The Origins and Foundation Charter

of

St Mary de Voto

Tintern County Wexford

1189-1211

Christopher William Fairholm Marshall

2013

Master's Degrees by Examination and Dissertation

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Abstract

The aim of the study was to make an in-depth analysis of the available material to extend and enhance the current knowledge of the origins and foundation of the former Cistercian abbey of St Mary de Voto at Tintern in County Wexford. The veracity of the legend that the abbey was founded as result of William Marshal's salvation from a storm at sea when crossing from Wales to Ireland at sometime during the last decade of the twelfth century was tested by focusing on his role in the abbey's foundation and the processes involved. The contents of an *inspeximus* of the foundation charter were analysed to discover the involvements and other factors that came together to establish the abbey and to ensure its survival. Although a limited amount of original evidence and a dearth of secondary reference material hampered research, it proved possible to demonstrate that the date of the journey leading up to the foundation was earlier than had previously been reported. The study also revealed that there was a tradition of founding Cistercian abbeys as a result of salvation from storm at sea and it showed that there were particular, hitherto unreported, symbolic dimensions to the origins of the abbey and of aspects of the foundation charter, the probable date of which was more clearly defined. A review of the estates granted to the abbey brought out the possibility that it occupied a pre-existing monastic site; it identified a little known priory at Kilmore, on lands that later became a grange of the abbey; and it indicated the possible location and symbolic meaning of some of the areas mentioned in the charter for which there is no longer any name-place evidence in the landscape.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Janet Burton, my course supervisor, for her inspiration, encouragement, and support in my efforts to gain some understanding of the motives and actions of founders of medieval Cistercian abbeys.

I am also indebted to my wife, Annette, for patiently engaging in occasional conversation with me about Tintern de Voto and thirteenth-century monastic life. In the course of my research she has kindly accompanied me without complaint on journeys to usually isolated ruins of former Cistercian abbeys in Ireland, Wales, Scotland, and England, sometimes in the howling wind and rain.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

Background and Context

This study is about the origins and foundation of a single monastic site in Leinster covering the period 1189 to 1211. The former Cistercian abbey of Saint Mary de Voto, at Tintern, County Wexford, commonly known in Ireland as Tintern or as Tintern de Voto, was founded prior to the turn of the thirteenth century by William Marshal (1147-1219), who was created Earl of Pembroke in 1199 by King John (r.1199-1216). According to tradition, William vowed to found the abbey in thanks to God through the intercession of Mary for his salvation from shipwreck during a crossing of the Irish Sea in a storm in the autumn of 1200. It is from this event that the abbey takes its name. It is referred to as 'de Voto' in the foundation charter and is consistently so named in the thirteenth-century records of Christ Church, Canterbury.[1] The place name is derived from the abbey's mother house of Tintern in Nether Gwent, south east Wales, an abbey of which William became patron in 1189. For the avoidance of doubt, the abbey of Tintern de Voto will be referred to in the text as Tintern while references to its mother house will be to Tintern in Nether Gwent.

The study examines the handful of known relevant historical documents and looks at the involvement of the people and events that combined to create the necessary conditions for the foundation of the abbey. It takes heed of the symbolic dimensions of the actions taken to bring the abbey into existence. It argues that the traditional view that William's vow following his salvation at sea resulted in the foundation of the abbey is soundly based but that the date of his vow was earlier than the autumn of 1200.

Tintern which now lies in ruins but under the care of the Office of Public Works is located on the south coast of Wexford at Bannow Bay; a large and sheltered tidal estuary with a narrow outlet to the sea. It is sited on a gentle south-facing slope alongside a fast flowing small river on its western boundary at the head of an inlet on the north-western shore of the bay. The remains of the medieval church, that was cruciform in plan, and of the domestic buildings consist of the chancel, crossing tower, nave, the south transept chapels, the site of the cloister and garth, and a

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[1] P.H. Hore (ed.), *History of the Town and County of Wexford* (London: Elliot Stock, 1901), Vol.ii, pp.xi-xv

gateway which is now part of an early modern building. To the south-east of the abbey there is an eighteenth-century stone bridge crossing the estuary on the southern side of which is a holy well. Nearby is the ruin of the Cistercian *capella ante portas,* a small single cell church for the use of travellers and pilgrims. Upstream from the abbey is a second bridge and the site of a water mill. Following the dissolution of the abbey in 1536, the abbey buildings were gradually developed and adapted as a residence. It was occupied by the Colclough family from 1576 until 1959.[2]

To the south-west lies the Hook peninsula, at the extreme southern tip of which is Hook Head. The medieval lighthouse at the Hook, which replaced an earlier monastic light, stands on the eastern headland at the entrance to the Suir estuary. It still performs its original functions of guiding shipping into the estuary and providing a warning of the dangers offshore beneath the beacon. Improvements made to the medieval lighthouse in the early part of the thirteenth century may be a consequence of William's near shipwreck.[3] The town and harbour of New Ross founded by William during the last decade of the twelfth century is about ten miles north of the abbey on the eastern bank of the River Barrow which issues into the Suir, six miles to the east of Waterford.

Literature Review

The only extended historical account of the abbey can be found in Philip Hore's second volume of the *History of the Town and County of Wexford.* Hore was a member of the Royal Irish Academy and of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland and edited in the early part of the twentieth century four volumes of his father's notes concerning Wexford. His work covers the period from the foundation of Tintern to the late nineteenth century and although useful for its sources often lacks accurate interpretation of the material. Dr Ann Lynch's monograph, *Tintern Abbey, Co. Wexford: Cistercians and Colcloughs, Excavations 1982-2007*, is the only modern published archaeological account of the abbey. She is the senior archaeologist in the National Monuments Section of the Department of the

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[2] *Tintern Abbey, Co. Wexford, Cistercians and Colcloughs. Excavations 1982-2007*, A. Lynch (Dublin: Department of the Environment, Heritage and Local Government, 2010), pp.1-2 and 98

[3] B. Colfer, *Arrogant Trespass: Anglo-Norman Wexford, 1169-1400* (Enniscorthy: Duffry Press, 2002), p.145; P. Power, 'There is more than one Tower of Hook!', *Beam*, The Journal of the Irish Lighthouse Authority, 39, 2010, p.40

Environment, Heritage and Local Government of Ireland. In that role she has, amongst other matters, been concerned with the excavation, conservation, and presentation, of sites such as the Neolithic monument at Newgrange, and the seventh-century monastery on Skellig Michael, Poulnabrone portal tomb, as well as Tintern Abbey. Her book is invaluable inasmuch that the early physical development of the abbey site is traced, analysed and placed in a wider context. Nearly 2,000 finds have been made along with numerous architectural fragments, including slates, floor tiles, roof tiles and glass. Daniel Tietzsch-Tyler's illustrations for the book depict the abbey as it probably appeared by the mid-thirteenth century which helps to visualise a site that was significantly altered during the early modern period and which archaeologists have not yet fully explored.

