4.4 Agricultural and industrial buildings

4.4.1 Introduction

Most granges in southern England appear to have operated varying degrees of mixed farming. Therefore, their settlements would have contained a variety of buildings and structures normally constructed in accordance with local agricultural practices and building traditions, which in the twelfth century differed little from those of the preceding two centuries.[368] Whilst there may have been a general increase of institutional investment in agricultural buildings from the twelfth century, there is little archaeological evidence in Cistercian granges until the mid to late thirteenth century.[369] Documentary evidence appears mainly from the late thirteenth century, although that may reflect the introduction of better accounting practices by abbeys such as Beaulieu, and a greater need for recording when granges became secularly managed or leased.[370] Nearly all discussions of medieval agricultural buildings focus on barns. This thesis is little different, although other structures will be considered also.

368. Gardiner 2012a; 2012b; 2014; 2019.
369. Bond 2004; Brady 2006; 2018.
370. Hockey 1975; Dobie 2008.

4.4.2 Medieval barns and other methods of crop storage

The approach taken here is to focus on twelfth- and thirteenth-century barns and other ways that crops could have been stored. This covers the period when granges were being established and developed, when there were general changes in medieval estate management, when arable farming became more extensive and intensive, and when major changes in building techniques took place, including a move from earth-fast to ground-set timber construction and a greater use of stone in barn construction.[371]

Barns (sometimes documented as *horreum(ea)*, the general term for a warehouse) were built primarily to store and provide large indoor spaces to process arable crops: cereals – collectively wheat, barley, oats, rye, maslin (a mixture of wheat and rye), and dredge (a mixture of barley and oats), as well as legumes – collectively peas, beans, and vetches.[372] Different crops may have been separated by a barn's bays, by temporary or permanent partitions, or in separate internal storerooms. Some barns had projecting porches to provide shelter for carts when unloading crops, and some had specialised threshing floors to facilitate the processing of cereal crops.

The large spaces inside barns enabled them to be used for a variety of other activities, such as storing and repairing machinery and equipment, or holding manorial courts. At certain times of the year, barns could have been used for shearing sheep and storing the wool clip prior to collection.[373] It is thought unlikely that livestock were housed in

[371.] Brady 1996; 1997; 2018; Walker 1999; Gardiner 2012a; Meeson 2012.
[372.] Weller 1986a; Brady 1996; 1997.
[373.] Bond 2004, 65.

barns, although the porches of some barns were large enough to stable horses.[374] Some of the live-in servants in Cistercian granges may have slept in barns or their annexes. Barns are traditionally where a farm workforce would gather to receive their work instructions. Therefore, barns may have been where grangers and their deputies, the only lay brothers permitted to speak to secular staff, organised the workforce and dealt with other secular business.

Although a barn's size might broadly reflect the size of an estate's arable land, the relationship may not have been straightforward. There could have been more than one barn in a complex, each having similar or different functions.[375] Any designated names, such as 'wheat' or 'barley' barn, would not have precluded their use for other purposes. Apart from holding different crops, each requiring a different volume of storage per hectare of cultivated land, barns may have acted as central repositories for the crops of other Cistercian directly managed landholdings, for tithe crops, or crops rendered as food rents or received as gifts. Some barns are described in medieval documents as *'grangis decimalis*', indicating that they were specifically built or used to store tithe crops, although describing a barn as such does not mean that it was used solely for that purpose. There was not widespread use of the term, and the author is unable to find any in the records of Cistercian granges in southern England. Such specialised barns may have been either uncommon or simply under-documented.[376]

374. Horn & Born 1965, 15; Brady 1997, 80.
375. Gardiner 2012a.
376. Weller 1986a, 31; Brady 1996, 6.

Alternative methods of crop storage

There were other ways that unprocessed crops could have been stored, and their importance cannot be underestimated. Crops could have been stored in stacks, either ricks (outdoor stacks) or helms (open-sided timber platforms, sometimes framed and which may have been roofed) where the investment in barn building was too great or considered unnecessary, where existing barns had insufficient capacity, or as a selected agricultural practice for particular crops, such as legumes.[377] During the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, when most Cistercian granges were being established, unthreshed cereal crops and legumes were routinely stored in circular or rectangular stacks. The volumes of individual stacks varied depending on the type of crop and local agricultural practices, with a stack possibly holding 190m^3 of wheat.[378] That is only one example, but on the basis that an acre of cultivated land produced 80 sheaves of wheat with a volume of *c*.45m^3, a stack may have held the product of *c*.1.75ha of cultivated land.[379] Stacks have been little recognised archaeologically, and helms are almost indistinguishable in size and construction from earth-fast buildings with timbers set directly in postholes or trenches.[380]

Twelfth- and early thirteenth-century barns were generally larger than stacks. Mark Gardiner gives 24 documented examples of twelfth-century, mainly aisled barns that had footprints of between 37m^2 and 298m^2, although St Paul's Cathedral's Walton 'great barn' had a footprint of 829m^2.[381] Most of the estates mentioned had two or three barns, which might suggest separate storage for different crops, that smaller barns were easier

377. Weller 1986a; Brady 1996, 62-7; 1997, 78, 91-4; Gardiner 2012a.
378. Gardiner 2012a, 28.
379. Brady 2018; cf. Brady 1996, 64-5.
380. See also Groenewoudt 2011.
381. Gardiner 2012a, 28-31.

to construct, or were preferred. Stacks also could be used in conjunction with barns. Gardiner's examples come from large, well-established estates where their owners or tenants had decided to invest in barns. However, it is questionable whether there would have been the same level of investment in newly-established or small arable Cistercian granges where the lower cost alternative of stacks was available.[382] For example, Waverley's Northolt Grange had only *c*.25ha of arable and Tongham less than 30ha. None of Robertsbridge's eight granges appear to have had more than 40ha of arable.[383]

Sizes and storage capacity of barns

For the reasons just discussed, any attempt to correlate the size of a barn with the possible hectarage or volume of arable crops from an estate is fraught with difficulties.[384] That has not deterred some scholars from trying to understand the possible drivers for barn construction during the varying harvest conditions of the Middle Ages. This has been done by considering the possible storage capacity of individual barns in relation to the hectarages of their directly-exploited landholdings, and the costs and risks of crop production, storage, and sales.[385] Discussions are based on hindsight, and often considered across a large time period. Individual estate owners, including the large institutional owners that have tended to form the basis of these studies, sometimes may have had more immediate short-term reasons when deciding when, where, and how large a barn to build. There could have been a large increase in

382. Brady 2017, 93-5.
383. Chapman 1977, 227; Service 2010, Appendices 4, 13.
384. Bond & Weller 1991.
385. Fenoaltea 1976; Brady 1996; 1997; Claridge & Langdon 2011; Impey 2017.

an estate's size, an existing barn had burnt down, or a particularly large or fine barn was built primarily as a symbol of prestige and authority.[386]

From an archaeological perspective, medieval barns appear to have been given the arbitrary classifications of 'large', 'medium', or 'small', based either on their internal floor area or their possible usable volume.[387] Niall Brady's work is of particular interest and value to this study, as its covers nine counties in southern England and examines almost 300 extant or documented barns. Unfortunately, the study does not cover Buckinghamshire, Devon, Dorset, Hampshire, the Isle of Wight, Surrey, and Sussex where a number of important medieval barns, including Cistercian ones, were located.

Brady classifies barns by their 'usable volume', with 'large' barns those with a 'usable volume' exceeding 2,000m^3, that figure representing the storage capacity required for the unthreshed grain from 121ha of cultivated land.[388] On that basis, 41% of the 58 barns where data is available are classified as 'large'. In comparison, Bond & Weller classify barns by their internal floor areas, with 'large' barns those over 40m long and over 9m wide (360m^2).[389] On that basis and where dimensions are known, 56% of the barns in Brady's study area are classifiable as 'large'. Irrespective of the basis employed, these rather high percentages perhaps only illustrate that 'large' barns are disproportionally better preserved or documented than other sizes of barn. Institutional owners are more likely to have had larger landholdings requiring larger barns that were better constructed and maintained than even their own small barns.

386. Brady 1997.
387. Bond & Weller 1991, 83-5; Holdsworth 1994b; Brady 1996, 117-25; 1997, 90-3; Coppack 1998, 114; Bond 2004.
388. Brady 1996, 117-25.
389. Bond & Weller 1991, 83; Bond 2001b, 60.

Differential preservation is possibly illustrated in Brady's study, with no 'small' barn dating to before the late fourteenth century, although the sample size is limited by the study area and the need to assign dates and deduce volumes.[390] A 'small' barn is classified as one with a 'usable volume' of less than 1,000m^3 and holding the produce from less than 60ha of cultivated land.[391] On that basis, granges with less than 90ha of arable on a three-course rotation system, or 120ha on a two-course system would have needed only a small barn and/or stacks. In comparison, Bond & Weller classify a 'small' barn as one measuring less than 25m x 8m (200m^2) internally.[392]

It may have been easier, cheaper, and normally preferable for large estates to build a number of small or medium-sized barns, rather than a large one. Few landowners would have wished to replaced an existing barn unnecessarily, with new ones built only when there was a long-term need for additional storage. Therefore, large barn building was probably a choice, rather than a need. Cistercian abbeys, not generally known to be ostentatious, whose convents as a whole made financial decisions, and whose finances were subject to some oversight by their mother houses, may have taken a practical and parsimonious approach to 'large' or 'fine' barn building, even when they were not in debt, as many became during the late thirteenth century and early fourteenth century.[393]

Whilst Brady's approach to classification may be relevant to studies of the economics and motives for individual barn building, Bond & Weller's simpler approach enables a

390. Brady 1996, 123-5; 130-1 Table 2.
391. Ibid., 119.
392. Bond & Weller 1991, 83.
393. Madden 1963, 361.

much larger number of examples to be studied comparatively. Their approach is also more relevant to the type of data found during archaeological and documentary research.

Dating medieval barns

Medieval barns have been studied mainly by art and architectural historians who have employed design, artistic, and constructional typologies to establish a surrogate chronology of barn building, and possible individual construction dates.[394] Architectural studies often make limited use of documentary sources, and many were undertaken before scientific dating methods reached their present-day levels of sophistication.[395] Dendrochronology has proven to be the most precise and reliable scientific dating method, although its technical and interpretive limitations are sometimes not fully appreciated.[396] Apart from obtaining suitable timber samples, the main problem with dating barns is whether the timbers analysed were new or reused, and whether they indicate the initial construction date, a later phase of development, or the date of repairs.

Only three barns in England and Wales have been tree-ring dated to have been constructed before 1250.[397] None is Cistercian, although the barn in Coggeshall's home farm has timbers felled between 1238 and 1262, and therefore was built around that horizon. It would seem that from the first or second quarter of the thirteenth century many of the new monastic and military orders began to invest in substantial crop

394. Smith 1955; 1974; Horn 1958; 1963; Horn & Born 1965; Horn & Charles 1966; Hewett 1969; 1980; Charles & Horn 1973; 1983.
395. Salzman 1952; Miles 1997; 2006; Pearson 1997; 2001; Gurling 2009.
396. Tyers 2008; Meeson 2012.
397. VAG 2019.

storage, which was market rather than consumption driven.[398] For example, the earliest timbers in the Knights Hospitallers' barn at Siddington, Gloucestershire are tree-ring dated to 1245-47, the Knights Templars' 'barley' barn at Cressing Temple, Essex, is dated to 1205-35, and the 'wheat' barn to 1257-80.[399] Cressing Temple, only 10km from Coggeshall, was the Templars' largest directly managed arable holding in England and Wales, with *c*.287ha of arable compared to an average of 69ha for the order.[400]

Unlike longer-established monastic orders, and with different constructional needs and priorities from some of the other new orders, for example, the military orders did not have to build monasteries, the priority of English Cistercian abbeys in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries was probably the development, and sometimes the rebuilding or repair of their claustral complexes.[401] This is not to suggest that agricultural buildings at granges were ignored, but that they were at a different stage of development, even when compared to the granges of the longer-established and wealthy French Cistercian abbeys, such as Chaalis.[402]

4.4.3 Overview of Cistercian barns in England and Wales

The only synthetic study of Cistercian barns in England and Wales is by Holdsworth.[403] As well as grange barns, the study covers barns in monastery precincts, home farms,

398. Gardiner 2012a, 34-5; Slavin 2013.
399. Andrews 1993; Tyers 1993; Brady 1996; 1997; Meeson 2012; Impey 2017; cf. Stenning 1993 for a comparison of Cressing Temple, Coggeshall, Waverley's Wanborough, and other barns.
400. Slavin 2013, 39 in his economic study of Templar estates; cf. Brady 1997, 90-2; 2018, 268.
401. Weller 1986a; Hurst 2011, 889; Impey 2017. On the archaeology and architecture of the military orders see Gilchrist 1995, 62-105; Baudin *et al*. 2012.
402. Blary 1989; 2017; Barrière 1994.
403. Holdsworth 1994b.

and directly managed estates. The study identifies only ten grange barns in England, seven of which were in southern England. None elsewhere in England dates to before the fifteenth century, although some granges elsewhere had large arable holdings.[404] The barn in Neath Abbey's Monknash Grange in Glamorgan is thought to date to the thirteenth century. All of the other Welsh barns are dated broadly as medieval.

Holdsworth's synthesis is perhaps not as widely known as Horn & Born's influential architectural study of Beaulieu's St Leonard's and Great Coxwell barns.[405] It is almost impossible to find a study of English medieval barns that does not mention the barn at Great Coxwell owing to the extent of its remains and Horn & Born's study.[406] They suggest that Beaulieu initially built 11 grange and manorial barns and one in its monastery, the number increasing to 27 by the Dissolution. Based on the incorrect assumption of 75 Cistercian abbeys and 26 nunneries in England, and that every house had between 20 and 27 barns, Horn & Born estimate that there must have been between 2,000 and 2,900 Cistercian barns in England by the end of the Middle Ages.[407] Holdsworth gives a number of reasons why Horn & Born's assumptions and estimates are unsustainable, and makes an alternative estimate that, based on an average of ten to 15 granges for each of the 106 male and female Cistercian houses in England and Wales, there may have been between 1,060 and 1,590 grange barns.[408] Holdsworth's figures are almost certainly also greatly overstated, since the average number of granges

404. Donnelly 1954; Donkin 1978; Holdsworth 1994b; Bond 2004; France 2012.
405. Horn & Born 1965.
406. For example, Brady 1997; 2018; Charles 1997; Coppack 1998; Bond 2004; France 2012; Lake 2014; Impey 2017.
407. Horn & Born 1965 cite Fowler 1911, 35-42 on the number of Cistercian houses. Whilst Fowler refers to England, the number of houses he quotes are for England and Wales.
408. Holdsworth 1994b, 360-1.

was probably not as large as he suggests, and as Cistercian nunneries, nearly all of which were not officially Cistercian in the first place, tended to have few granges.[409]

4.4.4 Cistercian barns in southern England

Of the seven grange barns in southern England listed by Holdsworth, the building at Quarr's Heasley Grange must now be discounted as it has been reinterpreted as a late-medieval manor house, and Flaxley's barn at Dymock is now considered to be seventeenth century.[410] Fortunately, eight barns can be added for discussion. Beaulieu's Shilton barn is included also for comparison, since it appears to be the only known barn in a non-grange property, although Shilton was directly managed.

Holdsworth excludes uncertain earthworks, or barns indicated only by aerial interpretation, such as the possible barns at Beaulieu's Wyke Grange. Edward Impey suggests that there was one 80-90m long barn at Wyke.[411] Although the aerial interpretations of the uncertain features at Wyke are perhaps questionable, it can reasonably be assumed that Wyke had at least one large barn that was probably constructed about the same time as, or after the barn at St Leonard's, but before the one at Great Coxwell.

Horn & Born suggest that the barns at St Leonard's and Great Coxwell were built in the early thirteenth century and, together with the slightly later barn at Ter Doest Abbey's

409. Freeman 2006; Lester 2011; Jamroziak 2013.
410. Holdsworth 1994b; VAG 2019 on Heasley; on Dymock see Platt 1969, 203; Coppack 1998, 114; Verey & Brooks 2002, 346; NHLE: 1341945.
411. Impey 2017, 50, 77 n.382 on information from Graham Soffe and Andrew Millard.

monastery in Belgium, followed a Cistercian 'school' of design or carpentry.[412] Great Coxwell is now tree-ring dated to 1292 and Ter Doest to 1365x85, thus weakening any architectural link between the two.[413] There is no scientific dating evidence for St Leonard's, but on the questionable supposition that barns usually were the first buildings to be constructed in grange settlements, Horn & Born date it to between 1205 and 1246.[414] Based on arguments on the history of the grange made in the following chapter and the abbey's general approach to barn building discussed below, the barn is provisionally dated here to the mid thirteenth century.

Table 4.1 summarises details of the 14 known barns in southern England in order of their possible construction dates, the type of their walling and construction, external measurements in metres, and footprints. Barns without extant or recorded extant remains are shown in italics. Only three barns have been tree-ring dated, two had datestones recording their construction dates, and one was documented as under construction.

412. Horn & Born 1965; Charles 1997, v; Bond 2004, 127; cf. Horn 1958 who dates Great Coxwell to the fourteenth century.
413. Nuytten 2005; Coomans 2013a; Miles *et al*. 2014.
414. Horn & Born 1965; followed by Impey 2017 and Impey & Belford 2017; cf. Roberts 2015 who suggests that St Leonard's barn dates to *c*.1300.

Cent.	Abbey	Grange Barn	Date of Construction	Type	Size (m)	Area (m^2)
13th	Beaulieu	St Leonard's [415] (stone)	mid-13th?	aisled	68 x 20	1360
	Beaulieu	*Wyke[416] (stone probably)*	*c.1250x90?*	*aisled?*	*very large?*	
	Beaulieu	*Soberton[417] (timber?)*	*1269/70 (documented)*	*aisled?*	*medium?*	
	Kingswood	Hazleton I [418] (stone)	1290 (datestone)	aisled	41 x 13	533
	Beaulieu	Great Coxwell [419] (stone)	1292 (dendro)	aisled	46 x 13	598
	Thame	Towersey [420] (stone)	1278-1302 (dendro)	aisled	32 x 11	352
	Kingswood	Calcot [421] (stone)	1300 (datestone)	aisled	43 x 11	473
	Beaulieu	Otterwood [422] (stone)	late-13th/early-14th?	aisled?	large?	
	Beaulieu	Shilton [423] (stone)	late-13th/early-14th?	aisled	29 x 11	319
	Kingswood	Hazleton II [424] (timber?)	late-13th/early-14th?	cruck	28 x 8	224
	Thame	*Stoke Talmage[425] (stone?)*	*late-13th/early-14th?*	*?*	*?*	
14th	Waverley	Wanborough [426] (timber)	1388 (dendro)	aisled	34 x 10	340
15th		- none -				
16th	Bindon	Woolbridge [427] (stone)	early-16th?	arch-braced collar truss		small
?	Bruern	Tangley [428] (stone)	early-16th?	?		medium?

Table 4.1: Cistercian grange barns in southern England.

415. cf. Horn & Born 1965; Roberts 2015.
416. Brady 1996; NHRE: 225794.
417. Hockey 1975, 116.
418. Weston 2013, 43 and below.
419. Horn & Born 1965; Brady 1996; Miles *et al*. 2014.
420. RCHME 1912, 297; Smith 1974; Miles *et al*. 2014.
421. Alcock & Barley 1972, 165; Brady 1996; NRHE: 209214; NHLE: 1089706.
422. NRHE: 229893.
423. Horn & Born 1965; Heyworth 1971; Brady 1996.
424. See below.
425. Brady 1996; Oxfordshire HER: 5402.
426. Stenning 1993, 56-7; Service 2010; VAG 2019; Surrey HER: 4814/8.
427. Dorset HER: MDO7676.
428. Brady 1996; Oxfordshire HER: 11748.

All of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century stone-built barns, apart Beaulieu's Shilton and Thame's Towersey and, possibly, Stoke Talmage barns, fall within Bond & Weller's 'large' classification in exceeding 360m^2, after allowing for differences between footprints and internal floor areas. These three barns, all in Oxfordshire, may be of a similar date and represent barns built at other granges or directly managed estates with broadly similar storage requirements. The timber barn at Wanborough lies close to the 'large' threshold and, as suggested below, may have replaced an earlier larger barn. Except for the barns at St Leonard's and Otterwood, all of the barns appear to have been built in accordance with local building traditions. Most medieval barns in Hampshire were timber-framed, but St Leonard's and Otterwood were stone-built and partially used the same Binstead stone from the Isle of Wight that was used for Beaulieu's monastery.[429]

There is no evidence for the construction of large or well-built stone barns in granges or former granges after the early fourteenth century, when a greater survival rate might be expected. However, an important caveat is that six of the 11 barns built in 'the long thirteenth century' (*c*.1180-*c*.1320) belonged to just one abbey, Beaulieu, three to Kingswood, and two to Thame. Taking into account the lack of evidence from elsewhere in England, it is suggested that 'large' or 'fine' barn building at Cistercian granges or other remote Cistercian estates was the exception, rather than the norm.[430] Unlike other institutional landowners, Cistercian abbeys may never have had the need, desire, or finance to build large barns in their remote estates after the Black Death.

[429.] Hope & Brakspear 1901, 179-80; Horn & Born 1965; West & Chen 2013; Roberts 2015; NRHE: 229893.
[430.] It is difficult to accept Coppack's 1998, 114 suggestion that the size of Beaulieu's Great Coxwell barn was unexceptional.

A significantly different picture is presented by the barns built in monastery precincts and home farms. Only three additions can be made to Holdsworth's list, an extant barn at Wintney, a now demolished but archaeologically recorded barn at Newenham, and a documented barn at Hailes.[431] A revised list is shown in Table 4.2, again with those barns without extant or recorded extant remains shown in italics.

Cent.	Abbey	Home Farm/ Precinct	Date	Type	Size (m)	Area (m^2)
13th	Coggeshall [432]	farm (timber)	1238-62 (dendro)	aisled	>37 x 14	>518
14th	Buckland [433]	precinct (stone)	early 14th century	bayless	50 x 19	950
15th	Tarrant (nuns) [434]	farm (stone)	late 15th century	8 bays	large?	?
	Wintney (nuns)[435]	farm (timber)	1498 (dendro)	7 bays	24 x 6	144
16th	Forde [436]	farm (stone)	?	?	?	?
?	Newenham [437]	precinct/farm (stone)	?	bayless?	*c*.30 x 9	270
?	*Hailes*[438]	*precinct (stone)*	*late 15th century?*	*9 bays*	*large?*	*?*

Table 4.2: Cistercian barns in monastery precincts and home farms in southern England.

It is noticeable that this table, of admittedly few examples, consists entirely of abbeys and nunneries that had few if any granges (Newenham's five granges were basically all 'home' granges situated around the monastery). Even then, only two of the barns date to

431. Holdsworth 1994b.
432. Stenning 1993, 54-6; Brady 1996; Essex HER: 8808; VAG 2019.
433. Holdsworth 1994b; Devon & Dartmoor HER:MDV5453.
434. Holdsworth 1994b; NRHE: 209609.
435. Roberts 2015, 32.
436. Holdsworth 1994b.
437. Allan & Sylvester 1981, 169-70; Devon & Dartmoor HER: MDV168833.
438. Brown 2006; 2010; Carter 2017; NRHE: 328158.

before 1350. Evidence may have been lost when monastery complexes were destroyed or repurposed after the Dissolution, but that is unlikely to have significantly affected barns constructed in home farms. The barn at Hailes, recorded only after the Dissolution, might have been built in *c.*1300. However, as the claustral complex was still then incomplete, the barn is perhaps more likely to have been built in the late fifteenth century or early sixteenth century after the abbey regained prosperity.[439]

Overall, there appears to have been a concentration of 'large' and 'medium' sized barn building in southern England between the mid thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. By comparison, the construction dates of similarly-sized barns by the longer-established religious orders are more evenly distributed throughout the Middle Ages.[440] This supports the suggestion that Cistercian granges were at a different stage of their development, which coincided with the expansion and intensification of their arable farming during the thirteenth century, and that Cistercian abbeys had retrenched from directly working some of their remote arable estates before the Black Death.

Different approaches to barn building by Cistercian abbeys

Cistercian abbeys may have been generally parsimonious in their approach to 'large' and 'fine' barn building. However, different approaches can be detected for three of the abbeys mentioned above, Waverley, Kingswood, and Beaulieu.

Waverley, which was always a relatively poor abbey, appears to have adopted a parsimonious approach to barn building, although the true picture may be masked by

439. Carter 2017.
440. Bond & Weller 1991; Brady 1996; Impey 2017.

the lower survival rate of pre-1350 timber-framed barns in the areas where the abbey mainly operated.[441] Although dated to 1388, when lay brothers were no longer in occupation, the barn at Wanborough reused early fourteenth-century aisle-posts, and other timbers may date to the thirteenth century (Figure 4.8).[442] The barn possibly was large enough to hold the late fourteenth-century arable crop but, as suggested by Stenning, a larger barn may have been required during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when the grange had as much as *c*.300ha of arable.



Figure 4.8 Interior of Waverley's Wanborough barn.

There is now no evidence of a barn at Waverley's Neatham Grange, the abbey's most valuable estate and the only other with a reasonably large amount of arable. Perplexingly, the adjacent secular manor of West Court, Binstead, has the remains of the

441. Roberts 2015; VAG 2019.
442. Woodhouse n.d.; VAG 2019; cf. Stenning 1993, 56-7; Surrey HER: 4814/8.

earliest tree-ring dated barn in Hampshire, with a felling range of 1296-1304.[443] The barn, with a footprint of only 270m^2, was built in the same period as most grange barns, and it might be expected that Neatham had a broadly similar, although perhaps larger barn built in the same local timber-framed tradition.[444]

Kingswood's general approach to barn building also may have been parsimonious, with the stone-built barns Hazleton I and Calcot exceptions. Hazleton Grange farmed *c*.580ha of its own arable, and both the barn described here as Hazleton I and the, as yet only typologically-dated, full cruck barn Hazleton II almost certainly replaced or were built in addition to earlier barns (Figures 4.9-4.13, 5.4).[445] It is difficult to find exact comparators with Hazleton II, but the open refined notched-lap joints might place it into the thirteenth century.[446] However, these two barns alone are unlikely to have provided sufficient storage for the grange's entire arable crop. By comparison, the barn at Calcot (Figures 4.14-4.15), which farmed only *c*.130ha of arable, was probably built to also store crops from other nearby granges, such as Tetbury, and from non-grange properties.

443. Roberts 2015; NHLE: 1338987.
444. Wanborough barn is the same width as West Court's, but a bay longer.
445. Both barns were reduced in the late nineteenth century, Hazleton I by a fire, Weston 2013.
446. Walker 1999; Stenning 1993; Brady 1996; Alcock *et al*. 2019. It has not yet been possible to arrange a full building survey or tree-ring dating.



Figure 4.9: Site of Hazleton Grange's settlement in 1795 estate plan (no scale). (Gloucestershire Archives Photocopy Map 73s)



Figure 4.10: The remains of Hazleton I barn in centre left, and exterior of Hazleton II centre right, facing north-east.



Figure 4.11: Remains of Hazleton I barn, facing north-west. The doorway is a modern addition.



Figure 4.12: Remains of Hazleton II reduced by three bays to the left, facing south. Corner of Hazleton I on far right.

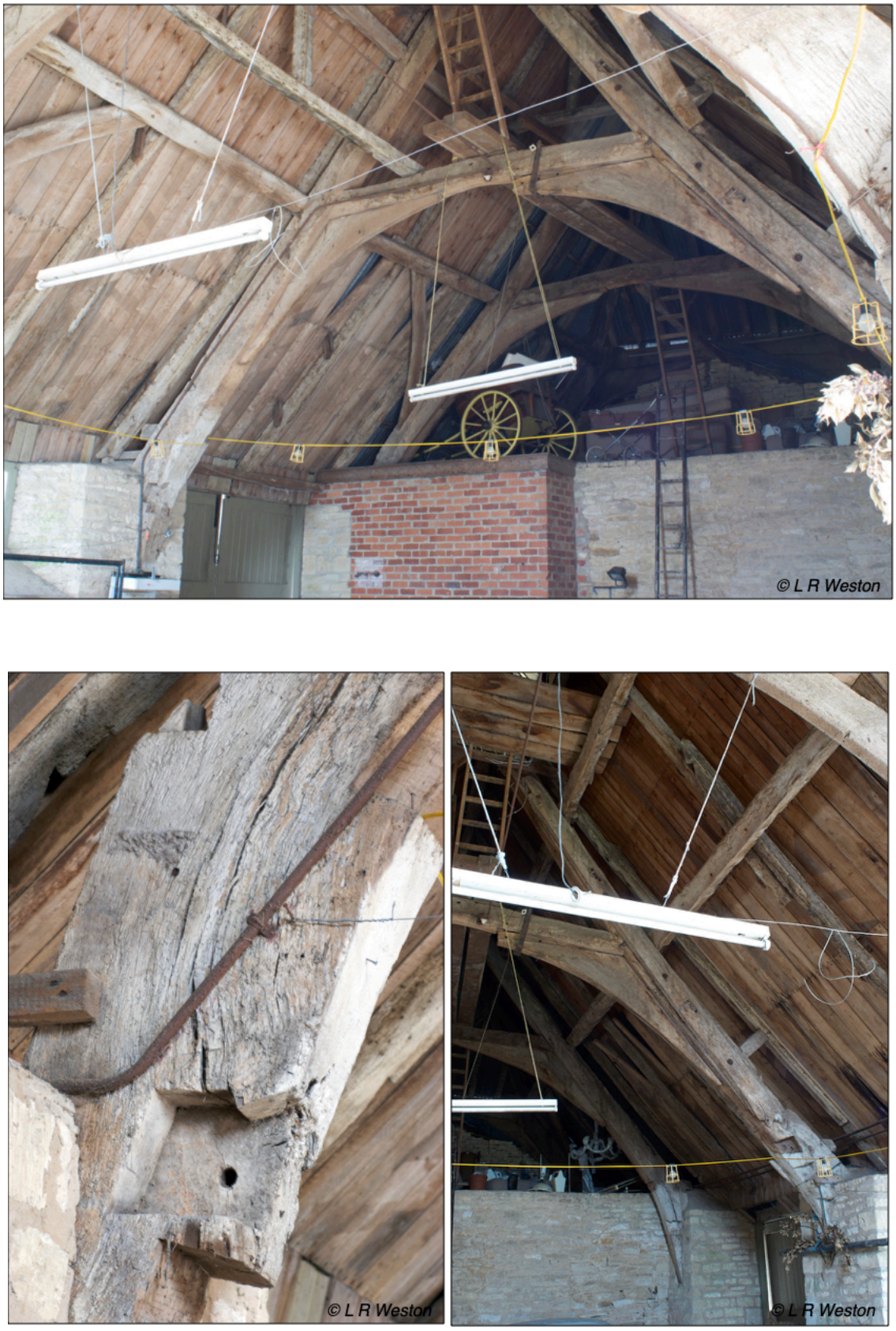


Figure 4.13: Interior of Hazleton II showing cruck blades, notched lap joints, and spurs on the back of the cruck blades.

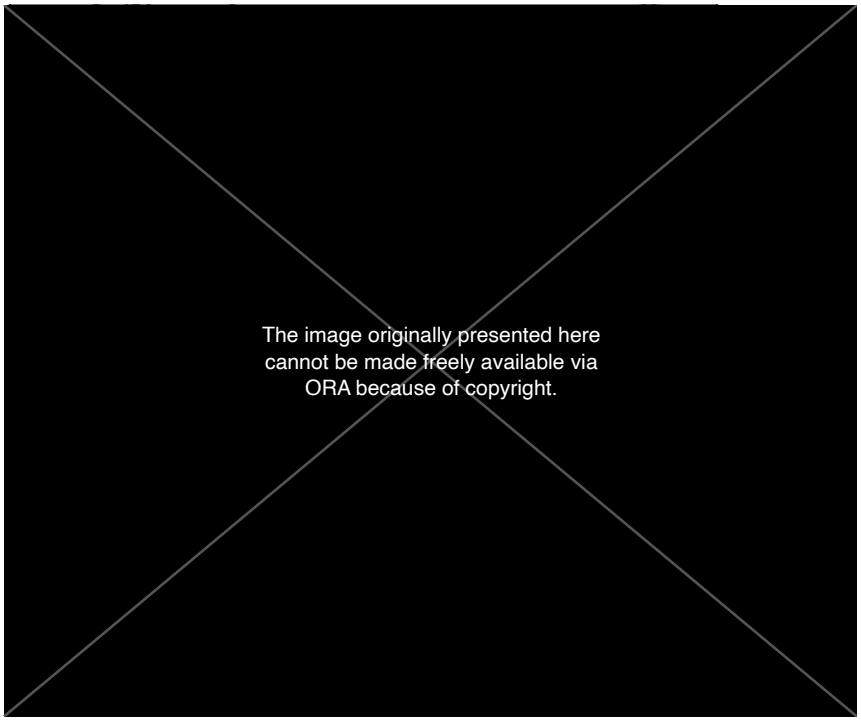


Figure 4.14: Calcot Grange showing its peripheral location on the parish boundary, and at the crossroads of two long-distance routeways.
(Extract from Newington Bagpath Tithe Map 1839.)

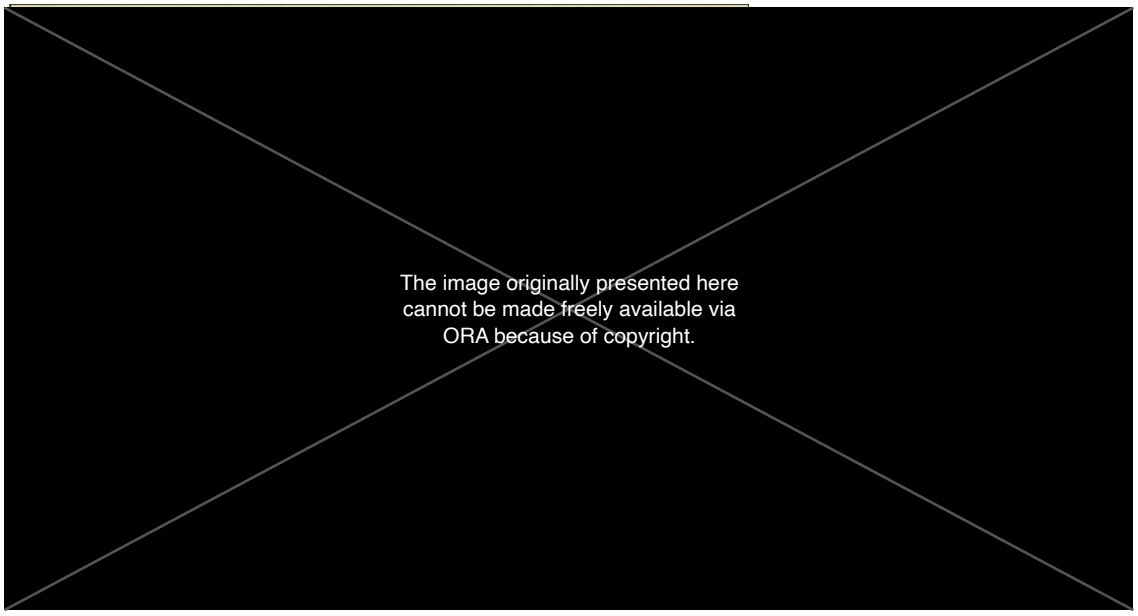


Figure 4.15: Drawings of partially rebuilt Calcot barn and its datestone by S. H. Grimm in 1790. Barn viewed from the south-west. The dovecote porch is not original. (© The British Library Board, f.107, 109.)

