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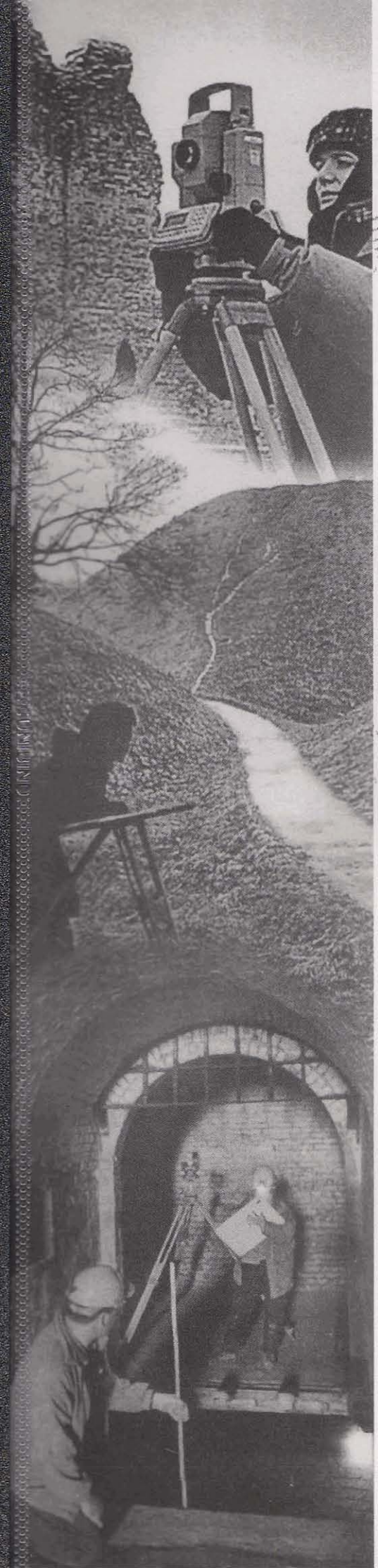

ENGLISH HERITAGE

Sawley Abbey, Sawley, Lancashire: a Cistercian monastic precinct and post-medieval landscape

Abby Hunt, Mitchell Pollington, Christopher Dunn and Trevor Pearson

SURVEY REPORT

Archaeological Investigation Report Series AI/17/2005

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SAWLEY ABBEY,

SAWLEY, LANCASHIRE

A Cistercian monastic precinct & post-medieval landscape

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County:	Lancashire
District:	Ribble Valley
Parish:	Sawley
NGR:	SD 7764 4641
NMR No:	SD 74 NE 3
SAM/ RSM No:	23690
SMR No:	297
Date of survey:	July/August 2004
Surveyed by:	Abby Hunt, Mitchell Pollington, Christopher Dunn & Trevor Pearson
Report author:	Abby Hunt
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View of Sawley Abbey in its landscape setting (from the east)

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1. Introduction

In the summer of 2004, English Heritage carried out an archaeological investigation and survey of the area surrounding the Cistercian abbey of St Mary at Sawley in Lancashire. However, prior to the 1974 county reorganisation, the abbey lay just within the boundary of the West Riding of Yorkshire. The survey was undertaken at the request of English Heritage's Inspector of Ancient Monuments for the North-West Region (Andrew Davidson) to aid long-term management of the Scheduled area and to advance understanding of the site and its surrounding landscape. Sawley Abbey was founded in the twelfth century and was operational until the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1537, following which the church and claustral buildings were largely destroyed. The structural remains of the monastery together with a significant part of the precinct are designated as a scheduled ancient monument (RSM 23690).The abbey ruins are surrounded by a 2m high, nineteenth-century stone wall and this area of the abbey site is open to the public.

The village of Sawley is in the Ribble Valley district, some 6km to the north-east of Clitheroe (Figures 1a & 1b*)*. The abbey itself occupies a central location within the village, at National Grid Reference SD 7764 4641, just above the flood plain of the River Ribble in a broad, north-south section of the valley. To the south of the site the brooding mass of Pendle Hill forms a significant landscape feature. There are still a few parts of the abbey church and claustral buildings which survive to a significant height, but these are a small proportion of the original complement of monastic buildings and the majority of the abbey buildings have been almost entirely reduced to foundation level. One of the arches of the abbey gatehouse stands within the boundary of the East Field, to the north of the abbey ruins, but it has been rebuilt and

Figure 1a
Location map

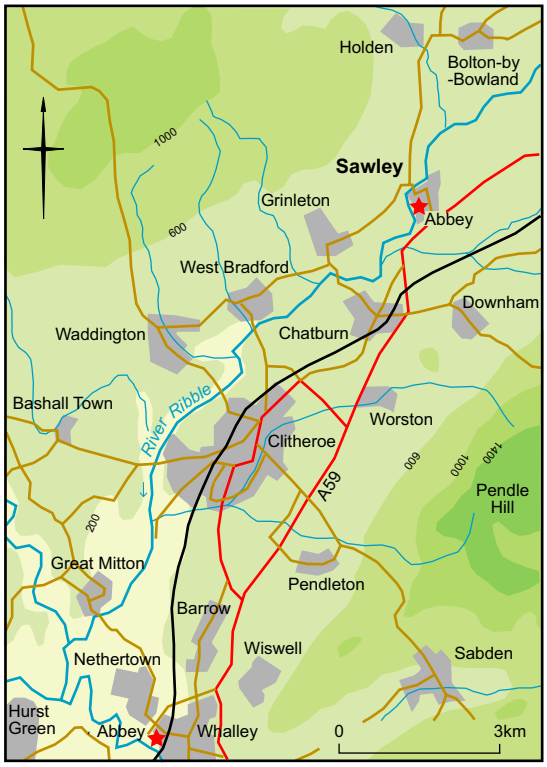

Figure 1b
Sawley Abbey and its local environs

moved on at least one occasion. Some of the buildings in Sawley village were undoubtedly constructed from stone salvaged from the abbey.

The English Heritage survey, which was undertaken between July and September 2004, covered an area of about 30 acres (12 ha). To aid the description of the site here, names have been assigned to the various parcels of land surveyed and the roads in their immediate vicinity (as labelled on Figure 2). It must be stressed that these are names created solely for the purposes of this report and are not official names. The field investigation was carried out to Level 3 standard (as defined in RCHME 1999, 3-4) and resulted in a measured plan of the earthworks at 1:1000 scale. Although the abbey buildings within the guardianship area were also recorded, the main focus of the survey was the swathe of land surrounding the abbey to the east, as well as an area of pasture across the road to the west of the abbey, which formed part of the original monastic precinct.

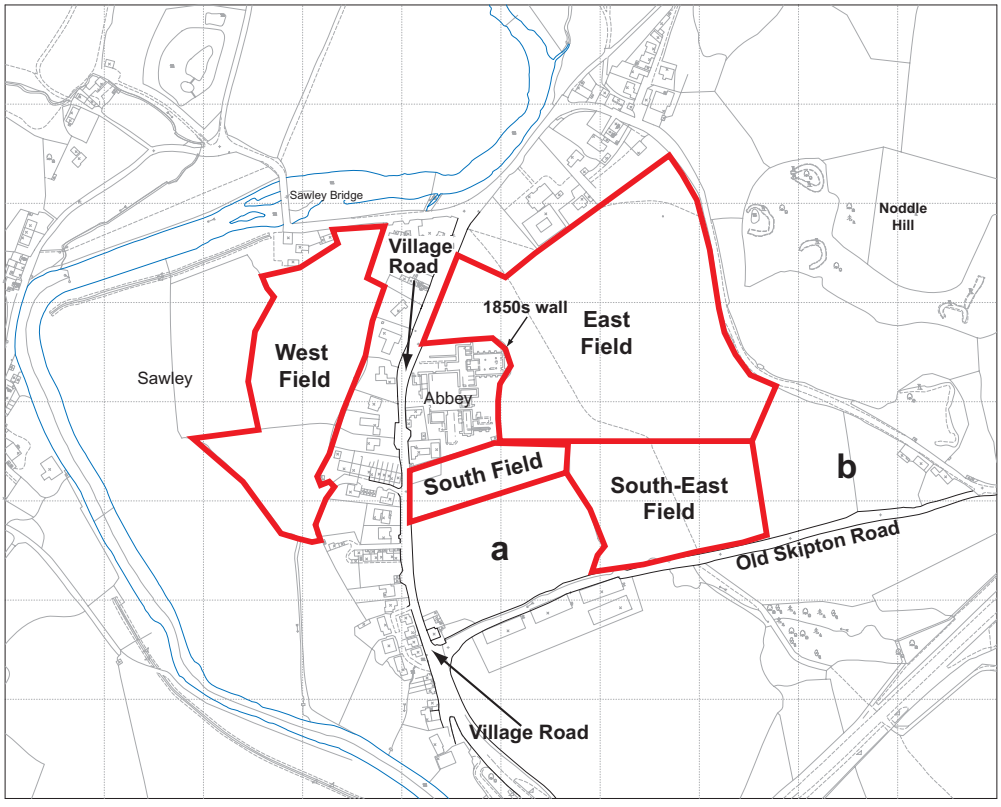

Figure 2
Map showing Sawley village labelled with field and road names used in this report. (The map base is derived from the Ordnance Survey 2003 Land-line data. © Crown copyright. All rights reserved.)

One of the principal findings of the survey is that a substantial part of the outer precinct boundary of the monastery can still be traced, and a section of the original precinct wall may still survive near the river, albeit with repairs and episodes of rebuilding. The survey has also enabled the surviving abbey buildings to be considered in their landscape context, both from the standpoint of their immediate situation within the associated precinct and also in the broader landscape. In addition the appearance and manipulation of the post-monastic landscape has been elucidated through both the field survey and the examination of the cartographic evidence. The principal elements of this later period include the creation of two farmsteads within the monastic precinct following the Dissolution and, subsequently, the creation of 'Sawley Park'.

As mentioned previously, the abbey ruins themselves are open to the public on a daily basis, at stated opening times. The land to the east of the abbey is in private ownership, but is crossed by two public footpaths. There is no public right of access to the land between the houses and the river on the western side of the main road through the village.

2. Geology, Topography and Land Use

Sawley Abbey stands just above the flood plain of the River Ribble, at approximately 74m above Ordnance Datum (AOD), on a level area of land bounded to the west by a large meander in the river. The land to the east of the abbey rises up towards the road that skirts the eastern edge of the area surveyed, which is at approximately 88m AOD, and then rises more steeply beyond to form Noddle Hill, the summit of which is at about 150m AOD. The land to the south-east and north-east of the abbey also rises, but not quite so steeply, which helps to create a natural bowl surrounding the eastern part of the site, with the level flood plain to the west.

The proximity of Sawley Abbey to the River Ribble means that the area to the west of the site consists of typical river valley geology. Directly adjacent to the Ribble, is the present river flood-plain, which is rich alluvium. The level area to the west of this, which includes 'West Field' (shown on Figure 2) and the site of the abbey itself, is an alluvial 'Second Terrace', indicating the much earlier extent of the river bed. A short distance to the east of the abbey, the level ground gives way to a natural, boulder-clay slope, which rises up to the edge of the road, which skirts this part of the site. Further east, beyond the road, where the slope steepens markedly to form Noddle Hill, the geology is predominantly Chatburn Limestone. There are former quarries on Noddle Hill, labelled as 'Old Sandstone Quarries' and 'Old Limestone Quarries', on the early editions of Ordnance Survey (OS) maps of this area (Ordnance Survey 1850 & 1886).

The agricultural land within the survey area was entirely under pasture at the time of the present survey, although some of the fields have been ploughed in the recent past. Fields 'a' and 'b' (shown on Figure 2) were omitted from the present survey as both fields were under crop at the start of the survey, making access difficult. After the crop had been harvested these fields showed no significant earthwork features. The rest of the area surveyed, which included fields to the north, east and south of the abbey and across the road to the west, have been divided up and named accordingly for ease of reference in this report (*see* Figure 2).

Although presently known as Sawley, the village and abbey have, in the past, also been known as Salley or Sallay. The derivation of this name is from the Old English '*salh*', which translates as the sallow willow and '*leah*', meaning field (Gelling 1984, 203), thus, the field of sallows. For the purposes of consistency, the name 'Sawley' will be used throughout this report.

3. History of the Site

Before the abbey

There is no record of any specific activity at the site prior to the arrival of the abbey. The Domesday Survey records two carucates of land in Sawley, at this time an outlier of the estate at Ripon, as being in the possession of the Archbishop of York (Faull and Stinson (eds) 1986, 380). In a summary of the Ripon holdings earlier in the text, the land is classified as 'waste' (Faull and Stinson (eds) 1986, 303). From this it may be inferred that the land was of no taxable value to the crown and is thus unlikely to have supported a settlement of any consequence.

The medieval abbey: 1147-1537

Late in 1147, Abbot Benedict, twelve monks and ten lay-brothers set out from the Cistercian monastery at Newminster, Northumberland, and travelled to its mother-house, Fountains Abbey. From there, they continued on to the site at 'Sallia' next to the River Ribble which was to become their home and that of their successors. The land on which Sawley Abbey was to be built had been granted by Swain, son of Swain, on the orders of his lord, William de Percy, founder of the house and Lord of Topcliffe and Spofforth. The site had been prepared in advance of the monk's arrival, and possibly included the erection of some timber buildings (McNulty (ed) 1933, 1). The initial grant of the abbey site was supplemented by other early grants to the foundation, mainly gifts of local land, including holdings in Sawley, Dudland, Rimington and Stainton (*see* Figure 3).

The first thirty years saw a gradual transformation from a group of temporary structures to a more permanent collection of buildings which formed the core of the monastery. Archaeological excavation has shown that there was a first phase of construction at the abbey between 1150 and 1160, which included a small stone church and two timber, domestic buildings (Coppack 2001, 323-326). This was followed by another phase of building in the early 1170s, suggesting a period of consolidation. In this period, the nave of the church was extended and a stone range, including a dormitory, was built, later to become the eastern claustral range. The dimensions of the dormitory suggest that the house could have accommodated 30-35 monks during this period, more than double the initial twelve monks who arrived at the site 25 years earlier. Further timber buildings were also constructed in the 1170s (Coppack 2001, 326-328). There would undoubtedly have been other building activity at this time, both close to the claustral nucleus and in the broader precinct; however, excavation has only been undertaken in specific areas, allowing positive identification of just those elements outlined above.

Following this initial period of growth and expansion, the years around 1190 saw the abbey hit crisis point and it came perilously close to closing its doors forever. The problem seems to have stemmed from an inclement climate; a twelfth-century document describes the site as '*terra nebulosa et pluviosa'* [cloudy and rainy land] (Kitson 1909, 455). This caused crops to fail and rot while still in the ground, which in turn impacted on the level of tithes

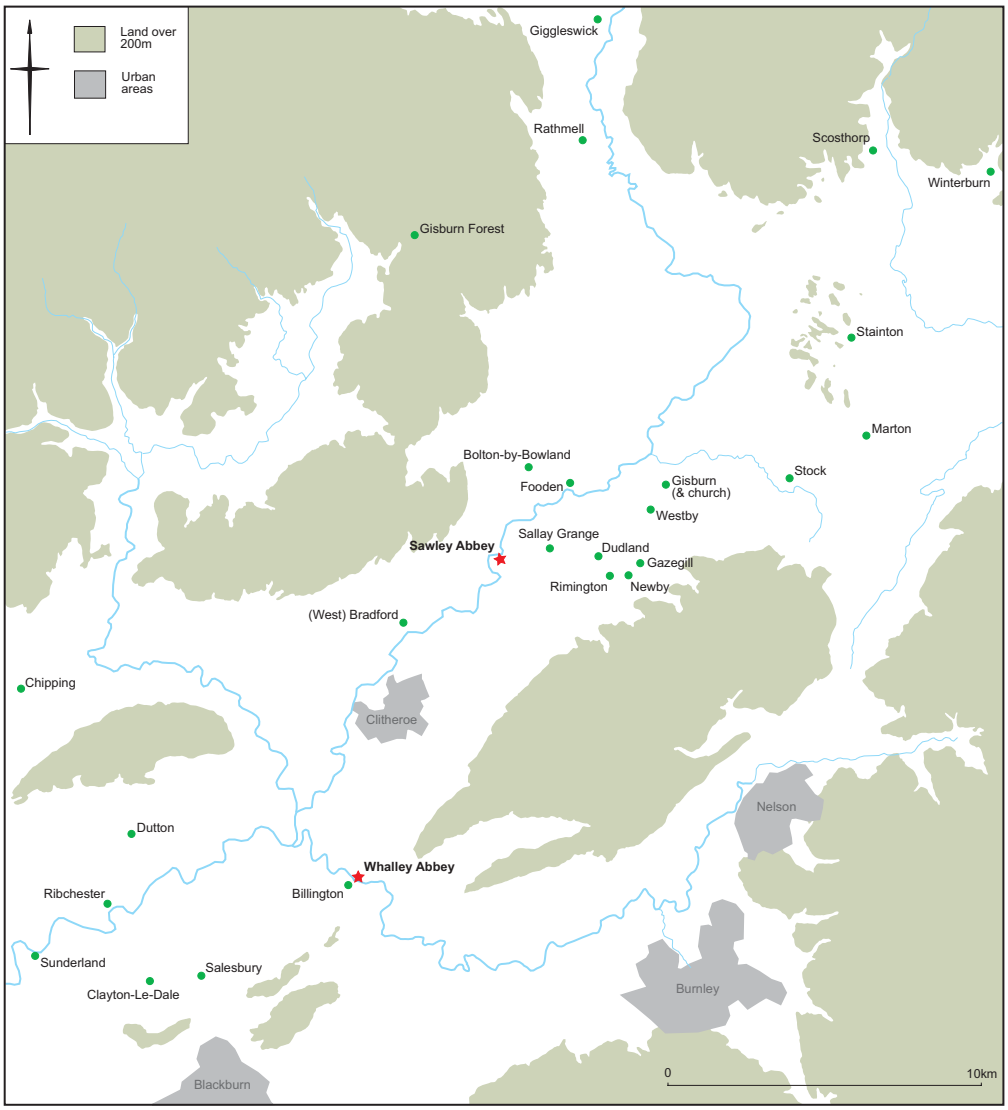

Figure 3
Map showing the majority of the possessions of Sawley Abbey, including small parcels of land, rights of way, woodland, etc.

received by the monastery from its local tenants. The situation had become so desperate that the Abbot of Clairvaux and various other visiting abbots decreed that the house should either be removed to another location or dissolved (Kitson 1909, 455). Such a drastic outcome was averted by the intervention of Matilda, Countess of Warwick (daughter of the founder William de Percy) who gifted the church of St Mary in Tadcaster with the chapel of Hazelwood, a yearly pension from the church at Newton Kyme and land at Catton, all in North Yorkshire, to Sawley Abbey (McNulty 1939, 197). This alleviated the immediate financial pressures on the house and further grants of land, including one from Matilda's sister, Agnes, served to improve the future prospects of Sawley Abbey.