David Crouch, professor of medieval history at the University of Hull, is the acknowledged expert on the life and charters of the abbey's founder. His biography, *William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry 1147-1219*, and his commentary on the *History of William Marshal*, commissioned by one of William's knights, John d'Earley, have been an invaluable resource. Similarly, Dr Billy Colfer, a retired teacher, is the acknowledged expert on the Anglo-Norman invasion of south-west Wexford. He includes a brief study of the Cistercian abbeys of Tintern and Dunbrody and of the Templars and Hospitallers at nearby Templetown and Ballyhogue in his book *Arrogant Trespass: Anglo-Norman Wexford, 1169-1400*. The title includes a reference to a report by Gerald of Wales of a comment made by Ruaidri Ua Conchobhair (c.1116-1198) to Diarmait MacMurchada (c.1110-1171), that sets the scene:

> When a neighbour's wall is ablaze contrary to our treaty and you have invaded into this island a large number of foreigners we with good grace put up with this while you confined yourself to Leinster. But now since you are unmindful of your oath and without feelings of pity for the hostages you have given and that you have arrogantly trespassed beyond the stipulated limits and your ancestral boundaries you must either restrain the forays of your foreign troops for the future or else we will send you without fail the severed head of your son.[4]

Colfer has spent the greater part of his life in the area near Tintern and in his later publication *The Hook Peninsula: County Wexford* he delivers a balanced historical tour of the known history, landscape and cultural heritage of the abbey and the

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[4] *Expugnatio Hibernica, The Conquest of Ireland ,* Giraldus Cambrensis, (eds.) A.B. Scott, and F.X. Martin (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978), p.69

surrounding area. The works of these two authors although not in any way dedicated to Tintern have been important in deciphering the military, social and religious networks connecting it with the rest of Wexford, with Wales, and with its mother house in Nether Gwent.

Tintern provides an example of the way in which Cistercian culture was able to successfully cross physical boundaries and to survive close to a military, political, and social frontier in much the same way as happened in the twelfth century with Tintern in Nether Gwent. The remains of that culture at Tintern are represented by underexplored archaeological and historical evidence which nevertheless shows that the first abbots, monks, and lay brothers were able to create a secure home for themselves that placed them symbolically between the secular world and heaven.

Scope and Objectives

There has apparently been no modern, dedicated, or detailed, analysis published of the medieval and early modern history of the abbey from the time of its foundation to its dissolution although mention is made of it in numerous historical narratives. Such a project is beyond the scope of this study which is necessarily limited to a consideration of the circumstances surrounding the foundation and establishment of the abbey during the period 1189-1211. It therefore focuses on Tintern to show that despite limited documentary evidence it is possible to reveal noteworthy aspects of the foundation and early development of a thirteenth-century Cistercian abbey in Anglo-Norman Leinster. The study will demonstrate that the necessary circumstances to support the tradition that the abbey was founded as a result of William's salvation from a storm at sea when crossing from Wales to Ireland were present. It will become clear that the previously widely reported time for William's journey, presumably from Pembroke intending to land at Waterford, in the autumn of 1200 or the spring of 1201 is incorrect.[5] William's wife Isabel inherited the lands and rights William gifted to the abbey from Hervey de Montmorency (c.1120-c.1189). It will be shown that the probable date of his death was earlier than generally assumed and light will be thrown on the latest probable date of the consecration of the abbey. Not least, new arguments about the whereabouts, nature, and symbolic meaning of

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[5] Hore *History of Wexford,* Vol.ii, p.4; G.H. Orpen, *Ireland Under the Normans* (Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd, 2005), pp.233-234; D. Crouch, *William Marshal: Knighthood, War and Chivalry* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2nd edition, 2005)*,* pp.87-88 and 210; Colfer, *Arrogant Trespass,* pp.46 and 84; *Tintern Abbey,* Lynch, p.3

the first mentioned gift of land referred to in the foundation charter will be put forward.

Methodology and Direction

V.H. Galbraith expressed the view that the dedication of an abbey, as far as the monastic community was concerned, probably marked the foundation date but in practical terms it was marked by the date of the donation of the lands on which the abbey was to be built and it this was this latter date that was often recorded in abbeys' chronicles.[6] This study takes a longer view by making an in-depth analysis of the remaining historical material relating to the years leading up to the donation of the land through to the recording of the foundation in William's charter and the probable date of consecration of the church. Some less accessible information has been uncovered by paying particular attention to the network of people who were engaged in the process of founding, building and establishing the abbey and its initial granges. William's role, the reasons for the foundation, the processes involved, and the documentary evidence will be considered to test the veracity of the legend that the abbey was brought into being as result of William's salvation from a storm at sea when crossing from Wales to Ireland. The sequence of events that led to the vow to build the abbey was not unique and so the argument in support of the Tintern tradition will be supported by providing examples of the pre-existing practice of founding Cistercian abbeys as a result of salvation from storm at sea. The study then moves on to consider the abbey's precinct and estates as well as the details of the rights granted to it under William's charter to discover how the interaction of social, spiritual, and environmental factors contributed to the establishment of the abbey. In order to do so, the study employs biographical research in connection with the network of people involved. It draws on various theoretical approaches including counterfactual analysis to determine the cause of the foundation, narrative to describe the journey, and discourse to consider the foundation charter. The methodology allows new constructions to be placed on the primary and secondary sources and thereby reveals details that have been previously misconstrued, missed or not made clear.

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[6] V.H. Galbraith, *Kings and Chroniclers* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1982), pp.214-215

2. The Foundation of the Abbey

William Marshal and Isabel de Clare

The author of the *History of William Marshal* tells us that William was a successful household knight. As such, he was selected by Henry II (r.1154-1189) to act as tutor in arms to his eldest son Henry, the young king (1155-1183).[7] This was a pivotal moment since if William had not been selected by Henry II none of what follows would have occurred. The future for William took a turn when the young Henry died prematurely. William then joined the Crusade for two years or more before returning again to serve Henry II.[8] We also learn from the *History* that William next met the king at Lyons-la-Forêt in 1187 but this as Crouch has pointed out may well have been in 1186.[9] The point is that William was not in Ireland. Whatever the exact date of the meeting, Henry appointed him as ward of the young heiress Heloise of Lancaster along with her lands at Cartmel.[10] William subsequently remained as one of Henry's chief advisers but pressed Henry to allow him to marry a wealthy heiress in return for the loyal service he had given since 1170. In response, Henry offered William his ward Denise de Déols (1173-1207), who was the heiress to Chateauroux, in Déols, about 80 miles south east of Henry's enclave at Chinon, as a potential bride.[11] At the time, Henry was engaged in a power struggle with his son Richard (1157-1199) and in early 1189 Henry, as part of his efforts to control the situation, failed to retake possession of Châteauroux. As a result, the intended marriage to Denise did not materialise and instead she was promised by Henry to Baldwin de Bethune whilst he assured William that he could marry Isabel de Clare (1172-1220).[12] Heloise of Lancaster went to Gilbert fitzReinfreid. As observed by Georges Duby, the pack of young heiresses had been shuffled and re-dealt.[13] In the event,

