Notley Abbey

By W. A. PANTIN

I. HISTORICAL

NOTLEY ABBEY, a house of Augustinian canons, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and St. John the Baptist, was founded by Walter Giffard, Earl of Buckingham and Ermengard his wife, somewhere between 1154 and 1164, probably about 1160. It was one of the largest and richest Augustinian monasteries in the Oxford region, though it has not the same historical fame as Dorchester or Osney or St. Frideswide’s. It has indeed not much history in the ordinary sense of historical events, but it is interesting as a characteristic specimen of an Augustinian monastery of its period and its region.

The order of Augustinian canons to which it belonged represents one of the various experiments that have been made throughout Church history to combine the life of a religious community with apostolic work, to practice the *vita apostolica*, as something half-way between the life of the monks and the life of the secular clergy. For this purpose the Augustinian canons followed the Rule of St. Augustine. It was something of the same attempt to combine the monastic and apostolic life which was made with more success by the Mendicants in the 13th century; in the case of the Augustinians, the monastic element soon predominated, and they became hardly distinguishable from the older types of monasticism, such as the Benedictine. The Augustinians became organised towards the end of the 11th century; and the 12th century represented the heyday of Augustinian foundations in England, starting from the reign of Henry I. It was therefore very characteristic that a nobleman like the Earl of Buckingham, in the middle of the 12th century, should choose to found an Augustinian house such as Notley. Moreover these Augustinian houses were a particularly

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1 The foundation charter (printed *Monasticon*, vi, 278) must be after 1154, as it mentions Henry II and Eleanor as King and Queen. For the general history of the abbey see also *V.C.H. Bucks.*, i, 377 ff. There were charters of confirmation by Henry II and John (in 1200). Walter Giffard died without issue in 1164, and his inheritance remained in the hands of the Crown until 1191, when part of it, including Crendon, came to William Marshall (later Earl of Pembroke) by marriage (*V.C.H. Bucks.*, iv, 38). King John granted in 1200 the *donatio baculi pastoralis abbatiae de Nutley*, quae est in feodo suo (*Monasticon*, vi, 279) to William Marshall.

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characteristic feature of the Oxford region, which included St. Frideswide's (1122), Oseney (1129), Dorchester (1140), and (further afield) Cirencester (c. 1131) and Missenden (1133). Notley, like Dorchester and Missenden, belonged to a special type or branch of the Augustinian canons, the Arrouaisian canons, who followed the customs and observances of Arrouaise, in the diocese of Arras.

The endowments of the abbey are worth considering carefully. They can be classified as follows:

i. The site of the abbey was the Earl's park at Long Crendon, which lay to the east of the village, between the road to Chearsley on the north and the river Thame to the south. According to Domesday there was a parcus bestiarum silvaticarum adjoining Crendon manor, which was the caput of the Honor of Giffard.1 Owing to its site, Notley abbey was sometimes called the abbey de parco Crendon or de parco super Thamam. There are other examples of monasteries founded in parks, such as Louth Park (Cistercian) and Hinton and Beauvale (Carthusian); such a secluded situation—a home-made Desert—was specially suited for the more strictly contemplative orders. The fact that Notley was founded in such a situation is perhaps some indication that by this date (c. 1160), the Augustinians were becoming more purely monastic in character, whereas the earlier Augustinian foundations at centres of population like Oxford, Cirencester or Dorchester must have seemed much more like successors of the Anglo-Saxon minsters or collegiate churches of secular clerks—indeed St. Frideswide's and Dorchester were converted from such minsters.

ii. The abbey possessed a certain amount of land, notably at Lower Winchendon, Chilton, Princes Risborough, and Stranglethorpe in Lincolnshire. The valuable manor of Lower Winchendon was only secured by about 1302, after a century of litigation.2

iii. Most important of all were the appropriated churches, about 15 in number; the tithes from these brought in about twice as much as the income from land. At the dissolution, the spiritualities were valued at £318 gross (£301 net), the temporalities at £177 gross (£136 net).3 The founder had given to Notley the churches on all his demesne lands; this was a characteristic method for a lord to use in endowing a monastery in the 11th or 12th century. The appropriated churches fall roughly into two groups: (1) there is a solid block of parishes round Notley, about four miles in diameter, consisting of Crendon, Lower Winchendon, Ashendon, Chilton, and Dorton; and (2)

1 Domesday, ii, fo. 147; V.C.H. Bucks., iv, 38.
2 V.C.H. Bucks., i, 377.
3 Valor Ecclesiasticus, iv, 232; cf. A. Savine, English monasteries on the eve of the Dissolution, pp. 112, 270.
there are the outlying churches, such as Princes Risborough and Caversham, and two important churches at an even greater distance, Maiden Bradley in Wiltshire and Sheringham in Norfolk, which were in fact very small dependent cells. There is a further point to be noticed about these appropriated churches. Normally, when a church was appropriated to a monastery, a secular vicar had to be put in to exercise the cure of souls; the bishops insisted on this. But it was a special feature and special privilege of some of the Augustinian houses, that they were allowed, if they chose, to serve their appropriated churches by their own canons in person, instead of by a secular vicar. It was in this way that Dorchester served its surrounding dependent churches within its Hundred, and St. Frideswide's served its appropriated churches of Oakley, Worminghall and Upper Winchendon. So, too, Notley was given the right to serve its appropriated churches by a bull of Alexander IV in 1258. This system (we do not know how consistently it was carried out) seemed at first sight to have certain advantages; at first it must have seemed in keeping with the earlier Augustinian ideal of combining the monastic and apostolic life, and later on, it would be welcomed at least as making for economy. But it had real disadvantages; it would have a bad effect on discipline and choir attendance, even if the canons lived at home and merely had to go off and serve local churches; and it was still more undesirable, according to contemporary monastic ideas, if the canons had to live by themselves away at Sheringham or Maiden Bradley. Visitation statistics show that houses might be depleted by this system; at St. Frideswide's in 1445, out of 17 canons, 6 were away; at Notley in 1447, out of 16 canons, 6 seem to be away. Probably a good deal of the disciplinary disorders revealed in the visitations were connected with this system; at Notley in 1447, of the two ringleaders in a quarrel with the abbot and other disorders, one, John Medmenham, had been away for five years at Sheringham, and the other, Thomas Ewelme, had served Dorton. Moreover, there were complaints that such churches were badly served and badly repaired. The normal vicarage system, whatever its shortcomings, was preferable for all parties concerned.

iv. Finally, Notley absorbed the small priory of Chetwood (Bucks.), with its dependent churches of Chelwood, Barton Hartshorne and Brill. This had been an independent priory, founded in 1245, but it could no longer support enough canons to serve its churches, and it was therefore appropriated to Notley in 1461.

