

THE BUILDING OF SYON ABBEY

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The accurate dating of buildings is crucial to our understanding of the development of architecture, and yet there are relatively few, especially of the medieval period, whose constituent parts can be completely dated. Documentary evidence such as chronicles, accounts, wills and contracts form the framework on which architectural historians have most successfully established the chronology of style and technique. That most important and most English of styles, the Perpendicular, has been more fortunate than any in its historian.¹

Scattered among perhaps a dozen of the artificial classes at the Public Record Office, but emanating from one single government department, the Court of Augmentations,² are records which an architectural historian would find of incomparable value, did they but relate to a building which had survived destruction. They are the archives of a monastic house which must have been among the flowers of the Perpendicular style, as it was one of the exemplars of late-medieval monastic observance.³ Nothing remains above ground for any to assess the architectural merit of Syon Abbey,⁴ but a chronology of its construction and maintenance and an accurate study of materials and the logistics of the building industry is possible, for among those archives are accounts of building from Henry VI's reign to the eve of the Dissolution.⁵

The monastery of St. Saviour and St. Bridget of Syon was the only house of its kind in England.⁶ It belonged to a Swedish order founded in the 14th century by St. Bridget and, like the priory at Sheen not far away, it attracted royal patronage and was given a site at Twickenham, part of the royal manor of Isleworth.⁷

The foundation stone was laid in February 1415 by Henry V himself, and it was planned that the house would be supported financially from the confiscated estates of a number of alien houses scattered throughout the country. Many of the archives which supported these grants were added to Syon's growing collection of title deeds and other materials relating to the former possessions of Caen, Fécamp, Sées, Angers and Mont St. Michel.⁸ Not all these properties were immediately forthcoming, and the new foundation was guaranteed an income of 1,000 marks a year from the Exchequer.⁹ The issue of safe conducts for the transport of stone from Yorkshire for new buildings in 1417 and 1421, the gift of timber for windows, prepared at Sheen, oak felled in Chissendon Park and other materials worth over £645, indicates immediate and active royal interest in the project.¹⁰

Beyond the sources of its materials nothing is known about the buildings and little about the site except that they were too small. A Bridgettine house was, by its very nature, a large foundation,

for the ideal community was a double house for 60 sisters including an Abbess, 13 priests including the Confessor, 4 deacons and 8 lay brothers, a precise number corresponding to the 12 apostles, the 72 disciples and St. Paul.¹¹ Such a house needed separate conventual buildings for what were, in effect, two communities, although the church was shared by means of a two-storied choir, the nuns above and the brethren below.¹² The popularity of the newly-founded house, despite its cramped conditions, was such that by 1428 as many as 55 had entered the order.¹³ A new site was therefore essential, and one was found not far away in the manor of Isleworth which was at once 'more suitable and beneficial, healthier and larger' than the first.¹⁴

It seems clear that the new site already included a house which Henry V had built for religious use but which had never been occupied.¹⁵ New works there were begun early in 1426, and the first stone was laid in the presence of the Duke of Bedford and Cardinal Beaufort on 5th February.¹⁶ In the middle of the year three 'surveyors', William Sevenoak, a London alderman, John Kyng, and Henry de Chadderton, later receiver of the abbey,¹⁷ were appointed to impress labour and materials.¹⁸ The house and its site were formally granted to the convent in October 1426.¹⁹ Building operations continued for six years, until the autumn of 1431, when the abbess and convent received formal permission to move.²⁰ On 11th November the Archbishop of Canterbury solemnly re-enclosed the community, to whom he presented the vestments he had worn at the ceremony.²¹

This marked the beginning of a new phase of development. By 1443 work was certainly in hand again, for the abbey was given protection for ten years from the Crown purveyors so that workmen and materials should not be taken and that free progress should be guaranteed 'by all the highways commonly used in the king's warren' in the manor of Sheen to and from a wharf known as 'le Brieke ooste'.²² In the next year two masons, John Hardy of London and James Palden of Laughton, Yorkshire, were given similar protection for seven years to use their ships, the *Christofre* and the *Marie*, 'for the expedition of the works'.²³ These are no more than general indications that work was proceeding to supplement the undated building account of Henry VI's reign;²⁴ from 1461, however, accounts begin to show a much more substantial and detailed picture.

