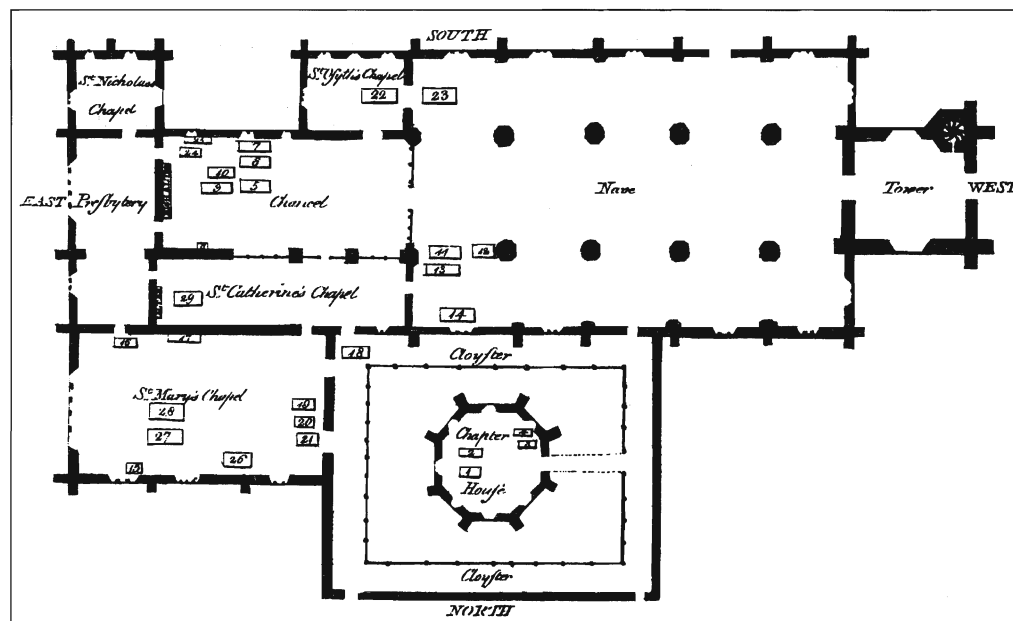


The Archaeology of the Abbeys and Priors of Leicestershire

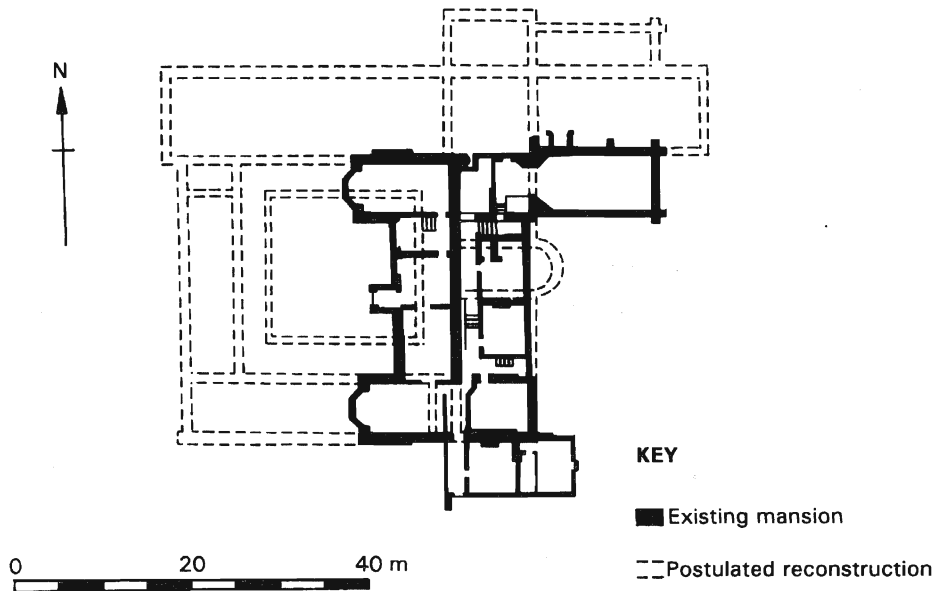
by Peter Liddle with Lorna O'Brien

The aim of this paper is to provide an overview of the present state of knowledge of the archaeology of the greater religious houses of Medieval Leicestershire. Secular colleges, hospitals, the military orders, friaries and alien cells are not included. Neither is the impact of the sites on the landscape through their creation of granges etc. covered (for this, see Courtney 1981). The documentary background is only covered in outline. For a fuller account see R A McKinley's article in the Victoria County History of Leicestershire (McKinley 1954).

The earliest known monastic house was founded at Breedon in c.675AD within the ramparts of the Iron Age hill fort (Dornier 1977). Nothing is known of its buildings except for the magnificent carvings built into the later church. It seems certain that there were other similar communities at this time. Bringhurst seems likely, while sites producing a range of Middle/Late Anglo-Saxon objects at, for instance, Wymeswold and Melton Mowbray may well prove to be monastic (Liddle, forthcoming).



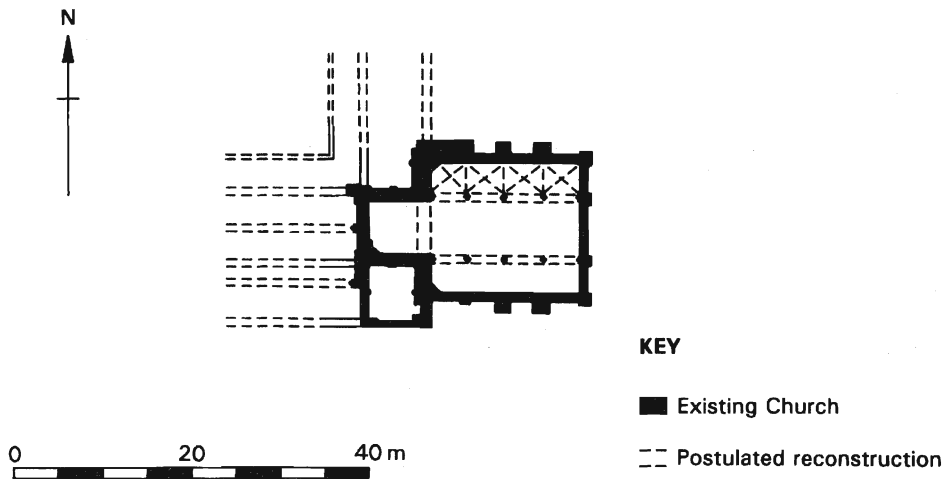
1. The plan of Belvoir Priory (Nichols).



2. Launde Abbey 2: Launde Abbey plan with conjectural reconstruction of the priory plan.

Medieval Leicestershire had no great pre-Conquest Benedictine houses like Coventry or Peterborough and most of the Norman conquerors preferred to support houses in Normandy rather than found new ones in Leicestershire. The exception was Robert of Tosny who built a small Benedictine house, dependant on St Albans, close to his castle at Belvoir in 1076. Little remains on the site of Belvoir Priory. Hartley's earthwork survey (Hartley 1987, p.6) shows a few platforms and an area defined by banks which is probably the precinct. The site is crossed by a tramway. In Nichols' time, however, wall foundations were clear in the area north of the inn which was said to have been built on the monks' cemetery. It is clear that some excavation was undertaken at this time and Nichols printed a plan and drawings of finds, including Robert of Tosny's own coffin (illus.1). The plan is highly unusual, with the polygonal chapter house standing in the centre of the cloister garth (Nichols 1795, pp.75-81). Some of the 'domestic buildings' of the priory were, apparently, excavated at the turn of the century.

In the early 12th century the reformed Augustinian order became highly popular because of the patronage of Henry I – many early foundations are royal or those of his officials. This is certainly true of Launde – actually a priory but always called Launde Abbey after the Reformation. It was founded by Richard and Maud Bassett before 1125 on their manor of Loddington. Richard was Chief Justiciar. Recent work has enhanced our understanding - but not solved all the problems. The only recognisable part of the medieval building to have survived is the chapel and adjacent crossing arch (illus.2). From this it is possible to postulate the priory church lying north of the present house and suggest that the sixteenth century mansion owes more than is now visible to its predecessor. A rather thicker than usual spine wall may well be a 'turned round' wall of the dorter range, while the south wing may be a cut-down version of the frater range.



