

BARDNEY ABBEY.

By HAROLD BRAKSPEAR, F.S.A.

One of the early settlements of Christianity in this country was Bardney abbey, situated on slightly rising ground in the fens of the Witham some nine miles due east of the Roman station of Lincoln. It seems to have been founded towards the close of the seventh century and king Ethelred of Mercia and his wife Osthryth, niece of Oswald the sainted king of Northumbria, were benefactors. The former, after he resigned the crown of Mercia, was professed a monk and afterwards became abbot of Bardney.

King Oswald was slain at the battle of Maserfield in 642 by the pagan king Penda of Mercia, who ordered the head, hands and arms to be cut off the body of his departed foe and placed on stakes, while the body itself was apparently buried. King Oswy, Oswald's brother and successor, visited the site of the battle some twelve months later and there found the impaled relics which he carried away to Northumbria. Oswald's niece had his body taken to her newly-founded abbey at Bardney, but the monks refused it admission by reason of the ancient enmity between him and their country. The relics were left in the open in the wagon which had conveyed them, above which during the night a pillar of light appeared stretching up to heaven and was seen by all the men of Lindsey. After this miracle the monks were only too glad to receive the remains, which were accordingly washed and placed within the church with the saint's banner, made of purple and gold, suspended above. The shrine was later embellished with gold, silver and precious stones by Offa, king of the Mercians.

Bardney abbey continued for two centuries, when it was wrecked by the Danes and the site left desolate.¹

¹ This account of the early story of Bardney is taken for the most part from

Dr. A. H. Thompson's paper in the *Associated Societies Reports*, xxxii, 35.

About 910 Ethelred, ealdorman of Mercia, and his wife Ethelfleda, king Alfred's daughter, removed the relics of St. Oswald from Bardney to Gloucester, where they had founded a monastery in his honour.¹

After the Norman conquest the site of Bardney abbey was included in the vast tract of land in Lincolnshire granted by the new king to his nephew Gilbert of Ghent, who about 1087 refounded the monastery and endowed it liberally. The new foundation was hallowed in honour of the holy apostles St. Peter and St. Paul and the king and martyr St. Oswald.² It was a cell of the Benedictine abbey of Charroux, in Poitou, and was ruled by a monk of that place as prior.

Alien priories, as these cells of foreign abbeys were called, were generally of small dimensions, inhabited by a few monks of the mother house to husband the property. They sprang up all through the land at this time owing apparently to the desire of the new owners of this soil to give some little of their belongings to the church, represented in their minds by the favourite abbey across the seas from whence they hailed. Subsequently alien priories were looked upon with ill-favour and all those which had not become independent of their foreign allegiance were suppressed by king Henry V.

In 1115, Walter of Ghent, son of Gilbert, obtained a grant from the king to make Bardney an independent house under the immediate protection of the crown. He confirmed his father's gifts and endowed the abbey still further with other possessions.

The king's grant of independence sets forth that I have granted to Ralph the monk, who was prior of Bardney, the same place and the church for an abbey, at the supplication of Walter of Ghent and with the consent of Fulchard, abbot of Charroux, whose monk he was.³

The wording of this grant is exceedingly interesting, as it shews the existence of a church in connexion with the monastery before the latter had been raised to

¹ *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1846), vi, 82.

² *ibid.* i, 628, no. ii.

³ *Rot. Cart.* 5 Edw. III, no. 10, *Inspex.*
Sciatis me concessisse Radulpho monacho

qui fuit prior de Bardenaioc locum et
ecclesiam ipsam in abbatiam precatione
Walterii de Gant et concessione abbatiss
Fulcardi Carroffensis cujus fuit monachus.

independence and the dignity of an abbey. This church was doubtless the parish church of Bardney to which the priory would have been originally attached, and it probably dated from before the Conquest, even if it did not contain in its walls some part of the church of the original monastic foundation. The parish church of Bardney existed until about 1434 contiguous to the great abbey church, as will be shewn later.

The new monastic church could hardly have been begun before the additional endowments of Walter of Ghent, and the grant of independence under royal protection, as its original setting out was upon far too lavish a scale for merely an alien cell. The cells of our own great abbeys, such as Tynemouth, Leominster and Malvern, fine churches though they were, are small in comparison with the church at Bardney. Of this great building the first work, as usual, was the erection of the eastern arm, to accommodate the convent, followed by the lower parts of the south transept and nave aisle, to allow the cloister to be erected.

The completion of the eastern arm enabled the convent to perform their daily offices without interruption, and nothing more was done to the church for some time.

The chief buildings of the monastery, the cloister, chapter-house, dormitory, refectory and frater were all proceeded with in turn, and must have occupied the full energies of the convent up to the third quarter of the twelfth century. By that time, the monks being conveniently housed, attention was again turned towards the church and the south transept was taken in hand. It is not clear if the present building was the first transept erected on the site or was an alteration of an earlier structure necessitated by the requirement of more altars. The cellarer's building on the west side of the cloister was built during the last quarter of the century.

The erection of the north transept with the crossing and one bay of the nave, to form an abutment for the crossing arches, carried the work on to the end of the century.

In the early years of the thirteenth century the work of the church continued slowly, and the four bays of the nave joining on to that already built were erected with

the corresponding bays of the north aisle. A new infirmary for the monks was built to the east of the claustral buildings.

The cellarer's building on the west side of the cloister was changed into the abbot's house, and considerable alterations and additions were made to render it suitable for its new purpose. A new guest-house was made to the south of the convent kitchen.

In the third quarter of the century the church was completed by the erection of the three western bays and the west front. The building of this ambitious structure, for a house of no great wealth, must at times have seemed a hopeless task, and the persistent labour of the convent for over 150 years to ensure its completion is a noble example of zeal and devotion worthy of emulation in any age. Following the completion of the church the monks' dorter was rebuilt and a block of rooms was added to the south end of the guest-house.

At the end of the century the convent was in pecuniary trouble owing to a law suit between the abbot and convent and as recorded in the earliest roll of parliament (1278), he and one or two monks had to leave the house and live in some suitable place in England or overseas without keeping excessive hospitality, while the rest of the convent had to stay at Bardney and husband the revenues.¹ The 'new chamber' was made next the infirmary, which was to be inhabited by the deposed abbot Waynflete in 1318.²

In the fourteenth century the great gate of the abbey was rebuilt, the guest-hall was reduced in size by the demolition of the aisles, and sundry small works were done to the infirmary.

In 1406 the abbey was visited by the king with a large retinue, and the account of his sojourn describes some interesting arrangements of the buildings which will be dealt with later.³

¹ *Rot. Parl.* i, 6, no. 25: vide *Archæologia*, xxv, 344.

² *Mon. Ang.* i, 635, no. xx. Ordinamus insuper ac providemus quod idem frater Robertus habeat et inhabitet illam cameram quae vocatur Nova Camera juxta infir-

mariam in dicto monasterio quoties ad ipsum monasterium voluerit declinare et moram facere in eodem, una cum libero exitu et regressu ad vicinam curiam adjacentem eidem curiae, si qua fuerit pro recreationis solatio obtinendo.

³ Appendix iv.

In 1434 the old parish church, which stood near the conventual church, by reason of its notorious old age and evident craziness, fell to the ground, and was almost wholly brought to ruin. The parishioners then made it the custom to enter the monastic church in time of service and so hindered the monks with noise and uproar, that the convent granted their request to allow the old church to be pulled down and a new church to be built nearer the village, and petition the bishop accordingly. The petition was granted, and the new church was built on a plot of land given by the convent, measuring 387 feet in length by 180 feet in width, situated between the chapel of St. Andrew on the north and a croft called Southowse on the south.¹

In 1437-8, at the visitation of bishop Alnwick, John Bracy, the sacrist, after complaining of waste and debt of the monastery, stated 'that the conventual church is very dilapidated and the quire is almost ready to fall, and this because of default in repair. He prays therefore that my lord do see it and ordain a remedy.' Also he stated that the dorter, frater, cloister and other buildings are much dilapidated, insomuch that the rain comes in. The remedy ordained by the bishop was that 'the vault in the quire be pulled down during next summer.'²

New quire stalls within the eastern arm of the church were erected about this time. During the fifteenth century alterations were made in the abbot's house, a new inner gateway was built, a new convent kitchen was made, and repairs were done to the frater. Later in the century a new vestry was added on the south side of the presbytery, and a long range of buildings was built in the cemetery on the north side of the church.

Bardney was visited shortly before the suppression by John Leland, who records that 'the monks hold opinion that the old abbey of Bardeney was not in the very same place where the new ys, but at a graunge or dayre of theyrs a myle of.'³ This story is, however, improbable, as it has been shown that the old church of Bardney, which was standing in 1115, was within the precincts of the later

¹ Lincoln Record Society (1914), vii, 5.

³ Leland, *Itinerary* (1910), v, 36.

² Appendix v, 9, 10.

abbey, and was doubtless in part raised on the site of the first church after the Danish incursions.

The abbots were regularly called to parliament as peers of the realm; but they never obtained from the pope the privilege of using a mitre, as is clearly shown by the effigy of abbot Horncastle as late as 1508.

On 5th August, 1534, William Marton, the abbot, the prior and sixteen monks subscribed to the act of Supremacy.¹

In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 the gross revenues of the house amounted to £433 3s. od. from which there were deductions in temporalities and spiritualities amounting to £60 os. 11d. leaving a net income of £370 2s. 1d.²

At the beginning of 1536 took place the ill-fated Lincolnshire rising, which was the prelude of the Pilgrimage of Grace: six of the inmates of Bardney were implicated, and on 6th March, 1536-7, they were condemned at Lincoln to be hanged, drawn and quartered.

In consequence of the participation of Bardney in this insurrection, the suppression of the abbey was a foregone conclusion, and it was surrendered on 1st November, 1538, by the abbot, the prior and twelve monks.³

The site of the abbey was granted at the suppression to Sir Robert Tyrwhitt, who ultimately became possessed of a number of manors belonging to the house, including the grange called Seny place at Southery.⁴

Part of the buildings were then made into a dwelling-house, and the cloister, as was done at Waverley, was formed into a walled garden by having all the openings into its surrounding buildings closed up.

The extent of this dwelling-house is difficult to determine, owing to brick having been extensively used both in monastic as well as in post-suppression times, but it seems to have comprised the abbot's lodging and inner gateway, with perhaps the *camera* at the end of the reredorter, and the range of building north of the infirmary. The church, frater, chapter-house, dorter range, infirmary,

¹ *Letters, etc.* Hen. VIII, vii, A39.

² A. Hamilton Thompson. *Assoc. Soc. Reports*, xxxii, 90.

³ *Letters, etc.* Hen. VIII, xiii, 2, 285.

⁴ *ibid.*

monastic kitchen, guest-house and great gatehouse were all demolished or allowed to go gradually to ruin.

In 1718 'the abbey itself (except a very inconsiderable part of it, viz. an old gate-house) is now come to such decay that the ruins are scarce visible.'¹ This is borne out by there being no picture of the remains in the valuable collections of the brothers Buck.

In 1753, Dr. Stukeley made the following entry in his diary under date 9th July, 'Mr. Rob. Banks gave me the following inscriptions on tombstones now under the turf at Bardney abby. The abby is intirely demolished, and was so when I saw it many years ago. 'Tis now a pasture, but the rubbish of the sacred structure has covered up the pavement of the church, which they are now digging for the sake of the stones. The corpses were intire, the sceletons I mean, and the very beards lying upon the breast-bones.'²

In the last edition of the *Monasticon* it is said that 'the small remains of this abbey are situated about half a mile from the village of Bardney in the southern corner of Wraggoe wapentake in a marsh on the south bank of the Witham.'³

At the beginning of this century, with the exception of the ditch surrounding the precinct and various mounds and depressions within the area so enclosed, nothing whatever was visible of this once important abbey. It was entirely due to the energy and zeal of the late vicar of Bardney, the Rev. C. E. Laing, that the exploration of the site was undertaken. Operations were begun on the 17th February, 1909. The first walls to be struck were those of the range of buildings eastward of the north transept of the church, but this place not proving interesting a fresh start was made further south, when the south wall of the transept was found and gradually cleared out. The whole process of the work in diary form, a complete set of all photographs taken, and everything appearing in the press bearing on the subject, were laboriously compiled

¹ Browne Willis, *History of Abbies* (1718), i, 28.

² *Surtees Soc.* lxxvi, 297-8. The inscriptions he gives are John de Tathelkin [sic] (20), and Richard de Goldesburgh (21) and

a third which has now gone. 'Johes Kesteven natus . . . sic dotatus | fato prostratus jacet hic annis 58, anno Dom. 1429.'

³ *Mon. Ang.* i, 626.

and collected by Mr. Laing. From this source he put together a paper just before his death, which was afterwards published in the *Associated Societies' Reports*¹ and forms a most interesting account of the excavations from their inception.

At first the ground within the moat was taken on a lease for two years for the purpose of research, and with the undertaking that all the excavations therein made were to be covered in again and the turf relaid. At the end of the first year's work the excavations had proved so tempting that a movement was started to purchase outright the site of the principal buildings lying within an area of three acres, in order that the remains excavated might be left permanently open. The three acres of land were ultimately bought and surrounded by a stone wall formed of loose material from the excavations.

However, as might be expected, in spite of all precautions taken by covering up the most important architectural features each winter, the whole of the remains are gradually crumbling away with the action of wet, frost and vegetable growth. Soon, unless what is now exposed is promptly covered up, even the excavated remains of Bardney abbey will cease to exist.

THE PRECINCT.

Every monastic house was enclosed by a boundary wall or dyke, and within the precinct so formed were placed the buildings of the abbey.

The precinct at Bardney contained about 25 acres, and was roughly in the form of an oval with its major axis placed north and south. It was surrounded by a wide and deep ditch, which, though considerably silted up, still retains water on the east and south sides.

Towards the southern end of the area the great church was placed with the monastic buildings to the south. The main gatehouse was on the west side of the precinct, and there was a large outer court between it and the church, with offices and a windmill to the north. The

¹ *Associated Societies' Reports*, xxxii, 21-34.

old parish church was probably just to the north of the later abbey church, and its site still remains to be explored. There was a second or lower gate probably on the east side of the precinct, for access to the parish church or to the abbey from the village of Bardney.

In later days the precinct was further protected by the erection of a wall 20 inches thick on the inner bank of the ditch.

Within the precinct on the east side are the remains of a large fish-pond. In the stew-ponds of the abbey at one time were from 300 to 400 pike, but during the office of one Thomas Barton as sub-cellarer, it is reported in 1437-8 that they were 'almost brought to nothing by squandering them, giving to one man one or two saying, "Take them to your wife" and so to many others; and thus, now that these are come to an end, they must needs send to market to get fish for the convent; and whereas in those days the convent used to be served with three or four sorts of fish now they are hardly served with two.' ¹

Hard by the monastery was the grange of the almonry, and this, in 1444, was alleged to have become ruinous owing to the neglect of one John Hole the almoner; but he denied the charge and said he had caused a new house to be built on the said farm at great costs and would make the other repairs as soon as he could. ²

THE GREAT GATEHOUSE.

Opposite the church, at a distance of 260 feet from the west front, was the great gatehouse of the abbey rebuilt entirely in the fourteenth century. There must have been a gatehouse from the earliest times, and presumably in this position, but no sign remains of it in the later building.

The gatehouse measures $46\frac{1}{2}$ feet from north to south by 24 feet wide over all; it consists of a passage for heavy traffic, a passage for pedestrians, and a room for the porter at either end.

The main entrance is 12 feet 4 inches wide, and had an open arch of two members at either end, between which

¹ Appendix v, 13.

² *ibid.* 28.

was another of the same width with rebates for the gates. The entrance for foot passengers was $5\frac{3}{4}$ feet wide and separated from the main passage by a solid wall. It was arranged with open arches at the ends and a door in the middle in precisely the same way as the main entrance, but on a smaller scale. The doorway in the middle was of one member worked with a wave moulding.

The porter possibly occupied both the flanking rooms, of which the northern had a doorway with moulded jambs in the east wall and a buttress in the midst of the south side to take the thrust of the arch of the doorway of entrance; while the southern had a similar doorway in the east wall and another in the south side.

There were no signs of a staircase to the upper floor, no garderobes and no fireplaces.

The east and west walls were finished externally with a bold chamfered plinth. On the south side towards the west was an added room 6 feet by 5 feet, which may have contained a later stair.

Though all monastic gatehouses consisted of an inner and outer porch with a large and small doorway in the dividing wall, it is unusual to find the division for cart and foot traffic carried through the building from front to back. An example of this arrangement remains complete at the White Canons' abbey of Torre in Devonshire, where the gatehouse, of the same date as that at Bardney, measures 40 feet by $26\frac{1}{2}$ feet over all: it has only one chamber for the porter and the upper floor is occupied by a large room for guests gained by a vice.

Inside the gatehouse was the outer court of the abbey, measuring roughly 260 feet from east to west by 300 feet from north to south.

It was bounded on the north by a range of buildings, $255\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length by $23\frac{1}{2}$ feet in width over all, with walls $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick. This range could not be properly cleared owing to more pressing work, but it seems to have been divided at some time by cross walls. It was probably the great barn of the abbey. At the west end of this barn, but standing out 10 feet to the south, were indications of another building about 20 feet square.

About 120 feet to the north of the barn were the

remains of a circular windmill, 27 feet in diameter, with walls 4 feet thick and an entrance on the south.

The south side of the outer court was bounded by a wall running from the south-east angle of the great gate to the south-west angle of the nave of the church.

Slightly to the west of the middle of this wall was a second gatehouse, apparently known as 'the abbot's gate by the oak',¹ leading to the inner court of the abbey and in a position corresponding to that of the abbot's gatehouse at Peterborough.

This gatehouse was 20 feet long but nothing remains of its west side. At each end was an arch with a double chamfered member, and between was a thick wall for the doors. There was a door, or rather opening, 5 feet wide for pedestrians on the east side of the inner archway. There were double buttresses at each angle having bold moulded plinths of three members. The plinth continued along the east side up to an older wall opposite the middle of the gateway. This was probably 'the old gatehouse' remaining in the eighteenth century.

The extent of the inner court within this gate was not able to be traced.

THE ALMONRY.

Eastward from the inner gate and on the south side of the wall of the outer court was a building, apparently of fourteenth-century date, 53 feet in length by 19½ feet in width, of which only very scanty remains were found. There was an opening 4 feet wide in the south wall at its west end, and almost opposite, against the north wall, was the pit of a garderobe with an outlet 1¼ feet wide through the wall.

From its position adjoining the abbot's gate this building was without much doubt the almonry. This indispensable adjunct of every monastery was for the daily distribution of alms to the poor. In addition there were six boys with a knowledge of letters to be provided out of the alms of the house,² as at Durham, where 'there

¹ Appendix iv.

² *Assoc. Soc. Reports*, xxxii, 375.

was certayne poore children called the children of the almery which was brought upp in learninge and mantayned with the almose of the house havinge dyett in a lofte on the north side of the abbey gates which had a longe porch over the gates. . . They had ther meate from the novices table by the clarke of the convent owte att a windowe, where the said clerke did looke to them to see that they kept good order.¹

From the office of the almoner at Bardney each monk was accustomed to receive twelve pence yearly for a pair of knives, and twelve pence for spices.²

The laxities with respect to the alms of the house were ventilated at different visitations, and in May, 1438, it was complained that five of the monks had taken their meals in the almonry outside the cloister precincts for three days.³

Southward of the almonry and up against the abbot's gatehouse was an added chamber 14 feet by 6½ feet, and this with the almonry seems to have been enclosed in a small court.

Eastward of the almonry was a building, apparently of the twelfth century, which was 12½ feet square and had an opening in the east wall, but retained no signs of an original doorway. The use of this building is uncertain, but it may have been a dovecot.

To the east of this square building was a thirteenth-century room 10 feet wide by 21¾ feet long. The west end was parted off to form a garderobe, which had a large pit with an outlet through the north wall. The riser of the seat remained. At the east end of the room was a doorway of entrance of a single chamfered member with a sinking in the south wall to take the door when open. In the north wall was an opening, 16 inches wide, from another garderobe, which seems to have been done away with when a new one, built in brick, was added to the east. This latter had a large pit and an outlet, like all the rest, through the north wall.

These garderobes seem to have been in connexion with the abbot's house and were considerably altered in late times, if not after the suppression.

¹ *Rites of Durham* (Surtees Society, cvii), 91.

² Appendix v, 11.

³ *ibid.* v, 21.

THE CHURCH.

The great church at Bardney, though it took nearly 150 years to erect, was of one complete design from end to end, and consisted when finished of presbytery partly aisled, crossing, transepts with eastern aisles, and a nave with aisles. It was $235\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length by $125\frac{1}{2}$ ¹ feet across the transepts, or approximately the same size as Southwell minster before the thirteenth-century enlargements.

As might be expected from the length of time occupied by the erection of the church, the details of the different sections of the work were not copied from each other but followed the varying fashions of the times when each portion was undertaken. From the early style of the twelfth century, in the eastern arm, the work was carried on through two other phases of the twelfth century to two dates of the style in vogue in the thirteenth century. In addition to the slight differences of detail consequent upon the various dates of erection, alterations from the original plan seem to have been made during the progress of the work in the eastern terminations of the presbytery and south transept, as will be described later.

The building was vaulted throughout, both in the main spans and the aisles. The walls externally seem to have been entirely faced with ashlar, but internally the earlier walls were built of rubble, and those of the last section at the west end of coursed range-work. The former would be finished with plaster and even the range-work would have a thin skimming of the same material. It was paved throughout with stone slabs and does not seem to have had the usual patterned tiles in any part.

With the exception of the eastern part of the wall of the south aisle, the west wall of the south transept, and the east wall of the north transept, which were destroyed to the footings, the whole of the building was found standing above the floor level to heights varying from one to five feet.

¹ All the dimensions of buildings are internal unless otherwise stated.

THE PRESBYTERY.

The presbytery was 67 feet 10 inches in length by 24 feet 10 inches across the centre span. It consisted of an un-aisled eastern bay, a half-bay, and then three bays with side arches. It had aisles which continued eastward behind the half-bay.

The presbytery was for the most part of the earliest work, and is in consequence of great interest. Its completed design, though certainly of the twelfth century, was apparently not that originally contemplated.

There can be no question that the three western bays with the aisles were of the first scheme, and from the character of these it is obvious that the present eastern terminations of both main span and aisles were not contemporary.

The half-bay at the end of the aisles indicates that these were intended to have apsidal terminations internally though square externally, as at Durham, Peterborough and Romsey. On the north side of the south aisle was the base of a column of a wall arcade, which, if of similar spacing to the corresponding feature in the aisle, would exactly allow seven arches round such an apse, but would not space in any way with the present square end.

For a church of the date and scale of this it is almost certain that the main span was also in the first place apsidal, and this is borne out by the character of the angle buttresses to the present termination, which projected no less than $1\frac{1}{4}$ feet from the walls. In addition both main span and aisles had boldly projecting vaulting shafts which were not repeated in the present ends. Careful search was made for the remains of the curved walls of the apses, but without any result save that the wide foundation of the main walls and aisles was found to end in the middle of the half-bay, and there was only a slight projection internally to the square terminations.

The aisle walls continued up to the main walls of the transepts, so that the transepts were originally intended to have had a different arrangement on their east side from what was executed, of which more later.

The aisleless bay at the east end of the presbytery

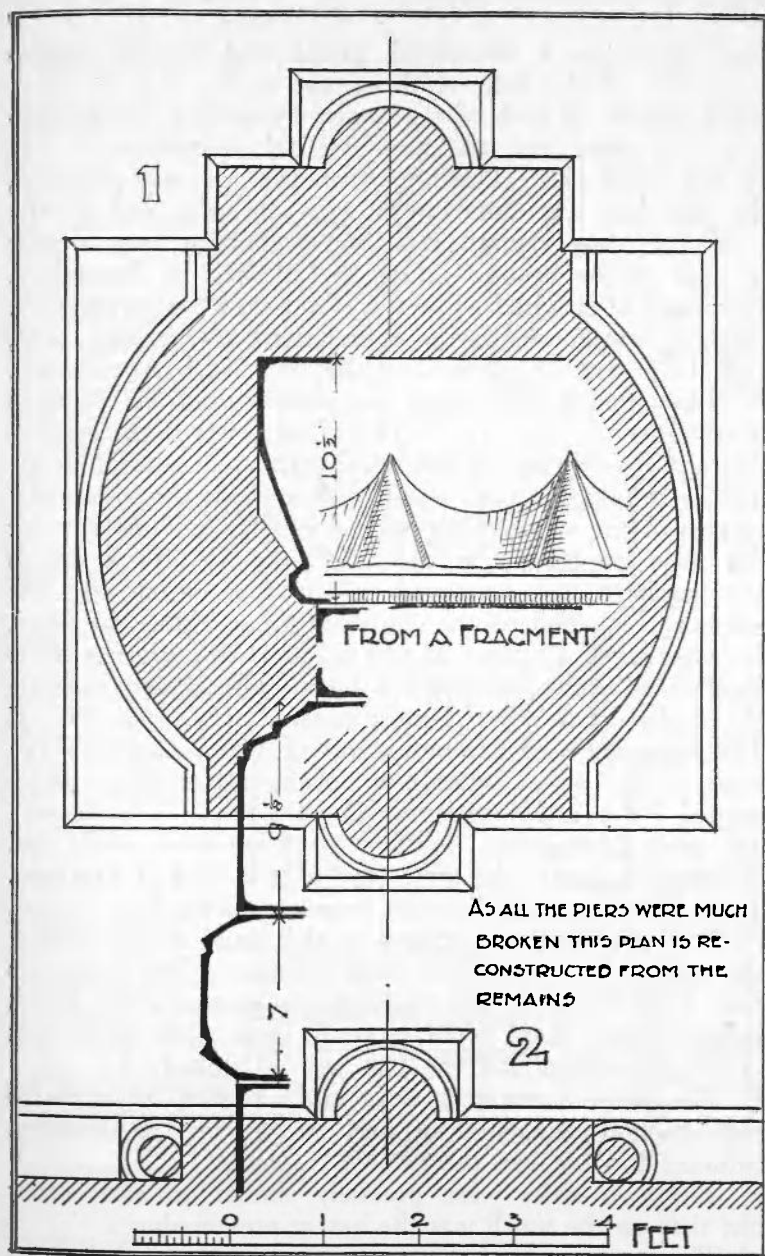


FIG. I. QUIRE.