The first exactly dateable account, and the most summary of the whole series, records expenditure between Midsummer 1461 and Michaelmas 1479 based on lost 'journals' or weekly accounts.²⁵ During that period the sum of £5,629 3s.6d. was spent on a new church, £1,352 6s. 9¾d. on the nuns' cloister and the dorter above it, £170 11s. 6½d. on the chapter house and £14 15s. 5d. on the smithy. During the last complete year, when

building costs amounted to £469 16s. 11d., the Cellaress spent £11 13s. 4d. on household expenses, and the total income from all the abbey's estates was only £386 4s. 1d.²⁶ Only such gifts as ten tons of iron from the king 'towards the making of a grate between them (the nuns) and the brethren there' presumably saved the house from bankruptcy.²⁷ A limited account for part of the period in question refers to the purchase of ragstone, ashlar and free-stone for the vaulting and 'furring' of the pillars,²⁸ timber for the roof, lead casting and iron.²⁹ At least some of the stone came from Caen, brought under letters of protection.³⁰ By 1479, however, a substantial amount of the building was in brick.³¹ In the year from October 1479, out of a total of £467 8s. 3½d. spent on the new church, the brethren's cloister, chapter house and library, just over £278 was spent on freemasons (£245), 'hardehewers' and 'chalkhewers', nearly £45 on smiths, nearly £37 on general labourers, and smaller sums on carpenters, joiners, sawyers and plumbers; during the same period over £76 was paid to James Powle, brickman, and nearly £17 on bricklayers.³²

The progress of the work in the next few years is not at present clear, though surviving accounts of individual abbey manors may well provide some information. Papal approval was certainly given in 1480 to a variation of normal English liturgical practice in the church, which permitted the construction of altars not necessarily facing east 'according to the convenience of the place'.³³ This permission has been interpreted as implying that Syon was following the plan used at the mother house at Vadstena in Sweden, where the high altar had been placed at the west end on account of the topography of the site.³⁴ The evidence of later Syon accounts does not support such an interpretation of the papal grant. Whatever its import, however, the church in 1480 was still far from ready, and it was not consecrated until 20th October, 1488.³⁵

That date does not mark the end of building work. From 1490 onwards the accounts reveal almost continuous expenditure on new work and on maintenance which, while permitting but a superficial view of the buildings, has much to tell of the details and methods of construction, and of sources of supply. It is clear that the essential elements of the abbey were complete by this time, and work was confined to additions and alterations more difficult to locate in a topographical sense. In 1490-1, for instance, new 'preaching places' were erected both for the sisters and for the brethren, a wall was put up on the brethren's side, pierced by a great gate, and a new 'grate' was put 'beneath at the new church'.³⁶ The wall was of brick topped with 'rough' and 'plain' tile, the gateway of stone. The other buildings were of brick with stone dressings, and involved a large amount of timber.

Work in 1494—5 is even less easy to follow, despite the fact that the heading for the account describes the operation in full:

for the carpentry of finishing of the upper chamber and the nether chamber annexed to the pulpit in the east end of our church; for partitions in divers places; making of stairs, windows, doors; 'selyng' in the same partitions in the confession houses, frames and grates, and for other works . . . upon the masons' house and at the west end of our said church; taking down old houses and making a new frame of timber for new building of new locutories in the ladies' side and for Master Confessor, and confession houses . . . Bricklayers working upon the walls of the said confession houses and upon the closure; a new cistern for fish by our kitchen, making partitions about the said locutories, closing up gable ends; paving in the said new chamber . . . Labourers serving the masons (and) bricklayers, taking down the masons' lodge and the church porches . . . Masons for doors and windows for the locutory on the Master's side, a door in the ladies' dorter, certain doors for the confession houses and windows . . . Glaziers for glazing in chambers and houses . . . plumber for making and casting of the said cistern . . .³⁷

Taken together the works in 1490—1 and 1494—5 cost over £1,116, and reveal some of the unusual features of Syon. From the first, papal indulgences had encouraged popular pilgrimage in the form of the 'Pardon' of Syon on Mid-Lent Sunday and at Lammas,³⁸ and the financial consequences must incidentally have been significant. Part of the function of the brethren of the community was to hear pilgrims' confessions and to preach. The locutories at the west end of the church, the confession houses to the east, neither of which necessarily imply an unusual orientation for the church itself, and a later pulpit, all catering for the large numbers who came to visit the abbey, are the peculiar contributions of the order to the standard monastic layout.