3. Breedon Church (after Radford).

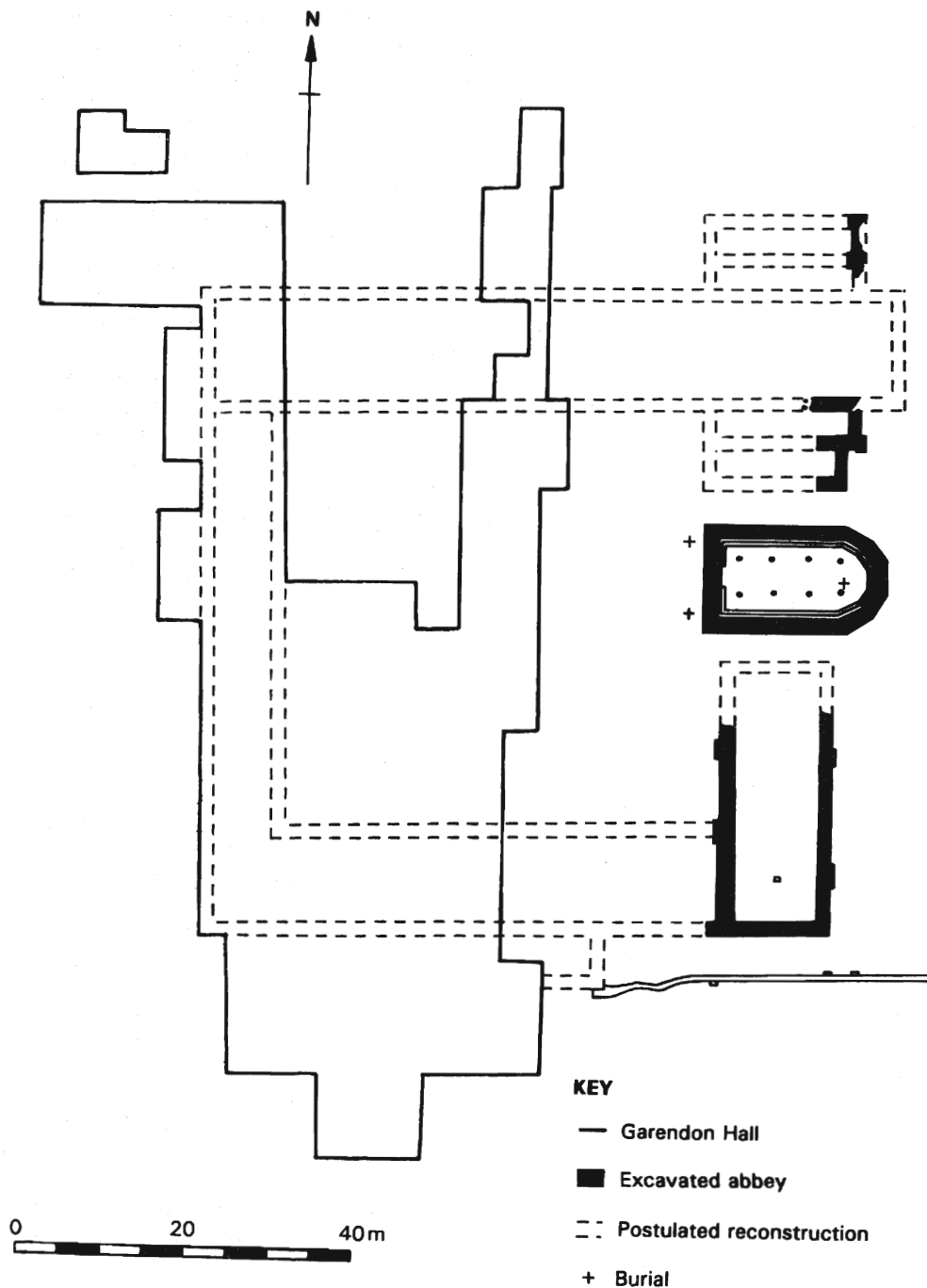
Recent consideration of the old kitchen suggests the possibility that this may be the priory's warming room – Dr. C.J. Brooke believes the mouldings may suggest a date as early as the 15th century (pers. comm.). This would give us the size of the cloister and allow a schematic reconstruction. There were very small excavations to the north of the building in the early 1960s. They produced walls, burials and a newel stair. Plans survive for only one area – by the ha-ha. In an attempt to put all this into context, Paul Beavitt has undertaken resistivity surveys (see below pp.22-31), and R.F. Hartley has surveyed the earthworks. These surveys have produced a new range of interpretational problems, but there is apparently a courtyard area west of the cloister with buildings both in line with the church and to the south of the court. This might include the home farm, the guest house and all the other ancillary buildings (brewhouses etc) and servants' lodgings.

At about the same time as Launde was founded, Breedon was reformed as a small Augustinian house normally for only five canons, dependent on Nostell, by Robert de Ferrers, later first Earl of Derby (another of Henry I's court). The buildings were noted as being dilapidated in the Visitation of 1441 (Hamilton Thompson 1918). Raleigh Radford (1955) has stated the conventional view of the development of the building. The present parish church (illus.3) appears twelfth century, but was seen as the eastern, i.e. canons' end of an original cruciform priory church. The present western tower would have been over the crossing and the porch with vestry was seen as a re-modelled south transept. The north transept was assumed from roof scars on the tower as was the parochial nave west of the tower. The tower's west wall has the ends of arcades from a remodelling of this and one blocks the original Norman opening westwards from the tower. The remains of the structure were still there in Nichols' day (Nichols 1804, p.92). Radford suggested that the addition of aisles in such an odd fashion was only likely if something – probably the cloister – lay immediately to the north. David Parsons (1989) has critically examined this thesis. He calls into question the interpretation of the structure west of the tower as a parochial nave, suggesting that

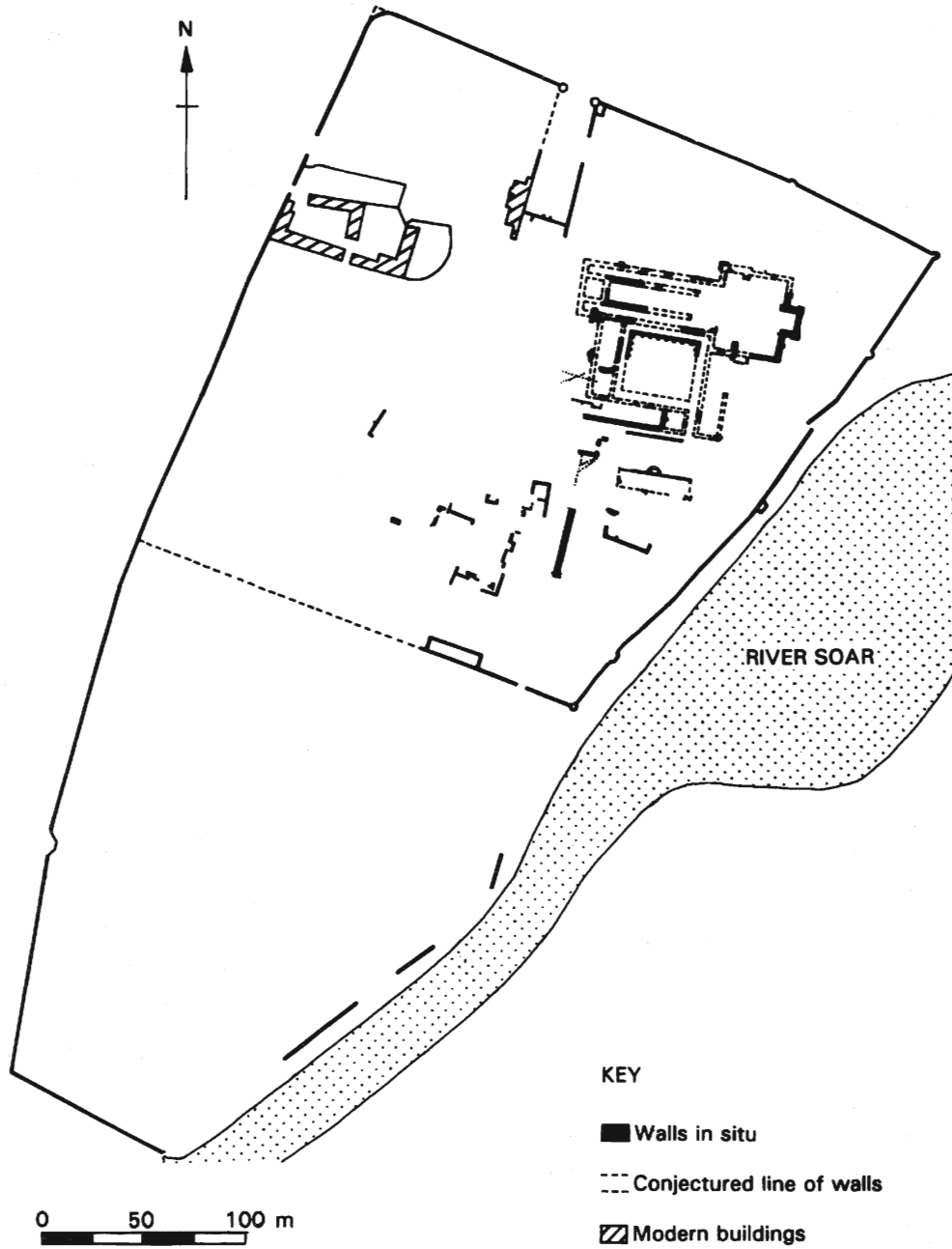
the parochial nave may have been to the north. He also points out that the north wall of the tower contains an apparently *in situ* northern door and no evidence for the larger arch which a transept would have required. This calls into question the putative south transept. Excavation in 1987/8 directed by Richard Buckley and Josephine Sharman revealed that the east wall of the south porch stands partly on a plinth which continues that of the thirteenth century south aisle. The plinth projects eastwards from the present wall at a shallow angle and then turns south. No more of this has been excavated which makes interpretation difficult. Dr Parsons suggested a small polygonal chapter house only to discount this because of the absence of a chapter house during the 1440/1 visitation. This does not seem conclusive and a chapter house seems entirely possible but final judgement will have to await more information. The postulation by Dr Parsons of a parochial nave to the north and parallel to the monastic church seems unnecessarily complicated and there seems no pressing reason why the structure west of the tower should not be identified as the parochial nave. Dr Parsons is surely correct about the non-existence of a north transept but a roof scar clearly shows that there was a building on this side. Modern refacing masks what appears to be a stair at the north-west corner of the present north aisle reached from a blocked door in the west wall of the aisle. This may well be a night stair and this suggests that the attached building was the dormitory. That the cloister was, in fact, on the north is supported by the Ann Dormier's 1975 excavation which found what was interpreted as three phases of the monastic kitchen block and the precinct wall (Dormer 1976). These were north of the church in an extension of the churchyard but detailed plans are not at present available.