1. Plan of detached piers.
2. Plan of vaulting-shaft and wall-panelling of aisles.

had externally a chamfered plinth and double angle-buttresses of the full width of the walls. There was a small column in each of the angles formed by the presbytery and aisles, and the moulded base remained of that on the north side. Possibly, when the apse was removed, the half-bay was done away with and the end of the presbytery was vaulted into one sexpartite bay similar to that at the canons' house of Lilleshall in Shropshire. Westward of this half-bay was a step across the presbytery. Nothing was found of the foundations of the high altar, and all the paving eastward of the step had been removed.

The three western bays had great cylindrical columns nearly 6 feet in diameter. These had towards the presbytery a projecting pier $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, with a half-column in the middle to take the main vault, and towards the aisle a flat surface of the same width with a smaller half column for the aisle vaulting (fig. 1). Of the eastern responds the northern was destroyed to the foundations but the southern remained to one course of stones above the bases. It consisted of a couple of half columns to carry the inner member of the arches, and a large half column towards the presbytery to take the outer member of the arches (fig. 2) The bases were of flat mouldings of various sections and were carried on a pedestal of one course of plain stones capped by a double chamfered moulding. This feature was used throughout the first work on both walls and columns in exactly the same way as it is used at Durham. The capitals, of which some fragments have been found, were of short scallops, square to the small members, but following the curve to the large cylinders. No fragments have been found of any vaulting ribs in the aisles, which suggests that these were covered with plain cross ribs marking the bays and the rest was un-ribbed.

The western responds were much ruined but seem to have been a repetition of half of one of the detached columns and not like the eastern responds.

The two aisles were precisely similar to each other but that on the south was the better preserved.

The vaulting shaft next the eastern respond had its base a course higher than that of the respond itself and on the same line was the base, already referred to, of a column of the original wall arcade of the aisle apse.

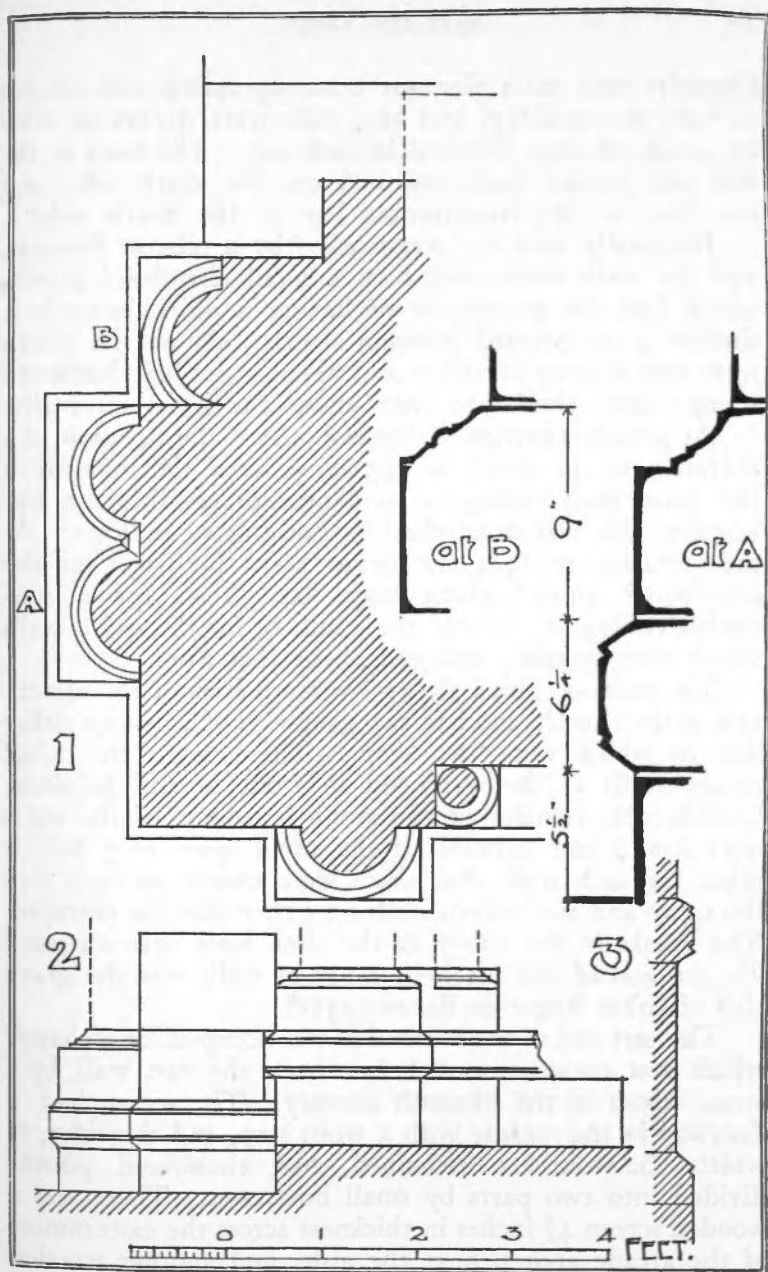


FIG. 2. QUIRE.

1. Plan of south-east respond of arcade.
2. Elevation of bases of the same.
3. Section of external plinth-courses.

Opposite each main pier was a corresponding half-column to take the vaulting, and the walls were decorated with an arcade of four divisions in each bay. The bases in the first and second bays remained on the south side, and one base in the westernmost bay in the north aisle.

Externally each bay was marked by a pilaster buttress, and the walls were carried on a small chamfered plinth, which had the peculiarity of having a quirk beneath it similar to an inverted Norman abacus. Above the plinth were two courses of ashlar and then a double chamfered string-course similar to that under the bases internally.

As already mentioned, the bishop, on the occasion of a visitation to the abbey in 1437-8, ordered the removal of the quire vault owing to its dangerous condition¹; but whether this was done there is nothing to indicate. At the visitation in 1444 the sacrist asked for wood for the conventual quire,² which may have been for a new timber ceiling in place of the vault, or for the quire stalls which were certainly renewed about that time.

The stalls occupied the two western bays of the eastern arm of the church, and had two gangways of access on either side in which were two steps. There were the usual return stalls at the west end in front of the *pulpitum*. Considerable remains of the stone basement of the stalls were found and indicate, if the usual space of 3 feet is taken for each stall, that there were eleven on each side the quire and two return stalls on either side the entrance. The monks in the abbey at the time were only sixteen.³ To the east of the southern range of stalls was the grave slab of abbot Roger de Barow (1355).

The east end of the south aisle was occupied by a chapel, which was enclosed, at 12½ feet from the east wall, by a stone screen of the fifteenth century. The screen had a doorway in the middle with a worn step, and the sides, of which the southern remained, had chamfered plinths divided into two parts by small buttresses. There was a wooden screen 4¾ inches in thickness across the easternmost of the arcade arches, next the aisle, and another wooden screen of the same thickness across the aisle at the second pillar which had a rough stone foundation.

¹ Appendix v, 9.

² *ibid.* 29.

³ *ibid.* 22.



NO. 1. SOUTH TRANSEPT, SOUTH CHAPEL.



NO. 2. SOUTH TRANSEPT: BASE OF FIRST PILLAR FROM SOUTH.

In this aisle six grave-slabs were found, and a fine marble coffin and slab of the thirteenth century, against the south wall under the screen of the chapel.

The spaces under the arcades, behind the quire stalls, were made into little chapels of which the blocks for the altars remained in the two on the south. The eastern of these had the altar slab, though tipped forward: it was $5\frac{1}{4}$ feet long by 2 feet wide, and $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick with a $2\frac{1}{4}$ -inch chamfer.

The north aisle was doubtless parted off to form a chapel similar to that on the south, but no remains were found of any cross screen. The double chamfered seat-course on the north wall, which began in line with the respond of the arcade, was chopped away to a point $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the east end, which probably indicated the length of the chapel.

Only one grave-slab was found in this aisle.

THE VESTRY AND SACRIST'S CHECKER.

Until the fifteenth century the vestry was within the church, as will be shewn later, but after 1440 a new vestry was built on the south side of the church with an entrance in the first bay of the presbytery aisle. This was a slightly-built structure with walls only 2 feet in thickness, and was $35\frac{1}{4}$ feet in length by $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. It projected beyond the line of the east end of the aisle and had an altar, of which the block was $5\frac{1}{4}$ feet by 3 feet. The floor was laid with plain red tiles.

At Worcester and Durham the sacrist's checker occupied a corresponding position on the north side of the church to the vestry on the south, and so it approximately did here; but in order not to interfere with the light of the windows of the aisle and transept, it was detached from the main building.

In the second bay of the north aisle of the presbytery was an inserted doorway which led out into a little court, 28 feet from east to west by 29 feet from north to south, which had a pentise on its south and east sides. Eastward of this court was a narrow building, $46\frac{1}{2}$ feet from east to west by 17 feet wide, having its north wall in line with the

north side of the court. This was without doubt the sacrist's checker: it was, like the vestry, of slight construction and had a wide fireplace in the north wall. It was built over the old burial ground, and three coffins were found within its walls with a fourth just to the south.

This portion of the site was the first work exposed by excavation in 1909, and as it was in part covered up again very shortly, the writer was unable to measure it, but is much indebted to Mr. Wilfrid Bond of Grantham for the loan of the plan he made at the time, which enables this part of the general plan of the abbey to be completed.

THE CROSSING.

The crossing was square, being 25 feet in each direction, and above it would have been the central tower.

The eastern arch terminated the west end of the presbytery and was probably carried on corbels, as its jambs project only 9 inches from the side walls.

The original responds of the north and south arches have been destroyed, except a small piece of the footing of the latter. This shews that the responds were not large and presumably repeated those at the east ends of the presbytery arcades.

The western piers of the tower (plate III, no. 2) were of the same date as the north transept, quite at the end of the twelfth century, and consisted of a group of no less than sixteen semicircular columns with hollow moulded bases, supported on two courses of chamfered plinths. The northern pier remained to one course above the bases (fig. 3), but of the southern pier only part of the bottom plinth course was left.

Under the eastern arch of the crossing was the *pulpitum*, formed of two narrow walls, and only 3 feet 10 inches in width over all. It dated from the middle of the fifteenth century. At this time the tower must have given signs of weakness, for the northern side at any rate was underbuilt with a plainly-moulded arch with continuous jambs, of which the lowest course was found in connexion with the *pulpitum*. A number of the arch-stones were found loose. A mass of foundation occurred

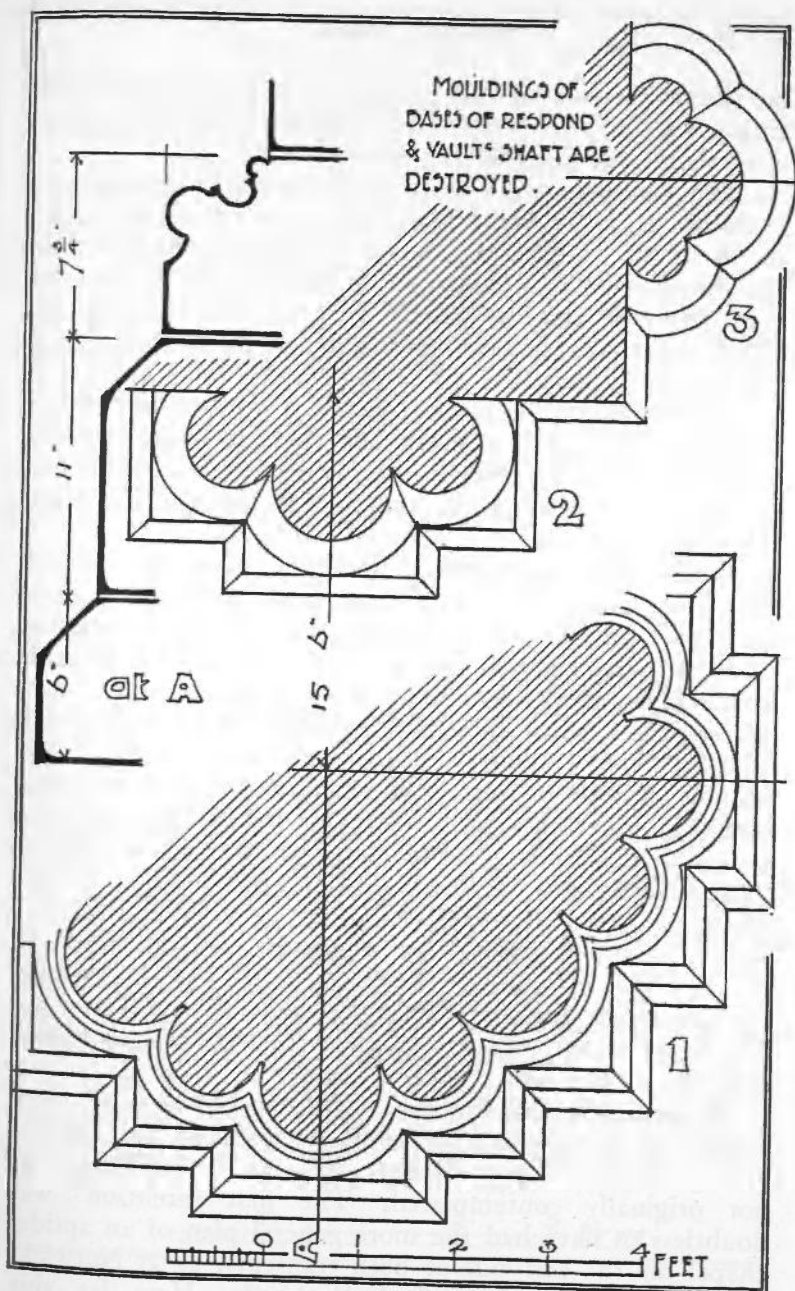


FIG. 3. CROSSING.

1. Part plan of north-west pier.
2. Plan of respond of arch above aisle.
3. Plan of vaulting-shaft in north transept.

on the north side of the north-east pier, half across the arch into the presbytery aisle, evidently built to support a further abutment to the tower.

This propping up of central towers was a very general necessity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, owing to the desire of adding to the original structure upon its already too slight pillars. At Fountains abbey are some very clumsy buttresses for this purpose, and at Wells and Glastonbury cross-arches were inserted in the older openings for the same reason.

In the middle of the crossing was a large grave-stone to brother Thomas Tathewell, and there was a smaller slab without an inscription further to the north. A considerable amount of the stone paving remained in front of the south side of the *pulpitum*.

In the early days of the monastery, when the inmates were more numerous, it is probable that the quire occupied the space under the crossing and that the original *pulpitum* was beneath its western arch. Though this arrangement could not have been completed until the western piers of the crossing were built, it was apparently intended from the first, and so explains the piers of the eastern arch, which were made shallow in order to avoid encroaching on the quire. It also shows why the nave altar was at the first pair of piers, which will be referred to again later.

THE SOUTH TRANSEPT.

The south transept, when finished, was 44 feet long by 25 feet wide, and was of three bays with chapels to the eastward of the two southern bays.

As already stated, the walls of the presbytery aisles were carried up to the main walls of the transept, so that the arrangement of a pair of chapels in an eastern aisle was not originally contemplated. The first intention was doubtless to have had the more general plan of an apsidal chapel on the east side of both transepts, as at Norwich, Gloucester, Tewkesbury and elsewhere. How far this scheme was carried out in the case of the south transept is difficult to determine, but the lower parts of the main walls of this work must have been erected in order to join

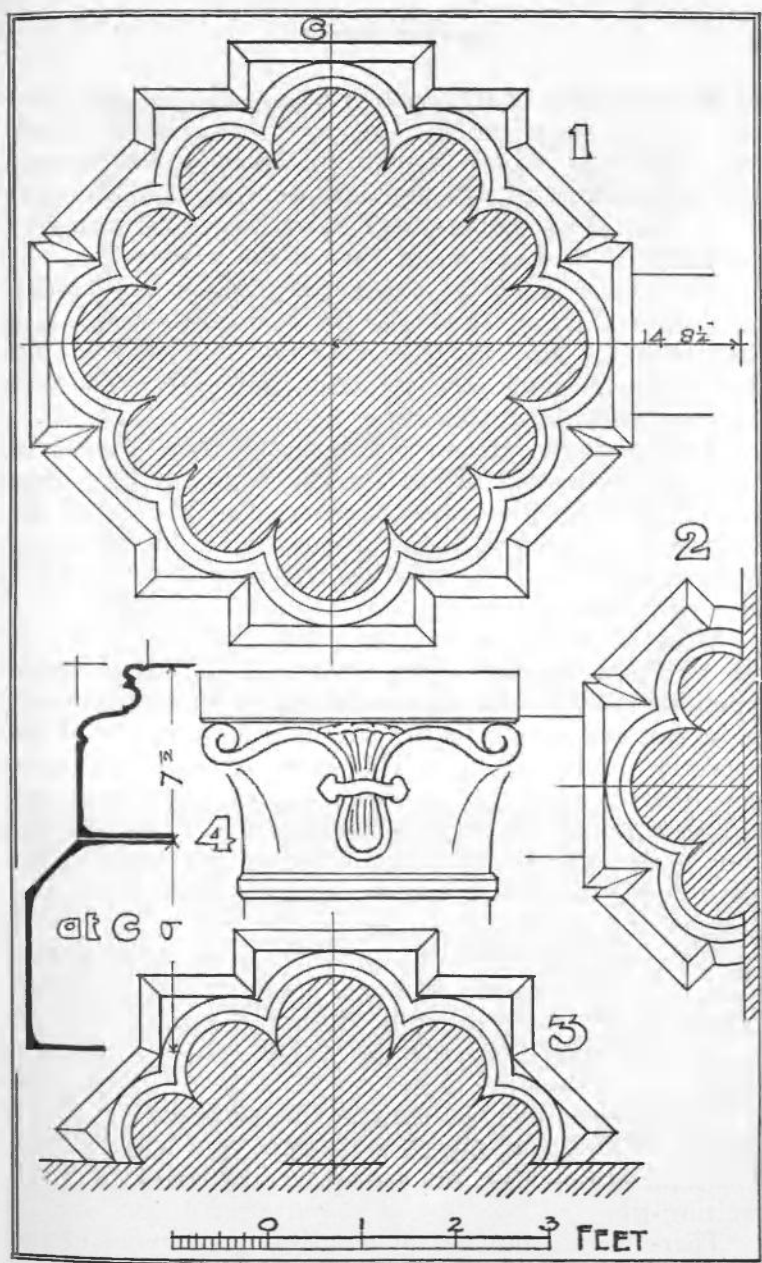


FIG. 4. SOUTH TRANSEPT.

1. Plan of pillar of arcade.
2. Plan of vaulting-shaft on east wall.
3. Plan of south respond.
4. Elevation of capital (from a fragment).

up the early work of the presbytery with that of the south aisle of the nave to enable the cloister to be built. However, when the change of plan was adopted the transept may have been slightly lengthened, so that all indications of the change were obliterated above floor level owing to the destruction of the major part of the west wall.

The east wall of the completed transept was carried on three arches, of which the northernmost opened into the presbytery aisle and the other two into chapels. Of the former nothing remained, but the other two were carried on clustered columns.

The southern respond remained for three courses in height and consisted of five round columns resting upon moulded bases with square plinths. The plinths of the outermost columns were set diagonally, so as to square approximately with the vaulting ribs they were intended to carry (plate II, no. 1).

Most of the bases and the whole of the plinth of the southern detached pier remained. It was a double repetition of the respond, but had an additional column on its east and west faces to take the transverse ribs of the respective vaults (fig. 4). The stones of which this pier were built seemed to have been wrought at the quarry and that not too truly, for the fixing masons had the greatest difficulty to make the bases fit the plinths, the stones being cut in various ways to make them agree even approximately (plate II, no. 2).

The capitals, of which fragments were found, were of the 'water-flower' character peculiar to Cistercian influence. On one fragment an interesting variant occurred in having a strap from one leaf to the other to tie them together.¹

There was a small column in the south-west angle to take the diagonal rib of the main vault, of which the base remained, having its plinth set square with the line of the vaulting rib.

There were a number of inscribed gravestones in the floor, and a considerable portion of the stone paving remained in the south-west angle.

The eastern chapels were formed in a continuous aisle.

¹ A similar capital remains in the north transept of Dore: vide E. S. Prior's *Gothic Art* (1900), 107.



NO. I. NAVE, LOOKING WEST.



NO. 2. NORTH-WEST PIER OF CROSSING.



NO. 1. NAVE : BASE OF SEVENTH PILLAR ON NORTH SIDE.



NO. 2. NAVE : BASE OF FOURTH PILLAR ON NORTH SIDE.

There was a base for the vaulting-shaft in the north-east angle of the northern chapel and the south-east angle of the southern. The vaulting-shaft between the chapels consisted of three columns, similar to those on the main pier, which carried the diagonal and transverse ribs of the vault respectively. The chapels were afterwards separated by a plain wall $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness.

Externally the walls had a base-course formed of a double chamfered string, a flat course of stones, a deep splayed course, and a small chamfered plinth. Shallow buttresses marked the bays and the base-courses were carried round them.

The southern chapel was raised a step above the transept floor and had a screen beneath the arcade arch. This screen, of similar character to that across the south aisle of the presbytery, had a chamfered stone plinth which remained and showed that there was a door in the middle with the sides divided into two parts by small buttresses. The altar was standing, but its slab was tilted forward on to the floor. The latter was $6\frac{1}{4}$ feet long by 2 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, and was notched at the back for fixing under a table of stone.¹ There was a floor piscina 12 inches square to the south.

The northern chapel was precisely similar to its companion, but only the southern half of the plinth of the screen remained. The altar was destroyed, but its block projected 3 feet 4 inches from the wall.

There was a coffin-shaped grave-slab inscribed with a cross in the middle of the floor.

THE NORTH TRANSEPT.

The north transept, though slightly later in date than the completed south transept, was of the same size and apparently of the same design. The question of the change of design did not arise with this transept, as the south was completed in its altered form before any work was begun to the northern arm.

¹ This altar-slab has now been removed with its block made of squared stones from the abbey, as a memorial to the late vicar, and set up as a side altar in the parish church,

Externally the north transept had a bold chamfered plinth with a small sub-plinth and pilaster buttresses at the angles and marking the bays.

In the north-west angle was a vice which gave access to the roof and so to the central tower.¹

Though the remains of the east arcade were very fragmentary they were sufficient to shew that the southernmost arch was the original arch into the north aisle of the presbytery, and was left unaltered when the two later arches across the chapels were erected. The base of the north respond remained and was similar on plan to that of the south transept, but the mouldings were later in date.

In the west wall were added vaulting-shafts of the thirteenth century, though that in the north-west angle was of the date of the transept itself. Built around the first vaulting-shaft from the north was a chamber, 6 feet square, having walls 15 inches thick with a chamfered plinth. It seemed to have had an entrance on the east side where there was a step 2 feet 4 inches in length. There was nothing to indicate the use of the building, though it was probably a substructure for the clock. In the secular churches of Exeter and Wells the clock was in the north transept, but at Durham it was at the end of the south transept.

Very little remained of the two eastern chapels. The bases of the vaulting piers were found in the extreme north-east and south-east angles, but there was nothing to shew if the chapels were divided from each other or screened at the west ends like the chapels in the south transept.

No grave-slabs were found in the north transept or in its chapels.

THE NAVE.

The nave was of nine bays with aisles, 132½ feet in length by 61¼ feet in width.

The first pair of piers were of late twelfth-century work in continuation of that of the north transept.

¹ In this vice was found a beautiful but headless figure of St. Lawrence, robed as a deacon and holding a large gridiron, which was broken away, in his left hand.

The vaulting-shaft of the north aisle, in line with them, consisted of three columns, with diagonally-set plinths, similar to that on the east wall between the chapels in the south transept.

The second pillar on the south was destroyed with the exception of the plinth, which differed from any other

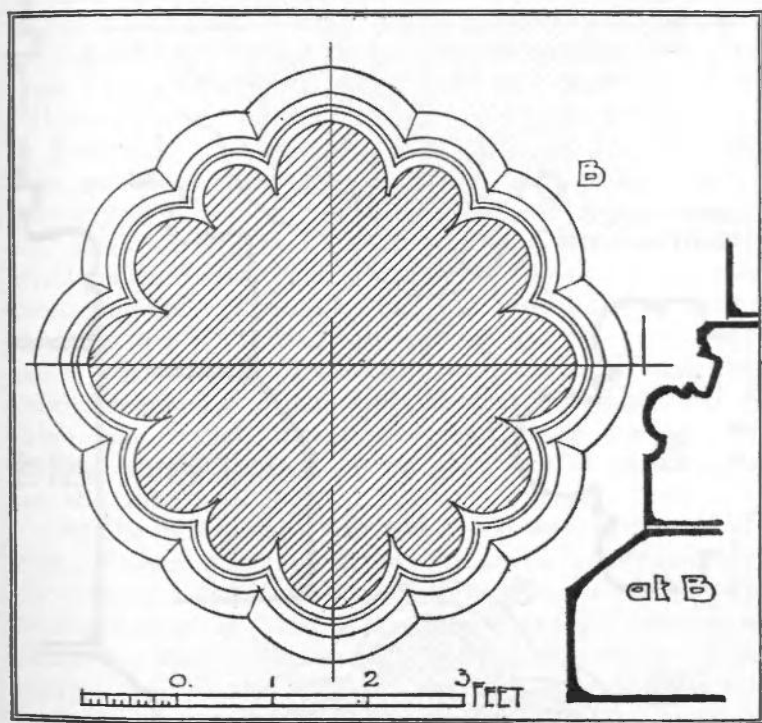


FIG. 5. NAVE.