Works for 1494—5 on 'divers houses and other buildings as well within the monastery of Syon as withoutforth' were summarized from the weekly journal, and involved substantial spending on brick, lead, marble and paving tile. A small sum was spent on the 'daubers', just as pargetting had been paid for in previous years. The only precisely known piece of work was a vault at the head of a conduit.³⁹

In 1501—2 expenditure reached a peak at £592 9s. 3d., though defined work was again small: a timber gate; repairs to the crane house at the wharf down at the river, and timber in hand for the wharf itself; two pumps, one on the men's side, the other in the convent garden; repairs to the bakehouse and the 'dayhouse', a sluice for the 'womenhouse'; a stone pulpit, and

works on paths, hedges and the conduit. And yet, during that year, there were delivered 125 loads of stone, 104,000 bricks, nearly 26,000 feet of board, 661 quarters of lime, 49,500 tiles and nine different types of nail.⁴⁰

Carpenters paid £104 10s. 8d., masons £48 16s. 7½d. and bricklayers £40 15s. 10½d. headed the labour costs in 1507—8.⁴¹ A brewhouse was just being finished off with a latten weathercock, but far more important was work in progress on the 'new building' and the 'new hall'. A brickmaker was paid for an additional 600,020 bricks, masons received nearly £49 for stone for new chimneys, windows and doors, and plasterers were also involved. The new hall was then only just started, and the provision of pumps suggests initial problems on the foundations. A further 600,000 bricks were bought before the end of 1508.⁴² During 1508—9 the roof was finished, slated, leaded and topped out with a weathercock, the carpenters using thirteen different types of nail.⁴³ And somewhere a clock was installed, with a painted dial, works of wire and brass pulleys, and a bell, the whole including the clockmaker's wages costing £59 3s. 6½d., not far short of a quarter of the year's expenditure. Minor items of repair were carried out on the malt mill and the wood yard.

Between 1512 and 1518 only repairs and minor works appear to have been done, most of it concerned with woodwork, though in 1515—16 workmen used 23,000 bricks and 17,000 tiles.⁴⁴ A more detailed account, probably for the end of 1518⁴⁵, has a long heading outlining the work undertaken, but is so seriously damaged as to convey little sense. There was evidently some work done on 'houses' at the east end of the church, on the pulpit in the ladies' side and 'at the east end of the brethren's locutory and of their confession (houses)'; on other buildings stretching to a new wall, a chamber 'over the ladies' side and upon a partition at the high grate at the east end of the church'. Doors, windows, stairs and a new bridge over the 'dame' at the east end of the church were also included. All this work was specifically described as having brick walling with freestone doors, windows and 'water tabelyng'. There were, at the same time, repairs at the brewhouse, the horse mill, Dr. Chapman's chamber, the 'hoghouse in the dairy' and the malt house, and the 'dayhouse' required 'undersettyng'. Wages for carpenters and sawyers were the largest items of expenditure for the same period, and 275,000 bricks and timber the costliest materials.

Routine maintenance and cleaning, with carpenters and sawyers again receiving most of the wages, continued according to the summary accounts until 1537, and presumably until the Dissolution. Small works included paving the north side of the church in 1518—19,⁴⁶ regular scouring of the vaults of the new building,⁴⁷ the vaults of the new works in 1519—20,⁴⁸ the vaults

'withoutesforth' from 1522,⁴⁹ when a new pump was bought for the purpose, and the great vault on the ladies' side in 1524—5.⁵⁰

One solitary survival for this last period of building work brings to life what may otherwise seem to be dull routine. It is a weekly account, a 'journal' of work of the kind produced throughout the operations, which covers the period from December 1528 to March 1529, wherein are listed the names of every workman and the work for which he was paid.⁵¹ The main work for the carpenters during that period was on the roof of the nuns' cloister, but they found time to make small items of furniture: a wheel and a table for Master Confessor during the first week, dressers for the kitchen in the second, a chair, footstools and an aumbry for the Abbess in another, perhaps because the weather kept them indoors. Sawyers at the same time were preparing joists and wainscot. The bricklayer was not employed every week, but found himself mending the kitchen chimney, paving the fish house and the washing house yard, tiling the dorter, mending the reredorter, whitewashing the cloister, working on the sacristy on the ladies' side, and 'sealing' the end of the *de profundis* house.⁵² A plumber cast pipes for the *de profundis* house, and masons spent several weeks on the kitchen furnace.