This injection of capital into the monastery enabled a third phase of construction to be undertaken, lasting from around 1190 to 1210. The cloister was finally completed with a refectory for the monks forming a major part of the north range, the insertion of the southern range for the lay-brothers and a separate dwelling for the abbot (Coppack 2001, 328-333).

Despite the respite from financial pressures and the flurry of building activity at the end of the twelfth century, Sawley never flourished to the extent that some of its contemporaries

did. The insufficient natural resources of Sawley Abbey were further strained when they acquired an unwelcome neighbour in 1296; the Cistercian foundation at Stanlaw, Cheshire, was moved to a site at Whalley, just over 11km south-west of Sawley. This provoked the monks of Sawley to compile a list of grievances relating to the proximity of the new community, including the rising prices of timber and provisions and their ability to have the first pick of the salmon from the river (Kitson 1909, 455; Mitchell 2004, 29). The dispute was not settled until *c*1305 (Coppack 2001, 25). These problems were compounded by the raiding activities of the Scots, who burned and despoiled a number of Sawley's possessions.

Further grants from various benefactors shored up Sawley's finances and enabled it to survive the turbulent times. Records show that in 1381, despite the Black Death having taken hold only 30 or so years earlier, the community still numbered 15 monks and 2 lay-brothers (Knowles and Hadcock 1953, 114). Excavation has confirmed that further structural works and alterations were ongoing in the fourteenth century. The church was extensively remodelled in this period, with the demolition of a large part of the nave and the extension and enlargement of the presbytery. The west range of the cloister was also altered during this phase of works (Coppack 2001, 333-335).

The records do not reveal a great deal about the abbey buildings and estate between the late fourteenth century and the end of the fifteenth century. However, one very important document does survive, the abbey's *compotus* (household book). This was originally believed to date to 1381 (Whitaker 1878, 68), but subsequent study has revealed that in fact it dates to 1481 (McNulty 1939, 200). The document contains the abbey's detailed financial records for that year and calculations based on these suggest that the house had around 30 monks and more than 40 servants at this date (Walbran 1852, 73; Whitaker 1878, 68). According to the entries, the abbey was paying a carpenter, a tiler and their respective apprentices a regular wage. They were also selling wool, animals, trees, oats and receiving an income from various farms, tithes and a tannery (Harland 1853, 24-32). This gives a clear picture of the mixed economy, with a bias towards pasture, operating at the abbey in the late fifteenth century.

The value of the possessions of Sawley Abbey, according to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1536, was £147 3*s* 10*d*, putting it in the band of lesser houses, with revenue below £200, targeted in the initial wave of suppression (Page (ed) 1913, 157). The community is estimated to have numbered 21 monks on the eve of the Dissolution (Knowles and Hadcock 1953, 114). The order for the closure of Sawley Abbey came in the first half of 1536; the abbot and his monks were awarded pensions and prepared to leave the establishment.

However, the end of monastic life at Sawley Abbey was by no means a simple, straightforward affair. Unhappy to accept their fate, the monks and numerous local men became embroiled in the infamous Pilgrimage of Grace. This was a revolt against Henry VIII's decision to suppress the monasteries, which had its epicentre in northern England. The rebels, who frequently reinstated the monks dispossessed of their monasteries by royal edict, appear to have initially been drawn from the ranks of local commoners. On 12 October 1536 a

group of some 300 men gathered to reinstate the monks of Sawley Abbey. Within three days, the local force was estimated to have risen to 3000 men; across the north of England, the eventual figure peaked at between 40000 and 50000 men (Moorhouse 2002, 108-9). A song, known as the 'Sawley Ballad', which was adopted by the rebels as a marching song, is very likely to have been written by a monk from Sawley (Moorhouse 2002, 118-9). Due to the number of insurgents that Henry VIII's men had to deal with and the geographical scale of the rising, it took time for matters to come to a head at Sawley, giving the monks a four month stay of execution. The Duke of Norfolk arrived at Sawley Abbey on 13 February 1537 with an order for the monks to leave, which they complied with immediately, the anticipated resistance never materialising. Most of the monks involved escaped punishment, but a more serious fate awaited the abbot of Sawley, Thomas Bolton, and another monk, Richard Estgate; both are believed to have been executed for their part in the uprising (Moorhouse 2002, 316-319).

The post-monastic period: 1537 onwards

Following the Dissolution, Sawley Abbey and its estates were granted to Sir Arthur Darcy, the man who had agreed a clandestine deal with Henry VIII to acquire the site and its lands at the very start of 1536, despite the suppression not having been fully executed at this point (Moorhouse 2002, 107-8). By the 1560s, the abbey and its possessions had passed down from Arthur to his son, Henry Darcy (Harland 1853, 49).

Although the ownership of the abbey and its estates is not documented between the 1560s and the early seventeenth century, it seems likely that the lands stayed in the Darcy family. Records show that Sir James Hay was created Baron of Sawley around 1615, indicating that he was in possession of the abbey and its estates at this date; he was later made Earl of Carlisle and is remembered for his extravagance and as a 'vain and profuse man' (Harland 1853, 49). He appears to have spent little, if any, time at Sawley and is reported to have 'lived in leased or borrowed houses' throughout his career (Schreiber 2004). The lands passed via his son to his granddaughter, Margaret, the sole heir of the family estates, who was married to the Earl of Warwick.

By the start of the nineteenth century, Sawley had been acquired by the Weddell family. Jeffery's map of Yorkshire, dating to 1772, records the Weddells as owners of Waddow Hall (*see* below, Section 5), to the north-west of Clitheroe, which they acquired at the end of the seventeenth century. On the death of William Weddell, the new owner of Sawley Abbey and its estates was Lord Grantham. Born Thomas Philip Robinson, Grantham acceded to the Baronetcy of Grantham at the age of five, and became Earl de Grey of Wrest and Baron Lucas of Crudwell in 1833. Under the ownership of Earl de Grey, around 1850, extensive clearance of the church and claustral area was undertaken and the fabric analysed (*see* below). At some time after this work, the wall which still stands today was erected around the abbey ruins (Coppack *et al* 2002, 28). The earldom was inherited by his nephew George Frederick Samuel Robinson, who was made Marquis of Ripon in 1871 (Coppack *et al* 2002, 26). By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Robinson not only owned Sawley Abbey and its estates, but also Fountains Abbey, North Yorkshire. He pursued an active, London-

based political career, but had great fondness for his estate at Studley Royal in North Yorkshire (which included Fountains Abbey), where he is buried (Denholm 2004). The Sawley estate was subsequently purchased by J E Fattorini, of Bradford, in 1934. It was Mr Fattorini who entrusted the abbey buildings to the government's Office of Works.

The ruins of the abbey buildings were placed under the guardianship of the Secretary of State in 1951 and remain thus today (DCMS 1996). Although English Heritage retains overall responsibility for the site as the government's heritage agency, the day-to-day management of the site is undertaken by the Heritage Trust for the North West, an agreement dating from 1995.

4. History of Research

Sawley Abbey has attracted the interest of a number scholars over the centuries, and the site has seen various campaigns of excavation and clearance. The focus of this work has generally been the standing remains and the claustral area, with little consideration of the broader monastic landscape.

Excavation of the church and cloister and analysis of the standing fabric was first undertaken around 1850, when the site was under the ownership of Earl de Grey. This exploration consisted of an extensive and thorough clearance of the site rather than an excavation in the modern sense; de Grey's agent ordered the tenant farmer 'to employ a number of poor persons, out of work, in excavating within the church' (Harland 1853, 56). A plan based on the evidence uncovered by this work was drawn and is reproduced in later publications (Kitson 1909, facing 457). The findings were written up by J Harland and also presented as a paper by J Walbran; the bulk of their interest and description is focused on the architectural remains, but mention is also made of the broader setting of the abbey and some of the precinct features (Walbran 1852; Harland 1853). Walbran refers to a close of some 50 acres (*c* 20 ha*)* surrounding the abbey, which had been cleared 'of the hovels and straggling fences with which it has long been encumbered', as well as referring to an old wall and gatehouses associated with the precinct (Walbran 1852, 75).

In the 1930s, Mr Fattorini followed the example of his predecessor and commissioned a further programme of clearance. However, this was abandoned due to the outbreak of the Second World War and was never completed. More work was apparently undertaken in the 1950s, but there is no record of this (Coppack *et al* 2002, 22).

The most recent campaign of excavation at Sawley Abbey was carried out between 1977 and 1984. The main focus of this work was the southern part of the cloister. The excavations identified the foundations of a series of timber buildings, dated to the foundation and early phases of the monastery (Coppack *et al* 2002). The main phases of construction have been outlined above in the previous section. As well as an analysis of the excavated features relating to the church, the precinct is also briefly considered in the report by Coppack *et al* (2002).

In addition to attracting academic interest, the charming location of Sawley Abbey, nestling on the banks of the River Ribble in the shadow of Pendle Hill, proved to be a draw for eminent artists from the eighteenth century onwards. The abbey ruins were portrayed by Samuel Buck in 1721. The stylised nature of the abbey's depiction makes it difficult to correlate the features in the engraving with the extant remains, although the distinctive silhouette of Pendle Hill is easily identifiable in the background. Almost 100 years later, in 1816, J M W Turner also took Sawley as a subject and produced a series of four sketches - two of the abbey itself, one including the bridge and one including the River Ribble. These are very faint and it is difficult to discern any recognisable detail. The sketches, made in

pencil on paper and contained in ‘Yorkshire 2 Sketchbook’, are held in the Tate Collection (accessible at http://www.tate.org.uk/servlet/).

5. Cartographic Evidence

A search of readily accessible archives by English Heritage has not produced any early maps of the specific area around Sawley Abbey itself. However, a general map of Yorkshire - Jeffery's Map of 1772 - depicts a settlement called 'Sawley Abby'. The map shows the settlement and the pattern of the roads approaching it. Although the depiction on the map is somewhat schematic, it suggests that there were two roads running through the settlement, enclosing a rectilinear area. Comparison with more recent maps is difficult, but it would appear that the road which passes through the village today is shown, together with a further road following a similar course a short distance to the west, in close proximity to the river. The likelihood is that the latter ran outside the monastic precinct, skirting the wall which is still extant in West Field (labelled on Figure 2). It is interesting to note that, on this map, unlike today, there is no road leading away from Sawley in a north-easterly direction.

Various historical accounts of the abbey are somewhat vague about the detail of who owned the abbey and its estate in the eighteenth-century. However, Jeffery's map depicts and names all the large houses in the area, along with the owner's family name. There is no large house indicated in 'Sawley Abby' village at this time, but the map records that Waddow Hall, near Clitheroe, was owned by 'Weddell Esqr'. It is known that the abbey was in the possession of the Weddell family in the early nineteenth-century (*see* Section 3), so it seems that, with the family's seat in this area being so close at hand, they are likely to have been the owners of Sawley Abbey by at least the 1770s.

The first map to show the abbey within its precinct and wider landscape setting in any details is the Ordnance Survey (OS) First Edition 1:10560 scale map, surveyed in 1847 (Ordnance Survey 1850; Figure 4). This map shows a schematic depiction of the surviving abbey church and the outline of the cloister garth, which is labelled 'Sawley Abbey (in

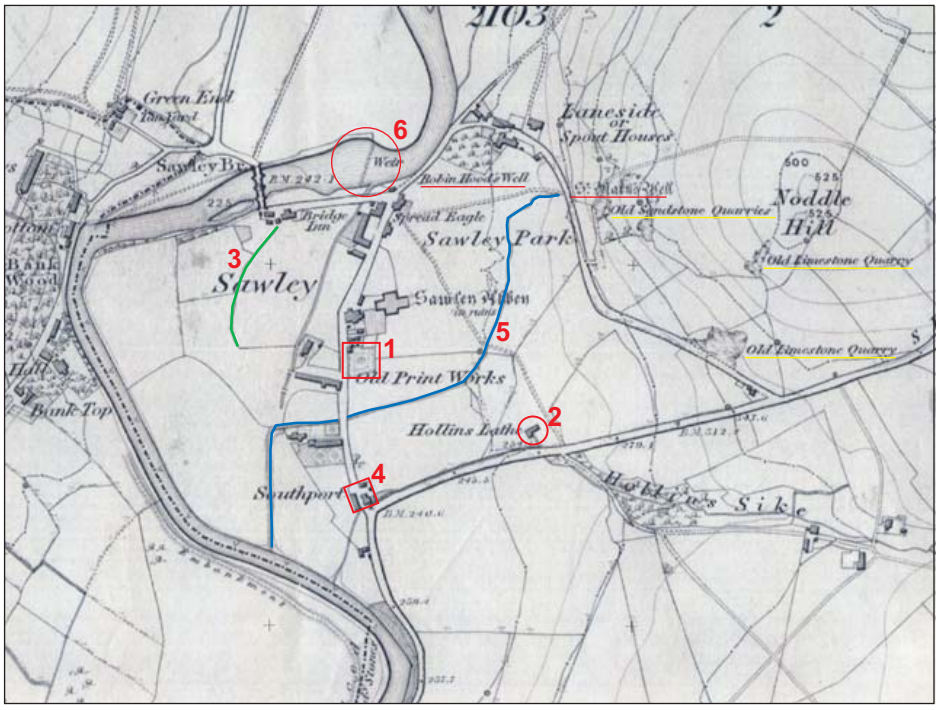

Figure 4 Annotated First Edition Ordnance Survey map of Sawley showing features referred to in the text. Reproduced from the 1850 Ordnance Survey map (not to scale).

ruins)'. To the south-west of the cloister is a small square enclosure (Figure 4, 1) within which there appears to be a depiction of some detail, possibly a central circle with dots surrounding it. There is also detail shown within the cloister garth itself. It appears that what are being shown are garden compartments with organised, formal planting. Similar garden compartments within Sawley village are illustrated alongside the range of buildings known as 'Cowper Place' (labelled on the 1884 OS map, *see* Figure 5) and close to the Spread Eagle public house. There was no wall surrounding the abbey ruins at this date.

The area to the north-east of the abbey is labelled 'Sawley Park', while the land to the south and south-east of the abbey is divided up into fields. A building is shown in this area, labelled 'Hollins Lathe' (Figure 4, 2). Within the field to the west of 'Village Road' (labelled on Figure 2) is a curved field boundary (Figure 4, 3) which broadly correlates with the high stone wall, believed by English Heritage to be the abbey precinct boundary, which still survives today. To the south of the abbey site, at the junction of the road through the village with the 'Old Skipton Road' (labelled on Figure 2), is a small square area with several structures depicted within it, called 'Southport' (Figure 4, 4). The element 'port' clearly suggesting that at some date there was a formal gateway or entrance at this location, possibly one of the abbey's gatehouses.

Also annotated on this edition of the OS map are two wells in the vicinity of the abbey. 'St Mary's Well' is labelled to the north-east of the abbey and, although no definite point for its location is shown, a watercourse (Figure 4, 5) is depicted issuing from close to the annotation which almost certainly indicates the source of the well. The typeface used for the name is the OS standard for an antiquity of Norman date or later (Oliver 1991, 114), a style also used for the abbey itself, suggesting that the OS considered that the two were connected. To the west of this is the annotation 'Robin Hood's Well', which does not appear to relate to any specific place and is in the standard typeface, which suggests that it was not thought to be of historical interest or of any great antiquity. Situated a short distance to the north of both of these wells is a small group of structures called 'Laneside or Spout Houses', the latter name suggesting an association with the water supply in this area. The map also shows that in the 1840s there was still a weir in existence across the River Ribble (Figure 4, 6), directing water into the mill race which flowed through 'West Field' (labelled on Figure 2).

The 1847 OS map also shows three areas of quarrying on the western and southern sides of Noddle Hill, two labelled 'Old Limestone Quarry ' and one 'Old Sandstone Quarries'. The fact that these quarries are described as 'old' suggests that they were out of use and considered to be of some antiquity by the 1840s; perhaps they were the source of at least some of the stone used in the various phases of the abbey's construction.