Plan of second, third and fifth pair of pillars. The second pillar on the south differs by having a circular and beaded plinth.

in the church by being circular on plan with a beaded edge. The companion pier on the north consisted of twelve shafts, of which those to the cardinal points were keeled and the others semicircular. The base had a bold moulding and a chamfered plinth, which followed the plan of the pillar above (fig. 5).

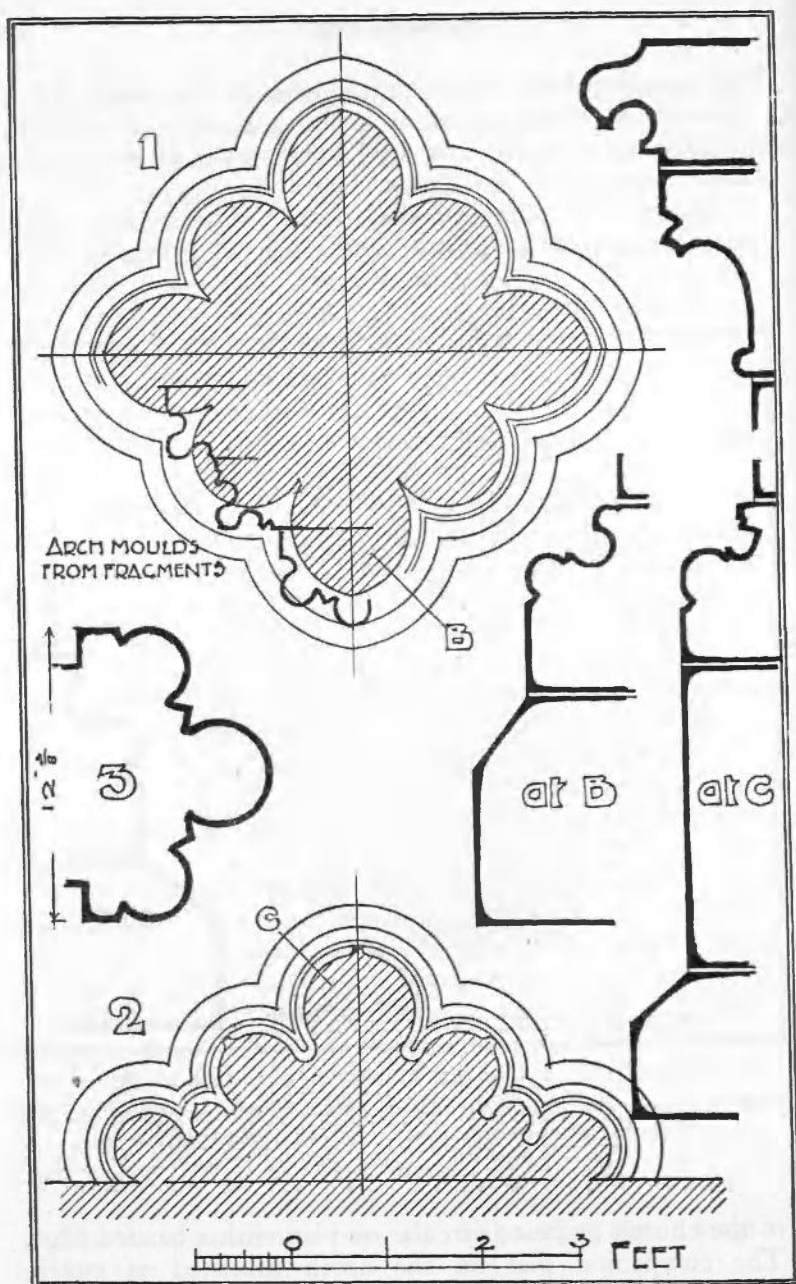


FIG. 6. NAVE.

1. Plan of sixth, seventh and eighth pair of pillars.
2. Plan of western responds.
3. Section of vaulting-rib of main span.

The next three columns on both sides were precisely similar to this last pillar (plate iv, no. 2).

The rest of the piers on both sides each consisted of eight shafts, which likewise had those to the cardinal points keeled and the intermediate ones semicircular. The bases and plinths followed the plan of the columns. (plates iv, no. 1, and vi, no. 2).

The western responds were of the same date but very different on plan. They each consisted of five bold nibbed columns with a nibbed bowtel between the outer ones. They had high moulded bases on a chamfered plinth following the plan of the responds (fig. 6 and plate v, no. 1).

Externally the west front of the church must have been an ornate composition. In the middle was the great doorway of entrance, consisting of six members, of which all, save the innermost, were supported on jamb-shafts, with moulded bases and a chamfered plinth. The innermost member was moulded and was probably returned on to a centre pier dividing the opening into two parts. The jambs between the jamb-shafts were enriched with dog-tooth ornament and mouldings alternately. The northern jamb had entirely disappeared, and there was an early looking coffin-slab used up on that side of the doorway for the threshold.

At the end of each aisle was a doorway $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet in the clear, of three members, of the same character as the central doorway, and with dog-tooth ornaments in the jambs. The southern doorway (plate v, no. 2) remained to three courses above the bases of the south jamb, and two courses of the north; but of the northern doorway only the bases of both jambs remained.

The middle part of the front projected $2\frac{3}{4}$ feet beyond the aisles, and had bold buttresses opposite the main walls of the nave. The buttresses and wall surfaces were ornamented with wall panelling resting on small attached columns having moulded bases and carried on a bench-table with a roll-moulded edge. The whole arrangement of the front, so far as it was found, with the exception of the doors to each aisle, was strikingly similar to that of St. Mary's abbey at York; but of slightly earlier date.

In the south-west angle of the nave was a vice with

a doorway of a single chamfered member from the aisle.

Internally the wall face on either side of the west door was decorated with wall panelling of similar character to that on the outside.

The first section of the nave had the stones dressed diagonally, the middle portion had upright dressing, and the last section with the west front had all the masonry dressed with the claw-tool.

The south wall of the south aisle was of the same early work as the presbytery and had semicircular vaulting shafts with moulded bases resting on the double-chamfered seat-like plinth. This double-chamfered course continued along the walls, but there was no wall arcade.

In the first bay from the east would be the main processional doorway, which had entirely perished. In the seventh bay was the western procession doorway, inserted during the third quarter of the twelfth century, consisting of two members of which the outer was carried by jamb-shafts on moulded bases.

The nave of a Benedictine church was often clear of fittings or sub-divisions, and therefore of little save architectural interest; but the nave of Bardney may be claimed as an exception (plate VI, no. 1).

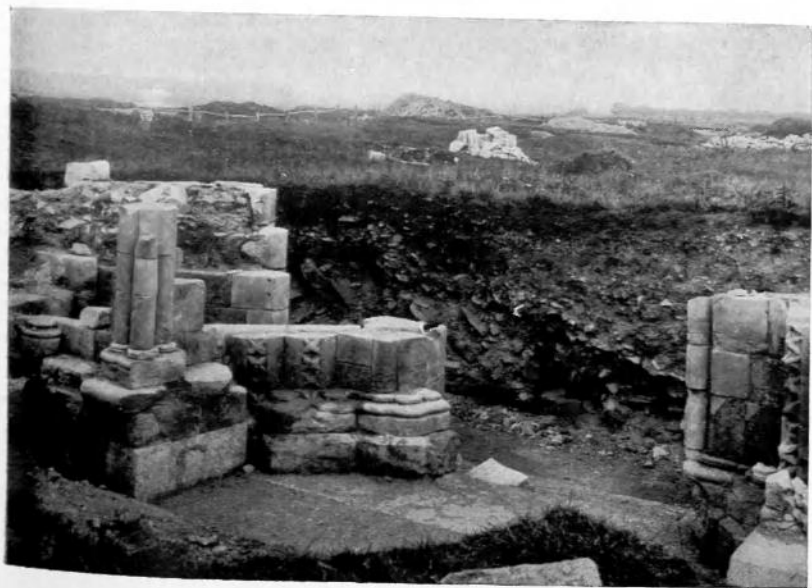
At the first pair of piers was a wall across the main span, forming the reredos of the nave altar, in which at either end would be doorways by which the Sunday procession could return to the quire. Part of the foundations of the altar remained: it projected 25 inches from the wall, but its length was uncertain.

In the north aisle was a chapel, occupying the second and third bays. It had a solid east wall in line with that across the nave, against which was a large altar 7 feet 11 inches long by 21 inches wide. The arches to the nave were filled with screens having stone plinths, like those in the south transept, and there seems to have been a similar screen across the aisle enclosing the west end of the chapel. There was a block of masonry on the north side of the altar, which may have been part of a founder's tomb.

The altar of this chapel was undoubtedly that in the body of the church, hallowed in honour of St. Lawrence,



NO. 1. NAVE : SOUTH-WEST RESPOND AND VICE.



NO. 2. NAVE, SOUTH-WEST DOORWAY.

at which a perpetual chantry was founded by Godfrey Halton, merchant of Barton-on-Humber, somewhere about Ladyday, 1350.¹

The two bays of the south aisle, corresponding to the chapel of St. Lawrence, were also partitioned off from the church. There was a solid wall in line with that across the nave, but there were no signs of an altar against it. There was at some time a wooden screen at the second pier, as was indicated by a notch in the vaulting-shaft against the aisle wall, and at the third pier was the foundation for a solid wall across the aisle. There was no indication of how the partition next the nave was arranged.

In 1440 the vestry was next the church door, which from the evidence before the bishop at that date was that used by the monks attending mattins, that is to say, the eastern processional doorway.² From the remains of the monuments in the transept the vestry could hardly have been, as has been suggested, in that part of the church, and to comply with its proximity to the church door could only have been in the south aisle of the nave, occupying the two bays just described. The practice of closing the east end of the south aisle with a chapel was universal with the Cistercians in late days, and often occurs with other orders: thus at Durham 'Neviles porch' occupied the second and third bay of the aisle, and at Thornton is a solid wall, as at Bardney, in line with the first pier of the nave. At Gloucester and Malmesbury there were chapels in the aisles westward of the entrance.

The lady-chapel, in 1406, is said to have been next the vestry³ which, if occupying the same position as it did in 1440, proves that the nave altar must have been that hallowed in honour of our Lady. Though unusual this is not improbable in a church erected prior to the period when lady-chapels were necessary, and belonging to a convent too poor to build a new structure for that purpose elsewhere.

Another evidence of the nave altar being that of our Lady is that, in the agreement with Halton respecting his chantry, the mass at the altar of St. Lawrence had to be

¹ *Assoc. Soc. Reports*, xxxii, 372.

² Appendix v, 25.

³ Appendix iv. *Vestibulum* in medieval

Latin is equivalent to *vestiarium* and had nothing to do with the classical meaning of the word. (A. H. T.)

taken daily after our Lady's mass,¹ a stipulation, as suggested by Dr. Hamilton Thompson, made to prevent offerings at the new chantry interfering with those at the Lady mass, which shows that the altar at which this mass was sung was in the nave where lay folk might have access.

After the new vestry was erected on the south side of the presbytery, the old vestry may have been formed into a chapel corresponding to that of St. Lawrence on the north.

The fourth and fifth bays of the south aisle were also partitioned off from the church with wooden screens under the arcade arches, and may have been for another chapel, though it is more probable that it was for the library which was within the church at the visit of king Henry IV.²

In the floor of the nave opposite the fourth pier on the north side was a curious feature in the form of a square pit made entirely of brick, with sloping sides. It measured at the top 6 feet from east to west by $5\frac{1}{4}$ feet wide, and at the bottom 20 inches by 16 inches. Whether this was monastic or not is difficult to determine, but whatever its date it was used for a fire, as the masonry of the adjoining pier was much burnt.

The nave, like the rest of the church, was originally paved with stone flags which had given place from time to time to grave-slabs until the whole of the western part of the floor from the third pair of pillars was almost entirely covered with these monuments (plate III, no. 1). The slabs, though considerably broken by falling masonry, formed an interesting series, and are described in detail later.³

In the middle of the nave and at 27 feet from the nave altar is an incised circle, 24 inches across, marked upon the paving. It is evidently one of a series which existed in the pavement down either side of the nave for the decent ordering of the Sunday procession when it made its station before the rood, and this single stone in the middle of the church was undoubtedly the allotted position of the cross-bearer.

At Fountains abbey most of the series remains under

¹ *Assoc. Soc. Reports*, xxxii, 373.

² Appendix iv.

³ Appendix i.



NO. 1. NAVE FROM WEST DOOR.



NO. 2. NAVE: PILLARS ON NORTH SIDE.

the turf and consists of two rows, 40 inches in front of either arcade, 'of twenty-three slabs . . . each 27 inches square, and incised with a circle, with intervals of 11 inches between them. A little further east are two other squares only 11 feet 7 inches apart and 1 foot 10 inches in front of them a single stone square in the middle. . . . Similar rows of stones remained at York, Wells and Lincoln, until swept away, when the naves of those cathedral churches were repaired in the last century.'¹ Circular tiles, 12 inches across, were found in the tile flooring at Haughmond abbey, but sufficient pavement did not remain there to indicate whether they were for the purpose of the station or merely ornaments in the flooring.

THE CLOISTER.

The cloister was 100 feet from east to west by 93 feet from north to south and was surrounded with covered passages. On the north side was the nave of the church, on the east side the south transept, the treasury, the chapter-house and the dorter range. On the south side was the frater, and on the west side the abbot's lodging.

In the first place the surrounding passages would consist of pentises supported next the garth upon continuous open arcades carried by coupled columns with scalloped capitals, of which some have been found in the excavations (fig. 7). This type of cloister alley was universal until the fourteenth century, but in this country was generally superseded about that time by traceried windows, glazed in the upper part, and vaulted alleys.

In 1437-8 the cloister was much dilapidated,² and as it was the most important part of the monastery after the church, being virtually the living room of the convent, it must have been put into repair about that time.

In 1444 brother Thomas Suthewelle made a garden inside the cloister and was chided for so doing by Barton the sub-cellarer.³ The cloister garth was invariably a grass plot undisturbed even by interments.

Although six separate attempts have been made to find the foundations of the inner walls at various places,

¹ *Yorksire Archaeological Journal*, xv, 3c.

³ *ibid.* 30.

² Appendix v, 10.

not a sign of them was to be found. This was doubtless due to the cloister area having been made into a garden after the suppression.

THE TREASURY.

Between the south transept and the chapter-house was originally an open passage about 13 feet in width,

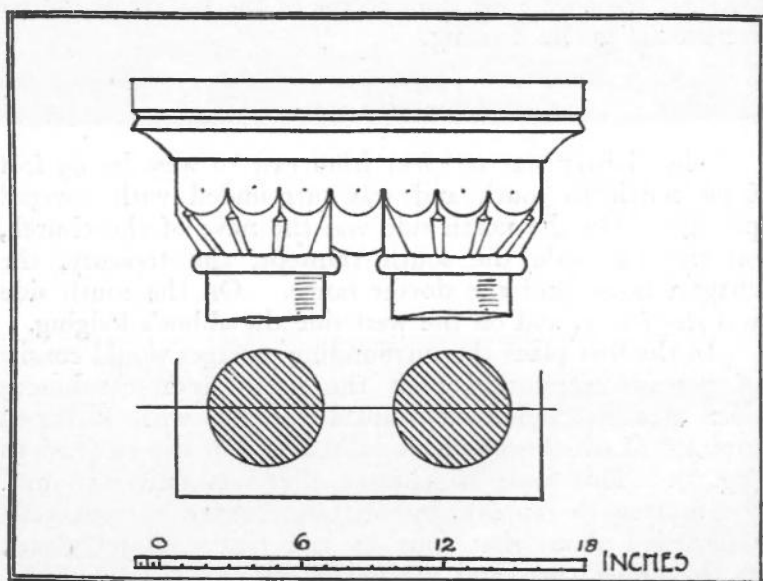


FIG. 7. CLOISTER.

COUPLED CAPITALS OF OPEN ARCADE.

gained from the cloister by a doorway of which the inner jambs remained, 5 feet apart.¹

Late in the thirteenth century this passage was made into a room $24\frac{1}{4}$ feet long by the erection of a wall across its east end, in which was a window with wide splays. This window was destroyed in later days by the erection

¹ The internal jambs were destroyed and the opening blocked by a post-suppression wall over 2 feet in thickness.

of a brick-built garderobe $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide which projected eastward over a pit.

When cleared of rubbish the side walls were found standing to a considerable height, and the chamber has now been roofed over to form a museum for the heavy architectural fragments found in the excavations.

This room occupied the position in Benedictine houses generally allotted to the parlour, but the parlour was invariably open at both ends and formed a passage to the cemetery. Here, however, at any rate after the thirteenth century, the chamber must have been intended for some other purpose, and it was probably the treasury, or its sub-vault, which seems to have been adjacent to the church and chapter-house.¹ This was the usual position, but on the first floor, for the treasury in Cistercian houses, and it was over the parlour in the Benedictine house of Worcester.

In the treasury of Bardney was kept the convent seal, in the common chest, under the charge of the abbot, the sub-prior and one of the older monks of whom each had a key.²

To the east of the treasury in 1913 a very large lime-kiln was found, almost circular, of which the sides were much burnt and perished.³

THE CHAPTER-HOUSE.

The chapter-house was $47\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $22\frac{3}{4}$ feet wide, and was one of the earliest buildings to be erected after the completion of the eastern part of the church. It was entered from the cloister in the middle of the west end by an archway 6 feet 5 inches wide (plate VII, no. 1), which had in the middle of the wall on either side a half-round column with early moulded bases.⁴

The walls remained to various heights up to 5 feet and retained some of their plaster on the north and south sides but showed no architectural features.

¹ Appendix v, 24.

² *ibid.* i, 23.

³ *Assoc. Soc. Reports*, xxxii, 33.

⁴ This archway was built up with post-

suppression masonry and a new opening cut in the south wall next the west end, but no alterations seem to have been made in the arrangements of the room.

At the entrance was a step down to the general floor level, which was laid with plain dark glazed tiles of very rough make and without pattern. At the east end was a dais $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, paved with green and yellow glazed tiles, which was continued along the side walls and up to the entrance as a platform 3 feet wide, upon which were the seats for the convent. These seats remained along the north wall and south walls, starting at 3 feet from the east end, and returned up to the entrance, where they were stopped by stone bench-ends of late thirteenth-century work. On the northern end were the remains of a seated man having long-toed shoes.

In the fourteenth century money was left by a lord Beaumont for putting in a new window. This had not been done in 1379 at the time of the bishop's visitation, but appears to have been finished before his next visit in 1383.¹

The chapter-house was generally a favourite place of burial for the heads of the house, particularly with the Cistercians, but at Bardney no signs of any interments were found.

THE DORTER.

Southward from the chapter-house was a range of building, $108\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length by 22 feet in width, having its west side in line with the east side of the cloister. Except for the west wall the whole was rebuilt towards the end of the thirteenth century. It consisted of a sub-vault on the ground-level divided into various chambers, and the great dorter or sleeping place for the convent on the first floor.

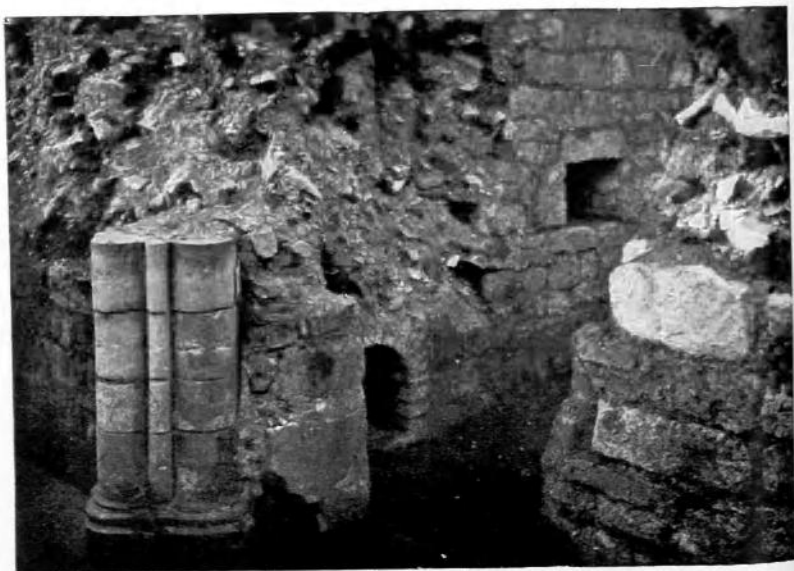
The sub-vault was of nine bays and had a row of clustered columns down the middle to carry the vault. The vaulting had transverse and diagonal ribs, of which the former were semi-octagonal in section with the curve struck from the springers, but the latter were moulded and the curve segmental.

The western half of the northernmost bay was walled off and filled with blocks of masonry, doubtless to form a

¹ *Assoc. Soc. Reports*, xxxii, 375.



NO. 1. CHAPTER-HOUSE: ENTRANCE FROM CLOISTER.



NO. 2. DORTER SUB-VAULT, NORTH-EAST CORNER.

support for the dorter stairs, but the arrangement of these was anything but easy to follow. In Benedictine houses the chapter-house is a high structure of only one story and completely cuts off any direct communication between the church and the dorter: hence separate stairs for day and night uses, so universal in Cistercian and canons' houses, are absent, and only one stair was provided for both purposes.

The eastern half of the northernmost bay was parted off by a wall 19 inches thick, in which was a narrow opening of access. In later days this opening was bricked up and a new one was made further west (plate VII, no. 2).

In the north-east angle the bottom stone of the vaulting corbel remained at $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the floor: in the east wall were the remains of a window, and at the south end of the west wall was an opening 2 feet wide under the stairs: this was in later times filled up and a small brick arch made near the ground. There was a little square cupboard in the west wall further to the north. This chamber may have been the prison of the monks convicted of light offences, which at Durham adjoined the chapter-house.

In the east wall of the second bay was a doorway of which the northern jamb was destroyed. It had two plain members and the whole had been walled up, apparently after the suppression. There was probably a doorway opposite this in the west wall, but this side of the range had been reduced to the footings.

Between the third and fourth bay was a cross-wall, 22 inches thick, making the second and third bays of the sub-vault into a room the use of which is doubtful. The central column, in the dividing wall, had for its base a circular scalloped Norman capital set upside down. A similar feature occurs in the dorter sub-vault at Fountains abbey in Yorkshire and in the crypt of York minster.

Between the sixth and seventh bay was a second cross-wall in which was a doorway at its eastern end, and against the north side of the remainder was a stone bench with an upright stone end next the doorway. The three bays thus divided off formed, without much doubt, the common house of the convent, which was entered from the west and had another doorway in the east wall, opening outwards. This doorway is exactly opposite the infirmary entrance but could hardly have served to gain that building

as it was not important enough, and it was probably an access to the garden of the common house. There was no indication of the position or nature of the fireplace. In the middle bay of this room, in the west wall, were the remains of a wide window. The use of the common house was 'to have a fyre kept in yt all wynter for y^e Mounkes to cume and warme them at, being allowed no fyre but that only. Except the masters and officers of y^e house who had there severall fyres.'¹ At Bardney the warming operation was not indulged in without offence, as brother Barton is recorded to have told some tale by the fire in the common house (*communi loco*) which was a breach of rule serious enough to report to the visiting bi-hop.²

The three remaining bays of the sub-vault formed a room, entered only from the common house, and may have been used by the novices. There was a doorway in the east wall at its southern end, and the centre columns were moulded similarly to those of the rest of the range.

On the outside of the range there was a buttress separating each bay. On the west side, after the range cleared the frater, the three northern buttresses had a small set-off on the front and were additions to an older wall. The fourth buttress was destroyed to the foundations, which were different from the others, and the footings of the wall southward were wider, indicating a change in the work at this point. At the south-west angle were two wide buttresses, with a chamfered plinth, of the date of the rebuilding of the range. The south end had a continuous plinth, without any buttress opposite the central row of columns, but had one projecting southward in line with the east wall. The east wall was of one work with its buttresses and had a continuous plinth. Its southernmost bay was overlapped by an earlier building which will be described later.

At the south end of this range, and very little later in date, was an added building of the same width as the sub-vault, by 12 feet from north to south.³ It was entered by

¹ *Rites of Durbam* (Surtees Society, cvii), 88.

² Appendix v, 20.

³ At the Cistercian abbey of Croxden is a

similar chamber added to the south end of the dormer range, and there its first floor certainly contained an enlargement of the dormer.

an inserted doorway in the south end of the sub-vault. There was a big buttress opposite the west wall and a corresponding one, which had been destroyed, opposite the east wall. In the east wall was a window, 4 feet 4 inches wide and 3 feet 10 inches to the springer of the rere-arch, though it could not have been for use owing to the earlier building covering it on the east. The window was first contracted and then made into a doorway, but was ultimately walled up and the upper part recessed for a cupboard.

In the south wall were probably two lancet windows of which the internal splayed recess of the eastern remained. The western window was destroyed in the fifteenth century by the insertion of a large brick fireplace $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, which had a brick hearth and curb.

Over the sub-vault and possibly over the added room at the south end was the great dorter of the monks, gained from the cloister by the stairs in the north-west angle. The dorter was invariably arranged with a row of cells of woodwork down either side, each cell lighted by a single window. If the usual width of the cells (about 6 feet)¹ obtained at Bardney, there would be space for about thirty cells, some of them, probably those on the west side next the abutting buildings, for novices and without separate windows. The central passage between the cells was lighted by a large window at one or both ends of the building, and at night the necessary light was given by stone cressets supplied with wicks and oil.

THE REREDORTER.

The building overlapping the east side of the southernmost bay of the dorter sub-vault and running southward, contained the convent reredorter, or *necessarium*, at the dorter level, over a sub-vault. It was 78 feet over all in length by $20\frac{1}{2}$ feet in width, and dated from the middle of the twelfth century. It was considerably repaired in the thirteenth century, when the new dorter was built.

¹ At the Cistercian houses of Netley and Cleeve the chambers were 7 ft. wide and at Jervaulx 6 ft.