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[7] *History of William Marshal*, (eds.), A.J. Holden, S. Gregory and D. Crouch (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2006), ll.1963-1967

[8] Ibid, ll.7232-7259, ll.7275-7276

[9] Ibid, l.7302; Crouch, *William Marshal*, p.57

[10] *History*, ll.7312-7315; *History,* Vol.3, p.106*;* W. Farrer, 'Pipe Rolls of 34 Henry II (1187-1188) in *The Lancashire Pipe Rolls of 31 Henry I., A. D. 1130, and of the Reigns of Henry II., A. D. 1155.* (Liverpool: Henry Young & Sons, 1902), pp.66-67

[11] Crouch, *William Marshal*, p.61

[12] *History,* ll.8303-8305; Ibid, ll.9374-9378

[13] G. Duby, *William Marshal: The Flower of Chivalry* (New York: Random House, 1987), p.121

Henry died at Chinon on 6 July 1189 and it became Richard's duty to 'give' Isabel to William.[14]

There is no evidence that William would have had cause to be in Ireland before his marriage to Isabel, he spent most of his time in Normandy, England, and Wales supporting the king. There is therefore no reason to suppose that his near shipwreck took place before 1189. What we can say is that the events that led up to Henry's death were a necessary pre-condition for the foundation of the abbey. If William had married Denise it would have been much less likely that he would have gone to Ireland since, as will be explained, he would not have become lord of Leinster or embarked on the journey that led to his vow to found the abbey.

Similarly, Isabel's background is an essential part of the events. Her father, Richard de Clare 'Strongbow', Earl of Pembroke, (d.1176), and her mother, Aífe MacMurchada (c.1153-c.1189), were married in Waterford cathedral in August 1170. Aífe's father, Diarmait MacMurchada, was king of Leinster and had arranged her marriage in exchange for Anglo-Norman military assistance against his Irish rivals. Aífe was Diarmait's only child so that Richard was reasonably certain that at some time in the future, under feudal law, he would become lord of Leinster by right of his wife. Richard and Aífe had two children Gilbert, who died c.1185, and Isabel. This meant that on Gilbert's death Isabel stood as heiress to the earldom of Pembroke and to the lordship of Leinster and as such she became part of Henry II's valuable collection of eligible spinsters. She found herself in his custody along with Denise de Déols at the Great Tower in London. Following Gilbert's death in 1185 she inherited Striguel (Chepstow). After her mother's death in 1189 the feudal lordship of Leinster should have passed to her but it remained in John's hands until late 1190.[15]

Once the agreement for the marriage had been made William left Normandy for England and in August 1189 he was persuaded by Richard fitzReiner to marry Isabel at his expense in London before moving on to Stoke d'Abernon in Surrey.[16] The wealth that came with the marriage enabled William to pay the king a fine of 2,000 marks to take possession of a share of the Giffard estates including half of the

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[14] *History,* ll.9361-9371

[15] Crouch, *William Marshal*, p.70

[16] *History,* ll.9581-9530

honour of Longueville-sur-Scie.[17] It should be noted here that William's grandfather Gilbert was known either as fitzGilbert or Giffard as was his uncle William, the Empress Matilda's chancellor.[18] Similarly, Isabel was descended from Walter Giffard (d.1084), lord of Longueville-sur-Scie through his daughter Rohese.[19] Their marriage could therefore be characterised as part of a policy to cement Anglo-Norman connections across Normandy, England, Wales and Ireland.

Documentary Evidence

Determining the date of William's intention to found the abbey is difficult not least because the original documents or contemporary copies of them have been lost or destroyed. An image of the reverse side of Close Roll 2 Edward II from the Irish chancery partially explains:

> Memorandum that all the rolls of the Irish chancery with writs, inquisitions, bills and all memoranda touching the said chancery from the time of master Thomas Cantok, formerly chancellor of Ireland, up to the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Edward I [1299-1300] were burned by accident in the abbey of St Mary near Dublin in the great fire in that abbey, except two rolls of the twenty-eighth year, one of patent writs and the other of close writs.[20]

The remainder of the original chancery rolls in Ireland were destroyed either through the ravages of time, mismanagement and neglect at Dublin Castle or in the course of the bombardment in 1922 of the Four Courts in Dublin, the then home in Ireland of the Public Record Office. This is not to say that there is no charter evidence but what has survived are copies and printed translations of originals which unfortunately fail to provide certainty as to the date of the abbey's foundation.

The earliest reference to the foundation date is hinted at in an English translation of an *inspeximus* that is part of the Colclough collection held at the National Library of Ireland in Dublin. The translator has dated it 12 June 1194. It refers to the grant of lands for the purposes of establishing an abbey at Tintern, Co. Wexford, by William

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[17] S. Painter, *William Marshall: Knight-Errant, Baron, and Regent of England* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1982), p.78

[18] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154*, *Volume III*: *Regesta Regis Stephani ac mathildis Imperatricis ac Gaufridi et Henrici Ducum Normannorum 1135-1154* (eds.) H.A. Cronne and R.H.C. Davis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp.xxix-xxx

[19] *English Episcopal Acta: Winchester, 1070-1204 v.8,* (ed.) M.J. Franklin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p.xxxii.n

[20] *Circle: A Calendar of Irish Chancery Rolls 1304-1922,* 'Destruction of the Irish Chancery Rolls (1304–1922): Custody of the Chancery Rolls Before 1810', P. Crooks, Trinity College Dublin

Marshal, Earl of Pembroke.[21] The grant is also probably more accurately recorded in the Patent Roll of 5 Richard II, Membrane 2, f.130 dated 12 June 1382 at Westminster:

> *Inspeximus* and confirmation, in favour of the abbot and monks of St Mary de Voto [Tintern Minor, Co. Wexford, Ireland], of a charter [circa 1200] of William Mareschall, formerly earl of Pembroke being a grant to them in frank almoin for the salvation of his soul, Isabella his wife, their children and others, of three carucates of land of the land of Karnel the younger by the water of Banne round Pulneganer, with a piece of land of Balienner opposite the land of the monastery on the brow of the hill where it slopes to the water beyond the cultivated land commanding the ditches, the land of Balicros, the land late of Meiler the serjeant (servientis) to the west of Ananduf, the land of Rathubenai, all Dunmethan, the land of William the Irishman (Hiberniensis) near the land of Geoffrey de Mora, the land of Aketyper, a burgage of Weiseford, and a burgage of Ros on the south side of the bridge, all which they are to hold with the churches, chapels and liberties belonging thereto, with soc and sac and divers other liberties.
>
> Witnesses: Jordan de Sachavile, John de Herlege, John Marschall, William de London, Maurice de London, Walter Porcel, Baldwin Ketyng, Robert Ketyng, William Chevre, Nicholas Bru, Philip the clerk, and others.

but this is in fact a shorter form (in effect the king's office reference copy) of the original charter and whoever wrote it in the past tense is uncertain of the date giving it as c.1200.[22] Fortunately, a full transcription of an *inspeximus* of the charter, that will be examined in detail below, can be found in the Irish Patent Roll of 24 Elizabeth which in turn took its text from the *inspeximus* of 5 Richard II in the Irish Patent Rolls[23] It confirms the date of the first *inspeximus* as 12 June 1382 but does not give the date of the original charter.

As already noted, the earliest mention of the proposed abbey is found in the Colclough collection in which an English translation made in 1820 of the 'original' *inspeximus* contains the claim that the charter granting lands for the abbey was dated 12 June 1194. This is problematic since the day and month (12 June) given for the charter are the same as those given for the creation of the Westminster and Dublin copies (12 June 1382), in which the lands granted to the abbey are also recited. It seems likely that the Colclough translator was mistaken partly because the copies of

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[21] Dublin: National Library of Ireland: 'Grant by William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, to the monastery of Tintern, 12 June 1194', Collection List No.26, Colclough Papers (Additional) MS 29711(1)

[22] *Calendar of Patent Rolls 5 Richard II, Vol.2*, (ed.), H.C. Maxwell Lyte (London: HMSO, 1920), p.130

[23] See translation of text at Appendix 3 (translations from Latin are my own throughout).

the original charter all refer to William as *comes de Pembroc*. William on his marriage to Isabel de Clare in 1189 became lord of Striguel and received lands in Leinster by right of his wife but did not take full possession of Pembroke until he was created earl in 1199.[24] So, it would have been inappropriate to address William as *comes de Pembroc* in an official document in 1194. The translator's mistake is confirmed by the idea that the date of the *inspeximus* was taken to be in 1194, the fifth year of Richard I's reign (r.1189-1199), rather than in 1382, the fifth year of the reign of the creator of the *inspeximus*, Richard II (r.1377-1399). It should also be noted that the abbey's chronicles, and other records such as the account books, do not appear amongst the Colclough collection or apparently elsewhere and are most likely lost.

In 1917 J.H. Bernard transcribed the copy of a charter he found at BL Add. MS. 4783, fo.28, by which John confirmed the terms of what Bernard described as William's will.[25] In the extract from the will William expresses his wish that the establishment of his new abbey at Tintern be completed in the event of his first demise:

> John by the grace of God, King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou, to all faithful subjects, greeting
>
> Know that we welcome and ratify the will of our beloved and faithful William Marshal Earl of Pembroke, as created by the hands of the executors of the will:
>
> Wishing and firmly ordering that his vow to construct and finish an abbey in a suitable place set in thirty carucates of land for the order of Cistercians in Ireland be observed; Isabel, his wife, the Countess, and Geoffrey fitzRobert, his seneschal, are enjoined to do this.
>
> Witnesses: the bishops of Exeter and Worcester, Geoffrey fitzPeter, Earl of Essex, and William de Longespée Earl of Salisbury, at Hamstead Marshal, Berkshire, 3 December.[26]

Bernard narrowed the date of this document to the year 1200 by tracking the movements of John and the witnesses. Sidney Painter acknowledged Bernard's analysis and as a result assumed that William's journey to Ireland may well have

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[24] *History, ll.9521-9618;* Crouch, *William Marshal*, p.69

[25] J.H. Bernard, 'The Foundation of Tintern Abbey co. Wexford', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,* xxxiii, 1917, sect. C, pp.527-529

[26] See Latin text at Appendix 1

taken place earlier in 1200.[27] Crouch on the basis of the charter evidence is apparently not satisfied that the journey took place before receiving John's confirmation putting it firmly in 1201 whilst acknowledging that an abbot and monks were at Tintern by 1203.[28] Other evidence not considered by Bernard, Painter and Crouch will show that the journey must have taken place before 1199.

What we can also say is that in December 1200 John approved William's wish that the abbey be completed, without regard to William's future personal circumstances or indeed survival. John's charter, therefore, arose out of and symbolised the respective changes in their status of the parties involved, John had become king and William his representative as Earl of Pembroke and lord of Leinster.

The Provisional Dating of the Vow and Foundation of the Abbey

The idea that William made a vow can be found in the *inspeximus* of the foundation charter, 'I have … given and granted to God, and the blessed St Mary de Voto and to the monks of the Cistercian order my charter and all that goes with it …', and as already noted in the document confirming John's approval of it, 'his vow to construct and finish an abbey'. These documents quite clearly do not contain an explanation of the events that led to the vow but John Pembridge, head of the Dominican order in Ireland between 1331 and 1343, who it is thought wrote the *Annales Hibernie, 1162-1370*, records his version of the reasons for the foundation of the abbey under the year 1200 as follows:

> In the same year, the monastery de Voto, that is, Tynterne, was founded by William Marshal, Earl Marshal and of Pembroke, who was lord of Leinster, namely, the four counties, Wexford, Ossory, Carlow, and Kildare, by the right of his wife, since he had married the daughter of Richard Earl of Striguel and Eve, daughter of Diarmait McMurchada; because the aforesaid William, Earl Marshal, was in the greatest danger at sea by both day and night so he prayed to the Lord Jesus Christ and vowed that, if he was delivered from the storm he would build a monastery dedicated to Christ and Mary, his mother, at the place where he landed and this happened when he arrived safely at his lands in Wexford, and the monastery of Tynterne was built as a result of his vow, and the monastery is called de Voto.[29]

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[27] Painter, *William Marshall*, p.154

[28] Crouch, *William Marshal*, p.210

[29] John Pembridge, 'M1200.2' in Gilbert, J.T. (ed.), *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin…and Annals of Ireland, 1162–1370, Vol.2* (London, Longman & Co, 1884-6), pp.307-308

James Grace of Kilkenny writing in about 1537x1539 records the same event under the year 1199:

> The founder of the monastery of Tintern de Voto, William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, who was Lord of Leinster, namely, the four counties Wexford, Ossery, Carlow, and Kildare, by right of his wife the daughter of Richard Earl Striguel and Eve, the daughter of [Diarmait] McMurchada; vowed to make the monastery because he had been endangered at sea.[30]

Grace takes us back one step but clearly does not justify his claim for 1199 but John's charter of confirmation equally clearly implies that construction of the abbey was already underway by December 1200. Logic therefore indicates that the journey took place before 3 December 1200 but it is suggested that there would have been insufficient time to draw up a document for approval of the gift or to organise the commencement of building in the months immediately prior to December 1200.