Inscription stones, set originally in the east porches of Hazleton I and Calcot (the Hazleton one now lost), record their construction dates and, although worded slightly differently, that they were built by Abbot Henry of Horton (succeeded 1271, replaced by 1303) in the nineteenth and twenty-ninth year of his abbacy, respectively (Figure 4.15).[447] Such inscriptions are very rare in medieval barns, and those at Hazleton and Calcot are the earliest known examples in England, and the only ones known in Cistercian barns.[448]

They are also the earliest known inscriptional evidence of possible abbatial patronage in any Cistercian building in England and Wales.[449] The concept of Cistercian abbatial patronage and inscriptions on Cistercian buildings are unusual in the late thirteenth century for two reasons. Firstly, Cistercian abbots were not financially independent, therefore any building work either would have been funded internally from the abbey's general income with approval of the whole convent, or funded externally from an abbot's familial wealth or by a benefactor. There is no record or indication of how these barns were funded, and almost nothing is known about Abbot Henry.[450] Secondly, only a year before Hazleton I was completed a Cistercian decree reinforced earlier practices that prohibited 'novelty' or 'superfluity' in any of the Order's buildings.[451] A personalised inscription possibly fell into the first category. So what might have prompted the construction of these barns, and their inscription stones? Hazleton I was completed just before, and was not too dissimilar in size to Beaulieu's barn at Great

447. Brady 1996; Smith & London 2001, 287; Bond 2004, 135-6 fig. 36; Rudder 2006, 633.
448. Brady 1996, 126.
449. cf. Robinson 2006; Carter 2014.
450. It might be speculated that Abbot Henry originated from Horton, only 10km from Kingswood's monastery. cf. Gardiner & Hill 2019 on Horton Court.
451. Carter 2014, 231.

Coxwell. The barns at Hazleton I and Calcot are also of a similar date to St Peter's Gloucester's (Benedictine) large cruck-framed stone barn at Frocester, which is regarded as a major accomplishment of Abbot John de Gamages (in office 1284-1306).[452] Cistercian abbots were very aware of the building programmes of Cistercian and other neighbouring abbeys, and it appears that neither Flaxley nor Hailes in Gloucestershire nor nearby Stanley in Wiltshire built large or fine barns in any of their granges. Therefore, it is postulated that Hazleton I and Calcot were built as enduring symbols of Kingswood's prestige in Gloucestershire and Abbot Henry's contribution to the abbey's then prosperity.[453]

Beaulieu, by comparison, was very different from most other English abbeys in being a royal foundation established during the heyday of high farming, and given very substantial, mainly established estates. Many of the estates, especially those in Oxfordshire, will have had barns. After Beaulieu's claustral complex was largely completed by the 1240s, the abbey was able to undertake a substantial building programme, starting with its cell-granges and most important granges.[454] This is evidenced by the number and dates of its known barns, and the following two chapters will suggest that this is also evidenced by the contemporary construction of grange chapels and accommodation. Not all of Beaulieu's grange and directly managed estates are represented above, but a surprisingly high proportion are.[455] Of the other granges in Beaulieu's Great Close, Beufre, although an extensive estate, lay very close to the monastery and may not have had a large barn, whilst the crops from Througham/Sowley

452. Charles & Horn 1983; Brady 1996; Charles 1997.
453. cf. Brady 1997, 95-7.
454. Jansen 1984.
455. cf. Hockey 1975, 25. Soberton, in particular, was an important arable grange. Unfortunately, the location of its settlement remains unknown.

probably were sent to nearby St Leonard's. A large barn might be expected at Hartford, but the location of the grange settlement is presently unknown.

The barn at Great Coxwell appears to be somewhat larger than required for the grange's own arable of perhaps *c.*190ha and, therefore, probably also held crops from other sources (Figures 4.16-4.17). The construction of an overseers' 'office' in the barn's west porch suggests that also, as one is unlikely to have been needed if only grange crops were stored.[456] In summary, Beaulieu had the resources at the right time to be able to build substantial stone barns at particular granges.



Figure 4.16: Great Coxwell barn from the west.

[456] Horn & Born 1965 conjecture that St Leonard's barn also may have had an 'office'. One would have been useful if the barn acted more as a busy general warehouse.



Figure 4.17: Western porch of Great Coxwell barn, originally two-storeyed, possibly with an overseers' office.

4.4.5 The Cistercians and the advent of large barn building

The advent of large barn building is associated with the expansion and intensification or arable farming in 'the long thirteenth century', and the return to direct agriculture by perpetual institutions.[457] Perpetual institutions tended to retain direct agriculture longer than secular landowners and, as a result, there were two further phases of large barn building, one at the end of the fourteenth century and another at the turn of the sixteenth. As illustrated above, Cistercian abbeys took little part in these latter two phases, except in their monastery precincts and home farms.

[457.] Weller 1986a; 1986b; Bond & Weller 1991; Brady 1996, 23-40; 2007; Impey 2017, 9, 53, although St Paul's Cathedral's 'great barn' at Walton was built before *c*.1155 in a leased estate, which suggests that large barns routinely were built at an earlier date, cf. Horn 1958, 11-12.

The Cistercians cannot be said to have made a return to direct agriculture, since that was their original economic policy. In the late twelfth century and early thirteenth century many Cistercian abbeys in southern England were still developing their estates, particularly their home farms, and chose not to directly farm every new property acquired. Expansion of directly-farmed arable may not have occurred until the early to mid thirteenth century, and then only at particular properties. Many abbeys appear to have been more interested in developing their pastoral activities, particularly sheep farming. However, each abbey's economic approach differed. With this in mind, it is possible to consider Cistercian involvement with the advent of large barn building.

At present, the most useful comparative data comes from Impey's study of Winchester College's early fifteenth-century barn at Harmondsworth (Middlesex).[458] Impey argues that the historical significance of individual barns is related to their size, and sets out an hierarchal table of his suggested 19 largest medieval barns in England and Wales, all with footprints of over 510m^2.[459] The Cistercian barns in Beaulieu's Wyke and Kingswood's Hazleton granges, Coggeshall's home farm, and Buckland's monastery precinct also were over 510m^2, as was an undated 64m x 13m (832m^2) barn at Kirkstead Abbey's (Lincolnshire) monastery.[460] Although this study is more interested in the dates and sequence of barn building than in size, details from this and Impey's study can be combined. As a result, Table 4.3 illustrates that six of the 11 largest known twelfth- and thirteenth-century barns in England and Wales are Cistercian.[461]

458. Impey 2017.
459. Ibid., 50-5; Impey & Belford 2017.
460. Coppack & Harrison 2014, 12 Fig.5, 35-6.
461. The sizes of barns differ between sources.

Site of Barn	Owner	Date	Footprint (m^2)
Walton, Essex	*St Paul's Cathedral, London*	*Pre-c.1155*	*826*
Chislet, Kent	*St Augustine's, Canterbury*	*12th & 13th cents.?*	*884*
Coggeshall, Essex	Coggeshall Abbey	1238x62	>518
St Leonard's, Hants.	Beaulieu Abbey	Mid-13th cent.?	1,360
Ely, Cambs.	*Cathedral Priory of St Etheldreda*	*Mid-13th cent.?*	*1,003*
Wyke, Oxon.	Beaulieu Abbey	c.1250x90?	very large?
Monknash, Glam.	Neath Abbey	late 13th cent.?	822
Hazleton I, Glos.	Kingswood Abbey	1290	533
Great Coxwell, Oxon.	Beaulieu Abbey	1292	598
Tisbury, Wilts.	*St Mary's, Shaftesbury*	*1289x1314*	*688*
Frocester, Glos.	*St Peter's, Gloucester*	*c.1300*	*613*

Table 4.3: Pre-1300 barns in England and Wales with footprints of over $510m^2$, (non-Cistercian barns are shown in italics).

The significance of Cistercian barns is amplified by Impey's own comparative table of the suggested 12 largest medieval barns in France and Flanders.[462] All had footprints of over $715m^2$, and all except one date to before 1300. However, the building at St Pierre-sur-Dives in Normandy must be discounted as it was a market hall, not a barn, although illustrates that the same basic architectural design was used for other types of building.[463] Nine of the remaining barns were Cistercian, five belonging to Chaalis Abbey, one was Premonstratensian, and only one barn built by an established Benedictine house. Differences in preservation or recording cannot explain why only one Benedictine barn is represented, except to suggest that the comparison table is too

462. Impey 2017, 54 Table 6.
463. Horn 1958, 15-16 Figs 32-4; Epaud 2011, 194-5.

restrictive in being only of barns over 715m^2 in size, compared to over 510m^2 used for England and Wales.

Most of the Cistercian barns in France and Flanders date to the first half of the thirteenth century.[464] Therefore, they were constructed shortly before or coeval with the earliest known Cistercian barns in England and Wales. However, that overall picture may be significantly biased because a large number of the barns were built by only two abbeys, Chaalis in France and Beaulieu in England. Although it might be postulated that the convent from Cîteaux brought a large stone-built barn tradition with them when founding Beaulieu, more extensive research is needed to establish whether English and Welsh abbeys in any way emulated their French counterparts. However, it appears that some secular landowners in France did emulate Cistercian abbeys in building substantial stone barns. For example, the late thirteenth-century aisled barn in the detached seigneurial farmstead of Grange du Mont (Charny, Côte-d'Or) probably was modelled on Cistercian grange barns in the area (see Figures 6.21-6.22 below).[465] Putting English barn building into perspective, with a footprint of 680m^2 the barn is larger than many of the English and Welsh barns tabled by Impey.

The overall conclusion is that large barn building was not the result of a return to direct agriculture by perpetual institutions, or at least not yet proven. However, it is not alternatively suggested that the Cistercians or the other new orders led the way in large barn building. Instead, it is noted that most of the examples of large thirteenth-century

464. Perhaps mirroring the findings from southern England, Ter Doest Abbey's late fourteenth century barn was built at its monastery. See Coomans 2013a on barns in monastery precincts and home farms.

465. Beck 1989; 2009. The whole farmstead is suggested to be modelled on a Cistercian grange, see Chapter 6.

and early fourteenth-century barns mentioned here and by Impey were substantially built in stone and, therefore, more likely to have survived. It simply may have been fortuitous that the development of large grange estates coincided with the greater use of stone construction in areas where building stone was available. A few Cistercian abbeys had the finance, access to resources, and desire to construct large stone barns.

4.4.6 Agricultural and industrial buildings other than barns

Storage of processed crops

Cereal crops were normally threshed and winnowed over the winter months, and the grain sometimes transferred to purpose-built granary buildings. These usually were smaller than barns and often raised on straddle stones or timber equivalents. Archaeological evidence of purpose-built granaries, as well as their associated corn-drying kilns or hearths, dating to the high medieval period is relatively rare in England.[466] Processed crops could have been stored in a wide variety of places within a grange settlement.[467] Grain, in particular, could have been stored in barn storerooms or annexes, in the rafters or storerooms of accommodation buildings, and even in large pottery jars which could have been kept almost anywhere.

Grain need not have been stored locally for long, with some transferred to a central location, for example a monastery or cell-grange, sent to a local miller, or sold directly from a grange. About 25% of grain crops were held over as seed grain for the following

466. Gardiner 2012a, 32.
467. Weller 1986a; Mellor 1994, 86; Brady 1997; Bond 2004, 139-40; Claridge & Langdon 2011; Gardiner 2012a.

year, and some kept for animal feed. There is little indication that legumes were stored other than locally, although some may have been sent to the monastery as provisioning.

There is no archaeological evidence of a purpose-built granary or a corn-drying kiln at any grange in southern England. However, Beaulieu is recorded as building a new granary at Wyke in 1269/70, and one was repaired at Boxley's Chingley Grange in the mid fourteenth century.[468] Since Wyke was the centre of Beaulieu's Faringdon *camera*, a centralised granary and general warehouse would have been important.

Storage of hay

Hay was not usually stored in barns with arable crops because of its higher risk of spontaneous combustion. It was kept either in purpose-built hay barns, haylofts in animal houses, or in stacks around the farmyard or in the fields, although some sources suggest that hay was stored in barns more often than previously thought.[469] Hay barns usually were smaller than those for crops, although by the end of the Middle Ages some hay barns were quite large.[470] So far, there is no archaeological evidence of a dedicated hay barn in any grange in southern England.

Woolhouses

The late-medieval manor house at Heasley is believed to have incorporated the only known grange woolhouse in southern England, although there may well have been others.[471] As well as being the collection centre for Beaulieu's sheep flocks in

468. Hockey 1975, 78; Eastlake 2014, 95.
469. Weller 1986a; Brady 1996, 9 fn.9; Claridge & Langdon 2011, 1252-3; Gardiner 2012a; Impey 2017.
470. Roberts 2011.
471. NHLE: 1014286.

Hampshire, its property at Bergerie, situated close to the settlement at St Leonard's, is likely to be where the wool was washed, graded, and packed (Figure 2.2).[472] Until the late fourteenth century, when the abbey built a woolhouse in Southampton, the woolsacks could have been stored at Bergerie, but more likely at St Leonard's, before being shipped from the latter's wharf or 'hard' at nearby Gins ('gin' a simple lifting device). Gins, then situated on a promontory at the mouth of the Beaulieu estuary, was probably the abbey's main port.[473] Wool from the abbey's Faringdon *camera* may have been prepared locally and stored in a woolhouse or warehouse at Wyke, before being shipped down the Thames to the abbey's Flemish merchants in London.[474]

Animal housing

The design and construction techniques used for the housing of oxen, horses, cattle, and farmyard animals probably varied in different parts of southern England. There is no archaeological evidence of animal housing within any grange settlement, and the scant documentary references provide little further enlightenment. In general, there is extremely little archaeological evidence of animal housing in ecclesiastical estate complexes, particularly dating to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.[475] Archaeological evidence is equally rare in secular manors in southern England.[476] However, a twelfth- to thirteenth-century vaccary complex, which appears to have formed a separate farming enterprise or specialised part of a manor, was excavated near Haywards Heath in the

472. Oldland 2013, 87-8, 92-3; NRHE: 459575.
473. See Davidson 1843, 41 on a new convent for Newenham Abbey staying overnight and being shipped from St Leonard's, not directly from Beaulieu's monastery; West & Chen's 2013 annotated geological map of the Beaulieu estuary.
474. Donkin 1957; Blair 2007.
475. Bond 2004; Brady 2018, 262.
476. See Dyer 2019 on the housing of peasant livestock.

Sussex Weald.[477] The only structures found were a large open-fronted building set on drystone sill walls and a herdsman's house. Place-name evidence and the landscape setting suggest that the large building was a cowshed, rather than a hay barn or sheephouse. The evidence seems conclusive, but as shown from a study of a broadly similar open-fronted building at Tichborne in Hampshire, distinguishing between cowsheds, sheephouses, and hay barns can be difficult, especially if the buildings were co-located within a farm complex.[478]

Without the full context, documentary evidence of animal housing may be misleading as the terms 'vaccary' and 'bercary' can refer either to livestock housing and associated pens or enclosures, to the cattle herds and sheep flocks themselves and their discrete grazing, or to a particular type of agricultural enterprise.[479] For example, Thame's Stoke Talmage Grange, which practised mixed farming, is recorded in the 1291 *Taxatio* as having a vaccary.[480] In that instance the context is financial, and tells us nothing about where or how the cattle were housed.

Influenced by studies of monastic landholdings in northern England, some scholars and Historic England's designation descriptions suggest that vaccaries and bercaries were purpose-built, specialist types of granges, with distinctive ranges of buildings.[481] There is no evidence for such specialist granges in southern England, and elsewhere in England the association between granges and vaccaries and bercaries is ambiguous.[482] Horse studs are suggested to have been another specialist type of grange, with separate

477. Margetts 2017.
478. Roberts 2011, 18-21, figs. 4-6.
479. Donkin 1978; Oschinsky 1971; Dyer 1995; Brady 1996; Bond 2001b; 2004.
480. Donkin 1962a.
481. For example, NHLE: 1020967; Bond *et al*. 1989; Bond 2004; Historic England 2018.
482. Donkin 1962a; 1978.

stabling for stallions, mares, and foals.[483] Although horse breeding took place in a few granges in southern England, there is no evidence of specialist granges.[484]

Industrial and craft facilities

It is difficult to find any evidence of industrial or craft facilities within grange settlements in southern England. Bond's recent review of the industrial activities of Cistercian abbeys in England and Wales suggests that most of these activities took place in or near monasteries and at a few special locations.[485] The only evidence of a fulling-mill in southern England is one documented at Quarr's Heasley Grange in the late twelfth century.[486] Heasley almost certainly supplied cloth to the abbey, and perhaps also commercially, since there is no evidence of a fulling-mill within the monastery precinct or home farm. Centralisation of industrial activities at monasteries, including the manufacture of clothing, is shown from Beaulieu's accounts.[487]

Evidence of crafts, such as woodcraft, which might be expected to have been undertaken in some grange settlements, is so far unknown to us.[488] Cistercian communities were tightly controlled and had little latitude in what items could be made and retained at granges. This may have resulted in the centralisation of the production and distribution of most items of material culture used by lay brothers, such as cookware, tableware, and storage jars. Centralised control and distribution might be evidenced by the similarity of the archaeological remains found in an abbey's different

483. Bond *et al*. 1989; cf. Moorhouse 2009, 62-4.
484. See Claridge 2017 on the medieval horse trade.
485. Bond 2019; Coppack 2019.
486. Bond 2004; Hockey 1970, 50-3.
487. Hockey 1975, 32; 1976, 72-3; Oldland 2013.
488. Blair & Ramsay 1991; Mellor 2018; Bond 2019.

grange settlements. Some items may differ from those found in other local secular contexts.[489]

'Industrial complexes', for which there is weak evidence nationally, were not a specialist type of grange in southern England.[490] Overall, there appears to be little value in categorising granges and their settlements into specialist economic types. Even in northern England, bercaries, vaccaries, horse studs, and industrial complexes often were only components of granges.[491]

4.5 Conclusions

There was no typical site for a grange settlement, although many appear to have been placed relatively centrally within their areas of exploitation and influence. Grange settlements were not sited to avoid secular society, and sometimes purposely sited near existing secular settlements or routeways. A factor in siting a grange settlement is likely to have been the availability of existing buildings, with barns and animal housing probably more important than residential accommodation. Although some settlements may have replaced an existing farmstead or hamlet, there is no evidence to suggest that any replaced a large secular settlement, especially as a secular workforce was nearly always needed. Once established, grange settlements were rarely, if ever, relocated.

489. Hodges 2006, 109.
490. cf. Bond *et al*. 1989; NHLE: 1020967.
491. Moorhouse 2009.

From the fragmentary evidence available, most settlements in southern England appear to have had either a singe inner or outer enclosure, the form varying with local topography. Apart from livestock control, there may have been little need for a physical outer enclosure where an abbey had good territorial control over the wider area. Enclosures may have become more substantial and more sophisticated over time, although it is difficult to differentiate between enclosures created when lay brothers were in occupation and those created afterwards.

Granges were highly integrated with local secular society, and the main purpose of enclosures, particularly inner enclosures, was to provide privacy for the lay brothers' accommodation. Distancing the monastic accommodation from the working buildings, or vice versa, could have achieved a similar effect, although cell-granges and the more important granges may have been enclosed more sophistically. The need for privacy was possibly also reflected in the layout of the buildings, with the agricultural buildings and any secular accommodation sited towards the fore of the settlement and the monastic accommodation sited towards the rear or in the centre.

There is more evidence of barns than of any other type of agricultural or industrial building. Alternative forms of crop storage should not be ignored, particularly at small or mainly pastoral granges. This chapter has increased knowledge of the Cistercian barns in southern England, and suggested that there was a difference between barns built in granges and those built at monasteries. The overall picture may be distorted by the differential survival rate of stone-built barns, but the Cistercians generally appear to have been parsimonious in their approach to large or fine barn building at granges.

Although the picture may be similarly distorted, a sizeable proportion of the earliest and largest known barns built in England, Wales, France, and Flanders were Cistercian. Mirroring the establishment of the earliest monasteries and granges, the earliest French Cistercian barns appear to predate those in Britain by several decades. However, there is presently insufficient evidence to conclude either that British abbeys emulated their French counterparts, or that the Cistercians led the way in large barn building.

Large barns were built throughout the later Middle Ages from the twelfth century, a factor being the confidence of perpetual institutions in demesne arable farming. Some Cistercian abbeys only had that confidence and the financial resources for a short time in the thirteenth century and early fourteenth century. The financial difficulties of many abbeys in the late thirteenth century and early fourteenth century resulted in a permanent retreat from directly-worked arable in many of their remote estates. Fundamentally, English Cistercian abbeys were late comers and early leavers to large-scale direct arable farming in their remote estates, and that was reflected in their barn building.

CHAPTER 5: ACCOMMODATION I: INTRODUCTION AND THE RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

Buildings, like poems and rituals, realize culture.[492]

5.1 General introduction

This and the following chapter approach the lay brothers' accommodation from the perspective that it realised a cenobitic monastic culture. It will be argued that grange refectories differed from secular halls, grange dormitories differed from secular chambers and, compared to most secular and other ecclesiastically-owned farmsteads, all Cistercian granges had either an oratory or chapel for religious worship. In every respect the lay brother accommodation was imbued with spiritual meaning.[493]

Different aspects of the accommodation will be considered separately, as the relationships between their ideational structures and spatial forms are far from straightforward.[494] This chapter gives an overview, and then concentrates on grange settlements established on former monastery sites and the commemoration of these sites, cell-grange chapels, grange oratories and chapels, and burials and cemeteries at granges. The following chapter will discuss dormitories, refectories, warming rooms, and other accommodation facilities, including any secular accommodation that may have been provided. Despite the large numbers of Cistercian granges in France, archaeological evidence of twelfth- and thirteenth-century accommodation buildings

492. Glassie 2000, 17.
493. Veilleux 2012 and other papers in Coomans *et al*. 2012; Moreland 2013, 24.
494. Johnson 1993, 30.

remains comparatively sparse. However, there are a few examples that may indicate the forms and configurations at granges in this country. These examples will be drawn on where appropriate, particularly in the following chapter.

Medieval architecture is often categorised by scholars as either 'monastic/ecclesiastical/ religious', 'manorial/elite/high status', or 'vernacular/peasant' in nature, these categories implying different social functions and meanings, as well as forms.[495] Monasteries readily can be placed into the first category, but lay brother accommodation in granges is not so easy to place. Although its function was monastic, the accommodation can, and has been regarded as either 'monastic', 'manorial', or 'vernacular' depending on its constructional quality.[496] Major changes in medieval architecture took place during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, especially a shift from earth-fast to ground-set timber construction. The historical development of these changes, and the extent that stone was used for domestic structures is not yet fully understood because of the limited archaeological and architectural evidence presently available.[497] Therefore identifying, interpreting, and differentiating Cistercian grange accommodation can be a difficult, but not an impossible task.

The extent that Cistercian architecture followed general changes in construction techniques is illustrated by the variety employed at Sawley Abbey's new monastery in Lancashire between *c*.1150 and *c*.1180 (the abbey was founded in 1147x8).[498] These included earth-fast construction, timber buildings set on pad-stones and slight cill walls,

[495.] Quiney 1999; Gardiner 2000; 2007; 2014; 2015; Kinder 2002; Robinson 2014; Campbell 2018; Dyer 2018.
[496.] Faulkner 1958; Fairclough 1992; Fisher 2009; Johnson 2013.
[497.] Munby 1993; Walker 1999; Gardiner 2000; 2007; 2013; 2014; Hamerow 2012.
[498.] Coppack 2001; 2004, 40-2; 2016; Coppack *et al*. 2002.

and buildings raised on substantial cill walls. The five high-quality buildings excavated, two of which had internally-piped water supplies, were replaced by stone structures between *c*.1170 and *c*.1220. The buildings, described as 'temporary' structures, are contemporary with the monastery's stone church, which was built in the 1150s. Lay brothers and secular craftsmen were involved in constructing Sawley and other monasteries, and there may have been little difference in the building techniques used at monasteries and granges except, perhaps, the extent and way that stone was employed.[499] It is not suggested that grange accommodation can be equated to that in monasteries, but that it should be considered in terms of its monastic ownership and function, rather than by the social status or role of lay brothers within Cistercian society.

5.2 Parameters and possibilities within Cistercian monastic culture

At the heart of each Cistercian grange stood a complex of buildings where the lay brothers lived and worshipped communally, and from where they managed and worked the estate. The monastic rules, regulations, and culture that governed their lives also influenced the nature and design of the buildings. As a result, irrespective of the number of lay brothers housed, location, or economic role, every grange was expected to have an oratory, dormitory, refectory, and warming room.[500] A separate warming room was specified since no heating was allowed in Cistercian oratories, dormitories, and refectories, whether in monasteries or granges. Lay brothers were required to observe the monastic rule of silence in their dormitories and refectories, and in any area designated for silence within warming rooms. Silence was observed within oratories,

[499.] Fergusson 1984, 101, 165-72; Coppack *et al*. 2002; Coppack 2004; France 2012.
[500.] Aubert 1947; Williams 1998, 281; Waddell 2000, 177-81; France 2012, 116, 338-9.

except during the chanting of the lay brothers' offices.[501] The lay brothers were housed separately from any secular servants, staff, or guests, whose accommodation could be heated and where there was no need for silence.

Cistercian normative texts do not specify the forms that grange facilities should take, although there are indications that these should be located in functionally discrete spaces. For example, apart from the distinction between heated and non-heated spaces, lay brothers were required to recite the *Miserere mei, Deus* whilst processing to the oratory after meals in the refectory, suggesting that these were expected to be separate places. Instead of an oratory, some granges were provided with a chapel where Mass could be celebrated when an ordained monk was present.[502] With the exceptions of warming rooms, which are mentioned in the *Usus Conversorum*, and *reredorters* (latrines), which are not, the facilities expected to be provided at granges parallel those provided in monasteries.[503] These differences will be discussed in the following chapter.

Every abbey was required to conform to the regulations and principles agreed by the Cistercian General Chapter, with the *Usus* written to codify the spiritual and temporal practices of lay brothers, and ensure that there would be as little as possible diversity in their behaviours wherever they lived or travelled.[504] Uniformity of approach is unsurprising, since lay brothers could be based within the monastery or posted to any grange, and visit the monasteries and granges of other Cistercian abbeys on business or whilst travelling. It is noticeable that none of the examples of lay brother grievances or

501. Waddell 2000.
502. Williams 2004; France 2012.
503. Kinder 2002, 305-31; Robinson 2006, 157-60.
504. Waddell 2000.

ill-discipline reported during the thirteenth century concerned differences between the accommodation provided in granges and that in monasteries.[505]

Whilst the architectural forms of lay brother monastery ranges became relatively standardised throughout Europe, a more localised and individual approach was probably adopted to grange architecture.[506] There are likely to have been substantial differences in the sizes and forms of buildings depending on the number of lay brothers anticipated to be housed, the building materials available, the importance, purpose, and location of the grange, and the funding provided by an abbey. The significance of local building traditions, themselves usually based on resource availability, should not be underestimated. Also, some granges initially inherited the buildings of earlier secular manorial complexes or farmsteads, and some inherited those of monasteries.

Preferential treatment, particularly in constructing chapels, almost certainly was given to cell-granges. Preference also may have been given to arable granges that provisioned the monastery, and granges that generated cash for the community. According to Cistercian custom, one-quarter of all income could be used for building work, and cash generation would have been important to help finance the construction, improvement, and maintenance of the monastery complex.[507] Spending on grange buildings did not necessarily take place after that on monasteries, as the scale of investment and work required would have been of quite a different order. Just as most monasteries underwent a series of building campaigns, so almost certainly did granges. As with barns, the permanence of an abbey's sacred and secular power in an area could have been

505. Cassidy-Welch 2001, 180-6; France 2012.
506. Kinder 2002; Robinson 2006.
507. Fergusson 1984, 20.

projected by accommodation that was more substantially built than that found in local manorial complexes or farmsteads. One-upmanship is also possible, especially between the nearby granges of abbeys belonging to different Cistercian families.[508]

Former monastery buildings provide a link between what is normally recognised by scholars as 'monastic/ecclesiastical/religious' architecture, no matter how simply buildings were constructed, and some of the earliest grange accommodation. Due to their significance, these inherited buildings are considered first.

5.3 Short-term and temporary monasteries to granges, and the commemoration of 'first' churches

5.3.1 Overview

When a Cistercian abbey moved its monastery to a new location it usually retained the earlier one as a grange or, if a minor site move, as a home farm. These inherited whatever monastery buildings had been constructed. Relocation or re-siting appears to have occurred relatively frequently, with Donkin suggesting that 29 abbeys, over one-third of all abbeys in England and Wales, moved their monastery at least once.[509] Only five abbeys in southern England, one-fifth of the total number, moved their monasteries, although Kingswood moved three times. The circumstances of each move differed, and each will be discussed in more detail.

[508.] See Chapter 6 on the neighbouring French granges of Oudun and Villiers-la-Grange.
[509.] Donkin 1959b. Citing Donkin, Fergusson 1983, 74 goes further and suggests that nearly half of monasteries in England moved once, and in some cases three, four, or five times.

Short-term and temporary monasteries, the distinction made here being that abbeys intended the sites of short-term monasteries to be permanent, are mentioned by several authors, but there has been little discussion or archaeological research into their remains, or how their buildings were reused. Many years ago, Lawrence Butler pointed to the archaeological value of investigating these sites because their terminal dates are relatively well chronicled.[510] He notes that, although 16 abbeys in England and Wales moved their monastery in less than ten years and may have had only temporary buildings, seven did not move until after 30 years, and none of their sites had been extensively excavated. That is still the case. It is argued here that all short-term and temporary monastery sites are worth investigating for the information they may contain.

An example of the possible difficulties in investigating and interpreting these sites is illustrated by the, as yet, unsuccessful search for Poulton Abbey's monastery in Cheshire.[511] The monastery was occupied for over 60 years from *c*.1146x53 before being replaced by a grange. It has been suggested that the monastery complex remains elusive because all of the buildings were timber-built, despite a contemporary single-cell, stone-built secular chapel, postulated by Mick Aston to have been the monastery's *capella extra portas*, discovered near the monastery's possible site.[512] As the monastery could not be found, the excavators believe that the grange settlement was built on a different site, although the archaeological evidence found at the suggested alternative site is not strong.[513]

[510.] Butler 1982, 95; Ainsworth 2012 re Stanlow Abbey in Cheshire, later a grange of Whalley Abbey; Coomans 2012; Kinder 2012; Bond 2018, 570 has recently reiterated the archaeological potential of these sites.
[511.] Emery *et al*. 1996; *Time Team* 2007; Wessex Archaeology 2007. The excavators treat Poulton as a Cistercian foundation, rather than Savignac or 'semi-Savignac'.
[512.] *Time Team* 2007.
[513.] Ibid.; Wessex Archaeology 2007, 21-2.

Based primarily on Cistercian foundation narratives and relatively little archaeological evidence, some scholars suggest that the earliest buildings at most monastery sites were timber-built, either because of a Cistercian preference for woodland locations where timber was easily accessible, a new community's poverty or as a display of its poverty, or uncertainty about its permanency.[514] As a result, timber buildings are often characterised as 'temporary' structures that were only in use until a community achieved *stabilitas*, when 'permanent' stone buildings were constructed. That characterisation probably has a bearing on how 'short-term monastery to grange' sites, like Poulton, have traditionally been considered. However, scholarly perceptions of the impermanency or permanency of buildings probably differ from those of the monks and lay brothers who inhabited new monasteries. They did not always foresee that they might move site or location, or that some buildings would not outlast their lifetimes. In any case, the Benedictine concept of *stabilitas* (permanent membership of a particular monastic community and a sense of place) is different from, and ought to be considered separately from, the construction of stone buildings.[515]

Illustrating that timber buildings should not necessarily be equated with impermanency and stone with permanency, Bonde *et al.* note that Ourscamp Abbey's (Oise, France) first church, completed within a very few years of the abbey's foundation in 1129x30, was probably a timber-framed structure built on low sill walls.[516] It remained in use as a chapel until the eighteenth century. Local building traditions in Wales resulted in some

514. Bilson 1909, 198; Fergusson 1983; 1984, 23-5; Coppack 1998, 33; 2001; 2004, 36-43; 2016; Coppack *et al.* 2002, 101; Robinson 2006, 50-60.
515. Kinder 2002, 105-7; Jamroziak 2013, 68; Coomans 2018, 85-6.
516. Bonde *et al.* 2011, 5-25.

'permanent' claustral west ranges being timber-framed and built on low sill walls.[517] A degree of planned permanency is even indicated by the quality, piped water supply, and longevity of some of the timber buildings found at Sawley.

Some of the buildings at new monastery sites may have been stone-built and, as suggested in Chapter 2, it would be surprising if a new or relocating community rejected a patron's offer to construct, or help to construct stone buildings, especially the church. Some of the abbeys in southern England that moved their monastery, such as Forde, Thame, Kingswood at Tetbury, Robertsbridge, and Bindon, appear to have had the time, and were possibly given the resources to be selective on which buildings were constructed in stone and which in timber. In France, Pontigny Abbey's (Yonne) first church was stone-built.[518] Within four years of Cîteaux Abbey being granted its final site in 1102, a church and an accommodation building for *c*.20 monks were built in stone (Figure 5.1).[519] The community is unlikely to have moved from its earlier site at La Forgeotte, 2km away, until these buildings were completed. Many incorporated religious communities, almost one-third of Cistercian abbeys in Europe, possibly already had some stone buildings when they became Cistercian. The circumstances of the establishment and later moves of Cistercian monasteries differed and, therefore, each case should be considered on its own merits.

A related aspect worth further archaeological research is the commemoration of earlier monastery sites, in particular monastery churches. Although no 'short-term monastery to grange' sites are mentioned, Bonde *et al.* suggest that some early churches took on

517. Robinson 2006, 159-60.
518. Kinder 1980; Bonde *et al.* 2011.
519. Kinder 2002, 32; Zito *et al*. 2012, 30-1 for a drawing, 60-2.

new roles as commemorative structures, and were preserved long after successor buildings were constructed.[520] A notable example, and one that would have been seen by British abbots attending the annual Cistercian General Chapter, is the small, single-cell first stone church of Cîteaux. It was retained as a freestanding chapel from the 1130s, and later rededicated to St Edme (St Edmund of Abingdon) possibly to hold relics.[521] The chapel stood until the eighteenth century, but it is still commemorated, with the chapel's outline reconstructed in the present Trappist monastery (Figure 5.1).



Figure 5.1: Site and outline of Cîteaux Abbey's (Côte-d'Or, France) first stone church of 1106.

[520] Bonde *et al.* 2011.
[521] Ibid.; Zito *et al*. 2012.

In England, the 'first churches' in some final monastery sites have been discussed briefly by scholars, but there is no synthetic study similar to Bonde *et al.*'s.[522] To try to generate more interest in the subject, this study will consider the possible commemoration of first churches at 'short-term monastery to grange' sites in southern England, as well as two sites that were not retained as granges, but which were probably commemorated.

5.3.2 Short-term and temporary monasteries to granges

Six grange settlements in southern England were established at short-term monastery sites and one at a temporary monastery site, four of which may have inherited stone-built churches (Table 5.1). Four or five of the monasteries may have been later commemorated. Beaulieu's Wyke Grange is excluded, as it is unlikely to have been the site or the proposed site of the abbey's first monastery.[523] King John's very extensive foundation grant around Faringdon gave Cîteaux a great degree of flexibility on where it could site a monastery that had easy access to a large and reliable water supply and good drainage. Wyke is not beside a river or strong stream, and the River Thames lies *c*.3km away on an almost level gradient (Figures 4.6-4.7). Given the importance of the founder and mother house, an existing building in or near Faringdon is more likely to have been used by any reconnaissance or advance party from Cîteaux. When Beaulieu was very soon chosen as a better location for the monastery, the new convent was initially housed in a royal hunting-lodge near a river.[524]

[522.] Fergusson 1983, 75 n.6; 1984, 22-9, 102; Coppack 2004.
[523.] *pace* Leech & Soffe 1994; NRHE: 338660; cf. Hope & Brakspear 1906, 131; Hockey 1976, 14-15.
[524.] Hockey 1976, 19.

Abbey	Monastery/ grange location	Period occupied	Years occupied	Possible stone church	Possibly later commemorated
Otley	Otley	1137x8-41	3-4	No	Yes
Kingswood	Acholt	*c*.1139-40	1-2	No	Yes
	Hazleton	*c*.1140-56	*c*.15	Yes	No
	Tetbury	*c*.1156-68	*c*.12	Yes	Yes
Forde	Westford	*c*.1141-47	*c*.6	No	No
Bindon	Little Bindon	1149-72	23	Yes	Yes
Font of Drogo	Loxwell	*c*.1151-54	*c*.3	Yes	Possibly

Table 5.1: Short-term and temporary monastery to grange sites in southern England.