4 A. Hamilton Thompson, Visitations in the dio. of Lincoln, 1517-31, i, xxviii, xxxiv, 45-6.
5 Monasticon, vi, 498; V.C.H. Bucks., i, 380 f.
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The revenues derived from these endowments were considerable, the temporalities and spiritualities together amounting to £495 (gross) at the dissolution. Notley was wealthier than Dorchester and St. Frideswide's (between £200 and £300), but not so wealthy as Oseney (£755). As to numbers, Notley had 16 canons in 1447, 17 in 1534, 14 in 1539; as compared with 26 at Oseney in 1445; c. 17 at St. Frideswide's in 1445, and 12 at Dorchester in 1455.¹

II. ARCHITECTURAL

The main object of this article is to give some account of the excavations undertaken by the members of the Oxford University Archaeological Society on the site of Notley during the summer of 1937, and to record both what we found and what we failed to find.² Some things were already visible above ground, notably the abbot's house (the present dwelling-house), in a tolerably complete state, and considerable remains of the western and southern ranges of the claustral buildings. On the other hand the site of the church practically presented a blank, and needed exploration, and it was here therefore that we excavated. But there was a tragic disappointment for us; about 40 or 50 years before, a previous owner had systematically dug up the foundations, at any rate of the eastern part of the church, for the purpose of road-mending. The result was that only in one or two places did we find actual masonry, and for the rest, we had to rely partly on traces of 'robber' trenches and partly on fragments of glass, tiles and moulded stones, as data for reconstructing the church. However, in spite of all these difficulties, I think it is possible to establish very roughly the general plan (FIG. 6) and dimensions of the church, together with the chronological sequence of the various stages of the building operations, which may be summarized as follows:

(1) Soon after the foundation, perhaps about 1160 +, were built the crossing (perhaps with a tower), the transepts, and perhaps a short structural choir or eastern limb (ending at A–B on plan, FIG. 6). To begin with the part containing the choir and presbytery for liturgical purposes would be a normal procedure.

(2) At a later date, perhaps c. 1200, the work was continued westwards, that is to say the nave was joined on to the crossing: the exact join was discovered. This western work was no doubt started when stage (1) was finished.

² Many thanks are due to those members of the O.V.A.S. and others who helped in excavating, measuring and photographing, and particularly to Mr. St. J. O. Gamlen, Mr. P. S. Spokes, Mr. E. T. Long, Mr. C. Hohler, Mr. R. B. Wade and Mr. J. A. Daniell, and to Mr. E. M. Jope who has helped in preparing the plans and drawings. Thanks are also due to Captain Dalrymple, the occupier of the house in 1937, who gave the Society every facility and help, and to the present occupiers. A preliminary investigation of the site, and in particular the excavation of the chapter-house and slype had been made by Mr. Christopher Hohler in 1932 and 1933; his findings are recorded, with a plan of the chapter-house, etc., in Records of Buckinghamshire, xii, 200, 421, xiii, 58.
NOTLEY ABBEY, BUCKS.
GROUND PLAN

FIG. 6
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It followed a different style and plan, transitional or very early Early English, rather than the romanesque of (1).

(3) Then followed the claustral buildings c. 1200–50; the chapter-house and presumably the dormitory, the southern or refectory range, and the western range.

Thus by about a century after the foundation, the church and claustral buildings were complete. Then, after an interval, as usual, rebuildings and enlargements began:

(4) c. 1300+, the eastern limb of the church or structural choir was extended, perhaps entirely rebuilt, in the decorated style.

(5) After another pause, a century or more later, the central crossing was partly rebuilt in late perpendicular style (perhaps owing to difficulties with the central tower, if it existed), and some perpendicular windows were inserted, as usual.

(6) About the same time, in the 15th century, the main range of the abbot’s house was built.

(7) In the early 16th century, the western range of the abbot’s house was added, and was just finished about ten years before the dissolution.

THE CHURCH

The central crossing, transepts and eastern limb. The earliest part, as I have already suggested, would have consisted of the central crossing, the transepts, and probably the eastern limb in its original form. Here much has to be left to conjecture, for instance whether the transepts had an eastern aisle or eastern chapels: at any rate there would have only been room for one such chapel on each side. Still more doubtful is the form and extent of the original eastern limb. A ‘robber’ trench was discovered about 30 feet east of the crossing (A–B on plan); does this represent the line of the original east end? Does this imply a square east end? One can only speculate.

A very definite find, however, was made, namely, the south-west pier of the central crossing, and this, fortunately, tells a great deal (FIG. 7). It is a very good piece of late romanesque work. The eastern face is the most elaborate; it has three half-round pilasters, a projecting central one flanked by two

1 Mr. W. H. Godfrey and Mr. A. W. Clapham, to whom I have shown photographs of the romanesque south-west pier, point out that the work has some characteristics of early or middle, rather than late 12th century work, notably in the setting of the nook-shafts in line with the arch, instead of diagonally in the angle, as was usual in later work. This seems to suggest that the crossing, transepts, etc., were begun immediately after the foundation, c. 1154-64, and may even have been begun a few years earlier in anticipation of the official foundation. There can hardly have been any previously existing church on the site, as it was within the founder’s park. It may be noted that the romanesque pier has the markedly classical flavour which is characteristic of so much of the best 12th century work, both in art and in literature.
smaller ones, forming the respond of the great arch of the south side of the crossing. At the foot of the pilasters is a series of four mouldings, and below this is a boldly projecting plinth in two stages, the upper decorated with a large spur-like ornament.

