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HAILES ABBEY, STANWAY, GLOUCESTERSHIRE
HAILES ABBEY AND ITS ENVIRONS

ANALYTICAL EARTHWORK SURVEY AND INVESTIGATION REPORT

Graham Brown

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Hailes Abbey and its Environs

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Frontispiece - Thomas Robins' watercolour of Hailes Abbey - c1750 (Copyright © National Trust)

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Summary

An analytical survey and investigation was carried out by the English Heritage Archaeological Survey and Investigation Team based at Swindon of the earthworks in the three pasture fields bordering the Cistercian monastery at Hailes in Gloucestershire. These fields formed part of the monastic precinct and contained a number of features including the site of a mill, fish ponds, the gate house complex, building platforms, gardens, and part of the probable inner court boundary.

In addition to the earthwork survey, the surrounding landscape was investigated. Here the area of the monastic precinct has been established as well as elements of the water management and the site of the home grange. The location of a park, which dates to the medieval period, has also been identified. In addition, the relationship of the 12th century church to the abbey has been reassessed.

Evidence of the post-suppression phase of occupation has also survived. Following the suppression of the abbey in 1539, the west range of the abbey, the abbot's lodging, was converted into a secular manor house, with an enclosed garden in the former cloister, and another garden beyond.

1. INTRODUCTION

During November 2005, the English Heritage Archaeological Survey and Investigation team based at Swindon undertook an archaeological investigation and analytical survey of the earthworks at Hailes Abbey in Gloucestershire. The survey was carried out at the request of English Heritage's South-West regional office and focussed primarily on the abbey's precinct in order to better inform the management of the site, particularly the area to the south-east where solutions to the potential flooding problems were being sought. As well as surveying the earthworks in the precinct, the surrounding area was investigated in order to put the abbey in its wider landscape context.

The abbey (centred at SP 050300), was a daughter house of Beaulieu Abbey in Hampshire and founded in 1246 by Richard, earl of Cornwall. It was one of the last Cistercian houses to be founded in England and occupied an area that was already dominated by the neighbouring Benedictine monastery at Winchcombe and the Templar preceptory at Temple

Guiting. The abbey's fortunes mirrored to a large extent those of other Cistercian houses. Although many of its estates lay within 12km of the abbey, others were much further afield (two of their holdings were in Cornwall), which appears to have occasionally caused problems concerning such matters as collecting rents. Following the suppression of the monastery in 1539 some of the buildings, including the monastic church and most of the conventual buildings, were demolished, while others were retained and formed a secular residence with its attendant outbuildings. By the mid 18th century the manor house was in ruins and two farms dominated the Hailes area. Finally, in 1939, the site came into the possession of the National Trust and eleven years later the abbey ruins became a guardianship site in the care of the Ministry of Works (now English Heritage).

The remains of the abbey include the excavated foundations of the church and conventual buildings, as well as the cloister walls (parts of which survive to a height of about 3m). Beyond the surveyed area lies a small 12th century church that has previously been interpreted as either a gatehouse chapel or parish church. Other buildings of note in the vicinity are grade 2 listed and include the farmhouse at Hailes Farm (the site of the former monastic sheep-house); a house that lies 50m to the south-east of the church; and another known as Pilgrim's House; all of which date to the 17th or 18th century. There is also a barn in the grounds of Hailes House which is thought to be contemporary with the abbey (NMR: SP 03 SE 11). Another significant feature within the precinct is the remains of a way-side cross, which may be the one that was positioned near the monastic gatehouse along Salter's Lane in the late 16th century.

The surveyed earthworks in the fields surrounding the abbey reflect a long, diverse land-use, and include part of the inner court boundary bank; four ponds (two of which were monastic); the probable site of the gatehouse range; the site of a water-mill; building platforms; and several other earthworks that display the characteristics of a post-suppression landscape garden.

The interpretation of the features within the precinct and wider landscape has benefited by the survival of a map dating to 1587 (TNA: PRO, MF/1/57). The map, surveyed by Ralph Treswell less than 50 years after the suppression of the abbey, shows some of the surviving monastic buildings. From the map, the location of the abbey's main gatehouse and home grange (which included the sheep-house) has been firmly established, as well as elements of the water management. The results of the earthwork survey have enabled a more comprehensive analysis of the precinct to be made. This interpretation has also been aided by the recent geophysical survey (Elks 2006). In addition, a reappraisal of the church would indicate that it was not a gatehouse chapel as previously thought, but featured in the pilgrimages which were popular here during the medieval period.

1.1. Geology, Topography and Present Land-use

Hailes Abbey, one of three former Cistercian monasteries in Gloucestershire, lies on the north-western foothills of the Cotswolds at 102m OD (Fig 1). It is situated in a secluded position off the B4632 road between Cheltenham and Broadway, and in the shadow of Hailes Wood; it is also 2.5km north-east of the small market town of Winchcombe. A stream, a tributary of the River Isbourne, rises on the high ground to the south-west of the abbey in a wide coombe between Farmcote and Little Farmcote, and flows north-west to the confluence with the river on the parish boundary. The stream has been dammed close to the abbey and a substantial lake formed on its eastern side. From the lake a controlled supply of water was directed to the abbey's reredorter, fish ponds, and to a mill-race that extends along the slope on the south-western side of the abbey's conventual buildings.

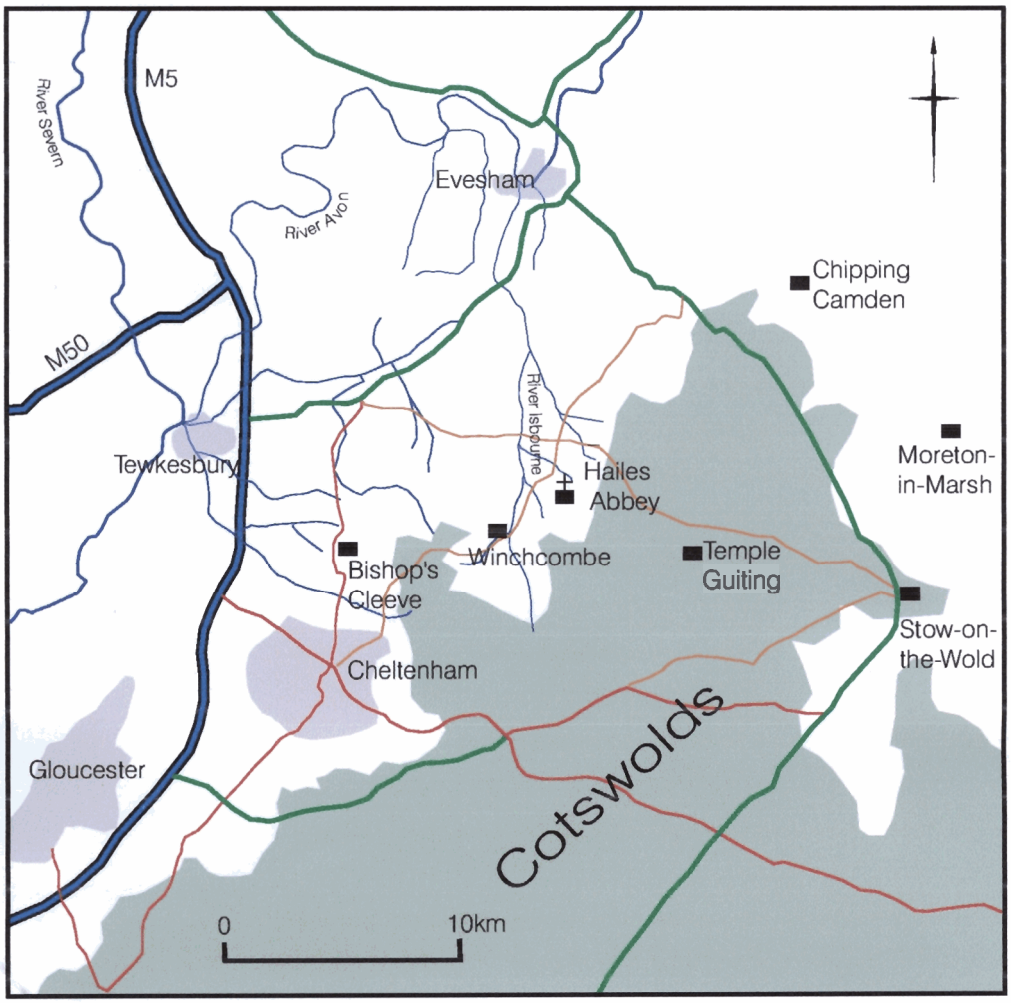

Figure 1. Location diagram

The underlying geology of these lower Cotswold slopes, and the flat plain to the north-west, is of Lower Lias clay with a scattering of angular Inferior Oolitic rock debris on the surface in the vicinity of the abbey (Clifford 1963, 208). There are three soil types, which, together with the geology and topography, influenced the land-use. On the higher ground above the abbey, and extending as far as Farmcote, the soil is of the Oxpasture Association. This is a fine loamy clay soil which gives way to the brash calcareous soils on the Cotswold Hills. In the area of the abbey itself the soil is from the Denchworth Association, which is characterised by a cretaceous clay soil; it is slowly permeable but seasonally waterlogged. To the north-west of the abbey, and extending almost as far as the River Isbourne, the soils are well-drained, fine loam soils, which overlie the river terrace gravel (Anon 1983).

The current land-use varies. On the wide plain to the north and west of the abbey the land is cultivated, while above the abbey there is a caravan park with a fruit farm beyond (Fig 2). On the hill-slope the land is mainly under pasture, while an extensive tract of woodland (Hailes Wood) dominates the foothills to the east of the abbey.

Figure 2. Hailes Abbey viewed from the south-east. The caravan park is in the left foreground.

The site of the abbey is bounded on three sides by minor local roads. In the north a road that dates from after the mid-18th century, leads past the 12th century church towards the fruit farm. At the junction with the track to the farm there is a cobbled track that runs up the hill to Farmcote. Treswell's map shows a gate in the precinct boundary at this junction, which would suggest that the cobbled track probably dates to the medieval period. In the south another minor road, Salter's Lane, follows a south-east course towards Little Farmcote. The third road borders the western side of the precinct, and dog-legs towards the B4632.

2. PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL RESEARCH

There have been two major excavation campaigns at Hailes Abbey; the first was at the close of the 19th century and undertaken by local antiquarians, while the second occurred eighty years later by staff of the Department of the Environment (now English Heritage).

In 1899 the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, in consultation with St John Hope, undertook an excavation of Hailes Abbey (Bazeley 1899, 261). The excavation should, perhaps, be more correctly termed a site clearance since they were primarily interested in clearing soil and debris that had built up against the cloister walls so that the site could be displayed to visitors (Fig 3). Work was undertaken in two seasons, the first during 1899 and the second in 1900. The revealed plan of the abbey is consistent with many Cistercian monasteries with the claustral buildings set along three sides on the south side of the church.

Work began on the 20th July 1899; the workforce included four labourers and a stone mason under the supervision of the Rev W Bazeley and St Clair Baddeley (Bazeley 1899, 256-71. They concentrated their efforts on the cloister walks and the foundations of the bordering walls as well as some of the internal detail of the buildings. Evidence of two fires was encountered; one was thought to be earlier than the re-building of the cloister while the other was post-suppression.

Notable features revealed during the excavation included the triple-arched chapter house along the east range. Six beautifully carved vault bosses were recovered amongst the building debris; five were carved with conventional foliage, but the sixth was a figure of Christ as the spiritual Samson rending the lion. There was also rib vaulting from the roof, fragments of blue lias bell-shaped capitals, and many tile fragments.

Figure 3. The northern cloister wall.

Along the south range, part of the monk's refectory was excavated and a large cupboard with two arches on the west side of the doorway. There were also two smaller cupboards and traces of a table on the east side. In addition, approximately 2ft (0.6m) below the ground surface part of the reredorter drain was encountered (this drain continued under the south range, across the cloister and under the west range). Also along the south cloister walk the *lavatorium* was found in a deep recess with a flat 15th century arch and panelled soffit. Part of the trough can be seen at the east end of the *lavatorium*. No evidence of the kitchen, which should also occupy the south range, was found at this stage.

The following year the site of the abbey church was excavated (Bazeley 1899, 267) and it was found to be of two periods (c1250 and c1275). As well as being the spiritual centre of the monastery, the church was also effectively the mausoleum for members of the earl of Cornwall's family. Sanchia, earl Richard's second wife was buried here in 1261, followed by his son Henry in 1271. The following year, Richard himself was probably buried below a monumental stone structure, known as a *pyramis*, and finally Edmund, who died in 1300, was buried at Hailes in the presence of King Edward I (Bazeley 1899, 268; Robinson 2002, 122).

Although the initial church does not appear to have been influenced by the design of its mother house at Beaulieu, there was one notable similarity - the positioning of the night stair - which was set within the thickness of the cloister-side wall in the south transept (Robinson 2002, 123). The first church comprised a four-bay presbytery with a flat wall defining the east end. The nave was eight bays long, with two side chapels in both the north

and south aisles. The north and south transepts each had three chapels and there was probably a low tower over the crossing (ibid). The presbytery was extended further east in about 1275 when an apsidal ambulatory with five radiating chapels was built; the central one probably housed a shrine for the 'Holy Blood of Hayles' (Bazeley 1899, 262). It has also been suggested that this re-building may have been influenced by Henry III's re-building at Westminster Abbey, which was completed in 1269 (Bazeley 1899, 268; Robinson 2002, 124).

A third season of excavation was proposed; however, if this work was undertaken, there is no published account.

The second major campaign of excavation was carried out by the Department of the Environment in the 1970s by A Musty and P Brown, but, apart from two brief notes in *Medieval Archaeology*, there is no published account. In 1973, A Musty re-examined the south-west corner of the cloister (Webster & Cherry 1974, 189) and two years later P Brown re-excavated the west range of the conventual church. He also reported on drainage operations north of the north transept that confirmed that the cemetery lay in this area (Webster & Cherry 1976, 177).

Apart from the excavations, various non-intrusive surveys have taken place during the past twenty-five years. The first was a geophysical survey in 1978 which examined the field to the east of the church and conventual buildings. The main aim was to ascertain whether there was any extension of the monastic buildings here and whether there was any evidence of a suspected tile-making industry. The resistivity results confirmed the presence of what was thought to be the infirmary hall; however, magnetic evidence was less rewarding since there were only a few discrete anomalies (David 1981).

In March 2006 a second geophysical survey was undertaken by Stratascan Ltd (Elks 2006). This survey was part of the current programme of fieldwork organised by the EH regional office, which included the present analytical earthwork survey as well as further environmental work. Detailed magnetic survey, resistance survey and resistivity imaging surveys were carried out over the site of the church and conventual buildings and the three pasture fields to the south, east and west of the abbey. The magnetic survey revealed large areas of magnetic 'noise' across much of the site, particularly amongst the abbey ruins and the western field. The magnetic background in the eastern field was more uniform with several linear features revealed, possibly related to garden features.

Figure 4. Resistivity survey plan of Hailes Abbey (© copyright Stratascan)

The resistance survey showed numerous high resistance anomalies consistent with extensive structural remains across the site. Some formed precise linear responses that would indicate intact walls, particularly in the area of the church and conventual buildings, but also in the fields to the east and west. The responses in the eastern field tend to support the interpretation of gardens here while in the west it was thought that they may relate to outbuildings and boundary walls (Fig 4). Finally, resistivity imaging was used to investigate the area of the leaking dam.

In July 2000 a palaeoenvironmental assessment was undertaken of the large pond on the east side of the conventual buildings. The results from five boreholes showed that the pond deposits were up to 3.5m thick. The microfossil concentrations were found to be low and only a minimum amount of information was extracted from the deposits (Wells *et al* 2001).

In 2002 an aerial photographic transcription of the area was undertaken by English Heritage as part of the National Mapping Programme for the Gloucestershire Cotswolds (Stoertz forthcoming; NMR: event UID 1362224; Fig 5). The transcription, which was carried out at a scale of 1:10,000, reveals the extent of archaeological features that survive either as cropmarks or as earthworks in the wider Hailes landscape. Large tracts of ridge-and-furrow dominate the lower ground to the north and west of the abbey. Also, on this wide plain are the cropmarks of two prehistoric/Romano-British settlements close to Millhampost Farm and Ireley Farm (NMR: SP 03 SW 4). The largest settlement, at Millhampost Farm, comprised a linear group of contiguous rectilinear enclosures, possible short track-ways and field boundaries covering an area of c5.5ha. Several phases are suggested by the superimposition of features (ibid). Further north, there are several rectilinear enclosures (NMR: SP 03 SW 45), some of which may in fact be the fragmentary remains of a 'Celtic' field system.

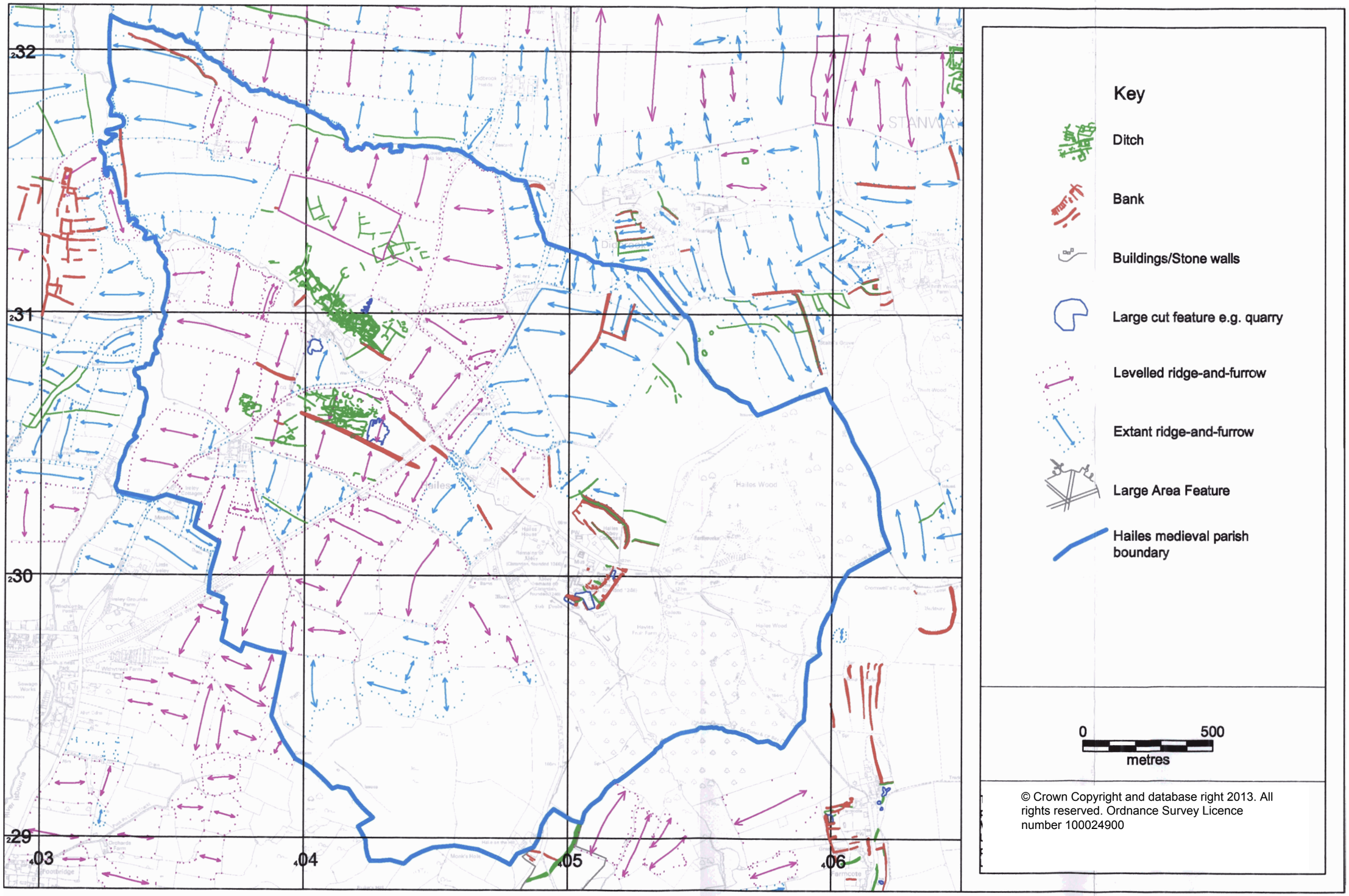

Figure 5. Aerial photographic transcription of the Hailes Area

3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Hailes area was clearly favoured for settlement. The earliest evidence is from the Iron Age. On the hill-slope above the abbey there are two enclosures: the first, Beckbury Camp, is a univallate hill-fort covering an area of c2.8ha (NMR: SP 02 NE 1) and although it is described as Iron Age, the proximity of springs and a quantity of Romano-British coinage dating to the 3rd century found here would suggest a religious re-use, perhaps the establishment of a shrine or temple. The second enclosure lies within Hailes Wood; despite the lack of dating evidence, it is thought to be Iron Age on morphological grounds (NMR: SP 03 SE 12).