All of the moves shown in Table 5.1 occurred relatively early in the period of Cistercian settlement during the uncertainties of the Anarchy and its aftermath, and all can be associated with changes in patrons or benefactors. The moves will be considered individually to try to understand what buildings may have been inherited, and how each monastery may have been commemorated.

Otley's monastery and Thame's Otley Grange

Otley's convent appears to have occupied its monastery in 1137x8, only a year after the site was granted by the abbey's founder, who also provided suitable buildings.[525] The short timescale and the monastery's location on the Upper Thames clay vale suggest that the buildings were all timber-built. Within a year the community acquired another patron and a new monastery began to be constructed at Thame. Therefore, when the community moved in *c*.1141, the subsequent grange inherited new timber structures,

[525] Fergusson 1984, 24.

including a church. In *c*.1235, Thame was given permission to celebrate Mass in its chapel at Otley. This appears to regularise an existing practice, and suggests that the chapel had been built some, perhaps many years earlier.[526] It may have been built to replace and possibly commemorate the monastery church. In some support of that suggestion, Otley is the only Thame grange known to have had a chapel. The heavily ploughed-out earthworks of the grange settlement lie within an undated, ditched or moated enclosure (Figure 5.2).[527] No buildings have been identified so far. Little archaeological research has been conducted on the site, although fragments of buildings 'of an ecclesiastical description', together with encaustic tile and other objects, were found in the mid nineteenth century.[528] These cannot now be traced.

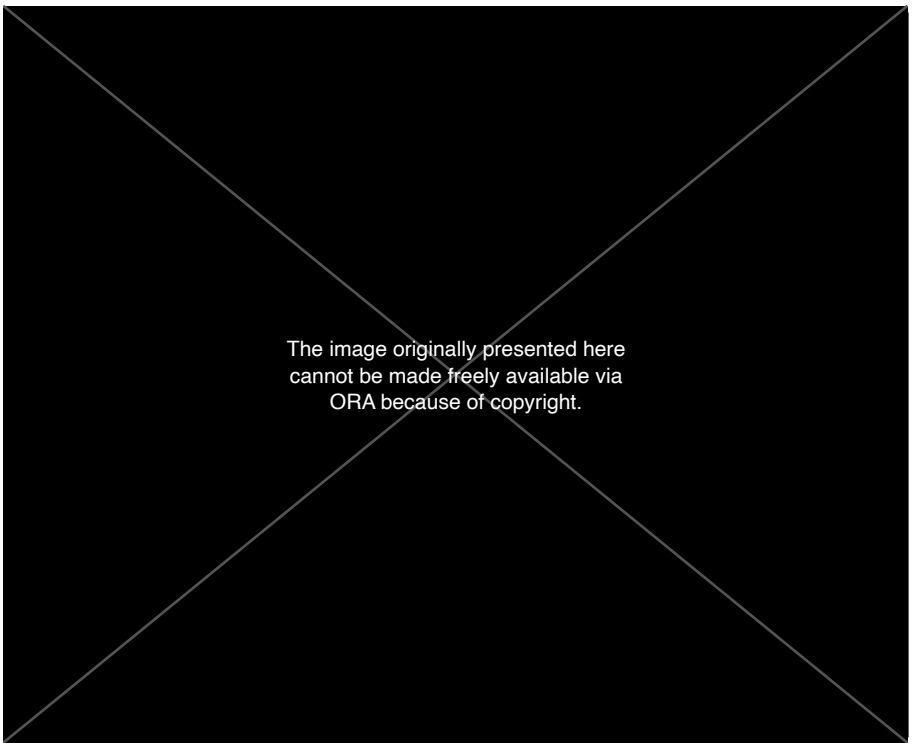


Figure 5.2 Site of Otley Grange, Oddington. From NHLE: 1006322 (2013 version) showing site location, scheduled area, and 1976 earthworks survey.

526. Salter 1947-8, 24-6; Williams 2004, 214.
527. NHLE: 1006322; NRHE: 338660 for a description, and which suggests the site was secular.
528. Anon. 1846, 87-9.

Kingswood's three short-term monasteries and resultant granges

The establishment of Kingswood at Acholt in 1139 in some ways mirrors that of Otley in taking place within a year although, in this instance, the founder appears to have done no more than grant the landholding. Therefore, the new convent either occupied existing peasant houses or built some rudimentary structures themselves. The exact monastery site is unclear, but the general location is in open woodland clay vale without easy access to building stone. The monastery appears to have been occupied for little more than a year and the remains of a church are unlikely to be found. It was more than 30 years before the abbey's Upper Grange was established on the site or in the vicinity. There is no evidence of grange buildings in the area, but shortly after Kingswood's dissolution some stonework from the later monastery was reputedly used to build a farmhouse, in ruin by 1910 (Figure 5.3).[529] Local tradition believed the ruin, which looks more like a folly, to have been Kingswood's first church, although it may have been built to commemorate the possible site of the first monastery.



Figure 5.3: The 'Old Abbey' at Abbey Farm, Kingswood *c*.1910 (Lindley 1954).

[529.] Lindley 1954, 176 Plate XVI.

Kingswood's move to the manor of Hazleton in *c*.1140 appears also to have been a relatively rapid affair, and the new patron does not seem to have provided any new buildings. There may have been an existing manorial farmstead, but that is unlikely to have been where the monastery and subsequent grange accommodation were sited.[530] These were almost certainly where a late fifteenth-century house built by the abbey now stands, situated near the head of a small dry valley above an aquifer, a relatively typical location for a Cistercian monastery (Figures 4.8, 5.4).[531] The site is next to a source of building stone and, as the monastery was located at Hazleton for about 15 years, a stone church probably was constructed. Domestic buildings with full or low rubblestone walls were relatively common in the area from at least the early twelfth century.[532]



Figure 5.4: Site of Hazleton Grange in *c*.1900, facing north-west, with the remains of the two medieval barns above in the centre background. (Courtesy of The Hon. Lady Brinckman.)

530. It is postulated that there may have been a small secular settlement at Paswell (Figure 3.2).
531. Kinder 2002; Weston 2013.
532. Baddeley 1910; Ellis 1984; Hart *et al*. 2016, 208-9.

There is no evidence to suggest that the monastery church was maintained or commemorated after Hazleton became a grange. That may be because of the abbey's subsequent history, which involved two further moves under two new patrons. The politics of patronage may have come into play, with Hazleton ceasing to have had any long-term significance as a former monastery site. On the other hand, Hazleton was always the abbey's most important grange, housed the largest number of lay brothers and, as discussed in the following chapter, was used as an hospice. Therefore, it probably had a chapel. Geophysical survey around the present manor house failed to find traces of earlier structures as a result of the overburden from later landscaping.[533]

In *c*.1156 Kingswood was granted the park at Tetbury for a new monastery, and the abbey was refounded as Tetbury Abbey.[534] The monastery site was next to a river and close to a stone quarry. The move does not seem to have been a hurried affair. Therefore, a stone church may have been built in advance by the abbey's new patron, Reginald de St. Valery, who was in the process of rebuilding Tetbury's parish church and manorial centre, which had been destroyed during the Anarchy.[535] The monastery was located at Tetbury for *c*.12 years, also ample time to construct a stone church.

The monastery and subsequent grange buildings are probably now overlain by Estcourt Grange, a late sixteenth-century farmhouse which incorporates the remains of a fourteenth-century, plain trefoiled piscina, indicating a chapel.[536] It seems unlikely that a

[533.] Weston 2013.
[534.] Cheney 1994, 460; Weston 2012; in prep; GA, BCM/F/1/6/1/ii-iv. This is an early and previously unrecognised example of disparkment, Stephen Mileson pers. comm. See also Mileson 2009; Liddiard 2019.
[535.] Walker 1991; Herbert 1996; Tilley 2007.
[536.] Lindley 1954; Platt 1969; Verey 1979; Verey & Brooks 2002, 694; Rudder 2006, 731.

chapel was built for lay brothers as there were only three by the mid thirteenth century.[537] Supporting the suggestion that the fourteenth-century or earlier chapel may have been commemorative, an obsolete 'churchyard', indicating a nearby church or chapel, was recorded near the grange settlement in 1248.[538] As discussed below, secular cemeteries were discountenanced in granges unless there was an existing right of burial. Given the location and the date recorded, the 'churchyard' may have been the former monastery cemetery.[539] The community had been in existence for 30 years by the time it left Tetbury and there must have been a number of deaths during the period. The remains of monks and lay brothers might therefore be found at Hazleton and Tetbury.

Bindon's monastery and possible grange

Bindon's monastery at Little Bindon almost certainly had some stone buildings. The monastery, situated on the Jurassic limestones of the Dorset coast, was occupied in 1149 and not vacated until 1172. Again, the remains of monks and lay brothers might be found there. The reused remnants of two twelfth-century kneelers, thought to be from the monastery, have been identified in a small extant barrel-vaulted, early thirteenth-century chapel built on or near the monastery site (Figure 5.5).[540] One kneeler is carved with the bearded and crowned face of a man, the other with the face of a monster. However, the suggested date of the kneelers may be too early for them to have been Cistercian figurative art, and perhaps not from the first monastery.[541] Little Bindon was retained as a grange after the monastery was vacated, before the site was abandoned when the grange was incorporated into Burngate Grange in the early thirteenth century

537. cf. Platt 1969, 25, 238; Bond 2004, 119; Williams 2004, 220.
538. Herbert 1976.
539. cf. Williams 2004, 218.
540. RCHME 1970a, 151-2; NHLE: 1323346.
541. France 1998; 2014, 304-5; Kratzke 2014.

– the suggested date of the chapel.[542] Therefore, it may have been constructed in commemoration of the abandoned monastery site.

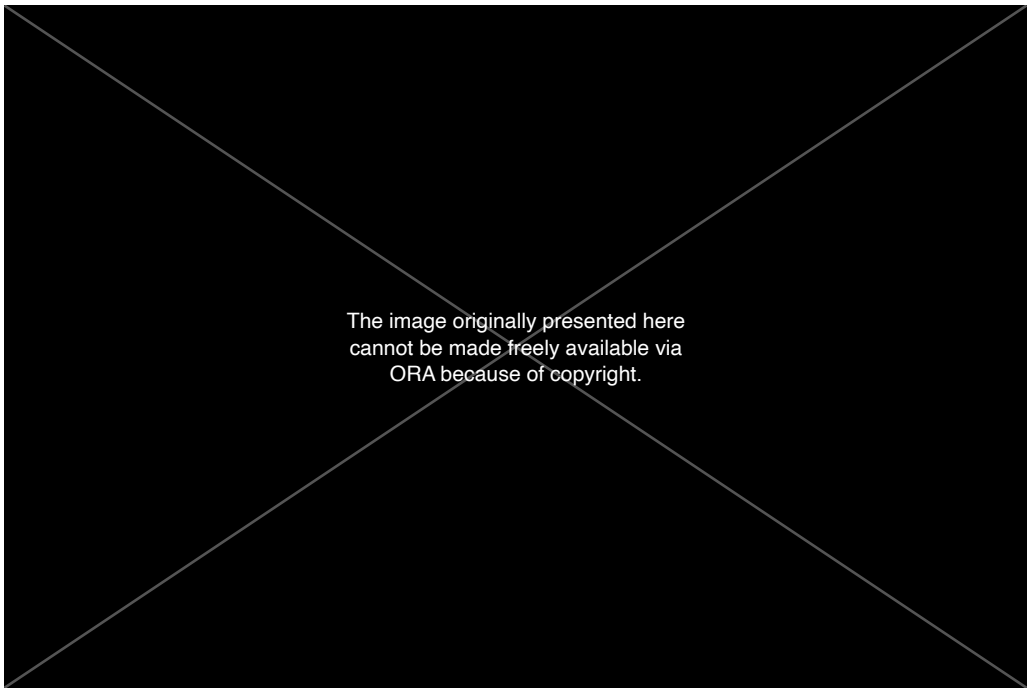


Figure 5.5: Remains of the chapel at Little Bindon.
(Online at https://www.flickr.com/photos/cjb22222222/16070820694, accessed 15/8/2019)

Font of Drogo's monastery and Loxwell Grange

Graham Brown has extensively researched the foundation and siting of Font of Drogo Abbey (renamed Stanley) and subsequent Loxwell Grange, but has been unable to find any traces of monastery or grange buildings.[543] The location, which had good access to timber and building stone, was granted in 1149 but not occupied until 1151. Although the monastery was vacated only three years later, the founders had the resources for some well-built structures, possibly including a simple stone church. Also, the facilities provided may not have been in accordance with Cistercian customs and have reflected the considerably less institutionalised, more localised, irregular approach of the

542. Hutchins 1861, 349-60.
543. Brown 2012.

Savignacs.[544] Brown suggests that the monastery was intentionally located near a sacred spring, which continued to be commemorated after the monastery was relocated.[545] If so, this may be an instance of dual commemoration.

Forde's temporary monastery site at Westford

An existing manorial complex at Westford, beside the River Axe, was the temporary site of Forde's monastery from 1141. The construction of a new monastery began almost immediately at *Hartescath*, *c*.3.5km upriver, and the monks occupied Westford for six or seven years until the new monastery became habitable.[546] The new church's chancel must have been constructed quite rapidly and was almost certainly was stone-built, as Forde's founder and the exhumed remains of the founder and first abbot of Brightley Abbey were buried in the chancel in 1142x48.[547] Historic England and Dorset HER databases make no suggestion of where the manorial complex and grange settlement of Westford may have lain, although the vicinity of Westford Farm would seem to be the most likely location. Presently, there are no known medieval features in the area.

5.3.3 Commemoration of other short-term monastery sites

There were two instances where short-term monasteries were not replaced by granges. In both cases the monastery churches appear to have been commemorated.

544. Conyers 2001.
545. Brown 2012, 29-31.
546. Dugdale 1846, 378; Rowe 1878, 171-3; Holdsworth 1989, 183-4.
547. cf. Hall 2005; 2007, 89.

Brightley Abbey, secular reuse and commemoration

The site of Brightley's monastery was granted by Richard FitzBaldwin de Brionne in 1133, but not occupied until 1136 .[548] Both he and the abbey's first abbot were buried in the monastery church prior to the site's abandonment in 1141. FitzBaldwin's interment was possibly pre-planned and suggests that the church was constructed in stone, the local building material, with that purpose in mind.[549]

Upham speculates that the remains of a much altered, single-cell stone chapel at Brightley are those of the original church.[550] The building measures 11m x 7m externally and has a simple Early English doorway with deep internal splays in its western gable. Other investigators consider the remains to date no earlier than the thirteenth century.[551] In support of that suggestion, in 1173 the Courtenays held the honour of Okehampton, which included Brightley. Many became patrons of Forde in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries and were buried in its monastery.[552] With the continuing association between Forde and the honour of Okehampton, Brightley's church may have been rebuilt by the Courtenays in commemoration of the original foundation and used as their perpetual chantry chapel of St Mary, the name given to all Cistercian abbeys.[553]

Robertsbridge Abbey, secular settlement, and a symbol of lordly control

Robertsbridge's first monastery had been established for over 40 years before the community moved to a nearby site in *c*.1220, leaving the earlier buildings to be reused

548. Holdsworth 1989.
549. cf. Astill & Wright 1993.
550. Upham 2006.
551. Devon & Dartmoor HER: MDV5032-3; NHLE: 1105611; NRHE: 440779.
552. Hall 2007, 89.
553. James 1997, 218; Fizzard 2008, 119-20.

within a new secular settlement being developed by the abbey.[554] Robertsbridge was well established and financial strong by that date, and the settlement is likely to have inherited a stone-built monastery church, and perhaps other well-built structures.[555] The original monastery is thought to have lain in the area of the village's first market place, where a chapel, demolished in the late sixteenth century, once stood. A 1314 charter records that the chapel had been built 'on the spot' where the abbey was founded.[556] This might suggest that the chapel was built to replace and commemorate the abbey's first church, and have also acted as a symbol of the abbey's lordship of the village. Since the monastery was located on the site for many years, a number of monastic burials might be expected, unless they were exhumed and moved to the new monastery's cemetery. However, it was not normal Cistercian practice to exhume and reinter ordinary monks and lay brothers (see below).

5.4 Oratories, chapels, and burials

5.4.1 Overview

The lay brothers followed the same eight liturgical hours as the monks, but in a considerably simpler way.[557] The timing of their hours varied between summer and winter seasons, and on working days the lay brothers said most of their daytime prayers wherever they were working. Although monastic scholars have tended to downplay the religious aspects of lay brother life, the Cistercians expected every grange either to have

554. Gardiner 1997, 68-9; Harris 2009, 12-13.
555. Chapman 1977.
556. Harris 2009; East Sussex HER: MES2376.
557. Waddell 2000, 166-77 is the key most comprehensive text. See also Lekai 1977, 364-5; France 2012, 334-7.

an oratory for communal prayers and private devotion, or a chapel where Mass also could be celebrated.[558] Chapels were always provided at cell-granges for the resident monks. Apart from Williams's preliminary study, there has been no detailed archaeological or historical survey of grange chapels or the more elusive oratories in Britain or elsewhere in Europe, or comparative studies made of cell-grange chapels and how they may have differed from grange chapels.[559]

Oratories and chapels could be located within residential buildings, or be attached or detached freestanding structures. The evidence presented below suggests that chapels generally were freestanding. There is great diversity in the sizes of grange chapels throughout Europe, with some of the smaller ones possibly reflecting an earlier use as oratories.[560] Providing there was enough space for an altar, there might not have been much difference between the sizes of some chapels and oratories. Large chapels may have been built to allow an abbey's local secular staff to also attend Mass. A chapel might be distinguished from an oratory by evidence of the celebration of Mass in having a piscina or evidence for an altar, such as a raised platform, some form of internal partitioning, more elaborate or larger windows, and by having a roughly eastwards longitudinal orientation.

Oratories are more difficult to recognise archaeologically as they could have been just separate designated spaces or rooms. Oratories are likely to be almost featureless, although they may have had windows that differed from those in the same or adjacent accommodation buildings. Oratories probably did not need to face eastwards. However,

558. Williams 1998, 286-7; 2004; France 2012, 133-6.
559. Williams 2004; cf. 2001, 196-9 re those in Wales.
560. Williams 2004; 2014, 268-9.

the reuse of oratories as chapels may indicate that some did. Reuse of an oratory is recorded at Waverley's Neatham Grange, discussed below, and is suggested at Reigny Abbey's Oudun Grange (Yonne, France).[561]

Grange oratories and chapels had to be large enough to accommodate all of the lay brothers, and therefore may have been larger than most contemporary secular oratories. Private oratories or chapels usually adjoined chambers rather than halls, whilst grange oratories and chapels are more likely to have adjoined or be near refectories because of their use for the lay brothers' offices. Private secular chapels were relatively rare and found only in high status properties until the fourteenth century, when there was a change in preference from freestanding chapels or solar offshoots, to ground-floor extensions to residential buildings.[562]

The Cistercians were principally against providing grange chapels as lay brothers were expected to return regularly to their monasteries for Mass and certain feast days.[563] Chapels were permitted in certain circumstances, for example at granges some distance from the monastery, or at former monastery or other earlier religious sites that became grange settlements. Where a grange chapel was permitted, Mass was performed by a visiting ordained monk who may have required overnight accommodation. Possibly from the thirteenth century, when the duties of Cistercian abbots entailed more travelling, they constructed private accommodation at particular granges, sometimes either with a private oratory or a grange chapel.[564] Grange chapels dating to the

561. See Chapter 6.
562. Wood 1965, 227-46; Bond 2004; Rawlinson 2011; Saul 2017, 113-5; Gardiner & Hill 2019.
563. Waddell 2000; Williams 2004; France 2012.
564. Kinder 2002, 356-9.

fourteenth century or even, perhaps, the late thirteenth century are more likely to have been constructed for visiting abbots and obedientiaries, rather than for lay brothers.

Some granges possessed chapels from the mid twelfth century.[565] The problem the Order faced, much debated, and kept changing its mind and regulations on during the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, was whether existing chapels could continue to be used for Mass, or new ones built. When existing chapels were not allowed to be used for Mass they could be used as oratories once the altars were removed. Special cases were agreed by the General Chapter, until the rules were gradually relaxed during the first half of the thirteenth century. In 1255, a general papal concession permitted the Cistercians to perform Mass at any of their granges, although secular servants, staff, and tenants could attend only if it did not prejudice the local parish church.[566]

There seems to have been a large variance in the number of chapels built by individual abbeys which is difficult to explain. In Wales, Margam Abbey is thought to have had 13 chapels and Tintern and Llantarnam seven each, compared to at most two for all other Welsh houses.[567] A similar variance is found in France and Ireland. The situation in England requires further investigation but, as will be shown, excluding cell-grange chapels there appears to have been no more than 13 grange chapels in southern England, although many grange settlements have been little researched.

565. Dubois 1972, 211; Williams 1998, 286-7; 2004; cf. Platt 1969; Gilchrist 1995, 104.
566. Williams 1998; 2004; France 2012.
567. Williams 2004; cf. Roberts 2014.

Existing secular churches were occasionally acquired in the formation of new granges. Except, perhaps, at Waverley's Wanborough and Beaulieu's St Leonard's granges, both discussed below, there is no evidence in southern England that any existing churches became grange oratories or chapels. It would appear that the Cistercians preferred to retain churches for the families of secular staff and tenants, such as St Giles (Great Coxwell) owned by Beaulieu and Treton (Bruern) owned by Bruern. Some grange chapels became secular churches after the granges ceased to operate, as at Quarr's Forwood and Waverley's Wanborough.

5.4.2 Cell-grange chapels

There were four cell-grange chapels in southern England, one belonging to Quarr and three to Beaulieu, and their circumstances differed.

Quarr's chapel at Forwood

Only a monk and a few lay brothers were based at Forwood in *c*.1190, and a freestanding chapel was provided.[568] Forwood was leased as early as 1239 and the chapel became a parish church. When the site was visited for possible monument scheduling there were no identifiable monastic remains.

Beaulieu's chapel at Wyke

The earthwork remains at Wyke are enigmatic, and the suggestion that the monastic accommodation and chapel may have been arranged around a cloister is unconvincing

[568] Hockey 1970, 48-9.

(Figures 4.6-4.7).[569] Only two cell-granges in Europe are known to have had cloisters, Pipewell Abbey's Cawston Grange in Warwickshire and Staffarda's Pomerolo Grange in Italy, and there is no evidence of cloisters at any of Beaulieu's other cell-granges.[570] Accommodation arranged around an enclosed courtyard cannot be ruled out, although distinguishing between a cloister, a courtyard, and even a cattle yard with a raised walkway, is difficult without excavation. In total, there were probably never more than five or six monks and the same number of lay brothers based between Wyke and Great Coxwell.[571] Both grange chapels are unlikely to have been large, especially as grange staff would have attended the local parish churches owned by the abbey.[572]

Beaulieu's chapel at Great Coxwell

In 1237x41, the papal legate authorised a chapel at Great Coxwell.[573] This raises the issue of whether permission was required for cell-grange chapels. Although Williams mentions the chapel at Forwood, he does not mention any of Beaulieu's cell-granges chapels and only discusses the need for permission at granges.[574] This suggests that permission may not have been required. Great Coxwell may therefore have been a grange in 1237x41, with the chapel served initially by a monk from Wyke. As discussed in the following chapter, a new accommodation range was possibly built at the same time as the chapel, or by 1269/70 when resident monks are recorded. The chapel, which was located next to the accommodation range, was demolished in the early eighteenth century, indicating that it was free-standing.[575]

569. Hockey 1976, 109; NHLE: 1020967.
570. Williams 1998, 281; Bond 2004, 103.
571. Denholm-Young 1937, 122; Hockey 1975, 102.
572. Hockey 1976, 42-5.
573. Williamson 1949, 154-5.
574. Williams 2004.
575. Oxfordshire HER: 7103, 7104; NRHE: 225953.

Beaulieu's chapel at St Leonard's

Although the chapel at St Leonard's is recognised as unusually large and fine, scholars have given it surprisingly little attention since details were published by Hope & Brakspear in 1906 (Figures 4.3, 5.6-5.7).[576] The chapel, situated less than 6km from the monastery, measures 20m x 7.3m externally, is Decorated Gothic in style, and is attributed to the late thirteenth century. It is alternatively suggested to date to the early fourteenth century.[577] There has been no recent architectural survey, or comparisons made between the mouldings in the chapel and those in Beaulieu's monastery, or to those in other possibly contemporary buildings in England or France.[578]

The chapel appears to be superior in size and quality to that normally found at a cell-grange the size of St Leonard's, which housed only a few monks and seven or eight lay brothers in 1269/70. The chapel's size might be explained by the number of secular staff employed.[579] It certainly had some secular use as the abbey's sacristy account for 1269/70 records Mass offerings of two shillings, although the amount seems small for the possible size of the local secular population.[580]

576. Hope & Brakspear 1906, 183-5, plates XIX-XX; Platt 1969, 230; Bond 2004, 119.
577. NHLE: 1094415.
578. Jansen 1984, 89-91, Fig. 15; cf. Morris 1979, 21 fig. 16, 23.
579. Hockey 1975, 16-23.
580. Ibid., 241.

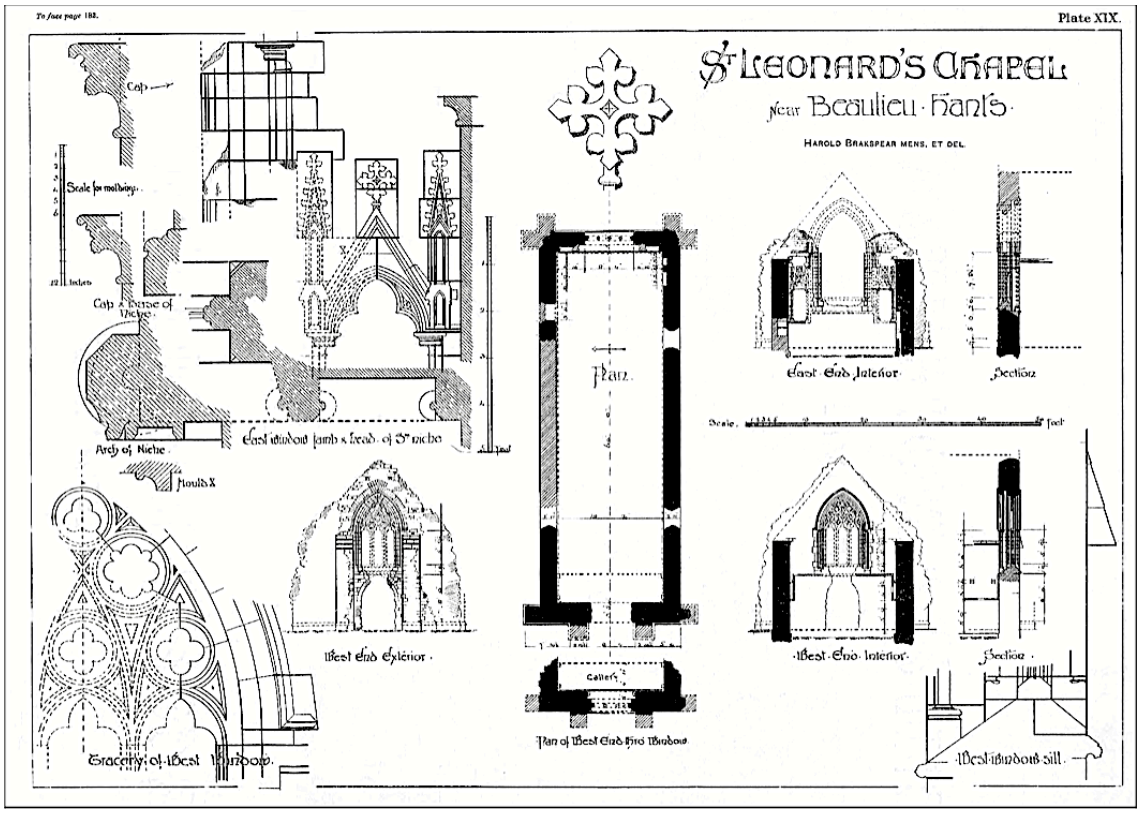


Figure 5.6: Plan of St Leonard's Grange chapel (Hope & Brakspear 1906, Plate XIX).



Figure 5.7: East window and context of St Leonard's chapel. End of the trailer more or less marks the line of where an earlier building stood next to the chapel.

However, secular access to the chapel may have been limited, as there is only a single entrance located in its western gable. Internally above the entrance, at a height of 2.75m, there was a 1.5m wide gallery. Galleries are unusual in monastic, especially Cistercian, grange chapels, although viewing galleries have been identified in the nunnery churches of various religious orders.[581] The gallery at St Leonard's might have been a viewing gallery for important secular visitors, and it could be relevant that Beaulieu's monastery church had, unusually like its mother Cîteaux's church, a porch or galilee and possible gallery attached to its north transept.[582] Although St Leonard's chapel was built primarily for monastic use, its size, ornamentation, and possibly limited secular access suggests it was built also as an act of display. St Leonard's location and possible role as a trading centre and port could have resulted in a number of important visitors.

The record of Mass offerings in 1269/70 would indicate either that the date of the chapel was earlier than previously suggested, or that there had been an earlier chapel on the site. Both scenarios could apply. When, in 1236, Henry III confirmed lands granted to Beaulieu between 1227 and 1235 their boundary was partly defined by reference to the *capellam sancti Leonardi*.[583] Either there was an existing chapel dedicated to St Leonard on the site before the abbey was founded or the abbey constructed a chapel before 1227x35, therefore before the monastery's church and claustral buildings were completed in 1246.[584] The reference to the chapel, rather than to grange of St Leonard's,

581. Gilchrist 1994, 107-9; Constable 1998, 235.
582. Hope & Brakspear 1906, 149-50, plate v.
583. Hockey 1974, lxv, 5-7.
584. NHLE: 1003450.

as a boundary marker suggests the former, and that the grange was not built before 1227x35 when the additional lands were acquired. In support of that hypothesis, Cistercian granges usually were named by reference to an existing place-name, their geographic location, a landscape feature, or their primary purpose. It is very unusual for a grange to be named after a saint without good reason.[585] No other grange in England is named after a saint according to Donkin's list of granges, nor could this author find any other example.[586]

On the other hand, Henry III's confirmation charter appears to be the earliest record of the name in the area. St Leonard (Leonard of Noblac) is the patron saint of prisoners, for whom he provided corporal and spiritual help. Beaulieu was granted special privileges to allow fugitives sanctuary anywhere in its Great Close.[587] It may have been desirable for fugitives to be located some distance from the monastery, and be speculated that the original chapel was constructed by Beaulieu prior to 1227x35 for their spiritual direction, with the intention that some became lay brothers and other secular staff.[588] Whatever the reason or sequence and timing of events, an earlier chapel must have been built on or near the site of the extant chapel.

The date of the earliest chapel at St Leonard's is relevant to the possible date of the monumental barn discussed earlier. Based on the assumption that abbeys gave barns priority over lay brothers' accommodation, Horn & Born date the construction of St

585. However, grange chapels were dedicated sometimes, Williams 2004, 218-9.
586. Donkin 1964a.
587. Cox 1911, 183-92.
588. France 2012, 25.

Leonard's barn to between 1205 and 1246.[589] However, accommodation for monks, lay brothers, and livestock almost certainly had priority over barn building.[590] Also, a barn the size of St Leonard's would not have been justified until there was sufficient need for one. The barn is unlikely to have been built before 1227x35 when the additional lands were acquired, and therefore a mid thirteenth-century construction date has been suggested above.

Relatively little archaeological evidence has been found near the chapel, although lead and earthenware pipes were uncovered nearby.[591] When a sunken garden was created in 1906, the remains of a residential building were found only 5.5m from the chapel.[592] Running parallel to the chapel from its eastern end, a 9.5m long and 1.45m wide wall was uncovered. At the western end of the wall a 9m long and 0.6m wide return wall ran northwards, and the fragment of a hearth was found about 2.15m equidistant from each wall.[593] The close proximity of the remains to the chapel would suggest monk, even abbatial, rather than lay brother accommodation. The presence of a hearth is problematic, although it could have been for abbatial or later secular use. An extant *c*.1700 farmhouse (Figure 5.7), which lies only 5m further northwards, incorporates a sixteenth-century predecessor that may contain medieval remains.[594] Despite later landscaping, the wider area around the farmhouse may contain further evidence.

589. Horn & Born 1965; Impey 2017.
590. Jansen 1984, 109-110 n.42.
591. Wise 1863, 71; cf. Bond 2001a; Magnusson 2001, 64-76; Coppack *et al*. 2002, 80.
592. Hope & Brakspear 1906, 184.
593. Platt 1969, 230 postulates that the remains were those of a thirteenth-century residential range.
594. NHLE: 1094414.

5.4.3 Grange oratories, chapels, and burials

Oratories

Unfortunately, at present there is no archaeological evidence of any grange oratory in southern England. As discussed below, the only documentary evidence comes from a permission to use the oratory at Waverley's Neatham Grange as a chapel. Unless structural changes were necessary, this might suggest that the oratory was roughly eastwards orientated. The best indicator of a grange oratory may come from one later reused as a chapel.

Grange chapels

Only eight of the 22 abbeys in southern England that established granges appear to have built chapels. Assuming Great Coxwell had a chapel before it became a cell-grange, there seems to have been at most 13 grange chapels (Table 5.2), although no more than seven could be said to have been provided primarily for lay brothers.

A number of previously suggested grange chapels have been excluded from the table. Cleeve's Stout 'grange' was first recorded in the sixteenth century and the associated fourteenth-century chapel of St Pancras, situated only 1km from the monastery, was probably built to memorialise a holy well.[595] The chapel at Forde's Bere Grange, only 4km from the monastery, was probably a private oratory, whilst the chapel of St White's in Flaxley's Littledean Grange was almost certainly an anchorite chapel or cell supported by the abbey.[596]

[595.] Dunning 1985; Butterworth 1999, 319; Bond 2004, 119.
[596.] Ellis 1927; Williams 2004, 218; Gloucestershire HER: 5624; NRHE:191387.

Abbey and Foundation Date	Grange	Possibility of a Chapel	Possible Date	Distance from Monastery
Waverley (1128)	Wanborough	certain	*c*.1147, or mid 13th cent	10km
	Neatham	certain	1250	16km
Thame (1137x8)	Otley (M)	certain	1141, or prior to 1235	25km
Kingswood (1139)	Hazleton (M)	probable	post-*c*.1156	25km
	Tetbury (M)	certain	post-*c*.1168, or 14th cent.	20km
	Calcot	certain	14th cent.	13km
Boxley (1143)	Upper	certain	14th cent.	3km
Bruern (1147)	Holwell	probable	post-1166	22km
Stanley (1149)	Codrington	certain	1280	27km
Bindon (1171)	Little Bindon (M)	certain	post-*c*.1172, or early-13th cent.	8km
	Chaldon Herring	probable	13th cent.?	8km
Beaulieu (1203)	Great Coxwell	certain	1237x41	5km*
	Througham	certain	*c*.1225-70	8km

(M) denotes former short-term monastery sites

* from Beaulieu's cell-grange of Wyke

Table 5.2: Grange chapels in southern England.

