

THE ALIEN PRIORY OF ST WINWALOE AND WINNOLD HOUSE AT WEREHAM, NORFOLK

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SUMMARY

Property at Wereham was given to the abbey of St Guénolé (Winwaloe) at Montreuil-sur-Mer, Picardy, between 1086 and 1154. By 1143 the abbey also drew revenues from London, Hertfordshire and Lincolnshire, although all but the last were lost by 1291. Monks were probably installed before 1154, and were certainly present by the time the chapel was built c. 1150–1175. A Prior is recorded in 1199. The chapel's remains show that a claustral plan was not intended, while the monks' income limited their numbers to two or three. As with most such cells, the monks' main duty was the collection of the abbey's revenues and the full conventual routine was not attempted. The structure and decoration of the chapel, however, are a reminder of the importance that monasteries and patrons still attached to such foundations in the 12th century. The abbey sold the property in 1327, and in 1332 it passed to the Premonstratensians at West Dereham. Thereafter, at least until the 1370s, the chapel served as a chantry, and had a gallery or upper chamber inserted at its west end. Converted to domestic use after 1539, the building's origin remains reflected in its historic name — Winnold or 'Winwall' House.

Introduction

(Fig. 1)

Of the monastic houses founded or re-founded in England and Wales between 1066 and the end of the 12th century, well over a hundred were 'alien' cells dependent on continental abbeys. By the end of the period as many as 25 of these cells had six monks or more and fully-developed claustral buildings. The remainder, less well-defined in status and described in contemporary documents simply as *domus* (house) as often as *prioratus* (priory), had no more than five monks, buildings more like those of a manor house than a monastery, and no regular conventual life in the usual sense. These smaller dependencies, were not, however, merely substitutes for larger ones, but represented an important class of monastic house in their own right, providing a rather different range of services for their patrons and their parent houses. Amongst them was the priory of St Winwaloe at Wereham in north-west Norfolk, a dependency of the Benedictine abbey of St Saulve (Salvius) and St Guénolé (Winwaloe) at Montreuil-sur-Mer on the north French coast (Pas de Calais).¹ By the mid-13th century, however, small alien cells and equivalent dependencies of English houses (once c. 50 in number) were in decline² as their original functions were undermined, links with their patrons weakened, and the abbeys rationalised their overseas holdings.³ Although it shared their fate, St Winwaloe's priory is remarkable not only for the survival of associated documents, but also of the 12th-century fabric incorporated in Winnold House, an isolated farmhouse in the northern half of the parish. These factors combine to provide rare insights into the origins, functions and demise of an individual alien cell, and as such contribute to our understanding of an important but little-known aspect of monastic history.

This article discusses the acquisition and location of the Wereham estate and the abbey's other English holdings, and sets out the evidence for the site of the priory and the identity of Winnold House. It discusses the origin of the establishment, the size and duties of its community, and the fabric, function and dating of the medieval building, and summarises the history of the property from 1320 to the present day.

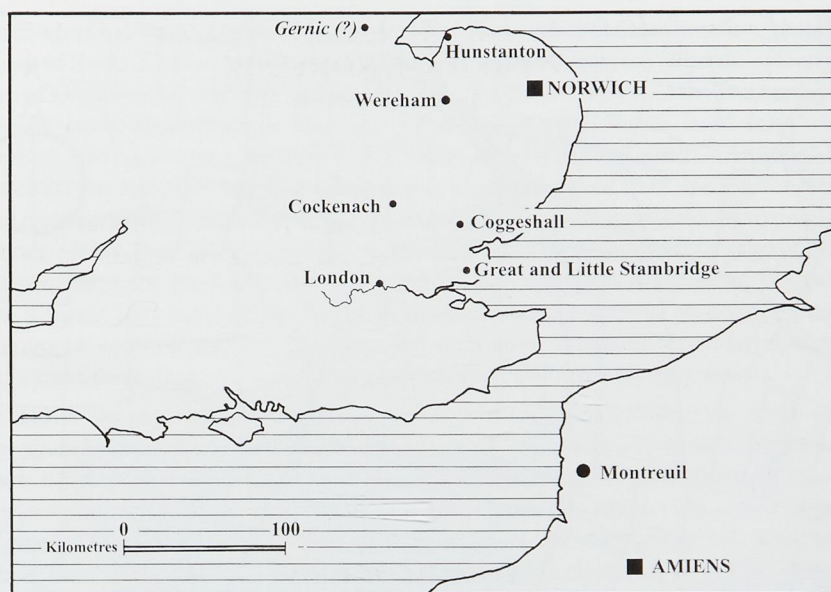


Figure 1. The locations of Wereham, Montreuil-sur-Mer and the abbey's other English possessions

The Wereham property and its acquisition

(Figs 1 and 2)

Wereham was held before the Conquest by the freeman Toli. In 1086 the whole manor was held by Rainold son of Ivo, a Domesday tenant-in-chief with substantial holdings in Norfolk and Lincolnshire but about whom little else is known. The first reference to its tenure by Montreuil, a papal confirmation which lists 'part of the manor of Wereham with its church and ploughland, and the chapel of that same township', dates from 1154.⁴ A confirmation of 1143, known only from the abbey's unpublished cartulary, lists its other English holdings but these include none in Norfolk.⁵ With the aid of other material, however, it is possible to examine when the abbey received it, who the donor may have been, what the grant consisted of, and when and on whose initiative the cell might have been established.

It has usually been assumed that the Wereham property was granted to Montreuil and the priory founded by the Clares,⁶ who were certainly holders of Rainold's Norfolk lands from some time during the reign of Henry I and its patrons thereafter. Some support for this may lie in the omission of Wereham from the earlier confirmation, and the inference that the grant must have been made at some stage between then and 1154, by when Rainald was long dead and the Clares were clearly in possession. However, although the post-Conquest family — including Richard son of Gilbert and his successor to the Honour of Clare, Gilbert son of Richard (or 'of Tonbridge') — were enthusiastic founders of priories, these were all dependencies of Bec-Hellouin, the great abbey near their ancestral *caput* at Orbec (Département of Calvados, Normandy), with which the family had had a long, if chequered, association. In addition, nothing in the copious literature on the Clares and their religious patronage hints at any association with Montreuil,⁷ nor, given its location, would this be easily accounted for. Were it not, then, for its omission from the earlier confirmation, it might be suggested that the grant had been made by the only possible alternative, Rainald son of Ivo. But, as it happens, the existence of a plausible explanation for Rainold's patronage of Montreuil, arising



Figure 2. The site of Winnold House in relation to topographical features which identify it as a remnant of the priory of St Winwaloe

The boundaries of the commons, as shown on maps of 1736 (Fincham: NRO PD 351/26) and 1818 (Wereham: NRO C/Scs.2/275), are superimposed on the modern 1:10,000 map (sheets TF 60 SE and TF 60 NE)

from his Breton connections, calls into question the reliability of the confirmation, or its surviving text. Much of Rainald's Domesday property had formerly been held by Wihenoc of Burley,⁸ a man of Ralph of Gael, Earl of Norfolk, and clearly, like him, a Breton.⁹ From the Domesday entry for the Norfolk lands of William de Warenne we also learn that tenure in at least one manor, Massingham, had passed from Wihenoc to Ivo before descending to Rainald.¹⁰ Although Ivo might have received this and other manors after Ralph of Gael's revolt of 1075, the known recipients of the confiscated property were either major tenants in chief or Bretons who had remained loyal. Ivo was neither.¹¹ Why, then, should Ivo have received lands from Wihenoc? The answer may lie in a family connection, the most probable being that Ivo had married a daughter of Wihenoc. If this were so, it would have been natural for his son to have made a grant to Montreuil, a community with important associations with Brittany and dedicated to one of its most popular saints.¹² Rainald's candidature may, then, be on at least an equal footing with the Clares'.

The date of the grant clearly lay between 1086, when Rainald still held the whole manor, and 1154, by when Montreuil was undoubtedly in possession. If Rainald were to be accepted as the original donor, however, the period would be reduced to that between 1086 and his death. This is usually placed shortly before 1090, the purported date of three charters by which Gilbert (son of Richard) of Clare granted some of Rainald's Domesday manors to the priory of Bec-Hellouin at Stoke-by-Clare.¹³ However, this is brought into question by a charter of as late as 1098, in which Rainald and Gilbert appear as joint benefactors to Bury St Edmunds,¹⁴ in keeping with Jennifer Ward's suggestion that the 1090 charters had been 'only subsequently grouped together under that date'.¹⁵ The fact that Gilbert is more likely to have received Rainald's lands under Henry I, from whom he received much else, than under William Rufus, against whom he had rebelled, also supports the case for his longevity and that Rainald may have lived until at least 1100. His death and any gift on his part to Montreuil must, however, have preceded Gilbert's own decease in about 1115.

