

Manors and Estates

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Cirencester

The manor of Cirencester formed part of the ancient royal demesne. In 1066 it comprised five hides of land and was held by the king, the queen receiving the wool from the sheep.¹ William I granted it to William fitzOsbern, earl of Hereford (1067 x 1071) from whom it descended to his son, Earl Roger. Upon his revolt in 1075, the manor of Cirencester reverted to the Crown.²

In c.1155 Henry II granted his manor of Cirencester to the abbot and convent of Cirencester to hold 'during pleasure' for the completion of their abbey church.³ The abbot and convent paid a farm of £29 for the vill, and for the hundred court of the liberty of the seven hundreds.⁴ At the consecration of the abbey church in 1176 Henry granted that the church and canons should hold the rent due from Cirencester forever.⁵ A further grant to the abbey, by Richard I in 1189, of Minety and the seven hundreds, in addition to the manor of Cirencester, in return for a farm of £30, may have confirmed and extended a situation which already existed.⁶ At this date the abbot and convent received wide franchises throughout these lands,⁷ as well as exemption from geld, aids, castle ward and other exactions and quittance from tolls. They paid £100 for this charter.⁸ In 1391 the abbot requested a confirmation of the 1189 charter, which substituted for the 'ancient and disused' word *flemenfrit* a grant of all manner of the goods and chattels of felons and fugitives in the manor, township and seven hundreds.⁹ Free tenants could still appeal to the king's court for justice if it was not given within the abbot's court.¹⁰

One right not specified in the 1189 charter was tallage, and Cirencester continued to be tallaged by the Crown throughout John's reign,¹¹ as it had during the reigns of his father and brother.¹² In 1223, during the minority of Henry III, this right came into question, and orders to tallage the vill were respited until the abbot's charters could be inspected in the Exchequer.¹³ In 1246 Henry III allowed

¹ TNA, E 31/2/1/6238.

² ODNB, 'William fitz Osbern, earl (d. 1071)'; ODNB, 'Breteuil, Roger de , earl of Hereford (fl. 1071–1087)'.
³ *Ciren. Cart. I*, nos. 66, 67/19; *English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I*, II, no.347; *Red Book of the Exchequer*, II, 679.

⁴ *Pipe R* 1156-8, (Rec. Com.), 49. That this included the hundred court is implicit in the term *blanch'*.

⁵ *The Historical Collections of Walter of Coventry* (Rolls Series 58), I, 270..

⁶ *Ciren. Cart. I*, nos.32, 77/17.

⁷ *soc and soke, toll and team, infangthief and outfanthief, 'hamsoca', 'gritbruch', 'blodwite', 'murdro', 'forstal' 'flemenefrit', 'ordel' et 'oreste'*.

⁸ *Pipe R* 1190 (PRS n.s. 1), 58.

⁹ TNA, SC 8/249/12448.

¹⁰ TNA, KB 26/66, m.19.

¹¹ *Pipe R* 1203 (PRS n.s. 55), 63; *Cal. Mem.1207-8*, 48.

¹² *Pipe R*. 1186-7 (PRS 37), 141; *Pipe R* 1187-8 (PRS 38), 110; *Pipe R* 1190, 55; *Pipe R* 1191-2 (PRS n.s. 2), 95; *Pipe R* 1195 (PRS n.s. 7), 182.

¹³ *Cal. Fine & Hen. III*, 4-5, 31 [https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/content/calendar/roll_021.html]. An inspection of the abbot's charter certainly occurred in 1232 (*Cal. Chart.* 1226-1253, 145).

the abbot to tallage his men of Cirencester.¹⁴ The grant was renewed in 1249 and 1253,¹⁵ but in 1259 the king once more tallaged Cirencester as of his own right.¹⁶

Early in Edward I's reign the men of Cirencester resisted the king's tallage during the vacancy of the abbey, offering the king a gift of a palfrey worth 5 m. (£3 6s. 8d.) in lieu.¹⁷ The abbot requested and was granted the right to tallage the manor in 1305,¹⁸ and again in 1312.¹⁹ This, the last royal tallage in England,²⁰ was the occasion of the abbot's most bitter battle over the issue.²¹ A case was brought in the Exchequer by Nicholas de Stratton against the abbot, whom he claimed was usurping the royal rights. It was not resolved until 1321, when Edward II agreed that Richard's charter implied that the abbot should have a grant of tallage,²² despite this not being expressly mentioned.²³ The abbot petitioned that the right be included in the king's confirmation charter for Cirencester.²⁴ This was not granted until 1343 when the king's charter expressly mention the abbot's rights of tallage,²⁵ albeit some thirty years after the last royal tallage had been levied.