It is also unlikely that Beaulieu's Beufre Grange had a chapel, as sometimes suggested.[597] There are no remains or indications of one in the former grange settlement,

[597.] Fowler 1911, 180; Hockey 1974, lxv; 1976, 199; France 2012, 135.

and the lay brothers could have attended Mass in the monastery church only 1.5km away.[598] The chapel is not mentioned in the abbey's sacristy accounts for 1269/70, but in 1348 the Bishop of Winchester recorded that a tonsure had been conducted 'in the manor chapel of the abbot of Beaulieu called Beufre'.[599] Therefore, Beufre chapel was probably built elsewhere for the abbey's secular community. There is no further mention of the chapel after the Dissolution, perhaps because the monks' monastery refectory then became the local parish church.[600]

The factors influencing the decision to build a grange chapel appear to have varied, and it is difficult to generalise. For instance, four of the chapels in Table 5.2 may have replaced or been built to commemorate former monastery churches, as much as, if not more than for the benefit of lay brothers. On the other hand, the numbers of lay brothers and the distances of Otley and Hazleton granges from their monasteries may have been the main factors in providing or maintaining chapels. However, half of the grange chapels were located far less than a day's journey from monasteries.[601] For example, Hutchins records an undated chapel at Chaldon Herring which, like the one at Little Bindon mentioned earlier, lay only 8km from Bindon's monastery.[602] The two chapels may even have been contemporary. When the Ordnance Survey surveyor Norman Quinnell visited Chaldon Herring in 1952 he found large blocks of ecclesiastical carved stone in the garden, and recorded that the owner had removed many other pieces over the years, as well as some stone drains.[603]

598. NRHE: 226446; Hants AHBR: 12133, 12134, 20466.
599. Hockey 1975; Anon. 2008, 9.
600. Hockey 1976, 209.
601. This was also the case in France, see Chapter 6.
602. Hutchins 1861, 363-4.
603. NRHE: 454140.

Bruern's relatively small, although early and most distant grange at Holwell is interesting, since it appears to have had a chapel with decorative sculptures. In the early 1940s, a small two-light window and two carved heads, suggested to represent a king and a monk, were discovered together with foundation stones in earthworks on the site of the grange settlement. The window and carved heads were incorporated within a room in a new house being built nearby.[604] It seems that these have not yet been studied further. There is the intriguing possibility that the sculptures represent a Templar knight and a Cistercian monk, since the Templars were neighbours and shared lands, and as there was a general close relationship between the two orders.[605]

Some chapels were built after lay brothers ceased occupation, or when their numbers were so low that the chapels were not constructed primarily for their benefit. However, it appears that no chapels were built in former grange settlements after the Black Death. The chapels at Tetbury and Codrington were probably built for the benefit of visiting abbots and obedientiaries, rather than for lay brothers although, as suggested above, the chapel at Tetbury may have had a commemorative role. The chapel at Boxley's Upper Grange, only 3km from the monastery, seems to have been part of the abbot's private accommodation.[606] Kingswood's chapel at Calcot, evidenced only by the remains of a now lost, fourteenth-century holy water stoup and doorway, may have been built for passing travellers, as the grange was located at the crossroads of two long-distance routeways (Figures 4.14, 5.8).

604. Marshall *c*.1950.
605. Crossley 1972; Burton 1994, 81-4; Jamroziak 2013, 33; Baudin *et al*. 2012.
606. Eastlake 2014, 97.

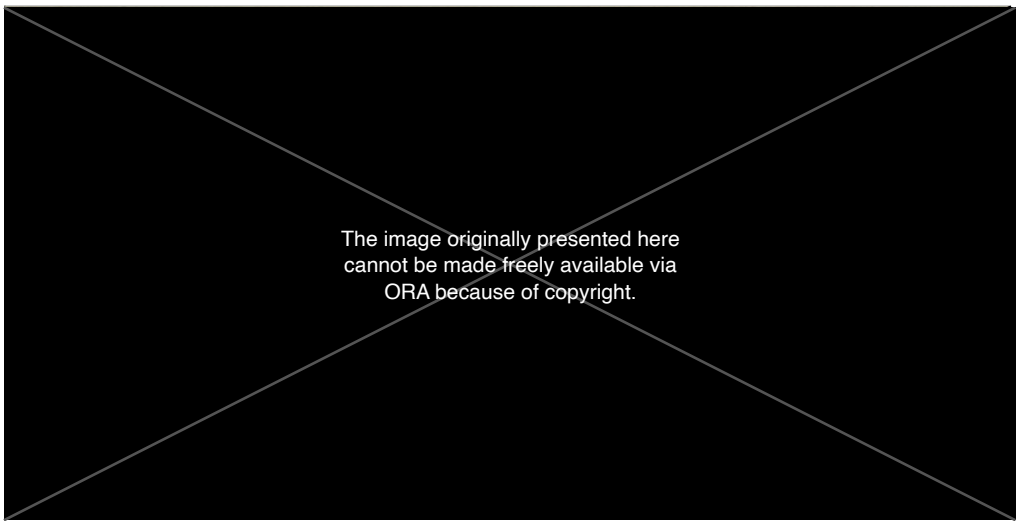


Figure 5.8: Holy water stoup and archway or doorway of the chapel at Calcot in 1790 by S. H. Grimm.

Unless chapels were established before Cistercian regulations were strongly enforced in the late twelfth century, there appears just to have been a narrow window of opportunity around the middle of the thirteenth century when chapels for lay brothers were both permitted and could be justified. The known dates of grange chapels in Europe indicate that most were built during the last three quarters of the thirteenth century, although a number may have replaced earlier structures.[607] As with most aspects of Cistercian granges, comparative summaries and generalisations can mask individual histories and, therefore, it is worth taking a closer look at the four different chapels established by Waverley and Beaulieu.

Waverley Abbey's only two known grange chapels

Waverley possibly had 11 granges, but there is evidence of only two grange chapels.[608] These were built at the abbey's two most important granges which also housed the largest numbers of lay brothers.

607. Williams 2004.
608. Service 2010.

Up to 30 lay brothers may have occupied Wanborough Grange. Therefore, a sufficiently large oratory would have been required. Although only 10km from the monastery, it probably was preferable for an ordained monk to visit and take Sunday Mass and chapter at Wanborough, rather than have up to 30 lay brothers travelling back and forward along the road every week.[609] There is no record of permission for a chapel, and therefore one may have been built soon after Waverley acquired the property in the mid twelfth century, and before official restrictions were introduced.

The present, flint rubble church of St Bartholomew in the village of Wanborough was constructed by Waverley sometime during the thirteenth century, and is suggested to have replaced an earlier wooden Saxon church (Figures 5.9-5.10).[610] However, the Saxon church and secular settlement may have lain elsewhere, as the current village appears to be an exception to 'the almost universal [local topographic] rule of the church and village lying south of the chalk hills with a parish reaching over the chalk or on towards it northwards'.[611] The present single-cell church measures 13.25m x 5.6m internally and is one of the smallest in Surrey. There is no evidence of a chancel arch, and its unchanged thirteenth-century north wall has three equidistant lancet windows and a doorway facing towards the current manor house, situated only a few metres away. This suggests that the latter was the site of the lay brothers' accommodation. All of the church's other walls have fourteenth-century and later structural alterations that reflect its subsequent use as a parish church. Consistent with the date of these alterations, the abbey and convent were referred to as the rectors in 1307 and a vicar was appointed in 1327, indicating that lay brother occupation had by then ceased.

609. See page 43 and Chapter 6.8 on when lay brothers normally returned to their monastery.
610. Ibid.; NRHE: 1287038.
611. Malden 1911, 374; cf. Briggs 2013.



Figure 5.9: St Bartholomew's Wanborough from the south. Late seventeenth-century manor house in the background.



Figure 5.10: St Bartholomew's from the north showing two of three thirteenth-century lancet windows.

The only thing known about the chapel at Waverley's Neatham Grange is that permission was given in 1250 for the existing oratory to be a chapel, solely for the lay brothers.[612] Secular grange staff were required to use the local parish church. The exact site of the grange accommodation is unknown, but it is possibly overlain by Neatham Manor, a late fifteenth-century Wealden two-bay hall house.

Beaulieu Abbey's two possible grange chapels

Beaulieu appears to have had only two grange chapels, the one at Great Coxwell, already discussed, and another at Througham within its Great Close. There are no indications of chapels at Beaulieu's distant and important granges of Burgate and Soberton, which appear to have housed only one or two lay brothers in 1269/70.[613]

Very little is known about the chapel at Througham, and how it related to St Leonard's situated only 2km to the north-east (Figure 2.2). Land at Througham appears to have been bought from Breamore Priory in *c*.1225, and it is suggested that Througham was a grange, although it is never recorded as such.[614] Therefore, Througham may have been synonymous or incorporated with nearby Sowley for accounting purposes. No grange settlement has been identified at Sowley, but the nature of the chapel at Througham suggests that there may have been one there. Througham chapel is first recorded in the abbey's sacristy account for 1269/70 when it returned six shillings in Mass offerings, three times the amount from St Leonard's.[615] It is not documented again until 1563, when it was being used as a farm store. There is no documentary or archaeological

612. Luard 1864, 342; Williams 2004, 215; Service 2010.
613. Hockey 1975.
614. Fowler 1911, 180; Hockey 1974, 123; 1975; 1976. Througham was later renamed Park.
615. Hockey 1975, 241; 1976, 211.

evidence of secular settlement in the vicinity or indications of a cemetery to suggest that the chapel primarily was for secular use. A remnant wall of the chapel is incorporated within an extant, much remodelled Tudor farmhouse.[616] The wall, now boarded over, was recorded in 1954 as measuring over one metre wide, and quantities of reused and remoulded worked stone were visible in the farmhouse and its garden. The chapel was demolished in the early nineteenth century, and the only description of it whilst extant is a late eighteenth-century account by Warner, worth repeating here in full:

> The chapel of Park [Througham] grange remains to this day though in a dilapidated state; and appears to have been a neat little edifice. It joins at the south-east end, the farm house, which is a massive, stone building of the same age. Its length is nearly forty-two feet [12.8m], and breadth about thirteen [4m]. The building consists of two compartments, formed by a stone screen, or division, which reaches to the roof; it has a door way in it, with a Saxon [Early English] arch. The interior chamber, I imagine, was intended for the higher part of the family; while the exterior one, or anti-chapel [sic], received the servants, and labourers. The floor, at the eastern end of the inner chapel, where the altar was placed, is elevated about six inches, In the southern side, at the same extremity, is a niche, where the pix, and crucifix were placed. The roofs of these apartments, are without ornament; having four plain ribs, which support the vaulting in each, and unite in a rose, in the middle. The interior chapel is lighted by three handsome Gothic windows, on the east, north, and south sides. The anti-chapel [sic] has only two lancet lights, at the south-west extremity.[617]

Figure 5.11 attempts to reconstruct the plan of the chapel from the above description on the assumptions that the dimensions given are internal (given the width quoted and the thickness of its walls), and that the chapel's proportions suggest it had three bays. Its size is not too dissimilar to those of Cîteaux's first stone church mentioned earlier (the latter's size based on the Burgundian *pied* of 0.295m) (Figure 5.1).[618] This comparison might be relevant, as Beaulieu was the only British abbey colonised directly from Cîteaux. There is little doubt that the chapel was built by Beaulieu in a similar style to

616. NRHE: 459589.
617. Warner 1793, 231-3.
618. Aubert 1947, 152; Greene 2005, 65-7; Zito *et al*. 2012, 31.

parts of its monastery, as the plain rib-vaults and carved rose bosses described by Warner are similar to those found in the monastery's book cupboard and displayed as masonry fragments (Figure 5.12).[619] The architectural description and documentary history would indicate that the chapel was constructed between *c*.1225 and 1269.[620]

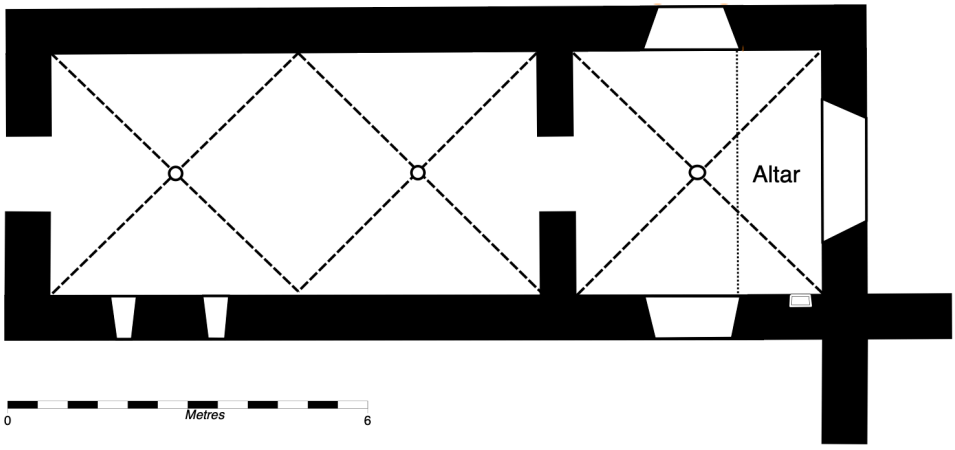


Figure 5.11: Postulated plan of Beaulieu's chapel at Througham from the description by Warner 1793.



(a) (b)

Figure 5.12: Plain rib-vaults and carved rose bosses at Beaulieu Abbey, (a) architectural fragment, (b) inside book cupboard.

619. Hope & Brakspear 1906, 154-5; Jansen 1984, 83-4, Figs. 24-26 in particular.
620. cf. Jansen 1984 on the remains of Beaulieu's monastery, the phasing of its construction, and comparators in southern England and northern France.

It has been impossible to find a comparator to the chapel, suggesting that it was purpose-built by Beaulieu. Gothic ribbed vaults were extremely rare in English churches and chapels, even within their chancels, but the opposite was the case in France, where by *c*.1200 both the chancels and naves of even the smallest chapels usually were vaulted.[621] Possibly contemporary with the chapel at Througham is the somewhat larger and more ornate rib-vaulted chapel of St Leonard's at Kirkstead Abbey. Everson & Stocker suggest it to be one of a class of detached chantry chapels found on the peripheries of monastery precincts.[622] Coppack & Harrison alternatively suggest that the chapel was built on the site of a former hermitage and was Kirkstead's first monastery church – providing another example of commemoration.[623] Irrespective of the purpose of Kirkstead's St Leonard's chapel, it seems to have had an upper space for accommodation. The thick-walled, vaulted structure at Througham suggests that it also may have had an upper floor which could have provided lay brother accommodation.

Overall, based on Warner's description and its possible date of construction and ownership, the chapel at Througham does not match the characteristics of either an English parish church or chantry chapel. It may, therefore, have been a grange chapel that also served the local, dispersed secular community. The amount of offerings collected might suggest that it served that community to a greater extent than the chapel at St Leonard's, reinforcing the posit that the latter had restricted secular access.

621. Hoey 1994, 36-7, 49.
622. Everson & Stocker 2007.
623. Coppack & Harrison 2014, 2-4.

When Beaulieu's cell-grange and grange chapels are considered together their constructional sequence may have been:

Chapel	Possible Date
Wyke I (cell-grange)	1204, possibly in timber
St Leonard's I (cell-grange)	Existing chapel in 1204, or built 1204x35
Througham (grange)	1225x1269
Wyke II (cell-grange)	Possibly 1237x41, or slightly before
Great Coxwell (initially a grange)	1237x41
St Leonard's II (cell-grange)	Late 13th century, but possibly before 1269.

Unless St Leonard's I was pre-existing, all of the other chapels, apart from St Leonard's II, were constructed at the same time as the two main building campaigns at the monastery from 1204 to 1216 and from 1220 to 1247.[624] This illustrates that work on grange settlements was not neglected until after a monastery's claustral ranges were completed, although royal patronage played an enormous part in making Beaulieu's building campaigns possible.

Burials and cemeteries at granges

Grange chapels cannot be considered without some reference to the subject of burials and cemeteries. Except at former monastery sites, any burials found in or near grange settlements are extremely unlikely to be those of lay brothers, as their bodies were returned to their monasteries for interment in the same way as most monks.[625] Both were buried wearing their normal clothes in unmarked graves in the monastery cemetery,

624. Jansen 1984, 87.
625. Kinder 2002, 365-6; France 2012, 154-8. Abbots usually were buried in the monastery church or the monks' chapter house.

although in some monasteries lay brothers may have been buried in a different section of the cemetery.[626]

There does not appear to have been a general practice of exhumation and reinterment when a Cistercian monastery moved site or location except, perhaps, of certain important individuals, such as abbots and founders. As mentioned, Brightley's first abbot and its founder were exhumed and reinterred in Forde's monastery church, and something similar may have happened when Robertsbridge moved its monastery. Given the length of time that some short-term monasteries were occupied, the remains of monks and lay brothers might be found at these locations. Scientific analysis of any remains would provide valuable insights into some of the earliest Cistercian communities in Britain.

Secular cemeteries and burials were discountenanced at granges unless there was an existing right of burial, for example where a parish church or chapel was acquired, or where an established religious community, such as a hermitage, was incorporated and became a grange.[627] In remote areas, as in parts of Wales, secular burials might have been quite common for practical reasons, and sometimes the location of a burial ground or cemetery is indicated by a field name.[628] Any burials found could be of grange servants or staff, or seculars associated with a grange. On the other hand, some Christian burials discovered in or near grange settlements may predate their establishment, for instance human remains were found at Thame's Towersey Grange.[629]

626. Lekai 1977, 376-7; Williams 1998, 242-3, 251-2; Kinder 2002, 365-7.
627. Berman 1986, 34, 51, 62; France 2012, 135.
628. Williams 1998, 287; 2004, 218.
629. Cherrington 2011; Ossafreelance 2011; Oxfordshire HER: 27482.

5.5 Conclusions

The following chapter will draw together conclusions on all grange accommodation, including chapels and oratories. Attention here is on the subject of short-term and temporary monasteries sites, and the commemoration of 'first churches'. These are significant sites for archaeological investigation, and there is sufficient current and potential evidence to suggest that they should be regarded as a special class of monastic site, or at least given specific attention.

This thesis questions the characterisation of monastery sites occupied for a short period of time as being only 'temporary', even where timber buildings were constructed. Most sites and buildings would not have been temporary in the eyes of the monks and lay brothers who occupied them. Even simple or temporary structures and their arrangement on a site can tell us something about their occupants and early Cistercian culture and also, perhaps, of the generosity or otherwise of founders and patrons. As there was no general practice of exhumation and reinterment when a monastery was relocated, there is the possibility of monastic burials at some sites. These could indicate the burial practices of early and small Cistercian communities.

The archaeological evidence from short-term monastery sites could question Cistercian narratives and prevailing scholarly views on the settlement and re-settlement of monasteries, and indicate how some of the earliest granges, such as Otley, reused monastery buildings. This leads on to the subject of commemoration, which again this thesis only can introduce for further research. Apart from Bonde *et al*., the reuse of

monastic buildings and the subject of commemoration is one that Thomas Coomans has been developing more widely in Continental Europe.[630] This thesis points to six or seven possible instances in southern England where short-term monasteries were later commemorated, and there could be many more elsewhere in Britain.

630. Bonde *et al*. 2011; Coomans 2012; 2013b; 2018; Coomans *et al*. 2012.

CHAPTER 6: ACCOMMODATION II: THE DOMESTIC BUILDINGS

> There is little recognition [in Hodges 2006] of the fact that this was a **monastic** community – a community founded on a belief in the saving power of Christ; a community whose daily life was structured in and through prayer, and whose activities (including diet and subsistence) were ordered through the liturgy and rituals of the Church. What is missing from these considerations of everyday life at Roystone Grange is any acknowledgement that ritual permeated the routine, that the mundane was infused with the 'marvellous'.[631]

6.1 Introduction

The sparsity of archaeological evidence of chapels and oratories in southern England applies more so to other accommodation buildings in grange settlements. The only excavation of a twelfth- to thirteenth-century residential building was at Robertsbridge's possible grange at Park, and the only certain extant remains lie within a farmhouse at Beaulieu's former cell-grange of Great Coxwell. Both will be discussed in more detail.

To place these into context, the only twelfth- to thirteenth-century residential buildings clearly identified elsewhere in England were at Garendon Abbey's Roystone Grange in Derbyshire.[632] Recently, one of the grange's excavators, John Moreland, made the observations quoted at the head of this chapter.[633] However, Richard Hodges's interpretation is understandable, as the excavation was 'of its time' and only part of a wider multi-period landscape study. Nevertheless, Moreland's comments are significant, as he is one of the very few British archaeologists to acknowledge that Cistercian granges were imbued with spiritual meaning.

631. Moreland 2013, 24.
632. Hodges *et al*. 1982; Hodges & Wildgoose 1991; Hodges 2006, 100-10.
633. Moreland 2010, 12-15; 2013, 19-25.

The lack of recognition of the spiritual and social aspects of Cistercian granges and, possibly as a result, the lack of archaeological interest and research has almost certainly led to the sparsity of evidence. Fragmentary evidence of grange accommodation in southern England may lie within later buildings at the sites of Beaulieu's St Leonard's and Througham, Stanley's Codrington, and Kingswood's Tetbury granges. Perhaps making further research impossible, later- or post-medieval buildings probably supplanted the lay brothers' accommodation at Beaulieu's Otterwood and Beufre, Bindon's Chaldon Herring, Boxley's Chingley, Dunkeswell's Broadhembury, Newenham's Beavor, Thames's Shipton Lee and Towersey granges, amongst many others. Research may be more possible at sites where the lay brothers' accommodation lay at a distance from contemporary or later farm buildings, as perhaps at Bindon's Burngate and Bruern's Sandbrook and Tangley granges.

Aerial and earthwork surveys have identified several possible grange settlements, but present problems of interpretation. However, these open sites may provide the best opportunities for further archaeological research. Building platforms have been identified at some sites, including Stanley's Richardson and Langdon Wick, and Bruern's Holwell granges, but the buildings remain undated. For example, the heavily ploughed-out earthwork remains at Beaulieu's Wyke Grange have been researched by aerial and field survey, fieldwalking, and limited excavation, with finds of thirteenth-century decorated glazed floor tile, roof tiles, and pottery.[634] These suggest that the most southerly range of buildings on the site was cloistered or courtyard-type monastic accommodation, which would accord with the suggestion made above that the monastic

634. NRHE: 225794; NHLE: 1020967; Oxfordshire HER: 32012.

accommodation might be found at the rear of a settlement, especially one frequented by secular staff or visitors (Figures 4.6-4.7). However, as with the postulated 80-90m long barn, full details of the research and how the interpretations were reached have never been published, despite the site's significance. Wyke was a cell-grange for only *c*.150 of the *c*.350 years it was owned by Beaulieu and, as with the abbey's Upton Grange (see below), some of the monastic accommodation at Wyke, or perhaps alternatively at Great Coxwell, may have been maintained or rebuilt for monastic visitors until the Dissolution.

The lay brother accommodation almost certainly was reused after a grange became secularly managed, leased, or sold. Even if no structural alterations were immediately made, the social function of the accommodation fundamentally changed. That should be reflected in the types and amounts of material culture and environmental evidence found, such as evidence of family living, and of meat-eating, which the lay brothers were not permitted. For example, the large and varied amount of artefacts and environmental evidence found at the fossilised thirteenth- to fourteenth-century seigneurial farmstead of Grange du Mont (Charny, Côte-d'Or, France) may be contrasted with the sparsity of evidence found in the contemporary fossilised grange of Montverrat (Vars, Haute-Saône).[635] This is, perhaps, a comparison of extremes as the amount of material culture found in rural sites can vary considerably.[636]

[635.] Beck 1989; 2009; Bonvalot 1998; Bonvalot & Rouzeau 2017. Both are discussed below. Grange du Mont is regarded as an important excavation of an isolated farmstead in France, Hanusse 2018, 929.
[636.] Dyer & Lilley 2012; Gilchrist 2012.

Documentary evidence of grange accommodation only begins to appear from the late thirteenth century, at a time when many granges became secularly managed or let, and after some abbeys introduced better accounting practices.[637] The only specific reference to monastic-type accommodation in southern England comes from a record of repairs to the roof of a dormitory at Boxley's Chingley Grange.[638] Although these took place in 1340 when the grange was secularly managed, the terminology used points to former lay brothers' accommodation. Details of other repairs suggest that the building was two-storeyed.

The bulk of this chapter primarily contextualises the residential facilities expected to be provided at granges, and discusses the scant evidence from southern England. With little useful additional evidence available from elsewhere in England, a number of French examples are introduced. Bringing all of the evidence together, the features of Cistercian grange accommodation are compared and contrasted with those normally found in secular and most other ecclesiastical manorial complexes and farmsteads.

6.2 Grange dormitories

Since virtually nothing is known about grange dormitories in Britain, the starting point for discussions here are lay brother dormitories in monastery west ranges.[639] These, and almost certainly grange dormitories, were similar to the monks' dormitories in being unheated, undivided, large open spaces designed to reflect the monastic ideals of

637. Dobie 2008.
638. Eastlake 2014, 95-7.
639. Jansen 1998 is the most comprehensive study of monastery dormitories. Robinson 2006, 157-60 provides an architectural overview of monastery west ranges in England and Wales, Oram 1998, 92 for Scotland, and Kinder 2002 on monastery dormitories in general.

poverty, order, discipline, and community. Lay brother monastery dormitories almost always covered the entire upper floor of the claustral west range. This is well illustrated by the extant lay brothers' range at Noirlac Abbey (Cher, France) and, for comparison, the monks' dormitory at Fontenay (Côte-d'Or, France) (Figures 6.1-6.4). Wooden screens were permitted reluctantly in some monk dormitories from the thirteenth century, but there is no evidence to suggest that screens were allowed for lay brothers.[640]

Whilst monk and nun dormitories and refectories have been subjected to theoretically-informed studies, lay brother accommodation in monasteries has been either marginalised or ignored on the basis that lay brothers were 'quasi-secular' or 'non-religious'.[641] Some of the scholars also suggest that the symbolic significance of a monastery's claustral buildings dwindled from east to west, that lay brothers occupied 'liminal' spaces within monasteries, and that they were kept apart from the monks. These studies have limited perspectives. Whether or not the authors accept Idung of Prüfening's characterisation that his order had 'two monasteries within the precincts of the monastery', monastery west ranges and lay brother choirs in monastery churches, and their equivalents in granges, had symbolic significance to the lay brothers.[642] They were not liminal spaces for the lay brothers, nor were they 'quasi-secular' in being secular spaces appropriated for religious purposes.[643] As already mentioned, lay brothers had their own choir in monastery churches where they attended Sunday Mass, services on feast days, and all funeral Masses for monks and lay brothers.[644] They had a weekly chapter in the west range where they heard sermons and received punishment of faults.

640. Jansen 1998; Williams 1998; Kinder 2002; Bell 2004.
641. Gilchrist 1989, 61-2; 2014; Cassidy-Welch 2001, 167-80; Müller 2009; 2013; Signori 2014.
642. Idung of Prüfening 1977, 133; Jansen 1998, 61-3; Kinder 2002, 309; France 2012, 88-112.
643. Kong & Woods 2016, 116-7.
644. See pages 16 and 43.



Figure 6.1: Lay brothers' west range of *c*.1180 at Noirlac Abbey (Cher, France).



Figure 6.2: Lay brothers' refectory at Noirlac Abbey, with vaulted ceiling added in *c*.1230.



Figure 6.3: Lay brothers' dormitory at Noirlac Abbey, with framework attributed to 1240x50.



Figure 6.4: Monks' dormitory at Fontenay Abbey (Côte-d'Or, France), with late fifteenth-century roof.

Lay brothers slept fully clothed and girded, and the only bedding permitted was a mat, a pillow, and a coverlet of skin or hides.[645] As a matter of religious discipline, both lay brothers and monks were required to avoid physical contact, except when absolutely necessary. To help to ensure that, their dormitory mattresses had to be placed a suitable distance apart. The normal configuration of dormitories in Cistercian monasteries was of two rows of beds set against the outer walls, with a wide central passage. In some instances, when relatively small numbers were anticipated to be housed, or occasionally because of the topography, narrower ranges were built for a single row of beds.[646]

There are indications of how the avoidance of physical contact was reflected in the sizes of dormitories and the number of their occupants. In 1228, it was ruled that the number of monks at Jerpoint Abbey (Kilkenny, Ireland) should be limited to 36 because of the size of their dormitory.[647] Based on its known dimensions, a minimum gross floor area of at least *c*.7.0m^2 was being allowed for each monk, including allowance for storage spaces and passageways. A number of scholars have estimated the maximum numbers of monks or lay brothers that may have been housed in other monastery dormitories, and in most instances the numbers estimated appear also to equate roughly to a minimum gross floor area of 7.0m^2 per occupant.[648] However, there has been no published study that comprehensively considers the sizes of monastery dormitories in relation to the possible numbers of monks or lay brothers expected to be housed.

645. Waddell 2000, 190-3; France 2012, 101-3.
646. Jansen 1998; Kinder 2002, 271-4, 329-31; Robinson 2006, 154-5, 158-60.
647. Williams 1998, 54.
648. Knowles & Hadcock 1971; Jansen 1998; Williams 1998, 54; Fergusson & Harrison 1999, 108; Coppack 2001; 326; Coppack *et al.* 2002, 107-9; Kinder 2002, 329-31; Wright 2003, 191 citing an unpublished paper by Moyes; Robinson 2006, 154-60; France 2012, 129-30.

It is generally accepted, although not proven, that lay brother monastery dormitories were normally built to accommodate both the lay brothers living within the monastery and all of those based at granges. That was to ensure that lay brothers from granges could stay overnight and take part in the solemnities of Mass, certain feast days, community funerals, and attend their chapter.[649] Constructing dormitories large enough to sleep all lay brothers for, perhaps, 70 days a year illustrates the commitment made to ensure that physical contact would be avoided. Beaulieu's accounts indicate that all its lay brothers were expected to reside in the monastery for at least 87 days a year, including days every quarter for bleeding and recovery.[650]

Barrière suggests that an 'ordinary abbey' in France had at its peak between 30 and 120 lay brothers, and that large abbeys had between 200 and 300.[651] However, this large variation in numbers does not appear to be reflected in the sizes of known dormitories, which seem to vary less. The proximity of 'home' granges and the construction of chapels at some granges located relatively close to monasteries also raises doubts on the need for dormitories to accommodate all lay brothers. Therefore, the sizes of monastery dormitories possibly reflected the optimistically anticipated numbers of lay brothers when the claustral ranges were being planned. When lay brother numbers increased or were planned to increase, the dormitories were extended, as at Melrose Abbey in Scotland. When numbers reduced or were not as large as expected, other uses were made of the free space.[652]

649. Waddell 2000, 202-3.
650. Lawrence 2015, 180 n.13.
651. Barrière 1994, 47; France 2012, 128-30.
652. Kinder 2002, 329-31; Fawcett & Oram 2004, 175, fig. 81, 195-7; cf. Oram 1998, 92-3 on reconciling the possible low number of Melrose's lay brothers with the large size of the monastery's west range; Fergusson & Harrison 1999, 55 on the opposite problem regarding Rievaulx's west range.

As lay brother dormitories have been very little researched, it may be wrong to draw too broad a conclusion from the per capita minimum gross floor area posited above. However, it provides a starting point for investigations into the possible sizes of grange dormitories, and conversely the maximum number of lay brothers a building might have accommodated. Following Barrière's suggestion on lay brother numbers in French granges and the data from southern England discussed in Chapter 3, based on the assumption that many granges housed between five and 15 lay brothers at the turn of the thirteenth century, and allowing *c*.7.0m^2 gross floor area for each lay brother, grange dormitories of between 35m^2 and 105m^2 internally (*c*.60m^2-150m^2 externally if allowing for one metre stone walls) may have been constructed around that time.[653] Therefore, Cistercian grange dormitories were generally larger than the chambers found in most Benedictine and Cluniac complexes, which are suggested to have had an internal floor area of *c*.24m^2 to *c*.60m^2.[654] Grange dormitories also would have been larger than most secular chambers, although both comparisons break down for dormitories built to house only for a few lay brothers. However, lay brother dormitories had no hearths or fireplaces, unlike many twelfth- and thirteenth-century chambers.[655]

The posited minimum floor area per lay brother needs to be tested by considering a number of examples from across Europe that were constructed in different time periods. For example, if lay brothers were housed above Beaulieu's chapel at Througham, based on *c*.7.0m^2 for each, up to seven lay brothers could have been accommodated if the

653. Barrière 1994, 47. Chapter 3 suggested that all, or almost all, granges in southern England each housed between two and eight lay brothers by the mid to late thirteenth century.
654. Bond *et al*. 1989.
655. Faulkner 1958; Quiney 1999.

space was used purely as a dormitory. If it had multiple functions it may have housed three or four. That appears to be consistent with Sowley/Througham suggested to have had two lay brothers in 1269/70, perhaps some 20 years after the building's completion.[656] On the other hand, lay brothers could have been housed in the adjoining building mentioned by Warner, if it was contemporary with the chapel.[657] This may be speculation, but illustrates how lay brother accommodation could be considered.

Lay brother dormitories in monasteries appear to have been two to three times larger than their refectories, with the rest of the ground floor of west ranges used for other purposes, such as workrooms, storage, and cellarers' parlours, although there may not have been any physical divisions of space (Figure 6.5).[658]

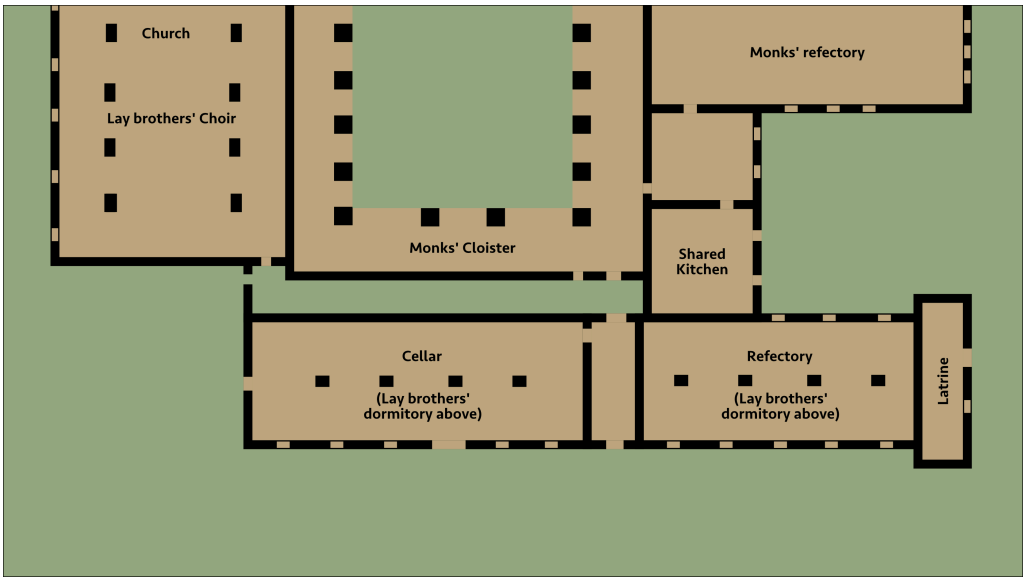


Figure 6.5: Schematic unscaled plan of a Cistercian lay brothers' monastery west range and parts of adjoining ranges (source: author).

656. Hockey 1975, 18.
657. Warner 1793, 232.
658. Sizes and details of west ranges varied between monasteries, although the basic components were the same. See plans of claustral complexes in Coppack 1998; Robinson 1998; 2006; Kinder 2002; Kinder & Cassanelli 2012; cf. France's 2012, 89 Fig. 10 examples of west ranges.

Grange dormitories are likely also to have been larger than refectories. This is the converse of the comparative sizes of most twelfth- and early thirteenth-century chambers to their respective halls (Figure 6.6).[659] As a result, the sizes of two-storeyed lay brother accommodation buildings were determined largely by the sizes of dormitories required. Dormitories and refectories in single-storeyed structures might be identified archaeologically by their different sizes, and by the closer position of the refectory to a kitchen/warming room, oratory, or chapel. Room partitions in timber-framed buildings may have been too slight to have left traces. In any case, any partitioning could have been achieved by using moveable screens.

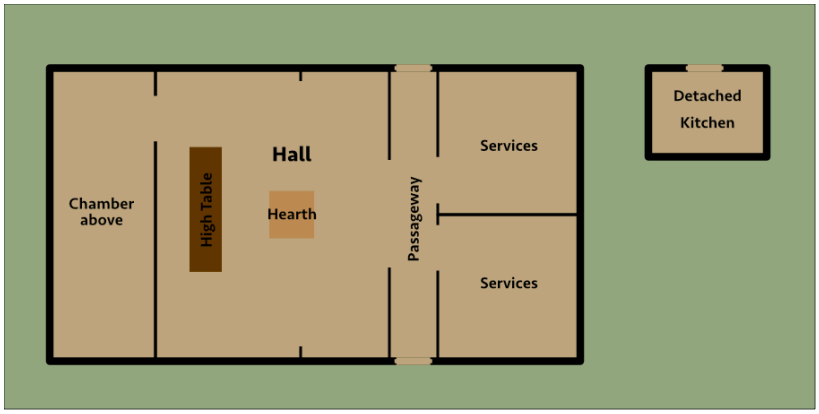


Figure 6.6: Unscaled plan of a typical English medieval hall and chamber between 1200 and 1550 (after Gardiner 2015, 321 Fig. 17.1).