The summary accounts which form the basis of our knowledge of Syon's building works have little to tell of the men involved. It is clear that Henry V's active interest was followed by that of the Regent, the Duke of Bedford. The appearance of Robert Westerley as mason in charge, though at an unknown date, provides grounds for assuming further Crown approval as well as an indication of the quality of the work.⁵³ Westerley had a long career in royal service, from Rouen in Henry V's time, then to Westminster, and finally from 1439 as the King's Master Mason, in charge at Eton, and across the river from Syon at Sheen.⁵⁴ He is known to have worked at Syon 'in the Trasour' and to have been paid for 'drawing divers patrons', which perhaps were the designs followed by the craftsmen at Syon throughout their operations.⁵⁵

There is no trace of a Master Mason at Syon after Westerley, and by 1494 day-to-day control of work was in the hands of a clerk of works, paid an annual wage of £2 13s. 4d. as compared with Westerley's salary of 1s. a day.⁵⁶ William Gavvyn held the post by 1494,⁵⁷ and Robert Taylor was there by 1501 until 1509 or later.⁵⁸ Thereafter the clerk was not named, though besides his wages he was occasionally paid for travelling in search of materials.⁵⁹ Possibly the only senior craftsman involved at Syon, certainly the only one mentioned in the accounts, was John Mellowe, a plumber, who in 1535 received a fee and livery gown, presumably as a retainer.⁶⁰ Brickmakers working under contract included James Powle in 1479—80⁶¹ and Robert Isham for several

years before 1530.⁶² Other named craftsmen included William Clavell, who made a great gate in 1490—1,⁶³ Matthew Levyng, a mason, in 1494—5,⁶⁴ William Herford, a carpenter working under contract for a gate in 1501—2,⁶⁵ all named because they were not members of the regular team of workmen employed at the site, nor yet among the group, by 1501 comprising the clerk of works and a general labourer, but occasionally increased by a smith or a glazier, who were employed either in a supervisory role or on a quarterly or annual basis.⁶⁶

During the phase of greatest building activity the number of men employed at Syon must have amounted to some hundred or more, though since the total wages bill at any one time does not usually distinguish between masters, journeymen and apprentices, the actual numbers involved must be a matter for conjecture. The journal for work between December 1528 and March 1529, a period when new building had come to an end, still reveals a group of up to five carpenters, two sawyers, two bricklayers, two smiths, a plumber, a glazier and two labourers, all paid on a weekly basis, and two men, William Fowler and Delaprey, paid quarterly.⁶⁷ During that period senior craftsmen, a carpenter, two bricklayers, and two masons, were paid 8d. a day and most others 7d., with apprentice carpenters receiving 6d. and labourers 4d.

The early sources of building stone for the abbey seem to have been Caen and Yorkshire, and 'Cayne' stone was still used there on a small scale in 1512—13.⁶⁸ From the 1490's, however, most of the stone came either from Reigate or Maidstone, with one consignment each from Teynton in Oxfordshire, Barnack in Northamptonshire and Horsham in Sussex.⁶⁹ Payments for 'hardstone' from Kent occur more than once.⁷⁰ Transport arrangements are rarely mentioned, though 70 loads of stone had to be ferried over the Thames in 1494—5,⁷¹ and the repair of the wharf, already mentioned, must like the repair of the crane in 1518, involving the carriage of 5½ 'fares' of stone, have been regarded as a vital part of the transport system for the works.⁷²

Brick was probably burnt on or near the site, but in 1516—17 a small amount was brought from Hounslow.⁷³ Most of the timber came from Sussex, on two occasions at least from Horsham.⁷⁴ Felling, hewing and sawing 27 'pieces' of Sussex timber in 1498—9 produced wainscot, quarter board and 'planch-board' as well as laths from the residue, the whole operation costing £63 8s. 2d.⁷⁵ Lead came from the Peak District, mostly from Bolehill in Derbyshire, though some was taken there from Brown Edge, either in Cheshire or Staffordshire, and from 'Hiddgge Chapell'. Ten waggons were involved in bringing it to Syon, and the man who organised the whole transaction, Ralph Bulbyn, went from Syon to Derbyshire nine times.⁷⁶

Smaller items for the fabric included glass from Normandy and from Sussex in 1514–15 and from Normandy again in 1518–19, and Spanish iron was bought in 1514–15.⁷⁷ It is, perhaps, surprising that London features so little in the accounts. It seems to have been the usual source of supply for coal and nails, pans and paving tile;⁷⁸ and it was the home of the drainage expert who came to clean out the latrine on the ladies' side.⁷⁹ Kingston and Isleworth and unspecified fairs and markets in the neighbourhood were visited for goods usually dismissed as 'stuff' by the accountant.⁸⁰