A subsequent edition of the OS map, at the larger 1:2500 scale, was surveyed in 1884 and shows further changes to the abbey and its surrounding landscape (Ordnance Survey 1886; Figure 5). In the immediate vicinity of the abbey, a wall is shown, surrounding the claustral ruins and abbey church. This was not shown on the 1847 map and is the wall erected at the time of the 1850s clearance works. The plan of the abbey is much more detailed on the

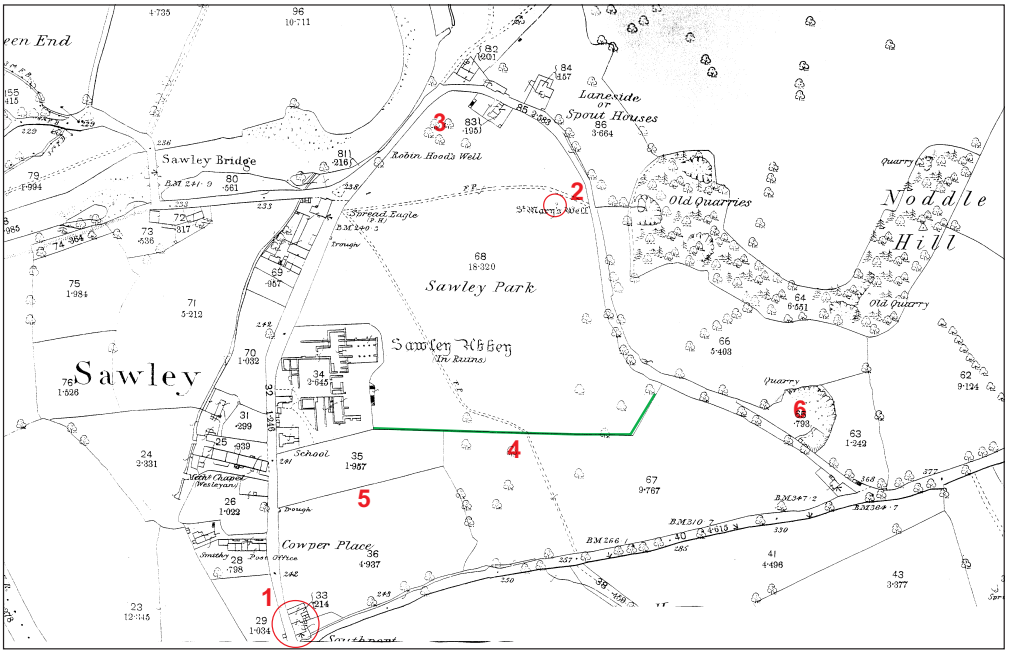

Figure 5 Annotated version of the Ordnance Survey map of Sawley surveyed in 1884, showing features referred to in the text. Reproduced from the 1886 Ordnance Survey map (not to scale).

1884 map, presumably as a result of the information recovered during the clearance works. Also, within the walled area of the abbey there is now a school shown, which occupies the south-western corner of the square garden compartment first shown on the 1847 map (*see* above).

A comparison between the 1847 and 1884 maps also indicates that by the later date changes had also occurred in the area around the Southport. The courtyard arrangement has been altered, with three plots on the eastern side of the road and only a very small structure, possibly part of an entrance arch, on the west (Figure 5, 1).

The weir on the Ribble is not shown on the 1884 map, an indication that it had been dismantled or washed away by this date. While the exact position of Robin Hood's Well is still unclear, this later map now, marks the exact location for St Mary's Well, which corroborates quite well with the modern position of the wellhead (Figure 5, 2).

In terms of the broader landscape, the 1884 map shows that by this date a number of the field boundaries shown on the 1847 map had been altered. The area defined as 'Sawley Park', which broadly corresponds to 'East Field' (shown on Figure 2), appears to have been 'tidied up' somewhat by 1884; buildings depicted opposite the Spread Eagle public house on the earlier map are not shown and the boundary enclosing a small area of woodland at the north end of the park had also gone (Figure 5, 3). Other changes include the removal of a field boundary adjoining the northern transept of the church and the insertion of a boundary extending from the south-eastern corner of the wall which surrounded the abbey (Figure 5, 4). To the south of this latter boundary, the western part of the area has been cleared of boundaries by 1884 and the eastern part remained as two small fields, but with more regular boundaries than were shown on the previous map (Figure 5, 5). Sawley Park is discussed in more detail in Section 7 below.

Most of the old quarries depicted on the 1847 map are also shown on the 1884 map. The main difference being that the most southerly of the old limestone quarries may have been re-opened sometimes between the preparation of the maps and was in use again by 1884, as it is now simply labelled as 'Quarry'; on the 1847 map it was 'Old Limestone Quarry' (Figure 5, 6). A further small quarry is shown on the 1884 map, on the north-eastern side of the crest of Noddle Hill, which is not on the 1847 map, indicating that it had started to be exploited in the intervening years.

By comparing maps from the last 150 years or so, it is easy to see how the village has evolved. Prior to the 1970s, there were few houses in the area opposite the abbey ruins, with the number of buildings remaining static between 1847 and 1955. However, by 2003, the latest edition of the OS map shows that the whole of the central section of the village along the western side of the main through-route (Village Road) has been in-filled with houses (Ordnance Survey 2003). In terms of the modern land divisions within the area of the monastic precinct, there are few differences from the arrangement shown on the 1884 map. The most significant change being the addition of an eastern boundary to create the present South-East Field and the sub-division of the land immediately to the east of this to form two additional small fields (Figure 2, area 'b').

6. Description and Analysis of the Field Remains

The English Heritage analytical field survey of Sawley Abbey has recorded a multi-period landscape, which displays evidence of activity from the early twelfth century until the present day. The remains can be divided into broad chronological groups with phasing based mainly on stratigraphic relationships between features observed in the field, supported by documentary sources, particularly the cartographic evidence relating to the later development of the site. The survey found no evidence for pre-medieval remains and therefore the first earthwork phase relates to the period of the medieval abbey.

The survey recorded substantial evidence of parts of the outer monastic precinct boundary, which has allowed its whole course to be hypothesised with confidence. The boundary originally enclosed an area of approximately 40 acres (16 ha) and would probably have been defined by a large stone wall for at for at least half its length. This feature is discussed in detail in section 6.1.1. The area within the outer precinct boundary is the most extensive part of the area surveyed, and this is discussed with reference to the medieval features in section 6.1.The evolution of the abbey and its outer precinct following the Dissolution is not widely documented, but the findings of this survey, supported by cartographic evidence, have helped to bridge this gap. The field evidence for this period is analysed in section 6.2.

While the earthwork survival is good in places, a significant amount of above ground evidence relating to the monastery has undoubtedly been lost, most obviously a swathe through the middle of the precinct where Sawley village, and its associated thoroughfare, has developed.

The survey plan is included here as Figure 6 (at the back of this report) and reduced extracts of this are included alongside various sections of text as appropriate; the location of these extracts is shown together on a reduced version of the survey plan (Figure 7).

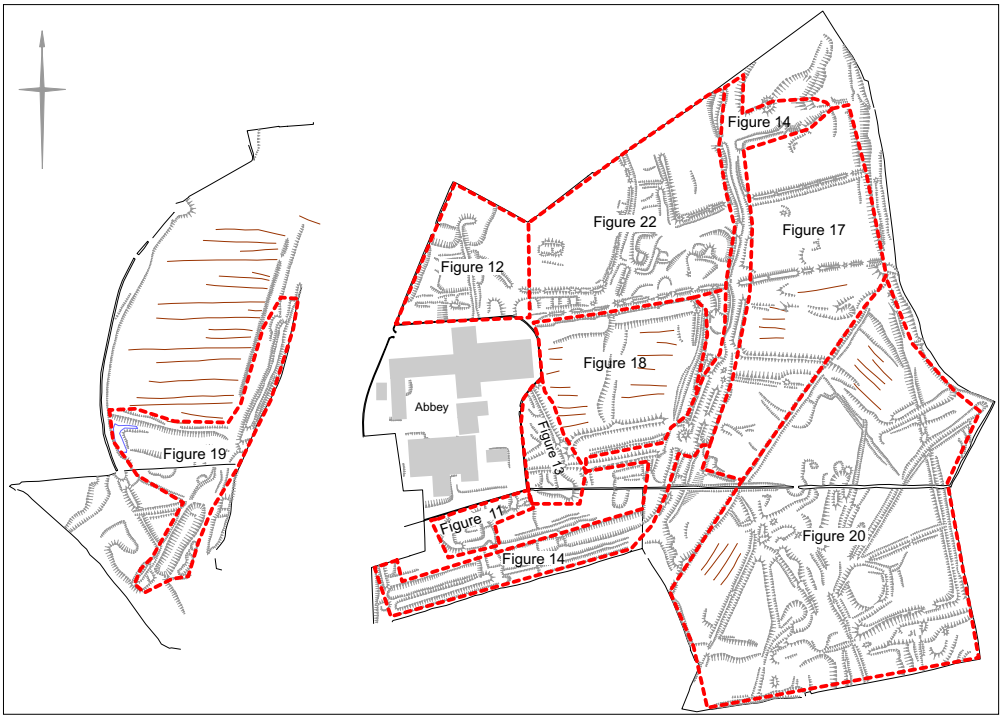

Figure 7 Annotated and reduced version of the English Heritage survey plan showing the location of extracts used in Section 6

Throughout this section the road and field names used are those assigned by English Heritage for ease of description in this report (labelled on Figure 2).

6.1 The medieval abbey 1147-1537 (Figures 8-19)

To a greater extent, life in the Middle Ages revolved around the two most powerful institutions of the day – the Church and the Crown. The influence and power of the Church reached new heights in the thirteenth century, with monastic life flourishing and a growing web of religious houses across the country. Many of these monasteries had become substantial landowners by the sixteenth century. The effect of a religious house on the secular community, economy and landscape in its vicinity was substantial, and in many cases, evidence of changes to the latter are still visible today. The effects on the landscape would not have been restricted to the initial construction of the monastery itself, but would also have included the imposition of a new infrastructure, or the manipulation of an existing one, to suit the monastic community. Roads, watercourses and field boundaries may all have been constructed or altered to allow the monks better access and control over their land and resources. Evidence of the provision of such an infrastructure can still, to some extent, be traced on the ground at Sawley and in the cartographic record.

6.1.1 The precinct boundary

Arguably, a monastery's most important landholding was the one immediately surrounding the abbey buildings, the monastic precinct. It was important to define this area in such a way that made control and ownership clear when viewed externally. It also served the purpose of separating the secular world from the monastic world. Many precincts were thus surrounded by an earthen bank at the very least, or, more often than not, by a stone wall. The broader, outer precinct may have had a further division within it, defining an inner precinct, containing the church and claustral complex – the spiritual core of the monastery. The precinct boundary will be described here in an anti-clockwise direction, starting at the west, and is shown in Figure 8a.

The outer precinct

The west side

The clearest and most prominent surviving section of the outer precinct boundary at Sawley is in West Field, where it still forms the present western field boundary. A curving, earthwork bank can be traced for some distance, approximately two-thirds of which is topped by a stone wall, with parts surviving in excess of 2m high in the northern half of the field (Figure 8b). The height of the wall sets it apart from other field walls in the area; had it been solely for the purpose of retaining livestock, there would have been no need to build it so high. With a width approaching 1m in places, it is too broad to be an ordinary field wall; the latter would be more likely to be in the region of 0.6m wide. Whilst the wall shows some evidence of rebuilding, it is clearly of some antiquity, possibly dating to at least the latter part of monastic occupation at Sawley. The modern field pattern does not incorporate the line of the precinct boundary to the south, but its course survives as an earthwork bank in the southern part of West Field.

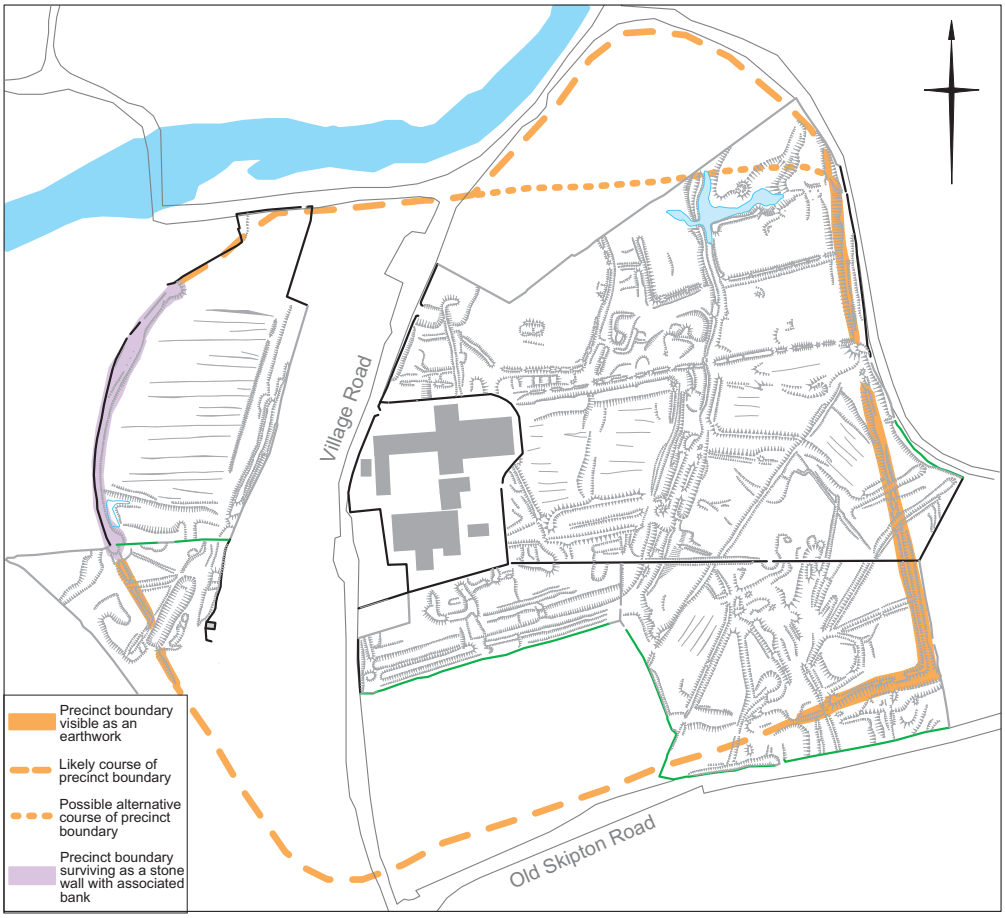

Figure 8a Reduced and annotated version of the English Heritage survey plan showing the course of the monastery's outer precinct boundary

The earthwork bank gradually peters out in the middle of the southern part of West Field. This leaves a gap in the projected course of the outer precinct boundary, the most likely explanation for which is that the earthwork survival here has not been so good and that the feature has been obliterated by agricultural activity over the years. However, the rear property boundaries of the houses at the southern end of the village, to the west of Village Road, pick up the course of the boundary's curve. The course of the present boundaries thus appears to fossilise the course of the monastic precinct boundary. The curve of these boundaries appears to be heading towards 'Southport' (*see* Sections 5, 6.1.2 and Figures 4 & 5).

Figure 8b The stone wall defining the western edge of West Field, beieved to originally have formed part of the monastic precinct boundary

The south side

At Southport the precinct boundary probably continued in a roughly east-west direction on the northern side of the Old Skipton Road. There is now no evidence of the boundary in Field 'a', but this is presumably because it has been extensively ploughed. However, to the east of the footpath which bisects South-East Field, there is a very strong 'L'-shaped earthwork bank which must be the south-east corner of the precinct. The western arm of the feature, although only occupying about half of the length of the field, may well originally have extended further, but it appears that the post-monastic activity in this area and wear from the footpath have obliterated it. The likelihood is that the precinct boundary ran parallel to the Old Skipton Road, from Southport, where one of the abbey gatehouses was probably located (*see* below), extending through Field 'a' and across most of the southern part of South-East Field.

The east side

The precinct boundary bank turns through ninety degrees to run north near the south-eastern corner of South-East Field parallel with the modern field boundary, thus forming the northern side of the precinct. This part of the bank continues on the same alignment into East Field. It is cut by a relatively recent stone field wall separating South-East Field and East Field, but continues for more than 100m to the north of the wall. Other later activity has somewhat fragmented this section of the feature, but its course can still be traced confidently along the eastern edge of East Field. Beyond this section, the boundary feature changes from a bank to a steep slope which continues up to a point just to the north of St Mary's Well before merging into the wall bounding the west side of the road to the east of the survey area, as it curves to the north-west.

The north side

Physical evidence of the boundary defining the northern side of the precinct no longer survives and has probably been partly masked by the modern development of this part of the village. However, the River Ribble forms a natural boundary to the north and may well have formed the northern limit of the precinct. This was a common practice, as monasteries often used natural features, such as rivers, as part of their principal boundaries, for example, Rievaulx, Tintern and Kirkstall Abbeys (*see* Aston 2000, 109, for plans).

The inner precinct

Unlike the outer precinct boundary, there is now little convincing evidence for the survival of an inner precinct boundary. The normal position of such a boundary is close to the claustral complex, enclosing the spiritual hub of the house. At Sawley, the expansion of the modern village and Village Road has obliterated any evidence of such a boundary to the west of the abbey. The wall, which was constructed in the 1850s and encloses the abbey ruins, is immediately eye-catching when looking at the site today and may be thought to be sited on the course of the inner precinct boundary. However, this is not the case, as there are further structures adjacent to the outside of the wall which appear to have been part of the main building complex. An earthwork boundary further out into East Field might be expected, but

the likelihood is that any significant earthwork remains in this area have been flattened by post-Dissolution agricultural activity and later land use.

6.1.2 Routeways

The main evidence for the layout of the routeways which served Sawley Abbey is the eighteenth-century depiction on Jeffery's 1772 map of Yorkshire, which is likely to be fairly close to the pattern of roads during the monastic period. The scale of the map makes it difficult to be sure of the exact position of features, and it appears that the course of the river has gradually altered since this map was surveyed, with the meanders becoming more pronounced as the river has aged. However, the principal difference between the roads on this map and the present day layout is the existence of a road to the west of the abbey, much closer to the river than Village Road is today. It is likely that this road was following the course of the outer precinct boundary. The existence of a road just beyond the western side of the precinct is also noted by Walbran in his nineteenth-century description of the site and he observed that it would have 'communicated more immediately with the bridge than the present road' (Walbran 1852, 75). The roads depicted to the north and north-east of the abbey on Jeffery's map appear to be much the same as they are today.