In cell-granges, the monks and lay brothers had separate dormitories, reflecting the same divide as in monasteries. Pipewell Abbey's cell-grange at Cawston in Warwickshire is recorded in 1307 as having separate dormitories for monks and lay brothers.[660] However, the number of monks at most cell-granges was probably quite small, and that is likely to be reflected in the sizes of their accommodation.

659. Faulkner 1958; Wood 1965, Blair 1993; Gardiner 2000; 2015.
660. Williams 1998, 281; Bond 2004, 103.

6.3 Grange refectories

Although lay brothers had a separate refectory in monasteries, they had the same monastic diet and usually shared a kitchen with the monks.[661] There probably was a shared kitchen at Pipewell's Cawston cell-grange, but it is unclear whether the monks and lay brothers shared a refectory. Given the usually small number of resident monks and as monastic officials visiting granges appear to have used the lay brothers' refectory, a shared cell-grange refectory would have made sense.[662] Apart from Cistercian monks and lay brothers, only visitors from monastic orders specifically authorised by the Cistercian General Chapter were allowed join the lay brothers for meals, where all ate in silence.[663] Grange refectories served other purposes when not used for meals, such as workrooms, again provided the monastic rule of silence was followed. Cistercian refectories were not intended for socialising, unlike secular halls.[664]

Secular staff and guests ate separately in grange settlements. Following the same rules as in monasteries, only the gravely ill and secular staff and guests were permitted to eat meat or lard within a grange settlement until the fourteenth or fifteenth century.[665] Meat was only commonly eaten by Cistercian communities from the fourteenth century, and even then it had to be prepared in separate kitchens and eaten in separate refectories.

The most distinctive physical aspect of lay brother refectories is that they had no form of internal heating. This fundamentally distinguishes Cistercian grange refectories from

661. Williams 1998, 245-6; Bond 2001b, 79-80; Kinder 2002, 280-83, 311-31.
662. Williams 1998, 281-2; Conrad *et al*. 2012, 215-6.
663. Waddell 2000, 179-81, 192.
664. Ibid.; Kinder 2002; Bell 2012.
665. Waddell 1999, 466.

most secular halls (Figure 6.6). Archaeological evidence for a hearth or fireplace would suggest that the room was not used as lay brother accommodation, or that the hearth or fireplace pre- or post-dated lay brother occupation. However, as in monasteries, it was acceptable for an adjoining kitchen to radiate heat through a serving hatch, or act as a warming room. Contrary to the common archaeological assumption that evidence of hearths or fireplaces indicate dwelling spaces, lay brother refectories could be mistaken for undercrofts, cellars, storerooms, or workshops.[666]

6.4 Archaeological evidence of dormitories and refectories

Evidence of two-storeyed accommodation

The only extant evidence of a two-storeyed building in southern England comes from Beaulieu's Great Coxwell cell-grange. Structural investigations within Court House Farm, a *c*.1500 building, found evidence of a possibly late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century 'first floor hall' set over a vaulted 'undercroft' in the building's rear, south-west range.[667] It is suggested to have been part of the monks' or lay brothers' accommodation, essentially a dormitory above a refectory. The building may have been constructed at the same time as the *c*.1240 chapel mentioned earlier, or before monks were based at Great Coxwell in 1269/70.[668] At the very least, the accommodation is likely to have had priority over the construction of the 1292 barn.

666. cf. Gardiner 2000; 2015; Trebsche 2009; Hamerow 2012, 43; Campbell 2018; Dyer 2019, 37.
667. National Trust HBSMR: 153802; cf. NRHE: 225953; Oxfordshire HER: 8025.
668. Hockey 1975, 90.

Elsewhere in England, a short-lived, but well-built building (Building B) excavated at Garendon Abbey's upland grange at Roystone probably provides further evidence of two-storeyed accommodation (Figure 6.7).[669]

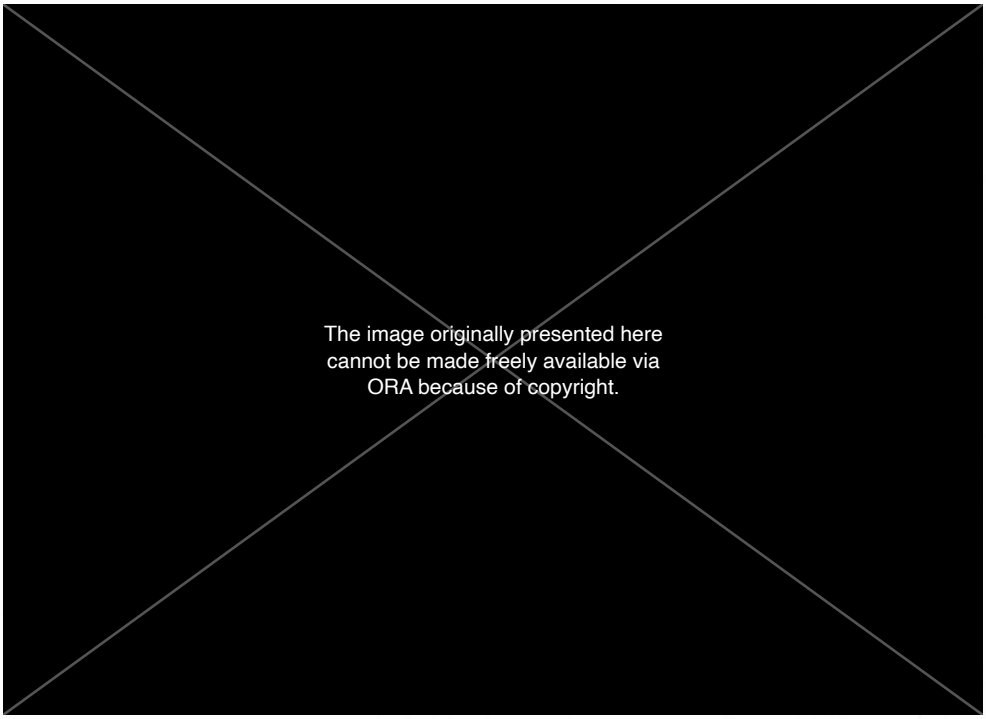


Figure 6.7: Suggested building phases at Garendon Abbey's Roystone Grange, Derbyshire. Phase One is late twelfth or early thirteenth century, Phase Two early thirteenth, Phase Three late thirteenth and Phase Four fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Hodges 2006, 107 Fig. 70).

The upper floor of the possibly early thirteenth-century building, described as appearing 'more typical of a monastery than an upland farm' in its quality of build and features, is suggested to have been the granger's reception room and chambers. However, a private granger's chamber would have been contrary to Cistercian cenobitic principles.

669. Hodges *et al*. 1982; Hodges & Wildgoose 1991; Hodges 2006, 100-10.

Based on Hodges's summary details and drawings, the upper floor of 'Building B' could, if a dormitory, have housed up to six lay brothers if it ran the full extent of the building, or three or four if the floor extended only over the eastern section, as Hodges suggests. The lay brothers' refectory may have been on the ground floor, which the excavators interpreted as a storeroom since there was no evidence of heating. However, Hodges postulates that between ten and 20 lay brothers occupied Roystone. These numbers seem rather excessive as, apart from the size of the building, the landholding was only granted to Garendon in *c*.1219 and initially had just 1.6ha of arable, plus pasture for 300 sheep.[670] Other interpretations might now be made if the excavation records and site were re-examined from the perspective proposed by this thesis.

Another possible example in England may come from the remains of a two-storeyed stone building at Rievaulx's Laskill Grange in North Yorkshire, located 7km from the monastery. The building measured *c*.18m x 9m internally and had a single row of pillars down the middle of a four-bay vaulted 'undercroft'. Coppack describes the building as barely distinguishable from and perhaps contemporary with Rievaulx's claustral ranges, which were built in the 1160s.[671] It is alternatively suggested to date to the mid thirteenth century, and generally interpreted as the abbey's main woolhouse in being too large and having no comparators as grange accommodation.[672] It will be shown that there are comparators in France, and the building could have functioned as lay brother accommodation and storage. Laskill was an important grange or cell-grange, and fragments of two large stone crosses and multi-coloured floor tiles indicate that it may have had a chapel. Based on the suggested ballpark figure of *c*.7.0m^2 of floor area per

670. Wiltshire & Woore 2019, 110-11.
671. Coppack 2009, 107.
672. NHLE: 1010340; NRHE: 57556.

occupant, the upper floor of the building could have slept up to 23 lay brothers. That is not an unreasonable number given that Rievaulx possibly had *c*.240 lay brothers in the twelfth century.

Excavations of Margam's Theodoric Grange in Wales discovered a 26m long, two-storeyed stone building suggested to be a lay brothers' dormitory set above a probably vaulted 'storeroom'.[673] The building was much altered after secular occupation, but a piscina or stoup was found, and the building was approximately eastwards orientated. The site originally had been a hermitage incorporated by the abbey.

From the above, there appear to be at least seven possible examples of two-storeyed accommodation buildings in England and Wales: Great Coxwell, Througham, and Chingley in southern England, Cawston and Roystone in the Midlands, Laskill in the North, and Theodoric in Wales. Beaulieu's St Leonard's and Wyke cell-granges and Kingswood's Hazleton and Tetbury granges might tentatively be added to the list, as possibly could be others. Depending on the date of construction and an abbey's choice, two-storeyed grange accommodation may have been relatively common in areas where building stone was readily available.[674]

Evidence of single-storeyed accommodation

There is little evidence to suggest how single-storeyed, especially timber-framed structures, were configured to provide lay brothers with an oratory, dormitory, and refectory. In some instances, and depending on the number of lay brothers, it might have

673. Griffiths 1982, 271-3.
674. cf. Campbell 2018 on two-storeyed manorial buildings.

been simpler and more desirable to have two separate buildings, rather than one large one. Local building traditions would have played a part in what was constructed.

The only archaeological evidence of single-storeyed accommodation in southern England may come from the excavation of an early thirteenth-century timber-framed aisled building at Robertsbridge's possible Park Grange (Figure 2.4).[675] The excavation report and historical background warrant discussion, because they illustrate the difficulties in identifying Cistercian granges in general and lay brother accommodation in particular, and as Park is mentioned in a recent important synthesis of medieval settlement archaeology.[676]

In *c*.1210, when Robertsbridge's new monastery at Eltham was under construction, the abbey expanded its landholdings in the area by acquiring the adjoining manor of Drisnesel.[677] Drisnesel is not included in a 1219 papal confirmation that lists Robertsbridge's granges, and is never described as a grange in the abbey's records. However, granges were not always well recorded and, when they were, alternative names were sometimes used. The property was renamed Park by 1325, indicating a deer park, when it was described as a manor. The number of Robertsbridge's lay brothers is unknown, but there were only 19 monks in 1313, suggesting that the abbey's total population may never have been large. What little is known of the monastery's remains indicate also that it was constructed for a small community.[678]

675. Gardiner *et al*. 1991; Gardiner 2012c, 110.
676. Christie & Stamper 2012.
677. Chapman 1977; Gardiner *et al.* 1991.
678. Knowles & St Joseph 1952, 134-5; Robinson 1998, 164-5.

The excavation at Park uncovered the slight remains of a timber-framed aisled building that had three phases of development (Figure 6.8).

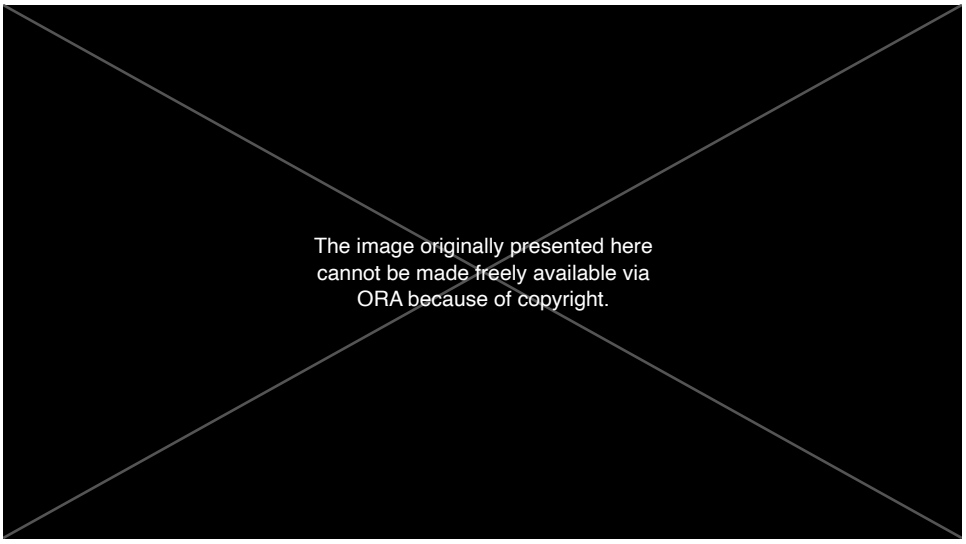


Figure 6.8: Unscaled phase plan of the aisled hall at the possible grange at Park Farm, Robertsbridge (after Gardiner *et al*. 1991, 83 Fig. 2).

(New work in each phase is indicated by tone; with work retained from a previous phase shown in outline; inferred features or those not certainly belonging to a phase shown by a dashed line.)

The excavation gave priority to determining the plan of the structure because of the limited time and resources available. Fragments of medieval pottery, metalwork, and building materials were found, but none was diagnostically attributed to lay brother occupation. The earliest building had at least four bays and was *c*.14m long and 11m wide internally, making it one of the largest known aisled halls in East Sussex. The building was set over tenth- to twelfth-century deposits, which the excavators associate with Drisnesel's earlier manorial complex. Following Hewett, sillbeams jointed into the sides of the aisle posts indicated that the first phase of construction took place before *c*.1250.[679] There were remnants of a possible longitudinal partition between two trusses,

[679] Hewett 1989.

but no indication of partitioning between the bays. In the late thirteenth century or the fourteenth century, the building was reconstructed in two stages. New foundations were lain, the building was extended to provide services, and it was largely encased in stone. Suggesting domestic use, a large unstratified hearth was found in one of the inner bays. Usefully for future research, the excavated remains were preserved *in situ*.

In interpreting their findings, Gardiner *et al*. suggest that Drisnesel may have been worked initially from the monastery, but that a grange was probably established well before 1325. Based on its monastic ownership, large size, and the use of stone walling, the building is interpreted as the 'domestic hall' of a grange. Following Donkin and Platt that the Cistercians practised depopulation and the removal of tenants to achieve isolation for their monasteries, and that tithe-free holdings can help identify granges, the excavators conclude that the complex was a development of the earlier manorial one of Drisnesel, and that lay brothers replaced manorial officials. It is suggested that a grange chapel probably was unnecessary as the monastery church lay only 700m away. Clearly a grange, rather than a home farm, is proposed. It is suggested also that the abbot used the hall in his role as a major landowner, and that, by the early fourteenth century, guests and hunting parties may have been entertained in the building to avoid disturbing the monks in the monastery.

Without discussing every aspect, it can be seen from the arguments made in this thesis that there are a number of issues with the interpretation of Park as a grange although, as with Roystone, the excavators had only the works of Donkin and Platt to provide a wider context to their findings. The main issue is the building's close proximity to the

monastery. As shown, some grange settlements were sited relatively close to monasteries, but none as close as Park. Although that does not preclude Park from being a grange, it possibly was a home farm. A more definitive interpretation is difficult without further research, since high quality utilitarian buildings found in or near monastery complexes or home farms could have had a variety of different functions.[680]

There is one other possible example of thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century single-storeyed lay brother accommodation elsewhere in England. Alcock & Barley speculate that Garendon Abbey had a grange at Thorpe Acre in Loughborough, Leicestershire, less than 1.5km from its monastery, and that a now demolished three bay, base-cruck building was grange accommodation.[681] However, subsequent research has been unable to find evidence that Thorpe Acre was a grange.[682]

Despite doubts about these two examples, a single-storeyed, open plan, timber-framed or stone structure was probably the form of most lay brother grange accommodation, especially during the twelfth century.

6.5 Other accommodation features

Warming rooms and kitchens

The specific requirement that granges be provided with warming rooms is surprising, as there are no documentary references to, or evidence for dedicated lay brother warming

680. Tournadre 2004; Coomans 2013a.
681. Alcock & Barley 1972, 136, 140-1; Bond 2004, 113; Leicestershire and Rutland HER: MLE683.
682. Farnworth-Jones 2007.

rooms in monastery west ranges, although one appears to have been built in a fourteenth-century extension to Melrose Abbey's west range.[683] Only two places within a monastery's claustral ranges were permitted to have heating, the kitchen and the monks' warming room. Lay brothers appear to have been bled in the monks' warming room, before being transferred to the infirmary to recover.[684] The earliest Cistercian monasteries had detached kitchens-cum-warming rooms, which probably were shared.[685] Beyond the cloistral ranges, heating was allowed only in monastery infirmaries, abbots' lodgings, and secular guesthouses. The monastery kitchen, an annex to it or, where adjoining, that part of the lay brothers' refectory nearest the kitchen may have served as their warming room. This is speculation, as the subject has not had any previous attention. In a grange settlement, a kitchen or an annexe to a kitchen, such as a parlour, probably served as the lay brothers' warming room. This might be evidenced by Building A at Garendon's Roystone Grange (Figure 6.7).[686]

Grange kitchens could have been attached to refectories or be detached structures. Depending on the size and importance of a grange, the kitchen might be larger or better constructed than most secular ones. Granges probably followed monasteries in not permitting secular staff to work in lay brother kitchens until regulations were relaxed in the mid thirteenth century.[687] If the grange kitchen served as the lay brothers' warming room, secular staff and guests were probably not allowed access, at least not at the same time as lay brothers. It has yet to be established whether, as in monasteries, separate

683. Waddell 2000; Kinder 2002; Fawcett & Oram 2004, 196; Robinson 2006.
684. Cassidy-Welch 2001, 148-50; Kinder 2002, 277-80.
685. Fergusson 1986, 170-2; Kinder 2002, 311-31.
686. Hodges 2006.
687. Williams 1998, 124.

kitchens were provided for secular grange staff and guests, although their heating and cooking could have been provided by a central hearth in their accommodation.

The artefactual and environmental evidence from Roystone Grange introduces another issue that may be found in excavations of other grange settlements. Notwithstanding Hodges's colourful suggestion that the lay brothers had a 'grand style of living' with 'gilded buckles and catches for elegant boxes', the remains of animal bones suggested that they ate meat and 'had a preference for lamb chops'.[688] This is attributed to Garendon Abbey's 'rather dubious reputation for good living'. However, because of the comparatively short time period of time when granges were in operation and the possible presence of seculars within grange settlements, evidence of food waste in buildings or kitchen middens presents a problem of interpretation, unless the evidence can be securely dated and clearly associated with lay brothers.[689]

Latrines and water supplies at granges

Latrines were provided for lay brothers in monasteries, but there was no requirement to provide them at granges.[690] They were probably thought unnecessary, as running water, moats, ditches, or cesspits would have provided simpler and cheaper alternatives for the smaller number of occupants. That might have been different at granges housing a large number of lay brothers, important granges, or cell-granges. There may have been a latrine at Pipewell's cell-grange at Cawston, and in *c*.1300 the abbey rebuilt its Braybrooke Grange in Northamptonshire, which was not a cell-grange, with a chapel,

688. Hodges 2006, 109; Moreland 2010, 14; 2013, 24.
689. See Jones 2011 on medieval food disposal.
690. Bond 1989; Kinder 2002.

hall, chambers, and a latrine.[691] However, the terms used are possibly ambiguous, and might relate to abbatial or guest accommodation with a *garderobe*.

Whilst the focus of archaeological research has been on water supplies at monasteries, it has tended to be assumed that Cistercian water management skills at granges were employed primarily for agricultural or industrial purposes.[692] Granges required a supply of potable water, and cell-granges would, as in monasteries, have required water to enable the monks to wash their hands for liturgical purposes and before meals.[693] In monasteries this was provided by *lavatoria* or *lavers* (washing-places) but, as yet, there is no evidence of a purpose-built *laver* at any cell-grange in Britain. However, the lead pipes found at Beaulieu's cell-grange of St Leonard's might indicate the presence of one.[694] Lead pipes also were found near fishponds at Byland's cell-grange of Bleatarn in Cumbria, and water was supplied through lead pipes to Fountains's upland grange and estate centre at Malham in North Yorkshire.[695]

'Short-term monastery to grange' sites may produce some of the earliest evidence of Cistercian water management. So far, no examples have been found in southern England, but lead pipes were found at Barnoldswick Grange in Lancashire, the short-term monastery site of Kirkstall Abbey between 1147 and 1152x3.[696] Lead pipes are associated with the construction of the first phase timber buildings at Sawley's (Lancashire) and Bordesley's (Worcestershire) monasteries.[697] If the instalment of some

691. Serjeantson & Adkins 1906, 116-8; Williams 1998; NRHE: 343857.
692. Bond 1989; 2001a; 2004.
693. Williams 1998, 246-7.
694. Wise 1863, 71.
695. Nicholson & Burn 1777, 618; Bond 2001a, 99, 128; 2004, 116; Moorhouse 2009, 65.
696. Warner 1934, 9, 26; Fergusson 1984, 24; NRHE: 45384.
697. Coppack *et al*. 2002; Coppack 2004; Astill 2011.

form of lead, ceramic, or wooden piped, or otherwise engineered water supply was a common site preparation or constructional practice for new monasteries, evidence might well be found at other short-term monastery sites in Britain.[698]

6.6 Additional grange facilities

Accommodation for obedientiaries, monks, and monastic visitors

It is not known how frequently abbots, cellarers, and other monastic officials visited granges and what, if any, additional and perhaps separate accommodation was provided for them. Part of the cellarer's duties was to visit granges regularly, and there is a record of a *magister conversorum* being required to visit each grange at least every five weeks.[699] The Cistercians effectively operated a dual system of spiritual and temporal control, with monastic officials visiting granges, and lay brothers returning regularly to their monastery.

Although obedientiaries may have been able to return to the monastery on the same day by foot or on horseback, some granges may have provided overnight accommodation. The most important visitor was the abbot, who sometimes had his own private chambers with a close stool or *garderobe*. From the thirteenth century, and in line with changing practices within monasteries, these chambers may have had fireplaces.[700] That adds a further complication to identifying monastic accommodation in grange settlements.

698. See Magnusson 2001, 64-76 on medieval water technology.
699. France 2012, 137-9.
700. Kinder 2002, 355-9.

There is no archaeological evidence of monastic guest accommodation at any grange in southern England, but documentary references indicate its provision. Boxley's distant Chingley Grange had accommodation for visiting obedientiaries, and acted as a staging-post for the abbot when visiting Boxley's daughter house of Robertsbridge.[701] Beaulieu's Upton Grange was almost ideally situated, if not intentionally purchased, as a staging-post, being located almost midway (*c*.50-60km, two days travel) between the monastery and its Faringdon *camera*.[702] Upton's long-term importance is demonstrated when, in *c*.1523, the abbey rebuilt the hall, chambers, and kitchen on the proviso that the lessee provided lodging for the abbot and six attendants for four nights a year.[703]

Cistercian granges were not standalone entities, but integral parts of an abbey's network of properties, as well as part of a wider Cistercian travel network.[704] A number of granges, such as Chingley and Upton, appear to have acted as hospices for members of their own and other Cistercian communities because of their proximity to major routeways or being located at a convenient length of travel time from another Cistercian property, particularly a monastery. For example, in 1240 the Abbot of Tintern and a companion stayed overnight at Kingswood's Hazleton Grange whilst travelling, probably on horseback.[705] This suggests that the grange had suitable guest accommodation and acted as a hospice. The abbot's route from Tintern's monastery can almost certainly be traced. After an initial overnight stay at Tintern's Woolaston Grange, which had a chapel and quay on the western shore of the Severn Estuary, across the estuary by boat and a short journey to visit and perhaps stay for a few nights in the

701. Eastlake 2014, 96-7, 100, 117.
702. Hockey 1976, 61.
703. Ibid., 172.
704. Williams 1998, 281-2.
705. Perkins 1899, 194.

monastery of Tintern's daughter house, Kingswood, then on to Hazleton for the following night.[706] Several other Cistercian monasteries and granges all lay within another day's journey from Hazleton. Kingswood's cellarer accounts also make references to its abbot, obedientiaries, and lay brothers making long journeys, often to London, including one where the abbot travelled via 'Wyk', no doubt Beaulieu's Wyke Grange, from where he could have travelled to London by boat down the Thames.[707] Although beyond the scope of this study, a Cistercian accommodation network might tentatively be traced throughout England and beyond. Such an exercise may indicate which granges are most likely to have had guest facilities for members of the Order.[708] Cistercian urban granges/hospices would need to be taken into account when reconstructing a network.

A few granges, such as Ten Duinen's Zande Grange in Belgium, appear to have had an infirmary or served as health retreats, especially in times of plague.[709] There is no evidence of an infirmary within any grange settlement in southern England, although Brown speculates that an infirmary was located in Stanley's Loxwell Grange estate.[710]

Secular hospitality

The monastic obligation to provide secular hospitality was achieved at monasteries by building guesthouses that usually were sited in the outer court near the west range.[711]

706. Fulford *et al*. 1992; Williams 2004.
707. Perkins 1899, 213-22; Blair 2007.
708. Reynolds 2009, 420-25; Ohler 2010.
709. Williams 1998, 281.
710. Brown 2012, 66-7; cf. Cassidy-Welch 2001, 141.
711. Williams 1998, 124-9 on Cistercian hospitality, guestmasters, guesthouses, and the involvement of lay brothers in general; Kinder 2002; Kerr 2008; Jamroziak 2010.

Granges also were expected to provide hospitality for secular travellers.[712] Every grange had to appoint a lay brother as a 'guestmaster' or 'hospitaller', and there were regulations on how he should receive guests.[713] The role was probably carried out by the granger, except at well-staffed or more important granges. Some grange settlements had dedicated secular guest accommodation, although little is known about their numbers or locations. However, Louth Park Abbey in Lincolnshire constructed guest dormitories and dining rooms in all of its granges in the early thirteenth century, although, so far, there is no archaeological evidence.[714] Unless it was a particular 'vanity project', secular guest accommodation may have been more common than previously recognised.

Servant and secular staff accommodation

Separate accommodation would have been provided for any 'live-in' male servants or staff. Families were required to live outside of grange settlements in adjacent or nearby secular settlements. A number of 'attached settlements', that is settlements specifically established to serve a grange estate, possibly have been identified in England and Wales, although a number of them probably were only established after a grange became secularly managed, let, or sold.[715] Therefore, the temporal relationship between grange settlements and any adjacent or nearby extant or deserted secular settlements

712. Williams 1998, 124, 281-2 suggests that early Cistercian *statuta* imply that secular guest accommodation was provided in every grange. However, that does not necessarily mean that dedicated accommodation was constructed, as a barn, outbuildings, or a building outside of the settlement could have been employed. Although emphasising the importance that the Cistercians placed on hospitality, scholars have paid very little attention to the subject of hospitality in granges, for example, Kerr 2008; Jamroziak 2010.

713. The limited evidence of guestmasters and how granges dealt with guests comes mainly from the *Usus Conversorum* and Clairvaux Abbey's *Breve et Memoriale Scriptum*, Waddell 2000, 178, 204, and the *Regula Conversorum ordinis Cisterciensis*, Martene & Durand 1717, 1,650 Caput IX. Based on various primary sources, Williams 1998, 118, 121, 280-2 and France 2012, 143-4 relate stories of hospitality, charity, and the care of lepers provided by granges.

714. Williams 1998, 281.

715. Platt 1969, 87-91; Aston 2009, 134; Brown 2012, 78-80; Roberts 2014.

needs to be established for each case. In any case, the homes of secular staff may have been dispersed and need not have lain within a grange estate, especially where estate lands and grazing rights lay in several townships.

Women were not permitted to live in grange settlements, or enter them without an abbot's permission, but there was no restriction on women working on grange estates, except in vineyards or as milkmaids.[716] There are references to female staff and casual workers at Boxley's Sharpness and Stanley's Langdon Wick granges, and in 1269/70 there were washerwomen at Beaulieu's Great Coxwell, Soberton, and Colbury granges, and milkmaids at Great Coxwell and Wyke.[717] However, a person described as a 'milkmaid' was not necessarily female.[718]

The day to day working interactions between lay brothers and secular servants and staff, especially within grange settlements, are unclear. Only the granger, or in his absence his deputy, and where appropriate the guestmaster were permitted to speak to secular workers or guests, and then purely on 'matters of necessity'.[719] Lay brothers working on granges estates were permitted to speak to passersby, herdsmen, and shepherds, but again only on matters of necessity. When a grange had a large secular workforce it is likely to have had its own hierarchal structure, with overseers receiving work instructions from the granger at some designated place, such as a barn. Social interactions between granges and secular society were complicated and could be extensive, but in all instances the lay brothers were expected to behave as monastics.

716. Williams 1998, 131-3, 282; Waddell 2000, 179.
717. Hockey 1975, 22; 1976, 61-3; Williams 1998, 289; Brown 2012, 81; Eastlake 2014, 96.
718. Claridge & Langdon 2015, 198-201.
719. Waddell 2000; France 2012.

The above and the previous two chapters have endeavoured to capture and discuss all of the physical features, especially buildings, that might be found in grange settlements, and the archaeological and documentary evidence presently and possibly available. There may be remnants of, or information about, grange accommodation elsewhere in Britain but, without more extensive research, presently there appears to be little that could contribute significantly to an understanding of the nature of grange accommodation. It is, therefore, worth looking to France for further archaeological evidence to round-out, complement, and explain the evidence from southern and elsewhere in England.

6.7 Evidence of lay brother accommodation in France

Cistercian regulations and practices were designed to influence the lives and behaviours of lay brothers wherever they lived. Therefore, although building traditions may have differed in and throughout France, and during different time periods, the facilities provided for lay brothers should not have differed fundamentally from those in Britain.

Archaeological research in France has, as in Britain, been fragmented, functionalist, and focused primarily on the economic aspects of granges.[720] Details in archaeological and heritage databases are equally patchy and often based on dated information and interpretations. To begin to rectify that, a longterm, multidisciplinary archaeological heritage project covering Franche-Comté and part of Champagne has compiled a corpus

[720.] See recent overview by Blary 2017.

of twelfth- to eighteenth-century 'grange' settlements. 'Grange', in that respect, includes *celliers* and *granges domestiques*. Detailed analyses and syntheses have still to be undertaken, including on the possible original forms, use of spaces, and chronologies of some extant buildings. However, a project summary, which summarises earlier French studies, has recently been published.[721] The project identified 230 'granges' owned by 23 abbeys. Medieval remains were found in 56 settlements, 19 of which have various types of extant remains. These include two barns, five chapels, and six accommodation buildings, nearly all dating to the late twelfth century and first half of the thirteenth century. It is suggested that this reflects a concerted programme of constructing high-quality stone buildings, mainly to replace earlier structures. About 20 sites have vestiges of physical enclosures, although these could be of almost any date.

Only two granges covered by the project are mentioned below, Theuley's Montverrat (Vars, Haute-Saône) and Clairvaux's Fraville (Arconville, Aube), as a number of other archaeological examples in France were examined and visited in the course of research for this thesis before Bonvalot & Rouzeau's summary became available. In particular, Pontigny Abbey's grange at Villiers-la-Grange (Yonne) (Figures 6.9-6.12) and Reigny's nearby grange of Oudun (Yonne) (Figures 6.13-6.16) provide outstanding, but not necessarily unique, examples of late twelfth- to early thirteenth-century lay brother accommodation.[722] A programme of archaeological investigation and 're-interpretive reconstruction' has recently been completed at Oudun. Therefore, the details below may require revision once a full archaeological report is published. The following endeavours to group discussions under the same categories used for southern England.

721. Bonvalot 2012; Bonvalot & Rouzeau 2017.
722. Parat 1918; Kinder 1994; 1995; 1998; 2001; Aumard *et al*. 2013.



Figure 6.9: Northern face of lay brothers' accommodation at Pontigny Abbey's grange of Villiers-la-Grange (Yonne, France).

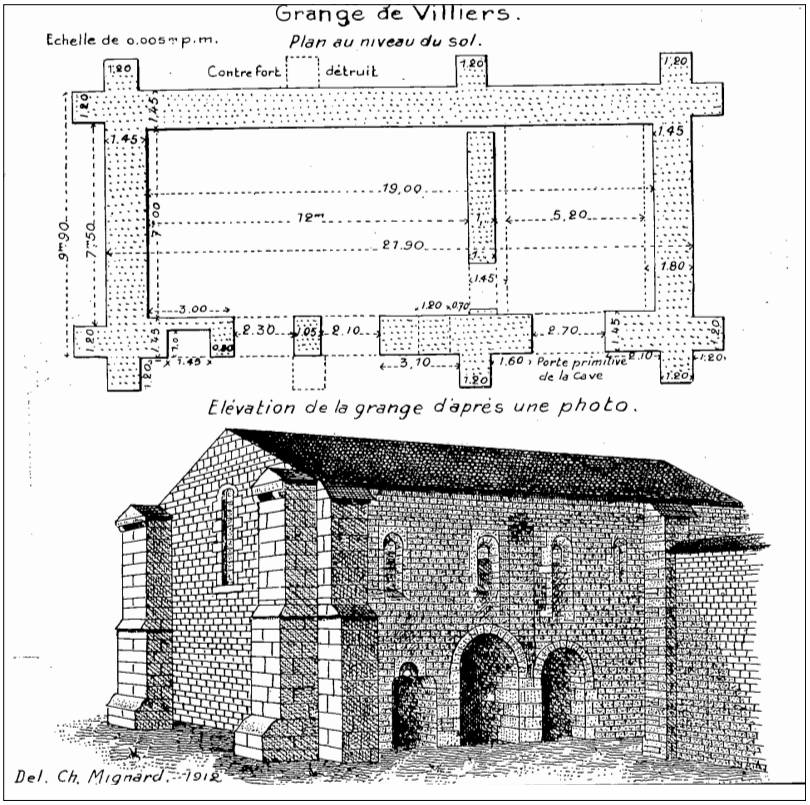


Figure 6.10: Ground floor plan and sketch of Villiers-la-Grange in 1912 (Parat 1918, Plate 1).



Figure 6.11: Chapel of St Edme, Villiers-la-Grange from the west. (Photograph taken from above the grange's large barrel-vaulted cistern.)



Figure 6.12: Chapel of St Edme with pointed barrel-vaulted nave. The added fifteenth or sixteenth-century rib-vaulted chancel in the background.



Figure 6.13: West face of lay brothers' accommodation at Reigny Abbey's Oudun Grange (Yonne, France).