The drain was on the east side of the building and averaged $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in width. The bottom was paved with stone and fell sharply towards the south (plate VIII, no. 2). The east wall was carried on a series of open arches supported by large square piers, as in the similar building at the Cistercian house of Jervaulx. The northernmost arch was reduced in size by the insertion of a round-headed arch 2 feet $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches across, which was found perfect (plate VIII, no. 1). A number of the other arches had been walled up, and the south-east angle had been entirely rebuilt in the thirteenth century owing apparently to a settlement of the original building. The drain was flushed out with water, and there must have been a system of drains with sluices to accomplish this, but these have not yet been traced.

The northern end of the sub-vault was walled off in the thirteenth century, apparently to form a garderobe in connexion with the common house. The remainder of the sub-vault was divided into two almost equal parts by a cross wall, and was covered by a waggon vault, of which a portion remained towards the northern end of the west wall, with its springer at $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the floor-level. In the west wall, just to the north of the cross wall, was a splayed opening of uncertain date. Further north were the splays of the window afterwards made into an opening to the added room at the end of the dormer range. Southward of the cross wall were the internal jambs of another original window, and further to the south was a doorway of a single chamfered member inserted in the thirteenth century.

Of the reredorter itself nothing remains, but the drain shows that the closets were arranged along the east wall, and, if they were of the usual width of 3 feet, there were twenty-five closets in all.

On the west side of the reredorter, at its south end, was an added building, apparently of the end of the twelfth century, measuring over all 19 feet from north to south, by $27\frac{3}{4}$ feet from the reredorter to the west end. This west end had shallow clasping buttresses at the angles and a pilaster in the middle, on either side of which were sills of a window about $2\frac{3}{4}$ feet wide. In the middle of the north wall was another pilaster, and there was an original doorway in both bays thus formed. The western doorway



NO. 1. REREDORTER, ARCH AT NORTH END.



NO. 2. REREDORTER, FROM THE SOUTH.



NO. 1. FRATER, NORTH SIDE.



NO. 2. GRAVE-SLAB; BROTHER ROBERT LINCOLN.

was built up and a new one, built with brick, was inserted to the west. The south wall had an original doorway opposite the western one in the north wall, which was also destroyed and another doorway inserted to the west. The east end of the south wall, for 8 feet from the reredorter, was roughly faced with brick, and on the inside was one stone of a splayed jamb of a window. This building was not completely cleared and until that is done it is difficult to ascertain its use. It was most probably the *camera* of the prior, conveniently placed in connexion with the dorter, where he had to see good order kept, and the guest-house, with which he had constant business.

THE FRATER.

The south side of the cloister was occupied by the frater and a passage at the east end between it and the dorter range.

The passage was $11\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and seems to have had a wide arch of entrance from the cloister inserted when the dorter range was rebuilt. At the south end was probably a small doorway, but no remains of it were found.¹ There must have been one or two doorways in the east wall to the chambers under the dorter, but in the west wall were no openings. Passages in this position are universal in Benedictine houses and were covered by barrel vaults.

The frater or dining-hall of the convent was on the ground-floor, like that of Westminster, and not as usual over a sub-vault. The building was 82 feet long by 28 feet 8 inches wide, and was built in the twelfth century immediately after the erection of the chapter-house and original dorter range. It was built independently of the adjoining buildings and had pilaster buttresses at the angles. There was a pilaster buttress in the middle of the west gable and others along the south wall dividing the building into five bays.

The frater was entered towards the west end of the north wall from the cloister by a doorway of three

¹ The end of the passage was partly closed after the suppression by a small kiln formed of brick, apparently for burning lime.

members. The two outer members had jamb-shafts with claws to the bases, and the door itself was formed of two valves of unequal width which closed against a stone stop in the sill. The smaller valve of the door, to the west, was that usually kept shut, and the larger, to the east, was in general use, as was shown by the greater wear of the threshold on that side.

The south wall of the easternmost bay seems to have been thickened to the depth of the pilaster buttresses in order to take the wall-stair leading to the pulpit, which would project from the wall at the western end of the bay in a manner similar to that remaining at Chester.

The frater was not retained at the suppression, but the walls fell or were pulled down and the site levelled over. Thus the internal arrangements of the hall were preserved in a remarkable manner, and have now been revealed by excavation.

At the east end was a dais raised on three steps and a platform of one step upon which was the high table, some 15 feet in length, with a continuous stone seat at the back against the east wall.

The top step of the dais was continued along each of the side walls as a stone seat to within 20 feet of the west end. The seats were raised on platforms two steps above the general floor level, and on these were placed two long tables on either side of the hall for the accommodation of the convent (plate ix, no. 1).

On the north side the tables were about 20 feet in length and had a gangway between. On the south side the eastern table was 22 feet long and the western 18 feet with a gangway between. Why the arrangement of the tables was not the same on both sides of the hall it is difficult to understand.

The tables were of wood and each was carried on three stone supports: the upper parts of these were found loose but the lower parts were bedded into large stones forming the floors of the platforms. These fixing-blocks were mostly moulded stones of the twelfth century reused. The table supports were each cut from a single stone having two half-arches springing from a centre pillar and finished at the top on the side towards the hall by a well-sculptured head, of which a king, a bishop and three

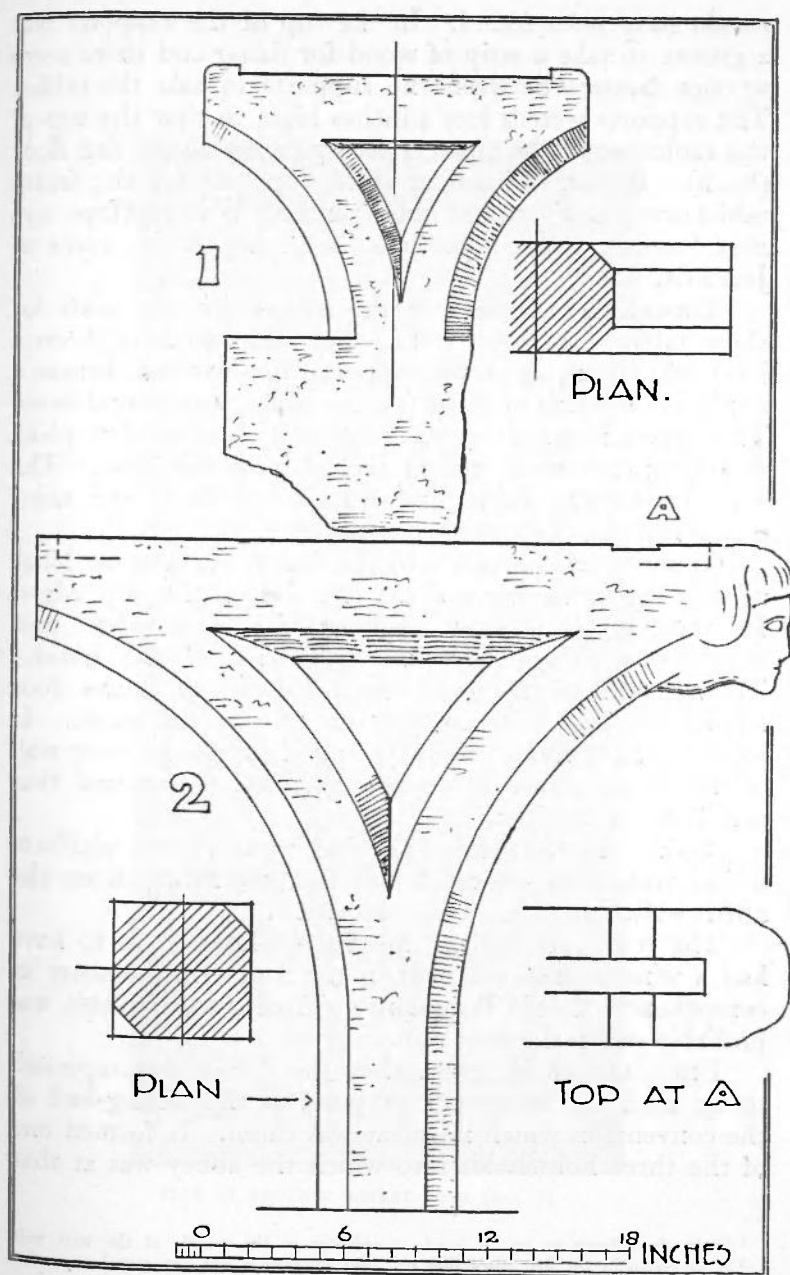


FIG. 8. FRATER.

1. STONE SUPPORTS FOR SEATS.

2. STONE SUPPORTS FOR TABLES.

monks have been found. In the top of the supports was a groove to take a strip of wood for fixing and there were wooden bearers between the supports to take the tables. The supports were 2 feet 4 inches high, so that the top of the tables would be about 2 feet 7 inches above the floor (fig. 8). Remains of similar stone supports for the frater tables occur at Fountains abbey, and Sir William Hope says that 'one or two similar posts are lying in the ruins at Jervaulx.'¹

Though at the date of the suppression the seats for these tables were solid stone, they seem to have been a later alteration, as stone supports for wooden benches, miniature editions of those for the tables, were found loose. They were notched on the top to take a wooden plank seat 13 inches wide and 11 inches from the floor. The supports for the tables and seats dated from the third quarter of the fourteenth century (fig. 8).

Opposite the entrance to the frater was a stone block $2\frac{3}{4}$ feet square having a slight chamfer on the top edges. It was probably the support for a wooden post to carry a gallery over the west end of the frater.² To the south of this block was a dished sink in the floor having two holes in the bottom to take off water. It seems to have had a drain leading through the west wall of the frater, where it was protected by an iron grid that was found in position.

Against the west end of the frater was a raised platform 9 feet wide that extended $20\frac{1}{2}$ feet southward from the north wall, but its use is not apparent.

The frater, as well as the chapter-house, was to have had a window inserted in it in the fourteenth century in consequence of lord Beaumont's gift of £10, and this was probably put in the west wall.³

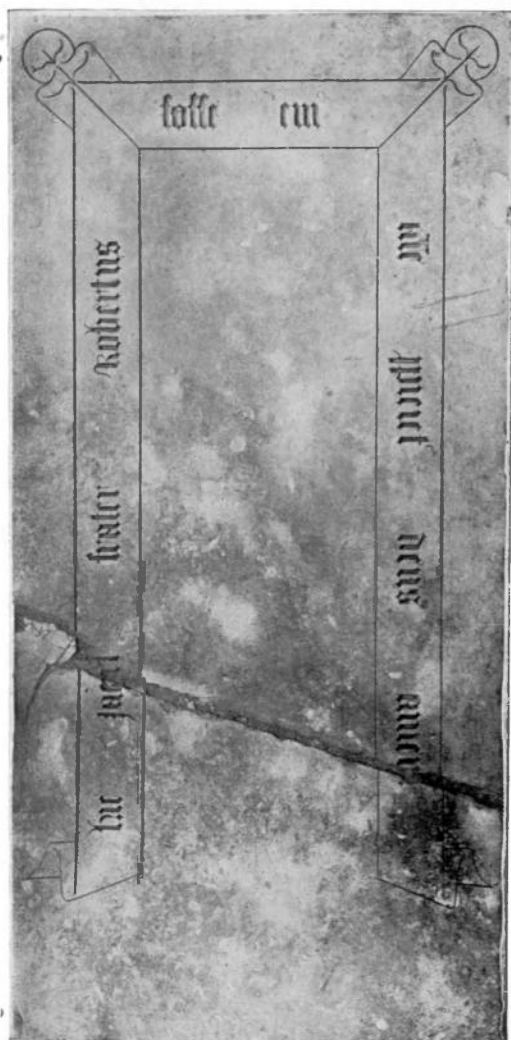
Until 1437-8 it seems that the frater was supposed to be used for its proper purpose, as the dining-hall of the convent, in which no meat was eaten. It formed one of the three households into which the abbey was at that

¹ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xv, 96.

² It suggested in the first place that it was one of a series of bases to support a row of wooden posts to carry the roof, and this arrangement was borne out by the

pilaster in the middle of the west wall, but excavation did not reveal any other bases or their footings.

³ *Assoc. Soc. Reports*, xxxii, 375.



SLAB OF BROTHER ROBERT FOSSE (NO. 7).

time divided,¹ three sorts of fish were sometimes provided,² but on occasions when, through neglect, there was no fish, no one kept frater.³ At the visitation held in that year Thomas Elkyngton, the cellarer, prayed that all the monks may eat together in one building outside the frater,⁴ namely, to have a misericorde or hall wherein meat might be eaten, which had become the regular custom in most orders by that time.

The position of the misericorde varies in different houses, a very usual place being contiguous to the infirmary, but sometimes it was part of the frater itself. At Durham it was called 'the Lofte' and was in the western part of the frater over a cellar.⁵ It is probable that the misericorde was so arranged at Bardney, as indicated by the base of a post to carry a gallery as already described.

The frater was further altered at this time by the insertion of transomed windows in the side walls, of which a number of fragments were found. These fragments were mostly of transoms with roughly battlemented tops and had fiat cusping with the lights 2 feet in the clear.

The west end of the south wall of the frater was destroyed, but it must have contained the serving-hatch or a service doorway from the kitchen.⁶

At the west end of the southern range of tables was an inserted doorway, of a single chamfered member, which led by descending steps, five in number, to an added room to the south. This room was built out of square with the frater and was roughly 22 feet long by 11 feet in width. There was the sill of a narrow window in the east side and one apparently of a two-light window in the south end. There was no sign of any external entrance, and the room was probably never anything more than a cellar in connexion with the frater. There must, however, have been a room over, which was probably gained by an external staircase, as the pit of a garderobe from an upper floor remains on the east side next the frater wall.

In the cloister, occupying the space between the frater

¹ Appendix v, 2.

² *ibid.* 7.

³ *ibid.* 8.

⁴ *ibid.* 16.

⁵ *Rites of Durham*, 86.

⁶ This destruction was done at the suppression, and the actual frater wall was lost sight of, as a later wall for a court is built partly on the old footings and partly on the south side of them.

door and the south-west angle, was a recess, 8 feet 11 inches wide by $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet deep, roughly lined with brick, which may have contained the lavatory.

THE WESTERN RANGE.

The west side of the cloister was occupied by a range of buildings, 89 feet in length by 24 feet in width, and was erected as a complete structure in a similar way to the frater, but slightly later in date.

The range was divided into two portions.

The northern part was $15\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide and was covered with a barrel vault with its springer at $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet above the floor level. At the west end was an original doorway of two members, of which the outer was carried on jambshafts.¹ There was another doorway at the east end into the cloister, of which the inner jambs remain; but it was an insertion of late twelfth-century date, probably taking the place of a small original doorway.²

A similar passage occurs at many of our great abbeys—St. Austin's Canterbury, Gloucester and Tewkesbury—and in these cases it was the outer parlour and cloister entry, which was doubtless its use at Bardney.

The southern division had near its south end an original doorway from the cloister, of a single chamfered member, a second doorway in the west side almost opposite that from the cloister, and another doorway in the middle of the eastern half of the south end. Down the middle of the range were six large stone blocks to support wooden posts to carry the floor above. The southernmost block was the base-stone of a Saxon cross reused. It was roughly $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by 2 feet wide and 11 inches deep, but was not square on plan. It had a projecting square member on one side and doubtless had a corresponding block on the opposite face which had been cut off. The edges were roughly moulded, and there was a mortice 16 inches by 12 inches in the middle for the shaft of the cross. The stone was set

¹ This doorway had been blocked up with a deeply splayed window in post-suppression times.

² This doorway had its outer members removed and blocked up after the suppression, and a new doorway with a wooden frame was inserted in the south wall.

bottom upwards, and a new mortice hole had been made to take the wooden post in its reused position. The west wall of the southern division had no external face, which would indicate that at one time there was a flight of external steps against it up to the floor above.

In the first place this western range seemed to have been used for its usual purposes; that is, the lower floor for the great cellar of the convent and the upper for the great hall, which were both under the care of the cellarer and gave the name of *cellarium* or cellarer's building to the range. In the thirteenth century, when the new guest-house was built elsewhere, this range was adapted for the use of the abbot, which entailed considerable alterations and additions.

A large building, projecting westward from the north end of the *cellarium* and just escaping the doorway to the cloister entry, was erected. It was 47 feet long by $21\frac{1}{4}$ feet wide and had walls $2\frac{3}{4}$ feet in thickness. In the north wall towards its east end was a doorway of a single chamfered member, in the west wall was another doorway of the same character and in the south wall was a similar doorway. Westward of this last doorway was a pilaster buttress, and further to the west were two large blocks of brickwork, $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet apart, which seem to have been added to carry a projecting oriel to light the room above. Down the middle of the building were three stone blocks, 13 inches square, with chamfered edges, for the support of wooden posts to carry the floor above in a similar way to those which yet remain under the guest-hall at Wigmore abbey. The westernmost block was destroyed. The use of the building on the ground floor was a cellar, and the upper floor will be referred to later.

At the southern end of the *cellarium* another building projecting westward was added, slightly later in date and smaller than that just described, being only $22\frac{3}{4}$ feet long by $14\frac{3}{4}$ feet wide. In the middle of its north wall was a large buttress with chamfered plinth, and there were similar buttresses projecting westward in line with the north and south walls. It was originally entered by a doorway, in the north wall close against the *cellarium*, of which the inner west jamb remained. In the south wall was an opening in front of a doorway belonging to a pre-existing building. In the middle of the east end was the old

entrance to the cellar already described, of which the outer jambs remained,¹ and in consequence of this being covered by the new building, another doorway of entrance to the cellar was inserted further to the north. The room was considerably altered in the fifteenth century: a new fireplace, $4\frac{3}{4}$ feet wide, was inserted in the north wall with a projecting breast incorporating the buttress: the original entrance was altered by the insertion of a new doorway of a single chamfered member opening outwards: the south door was blocked and a new doorway similar to the entrance was inserted further to the east, and a block of brickwork was added outside the west end to carry a chimney above. The north wall was pierced for another doorway at its west end leading to a large vice, of which the two bottom steps remained. The room was paved with stone flags.

Outside on the north and of the same depth as the vice was a small added chamber which just left access to the entrance. A wall in line with the west side of the vice continued up to the northern projecting building, and to the west was a narrow chamber with a porch in the middle projecting westward. In the middle of the porch was a large grave-slab which had an inscription around it, but this was not legible as the stone was badly shattered. This chamber and the little yard it enclosed were paved with portions of old grave-slabs of such late date as to indicate the paving had been renewed after the suppression.

Slightly to the east of the west wall of the *cellarium* was a wall, $3\frac{1}{4}$ feet in thickness, running southward for some 40 feet. At its north end was a doorway which had lost its outer jambs, and towards the south was a construction arch, 8 feet in width, to carry the wall over a pre-existing well which was 3 feet in diameter. Originally this wall seems to have been the east wall of the first convent kitchen, which was 32 feet from north to south.² In addition to the east wall part of the north wall remained and had

¹ This doorway was blocked at the suppression and a new doorway which had wooden jambs was inserted to the north.

² I am led to this conclusion: (1) that there is no sign of an early kitchen, which was one of the first buildings to be required, in the later kitchen, (2) that the east,

north and south walls were of earlier date than the west wall of the building afterwards occupying the site; and (3) that a kitchen in this position would have served both frater and guest-hall over the *cellarium* more conveniently than one elsewhere.



SLAB OF DAN RICHARD HORNCASEL, ABBOT (NO. 10).

a narrow doorway of a single chamfered member. A fragment of the south wall remained, with part of the back of one of the fireplaces. As the nature of these remains was not suspected at the time, no excavations were made further west or doubtless the supposition of their character might have been settled.

After the erection of the later kitchen, which will be described shortly, the northern part of the first kitchen was converted into a narrow building only 13 feet wide by the erection of a new west wall, and this new building was the kitchen of the abbot's house. At its south end was a fireplace 6 feet wide, set in front of the original one, with a narrow passage between it and the west wall, in which were the remains of the inner jambs of a lancet window. At the east end of the fireplace was an interesting series of ovens: the first was on the floor, 3 feet in diameter, projected to the south; the second at a higher level, some 2 feet across, projected south-eastward; and the third, about 4 feet across, projected eastward. In the north-west corner of this kitchen was an inserted vice of which six steps remained leading to the upper story. Near the vice was an opening in the west wall, to the south of which were the foundations of a wall across the building.

Southward of the kitchen was a small scullery 9½ feet wide, which originally had a doorway in the east wall which was blocked by the ovens of the kitchen, when another doorway was inserted to the south. At the south-west angle was the pit of a garderobe from the floor above built in brick, and there was a doorway inserted leading to the convent kitchen, also made in brick.¹

The old *cellarium* and the contiguous buildings just described were an interesting group forming the abbot's lodging. This was one of the three households of the abbey in the fifteenth century.²

The description of king Henry IV's visit throws considerable light on this establishment, for it is recorded that after passing the night in the abbot's lodging the king came down into the cloister about six o'clock in the morning. After high mass he ascended for late breakfast and

¹ This doorway was built up in post-suppression times and another doorway inserted further west into a building added

to the south after the great kitchen was destroyed.

² Appendix v, 3.

with the princes and Scotch nobles sat apart in the abbot's great chamber. The king sat at a table in the west part, on the side of the abbot's bench, with the princes at the ends. The Scots were at a table on the north side. The abbot held the principal table in the hall with the bishop of Llandaff with other lords and many knights.¹

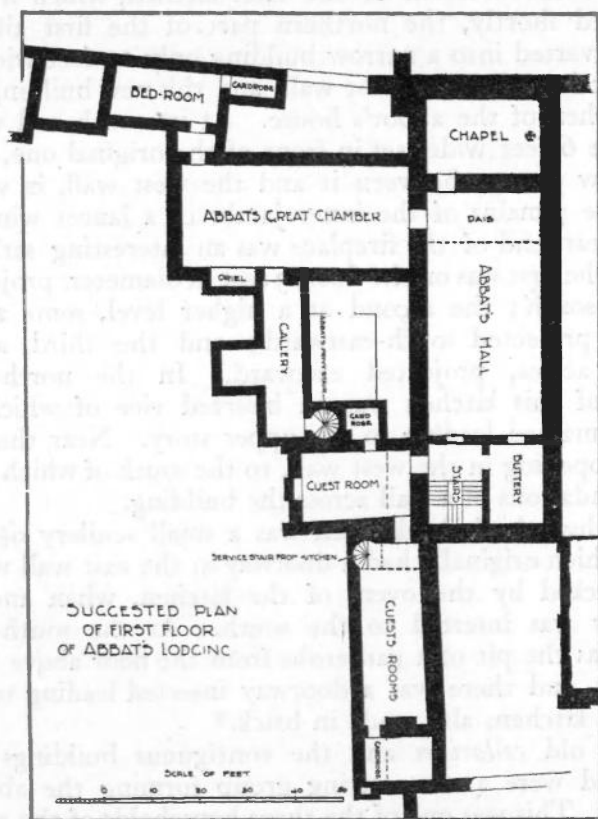


FIG. 9. ABBOT'S HOUSE: PLAN OF SUGGESTED ARRANGEMENT OF FIRST FLOOR.

The abbot's hall was intended for the use of superior guests, for at the visitation in 1437-8 a complaint was made against the sub-cellarer that he failed to entertain guests in the abbot's hall when the abbot was away.²

¹ Appendix iv.

² Appendix v, 4. 15.

It will therefore be seen that the abbot's lodging was adjacent to the cloister and had two large apartments on the first floor, namely, the abbot's hall and the abbot's great chamber (fig. 9.)

When the *cellarium* was converted into the abbot's house, the space over the cloister entry was probably made into a chapel, and the northern of the two wings projecting westward was built for the abbot's great chamber. The abbot's house was then served from the convent kitchen.

The next change was the conversion of the eastern half of the convent kitchen into the abbot's kitchen, and the erection of the southern of the two western wings for the cellarer's checker. The internal stairs to the hall were probably inserted at the same time.

Considerable changes for additional comfort were made in later days: a gallery was made between the great chamber and the checker, with an entrance below, and various vices and fireplaces were inserted.

The final arrangement of the house was that it was entered on the west by the porch into the narrow vestibule, inside which was a small court with a pentise from the entrance round the north and east sides to the entrance of the cellarer's checker. The checker had a screen dividing off the east end to form a vestibule, and this had a door to the south to a serving lobby, to the south of which was the kitchen with a scullery beyond. There was a second door to the east to the stairs to the first floor, beyond which was a lobby with a door into the cloister. The stairs led up to the abbot's hall and there was probably a buttery at the top, over the lobby to the cloister. The hall occupied the site of the original guest-hall and had the dais at the north end. A door led northward to the abbot's chapel over the cloister entry, and on the west was a door to the abbot's great chamber. This was arranged as a hall with a dais at the west end, with an oriel to the south, and a door on the north which led over a bridge to the abbot's bed-chamber, which had a garderobe to the east. Off the abbot's great chamber was a gallery over the entrance with a vice at the south end, whereby the abbot could gain his private chambers without going through the hall, and also the cellarer's checker to transact business. Over the checker was a guest-room with a garderobe on the north

side. A vice was inserted in the serving lobby outside the kitchen for direct access to the hall. Over the kitchen were guests' chambers and the southernmost had a garde-robe (fig. 9).

The whole building, though much scattered, formed a most convenient medieval house and it is no wonder that it was seized upon by the grantee at the suppression as a dwelling-house for himself.

Between the west end of the frater and the abbot's kitchen was a courtyard, which reached in the other direction from the south end of the *cellarium* to the later convent kitchen.¹ In the middle of the south side was a well, 3 feet in diameter and 17 feet deep, partly under the construction arch already described. It was carefully cleared out and the refuse searched, but the things found were not considerable: they included 'one pewter plate fairly perfect, another broken in half, the connexion between the bucket and chain, the bottom of the bucket, several pieces of leather and a great quantity of animal bones.'²

THE KITCHEN.

The great kitchen of the abbey, after the fourteenth century, was conveniently placed to the south-west of the frater and was entirely rebuilt in later days, when a quantity of brick was used in its construction.³

This late building was 39 feet from east to west by 31 feet from north to south and had fireplaces on the east, north and west sides. The outer walls on these sides were only 2½ feet in thickness, and the south side seemed never to have had a solid wall, but was represented by three wooden posts to carry the principals of the roof. The roof was made of timber with its ridge running east and west. How the building was lighted is difficult to determine, though it probably had windows high up above the fireplaces in the east and west gables.