The present road situated at the northern end of the village follows a straight course between the Spread Eagle public house (where it joins Village Road) and the bridge which crosses the River Ribble. There is a right-angled bend at the road's western end to allow it to cross the bridge. The age of this road and its relationship to the monastic precinct is open to discussion. No above-ground evidence for the course of the outer precinct boundary survives in this area and it is possible that the river was used to provide a natural boundary. This would mean that the road lies within the former precinct and is thus unlikely to have medieval origins because indiscriminate access to the precinct would surely not have been permitted. But, given the strength of the precinct boundary elsewhere at Sawley, a man-made wall here seems a much more likely proposition. This wall may have been situated immediately south of the present road with the latter occupying the space between it and the river. The road could thus have medieval origins; its straightness and relationship to the bridge may mean that it succeeded an earlier route along the valley which was moved nearer to the river to provide both space for the precinct and also to ensure that traffic using the bridge was forced around the outside of the precinct. The current bridge dates to about 1800, although earlier remains have been noted but not elaborated on (Listed Building no. 183471), and may well be near or on the site of a much earlier river crossing consisting of either a bridge or just a ford (the present river bed is both wide and relatively shallow at this point). If this is indeed a former medieval river crossing, then there may well have been a monastic gatehouse adjacent to it at the north-west corner of the outer precinct, although there is now no above-ground evidence left for such a structure.

The Old Skipton Road, also appears to have been sited just outside the southern side of the monastic precinct. Today, the road is no longer a public highway and is now little more than a roughly-surfaced farm track. However, it was formerly the route from Skipton to Clitheroe, which has since been superseded by the modern A59, a short distance to the south. Old

Skipton Road joins Village Road close to the Southport, where it was probably joined by Jeffery's road which lay outside the precinct to the west. This would consequently have been an important point in the perimeter of the precinct, which adds weight to the theory that one of the abbey's gatehouses was located here (*see* Section 6.1.3). A green lane joins Old Skipton Road from the south, about halfway along. It is likely to mark a route of some antiquity which was also contemporary with the abbey. A small watercourse, Hollins Syke, also comes up to Old Skipton Road from the south and then turns west along the edge of the road, presumably to flow into the River Ribble.

The route along the south bank of the river at the northern end of the village is continued beyond the Spread Eagle by Village Road which, close to the probable north-east corner of the outer precinct, diverges from the river and heads in a north-easterly direction away from the abbey up the side of the valley. This is now a minor road and may never have been a major route, although there are a number of deeply incised hollow ways close to it on the valley side, which probably relate to earlier courses of this road.

Another road which is still in use branches off from the eastern end of Old Skipton Road, and follows a sinuous, north-westerly route towards the group of houses situated at the north-east end of the village. The road defines the eastern edge of East Field and area 'b'. The straighter, northern part of this road is defined by a stone wall, and there is evidence that the original course of the road may have been slightly to the west of the current route and the stone wall. The precinct boundary here is defined by a steep slope, rather than by a bank as seen elsewhere. Between the top of the slope and the stone wall adjacent to the road is a level area, generally less than 10m wide. However, a linear depression in excess of 40m long was recorded during the present survey within this area. The most likely interpretation of this feature is that it is a hollow way, created by the former course of the road. It is unlikely to have been the site of a building; the length of the feature makes this a less likely interpretation.

Today, the primary route through Sawley village is Village Road. This would not have been a general thoroughfare in the Middle Ages as ordinary traffic would not have been allowed to freely pass through the abbey's precinct, unless it had specific business at the monastery. It is possible, however, that the course of Village Road fossilises the route of a purely monastic service road within the precinct. In this respect, it is interesting to note that Village Road follows the same curving course as the western side of the precinct boundary. If Village Road had been a wholly modern imposition, then there would be no need for it to follow this curving course, which suggests that it is aligned on a feature which was to some degree contemporary with the abbey. The other possibility is that it may in fact be re-establishing a route which was in existence prior to the foundation of the monastery and was closed or moved at the establishment of the latter. This may be the origin of the route around the outer precinct to the west.

6.1.3 Gatehouses

Entry into the monastic precinct was strictly controlled in order to achieve the seclusion from secular life that the order required. This control was exercised through the insertion of

a gatehouse, or gatehouses, into the precinct's perimeter boundary. It was not unusual for monasteries to have more than one gatehouse; for example, the monastery at Christ Church, Canterbury, is known to have had six (Fergusson 1990, 48).

Although no physical remains of Sawley Abbey's gatehouses survive, other sources of evidence give a good indication of their possible location. There certainly seems to have been one gatehouse at the south-western corner of the precinct, suggested by the Southport name which appears on the 1847 OS map. The map also shows a courtyard and a number of buildings in association with the name. Another gatehouse was probably located at the north-western corner of the precinct, adjacent to the bridge over the Ribble. This would have allowed the monks to maintain a tight control of the flow of traffic across the river and access to the river crossing and the estates beyond.

The arch which has been re-erected in the field boundary of East Field, adjacent to Village Road, may have originally been part of one of the abbey's gatehouses (Figure 9a). It formerly straddled Village Road, to the south of The Spread Eagle public house. There was a second arch which stood parallel to the first (Figure 9b), but this was demolished by a lorry in the early 1950s (Clitheroe Advertiser & Times, 1952). The pair of arches is first depicted on OS mapping in the early 1900s, but is not shown on the 1847 First Edition, despite a newspaper article of 1934 asserting that they had been built 100 years previously (Manchester Guardian, 28 Sep 1934). Although the exact date of the re-building of the pair of arches is unclear, their position across Village Road certainly dates to the post-medieval period. The likelihood is that they originally stood either at Southport, or possibly close to the bridge, the probable site of the other gatehouse.

An earlier survey of the site suggested that there was a gatehouse towards the eastern end of the southern precinct boundary, adjacent to the Old Skipton Road (Coppack *et al* 2002, 27-8). Again, there is no structural evidence for this on the ground, but a path, which was in existence by 1847, enters South-East Field at this point. There is an earthwork bank, of about 75m in length, which may represent the earlier course of the path. The route of the track is continued outside the precinct to the south-east by a green lane, suggesting that there may originally have been a direct approach from this direction at least to the Old Skipton Road, if not to the monastic precinct itself. While this cannot be dismissed as the site of a gatehouse, the two previously discussed locations would have offered the monastery better control of more significant routeways.

Figure 9a (left) The reconstructed arch in the wall of East Field today. Figure 9b (right) An early twentieth-century photograph of the pair of arches in their previous location, across Village Road. Original print held in Clitheroe Local Studies Library.

6.1.4 The abbey buildings

In order to provide as complete a plan as possible, the present survey recorded the outline of the standing buildings and the reconstructed elements of the abbey's claustral ruins; these have received much attention in previous campaigns of research at Sawley (e.g. Walbran 1852, Kitson 1909, Coppack *et al* 2002) so the detail will be summarised here. More attention will, however, be focused on the structures associated with the abbey that are believed to survive below ground to the north, south and east of the main ruins. There are no surviving remains of monastic buildings to the west of the claustral nucleus due to the expansion of the village and the insertion of Village Road.

The claustral ruins

The claustral layout at Sawley appears to conform to the 'standard' Cistercian plan. This consisted of the abbey church forming the cloister's northern side with the chapter house, library, sacristry, day room and dormitory occupying the two storeys of the eastern range (Figure 10). The southern range consisted of the kitchen, warming room and refectory, the latter on a north-south alignment, while the west range consisted of accommodation for the lay-brothers, which was converted into the abbot's hall in the late fourteenth century – an unusual move for a Cistercian house. More commonly, the abbot would have taken up residence in a smaller, less prominent part of the abbey; the only other exceptions are to be found at Hailes Abbey (Gloucestershire) and Cleeve Abbey (Somerset), where this

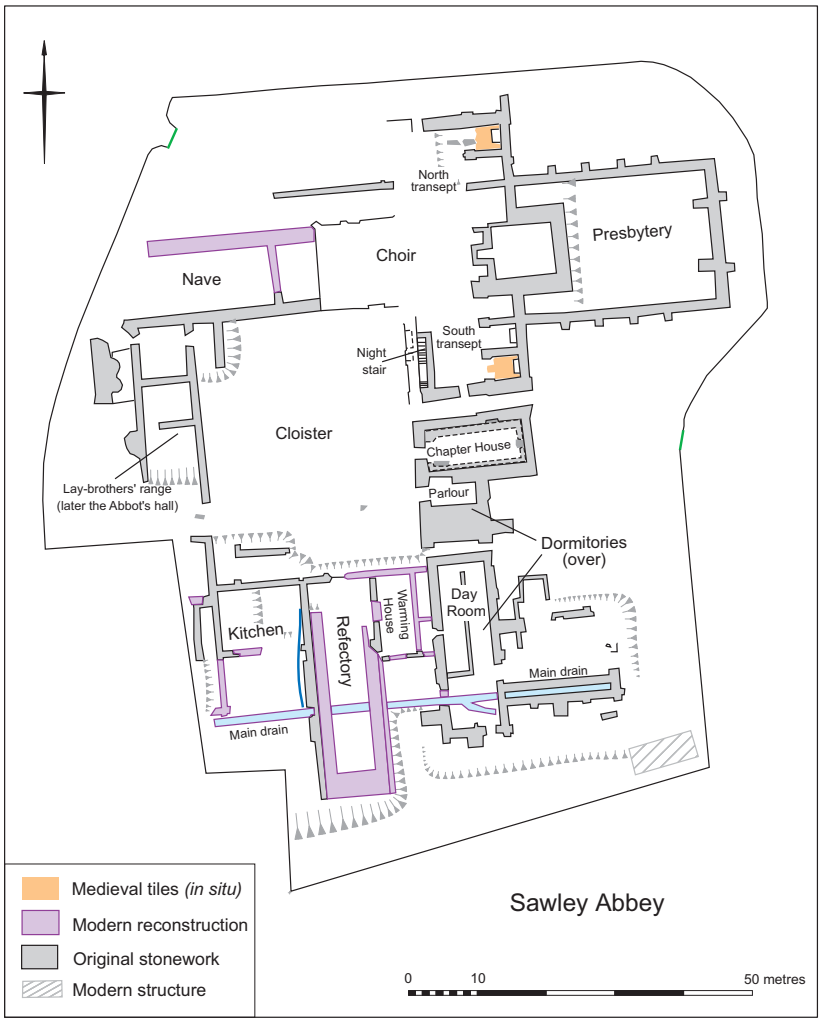

Figure 10
Plan of the abbey ruins as surveyed by English Heritage (2005)

development occurred relatively late, in the sixteenth-century (Coppack *et al* 2001, 109). In the twelfth century, the abbot would have been expected to have shared the communal dormitory, separate lodgings only becoming the norm during the thirteenth century. At Sawley the original detached abbot's house was probably situated close to the western claustral range; the west being the more public part of a monastic complex (Burton 1994, 144). Another of the principal buildings one would expect to see associated with the claustral complex is the abbey infirmary. At Sawley, this is likely to have stood a short distance from the nucleus of the abbey, probably to the east of the east range, although no clearly identifiable structural remains survive.

Buildings to the south of the abbey (Figure 11)

The remains of a building range may be represented by a group of earthworks which survive to the south of the abbey, immediately beyond the 1850s wall. It seems likely that these were once part of the central core of the monastery, but given the fact that the 1850s wall was constructed in a way which excluded these earthwork elements, it may be postulated that these remains were not surviving as major features above ground at this date and were thus not seen as important or relevant to the abbey.

The remains consist of a 'U'-shaped feature to the west (Figure 11, 1), defined by a broad bank, together with a much less well-defined bank to the east (Figure 11, 2). This latter bank may be partly overlain by the east bank of the 'U'-shaped feature, while scarps leaving its north face could be the side-walls of at least one building or sub-divisions within one long building. The 'U'-shaped feature may also be the remains of a single, large building with the bank representing the site of its demolished walls. Stony debris was observed close to the ground surface in this area after recent disturbance (*see* below). The width of the bank suggests that the walls may have been quite substantial while a prominent bulge in the bank near its south-west corner may relate to either a former buttress or a chimney stack. The earthwork features are now open-ended to the north – presumably any closing scarps were destroyed when the 1850s wall was erected.

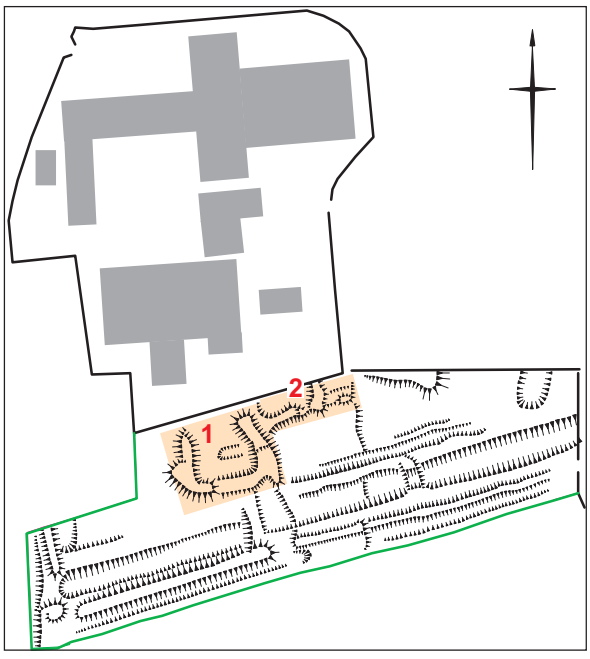

Figure 11
Extract from the English Heritage survey plan showing buildings to the south of the abbey (not to scale)

This group of building remains to the south of the abbey may well have been of medieval date, although it is impossible to be certain as landscaping immediately within the 1850s wall has obliterated any surviving evidence of a physical connection to the surviving monastic ruins. The structures would have been within 40m of the monastery's southern range, which incorporated the main drain, and are also close to the fishponds, so it is not inconceivable that they may have been ancillary, functional

buildings, rather than part of the monastery's spiritual hub. Although much attention is often focused on the claustral buildings, many other structures would have been necessary to support the community which developed here. Excavation might help to ascertain the exact function of this group of structures and possibly shed light on their position in the abbey's chronology.

Unfortunately, between the completion of the present survey and a subsequent site visit in March 2005, work had begun in this area to install a playground, which involved stripping off the tops of some of the earthworks and the digging of narrow, but deep holes for supporting posts. While this has affected the form of some of the earthworks, it is hoped that the underlying archaeology has not been too badly disturbed. However, a brief inspection of the damage revealed that at the eastern end of this group of features, a large quantity of bone, covering a wide area, had been exposed; superficial inspection suggests that they are mainly animal bone (T Pearson, *pers comm*). Such quantities of animal bone immediately suggest that this was the location of a midden, presumably relating to the abbey. If this is indeed the case, then it raises interesting questions regarding the location of the kitchen, the building commonly associated with a midden. This argument would be further strengthened if the bulge in the 'U'-shaped earthwork feature was indeed a fireplace. The concentration of food-related debris could also point to the possible use of the structures in this area for food preparation, supporting the above assertion that they were functional buildings. This evidence is considered in more detail below (Section 7).

Buildings to the north of the abbey (Figure 12)

On the north, as to the south, the insertion of the wall around the abbey ruins in the 1850s appears to have disturbed the archaeological remains, making it difficult to identify any links between the standing remains enclosed by the wall and the earthworks outside it. Some of the latter may be the remains of former buildings, probably arranged around a courtyard, as they appear to form three sides of a square feature with a very faint suggestion of a scarp beginning to define the fourth, western, side. The most convincing structural remains are to be found on the southern side of this group. Two, fragmentary banks, not quite parallel to one another and up to 10m apart, may define the north and south sides of a long building range orientated east to west (Figure 12, 3). The features are clearest at the eastern end; the earthworks become fainter and more degraded at the western end towards Village Road. Small scarps between the banks may be former sub-divisions of the long feature, possibly indicating the existence of compartments defined by cross-walls. Some 20m to the north of this range a further bank was recorded, slightly less well defined and standing alone (Figure 12, 4). This may have been one side of another range

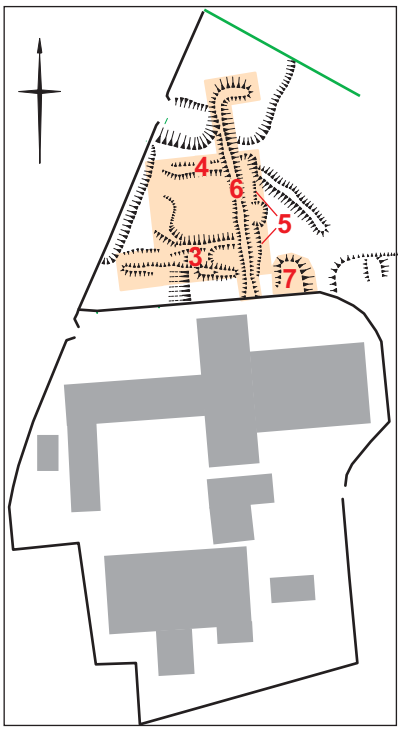

Figure 12
Extract from the English Heritage survey plan showing buildings to the north of the abbey (not to scale)

of buildings or simply the northern side of the courtyard. A slight west-facing scarp, forming the east side of the courtyard, links the eastern ends of the two possible ranges; a rectangular depression has been cut into this scarp near to its south-east end (Figure 12, 5). This feature is not fully visible, as it is overlain by a later feature. However, it may indicate the position of the entrance into the associated yard or even the site of another structure.