William is known to have begun an extended stay in Ireland in 1207 which the *History* takes to be the year of his first visit.[31] It causes Painter, and Goddard Orpen to suggest that Tintern's foundation charter was written in 1207 or shortly afterwards.[32] This analysis may be correct since the *inspeximus* is a record not only of a past event it is also worded as an approval, a registration, of the abbey's original endowment. We also know that the abbey was in existence by 1207 because the abbot of Tintern is recorded as a witness to a charter concerning the acquisition of land for the abbey of *De Valle Salvatoris* on its move from Loughmeran, near Kilkenny, where it was first established in 1202 to its second temporary home at Annamult which Butler dates to about 1204. This therefore dates the establishment of Tintern and the existence of its first abbot, John Torrell, to no later than 1204.[33] A preliminary assessment of the evidence so far adduced suggests that the abbey was established at some time during the period 1200-1204 and that the date on which the vow to found the abbey was made was before December 1200.

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[30] *Annales Hiberniae,* Jacobi Grace [Ms. E.3.20 Trinity College Dublin] (ed.), R. Butler (Dublin: Irish Archaelogical Society, 1842), p.20

[31] *History*, l.13316

[32] G.H. Orpen, 'Book Review', *The English Historical Review*, 34, (1919), pp.98-101

[33] *The Charters of the Cistercian Abbey of Duiske in the county of Kilkenny*, (ed.), C.M. Butler, Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, v. 35, section C, no 1, (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1918), pp.13 and 16

The Foundation Process

The original document, represented by the later *inspeximus*, confirming the grant of lands and rights to the abbey has been dated by Crouch to post-1207 on the basis that John had agreed in February 1207 that William could travel to Leinster.[34] This fact along with the other evidence that has so far been reviewed implies that there was a document pre-dating John's confirmation of December 1200 describing William's pledge to found and provide for a new abbey. The indications are that William developed the idea for the abbey before John became king in May 1199 and therefore prior to William's elevation by John to the earldom of Pembroke. Consequently, William would have, at a date earlier than May 1199, asked John as lord of Ireland, and as his immediate liege lord, for permission to found the abbey. It also suggests that by May 1199 William had sufficient authority over the land that he intended gifting to the abbey. This point will be considered in the section below concerning Hervey de Montmorency. Once granted permission, William would have set about the process of drawing together all the necessary elements required to bring the abbey into existence which were eventually reflected in the foundation charter.

We can bring the likely date of the vow and the original pledge back by at least one year to 1198 by considering the probable sequence of events and the length of time it would have required to prepare for the establishment of the new abbey. As we have seen, the near shipwreck and the subsequent vow to found an abbey produced the location for it. The obvious people with whom William would have prayed for salvation and with whom he no doubt later discussed his vow were his wife, Isabel, and his personal chaplain.[35] The choice of the Cistercian Order to colonise the abbey would have been discussed with them. William and his chaplain would have perhaps visited Bannow Bay together to discuss the proposal. The abbot of nearby Dunbrody may also have been present to advise them and to consider the possible boundaries of the new abbey adjacent to those of Dunbrody. At an early stage the bishop of Ferns, Ailbe Ua Máel Muaid (d.1223), an Irish Cistercian, in whose diocese Tintern was to be located, should have been advised of the plans for the new abbey. Care would have been taken 'not to offend the sensibilities' of the local bishop.[36] This is not

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[34] Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp.101 and 103

[35] For William's chaplains see Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp.154-155

[36] J. Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069–1215* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.99

certain since William's relationship with Ailbe, an ally of John and of Meiler fitzHenry, was to become strained although this may not have been the case at the time of William's declaration that he would found Tintern. This is because in 1204 Ailbe consecrated the cemetery at William's other foundation at Duiske in the absence of the Bishop of Ossory in England.[37]

On his return to Chepstow William would have discussed the matter with Eudo, abbot of Tintern in Nether Gwent, and may have shown him his chaplain's record of the pledge.[38] It would have been established that Eudo had the potential to provide a suitable new abbot, possibly in the person of John Torrell, who was to become the first abbot, along with at least twelve monks who conveniently symbolised Christ's disciples bringing the knowledge of the Trinity to the four quarters of the world.[39] Based on the approximate size of Tintern's granges there might have been twice that number of lay brothers required.[40]

We know from the records of the General Chapter that Eudo's 'father-immediate' from the abbey of Notre Dame de L'Aumône in Blois, Normandy, was probably at Tintern in Nether Gwent in 1192 and again in 1196.[41] Either of these occasions would have provided the opportunity to discuss the new abbey and to put in hand arrangements for a petition to be sent to the General Chapter at Cîteaux. Once agreed, it seems likely that the General Chapter would have instructed the abbot of L'Aumône as the mother house of Tintern in Nether Gwent to appoint two delegates to assess the suitability of the proposed site of the new abbey, two delegates being a requirement introduced by the General Chapter in 1194. William's vow does not necessarily post-date the General Chapter's ruling although it seems likely. In fact, we know from Roger Stalley's report on the actions of the General Chapter that the abbots of Mellifont, Co. Louth and St. Mary's, Dublin, were appointed as the

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[37] Crouch, *William Marshal*, pp.114 and 212

[38] H.R. Luard, *Annales Monastici*, Vol.2 (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1865), p.245; See description of vow to found Kirkstall abbey *ostendit votum et ad abbatiam construendam* in W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1825), Vol.v., p.530

[39] P.A. Cusack, 'Number Games and the Second Dialogue of St Gregory' in *Studia Patristica*, Vol.15 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1976), p.278

[40] For discussion of the relative number of lay brothers see J. France, *Separate but Equal, Cistercian Lay Brothers 1120-1350* (Trappist, Kentucky: Cistercian Publications, 2012), pp.128-133

[41] D.H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2001), p.161

delegates in 1199.[42] It may be that James Grace was aware of this since he refers to the year of the vow as 1199. The delegates would have been able to consider the practicalities of William's proposals for the construction of the abbey and to highlight any problems that they could foresee from the point of view of complying with the Cistercian ideal.[43] They brought with them expertise, knowledge and experience and offered guidance and ideas about how William's vow might be achieved.