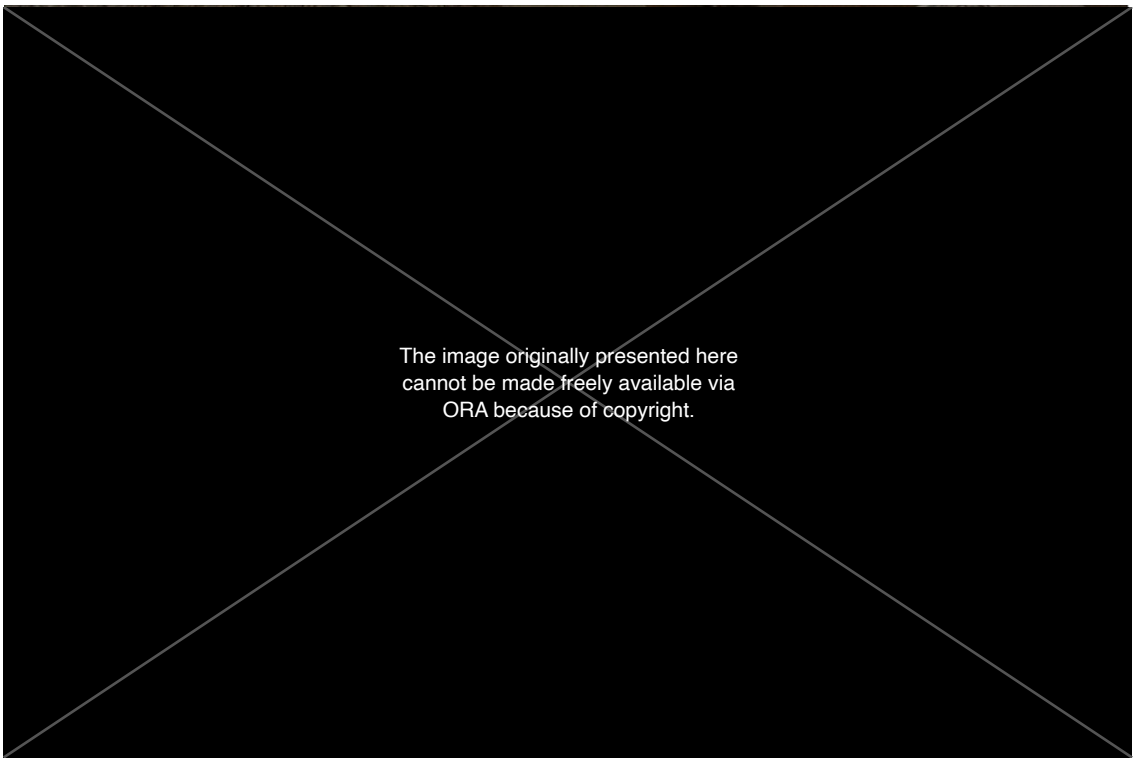


Figure 6.14: Part-restored interior of the lay brothers' refectory at Oudun Grange with groin-vaulted ceiling and central pillars.
(Online at: https://bourgognemedievale.com/departement-et-pays/yonne/pays-avallonnais/joux-la-ville/, accessed 23/3/2020.)



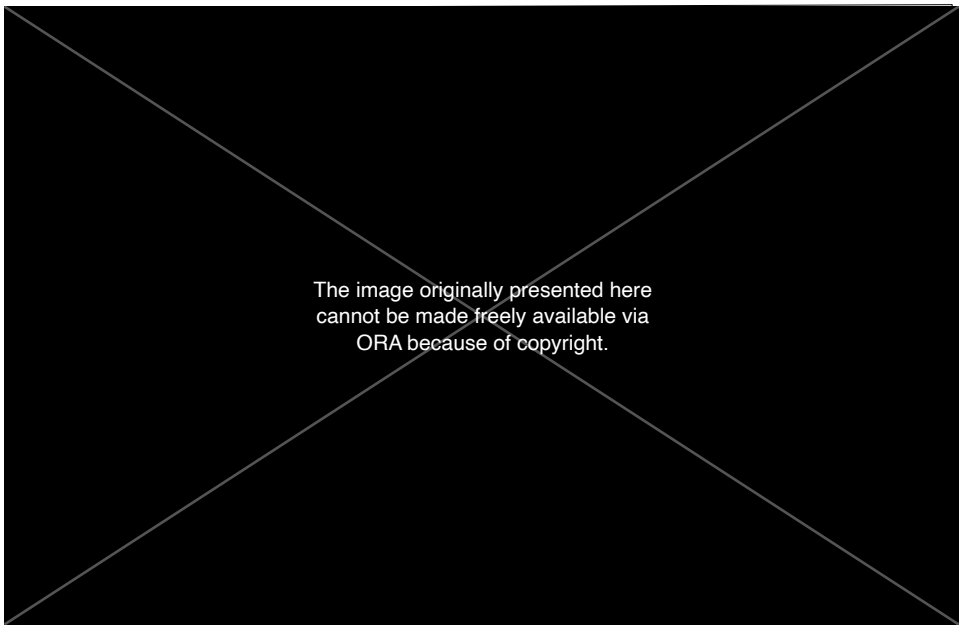


Figure 6.15: 2011-2 excavation plan (top) and re-interpretive reconstruction (bottom) of the ground floor of the lay brothers' accommodation at Oudun Grange (note reversal of compass North) (Aumard *et al*. 2013).



Figure 6.16: North face of lay brothers' accommodation at Oudun Grange during excavation of adjoining kitchen and storeroom block in July 2016.

Lay brother dormitories

The lay brother dormitories at Villiers-la-Grange and Oudun were on the upper storeys of well-built stone structures. The dormitory at Villiers-la-Grange measures 19m x 7m (133m^2) internally and has 1.45m thick walls. Based on the postulated minimum floor area of *c*.7m^2 per occupant, the dormitory perhaps housed up to 20 lay brothers. The dormitory at Oudun Grange is larger, measuring 20m x 10m (200m^2) internally, and may have housed up to 30.[723] If the allowance made for each lay brother was less than postulated, more could have been accommodated, and vice versa.

[723] Bonvalot & Rouzeau 2017 give details of an almost similarly-sized late twelfth-century building at Cherlieu Abbey's Les Charmes Grange (Semmadon, Haute-Saône).

It is noticeable that, although Reigny was a smaller and less important abbey than Pontigny, the lay brother accommodation at Oudun was more imposing, and could be mistaken for a small claustral west range (compare Figures 6.1 and 6.13). There had been conflict between lay brothers from the two granges and the building at Oudun might well be a case of 'one-upmanship'.[724] The building is larger than the one at Rievaulx's Laskill Grange, and provides an indication of the size of building required at large granges, for example, Waverley's Wanborough, Kingswood's Hazleton, and Beaulieu's St Leonard's and Beufre granges, if they were expected to be fully or mainly manned by lay brothers.

Structurally, the dormitory at Villiers-la-Grange appears to have had four narrow round-arched windows on its northern side, a larger round-arched window on the eastern gable, and a stone-tiled roof. Originally, it may have been vaulted like the lay brothers' dormitory in Pontigny's monastery.[725] The dormitory at Oudun initially had a barrel-vaulted ceiling which carried the roof, but it collapsed shortly after its construction and was replaced by a stone-tiled one. Only some of the openings now at Oudun are original, but there appears to have been a number of round-arched windows on both lateral walls, and one on the southern gable. The dormitory may have been accessed by an external wooden staircase on its western side, and possibly also through the attached building discussed below. Neither of the dormitories have evidence of being divided, or of internal heating. There is no evidence of latrine blocks, despite the possible numbers of lay brothers housed.

724. Kinder 1995.
725. Parat 1918; Kinder 1995; 2002, 330.

The same spatial configuration has been found at Cistercian cellars in France, the best known example is Cîteaux's cellar of Clos de Vougeot (Côte d'Or), suggested to be the earliest extant grange building in France. The first phase construction of its stone-built dormitory has been dated by dendrochronology and building analysis to between 1160 and 1190.[726]

It was suggested earlier that urban granges/hospices may have had a broadly similar configuration to grange accommodation, although priority was probably given to accommodation for visiting abbots and obedientiaries. With this is mind, it is worth mentioning that Pontigny Abbey had a property, possibly an urban grange/hospice, in the Cinque Port of New Romney in Kent. The remains of a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century two-storeyed rubblestone building lie at the suggested site.[727] For comparison, although of an earlier date, a good extant example of an urban grange/hospice in France is Cîteaux's late twelfth-century two-storeyed house in Beaune.[728] The Romanesque-fronted upper floor provided lodgings, said to be for visiting abbots and obedientiaries, and the much altered ground floor provided warehousing (Figure 6.17). Lay brother accommodation may have been at the rear of the building, or in the adjoining building which has similar but simpler-styled windows on its upper floor. Most other contemporary buildings in Beaune were constructed of wood and cob, and therefore the building probably acted also as a symbol of the abbey's power and authority in the area.

726. Chauvin & Perrault 2006; Foucher *et al*. 2008.
727. Sweetinburgh 2010, 100; NHLE: 1011803; NRHE: 462792.
728. Carli 2013, 7; cf. Fernie 2014, 234-7; Schofield 2018.



Figure 6.17: Cîteaux Abbey's Romanesque-fronted twelfth-century abbot's lodgings and urban grange/hospice in Beaune (Côte d'Or, France).

Refectories, kitchens, and warming rooms

The groin-vaulted refectory at Oudun had an attached kitchen and storeroom block with a fireplace and serving hatch into the refectory (Figure 6.16). The ground floor of the lay brothers' accommodation at Villiers-la-Grange, which may have been vaulted like the dormitory above, could have had a combined refectory-kitchen-workroom, or a detached kitchen was sited nearby (Figures 6.9-6.10).[729] Both refectories are reminiscent of the slight remains found at Beaulieu's Great Coxwell Grange, and perhaps also at Garendon's Roystone, Rievaulx's Laskill, and Margam's Theodoric granges.

[729.] Kinder 1995, 164-5; 2001, 41.

Oratories and chapels

At Oudun, which lies only 14km from Reigny's monastery, a room measuring *c*.6m x 4m internally and projecting eastwards from the refectory is thought to have been an oratory or chapel dating to the twelfth to fourteenth centuries (Figure 6.15). However, it seems rather small for the possible number of lay brothers that the dormitory could have housed. In the mid fourteenth century, when there were no lay brothers and the estate was overseen by resident monks, it is thought that the oratory was rebuilt and enlarged as a chapel.[730] This may suggest that some oratories, including the one at Waverley's Neatham Grange, were specifically built with an eastwards orientation.

Villiers-la-Grange, located *c*.35km from Pontigny's monastery, had a chapel from the twelfth or early thirteenth century (Figures 6.11-6.12).[731] The nave and tower of the current village church are thought to be contemporary with the lay brothers' accommodation, which lies *c*.65m uphill, with a massive arcaded, twin barrel-vaulted underground cistern lying in between. The original chapel measures only 7.3m x 4.5m internally and has a pointed barrel-vaulted roof. A number of other grange chapels in Europe appear to be sited at some distance from the lay brothers' accommodation.[732]

The excavation of the fossilised grange of Montverrat (Vars, Haute-Saône), just 3.5km from Theuley's monastery, uncovered a probably thirteenth-century, single-cell stone chapel that measured 10.4m x 6m externally (Figure 6.18).[733] The chapel was accessed by an off-centre door and there was evidence of an altar, as well as traces of painted

730. Aumard *et al*. 2013.
731. Kinder 1995.
732. Williams 2004.
733. Bonvalot 1998; Aumard *et al*. 2013. See Bonvalot & Rouzeau 2017 for the most recent description and illustrations of Montverrat.

plaster and unglazed floor tiles. Floor tiles were also found in the adjacent accommodation building, one of two excavated. Floor tiles might be found in grange accommodation elsewhere, not just in chapels or cell-granges, such as Beaulieu's Wyke.

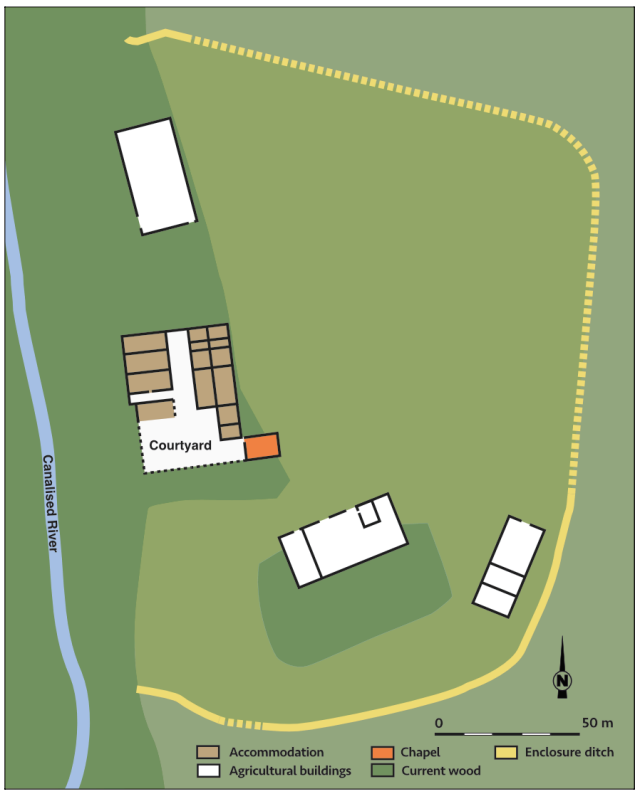


Figure 6.18: Plan of Theuley Abbey's Montverrat Grange (Vars, Haute-Saône, France) (after Aumard *et al*. 2013 citing Bonvalot & Turina 2013).

Two further brief examples of oratories/chapels adjacent to lay brothers' accommodation illustrate the diversity that might be found. The mid twelfth-century oratory or chapel of Pontigny's Crêcy Grange (Saint-Florentin, Yonne), 11km from the monastery, lies directly opposite the remains of a large two-storeyed accommodation building (Figures 6.19-6.20).[734] The building was later remodelled as a barn, but there are traces of two large, late twelfth- or thirteenth-century Gothic windows on the upper floor of its northern gable.

[734.] Kinder 1994, 444; Peugniez 2012, 78.



Figure 6.19: Chapel of St Lawrence, Pontigny's Crêcy Grange (Saint-Florentin, Yonne), viewed from the south-east.



Figure 6.20: Exterior gable wall of the lay brothers' accommodation at Crêcy grange, viewed from the north.

One of Clairvaux Abbey's earliest granges was at Fraville (Arconville, Aube), only 6km from the monastery. The grange is somewhat similar to Crêcy in having an extant thirteenth-century oratory/chapel lying next to the now overbuilt lay brothers' accommodation.[735] The chapel is quite large, measuring 14.5m x 12.5m externally, and originally was lit by two narrow windows reminiscent of those described at Beaulieu's chapel at Througham. This suggests that the grange was well-manned by lay brothers when the chapel was built, although it may have replaced an earlier one.

Enclosure of lay brother accommodation

There is evidence of inner enclosures with gates or gatehouses at some granges in France, such as Villiers-la-Grange. These are difficult to date, since many settlements were fortified during the Hundred Years War (1337-1453).[736] The domestic buildings at some granges, such as Oudun and Montverrat, appear to have been constructed in a courtyard-house form, although that form may not have been fully implemented at Oudun until the lay brothers left and the buildings were occupied only by monks.[737] The courtyard-house form is also likely be found at some urban granges/hospices. This form, which occurs more generally at ecclesiastical and manorial sites in France and England and has been suggested at the cell-grange of Wyke, is difficult to date.[738]

At many other French granges and cellars, such as Crêcy, Fraville, Clos de Vougeot, and perhaps Oudun, and at a number of Chaalis Abbey's (Oise) granges, the domestic buildings appear to have been set around large courtyards, which sometimes used the

735. Aubert 1947, 160; Williams 2004, 217 fig. 5; Bonvalot & Rouzeau 2017, 64 Tableau 2.
736. Kinder 1995, 159.
737. Aumard *et al*. 2013; Bonvalot & Rouzeau 2017.
738. Blair 1993; Gardiner 2000, 169.

accommodation and agricultural buildings to form part of the enclosure.[739] As in England, walled enclosures of monasteries and granges may have been a relatively late introduction. Otherwise, timber fencing, ditches, and the use of natural features were all that were probably needed initially. The single part-ditched enclosure found at Montverrat may represent the most common twelfth- and early thirteenth-century approach to grange enclosures in France and England (Figure 6.18).[740]

The fossilised, thirteenth- to fourteenth-century seigneurial 'model farm' of Grange du Mont (Charny, Côte-d'Or) is thought to have been modelled on Cîteaux's granges, and purposely situated to cultivate new lands on the boundary of the principal seigneurial holding of Mont St Jean and land in adjoining Charny.[741] It is not too dissimilar to Montverrat in having a loose courtyard plan in part surrounded by a ditch (Figures 6.21-6.22). However, Grange du Mont's single-storeyed accommodation building, possibly for two families, is simpler although very substantially built, like all of the farmstead's buildings. There was no seigneurial residence and, as suggested for grange settlements, the large barn and an equally imposing sheepcote lay at the front of the farmstead, with the accommodation towards the rear.

Although the above examples consist entirely of stone-built accommodation, they possess many similarities to the fragmentary evidence found in southern and elsewhere in England. As with barns, evidence of well-built and probably rebuilt accommodation in France generally appears to predate that in southern England by several decades.

739. Blary 1989; Foucher *et al*. 2008.
740. Bonvalot 1998; Aumard *et al*. 2013.
741. Beck 1989; 2009.



Figure 6.21: Aerial view, unscaled plan, and reconstruction drawing of the seigneurial 'model farm' of Grange du Mont (Charny, Côte-d'Or) (Beck 2009).



Figure 6.22: Remains of 40m x 17m aisled barn at Grange du Mont, facing east.

6.8 The monastic nature of grange accommodation: conclusions

> **The lay brothers at the granges**
> At Vigils as well as at the Day Hours they say their prayers just like the monks. Upon standing up, then, and making the sign of the cross, if there are two or more of them, the senior says: *Deus, in adiutorium meum intende*; and all respond: *Domine, ad adiuvandum me festina…..*[742]

Although the spiritual aspects of the lay brothers' lives were physically realised mainly by the monastic nature of their grange accommodation, Cistercian spirituality permeated the entire grange settlement and to some degree the grange estate. This can be seen by considering the lay brothers' *horarium*, which also demonstrates that the spiritual and temporal aspects of the lay brothers' lives cannot be separated.[743] Nor should they, since work was a fundamental feature of Cistercian monasticism, although what constituted work (taken as being manual labour) and the amount of time spent on work compared with devotion and contemplation differed greatly between the lay brothers and the monks, because they had different roles within Cistercian communities.[744] Therefore, despite their considerably simpler and shorter devotions, the lay brothers were monastics in their own way, and that is reflected in their *horarium*.

The *Usus Conversorum* regulated and structured the lay brothers' daily routine of rest, work, meals, and devotion, with their offices almost entirely paralleling the weekday offices of the monks.[745] The lay brothers' routine basically varied between a summer season (Easter until 13th September) and a winter season (the rest of the year) and

742. From the *Usus Conversorum*, Waddell 2000, 166-8.
743. Ibid.
744. Holdsworth 1973; Williams 1998, 63; Waddell 2000, 166 n.5-7; Jamroziak 2013, 17.
745. Waddell 2000. As mentioned in Chapter 1, almost the entire *Usus* was reused in and replaced by *De conversis* in 1202, which itself evolved and was replaced by further codifications. There were also local codifications, such as Clairvaux Abbey's *Breve et Memoriale Scriptum*, ibid., 197-209. See also Williams 1998, 83-5; France 2012, 334-44.

between work days and non-work days (Sundays, certain feast days, days of community funerals, and days for bleeding and recovery, which together could amount to *c*.90 days a year).[746] To some extent the routine also varied in detail depending on whether a lay brother lived in a grange or a monastery, with the *horarium* of those living in monasteries more closely linked to that of the monks, for example in relation to the timing of refectory meals (see below).[747]

Every day the lay brothers in granges arose in their dormitory at *c*.2am to communally say Vigils (the night office) in the oratory or chapel, except for work days during the summer season when they could sleep until arising to say Lauds at daybreak, *c*.3am.[748] In winter season, Lauds was celebrated at *c*.7am, some five hours after they arose. Prime was then celebrated at sunrise, about an hour after Lauds, and both may have been said in the oratory or chapel or whilst working. After arising, when not in prayer the lay brothers were expected to busy themselves with various tasks and chores around the settlement until Prime, although they may have had time for private devotion and contemplation.[749] Lighting a fire in the warming room/kitchen, preparing produce and food, looking after any guests, and tending to animals would have had priority before the lay brothers had some *mixt* (light breakfast of bread and water) in their refectory, or perhaps in the warming room/kitchen.[750] Unless in prayer or when permitted to speak, the lay brothers were required to follow the monastic rule of silence throughout the day.

746. Williams 1998; Waddell 2000; France 2012. Hockey 1976, 67 suggests that the lay brothers based in granges may have spent up to 97 days a year at the monastery.
747. Waddell 2000 on the *Usus* and Clairvaux's *Breve et Memoriale Scriptum*; See Kinder 2002, 56 and Jamroziak 2013, 62 Table 2 on the monks' *horarium*.
748. Waddell 2000, 169-71. As measured by the modern 24-hour day clock, Lauds and the other day hours varied over the year and with the latitudes of monasteries and granges.
749. Ibid., 271 n.18-20.
750. Williams 1998, 83, 245, 288-9; cf. Waddell 2000, 188-9.

Except for any lay brothers keeping night watch over livestock out to pasture, the lay brothers may not have left the settlement until after Prime. However, unless placed in the care of trusted secular staff or at cell-granges where there were resident monks, it is unlikely that a settlement was ever left completely unmanned by lay brothers, particularly when the grange was in the process of storing crops or its barns, stacks, and granaries were filled with produce.[751] The security of livestock also had to be considered. Unless a lay brother was required to conduct 'necessary work', which no doubt included keeping watch over a grange settlement or livestock, all of the lay brothers were expected to attend the monastery on Sundays and other non-work days.[752] Those who could not go to the monastery would have said their devotions wherever they were working or in the grange oratory. The *Usus* does not cater for granges with chapels or for cell-granges, such as Quarr's Forwood and Beaulieu's Wyke, where Sunday Mass, some feasts, and all of the canonical hours could have been celebrated on non-work days, and the lay brothers' chapter held, confessions made, and any transgressions punished in the grange refectory.[753]

On work days, the other canonical day hours of Terce, Sext, None, and Vespers were expected to be said wherever the lay brothers were working. As the role of each lay brother differed, that could have been in the lay brothers' accommodation, most likely in the refectory, elsewhere in the settlement, or inside or outside of the grange estate.

[751.] Chapter 3 has shown that during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, at least, most granges in southern England, and possibly elsewhere, were only lightly manned by lay brothers, most of whom probably were supervisors or specialists.
[752.] Waddell 2000, 169-71.
[753.] Ibid., 183-5, and 200-1 from Clairvaux's *Breve et Memoriale Scriptum*; cf. Cassidy-Welch 2001, 119-26 on Cistercian confessions and punishments.

Compline, which was celebrated at *c*.4pm in winter and at *c*.8pm in summer, usually immediately before the lay brothers returned to their dormitory to sleep, either was celebrated whilst working or in the oratory or chapel.[754] In the summer, the lay brothers were expected to work as long as there was daylight, with Compline said wherever they working. As indicated above, working until *c*.10pm at harvest was compensated for by allowing the lay brothers to sleep until *c*.3am the following morning.

The frequency and exact timing of communal meals and mealtime prayers in grange refectories are unclear due to the possible permutations from having two different seasonal routines, work days and non-work days (when lay brothers either could be at the monastery or in the grange), and individual lay brothers perhaps working in diverse locations. In monasteries, unless they were required to work, the lay brothers ate at the same time as the monks, principally because they shared a kitchen.[755] Probably that was mirrored at cell-granges where, as suggested earlier in this chapter, monks and lay brothers also may have shared a refectory. In monasteries, in the summer there were two meals each day, a dinner at *c*.11am after the monks celebrated Sext and a supper at *c*.7pm after Vespers. In the winter, there was a single dinner at *c*.2pm after the monks celebrated None, except on Sundays when there was also a supper.[756] It might be expected that the lay brothers in monasteries and cell-granges had at least one meal a day in their refectory, except during harvest. The *Usus* indicates that at least one daily communal meal was taken in grange refectories, followed by prayers in the oratory or chapel.[757] However, the *Usus* also stipulates that in summer, especially during harvest,

754. Ibid., 170-1; cf. Kinder 2002, 56.
755. Williams 1998, 245-6; France 2012, 99-100.
756. Kinder 2002, 56; cf. Jamroziak 2013, 62 Table 2.
757. Williams, 1998, 288-9; Waddell 2000, 179-81, 188-9.

all meals were to be taken and Compline said wherever the lay brothers and those monks who were helping were working.

It can be seen from the above that the *Usus* provided only a general framework for the lay brothers' *horarium* and could not cover every situation, which is why some abbeys, such as Clairvaux, developed their own supplemental codifications based on local circumstances and experience.[758] Nevertheless, the *Usus* demonstrates that, although the lay brothers undertook manual tasks for many hours on most days, their lives were structured around celebrating the canonical hours, participating in Sunday Mass and other key religious services, communal monastic living, and generally following Cistercian monastic principles and discipline, and that the spiritual aspects of the lay brothers' lives are mostly to be found in grange settlements and monasteries. It is also worth adding that in death the lay brothers were treated just like the monks, with a special funeral Mass, attended by all of the community, held in the monastery church, followed by interment in the monastic cemetery.[759]

It can be understood from the above why every grange had an oratory or chapel that may have been used communally up to eight times a day, as well as for private devotion. As discussed in the previous chapter, most granges in southern England had oratories rather than chapels. Unfortunately, oratories are difficult to identify archaeologically, especially when contained within a multi-purpose building, although are likely to be found on the ground floor of a two-storeyed structure. Attached or detached single-storeyed buildings that lie next to or near the main accommodation

758. Waddell 2000.
759. Ibid., 174, 199-200; Kinder 2002, 365-6; France 2012, 154-8.

building may have been oratories or chapels. The best indication of an oratory may be where one was reused and perhaps modified as a chapel, as documented at Waverley's Neatham Grange and suggested archaeologically at Reigny's Oudun Grange in France (Figure 6.15). Reuse may have happened quite frequently, as perhaps at Kingswood's Tetbury and Calcot, Bruern's Holwell, and Bindon's Chaldon Herring granges.

There were few grange chapels in southern England, and some were not built primarily for use by lay brothers (Table 5.2). Chapels could date from the mid twelfth century to the mid fourteenth century, and the reasons for building them varied. Unless established prior to the late twelfth century, there appears to have been only a narrow window of opportunity around the middle of the thirteenth century when chapels for lay brothers were both permitted and justified by their numbers. There was no simple relationship between a grange or cell-grange's distance from a monastery and the provision of a chapel. Some chapels, as at Thame's Otley Grange, may have replaced earlier monastery churches, and therefore had particular religious significance. General conclusions on the importance of short-term monastery sites, 'first churches', and their possible later commemoration were made in Chapter 5.

Grange chapels were mostly detached buildings, and identifiable mainly by evidence of an altar or piscina, by their windows, their size, and in being generally eastwards orientated. They also may have decorative stonework, as at Bruern's Holwell Grange, or tiled floors, although other parts of the lay brothers' accommodation may have tiled floors, as at Theuley's Montverrat Grange in France and perhaps Beaulieu's cell-grange at Wyke. Indeed, all of the accommodation in cell-granges may have been of superior

quality to that in other granges. Cell-granges always had chapels that were possibly larger and more ornate than grange chapels, Beaulieu's St Leonard's chapel being an outstanding example (Figures 5.6-5.7). Because of the presence of resident monks, who had daily masses and more extensive offices, cell-grange chapels were used more than grange chapels. However, as they have been little researched, it is not known how closely the services in cell-grange chapels followed those in monastery churches or how the lay brothers may have participated. In grange settlements with extra-parochial lands, such as Waverley's Wanborough Grange and Beaulieu's granges within its Great Close, and elsewhere where permitted, secular servants, staff, and tenants also may have attended Sunday Mass in the grange chapel, it effectively acting as a chapel of ease.

The lay brothers' residential accommodation either could be single- or two-storeyed. Sometimes there may have been more than one accommodation building, particularly where buildings were single-storeyed. Two-storeyed buildings have mostly been found, with the best and the majority of the evidence coming from granges in France. All of the buildings were well built, although that may be because nearly all of them were two-storeyed and may reflect a second, thirteenth-century phase of stone construction. The French examples discussed above, as well as those described by Bonvalot & Rouzeau, are as important to British studies of Cistercian grange settlements as they are to French studies, because the same accommodation facilities were expected to be provided in every Cistercian grange.[760] This thesis has identified at least ten possible examples of two-storeyed accommodation buildings in England and Wales. At present, the best example comes from the excavation of Garendon's Roystone Grange in Derbyshire

760. Especially see Bonvalot & Rouzeau 2017.

(Figure 6.7), although the spiritual and social aspects of the settlement have yet to be properly considered. Evidence of timber-built accommodation remains as elusive in France as it does in Britain, with this thesis doubtful that the timber-framed aisled hall found in Robertsbridge's Park estate was lay brothers' accommodation, as previously suggested. However, some grange accommodation may have reused earlier buildings, like the hall at Park, and, in general, the reuse of earlier secular buildings probably is greater than previously recognised.

All of the documentary sources and archaeological evidence suggest that, in addition to an oratory or chapel, the common features of lay brothers' grange accommodation are of communal, undivided, unheated rooms, usually with the dormitory on the upper floor of a two-storeyed building. Because of the monastic requirement to avoid physical contact, it has been suggested above that the anticipated number of lay brothers in a grange might be estimated from the size of their dormitory, or vice versa. A ballpark minimum gross floor area of 7.0m^2 for each lay brother is proposed for initial further research on the subject. The ground floor rooms of two-storeyed buildings provided a refectory, workroom, and perhaps storage. These were often vaulted and might be mistaken for cellars. Warming rooms may have been provided by attached or detached kitchens. The physical forms of the accommodation may have differed, but the facilities provided remained the same, in mostly mirroring those provided for lay brothers in monasteries.

From the above, it is possible to set out the basic configurations of lay brothers' accommodation that might be found in grange settlements, irrespective of a building's size, type, or quality of construction (Figure 6.23).



Figure 6.23: Basic configuration plans of lay brothers' accommodation in granges. (Compare secular accommodation in Figure 6.6.)

Monks had some separate accommodation at cell-granges, although shared the chapel and kitchen, and probably the refectory. Cell-granges possibly had *lavers* with a piped water supply, and some granges, particularly those on former monastery sites, may have had an engineered water supply. As suggested above and indicated at Beaulieu's St Leonard's and Wyke, cell-granges possibly had more elaborate and better-built accommodation than other granges. Some settlements had attached or separate accommodation for monastic visitors, and sometimes private accommodation for abbots. From the thirteenth century, their accommodation may have been heated and have contained a private oratory and *garderobe*. Whether or not specific monastic guest accommodation was provided, a number of granges, together with urban granges/ hospices and monasteries, formed part of an extensive Cistercian travel network where Cistercian monastic principles and practices would have been consistently followed.

It must be recognised that all of the monastic accommodation may have been modified soon after lay brothers and any monks ceased occupation, principally with the addition of heating and partitioning. Even if no alterations were made, the amount and types of material culture and environmental evidence would have changed. Putting the archaeological evidence that now may be found into context, a thirteenth-century building may have been occupied by lay brothers for only 100 years, then occupied by secular managers, lessees, or subsequent owners for another two to three centuries.

Grange settlements also may have had separate accommodation for male servants and staff and some had accommodation for secular male guests. So far, there is no archaeological evidence of secular accommodation in England. Any secular accommodation is most likely to be found near the agricultural buildings, with both situated towards the fore of a settlement. To provide privacy, where necessary the monastic accommodation was distanced and/or enclosed from any secular accommodation and agricultural buildings frequented by seculars, and situated towards the rear or centre of a settlement, as at Kingswood's Hazleton and Beaulieu's St Leonard's granges. Chapter 4 covered the subject of enclosures in more detail.

Bringing all of the aspects discussed above and in the previous chapter together, it is possible to make a comparison of the main differences between the accommodation provided for Cistercian lay brothers in grange settlements and that found in secular and other ecclesiastically-owned estate complexes or farmsteads. Table 6.1 clearly illustrates that the lay brothers' accommodation and, in general, the entire grange settlement were monastic in nature, and in that respect quite distinctive.

Lay Brother Accommodation:	Secular Accommodation:
Buildings: Varied according to each abbey's needs and resources, and designed within Cistercian regulatory and social parameters. Usually sited to the rear of a settlement. No access to seculars.	*Buildings:* Varied according to owners' preferences and resources. Sometimes sited to the fore of a complex.
Dormitories: Open-plan, unheated, monastic, male-only communal spaces. Rule of silence compulsory. Regulated bedding spaced to prevent physical contact. No personal possessions. Dormitories usually larger than refectories.	*Chambers (and halls)*: Multi-gendered, very hierarchically-separated chambers for private retreat and rest, with halls also used for sleeping. Both could have heating. Chambers normally smaller than halls. Varied personal material culture.
Refectories: Open-plan, unheated, monastic, male-only communal spaces. Rule of silence compulsory except during regulated prayers and meetings. Cistercian dietary restrictions followed. Spaces possibly used for other purposes provided rule of silence observed.	*Halls*: Normally heated and used for multi-gender hierarchal socialising and eating, and for a variety of other purposes. No dietary restrictions on food provided. Halls usually somewhat larger than chambers. Varied personal multi-gendered material culture.
Oratories or chapels: Always provided for communal prayers. Oratories usually located near refectories. Regulated timetable of prayer, eating, working, and sleeping followed. Chapels and possibly some large oratories often were freestanding structures.	*Oratories or Chapels*: Private and household oratories or chapels rare except in high status properties until the fourteenth century. Usually adjoining chambers or separate structures. Hierarchal social separation of participants.
Warming rooms: Separate spaces. It is unclear how these were provided, although kitchens/parlours may have been used.	*Warming rooms*: Not applicable, as heating normally incorporated within halls and some chambers.
Kitchens: Attached or detached. Perhaps restricted to preparing a monastic diet. Possibly separate kitchens for secular staff.	*Kitchens*: Attached or detached kitchens that served all inhabitants and guests. No dietary restrictions.
Guest accommodation: Male-only. Separate monastic and secular facilities.	*Guest accommodation*: Usually incorporated within multi-gendered residential facilities.

Table 6.1: Comparison of lay brother accommodation with secular accommodation.

CHAPTER 7: TOWARDS A FRESH APPROACH TO STUDYING CISTERCIAN GRANGES

7.1 Overall conclusions

The aim of this thesis has been to make a contribution to later medieval archaeology by presenting a new archaeological view of the nature and distinctiveness of Cistercian granges in southern England, and provide a pointer to the nature of those elsewhere in Britain. No similar synthetic study has been undertaken before. The thesis is original in considering the spiritual and social aspects, as well as the economic aspects, of Cistercian granges. The central argument has been that, contrary to prevailing hypotheses, the distinctiveness of Cistercian granges lies mainly in the cenobitic nature and physical features of grange settlements, rather than in the economic nature and topography of grange estates. Owing to the limited focus of previous research and the sparsity of archaeological evidence, a complementary aim has been to identify potential, as well as known possible, sources of evidence.

To achieve these aims, the thesis first clarified and refined the definition of Cistercian granges to reflect the cultural background to their introduction and operation, before posing four interrelated research questions. The first sought to understand why, when, where, and how granges were established. The second explored how granges operated, the role of granges in the Cistercian economy, the role of lay brothers in granges, and the relationship between granges and other Cistercian-held properties and with secular society. The third question concerned the physical and topographic features of granges,

particularly within grange settlements. All three questions contributed to the final one on how Cistercian granges were distinctive. Conclusions have been made in each thematic chapter and overall conclusions are made here.

The study researched the 29 Cistercian houses founded in southern England and the *c*.90 to *c*.120 granges they established and operated during the High Middle Ages, taken here as up to 1350. The granges were established mainly between *c*.1150 and *c*.1250, and all appear to have ceased operation before the Black Death. Cistercian houses may have continued to hold the properties in other ways for another 200 to 300 years. To round-out, complement, and explain the evidence from southern England some evidence from elsewhere in Britain and from France also was considered.

The nature and distinctiveness of grange settlements

A Cistercian grange was a property permanently inhabited, managed, and at least partially manned by lay brothers who were professed religious members of the Order. A few granges, here termed 'cell-granges', were overseen by resident monks. The function of granges and cell-granges was economic, and most were agricultural. The most distinctive physical and topographic features of Cistercian granges lay in their settlements, where the spiritual and the temporal were mediated by the arrangement, functions and, to some extent, forms of the buildings.

To ensure that all lay brother accommodation followed Cistercian monastic principles, the facilities provided were regulated to be the same throughout Europe. Every settlement had either an oratory or chapel, the latter always provided at cell-granges.