The farm of £30 for the manor of Cirencester, town of Minety and the seven hundreds was not due to be paid at the king's Exchequer for the whole period of tenure of the abbot and convent. In 1287 the farm was assigned for life by Edward I to Matthew, son of John.²⁶ In 1299 it was assigned as part of the dower of Queen Margaret.²⁷ In 1319 Edward II gifted the farm to his brother, Edmund of Woodstock.²⁸ Following his death in 1330 the revenues were temporarily diverted to Queen Isabella,²⁹ but were restored to his late wife, Margaret countess of Kent by the end of that year.³⁰ In 1331, on account of the minority of Edmund of Woodstock's heir, the revenues were granted to Edmund de Bohun.³¹ Following the majority of John, earl of Kent the farm due from Cirencester returned to the descendants of Edmund of Woodstock until the Dissolution.³²

Although Cirencester abbey was to retain seisin of the manor until it was dissolved in 1539, exactly what this tenure included was contested. Following a petition from the townsmen in 1155, Henry II ordered the abbot to stop interfering with the free tenements which his men of Cirencester held in

¹⁴ *Cal. Close* 1242-1247, 404.

¹⁵ *Cal. Close* 1248-1251, 176; *Ciren. Cart. I*, 48.

¹⁶ *Cal. Fine* 35 Hen. III, 82.

¹⁷ TNA, SC 1/28/183.

¹⁸ TNA, SC 8/178/8881; *Ciren. Cart. I*, 42.

¹⁹ *Cal. Close* 1307-1313, 520; *Ciren. Cart. I*, 46.

²⁰ J.F. Hadwin, 'The Last Royal Tallages', *English Historical Review* 96 (1981), 344-58.

²¹ *Ciren. Cart. I*, 118-19; discussed in E.A. Fuller, 'Cirencester: Manor and Town', *Trans. BGAS* 9 (1884-5), 315-17.

²² *Ciren. Cart. I*, 120/54.

²³ A point made by Master Nicholas de Stratton in 1312: "nulla mentione facta de aliquot tallagio reservato rel retento seu retinendo inde domino R.":TNA, PRO E 368/84, m.25d.

²⁴ TNA, SC 8/260/12966.

²⁵ *Ciren. Cart. I*, 123/73, 130, 134/317;

²⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1281-1292, 269-70; *Cal. Close* 1279-1288, 480.

²⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1292-1301, 453. This was confirmed by Edward II whilst he was Prince of Wales: *Cal. Pat.* 1307-13, 217.

²⁸ *Cal. Chart* 1300-1326, 406.

²⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1327-1330, 511, 519.

³⁰ *Cal. Close* 1330-1333, 35.

³¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1330-1334, 99; *Cal. Pat.*, 1334-1338, 109; *Cal. Close* 1341-1343, 79-80.

³² *Cal. Inq. p. m.*, X, 42; *Cal. Close* 1364-1368, 453-4; *Cal. Fine* 1405-1413, 212; *Cal. Inq. p. m.*, XXV, 369.

the vill.³³ The accession of a new king repeatedly provided an opportunity for the townsmen to challenge the abbey's rights within the manor, and for the abbey to seek to further secure its rights. At issue for the agricultural community were the services owed to the lord of the manor, while the mercantile community contested the question of whether Cirencester was a borough.³⁴

The earliest statement of the customs and services due from the men of Cirencester on the king's demesne probably dates from c.1155, when Henry II granted the manor to the keeping of the abbey.³⁵ The services due from 57 tenancies were given in more or less detail, but no man was so free that he did not have to plough or carry with a cart if he had one.³⁶ An inquisition taken in John's reign established again the services due in the time of Henry II, which were now owed to the abbot of Cirencester.³⁷ This inquisition differed markedly from the first: no ploughings were owed, various payments were owed in lieu of labour service, and the obligation to pay merchet and tol were specified. The greater detail presented in the later statement indicates that it was a response to resistance in the performance of such services. A contemporary inquisition from 1209 established the boon-works due from the young men of Cirencester and from outsiders staying in the vill in harvest-season, after complaint was made to the full county court of Gloucester that the abbot exacted three days of work at harvest (*tres bederipas*) from only these individuals.³⁸ An inquisition in the Cirencester halmote court established that such works were due not from youths still living with their parents, who should be covered by their parents' *bederipas*, but only from those who had left their parents' house and were now *sulfoldes* (landless husbandman). In return they could buy and sell any merchandise (except horses) found within the town for a year following their service, exempt from payment of tol.³⁹ Outsiders who were residing in Cirencester on midsummer eve were liable to do the same three *bederipas*, but without the exemption from tol.

The attainment by Henry III of his majority provided the next opportunity for the men of Cirencester to challenge the abbot's demands. In 1224 they offered, and in 1225 paid, a fine of 10 m. (£6 6s. 8d.) for an inquisition into the customary services they owed for their Cirencester land before Richard I gave the manor to the abbot at fee-farm.⁴⁰ Their initiative was quashed later that year, however, by the abbot who paid twice as much to have a similar inquisition take place before the king at Westminster.⁴¹ This inquisition, removed from the halmote court of Cirencester, went forward because it was beyond the reach of the abbot's tenants who, whilst personally free, held land which was in villeinage.⁴² Unsurprisingly, and in addition to the services owed by individual tenancies, the jury found that everyone else who resided or stayed on the king's land in Cirencester owed three boon-works at harvest, three mowings, tax (*gablium*) and tol and could not

³³ *Ciren. Cart. I*, 75; D. Rollison, *Commune, Country and Commonwealth* (Woodbridge, 2011), 20.

³⁴ R. H. Hilton, *A Medieval Society: The West Midlands at the end of the Thirteenth Century* (1966), 156-7.