On the lower lying ground to the west of the abbey there are two Iron Age/Romano-British settlements set on either side of the stream near Millhampost (these are the ones shown on the aerial photographic transcription (fig 5)). Finds of pottery sherds and two stone cists containing skeletons of a man and a woman suggest a date from the late 1st century BC or early 2nd century AD and continuing into the Romano-British period (NMR: SP 03 SW 4). Whether these nucleated settlements were contemporary is unknown, but if they were it is tempting to see the stream forming an estate boundary.

There is no archaeological evidence of Anglo-Saxon occupation at Hailes despite the Domesday evidence; however, the church at Farmcote (dedicated to St Faith), has a Saxo-Norman nave, and although the chancel does not survive, its excavation in 1890 suggests that it was apsed (Verey & Brookes 1970, 375).

At the time of the Domesday Survey, Hailes was one of five estates held by William Leofric. It comprised eleven hides; there were three ploughs in demesne while the remaining eight were held by tenants. The population was large, amounting to some thirty-two individuals including nine villagers, eleven smallholders and twelve slaves who had been freed (and as a consequence presumably some were householders). Where the settlement was located is unclear, but it was probably in the area of the later 12th century church, in much the same area as the abbey and the present settlement along Salter's Lane. In addition, despite the lack of archaeological evidence, the place-name – Millhampost – would suggest that a mill once stood here.

Woodland was quite extensive in the late 11th century, measuring 1 league by ½ a league (presumably much of this was in the area of Hailes Wood).

During the reign of King Stephen (1135-1154), Ralph de Worcester fortified a castle at Hailes and built the church (Royce 1892, 65). According to St Clair Baddeley, (1899, 87) the castle lay in the field to the north of the church.

In 1193 there was a dispute between Simon, parson of Hailes, and the Abbot of Winchcombe, about 7s paid to the abbey by the parson for burial rights at Hailes and for tithes of a hide in *Cockburg* and one in Gretton (Royce 1892, 301). Although the dispute went against the parson, it was found that Hailes church was 'a Mother and Baptismal Church' (ibid 66), and therefore of significance in the local area. In 1225 Hailes was held by John de Julin, but on his death in the same year it reverted to the Crown. The manor was then granted to Richard, earl of Cornwall. Richard was second son of King John and brother of the future King Henry III; he was also later to become the King of the Romans (this was a stage before being crowned Holy Roman Emperor by the Pope).

The Cistercian monastery at Hailes, a daughter house of Bealieu Abbey in Hampshire, was founded by Richard in 1246. In 1245, forty oaks from the Forest of Dean were given, 'for the works of an abbey which he is about to found in the manor of Hayles'; a year later, sixty oaks were granted. This was followed four years later by a further grant of five oaks for the stalls of the abbey church (Bayley 1910, 275). The church, dormitory and refectory were finished in 1251 at a cost of 8,000 – 10,000 marks (Graham 1907, 96) and on 9th November the church was dedicated in the presence of Henry III, his wife Eleanor of Provence, earl Richard and thirteen bishops. Further building was undertaken in 1293 when Edward I granted a licence to crennellate 'certain buildings which have recently been built' (Coulson 1982, 93).

An indication of the fortunes of the abbey during these early years is given by the visits made by the abbot of Beaulieu (the abbot was obliged to visit and ascertain the state of his daughter house). In 1261, he decreed that there should be no further increase in the number of monks and lay brothers (the *conversi*), until their debts were diminished. The Cellarer, who was responsible for the administration of the abbey's properties, was also reprimanded and required to 'pay greater heed' to his duties. Nine years later the visiting abbot insisted that the alms that used to be given at the great gate should not be withdrawn. These visits appear to show that the abbey finances were not in good shape; however, this was not the case since in 1276 Hailes was reckoned among the more prosperous Cistercian houses in the south of England. It paid £14 13s 4d to Edward I, which was the same as Bordesley Abbey, but more than either Kingswood or Flaxley (Graham 1907, 97).

In 1291 there were two mills at Hailes (Winklass 1990, 33); one was presumably within the abbey precinct and while the second may have also been in the precinct, it is equally plausible that it was at Millhampost.

Much of a monastery's wealth was derived from the revenues it accrued from the ownership of land (temporalities) and from churches (such as the tithes, glebe, pensions and oblations), which was known as the spiritualities. Unlike many other monastic orders, the Cistercians initially rejected the revenues from churches but this practice had ceased by the time Hailes Abbey was founded.

Hailes' spiritualities included the revenues from pilgrimages and the advowson (the right to appoint the priest) from the churches at Hemel Hempstead and North Leigh (Oxfordshire), and St Paul and St Breage (both in Cornwall). Further advowsons followed; in 1324 they were granted the churches of Longborough (near Stow) and Rodbourne in Wiltshire. Later, North Leigh and Longborough were appropriated, as well as Toddington church and the chapel at Stanley Pontlarge.

Pilgrimages provided a healthy source of revenue for the White Monks until the break with Rome when incomes dropped. It was at Hailes that a phial of the Blood of Christ, given in 1270 by Edmund, earl of Cornwall, was kept in a shrine in the presbytery of the conventual church. It was one of the foremost pilgrimage sites in the west of England generating £10 income in 1536 (Caley & Hunter 1814, 456; Vincent 2001, 137-53), which, despite being considerably smaller than the Walsingham shrine (£250) and St Thomas' shrine at Canterbury (£36), was nevertheless five times the income derived from a shrine to Our Lady at another Cistercian monastery at Merevale (Austin 1998, 12; Knowles 1959, 249).

Much of the abbey's temporalities were derived from its granges and estates, and although some of these were some distance away, there was nevertheless a core of estates nearer the abbey which provided a large proportion of its income. One of the more distant holdings was Lechlade, which Edmund, earl of Cornwall, had granted to the monks in 1300; however, eighteen years later they exchanged it with Hugh le Despenser's manor of Siddington near Cirencester and land in Purton and Chelworth in Wiltshire (TNA: PRO C143/138/9).

The wool trade was a significant source of income; at the beginning of the 14th century there were probably 4,000 sheep on its granges (Winklass 1990, 32). This figure, however, should be treated with a little caution since it was derived from the number of fleeces sold by the abbey, which may have included fleeces that the White Monks had bought from their

neighbours (a practice that occurred elsewhere in the country (eg Raistrick 1953, 5)). Nevertheless, the Cotswolds clearly supported large sheep flocks; at Longborough, the monks probably had over 900 sheep, while at their neighbouring estate of Lower Swell there were 600 sheep at the suppression (Caley & Hunter 1814, 453-6; Winklass 1990, 32).

Following the death in 1300 of Edmund, earl of Cornwall, the fortunes of the abbey were less secure since with his death the earldom reverted to the Crown and there were no further patrons (Winklass 1990, 32). Throughout the 14th century and the first half of the 15th century, the abbey's financial position was rather unstable, mainly because of the widely dispersed and distant nature of some of its properties, which meant that the collection of rents was more difficult. There were also other problems such as murrain among their cattle, and the effects of the Black Death. It was also during this period that there was a decline in lay brothers and a leasing of estates. More locally, further problems were encountered in 1337 when the abbey precinct was flooded causing a great deal of damage (Bazeley 1899, 259).

A period of prosperity ensued from the middle of the 15th century until the abbey's suppression a hundred years later. In 1535, the survey of all monastic and ecclesiastical property in England and Wales (the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*) shows that Hailes Abbey, with a net value of £357 7s 8½d, was ranked as the twelfth most prosperous Cistercian monastery (Caley & Hunter 1814, 453-6; Knowles & Hadcock 1971, 110-28). Since its value was over £200 it escaped the suppression of the lesser monasteries that occurred in 1536, and it was not until Christmas Eve in 1539 that the abbey was finally handed to the king's commissioners.

Interestingly, the *Valor* shows that nearly a quarter of the abbey's income came from its two Cornish rectories (over £85) and apart from single holdings in Suffolk, Worcester and Wiltshire, the bulk of its estates was in Gloucestershire (Fig 6). The most valuable was Hailes itself, which the monks held directly. Longborough was the second largest followed by Lower Swell where the monks had large tracts of pasture as well as a mill, woodland and arable land. Urban holdings included tenements in Gloucester and Winchcombe, which were presumably their principal market centres.

Following the suppression of the monastery the abbot received an annual pension of £100. He also retained a mansion house at Coscombe, which included a stable, a close and meadow adjoining Coscombe Grove. The house had been known as the 'abbot's lodging' and used as a retreat (Winkless 1990, 58). He was clearly favoured by Cromwell when, in 1537, he had been recommended as a royal chaplain (Shagan 2003, 173). The remaining

monks faired considerably worse than the abbot, receiving pensions varying from £8 for the prior, to £2 6s 6d (Winkless 1990, 58).