Also fashionable in the 12th century were the Cistercians, but only one house was founded in Leicestershire. This was at Garendon, west of Loughborough in 1133 by Robert le Bossu, second Earl of Leicester. The Cistercians had a reputation for taming the wilderness – but often seem to have created the wilderness in the first place by depopulating existing villages – and this seems to be the case here (although the site of Garendon village has not yet been traced). The site became a mansion house after the Dissolution and was one of the principal houses of the Phillipps de Lisle family. This was demolished in the 1960s and excavation of part of the site, east of the house, by Loughborough Archaeological Society followed (Williams 1965 & 1969) (illus.4). They revealed the eastern claustral range with the east end of the Church, the chapter house and the dorter. The chapter house had a polygonal apse on the east. The main drain was investigated by E.J. Miller. Chutes show the site of the reredorter south-east of the dorter. The frater(?) protrudes into the drain sides and a third building south of the drain is again signalled by a chute. The drain was traced eastwards and the water was led past the fishponds to join the stream. Westwards the drain was blocked short of the house which stood on part of the abbey site. Clearly some of the house was re-used. Brian Williams's early reports speak of thirteenth century doorways in the Hall – but do not say where, so the relationship is problematic. A large barn on the site may well be medieval.

In 1139 Robert le Bossu turned from the Cistercians to the Augustinians to found Leicester Abbey (the traditional date is 1143, but David Crouch's argument for 1139 is convincing), although his twin brother Waleran (Count of Meulan and Earl of Worcester) remained with the Cistercians and founded Bordesley Abbey in



4. Garendon Abbey plan.



5. The precinct of Leicester Abbey.

Worcestershire in the same year – a daughter house of Garendon (Crouch 1987). Leicester Abbey was an extension of his father's foundation of a College of secular canons at Leicester Castle (St Mary de Castro) in *c.*1107, although it did not altogether replace it.

The abbey precinct is still surrounded by medieval walls (illus.5). These are stone in the north, and although reworked, are substantially medieval but were extended southwards in brick in the early 16th century. Leland says the brick walls were built for Abbot John Penny and this is supported by his initials being worked as a pattern of dark bricks in the predominantly red brick wall. There are other designs and two structures, one of which is a statue niche at the south-west corner. The entrance is in the north wall. The ruin within is a post-medieval mansion which was burnt down in 1645. It seems to be on the site of the medieval abbey gatehouse but there is no obvious medieval masonry. A full survey of the ruins would be instructive.

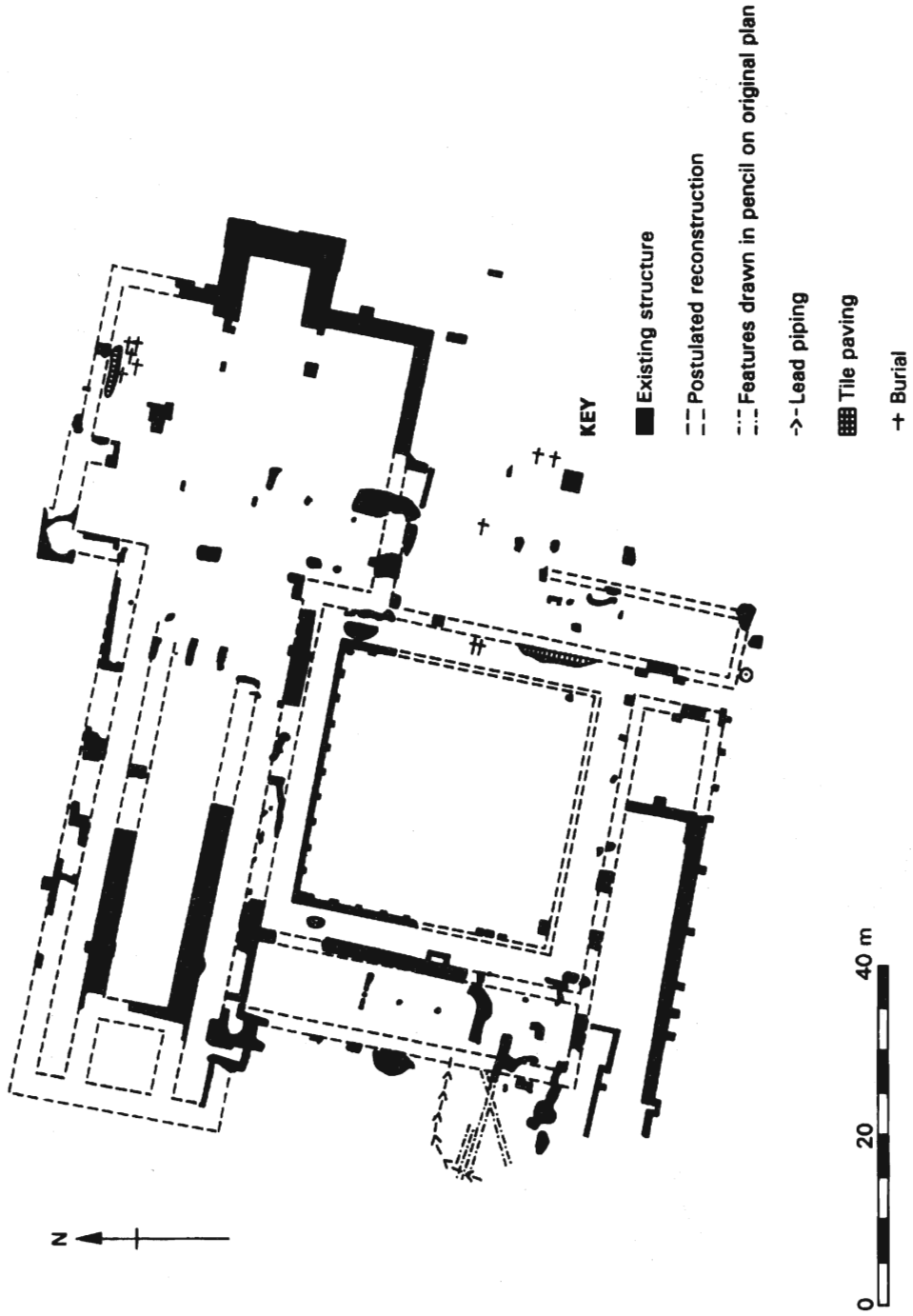
Foundations are laid out nearby which are the result of W.K. Bedingfield's excavations around 1930 (Bedingfield 1931). Much doubt has been cast on these foundations but when they are compared with the only surviving tracing of Bedingfield's plans they are fairly accurate. They are in general a good representation of the plan, although speculative in places. These can be compared with a survey of the buildings made at the Dissolution (Fox 1938). This refers to the walls enclosing orchards and fishponds and seven separate elements:

1. The entrance and gatehouse
2. A home farm
3. An inner court with brew house, bakehouse, stables etc.
4. The church and claustral ranges
5. A hall, chambers, dining chamber and King's lodging linked to the kitchen and officials' quarters
6. An infirmary block
7. An outer court with servants' quarters

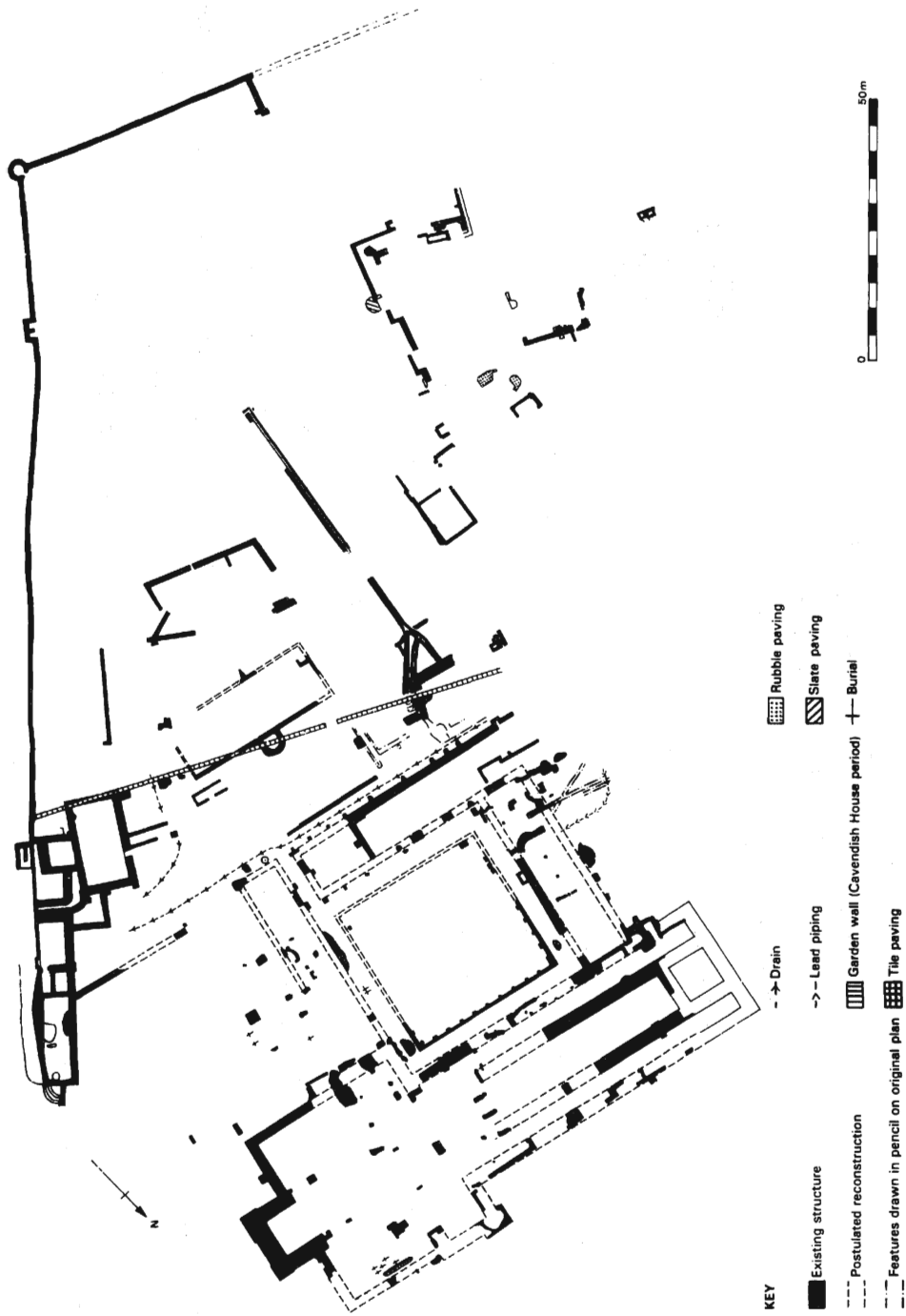
Typically, the Bedingfield excavations concentrated on the claustral range but also part of the service buildings. The plan (illus.6&7) includes information from a previously unpublished plan of a block to the east, which is probably the infirmary, and, from the 1922 excavations which revealed other buildings south of the cloisters that probably represent the inner court buildings.

Overall Leicester Abbey probably provides the best illustration of all the elements of a religious house in the county. Unfortunately the excavations, although energetic, are old and there is no information on how finds relate to structures; there was no understanding of robber trenches, so it is often necessary to infer links between blocks of surviving masonry. Much vital information will have gone with the clearance of the site and Mr Bedingfield's site notes (if any existed) have not survived. The unpublished plans, along with photographs, press cuttings and finds provide substantial information and it is hoped to produce an article based on them for a future issue of *Transactions*.

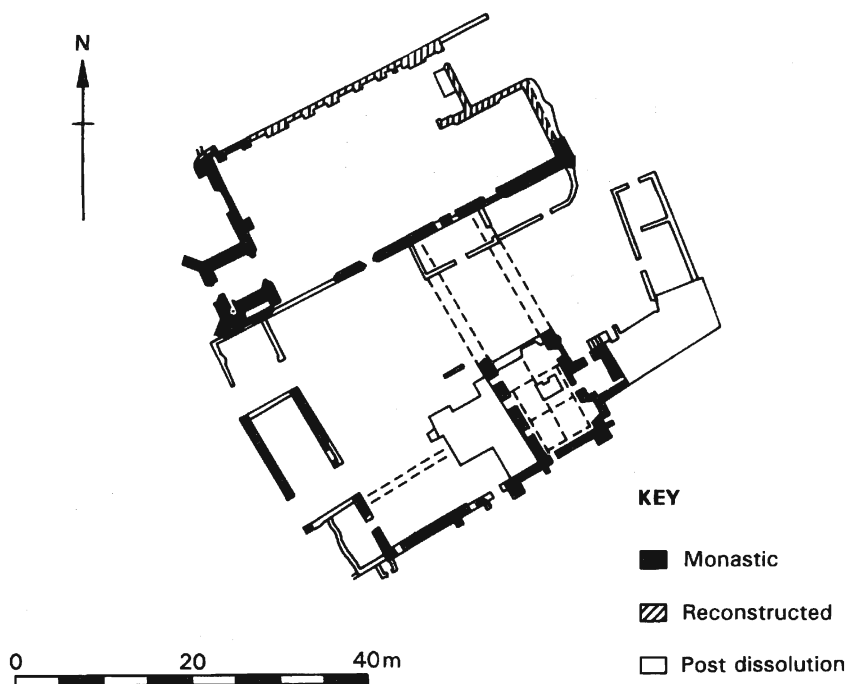
Robert le Bossu was also responsible for the foundation of Ulverscroft Priory in Charnwood Forest before 1153. This is probably the best preserved of any of the Leicestershire religious houses. No attempt seems to have been made to convert it into a mansion house; rather, existing buildings were converted to form a tenant farm