Although the confirmation of 1154 tells us that Montreuil held 'part of the manor of Wereham with its church and ploughland, and the chapel of that same township', precisely what the property initially consisted of is also difficult to establish. The problem starts with the reference to the church of Wereham, for the Stoke cartulary records that Gilbert (even if we query the date of 1090) endowed the cell of Bec:

all the tithes which he owned of all things on which tithes are payable from all his holdings in his Norfolk manors, that is to say all the tithes of ... Wereham ... and the churches of all these manors when they shall fall vacant.¹⁶

How, then, could it have been a property of Montreuil in 1154? Given the Clares' sustained patronage of Stoke, a transfer of the church from one foundation to the other — in any case an unusual procedure — is highly unlikely. More probably, although Gilbert's tithes were transferred to Stoke, and were confirmed to the priory's successor community in 1428, the church was not.¹⁷ The reasons must lie in the status and ownership of the church at the time of Gilbert's gift, which was to be effected only when it 'should fall vacant', *ie.* on the death of the existing incumbent. In the event, there must have been some impediment to the transfer, such as its retention by a hereditary successor, or perhaps weaknesses in Gilbert's claim to it in the first place: its status is only known for certain after *c.* 1190, with its grant to the Gilbertines at Shouldham.¹⁸ As it turned out, Gilbert's wishes with regard to the churches of Beechamwell and Barton Bendish were equally unsuccessful. Although their expectation, along with those of Wereham and Crimplesham, was confirmed to Stoke by the Bishop of Norwich, John of Oxford, in 1192–3,¹⁹ only Crimplesham was ever actually received.²⁰ The bull of 1154 must therefore have confirmed, on the basis of a charter in the abbey's possession, an action anticipated in Gilbert's gift but never carried out.

Montreuil's possession of the remaining Wereham property listed in 1154 is not in dispute, but the origins of the chapel 'of that town', its status in 1154, its identification or otherwise with the priory site and the known chapel of c. 1150–75 remain to be explored. If the omission of the abbey's Norfolk property from the 1143 papal confirmation is considered significant the chapel could have been granted to the monks, or built by them, between then and 1154, and might perhaps be identified with the known building. However, if, as seems equally likely, the initial grant had been made much earlier, there are two main possibilities with regard to the chapel's origins and identity. The first is that the 'chapel of that town' has since completely disappeared from the record and had no association with the priory. The second, and by far the likelier, is that it stood on or near the site of Winnold House and had been given by Rainald to the monks, who subsequently rebuilt it in its surviving form.

The earliest information on the abbey's lands at Wereham is given in an Extent of 1294, by which time they amounted (excluding the dwelling house and its garden) to 92 acres.²¹ Although the holding may have been consolidated, as it was by an exchange of 12 acres in 1270 (below), no additional ground is known to have been granted or acquired since the previous century. The 92 acres probably represent the 'ploughland' of 1154, and thus the core of the original endowment. Other local revenue, however, had no doubt been accumulated; the most significant was probably that of St Winwaloe's fair, established at an unknown date but valued at £1 per year when first mentioned in 1294. Thereafter the core of the diminutive, scattered estate seems to have remained intact for more than five centuries: 'Winnold Farm', although assessed at other acreages in the interval, once again consisted of 92 acres in 1851.²²

The other English property of Montreuil

(Fig. 1)

Wereham was not, however, Montreuil's only English holding, and it was probably the possession of its other estates which was to make the founding of the Norfolk cell a viable proposition (Fig. 1). Both 12th-century confirmations refer, nearest to home, to the monks' possession 'in the town of Filby, of land returning 20s, and two parts of all the tithes of the manor of Hunstanton', respectively located near Great Yarmouth and on the Wash (north of King's Lynn). An early 14th-century extent of 'Lovell's Manor' describes the lands from which some of the tithes derived.²³ The monks also possessed a ford or causeway (*transitum*) at *Gernie*, placed by the charter in the diocese of Lincoln, and which, if the last syllable derives from *wic*, may be identifiable as Garwick, an area or settlement near Heckington (Lincs).²⁴

The date at which the abbey acquired the property, other than that it lay between 1086 and 1143, remains uncertain. However, at least in the case of the Hunstanton tithes, the gift could be attributed to Rainald son of Ivo's influence as Ralph son of Herluin, its major Domesday tenant, may have been the son of Herluin son of Ivo, either Rainald's tenant or his brother.²⁵ In 1291 the total annual value of the abbey's property at Wereham, Hunstanton and Filby was recorded as £7 2s 8d,²⁶ a figure reduced by 1294, for reasons unknown, to £5 2s.²⁷

Both confirmations also list property rather further afield, in identical wording as follows:

In the town of London [offerings at] the altar of the Blessed St Lawrence, with many houses (*hospites*), and in the territory of the said city the chapel of *Cochenech* with land for two ploughs, and at *Cochessella* and at *Stambriga* the tithes of the land of Wiardi [and] Pointel.²⁸

Further details of the London property, referred to in 1247 and 1262 as the Soke of St Winwaloe,²⁹ are provided by a series of charters preserved at Balliol College, which became its owner in 1295,³⁰ and a charter of St Mary's Clerkenwell.³¹ The value of the property is given in the earliest of the

Balliol documents, dated to 1170–95, by which the abbey made over a life interest in it to their clerk John of St Lawrence in return for a fee of four marks per year.³² The largest component was the rent of £3 from William son of Isabel, identifiable not as the Sheriff of that name but William ‘Buccuinte’, donor of property in the same parish to the Augustinians at Holy Trinity Aldgate and known from other sources.³³ In addition to this the abbey received £1.17s 6d of rents from seven further tenants,³⁴ bringing the total to the substantial sum of £4.17s 6d. Neither the identity of the donor or donors nor the date at which the abbey acquired any of this property has been established: although involvement by Rainald is possible, he is not known to have had any London property.³⁵ Its alienation, on the other hand, is minutely documented. Already distanced from the abbey by the life interest granted in the first charter, in 1224 this was extended through transfer to William Facet, John of St Lawrence’s clerk, and in 1247 the abbey sold it to him outright for £40.³⁶ The monks’ reasons for doing so are not stated, but Abbot Warner’s instructions to his agents hint at urgent financial necessity:

... [the] soke called Winwaloe is to be sold, alienated, mortgaged in its entirety to whomsoever, secular or ecclesiastical persons, and is to be carried out as they shall have seen fit to dispose for the benefit of our church.³⁷

Cochenech is clearly identifiable as Cockenach, a manor within the parish of Barkway in Hertfordshire, held in 1086 by Geoffrey of Bec.³⁸ At some stage after 1135,³⁹ Robert Burun and his wife Beatrice gave ‘to St Winwaloe (*Sancti Guinwaloeo*) and his church ... eighty acres of land, together with the meadow on which the chapel stood (*in quo fundata est capella*)’.⁴⁰ By the same charter, Robert Levegar and his son also gave ‘the croft and the house (*mansio*) in which the chapel is built (*in qua capella edificatur*)’.⁴¹ The wording suggests that the chapel predated the grant, in which case its dedication to St Winwaloe, as revealed in the 13th century,⁴² may have motivated the grant to Montreuil, but more probably resulted from a re-dedication by the monks. The findings of an investigation of 1343 give an indication of the abbey’s former duties in return for the gift, described as having been ‘to find a chaplain to celebrate divine service for three days a week’ in the chapel at Cockenach,⁴³ but also that this ‘chantry’ (*cantaria*) had long since lapsed. This reflects the fairly standard requirement that a monastery receiving a church or chapel should ensure its service, as seems to have been the case at Wereham itself. If so, the duty was probably discharged by a salaried chaplain, although a possibility remains that the abbey may have settled monks at Cockenach in the early years as well. The same document reveals that the property, once held by Robert Burun of the Earl of Essex ‘for the service of one rose yearly’, was worth 26s 8d per year. By then, however, Montreuil was no longer its owner. Under Abbot Robert, in office from between 1177 and 1182 to 1201,⁴⁴ it had been made over to St James’s, Walden, in return for 15 marks in compensation and a pension of 10s;⁴⁵ in 1221 even this was released.⁴⁶ The abbey’s reasons for selling up were again probably financial: their costs at Cockenach must have exceeded their income, while 15 marks, greater than the abbey’s entire English revenue in 1291, was a substantial sum. King John’s punitive treatment of the alien monks after 1204 may have been a deciding factor, although nothing is known of its particular impact on Montreuil.⁴⁷

Cochessella and *Stambriga*, where in 1143 the abbey held the tithes of the ‘land Wicard and Pointel’, are clearly identifiable as Coggeshall and Stambridge, not least as Domesday associates (Theodoric) Pointel with the first and both men held land at Stambridge (Pointel holding Little Stambridge and Wicard Great Stambridge).⁴⁸ The mention of their names in the confirmations to Montreuil suggests that they had also been the donors. Both properties had been lost by 1291 and their value is unknown.