¹ After the suppression a new wing was added to the house occupying the south side of this yard, of which the south wall was formed by the north wall of the later monastic kitchen, and its east end was carried over the south-west angle of the frater.

The north wall remained across the yard and was made entirely of old materials.

² The Rev. C. E. Laing, MS. collection.

³ The whole area of the present kitchen was carefully trenched, but nothing was found of any paving, walls or piers.



SLAB OF BROTHER THOMAS ELKYNGTON (NO. 18).

The fireplace on the east side was the best preserved; it was entirely constructed with brick and had an opening $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide by $5\frac{3}{4}$ feet deep. The back was formed of roofing-tiles set herringbone-wise and stopped 2 feet away from each end of the opening. The hearth was also formed of roofing-tiles on edge for a distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the back, and the rest was of red floor-tiles, 9 inches square. In either jamb was an opening 3 feet wide which led to a recess 2 feet wide for the use of the spit-boy, where he could stand at his work without being scorched by the fire,¹ but this arrangement did not exist at either of the other fires.

Of the western fireplace only the south jamb remained, constructed with brick, and this projected 3 feet 10 inches from the back and was $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. To the south of this jamb was a contemporary oven 3 feet 2 inches in diameter. At the back of the fireplace, towards its south end, was a second oven arranged in a projecting block of brickwork which had splayed angles and finished with a chamfered plinth. The arrangement of occupying one of the fireplaces with ovens is similar to that in the kitchen at Jervaulx in Yorkshire, and was apparently so planned in order that the smoke from the fuel when raked out of the oven should ascend the chimney and not come into the kitchen.

In the floor at the north end of the west side of the kitchen was a dished stone sink $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide by 20 inches deep, tapered to an outlet $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide in the thickness of the wall, where it entered a drain of equal width, and there is a groove for a wooden shutter or sluice in the middle of the wall. The arrangement seems to have been for the disposal of kitchen refuse, and it would be periodically flushed with water stored in a tank above.

Against the north wall were the remains of a hearth, like that of the east fireplace, but nothing of the fireplace itself was found except part of the eastern jamb, which was constructed in brick. At the east end of this wall must have been a doorway for service to the frater.

Adjoining the kitchen to the south was a building of the same length from east to west by 19 feet wide, but its

¹ When this kitchen was built it must be remembered that the use of flesh-meat was allowed, and owing to the poverty of the

house one kitchen seems to have served for the convent and guests.

walls were only 19 inches thick. It was evidently the scullery and was covered by a pentise roof in continuation with the southern slope of the roof over the kitchen.

In the middle of the east end was the sill of a small window 26 inches wide, apparently of late thirteenth-century work reused. Between this window and the kitchen was a circular projection, built with stone, which seems to have been the base of a large baking-oven.

There were no signs of any openings in the south wall, though it is obvious there must have been one for service to the guest-house.

In the west wall was a small doorway 2 feet 8 inches wide with a stone sill and jambs with a double wave-moulding of the fifteenth century.

Next the convent kitchen was the *camera* of the sub-cellarer, but it is not clear whether this was on the first floor of the abbot's lodging or over the cellar off the frater, either of which positions might equally be described as next the kitchen.¹

THE GUEST-HOUSE.

Southward of the kitchen were the remains of an interesting group of buildings of the thirteenth century, which from its arrangement and position was the guest-house. It consisted of an aisled hall, placed north and south, with a cross-wing probably of two stories at either end, and resembles in a marked degree the contemporary guest-house at Kirkstall.

The hall was 60 feet long by 40 feet wide inclusive of the aisles. The arcades separating the aisles from the hall were of three bays and had moulded pillars with detached columns resting on moulded bases with octagonal plinths (fig. 10). There were no responds at the ends. Outside the south wall were buttresses opposite the line of arches, showing that the hall was first built without the southern two-storied building. In the north wall were two doorways each of a single chamfered member, for service to the kitchen and pantry.

The aisles were about 10 feet wide and there was an

¹ Appendix v, 12.

entrance doorway at the extreme north end of the west wall. Nothing remained of the corresponding part of the east wall, but there was probably another doorway therein opposite to the entrance.

In the fourteenth century, when the convent was in financial difficulties, the aisles of the hall were pulled down, walls were built between the columns, and large buttresses added opposite each column.

Doorways $4\frac{1}{4}$ feet wide were put in both side walls next the north end, and there was a 9-inch brick wall

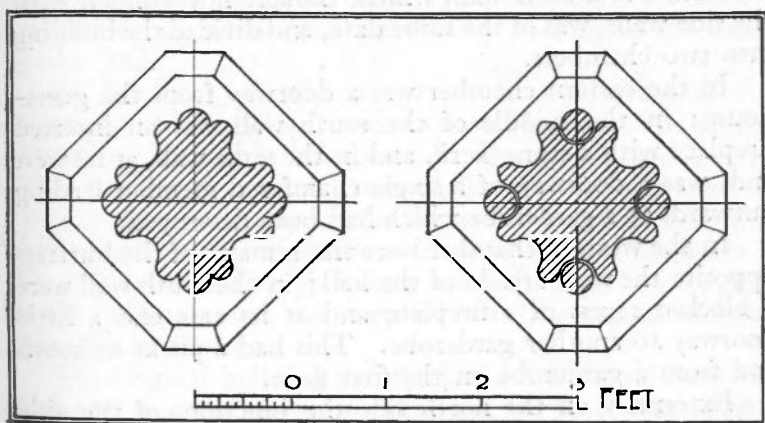


FIG. 10. GUEST HOUSE: PLAN OF SIDE COLUMNS.

across the hall, at $5\frac{3}{4}$ feet from the north wall, which may have been the foundation for the screens.¹

Of the northern cross-building scarcely anything remained, but there must have been a passage crossing it from the western of the two doors at the north end of the hall to the kitchen. The portion of the building to the west would have been the pantry, and the portion to the east, entered by the eastern doorway in the hall, would have been the buttery. Whether the western part of this cross-building was taken down when the aisles of the hall were removed is impossible to say, but there remains a wall,

¹ In quite late days, possibly when the building was standing in ruin, a structure was erected in the middle of the hall, which

looks as if it was intended for pigsties with a small yard between.

immediately to the east of the buttery door, running northward for about 14 feet, cutting off the east end of the building into a separate chamber. There was a doorway at the south end of this wall with a curved wall so that it could be served only through the old buttery door.

The southern cross-building, although of the thirteenth century, was an addition to the hall. The lower part of all the walls remained and the building measured $73\frac{1}{4}$ feet in length by 18 feet in width. It was apparently of two stories, of which the lower was a sub-vault and the upper contained the chief guest-chambers. At $38\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the east end was a cross-wall, which, though not bonded with the side walls, was of the same date, and divided the building into two chambers.

In the eastern chamber was a doorway from the guest-house; in the middle of the south wall was an inserted fireplace with a stone kerb, and in the same wall, at its west end, was a doorway of a single chamfered member leading outwards to a garderobe which had been destroyed.

In the western chamber were the remains of the buttress opposite the west arcade of the hall; in the south wall were a blocked recess of a fireplace and at its east end a little doorway to another garderobe. This had a pit at its south end from a garderobe on the first floor.

Externally on the north side the junctions of the aisle walls of the hall had been carefully dressed off to a smooth face.

On the occasion of the visitation of 1437-8 William of York, late subprior, prays that they might have the common guest-house of the monastery for the entertainment of their friends, and the matter was ordered to be inquired into.¹ The result of this inquiry probably occasioned the repair of the southern cross-building to its original purpose.

THE INFIRMARY.

Directly east from the middle of the dorter range was the infirmary, which was first erected in the thirteenth century. A monastic infirmary was used not only for the

¹ Appendix v, 18.

temporary accommodation of the sick but for the permanent housing of the aged and infirm: it was an establishment independent from the rest of the monastery, the rules of its occupants were less severe, and its feeding less frugal than those of the claustral monks. At Bardney in the fifteenth century the occupants formed one of the three households into which the convent was divided.¹

In the first place a hall, chapel and kitchen were all that was provided, but in later days it became the custom to house the obedientaries in separate little *camerae* which were generally adjacent to the infirmary in order to be included under its easier rules. These houses were added to the existing buildings or formed by parting off the aisles of the hall.

At Bardney, as early as 1317, a *nova camera* next the infirmary had been built and was used to house the abbot Waynfilete upon his retirement.² In 1437-8, the guest-house being out of repair, part of the infirmary was used to house guests, and some of the inmates were accused by the abbot of sitting up long and late, drinking ale from the frater.³ The sub-cellarer, though strong and well, slept in a lodging in the infirmary and was supplied with the richest of food from the kitchen.⁴

The original building consisted of a hall placed east and west and a small chapel to the east. The contemporary kitchen and new *camera* of 1317 have left no trace. In the fourteenth century the aisles of the hall were widened and afterwards divided up into separate chambers. In the fifteenth century a long building was added to the north.

The chapel was 20 feet long by 15 feet wide and seemed to be entirely of the thirteenth century. The east wall in part projected about 3 inches, apparently for a plinth, but this projection was not in the middle of the gable. In the fifteenth century a new east window was inserted, as bold buttresses of that date were added to the north and south in line with the east wall. Nothing remained of the arch at the west end into the hall.

The hall was 112 feet in length by 41 feet wide in the first place. It was divided into five bays and had narrow aisles.

¹ Appendix v, 3.

² See p. 4, *supra*.

³ Appendix v, 5.

⁴ *ibid.* 12.

The centre span was 18 feet wide and was entered in the middle of the west end by a doorway of two members of which the outer was carried on jamb-shafts. On either side, dividing off the aisles, were four octagonal columns with moulded bases, of which the first and third remained on the north side, and the first, third and fourth on the south. These columns may not have carried arches, like the infirmary at Waverley, though opposite them at the west end are small buttresses which rather suggest that they had arches.

The aisles in the first place were only 9 feet wide, and the two western bays seem to have continued of this width to the suppression. The three eastern bays were widened apparently in the fourteenth century and were later subdivided into rooms.

Between the west doorway and the south wall of the south aisle a vast fireplace, 13 feet wide by $2\frac{3}{4}$ feet deep, was inserted in the fourteenth century: as it came directly under the arcade its arrangement is not easy to understand. Externally the small original buttress was increased to one projecting 6 feet from the wall, and the aisle wall was thickened as a chimney-breast.

In the north aisle, in the westernmost bay, was a large inserted fireplace of the fifteenth century with a projecting chimney-breast. There was a doorway just to the east of the fireplace, which led from a range of buildings running north.

This range was 100 feet from north to south by 22 feet wide over all. At the south end was a fireplace $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, backing up to the fire in the north aisle of the hall. In the east wall, at 38 feet from the south end, was a fireplace 9 feet wide, having a large projecting external breast and a small oven in the south jamb. The whole range was much ruined and seems to have been built of brick or timber above the foundations. If not of post-suppression date it was erected quite at the end of monastic times, and its use is very uncertain.

This brings the description of the remains of Bardney abbey, unearthed by careful research, to an end; if the excavations could be continued further the arrangements of the passages between the claustral buildings and the infirmary, the infirmary kitchen and the old parish church

might be revealed. Circumstances, however, have prevented this being done up to the present, and as it is very improbable that the work can be restarted for a considerable period it is thought advisable not to wait longer for the publication of this paper, incomplete as it is known to be.

Certain matters are left in abeyance, points are left unsettled, errors may have been inadvertently made, but the writer feels he is bound to tell what he is able and asks forbearance for any deficiencies.

In conclusion, grateful thanks must be tendered in the first place to Mrs. Laing for placing all the information collected by the late Rev. C. E. Laing at the disposal of the writer and for kind hospitality on many visits; to Mr. Wilfrid Bond for a plan of the buildings first uncovered eastward of the north transept; and to Dr. A. Hamilton Thompson, M.A. F.S.A. for the valuable extracts from his works on the Visitations of Religious Houses of Lincolnshire, included in Appendix v, and for much other kind assistance.

APPENDIX I.

MONUMENTS.

The monumental slabs at Bardney were so numerous and formed such an interesting collection that they deserve very careful consideration.

They were 65 in number and varied in date from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century. Three were of marble and the rest were of stone.

Those of the thirteenth century were all coffin-shaped and were mostly ornamented with crosses. Two were inscribed. No. 65 may be of earlier date as it is used as old material in the west front of the church.

Of the fourteenth century were certainly five examples, all of which were rectangular slabs with inscriptions. It is possible that some of the slabs without dates should actually be included in this century.

The rest of the slabs were of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: all were rectangular, save two re-used thirteenth-century coffin-lids, mostly inscribed and many dated. The inscriptions and decorations were incised and were originally filled with a composition which in all cases had perished. The incision was generally deeply cut, but in the earlier examples is shallower and scored with cross lines as a key for the composition.

Most of the inscriptions have been published by the Rev. Canon J. T. Fowler¹ but without any information as to their positions, character or dimensions.

In the following pages numbers have been allotted to the grave-slabs, and their positions can be located by reference to fig. 13, on p. 73.

IN THE PRESBYTERY.

1. On the south side was a large slab (82 inches by 42 inches) much worn. It had an incised cross in the middle and round the edge was this inscription:

... ROGERUS : DE : BARWE | QONDAM : AB . .
| ISTIAS : MONASTE . . .

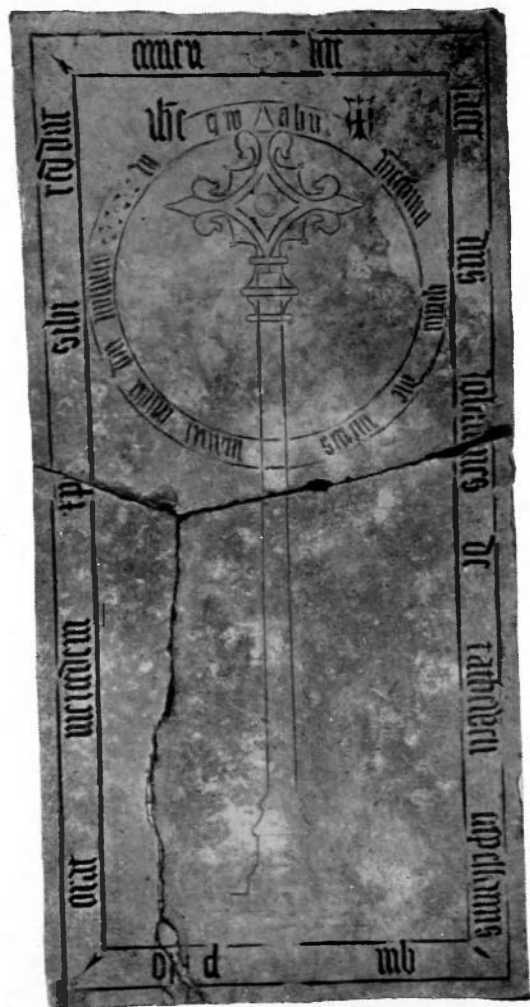
Roger de Barrow was elected abbot between 14th October and 4th November, 1342. It was during his abbacy that the terrible scourge of the black death devastated the land: also he and the convent granted Godfrey Halton a perpetual chantry at the altar of St. Lawrence in the body of the abbey church, which was confirmed by the bishop 26th March, 1350. He died in 1355.²

2. In the middle of the second bay of the north aisle was a slab (73 inches by 32 inches) with the clear-cut inscription round the edge:

✠ hic | jacet ffrat' Johs de Stepyng precentor istiu' |
loci qui obiit | pridie idus marci A° dñi M° ccccxx°
cuj' aie | ppiciet dñs.

¹ *Assoc. Soc. Report*, xxxiii.

² *ibid.* xxxii, 372 and 373.



SLAB OF DAN JOHN DE TATHEWELL, CHAPLAIN (NO. 19).

3. In the south aisle almost in the middle of the first bay was a large slab (89 inches by 35 inches) with the inscription round the edge much worn :

✠ **bic jacet | . . . bugo de obiit |**
. decembris | Anno dni m ccc nonagesimo . . .
deus | amen.

This was apparently the monument of Hugh de Braunston who was confirmed as abbot 21st October, 1379. He resigned in 1385,¹ and as his monument states died in December, 1390.

4. To the south of the last and built over by the screen of the chapel was a fine coffin and lid of marble (87 inches by 31 inches at the head and 21 inches at the foot). The lid, broken in three pieces, had a bold hollow chamfer round the edge and was decorated with a raised cross of simple design. It was of the thirteenth century but had no inscription.

5. To the west of abbot Braunston was a small slab (61½ inches by 26 inches) with a clear-cut inscription round the edge :

hic jacet r̄r̄ | michael Gare q̄ndā p'or bui' mo'
q' obiit | xviij° die octob a° | dñi m° d° quito cui' aie
ppiet d̄s amen.

6. Between the last slab and the south wall was a large slab (84 inches by 39 inches) without any inscription or device.

7. To the west of Michael Gare was a large slab (90 inches by 35 inches) having on a label in the form of a ribbon² the inscription (plate x) :

bic jacet frater Robertus | fosse cui' | aie
ppiciet' deus amen.

8. To the north of the last was a large slab (88½ inches by 37½ inches) very much worn. It had in the middle a large cross with a circular inscription similar to that on the slab of John Tathewell, and round the edge was the inscription, of which all that remained was along the north side :

. . . . et frater | Robertus de Cbornton quondam prior
istius | monast . . .

9. In the middle of the third bay was a slab (72 inches by 29 inches) having on a ribbon label this inscription :

Cives inter celor fratri m' | rober ✠ to d̄s | ut p̄ce
Lincoln discub'e con'³

¹ *Assoc. Soc. Reports*, xxxii, 376 and 377.

² The treatment of this inscription seems to be a local fashion and occurs frequently

at Bardney. It is well shown on the illustrations.

³ Canon Fowler appears to accept the

There was a large cross incised in the middle of the slab and beneath it was a canting monogram having the letter R within a cord linking together the letters OLN, namely R. Lincoln (plate ix, no. 2).

10. The slab of abbot Richard Horncastle (96 inches by 46 inches) was found loose as if it had been lifted with the intention of removal for building material. The original position is quite unknown but it may have been in the aisle on the north side of abbot Braunston where there is a vacant space of sufficient size to take the slab.

Round the edge is the inscription with large circles at the corners :

(scā) hic jacet dompnus (mar'a) Ricardus horncastel
quondm abbas istiu' monastij qui (p me) obiit X die mēsis
(ora) octob A° dñi millio cccc viij Cui' aīe ppiet' de' amen.

The inside of the slab (plate xi) is occupied by the incised depiction of a large niche which has two buttressed pinnacles on either side and three divisions in the head separated by two other pinnacles. Each division has a foliated and crocketed canopy, above which the central one has a similar canopy, and the sides a little flying buttress of support.

In the niche is the figure of the abbot in mass vestments, apparelled alb, stole, chasuble and fanon. A foliated crosier crosses his body and rests against his right shoulder. He holds in his hands a shield, on which is a crowned heart with the letters *inc* and a scroll on each side bearing respectively *O bone ihu* and *esto michi*. The abbot has a plain tonsure but no mitre. Over his head and shoulders is a long ribbon with the legend :

O domine Jhu accipe spm meū
esto michi
reposita ē hec spe' in sinu meo.

Over the ribbon are two angels bearing up his soul in a sheet.

The slab was removed from the abbey in 1910 and placed for greater security in the parish church. The stone is said to have weighed four tons. The whole is a bold but coarse piece of work.

Richard Horncastle was elected abbot before 2nd April, 1466,¹ but though he ruled forty-one years, the history of the abbey during his term of office is virtually a blank.

11. Lying loose, westward of the south-east pier of the crossing, was a coffin (74 inches by 22½ inches wide at the head and 16 inches wide at the foot) with a coped stone lid having a raised cross at the head, another at the foot and a curious cross-like device in between.

reading of this inscription as 'Cives inter
celorum fratri mihi Rober | to deus ut parce
Lincoln discumbere coner,' which he trans-
lates 'O God spare me brother Robert

Lincoln that I may endeavour to be a guest
among the citizens of heaven.'

¹ *Assoc. Soc. Reports*, xxxii, 397.

IN THE CROSSING.

12. In the middle of the crossing was a large slab (104½ inches by 40 inches) having across the top in a label:

✠ **Hic jacet fr Thomis Cathewell.**

13. To the west of the last was a small slab without inscription.

14. Adjoining the last on the north was another plain slab (71 inches by 36 inches).

IN THE SOUTH TRANSEPT.

15. In the middle of the northern chapel was a coffin-shaped slab (75 inches by 21 inches at the head and 14½ inches at the foot), having an incised cross and dating from the thirteenth century.

16. In the transept opposite the southern chapel was a plain coffin-shaped slab (60 inches by 25 inches at the head and 20 inches at the foot), of which the foot was covered by the step of the chapel screen.

17. Westward of the last was a similar slab (73 inches by 26 inches at the head and 20 inches at the foot).

18. Northward of the last and directly opposite the middle pillar was a slab (75 inches by 36 inches) having on a ribbon label the inscription (plate XII):

**hic jacet fr thomas Elkyngtō qui obiit | iiii° kī
Juliij A° | dñi m° cccc° ixxxliij° cui' aīe pp̄iet d̄s a'**

There was a large **ihc** in the middle of the slab.

Elkington was cellarer in 1437-8 and at the bishop's visitation besought that the monks might eat together in one building outside the frater.¹

19. To the west of the last was a slab (69 inches by 27 inches) with a clear cut inscription round the edge:

✠ **hic jacet dñs ✠ thoma' clark qudā Rector de ptnay
qui obiit p'mo ✠ die januar' A° ✠ dñi m̄ d° quito cui
aīe pp̄iet' deus amen.**

The rectory of Partney was in the gift of the abbey.

20. To the north of Thomas Clark was a large slab (87½ inches by 43 inches) with a widely-spaced inscription round the edge (plate XIII):

✠ **hic | Jacet dñs Johannes de tathewell capellanus
qui p illo | orat mercedem xp̄i sibi reddat | amen.**

¹ Appendix v, 16.

There was a fine foliated cross with moulded base in the middle of the slab with **ihc** and **M** on either side at the head. Around the cross was a circular band, apparently added afterwards, with the inscription :

**qui obiit vicesimo quinto die mensis marcii anno dñi
millmo cccc° vi°.**

This John de Tathewell in 1406 obtained with others, licence for the alienation in mortmain of a messuage, 16 acres of land and 8 of meadow and other property to the abbot and convent of Bardney in augmentation of their support and certain charges and works of piety.¹

21. Northward of the last was an earlier slab (74 inches by 25½ inches) with the inscription in large characters round the edge :

**† hic jacet † dominus ricardus de goldesburgh †
miles † cuius anime propicietur deus amen.**

Inside the inscription was a small panel with feathered edging, having a shield placed diagonally with a large helm and crest above and in the base two twisted dragons swallowing the ends of the two straps which fall from the shield.

Sir Richard Goldesburgh was lord of Hanworth in Kesteven and died about 1387.² He was a benefactor to the abbey and granted to the abbot and convent of Bardney a grassy place called Thinglade in the water of Witham on condition that every year on the vigil and feast of St. Mildred the Virgin (12th and 18th July) they should celebrate with solemn ringing of bells, placebo, dirige and commendation for the soul of Alice his mother and his ancestors.³

There was a Sir Richard Goldesburgh among the retinue of king Henry IV upon his visit to the abbey in 1406.⁴

22. To the north-east of Sir Richard Goldesburgh was a slab (85½ inches by 41½ inches) lying loose. It had a deeply cut inscription round the edge : (plate xiv) :

**† hic jacet frater † Willm' Sotheray quondā supp'or
‡ Sacrista isti' mo' q' † Obiit xvii° die mes' † Junij
A° dñi m° d° xxvj° cui' aīe ppiciet' de' amē.**

¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1401-1405, p. 180.

² Licence for 12 marks paid in the hanaper by Wm. Michell of Friskenay, Richard, vicar of the ch. of Bardenay, John Tathewell, chaplain, Thomas Wace, John Nytyngale, Thomas Enderby, John Kyme, John, chaplain of the chapel of St. Andrew, Bardenay, Wm. Dundy of Bardenay, John Cook of Bardenay, and Robt. Hippe of Bardenay, for the alienation in mortmain by the said William Michell, Richard and John Tathewell of a messuage, 16 acres of land and 8 acres of meadow, by the said William Michell, Richard and Thomas Wace of 2 messuages, a toft, 58 acres of land and 17 acres of meadow, by the said John Nytyngale of a toft and 4 acres of land, by

the said John Tathewell and Richard of 4 acres of land, by the said William Michell, Richard, Thomas Enderby, John Kyme and John the chaplain of 4 acres of land, by the said William Dundy of 5 acres of land, by the said John Cook of a toft and 4 acres of land and by the said Robert of a toft, 8 acres of land, 4 acres of meadow and 3s. 4d. rent in Osgodby, Boteyate and Bardenay, not held of the king, to the abbot and convent of Bardney in augmentation of their maintenance and the support of certain charges and works of piety.³

³ *I.P.M.* 10 Ric. II.

⁴ *Bardney Cartulary*, ff. 275, 276.

⁵ Appendix iv.

23. Southward of Thomas Clark in the south-west corner of the transept was a small slab (67 inches by 26 inches) with the inscription across the upper part :

FR. JOHĒS DE LINCOLN.

IN THE NAVE.

24. To the south of the cross-bearer's mark in the nave was a slab (71½ inches by 29 inches) bearing round the edge the inscription :

✠ hic | jacent Robertus et Wilimius . . . Johannis
Tailboys | armigeri de | Stalynghburgh
ppieur deus | Amen.

Inside were two incised Maltese crosses side by side.