6. The cloister and church of Leicester Abbey.



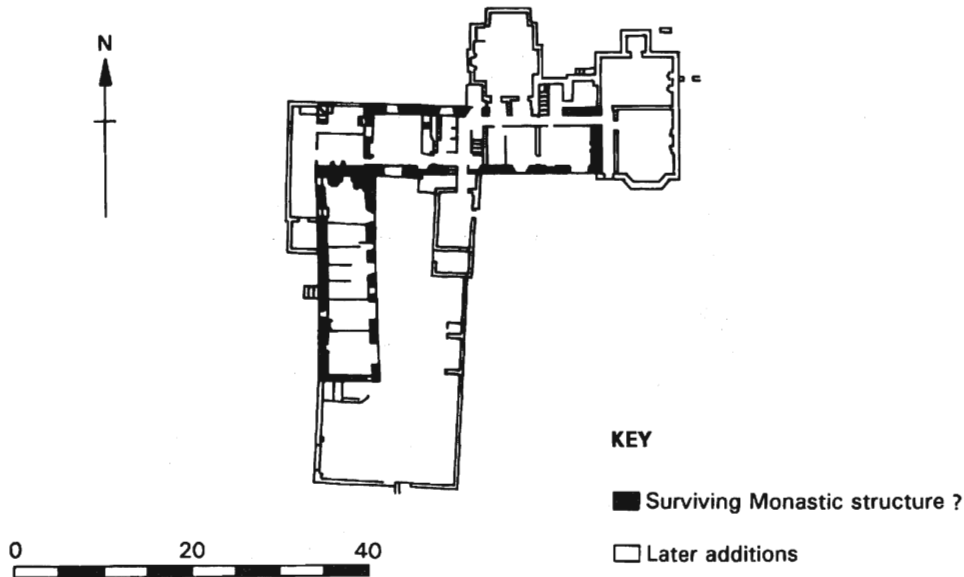
7. The excavated buildings of Leicester Abbey.



8. Ulverscroft Priory plan (after Baker).

(illus.8) with the church left as a substantial unroofed ruin, the tower still standing over 20m in height. The cloister lay south of the church. The west range, a single-storey guest hall (but perhaps originally two-storey), was converted into a barn and this has been surveyed and published by Nigel Baker (1981). He has also recorded the remaining south range. Three walls survive of what was evidently the refectory, which was a two-storey building with 15th century windows. Baker suggests that the kitchen stood south of its west end. To the east of this is a building which has been incorporated into the farmhouse and is generally identified (probably correctly) as the prior's lodgings (Keay & Keay 1935). This is a complicated structure which Baker's archive report (lodged in Leicestershire Sites and Monuments Record) is useful in understanding. The southern part was originally (after its rebuilding late in the medieval period) under an east-west roof, probably a common roof with the frater. The ground floor 'parlour' was a high-status room. A square room projects eastward and may be a bedchamber or garderobe. To the north are the remains of the very southern part of the east range which was separated by a close-studded wooden partition with a door at its eastern end. Most of the east range has been demolished. This would have had the dormitory at first floor level and the chapter house would have projected eastwards from under this range between church and prior's lodging. The farm buildings still sit within the ponds which define the precinct.

Charley Priory may also have been Robert's foundation but is first mentioned in 1190. It was always small, having only 2 brothers in 1377. It was reported to be

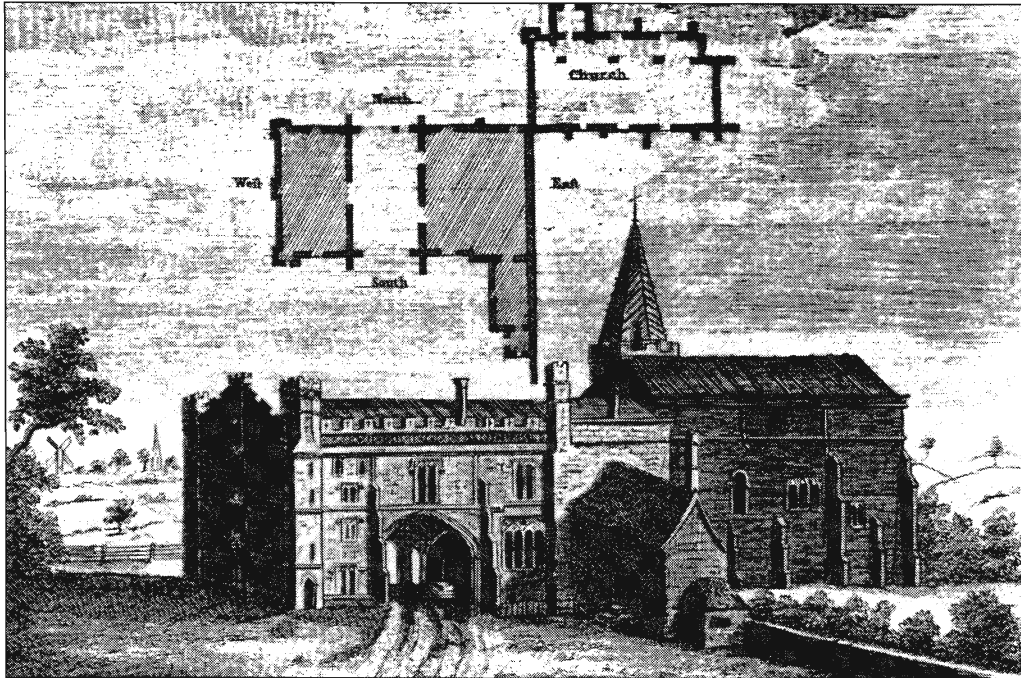


9. The plan of Charley Hall (showing probable Medieval fabric).

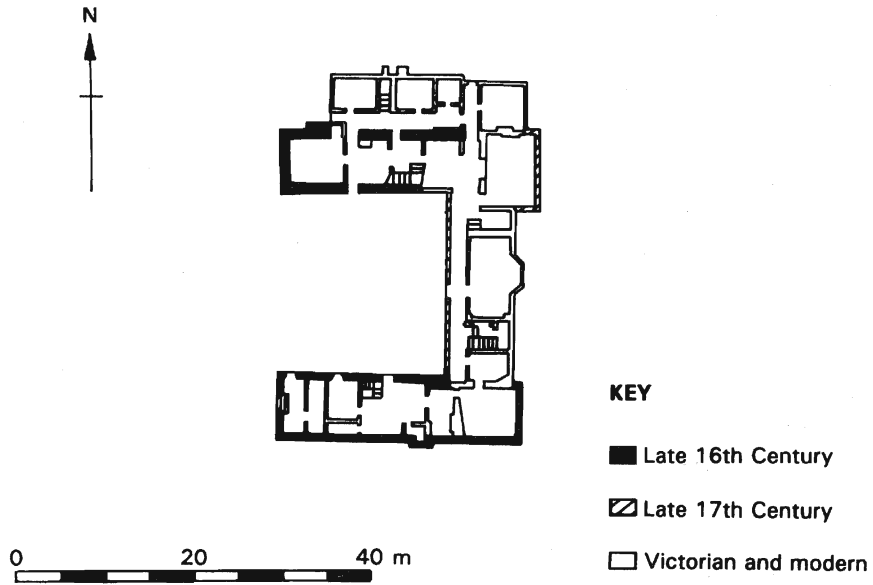
mismanaged and ruinous in 1444 (Knowles and Hadcock 1971, p.153) and in about 1465 it was united with Ulverscroft. It is clear, from the Charnwood Forest enclosure map, that the site is that of the present Charley Hall. Recently preliminary examination of this site has been undertaken. Two stone ranges survive at right-angles to one another (illus.9). One is aligned east-west and the other north-south. The walls are thick enough to suggest medieval work, although the windows are post-medieval. They may represent the north and west claustral ranges of Charley Priory. The Royal Commission has recently surveyed the buildings and have identified medieval fabric in the west range including a passage at its north end. They suggest that the north range may represent the church. R.F. Hartley has surveyed earthworks west of the buildings. These appear to represent the access road to, and ancillary buildings of, the priory and include the large circular foundation of a dovecote, which was still standing in 1702, when a plan of the estate was drawn.

Also before 1153, Brooke Priory was founded by the Ferrers Lords of Oakham. It was Augustinian. The site is marked by extensive earthworks but these largely represent the formal gardens associated with the use of the site as a large house after the Reformation (Hartley 1983). It is probable that the priory stood on the early house site at the focus of these earthworks. This was small - a cell of Kenilworth with only three canons.