Minor but fascinating items are often entered without source or other detail. Where, for instance, did someone buy the two 'casements' of 6½ foot full of coloured glass with images in 1519–20, or the tinfoil and dragon's blood in 1534?⁸¹ Who made the images of St. Bridget and St. Catherine, and in what materials in 1501–2?⁸² Who cast the bells for Master Confessor in 1494–5, and what was grown in the convent garden which required the provision of a pump in 1501–2, or in the household garden which needed paling in 1535?⁸³ The construction and maintenance of such a complex as Syon Abbey, like Sheen across the water, was an economic stimulus over a wide area. The carriage charges for 'board, lath, timber, rubbish, iron, sea-coal with other necessaries' which was a single item in the accounts for 1534 provided as much benefit to the local economy as the repair of the highway between Isleworth church and Blindman's Elm.⁸⁴

The quality of the religious life at Syon in the years before the Dissolution, with its aristocratic nuns and intellectual brethren, 'made of it something unique in Tudor England, an orthodox Port Royal, a key position in the religious life of the country'.⁸⁵ The house, under great pressure from the Crown in 1534 to throw its considerable weight behind the king's demand to recognize his marriage and his headship of the church, must have been stunned at the trial and execution of one of its brethren, Richard Reynolds in 1535.⁸⁶ The dissolution of the house four years later was achieved not by surrender, but by a legal threat, and ten of the sisters were described as 'obstinate when pensions were assigned'.⁸⁷ Seventeen returned to their home under Queen Mary in 1557, and the uniqueness of the community is that it still survives in the Devon countryside.⁸⁸

The quality of its buildings must be evident despite the scattered nature of its building accounts. An inventory drawn up in November 1539,⁸⁹ as unsatisfactory as the accounts in providing a complete record of the monastic layout, lists in detail only the plate, vestments and some furnishings. The 'new buildings' seem to have interested the compilers most, perhaps because this suite of rooms represented the most secular side of the abbey. There was to be found a room called the King's

Chamber, another known as the Lyon Chamber. Other rooms included a parlour in the women's chamber, Lady Kingston's chamber, chambers for Mr. Morice, Mr. Mynne, for the Steward and the butler, a hall and domestic quarters. Elsewhere stood a bakehouse, a brewhouse, a mill house and a slaughter house, the tallowchandler's house and the coal house, a stable for 'the Solicitor' and a loft for the Steward.

Of the convent proper there is hardly a trace: passing reference to wax and a latten lamp in the chandlery on the ladies' side, two washing bowls and a little bell in the ladies' cloister, some very plain furniture in the church and a little coffer in the ladies' choir.

How soon the great buildings were adapted to secular use is at present not clear.⁹⁰ The central courtyard of Syon House is believed to represent the nuns' cloister, the entrance hall the refectory, and the west range part of the west range of the abbey. Foundations can be seen in dry weather in the lawns on the east and the south.⁹¹ Even less can be traced at the site of Sheen across the river, the other jewel of late-medieval religious life in England. Sisters who signalled to each other at night with bells as their religious kept up the ceaseless round of prayer,⁹² their stones have gone. But the Brigettines still, after so many vicissitudes, continue their prayers; and an offering, if perhaps less worthy, yet no less sincere, is this re-creation from the archives of their former home, Mount Syon, the vision of peace.⁹³

Notes and References

1. J.H. Harvey, *The Perpendicular Style*, (1978).
2. R.W. Dunning, 'The Muniments of Syon Abbey', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxxvii. (1964), 103–11.
3. D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, ii, 175–81; iii, 212–21; *Victoria History of Middlesex*, i, 182–91.
4. *V.C.H. Middlesex*, iii, 97 refers to the west range of Syon House as part of the Abbey undercroft.
5. Public Record Office, SC 6/1106/26 (1461–79); 1261/2 (1479–80); SC 6/Henry VII/1713 (1490–91); 1715 (1494–5); 1717 (1495–6); 1727 (1501–2); SC 6/Henry VIII/2320–38 (1507–37); 7487/610 (Temp. Henry VI); E 101/504/18 (1528–9).
6. Knowles, *Religious Orders*, ii, 175–9 and the references there cited.
7. R.A. Brown, H.M. Colvin, A.J. Taylor, *The History of the King's Works* (1963) i, 265–7.
8. Dunning, 'Muniments of Syon Abbey', loc. cit.
9. *V.C.H. Middlesex*, i, 182–3.
10. *Cal. Pat.* 1416–22, 397; *Acts of Privy Council*, ii, 360; P.R.O. E 364/65, rot. B; *ibid.* 58, rot. G.
11. *V.C.H. Middlesex*, i, 182.
12. *The Saint Albans Chronicle*, ed. V.H. Galbraith (1937), 32.
13. *V.C.H. Middlesex*, i, 184.
14. P.R.O., SC 8/26/1257a, 1258.
15. *Cal. Pat.* 1422–9, 380.
16. *History of the King's Works*, i, 267.
17. P.R.O., SC 6/1296/2.