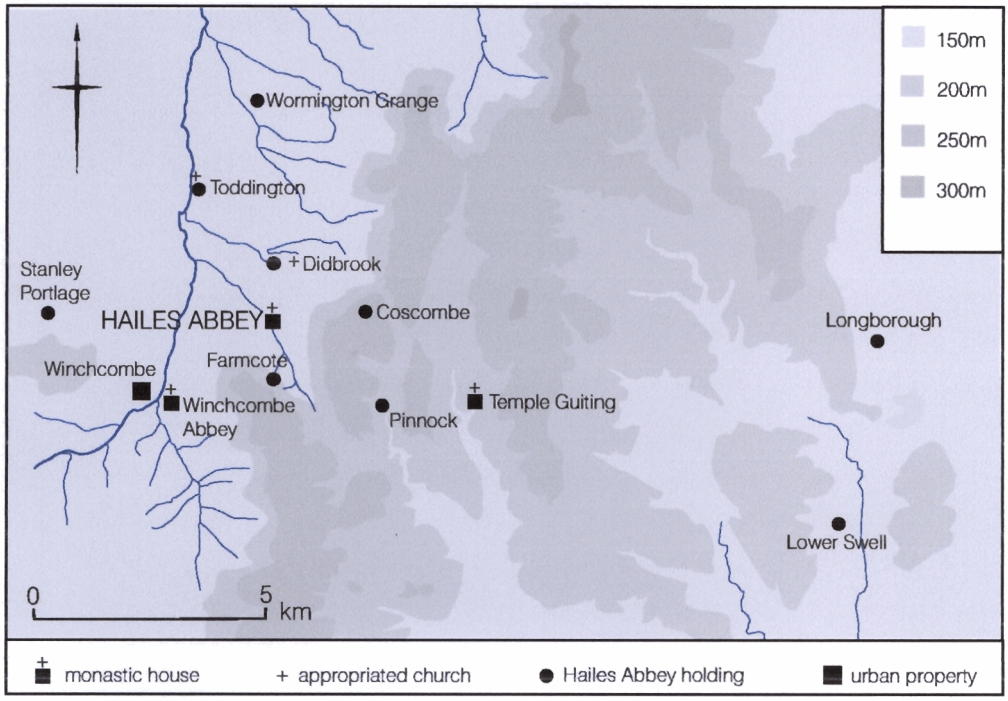

Figure 6. Hailes Abbey holdings on the Cotswolds in 1535.

On 7th March 1540 the abbey was leased to Robert Acton, a Worcestershire gentleman with court connections, who was responsible for its demolition (Shagan 2003, 175). The buildings (ie the church, cloister, chapter-house, refectory, infirmary with its chapel and adjoining lodging, and the prior's chamber), were deemed superfluous (Winklass 1990, 59). Buildings surviving the suppression included the Abbot's Lodging (which extended along the west range and part of the south range as far as the refectory), with the domestic quarters, the pantry, buttery, kitchen, larder and cellars. There was also a bake house, and brew house. Other buildings that survived included the gatehouse, the great barn, the ox house, garner, and the sheep house (Bazeley 1899, 260).

John Leland visited the area in the 1540s. It clearly made little impression on him since he confined his remarks to the wooded landscape between Hailes and Pershore and the stream from Hailes that 'cometh down a purle of water from the south syd of Hales Abbey and goeth toward Todington Water' (Latimer 1889-90, 231).

In 1547, Katherine Parr married Sir Thomas Seymour and part of her dowry was Hailes (as well as Sudeley and nineteen other manors in Gloucestershire); however, when she died it passed to her husband (Anon 1910, 8). Following his execution Hailes passed to his brother-in-law, William Parr. By 1551, the manor was leased to John Hodgkins for twenty-one years and in the same year Queen Elizabeth renewed the lease when the manor passed to William Hobby (Bazeley 1899, 261). It remained in the Hobby family until 1607 when it was acquired by the Tracy family from nearby Toddington who remained at Hailes for much of the 17th century. Following the death of the third viscount in 1686, his successor built Toddington House and the family moved back there either towards the end of the 17th century or the early 18th century (Anon 1900a, 4). The buildings at Hailes were left to decay and two farmhouses remained (Brown & Lunt 1979, 1359).

Bishop Pococke visited Hailes in 1757 and found that the house was ruinous; all that remained was part of the front, 'with a handsome bow window call'd the Abbot's Chamber, some fine arches, which they say was the cellar, one entire side of the fine cloyster, and the outer wall is all round, several large barns and a pidgeon house near 40 square feet with buttresses at each corner, and a chapel now in service all of hewn stone' (Cartwright, 1889, 276)

4. THE MAP EVIDENCE

The earliest map evidence for the Hailes area is the map that was surveyed in about 1587 by a well-known Elizabethan surveyor and cartographer, Ralph Treswell (TNA: PRO MF/1/57; Fig 7). It was produced as part of a commission set up to ascertain the ownership of lands formerly belonging to the abbey (TNA: PRO E 178/910). It is an immensely important map since it shows the area less than fifty years after the abbey's suppression and as such it shows the surviving monastic buildings, the communication pattern, elements of the water management, and land-use. The map appears to have escaped the notice of previous researchers and does not appear in a list of Treswell surveys (Schofield 1987, 5), possibly because it was previously attached to the deposition document and therefore part of a bundle. Unfortunately the top and bottom of the map (the eastern and western part) is badly damaged; however, this is probably of little consequence in the monastic landscape context since it is mainly border and Hailes Wood detail.

Ralph Treswell was among the first cartographers in England to produce scaled plans of estates as opposed to the earlier practice of producing sketch plans or perspective views. Much of his early work (until about 1607) was concerned with mapping rural estates in the south of England, and it was not until the first decade of the 17th century that he undertook the urban surveys in London for which he is perhaps better known.

Figure 7. Ralph Treswell's map of Hailes dating to 1587 (TNA: PRO: MF/1/57. Crown Copyright)

The area covered by the Treswell map of Hailes is coterminous with the ecclesiastical parish and is remarkably similar to the OS 1st edition map. It shows, for example, that the medieval road pattern survives largely intact into the late 19th century (Fig 8). The main approach to the abbey was from the Kings Highway (the modern B4632 road between Winchcombe and Broadway) where a wayside cross directed the traveller to the abbey. There is another wayside cross along Salter's Lane beside the abbey's outer gate. A minor route also leads across the fields from Winchcombe directly to the Salter's Lane wayside cross. Significantly, no road existed beside the 12th century church at this time.

The precinct boundary is shown on Treswell's map by what appears to be mainly paling or a hedge symbol while elsewhere the enclosed fields, or closes, are shown with a hedge symbol. The principal building that survived the suppression was the west range which was converted into a manor house. The abbey ruins are depicted by stone symbols. Although Treswell's illustration of houses has been described as sketches (Schofield 1987,10) and not necessarily particularly accurate, here the manor house is remarkably similar to the house shown on Kip's engraving, which suggests that the house on the map was probably a relatively accurate depiction (Fig 9).

The 12th church is probably the building shown within a hedged enclosure on the northern side of the manor house, with a couple of buildings beyond. There is also a water-mill, with the wheel on the gable end, near the gatehouse complex.

Beyond the manor house Treswell's map shows the open fields, meadows, pastures and woods. Arable cultivation predominated on the lower plain to the west of the abbey and on either side of the King's Highway. Roads abutting the open fields have pecked lines indicating the open field nature. One of the fields is called 'Hayles feilde' and was described as 'now e[a]rable', suggesting, perhaps, convertible husbandry was practiced here. Meadowland appears to lie in closes mainly to the south of Salter's Lane, while pasture extends onto the hill-slopes above the abbey. There are three areas of woodland: Hailes Wood, Pysley Grove and Matcroft Grove.