A later north-south linear feature overlies the eastern side of the apparently monastic courtyard complex (Figure 12, 6). It is probably a field boundary wall; that appears to be earlier than the 1850s wall and is on the same alignment as a stub-wall which extends north from the eastern wall of the abbey church's northern transept. These two features are no longer conjoined, but the insertion of the 1850s wall would have broken through what may once have been a single feature. In places both the inner and outer faces of the wall are visible where the turf has been eroded. The wall could reasonably be assigned to the late monastic or early post-monastic period and it may have been erected during a rearrangement of the monastic inner precinct associated with the extension of the abbey church presbytery in the later fourteenth century. Alternatively it may have been built during the post-Dissolution period as part of the changing pattern of land division.

There is a sub-rectangular platform, one side of which also buts up to the 1850s wall a short distance to the east of this probable field boundary *(*Figure 12, 7*)*. This is less like a building platform than some of the other features in this area, but it may still have been a stance for a former structure or may possibly be spoil from earlier digging activity.

Buildings to the east of the abbey (Figure 13)

Adjacent to the outer face of eastern side of the 1850s wall surrounding the abbey are earthworks, some of which may represent the remains of further buildings. The most substantial of these earthworks is a stony bank which stands at right angles to the wall, near its south-eastern corner, and extends some 20m into East Field (Figure 13, 8). This bank is related to the monastery's main drain, discussed below in Section 6.1.5. A large platform extends from the southern side of this bank and is crossed by a more recent field-wall. Between the latter and the drain bank are two further scarps, which may indicate the location of a former structure of unknown date.

A short distance to the north is another strong bank which is at a much more oblique angle to the 1850s wall than the bank covering the main drain (Figure 13, 9). This northern bank is not on the same alignment as the principal buildings of the abbey, which suggests that it is not contemporary with the monastery, but probably dates to a later period. Previously, this bank has been interpreted as an embankment for a light railway used to remove spoil from

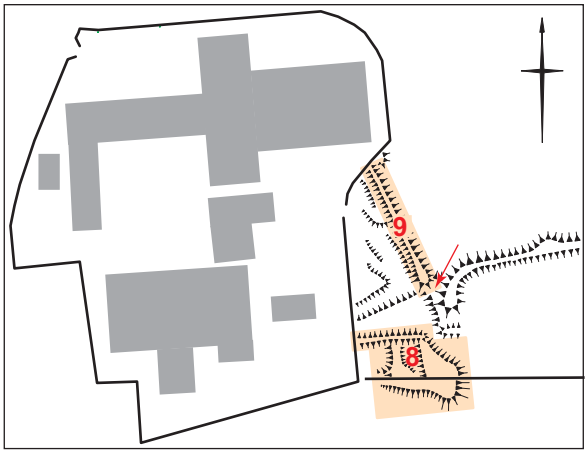

Figure 13
Extract from the English Heritage survey plan showing buildings to the east of the abbey (not to scale)

excavations in the nineteenth century (Coppack *et al* 2002, 29). However, there is no evidence for this on the ground or in the documentary or photographic records. A more likely explanation for the feature is that it is a post-medieval field boundary. Just beyond the south-east end of this bank there is another bank, orientated almost west to east. It has a curved west end and the space between it and the end of the northern bank (9) may have been the site of a gateway (indicated by a red arrow on Figure 13).

The fairly level area, between these two banks and the 1850s wall, contains a number of slight scarps which, apart from at the south, do not form a regular pattern, suggesting that they are unlikely to be related to former structures.

6.1.5 The monastic water supply (Figure 14)

Of primary importance to any medieval monastic house was the water supply. The site of Sawley Abbey was well served in terms of a natural supply of water, with the River Ribble to the west and a number of springs rising along the lower contours of Noddle Hill. The principal water system at Sawley utilised these springs and channelled the water along the hillside and down to the monastery, via a series of covered leats or buried pipes. The water was brought along the abbey's main drain, and then, just before being channelled into the claustral nucleus, the water supply appears to have split into two, with one branch serving the abbey buildings and another supplying the abbey fishponds.

St Mary's Well

At Sawley the main water supply for the monastery seems to have come from St Mary's Well, close to the north-eastern corner of East Field. The name itself suggests a close relationship with the monastery; the house, like other Cistercian houses, was dedicated to St Mary. The depiction of the well on the 1847 OS map suggests that water emanated from a point alongside the road, which bounds the east of the site (*see* Figure 4). However, modern activity in this area indicates recent attempts to manage the water. Pipes exit the hillside near a group of trees approximately 25m to the south of the field wall, and thus to the south of the original source of the spring. As well as piping water underground from the spring's source, there also appear to be two large concrete tanks which have been inserted to make more effective use of this natural water resource.

A boggy area now occupies the bottom of the large 'T'-shaped channel that has been cut over the centuries by spring water flowing down the hillside immediately below St Mary's Well (Figure 14, 10). The bank defining the western side of this channel and the start of the monastic water channel has been broken through, possibly by the force of water or due to wear. A short distance south of this breach, a rectangular hole is visible within the channel in which a stone-lined conduit is apparent just below the ground surface (indicated by the arrow on Figure 14); the conduit appears to bifurcate at this point. It may be that the monastic water supply was diverted underground into the conduit, possibly later in the abbey's life once the buildings and infrastructure were fully developed. The boggy area may have been created by the underground conduit becoming blocked or because of more recent drainage problems.

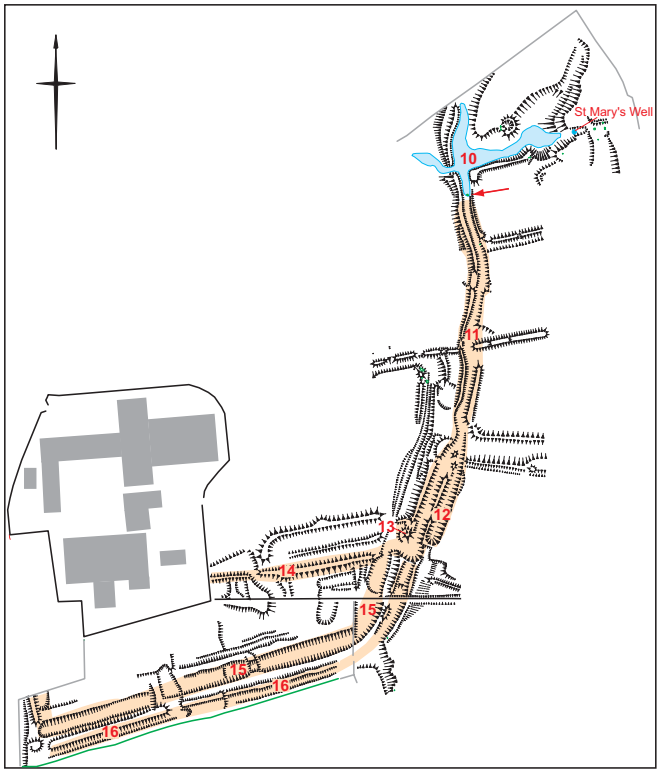

Figure 14
Extract from the English Heritage survey plan showing the principal elements of the monastic water supply (not to scale)

The principal channel

The principal feature of the monastery's water supply, as recorded by the present survey, is a substantial channel which stretches from a point on the northern boundary of East Field, across the field on a roughly north-south alignment, before turning sharply to the west to flow into the abbey's main drain (Figure 14, 11). The main section of the channel, in East Field, is cut into the lower part of the natural slope and is bounded by a bank on its western side and, in places, on its eastern side too. At about midway along its length the channel splits into two, with a short arm extending from the channel's eastern side to form, a 35m long parallel linear depression, with a rounded end, cut into the natural slope (Figure 14, 12). This may have been a holding pond to enable excess water to be stored. An earthwork mound close to the point at which the channel splits may indicate the location of a structure such as a conduit house, from which the water flow would have been controlled (Figure 14, 13). Perhaps water was stored in the pond and then released when it was in short supply, thus flushing out the monastery's drains. A simplified interpretation of how the system was laid out at this point is shown in Figure 15.

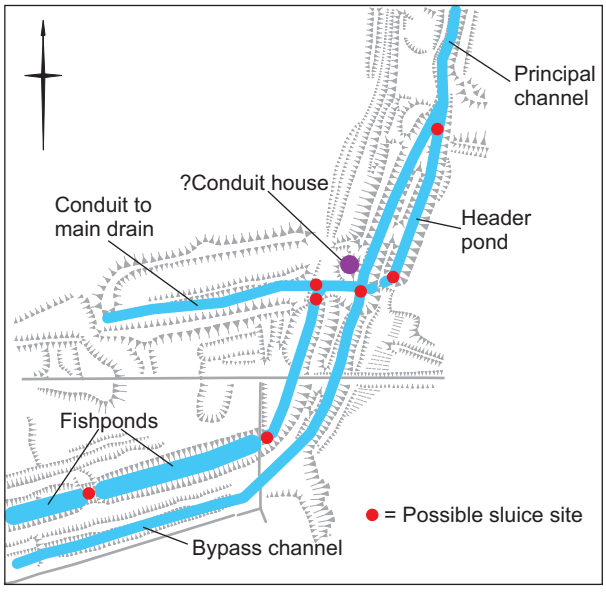

Figure 15
Simplified plan showing how the monastic water system may have functioned

Immediately south of the possible conduit house site, part of the principal channel turned to the west in order to feed into the abbey's main drain. Between this turn and the 1850s wall, the water appears to have been taken underground. Its course to the abbey buildings is now visible as a stony, earthen bank, presumably covering a conduit or pipes (Figure 14, 14). The section of the main drain to the west of the 1850s wall was excavated in the 1970s and remains uncovered

Figure 16
The main drain to the south-east of the abbey cloister

and on public display. The stone-lined channel this exposed would have probably been open with the stone arches erected over it, supporting overlying buildings (Figure 16).

It is now necessary to return to the point near the possible conduit house site where the water supply for the abbey's main drain left the principal channel. A branch of the principal channel follows an east-west alignment towards the conduit for a short distance then apparently turns to the south and then the west to feed into a series of ponds in South Field (Figure 14, 15); physical evidence of the channel turning has been worn away, particularly on the western side, due to the insertion of a field boundary and wear from animals moving between South and South-East Fields. The ponds in South Field are likely to have been the monastery's fishponds (*see* below), and thus, by splitting the principal channel, the fishponds and domestic supply each had their own dedicated water supply. The north-south course of the main part of the principal channel continues beyond the eastern end of the fishponds, at which point it becomes a bypass channel and turns to the west to follow a course parallel with, and to the south of, the fishponds (*see* Figure 14, 16 & Figure 15). This would presumably also have been controlled by a sluice, allowing excess water to be led away from the main water system and to be discharged directly into the River Ribble.

The course of the water flowing westwards away from the abbey, from both the fishponds and the main drain, has been obfuscated by the construction of modern houses and Village Road. A watercourse is shown on the 1847 OS map (Figure 3, 5) flowing to the west before turning through ninety degrees and heading south to discharge into the River Ribble. It is quite likely that this was on or near the waste water outflow from the abbey.

Water supply within the abbey

As discussed above, the main water supply was brought to the monastery via the principal channel into the main drain. This flows under some of the buildings in the southern range of the cloister, the first of which, at the eastern end of the range, is the latrine. The latrines were situated over the drain in order to allow effluent to be carried away with the waste water, eventually taking it to the River Ribble. The location of the latrines at Sawley indicates that they are likely to have been served by a dedicated arm leading off the main drain and branching off from it at a point upstream of the latrines. This arrangement would have provided the rest of the precinct with a supply of clean water. There is no compelling evidence on the ground for the position of such a bifurcation, but it may have been obscured or obliterated by clearance works and the insertion of the 1850s wall.

Other buildings in the immediate vicinity of the cloister which would have required a regular supply of clean water included the kitchen and the *lavatorium*. The kitchen has been identified as the building at the western end of the southern range. Its location downstream of the latrines would have necessitated a clean supply of water which was presumably brought in from the east or north of the structure. During excavation of the kitchen, evidence for pipe-trenches heading towards the main drain was found (Coppack *et al* 2002, 65-67). The *lavatorium*, which provided facilities for washing before meals, was typically found close to the entrance of the refectory, often built into the wall of the latter (Burton 1994, 142). At Sawley the refectory's position in the centre of the southern range suggests that the *lavatorium* would also have been located here. Given its proximity to the kitchen, the *lavatorium* could also have taken water from the putative supply pipe to the north or east.

Buildings such as the laundry and brewhouse would also have required a clean water supply, but currently available evidence is insufficient to pinpoint their location.

Fishponds

The main earthwork remains in the southern half of South Field consist of a series of three long linear depressions, somewhat degraded now, but still measuring approximately 0.5m in depth. These features are most likely to have been ponds, probably operated in conjunction with one another, hence their end-on linear arrangement suggesting the transmission of water between them. At the western end of the field is the beginning of a similar feature on a north-south, as opposed to east-west, alignment; the rest of the feature has been obliterated by the construction of the car park adjacent to the former school. Given the monastic context, they were probably fishponds, providing the abbey with its all important stocks of fish. The linear arrangement would have enabled the separation of the fish, in order to manage breeding and to allow fish of different ages to be separated, while still enabling a through-flow of water, controlled by a series of sluices, possibly supported on the small banks crossing the ponds. However, some of these cross-banks may also relate to post-monastic use and land division.

Between the ponds and the southern boundary of South Field is a long bank with an associated ditch (Figure 14, 16). The central section of the ditch has been filled in, probably by post-medieval land use. The ditch is most likely to have been the by-pass channel taking surplus water from the main channel around the ponds and down to the River Ribble (*see* above and Figure 15). A small watercourse still flows along the southern side of South Field and is depicted on the 1847 OS map. This stream does not appear to have been part of the monastic water supply system, but it may represent the natural course of water flowing down from the springs further along the hillside to the east. The map also shows a continuation of this watercourse beyond Village Road, flowing towards the Ribble (*see* Section 5; Figure 3, 5). This section of the stream may well have been used for transporting spent water from the monastic water system into the river.

Sawley Abbey's complaints against Whalley Abbey at the end of the thirteenth century included their loss of first pick of the spawning salmon in the Ribble (Mitchell 2004, 29). This is good evidence for another source of the monastery's fish stocks.

In addition to the fishponds and possible building sites (*see* above, Section 6.1.4) South Field also contains a number of linear scarps which appear to relate to post-Dissolution land-use; perhaps at some time, South Field was divided up into a number of small plots. This activity must have destroyed the monastic remains so we are unlikely to be seeing the ponds in their full monastic form (discussed below, Section 7).

6.1.6 Enclosures within the outer precinct

A number of earthwork boundary banks divide a large part of East Field into smaller, rectilinear compartments. The majority of the features are probably post-Dissolution in origin and are some of the fields of the northern farmstead (*see* below, Section 6.2.2). But it is also possible that some, at least, may have a much earlier origin and be connected with the division of the land within the monastic precinct. For this reason they will be described in this section dealing with the medieval abbey.

Enclosures on the lower slopes of Noddle Hill (Figure 17)

There are three, possibly four, rectilinear enclosures (fields) laid out north-south across the steep, western slope of Noddle Hill. The western ends of these enclosures terminate on the principal channel, which traverses the East Field from north to south. The fact that the boundaries of these enclosures do not cut into the channel suggests that either the features are contemporary or that the banks are later and have respected the primacy of the channel.

The northernmost of the enclosures on the hillside is close to St Mary's Well, but there are traces of a bank to the south of the well, suggesting that the enclosure originally stopped short (Figure 17, 17). There are no significant internal features within this enclosure.

The middle of the three enclosures, defined by boundary banks to the north and south, has faint and insubstantial internal features (Figure 17, 18). The steepness of the natural slope suggests that they are more likely to represent the sites of either former trees or past rabbit activity rather than the sites of structures.

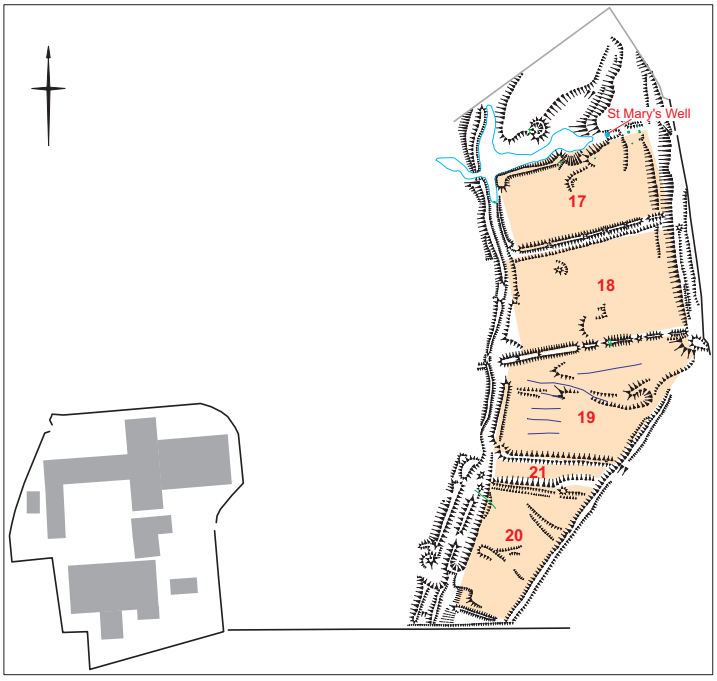

Figure 17 Extract from the English Heritage survey plan showing enclosures on the lower sloped of Noddle Hill (not to scale)

The southernmost enclosure is not complete, as a later boundary feature overlies its south-eastern corner (Figure 17, 19). Internally there is evidence of ridge and furrow, which appears to be broadly aligned with the enclosure, suggesting that they are contemporary. Also within this enclosure is

a semi-circular hollow cut back into the natural slope with a channel downslope below it, which may be the site of a former spring which has either dried up or has been drained.