18. *Cal. Pat.* 1422—9, 341. They were earlier trustees of abbey lands: P.R.O. E 326/1530.
19. *Cal. Pat.* 1422—9, 380.
20. P.R.O., SC 8/26/1257a, 1258.
21. British Library, Add. MS. 22,285 (The Syon Martiloge), f. 10.
22. *Cal. Pat.* 1441—6, 159.
23. *Ibid.* 312.
24. Except the undated building account of Henry VI's reign: P.R.O. SC 6/Henry VIII/7487/610.
25. P.R.O., SC 6/1261/1.
26. *Ibid.*
27. P.R.O., E 404/76/4/126.
28. L.F. Salzman, *Building in England* (1967), 305n seems to confine the use of the word to timber work.
29. P.R.O., SC 6/1261/3.
30. G.J. Aungier, *History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery* (1840), 70.
31. *History of the King's Works*, i, 265.
32. P.R.O., SC 6/1261/2.
33. *Cal. Papal Letters*, xiii. 789.
34. *V.C.H. Middlesex*, i, 184.
35. British Library, Add. MS. 22, 285, f. 96.
36. P.R.O., SC 6/Henry VII/1713.
37. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VII/1715.
38. F.R. Johnston, *Syon Abbey* (Eccles and Dist. History Soc. 1964). unpaginated.
39. P.R.O., SC 6/Henry VII/1717.
40. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VII/1727. See contract for 400,000 bricks in 1502: *ibid.* E 315/36/146.
41. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VII/2320.
42. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VIII/2334.
43. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VIII/2320.
44. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VIII/2321—25.
45. Most accounts ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas. This account, *ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VIII/2326, runs from 14th (*blank*) to 20th December 1518.
46. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VIII/2327.
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VIII/2328.
49. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VIII/2329.
50. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VIII/2331.
51. *Ibid.*, E 101/504/18.
52. Perhaps the charnel house.
53. P.R.O., SC 6/Henry VIII/7487/610.
54. *History of the King's Works*, i. 215.

55. P.R.O., SC 6/Henry VIII/7487/610.
56. *History of the King's Works*, i, 215.
57. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VII/1715.
58. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VIII/2320.
59. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VIII/2325.
60. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VIII/2336—37.
61. *Ibid.*, SC 6/1261/2.
62. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VIII/2333; see also the contract in *ibid.*, E 315/36/146.
63. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VII/1713.
64. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VII/1715.
65. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VII/1727.
66. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VIII/2320.
67. *Ibid.*, E 101/504/18.
68. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VIII/2321.
69. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VII/1713, 1727; SC 6/Henry VIII/2328.
70. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VII/727; Henry VIII/2320—21.
71. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VII/1715.
72. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VIII/2326.
73. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VIII/2324.
74. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VIII/2324, 2327.
75. *Ibid.*, E 315/436, f. 100.
76. *Ibid.*, f. 53.
77. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VIII/2322, 2327.
78. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VIII/2325, 2328—9.
79. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VII/1727.
80. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VIII/2327.
81. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VIII/2328, 2335.
82. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VII/1727.
83. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VII/1717, 1727; Henry VIII/2336.
84. *Ibid.*, SC 6/Henry VIII/2330, 2335.
85. Knowles, *Religious Orders*, iii, 212—22, esp. 215.
86. *Ibid.*, 216—188.
87. P.R.O., LR 2/112, fos. 13—14v.
88. Knowles, *Religious Orders*, iii, 440.
89. P.R.O., LR 2/112, fos. 2—8.
90. An account of Protector Somerset's alterations. in Longleat House. is referred to in *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*, viii, 304n.
91. *V.C.H. Middlesex*, iii, 97.
92. Knowles, *Religious Orders*, ii, 181.
93. *Ibid.*