The priory of St Winwaloe

(Fig. 2)

The earliest certain reference both to the presence of a community at Wereham and to a Priory as such dates from 1199, in a charter by which the prior *Sancti Winwaloei* granted the use of eleven acres of land to Robert de Stradsett in return for various annual dues and a down-payment of 17s; the number of his companions is not mentioned but a witness, Ralph of Winwaloe (*Radulphus Winwaloei*), was probably one of them, if perhaps the only one.⁴⁹ The priory must, however, have been established before or at the same time as the existing chapel of c. 1150–75: if at the same time, the foundation of a cell on their long-established Norfolk property might have been prompted by the monks' receipt of new endowments in Hertfordshire, London or both. There is, however, some evidence that the cell was set up at the behest of the donor rather than by the abbey. This lies in the finding of a royal inquisition of 1322 into the proper ownership of the 'land of St Winwalloe of Brakes' that the abbey held the property 'by the service of finding two chaplains to celebrate divine service continuously throughout the year in the chapel of St Wynwaly'⁵⁰ in so far as similar clauses, expressing the donor's requirement that monks be settled on newly-granted properties, lay behind the origins of so many cells in the 11th and 12th centuries. In this particular case, the establishment of a cell immediately following the grant is also supported by its probable inclusion of a pre-existing chapel, as donors in such cases frequently expected the recipients to serve it. If Rainold is accepted as the original donor, this would therefore place the priory's foundation within the period 1086–c. 1115; if the Clares were the original donors, however, the foundation could have taken place at any time between Rainold's death and the building of the existing chapel. In either case the abbey's Essex revenue and (dependent on the date of their acquisition) that of the London and Hunstanton property would have to have been taken into account, as that of Wereham was too small.

The size of the community at Wereham is not recorded until the eve of its extinction at the end of the 13th century, but its possible extent in the 12th century, and the founders' intentions in this respect, are indicated by the monks' income and the form of their chapel. Montreuil's entire English property, at least as assembled by 1154, produced a known revenue of over £12, which could have supported three or four monks, and with the aid of the unquantified Essex income perhaps more.⁵¹ However, a substantial sum from this must have been returned annually to the abbey, although surely not enough 'for the full maintenance of the schools of Montreuil and the care of the sick of the same town' as the confirmation of that year optimistically suggests.⁵² For economic reasons alone, therefore, the community can never have numbered more than two or three. This is in keeping with the single-cell design of the building, clearly not intended as part of a claustral layout, although its high quality illustrates 12th-century monks' and patrons' continuing enthusiasm for small 'non-conventual' cells. From the mid-13th century onwards, however, following the loss of the abbey's London, Hertfordshire and probably its Essex property, the priory's income can rarely have supported a community of more than two, and the Prior may often have been alone.⁵³ By the end of the century this must have become the norm, as its income in 1291 of £7.2s 8d.⁵⁴ was barely larger than the (probably inadequate) sum of £4.10s permitted by the government for the maintenance of each alien monk remaining in England in 1294.⁵⁵ The inadequacy of the Wereham revenues is further underlined by the need for Elizabeth de Burgh, in 1336, to supplement them with others in order to found her modest chantry (below). Nevertheless, the extent of 1294 — taken as part of the nationwide survey of alien property ordered by Edward I on the outbreak of war with France,⁵⁶ and the first sure indication of the number of monks in residence at any one time — describes the establishment as 'the priory of St Winwalloy where there are two monks living'.⁵⁷ Custody was committed to the Prior 'because of [its] poverty',⁵⁸ an arrangement made possible by a royal grant of 'protection' in 1294.⁵⁹ The reference to two chaplains at the Priory in 1320, the last year of its existence, might suggest that

the monks had been replaced by priests, but their withdrawal to the abbey in the same year probably shows that they were simply ordained members of the community.⁶⁰

The principal work of most small cells on behalf of their parent houses was the management of their property and the return of a surplus to the abbey. In the case of Wereham this must, at least in the early years, have included collection of the abbey's revenues from its other properties. In this they were acting in a capacity shared by those at many other cells, including the alien houses at Wilmington (East Sussex) and Ogbourne St George (Wilts), managers respectively of the scattered properties of Grestain (Seine-Maritime) and Bec-Hellouin (Eure).

The monks of small non-conventual cells were also usually required to perform a range of services for their patrons. The most enduring of these, and one which must have been expected of the Wereham monks, was the regular performance of masses for the souls of the founders, benefactors and patron. In doing this, the monks also discharged the patron's duty to ensure the continued performance of masses in the church or chapel in question. When a cell lay close to the founder's or the patron's house a monk sometimes acted as chaplain to the family, as for example at Stogursey (Somerset) and Wootton Wawen (Warwicks).⁶¹ In addition, the monks of the many small priories that shared a parish church were also expected to house and support, and occasionally to serve as, parish priests; although the number of known examples of monks acting in either capacity does not suggest this was common in the 11th and 12th centuries, the actual extent of the practice in England is implied by its repeated condemnation by episcopal rulings, encouraged by that of the first Lateran Council of 1122.⁶² Nevertheless, since neither Rainald nor the Clares are known to have had a house nearby, and the Wereham monks had their own chapel from the outset, they were probably free of any duties of this sort. They may, however, have been required to provide accommodation for the patron or his agents when travelling on business, and hospitality must also have been expected on the occasion of the honour courts, which the Clares, according to Blomefield, held at the priory from at least 1206 to 1275. His source for the first date is unknown, but certainly this was an established practice by the latter: an entry in the Hundred Rolls records that in 1275 'the Earl of Gloucester has a certain foreign court at St Winwalloe, where he does not have a tenement', illegally encroaching on the King's justice 'contrary to the King's dignity and to the detriment of the county of Norwich and the common detriment of the whole county'.⁶³ Whether or not the practice then terminated — and whether, as Blomefield claims, the Clares had a prison at Wereham — remains unknown. More frequent intrusions on the monks' privacy must have arisen out of their duty, as lords of the manor, to hold the manorial court, still held by their successors at Winnold House until at least 1840.⁶⁴

The priory house at Wereham, if remotely in keeping with the quality of the chapel, may have been fairly substantial, but its layout probably resembled a small manor house, such as that of c. 1150–1220 which partially survives at Cogges (Oxon),⁶⁵ or like those whose rooms and contents are listed in the numerous surviving inventories of alien cells taken in 1294 and 1324.⁶⁶ The extent of 1294, although making no reference to domestic buildings beyond that to the *messuagium*, does note the produce of the 'gardens, curtilages and meadows' that presumably surrounded them. The subcellarer of West Dereham's account of 1351 records repairs to a number of the farm buildings which must also have accompanied the former priory, including pigsties and a barn.⁶⁷ No remains of any of these, however, are visible, and although it was reported in the 1930s that 'other foundations may be traced in the vicinity',⁶⁸ neither the remains, nor even the site, of the priory house or its farm buildings can now be identified.

As so much of their time was usually taken up by managing their estates and revenues, the monks of small cells were not expected to follow the full conventual *horarium*: monastic custom

and papal and episcopal rulings insisted, although not always with much success, only that they performed regular masses and observed rules on dress and behaviour.⁶⁹ In the case of Wereham, the document of 1294 gives the best available glimpse of their lives and circumstances — eking out a meagre existence from a range of payments, the produce of their gardens and their 12s 6d worth of livestock, and depending on their single saddle-horse for contact with the world beyond.