The lay brothers and monks were provided with unheated communal dormitories and refectories, the latter probably shared in cell-granges. Refectories also may have been used for other purposes although, as elsewhere, lay brothers and monks were required to follow the monastic rule of silence. Warming rooms were specified, and probably were provided by kitchens. All of the facilities were aimed at reinforcing monastic behaviours and, in general, mirrored the facilities provided in monastery claustral ranges.

The facilities were specified, but not their physical forms or arrangement, although to some extent these may be deduced. In particular, the dormitories had to be large enough to ensure physical contact was avoided. The size of dormitory required probably was the main factor in determining the overall size of the accommodation, particularly where there were a large number of lay brothers. Refectories and internal storerooms and are likely to have been more flexible spaces as, perhaps, were warming rooms/kitchens. It may be expected that the latter lay next to or near refectories. It appears that oratories were separate designated spaces or rooms, probably also situated near refectories. Chapels are likely to have been attached or detached buildings sited next to or near the monks' or lay brothers' quarters. Since seculars may have been allowed in some chapels, their sizes may not reflect the number of lay brothers and monks in a grange. The requirement for unheated communal facilities, and as a result possibly their sizes, distinguishes lay brothers' accommodation from the accommodation found in most other monastic and secular estate complexes and farmsteads. Although the facilities would have been the same, the accommodation provided for a small number of lay brothers may be more difficult to identify and differentiate archaeologically. However, irrespective of the number of lay brothers housed, the constructional quality of the

monastic accommodation reflected and represented the abbeys, rather than the social status of lay brothers or the economic role of granges.

Archaeological evidence of twelfth-century buildings and timber-built buildings of any date generally remains elusive, as does evidence of oratories. Although more extensive research is required, the limited and fragmented evidence from southern and elsewhere in England and Wales, and the more substantial evidence from France, suggests that Cistercian regulations were followed. Some of the evidence comes from buildings constructed over 100 years after the regulations were made, indicating that the accommodation principles did not change. Taking all aspects together, this thesis has suggested the basic configurations of lay brother accommodation that might be found, and shown how they differed and were distinctive from the hall and chamber arrangements in secular and most other ecclesiastical manor houses and farmsteads (Figures 6.2, 6.23, Table 6.1).

It is recognised that there are other important, but less tangible or more difficult to identify, spiritual and social aspects, such as the lay brothers' monastic diet, lack of personal possessions, rule of silence, highly regulated day of work and devotion, and interactions with monasteries and local markets. Partly due to the lack of evidence, some of these aspects have been only touched on in the thesis, and warrant much more research and discussion. However, the thesis has highlighted and discussed the archaeological importance of short-term monastery sites, most of which became grange settlements. It also introduced and discussed the commemoration of such sites.

Developing this basic picture, some settlements had monastic guest accommodation which may have contained heated private apartments for visiting abbots from the thirteenth century. Some granges also had accommodation for male secular servants and guests. Females were not allowed to live in the settlements, and normally were not allowed to enter them. Therefore, a settlement may have had several different types of accommodation: attached or separate unheated communal accommodation for lay brothers and monks, attached or separate unheated communal or heated private accommodation for monastic visitors, and separate, probably heated accommodation for secular staff and visitors. However, all settlements were distinctive in being male-only.

Most, if not all Cistercian granges in southern England were integrated with local secular societies. Many, if not most, employed secular staff and had other dealings with secular society, often within the settlements. Therefore, the arrangement and siting of the buildings had to mediate between housing cenobitic monastics and being estate centres sometimes inhabited and frequented by seculars. The less the presence of seculars, the less the need to mediate, and that may be reflected in differences in the arrangement of buildings between grange settlements. The monastic accommodation had to be kept separate from any secular accommodation and agricultural buildings frequented by seculars. That was achieved in several ways. There was no standard model or layout of Cistercian grange settlement, even by individual abbeys, and the settlements were not enclosed in any standard ways. However, the degree of separation or enclosure of the monastic accommodation, and the arrangement of buildings in many settlements also appear to be distinctive features of Cistercian grange settlements.

Presently, little can be said about the nature and possible distinctiveness of the agricultural buildings owing to the sparsity of archaeological evidence dating to the period of lay brother occupation. The was no centralised direction on what should be provided, and the number, range, design, and quality of the agricultural buildings seem to have varied between the granges of individual abbeys. The total number of grange barns in England may be somewhat less than previously suggested, and other forms of crop storage more extensively utilised. Evidence of large or 'monumental' barn building is limited only to some granges of a few abbeys, and appears to have been almost entirely a thirteenth-century phenomenon, although the better preservation of stone-built barns may distort the picture. In general, the nature of the agricultural buildings in Cistercian granges does not appear to have been distinctive.

The nature and distinctiveness of grange estates

The Cistercians took a sophisticated approach to managing their resources, and there is no compelling evidence to accept the prevailing hypotheses that the Order operated a distinctive grange 'system' or 'style' of agriculture that lay outside of the manorial system based on separate, secluded, consolidated estates, fully or mainly worked by lay brothers. This thesis has demonstrated that the economic approach of every Cistercian house differed and varied over time.

It is unlikely that any Cistercian house in southern England had more than 12 granges, most operated fewer than six, and some had none at all. There was nothing particularly unique about these numbers, as there appear to have been wide variations in the number of granges established by Cistercian houses elsewhere in Europe, including the

Cistercian heartlands in France. The socio-economic circumstances of each Cistercian community differed and varied over time, and there was no pattern to either the establishment or operation of granges. Granges only formed part of the Cistercian economy, and by the time abbeys began to acquire remote properties, rights, and other resources in southern England they could hold and manage them in other ways. The establishment of a grange was a choice, and some abbeys opted to establish more granges than others.

The properties granted to abbeys on or shortly after their foundation, or brought with an established religious community when incorporated into the Order largely affected whether, as well as where and when, granges were established. Well-endowed abbeys, especially those with extensive home farms, appear to have had less need or desire to establish granges at other properties they acquired. Also, the locations of granges depended fundamentally on the location of an abbey's monastery. Some granges were established within extensive home estates simply because the distances to landholdings were too great for them to be operated as home farms. More distant granges sometimes were established as estate centres for all of an abbey's properties, rights, and resources in an area, as much as, if not more, than for their own economic value, especially during the thirteenth century. Therefore, granges were established for different purposes.

A number of townships, manors, and large properties acquired by abbeys in southern England were divided into grange and non-grange holdings, and many continued to be operated that way. As a result, grange estates often were spatially, economical, and to some extent administratively integrated with Cistercian non-grange resources. The

Cistercians effectively operated their own form of manorial system, where grange estates managed by lay brothers sometimes acted as substitutes for manorial demesnes. Tenanted properties, such as mills, sometimes lay within grange estates whilst, on the other hand, sheep flocks managed directly from monasteries grazed and may have been folded on both grange and non-grange lands. Grange estates often, if not usually, employed permanent and temporary male and female staff who could have lived within or outside of the estates, and sometimes utilised tenant services, perhaps earlier and more often that previously recognised. Contrary to prevailing hypotheses, Cistercian abbeys did not always wish to expand and consolidate their grange estates, or were particularly successful in doing so, and there is no direct link between Cistercian tithe-exemptions and the spatial extents of grange estates. Grange estates were not, necessarily, as large or as consolidated as often portrayed, and may have comprised of permanent and temporary, tithe-free and tithable, consolidated and unconsolidated lands, including pieces in open fields, as well as diverse unshared and shared pastures and grazing rights. However, granges may have had mainly consolidated core landholdings of varying extents around their settlements where, depending on numbers, the lay brothers concentrated their labours. Overall, this fragmented and constantly changing pattern of Cistercian landholdings and resources, including human resources, makes the discrete archaeological and topographic features and the spatial and economic extents of grange estates difficult, if not almost impossible, to identify. That is why this thesis has questioned the value of researching Cistercian granges from an economic perspective in isolation of a Cistercian house's other resources.

The most distinctive feature of Cistercian grange estates comes from the presence of lay brothers, although that presence needs to be put into perspective. Cistercian granges might have been better managed than some other monastic estates by having resident lay brothers and sometimes monks, but at present there is no evidence that granges were any more productive, cost-effective, or profitable as a result, irrespective of how well they were manned by lay brothers. In any case, the Cistercians never required granges to be fully manned by lay brothers. Therefore, it would be better to consider granges from the basis of the minimum number that may have been required. Only two lay brothers, one the granger, probably were needed to establish and operate more or less any size of grange. Large, predominantly arable and more heavily staffed granges may have needed a larger core body of lay brothers. This can be seen from thirteenth-century records, but only can be surmised for the twelfth century. The thesis has argued that the numbers of lay brothers in abbeys and deployed to granges during the twelfth century generally has been overstated by scholars, who have approached the subject from a different perspective.

Although each house differed and the numbers of lay brothers varied over time, more lay brothers may have lived within monasteries, and worked in them and home farms. However, some granges may have been fully or mainly manned by lay brothers at one time or another. The largest granges in southern England would have required about 40 lay brothers to fully man them regularly. It is doubtful whether such numbers ever were available, and 20 to 30 might be a more realistic maximum number that inhabited any grange. As suggested in Chapter 6, failing documentary evidence, the anticipated number of lay brothers might be estimated from the size of their grange

accommodation, and an abbey's total anticipated number of lay brothers by the size of its monastery west range.

Summary

The summary conclusion is that the physical nature and distinctiveness of Cistercian granges lie in their occupation by lay brothers, and sometimes monks, and their requirements as cenobitic monastics. The presence of lay brothers fundamentally differentiates Cistercian granges from other ecclesiastically-owned and secular estates and farmsteads. Archaeological evidence for the distinctiveness of Cistercian granges lies mainly within grange settlements and, perhaps, also in their immediate surroundings, rather than in the wider landscapes of grange estates.

Although the thesis has endeavoured to avoid bias by the extent of the study and the amount and range of evidence and sources consulted, its conclusions may be biased by the sparsity and selectivity of the archaeological evidence and the vagaries of documentary sources. That is why the thesis also has sought to identify potential new sources of evidence, known sources that could yield further evidence, and existing evidence that could be reexamined and possibly reinterpreted.

This thesis provides a starting point for changing prevailing archaeological perceptions of Cistercian granges and lay brothers. It is hoped that the new archaeological view presented here leads to a fresh approach to the study of Cistercian granges in Britain.

7.2 Future archaeological research

It has been shown that, despite the limited existing archaeological evidence, there are a number of opportunities for further archaeological research and interpretation. Further research of particular granges in southern England has been indicated throughout the thesis. Therefore, the following concentrates on priorities for wider research.

Future archaeological research should approach the subject of Cistercian granges on the basis that all were monastic settlements with a primarily economic function, and that neither aspect can be considered in isolation. Although the role of Cistercian lay brothers was to provide temporal support to their community, and most performed manual tasks, lay brothers should be considered also as professed religious members of the Order, and monastics in their own way. It has been shown that the physical nature and distinctiveness of Cistercian granges is mainly to be found within their settlements. These are topics where archaeology can make the greatest contribution to an understanding of Cistercian granges, and should be the main focus of future research.

The monastic accommodation facilities provided in granges were regulated to be the same throughout Europe. Despite the conclusions made here, more extensive studies could better question whether the regulations were always followed, and highlight any differences between geographic regions, abbeys, or time periods. Owing to the relative lack of standing remains and other archaeological evidence dating clearly to the period of lay brother occupation, ideally grange settlements should be studied on a pan-

European basis. Any British studies should, at least, make more use of European examples to inform and act as comparators.

Archaeological research of the landscapes of individual grange estates can make a valuable contribution towards understanding the economies of Cistercian houses, but in isolation is of limited value to understanding the distinctive nature of granges. The spatial and economic territories of abbeys and nunneries are more appropriate scales to understand how the Cistercians settled and utilised the landscape, the economies of houses, and their relationships with secular society. However, such research also could highlight similarities and differences between individual Cistercian houses, including their different approaches to granges.

A regional or national research approach first requires an assessment of the current and potential sources of archaeological evidence, preferably by an interdisciplinary team. That assessment may not be straightforward, since the term 'grange' often has been applied liberally to any previously Cistercian-owned property or landholding, including home farms. Therefore, the definition of a grange used by this thesis is recommended. At the same time, the sites of many grange settlements remain unidentified, although their possible general location may be known. There are, however, a number of diverse published and unpublished studies that can provide pointers to the locations and possible archaeological remains of grange settlements. Ongoing archaeological research projects, in particular, such as Grenville Astill's *Bordesley Abbey Granges Project*, are likely to hold valuable unpublished information.[761]

[761.] Astill 1994; Astill *et al*. 2004.

To focus further research, it would be beneficial if subjective decisions were made, at least initially, to differentiate between certain and probable, possible, and non granges. Placing granges into such categorisations may be imperfect, but better than simply compiling a list of all properties labelled ‘grange’. It would be beneficial also if all Cistercian settlement was phased in socio-political time periods, which may differ in various parts of Britain. This would enable archaeological and other evidence to be considered in a more nuanced way, and provide a better framework for further research.

This thesis identified over 120 certain, probable, or possible grange settlements in southern England. However, many continued to be working farms or country houses, with the grange buildings altered, destroyed, or overlain by later- or post-medieval buildings or landscaping. More detailed desk-based research and field survey are required to confirm, or to suggest alternative sites for some settlements, and the viability of further non-intrusive archaeological research or excavation. The considerable reduction in the number of sites that could now provide evidence is likely to be mirrored elsewhere in Britain, which is why an extensive resource assessment is preferable.

On the other hand, only a relatively few sites with good evidence may be needed. Twelfth-century settlements and buildings would be the most valuable to identify and research, as they may provide an indication of the number of lay brothers expected to man the grange at a time when lay brothers are traditionally thought to have been numerous. This thesis questioned that assumption, but it needs to be tested archaeologically. For example, unresearched twelfth-century sites in southern England

that are not presently overlain, such as Thame's Otley and Bruern's Holwell granges, may provide the greatest opportunities for geophysical survey and invasive techniques, such as test-pitting and trial-trenching, and the recovery of datable artefactual and environmental evidence. It also would be worth revisiting previous archaeological research on Cistercian granges, such Garendon's Roystone Grange, to consider or reconsider their spiritual and social aspects.

Although there may have been rebuilding programmes at a number of granges during the thirteenth century, granges established in that century, when there was a greater use of stone construction, may best illustrate the process of developing a new settlement. For example, Beaulieu's granges contain some of the best extant remains, but the existing archaeological and architectural evidence needs to be reviewed and supplemented by more extensive comparative research of all of the abbey's grange settlements, and compared to the development of the monastery complex. Comparative studies of the granges of other abbeys could be made.

An extensive resource assessment and research programme would take time to complete. Therefore, to maximise use of the current disparate evidence in Britain and elsewhere in Europe, the thematic approach of this thesis could be more extensively applied to particular aspects of grange settlements. For example, the number of Cistercian cell-granges appears to be small and, so far, there has been no targeted research on their accommodation and the arrangement of their buildings, and how these may have differed from those in granges. Williams's preliminary study of grange

chapels in Europe also could be developed more extensively in more archaeological and architectural detail.[762]

A Cistercian travel network consisting of granges, urban granges/hospices, and monasteries might be proposed, which takes into account Cistercian filial links and other associations between abbeys, and the need for members of a community to visit particular markets, trading centres, or ports. This could point to which granges may have had guest accommodation. It also may raise more interest in identifying and establishing the nature of urban granges/hospices in Britain.

The thematic approach could be applied to non-residential buildings, for example why there appears to be few large grange barns elsewhere in England, the possible differences in date and purpose between barns built in granges and those in monastery precincts and home farms, and whether the construction of 'monumental' grange barns in England in any way emulated those built by French abbeys. Also, as agricultural buildings frequented by seculars and secular accommodation may be found in grange settlements, the spatial relationships between buildings and evidence of physical enclosures could be studied more extensively.

In general, this thesis has demonstrated that, whilst the present corpus of archaeological evidence may not be large, there is sufficient archaeological and historical information to begin to draw some tentative general conclusions on the physical and topographic

762. Williams 2004.

nature of grange settlements. Research elsewhere could support or refine the conclusions made here.

In addition to granges, short-term monastery sites warrant special attention for their possible value in establishing how abbeys first settled the landscape and the nature of the earliest monastery buildings. The remains of monks and lay brothers may also be found, and inform us of the earliest Cistercian settlers, and by isotope analysis their origins. Such research may show also how the buildings and sites were subsequently reused, and whether the monasteries were later commemorated. It has been suggested in this thesis that short-term monastery sites should be treated as a special category for archaeological research, irrespective of how long they were occupied or how their buildings were constructed.

This leads to the final important point that granges should not considered in isolation. So far, there has been very little archaeological interest in researching lay brother accommodation and choirs in monasteries, or indeed the lay brothers themselves. Therefore, complementary archaeological research is required to study the lay brothers living in monasteries, and the interactions between monasteries and granges. In summary, consideration of the spiritual and social aspects, as well as the economic aspects, of Cistercian granges and lay brothers would enable archaeological research to provide significant revisions to our understanding of the Cistercian Order.

APPENDIX I: GAZETTEER OF GRANGES IN SOUTHERN ENGLAND

KEY:

Abbey's or Nunnery's Name: In order of foundation date as Cistercian or Savignac.

Location: Monastery's or nunnery's location and OSNGR.

Database refs: Principal archaeological database references.

Mother: Name of mother house, with location if outside of study area.

Filiation: Cistercian family.

Founded: Dates founded and refounded unless otherwise stated.

Founder: Names of founder/s.

Granges:

Name, current civil parish if different from name, ceremonial county, OSNGR of grange settlement, database references, earliest date possibly established, and date grange ceased, where known. Brief description.

Possible Granges: Details as for granges.

Non-granges: Granges suggested by others, but discounted here for the reasons given.

Comments: Any special comments.

Key Texts:

Although details here may differ, the principal sources on each house are shown, in addition to details in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Knowles & Hadcock, Robinson, and the relevant VCHs for every abbey, nunnery, and parish mentioned in the Gazetteer.[763] Only the VCHs employed in discussions are given in the Bibliography.

[763.] Dugdale 1846; Knowles & Hadcock 1971; Robinson 1998.

Abbey: **Waverley**

Location: Waverley, Surrey (SU868453)

Database refs: NRHE: 247212; NHLE: 1007814

Mother: l'Aumône, Loir-et-Cher, France

Filiation: Cîteaux

Founded: 1128

Founder: William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester

Granges:

1. **Neatham, Alton, Hampshire (SU740406) (NRHE: 244084) (1140):**

   Manor granted by King Stephen in 1140, then later extended under royal patronage. By far the abbey's most valuable estate. Chapel. Grange accommodation possibly underlies Neatham Manor.

2. **Northolt, West Dean, West Sussex (SU829165) (NRHE: 246263; NHLE: 1005811) (pre-1147):**

   Woodland with adjoining arable granted by Queen Adeliza, widow of Henry I. Documented as a grange in 1189. Settlement suggested to lie in earthworks recorded as a DMV.

3. **Wanborough, Surrey (SU935489) (NRHE: 250536, 518740, 890427; NHLE: 1029613-4, 1287038) (*c.*1146):**

   Manor allegedly purchased by the abbey. Documented as a grange in 1189. Grange accommodation probably overlain by an early sixteenth-century manor house. Remains of medieval chapel and barn (Figures 5.9-5.10).

4. **Oxenford, Witley, Surrey (SU932433) (NHLE: 1096885) (pre-1147):**

Documented as grange in 1189. No identifiable remains of a grange settlement. These probably underlie medieval-style buildings designed by Pugin.

5. **Nutshelf, Overton, Hampshire (SU531458) (pre-1147):**

Now possibly overlain by Litchfield Grange. Probably included lands in nearby Polhampton and Steventon.

6. **Dockenfield, Waverley, Surrey (SU826398) (pre-1189):**

Now probably overlain by Manor Farm. Documented as a grange in 1189.

7. **Swarraton, Northington, Hampshire (SU579368) (pre-1189):**

Settlement suggested to have been on the site of Swarraton Farm. Documented as a grange in 1189, with landholding increased in the late thirteenth century.

8. **Dummer, Hampshire (SU591447) (NRHE: 236235; NHLE: 138584) (pre-1189):**

Probably now overlain by an early seventeenth-century house. 123ha of tithe-free land recorded.

9. **Tongham, Surrey (SU883486) (NHLE: 1377760) (pre-1189):**

Documented as a grange in 1189. Suggested to be overlain by Grange Farm. At least 12.5ha of tithe-free land.

10. ***Saga* (location unknown but assumed as Surrey) (pre-1189):**

Documented as a grange in 1189. Location and further history unknown.

Possible Granges:

11. Boyatt, Otterbourne, Hampshire (SU450208) (1167x89):

Manor located 53km from the monastery and recorded as partially, if not fully let by 1219. Grange recorded in 1189. Now subsumed within suburban Allbrook and North Boyatt.

Non-granges:

Riehull, Peper Harow, Surrey: Granted by 1147, and associated with Oxenford Grange in 1189.

Burgate, Hambledon, Surrey: Suggested as a grange by Service, but discounted by English.[764]

Grafham, Bramley, Surrey: Only was leased by Waverley and secularly occupied in the thirteenth century.

Curridge, Chieveley, Berkshire: One hide granted pre-1147, remainder of the manor granted only in 1310.

Shaw, Shaw-cum-Donnington, Berkshire: Only one virgate purchased. Joined with Curridge post-1310.

Rogate, West Sussex: Unknown portion of a manor granted in 1158 and leased from the early thirteenth century.

Comments:

See Figure 2.1. All of the abbey's granges appear to have been established before 1189. The abbey is recorded as having 70 monks and 120 lay brothers in 1187.

Key Texts: Baigent 1882; Service 2010.

764. English 2013.

Abbey: **Quarr**

Location: Ryde, Isle of Wight (SZ567927)

Database refs: NRHE: 461626

Mother: Savigny, Manche, France

Filiation: Clairvaux

Founded: 1132 Savignac, 1147 Cistercian

Founder: Baldwin de Redvers, Earl of Devon

Granges:

Isle of White:

1. **Shute, Brighstone (SZ420820) (NRHE: 460411) (post-1147):**

   Foundation grant in 1132. Probably overlain by Grange Farm.

2. **Luccombe, Shanklin (SZ577795) (NHLE: 1212521) (post-1147):**

   Foundation grant in 1132. Possibly overlain by seventeenth-century Luccombe Farm. DMV suggested nearby at SZ583798.[765]

3. **Heasley, Arreton (SZ547857) (NHLE: 1014286, 1292781; cf. NRHE: 461367) (post-1147):**

   Manor granted in c.1143 next to Arreton (see below). Fulling mill recorded in *c*.1200. Overlain by Heasley Manor Farm dated to 1440x60.

4. **(South) Hamstead, Shalfleet (SZ400912) (NRHE: 459735) (pre-1160):**

   Possibly overlain by a later farm, although Christchurch Priory also had estates in the area.

5. **Rowborough, Newport (SZ462851) (NRHE: 459923) (post-1215):**

   Possibly acquired for grazing. Overlain by seventeenth-century buildings.

765. NRHE: 460888.

6. Combley, Arreton (SZ543880) (*c.*1224x40):

Location unknown, but could be in the vicinity of Combley Farm.

7. Bigbury, Newchurch (SZ569835) (*c.*1240):

Small grange, now probably overlain by Bigbury Farm.

8. Staplehurst, Arreton (SZ523890) (NRHE: 461320) (*c.*1250):

Probably overlain or close to Staplehurst Grange. Mainly heathland with accumulated manorial smallholdings.

Elsewhere:

9. Forwood, Farwood Barton, Devon (SY205954) (NRHE: 1408894; Devon & Dartmoor HER: MDV18791) (post-1147):

Granted post-1132. Small cell-grange until leased in 1239. No known remains.

10. Charke, Gosport, Hampshire (SU583003) (NRHE: 234413) (*c.*1186 until *c.*1238):

Suggested to have been at Grange Farm, although fully or partially leased by 1238. Only described as a grange much later.

Possible Granges:

11. Arreton (exact location unknown) (post-1147):

Manor granted on foundation in 1132. Could be manor or grange.

12. Shalcombe, Shalfleet (SZ395856) (NRHE: 459319; NHLE: 1292704) (post-1147):

Granted before 1147. No visible remains, probably overlain by sixteenth-century or earlier Shalcombe Manor. Associated manor.

13. Compton, Freshwater (SZ376850) (NRHE: 459280; NHLE: 1219008) (1155x61):

Probably overlain by seventeenth-century Compton Farm. Very small grange with pasture rights.

14. Yard, Wroxall (SZ551807) (NHLE: 1225274) (1155x60 until *c*.1227):

May be overlain by Yard Farmhouse. Grange was leased in *c*.1227.

15. Claybrook, Whippingham (SZ513916) (pre-1266):

Possibly overlain by Binfield Farm. Mill and fishponds. Suggested as a collecting point for wool and other goods being shipped to Southampton.

Non-granges:

Newnham, Ryde, Isle of Wight: Styled as a grange, but probably a home farm.[766]

The Hermitage, Gosport, Hampshire: Confused with Charke above.[767]

Comments:

Owing to the lack of evidence it is almost impossible to differentiate between granges and possible granges. The above follows Hockey's suggestions of which properties were granges, and adds other possible ones.

Key Texts: Hockey 1970; 1991; Conyers 2001.

[766.] cf. NRHE: 461634.
[767.] cf. NRHE: 234388.

Abbey: **Stratford Langthorne**

Location: Newham, Greater London (TQ391835)

Database refs: NRHE: 404521; Greater London HER: MLO10229

Mother: Savigny, Manche, France

Filiation: Clairvaux

Founded: 1135 Savignac, 1147 Cistercian

Founder: William de Montfichet

Granges: -

Possible Granges:

1. Swinley (Swinley Park, Crowthorne, Berkshire?) (SU8864?) (1154x89):

The '*grangium de Suineleia*' was held of Abingdon Abbey and might not have been a grange *sensu stricto*.[768]

Non-granges:

Ledehala (Leadenhall, London?): Reference to the grant of the '*grangiam que de Ledehala*' in 1154x89 probably refers to a barn.

Great Burstead, Basildon, Essex: Manor granted before 1185. No evidence that it was a grange.[769]

Comments:

The abbey was initially well endowed with manors and churches.

Key Texts: Conyers 2001; Barber *et al.* 2004.

768. Hudson 2002, 290-3.
769. Barber *et al.* 2004, 129; cf. NRHE: 1307555.

Abbey: **Brightley**

Location: Okehampton Hamlets, Devon (SX599973)

Database refs: NRHE :440779; NHLE: 94337; 1165598; Devon & Dartmouth HER: MDV5032-3.

Mother: Waverley

Filiation: Cîteaux

Founded: 1136, disbanded 1141

Founder: Richard FitzBaldwin de Brionne, Lord of Okehampton

Population: -

Granges: -

Possible Granges: -

Non Granges: -

Comments:

No granges established. Disbanded in 1141 when Forde Abbey was founded. Brightley's monastery church probably was later commemorated.

Key Texts: Holdsworth 1989; Upham 2006.

Abbey: **Buckfast**

Location: Buckfastleigh, Devon (SX741674)

Database refs: NRHE: 1266782

Mother: Savigny, Manche, France

Filiation: Clairvaux

Founded: 1136 as Savignac (1018 Benedictine), 1147 Cistercian

Founder: King Stephen (1018, Earl Æthelweard)

Granges: -

Possible Granges: -

Non-granges:

Leigh Barton, Churchstow, Devon: No evidence that it was ever a grange.[770]

Comments:

Abbey built up considerable estates when Benedictine with few later additions. Excavation of *c*.1250-1350 seasonal homestead for a lay brother and herdsman at Dean Moor.[771]

Key Texts: Hamilton 1906; Holdsworth 1989; Conyers 2001; Brown 2017; Orme 2017; Robinson 2017.

[770.] NHLE: 1014608; *contra* NRHE: 44410; cf. Platt 1969, 198-9.
[771.] Fox 1958; NHLE: 1003828; Devon & Dartmoor HER: MDV14221.

Abbey: **Thame**

Location: Thame, Oxfordshire (SP717037)

Database refs: NRHE :342660, 530510; NHLE: 1368734; Oxfordshire HER: 2826

Mother: Waverley

Filiation: Cîteaux

Founded: 1137x8 as Otley, 1139 Thame granted and abbey refounded there in 1141

Founders: 1137x8, Robert Gait; 1141, Bishop Alexander of Lincoln

Granges:

1. **Otley, Oddington, Oxfordshire (SP543166) (NRHE: 338660; NHLE: 1006322; Oxfordshire HER: 1133) (1141):**

   Short-term monastery site of Otley Abbey. Unexplored earthworks of grange with a chapel (Figure 5.2). Grange extended into Weston-on-the-Green.

2. **Little Chesterton, Chesterton, Oxfordshire (SP556201) (Oxfordshire HER: 9402) (1151x4 until 1281):**

   Small foundation grant to Otley Abbey in 1137x8, substantially increased in 1151-4. Settlement possibly located at Grange Farm. Property transferred to Rewley Abbey on its foundation in 1281, but does not appear to have been operated as a grange by then.[772]

3. **Shipton Lee, Quainton, Buckinghamshire (SP722215) (1141x5):**

   Suggested to be overlain by (Lee) Grange Farm (SP735208), but no evidence found there.[773] Shipton was an early grant of a large manor, and the estate of Lee

[772.] Lobel 1959, 92-103.
[773.] Kidd 2006.

Grange only sub-let to Thame in the thirteenth century.[774] In 1190x1200, reference is made to the '*Grangia de Wiche*' and several common and woodland pastures in the area, and to lay brothers in 1212. This suggests that the grange was located elsewhere, perhaps near Finemere Wood.

4. **Stoke Talmage, Oxfordshire (SP673001) (Oxfordshire HER: 5401-2) (1151x5):**

Moated site, probably overlain by Stoke Grange Farm where a medieval barn stood in 1850. Developed into an important grange and manorial holding, possibly with lands in Tetsworth.

5. **Wyfold, Rotherfield Peppard, Oxfordshire (SU689816) (NRHE: 241901; Oxfordshire HER:2014) (1153):**

Overlain by a modern house, but there are traces of a moat. Previously in Checkendon parish and grange straddled both parishes.

6. **Saunderton, Bledlow-Cum-Saunderton, Buckinghamshire (SU803997) (pre-1179):**

Sheahan suggests that a grange of *c*.90ha of arable, which extended into two neighbouring parishes, was based at Saunderton Lee.[775] This seems a more appropriate location than Grange Farm (SU810990).[776]

Possible Granges:

7. **Sydenham, Oxfordshire (SP714025) (pre-1179):**

This may have been a home farm rather than a grange. Possibly overlain by modern Sydenham Grange Farm.

774. Page, 1927, 92-9.
775. Sheahan 1862, 910
776. Buckinghamshire HER: 0072100000.

8. Towersey (originally Little Eye), Oxfordshire (SP742055) (Oxfordshire HER: 21478, 27449, 27482) (*c.*1265):

Probably overlain by Grange Farm that has re-used rafters of 1359/60 and an aisled barn tree-ring dated to 1278-1302. Evidence of earlier burials and buildings near the farmhouse.[777] Grange estate probably straddled parishes and was initially separate from Towersey Manor, acquired later by the abbey.

Non-granges: -

Comments:

Thame's estates have been little researched.

Key Texts: Salter 1947-8; Dyson 1975.

[777] Sheahan 1862, 427; RCHME 1912, 297; Smith 1974; Miles *et al*. 2014, 125.

Abbey: **Kingswood**

Location: Kingswood, Gloucestershire (ST747920)

Database refs: NRHE: 205387; Gloucestershire HER: 14956

Mother: Tintern, Gwent

Filiation: Cîteaux

Founded: 1139 as Kingswood, refounded in *c*.1156 as Tetbury Abbey, *c*.1168 renamed Kingswood again[778]

Founders: 1139, William de Berkeley; *c*.1156, Reginald de St Valery

Granges (all Gloucestershire):

1. **Hazleton, Rodmarton (ST930983) (Gloucestershire HER: 35621; NRHE: 212781; NHLE: 1153634; 1341398) (*c*.1156):**

   Short-term monastery site from *c*.1140. Monastery and grange accommodation probably overlain by late fifteenth-century house (Figures 4.9-4.13, 5.4). Separate farmyard with remains of an aisled barn with, now lost, datestone of 1290. Second, possibly *c*.1300, cruck-framed barn. Grange straddled parishes and had over 580ha of arable by the late thirteenth century (Figure 3.2). Probably seven laybrothers in 1240, two in 1313. Associated manorial holdings in adjacent townships.

2. **Tetbury, Tetbury Upton (ST897919) (NRHE: 209131, cf. 209138; NHLE: 1154751) (*c*.1168):**

   Short-term monastery site. Monastery and grange almost certainly overlain by late sixteenth-century Estcourt Grange, which contains the remains of a fourteenth-century piscina. Probably three lay brothers in 1240.

778. Weston 2013; in prep.

3. **Upper, Kingswood (ST742907) (NRHE: 205390) (*c.*1168):**

Possibly the original monastery site in 1139, then abandoned until reoccupied as a grange (Figure 5.3). Probably four lay brothers in 1240.

4. **Lower, Kingswood (ST735930) (*c.*1170):**

Location unknown, but probably now overlain by an industrial site near Lower Barnes Farm. Probably three lay brothers in 1240.

5. **Calcot, Kingscote (ST840949) (NRHE: 209214; NHLE: 1089706; Gloucestershire HER: 2931) (pre-1203):**

Now overlain by a hotel complex, although there are still the part remains of an aisled barn with a re-sited datestone of 1300 (Figures 4.14-4.15, 5.8). Probably four lay brothers in 1240.

6. **Bagstone, Rangeworthy (ST690869) (NRHE: 210478; NHLE: 1137100) (pre-1203 until pre-1240):**

Described as a grange in 1203, no lay brothers recorded in 1240, and secularly managed by 1255. Probably overlain by fourteenth-century Bagstone Court Farm.

7. **Charteshull, Kingswood (ST754904) (pre-1240):**

Location unknown, but possibly in the north-east part of the parish, perhaps overlain by Folly Farm. Probably three lay brothers in 1240.

8. **Ozleworth (ST781931) (NHLE: 1227685; National Trust HBSMR: 75002*0) (*c.*1239):**

Possibly overlain by Newark Park, which was built in *c.*1550 with material from the monastery. Probably two lay brothers in 1240 when the abbey's accounts

appear to show the grange was still being developed. Associated manorial holdings.

9. Egge, Wotton-under-Edge (ST7896) (1243):

Location unknown, but possible in the vicinity of Bowcott Farm. A granger is mentioned in *c*.1320.

Possible Granges: -

Non-granges:

Alderton, Luckington & Alderton, Wiltshire: This small estate appears to have always been secularly managed for rearing livestock.

Comments:

The exact site of the claustral complex remains unknown.

Key Texts: Perkins 1899; Lindley 1954; Cheney 1994; Weston 2013; in prep.

Abbey: **Coggeshall**

Location: Coggeshall, Essex (TL855222)

Database refs: NRHE: 381460; NHLE: 1018865; Essex HER: 8650

Mother: Savigny, Manche, France

Filiation: Clairvaux

Founded: 1140 Savignac, 1147 Cistercian

Founders: King Stephen and Queen Matilda

Granges: -

Possible Granges: -

Non-granges:

Thorndon, West Horndon, Essex. From 1249 Coggeshall acquired properties in adjacent West Horndon, Childerditch, and Little Warley 50km from the monastery, then later leased them to Tilty Abbey.

Comments:

Relatively little is known about the abbey's economy, but most of its directly managed estates and tenanted holdings surrounded the monastery. It is suggested that the early thirteenth-century monks' dormitory could house only *c*.24 monks.

Key Texts: Dale 1863; Hartcher 1982; Conyers 2001.

Abbey: **Forde**

Location: Thorncombe, Dorset (ST359052)

Database refs: NRHE: 191411; NHLE: 1153362

Mother: Waverley

Filiation: Cîteaux

Founded: 1141

Founder: Adelicia de Brionne

Granges:

1. **Westford, Thorncombe, Dorset (ST338042) (*c.*1148):**

   Former temporary monastery site within an existing manor house. Location unknown, but possibly overlain by or near Westford Farm.