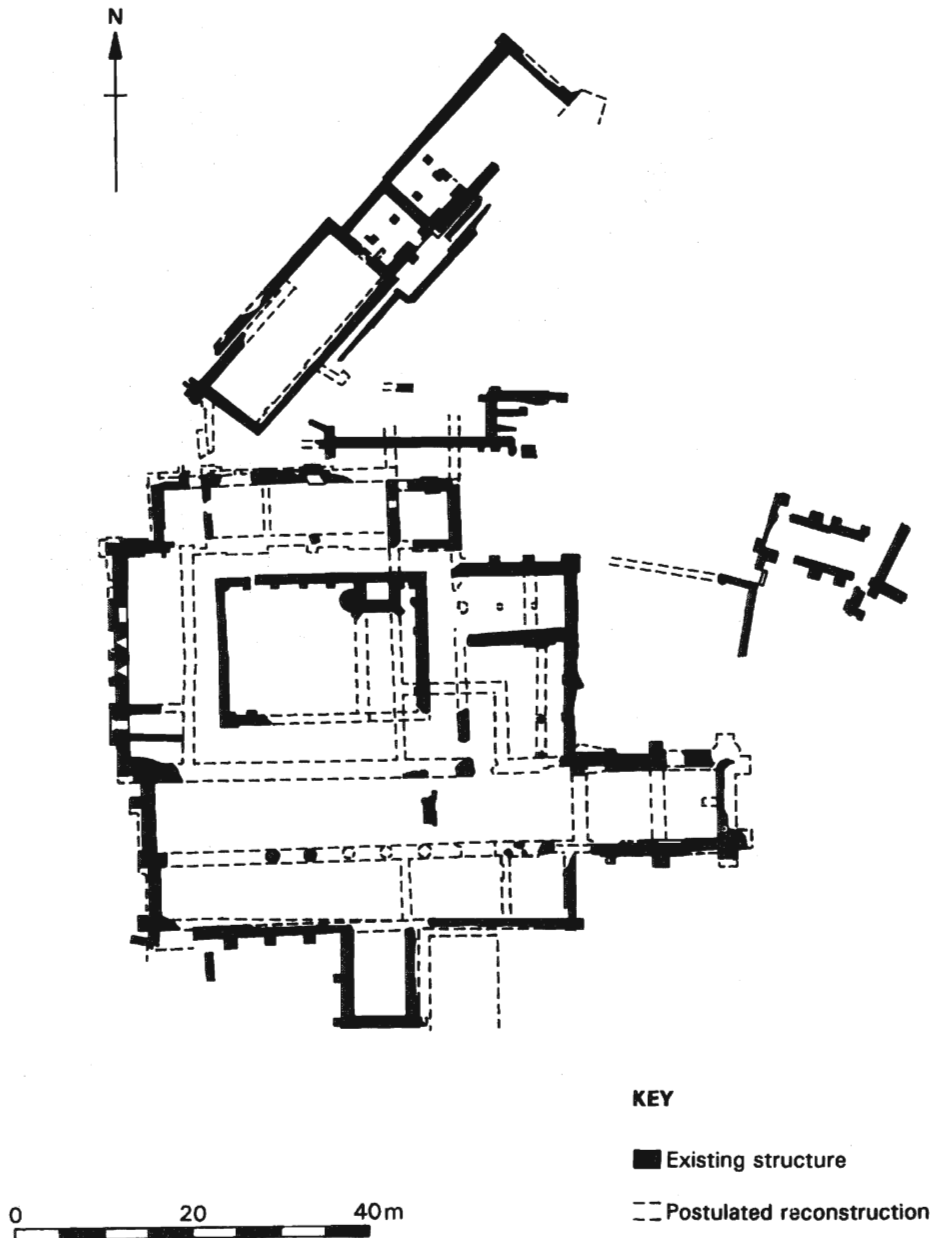
Owston was founded before 1161 by Robert Grimbold. It, too, was Augustinian. Part of the priory church survives and most of the fabric may be twelfth century. It consists of a nave, north aisle and north-west tower. The chancel was said to be ruinous in 1556. A richly panelled buttress at the south-west corner may have belonged to the cloister (Pevsner and Williamson 1984). Until the 18th century a substantial gatehouse also existed. It was drawn by the Buck Brothers, and Nichols adds a useful plan (illus.10). Nothing else is known about the precinct although R.F. Hartley has surveyed



10. Owston Abbey gatehouse and church (Nichols).



11. The plan of Langley Priory (after Douglass).



12. The plan of Croxton Abbey (after Herbert).

the associated substantial set of four fishponds. Some environmental analysis has been undertaken (Shackley, Haynes and Wainwright 1988).

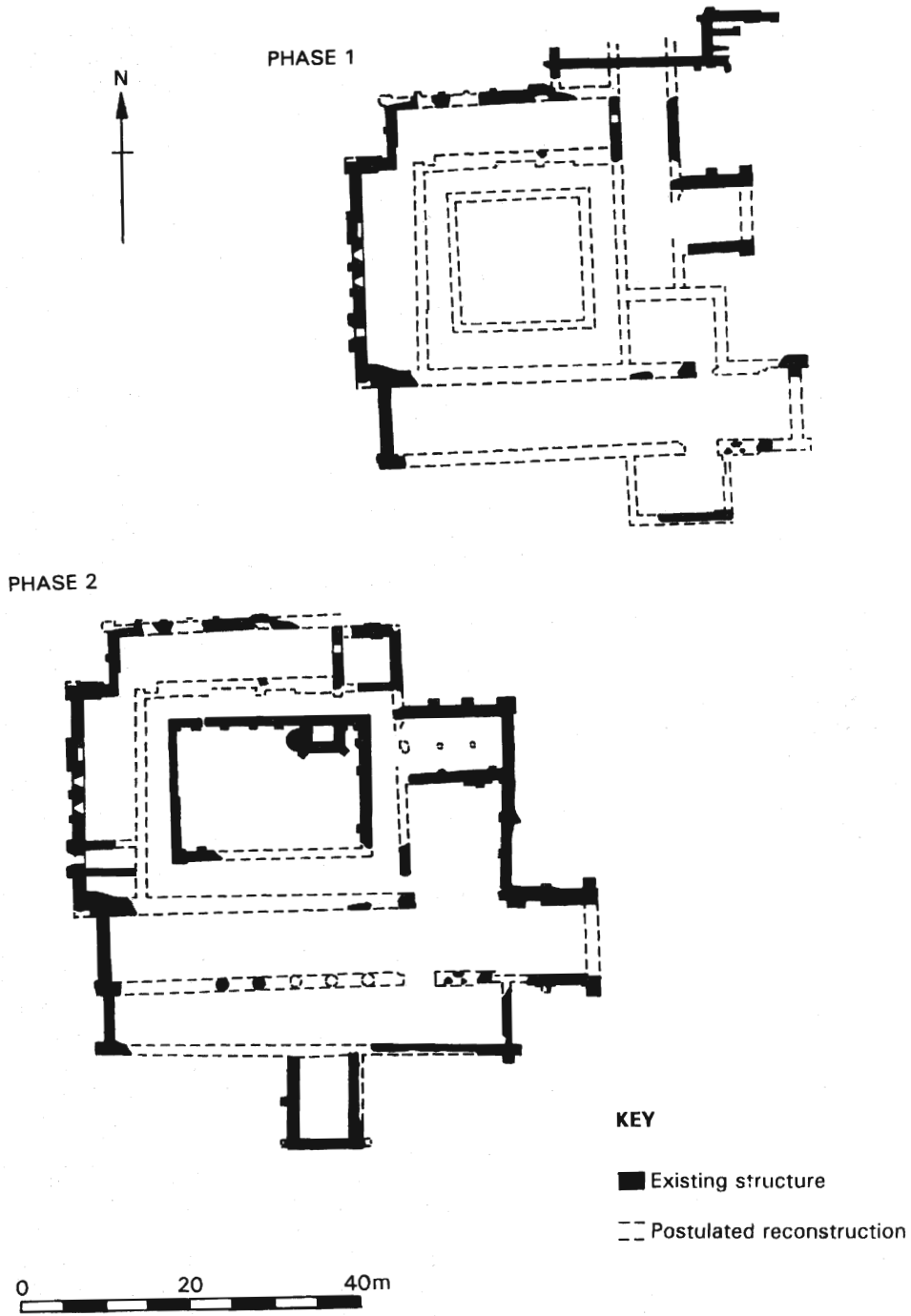
Around 1150, Langley, a house of Benedictine nuns, was founded by William and Burgia Pantulf. The visitation of 1440 revealed that the outhouses were subject to dilapidation and the inner buildings suffered great defects in roofing and in other

respects (Hamilton Thompson 1918). No archaeological work has been done here, but the existing building may include elements of the nunnery. The north wing has very thick stone walls and it is easy to see the plan (illus.11), with three ranges around an open courtyard, following the footprint of the priory (Douglass 1988).