The south face of the pier embodies the northern respond of the archway leading from the transept westwards into the south aisle of the nave; this respond is much simpler than that on the eastern face, but has an attractive

small corner pilaster, with base mouldings similar to those on the eastern face, and a plinth below; the corresponding respond on the south side of the arch was treated in the same way. At some later period, perhaps in the 14th or 15th century, this arch was filled in, leaving only a comparatively narrow doorway communicating between the nave aisle and the transept; this may have been done to strengthen the crossing, and suggests difficulties with a central tower, the same difficulties perhaps which led to the 15th century rebuilding of the south-east crossing pier.

The northern face of the south-west pier, unlike the eastern face, is flat, without pilasters; the respond of the western arch of the crossing would perhaps
be supported upon a bracket at some distance above the floor. This flatness may mean that either the choir stalls or the pulpitum was placed against this face of the pier; thus the ritual choir would originally occupy the crossing and perhaps a bay or two of the nave, while the presbytery would occupy a short eastern limb.

At some time, perhaps quite soon after building, a settlement occurred, and the south-west pier sank several inches into the ground. This is well shown by the way in which the projecting spur of the plinth on the eastern face has buckled up, and also by the cracks in the northern face of the pier (FIG. 7, PL. V, A, B, D). The settlement was perhaps due to the damp, marshy soil (it does not take long to get down to water), and probably argues, too, for the existence of a central tower. It had a very curious result; the builders evidently took fright, and filled in the base of the pier with earth, raising the floor level by a foot or more (as can be seen from the tiles in PL. V, c); this raising of the floor had already taken place when the nave was added c. 1200. An additional reason for raising the floor may have been to avoid damp.

Nave. The nave was begun after the eastern limb, crossing, etc., had been finished, perhaps about 1200; it is quite different in style and represents a new phase in the work. The eastern respond of the southern nave arcade had to be joined on to the south-west pier of the crossing (FIG. 7, PL. VI, D); and the northern face of the pier and respond shows very clearly the juncture between the two periods of building and the contrast in the work (PL. V, D). The masonry of the romanesque work is smooth and highly finished, while that of the transitional work of the nave is rougher and evidently meant to be plastered over in part. The eastern respond of the romanesque pier as we have seen, is an elaborate thing, with three pilasters, multiple base mouldings and plinths, whereas the nave responds and pillars were single large drums with simpler and bolder mouldings. The juncture of the two works also shows that the sleeper wall of the nave arcade and consequently the nave floor level is higher than the original level of the crossing, and that therefore, as has been indicated, the settlement and filling in of the crossing had presumably taken place before the nave was built.

Besides the eastern respond of the nave arcade, the first pillar westwards was also found, the circular base being about 6 ft. in diameter, and at a distance of about 9 ft. from the respond. This gave the size of the nave bays. At the east end of the south nave aisle was also found the doorway leading from the cloister into the church; the external arch was of two orders, with a bevelled plinth, but with no trace of pilasters. At some period the easternmost bay of the south choir aisle was screened off by means of a wall (with a door in it) apparently connecting the first pillar of the nave arcade with the aisle wall;
only the northern half of this screen wall was found (pl. vi, d). The purpose of this was perhaps to form a kind of lobby round the cloister door; or it may have been a continuation of a pulpitum or a roodscreen across the nave.

The most important find however was at the west end of the nave (fig. 8); this was one of the few places where, as with the south-west crossing pier, we found enough foundations and footings to throw a good deal of light on the plan. First, there was the western respond of the north arcade of the nave, which was much better preserved than the south-eastern respond already described. It consisted of a large semicircular drum, with a deep cut moulding above a bevelled plinth (pl. v, e). From this and from the south-east respond and pillar, we can conjecture that the nave was about 100 ft. long (internally) and probably about 58 ft. wide including the aisles, and that it was of seven bays, divided by stout circular pillars with circular bases.

Adjoining the western respond was the north jamb of the main west door of the nave (pl. v, f). This had a large splayed opening outside; on the upper
surface of the stones of this splayed jamb, about a foot above the floor level, was a series of markings, double lines forming squares, some of which enclosed circles (see FIG. 8); these markings probably represent the masons' setting out for a series of receding orders of columns. The marked surface was apparently later covered with rubble, and the receding columns, if they ever existed, must have been suppressed. At some later date, the west door of the nave had been blocked up; possibly the main entrance was by a porch on the north side of the nave.

On the other side of the respond the wall continued northwards forming the west end of the north aisle of the nave; it could be traced for about 9 feet, but unfortunately the north-west angle of the nave had disappeared. There seemed no evidence of a tower or towers at the west end, but since a newel stone was found near the site of the north-west angle, there may have been a stair turret in this position.

**Rebuilding and enlargement of the eastern limb.** It seems likely that the eastern limb of the church was rebuilt and enlarged in its final form soon after 1300. As the foundations in this part of the church had been systematically grubbed up, and there were no lucky survivals to compare with the crossing piers and the west end, whatever is said about the eastern limb must be mainly conjectural. The 'robber' trenches, tiles and fragments of stone discovered seem however to give fairly clear evidence that the choir and choir aisles extended about 90 ft. east of the crossing, and that the central part projected about another 30 ft. beyond the choir aisles. Fortunately the foundations of the south-east angle-buttresses of this projection were discovered, thus giving the extreme eastern limit of the church.

This projection may have been a lofty extension of the presbytery itself, containing the high altar, as at Dorchester; or a lofty lady chapel behind the high altar, as at St. Augustine's, Bristol; or a low lady chapel, as at Salisbury and Exeter. Without committing myself, I shall for convenience sake refer to it hereafter as the lady chapel. There were no doubt also altars at the east end of the choir aisles; a row of stones found at the east end of the south choir aisle may represent an altar step.