Winnold House

The identification of Winnold House

(Figs 1 and 2)

Winnold House stands in open farmland about 2.5km (1.5 miles) to the north of the village, visible to the west of the Wereham-Fincham road (Figs 1 and 2). An association between the site and St Winwaloe's priory is suggested by the building's 12th-century fabric and its name, plausibly a corruption of the saint's: fortunately, however (although contrary to the view of some 19th-century antiquarians),⁷⁰ not only the connection but the identification of the 12th-century building as a chapel are proven by documentary and topographical evidence. The earliest indication is contained in a grant of land to the Premonstratensian canons of West Dereham by Emma, widow of Robert de Stradsett, who last appears in 1199. This consisted of all the rights and claims held by her husband over lands 'which lie in the fields surrounding the church (*ecclesiam*) of St Winwaloe, namely the plot which lies next to the aforementioned church of St Winwaloe',⁷¹ showing that the church stood clear of the village.⁷² Further information is offered in a charter of 1270, which confirms an exchange by which Montreuil made over to the Premonstratensians:

... twelve acres of land facing our house or priory of St Winwaloe, situated in two parts, that is to say nine acres of land at Fifous and three other plots lying at Wallant, near the land of the Abbot and convent of Dereham in the parish of Wereham.

On the fairly certain basis that 'Fifous' is synonymous with the 'Fifhouses' and 'Fifhoges', placed in an undated 13th-century charter 'between the lands of the canons of Dereham and Cavenham Grange' (on or near the site of Grange Farm),⁷³ the nine-acre parcel must have lain about 2.2km (1.5 miles) north-west of Wereham village. The other three, given the location of 'Wallant' (the long depopulated village of Wallington),⁷⁴ must have lain about 7km (4.4 miles) in a similar direction. Since the priory was 'faced' by these parcels it must have lain, as does Winnold House, not only outside but to the north of the village.

The most important indications of the site's identity, however, are provided by a 14th-century document and a lease of 1588, the first of which records the transfer of the former priory estate and the 'chapel of St Winwaloe', clearly the priory chapel, to West Dereham in 1336.⁷⁵ The 16th-century source describes what must be the same building as the 'capitall mesuage sometye Called and knowne bye the name of Winwall Chappell', and places it 'betwene the common of Fyncham aforesaid towards the north and the Common of Wynwall aforesaid towards the South'.⁷⁶ As is clear from maps of 1736 and 1818,⁷⁷ Winnold House occupied a strip of land in precisely this position (Fig. 2). Lest there be any question of the lease referring to another building nearby, a later sentence conveniently places the 'capital mesuage' adjacent to the 'fair-stead of the fair called Winwall fair', an event still held beside Winnold House in the time of Blomefield⁷⁸ and which gave the name of 'Fair Close' to the surrounding paddock.⁷⁹ On

this basis Winnold House can not only be identified as one of the priory buildings, but with near-equal certainty as its former chapel.

The fabric, function and dating of the 12th-century building
(Plates 1–3; Figs 3–7)

Description

The present form of Winnold House results from a re-arrangement of the interior and the reconstruction of the south wall in 1848. Fortunately, a view, a ground-plan (Fig. 3), a brief description and other details were published by John Britton in the early 19th century;⁸⁰ George Cattermole's drawing, from which the published view was taken, also survives (Fig. 4). Further information is provided by a simple scale plan, carefully indicating the old fabric to be retained, prepared by the builder in 1847 to accompany his estimate.⁸¹ In conjunction with the surviving fabric, this material shows that the building in its original form (Period I) contained a single room rising through its full height, and allows three main phases of alteration to be identified: Period II followed the partitioning-off and flooring-over of the western end of the original interior, probably after 1336; Period III from the conversion of the whole building into a house and the insertion of new windows, a first floor and attic in c. 1550. Period IV covers the century and a half since the rebuild of 1848.

The Romanesque building formed a block measuring 10.66m by 8.41m (35ft by 27ft 6in), with side-walls originally about 5.00m (16ft 6in) high. Built of Carstone rubble with Barnack dressings, these survive more or less as built on the north and east sides although the east gable, above eaves level, dates from Period III. The west wall, apparently intact when recorded by Britton and Cattermole, was altered with the addition of the existing western annexe in the early 19th century⁸² and again in Period IV, but must be largely original as it was marked for retention on the builder's plan and still carries a 16th-century gable. The north elevation (Plate 2, Fig. 7) is of two bays divided by a pilaster buttress, split by two string-courses, one level with the sills of the Period I windows and the other with the (now destroyed) springing of their heads. A number of carved corbels, re-used as label-stops in Period IV, indicate that the walls were originally finished with a fully carved corbel-table. Britton's plan shows clasping pilaster buttresses at all four corners of the building, symmetrical except for the greater length of the northern and southern flanks at the west end, and thus that the building was originally freestanding. Although the northern pilaster at the north-west corner partly survives (Plate II), the best preserved is at the north-east, where the pilasters, flanked by engaged shafts, meet at a nook-shaft below string-course level and at a recessed quarter-shaft and dossieret above (Plate 1; Fig. 6).

That the building contained a single interior space, without a first floor, is shown by the absence of Period I openings or their traces below string-course level, coupled with the clear evidence of windows above and the survival of scalloped string-course below their interior sills.

Windows in the upper register are indicated by the antiquarian material and by partial survival. The outlines of two round-headed examples are shown by Cattermole in the upper part of the east gable, the rear jambs and arches of which also appear on Britton's interior elevation (Figs 3 and 4). The southern of the two was completely destroyed by the Period IV remodelling, but the other, although blocked, is largely intact (Plate 3). This is flanked externally by colonnettes with moulded bases and cushion capitals, above which two voussoirs of the zig-zag head and the hoodmould have survived. The opening itself is 1.13m (3ft 8in) wide, with two further recessed orders. Plaster stripping on the inside exposed the northern jamb and springing, showing it to have had a zig-zag surround carried round onto the reveals, which carry traces of false ashlar in red and blue, probably of several periods. In the east bay of the building's north face, the bases and the lower parts of the colonnettes of a Period I window survive *in situ* below the modern one: a pair to it probably also existed on the site of the modern window in the adjoining bay. Cattermole's view shows that any Period I windows on the south side had been replaced by large mullioned openings in the 16th century (Period III), but the original elevation probably mirrored that to the north.

Additional internal ornament was provided by the corner shafts which Britton shows rising almost to the full height of the walls at the east end of the building, and one of which partially survives in the north-east ground floor room (Fig. 3). The shafts were evidently finished with scalloped capitals carrying the springing of moulded ribs, although whether these belonged to blind arcading or to a destroyed (or uncompleted) vault is unclear.

The most unusual feature on the exterior, at the centre of the east wall (Plate 1, Fig. 6), consists of two buttress-like projections 1.90m (6ft 3in) apart, rising to the level of the first string course, with a blocking of re-used stone between them. Surviving bases above the string-course show that the shafts continued above as half-columns, removed with the insertion of a chimney in the 16th century. The form and location of the projections might suggest that they flanked a doorway, but their position on the east elevation and the building's function as a chapel makes this improbable. It seems more likely that the half-columns framed a central window above string-course level. If so, although creating a facade with no exact parallel in English or Norman Romanesque building, it could be seen as the application to a flat elevation of the half-columns with pilasters above that so commonly frame the windows of apses. Although these usually correspond to vaulting ribs, this too

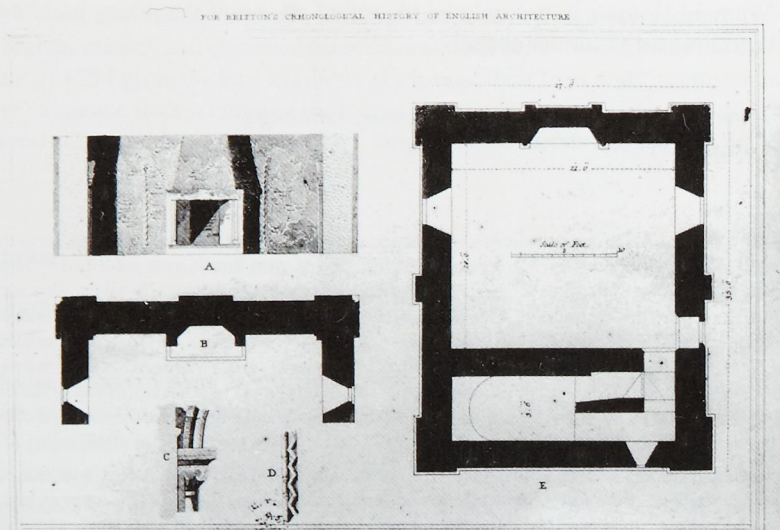


Figure 3. Ground-floor plan, partial first-floor plan and an internal elevation (east wall, first floor) of Winnold House in its Period III form, published in 1819 and included in John Britton's *Chronological History and Graphic Illustrations of Christian Architecture in England* (London 1827, 25). It is accompanied by an engraving taken from the view presented below as Fig. 4.



Figure 4. View of Winnold House from the south-east by George Cattermole (1800-1868). BL Add MS 23047, f.189.