There is almost certainly a fourth enclosure to the south, but its full extent to the east is unknown due to a later field boundary (belonging to the eastern farmstead complex – *see* below, Section 6.2.1), a nineteenth-century stone wall and a modern footpath overlying it (Figure 17, 20). Between the boundary of this probable enclosure and the one to the north there is a narrow strip, which may have been the site of a track, possibly allowing access between the fields, up to the road at the east of the site or into the landscape beyond (Figure 17, 21).

Although both single entities, the two internal boundaries dividing the three northerly enclosures have small depressions along their length which are likely to have been caused when trees within hedges have died and livestock have walked through the gaps, wearing the hedge bank down and creating a gap. Another possibility is that individual trees or hedging plants have been grubbed out to effectively remove the boundary, which, in the East Field, is likely to have happened in the 1850s in order to open up the landscape (Walbran 1852, 75). These breaks in the bank have undoubtedly been accentuated by modern activity, such as vehicle wear and repeated use by livestock. These two particular boundaries also show evidence of a shallow ditch on their southern sides, which are likely to have been for drainage. On the west, all the enclosures terminate against the principal monastic water channel and some have entrances (gateways) on this side, suggesting that they are later than the water channel; the latter may have become a farm track serving the fields.

Enclosures adjacent to the abbey (Figure 18)

The area to the immediate east of the abbey ruins displays traces of features which may be of monastic origin. There is a large, sub-square enclosure which is defined to the west by the 1850s wall around the ruins, to the east by the principal water channel and to the south and north by an earthwork bank and ditch respectively. The bank to the south has already been discussed and is likely to be connected with the course of a conduit feeding the main drain (*see* Section 6.1.5). The broad, shallow ditch defining the north side of this large enclosure has a bank to its north, which is on a similar alignment to the middle boundary of the enclosures on the slope above (*see* above), and it too has been segmented by a number of depressions (Figure 18, 22). This bank is almost certainly associated with the post-monastic northern farmstead situated to the north of this enclosure (*see* Section 6.2.2). A broad plough-flattened bank or raised walkway is visible on the south side of the ditch within the enclosure; it is orientated east to west.

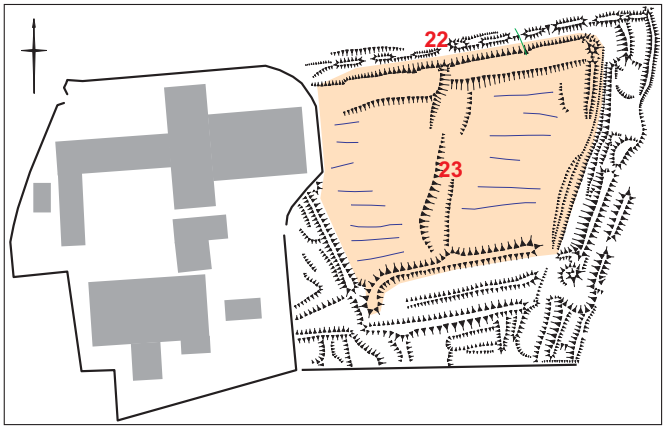

Figure 18
Extract from the English Heritage survey plan showing enclosures adjacent to the abbey (not to scale)

The features within this enclosure are now very indistinct, and slight traces of ridge and furrow cultivation suggest that they were largely ploughed out in the early post-medieval period. The fact that the ridge and furrow itself is faint also suggests that further, later ploughing has smoothed these features out and further flattened the interior of this enclosure. A now very slight linear hollow, whose east side is poorly preserved and gapped, traverses the enclosure from north to south (Figure 18, 23). This may be the remnant of a former hollow way or a sub-division of the interior. It is parallel with the east side of the enclosure, while some of the features associated with the northern farmstead (*see* Section 6.2.2) seem to continue its alignment beyond the enclosure. It is difficult to ascertain if there were any substantial monastic buildings within the enclosure, because, if they existed, they would have been robbed-out prior to the post-Dissolution ploughing which has levelled any surviving traces. However, if this area was free of buildings during the monastic period, then it may have been used for gardens (the possible raised walkway along the north side might be relevant in this respect), orchards (the ridge and furrow may have been undertaken to create ridges upon which to plant trees rather than for arable) or possibly even as the monastery's burial ground. Generally, the burial ground was positioned close to the monastic church, often the east end in particular. Although some burials were recorded in the Chapter House at Sawley, such a privilege would have been reserved for those of rank, and there would have been numerous other burials during the monastery's 400 year life, for which a large area would have been required. Unfortunately, as a result of the later ploughing, there are now no earthwork remains which would help to clarify how this area was used.

To the immediate north of the abbey ruins are further boundary features dividing the area into smaller units. These appear to belong to the post-monastic period and will thus be discussed below (see Section 6.2.2).

6.1.7 West Field (Figure 19)

In terms of earthwork remains there are few substantial monastic features in the northern part of West Field, because it has been comprehensively ploughed, but faint traces of ridge and furrow were recorded at the time of the English Heritage survey as well as ditches relating to later drainage.

There is an old watercourse along the eastern edge of the field, which, in places has been partially in-filled. This is almost certainly the remains of a mill-race, probably with origins in the monastic period (*see* below). There is a substantial bank adjacent to part of the mill-race on its west side (Figure 19, 24). The former is somewhat irregular and in places has pieces of concrete protruding from its surface, suggesting that it may have been disturbed or added to in more recent times. It may have been constructed with earth from digging out the mill-race when it was created, and subsequently augmented with material from the periodic cleaning out of the mill-race.

To the west of the mill-race, and parallel with the northern side of the hedge dividing West Field, is a large but shallow, rectangular depression (Figure 19, 25). During the present survey, water was observed ponding in the western end of this feature, giving the impression

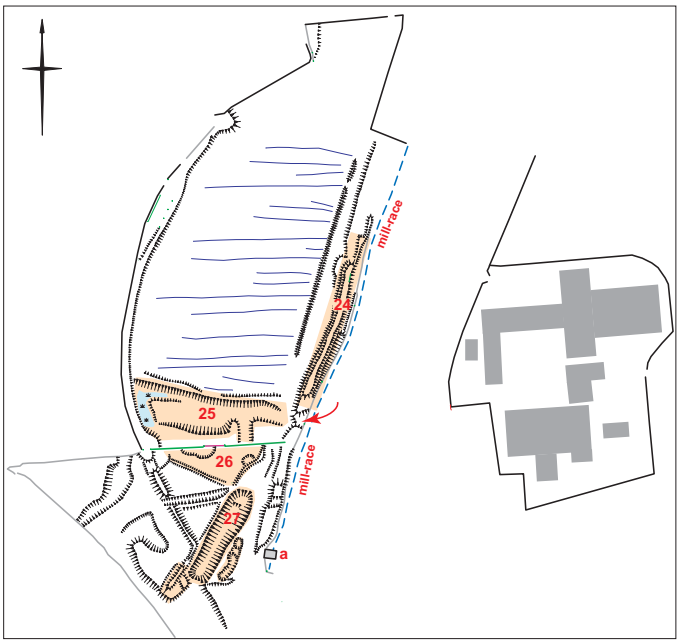

Figure 19
Extract from the English Heritage survey plan showing features in West Field (not to scale)

that it had been deliberately created to hold water; a faint, L-shaped internal scarp creates a broad channel-effect at the western end, within which the water collects. The feature narrows towards its eastern end and extending from the southern side is a broad channel, which continues up to the hedge, but is not visible beyond it. The most likely interpretation of this feature is that it was a pond, possibly a reservoir, which was filled by taking water from the mill-race. Opposite the eastern end of the reservoir, which seems to have been open, is a lowering of the bank adjacent to the mill-race, suggesting that this was the point at which water was taken from the main watercourse. The ridge and furrow in this part of the field does not appear to have significantly encroached on to the reservoir, suggesting that it was still in use when the ploughing was undertaken or that the ground was too boggy and wet to plough in this area.

Although the features are relatively faint and difficult to interpret, it is a distinct possibility that this group of earthworks represent the remains of a flax-retting pool. Evidence of other flax-retting pools has been recorded at other sites in the area (for example, at Grindleton and Waddington – *see* Figure 1b), where the remains and situation are similar to those observed at Sawley (Higham 1989, 38-52). As with many other medieval industrial processes, the set-up costs were high, thus restricting the operation to the wealthiest landowners, of which the Church was one. It is therefore quite possible that Sawley Abbey had its own retting-pool, which would have provided additional income. The situation of the features, within the precinct but tucked away in a corner, close to the abbey mill, suggests that this part of the precinct may have been the focus of the monastery's industrial undertakings.

On the southern side of the hedge, to the south of the reservoir, are two slight banks and an irregular, shallow depression (Figure 19, 26). These may have been associated with the reservoir, but no explicit evidence survives to confirm this. A small depression adjacent to the easternmost of the two banks may possibly represent the continuation of the broad channel visible leading from the reservoir on the other side of the hedge, but the connection is somewhat tenuous.

Earthworks were recorded outwith the monastic precinct boundary in the southern part of West Field, but their amorphous shape and lack of definition make it difficult to assign a function to them.

6.1.8 The abbey mill

In the Middle Ages, an important part of a monastery's income was derived from its agricultural activities, a key element of which was a mill, or mills, under the abbey's jurisdiction. At Sawley there are no surviving buildings obviously connected with the monastery's mill, but there are some clear indicators as to its likely location. The key feature is the mill-race recorded along the eastern side of West Field. Although this has been altered in recent times, with sections being filled in, its course can be traced from a weir on the River Ribble through the monastery's northern precinct boundary up to a point just short of the south-west side of the outer precinct boundary. The weir which existed in 1847 demonstrates that water was actively being directed into the mill race to create a powerful flow. Although there is no direct evidence, the possibility that the weir had its origins in the monastic period, or replaced a pre-existing one of that date, cannot be dismissed. The mill-race itself is very difficult to access, so it was not possible to examine the sides and base of the channel for any structural remains or evidence of water management. However, the initial section of the mill-race leading off from the River Ribble is just visible immediately north of The Spread Eagle public house and is concrete-clad, with evidence of some stonework.

At the southern end of the mill-race there is a small stone-built structure, measuring approximately 4.5m by 7m, currently owned by the inhabitants of one of the nearby houses (Figure 19, a). In the 1930s, it housed a turbine which supplied electricity for the whole village, and was listed as 'The Village Electric Supply & Sawmill' in the sales particulars of the Sawley Abbey Estate in 1935 (LCRO Ref. DDX2096/1). Although the small structure is not the original building which housed the monastic mill machinery, it may be that there is a continuity of location for monastic and post-monastic milling operations in this area. In the same sales particulars, Lot 5 is described as 'Formerly The Old Abbey Mill' and is labelled on the accompanying plan as the long building to the north-east of the small structure and at right angles to the mill-race. During the excavations in the 1970s and 80s this building was partially derelict; it was recorded at this time and it was noted that there was late medieval masonry incorporated into the west end (Coppack *et al* 2002, 111). It is almost certain that this was originally the medieval mill which was then retained as the village mill following the Dissolution, before becoming a Wesleyan chapel in the nineteenth century. This building has been converted and currently contains a number of private dwellings.

A group of fairly prominent earthworks, which lie to the west of these structures, may have been related to the monastic mill. The main feature is a large, linear depression, roughly rectangular in shape, on a north-east to south-west alignment (Figure 19, 27). Within this feature is a small step up at the north-eastern end – the deeper end at more than 1m deep. This may be a pond which was related to the mill. However, it appears to cut through the monastic precinct boundary and protrudes beyond it to the south-west. It is unusual for a pond to cut through such a substantial feature and this suggests that the pond dates to a later (post-Dissolution) period of activity, when the monastic precinct boundary was no longer functional. At an angle to the western corner of the pond is a channel with a low platform on its southern side, possibly the site of a former building.

6.2 Post Dissolution: 1537 onwards (Figures 20-22)

Following the Dissolution of the Monasteries, the ownership of monastic sites changed, as did the way in which the sites were used. These changes to the landscape can often be seen in the earthwork evidence which survives. In the case of Sawley, the main evidence of the post-dissolution phase of activity represents the creation of at least one, if not two, farmstead complexes with associated fields within the monastery's outer precinct. These will be described below as the eastern and northern farmstead complexes (Figures 20 & 22). This was not the only development within the landscape, as there were further alterations in the nineteenth century when part of the precinct area was turned into a park. During this period, the village of Sawley was also firmly established within the precinct area, while outwith the precinct there was perhaps development of pre-existing settlement.

6.2.1 Eastern farmstead complex (Figure 20)

Of the surviving earthworks, there is one particular area which clearly stands out as a post-monastic manipulation of the landscape. This is the group of earthworks forming a farmstead complex which sits within the south-east corner of the area surveyed. The fact that there was a farmstead or group of farm buildings here is indicated by the fact that the 1847 OS map of the site shows a small building, called 'Hollins Lathe', close to the field boundary along Old Skipton Road. The field boundaries shown on this edition of the map further suggest the existence of a farmstead in this area, as they include an irregular, pentagonal, self-contained enclosure and a further boundary partitioning off this eastern part of the field (Figure 20, 39 & 28; and indicated on Figure 21).

Enclosures

The principal earthwork which defines the extent of the eastern area is a long boundary bank on a north-east to south-west alignment (Figure 20, 28; indicated by the yellow arrow on Figure 21). The north-eastern part of the bank appears on the 1847 OS map as a boundary, but it had become redundant by 1884, when the OS map merely shows a few

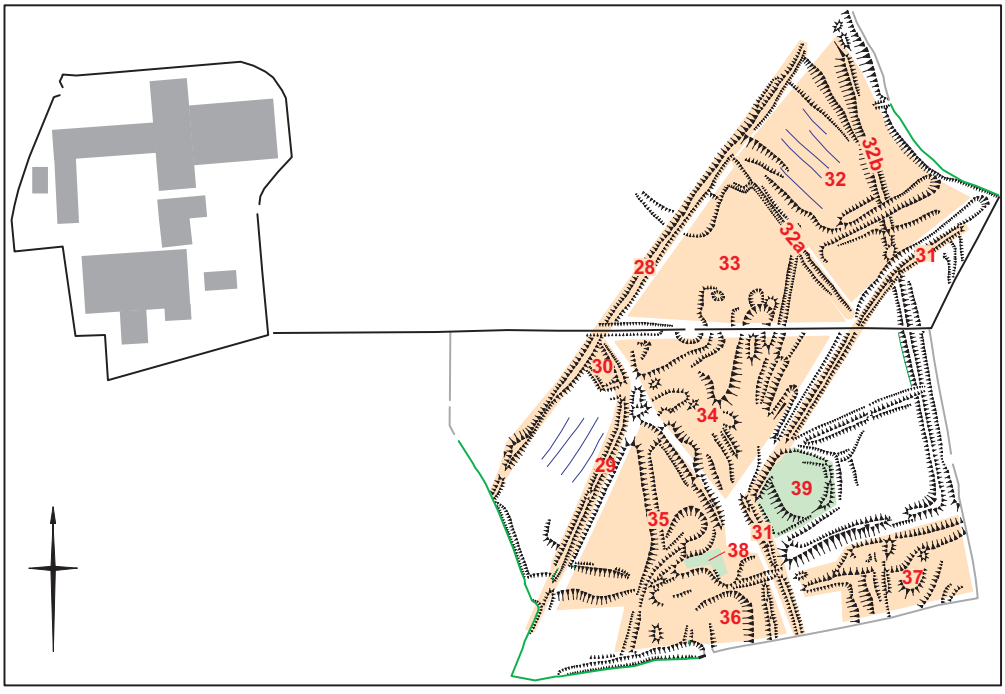

Figure 20 Extract from the English Heritage survey plan showing the eastern post-medieval farmstead (not to scale)

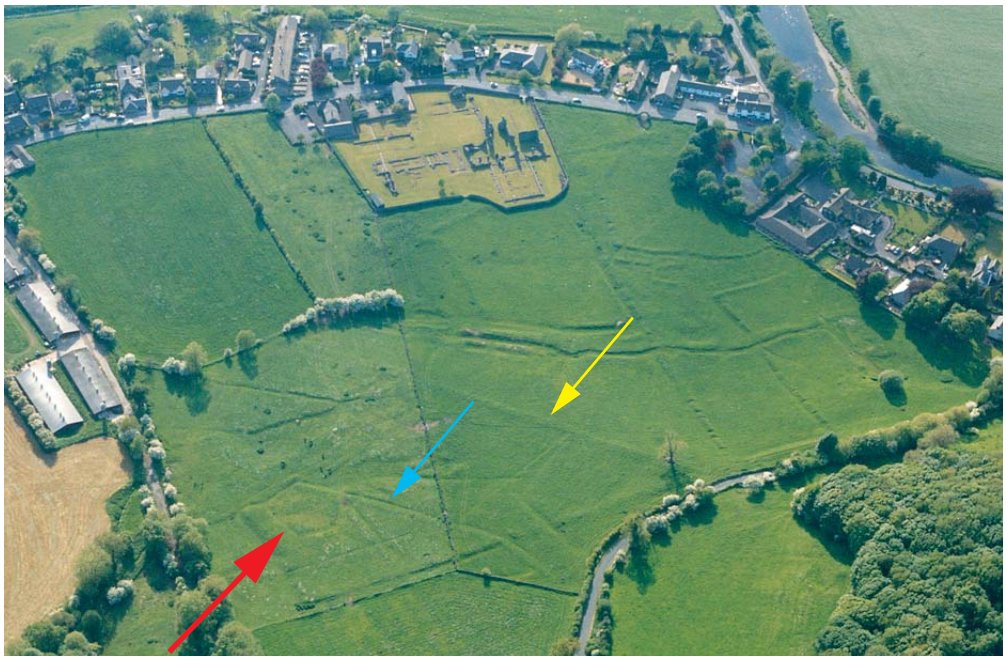

Figure 21
Aerial photograph of the area to the east of Sawley Abbey. The arrows indicate boundaries and enclosures referred to in the text. © English Heritage. NMR 17961/23 SD 7746/97 24-May-2004

irregularly-spaced trees here, approximately on the same alignment. A large tree which still survives at the north-east end of the bank today is further evidence that it once supported trees. The bank is located along a contour close to the crest of the slope and, if topped with trees or a tall hedge, anything to the south-east of it would have been obscured when viewed from the abbey ruins. The implications of this are discussed further below (*see* Section 7).