The exact date and style of the eastern limb are much more difficult to determine, owing to the lack of foundations and masonry. The tiles, fragments of glass, moulded stones, that were found, point to the early 14th century or decorated period:

(1) Most of the tiles belong to what has been called the 'Wessex' type, dating in this case apparently from the early 14th century. These tiles are

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1 I owe these details about the tiles to Mr. Christopher Holler, who has published an article on the medieval paving-tiles of Buckinghamshire in *Records of Buckinghamshire*, xiv (1941), pp. 1 ff.
large, about 5½ ins. square, and made by a double process; the red clay tile is deeply stamped with a wooden stamp, and the hollows formed are then filled in with pipeclay; the designs are bold and simple, the labour of filling the hollows no doubt imposing an economy of line. They were probably the work of travelling professional tilers, working over a large area (perhaps roughly corresponding to Wessex), and they probably represent the last phase of a type going back a long way; kilns have been found at Clarendon and at Chetwood. A second and later type, the 'printed' tiles, were made by a much simpler process, perhaps invented c. 1330; these were not inlaid, but simply block-printed, like a wood-cut, by means of a wooden stamp smeared with white slip. This easier method lent itself to mass-production and vast numbers of these tiles were produced at a tile works near Penn during the 14th century. It is significant that Notley produced many fewer of the 'printed' tiles than of the early 14th century 'Wessex' tiles. Tiles of course are not conclusive as to the date of a building, since old tiles in stock might be used, or relaid in a later rebuilding.

(2) As to the glass, most of the fragments consist of grisaille work, rather like the glass at Merton, and probably date from soon after 1300. This evidence for the date of rebuilding is rather more conclusive, because people did not normally, at least in the middle ages, put early 14th century glass into, say, a 15th century building.

(3) The fragments of moulded stone found in the eastern limb were comparatively few. There were a fair number of vaulting ribs found passim at the east end of both aisles, at the entrance to the lady chapel, and in the lady chapel itself; this suggests that the choir aisles and lady chapel were vaulted, even if the main part of the choir were timber-roofed as at St. Frideswide's. A few ribs were found decorated with a ribbon ornament. There was also a remarkable series of twenty pieces of ribbing found together at the entrance to the lady chapel, lying apparently just as they had fallen, some being in line; there were traces of painting. These pieces of ribbing were quite straight, and probably represent the straight ridge-ribs along the axis of a vault, as in the 14th century vaulting of the Latin chapel at St. Frideswide's. The vaulting ribs seem to point to an early 14th century date. Some perpendicular mouldings and mullions, found in the choir aisle ends and the lady chapel, suggest that some perpendicular windows were introduced in the 15th century. Near the entrance to the lady chapel was found a small hexagonal column with concave sides, a piece of 15th century work, perhaps part of a tomb or screen.

1 I owe this dating to Mr. St. J. O. Gamlen, who is making a special study of the glass fragments from Notley.
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There seems to be a parallel to this eastern limb at Notley, both as regards plan and date, in the development of the eastern limb at St. Augustine's, Bristol (another Augustinian house), where a short romanesque choir was replaced between 1298 and 1353 by a new choir measuring 143 ft. long, consisting of a choir and choir aisles of five bays and a projecting eastern lady chapel of two bays; the choir, aisles, and lady chapel were all of equal height without a clerestory; the ritual choir was apparently moved from under the crossing into the new choir, the pulpitum being under the eastern crossing arch, and the high altar between the first pair of pillars west of the lady chapel, the latter being entered from the eastern bay of each aisle.\(^1\) Probably the arrangements at Notley were similar, except that it would be more usual to have a clerestory.

Rebuilding of south-east pier of crossing. At some time, probably during the 15th century, the south-east pier of the crossing was rebuilt, perhaps on account of trouble with a central tower. The large base of the pier remains

\(^1\) *Archaeologia*, lxiii, 240 ff., and plan.
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(Fig. 9, PL. VI, A, B, C); its elaborate plan shows that it was intended to support a cluster of shafts going up to carry the arches of the crossing and perhaps to carry vaulting. The north face of the base has been partly cut away, and has a short length of foundation for a dwarf wall projecting westwards (PL. VI, B); the purpose of this may have been to accommodate choir stalls or the pulpitum, which in turn may imply that the ritual choir had been moved eastwards from an earlier position under the crossing into the eastern limb, when the latter was enlarged. Was this 15th century pier part of a more extensive rebuilding? We have seen that the romanesque south-west pier remained, and there seem to be traces of a similar romanesque north-west pier. Unfortunately the foundations of the north-east pier have been completely robbed, but presumably both the eastern piers were rebuilt thus in the 15th century. This seems to imply a rebuilding of the crossing, perhaps with a central tower; if so, the effect must have been curious, with a pair of romanesque piers to the west and a pair of perpendicular piers to the east; one wonders how the connecting arches were managed. And did the rebuilding stop with the crossing? Was it intended to rebuild the choir a third time? It may be noted that at St. Augustine’s, Bristol, the central tower was rebuilt c. 1428–81. Beneath the base of the south-east pier was found a rough stone footing or substructure, about 4 inches below the floor level, and extending about a foot west of the base (PL. VI, C); this may represent the foundation of the original romanesque south-east pier. Some fragments of charred wood were found, with glass fragments, on the south side of this footing, below the level of the tiles, and also similar fragments at the south-west angle of the footing, apparently embedded in a cement floor, and again near the north-east corner of the south-west pier. These may possibly indicate that there was a fire which necessitated the rebuilding of the south-east pier in the 15th century; or they may simply be traces of a post-dissolution destruction which have worked down to a low level.

THE MONASTIC BUILDINGS

The cloister was 100 ft. square; it must have dated from the 13th century like the surrounding buildings. There were no traces of vaulting, so that it presumably had a pent-house roof; there was nothing to indicate the character of the arcades. There were remains of a very fine tiled pavement in the north-east corner, near the door into the church. 2 The eastern range, of which the

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1 The buildings above ground, that is the south and west ranges and the abbot’s house, have been described in Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Buckinghamshire (South), pp. 244 ff.
2 A plan of this north-east corner and its tiled pavement is given by Mr. C. Hohler, Records of Buckinghamshire, XIV (1941), 25.
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slype and chapter-house could be traced, was built in the early 13th century. The slype, between the south transept and the chapter-house, had a door at either end, east and west; there was no sign of a door into the transept; it may have served as a vestry, an inner parlour, or merely as a passage way. The doors from the cloister to the slype and to the chapter-house had recessed jambs of four members containing detached or three-quarter columns. The chapter-house was about 40 ft. by 24 ft. As usual, a bench ran along the walls, and there was a burial, probably of an abbot, under the bench in the north-east corner.