The decisions as to which monastic order and which mother abbey were suitable would have gone hand in hand with the decision on the extent of the endowment required to ensure the abbey's completion and economic survival. Quitclaims in respect of the endowed lands for William's existing feudal tenants would have been agreed and the charters drawn up. The proximity of Hervey de Montmorency's earlier foundation of the abbey at Dunbrody which is less than 10 miles from Tintern would have been one of the concerns about self-sufficiency addressed by the delegates.[44]

This sequence of events might place William's vow as early as 1195, in other words before the visitation of Tintern in Nether Gwent in 1196. The analysis also demonstrates that Bernard's suggestion that the journey giving rise to the vow must have taken place in the late autumn of 1200, based on Orpen's statement that William was not present at court between 3 September 1200 and March 1201, is almost certainly incorrect.[45] William may well have been in Ireland to oversee early progress at the abbey during late 1200 and early 1201 but it is suggested that his journey in late 1200 was not the one that gave rise to the vow. Following Galbraith's analysis, it seems more likely that 1200 was the year in which Tintern's missing chronicles would have recorded the time when the first abbot, John Torrell, arrived with his supporters to take possession of the first buildings.

[42] R. Stalley, *Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland: an Account of the History, Art and Architecture of the White Monks from 1142 to 1540* (Newhaven & London: Yale University Press, 1987), p.37; Colfer in *Arrogant Trespass,* p.187, notes this reference but does not elsewhere in his work take up the significance of the date.

[43] Burton, *Monastic Order in Yorkshire,* p.98

[44] C. Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), p.229

[45] Bernard, 'The Foundation of Tintern Abbey co. Wexford', p.529; Orpen, *Ireland Under the Normans,* pp.233-234

Circumstantial Evidence Concerning the Abbey's Foundation

Following on from the consideration of the foundation process and before considering the details of the legendary journey, it is appropriate to consider the circumstantial evidence relating to the question of how and when William was put in a position to be able to gift land in Leinster for the abbey and its granges. This involves looking briefly at the involvement of Hervey de Montmorency, Strongbow's uncle, with the political and military affairs of Diarmait MacMurchada, king of Leinster and Isabel's maternal grandfather. Diarmait had been deposed as king of Leinster in 1167 by Ruaidri Ua Conchobhair and had travelled to England in an effort to obtain the support of Henry II intending to regain Leinster by force. As a result, in May 1169 Hervey accompanied Robert fitzStephen (c.1120-1183) and others to Leinster at Diarmait's invitation, landing with their troops at what was once an island at the entrance to Bannow Bay through which William would later sail to take refuge from a storm.[46] The military assistance they gave to Diarmait was successful with the force going on to capture Wexford. Diarmait's reward to Hervey came in the form of what would become the baronies of Shelburne and Bargy where Tintern and its principal granges would later be located.[47] On Diarmait's death in 1171 the lordship of Leinster passed under Anglo-Norman feudal law to Strongbow by right of Diarmait's daughter, Aífe, until Strongbow's death in 1176. Under customary law, the kingship passed to Diarmait's brother Murchad MacMurchada.[48]

Hervey remained as lord of Shelburne and of Bargy under Strongbow but became a monk at the Benedictine priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, at some time between 1179 and 1183. At that point he gifted land in Bargy to Christ Church reflecting perhaps his adherence to the Benedictine rule of poverty.[49] This land would be leased by Christ Church to Tintern in 1245.[50] Hervey, apparently then

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[46] Orpen, *Ireland Under the Normans,* pp.51-53

[47] Colfer, *The Hook Pensinsula*, p.33; M.T. Flanagan, 'Montmorency, Hervey de (*fl c.*1135–*c.*1189)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)

[48] M.T. Flanagan, *Irish Society, Anglo-Norman Settlers, Angevin Kingship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp.105-111; N. Furlong, *Diarmait, King of Leinster* (Cork: The Mercier Press, 2006), pp.32, 103, p.172; N. Furlong, 'Bannow, Dermot MacMurrough and Established Errors', *The Journal of the Bannow Historical Society*, pp.1-9

[49] J. Kerr, *Life in the Medieval Cloister* (London: Continuum Publishing, 2009), pp.11-13

[50] Agreement CCA-DCc-ChAnt/I/231 dated 15 Jun 1245 between Canterbury Cathedral Priory and Tintern de Voto.

disappears from the historic record except that Marie Flanagan has noted a charter of Richard I dated at Dover on 7 December 1189 in which Hervey 'is mentioned as a benefactor of Beeleigh Abbey, Essex, previously located at Parndon during which time Montmorency made a grant that was confirmed by Strongbow'.[51] The relevant phrase in an *inspeximus* of the charter is *sicut firmatum fuit tempore Herveii de Monte Morencini,* 'as confirmed during the time of Hervey de Montmorency', implying that he died before December 1189.[52] Colfer has suggested that Hervey became a monk in 1189 and died in 1205 or thereabouts and assumed that the land on which Tintern was established then fell under William's control as the then lord of Leinster.[53] It would then have enabled him to alienate it for the abbey's use but the instructions to the papal delegates in 1199 and John's charter of December 1200 show that by 1205 William had already made his vow to found the abbey. Colfer's later date for Hervey's death appears to derive from an unsupported and clearly incorrect statement in the *Genealogical memoir of the family of Montmorency.*[54] In this light, there are two possibilities as far as Hervey and the baronies are concerned. He may have retained his remaining landholdings in Leinster on entering Christ Church which is possible because the idea of monks and poverty was not by that time fully established and observed. On the other hand, one might assume that in theory at the point when Hervey became a monk his feudal rights in Leinster escheated either to Aífe because they formed part of her dower lands or perhaps to John as lord of Ireland.[55]

The exact sequence of events is not clear but the gift to Tintern was made by William and not by Hervey or Aífe so it must have been made after Hervey and Aífe's deaths. It should be noted in this connection that Flanagan has proposed a latest date of 1194 for one of Aífe's charters although she concedes that the year in which William probably became lord was 1189.[56] Whilst control of the baronies should theoretically have then passed to William following his marriage or Aífe's

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[51] Flanagan, 'Montmorency, Hervey'

[52] *Calendar of Charter Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office*, Vol.5, (London: HMSO, 1906) 3 April 1364, 38 Edward III, m.9, p.186

[53] Colfer, *Arrogant Trespass*, p50, p.96

[54] H. de Montmorency-Morres, *Genealogical memoir of the family of Montmorency* (Paris: J.R. Plassan, 1817), p.6; Colfer, *Arrogant Trespass,* p.96 and p.185