A youth called Taylboys was a page of the abbot in 1437-8 and is complained of for his arrogant conduct.¹

25. Westward of the cross-bearer's stone almost in the middle of the church was a very large slab (123¾ inches by 47 inches) of Purbeck marble bearing the matrix of a fine brass (fig. 11). Round the slab at 3½ inches from the edge was a continuous band 2¼ inches wide in which was the inscription. At the top and bottom of the space thus enclosed were two pointed shields. Between the shields was a foliated and crocketed canopy with buttressed pinnacles on either side and under the canopy were the rough outlines of the effigy, which had its head on a pillow. The slab is much broken but when first found there remained the terminal of the canopy and the northern pinnacle. The former was stolen and the latter is preserved and is an interesting palimpsest, having portions of the letters R O B E R on the reverse side (fig. 12).

Is it possible that this first brass was from the slab of abbot Robert Waynfleet who caused so much trouble to the convent and resigned with a princely pension in 1318.

Underneath was a deep vault containing portions of a skeleton and some earth.

This vault was cleared out and one large and one small coffin full of bones disturbed in the excavations were interred 17th October, 1911, by the Very Rev. the Dean of Lincoln. The vault was then filled up with earth and the broken slab replaced.²

26. Three feet to the west of the last was a large slab (96¾ inches by 45½ inches) with the inscription round the edge :

✠ hic Jacet frater | Walterus de Langtō bachalori'
de jure Canonico quodā Prior Jsti' mo' qui cōstruxit
| de Novo placia minutorū apd Sowthray | Cum
clausura et ponti . . . obiit . . . XXXj Cui' anī |
ppiciet d̄s

¹ Appendix v, 19.

² *Assoc. Soc. Reports*, xxxii, 29.

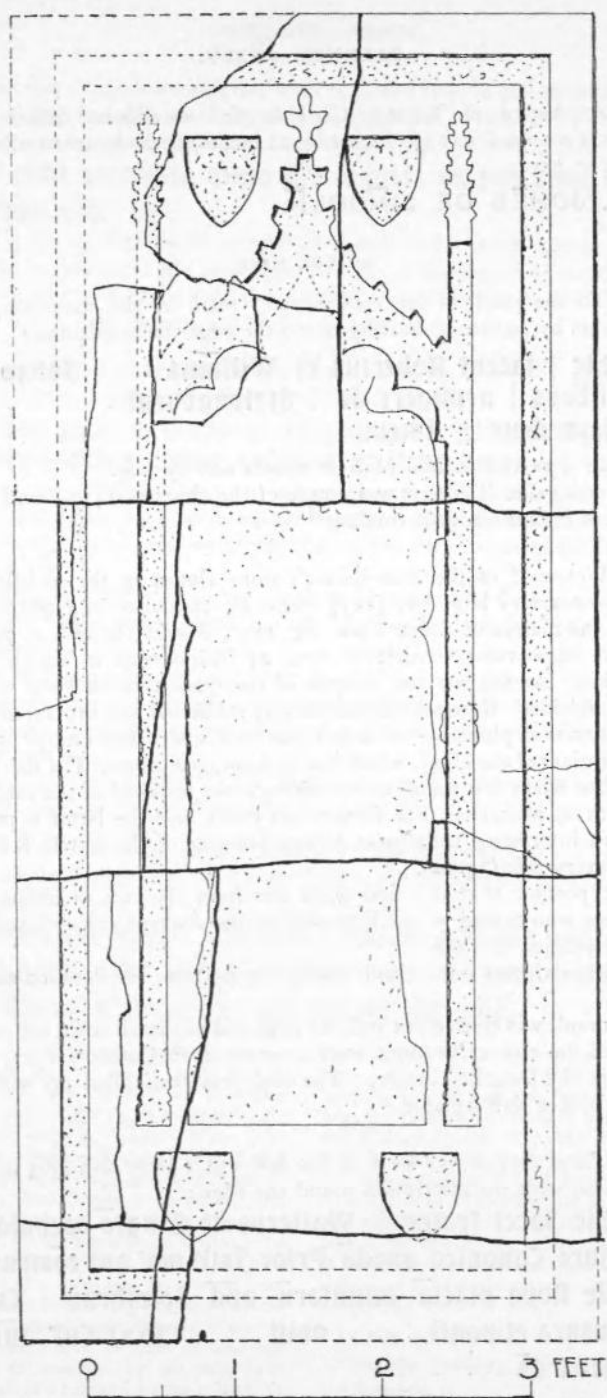


FIG. II. SLAB NO. 25.

The *minuti* or those who had been blooded were allowed certain relaxations from the rule during the time of their convalescence or seynies. In early days this was accomplished in the infirmary of the abbey, but later the Benedictines seem to have allotted an outlying manor for this purpose. The inscription is particularly interesting in recording that the place of the *minuti* at Southrey with its enclosures and bridges were new made by prior Langton.

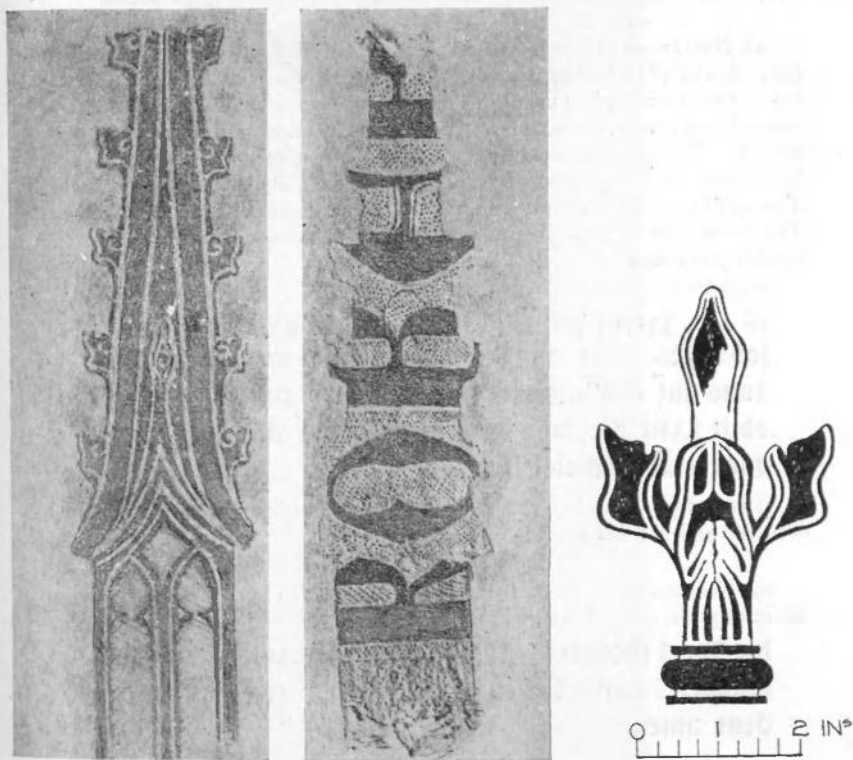


FIG. 12. FRAGMENT OF BRASS AND PALIMPSEST FROM SLAB NO. 25.

The *minuti* at Southrey seem to have been the cause of scandal, for in 1437-8 the bishop forbade their leaving the precincts of the abbey for their seynies¹; but this restriction was shortly afterwards removed and the manor called Seney Place in Southrey continued to the suppression when it was valued at £4 13s. 4d.²

It was granted by the king to Sir Richard Tyrwhitt in 1539.³

¹ Appendix v, 2, 17 and 22.

² *Mon. Ang.* i, 641.

³ *Letters Hen. VIII*, xiv (ii), 299 (780, 12).

27. Northward of the foot of the last slab was a very small slab ($33\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide by 19 inches) having on a label the inscription in two lines :

hic Jacet ffrat Joh̄is Salow qui
di 1440

John Salow was one of the monks who in 1437-8 had been professed for seven years and had not completed their profession and would not do so, though they aspired to the priesthood. His testimony at the visitation of 1437-8 seriously implicated most of his brethren, including the abbot.¹

28. Northward of Langton and in line westward of the last was a large slab (97 inches by 48 inches) incised with a large figure of a man and woman standing on a tiled floor (plate xv). The man's figure, on the south side of the slab, was habited in a coat reaching to just above the knees with large and baggy sleeves. The legs had hose but the covering of the feet was not clear. The head rested on two pillows, was close cut, and he had a small pointed beard. The lady had a full skirt but the upper part of her figure was much mutilated. The north side of the slab was much worn, apparently by the feet of the Sunday procession.

Round the edge is the inscription :

✠ . . . jacent joh̄ns | alicia uxor eius qu . .
 johannes obiit quarto decimo die mensis aprilis |
 anno dñi milimo cccc quadrages^o | quarto et alicia |
 obiit xxiiij die mensis Aprilis anno dñi m^o ccccxiv
 quor aiābz ppiciet' d̄s Amen.

It is unfortunate that the stone was badly broken where the surname occurred and had rendered it quite illegible.

29. Northward of the last was a slab ($80\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 37 inches), having the inscription on a ribbon, with folds at the angles, round the edge.

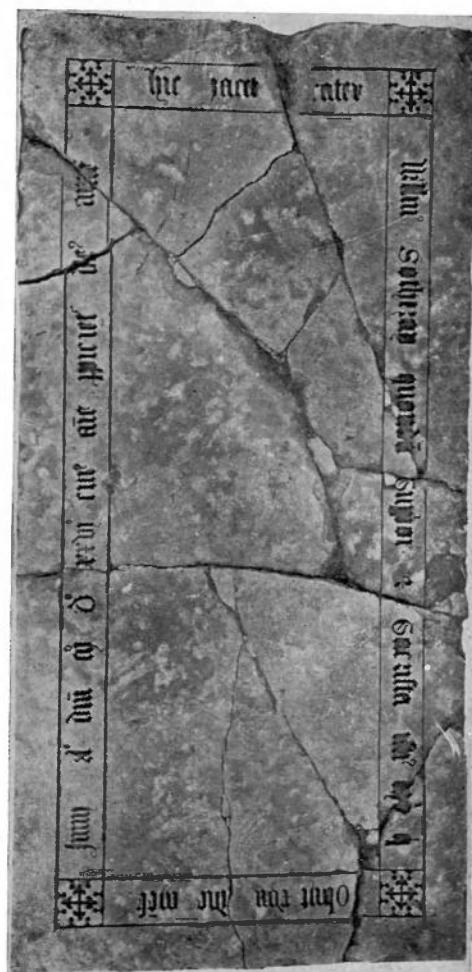
hic Jacet thomas | White qui obiit xxviij^o die mensis
januarij | anno dñi m^o | ccccc^o xxv^o cui' aiē ppictur
deus amen.

30. Immediately to the west of John and Alice was another large slab ($98\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 46 inches) with the inscription round the edge on a ribbon with folds at the angles.

hic Jacet Ricad' borell | quodā cōfr hui' capli et
Thomas de film' cui' quodā supp'or hui | monastij
qu as | obiit iv kl maij an^o dñi m^o ccccc^o xxviij^o
quo . . . aiāb' ppiciet' de' amē.

In the middle of the slab was **ih̄u m̄ci** in the upper part and **jhc** below.

¹ *Lincoln Record Soc.* xiv. 15 and 22.



SLAB OF BROTHER WILLIAM SOTHERAY, SUBPRIOR AND SACRIST (NO. 22).



SLAB OF JOHN . . . AND ALICE HIS WIFE (NO. 28).

31. To the south of the last was a small stone (63 inches by 31 inches) having the inscription round the edge :

**hic Jacet | [C]hom]as Cole qui obiit iij kī septemb̄ |
A. dni M° | cccc° vi cui' aīē ppiciet deus amen.**

32. Adjoining the last to the south was a slab (76 inches by 32 inches) with the inscription round the edge :

**✠ hic jacet | Joh̄nā quodā uxor Job̄nīs Broune de |
Barday mercatoris | que obiit nono k̄aln̄ Februar'
ano dñi m. ccc° lxxx quarto | qu' aē.**

ppiciet' de am̄ was on the inner part of the slab. The centre had a large incised cross with moulded base.

33. Adjoining the north side of Richard Borell was a coffin-shaped slab (65 inches by 22 inches at the head and 15 inches at the foot) with a wide scroll inscribed :

hic jacet fr̄ robt | aydayn cui' aīē | ppiet de amē.

34. Westward of Richard Borell's slab was a slab (75½ inches by 31 inches) with the inscription round the edge :

**✠ hic jacet | matilda quādam uxor wīllī Pāpylwyke . . .
| die Mensis | . . . iij āno dñi m° cccc° xxxiij cui'
aīē ppiciet' | d̄s amē.**

In 1437-8 one Papilwyk, evidently the widower of this lady, had a lodging in the monastery, probably a corrody, and it was complained that his daughter had too much access thereto.¹

35. To the north of the last was a tiny slab (27 inches by 21 inches) round the edge of which was the inscription :

**✠ hic Jacet fr ✠ Willm Radclyfe ✠ cui' aīē ✠
ppiet' deus amē.**

36. Southward of Matilda Pāpylwyke was a slab (66 inches by 24 inches) with the inscription on a ribbon label round the head :

**hic jacet Robertus Marton | cui' aīē | ppiciet'
deus amen.**

37. To the south of the last was a slab (78 inches by 30 inches) without any inscription or device.

¹ Appendix v, 14.

38. Adjoining the south side of the last was a slab (79 inches by $29\frac{1}{2}$ inches) with a much worn cross in the middle. The inscription was in three lines across the top of the slab :

**hic jacet Johēs de | bokton de barton cui' | aīē
ppicietur deus amen.**

39. South of the last was a slab ($91\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 42 inches), having in the middle an outline of a heart containing the five wounds. Round the edge was the inscription :

**✠ hic jacet Rogerūs ✠ Baynthorp et Elizabeth
uxor ei' consortes hui' | ✠ capii quor' aīē ✠ | per
misediam dei in pace requiescant amen.**

40. Westward of William Radcliff's little monument was a slab ($87\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $33\frac{1}{4}$ inches) without any device or inscription.

41. Adjoining the last southward was a slab ($63\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $28\frac{1}{2}$ inches) ornamented with an incised cross and the inscription round the edge :

**✠ hic | jacet Johēs bracy qui obiit xij kīn | maij
ano dñi | m° cccc° xv cui' aīē ppiciet' dñs Amen.**

42. Adjoining the last to the south was a slab (88 inches by $31\frac{1}{2}$ inches) with an incised cross and the date, which was illegible, on a scroll. Round the edges was the inscription :

**✠ hic jacet Johāna | Bracy quodā uxor Johīs Bracy
de Lincoln qui obiit | vicesimo quarto | die mensis
Januarii cuius anime ppicit'**

This and the last slab evidently commemorate the father and mother of John Bracy who was a monk of Bardney and in 1437-8 was sacrist.¹ He it was who applied his eye to a chink in the vestry door to witness the sealing of blank parchments in 1440.² He seems to have been raised to the office of subprior and later became prior. At the death of abbot John Waynfleet (1447) he was elected abbot by the convent, but the election was overruled by a papal provision.³

43. Southward of the last was a slab (83 inches by 36 inches) very much damaged by the falling vaulting. It was entirely different from any others at Bardney and had the inscription arranged in a lozenge :

**✠ hic he . . . ria simul. ✠ pit' q' Johā vocant
✠ Uxor Jolyf. ✠ Johāns tumultant.**

In the angles is **filli**, (gone), **mlsere**, nobis.⁴

¹ *Lincoln Record Soc.* xiv, 10.

² Appendix v, 24.

³ *Assoc. Soc. Reports*, xxxii, 396.

⁴ Canon Fowler reads this inscription thus: + Hic hēt terra simul + pit'qz Johā vocantur + uxor[ipsa maritus et] Jolyf + Johāns tumultantur.

44. The adjoining slab (broken by 31 inches) to the south had its eastern portion removed. In the middle was a deeply-incised maltese cross and on a ribbon label round the head:

**hic jacet Johē Jolyr | cui' aīē ppiet . . . omps
dñs amen.**

45. Adjoining the last to the south was a slab (77½ inches by 35 inches), which had an incised cross with very large base. In two lines across the head was the inscription:

**hic jacet Emma quondam uxor | Willm Draper
Cui' aīē ppiet dñs am.**

46. Adjoining westward to the monument of John Bracy was a small slab (51 inches by 31 inches) which had on a label round the head:

**hic jacet agnes quāda ux' | robii kyahlay | cui'
aīē ppiet dñs**

47. Westward of Johanna Bracy was a slab (73 inches by 36 inches), having round the edge the inscription:

**✠ hic . . . | dñs rodalphus lewyn quāda capellan'
cantre scī andrae | de Bardney qui obiit | ij kl
deceh año dñi M . . . lvi cui' aīē ppiet | dñs amen.¹**

The origin of this chapel is not known. In the time of abbot Peter Barton (1267–1280) Robert son of Andrew de Millay, clerk, granted to the monks of Bardney the whole of his manor of Buteyate and the whole of his land and houses in Osgoteby in exchange for the chapel of St. Andrew of Bardney and two tofts with houses thereon between the chapel and the king's highway with the trees about the chapel and the cross. He undertook to maintain the chapel and had licence to found therein a chantry for celebration of masses for the repose of the souls of various ancestors and friends. His chaplain was to be appointed by him, but if he fell sick his place was to be taken by one of the monks. The convent undertook to give the chaplain a corrody of food and drink similar to a monk, and his clerk was to have that of a *conversus*. The chaplain was to have a gown at Christmas and 20s. a year, the clerk was to have a gown at Martinmas.²

The chapel seems to have been further endowed, for in 1406 John, the chaplain, with others conveyed certain tenements to the convent.³

In 1434, in consequence of the old parish church falling down, licence was granted by the bishop that a new church be built near the village, and the convent gave the parishioners a plot of land for the church and churchyard 387 feet long by 180 feet broad between the chapel of St. Andrew on the north and the croft called Southowse on the south.⁴

¹ *Lincoln Record Soc.* xiv, 10.

² *Mon. Ang.* i. 639, no. xxix.

³ See p. 64 above, note 1.

⁴ *Assoc. Soc. Reports*, xxxii, 54.

48. Adjoining the last to the south was a slab ($73\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 33 inches) having the inscription round the edge :

✠ hic Jacet | dñs Thomā vicarūs de
metinghām qui . . . | septēbris año dñi millmo
. . . . xxliij cuius aīe ppet' | dñs amen.

This place was Metheringham, six miles to the south-west, but it had no connexion with Bardney.

49. Just to the south of the last was a small fragment, $27\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, of a slab which had an inscription round the edge. All that remained was :

mē ✠ hic jacet dñs Wills ✠

under this was **jhu mcl** the m of which was an insertion neatly cut into the slab.

50. Westward 15 inches of Ralph Lewin's slab was one (64 inches by 31 inches) having an incised cross with a moulded base and round the edge the inscription :

hic jacet Agnes de Barton . . . obiit xvi kalend |
marci anno | dñi M quadringentesimo cuius aīe
pictur | dñs amen.

51. Northward 42 inches of the last was a slab (79 inches by 37 inches) without any inscription.

52. Considerably to the south of Agnes de Barton was a coffin-shaped slab ($74\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $25\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the head and 15 inches at the foot) of the thirteenth century. Across the head reading from the west is **MATHEUS** and on a label across the middle, of the fifteenth or sixteenth century,

hic jacz Ric Grene.

53. Westward of the last but a little to the south was another case of appropriating an earlier slab. This slab (78 inches by 24 inches at the head and $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches at the foot) was also of the thirteenth century and had an inscription of that date round the edge but was not decipherable. Around the head on a ribbon label was a clearly cut inscription :

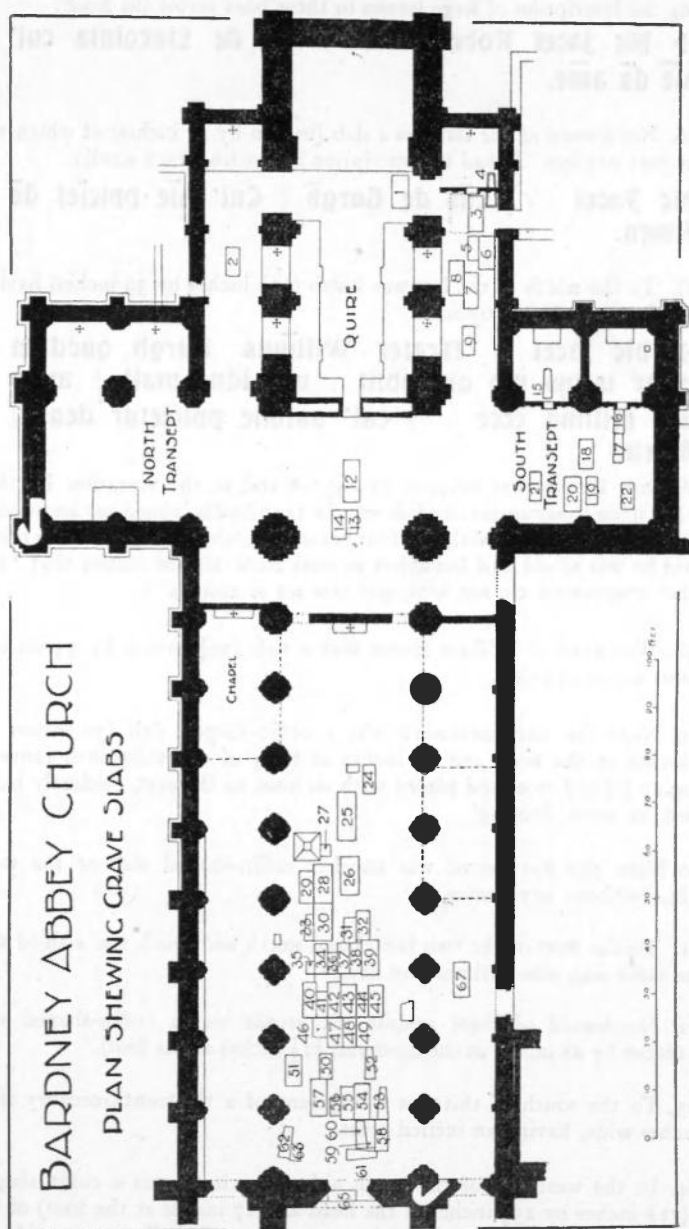
hic Jacet Willm Etton | cui' | aīe ppetetur
deus amen.

54. Northward of the last was a slab (87 inches by $39\frac{1}{2}$ inches) with the inscription in two lines on a scroll across the head :

hic jacet . . . ger de filyghm | cui' aīe ppet . . . dñs
amen.

BARDNEY ABBEY CHURCH

PLAN SHEWING CRAVE SLABS



55. Adjoining the last to the north was a slab (81 inches by 30½ inches), having the inscription of large letters in three lines across the head :

✠ hic jacet Robertus | Wayt de Lincolnia cui'
aīē d̄s amē.

56. Northward of the last was a slab (broken by 27 inches) of which the lower part was lost. It had the inscription in two lines on a scroll :

hic Jacet . . . cūs de Burgh | Cui' aīē ppiciet d̄s
Amen.

57. To the north of the last was a slab (90½ inches by 39 inches) having round the edge the inscription :

✠ hic jacet | ffrater Willm̄us Burgh quodam
prior istius mo qui obiit | viij idus maii | anno
dñi milimō cccc . . . cui' animie ppicietur deus |
Amen.

William Burgh was subprior in 1437-8 and at the visitation in that year had little to say against his fellows. In 1440 he disclaimed any knowledge of the scandal about the seal, and four years later, when he had become prior, he said he was so old and the abbot so weak from his infirmities that 'the regular observances are not kept, nay, are set at naught.'¹

58. Westward of William Etton was a slab (79¼ inches by 33 inches) without any inscription.

59. Next the last northward was a coffin-shaped slab (70 inches by 27½ inches at the head and 17 inches at foot) of the thirteenth century, having an incised cross and placed with its head to the east, evidently being re-used as mere flooring.

60 Next this northward was another coffin-shaped slab of the same size but without any device.

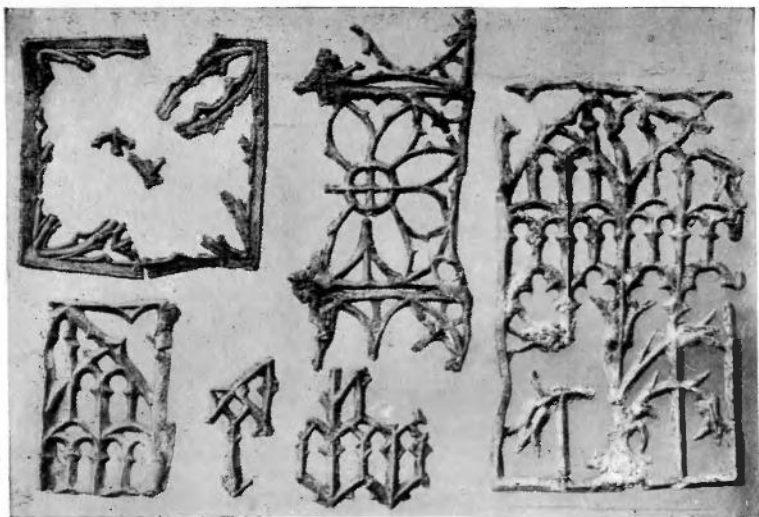
61. To the west of the two last placed north and south was a third slab of the same size, also without any device.

62. Northward of these against the arcade was a coffin-shaped slab (79½ inches by 28 inches at the head and 21½ inches at the foot).

63. To the south of this was a fragment of a thirteenth-century slab, 25 inches wide, having an incised cross.

64. In the west bay of the north aisle lying loose was a coffin-shaped slab (71½ inches by 25½ inches at the head and 17 inches at the foot) of the thirteenth century, having an incised cross and a small chalice on one side.

¹ *Lincoln Record Soc.* xiv, 15, 29 and 32.



NO. 1. LEAD PANELS FROM BARDNEY ABBEY ($\frac{2}{3}$).



NO. 2. BRICK WITH IMPRESSIONS OF PANELS.

Reproduced by permission from *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2 s. xiii, 366.

65. In the west doorway used as a threshold was an early slab (69 inches by 27 inches) having a cross slightly raised of the same character as that on the curious arms of Tewkesbury abbey.