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There was the base of an engaged column, heater-shaped in section, against the north wall, a third of the way from the east end; this, together with the evidence of the Willis drawing (PL. VII, B), suggests that the chapter-house was vaulted in three compartments. Possibly the dorter passed over the two western bays of the chapter-house. Presumably the sub-vault of the dorter adjoined the chapter-house to the south, but it is not known how far south it extended. There is a building about 100 ft. south of the chapter-house site, which may be on the site of the rere dorter.

The south range (also 13th century) contained a small room to the east, which was probably the warming house, of which the door from the cloister now remains, and to the west of this the refectory. Of the refectory, the original north and east walls remain at present, while the south and west walls have been rebuilt when the building was converted into a barn. The Willis drawings show it in a much better state of preservation. The refectory seems originally to have been raised up on an undercroft or cellar, the floor level being about 5 ft. above present ground level. The east wall retains a fine corbel-table with eight richly moulded trefoil arches immediately below the level of the wall plate. One of the Willis drawings shows a richly decorated west end in the early English style with three blind arches and, above, three windows with a single window in the gable; and another view shows three coupled windows high up in the north wall, and a large arch at the west end of the north wall (still remaining) which probably led up to the refectory (PL. VII, A, B).

The western cloister range was rebuilt in post-dissolution times except for the wall next the cloister; this contains two arched doorways, that towards the northern end probably leading into the outer parlour. This western range, which belonged to the 13th century, may have consisted of a basement or cellar extending south of the outer parlour with perhaps the original guest-house on the first floor.

1 The site of the chapter-house and slype was excavated in 1932–3 by Mr. Hohler; cf. Records of Buckinghamshire, xii, 43/1, xiii, 58, with a plan, and drawing of jamb of chapter-house door.

2 Bodleian MS. Willis 11, p. 213.
The excavations threw no light upon the position or plan of the infirmary, as no attempt was made to explore the ground south-east of the cloister buildings, where the infirmary was most likely to have been. Some information about the infirmary, however, can be gathered from the visitations of 1447 and 1519; in 1447 it is complained that one of the monks sleeps alone in the infirmary, without fuel or comforts, and that the care of those in the infirmary is generally neglected by the abbot, while it seems at the same time that four of the canons were habitually messing together for their meals in the infirmary (perhaps in the infirmary hall), which led to quarrelling; while in 1519 there is a memorandum PROVIDEATUR INFIRMARIA PRO INFIRMIS, which suggests that proper accommodation or care for the sick was still lacking. It seems then that while there was an infirmary building in existence, it was not being put to its proper use, but was being used partly as a kind of private dining-room for certain canons, and partly also, perhaps, as a private lodging for one of the canons.

To the east of the cloister buildings there are the remains of what appear to have been a series of channels or ditches (shown in the air view, PL. IV). First there is a broad shallow channel which runs east from about the site of the chapter-house for about 100 yards; at its eastern end it seems to join a series of four short, parallel, shallow channels running at right angles, southwards, towards the river Thame. These may possibly have been fish-ponds. Secondly further east, there is a series of smaller channels or ditches enclosing fairly large squares of land; the purpose of this arrangement is obscure; it may have been for the drainage of a large kitchen-garden. About 200 yards north-west of the site of the church is a large dove-cote, apparently mediaeval, containing about four to five thousand nests.

THE ABBOT’S HOUSE (FIG. 10, PL. VIII, A, B)

The abbot’s house (or guest-house) is substantially the best preserved part of Notley abbey, though many of the doors, windows, partitions and other fittings are modern insertions or restorations. It is an L-shaped building, of the 15th and 16th centuries, abutting on the west side of the cloister. It probably served the purpose of a combined abbot’s house and guest-house, as was frequently done. It was built in two periods.

1 The 15th century wing runs east and west, the east end abutting on the cloister. It was from the first divided into two floors, as is shown by an original 15th century fireplace on the first floor (in the south-west corner) and by the

2 I have to thank Professor A. Hamilton Thompson for this information.
3 For a comparative study of a number of abbot’s houses, see Sir H. Brakspear, ‘The abbot’s house at Battle,’ *Archaeologia*, lxxxiii, 139 ff., and the same on the abbot’s house at Wigmore in *Archaeological Journal*, xc (1933), 36 ff.
THE ABBOT'S HOUSE, NOTLEY ABBEY, BUCKS.

a, Plan; b, Sections of roof
windows; the first floor is carried on chamfered beams. The lower floor presumably contained the abbot’s kitchen, and quarters for the abbot’s servants and guests’ servants. The first floor was, as usual, the piano nobile; it was open to a fine timber roof, which still remains, though entirely hidden by later ceilings. This roof shows that the first floor was originally divided into two rooms of unequal size. The eastern and larger room, of three bays (about 20 ft. by 35 ft.); was probably the hall, that is to say, a combined abbot’s hall and guest hall; it was common for the hall in such abbot’s houses to be on the first floor. The position of the original fireplace is conjectural; it was probably on the north side, judging from an old view of the house before alteration. It was lit by a series of two-light windows, two in the south wall and apparently one in the north wall. The position of the stairs, by which it was entered from below, is not clear; there may have been a newel stair somewhere, for instance on the north side; or perhaps more probably the east end, where the present wall has been rebuilt, would have been the natural entrance or ‘screens’ end, and may have had a staircase leading down to the outer parlour below.

The western and smaller room, of two bays about 20 ft. square, was probably built as the abbot’s chamber. The camera abbatis is mentioned in the visitation of 1447, when it was reported that, in the course of a quarrel, three of the canons, armed with clubs, had pursued another canon usque ad cameram abbatis; one might reconstruct the scene by imagining the victim escaping from the cloister through the outer parlour up into the hall and so through to this abbot’s chamber, which then represented the extreme western limit of building to which he could retreat. The abbot’s chamber retains its original fireplace in the south-west corner. The position of the original windows is not clear; the present perpendicular window immediately east of the fireplace is shown by an old photograph (PL. VIII, A) to be a modern insertion. The partition wall dividing the chamber from the hall is conjectural, based upon the plastered partition in the roof above.