The south-western section of this bank may even have gone out of use before 1847, because it is not shown on the 1847 OS map or on any subsequent maps. The boundary overall is, therefore, pre-1847 in origin, and possibly substantially earlier than that, as it had completed its functional life by this date. The straight, south-western section of the boundary seems to have been replaced by a length of bank which leaves the boundary and curves to the south before continuing in a straight line towards the south-west corner of South East Field (Figure 20, 29); 29 is shown as a boundary on the 1847 OS map, whilst the south-western end of 28 only survives as an earthwork and does not appear on any maps of the site. A continuation of the line of 29 is fossilised in the line of the modern hedge in this corner of the field.

The area between the south-western end of 28 and boundary bank 29 formed an enclosure in which there is a small patch of ridge and furrow. The alignment of the ridge and furrow is the same as the original course of the boundary bank, suggesting that the cultivation is of a post-medieval date. In the northern angle of this enclosure is a rectilinear platform in excess of 10m long (Figure 20, 30). It seems likely that this may have been the location of an agricultural structure of post-medieval date, probably constructed when the enclosure was created. Gullies recorded outside this enclosure may have been inserted to aid the drainage, particularly in view of its use for arable, as demonstrated by the ridge and furrow.

Some 80m to the south-east of the long, straight boundary bank, on a parallel alignment for part of its length, is a second boundary bank (Figure 20, 31; also indicated by the blue arrow on Figure 21). This feature is also depicted on the 1847 OS map but not on subsequent

editions; appearing only as an alignment of irregularly-spaced trees on the 1884 map. Originally the boundary turned sharply at a point close to the road to the east of the site and then followed a course to the south where it abutted Old Skipton Road. At its north-east corner the boundary cuts through the bank of the monastic precinct, further demonstrating its relatively later date. A short distance to the south-west, the boundary bank is then itself cut by a stone field-wall, proving that the latter post-dates the bank. The southern end of the boundary bank also provides a causeway upon which the modern footpath entering South-East Field from the south is situated.

The area between the two aforementioned boundaries contains a large number of earthworks which are contained within two roughly rectilinear enclosures (fields). The north-easternmost of these (Figure 20, 32) has evidence of ridge and furrow ploughing, probably post-medieval in date, as the furrows are not particularly widely spaced. However, the fact that the evidence is poorly preserved suggests that the ploughing is of some antiquity, probably pre-1850s. There are also some channels in this area, apparently aligned downslope which suggests an association with drainage, or the existence of former springs which have been drained. Towards the north, a straight bank crosses the area on a north-south alignment and is the remains of the monastic precinct boundary (Figure 20, 32b). It appears to have been used as a boundary or headland for the ridge and furrow ploughing, which does not encroach upon it and has not degraded the bank significantly.

To the south-west of this, beyond boundary feature 32a, the other group of earthworks is contained within a large diamond-shaped enclosure, which is bisected by the present field-wall, forming two triangular areas, one either side of it. The one to the north of the field-wall (Figure 20, 33) displays the remains of few features but its north-eastern side is formed by a shallow ditch which becomes a faint scarp (Figure 20, 32a). This is cut by a shallow ditch on a north-south alignment, which continues on the other side of the field-wall and is presumably related to the drainage of the area. Adjacent to the western side of this ditch is a rounded depression which abuts the field-wall and has two small, slight platforms adjoining its northern edge. This feature may possibly represent stone extraction in this area or the site of a former spring.

The triangular area to the south of the field-wall is less well defined and contains more earthworks, but they do not form a clear pattern (Figure 20, 34). It is possible that they result largely from drainage or former springs hence the significant amount of earth-moving which may have taken place in this area. Another possibility is that material from outside this area has been brought here and dumped in order to raise the ground level to make it drier, but that the individual dumps were never fully levelled.

A further group of features in this part of the site, also in a roughly triangular area, lie adjacent to the southern edge of South-East Field; the earthworks appear to comprise two triangular fields separated by a boundary ditch (Figure 20, 35). The southern part of the ditch (35) changes direction and becomes much narrower. It appears to be heading towards Hollins Syke, the watercourse which skirts part of the southern edge of South-East Field,

which suggests that this part was formerly a drainage channel. The earthworks of Hollins Lathe probably lie at the south-east end of these enclosures (Figure 20, 38; also see Figure 3,2). Of the other earthworks, the only feature which can be interpreted with any degree of confidence is the large semi-circular depression adjacent to the southern field boundary (Figure 20, 36). At the time of the present survey the depression was waterlogged and looked pond-like; it may have been created to service the nearby farmstead.

The remaining features in South-East Field were recorded in the south-eastern corner, between the modern field boundary and the earthwork forming the monastic precinct boundary (Figure 20, 37). A number of scarps were observed here, but they do not appear to form any coherent pattern. The existence of a post-medieval farmstead in the vicinity may mean that these earthworks are connected with this period of activity.

Farm Buildings

While larger features, such as field boundaries, are still discernible in this area, disturbance of the ground has rendered finer detail, such as the sites of individual structures, more difficult to identify. The map evidence suggests that this was a farmstead, which pre-supposes the existence of a complex of buildings in association with yards and paddocks. One possible site of a building is a level area defined by an 'L'-shaped earthwork bank, a short distance from the modern southern field boundary of South-East Field, to the west of the footpath (Figure 20, 38). This approximately corresponds with the location of 'Hollins Lathe' (*see* Figure 3, 2). A large hollow in the corner of the easternmost triangular paddock, immediately north of the 'L'-shaped feature, may also be the site of another building.

A short distance to the east of this is a feature which is clearly visible on aerial photographs as a pentagonal enclosure (Figure 20, 39; Figure 21). The angled section of boundary bank 31 forms two sides of the pentagonal enclosure, with a further bank and two ditches defining the remaining three sides. No features were recorded on the ground within the enclosure, suggesting that it did not contain any substantial buildings. However, it may have been the site of a more insubstantial structure, such as a wooden barn or animal shelter, or perhaps even a stack-stand. The ditch surrounding part of the enclosure may have been dug to ensure good drainage of the area, particularly important if it was being used for stacking crops.

6.2.2 Northern farmstead complex (Figure 22)

To the north-east of the abbey church, at the foot of the lower slopes of Noddle Hill and below the principle channel, are the earthwork remains of another possible post-Dissolution farm complex. The remains consist of an east-west trackway giving access to a broad rectilinear area which certainly contains the site of at least one building with an associated yard and probably the site of at least one further structure. There also appears to be a broad north-south trackway leading away from the complex. In addition there are the remains of a number of enclosures (fields) associated with the farmstead.

A curving field boundary bank, which stretches from the northern boundary of East Field in a southerly direction and turns through almost ninety degrees to head west (Figure 22, 40),

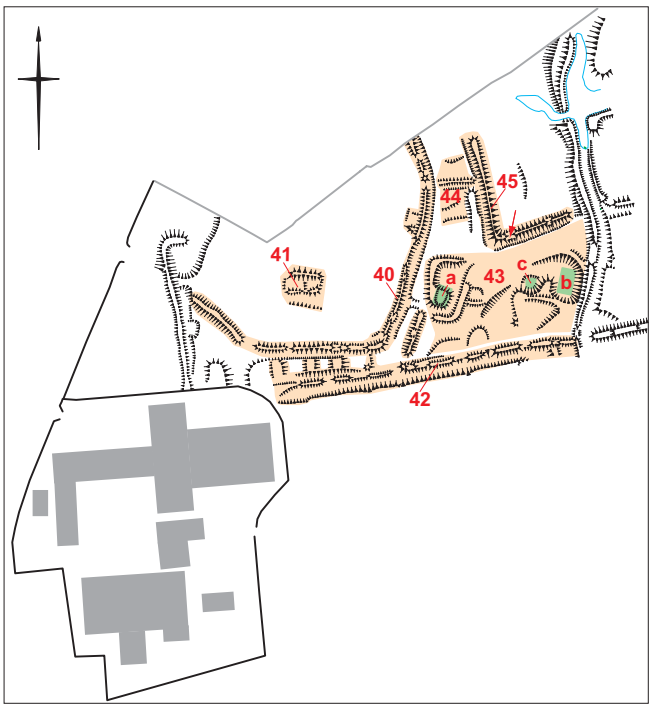

Figure 22
Extract from the English Heritage survey plan showing the northern post-medieval farmstead (not to scale)

serves a dual purpose; it defines one side of the trackways leading to the main farmstead area and two sides of a field to the north-west. Any evidence of the northern or western extents of the enclosure (field) just beyond this part of East Field have been obliterated by the construction of a car park for the Spread Eagle public house. Within the field thus defined by the curving bank, few features are now visible. Slight traces of ridge and furrow were recorded close to the northern fence, but the remains are now very fragmentary. The present survey recorded a slight, rectangular platform in the middle of the field, defined by very low banks (Figure 22, 41). This may have been the base for a field barn or something similar. The only other feature of note within this enclosure is a second, very small platform which abuts the western side of the boundary bank, a short distance away from the modern fence defining the northern boundary of the main field. This seems likely to have been the stance for a small building, perhaps only a timber animal shelter.

A very shallow ditch appears intermittently along the outside edge of the bank (40). Like other banks recorded at Sawley gaps have been worn, or created along its length, creating the impression of a number of smaller features on a similar alignment. However, this bank, like the others, was originally a continuous feature, with the intrusions occurring later.

To the south of the curving enclosure bank, described above, is another bank which continues further to the east, as far as the western edge of the principal channel (Figure 22, 42 – also Figure 18, 22). To the west it defines the south side of an east-west trackway while its main, eastern part forms the southern side of the farmstead area. This bank also displays the intermittent depressions observed elsewhere, but these also appear to be from later damage. There is also a ditch to the south, which is quite pronounced in places. The bank and ditch are not shown on the 1847 OS map or on subsequent editions, which suggests that they date to before the nineteenth century, possibly earlier. At intervals across the western part of the trackway are slight, but broad banks. These appear to pre-date the trackway and may be the remnants of much earlier ridge and furrow cultivation.

The east-west trackway leads to a broad, level area containing a number of earthwork features, which appears to be the main farmstead area (Figure 22, 43). There is a small rectangular depression surrounded by broad, low banks forming a rectilinear enclosure at

the west of this area (Figure 22, a). This seems to have been a dwelling or an outbuilding, with an associated yard. At the south-west corner of the feature there is another short bank which serves to define the narrow part of the north-south trackway and also the south-west corner of the farmstead area. Beyond the latter, the north-south trackway broadens out, and more than trebles in width.

On its eastern side, the main farmstead area has been cut partly into the natural slope and also into the bank forming the western edge of the principal channel, to create a rectangular hollowed feature. The back of this feature is very steep, while the front appears to have been open at its northern end. This may have been the platform for another building (Figure 22, b) approached and entered from the north-east where there is a short linear hollow leading from the platform. A square depression on the southern side of this hollow may be the site of a small building or shed (Figure 22, c).

To the north of the main farmstead area, the broad north-south hollow way leads away towards the modern field boundary (Figure 22, 44). Slight feature were again recorded crossing the base of the trackway, but these were not as clear as those in the bottom of the east-west trackway to the south of the farmstead. One possibility is that the most prominent crossing feature, a low bank with a shallow ditch, is the remains of a barrier or a gate, allowing the control of livestock between the farmstead and the trackway. Modern development beyond the fence means that any further trace of the trackway has been lost. There are hollow ways to the north-east of the site, beyond the present road and approximately 300m north of the farmstead site, which indicates that at some time in the past access to the site was obtained from this direction. This segment of trackway (Figure 22, 44) at the edge of East Field may once have joined up to these hollow ways to form an access route, perhaps between the farmstead and fields further away to the north-east.

The eastern side of the trackway to the north of the farmstead is defined by a strong bank, which is on a north-south alignment before turning ninety degrees and heading towards the principal channel (Figure 22, 45). This defines the northern side of the farmstead. A lowering in the east-west bank close to its western end may indicate the location of an entrance (indicated on Figure 22 by a red arrow).

A strong north-south bank was recorded in the north-west corner of East Field *(see* Figure 12, 3, above), possibly related to the farmstead complex, but more likely to be an independent feature. It contains a lot of stony material close to, and in places protruding through, the ground surface, clearly indicating that it represents the course of a former wall. As discussed previously, the exact date of origin of the wall is unclear; it is shown on the 1847 OS map of the site (Figure 23), possibly indicating a relatively late date, but had been dismantled by 1884. The depiction on the map

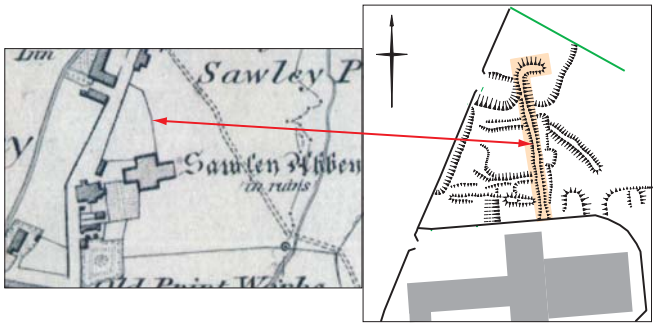

Figure 23
Extracts from the1850 Ordnance Survey map and the English Heritage survey plan allowing a comparison of the former wall and what remains of it today

suggests that the wall adjoined the corner of the abbey church's northern transept and turned west towards the field boundary at its northern end. However, the earthwork evidence indicates that at some stage it turned to the east. This turn may represent a former section of the wall which was no longer in existence when the map was created. As this appears to be a field boundary, the likelihood is that it dates to the post-Dissolution period, when the land around the abbey was divided up for agricultural use.

It is very likely that the enclosures (fields) on the lower slopes of Noddle Hill (described above, Section 6.1.6, Figure 17) were either created for, or at least utilized by, the northern farmstead. Access to these fields appears to have been along the principal channel of the monastic water supply system, which came to be used as a track contemporaneously with the farmstead. The fact that the water had been diverted underground into a stone-lined conduit in the monastic period would have ensured that the ground was not too boggy for the movement of stock and carts between the fields.

6.2.3 Sawley Park

In terms of earthwork evidence there is little that can be directly attributed to the creation or existence of Sawley Park. The main source of evidence is cartographic; on the First Edition OS map to the present day edition, the approximate area of East Field has been known as 'Sawley Park' (*see* Figure 24). This is a strong indication that the site was landscaped and 'gentrified' at some point following the Dissolution, with the abbey ruins incorporated into a designed parkland setting. However, in terms of field evidence, those features which are connected with the parkland landscape have already been described in the sections above. The broader development of the park will be considered below in the discussion of the site (Section 7), rather than analysing its individual components here and risking repetition.

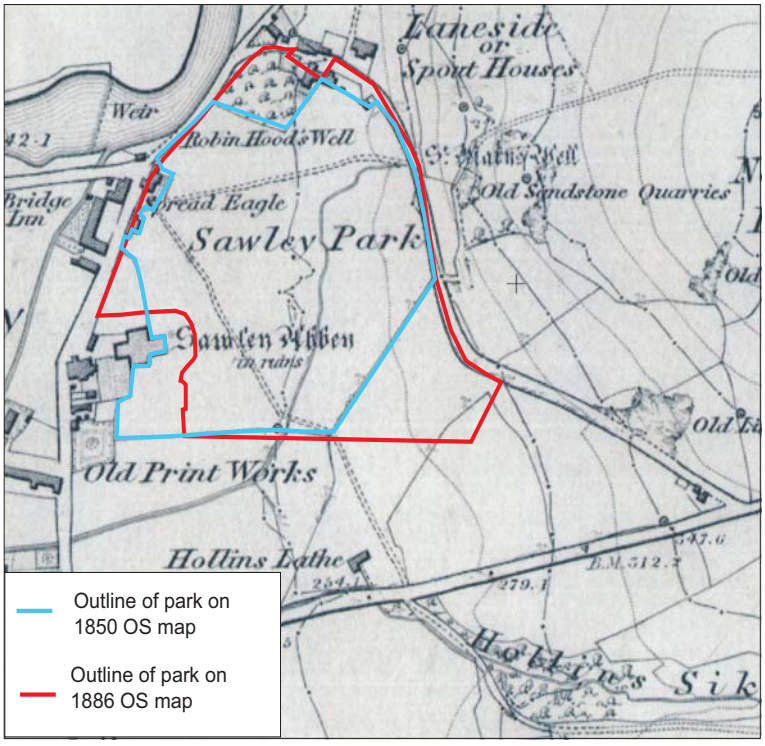

Figure 24 The nineteenth-century boundaries of Sawley Park. Base map reproduced from the 1850 Ordnance Survey map

7. Discussion and Conclusions

The excavations at Sawley Abbey between 1977 and 1984 uncovered a large amount of detailed information about the structure of the abbey church and certain parts of the claustral complex. There is no need to reiterate that detail here, but what can be further elucidated and considered is the landscape beyond the claustral nucleus. Although many of the earthworks recorded in the present survey area relate to the post-monastic period, with few directly attributable to the development of the monastery, there are the remains of what appear to be monastic structures adjacent to the 1850s wall. Clearly, in its heyday, the core of the monastery extended further beyond the nineteenth-century wall defining the remains on display today. These buildings may have included functional buildings, possibly for storage or for the preparation of food, a likelihood given the proliferation of animal bone found close to the ground surface just beyond the 1850s wall. One of the buildings which might be expected to survive reasonably well and may have been quite substantial is the infirmary. This was often a detached structure situated a short distance from the main nucleus of the abbey, but within reach of the water supply. At Sawley Abbey, however, the location of the infirmary cannot yet be pinpointed from either the earthwork or excavated evidence.