66. In the seventh bay of the south aisle of the nave was a late slab (86½ inches by 39¾ inches) having round the edge the inscription :

✠ hic jacet frater ✠ Ricard Smythson quondam
 por isti mō qui obiit iij ✠ novēbris ✠ A°
 dñi m° cccc°xx° cui' aīe ppiciet' deus amen.

INDEX OF INSCRIBED MONUMENTS.

Aydayn, Robert, fr.	33	Jolyf, John	44
Barton, Agnes de,	50	Jolyf, Johanna	43
Barwe, Roger de (abbot)	1	Kyahtlay, Agnes	46
Baynthorp, Roger and Elizabeth	39	Langton, Walter de, fr.	26
Bokton, John de	38	Lewyn, Ralph, dns	47
Borell, Richard (confrater)	30	Lincoln, John de, fr.	23
Borell, Thomas (subprior)	30	Lincoln, Robert, fr.	9
Bracy, John	41	Marton, Robert	36
Bracy, Johanna	42	Matheus	52
(Braunston), Hugh de (abbot)	3	Papylwyke, Matilda	34
Broune, Johanna	32	Radclyfe, William, fr.	35
Burgh, cus de	56	Salow, John, fr.	27
Burgh, William (prior)	57	Smythson, Richard (prior)	66
Clark, Thomas, dns.	19	Sotheray, Wm. (subprior)	22
Cole, Thomas	31	Stepyng, John de, fr.	2
Draper, Emma	45	Tailboys, Robt. and Willm.	24
Elkyngton, Thomas, fr.	18	Tathewell, John de, dns.	20
Etton, William	53	Tathewell, Thomas, fr.	12
Filyngham, Roger de	54	Thomas (vicar of Metheringham)	
Fosse, Robert, fr.	7	dns.	48
Gare, Michael (prior)	5	Thornton, Robert de (prior)	8
Goldesburgh, Richard de, dns.	21	Wayt, Robert	55
Grene, Richard	52	White, Thomas	29
Horncastle, Richard (abbot)	10	William, dns.	49
John and Alice	28		

APPENDIX II.

Among the objects of interest found in the excavations were a number of small panels formed of lead (plate xvi, no 1), which had probably been used as applied ornaments to boxes or books. Their designs were derived from fifteenth-century window tracery and resemble others found at Stanley abbey in Wiltshire¹ and Hayles abbey in Gloucestershire.²

That the panels were made to be used against a background of wood or other material was shown from the fact that some of them were flat on one side, though the others, though not flat, were much more plainly treated on one side than the other. In one example several panels of the same design were soldered together, and it was clear that they would not have served the purpose of ventilating quarries in leaded windows as had at first seemed their use. The best preserved panel was much larger than the rest and in the form of a four-light traceried window, having in the main lights a lily-pot with five flowers.

A brick was also found having had an impression of two of these panels (plate xvi, no. 2), made upon it before it was baked, and the impressions were made with a panel that had its centre portion broken or cut out.³

APPENDIX III.

The arms of Bardney abbey are described by Browne Willis as 'a Cross Patee inter 4 lions, being the arms of Oswald, King of Northumberland, to whose Honour this Abby was dedicated. The same arms is also used by the See of Durham.'⁴ There is no question that, except that the cross should be flory and not patee, these were the arms of the abbey, as they are so engraved on three of the seals which will be described later.

The editors of the *Monasticon* state that there was a second coat borne by the abbey, 'Sa. a crozier in pale between two crowns towards the chief, being run through an annulet towards the top or, and a snake enwrapped at the bottom, or' and that it is contained in a roll of the possessions of the lords, spiritual and temporal, summoned to parliament in 1512.⁵ The abbot at that time was William Marton, on whose seal is distinctly shown the cross flory between four lions rampant for the arms of the abbey and a chevron between three annulets for his own arms (plate xviii, no. 2), so that

¹ *Archaeologia*, ix, 515. On the example found here were two fixing studs to a thin metal background.

² *A Cottesswold Shrine* (Gloucester, 1908), 110, fig. 23.

³ These objects were shown at the Society of Antiquaries on 23rd February, 1911, and are described with illustrations in *Proceedings*, xxiii, 366. The writer is

indebted to the Society of Antiquaries for the loan of the block illustrating this note.

⁴ *History of the Mitred Parliamentary Abbies*, i. app. 54. The arms of Bardney are not the same as the see of Durham, which are azure a cross or between four lions rampant argent.

⁵ *Mon. Ang.* i, 627.



NO. 1. TWELFTH-CENTURY SEAL
OF BARDNEY ABBEY.

NO. 2. PRIVATE SEAL OF PETER BARTON,
ABBOT 1267-1280.



NO. 3. THIRTEENTH-CENTURY
AD CAUSAS SEAL.



NO. I. SEAL OF JOHN DE HAYNTON,
ABBOT 1385-1404.



NO. 2. SEAL OF WILLIAM MARTON,
ABBOT 1507-1538.

it would seem that the remarkable coat in the roll was a pure fabrication on the part of the scribe.

The seals of Bardney are an unusually interesting series both from their date, artistic merit, and the documentary evidence in connexion with the last common seal of the abbey. In addition, the obverse of this seal was found in the excavations on the site of the abbey.

I. The oldest seal was of the twelfth century and was probably that made for the convent when it became independent in 1115.

The impression (plate xvii, no. 1) is circular in form, $1\frac{7}{8}$ inches in diameter: it bears the figure of St. Oswald seated in a chair with a sceptre in his right hand and there is a cross on the sinister side of his head, which he seems to be holding by the thumb and forefinger of the left hand. The legend is:

✠ SIGILLVM · SANCTI · OSWALDI · REGIS · B . . .

It is appended to a document of late thirteenth-century date (MS. Harl. 44, A.7) and this seal was apparently used as the common seal of the abbey until the fourteenth century.

II. The next seal in date was the *ad causas* seal of early thirteenth-century work.¹

The impression (plate xvii, no. 3) is oval in form and measures 3 inches in height by $1\frac{7}{8}$ inches in width. It bears a standing figure of St. Oswald, crowned and with a sceptre in his right hand; within a niche which has a pointed arch surmounted by a crocketed pediment, flanked by pinnacles, and supported on banded columns with foliated capitals and moulded bases. On the dexter side of the niche is a key for St. Peter and on the sinister side a sword for St. Paul. The legend is:

S' ABBAT̄ ET COVEN . . . DENEYA AD CAVSAS

It is appended to a deed of the twenty-first year of king Edward III (MS. Harl. 44, A.8).

III. The third seal (plate xvii, no. 2) was actually used as a reverse to the twelfth-century seal in the thirteenth century and was the private seal of the abbot, Peter Barton, who ruled the abbey from 1267 to 1280.

The impression is oval in form and measures $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height by $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches in width. It is ornamented with three trefoiled-headed niches covered with pediments and has a small tower over the middle, finished by a low spire pierced with a quatrefoil. In the middle niche is a seated figure of our Lady with the Child on her left arm and in the other two niches are standing figures of St. Peter and St. Paul holding their respective symbols. In the base within a trefoiled panel is the half figure of the abbot. The legend is:

✠ SECRETUM PETRI ABBATIS DE BARDENAY.

¹ The seal *ad causas* of which individuals as well as convents made use, was employed for documents which did not involve matters

affecting property and did not need the assent of a majority for its use.—A.H.T.

It is appended to the document already referred to (MS. Harl. 44, A.7).

IV. Appended to the Harleian deed (45, A.52) is another impression of the twelfth-century seal with, as a counterseal, that of Mathew the abbot (1217-1223), which is described by W. de Gray Birch as an 'impression of an ancient oval gem containing full length figure of a deity on an estrade, very imperfect' with the remains of the legend

[TECTA] LEGE LECTA [TEGE].¹

V. John de Haynton, abbot from 1385 to 1404, had a fine oval seal $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches high by $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide (plate xviii, no. 1). In the middle is the figure of the abbot, without a mitre, in mass vestments holding a crosier in his left hand and a book in his right, within a trefoiled-headed niche surmounted by a canopy enriched with pinnacles and supported on a plain corbel; on either side are traceried panels with canopies, on which are two shields, that on the dexter side being the arms of the abbey, a cross flory between four lions rampant, and that on the sinister, crusilly a lion rampant debriused by a bend. The legend begins below the canopies and is:

S' jobannis de bainton abbatis de Bardenay.²

VI. Another seal (plate xviii, no. 2), apparently that of the last abbot, William Marton, is the same size and is a copy of the last, with architectural details of the later period. The dexter shield bears the arms of the abbey as before and the sinister shield a chevron between annulets. The legend on the sinister side is somewhat indistinct but seems to be:

S' willelmi de martone abbatis de bardenay.³

VII. The most beautiful of all the seals was that made for the convent in the time of abbot Richard Gainsborough (1318-1342). It was oval in shape measuring $3\frac{1}{8}$ inches in height by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width and consisted of both obverse and reverse portions (plate xix).

The obverse⁴ is ornamented with two trefoiled arches enriched with dogtooth decoration within pointed arches that are surmounted by crocketed pediments. The arches are supported by circular columns with carved capitals and moulded bases forming niches and finished with pinnacles between the pediments. In the dexter niche is the figure of St. Paul, with a beard and bald head, holding a short sword in his right hand and a book in his left. The sinister niche contains the figure of St. Peter, with a beard and tonsured head, holding up a key in his right hand and a book in his left. The back of the arches is finely diapered. In the apex between the pediments and on either side the middle pinnacle are the sun and moon, and the spaces on either side of the niches are decorated with scrollwork. Beneath the arches the space is panelled and in the middle is a round-headed panel con-

¹ *B.M. Cat. of Seals* (1887), i, 431.

² *B.M. Seals*, lxvi, 81.

³ *ibid.* lxvi, 82.

⁴ For some unknown reason the obverse and reverse of this seal are inversely described in the *Monasticon* and the same error is perpetuated in the *B.M. Catalogue*.



REVERSE.

OBVERSE.

BARDNEY ABBEY SEAL, RICHARD GAINSBOROUGH, ABBOT 1318-1342.

taining the half figure of the abbot, holding a crosier in his left hand between the letters R. and G. for Richard Gainsborougn. The legend is :

S' : CŌMVNE : ABBATIS : ET : CŌVENTVS : MON̄ :
APL'ORVM : PETRI : ET : PAVLI.

The impression of the reverse bears the figure of St. Oswald with a crown and sceptre seated on a decorated throne, surmounted by a trefoiled arch with crocketed pediment and flanked by large panelled buttresses finished with crocketed pinnacles. The whole of the ground is diapered, but of a coarser pattern than that on the obverse. In the base is a round-headed panel with a shield bearing the arms of the abbey, a cross flory between four lions rampant. The legend continues from the obverse :

ET : SANCTI : OSWALDI : GLORIOSI : REGIS :
ET : MARTIRIS : DE : BARDENEYA.

This seal is appended to a deed dated 21 E iii, (MS. Harl. 44, A.8).

The common seal of Bardney, apart from its artistic merit, is interesting as being the subject of enquiry on two episcopal visitations.

Bishop William Gray visited the abbey somewhere about 1432 and apparently found that there was carelessness in keeping the common seal, for in the injunctions consequent on the visitation he ordered,

‘That the common seal of your monastery be kept at the least under three locks having three keys of different shapes, of the which keys the abbot is to carry one, the prior another, and the sacrist or another person chosen by the convent, the third ; and that henceforth nothing be sealed in any wise with that seal save in the chapter-house with the will and knowledge and with counsel had in common and consent of the whole convent or of the greater and sounder part thereof.’¹

This injunction was apparently faithfully carried out, but in spite of the precaution that one half of the seal was to be kept under the protection of three keys and that the other half was to be kept by the abbot himself, certain of the monks got hold of the two halves and unlawfully used them in secret, apparently for dishonest purposes. Consequently this irregularity was the cause of a special visitation by bishop Alnwick on 6th October, 1440, and the evidence then taken has been referred to more than once as throwing light on the arrangements of the church at that time.

The abbot stated that he had half of the common seal and one key ; that he gave his key to the other two guardians of the seal for executing a proxy. Being asked if the lock belonging to his key was shut immediately, he replied that he did not know, but was in the treasury at the time. He denied that he knew anything of sealing any blank parchments.

The prior said he was first informed of the sealing of blank parchments by John Bracy, who stated that the culprits were William Langtofte, William Waynffete, Henry Lincolne and John Hole ; that they held treaty in the

¹ *Lincoln Record Society*, vii, 3.

chapter-house after matins for an hour, when two of them went to bed and the other two entered the treasury and carried off the seal and sealed blank parchments in the vestry.

John Bracy said that after matins he heard Lincolne, Langtofte, Waynflete and Hole talking together in the chapter-house, but he did not hear what they said : immediately after Waynflete and Langtofte went to their beds, and the other two entered the church and went about from altar to altar and gathered up the candle-ends and thereafter, having shut the church door, they went into the vestry hard by the said door ; and when they had closed that door, he saw through a chink Hole and Lincolne seal a blank parchment or empty sheet with the common seal *ad causas*.

William Waynflete said he was present at the treaty in the chapter-house and that all the three keys of the custody of the seal are . . . to wit, that of the abbot, which the abbot sent by Lincolne, while Langtofte handed over his key to the same Lincolne and he himself handed his key to the same Lincolne, and so Lincolne and Hole sealed a blank parchment to draw up a proxy, and because there was no one in the monastery who knew how to write a proxy, they sent the blank sheet thus sealed to Lincoln to be written on.

John Hole said he was present at the treaty and at the sealing of one blank sheet only for the drawing up of the proxy and no more.

Henry Lincolne was said to be away in Lincoln, so could not give evidence.

The bishop, however, did not credit the witnesses and issued an injunction as follows :

‘ Seeing that of late by sure and fresh information it has come to the hearing of us William, by divine permission bishop of Lincoln, that you, brother John Waynflete, abbot of the monastery of Bardney, of the order of St. Benet of our diocese, together with certain your accomplices, abettors and counsellors, without in anywise having held treaty beforehand in chapter between you and the convent of the said monastery, did seal or cause to be sealed with the common seal of the said monastery secretly, even by night, without the will, knowledge or consent of the said convent or at any rate of the more and sounder part thereof, certain empty sheets otherwise called blank parchments and did command . . . such sealing in your name and at your command We admonish you brother John the abbot and all your aiders, counsellors . . . and agents in such wicked and damnable proceedings . . . that you do actually present and shew us and in our presence . . . without delay all and sundry such empty sheets or blank parchments so sealed with the common seal of the said monastery . . . under pain of the greater excommunication . . . upon your person and your several persons if you do not duly obey these our lawful and canonical admonitions’¹

John Bracy was the only witness who mentioned the common seal *ad causas*, and the mention of this seal implicates him in the transaction, as unless he knew that they were using the common seal, there was no occasion to mention the seal *ad causas* which was perfectly in order for

¹ *Lincoln Record Society*, xiv, 29, 30 and 31 : see appendix v, 23, 24, 25 and 26.

sealing a proxy and no secrecy was necessary for its use. As suggested to the writer by Dr. Hamilton Thompson the whole proceeding was evidently to procure money, for which the great seal was required, and as this could not be obtained without the knowledge of the abbot, the bishop's severe condemnation of the latter was well deserved. Nor is this the last act in the story of this beautiful seal.

Owing to the precaution of one part being kept by the abbot and the other in the treasury by the convent, the obverse and reverse portions of the seal were separated, and apparently at the suppression the abbot's part was missing, as the obverse was certainly not taken away from the abbey by the king's commissioners. In 1911 one of the excavators, Mr. Tom Crowder, was engaged in spreading debris over a cart-road to the site and found in one of the ruts the obverse part of the common seal in perfect condition. The debris had been taken from near the west end of the church where were found the remains of a great fire, evidently made by the grantee at the suppression, for the destruction of rubbish left by the monks, 'cart loads of cinders, ashes, molten lead and glass were found, a piece of bell metal, a brass cross, several large-headed pins and some Nuremberg tokens were afterwards found on the edge of the space where the fire burned, so that our idea is that all sorts of things were thrown on to this fire, the seal amongst them.'¹

This part of the seal has lately been procured by the British Museum and has at the four corners lugs with holes in them for the bolts which were used for securing the obverse and reverse parts of the seal together when making an impression of the seal on a document.

APPENDIX IV.

From Leland's *Collectanea* (1774), vi, 300.

Ad Bardeneiense coenobium pertinet sequens egregium fragmentum ad calcem Codicis cujusd. membranei in 8vo (S. Oswaldi miracula complectentis) penes virum cl. Thomam Rawlinsonum, armigerum et in meam gratiam descriptum a fratre suo praestantissimo Richardo Rawlinsono.

'Anno domini millesimo cccc sexto, xij Calend Septemb. et erat dies Sabbati vi hora post nonam.

'Henricus dei gracia Rex Angliae venit a villa quae vocatur Hornecastrum ad Abbathiam de Bardenay equestris cum comitatu magno venerabili et honesto, et abbas et conventus praedicti monasterii occurrerunt ei cum processione ad portas inferiores, et visa processione serenissimus Rex Henricus ab equo suo desiluit et flexis genibus sanctam Crucem humiliter est osculatus et sancta aqua aspersus et Thure incensatus continuo surrexit et incepta a cantore . . . de Trinitate (*sic*) sit honor, virtus, ab Abbate et Conventu per corpus Ecclesiae usque ad majus altare cum honore ut decuit est deductus, et finito hymno et oratione ab abbate dicta reliquias sacras osculatus est, et per medium chori iter suum arripiens per claustrum usque ad cameram Abbatis

¹ *Assoc. Soc. Reports*, xxxii. 28.

est egressus, ibidemque pernoctavit. Transacta autem nocte illuxit alta dies, quae erat dominica dies, et circa horam diei sextam descendit Rex in Clastrum et intravit in Ecclesiam in Capellam sanctae Mariae juxta *vestibulum* quae erat strata tapetis rubeis et cortinis dependentibus ac aliis quibus pluribus ornamentis regalibus adornata, ibique duas missas audivit. Interim autem . . . majoris missae . . . aquam; qua finita ivit processio ad sanctam Mariam, sicut mos est aliis dominicis diebus per annum. Finita autem . . . ivit processio circa claustrum, quam sequebatur illustrissimus Rex Henricus cum magnatibus suis, et intravit processio in chorum, et Rex ingressus est capellam unde veniebat, ibique residebat usque dum missa major completa fuerat. Post missam vero per claustrum *ascendit* in cameram suam ad prandendum. Et sede vacante Rex ad mensam ex parte occidentali ex latere lectuli abbatis et duo filii ejus in finem ejusdem mensae discumbebant Dominus Thomas et Dominus Humfridus. Sederunt autem ex alia parte camerae versus borealia tres incliti comites, sed captivi viz. Thomas Dowglas, Comes de Fyffe, Comes de Orkeney, et non plures in camera regis. Abbas vero de Bardenay mensam principalem in aula tenebat cum episcopo de Landagh, cum ceteris dominis et militibus pluribus, qui aderant, et domesticis copiosis Conventus vero usque nonam¹ comedebat.

‘Nomina vero dictorum aulicorum et principum qui cum rege advenerunt ista sunt.

Dominus Thomas filius regis.

Dominus Umfridus alius filius regis.

Ex tres Comites incliti et Scoti.

Comes de Dowglass.

Comes de Fyffe.

Comes de Orkenay.

Et Episcopus de Landa Wallie.

Dominus de Gray Codnore camerarius domini regis.

Dominus Ric. de Kyngeston thesaurarius domini regis et ipse erat

Decanus Castelli de Wyndesora, vir in omnibus reverendus.

Dominus de Harynton in occident.

Dominus Johes Straunge miles et senescallus regis.

Dominus Johes de Audslay.

Dominus Henricus de Richefordh.

Dominus Willelmus Fraunke.

Dominus Ricardus de Goldesbrygh.

Dominus Johes Lytilbury.

Dominus

Dominus

Dominus

Robertus de Watyrton Armig. et alii multi procures et magnates, quorum nomina nobis penitus sunt ignorata.

‘Immediate autem post nonam diei Dominicae venit venerabilis Dominus Episcopus Lincoln nomine (*sic*) equestris a Lincoln. Qui cum viginti quatuor equis (*sic*); et recepit eum Dompnus Abbas cum retinent. Ut decuit in habitu suo cum quibusdam fratribus suis octo vel decem ceteris nescientibus

¹ Leland (or rather Hearne) reads *mane*, which makes nonsense. The right reading is clear from the sequel.—A.H.T.

de ad ventu tanti principis et deducebant eum cum honore ad portam abbatis juxta quercum, et expleto negotio pro quo venerat¹ unde venerat regressus est. Et venerabilis Dominus de Wylowghby eadem die post nonam venit ad regem et cito recessit. Et post discessum illorum descendit rex per claustrum et intravit in ecclesiam et vidit ibidem librarium nostrum et legit super diversos libros quam diu voluit et placebat. Postea vero eadem via qua venerat regressus est ad coenam suam et pernoctavit.'

APPENDIX V.

Throughout the foregoing pages the valuable edition of the Lincoln visitations by Dr. A. Hamilton Thompson, F.S.A. is so often referred to, that it is felt the passages quoted should be appended at length rather than as notes to the text.

From the Injunctions of Bishop Gray after the visitation of c. 1432 (*Lincoln Record Society* (1914), vii, 3).

(1) Ceterum volumus et mandamus sub eisdem penis quod sigillum commune dicti vestri monasterii ad minus sub tribus servis tres diversarum formarum claves habentibus conservetur; quarum clavium abbas gerat unam prior aliam et sacrista vel alius per conventum electus terciam; et quod nullatinus decetero quicquam illo sigillo sigilletur nisi in domo capitulari de voluntate et sciencia ac communicato consilio et consensu totius conventus aut maioris et senioris partis eiusdem.

From Bishop Alnwick's Visitations (*Lincoln Record Society* (1918), xiv, 14 *et seq.*). Visitation on 26th January, 1437-8.

(2) Frater Johannes Waynflete abbas examinatus dicit quod sunt xvj in numero, de quibus ipsemet, cellerarius et subcellerarius non sequuntur chorum, quartus est in infirmaria, et viij vicibus in anno, videlicet unaquaque vice per septimanam, sunt quatuor in minucionibus apud Southery, sic quod vix remanent pro choro viij monachi, qui non omni tempore secuntur chorum, sic quod male aliquociens deseruitur choro.

(3) Item dicit quod sunt tres familie in monasterio, videlicet aula abbatis, infirmaria et refectorium; et aliquociens monachi stantes in infirmaria non simul sed separatim, videlicet unus per se, alius per se et tercius per se comedunt, et fragmenta ciborum suorum mittunt quo volunt in villam, et sic elemosina totaliter consumitur.

(4) Item dicit quod quicumque hospites declinant ad monasterium reficiuntur in officio hospiciarii et non in aula abbatis ut solitum est.

(5) Item dicit quod magne et plures vigilie fiunt in noctibus in infirmaria in hospicio hospitum, ubi consumitur ceruisia de refectorio et hoc per monachos huiusmodi insolenciis vacantes, nec volunt eas dimittere.

(6) Item dicit quod tota die sedent in refectorio bibentes et vacantes commesacionibus et potacionibus, quasi esset publica taberna et ad hec inducunt seculares.

(7) Item dicit quod stantes in refectorio habent singularia fercula et in

¹ The printed reading here and below is *veniat*, an obvious error.—A.H.T.

infirmaria bini et bini commedunt et quolibet die in refectorio volunt habere ad minus tria genera piscium.

(8) Frater Willelmus Burghe supprior examinatus dicit quod aliquando cum pisces haberi non possunt nullus conservat refectorium.

(9) Frater Johannes Bracy . . .

Item dicit quod ecclesia conventualis est multum ruinosam et chorus quasi in proxima casura et hoc propter defectum reparacionis. Petit igitur ut dominus videat et ordinet remedium. Demoliatur volta in choro in proxima estate.

(10) Item dicit quod dormitorium, refectorium, claustrum et cetera edificia monasterii sunt multum ruinosam in tantum quod pluit ad infra. . . .

(11) Frater Willelmus Langtoft . . .

Item dicit quod quilibet monachus perciperet de officio elemosinarie annuatim xij*d* ad par cultellorum et xij*d* ad species et iam frater Thomas Bartone, occupans illud officium, nichil omnino soluit dictis monachis de officio illo, sed et totum pertinens eidem officio dilapidat et consumit.

(12) Frater Henry Lincoln . . .

Item dicit quod frater Thomas Bartone subcellerarius cum non sit infirmus sed satis sanus et fortis non jacet de nocte in dormitorio sed in camera quadam in infirmaria vel in camera sua juxta coquinam . . .

(13) Frater Johannes Hale . . .

Item dicit quod dudum consueverunt habere in stagnis pertinentibus monasterio ccc vel cccc dentrices pro instauro monasterii, quos omnes Bartone quasi dissipando consumpsit, dans uni unum vel duos, dicens 'Fer uxori' et sic ceteris, sicque consumptis istis necesse habebant mittere ad mercata pro piscibus comparandis ad conventum, et ubi tunc serviebatur conventui de tribus vel iiij generibus piscium iam vix servitur eis de duobus.

(14) Item dicit quod filia Papilwyk habet nimium accessum ad cameram dicti patris sui infra monasterium per quod generatur monasterio scandalum et consumuntur cibi et alia monasterii.

(15) Item dicit quod ex solito more consuetum est cellerarium vel subcellerarium tenere aulam abbatis et recipere hospites abbate absente, dictus Bartone dimissa aula tenet cameram suam ubi servitur sibi de laucioribus cibis et hospitibus de mediocribus.

(16) Frater Thomas Elkyngton cellerarius petit ut omnes monachi extra refectorium simul commedant in una domo.

(17) Dompnus Willelmus Yorke . . .

Item dicit quod honestum foret pro fama monasterii et monachorum pro tempore existencium in minucionibus apud Sotherey ut Agnes Busshe mulier soluta manens in manerio ibidem, amoveatur totaliter a loco illo et substituaturs aliquis honestus vir qui habeat custodiam loci illius. Fiat injunctio.