[55] Orpen, *Ireland Under the Normans,* p.310.n

[56] Flanagan, *Irish Society,* pp.133-134

death, if later, they probably remained in John's hands until 1194 at the latest pending John's trial for rebellion against his brother Richard.[57] Day-to-day management of the lordship of Leinster was presumably therefore in the hands of John's deputies spanning the period from Strongbow's death in 1176 until John's trial. This suggestion is supported by the *History* which describes a meeting with Richard following his arrival in England on 13 March 1194. At that meeting Richard's chancellor, William de Longchamp, challenged William to pay homage to the king for his lands in Ireland, presumably to test his loyalty following John's fall from favour. William refused on the grounds that sufficient fealty had been sworn to John as lord of Ireland, a position Richard conceded.[58] So perhaps before this event the allegedly deceitful Reginald de Quetteville had been sent by William to Leinster 'to take possession of his holdings and appurtenances'.[59] Reginald's deceit and fate are not recorded but it was not long before he was replaced as William's seneschal by Geoffrey fitzRobert. The *History* makes no other mention of Ireland during this period and takes the start of William's extended stay there in 1207 to be the year of his first visit, but the facts suggest that William's biographer did not have access to the Marshal records concerning Ireland and that none of his available contacts recalled the details at the time the biography was written at some time before 1226.[60]

The earliest possible year in which William was therefore in a position to start arranging the site of his proposed abbey and granges out of the land-holdings he then controlled following his deliverance from the storm was 1189 but the analysis shows that the year was more likely to have been 1195. Similarly, the other end of the foundation process date range was marked by the instruction to the papal delegates in 1199 requiring them to review the proposed abbey site. This contrasts with the argument put forward by Colfer, and incorrect assumptions in the annals, that the abbey was established after William's journey in or about the year 1200.[61]

An earlier date range for the process is also supported by other circumstantial evidence. Geoffrey fitzRobert's presence in Leinster is apparently confirmed because he is recorded as having begun the construction of a motte and bailey at Kilkenny in

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[57] Ibid, p.134

[58] *History*, ll.10289-10340

[59] Ibid, ll.9581-9630

[60] Ibid, l.13316; Ibid, Vol.1, p.v

[61] Colfer, *Arrogant Trespass,* p.185

either 1192 or 1193, although the charter relating to it dates to 1204-06.[62] Geoffrey is also credited with creating a new port on the Barrow, presumably with William's permission, at what would become New Ross but the date is not known.[63] However, this is not conclusive proof that William was in Ireland at any time between 1189 and 1194. David Crouch comments on William's later peregrinations, 'The witness lists to Richard's charters seem to show a pattern to William's attendance between 1195 and 1198. He was with the king from spring to autumn, but was absent in winter', perhaps one might assume occasionally in Ireland.[64] There are three indications that William was in Leinster in 1195-1196. In the *Antiquities of Ireland,* he is recorded as rebuilding the castle at Kilkenny in 1195.[65] He is also thought to have founded a priory and hospital of the *Fratres Cruciferi* at New Ross in 1195.[66] Following on from this, he is said to have founded c.1196 the Commandery of St John and St Bridget in Wexford which was the Grand Priory of the Knight Hospitallers in Ireland until 1313.[67] It has also already been noted when considering the foundation process that a meeting at Tintern in Nether Gwent to discuss the new abbey could have taken place in 1196. It may be, therefore, that William journeyed at some time between the autumn of 1194 and the spring of 1195 from Chepstow to Ireland but he would almost certainly have broken the journey at Pembroke, 'the staging post for Ireland', and it is to the epic journey that we now turn.[68]

The Journey

John Pembridge's account of the foundation of the abbey considered above under 'The Date of the Vow to Found an Abbey' appears to be the earliest extant account that tells us that William 'was in the greatest danger at sea by both day and night'

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[62] T. Fanning & M. Clyne, *Kells Priory, Co. Kilkenny: Archaeological Excavations by T. Fanning & M. Clyne* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 2007: 21), p.21

[63] Painter, *William Marshall*, p.152.n

[64] Crouch, *William Marshal*, p.82

[65] *Liber Primus Kilkenniensis,* (tr.), A.J. Otway-Ruthven (Kilkenny: Kilkenny Journal, 1961) p.2; F. Grose, and E. Ledwich, *The Antiquities of Ireland* (London: S. Hooper, 1791) Vol.1., p.40; R. Frame, *Colonial Ireland, 1169-1369* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2nd edition, 2012), p.102

[66] Hore, *History of Wexford,* Vol.i, p.74; A. Gwynn and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland* (Harlow, Longmans, 1970), p.215

[67] R. Brown, Synoptical sketch of the illustrious & sovereign order of Knights of hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem: and of the venerable langue of England (London: Knights Hospitaller, 1857), p.51

[68] Crouch, *William Marshal*, p.87

before vowing to found the abbey.[69] It is impossible to know if Pembridge's account was accurate but he appears to be aware of the charter referring to William founding 'the monastery de Voto, that is, Tynterne'. On the other hand, his reference to 'danger at sea by both day and night' simply echoes the words of St. Paul found in 2 Corinthians 11:25, 'I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I was in the depth of the sea'. Here Pembridge appears not to know the detail of William's 'danger at sea' but symbolically makes the comparison with St. Paul's misadventures to underline William's devotion and the value of his vow.

The most favourable period for crossing from Pembroke to Wexford is, and was, from late spring to early autumn and as already mentioned the assessment of the circumstances suggests that William's journey may have taken place during the period September 1194 to April 1195. Gerald of Wales (1146-1223) tells us, 'The Irish Sea, surging with currents that rush together, is nearly always tempestuous, so that even in the summer it scarcely shows itself calm for a few days to them that sail' implying that the chances of an uncomfortable journey during the autumn, winter or spring would have been heightened.[70] As to 'danger at sea by both day and night', although Gerald knew that, 'Ireland … is about one short day's sailing from Wales', seafarers often set out in the late evening.[71] We find, for instance, in medieval verse ample description of the sort of conditions William and his entourage met when crossing to Ireland having set out in the late evening. Wace's *Le Roman de Brut* (1150x1155), even though it relates to Southampton, might easily describe the scene after nightfall that might have occurred at Pembroke on the quay below the castle;

> There the ships were gathered
> And the troops assembled.
> You would have seen many ships being outfitted,
> Ships moored, ships anchored,
> Ships beached and ships launched,
> Ships being pegged and nailed together,
> Cordage spread out, masts raised,
> Gangplanks put over the side and ships loaded,
> Helmets, shields, hauberks carried,
> Lances raised, horses led,
> Knights and servants boarding,

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[69] John Pembridge, 'M1200.2' in Gilbert, *Chartularies*, *Vol.2,* pp.307-308

[70] *The History and Topography of Ireland*, Gerald of Wales, (tr.) J.J. O'Meara (London: Penguin Classics, 1982), p.58