As has been said, the hall and the chamber were covered by an open roof, which still remains; this is a collar-beam roof, treated in a slightly different way in the two rooms. In the abbot’s chamber, the collar beam dividing the two bays (B–B, FIG. 10, a) is fitted with curved moulded braces forming a four-centred arch; in the hall, there are no such braces, but the lozenge-shaped openings formed by struts above the collar-beams have been made into elaborate quatrefoils by means of cusping (D–D and E–E). The roof timbers appear to have been painted red. At the partition between the two rooms (C–C FIG. 10, a), there is not only a collar-beam but also a tie-beam at the level of the wall-plate.

and the whole triangular space has been filled in with plaster, which is decorated on both sides with painted sprigs of flowers.

So far, in considering the 15th century wing, it has been assumed that the large room was the great hall (of the abbot and guests) and the smaller room the abbot’s chamber. There is however another hypothesis to be considered. It has already been suggested that the west wing may have contained originally the guest house on the first floor, in accordance with very general practice; in that case the greater part of the west range first floor may well have consisted of a great hall, with perhaps an abbot’s chapel to the north, over the outer parlour, and perhaps to the north of that again a primitive abbot’s chamber on the site of the east end of the 15th century wing. In that case, the hall in the west cloister range may have continued to serve as the great hall of abbot and guests even after the building of the 15th century abbatial wing—the latter being reserved more exclusively for the abbot, with the large room as his great chamber or private hall, and the smaller room as his bedchamber, as in the abbot’s house added to the western range at Wigmore abbey. In other words, the accommodation for the abbot and guests was spread over the whole of the west cloister range and the 15th century abbatial range which stood at right angles to it. Exactly where the abbot’s quarters ended and the guests’ began, it would probably have been difficult to say.

(2) The early 16th century wing was added on the west; it runs north and south. It was evidently built to contain larger and more elaborate private apartments for the abbot. The first floor consisted of two rooms. First, there was a new great chamber, about 37 ft. by 18 ft., with a newel stair at the north-west corner, which communicates with the ground floor and an outside door below, and with a garret above. According to Lipscombe, there was formerly a mullioned window opening on to the staircase;1 it may have been intended as a serving hatch. On the west side is a large chimney-stack with a gardrobe behind. Adjoining the great chamber at the south-west corner was a second and much smaller room, which was perhaps a study or small parlour. The first floor windows on the south side, lighting the great chamber, appear to have been altered in recent times. With the building of this 16th century wing, the old abbot’s chamber in the 15th century wing was probably turned into an ante-room or guest-chamber. Before the modern restoration, the south end of the 16th century wing appears to have had a hipped roof, instead of a gable (PL. VIII, A).

1 G. Lipscombe, History of the County of Buckingham (1847), i, 237.
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Some early 16th century panelling, now at Weston Manor, Oxon., is known to have come from Notley; it probably lined the great chamber. It consists of five tiers of linen-fold panelling, surmounted by an elaborately carved crest or cornice, decorated with arabesques and grotesques, such as mermaids holding medallions. It is a typical piece of early English renaissance work of the time of Henry VIII, and may be compared with the contemporary panelling in the abbot’s parlour at Thame Park. It bears the inscription: TIME DEUM ET RECEDE A MALO/RICHARD RIDGE PRINCIPIUM SAPIENCE EST TIMOR DNI. It was therefore erected by Richard Ridge, the last abbot of Notley (1529–1539); he retired at the dissolution on a pension of £100. The panelling was perhaps removed to Weston about 1791. It may be that Abbot Ridge was the builder of the new wing, as well as the creator of the panelling.

The abbot’s house is important for several reasons. In the first place, it is the best preserved part; here, as so often happened, the abbot’s house is turned into the post-dissolution dwelling-house, as being the most habitable part of the monastic remains. Building abbots of the 15th and 16th centuries unwittingly made things easy for their lay successors. Further it is a matter of some historical significance that this particular part of the monastic buildings was almost abnormally well developed in the 15th and 16th centuries. Here as elsewhere, the growth of the abbot’s house illustrates very well the growing standard of comfort in domestic architecture. At Westminster for instance, we can trace the growth of the abbot’s quarters from the Norman camera abbatis to a perfect little manor house, the mansion called Cheynegates, so complete and self-contained that it could on occasion be let to a secular person, such as the Queen. The growth was of course closely connected with the abbot’s social position as a local magnate. A great house like Bury St. Edmunds or Christ Church, Canterbury, could have a number of specialized guest-houses for different classes, for gentry, for merchants, for the poor and pilgrims, a ‘black hostelry’ for monks of the order, and elaborate rules to decide which guests should be entertained by the prelate and which by the convent, but at a house like Notley, as we have already suggested, the abbot’s house probably served as the only guest-house as well; the abbey’s guests are the abbot’s guests.

The growth of the abbot’s house also illustrates another, more general phenomenon; whereas in the early middle ages the monastic life was lived entirely in the public loca regaria, the common dormitory, refectory, cloister,

2 W. H. Godfrey, ‘The abbot’s parlour at Thame Park,’ Archaeological Journal, lxxxvi (1929), 59 ff. Most of the abbot’s lodging, as well as the panelling, was the work of Robert King, abbot 1527–39, afterwards Bishop of Oxford.
3 J. Armitage Robinson, The abbot’s house at Westminster, passim.
NOTLEY ABBEY

chapter-house, there was a tendency in the later middle ages for monastic life to become more and more domestic and private; the abbot had his lodgings and (in some cases) his manor houses about the country, obedientiaries and other privileged persons had their cells or private rooms in the infirmary or dorter, and others might be living in twos and threes at dependent cells or at the University or at some manor which served as a monastic sanatorium; and there was sometimes a general tendency for communities to split up into small ‘households’ or ‘messes,’ which visitors tried to put down. In post-mediaeval times monastic privacy became regularized and at the same time controlled; nothing could be more proper and venerable than, shall we say, Mabillon’s cell at S. Germain-des-Prés. But the later middle ages represented a transitional and rather chaotic period, when privacy existed de facto but not de jure.