Reproduced by kind permission of the British Library.

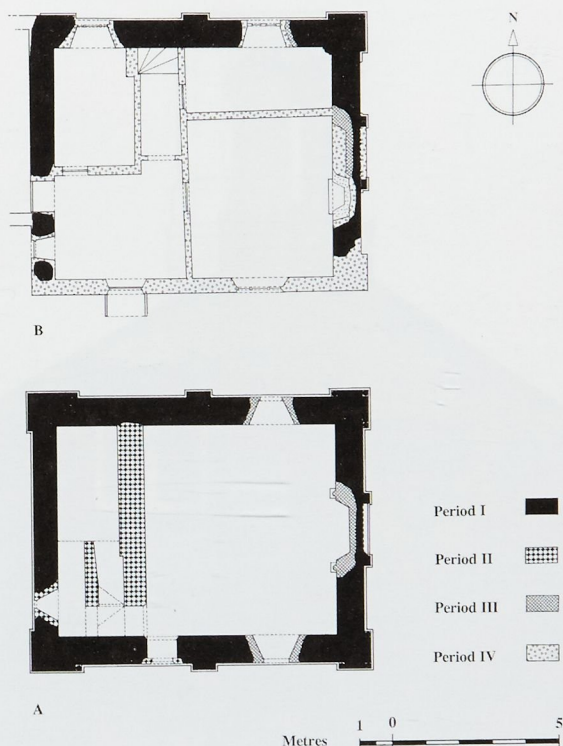


Figure 5. Ground-floor plans of Winnold House as recorded in *c.* 1819 (A) and in 1986 (B), drawn/re-drawn to a common scale and showing suggested phasing

could have been contrived at Wereham — if vaulted — by supplementary ribs springing eastwards from the easternmost transverse rib. An arrangement of this sort is found in the square-ended church at Montivilliers (Seine-Maritime).⁸³

The doorway shown by Britton in the west bay of the south side (Fig. 3) may have been original, but its distance from the west end of the building and its careful siting in relation to the Period II partition (Fig. 5), together with the two-centred head shown by Cattermole, suggest otherwise. If so, given that Britton's plan makes no attempt to show phasing or identify blocked openings, the Period I entrance could have been slightly further west in the same bay, or (perhaps more probably) in the centre of the west wall.

On architectural grounds the building can have been little other than a hall or a chapel. Interpreted as a hall, it could be seen as a small-scale version of the unaisled, stone-built type represented, for example, by the Echiquier in Caen,⁸⁴ or by a number of monastic halls or refectories of the same period, notably Minster Court⁸⁵ and Monks Horton in Kent.⁸⁶ If this was the case, in this period before the full development of the service-door and cross-passage arrangement, the pilasters on the east wall could have framed its principal doorway. Winnold's origin as a chapel, however — virtually proven by the historical and topographical evidence which identifies the site — is supported by features of the building itself: firstly, its sheer quality, and secondly the greater width of the northern and southern buttresses at the west end, which suggests that the east–west orientation (a feature of many 12th-century halls and not in itself indicative of an ecclesiastical function) had some particular significance. Its free-standing single-cell design, meanwhile, together with the absence of processional doorways, show that it was not intended for inclusion in a formal claustral layout.



Plate 1. The east elevation of Winnold House.

The upper left-hand (south) window and the adjoining corner buttresses shown by Cattermole were destroyed in the mid-19th century (Period IV). The central projection, composed originally of two pilasters with engaged columns above string-course level, probably framed an upper window, destroyed with the insertion of a chimney-flue in the 16th century (Period III). David Stevens 1993.

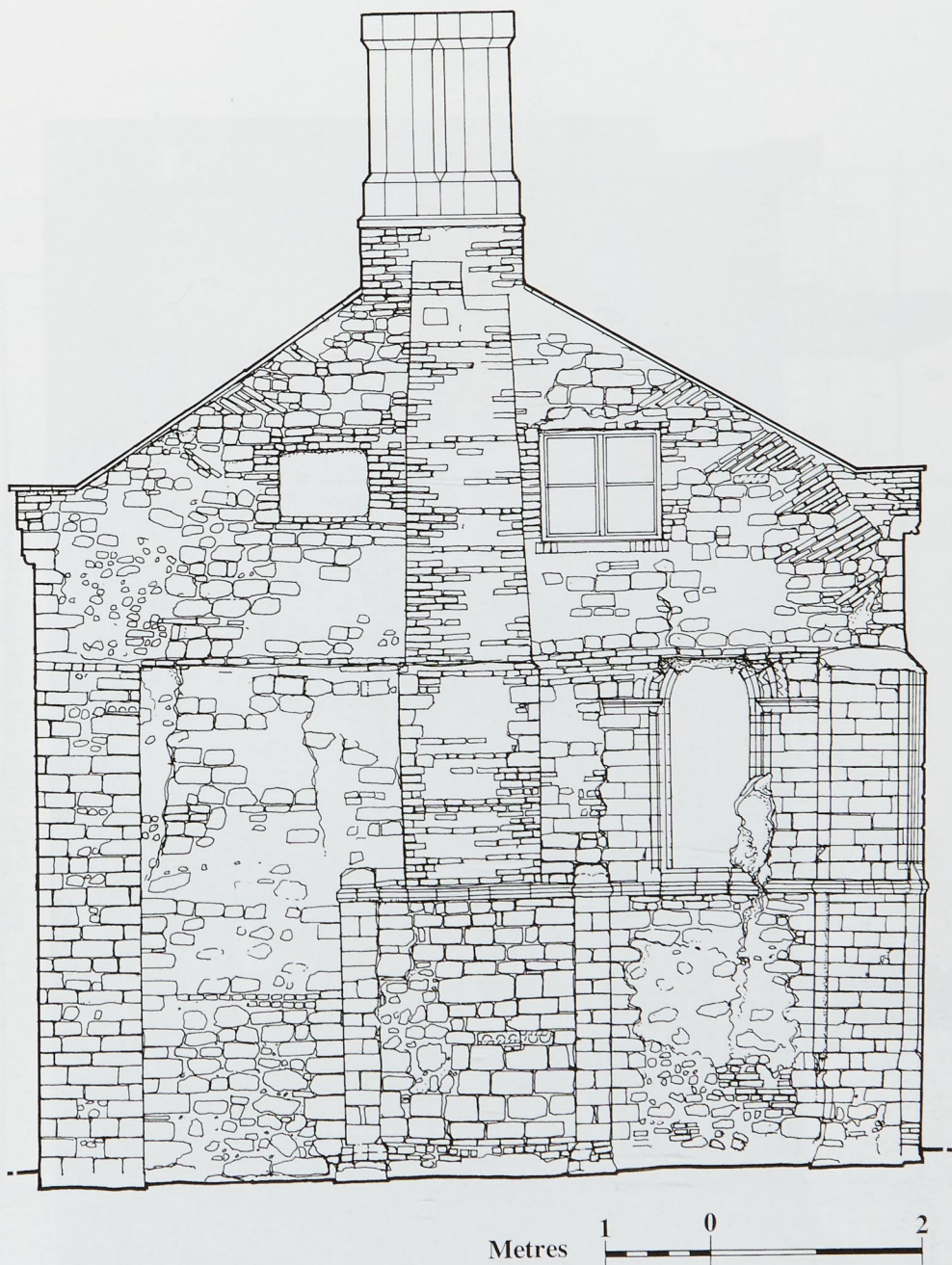


Figure 6. East elevation
Edward Impey, 2004



Plate 2. The north wall of Winnold House
The buttresses and string courses remain largely intact, although only the lower external jambs of one upper window (upper left) remain *in situ*. David Stevens 1993.