³⁵ *Ciren. Cart. I*, no.20.

³⁶ E A. Fuller, 'Tenures – of land, by Customary Tenants in Cirencester', *Trans. BGAS* 2 (1877-78), 285-319.

³⁷ *Ciren. Cart. I*, no.267/124. This survey is also preserved in TNA, C 115/76, f. 253v.

³⁸ *Ciren. Cart. I*, no.266/123.

³⁹ H. Fox, 'Exploitation of the Landless by Lords and Tenants in Early Medieval England' in Z. Razi & R. Smith (eds), *Medieval Society and the Manor Court* (Oxford, 1996), 518-68.

⁴⁰ TNA, E 372/69; E 372/70; *Cal. Fine* 9 Hen. III, 273.

⁴¹ *Cal. Fine* 9 Hen. III, 294.

⁴² *Cur. Reg.*, XII, no.1477; *Ciren. Cart. I*, 13/904; TNA, C 115/76, f. 142v. The sheriff of Gloucestershire was ordered to send knights and free tenants of Gloucestershire to Westminster to testify: *Cur. Reg.*, XII, no.896.

marry their daughters without the lord's licence. Those who brewed beer for their own consumption were exempt from tol. The king's writ ordered the men of Cirencester to allow the abbot seisin of these customs and services.⁴³

In 1247 the abbot and convent received confirmation of the liberties and customs granted to them by Henry I and Richard I, whether used yet or not.⁴⁴ In 1306 the men of Cirencester took the opportunity of Edward I's trailbaston enquiries to complain that the abbot's men had unlawfully broken his tenants' hand-mills and mill-stones. Their complaint failed because they owed suit at the abbot's mills according to the custom of the manor.⁴⁵ To preclude them from instigating any future prosecution on this point, the abbot made them remit any action which they might have had or have by reason of any trespass he or his men had done against them.⁴⁶

Cirencester was interchangeably referred to as either a vill or a borough in early government records,⁴⁷ and probably would have evolved into a borough if Henry II had not granted the keeping of the manor to Cirencester abbey in 1155. This was very different from having been granted a borough charter. In 1342 the men of Cirencester claimed to have been granted such a charter by Henry I, which they alleged that the abbot had burnt in 1292.⁴⁸ The abbot paid the king a fine of £100 to obtain a new charter. Among other rights this established that in future the abbot and convent should hold Cirencester freely 'and not be impleaded by the king or his successors for any borough in Cirencester'.⁴⁹ There is no evidence that a borough charter existed, and no complaint was made at the time of the alleged offence. Had such a charter existed the abbot would presumably have used it in 1221, when he claimed that his charter named Cirencester as a borough (*nominatur Burgus*), and that it was indeed a borough (*manerium illud est Burgus*).⁵⁰ In fact, his charter did not refer to Cirencester as a borough but as a manor.⁵¹

Chesterton

Alwin's two hides of land in Cirencester, worth £10 in 1066, were held in 1086 by Hugh, subtenant of William fitz Baderon, lord of Monmouth, valued at only 70s.⁵² A grant by Witenoc de Monmouth, lord of Monmouth (1075-82), to the abbey of St Florent at Saumur (Anjou) of a hide of land at Cirencester with a plough and oxen, seems not to have received royal confirmation.⁵³ The Domesday estate descended in the de Monmouth line until c.1250, to William's great-great-grandson, John de Monmouth, when it was first described as the manor of Chesterton.⁵⁴ The

⁴³ *Ciren. Cart. I*, 268/125.

⁴⁴ *Ciren. Cart. I*, 49/36-7.

⁴⁵ *Ciren. Cart. I*, 349; Fuller, 'Cirencester: Manor and Town', 303-315.

⁴⁶ *Ciren. Cart. I*, 350.

⁴⁷ *Pipe R.* 1186 (PRS 36), 141; *Pipe R.* 1199 (PRS n.s. 12), 31; H.P.R. Finberg, *Gloucestershire Studies*, 68-79; *Ciren. Cart. I*, xxxvi-xl.

⁴⁸ *Ciren. Cart. I*, 126.

⁴⁹ *Ciren. Cart. I*, 123/73.

⁵⁰ D.M. Stenton (ed.), *Rolls of the Justices in Eyre being the rolls of Pleas and Assizes for Gloucestershire, Warwickshire and Staffordshire 1221, 1222* (Selden Society, 59), no.83.

⁵¹ *Ciren. Cart. I*, no.31/4.

⁵² TNA E 31/2/1/6502

⁵³ *Cal. Doc. France*, 407.