Although the majority of Sawley Abbey's agricultural activity would have been carried out on its outlying estates, some food production would also have taken place within the monastic precinct. The ponds in South Field, for example, were probably the abbey's fishponds. The location would have ensured that the monks had easy, secure access to a supply of fresh fish for their table. Fish were a valuable resource in the Middle Ages, worthy of protection, hence the location of the ponds within the precinct boundary. They were also situated so that they could be supplied with water via their own dedicated channel which branched off from the principal water channel, which served the rest of the abbey. In addition to fishponds, there may also have been orchards within the outer precinct, possibly represented by the broad ridge and furrow surviving to the east of the abbey. Other agricultural buildings which would have stood within the precinct include stables, to service the horses of the abbot and important visitors to the abbey. Whether or not these would have been substantial stone buildings is unclear, but it may be that some of the earthworks covering structural remains outside the 1850s wall also include the former stables.

Additionally, documentary evidence, namely the 1481 *compotus* (*see* Section 3), indicates that the abbey would also have had a tannery, a brewery and a granary. These would have been fairly substantial buildings and are likely to have been situated within the outer monastic precinct in order to ensure security, to maintain control, and to enable them to utilise the monastic water supply (in the case of the tannery and brewery). These structures are unlikely to have been immediately next to the claustral area, as some of the processes would have been malodorous and noisy, thus detracting from the calm, spiritual life sought by the monks. To ensure that the fresh water supply for the monks was not contaminated by these processes, the 'industries' are likely to have been downslope of the claustral buildings, or supplied from a different branch of the water system. Thus, at Sawley, the

likelihood is that the 'industrial' processes controlled by the monastery took place on the edge of the floodplain, below and to the south-west of the abbey. Evidence for milling and possibly even flax-retting has been identified in the West Field (*see* Sections 6.1.7 and 6.1.8). The post-Dissolution development of the village means that there are now few above-ground, *in situ* structural or earthwork remains to the immediate west of the abbey; the modern development of the village has cut a swathe, up to 100m wide in places, through the monastic precinct, possibly destroying further industrial sites.

In terms of a broader agricultural landscape within the outer precinct, it seems unlikely that all, if any, of the enclosures visible today, on the lower slopes of Noddle Hill, originated in the monastic period, which raises the question as to what the eastern part of the precinct was used for. The manipulation of the landscape following the demise of Sawley Abbey has left us with few identifiable above-ground clues which answer that question. However, despite these problems with the monastic landscape, the later changes make it possible to piece together the story of the landscape at Sawley following the Dissolution of the Monasteries.

As with other monastic houses in England, the buildings of Sawley Abbey were dismantled at the Dissolution and valuable materials, such as the roof lead, building stone and any precious items of gold and silver, were stripped and sold by the King's Commissioners. Some stone would have remained *in situ*, effectively standing as an above-ground quarry, from which people took worked building stone as required. It is apparent that the stone was re-used in houses in the immediate area; the fabric of Abbey Cottage (believed to be a post-Reformation conversion of part of the Abbot's House; Listed Building no. 183465), Southport Farmhouse (LB no. 183472) and Arches Cottage (LB no. 183466) all contain re-used medieval stonework. Bay windows from the abbey were taken to Little Mearley Hall in nearby Mearley, the pre-Reformation rood screen from the abbey church ended up in All Hallows Church, Great Mitton (*see* Figure 1b), parts of an archway were re-used at St Mary the Virgin Church in Gisburn and a substantial doorway at Wigglesworth Hall (North Yorkshire) is also believed to have originated at Sawley (HTNW 1997, 11).

It was not uncommon for a private residence to be built on the site of a former monastery, in some cases utilising surviving monastic buildings. A fine example of a surviving post-Dissolution house can be found at Forde Abbey, Dorset, which incorporates the abbey's chapter house, kitchen, refectory and one side of the cloister, while the infirmary and abbot's house of Sawley's near neighbour, Whalley Abbey, were converted into a country mansion. There are no immediately obvious remains of such a substantial post-monastic dwelling built amongst the abbey ruins at Sawley, but there may have been a more modest residence. Of the ruins within the 1850s wall, some of the most complete are the remains of a large fireplace, chimney and ovens, slightly to the west of the western cloister, which survive to a height in excess of 6m (Figure 25). This appears to be the eastern end of a post-medieval structure, converted from its previous incarnation as part of the abbot's hall, which was itself created from the west range during the latter part of the monastic occupation. This would originally have acted as a kitchen for the monastery, with the semi-circular outline of remains of oven bases still visible. Following the Dissolution, these ovens were demolished and the

Figure 25 Photographs showing the remains of the fireplace and chimney adjacent to the western range of the cloister.

openings in the eastern wall filled in, to create the outer wall of the post-monastic dwelling (Coppack *et al* 2001, 81-2). These remains roughly correspond with the eastern end of a large rectilinear building depicted on the 1847 OS map (Figure 26). Although it is not absolutely clear from this edition of the map, the building was probably still roofed at this date, but had been demolished by 1884, when the next edition of the OS map was surveyed. Presumably it had fallen victim to Earl de Grey's re-modelling of the abbey and its environs in the 1850s.

The landscape immediately surrounding Sawley Abbey, like the buildings, was also subject to post-Dissolution re-organisation. In the absence of documentary or cartographic evidence it is impossible to be sure of how the monastic outer precinct itself was fragmented in the immediate aftermath of the Dissolution. The earthwork evidence shows that at some point following the abbey's reversion to secular ownership, the outer precinct area was utilised for agricultural purposes, with the insertion of the northern and eastern farmsteads. The exact place of these farmsteads within the chronology of the site is difficult to pinpoint. They are not shown on the 1847 OS map, with the exception of the single structure 'Hollins Lathe' and two field boundaries, all part of the eastern farmstead, indicating that not only had they largely fallen out of use by this date, but parts had also been cleared to the extent that there were few remaining structures or features deemed significant enough to be mapped by the OS surveyors. The lifespan of these farmsteads can thus be placed within a period of roughly 300 years between 1539 and 1847.

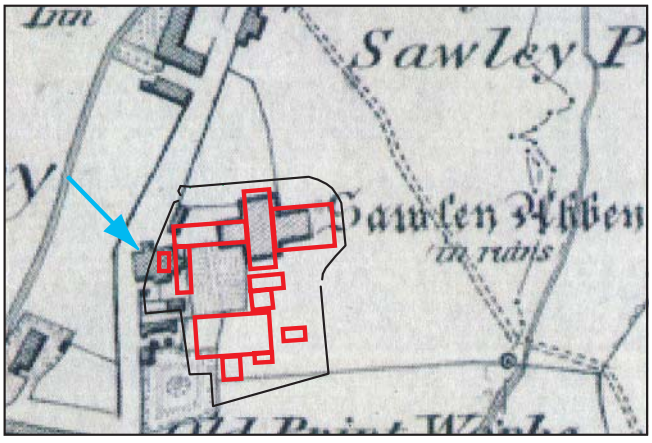

Figure 26 Extract from the 1850 Ordnance Survey map with an overlay showing the relative position of the abbey ruins as surveyed by English Heritage in 2005

There is, however, no compelling evidence to indicate that the two farmsteads were necessarily contemporary with one

another. Indeed, the evidence suggests a scenario which saw the northern farmstead constructed first, with some of its fields lying on the lower slopes of Noddle Hill, followed by the eastern complex, with its associated enclosures (fields) surrounding it, some time later. This hypothesis is based on the fact that no features relating to the northern farmstead are depicted on the 1847 OS map. The area where it was situated had by this date become part of 'Sawley Park'. However, some elements of the eastern farmstead were shown by the OS in 1847 (including Hollins Lathe, a field boundary and a discrete enclosure) which apparently lay outwith the area of Sawley Park. The creation of Sawley Park would have entailed the creation of a 'polite', designed landscape, which would have had no space for a functional farmstead or agricultural enclosures within it. Thus, the northern farmstead was cleared and its field boundaries and structures removed, together with its inhabitants; the latter were probably moved to a new, or possibly pre-existing farm to the south-east (the eastern farmstead). This south-eastern part of the site appears to have been screened off from the rest of the park by a boundary hedge or wall defining its north-western side, discussed above in Section 6.2.2 (*see* also Figure 20, 28).

The First and Second Editions of the OS 1:2500 indicate that during the second part of the nineteenth century the eastern farmstead had ceased to be a functioning unit of any significance. Its enclosures and the boundary on its west side (*see* Figure 20, 28), which separated the farmstead from Sawley Park, were cut through at this time by a new straight field boundary extending eastwards from the south-east corner of the 1850s wall. This straight boundary was still a functioning field wall at the time of the English Heritage survey.

The agricultural landscape described above presumably equates with the 'hovels and straggling fences' which Walbran mentions in his article of 1852; he also describes the abbey and the close that once surrounded it, the latter having recently been 'restored to something like its original aspect and dignity' (Walbran 1852, 75). He enthuses about Earl de Grey's work to restore the abbey to its deserved position by removing the 'rude buildings', and notes that 'minute and irregular divisions of land were suppressed; the park was divested of its encumbrances' (Walbran 1852, 76). This manipulation of the abbey and its landscape sheds light on contemporary attitudes to the presentation and appreciation of historic buildings. Clearly the abbey church and cloister ruins were the focus of interest, as the encircling wall dating to the 1850s suggests in the way it cut off the ruins from the newly created pristine landscape beyond. The fact that there was apparently no large residence associated with the abbey or the park after the 1850s suggests that this was the start of an attempt to use the landscape as an attraction available to those willing to pay, rather than solely for the enjoyment of the landowner and his/her guests. The second half of the nineteenth century saw the pastime of visiting historic ruins grow in popularity and with it the appearance of guidebooks to various picturesque areas. Johnson's 1882 *Pictorial Handbook to the Valley of the Ribble* was one such publication, and he remarks of Sawley Abbey that 'a fee of twopence (to keep the place select) gives admission to the grounds' and that it was 'a favourite resort of pic-nic parties' (Johnson 1882, 117 & 122). The fact that Turner had sketched the ruins and Buck had made an engraving of them would only have added to their popularity.

From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the landscape around Sawley Abbey has been gradually encroached upon by the expansion of the village, but vestiges of its former incarnations can still be found. The functional, farming landscape which superseded the monastery at Sawley would have been very much at odds with the haven of calm and spiritual retreat that the Cistercians attempted to create, and yet may not have been so far removed from any agricultural activity in the valley prior to the arrival of the monks. The nineteenth-century creation of a picturesque landscape surrounding Sawley Abbey and the presentation of the ruins as an attraction saw a return to something more akin to the monastic landscape. However, the erection of the wall around the abbey church and cloister severed the unity of the ruins with the surrounding landscape. It is this interpretation of the abbey and its environs which is the most visible today, although there is still sufficient evidence surviving in the surrounding landscape to enable at least a partial recreation of Sawley's monastic heritage.

8. Survey Methodology

The survey was carried out within OS National Grid co-ordinates using a Trimble dual-frequency Global Positioning System (GPS). The base station was set up over a permanent marker (ST01) in order to bring in the European Terrestrial Referencing System (ETRS89) latitude/longitude co-ordinates via the OS active station GPS network. While the base station was logging the satellite data necessary to make the calculation, a second 'roving' receiver (Trimble 5700 or 4800), working in real-time kinematic mode, was used to record the archaeological features. The resulting data were processed using Trimble Geomatics Office (TGO) software and the OS National GPS network website in order to convert it to OS National Grid values. This was then processed with GeoSite software and plotted out at a scale of 1:1000 via AutoCAD. A print-out of the data was then taken into the field for checking and to complete detail in areas inaccessible with GPS using the tape and offset method.

A survey archive consisting of the field plan, hard-copy printouts of the final electronic drawings, plus supporting background information, such as the project design and correspondence has been deposited in the NMRC, Swindon, under collections reference AF 00194, where it is available for public consultation upon request. Applications for copyright should be made to NMRC, Great Western Village, Kemble Drive, Swindon SN2 2GZ (reference number: SD 74 NE 3).

Working photographs of the site were taken by Abby Hunt using a digital camera (5 mega pixels) and Christopher Dunn using a 4 mega pixel digital camera. These are linked to the site archive.

9. Acknowledgments

English Heritage gratefully acknowledges Mr Dakin and Mrs Haynes for allowing English Heritage access to their land to carry out this survey.

The residents of Sawley have been most helpful in sharing their personal knowledge of the abbey ruins and the surrounding area.

The owners of The Spread Eagle, Sawley, kindly allowed the survey team to use their car park whilst carrying out the survey.

The survey was undertaken by Abby Hunt, Mitchell Pollington, Christopher Dunn and Trevor Pearson of English Heritage's York office. The report was written by Abby Hunt and edited by Christopher Dunn. Figures 1a, 1b, 2 and 6 were prepared by Philip Sinton. Paul Everson also visited the site with the survey team and provided useful comments and discussion.

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Sawley Abbey, near Clitheroe 1816 (Ref: D11558; Finberg number: CXLVIII 21 a)

Sawley Abbey, near Clitheroe 1816 (Ref: D11559; Finberg number: CXLVIII 22)

Appendix 1: The Cistercian Order

The Cistercian Order was founded in Citeaux (France) in 1098 by Robert of Molesme in response to a perception of slackening standards in contemporary monasticism. The Order sought to adhere strictly to the Rule of St Benedict, living a strongly disciplined and austere life with an emphasis on manual work. The accoutrements of monastic life, such as diet, clothing, liturgy and architecture, were kept simple and unostentatious; the monks' undyed habits earned them the alternative name of the 'White Monks'. The Cistercians initially rejected income from conventional sources (such as tithes, churches and rents) and tried to maintain a high level of self-sufficiency.

The first Cistercian monks arrived in Britain in 1128, when a colony of monks from L'Aumône settled on the Bishop of Winchester's land at Waverley in Surrey (Burton 1994, 69). The following decades saw a great expansion of the order across the British Isles. In spite of an edict by the Cistercian General Chapter in 1152 attempting to ban new foundations, the latter half of the twelfth century saw a further scattering of new houses until there were in excess of 80 across the country (Burton 1994, 69). The layout of the individual houses broadly followed a prescribed pattern, as specified by the Cistercian General Chapter. Sawley Abbey appears to have conformed to this general layout – this is described in Section 6.1.4 of this report.

In their search for solitude and distance from the secular world, the Cistercians frequently, although not always, settled in remote or inhospitable areas, although it was often only marginal land that benefactors were willing to grant to them. The Order's reliance on self-sufficiency required adaptation in order to fully benefit from the lands and resources granted to them. To this end, they developed a system of granges to enable the direct exploitation of agriculture, a system which has become synonymous with the Cistercian Order. In order to staff the granges effectively, a new type of monk, a 'lay brother' (*conversi*), was introduced. Although living under the rules of monastic discipline, the lay brothers were primarily responsible for the running of granges, with a stronger bias on manual labour, rather than spiritual activities. A proportion of the lay brothers would have been housed in the monastery itself, generally occupying dedicated quarters along the western claustral range. The combined effects of the demise of the feudal system and the Black Death decimated the numbers of lay brothers and by the time of the Dissolution, most monasteries had few, if any, remaining lay brothers.

The Cistercians' astute management of their agricultural resources and the exploitation of industry helped the Order to flourish and prosper; some abbeys accrued a great deal of wealth, with foundations such as Fountains Abbey and Rievaulx Abbey among the wealthiest religious houses in England. This great wealth was at odds with the initial ideals of austerity and poverty – the Order was in effect a victim of its own success. However, the web of Cistercian houses which stretched across Europe in the Middle Ages is testament to the widespread success and influence of the Order.

Appendix 2: Table of NMR numbers linked to the survey

SITE NAME	COUNTY	DISTRICT	PARISH
Sawley Abbey	Lancashire	Ribble Valley	Sawley

SITE NAME	NGR	NMR No.
Sawley Abbey	SD 7764 4641	SD 74 NE 3
St Mary's Well	SD 7786 4659	SD 74 NE 11

Appendix 3

SURVEY STATION INFORMATION

ENGLISH HERITAGE

SITE NAME	Sawley Abbey		
Station number	ST01	**Status**	
Type of mark	Metal ground anchor	**NMR number**	SD 7764 6461
Date of survey	July-August 2004	**SAM/RSM no.**	23690
Office of origin	York	**Surveyors**	AH/MP/CD/TP

OS National Grid	Eastings	Northings	Height
	377813.525	446440.611	77.535

Sawley Abbey
Lancashire

River Ribble

Key

- Stone wall
- Fence
- Hedge
- Modern extent of Sawley village
- Natural slope
- Concrete outline of abbey buildings
- Medieval tiles *in situ*
- Ridge and furrow
- Boggy area

ENGLISH HERITAGE

0 10 50 100 metres

Figure 6. English Heritage survey plan of Sawley Abbey at 1:1000 scale. Background map detail taken from 2003 OS Land-line data.