(18) Item petit ut cum amici monachorum ad ipsos visendos declinaverint habeant ipsi monachi commune hospicium monasterii ubi possint solacia ipsis amicis suis exhibere. De hoc providebitur.

(19) Duo juvenes manentes cum abbate unus Barkeworthe et alius Taylboys reprehendunt monachos juniores (et Taylboys) traxit cultellum suum ad percuciendum fratrem Johannem Roos et ad hoc manutentur sed nescit per quos vel quem.

(20) Frater Johannes Bracy, juratus de veritatem dicendo super inquiren-

dis, ab eodem interrogatus an unquam scivit vel audivit Barton dicere quod dominus Cromwell scoparet pavimentum vel quod capud suum sincoparetur dicit quod sic : et hoc in ultima yeme in camino in communi loco. . . .

Visitation on 17th March, 1439.

(21) Abbas deponit quod Langtofte precentor Willelmus Yorke. Ricardus Parteney cum aliis duobus junioribus diebus Lune Martis et Jouis in septimana post invencionem sancte Crucis, videlicet mense Maij anno Domini mccccxxvij sumserunt refecciones suas in domo elemosinarie extra septa claustralia tam in meridie quam in cenis contra injunccionem domini eis factam et notam sub pena excomunicacionis. . . .

Injunctions following the last visitation.

(22) Cum . . . vobis universis et singulis specialiter injunxerimus et mandaverimus quod monachi monasterij illius de cetero habeant minuciones suas infra monasterium illud et nullatinus ut solito apud Sutherey vel alibi extra septa dicti monasterij, ex certis tamen causis nos moventibus indulgemus vobis ut minuciones vestras huius modi juxta consuetudinem ipsius monasterii apud Sotherey et non alibi extra monasterium teneatis usque dum aliter duxerimus ordinandum predicta nostra injunccione aut pena eidem adiecta non obstante ; dummodo tantum, dilecte fili abbas, huiusmodi minucionibus cum confratribus tuis presenciam tuam continuam exhibias et ad eorum regimen oculum habeas diligentem. . . .

Visitation on 6th October, 1440.

(23) Abbas Willelmus Waynflete . . .

Dicit quod habet medietatem sigilli communis et unam clavem. Dicit ulterius quod infra quindenam elapsam liberavit clavem suam ceteris duobus custodibus illius sigilli ad sigillandum unum procuratorium. Interrogatus an servra clavis sue fuit statim serata, dicit quod nescit ; credit tamen quod sic : fuit tamen in thesauraria sed ad hoc non respiciebat. Et credit quod liberavit huiusmodi clavem dictis custodibus inter festa Mathei et Michaelis ultima. Interrogatus si novit an alique scedule vacue seu albe carte sint vel fuerint sigillate sigillo communi aut sigillo officij sui, dicit plane quod non. Deinde exiens capitulum et iterum ad statim rediens in capitulum, dicit quod heri mane tradidit clavem suam aliis custodibus ad sigillandum unum procuratorium et statim retradiderunt sibi clavem.

(24) Frater Alanus Kyrketone, prior, . . . dicit quod fratres Willelmus Langtofte, Willelmus Waynflete, Henricus Lincolne et Johannes Hole tractarunt in capitulo post matutinas per unam horam et tunc duo ex eis pecierunt lectos et duo alij accesserunt in thesaurariam et sumpserunt et tulerunt sigillum commune et sigillarunt tales scedulas vacuas in domo sacriste et ibidem dimiserunt fragmenta pergameni. . . .

(25) Frater Johannes Bracy juratus et examinatus dicit quod statim et incontinenti post matutinas audivit Lincoln, Langtoft, Waynflete et Hole colloquentes in domo capitulari sed eos non intellexit ; et statim post hec Waynflete et Langtofte pecierunt lectos et alij duo accesserunt in ecclesiam et iuerunt de altari ad altare et collegerunt fragmenta candelarum et postea clauso hostio ecclesie ingressi sunt domum sacristie juxta dictum ostium ; et clauso illo ostio vidit iste per unam rimam dictos Hole et Lincolne sigillare unam albam cartam sive scedulam vacuum cum sigillo communi ad causas.

(26) Frater Willelmus Waynflete supprior juratus similiter et interrogatus dicit quod presens erat in tractatu in domo capitulari et dicit quod . . . sunt omnes tres claves custodie sigilli, videlicet abbatis, quam ille abbas misit per Lincolne, et Langtofte tradidit eidem clavem suam, et tradidit iste eidem Lincolne clavem suam; et sic ipse et Hole sigillarunt unam albam cartam ad unum procuratorium conficiendum et quia nullus erat in monasterio qui sciebat scribere procuratorium, ideo miserunt illam scedulam vacuam sic sigillatam usque Lincolniam sigillandam (*sic*).

Visitation on 8th May, 1444.

(27) Frater Johannes Bracy dicit quod fratres Willelmus Yorke et Johannes Hole multociens bibunt et comedunt in villa de Bardeney, Osgodby, et presertim in firma elemosinarie juxta monasterium et hoc contra injunc-tionem domini et quasi ex consuetudine.

(28) Item (Johannes Hole) cum sit elemosinarius permittit grangiam elemosinarie juxta monasterium tendere ad ruinam. Allegat se construi fecisse unam novam domum in dicta firma ad magnos sumptus et quam cito poterit reparabit alia.

(29) Frater Willelmus Yorke, sacrista, petit sibi maeremium assignari pro choro conventuali et quod gardinus quem colit non sibi aufer[atur]. Concessum et maeremium et eciam gardinum ut ea habeat.

(30) Frater Thomas Suthewelle dicit quod Bartone est intolerabilis inter fratres et improperat isti pro factura gardini claustrum.

APPENDIX VI.

An interesting account of the abbots of Bardney has already been published by Dr. A. Hamilton Thompson (*Assoc. Soc. Reports*, xxxii, 351-402).

This was preceded by a companion account of the possessions of Bardney by the same writer (*Assoc. Soc. Reports*, xxxii, 35-96), but it is believed that the following document in the Record Office has never been printed and is here appended as a fitting conclusion to the history of Bardney Abbey.

Particulars for grants, Henry VIII, file 567. (Thomas Heneage). Manerium de Bardney et Sotherey in comu Lincoln.

Parcelle Possessionum nuper Monasterii de Bardeney in Com. Lincoln. in Manibus Domini Regis sursum Redditi siue Resignati.

Firma scitus dicti nuper Monasterii unacum Omnibus domibus edificiis orreis stabulis Columbariis ortis pomariis Gardinis terra et solo infra scitum et procinctum dicti nuper Monasterii existentibus ac omnium terrarum Pratorum et Pasturarum subscriptorum videlicet, unius pasture vocate Horsleylande cum Pastura in le highwoode continentis per estimacionem octo Acras. unius clausi pasture vocati Thomas Harleys close continentis per estimacionem xij acras. unius Clausi pasture vocati John Dones cloce continentis per estimacionem vij acras. unius alterius Clausi pasture vocati Roberte Kendalles cloce continentis per estimacionem quatuor acras. unius alterius clausi Pasture vocati Willm. Wrytes cloce continentis per estimacionem xij. acras. unius alterius Clausi Pasture vocati Hosborne Cloce continentis per estimacionem vij. acras. unius alterius Clausi pasture vocati

le Coneygarthe cloce continentis per estimationem xxiiij acras. unius clausi vocati le longdales cloce continentis per estimationem xvj acras. Ac omnium illarum Pasturarum vocatarum Drowne Pastur' continentium in toto per estimationem ducentas et sexaginta acras. unius alterius clausi vocati stokeway continentis per estimationem xl acras. unius clausi pasture vocati Richard Wryttes close continentis per estimationem sex acras necnon omnium illarum Pasturarum iacentium apud buggett Howse continentium in toto per estimationem xx acras. Aceciam tocius illius Pasture vocate Buggettes beκες continentis per estimationem l^{ta} acras. unius Campi terre siue pasture vocati le estefelde continentis per estimationem xl^{ta} acras. unius Campi terre vocati Dunsill pasture continentis per estimationem xxx^{ta} acras. unius Clausi pasture vocati Tylehowsebeκες continentis per estimationem xx acras. unius Clausi pasture vocati Holme woodes continentis per estimationem xxiiij acras. unius Clausi pasture vocati more cloce continentis per estimationem xl acras. unius alterius clausi Pasture vocati Russhe cloce continentis per estimationem lx^{ta} acras. unius alterius clausi Pasture vocati Osgarbie beκες cloce continentis per estimationem xl acras. octoginta acrarum prati et Pasture jacentium in Sharbye more et kettelsey. unius Clausi pasture vocati Horwoode Hille cum uno Clauso prati siue pasture ibidem continentis in toto per estimationem iiij^{xx} acras. unius Clausi pasture vocati Fatte pasture continentis per estimationem xxij acras. unius pasture vocate Harwoode pasture continentis per estimationem xxx acras. unius Pasture vocati Burstowe Pasture continentis per estimationem iiij^{xx} acras. unius alterius Clausi pasture vocati Thikethornes continentis per estimationem lx acras. unius alterius Clausi pasture vocati oxе cloce continentis per estimationem xij acras. unius Clausi Pasture vocati Stokewray Hede cloce continentis per estimationem vj acras. unius alterius Clausi pasture vocati Bysshope Leye continentis per estimationem xxx acras. ac ccxl acrarum terre arrabilis in Bardney ac cujusdam Piscarie juxta dictum nuper monasterium unacum Omnibus communiis piscariis privilegiis proficuis et commoditatibus quibuscumque premissis seu alicui inde parcelle quoquomodo spectantibus siue pertinentibus que omnia et singula premissa cum pertinentiis scituantur jacent et existunt in Bardney et Laughton in dicto Com. Lincoln, ac in manibus Cultura et occupatione proprie [sic] nuper Abbatis dicti nuper Monasterii tempore dissolutionis ejusdem nuper monasterii ad usum hospicii sui reservata et occupata fuerunt exceptis tamen semper omnibus Grossis Arboribus de et super premissis Crescentibus et omnibus talibus et huiusmodi edificiis infra scitum et procinctum ejusdem nuper monasterii que dictus Dominus Rex ibidem imposterum prosterni et auferri mandauerit sic insimill [sic] dimissa Roberto Tyrwitt militi et Johanni Hennage armigero per indenturam datam primo die Februarii anno Regni Regis nunc Henrici viij^{ui} xxx^{mo} habenda a festo sancti Michaelis Archangeli tunc ultimo preterito vsque finem termini xlj. Annorum, Et dictus dominus Rex exonerabit dictos Firmarios de omnibus denariis summis exeuntibus de premissis Et Firmarii invenient omnimodas Reparaciones preter magnum maeremium durante termino predicto Et predicti Firmarii annuatim Reddebunt [sic] pro omnibus predicta [sic] premissis lxvij li. xiiij. iiij d. [ad festa] Annunsiationis beate Marie et sancti Michaelis Archangeli equaliter per Annum sicut in eadem indentura continetur lxvij li. xiiij. iiij d.

[In margin] Memorandum that this ys to be Grawntyd unto S^r. Thomas Henage K^t. and to Dame Kateryn his wyff and theyres of his bodye begottyn in Recompense of the maner of ouerton.

Firma unius Cotagii ibidem in tenura Johannis Glasier per copiam ut dicitur
Reddendo inde ad Festa Annunsacionis beate Marie et sancti Michaelis
Archangeli equaliter per Annum vijs.
Firma unius Cotagii ibidem in tenura Johannis Godsalf ad voluntatem et
Redditum inde ad Festa predicta equaliter per annum xs.
Firma unius Cotagii ibidem in Tenura Thome Knolles de Anno in Annum
Reddendo inde ad eosdem terminos equaliter per annum vs.
Firma unius bovate terre et dimidie ibidem in tenura Ricardi Smythe de
Anno in Annum Et Reddit inde [ad] eosdem terminos equaliter per
Annum vijs.
Firma unius Crofte terre ibidem in tenura uxoris dicti Ricardi de Anno in
Annum Et Reddit inde ad eosdem terminos equaliter per annum iijs.
Firma unius mesuagii ibidem et trium bouatarum terre in tenura Ricardi
Gybson de anno in annum Et Reddit inde ad eosdem terminos equaliter
per annum xxjs.
Firma unius mesuagii et trium bouatarum terre ibidem in tenura Hugonis
Cressey de anno in annum Et Reddit ad eosdem terminos equaliter per
annum xxjs.
Firma trium bouatarum terre ibidem in tenura Willelmi Cornewell de
Anno in Annum et Reddit inde ad eosdem terminos equaliter per
Annum xxjs.
Firma duarum Clausurarum ibidem in tenura dicti Willelmi Cornewell de
Anno in Annum Et Reddit inde ad eosdem terminos equaliter per
Annum xvjs.
Firma unius Cotagii cum terra eidem pertinente in tenura Roberti Kyrkebye
de anno in Annum Et Reddit ad eosdem terminos per Annum xs.
Firma unius Cotagii ibidem cum terra eidem pertinente in tenura Thome
Hudson de anno in annum Et Reddit inde ad festa Annuncacionis beate
Marie et sancti Michaelis archangeli equaliter per annum xs.
Firma unius mesuagii et trium bouatarum terre ibidem in tenura Willelmi
Pachett de anno in annum Et Reddit inde ad eosdem terminos equaliter
per annum xxjs.
Firma unius mesuagii cum una Clausura ibidem in tenura Thome Sibrian
de Anno in Annum Et Reddit ad eosdem terminos per Annum xxxijs.
Firma unius Bouate terre ibidem in tenura Roberti Kendall de anno in
annum Et Reddit inde ad dicto termino [sic] equaliter per annum iijs.

Memo. that these parcelles ar to be Grawnted unto S^r. Thomas Henage and to Dame Katherine hys wyff and to theyres of hys bodye [begotyn] in full recompense of the maner of Ouerton which ys of the demesnes of Bardney . . . by yere.¹

Firma iiij acrarum prati ibidem in tenura Relicte Pay de anno in Annum et
Reddit inde ad predictos duos Anni terminos equaliter per Annum
iijs. iiijd.

¹ This memorandum is in the margin and appears to refer to the whole of the parcels enumerated from the last marginal note to

the end of the farm of land by Robert Fowler (p. 91).

- Firma unius mesuagii et unius bouate terre ibidem in tenura Roberti Gray de anno in annum Et Reddit inde ad eosdem terminos equaliter per Annum xiijs.
- Firma Cuiusdam Pasture ibidem in tenura Willelmi Hardie de Anno in Annum Et Reddit inde ad dictos terminos equaliter per Annum xvjs.
- Firma unius Pasture ibidem in tenura Edwardi Halles de anno in Annum Et Reddit inde ad eosdem terminos equaliter per Annum xvjs.
- Firma Piscacionis ij Fossium quorum unus vocatur Hanwourthe Deyk et Bramston Dyke in tenura Ricardi Langham Et Reddit ad eosdem terminos per Annum ijs vijd.
- Firma unius Cotagii et Crofte terre ibidem in tenura Edwardi Dean de Anno in Annum Et Reddit inde ad eosdem terminos equaliter per Annum viijs.
- Firma unius Fergiagii ibidem vocati Bardney Ferrey in tenura Ricardi Thomas de Anno in Annum Et Reddit ad eosdem terminos per Annum ijs.
- Firma unius Domus ibidem vocate le Tylehowse in tenura Willelmi Williamson de Anno in Annum Et Reddit ad dictos terminos per Annum vjs. viijd.
- Firma unius Cotagii ibidem in tenura Alani Vessey de Anno in Annum Et Reddit ad eosdem terminos equaliter per Annum iijs.
- Firma unius Cotagii ibidem cum pertinenciis nuper in tenura Roberti Fyssher et modo in tenura Thome Kynge de Anno in Annum Et Reddit per annum xs.
- Firma unius Piscarie ibidem vocate missefene in tenura Willelmi Willoughebye militis de anno in annum Et Reddit ad predictos terminos per Annum ijs. iiijd.
- Firma unius mesuagii cum duobus [sic] bouatis terre ibidem vocati Cangarthe Oxganges cum pertinenciis necnon unius parui Crofti ex parte Boriali dicti messuagii sic dimissorum Willelmo Luffeday per indenturam datam ij die Nouembris Anno regni regis nunc Henrici viij^{ti} xxiiij pro termino xxxj Annorum Reddendo inde Annuatim xvs. iiijd. ad terminos ibidem maxime usuales equaliter per Annum Omnibus Reparacionibus ad Custus et onera Firmariorum opere Carpentario tectura in stramine et le Grunse linge solimodo exceptis sicut in eadem indentura continetur xvs. iiijd.
- Firma unius mesuagii ibidem de nouo edificati super quandam placeam terre nuper in tenura Johannis Sewell necnon unius parue domus de nouo edificate super placeam terre nuper in tenura Johannis Bones cum omnibus lez Garthes pertinentibus dictis domibus et lez Garthes nuper pertinentibus Hugoni Cressey ac cum parua Crofta Annexata dicte domui et Garthes ex parte Boriali vocatis Colte Closse et unius acre prati Aceciam unius ley jacentis prope molendinum Equinum ibidem sicut dimissa Johanni Bones per indenturam datam xxx die Aprilis Anno xij^{mo} Regis nunc Henrici viij^{ti} pro termino xl annorum Reddendo inde annuatim xiijs. iiijd. ad Festa Philippi et Jacobi et sancti Martini in Yeme equaliter per Annum Omnibus Reparacionibus ad Custus et onera Firmariorum Maeremio et Jersell' cum tectura dictarum domuum eorundem solimodo exceptis sicut in eadem indentura continetur xiijs. iiijd.
- Firma unius Tenementi ibidem cum pertinenciis necnon unius prati siue Clausi vocati Bramer Lese sicut dimissa Nicholas Byllyng per indenturam

- non irrotulata Reddendo inde ad Festa Annunciacionis beate Marie et sancti Michaelis Archangeli equaliter per Annum . . xvjs. viij*d*.
- Firma unius Cotagii ibidem cum pertinenciis ac unius Crofte terre et unius bouate terre in tenura Willelmi Wryght per indenturam coram Auditore non demonstratam Et Reddit inde ad eosdem terminos equaliter per Annum xvjs. viij*d*.
- Firma unius domus in Bardney predicta cum pertinenciis et Piscarie Aque A Ferrey Bothe usque Southegathe cum eodem southegathe et Newegathe soluenda inde Annua tim pro eadem domu cum piscaria xxvjs. viij*d*. necnon alterius domus nuper in tenura Ricardi Tyller iiij*s*. unius Garthe ibidem xij*d*. Aceciam unius prati in Henworthe Fenne x*d*. sic insimull dimittantur [sic] inter alia Roberto Thomas de Bardney ad firmam per indenturam datam secundo die Januarii Anno regni regis Henrici viij^{ti} xxij^{to} pro termino xxx^{ta} Annorum immediate sequencium [festum] Appostolorum Philippi et Jacobi proximum post datam dicte indenture Reddendo inde Annuatim xxxiij*s*. iiij*d*. ad Festa Appostolorum Philippi et Jacobi et sancti Michaelis Archangeli equaliter per Annum Omnibus Reparacionibus ad Custus et onera Firmariorum maeremio solumodo excepto sicut in eadem indentura continetur xxxiij*s*. iiij*d*.
- Firma unius domus vocate Ferrey Bothe ibidem cum uno Pondeyarde eidem pertinente necnon una le Fysshegarthe adjacente eidem domui cum omnibus aquis eidem pertinentibus a predicto Garthe usque Horsley oldegarthe Aceciam Piscariam de Skykegarthe et unius parue Garthe cum vj. acris Prati in Hanworthe Fenne sicut insimull dimittuntur Ricardo Laneham per indenturam datam quato [sic] die Februarii Anno xxix^o. Regis nunc Henrici viij^{ti} pro termino xxx^{ta} [annorum] proximo post disseisionem Margarete Thomas alias Margarete Johnstone Reddendo inde Annuatim xliiij*s*. ad Festa sancti Martini in Yeme et Appostolorum Philippi et Jacobi equaliter per Annum Omnibus Reparacionibus preter magnum maeremium ad Custus et onera Firmariorum sicut in eadem indentura continetur xliiij*s*.
- Firma unius domus ibidem vocate the almner Place¹ cum omnibus domibus eidem pertinentibus magno horreo solumodo excepto necnon firma omnium Pasturarum de Almner Fen unius Clausi vocati Oxeclosse et decem acrarum sub Horsley cum Pastura, l. ouium in Bardney Feldes sic insimull dimissa Edwardo Walles et Alicie uxori ejus per indenturam datam secundo die Aprilis Anno xxv^{to} Regis nunc Henrici viij^{ti} pro termino vite eorum et eorum altri [sic] diucius viventis Reddendo inde Annuatim lxvjs. viij*d*. ad Festa Appostolorum Philippi et Jacobi et sancti Martini in Yeme equaliter per Annum Omnibus Reparacionibus preter magnum maeremium et Tecturacionem cum Stramine ad Custus et onera Firmariorum sicut in eadem indentura patet . . . lxvjs. viij*d*.
- Firma unius domus ibidem nuper in tenura Emot Orwell cum una Crofta nuper in tenura Willelmi Whippe Et modo insimull in tenura Arkenwaldo [sic] Roydone per indenturam datam vj^{to} die Septembris Anno xxx Regis predicti durante vita sua per Annum
xiiij*s*. cum iiij*s*. de novo incremento.
- Nota quod habet durante vita sua absque redditum [sic].

¹ This was the grange of the almonry, see p. 9.

Firma duorum Gaddes prati ibidem in tenura Johannis Bonde per indenturam sub sigillo Conuentuale [sic] ut dicitur coram Auditore non demonstratam per Annum ijs.

Firma certarum terrarum ibidem nuper in tenura Relicte Perrey per indenturam sub sigillo Conuentuale durante vita sua absque aliquo inde Reddendo qui [sic] mortuus est et modo inde Responditur per Annum viijs. viijd.

Firma unius Tenementi ibidem nuper in tenura . . . Pachett in Recomendacionem Corrodii sui absque aliquo inde Reddendo qui mortuus est et modo dimissa Waltero Grene Reddendo inde ad predictos terminos vs.

Firma unius Tenementi ibidem de nouo reperto in tenura Johannis Michell Reddendo inde ad terminos ibidem usuales per Annum iijs.

Firma unius Tenementi ibidem de nouo inaccessi in tenura Milonis Pigotte Reddendo inde ad dictos terminos equaliter per Annum iijs. cum viijd. de nouo incremento.

Firma unius mesuagii ibidem in tenura Thome Kyng similitur de nouo inaccessi et Reddit inde ad terminos predictos equaliter per Annum vjs. viijd.

Firma duorum molinorum in Bardney predicta cum Clauso ibidem quorum unum ventriticum et alter [sic] equinum in tenura Willelmi Bossewell [?] de Anno in Annum et Reddit inde ad Festa Annunciacionis beate Marie et sancti Michaelis Archangeli equaliter per Annum lxiijs. iiijd.

Firma Rectorie de Bardney cum omnibus decimis preter decimas terre dominicalis dimisse [Reser[ua]batur Regi]¹ Willelmo Willoughbye Armigero ad Firmam per indenturam non irrotulatam Et Reddit inde ad eosdem terminos equaliter per Annum [Cancellatur [?] hic et omittitur per . . . prepotentis Principis Ducis Somerset.]¹

Firma unius mesuagii cum tribus bouatis terre in Sotherye in Parochia de Bardeney in tenura Johannis Walker de Anno in Annum Et Reddit inde ad Festa Annunciacionis beate Marie et Michaelis equaliter xiijs. iiijd.

Firma unius Piscarie ibidem in tenura Johannis Fowler de Anno in Annum Et Reddit ad eosdem terminos equaliter per Annum xijs.

Firma dimidie Piscarie ibidem in tenura dicti Johannis de anno in Annum et Reddit ad eosdem terminos equaliter per Annum vs.

Firma unius pecie terre siue prati ibidem circumcluse cum aqua in tenura Roberti Fowler de Anno in Annum Et Reddit ad eosdem terminos equaliter per Annum iijs. iiijd.

Compota [?] de annis xxxv^{to} xxxiii]^{to} Exitus Curie ibidem Communibus Annis xliijs. iiijd.

[The end of this membrane, which should show the total, has been eaten away.]

Reprise scilicet in

Denariis Respectualibus pro feodo Willelmi Willoughbye militis domini Willoughbye senescalli ibidem per Litteras patentes ut dicit coram Auditore non demonstratas per Annum xlr. [cancelled] xxxvs. [cancelled] xxxs.

¹ In margin.

Allocacione medietatis exituum terre in tenura Johannis Bonde durante vita
 sua absque Redditu concessio xijd.
 Feodo Balliui ibidem per annum xls.
 lxxjs. [*over iiiijli. xijd. cancelled*].
 Et sic Remanet Clare per annum iiiij^{xx} xvijli. xixs. iij^d. [*over iiiij^{xx} xvijli*
ixs. iijij cancelled.]

Memorandum that the woodes of the same manour dothe extend to the
 number of a thowsand Acres or more And that the Kinges ma^{tie} hath lytell
 other woodes in the said countie towarde the reparinge of all his gracis howses
 Tenementes and Cotages witheyn the said shere And itt lyethe, not nere to
 any of the Kinges ma^{ties} howses of accesse to my knowledge, nor the Kyng
 Ma^{tie} hathe no more landes services nor Rentes in the seyd Townes of Bardney
 and Sotherey to the seyd Monasterye belonging or Appertanyng.

Nota to Reserve all the tenures by knyghtes servyce or socage and the
 rentes & other profytes therof as heretofore hathe byne accustomed.

Memorandum to Reserve all the [*a blot here*] belonging to the premysses
 except one hundreth acres therof callyd . . . adjoynyng to the lordship of
 Tupham and Horseheye and these to be mettyd out surveyed and valuyd
 by the surveyoures of the Woodes and of the landes of that shyre. Callyng
 unto them the Steward and the bayliff of the seyd manour.

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