⁵⁴ P.R. Coss, *The Langley Cartulary* (Dugdale Society 32, 1980), no.82.

name, however, is recorded slightly earlier, in 1220, when *Cestreton* was assessed at one carucate.⁵⁵

In the mid-13th century Ralph de Wysham surrendered his right to the manor of Chesterton to his lord, John de Monmouth, in order that he might then grant the manor to Geoffrey de Langley, lord of Siddington, and Matilda his wife, and their heirs.⁵⁶ The manor was held by a descendant of this family until 1511. Before the grant to Geoffrey, the manor had been held as dower by Gelewysa, widow of Ralph de Wysham's grandfather (also Ralph).⁵⁷ After Ralph surrendered the manor she held it directly of John de Monmouth⁵⁸ until his grant to Geoffrey de Langley, which stipulated that he and his heirs should be free to enter into the manor after the death of Gelewysa without contradiction.⁵⁹

Geoffrey de Langley, the son of a minor Gloucestershire knight, rose to become chief justice of the forest and steward to Prince Edward. When he died in 1274, Chesterton formed part of a portfolio of estates worth £200 annually centred in Warwickshire and Gloucestershire, but extending to Somerset and Derby.⁶⁰ On his death Chesterton passed with the inheritance of his second wife, Matilda, and the lands of which they were jointly enfeoffed, to their son, Robert (d. by 1280).⁶¹ After Robert's death Chesterton passed to his half-brother Sir Geoffrey de Langley (d.1297).⁶² From Geoffrey the manor descended to his son, Sir Edmund de Langley (d.1316), and from Edmund through the line of his daughter Joan, wife of Roger de Ledecote.⁶³ In 1302, when Edmund's mother Emma quitclaimed the manor to him, there were still serfs as well as free tenants.⁶⁴ The first extant reference to the court of Chesterton dates from the period of Edmund's tenure.⁶⁵

The manor descended from Joan and Roger de Ledecote to their son, Roger, who took the name 'de Chesterton'.⁶⁶ From Roger it descended to his daughter, Elizabeth, wife of John de Barndsley.⁶⁷ Their tenure of the manor was contested by the descendants of Edmund de Langley (d.1316) by his second wife. In 1417 John de Langley, son of John de Langley of Atherton-upon-Stour, Warwickshire, gained possession of the manor, which he then leased back to John de Barndsley.⁶⁸ John de Langley was noted as lord of Chesterton in the courts of the seven hundreds of Cirencester c.1421-1437.⁶⁹ From John de Langley the manor passed to his niece, Isabel de la Pole.⁷⁰ Isabel's husband, William de Langley of Knowlton, Kent, died in 1483, seised of the manor of Chesterton,

⁵⁵ *Book of Fees* (1920), I, 308-9.

⁵⁶ *Coss, Langley Cartulary*, 21.

⁵⁷ *Coss, Langley Cartulary*, 21.

⁵⁸ *Coss, Langley Cartulary*, 22.

⁵⁹ *Coss, Langley Cartulary*, 22.

⁶⁰ P. Coss, *The Langley Family and its Cartulary*, (Dugdale Society Occasional Papers 22, 1974), 4.

⁶¹ *Coss, 'Langley Family and Cartulary'*, 4.

⁶² *Ciren. Cart. II*, 740.

⁶³ *Coss, Langley Cartulary*, 22.

⁶⁴ *Coss, Langley Cartulary*, 21.

⁶⁵ *Coss, Langley Cartulary*, 21.

⁶⁶ J.L.Kirby, *The Hungerford Cartulary* (Wilts. Record Society 49, 1993), 126-7.

⁶⁷ TNA, SC 8/23/1127.

⁶⁸ *Coss, Langley Cartulary*, 3; TNA, C 1/5/168; *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, XIX, no.611.

⁶⁹ *Ciren. Cart. II*, 740.

⁷⁰ See *VCH Glos. IX*, 222.

with an annual value of £6 13s. 4d.⁷¹ The manor then passed to William's son, another John de Langley of Knowlton, who sold it in 1511 to John Strange of Cirencester.⁷²

Strange had previously acquired land in the manor, beginning in 1501 with a toft, 4 acres of land, 2 acres of meadow and 4 acres of pasture in Cirencester and Chesterton.⁷³ These premises had been recovered by the grantees in the same year, and as an attorney in the common pleas for Gloucestershire, Strange may have represented them, the grant representing his payment. In 1507 he purchased for £26 13s. 4d. a larger parcel of land in Chesterton, comprising a messuage, 60 acres of land, 2 acres of meadow and 4 acres of pasture, from John de Langley.⁷⁴ The 1511 sale, of 2 messuages, 4 tofts, 300 acres of land, 20 acres of meadow, and 40 acres of pasture for £146 13s 4d, brought the remainder of Chesterton manor into John Strange's ownership.⁷⁵

An inquisition in 1537 after Strange had died found that the manor's annual value was £10 0s. 8d., and it was held of Cirencester abbey for fealty and suit at the abbot's hundred court of Crowthorne for all services.⁷⁶ John's son, Anthony (c.1499-1544) inherited, and in the same year conveyed the site and land of the manor to four trustees for his own use and that of Margaret his wife and their heirs.⁷⁷ These trustees still held it in 1544 after Anthony's death, when an inquisition recorded its annual value as £10 6s. 4d.; by then it was held of the king of his manor of Cirencester, doing suit every three weeks at his hundred of Crowthorne.⁷⁸ Margaret was presumably still alive in 1551/2, when her son John granted the premises he would inherit to Thomas Arundel in return for a yearly rent.⁷⁹

Wiggold

Wiggold may be identified with a two-hide estate in Cirencester held in 1066 by a free man, for which he paid 20s. in the farm, and did service for the sheriff throughout the whole of England. William fitz Osbern, earl of Hereford (1067 x 1071) gave this land to one of his men, and put it outside the farm.⁸⁰

The manor is first recorded by name in 1154 x 1158 when Manasser Biset, steward (dapifer) of Henry II and a landholder in five counties,⁸¹ granted his mill of Wiggewald, which Hugh the miller held, and 10s. rent from his other mill in Wiggold, to Eynsham abbey (Oxon).⁸² Shortly thereafter Manasser granted his land of Wigewalt to his brother, Bartholomew Biset for the service of a quarter of a knight's fee.⁸³ Wiggold continued to be held by the Bisets and their descendants for at

⁷¹ *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, Henry VII, III, no.676.