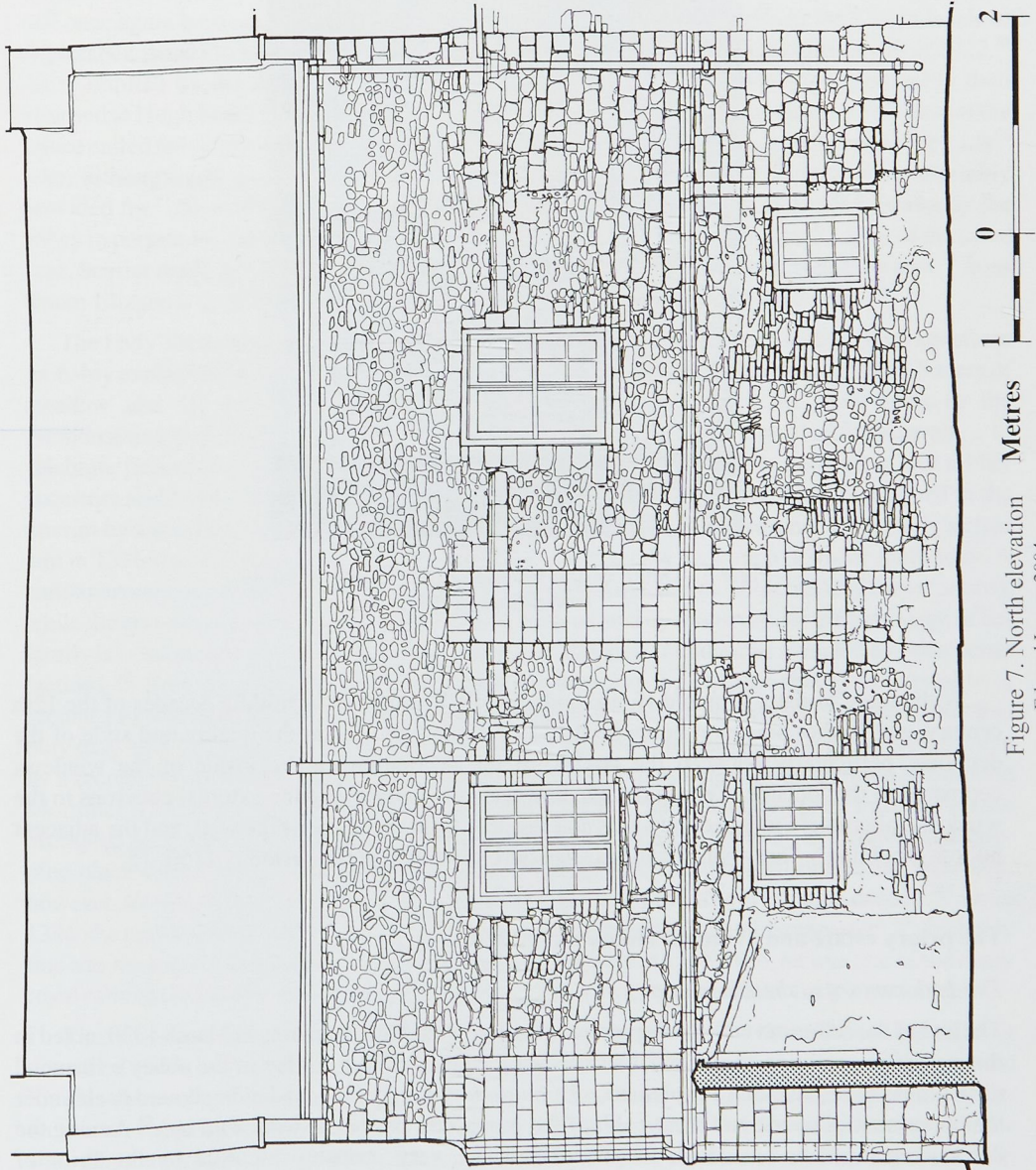


Figure 7. North elevation
Edward Impey 2004



Plate 3. Detail of the surviving east-facing window
Edward Impey, 1989

With regard to date, Winnold House undoubtedly belongs to the middle decades of the 12th century, any further precision being hindered by inconsistencies in the quality and style of the detailing, particularly between the crudity of the decoration on the inside of the windows compared to that outside. Certain details, however — particularly the external chevrons to the windows, alternately inclined outwards and inwards from the plane of the wall, and the adjacent hollow moulding — are sophistications suggestive of a date in the period *c.* 1150–75.⁸⁷

The priory estate and Winnold House after 1320

The 14th century to the Dissolution

The end of the cell came with the departure of the two Wereham chaplains in March 1320, noted in the inquisition mentioned above.⁸⁸ The reasons for their withdrawal lay in the abbey's financial difficulties: as Abbot Gerard explained, 'our monastery is in great debt, having bound itself under the oppression of usury, and the wealth of the monastery has been swallowed up'.⁸⁹ Among the debts were those to one Hugh Scarlet of Lincoln, very probably incurred by the Prior of Wereham,⁹⁰ but which in any case were settled in June 1321 with his receipt of a life interest in the property: he and his wife in turn were obliged to hand over an unnamed sum and to ensure that 'in the said house divine service ... be held and celebrated ... as is proper and customary, at their cost and expense'.⁹¹ At the time, the abbey may have envisaged eventual re-occupation of Wereham, but in the event was to sell it only six years later.

Taking possession of the newly-acquired life-interest, however, was not entirely straightforward. The inquisition of 1322 explains that within a month of the chaplains' departure the property had been seized by Roger Damory,⁹² patron of the priory since his marriage in 1317 to Elizabeth de Burgh, 'Lady of Clare' and heiress of the Clares' Norfolk estates.⁹³ Although Roger de Oxburgh, the abbot's attorney, managed to hand over the property to Scarlet in June 1321, within five days it had once again been occupied by Damory, who held it until it was seized into the King's hands in September, thanks to his participation in the build-up to the ill-fated 'Contrarian' revolt of 1322.⁹⁴ As is implied by the stated purpose of the inquisition, the life interest was presumably then returned to Hugh Scarlet:⁹⁵ in any case, in 1324 he was in a position to undertake the purchase of the 'place called the priory of Winwaloe' and its appurtenances from the abbey on behalf of the Lady⁹⁶ who, although still deprived of the jointure property seized in 1322, was now comfortably provided for.⁹⁷ By a document dated Easter Day 1327 the property was released to Scarlet by the abbey in perpetuity, presumably the first part of the process.⁹⁸ A few days after 25 May of the same year, Scarlet made over his new acquisition to one Thomas le Northerne of Beachamwell,⁹⁹ from whom Elizabeth de Burgh finally obtained possession by a charter of 8 July 1332.¹⁰⁰

The Lady's intentions as early as 1324, when Scarlet seems to have been acting as her agent, are probably explained by her actions in 1336, when she made over 112 acres of ploughland, 8 acres of meadow and 10 acres of pasture, and 10s 8d 1 farthing's worth of local rents to the Premonstratensian Abbey of West Dereham, 'to find a chaplain in the chapel of St Winwall ... to celebrate [mass] every day ... for the souls of Gilbert of Clare ... the benefactress, and all her ancestors and heirs'.¹⁰¹ Although the service of the chapel may still have been maintained in the interim by a secular priest, from whom such services could have been demanded, the Lady's clear aim in 1336 was to establish a family chantry guaranteed by the backing of a major monastery. A similar arrangement had been made between her and the Augustinian house at Anglesey (Cams), while the acquisition for this purpose of property once owned by monks under the patronage of her family is in keeping with a nostalgia for her ancestors and their foundations revealed by other benefactions.¹⁰² Possibly, as at Anglesey, the intention was that the chantry should be served by a secular priest in the canons' care, but Premonstratensian practice elsewhere¹⁰³ suggests that this duty may have been discharged by a canon: certainly this was the case in 1372, as his replacement by a secular, to avoid undermining the service of the abbey church itself, was required in Edmund Mortimer's confirmation.¹⁰⁴ The Lady's choice of West Dereham as the recipient must have been prompted by its proximity, but also perhaps by its potential, once in her debt, as a convenient stopping place whilst on pilgrimage from Clare to Walsingham. Her personal interest in Wereham, however, as with that in Anglesey, may have somewhat diminished over the next decade,¹⁰⁵ for in 1346 she conveyed the custody of the chapel to 'her good friend John of Brancaster'.¹⁰⁶ Probably this was the man of that name appointed Notary in Chancery in 1355; if so, he was one of the many royal officials to benefit, as was the aristocratic practice of the time, from the Lady's patronage.¹⁰⁷

The new status of the chapel offers an interesting explanation for the alterations to the building described above as Period II, known from the early 19th-century antiquarian material (Figs 3 and 5). This shows that the western end of the interior by then housed a small barrel-vaulted compartment with a small chamber above, reached by a straight stair lit by the tiny south-facing window shown by Cattermole. That this was not original is shown by the absence of any logical relationship to the volume of the Romanesque building or its elevations, while the doorhead, apparently two-centred (Figs 3 and 4), hints at a 13th- or 14th-century date. If the priest or canon lived on site it is possible that the new room was intended as his lodging, thus avoiding the cost of keeping up the other priory buildings. Some support for this interpretation is offered by the existence of an identically situated priest's lodging in the Hospitaller chapel at Godsfield (Hants), built in the 1360s to

replace a much larger Preceptory complex on another site.¹⁰⁸ It is perhaps equally likely, however, that the vault carried a gallery across the west end of the interior. This interpretation is supported by indications of a similar arrangement in the single-cell 13th-century Templar chapel at South Witham (Lincs),¹⁰⁹ but more importantly by the gallery communicating, through a squint, with the chapel of the Grange de Lings, built from scratch by the Premonstratensians of Barlings (Lincs) in the mid-14th century.¹¹⁰ In this case David Stocker has suggested that the gallery was intended to provide a private space separate from, but communicating with, the chapel for the canons' use, in response to the Order's concern to separate them from the laity. If so, it is easy to imagine the Canons of West Dereham improvising a similar architectural response at Wereham, even if slightly earlier in the century. If there was a gallery at Wereham, however, a resident canon must have been housed separately — in either the old priory house or a replacement — even if linked at first floor-level (as at Lings), to the chapel gallery.