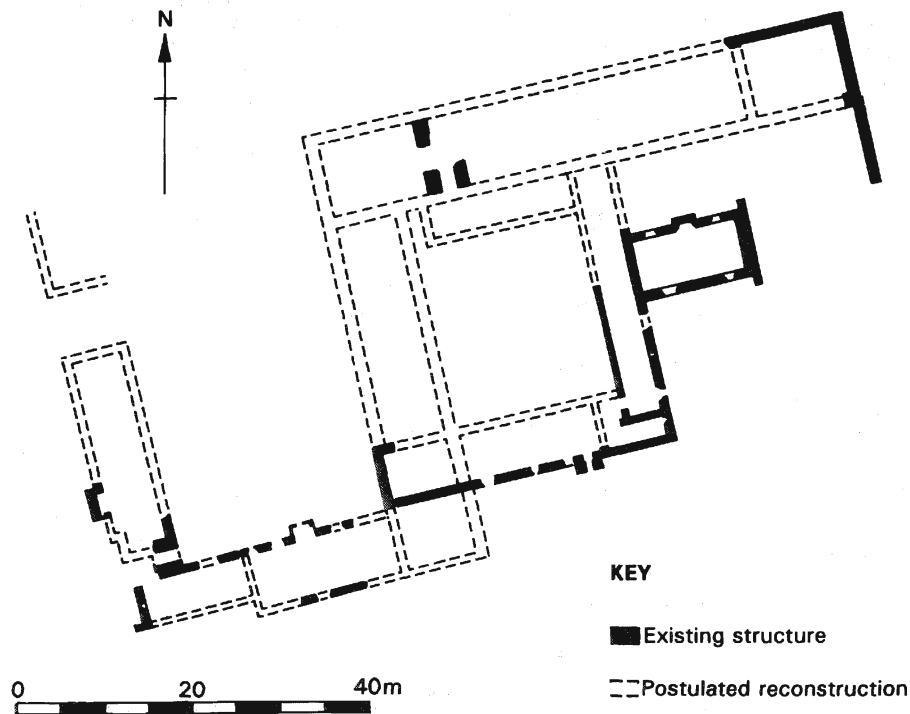
At around the same time, and certainly before 1159, William, Count of Boulogne and Montain founded Croxton Abbey, a house of Premonstratensian canons. Extensive excavations were undertaken by the Duke of Rutland in the 1920s. These remain unpublished, but extensive manuscript notes remain at Belvoir Castle and a plan has been published (Herbert 1945) (illus.12). The excavations were principally on the church and claustral ranges, although the guest house and infirmary(?) were also excavated. Clapham's plan, published by Herbert, shows a suggested phasing of the foundations revealed by the Duke. The first phase (illus.13) appears to have been a standard monastic plan with an aisleless cruciform church with a square cloister to the north, bounded by the dormitory and chapter house to the east, the refectory to its north and the ?guest range to the west. In the 13th century the cloister was extended eastwards (to become a rectangle rather than square) over the dormitory. A large north transept was added to the church which, along the chapter-house, was also extended eastwards. The west range was rebuilt, presumably to take the dormitory, while it may be at this stage that a ?guest hall was built north of the claustral buildings (illus.14). The 14th century saw some rebuilding and a separate block built north-east of the church, which may have been an infirmary. In the 15th century the church was again rebuilt and extended. Hartley's survey shows how these elements relate to each other (Hartley 1987, pp.8, 26-7). A home farm can be traced east of the claustral range. These are extensive ponds adjacent to the site, some dry and some still wet, and a windmill lies across the valley to the north-west. Like many of the sites, the abbey was converted into a mansion, this time by Thomas, Earl of Rutland, but rebuilt as a substantial hunting lodge c.1710.

Probably in the early thirteenth century (and certainly before 1234), Robert Burnaby founded Bradley Priory, a small Augustinian house in a wooded area of south-east Leicestershire. The site was (as so often) chosen in relation to water supplies; a spring called St. Mary's Well was probably the source of the fresh water while a spring-fed pond supplied the drains. Very little is known about the site. Earthworks of closes survive and the drain can be traced. Scatters of stone revealed by ploughing mark some of the priory's buildings and the successor farm which was drawn by Tailby and demolished c.1820 (Nichols 1798, pp.509-510). One way forward would be to investigate the drain, although resistivity survey may also help.

The second Leicestershire nunnery was also an early thirteenth century foundation. This was Grace Dieu, a house of Augustinian canonesses founded by Rose de Verdon in 1235-1241. The buildings are second only to Ulverscroft as the best preserved religious house in Leicestershire (illus.14). It became a mansion of the Beaumonts after the Dissolution but was abandoned in the late seventeenth century. The remains of the church are said to have been demolished in 1696 by Sir Ambrose Phillips. The Bucks' engraving of 1730 shows the site substantially complete (except for the church); part of the cloister arcade is standing and some of the buildings are still roofed, while the south and west ranges and the kitchen are very substantial ruins. The site has now deteriorated considerably. The west range has completely gone and the other buildings are seriously degraded. The piers of the church tower remain, the chapter house is still a substantial ruin, the ground floor of the dormitory block and



13. Croxton Abbey, phase 1 & 2.



14. The plan of Grace Dieu Priory (after Miller).

the south wall of the refectory (which was on the first floor) all survive, as does the kitchen. A working party has recently commissioned a feasibility study on consolidating the building and this is being considered. A study of the conversion of the site into a Tudor mansion will be instructive. Clearly the chapter house was remodelled with an extra floor. Fireplaces and doorways were inserted and there appears to be new building adjacent to the kitchens, but mostly it was a matter of modification rather than rebuilding.

There is an inventory of items that the King's Commissioners made and certified as handing over to John Beaumont in 1539. The church included a lady chapel, nun's 'quere', the steeple and the vestry. The dorter, cloister, chapter and frater are listed next. Then there were five chambers (with beds) including a knight's chamber – suggesting a guest house, a dining chamber, the hall, buttery, larder house, kitchen, candle house, brew house, ale house, laundry, salt house, bake house, kiln house and smith's forge. Then cattle, horses, pigs etc., waggons at the priory and the east and west barns. A second inventory, of 1552/3, when John Beaumont's estate was forfeit to the Crown gives us a useful comparison after the first phase of conversion.

A consideration of R.F.Hartley's earthwork survey (Hartley 1984, pp.8-10) shows substantial surrounding earthworks, precinct walls, more buildings and fishponds. It is clear that the buildings continued beyond the canal and railway and a plan of 1777 helps us to appreciate the whole site. Manor Farm in the corner of the precinct is

probably the home farm site, while J.K.S. St. Joseph's air photographs show more earthworks beyond the railway, which are now ploughed out. Ernest Miller has investigated the drainage system (Miller 1969). Long stretches of the precinct walls survive and other sections show as cropmarks, including a substantial walled garden north of the church.

The last house of Augustinian canons in the county was founded as late as 1359 by Alice Belers replacing a secular college founded in 1316 by her late husband Sir John at Kirby Bellars. This site is not yet resolved. There are several sets of substantial earthworks around Kirby Bellars, one of which no doubt represents the priory.

The 1316 charter states '... the chapel and the parishioners who dwell about the chapel are at no small distance from the parish church' and '... many strangers pass by the same chapel, which is situate in the high road' (Hamilton Thompson 1931, p.158). This makes it very clear that the modern parish church is not that of the college and priory. Equally, it is clear that the earthworks north of the church are not the priory but, in part, represent John of Hoby's capital messuage called 'Broomhill' (the area is still called 'Brumells') (Hamilton Thompson 1931, p.144). This leaves as a likely site the earthworks east of Kirby Park, where (somewhat confused by surface quarrying) there are the platforms of buildings near the road with village features to the north. The area west of Kirby Park cannot be ruled out, however, as it was substantially landscaped in the early seventeenth century by Sir Erasmus de la Fontaine (Hartley 1987, pp.10 and 33). A survey of the existing buildings and a resistivity survey would be instructive.