⁷² TNA, CP 40/995; GA, D2525/E143.

⁷³ GA D2525/E143.

⁷⁴ GA D2525/E143; TNA, CP 40/984.

⁷⁵ TNA, CP 40/995; GA D2525/E143.

⁷⁶ TNA, C 142/58/76.

⁷⁷ GA, D2525/E143.

⁷⁸ TNA, C 142/69/122.

⁷⁹ GA D2525/E143.

⁸⁰ TNA, E 31/2/1/6238; C. Taylor, *An Analysis of the Domesday Survey of Gloucestershire* (1889), 163.

⁸¹ *VCH Wilts.*, III, 295.

⁸² H.E. Salter, *Eynsham Cartulary* (1907), I, 103.

⁸³ *Ciren. Cart. I*, 263.

least the next century.⁸⁴

William Biset exchanged his land in Wiggold and Oldington (Worcs.) with lands in Normandy belonging to Anfrid de la Marche, also known as Anfrid Thorel. Anfrid was to render the service of one sore hawk annually for Wiggold, and the manor was to return to William and his heirs should Anfrid die without issue from his wife, Felicia.⁸⁵ Following contention between Eynsham abbey, Anfrid Thorel and Maiden Bradley priory (Wilts.) over Wiggewald mill, it was agreed before the abbot of Cirencester c.1175-90 that should the current miller be removed, all parties should agree on the replacement.⁸⁶ Before c.1200 Anfrid granted the canons of Cirencester the half-virgate which Walter the miller held, together with his house and curtilage.⁸⁷ Cirencester and Eynsham abbeys then together granted Wiggold mill, held of them by Hugh Mace, to Geoffrey Marshal in return for a yearly render of £1 14s. and a relief of £1 14s. from his heirs.⁸⁸ Felicia and Anfrid presumably did not have legitimate issue, since grants made in Wiggold by Felicia to members of her Cardonville family,⁸⁹ who in turn granted land to Cirencester abbey, were challenged by John Biset in the king's court in 1230.⁹⁰ Various agreements resulted, confirming John's right in Wiggold.⁹¹ In particular, the abbot of Cirencester acknowledged that the men of Wiggold did not have to do suit at his hundred court; this could be done by the bailiff of the manor. The abbot should have the imprisonment of any of John's men of Wiggold who committed a crime demanding it, his chattels, in the case of loss of life or limb, to belong to John; the chattels of any man committing a crime in Wiggold who did not hold land there to belong to the abbot.

John Biset died in 1241, holding land in Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Hampshire and Worcestershire.⁹² Wiggold passed to his eldest daughter, Margery, wife of Richard de Rivers/Redvers, who in 1242 leased it for ten years to Cirencester abbey, at an annual rent of £2 13s. 4d.⁹³ The lease specified that the abbot was to receive 52 a. of fallow land in Wiggold without stock, and all the harvest of the last full year of the lease. Margery's right to the manor was unsuccessfully challenged during this lease by her sisters, Ela and Isabella, who claimed a share of the three carucates in Wiggold and Cirencester that she had inherited.⁹⁴ In 1256 Margery, by then widowed, agreed another ten year lease with the abbey who were to pay £2 13s. 4d. annually for the first five years, and £10 annually in silver for the remainder at Winchester fair. They were to have first refusal at a just price, if Margery sought to extend the lease or sell the manor within that term. No sale was agreed, however, as in 1284-5 Walter Springald held Wiggold for the service of a quarter of a knight's fee from John de Rivers, presumably Margery's heir, who in turn held of the barony of Forde (Devon, later Dorset).⁹⁵

⁸⁴ *Cal. Mem.* 1326-7, , no.1712.

⁸⁵ *Ciren. Cart. I*, 262.

⁸⁶ *Eynsham Cartulary*, I, 103.

⁸⁷ *Ciren. Cart. I*, 254/299.

⁸⁸ *Ciren. Cart. III*, 203.

⁸⁹ *Ciren. Cart. I*, 309/168, 310/169, 315/174, 316/175, 317/176.

⁹⁰ *Cur. Reg.* 1227, 2663; *Cur. Reg.* 1230, 888, 1879, 2006, 2406; *Cur. Reg.* 1233, 618; *Cur. Reg.* 1237, 749, 1194, 1562.

⁹¹ *Glos. Feet of Fines 1199–1299*, 45, 55, 58, 67; *Ciren. Cart. I*, 207, 208/306, 260/338.

⁹² *Cur. Reg.* 1249, 1499.

⁹³ *Ciren. Cart. I*, 265.