How long the chantry remained active after 1372 is unknown, but Brancaster's custody, granted for its financial reward, may have undermined its viability, while Mortimer's insistence that it be served by a secular priest would certainly have added to the abbey's costs in maintaining it. Like many similar establishments, it probably did not long outlast its founder, but in any case it fails to appear as a functioning chapel under West Dereham in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535, in Ministers Accounts of 1541–2,¹¹¹ or the survey of Norfolk chantries (albeit incomplete) taken in 1555–6.¹¹² The description of the property in 1540–1 simply as the 'site of the manor of Wynewalle'¹¹³ suggests that it had been out of religious use, and perhaps abandoned, for some time.

Winnold House after the Dissolution

Following the closure of West Dereham in 1539, the site 'with all buildings lands and grounds within the precinct and boundaries of the place' was granted to Mary, Duchess of Richmond, widow of Henry VIII's natural son, Henry Fitzroy.¹¹⁴ On her death in 1557 the Duchess's Norfolk estates, including the manor of Winnold at an annual value of £6. 17s 4d, were granted by Queen Mary to Thomas Guybon of Kings Lynn and William Mynn of London, on payment of £660 10s 8d.¹¹⁵ By 1588, as is evident from the lease of that year to Henry Cooke, the former chapel had been made into a house, probably as represented in Cattermole's view (Fig. 4). From Guybon, who appears as Lord of the Manor on the Court Rolls as late as 1602,¹¹⁶ the manor passed through two further families until its acquisition, before 1626, by Sir John Hare of Stow Bardolph. In that year the 'Ferme called Winnold' was in the tenure of William Priest, and included 'The Ferme house with the inclosed ground adjoining', which lay 'between Sir Henry Bedingfield's ground south and east, and Fincham ground to the north'.¹¹⁷ The Hares remained its owners until it was sold in 1804 to John Woodward, whose sole surviving Trustee, the Rev William Young, was in possession in 1818.¹¹⁸ By 1830 possession had passed to William Rawes, a London doctor,¹¹⁹ who sold it to Sir Henry Bedingfield, 6th Baronet, in 1839.¹²⁰ Within a decade the main house, although by now enlarged by an extension to the west,¹²¹ was evidently in bad repair, being described in a letter to Sir Henry from his agent, Tyssen, as 'condemned' and an 'unsightly object',¹²² and a decision had evidently been made to 'take it down'.¹²³ Perhaps out of respect for a monument of the old religion, the proposal was furiously opposed by the Bedingfield's Catholic priest, Gubbins, who confronted the agent on site and threatened to horsewhip him if he should 'dare to touch the said building'.¹²⁴ This muscular approach to conservation, aided no doubt by the resulting saving in cost, seems to have succeeded, for the specification prepared by the time of Tyssen's second site visit in March 1847 was for alteration only. The coloured plans prepared by the contractor, Mr Carter of Swaffham, proposed the preservation of the carcass of the medieval building, although the interior was to be completely re-arranged, the walls heightened, the roof rebuilt, and the western extension

substantially altered.¹²⁵ Following a delay out of consideration for the ailing tenant, Thomas Towers, building work was completed in the spring of 1848.¹²⁶ The alterations were carried out as planned, although the south wall, marked for retention, was entirely rebuilt (Fig. 5). In 1852 Towers seems to have been sharing the farm — and certainly the house — with one William Warnes, suggesting that the early 19th-century extension had by then been separated from the main house, as it remains today. When Towers was finally forced out by debt¹²⁷ Warnes took on the tenancy,¹²⁸ remaining in possession until at least 1877.¹²⁹ In 1867¹³⁰ the Bedingfelds sold the farm to Richard Harwin, newly settled at Boughton and on the threshold of his second career as landowner and local benefactor.¹³¹ A succession of tenants followed the death or departure of Warnes, but on Harwin's decease in 1912 the house, four cottages and the farm, now amounting to just over 249 acres of land, were sold to the Lennard family.¹³² From them it was bought, in or by 1939,¹³³ by Charles Armsby, from whose family it was acquired in 1974 by Mr and Mrs A.F. Graver.¹³⁴ Its owner since 1996 has been the international agribusiness company, Albanwise Ltd.

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1. Salvius, supposed founder of Montreuil, subsequently Bishop of Amiens (d. 625), and whose relics were later deposited at Montreuil (*Gallia Christiana*, X, cols.1296–7). Guérolé was the 6th-century founder of Landevennec in Brittany, destroyed in the early 10th century, and whose community eventually settled at Montreuil. See R. Latouche, 'La vie de Saint Guérolé' in *Mélanges d'Histoire de Cornouaille, Ve–XIe Siècles*, Paris 1011, 3–39, and *ibid.*, appendix III, 'La plus ancienne vie de Saint Guérolé (1)', 97–112. There is no modern history of Montreuil.
2. Figures based on D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales*, second edition, London 1971, 52–95. Only the dependencies of Benedictine houses are included, although others of broadly similar function were maintained by the Cluniacs and Augustinians. The distinctive system of property management developed by the Cistercians meant that they had very few cells of this type.
3. E. Impey, *The Origins and Development of Non-Conventual Monastic Dependencies in England and Normandy, 1000–1350*, unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1991, I, 80–102. On alien cells in general, see D. Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions*, Oxford, 1962.
4. Migne, J., *Patrologia Latina*, 188, col.1062 ('partem manerii de Wirham, cum ecclesia et terra arabili ... et capella eiusdem villa').
5. The Cartulary (or more properly the most complete surviving set of extracts and summaries taken from it) is held by the Archives Départementales du Pas-de-Calais (12 J, Collection Rodière, ms. 168). The copy was made in 1885 by F. Rodière from a previous copy by Alberic de Callonne, in turn taken from another by René de Belleval, based on a copy made in the 17th century by Dom Estiennot, a monk of the abbey from a medieval original. Other less complete copies (not consulted by the author), both of the 17th century, exist in the Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal (MS 4652, f.63–69), and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Lat 12695, f.242–66). For the history of the various copies see modern notes prefacing the Rodière text, and F. Stein, *Bibliographie générale des Cartulaires français ou relatifs à l'histoire de France* (Paris 1907), nos 2590 and 2591. The Rodière manuscript reproduces the two bulls, largely identical, as a single text, with those parts unique to the 1154 version indicated by brackets (ff.67–70). The section on the Norfolk property appears on f.69.