CALENDAR OF NOTLEY ABBEY

MS Douce 383 in the Bodleian Library contains (Io. 41-6) a calendar of Notley abbey, evidently a fragment from a fine service book, now lost. The MS. is of the 15th century. The following entries (principally Obits) refer specially to Notley:

18 April: Obit abbas Nicholaus [Abbott Nicholas Amcotes, occurs c. 1390-5?]
25 April: Obit abbas Thomas [Abbott Thomas, occurs c. 1397?]
13 May: Obit bone memorie Ermengardis comitissa fundatrix nostra.
July: Notandum est quod dominica proxima post festum translacionis sancti Thome martiris [July] celebretur festum reliquiarum.
9 Sept: Obit Johannes Fyschere qui fecit fieri hunc librum et dedit ecclesie beate Marie de Nottele.
17 Sept: Obit Walterus Gyffard fundator noster.
25 Oct.: Dedicacio ecclesie beate Marie de Nottele.

The canons of Notley had received a papal indult in 1391 to have the use of Sarum, in place of that of St. Augustine, which had become, on account of the rigour of their order, too burdensome (nunis gravis) for them (Cal. Papal Reg., Letters, iv, 396). Accordingly, this Notley calendar is a Sarum calendar, with comparatively few variations. The feasts are graded as follows:

Maius duplex et principale: Epiphany, Easter, St. John Baptist, Assumption of B.V.M., Christmas.
Maius duplex festum: Purification of B.V.M., St. Augustine, Nativity of B.V.M., All Saints.
Infirius duplex festum: St. Matthias, St. Gregory, St. Ambrose, St. Mark, SS. Philip and James, St. Augustine of Canterbury, St. James, St. Bartholomew, St. Matthew, St. Michael, St. Luke, St. Jerome, SS. Simon and Jude, St. Andrew, St. Thomas.
Invitatorium triplex: Octave of Epiphany, Conversion of St. Paul, St. Peter’s Chair, St. John before Latin Gate, Trans. of St. Edmund of Canterbury, St. Barnabas, etc.
Invitatorius duplex: St. Julian, St. Agnes, St. Blaise, St. Juliana, SS. Tiburtius and Valerian, etc.
Cum notula: St. Petronilla, St. Etheldreda, St. Leo, St. Christina, St. Romanus, etc.

The Notley calendar conforms to the simpler form of Sarum calendar given in Procter and Wordsworth’s edition of the Sarum Breviary (cf. Facs. ii, p. xx), with the following variations (N = Notley cal.; S = Sarum cal.): N. omits SS. David, Cedda, Erkenwald, Translation of St. Nicholas, Visitation of B.V.M. and octave, Trans. of St. Osmund, Transfiguration and Holy Name of Jesus, with their octaves, Ordination of St. Gregory, St. Thomas of Hereford, Trans. of St. Etheldreda, St. Frideswide, Trans. of St. Erkenwald, Deposition of St. Osmund. St. John of Beverley is added in a later hand.

1 I have to thank Mr. Francis Wormald for advice about the Notley Calendar.
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N. adds Translation of St. Augustine of Hippo and the Dedication of the Church (20 Oct.).

The most important of the variations are: Nativity of St. John Baptist (patron of Notley) is Māius Duplex et principale in N. (Festum minus duplex in S.), and the octave is Invitatorium tripex with IX lessons (Invit. duplex with III lessons in S.); St. Augustine of Hippo (founder of the order) is Māius duplex festum in N. (Minus duplex festum in S.). Minor variations are: Octaves of SS. Stephen, John Ev., and Holy Innocents Cum regimine chori N. (Invitatorium duplex cum regimine chori S.); Octave of Epiphany Māius duplex et principale N. (simply IX lessons S.); St. Vedast III lessons N. (IX lessons S.); St. Ambrose Cum regimine chori N. (Invit. duplex cum regimine chori S.); St. Mark Inferius duplex N. (Invit. duplex cum regimine chori S.); St. Dunstan nine lessons N. (III lessons cum regimine chori S.); Trans. of St. Edmund Abp. Invit. tripex with IX lessons N. (Invit. duplex with III lessons S.). The Eleven thousand Virgins, St. Romanus, and St. Crispin, being within the octave of the Notley Dedication feast, are reduced memoria tantum in N.

At the foot of each page of the calendar is a list of Holidays of obligation, ab omnibus operibus s ervandis: Circumcision, Epiphany, Purification, St. Matthias, Annunciation, Good Friday, Easter Day and three days following, St. Mark, SS. Phillip and James, Invention of H. Cross, Ascension, St. Augustine of Canterbury, Pentecost and three days following, Corpus Christi, Nativity of St. John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, Trans. of St. Thomas, Feast of Relics, St. Mary Magdalen, St. James, St. Laurence, Assumption, St. Bartholomew, Nativity of B.V.M., Exaltation of H. Cross, St. Matthew, St. Luke, Dedication of Church, SS. Simon and Jude, All Saints, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas, Conception of B.V.M., St. Thomas, Christmas, St. Stephen, St. John Evangelist, H. Innocence, St. Thomas of Canterbury.

The John Fychere, who gave the book from which this calendar came, may possibly be the Master John Fischer or Fyscher, who appears as Principal of Beef Hall Oxford, c. 1457–9 (Registrum Cancellarii, i, 405, ii, 1, 6, 9, 11, 19).

Soon after the Dissolution, this manuscript came into the hands of a neighbouring branch of the Pigott family as is evident from the following entries, which are added in the appropriate places in the margins of the calendar:

fo. 42v
Memorandum y4 Laurence Fayrclyffe dydy ye xvij daye off Apryll yn ye yere off owt Lorde a M CCCCC L.

Olyver Pygott was borne ye xxvij daye off Apryll a0 Di M554. good fathers Mr Wyllyam Fawcomer, Mr Olyv· Dynhame, Mr Thomas Payettes.