⁹⁴ *Book of Fees*, I, 308-9.

⁹⁵ *Feudal Aids*, II, 243.

The descent of the manor of Wiggold during the 14th century is obscure until John Corbet, recorded as lord between 1362 and 1382.⁹⁶ This John was married to Emma le Waleys, lady of the manor of Coates. For a time therefore the manors of Wiggold and Coates descended together, Emma and John's daughter and heir, Alice, bringing both to her first husband, Roger Wyght (d.1393). An inquisition in 1382 found that Roger was lord of Wiggold in right of his wife, and held a three-weekly court at will.⁹⁷ Alice secondly married William Rye, and an inquisition in 1402 concerning Cirencester guild merchant described him as lord of Wiggold. The jury also returned that the lords of Wiggold had held courts for their tenants in Cirencester by their stewards at their manor of Wiggold from before living memory, and levied issues, fines and amercements from their tenants.⁹⁸ Alice and William were jointly named as lords of Wiggold and Coates in 1409.⁹⁹

Both Coates and Wiggold descended to Anselm Rye. This Anselm and his wife Joan sold both manors to persons unknown before c.1454, as appears by a complaint by George Houton who claimed to have been defrauded by them under pretence of a sale of the manors which, in fact, had already been sold.¹⁰⁰ Wiggold next appears as a possession of Sir William Nottingham (d.1483). Nottingham bought Coates from a William Llewelyn,¹⁰¹ but no record has been found of his purchase of Wiggold. He died holding the manor, worth £10 beyond reprise, of the king as of the honour of Hereford, by service unknown.¹⁰² Elizabeth, Nottingham's third wife and widow, brought the manors of Coates and Wiggold to her husband, Richard Poole.¹⁰³ Richard's will of 1517 bequeathed Wiggold to each of his sons, William, Henry and Leonard, in turn if the former should die without legitimate issue, provided that Henry and Leonard undertook to provide a life jointure in the manor for Anne, William's wife.¹⁰⁴ In fact William, of Newton (Warws.), and Anne sold Wiggold manor for £100 to George Prator of Latton (Wilts.) in 1549.¹⁰⁵

Pirie and Archibalds

The estates later known as the manors of Archibalds and Pirie have been identified with the lands held by two free men with two ploughs in Cirencester in 1066.¹⁰⁶ Having originally straddled Dyer Street, which appears to have been laid over an existing cultivated Cirencester field,¹⁰⁷ Archibalds and Pirie manors probably came to be concentrated on opposite sides of the street, Archibalds to the north and Pirie to the south.¹⁰⁸

⁹⁶ J.D. Thorp, 'History of the Manor of Coates, County Gloucester', *Trans. BGAS* 50 (1928), 145.

⁹⁷ TNA, C 143/400/19.

⁹⁸ TNA, C 143/434/5.

⁹⁹ *Glos. Feet of Fines 1360-1508*, 82-3.

¹⁰⁰ TNA, C 1/1489/87.

¹⁰¹ Thorpe, 'History of the Manor of Coates', 151.

¹⁰² TNA, C 141/4/37.

¹⁰³ TNA, C 1/57/239.

¹⁰⁴ TNA, PROB 11/18/595.

¹⁰⁵ Lancs. Archives, DDT O 5(6).

¹⁰⁶ TNA, E 31/2/1/6238; Taylor, *Analysis of the Domesday Survey of Gloucestershire*, 163-4.

¹⁰⁷ Reece & Broxton, 'S-Shaped Strips under Cirencester', 125-9.

¹⁰⁸ Bodleian, MS Dugdale 42, ff.7v, 11; *Ciren. Cart. III*, 265.

Pirie

Robert de Pyrie held land before 1216, later identified as this estate and consisting of a half-hide,¹⁰⁹ as a serjeanty, owing service to Cirencester abbey.¹¹⁰ Before 1189 the service attached to this serjeanty involved conducting the king's treasure within Gloucestershire and beyond.¹¹¹ The right to hold the serjeanty and the land attached to it was disputed in 1200 and again in 1220, citing previous holders William, son of John, and Robert, son of Gilbert, from whom it descended to Robert de Pyrie.¹¹²

The abbey's right to the service was confirmed in 1225,¹¹³ but subsequently the serjeanty was taken in hand by Henry III, and he was in receipt of it until 1246, when it was alienated.¹¹⁴ The service owed was rented for 13s. 4d., including the military service which the fee owed, and which was calculated at one twentieth of a knight's fee.¹¹⁵ Following alienation it was permissible for the land to be divided, and by 1248-9 no fewer than 23 tenants held land valued at 62s. from Richard de Pyrie.¹¹⁶ During his tenure the capital messuage of the fee was located on Dyer Street.¹¹⁷

In 1258 the king released all the alienated Cirencester serjeanties to the tenure of the abbey; the fine for the Pirie serjeanty was £20.¹¹⁸ Over the course of the next twenty years the abbot and convent of Cirencester acquired the manor of Pirie, and this was confirmed by Richard's son, Reginald.¹¹⁹ The 'court of the fee of Pirie' is referred to in 1335, by when the manor had been in the tenure of the abbey and convent of Cirencester for more than fifty-five years.¹²⁰ The court was not mentioned when the men of Cirencester petitioned for a gild merchant in 1402 because it was a court held by the abbot and convent, and the petitioners could not demonstrate the freedoms of authorities independent of the abbey. The land of Pirie remained in the tenure of the abbey until the Dissolution.