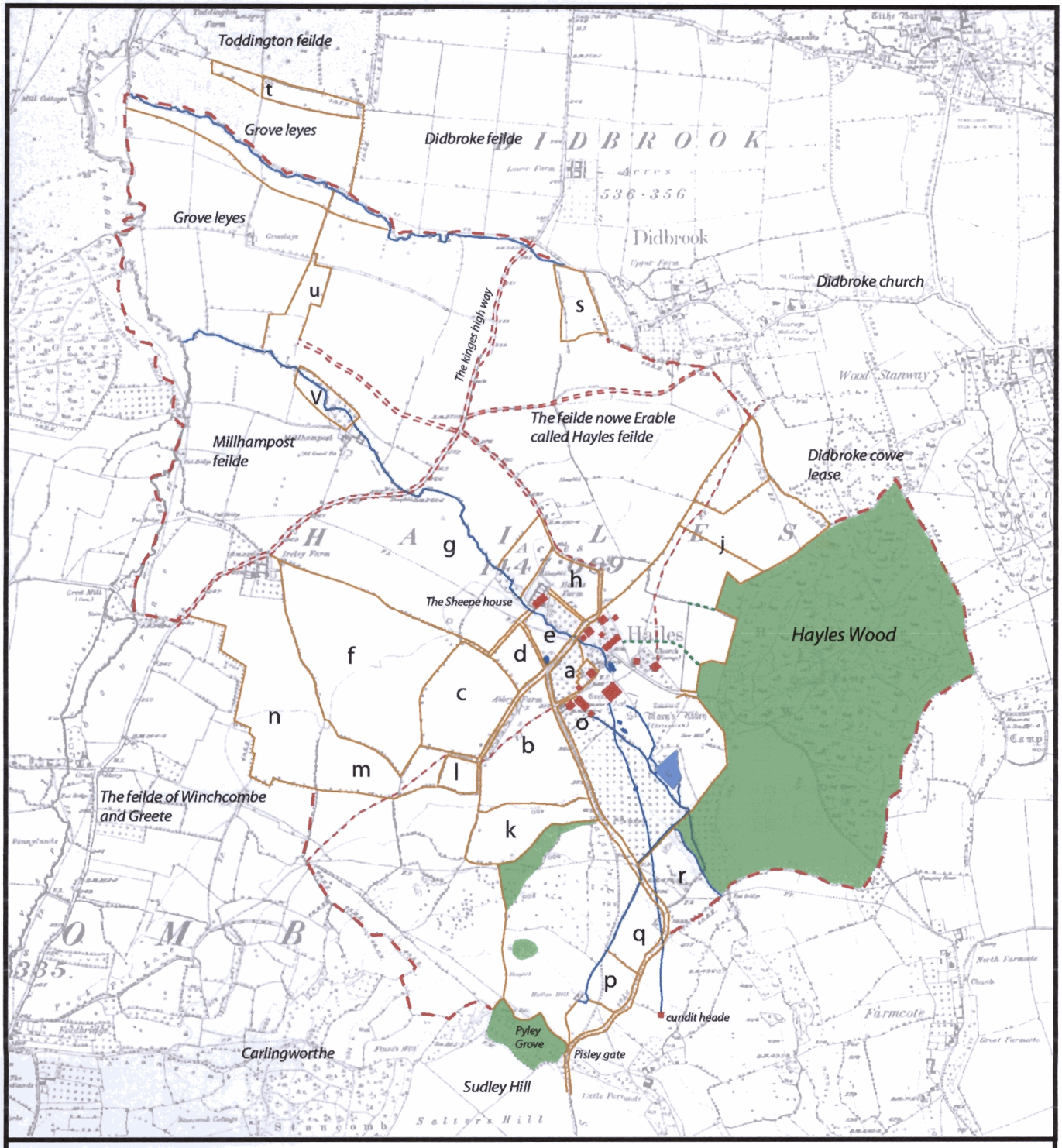

Figure 8. The 1587 map overlain on the 1st edition OS map. Red pecked lines denote tracks bordering open fields. The longer red pecked lines define the parish boundary. Green pecked lines are tree-lines, while the brown lines ar

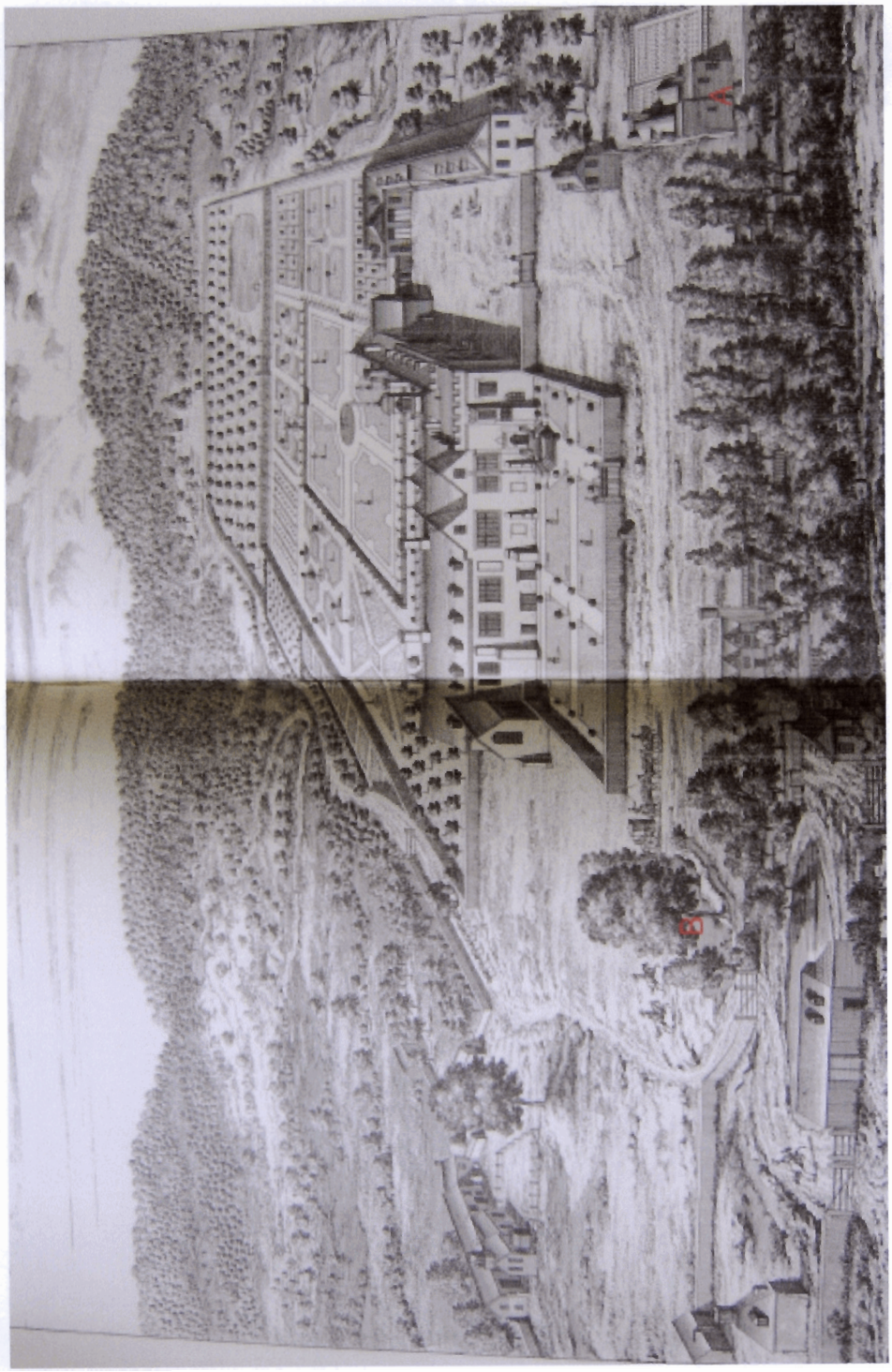

Figure 9. Kip's engraving of Hailes Abbey

5. EARTHWORK SURVEY AND INTERPRETATION

The surveyed earthworks lie in three fields to the east, south and west of the abbey ruins (Fig 10). In the eastern field there is a prominent boundary bank (a) with a ditch on its eastern side. The bank measures 160m long and up to 0.5m high on the west side; it is probably part of the monastic inner court boundary. In the south, the bank is cut by a narrow ditch (b) that extends north-west as far as a fragmentary bank (c). This bank has a slight depression along its centre (probably the result of stone robbing). In the north, these two banks ((a) and (c)) are linked by a scarp (d). Another scarp at the northern end of the bank (c) follows the same alignment as the bank, which would suggest that it formerly continued further north, at least as far as the fence-line. On the eastern side of this scarp is a pond, which is 0.6m deep. This pond is not shown on the 1587 map (Fig 7) and its position and form would suggest that it is probably a stock pond dating to the period when the precinct formed part of a farm. At the northern end of the bank (a) there is a ditch cutting the field corner with a spread bank on its south-western side. The bank (a) appears either to overlie this spread bank, or more plausibly, it has been enhanced at a later date. The enclosure formed by the two banks ((a) and (c)), together with the ditch (b) and the fence-line along the roadside, is remarkably similar to the walled garden, or orchard, depicted on the 1587 map and could therefore either be a monastic garden, or an Elizabethan garden associated with the new manor house.

Two mounds are positioned on the western side of the bank (a). The northern mound, which has a small pond-like feature abutting it, lies 26m from the end of the bank, while the southern mound is 26m from the cut in the bank. To the west of bank (c) there are a series of at least three rectilinear platforms with two further rectilinear enclosures on the west side of the pond. The most prominent platform (e), which measures 6m x 6m and c0.2m high, was possibly a building platform or a raised garden feature. The regularity of the two mounds, and the broad terrace linking them, together with two other parallel scarps to the west, and the earthworks further east, would suggest that the whole area formed part of a garden design, with the mounds possibly representing seats or small prospects. The formal nature of this garden design would suggest that it dates to the late 17th or early 18th centuries, and that it is overlying the earlier garden.

To the west of the formal garden, and cut by a fence-line, is a prominent scarp along the eastern side of the abbey church, which, in part, is probably the result of the archaeological excavations of the abbey. Further south, and also cut by the fence-line, is a shallow depression extending east/west and measuring c35m x 15m (f), which is on the same alignment as the abbey. This is also shown as an area of high resistance on the geophysical