66. See, for example, M. Morgan, 'Inventories of three small Alien Priors', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series, IV (1938), 141–9. For the 1294 and 1324 inventories of the priory of Ivry at Minster Lovell, which was as poor as Wereham, see A.J. Taylor, 'The Alien Priory of Minster Lovell', *Oxoniensia*, 2 (1937), 103–17, 115–7.
67. NRO Hare MS 4141.
68. C.J.W. Messent, *Monastic Remains in Norfolk and Suffolk*, Norwich 1934, 94–5.
69. See, for example, the savage attack on monastic life in small cells by Giraldus Cambrensis (*Speculum Ecclesiae*, in *Giraldus Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J.S. Brewer *et al.*, Rolls Series, 7 vols (1861–91), 34–5), or the repeated injunctions in the *Regestrum Visitationum* of Odon Rigaud, Archbishop of Rouen 1249–69 (ed. T. Bonnin, Rouen 1852).
70. Including John Britton and John Evans in *The Beauties of England and Wales* of 1810 (London 1810, XI, 285), who accepted a local clergyman's description of it as a 'Norman country box' and make quite separate reference to remains of the 'Priory of Winvalve or Winwaloch ... visible in the walls of a farmhouse'. Another local antiquary, W.T. Spurdens, describes Wereham Priory as 'in the same parish indeed, but a quite separate erection' (NRO MS 4576, f.139).
71. '... que iacent in campis circumiacentibus ecclesiam Sancti Winwaloei, scilicet toftam que iacet iuxta predictam ecclesiam Sancti Winwaloei': NRO Hare 4107; G.H. Dashwood, 'A note ...', no. 16, 310–1. Further detail may be provided if the *scarpewell*, above which (*super*) the plot is placed in the confirmation charter of their daughter Margaret is ever identified (NRO Hare 4108; Dashwood, 'A note ...', no. 17, 311).
72. NRO, Hare 4108; Dashwood, 'A note ...', no. 17, 311 (English summary).
73. Dashwood, 'A note ...', 307–8.
74. Blomefield, *Topographical History*, VII, 412. The village was depopulated in the late 16th century.
75. Dashwood, 'A note ...', no. 4, 301–2; BL Add MS 6041, f.86, item vi; Calendar of Patent Rolls, 10 Edward III, vol.3, 253.
76. NRO Hare 4124, lines 4–6
77. NRO PD 351/26 (Fincham) and NRO C/Sca.2/275 (Wereham). I am grateful to Diana Spelman for assistance in identifying the location of the two Commons from these maps.
78. Blomefield, *Topographical History*, VII, 509. By 1854 it had been moved to Downham Market (F. White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Norfolk*, Sheffield 1854, 646)
79. NRO C/Sca 2/275 and enclosure map of 1818 (NRO C/Sca 2/272). As might be expected, large numbers of coins, tokens and fragments of harness have been found in the area surrounding the house (Norfolk Sites and Monuments Record).
80. J. Britton, *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain*, 5 vols, London 1807–26, V, supplement entitled *A Chronological History and Graphic Illustrations of Christian Architecture in England*, 211–2 and plate 25. A description of the building is also given in J. Britton and J. Evans, *The Beauties of England and Wales* (11 vols, London 1810), XI, 285–6.
81. Bedingfield archives, box 3. I am very grateful to Henry Paston-Bedingfield for permission to examine this material.
82. The extension was clearly not in existence at the time of Cattermole's drawing (first published 1819), but does appear on the builder's plan of 1847.
83. I am grateful to Lindy Grant for this suggestion.
84. E. Impey, 'Seigneurial domestic architecture in Normandy, 1050–1350', in G. Meirion-Jones and M. Jones (eds), *Manorial Domestic Building in England and Northern France*, London 1993, 84–5 and 116, note 17.
85. P.K. Kipps, 'Minster Court, Thanet', *Archaeological Journal*, 86 (1929), 213–23.
86. C. Baily, 'Monks Horton priory', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 10 (1876), 81–9.
87. I am grateful to Eric Fernie for observations on the building, advice on its dating, and comments on the significance of the elongated western buttresses.
88. PRO C145/86 no. 10.
89. Harley MS 1240 (Liber Niger de Wigmore): '... quod cum monasterium nostrum magnis esset debitis sub usuris gravibus obligatum que ipsius monasterium substantia devorabant.'
90. PRO C145/86 no. 10.
91. *ibid.*: 'Et in dicta domo divina obsequia tenentur facere celebrari prout decet et consuetum est fieri suis sumptibus et expensis.'
92. PRO C145/86 no. 10.
93. F.A. Underhill, *For Her Good Estate: the Life of Elizabeth de Burgh*, London 1999, 18.
94. PRO C145/86 no. 10.
95. BL Add. MS 6041, f.86, item I.
96. BL Harley MS 1240, iii, f. 99: 'un lieu quest appelez la priorie de Wynewale'. A summary of the same text is contained in BL Add. MS 6041, f.86, item iii.
97. Underhill, *For Her Good Estate ...*, 37.
98. BL Harley MS 1240, ii, f.99. A summary is contained in BL. Add. MS 6041, f.86, item ii. 'The alienation of Gerard the Abbot and the Convent of St Sauve of Montreuil made to Hugh Scarlet of Lincoln and his heirs of the houses and tenants of St Winwall of Brakes near Boughton in the County of Norfolk with all their appertances. Given Easter day in the Year of Grace 1327.'

99. BL. Add MS 604, f.86, item iv. The document was dated 'the Monday after the feast of St Gregory', which the chronology suggests was that of Gregory VII (25 May). Although the first year of Edward III ran until 25 January 1328, there is no danger of confusing the years as none of the several St Gregorys have a feast in that month.
100. BL Add MS 6041, f.86, item v (summary). A fuller version is contained in BL Harley MS 1240, v, f.99.
101. 'Ad inveniendum quemdam Capellanum divina in Capella Sancti Winwaloei pro anima Gilberti de Clare quondam comitis Gloucestrie et animabus ipsius Elizabethae ac antecessorum et heredum suorum.' NRO Hare, 4114; Dashwood, 'A note ...', no. 4, 302-4. The document is summarised in BL Add MS 6041, f. 86 (item vi).
102. Underhill, *For her Good Estate* ..., 139.
103. David Stocker, *pers. comm.* See also H. Colvin, *The White Canons in England*, Oxford, 1951, 272-88.
104. NRO Hare, 4119; Dashwood, 'A note ...', no. 7, 306-7.
105. *ibid.*
106. Dashwood, 'A note ...', no. 7, 306-7: '... nous avoms graunte et baillet a nostre bien amee John de Brauncestre la garde de la Chapele de Saint Wynewal en la Countee de Norffolk ... salvee a nos la foyre illoque et tout ce qa la foyre appartient.'
107. See P. Chaplais, 'Master John de Branketre and the office of notary in chancery, 1355-1375', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 4, no. 3 (April 1971), 169-99, and Underhill, *For Her Good Estate* ..., 119-25. The Lady must have had an eye for talent: Brancaster's royal service had only begun in 1349, and in 1346 he was not only obscure but under suspicion of felony (*ibid.*).
108. *Victoria County History, Hampshire*, II, 187-8; IV, 189-90
109. P. Mayes, *Excavations at a Templar Preceptory: South Witham, Lincolnshire*, 1965-67, Society for Medieval Archaeology, Monograph 19 (2002), 18-22, 62-8 and figs 5.7 and 5.8. I am grateful to David Stocker for bringing this to my attention.
110. P. Everson, H. Richmond, and D. Stocker, *Barlings Abbey and its Granges*, forthcoming.
111. PRO SC6/HenVIII/2632, m15 d.
112. PRO E117 64/14.
113. PRO SC6/HenVIII/2632, m15d: 'Scitus manerii de Wynnewall predicti cum omnibus edificis terris et solo infra precinctum et limitas eiusdem Scitus.'
114. *ibid.*
115. CPR 1557-8, 291-2.
116. NRO Hare 4082 210 x 6: Winwall Manor Court Book 1576-1611.
117. NRO Hare 3351, 252x: Survey of Stow, Wimbotsham, Downham, Shouldham Thorpe, Foston, Shouldham, Fincham, Barton, Winnold and Boughton.
118. NRO C/Sea 2/272: 1818 Enclosure Award and Map of Stoke Ferry, Wretton, Wereham and the Hamlet of Winnold.
119. Bedingfeld archive, box 3: indenture of 13 January 1830, leasing the 'messuage or farm house and farm commonly called Winnold farm' to Samuel Steward.
120. Dashwood, 'A note ...', 312.
121. As is clear from the plan and specification for rebuilding prepared by the contractor, Carter, in 1847 (Bedingfeld archive, box 3).
122. Bedingfeld archive, box 3: Tyssen to Sir Henry Bedingfeld, 29 January 1847.
123. Bedingfeld archive, box 3: Gubbins to Sir Henry Bedingfeld, 29 January 1847.
124. Bedingfeld archive, box 3: Tyssen to Sir Henry Bedingfeld, 29 January 1847.
125. Bedingfeld archive, box 3.
126. Bedingfeld archive, box 3. Seppings (acting for Sir Henry) to Towers, 8 October 1847.
127. Chester Cheston, solicitor, to Sir Henry Bedingfeld, 8 March 1849 (Bedingfeld Archive, Box 3); this and subsequent correspondence reveals the tenant's increasing indebtedness.
128. Electoral Register, 1852 and 1853 (NRO, C/ERO 1/16 and NRO, C/ERO 1/18).
129. Electoral Register, 1877 (NRO, C/ERO 1/67); *Harrod's Postal and Commercial Directory of Norfolk and Norwich*, 1877, 723.
130. NRO C/C 17/1 (particulars of sale, 1913).
131. D.E. Coates, *The Story of Boughton, King's Lynn* 1982, 18-22.
132. Brian Reynolds, *pers. comm.*
133. Electoral Register (NRO, C/ERO 1/426).
134. Mrs A.F. Graver, *pers. comm.*