Archibalds

Unlike Pirie, Archibalds, the manor which emerged from the holding of the other free man recorded in 1066, survived as an independent unit throughout the medieval period. From c.1200 to 1434 it descended within the Archibald family.

A royal inquest taken in John's reign (c.1209-11) reported that Robert Archibald (Erkenbaud) held land in Gloucestershire by serjeanty.¹²¹ An inquest dating from the same reign into the services formerly due to Henry II and now due to the abbot of Cirencester noted that 'the land of Robert

¹⁰⁹ *Ciren. Cart. III*, 242.

¹¹⁰ *Ciren. Cart. I*, 267/124.

¹¹¹ E.A. Fuller, 'Tenures of Land by the Customary Tenants of Cirencester', *Trans. BGAS* 2 (1877-8), 298.

¹¹² *Ciren. Cart. III*, 242, 247; *Rot. Cur. Reg.*, IX, 120; *Rot. Cur. Reg.*, X, 1, 28).

¹¹³ *Ciren. Cart. I*, 268/125.

¹¹⁴ TNA, C 145/6, no.15, E 372/94, E 372/98jH. Barkly, 'Testa de Nevill Returns for Gloucestershire', *Trans. BGAS* 14 (1889-90), 45-7.

¹¹⁵ TNA, C 145/6, no.15.

¹¹⁶ *Book of Fees*, II, 1188.

¹¹⁷ Bodleian, MS Dugdale 42 ff.2v, 3v, 5.

¹¹⁸ *Ciren. Cart. I*, 50, 51/38; *Cal. Fine* 1257-58, no.302.

¹¹⁹ *Ciren. Cart. III*, 196, 242.

¹²⁰ *Ciren. Cart. III*, 268.

¹²¹ *Red Book Exch*, II, 463.

Erkinbald accounts for itself by hunting' (*se defendit per veauteriam*).¹²² A later inquisition into alienated serjeanties specified that Archibalds in 1252 was held in return for providing the king with two or three greyhounds (leporarios); the service had never been rendered, and for this reason Richard Archibald, by then deceased, had been impleaded in court.¹²³ This Richard was holding the manor of Archibalds in 1241 when he successfully challenged Stephen de Harnhill over a right of way across his land in Cirencester.¹²⁴ He was still living c.1250,¹²⁵ but had been succeeded by his son, Geoffrey, by 1252.¹²⁶ In 1258 Henry III informed Geoffrey that he had given all the serjeanties in the manor of Cirencester back to the abbot and convent of Cirencester to be held of them and their successors.¹²⁷ Geoffrey was succeeded as lord by Bartholomew Archibald (Erkembaud), who was in possession of the manor c.1276-1308.¹²⁸ From Bartholomew it descended to William Archibald, who had seisin during the first half of the 14th century.¹²⁹ It was presumably his son William, who was accused with his father and others of assaulting one Walter of Cirencester in 1336, who held the manor in 1368.¹³⁰ In 1402, when the inquiry was held into whether Cirencester should have a gild merchant, the manor was again held by a William Archibald.¹³¹ The first reference to a court of Archibalds manor comes from this inquiry, which reported that William Archibald and his ancestors had, from time immemorial, a fee in the vill of Cirencester . . . commonly called Erchebaundeis, with various tenements, rents and possessions in Cirencester, and that they were accustomed to hold three-weekly courts for their Cirencester tenants by their stewards, from which William received for his own use the issues, fines and amercements arising therefrom.

In 1434 Thomas Archibald sold the estate, with his mansion house in Dyer street called Erchebaudesplace, where his maternal uncle William Erchebaud had formerly dwelt, to Thomas Gerveys and his wife Matilda, and their heirs. Thomas retained a life interest in and use of an 'upper room and a chapel at the upper end of the hall of the mansion' for himself and his servants, a stable for his horse, easement of the hall for himself, his friends and servants, use of the apple orchard and all closes adjacent to the pools and fish ponds, and rabbits within the rabbit warren.¹³² The site of Archibalds mansion house has been located to around 23 (formerly 104) Dyer Street.¹³³ The manor remained in the tenure of the Gerveys family until 1512, when Robert Gerveys sold it to Richard Osmond, a Cirencester woolman. The appurtenances of the manor included its sovereign courts and the fruits of courts. It was then leased back to Robert Gerveys and Alice his wife for life.¹³⁴ In 1521 Robert Osmond of Cirencester, gent., granted a thirty-one year lease to Christopher

¹²² *Ciren. Cart. I*, 267/124.

¹²³ TNA, C 145/6, no.15.

¹²⁴ *Glos. Feet of Fines 1199–1299*, 71.

¹²⁵ *Ciren. Cart. I*, 288/145.

¹²⁶ TNA, C 145/6, no.15.

¹²⁷ *Cal. Pat.*, 1247-1258, 624.

¹²⁸ GA, D1448/T8; *Ciren. Cart. III*, 189, 199; Coss, *Langley Cartulary*, 68, 73, 75-78.