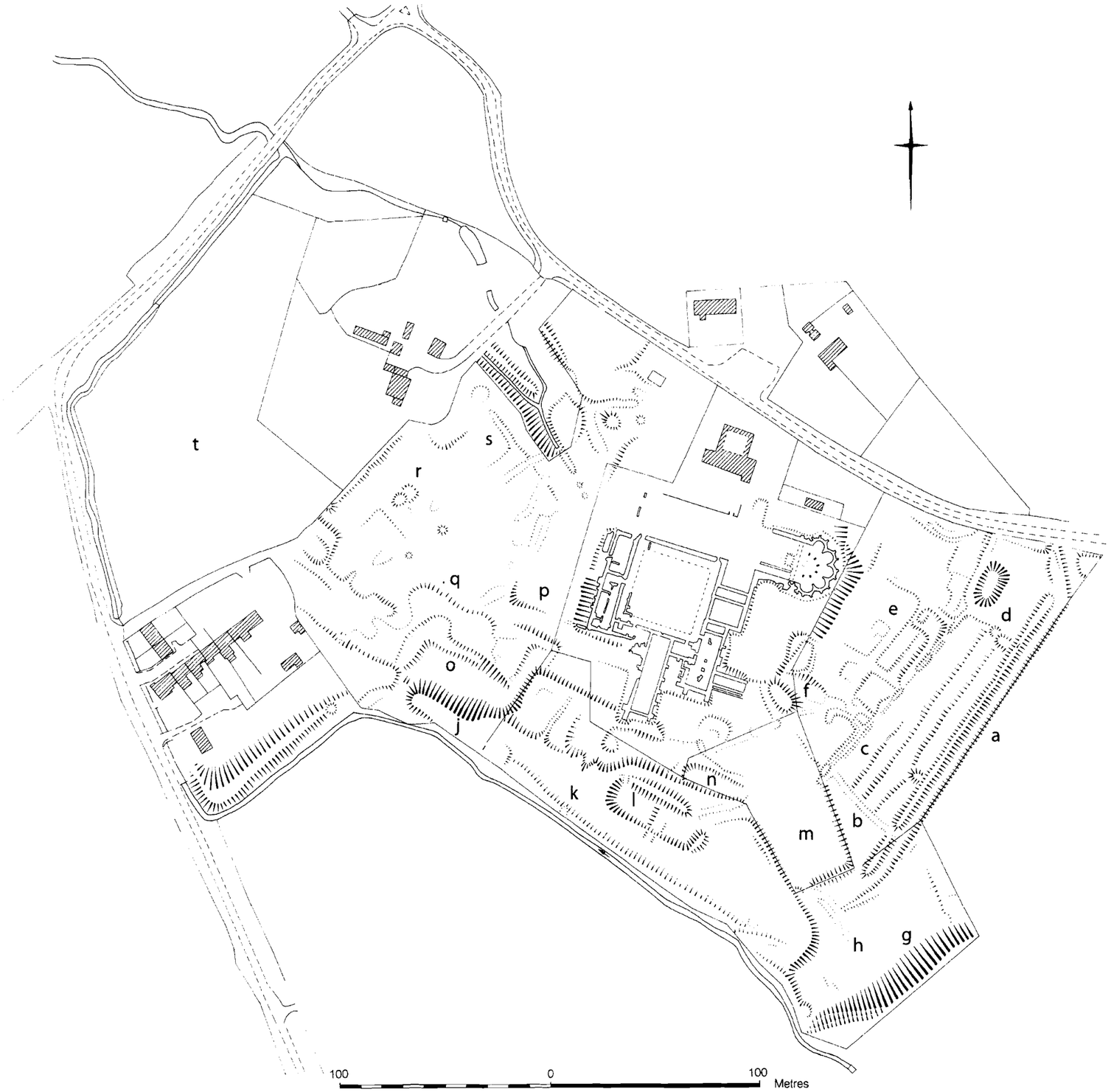

Figure 10. Earthwork Survey

survey (fig 4). An elongated mound occupies the south-western corner. This depression is probably the site of either an earlier abbot's lodging, or more likely, the infirmary, since these buildings normally occupied this area in Cistercian monasteries (Robinson 2006, 210). A rectilinear bank and scarp abuts the probable infirmary on its northern side, which is probably the remains of another building, possibly associated with the infirmary. The geophysical survey also shows two rectilinear areas of high resistance in the angle between the conventual church and east range, which may represent a secondary cloister associated with the infirmary (Fig 4).

Situated along the south-eastern side of the surveyed area is a substantial dam (g), which is the western side of a large rectilinear lake (not surveyed). Between the dam and conventual buildings the ground is particularly boggy with a water channel at (h). In the southern corner of the dam there is a cut, which was probably the outflow shown on the 1587 map. This outflow formed a sinuous stream that flowed north-east, along the southern side of the garden enclosure, to the conventual buildings.

The southern side of the surveyed area is bordered by a spread scarp with a mill-race along its southern side. At (j) there is a wide, level bank, which is probably the site of the water-mill. From this point, the mill's tail race dog-legs south-west and then north-west along Salter's Lane to the confluence with the stream that flows through the conventual buildings (beyond the surveyed area). Exposed stonework against the north/south fence-line to the east of (j) indicates probable building foundations.

A small depression (k), which cuts the scarp beside the mill-race, and a larger cut in the scarp immediately to the north probably mark the course of the conduit from Little Farmcote, since both are aligned on the monastic kitchen in the south range. A line of high resistance (perhaps part of the 'pipe of lead') also links these two points (Fig 4).

Below the broad scarp along the southern edge of the surveyed area there are three ponds. The first pond (l) measures c45m by 10m and is up to 1.2m deep with a bank on the southern and eastern sides; it also has a spread central cross division. A slight ditch, situated centrally on the southern side of the pond, was probably a 'feeder' from the mill-race. In the north-eastern corner a water channel, up to 0.1m deep and with a slight bank on the northern side, links the pond to the large rectilinear pond (m). In the north-western corner of the pond (l) is a scrape, which is probably the result of animal 'poaching'. To the north of (l) is a smaller, fragmentary pond (n) that abuts a scarp in the south. This pond pre-dates the much larger one (m) since it is incorporated into the design of the larger pond and is morphologically similar to pond (l).

Two ponds are depicted on the 1587 map, which are probably the two smaller examples on the earthwork survey (ponds (l) and (n)). However, when compared to the earthwork plan their depiction in 1587 appears incorrect since the smaller pond should be further west, probably to the south of the refectory. The final point to be made about the ponds is that, significantly, the 1587 map does not show the larger rectilinear pond (m), which would indicate that it is not medieval.

To the north of the mill (j) there is a large sub-rectangular depression (o) measuring c40m by 15m, which is possibly a building platform. To the west of (o) there is a large level platform defined by a scarp which is set acutely to the stone boundary wall. This platform is another building, probably part of the gatehouse complex (Fig 4). Kip's engraving also shows what appears to be a gatehouse (Fig 9 (A)).

Further north there is a series of rectilinear scarps; the most prominent is the right-angled scarp (p) that extends from near the southern side of the west range/manor house. It is precisely aligned on a slight bank, with a ditch on its eastern side, further north; these two fragmentary features probably represent the enclosed garden shown on Kip's engraving which also probably overlies the 16th century garden. The northern side of the garden is shown on the resistivity survey (Fig 4).

To the west of the enclosed garden is the base of a stone column (q). It is probable that it is the remains of the wayside cross at the junction between Salter's Lane and the outer gate on the 1587 map; it was probably moved within the precinct as part of a landscape garden design following the suppression of the monastery (Fig 11).

To the west of the wayside cross (q) there are further rectilinear scarps, depressions and mounds, which probably mark the location of buildings. The most prominent is at (r) where there is a rectangular platform measuring 15m by 10m overall, with the south-western end slightly higher than the north-eastern end.

To the north of these features is a bank (s), which lies close to, and parallel to, another pond. It is cut in two places by drainage channels that drain towards the pond. The stream, which was part of the former abbey drain, cuts through the pond where it forks at a long linear bank; the northern course continues north-west to the confluence with the mill's tail-race beyond the surveyed area. This pond is depicted on Kip's engraving (Fig 9(B)), where

the stream can be seen on the southern side of the pond. On the northern side of the pond there are further drainage channels and a slight platform surmounted by a concrete plinth.

Figure 11. The remains of the wayside cross which was formerly at the junction of Salter's Lane and the outer gate.

The paddocks to the north-west of the surveyed area were also investigated, although not surveyed. In the south-western paddock (t) there is evidence of ridge-and-furrow cultivation, which is orientated north-east/south-west. The ridges are 7.5m wide and 0.2m high. The western and north-western sides of the paddock are defined by a substantial ditch, up to 2m deep, with a slight internal spread bank. It is probable that this bank and ditch, with Salter's Lane beyond, was part of the precinct boundary.

The dry-stone wall along the south-western side of the surveyed area (near Pilgrim's House) is not contemporary with the abbey since it incorporates worked stone, which probably came from the abbey ruins. However, the alignment of the north-western wall, which borders Hailes House, may be contemporary since it overlies a scarp which probably defines the boundary wall between the home grange and inner court.

Along the eastern side of Salter's Lane there is a spread bank, which has a basal width of c4m wide and is up to 0.5m high: this bank is probably the precinct boundary (not surveyed). Further south-east, beyond a cattle grid, the modern road diverges from the medieval course, which can nevertheless be traced as a terrace, c8m wide in a pasture field.

6. DISCUSSION

The survey and investigation of the surviving earthworks at Hailes has identified a range of features around the remains of the monastery and in the wider landscape that illustrate a diverse land use. A number of key issues have been identified: the pre-monastic settlement; the monastic precinct, its access and appurtenances; the relationship between the abbey and the 12th century church; and the post-suppression house, its park and gardens.

6.1. Pre-Monastic Landscape

The settlement pattern before the founding of the abbey is not entirely clear, but the large number of inhabitants would suggest that it was probably a nucleated settlement pattern clustered in the area of the church and beside the ancient trackway, Salter's Lane. There may well have been further settlement, perhaps dispersed farmsteads, elsewhere on the lower, more fertile ground.

According to the Winchcombe *Landboc* a castle was re-fortified and a church built at Hailes by Ralph de Worcester during the reign of King Stephen (1135-1154) (Royce 1892, 65), and although the castle did not form part of our investigations, its purported juxtaposition to the 12th century church warrants some comment.

The castle appears to have survived for a relatively short time, perhaps as little as one or two generations. St Clair Baddeley (1899, 87) contends that the castle was still in existence in 1225 when it was held by John de Julin. A large number of castles were built during the Anarchy in Stephen's reign; many of them were *adulterine*, or illegal, castles since they were constructed without the king's consent. Most were soon abandoned when peace returned (Cathcart-King 1988, 21; Pounds 1990, 30) and it seems likely that the fortification at Hailes falls into this category.

Despite St Clair Baddeley's assertion that the castle stood in the field to the east of the church, there is no archaeological evidence. It has been assumed that the curving bank

and ditch formed part of its defences, making it perhaps a ringwork. This feature is also evident on Treswell's map where it can be identified as a curving tree line; a track cuts across it and leads to one of the buildings (fig 7). It was also still visible as an earthwork into the 20th century, but has now been ploughed down (fig 5). An alternative site for the castle has been suggested as being the earthwork enclosure in Hailes Wood (NMR: SP 03 SE 9) although this seems unlikely. Until further archaeological fieldwork is undertaken here any interpretation of this feature remains purely speculative.

6.2. The Monastic Landscape

What effect the arrival of the White Monks had on the settlement pattern is unclear, although it was undoubtedly profound. The inhabitants of Hailes were probably absorbed into the monastic community either as hired labour or as *conversi* (lay brothers). There has also been a suggestion that they were removed to Didbrook where the abbot built a church in 1275 (Bond 2004, 245).