2. **Charmouth, Dorset (SY360937) (*c.*1170):**

   No known remains, but suggested to have been located near Grange Mead. Also a manorial holding. Forde developed Charmouth as a borough in the late thirteenth century.[779]

3. **Sedgeborough, Clatworthy, Somerset (ST055332) (pre-1189):**

   Probably overlain by Fryan Farm on the parish boundary. Earthwork enclosures identified nearby.[780]

Possible Granges:

4. **Catsley, Corscombe, Dorset (ST526039) (*c.*1250):**

   A cartulary reference may be to a grange at or near Catsley Farm. Alternatively, the reference may be to a barn.

779. Keen 1999.
780. NRHE: 1500110.

Non-granges:

Street and **Leigh**, Winsham, Somerset; **Little Windsor**, Broadwindsor, Dorset**;** and **Tale**, Payhembury, Devon were probably just manorial holdings.

Hey Farmhouse, Winsham, Somerset: Nothing to support the suggestion that this *c.*1500 house was ever a grange.[781]

Bere, Broadwindsor, Dorset: Little to suggest this was a grange.[782]

Comments:

Although the cartulary has been transcribed, the history of Forde's landholdings is complicated and its possible granges little researched.

Key Texts: Oliver 1820; 1846; Heath 1911; Hobbs 1998.

781. NRHE: 191364; Somerset HER: 57310.
782. NRHE: 191387.

Abbey: **Boxley**

Location: Boxley, Kent (TQ761587)

Database refs: NRHE: 415060

Mother: Clairvaux, Aube, France

Filiation: Clairvaux

Founded: 1146

Founder: William of Ypres, earl of Kent

Granges:

1. **La Chene, Old Romney, Kent (TQ998235) (Kent HER: MKE88137-8) (pre-1202):**

   Grange location unknown, but possibly at or near Old Cheyne Court. Manorial and marshland holdings built up from the mid twelfth century, substantially increased in *c*.1200 when a grange was possibly first established. Lay brothers mentioned in 1323.

2. **Chingley, Goudhurst, Kent (TQ694333) (NRHE: 412245, 520790; NHLE: 1087040) (*c*.1242):**

   Possibly overlain by seventeenth-century or earlier Chingley Manor. Record of a repair to the dormitory. Iron-working site with mill, and the grange supplied the abbey's building stone. Associated manorial holding.

Possible Granges:

3. **Upper (North) Grange, Boxley, Kent (TQ786601) (NHLE: 1336237) (pre-1203)**.

4. **Newenham, Boxley, Kent (TQ784568) (pre-1203).**

5. Sharpness/Ham, Upchurch, Kent (TQ847688) (post-1204):

Same as manorial holding at Ham. Location unknown, but possibly near Ham Green. Not described as a grange until the fourteenth century.

Non-granges:

Lower (South) Grange, Boxley, Kent: This was the abbey's home farm.

Hoo, Stoke, Kent: Church granted in 1244. Manorial and directly managed holdings built up on the Hoo Peninsula. Not described as a grange until 1360.

Chessington, Surrey: No real evidence for a grange, with no mention of lay brothers in the estate's accounts for 1289.

Comments:

Eastlake suggests nine 'granges' (including home farms), although notes that the term grange was used in Boxley's fourteenth-century accounts to describe both 'ecclesiastical and non-ecclesiastical' landholdings.

Key Texts: Tester 1973; Eastlake 2014.

Abbey: **Biddlesden**

Location: Biddlesden, Buckinghamshire (SP633399)

Database refs: NRHE: 341133; Buckinghamshire HER: 0058800000

Mother: Garendon, Leicestershire

Filiation: Cîteaux

Founded: 1147

Founder: Arnald de Bosco, steward of the Earl of Leicester

Granges:

1. **Gorral, Biddlesden, Buckinghamshire (SP662383) (1232):**

   Possibly near Gorrell Farm, and associated with the abbey's adjacent manorial holdings in Dadford and Boycott.

Possible Granges: -

Non-granges:

Helmdon, Northamptonshire: No evidence for a grange.

Westcott, Syresham, Northamptonshire: No evidence for a grange.

Comments:

Little is known about the abbey's landholdings and there may have been other granges, although the abbey appears to have had a large number of manorial holdings from its foundation.

Key Texts: Roundell 1858; 1859.

Abbey: **Bruern**

Location: Bruern, Oxfordshire (SP265204)

Database refs: NRHE: 332639; NHLE: 1053360

Mother: Waverley

Filiation: Cîteaux

Founded: 1147

Founder: Nicholas Basset

Granges (all Oxfordshire):

1. **Holwell, Swalcliffe (SP368369) (NRHE: 1564517; Oxfordshire HER: 10449) (pre-1166):**

   Earthworks of grange settlement lie near Old Grange Farm. Carved masonry reused in a nearby building. Grange straddled two parishes (Figure 3.5).

2. **Sandbrook, Bruern (SP255188) (NRHE: 332277; Oxfordshire HER: 5487, 5920) (*c.*1173):**

   Grange accommodation possibly overlain by a late seventeenth-century house (Figures 3.3-3.4). Undated medieval fish or mill pond.

3. **Tangley, Bruern (SP234169) (NRHE: 332326; NHLE: 1367760; Oxfordshire HER: 3396, 5917-8, 11747-8) (*c.*1173):**

   Grange accommodation probably overlain by late sixteenth-century Tangley Hall (Figures 3.3-3.4). Nearby earthworks may represent concurrent or later secular settlement.

4. **Dunthrop (with Showell), Heythrop and Little Tew (SP352282) (Oxfordshire HER: 1061) (pre-1200):**

Separate adjacent granges suggested by Bond, but one grange probably covered both parishes.

5. **Churchill (SP285256) (pre-1238):**

Grange mentioned north of the village, possibly near Churchill Grounds Farm, although this may be a reference to a barn.[783] Also manorial holdings.

Non-granges:

Milton Monachorum, Milton-under-Wychwood, Oxfordshire: Lands directly managed from the monastery or Sandbrook Grange.

Hinchwick, Condicote, Gloucestershire: Lands and grazing rights acquired through subinfeudation and by lease in several surrounding parishes. Bruern received tithes from Hinchwick, which indicates that it was not a grange.

Priddy and West Harptree, Somerset: Granted in *c*.1190. Mainly pastures located over 100km from the monastery, but could also have been obtained for mineral rights. No known grange remains in either parish.

Comments:

Key Texts: Marshall *c*.1945; Bond 1991; Howard-Drake 2007; Timms 2007; Page 2019.

783. Wigram 1896, 272-3.

Abbey: **Bindon**

Location: Wool, Dorset (SY854868)

Database refs: NRHE: 455101, 455143; Dorset HER: 6025002B, 6027003

Mother: Forde

Filiation: Cîteaux

Founded: 1149, refounded 1172

Founders: 1149, William and Maud de Glastonia; 1172, Roger and Matilda de Newburgh

Granges (all Dorset):

1. **Little Bindon, West Lulworth (SY830799) (NHLE: 1323346) (1172 until *c.*1233):**

   Original monastery site probably continued as a grange until incorporated within Burngate. Remains of early thirteenth-century chapel (Figure 5.5).

2. **Creech, Steeple with Tyneham (SY911823) (NRHE: 456981, 619266; NHLE: 1304916) (*c.*1179):**

   Grange settlement probably overlain by sixteenth-century and later manor house complex. Tithe-free landholdings.

3. **Burngate**, **West Lulworth (SY835816) (NRHE: 45585, 455580; NHLE: 1152370) (pre-1233):**

   Overlain by sixteenth-century house and barn, or at earthworks in the adjacent former site of Mount Poynings.

4. **Chaldon Herring (SY790831) (NRHE: 454140) (pre-1233):**

   Sixteenth-century house possibly overlies earlier grange accommodation and chapel. Manorial holdings in the area.

5. Pulham (ST716090) (*c.*1233):

Recorded as a grange in 1237. Possibly overlain by modern Grange Farm.

Possible Granges (all Dorset):

6. Woodstreet, Wool (SY856856) (1172):

Possible grange at Woodstreet Farm *c.*1.5km south of the monastery.

7. Bovington, East Stoke (SY829884) (1172):

Possible grange *c.*3.5km north of the monastery.

8. Woolbridge, East Stoke (SY843871) (NRHE: 455315; Dorset HER: 6011004) (*c.*1200):

Possible grange *c.*1.5km west of the monastery, later overlain by seventeenth-century Woolbridge Manor.

Non-granges: -

Comments:

Very little is known or has been researched on Bindon's granges. The above three possible granges all may have been too distant to have been home farms. These and other Bindon granges probably had associated manorial holdings.

Key Texts: Hutchins 1861; RCHME 1970a; Cousins 2013.

Abbey: **Stanley**

Location: Bremhill, Wiltshire (ST963723)

Database refs: NRHE: 212016, 212376

Mother: Quarr

Filiation: Clairvaux

Founded: 1151 as Font of Drogo (Loxwell), 1154 renamed Stanley

Founders: Empress Matilda, her chamberlain, Drogo, and Henry II

Granges:

1. **Loxwell**, **Calne Without, Wiltshire (ST953699) (1154):**

   Former monastery site. No remains and exact location is unknown, but possibly near Loxwell Farm. It is postulated that adjacent Spittal Farm was the site of a detached monastic or secular infirmary.

2. **Midgehall, Lydiard Tregoze, Wiltshire (SU080841) (NRHE: 216578) (1154?):**

   Grange mentioned in 1228 was leased by 1324. Also manorial holding. Grange settlement possibly situated in moated site, now overlain by a house.

3. **Wicklesham, Great Faringdon, Oxfordshire (SU299943) (NRHE: 661416) (1186x9):**

   Grange probably located on site of a suggested DMH.[784] At least one lay brother mentioned in 1246. Grange attached to the abbey's large manor of Wadley.

[784.] Beresford's Lost Villages 2020.

4. **Codrington, (South) Gloucestershire (ST728785) (NRHE: 204870; NHLE: 1220995) (pre-1191):**

Grange with *c.*1280 chapel on site of fifteenth-century Codrington Court. Leased in 1324. Also manorial holdings.

5. **Derriards, Chippenham, Wiltshire (ST900724) (pre-1198):**

Possibly on the site of later Derriard's Farm, now a housing estate.

Possible Granges:

6. **Merecombe, Blagdon, Somerset (ST516583) (1153x66):**

Grange only postulated. Extent and location unknown, but might be near Merecombe Farm.

7. **Richardson, Winterbourne Bassett, Wiltshire (SU095744) (NRHE: 216416; Wilts. & Swindon HER: MWI906) (1189x1227):**

DMV with a suggested attached moated grange settlement.

8. **Langdon Wick, Preshute, Wiltshire (SU135733) (NRHE: 221662) (1194):**

Suggested grange settlement within a larger earthworks enclosure. The property was held at fee-farm mainly for sheep-rearing, with tithes only purchased by Stanley in 1250.

9. **Easton**, **Wells St Cuthbert Out, Somerset (ST511478) (1200x50):**

Grange postulated near village of Easton. Not tithe-free. Reference to a *murum grangiae* may be to a barn.

10. **Yatton Keynell, Wiltshire (ST856751) (1247x62):**

Possible grange settlement on site of seventeenth-century Manor Farm, West Yatton. Property leased in 1330.

Non-granges:

Langley Burrell, Langley Burrell Without, Wiltshire: The only reference to Stanley is an erroneous reference in the 1840 tithe award. The tithe-free lands were owned by the Cluniac priory of Monkton Farleigh.

Bewick Bassett, Wiltshire: There is little to support the idea that there may have been a grange.

Studley, Lydiard Tregoze, Wiltshire: First mentioned as a grange in 1460, and probably previously part of Midgehall or just a rented property.

Heywood, Wiltshire: Estate built up during the thirteenth century. Not described as a grange until 1451.

Comments:

Knowles & Hadcock suggested that the early thirteenth-century monastery could house only 24 monks and 40 lay brothers.

Key Texts: Birch 1875; Brakspear 1907; 1908; Brown 2012.

Abbey: **Flaxley**

Location: Blaisdon, Gloucestershire (SO690154)

Database refs: NRHE: 11720; NHLE: 1299200; Gloucestershire HER: 5160

Mother: Bordesley, Worcestershire

Filiation: Cîteaux

Founded: 1151

Founder: Earl Roger of Hereford

Granges (all Gloucestershire):

1. **Dymock (SO689318) (NRHE: 112083; NHLE: 1155819) (1151x4):**

   Foundation grant and the abbey's main arable holding. Probably overlain by The Old Grange, a fifteenth-century house. Nearby medieval fishpond.

2. **Littledean (*Wastadene*), Ruspridge Soudley (SO668132) (NRHE: 111809; Gloucestershire HER: 5175, 5624, 23494) (pre-1154):**

   Probably overlain by a now demolished *c*.1540 house. Estate encompassed St White's where there was iron working and where an anchorite cell was located.

3. **Walmore, Westbury-on-Severn (SO728161) (NRHE: 113316; Gloucestershire HER: 5708, 32196) (*c*.1155):**

   Probably overlain by sixteenth-century Grange Court. Initially 80ha of assarts increasing to *c*.310ha of tithe-free land.

Possible Granges: -

Non-granges:

Regil, Winford, Somerset: Valuable manorial and directly managed holdings 90km from the monastery built up from *c*.1200. This perhaps led Dugdale to

suggest that Regil was a cell. Without evidence, subsequent authors have downgraded it to a grange.[785]

Comments:

Key Texts: Middleton 1881-2; Crawley-Boevey 1887; Crawley-Boevey 1920.

[785.] Knowles & Hadcock 1971; Bond 2011; NRHE: 1307806; cf. Dunn 2003; 2004.

Abbey: **Tilty**

Location: Tilty, Essex (TL600267)

Database refs: NHLE: 1112183; Essex HER: 19056

Mother: Warden, Bedfordshire

Filiation: Clairvaux

Founded: 1153

Founders: Maurice FitzGeoffrey and his overlord Robert de Ferrers, Earl of Derby

Granges:

1. **Duddenhoe, Elmdon, Essex (TL4636) (pre-1199):**

   Exact location unknown, but probably near Duddenhoe End.

2. **Chrishall, Fowlmere, Cambridgeshire (TL443428) (pre-1199):**

   Grange settlement possibly overlain by later buildings. Estate straddled parishes and counties. Its long-term landscape history is discussed by Taylor.[786]

3. **Boxworth, Cambridgeshire (TL348638) (NRHE: 369217; Cambridgeshire HER: 01088) (pre-1199):**

   Grange settlement possibly located in a moated site in Grange Wood, the moat dating to the 15th century. The estate extended into the adjacent parish of Dry Drayton.

4. **Ringmere, Fakenham Magna, Suffolk (TL869757) (NHLE: 284031) (pre-1199):**

   Settlement possible sited near Rymer Farmhouse.[787]

786. Taylor 2005.
787. Dymond 1968, 23-4.

5. Radwinter, Essex (TL603364) (NRHE: 376644; Essex HER: 1534-5) (1199x1251):

Probably where sixteenth-century Grange Farm now lies, with a possible moat.

6. Aythorpe Roding, Essex (TL604143) (NRHE: 376164; NHLE: 1328492) (1199x1251):

Probably on the site of Friar's Grange Farmhouse dated to *c*.1400.

Possible Granges:

7. Chigwell, Essex (TQ444924) (Essex HER: 45845) (1258):

Exact location unknown. Landholdings later named the Manor of Grange was not granted to Tilty until 1258, and despite its name may have been only a manorial holding.

Non-granges:

Thorndon, West Horndon, Essex: Obtained in fee-farm from Coggeshall Abbey in 1252, and located 50km from Tilty's monastery.

Bewsey, Burtonwood, Cheshire: Many miles from monastery and only granted in 1250. A secular residence from 1263.[788]

Duxford, Cambridgeshire: Part of Boxworth Grange.

Comments:

Tilty's granges have not been greatly studied and sixteenth-century references to granges may be misleading.

Key Texts: Waller 1903; Galpin 1928; Clarke 2011.

[788.] cf. NRHE: 71693.

Nunnery: **Wintney**

Location: Hartley Wintney, Hampshire (SU776552)

Database refs: NRHE: 244148

Mother: -

Filiation: -

Founded: 1154x71

Founder: Geoffrey fitz Peter

Granges: -

Possible Granges:

1. **Herriard, Hampshire (SU655452) (NRHE: 239852) (1200x1300):**

   Described as a grange in 1329, but may be directly managed from the nunnery *c*.20km away. However, was grange-like in combining lands in Herriard, Southrope and Ellisfield. Separate barns for directly managed and tithe crops. Site probably overlain by later farm buildings.[789]

Non-granges: -

Comments:

'Unofficial' Cistercian nunnery under the jurisdiction of the Bishops of Winchester.

Key Texts: Nichols 1982; Coldicott 1989; Freeman 2004; Hare 2015.

789. cf. VCH In progress.

Abbey: **Robertsbridge**

Location: Salehurst and Robertsbridge, East Sussex (TQ754238)

Database refs: NRHE: 414725; East Sussex HER: MES2300; 25165

Mother: Boxley

Filiation: Clairvaux

Founded: 1176

Founder: Alured de St Martin, Sheriff of the Rape of Hastings

Granges:

1. **Worth, Brightling, East Sussex (TQ663210?) (1180):**

   Documented as a grange in 1219. Site unknown, but may be Great Worge Farm. Associated manorial holdings.

2. **Fother, Pett, East Sussex (TQ878139?) (1184):**

   Documented as a grange in 1207. Site unknown, although there is an unidentified medieval moated site at Gatehurst Farm, which might have been the grange.[790] Mainly moor and marsh lying across four parishes.

3. **Broomhill, Camber, East Sussex (TQ988184?) (1195):**

   Documented as a grange in 1219. Site unknown, but possibly situated somewhere in the general vicinity of Broomhill Church.[791] Associated manorial holdings.

4. **Snergate, Kent (TQ9828?) (1198):**

   Documented as a grange in 1219. Site unknown, but perhaps in general area of TQ9828 where there are several possible DMVs. Associated manorial holding.

[790.] NRHE: 888087, 969457.
[791.] Gardiner 1988; NRHE: 419201.

5. Derne, Hellingly, East Sussex (TQ559138?) (*c.*1219x46):

Site unknown, but may be near former Hamly Farm, a spur of Hellingly into Chiddingly parish. Associated tenanted lands.

Possible Granges:

6. Knock, Stone-cum-Ebony, Kent (TQ945265) (1190):

Documented as a grange in 1219, but Chapman can find no characteristics of one. Possibly sited at or near Knock House. Nearby Snergate Grange might be associated with the landholding.

7. Grikes, Icklesham, East Sussex (TQ8817) (1207):

Documented as a grange in 1219. Location unknown, but possibly somewhere in the Brede Valley near Icklesham.[792] Mainly reclaimed marshland. Bailiff and some tenants by *c.*1230, which suggests that it was not then a grange.

8. Park, Salehurst and Robertsbridge, East Sussex (TQ75123)

(NRHE: 968341; East Sussex HER: MES2399) (1210):

Not documented as a grange but may have been one or a home farm. Important excavation of a medieval hall (Figure 6.8).

Non-granges:

Madresham (Methersham), Beckley, East Sussex: No evidence to support the suggestion that this was a grange.[793]

Sutton, Seaford, East Sussex: Documented as a manor in 1218 and a grange in 1219, but probably only a manorial holding.

[792.] cf. Gardiner 1995.
[793.] NRHE: 969675, 1093498; East Sussex HER: MES3469; cf. Chapman 1977, 94.

Comments:

Documentary evidence is confusing, especially as most granges appear to have had associated manorial holdings. The abbey's second monastery was constructed between *c*.1200 and *c*.1250. In 1313 there were only 19 monks and an unknown number of lay brothers.

Key Texts: Chapman 1977; Gardiner *et al*. 1991.

Abbey: **Cleeve**

Location: Old Cleeve, Somerset (ST047406)

Database refs: NRHE: 188617

Mother: Revesby, Lincolnshire

Filiation: Clairvaux

Founded: 1188, but not colonised until 1198

Founder: William de Roumare II, Earl of Lincoln

Granges: -

Possible Granges (all Somerset):

1. **Old Cleeve (ST037421) (*c.*1200):**

   Perhaps originally a grange on the site of or near Old Cleeve Farm located 2km north-west of the monastery. Later divided into the directly managed estates of Binham and Bye, which are first described as granges in the sixteenth century.

2. **Croydon, Old Cleeve (ST019387) (*c.*1200):**

   Site of Croydon Hall may have been a single grange also covering neighbouring Golsoncott. Both places described as granges in the sixteenth century.

3. **Leigh Barton, Old Cleeve (ST025359) (NRHE: 188394) (*c.*1200):**

   First mentioned as a grange in the sixteenth century, but possible established earlier as a grange to develop the area. Overlain by a late-medieval house.

Non-granges:

Braunton, Devon: Large manorial holding and deer park nearly 70km from the monastery. Nothing to support the suggestion that Park Farm was a grange.[794]

[794.] cf. NRHE: 1490338.

Stout, Old Cleeve, Somerset: First mentioned as a grange in the sixteenth century. Landholding is less than 1km from the monastery and more likely to have been part of the home farm based at Hungerford (ST045403).

Comments:

Cleeve was never a wealthy abbey and most of its possessions lay in the parish of Old Cleeve, with the prebend leased from the French Benedictine abbey of Bec. There is very little documentary history and the granges have been little researched. 26 monks and an unknown number of lay brothers in 1296.

Key Texts:

Hugo 1856; Butterworth 1999.

Abbey: **Dunkeswell**

Location: Dunkeswell, Devon (ST140107)

Database refs: NRHE: 188944; NHLE: 1009303; Devon & Dartmoor HER: MDV1890

Mother: Forde

Filiation: Cîteaux

Founded: 1201

Founder: William Brewer

Granges (all Devon):

1. **Bowerhayes, Dunkeswell (ST147086) (Devon & Dartmoor HER: MDV118008) (1201):**

   Possibly overlain by or near a post-medieval farm. Site suggested as a DMV.

2. **Bywood, Dunkeswell (ST161088) (Devon & Dartmoor HER: MDV1842) (1201):**

   Possibly overlain by or near a post-medieval farm.

3. **Dotton, Colaton Raleigh (SY086886) (Devon & Dartmoor HER: MDV10612) (*c*.1242):**

   The earthworks site of a manor house may have been a grange.

4. **Broadhembury, Devon (ST093042) (NRHE: 188100; NHLE: 1098064; Devon & Dartmoor HER: MDV1451; MDV15214) (*c*.1250):**

   Probably overlain by early sixteenth-century house. Important manor and grange with a mill.

5. **Old Sheldon, Dunkeswell (ST130097) (NHLE: 1098251) (*c*.1250):**

   Probably overlain by late fifteenth-century house. Manor and grange.

Possible Granges:

6. Dunkeswell, Awliscombe, Devon (ST135037) (NRHE: 188817; Devon & Dartmoor HER: MDV11513) (post-1203):

Possible grange sited on Dunkeswell-Awliscombe border, overlain by later farm.

Non-granges:

Shapcombe, Luppitt, Devon: Property associated with Bowerhayes.[795]

Comments: -

Key Texts: Rowe 1878; 159-70; Sparks 1978.

[795.] Devon & Dartmoor HER: MDV17554.

Abbey: **Beaulieu**

Location: Beaulieu, Hampshire (SU388025)

Database refs: NRHE: 226337; NHLE: 1003450

Mother: Cîteaux, Côte-d'Or, France

Filiation: Cîteaux

Founded: 1203 (2/11/1203) at Faringdon, but settled 1204 (13/6/1204) at Beaulieu

Founder: King John

Granges:

Faringdon Cell, Oxfordshire:

1. **Wyke, Great Faringdon (SU291968) (NRHE: 225794; NHLE: 1020967; Oxfordshire HER: 32012) (1204):**

   Extensive cell-grange and manorial complex identified by aerial photography and limited fieldwork, although site was overlain by later buildings (Figures 4.6-4.7).[796] Estate possibly *c*.730ha overall in size. Only a few monks and lay brothers in 1269.[797]

2. **Great Coxwell (SU269940) (NRHE: 225953; National Trust HBSMR: 153802, 150632; Oxfordshire HER: 7102, 8025) (1204):**

   Cell-grange accommodation overlain by Grange Court, which has thirteenth-century remnants (Figures 4.1-4.2). Chapel now demolished. Barn with timbers tree-ring dated to 1292.[798] Only two or three lay brothers in 1269.

796. Leech & Soffe 1994.
797. Denholm-Young, 1937, 122, 176.
798. Miles *et al.* 2014, 123.

The Great Close, Hampshire:

3. Hartford, Beaulieu (SU383038) (NRHE: 226370) (*c.*1205):

Site unknown, but may have been at, or near the suggested DMV of *Hariforde*. Initially a two hide estate, suggesting that it predated the abbey. Seven or eight lay brothers in 1269.

4. Beufre, Beaulieu (SU386011) (NRHE: 226446;NHLE: 143282; 1156695; Hampshire AHBR: 12133, 12134, 20466) (*c.*1205):

Overlain by sixteenth-century farm only 1.5km from monastery. Five or six lay brothers in 1269.

5. St Leonard's, Beaulieu (SZ405982) (NRHE: 460653; NHLE: 1094414-5, 1157008) (1205x35):

Cell-grange with extant remains of chapel and barn (Figures 4.3-4.5, 5.6-5.7). There was an earlier chapel on the site. Accommodation possibly incorporated within a later farmhouse and other parts of the settlement overlain by landscaping. Seven or eight lay brothers in 1269.

6. Througham (with Sowley?) now named Park Farm, Beaulieu (SZ399967) (NRHE: 459589; NHLE: 1156997; Hampshire AHBR: 12204, 21733) (1205x35):

No physical evidence for a grange at Sowley, but there was a mid thirteenth-century chapel at Througham, now partially incorporated in a farmhouse (Figures 5.11-5.12). Througham is not mentioned in Beaulieu's accounts, but Sowley is suggested to have had only two lay brothers in 1269.

7. Otterwood, Beaulieu (SU409021) (NRHE: 229893, 761986) (1236):

Overlain by later farm with part remains of a late-medieval barn, near the site of an eleventh-century DMV. Two lay brothers in 1269.

8. Holbury, Fawley, (SU428036?) (NRHE: 22949) (pre-1269):

It is suggested that the grange was established at the site of a moated manor house. However, the grange's only two lay brothers were accounted for under the Great Close in 1269, and the manor only granted in 1312. Therefore Holbury Grange may have lain elsewhere.

Elsewhere:

9. Soberton, Hampshire (*c*.SU6118) (*c*1235):

Site unknown. Estate purchased then greatly enlarged, with the grange manned by only two lay brothers in 1269.

10. Burgate, Fordingbridge, Hampshire (SU141162) (NRHE: 888880; NHLE: 1166571) (pre-1269):

Suggested to be overlain by Fryern Court, a late fifteenth-century house. One lay brother in 1269. Extensive, non-grange landholdings in the area.

11. Upton, Vernhams Dean, Hampshire (SU357558) (NRHE: 228388) (1240x90):

Probably overlain by Upton Manor. First recorded in 1291, but probably established earlier mainly as a half-way house between the monastery and the Faringdon cell.

Possible Granges: -

Non-granges:

Faringdon Cell, Oxfordshire:

Shilton, **Little Faringdon (with Langford), and Inglesham** were estates managed by reeves.[799]

The Great Close, Hampshire:

Bergerie, sited very close to St Leonard's where the abbey's sheep flocks were gathered.[800]

Swineleys, an alleged grange near Beufre.[801]

Elsewhere:

Colbury, Ashurst and Colbury, Hampshire was managed by a 'serjeant'.

Shamblers (East Chamblord), Cowes, Isle of Wight: No evidence that a grange was established after the property was acquired in 1272.[802]

St Kerverne, Cornwall, Many manorial holdings in the area visited regularly by monks.

Comments:

It is suggested that the abbey had *c*.73 monks and *c*.68 lay brothers in 1269. There were only 34 monks by 1329.

Key Texts: Hope & Brakspear 1906; Horn & Born 1965; Hockey 1974; 1975; 1976; Jansen 1984.

799. cf. NRHE: 332158 re Shilton.
800. cf. NRHE: 459575.
801. cf. NRHE: 226449.
802. cf. NRHE: 461705.

Abbey: **Medmenham**

Location: Medmenham, Buckinghamshire (SU807839)

Database refs: NRHE: 248637; Buckinghamshire HER: 0175100000-1, 0175102000.

Mother: Woburn, Bedfordshire

Filiation: Clairvaux

Founded: 1204, abandoned 1205 but resettled by 1212 with only six or seven monks

Founder: Hugh de Bolebec

Granges: -

Possible Granges: -

Non-granges:

Hollywicks, Medmenham, Buckinghamshire: Postulated as a grange due to its name and ownership.[803]

Comments:

Not a well-endowed abbey, with just a handful of monks and possible a few lay brothers.

Key Texts: Dugdale 1846, 684; Knowles & Hadcock 1971, 122.

[803.] Buckinghamshire HER: 0212100000, 0212101000.

Nunnery: **Tarrant Kaines**

Location: Tarrant Crawford, Dorset (ST920033)

Database refs: NRHE: 209609, 1410346

Mother: -

Filiation: -

Founded: *c*.1186 as an anchorage; 1228 Cistercian

Founders: Ralph de Kaines founded anchorage; Richard Le Poor, Bishop of Salisbury the nunnery

Granges: -

Possible Granges: -

Non-granges:

Muston (Turberville), Winterbourne Kingston, Dorset: Pre-1259 manorial holding. No evidence to support the suggestion of a grange.[804]

Comments:

'Official' Cistercian nunnery. Reputedly over 40 nuns in 1291.

Key Texts: RCHME 1972; Nichols 1982; Freeman 2004; 2006; Cousins 2013.

[804.] NRHE: 455717; cf. RCHME 1970b, 300-5.

Abbey: **Netley**

Location: Hound, Hampshire (SU456095)

Database refs: NHLE: 1001960; NRHE: 229633

Mother: Beaulieu

Filiation: Cîteaux

Founded: 1239

Founders: Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester and Henry III

Granges: -

Possible Granges:

1. **Roydon, Brockenhurst, Hampshire (SU317004) (NRHE: 1188763; NHLE: 1301166; Hampshire HER: 51565) (1253):**

   Henry III granted 121ha of uncultivated scrub and heath in the New Forest. Enclosed in 1256. Recorded as a *grangiam* in the *Taxatio* (but see below). Possibly at or near seventeenth-century Roydon Manor.

Non-granges:

Wellow, Hampshire: Manor and church of East Wellow granted in *c*.1242, then fair and weekly market in 1251. Perhaps mistakenly recorded as a *grangiam* in the *Taxatio*. DMV recorded at East Wellow (SU303204).[805]

Gomshall, Shere, Surrey: Manor granted in *c*.1241. As with Wellow, recorded as a *grangiam* in the *Taxatio*, but no indication elsewhere that it was ever one.

Hutton, Laughton-en-le-Morthen, South Yorkshire: Manor and other landholdings granted in 1244, disposed of in 1319. Described as a grange by Meekings.

805. NRHE: 227209.

Comments:

The monastery's west range appears only to have been completed in the fourteenth century, and by its size unlikely to have housed many lay brothers.

Key Texts: Guillaume 1848; Meekings 1979; Hare 1993; Barker *et al*. 2005.

Abbey: **Hailes**

Location: Stanway, Gloucestershire (SP051300)

Database refs: NRHE: 328157/8; National Trust HBSMR: 74406; Gloucestershire HER:66

Mother: Beaulieu

Filiation: Cîteaux

Founded: 1246

Founder: Richard, Earl of Cornwall

Granges:

1. **Great Wormington, Stanton, Gloucestershire (SP047346) (NRHE: 328237; Gloucestershire HER: 36854) (1254)**:

   Exact site unknown, but may be at or near eighteenth-century Wormington Grange. Manorial holdings.

Possible Granges: -

Non-granges:

Farmcote, Temple Guiting, Gloucestershire: No evidence to support the suggestion that this was a grange.[806]

Comments:

The abbey was reputedly established by 20 monks and more than ten lay brothers.

Key Texts: Baddeley 1908; Winkless 2001; Brown 2006; 2010; Bell 2009; Carter 2017.

[806.] cf. NRHE: 763610, 327768; Gloucestershire HER: 2222.

Abbey: **Newenham**

Location: Axminster, Devon (SY287974)

Database refs: NRHE: 449532; NHLE: 1011671; Devon & Dartmoor HER: MDV11222, MDV16833

Mother: Beaulieu

Filiation: Cîteaux

Founded: 1247

Founder: Reginald du Mohun, Earl of Somerset

Granges (all Devon):

1. **Beavor, Axminster (SY323979) (NRHE: 1408896; Devon & Dartmoor HER: MDV11440, MDV59110) (1247):**

   Grange of *c*.300ha in total with arable, cattle, and sheep. Part-tithable. Remains of fishponds. New farmhouse built in 1333 when let.

2. **Furzeleigh**, **Axminster (SY318970) (NRHE: 1408900; Devon & Dartmoor HER: MDV16842) (1248):**

   No remains or earthworks of *c*.40ha grange adjoining Beavor.

3. **Shapwick, Uplyme (SY312922) (NRHE: 449786; 1446245) (1247x9):**

   A purchased property, which was almost surrounded by other parishes. Grange estate enclosed in *c*.1347.

4. **Breweshayes, Axminster (SY2899) (pre-1330):**

   Documented as a grange in *c*.1330 when a new farmhouse and dovecote were built, but probably established in *c*.1250. Location of grange settlement unknown. Tithe-free lands of *c*.31ha on the west side of Axminster near Westwater and Coryton.

Possible Granges:

5. Old Park, Axminster, Devon (SY305974) (NRHE: 1408898, Devon & Dartmoor HER: MDV59111, MDV11442, MDV16839) (*c.*1255):

Suggested grange located within the abbey's deer park, which was first mentioned in 1255.

Non-granges: -

Comments:

A monastery west range may never have been built. In 1349, prior to the Black Death, the abbey had only three lay brothers and 23 monks.

Key Texts: Davidson 1843; Rowe 1878; Allan & Silvester 1981.

Abbey: **Buckland**

Location: Buckland Monachorum, Devon (SY287974)

Database refs: NRHE: 437786, 900541, 1141913; NHLE: 1015493, 1018366; Devon & Dartmoor HER: MDV5451, MDV5463

Mother: Quarr

Filiation: Clairvaux

Founded: 1278

Founder: Amicia de Redvers, dowager Countess of Devon

Granges: -

Possible Granges: -

Non-granges (all Devon):

Walkhampton: Manor and church granted on foundation. A barn ('*grangiam*'), not a grange, documented as built in 1311.

Gnatham, Walkhampton: Manor in 1311, first mentioned as a grange in 1486.

Hele, Buckland Brewer: Postulated as a grange by Barber.

Bickham, Buckland Monachorum: Separate farmstead in Buckland manor, not a grange.

Collumpton: A manor and church granted on foundation.

Bickleigh: A manor and church granted on foundation.

Comments:

No clear evidence of a monastery west range. Large fourteenth-century barn within the monastery precinct was, unusually, built east of the church.

Key Texts: Rowe 1878; Copeland 1953; Barber 1984; Holdsworth 1989; Gaskell Brown 1995.

Abbey: **Rewley**

Location: Oxford, Oxfordshire (SP506064)

Database refs: NRHE: 338336; NHLE: 1003650, 1047151; Oxford HER: 2418.

Mother: Thame

Filiation: Cîteaux

Founded: 1281

Founder: Edmund, Earl of Cornwall

Granges: -

Possible Granges: -

Non-granges: -

Comments:

Abbey and *studium*. West range housed scholars rather than lay brothers.

Key Texts: Munby & Adlam 2007.

Abbey: **St Mary Graces**

Location: Tower Hamlets, Greater London (TQ339807)

Database refs: NRHE: 404836

Mother: Beaulieu

Filiation: Cîteaux

Founded: 1350

Founder: Edward III

Granges: -

Possible Granges: -

Non-granges: -

Comments:

Last Cistercian abbey founded in England, and the only monastery established in an urban location. Only six to nine monks and no evidence of lay brothers.

Key Texts: Honeybourne 1952; Grainger & Phillpotts 2011.

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