¹²⁹ GA, D1448/T9; Coss, *Langley Cartulary*, 60, 74, 93; *Ciren. Cart. II*, 268; *Cal. Pat.* 1334-38, 354.

¹³⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1334-38, 354; *Cal. Inq. p.m.*, XI, no.254.

¹³¹ TNA, C 143/434/5.

¹³² GA, D674b/T19.

¹³³ *Programme of Archaeological Works: Waterloo Car Park, Cirencester* (Cotswold Archaeology Report, 2014).

¹³⁴ GA, D674b/E67, ff.20-20d.

Toll of Cirencester, gent., and Elizabeth his wife, the widow of Robert Ricards.¹³⁵ The lease included the mansion place called Archebaldes Place and houses appertaining to it in Chepyngstrete. Its land lay in the fields of Preston, Baudington (?Boddington), Spitalgate and Portfield. The manor then included a stone quarry called Boroës, though the tenant was not to take any stone therefrom, nor timber growing there, except to repairs the mansion house or other buildings pertaining to it. Rent was also due from the chantry of Our Lady within the parish church of St John the Baptist and from the chantry of St Christopher there. In the lay subsidies of 1523 and 1525, Christopher Toll was returned as the richest person in Cirencester hundred, having £200 in lands and £10 in goods.¹³⁶

At the time of the Dissolution the manor was presumably still in the possession of Christopher Toll, as a new lease of the manor to Robert Straunge began in 1551.¹³⁷

Other Estates

Rectory

In 1066 and 1086 the church of Cirencester held two hides of land and six acres of meadow in chief of the king in free alms and quit of all customs, for which they paid 40s.¹³⁸ When Henry I created his new foundation of Cirencester abbey in 1117 this land, together with that formerly held by the Saxon minster, was part of its endowment, and the abbey held it until the Dissolution. The obligation to pay the 40s. for the 6 a. of meadow was dropped by King John in 1199.¹³⁹

Llanthony Secunda Priory

Shortly after the refoundation in 1136 of Llanthony priory near Gloucester,¹⁴⁰ the prior and convent gained an interest in Cirencester from Walter de Ashley of Cirencester, who granted them all the land which he held in the borough of Cirencester.¹⁴¹ To this was added a grant of all the tithes from her meadows of Cerney and Cirencester by Margaret de Bohun, daughter of Miles of Hereford and lady of Cerney.¹⁴²

In 1261 the prior of Llanthony and abbot of Cirencester reached an agreement concerning the services owed at the abbot's courts by the prior's men, contention having arisen. Before the itinerant justices in Gloucestershire it was decided that the prior's men in Cirencester and Minety would do frankpledge twice a year at the hundred court, and that the prior or his attorney would also do suit at the inner court (intrinsicam curiam) of the abbot in Cirencester for his tenements held there. In addition they agreed to hold no plea for any of their tenements in Cirencester under the king's little (*parvum*) writ of right.¹⁴³

In 1312 the prior's ten tenants in Cirencester, as sokemen of the ancient demesne, were regarded

¹³⁵ GA, D674b/T19; TNA, PROB 11/19/118, 11/25/212.

¹³⁶ *Bristol & Glos. Lay Subsidy*, 5, 395.

¹³⁷ GA, D674b/E67, f.21.

¹³⁸ *Ciren. Cart. I*, no.19; A. K. B. Evans, 'Cirencester's Early Church', *Trans. BGAS* 107 (1989), 118.

¹³⁹ *Rot. Chart. I*, 10.

¹⁴⁰ *VCH Glos. II*, 87.

¹⁴¹ TNA, C 115/83, f.158.

¹⁴² TNA, C 115/74; D. Walker, 'The Honours of the Earls of Hereford in the Twelfth Century', *Trans. BGAS* 79 (1960), 198.

¹⁴³ TNA, C 115/83, m.xx (img_7863); *Ciren. Cart. III*, no.374.

as exempt from tallage imposed by the abbot. They were Richard Skarnynge, William Kene, Peter Matteshulle, Elias le Bakere, Nicholas Muleward, Thomas Gusche, John le Flecchare, Richard de Cotes, Giles Beaupyne and Walter le Muleward.¹⁴⁴ One tenement lay in Dollar Street (1299), another in Battle Street (1347). One was held of the fee of the earl of Hereford, another of the fee of Wiggold.¹⁴⁵ In the late 14th century the prior's tenants who voluntarily held themselves to be serfs (*qui volent affidare se esse natives*) were acknowledged to be free from toll imposed by the abbot.¹⁴⁶ The prior himself did not have a house in Cirencester. When he visited the abbey in 1511 he stayed 'at bedde' in the town.¹⁴⁷

Abbey of St Peter's, Gloucester

In the papal taxation of 1291 the abbey of St Peter's, Gloucester had 32s. in fixed rents in Cirencester.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ *Ciren. Cart. I*, 125.

¹⁴⁵ TNA, C 115/75.

¹⁴⁶ *Ciren. Cart. II*, 742.

¹⁴⁷ *Cal. Regs. Priory of Llanthony*, 97.

¹⁴⁸ *Tax. Eccl.*, 232b.