6.2.1. The precinct

With the aid of Treswell's map, the abbey's precinct can be traced with a reasonable degree of certainty, and despite the depredations that occurred here in the mid to late 16th century the map retains sufficient detail to allow an informed interpretation of the precinct and wider landscape to be made (Fig 12 and 15).

Many Cistercian precinct boundaries appear to have been marked by a stone wall (Robinson 2006, 166); however, this should not necessarily be accepted as the norm. At Tilty Abbey in Essex, for example, there was a combination of stone walling and hedges surrounding the precinct (Hall & Strachan 2001, 200). At Hailes the boundary is marked by either paling or a hedge-line that can be traced from the outer gate along Salter's Lane and then north-east along Hailes Wood before turning north-west to another field gate (this is the point where the cobbled track leads up to Farmcote). The northern boundary is marked by a couple of buildings and what appears to be walling (a continuous double line). The precinct boundary then extends north-west before turning south along the track. The precinct therefore incorporates the inner court, an outer court and the home farm, and covers an area of about 30ha (73a), which, although smaller than Rievaulx (37.2ha), Bordesley (36ha), and Meaux (34ha), is slightly larger than both Furness and Fountains (c28.3ha) and considerably larger than some other southern Cistercian abbeys (Stanley 15.7ha, Cleeve 11.3ha). Walling, or the sides of buildings, marks the inner court.

Access to the abbey was via the wayside cross along Salter's Lane and then into the gatehouse complex, which comprised an outer gate (positioned on the precinct boundary)

Figure 12. An extract of Ralph Treswell's map of Hailes showing the manor house and some of the surviving monastic buildings. The precinct boundary is mainly depicted with what appears to be a paling symbol. The 12th century church is probably the building in the fenced enclosure. North is to the left of the map.

and the inner gate (or great gate). The gates were separated by a short, broad lane with a couple of buildings on the southern side; the larger building may have been guest, or pilgrims', accommodation, since the close beside it is known as 'the inn and close' (Fig 13). In a recent study Fergusson (1990, 55) found no evidence for Cistercian outer gates in Yorkshire, but here at Hailes it would appear that it was a simple field gate, exactly the same as those depicted elsewhere. In contrast the inner gate, as shown by Treswell, is a more substantial arched building but with no upper storey, and should therefore perhaps be more accurately described as a gateway (unless, of course, it is a remaining fragment). The inner gate opens up to the inner court from where the visitor is afforded a view down to the west end of the conventual church and the 12th century church. The symbolic significance of the gatehouse complex at Stoneleigh Abbey (Warwickshire) has been explored by Ramy (2004) and a similar case can be made for Hailes where there was an ordered and controlled access and clear views to the spiritual centre of the abbey. A building abuts the gateway within the inner court, with a longer detached building beyond. The first building may have been further guest accommodation while the other one was possibly stabling.

Another building that is sometimes associated with gatehouses is the gatehouse chapel (also known as the *capella extra portas*). Where examples have been identified it has been found that they were normally positioned between the two gates, although some were within the inner court, close to the gate (Hall 2001, 61-92). Research by Hall indicates that these chapels fulfilled a variety of needs, with most having a parish function. There is also evidence that some were used as chantries or places of pilgrimage. They were principally intended to be used by people who were living or staying outside the precinct, and those who were not allowed within the inner court.

Figure 13. The gates to Hailes Abbey. Notice the outer gate is a simple field gate, while the inner gate is a more substantial stone structure.

The church at Hailes (Fig 14) has been interpreted by some as a *capella extra portas*, although it was thought to be a rather unusual example since it was built before the abbey as a parish church and retained its parochial responsibilities (eg Coppack 1998, 108; Hall 2001, 64; Robinson 2006, 166; Verey & Brookes 1970, 396). It is also more richly decorated. This interpretation was presumably based on the presumption that the inner gate lay close-by; however, despite being deliberately 'contained' within the inner court, the church is 250m north-east of the inner gate – it is also much closer to the conventual church - and cannot therefore be termed a gatehouse chapel. Another suggestion that it was an infirmary chapel is hardly credible either since the infirmary lay on the east side of the conventual buildings (the quiet side) and would have had some form of attached chapel to enable the sick to hear mass.

Figure 14. The 12th century church at Hailes viewed from the south-west.

The church, which was part of the White Monks' original endowment, is today renowned for its medieval wall paintings, which cover the chancel and nave. Displayed in the chancel are emblems of the patrons including the eagle of Richard, king of the Romans, and castles of Eleanor of Castile, who was queen of Richard's nephew, Edward I. At the suppression it was described as a *capella* (i.e. chapel, rather than *ecclesiae* – church. It is a two-cell building with the chancel and nave of similar width but the nave only slightly longer. These proportions were rather uncommon in small Norman churches but may have resulted from

its remodelling in the later 13th century (Anon 1930, 8; Verey & Brookes 1970, 396). There was further re-building during the early 14th century; following the Reformation; and in the early 20th century when the south porch was added. It also has a blocked door in the nave's north wall (Verey & Brookes 1970, 396). Evidence of what appears to be Romano-British brick can be seen in the chancel's east and south elevation, which may suggest that there was a Romano-British settlement somewhere in the vicinity (or perhaps it came from Millhampost). There was no direct access to the church from the Winchcombe road as there is today, and in landscape terms it can be seen as having a contrived, maniplulated access around the precinct boundary, through the outer and inner gates, into the inner court.

Apart from gatehouse chapels there are examples of detached chapels within the circuit of Cistercian precincts elsewhere; for example at Meaux where there was a chantry chapel (Cassidy-Welch 2001, 238). At Hailes the chapel undoubtedly continued to cater for the spiritual needs of the hired labour but it was not a *capella extra portas*; however, given the popularity of the pilgrimages to venerate the Holy Blood, it was probably inextricably associated with this cult.

Vincent (2001) discusses in detail the cult of the Holy Blood. He asserts that Hailes was one of the great pilgrimage centres of the west of England. Its success was perhaps, in part, due to its more respectable ancestry since it was associated with Charlemagne and the Holy Roman Emperors and blood relics elsewhere in Europe (ibid, 147). In 1275 the White Monks obtained licence from the General Chapter to hold an annual ceremony (on the feast of the Holy Cross) in the relic's honour 'with all the solemnities normally reserved for major church festivities' (ibid, 137). The following year the pope licensed the abbey to employ two priests to serve the shrine and hear confessions and issue penances to pilgrims venerating the Holy Blood. Further indulgences were granted in the succeeding years, especially on the feast of Corpus Christ, the Holy Cross and during Lent (ibid, 169).

Despite the lack of architectural or documentary evidence, it is tempting to see the chapel as part of the pilgrimage 'experience' (in much the same way that there is more than one focus in modern pilgrimages). The re-modelling of the chapel in the late-13th century, at much the same time as the ambulatory was being built for the shrine in the conventual church, was surely no coincidence. The chapel could, for example, have been where mass was celebrated for the pilgrims and confessions heard (confessions would not be heard in the conventual church since even the choir monks' confessions were not heard here but in the chapter house (Cassidy-Welch 2001, 120)). It may also have been where the Holy Blood was displayed on occasions to those prevented from accessing the shrine in the ambulatory.

There are examples of chapels having a pilgrimage function at a number of Cistercian monasteries. It has been suggested that the south aisle of the gatehouse chapel of the Cistercian abbey at Merevale (Warwickshire) housed a shrine to the Virgin where large numbers of pilgrims are recorded as venerating in 1361 (Austin 1998, 12). At Furness Abbey, an indulgence was granted to pilgrims who venerated a statue of the Virgin Mary

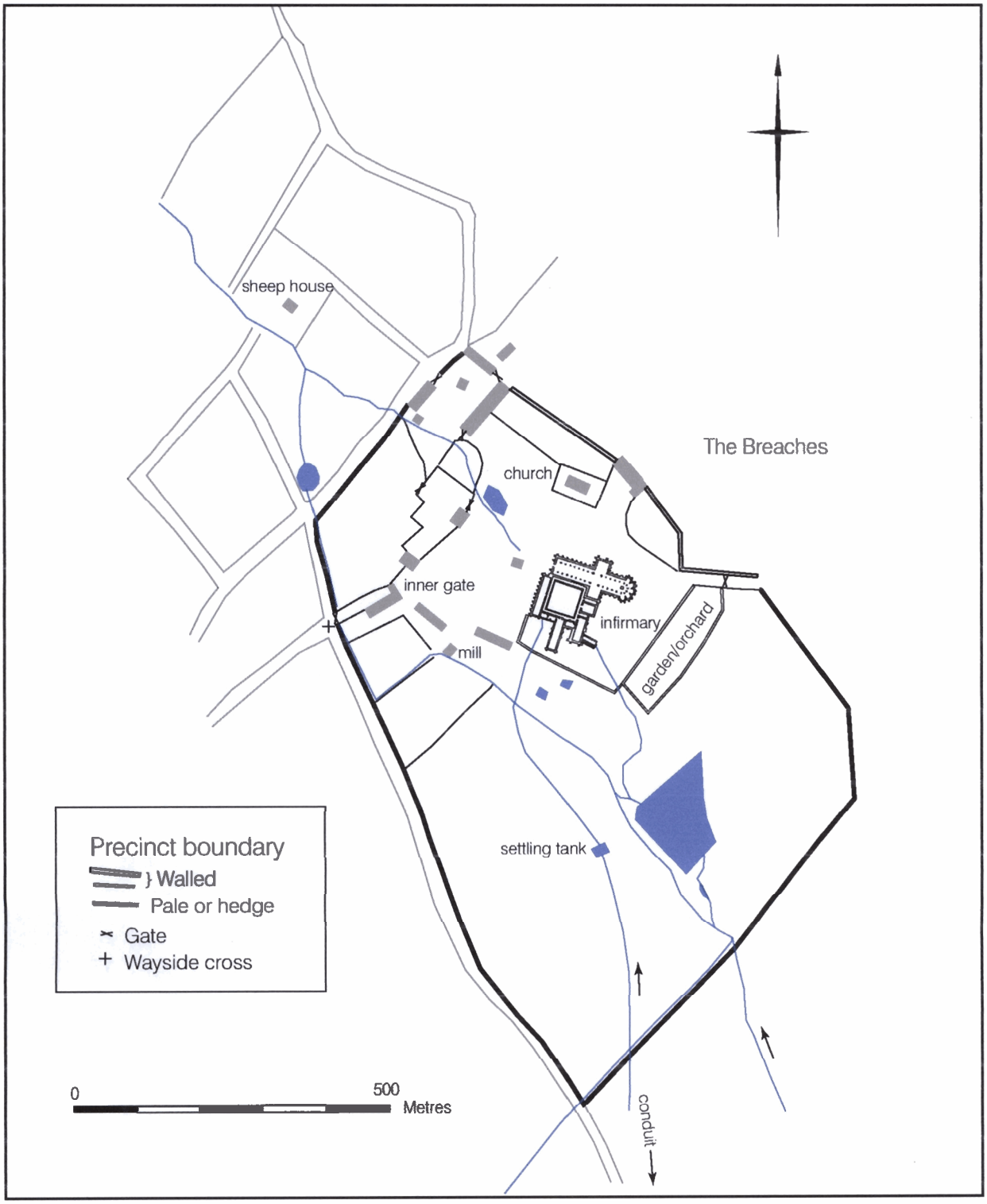

Figure 15. The monastic precinct (re-drawn from Treswell's map)

either 'in the conventual church or the chapel constructed outside the inner gate' (Dickinson 1967, 63).