Kateren Pygott was borne ye xxvijth off Apryll yere of owt Lorde M cccc xlij. good mothers My syster Pygott, My syster Handen, Ms Brygett Ashellde, My brother Payettes.

fo. 43v
Mary Pygott was borne ye xxvij day off June a0 Di a M cccc 44. good mothers My Lady Mare Pekhum, My syster Payettes, Mustrys Gowtt, My brother Thomas Pygott.

Elyzasbeth Pygott was borne ye viijth daye of August a0 Di M545, good mothers Ms Anne Dormer off New Bottel, Ms Elyzasbet Barkar, Ms Varney off Musley, Ms Fowykk Barkar.

fo. 45
Rayff Pygott was borne ye viij daye off September yn ye yere off owt Lorde a M cccc & l, good fathers My cussyn Thomas Pygott, My cussyn Rayffe Palmer, Mr Wyllyam Lamburne, My syster Martha Cheyn.

Fravyncyas Pygott was borne the xix daye off September yn ye yere off owt Lorde a M cccc xlijth, good fathers My brother Fravyncs Pygott, My brother Thomas Pygott, Richard Cuttler parsun of Greyt (7), Mr pyttsnewe.

Wyllyam Pygott was borne ye xxvij daye off September yn ye yere off owt Lorde a M cccc ly, good fathers Sir Wyllyam Dormer, M. Wyllyam Dormer of Tayme, Mr Gabryll Dormer, My cussyn Mare Pygott.

fo. 46
Dorrete Pygott was borne ye xix daye off November yn ye yere of owt Lorde a M cccc lij, good mothers My Lady Dorrete Dormer, Ms Gudwyn, My cussyn Elyzasbet Pygott, Parsum Hewe.

fo. 46v
Joyce Pygott was borne yxx x daye off December a0 Di M5480. good mothers Ms Yorke, Ms Arden, Ms Dormer off ye Lee, Ms Peter Dormer.
These entries, with the exception of the first, refer to the children of Robert Pigott, of the manor of Colwick in Waddesdon, Bucks., and of Mary his wife (daughter of John Yate of Lyford, Berks.); there is a brass, undated (c. 1555) commemorating Robert and Mary Pigott in Waddesdon church (cf. *R.C.H.M. Bucks.* (South), p. 303). Their pedigree is given in Lipscombe, I, 486, but Oliver and Mary Pigott are there omitted. Other relatives of Robert Pigott are given in a pedigree, *ibid.*, I, 406. 'Sister Hamden' is Joan Elmes, half sister of Robert Pigott, who married Jerome Hampden of Hartwell (Lipscombe, I, 395); 'sister Paytes' and 'brother Paytes' are Mary Pigott's sister Katherine and her husband John Pates of Buckingham (*Visitation of Berks.* (Harleian Soc., 1907), I, 60, 148); 'sister Martha Cheyny' is Mary Pigott's sister Martha, who married (1) Humphrey Cheney and (2) James Braybrooke (*Vis. Berks.*, I, 60, 148, II, 83). Most of the other god-parents belong to local families, some of them connected with the Pigotts by marriage: Dormer of Thame, New bottle, and Lee Grange in Quainton (F. G. Lee, *History of Thame*, pp. 503-6); Peckham of Denham, Bucks. (*ibid.*); Fawconer of Ashendon near Colwick (*ibid.*, I, 16); Goodwin of Upper Winchenden (*Visitation of Bucks.* (Harl. Soc. 1909), 64); Denton of Hillesden (*ibid.* 37); Palmer of Waddesdon (*ibid.* 103); Barker of Chetwode (*ibid.* 7); Lamburne (*ibid.* 148); Dynham of Boarstall and Eythorpe in Waddesdon (Lipscombe I, 66, 476-7). Laurence Fayrclyffe, whose obit is entered, had been tenant and bailiff of Colwick when it belonged to Woburn Abbey (*Valor Eccl.*., IV, 212-3).

I have to thank Mr Anthony Wagner, Portcullis Pursuivant, and Mr. E. A. Greening Lamborn, for help in making these identifications.
NOTLEY ABBEY, BUCKS.

Air-view of site looking W.; the uneven ground in front of walled garden marks site of choir; the dove-cote is top r.

Ph. Major G. W. G. Allen
NOTLEY ABBEY, BUCKS.: ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS

A, B. SW. pier, central crossing; E. pilasters, showing footing buckled by settlement.
C. id., from SE.; tiles indicate raised floor level.
D. id., N. face; juncture of mid-12th cent. (L) and nave respond c. 1200 (R).
E. W. end of nave; W. respond of N. arcade, from E.
F. id., N. jamb of W. door, looking N.; in foreground, filling in or door; on extreme L. incised stone.
NOTLEY ABBEY, BUCKS.; ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS

A. SE. pier of central crossing, from SW.
B. id., from NW., showing foundation of dwarf wall (?), and N. side of base partly cut away.
C. id., from N., showing substructure (of romanesque pier ?) under W. end.
D. E. respond of S. arcade of nave, looking N.E., showing sleeper wall of S. arcade; 1. foreground, jamb of door in screen wall.

Phh. P. S. Spokes
NOTLEY ABBEY, BUCKS.: THE MONASTIC BUILDINGS IN THE EARLY XVIII CENTURY

A. W. end of refectory.
B. The ruins from N.; behind, the refectory; in centre, the chapter-house; in l. foreground probably NW. pier of central crossing shown out of perspective. The following notes are written at the top of the drawing: A. Part of the Church. B. Part of the Chapter-house. C. [the Entrance into the Cellar, corrected to] Part of an arch in the kitchen. D. The Hall over it.

Reproduced from Bodleian MS. Willis 21, pp. 215 and 215 by permission of the Curators.
NOTLEY ABBEY, BUCKS.: THE ABBOT’S HOUSE

A. View from S. before restoration, showing former distribution of windows.

B. The same after restoration; on l., xvi cent. wing, in centre, xv cent. wing, on r., west range of claustral buildings (largely rebuilt).

A. From an old photograph.  
B. Reproduced from R.C.H.M. Bucks. (South), p. 246, with the sanction of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.