Discussion

If we consider the group of fourteen sites as a whole, (illus.15; and table 1) it is clear that the houses are not randomly distributed around the county. Monastic sites were founded on land donated by wealthy patrons and their interests are clearly important in the siting of the houses. On the one hand, this could result in the house being sited in close relation to its patron's own establishment as, for example, at Belvoir and Kirby Bellars. On the other hand, patrons may not always have been inclined to give away their best lands, having to balance the needs of founding a monastic community with the managing of their estates. There was also the desire of many monastic institutions to exist away from secular society in order to live in a more pious and austere way. These two factors combined encouraged the siting of many monasteries in 'liminal' locations where the land was of relatively low value and was distant from other settlements, such as in woodland or waste.

In Leicestershire, the majority of monastic houses occupy sites of this sort. There are four such sites in the area of Charnwood Forest: Garendon, Grace Dieu, Charley and Ulverscroft, and two in the area that was covered by the Royal Forest of Leicestershire and Rutland (Leighfield Forest): Launde and Brooke, with Bradley being situated in a wooded area adjacent to the Forest. Leicester Abbey was close to the edge of the Beaumont Leys which formed the northern most part of Leicester Forest, while Croxton Abbey is located at the edge of Saltby Heath. It is a mistake, however, to think that these areas were totally unpopulated and undeveloped, as even if there was no permanent occupation in the vicinity, the land and resources were utilised to some extent, woodlands particularly being exploited for much needed timber and grazing. When monasteries were founded, other users could be forced off the land. The Charnwood houses of Ulverscroft, Grace Dieu and Charley were all



15. Location of the Abbeys and Priors of Leicestershire.

situated in assarts, taking over from previous exploitation, and when Garendon Abbey was founded, a village was probably depopulated.

Leicestershire missed the Late Saxon monastic revival, and the first generation or two of Normans (except Robert of Tosny) were more concerned with endowing ancestral houses in Normandy than with founding new ones. In the twelfth century substantial numbers of houses – mostly Augustinian but including Premonstratensian and Cistercian – were founded. Later, in the thirteenth century, friars were fashionable, but after 1359 not a single new house was founded for the 200 or so years until the Dissolution. This coincides with the economic downturn following the Black Death, but also reflects changing religious views.

At the Dissolution the Commissioners were concerned with securing the sites and their valuables for the king – lead from the roofs was particularly important. It was valuable not only intrinsically, but also its removal prevented the return of the religious community. Leicestershire was not involved in the Pilgrimage of Grace and most of the religious accepted pensions and went quietly.

TABLE 1: Summary Information on Abbeys and Priors

Place	Order	Founding Date	No. of Incumbents	Dissol. Date	Post Dissolution Use	Buildings	Earthworks	Exc.	Survey
BELVOIR	Benedictine	1076			Demolished/Inn	No	Some	c.1800	RFH
BRADLEY	Augustinian	-1234	2 - 1535	1536?	House/Farm	No	Some	No	RFH + Fldwk
BREEDON	Augustinian	-1122	5 - 1220	1539	Parish church	Church	No	Small 1970s	No
BROOKE	Augustinian	-1153	3	1535	Big House	No	Fishponds	No	RFH
CHARLEY	Augustinian	-1190	3 - 1220	1465	Big House	Big House ? ? Claustral	Some	No	RFH
CROXTON KERRIAL	Premons.	c.1159	26 - 1484	1538	House	No	Substantial	Subs.1930	RFH
GARENDON	Cistercian	1133	14 - 1535	1536	Big House	No	Some	1960s	RFH
GRACE DIEU	Augustinian Nuns	1235+	14 - 1414	1538	Big House	Substantial	Fishponds	Tiny 1960s	RFH
KIRBY BELLARS	Chantry August.	1316	13 - 1359	1536	?	No	?	No	RFH
LANGLEY	Bened. Nuns	c.1150	12 - 1354	1536	Big House	?	No	No	BDGS
LAUNDE	Augustinian	-1125	18 pre 1440 10 - 1440	1539	Big House	Chapel and Big House	Some	Tiny 1960s	RFH + Geophys.
LEICESTER	Augustinian	1139	30+ pre 1440 12 - 1440 25 - 1521+	1538	Big House	Big House Ruins Precinct	No	Substantial 1930	No
OWSTON	Augustinian	-1161	15 - 1440 12 - 1534	1536	Parish church	Church	Fishponds	No	RFH
ULVERSCROFT	Augustinian	-1153	3 - 1220 8 - 1438 10 - 1534	1539	Farm	Substantial	Fishponds	No	RFH + BDGS

The archaeology of abbeys and priories is a subject that has become fashionable again in recent years. The aim of this paper has been to draw together the work already undertaken in Leicestershire to allow future work to be focussed.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Richard Buckley and Dr David Parsons for reading earlier versions of this paper and making very helpful suggestions to improve the text. Fred Hartley has made available his considerable knowledge of the sites and Ernie Miller has also greatly assisted the work. Lorraine Bayley has been responsible for the illustrations to which Sophie Broadley and Richard Knox have contributed.

Bibliography

- Baker, N.J., 1981 'The west range of Ulverscroft Priory and its roof: a survey', *TLAHS*, **56**, pp.10-17
- Bedingfield, W.K., 1931 'Presidential address 1930-1', *Trans. Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society*, **32**, pp. 5-24
- Courtney, P., 1981 'The monastic granges of Leicestershire', *TLAHS*, **56**, pp.33-45
- Crouch, D., 1987 'The foundation of Leicester Abbey and other problems', *Midlands History*, **22**, pp.1-13
- Dornier, A.M. 1976 'Breedon' (note), *Medieval Archaeol.* **20**, p.165
- Dornier, A.M., 1977 'The Anglo-Saxon monastery at Breedon on the Hill, Leicestershire', in A Dornier (ed) *Mercian Studies*, pp.155-168. Leicester: Leicester University Press
- Douglass, S.P., 1988 'Langley Priory', *TLAHS*, **62**, pp.16-30
- Fox, L., 1938 *Leicester Abbey, History and Description*. Leicester:Leicester City Council
- Thompson, A., 1918 *Visitations of religious houses in the Diocese of Lincoln 2: Records of visitations held by William Alnwick, Bishop of Lincoln 1436-1449*
- Thompson, A., 1931 'The chapel of St. Peter at Kirby upon Wreake', *TLAHS*, **16**, pp.130-212
- Hartley, R.F., 1983 *The Medieval Earthworks of Rutland: a survey*. Leicester: LM
- Hartley, R.F., 1984 *The Medieval Earthworks of North-West Leicestershire: a survey*. Leicester: LM
- Hartley, R.F., 1987 *The Medieval Earthworks of North-East Leicestershire: a survey*. Leicester: LM
- Herbert, A., 1945 'Croxtton Abbey, Leicestershire', *TLAHS*, **22**, pp.240-1
- Keay, W. and Keay, M.E., 1935 'Ulverscroft Priory' *TLAHS*, **18**, pp. 88-92
- Knowles & Hadcock 1971 *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*
- Liddle, P. forthcoming 'The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon Leicestershire' in J.E. Bourn *Anglo-Saxon Leicestershire*

- Liddle P., & Hartley, R.F., 1995 An Archaeological Survey of Grace Dieu, Belton, Leics. Unpub. archive report: LMARS.
- McKinley, R.A., 1954 'Religious Houses' in W.G. Hoskins (ed), [*Victoria*] *County History of the County of Leicester* 2 pp.1-53
- Miller, E.J., 1969 'A survey of the ruins of Grace Dieu Priory and the site of Grace Dieu Priory', *Bull. Loughborough Archaeol. Soc.* 10, pp. 3-4, 33-5
- Nichols, J., 1795 *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester* 1 pt. 1
- Nichols, J., 1798 _____ 2 pt. 2
- Nichols, J., 1804 _____ 3 pt. 2
- Parsons, D., 1989 'Breedon on the Hill, Church of St Mary and St Hardulf', *Archaeol. J.* 146 (supplement), pp.15-14
- Radford, C.R., 1955 'Breedon on the Hill: Church of St Mary and St Hardulf', *Archaeol. J.* 112, p.170-2
- Williams, B.C.J., 1965 'Garendon Abbey', *Bull. Loughborough & District Archaeol. Soc.*, 8, pp.3-14
- Williams, B.C.J., 1969 'Summary of the excavations at Garendon Abbey for 1966-7-8', *Bull. Loughborough & District Archaeol. Soc.*, 10, pp. 9-11, 17, 26.

Personal details

Peter Liddle, Leicestershire Museums Archaeological Survey Team, Jewry Wall Museum, St. Nicholas Circle, Leicester.