An ecclesiastical example from further afield which continues to this day is at Bruges in Belgium where a fragment of cloth with what is said to be the coagulated blood of Christ, has been housed since 1149. Normally the relic is kept in a shrine in a side chapel in the basilica, but it is brought out practically every day so that pilgrims can venerate it. There is also an annual Procession of the Holy Blood.

6.2.2. The home grange, outer court and park

The outer court lay principally to the south-east of the church and conventual buildings, and beyond the enclosed garden. This was essentially an area of pasture, but it also contained other features such as the two fish ponds, the lake, as well as the mill and the closes between the mill and gatehouse complex (this mill, together with its outhouse, survived into the first half of the 17th century (GRO: D 2311/E/1).

Beyond the outer court boundary on the south-eastern side there is a close covering 11a (4.2ha) called Park Close, which would suggest that there was a medieval park in the vicinity. This location is also supported by an enquiry into thefts from the abbey soon after its suppression when one of the perpetrators left 'through the park and lakehouse close ...' (Shagan 2003, 177). Lakehouse Close was presumably near the lake. A park at Hailes is mentioned in the 13th century but how far it extended is unclear, but it may have included the area to the north of the abbey (The Breaches) and stretched as far as the boundary with Didbrooke. The juxtaposition between precinct and park would suggest that the precinct should not necessarily be seen as having just a 'hard' topographical boundary, but perhaps a more diffuse area that incorporates some of the demesne - in this case the parkland.

The home grange occupied the western side of the outer court and extended as far as the sheep-house and its associated enclosures (Crosehouse [Crosshouse] Close, Brooke Close and Shepwie (?) feilde). This complex included a dovecot in the yard with a 9-bay barn bordering the inner court, and further outbuildings around the perimeter of the grange. There are also three small closes with a couple of field gates into the inner court.

The earthwork remains of sheep-houses (or *bercaria*) have been recognised at a number of places on the Cotswolds, while many others are known from documentary evidence (Dyer

1995, 136-64). The surveyed examples are generally long narrow structures measuring between 65m x 8m at Brimpsfield, to 28.5m x 6m at Naunton (ibid, 140). Although no measurements can be given for the sheep-house at Hailes, it nevertheless consists of what appears to be a dwelling house with an upper storey and a couple of other buildings. In common with many demesne sheep-houses it is set apart from the main farm complex. On many of the larger monastic and secular estates during the 13th and 14th centuries sheep farming was managed centrally (Bond 2004, 57-66), and it is likely, therefore, that this complex at Hailes was where the demesne flocks were organised and administered.

How long the sheep-house survived is unclear but it was extant until at least 1756 when it was listed in a deed (GRO: D2153/1/7). It is now the site of Hailes Farm, where the farmhouse dates to the 17th century and it is therefore possible that this building is the messuage mentioned in the deed. The outbuildings include the much altered, but substantial, barns which are much later in date. The stonework in these barns is remarkably similar to the former barn at the junction between the lane to the abbey and Salter's Lane, suggesting that they are contemporary and built during a period of high farming when farm buildings were modified and re-built on the Toddington estate.

6.2.3. Water management

The Cistercians undertook massive water engineering projects at Hailes. The abbey itself is sited along the former course of the stream that flows to the River Isbourne. Consequently one of the first projects they would presumably have undertaken was the draining of this valley and the diversion of the stream along the mill-race. As part of this initial work, a huge dam was constructed across the valley, which effectively created the lake. The lake provided water to the monks' reredorter as well as the mill-race that flowed north-west to a mill. Interestingly, the tail-race is not shown, but presumably it flowed along the side of the road in much the same fashion as it does today. Below the mill-race are two fishponds, which were presumably supplied with water from the mill-race. However, until the discovery of the Treswell map, this lake appeared to be the only source of water to the abbey.

Figure 16. Sources of water.

Apart from the lake, there were two other sources. The first was a leat cut along a field boundary which flowed towards the lake. The second source was from a conduit house (called 'the cundit heade') that collected water from the springs near Little Farmcote; from here the water was directed through 'a pipe of lead' to what appears to be a settling tank within the precinct and from where it flowed to the monastic kitchen on the south range (Fig 16). Overall, the conduit was about 1km long. Despite fieldwork, the precise location of this conduit house has not been identified, but if Treswell's map can be relied upon it was likely to have been along a hedge-line to the north of Little Farmcote Farm,at a point where several springs emanate (fig 8). At the suppression the abbey held relatively little land in Farmcote (a meadow of one acre called Northmedowe; land in Farmcote Field; and a grove called Quaylegrove [quarry grove?] in Pynnokshire), and it is probable that the conduit house was on one of these three holdings, perhaps Northmedowe.

6.3. The Post-Suppression Landscape

Many monastic sites across the country, following the suppression, were converted into secular dwellings and the buildings that were no longer required were dismantled and the materials used elsewhere. At Hailes we have a rare glimpse at the extent of the degradation of the abbey since it was the subject of an enquiry a few years after its suppression (Shagan 2003, 162-96). It would appear that practically everything that could be re-used from the buildings was taken; this included such small items as iron hooks, door locks, paving stones and floor boards, to lead from the abbey's kitchen, and stone. As well as items from the buildings, trees and even beehives were taken (ibid 177).

The post-suppression landscape can also be readily appreciated from the Treswell map. The manor house was created from the former west range (the abbot's lodging). The house comprised a crenelated southern corner with an entrance offset from the end (could this be part of the licence to crenelate in 1293? (Historical Background *above*)), while at the northern end there is a probable chapel projecting from the eastern elevation. The chapel is more readily identified on Kip's engraving where what appears to be a cross surmounts the gable. Celia Fiennes commented on this chapel when she visited Hailes sometime between 1685 and 1696, describing the house as:

> '...a good old house and there is a pretty Chappel with a gallery for people of quality to sitt in which goes out of the hall, that is a lofty large roome; good parlour and severall good lodging roomes, you ascend into the house by severall stone steppes' (Morris 1947, 30).

This would suggest that the house was a first-floor hall house (in common with many Cistercian abbots' halls (Ramy 1996, 30)) with the service rooms along part of the former south range and at ground level on the west range.

The chapel may in fact have been the former abbot's chapel (although it is rather intriguing that there appears to be no evidence on the excavation plan). Chapels in abbots' lodgings have been identified at several Cistercian monasteries although, as Ramy points out, the evidence may be slightly misleading since some could be no more than a recess in the wall of the private chamber, while others were more substantial structures leading directly from the abbots' private chambers (Ramy 1996, 34).

Tudor gardens and parks are common themes that have been recognised in these new secular mansions both as earthworks and surviving features and Hailes is no exception. In front of the crenelated end is an enclosed garden with a larger cloister, or privy garden to the rear. The enclosing walls for the garden in front of the house have been identified on the earthwork plan and resistivity survey. Other features directly related to the manor house include a walled garden to the rear of the house, while beyond the cloister garden is another walled garden, perhaps an orchard (this may have been a survival from before the suppression). Beyond the gardens the estate was probably mainly composed of parkland. Treswell's map shows that the area of the lake, which was within the monastic outer court, was 'Haylespark'. The Breaches (the placename would suggest that this was former assart), probably continued to be used as part of the parkland.

The final point concerns the comparison of the Treswell map and Kip's engraving. Similarities between the two include the gatehouse, 12th century church, and dovecote, but there are several differences. The most striking perhaps is the positioning of the large barn near the church. Treswell shows a nine-bay barn between the dovecote and church whereas Kip depicts a similar barn *beyond* the church. This may be a case of artistic licence on the part of Kip since, if it was shown in the same place as on Treswell's map, it may have obscured the 12th century church which was probably deemed a much more important feature to illustrate in this landscape setting. There also appears to be no evidence of the outbuildings (presumably stables) on the south side of the mansion house on either the earthwork survey or the geophysical survey. Finally, whether the gardens were ever laid out in the manner shown by Kip is unknown, despite the earthwork evidence. These differences and the evidence from the surveys, would suggest that Kip's engraving, although accurate in some respects, nevertheless probably represents partly a mere aspiration.

7. METHODOLOGY

The survey and investigation at Hailes Abbey was undertaken by Graham Brown and Sharon Bishop as a level 3 survey (RCHME 1999) using an electronic distance-measuring (EDM) theodolite, which was used to pick up much of the archaeological and topographical detail. It was also used to establish a network of control points from which taped offsets were measured to features that were not surveyed using the EDM.

In addition to the survey and investigation, a day was spent in the National Archive at Kew in London, and two days in the Gloucestershire Record Office researching the documentary and map evidence.

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