[71] *History and Topography*, Gerald of Wales, p.33

And one friend calling out to another
They exchange many greetings,
Those who are staying behind and those who are sailing.
When all had gone aboard the ships
And they had the tide and a fair wind,
Then you would have seen anchors raised,
Cables hauled, shrouds tied down,
Sailors clambering around on board,
Unfurling canvas and sails;
Some strain at the windlass,
Others with the sail pin and tacking spar;
Aft are the helmsmen,
The best of the master steersmen.
Each one is attentive to his navigation
At the rudder that steers the ship;
Tiller forward if running to port,
Tiller back to run to starboard.
In order to gather the wind into the sails
They brace the leech-spars to the fore
And fix them solidly into the leeches.
There are some who pull the buntlines,
And lower the yard slightly,
So that the ship may run more smoothly.
They secure the fore-braces and the sheets,
And make all the ropes fast,
They release the halyards, bring down the yards,
Tighten the bowlines and haul,
They check the wind and the stars,
And trim their sails according to the breeze;
They lash the brails to the mast
So that the wind does escape past it;
They run under two reefs or three.
Very bold, very gallant was he
Who first built a ship
And set sail down wind,
Seeking a country he didn't see
And a shore he didn't know.[72]

The idea of sailing at night out of the sight of land can also be found in the *Life of St.*

Gilles, as can the idea that God sets a fair wind to carry the faithful to a safe haven;

The whole night they ran under the moon,
The yard wound up to the masthead;
There was no need for them to trim their rigging
All that night or the next day

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[72] Wace. *Le Roman de Brut*. Ed. Ivor Arnold (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1940) quoted by W. Sayers in 'Twelfth-Century Norman and Irish Literary Evidence for Ship-Building and Sea-Faring Techniques of Norse Origin', *Traders, Saints, and Pirates: The Sea in Early Medieval Northwestern Europe, The Heroic Age*, Issue 8 (2005)

They went their way with a full sea,
For thus goes he whom God leads.[73]

William may have been aboard a 'creaking, stinking wooden' cog of the type that took John to Ireland in 1210.[74] He would have passed along the estuary from Pembroke guided by beacons on both sides and then out of the haven past the island of Skokholm to starboard into perhaps moderate seas towards Ireland. From *Cath Finntrágha'* 'The Battle of Ventry', alliteration and rhyme convey the fear of shipwreck as the wind rose, the waves grew higher, the furious sporting of the mermaids and the crazy voices of the hovering terrified birds above the angry, cold and deep sea;

> Then they had no ship that was not shivered, nor frame not fractured to fragments, nor hull not hurtled, nor plank not plucked away, nor trenail not tried, nor strake not stricken, nor tent beam not torn away, nor oar-hole unbattened, nor bench not battered (or sprit-pole not split), nor decking not drubbed, nor yard not yanked, nor mast not mauled harshly, nor stay not strung out, nor strong strip of sail-cloth not strained asunder, nor warship not wrested from its swift course by the full tempest, unless its crew, close at hand, chanced to attend and allay it in relief.[75]

It may be that that William's ship was making for the Suir estuary to the south of Waterford when the southerly storm swept it past the entrance and across the rip-tide at *Rinn Dubháin,* 'Hook Head', under the monk's warning light and then ran it before the wind, North East by East, for about 5 nautical miles towards *Dún Domhnaill,* 'Baginbun Head', where Raymond le Gros' forces had landed in May 1170. Once there, it would have found some shelter from the storm before rounding Ingard Point. Faced by the broken water towards Selskar Rock it would have then been taken by the in-draught into Bannow Bay.[76]

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[73] Guillaume de Berneville, *La Vie de saint Gilles.* Trans. and ed. Françoise Laurent (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2003) quoted by W. Sayers in 'Twelfth-Century Norman and Irish Literary Evidence for Ship-Building and Sea-Faring Techniques of Norse Origin', *Traders, Saints, and Pirates: The Sea in Early Medieval Northwestern Europe*, *The Heroic Age*, Issue 8 (2005)

[74] G. Hutchinson, *Medieval Ships and Shipping* (London: Leicester University Press, 1994), p.1 and p.15

[75] K. Meyer (ed.), *Cath Finntrága* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885) quoted in W. Sayers 'Twelfth-Century Norman and Irish Literary Evidence for Ship-Building and Sea-Faring Techniques of Norse Origin', *Traders, Saints, and Pirates: The Sea in Early Medieval Northwestern Europe*, The Heroic Age, Issue 8 (2005)

[76] R. Hoskyn, *Sailing Directions for the Coast of Ireland Part I* (London: J.D. Potter, 1866), pp.62-63; Colfer, *The Hook Pensinsula*, p.84; *Dubháin* refers to one of the Welsh monks

At some stage in the journey, probably off Hook Head, William is nearly shipwrecked and feeling thoroughly ill, and fearful, falls to his knees perhaps saying, 'Pray for our salvation, Holy Virgin Mary, John, beloved of Christ, pray for our good. God, hear the prayers of your people; spare those you have redeemed, after you have conquered death and given life'.[77] Mary's intercession succeeds; William's prayer is answered and he survives. By way of thanksgiving, he vows to found an abbey dedicated to St Mary.

Vows Made by Others

Before moving on to consider the abbey, it is worth testing the idea that making such a vow had currency at the time rather than being a product of a storyteller's imagination or that at least the vow was not an embellishment of the truth. There are, no doubt, many examples of vows made during a storm at sea but not ones that necessarily led to the foundation of an abbey. One example is found in the report by Fordun in his *Scotichronicon* (bib.v.ch.37) of the events surrounding the promise made in 1123 by Alexander I, It speaks clearly of the fear of death and of thanksgiving for salvation by St Columba from a storm,

> But when in the greatest peril of the sea and the raging tempest, when fearing and despairing for their lives, the king made a vow to the saint, that if he would bring them safe to that island, he would there found a monastery to his honour, which would become an asylum and refuge for sailors and shipwrecked persons.[78]

A slightly later example relating to the re-foundation of an abbey is the report of the events surrounding the promise made in 1145 by 'the Empress Matilda, Countess of Anjou, and daughter of Henry I' in which she expresses her intention to build a chapel at the Augustinian abbey of *Notre-Dame du Voeu.* 'Our Lady of the Vow', to the west of Cherbourg in Normandy, an abbey originally founded by William I;

> Passing from England to France, she was caught in such a violent storm, that the vessel was on the point of being lost. In this imminent danger she made a vow to found an abbey under the invocation of the Virgin on the

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who occupied c.500 a church and maintained a light on the headland but the word can be translated into English as 'hook'. Plaque at Hook Head church; *Dubán or Dubháin* = hook, Royal Irish Academy/Queen's University, Belfast, *Dictionary of the Irish Language, 2007 (eDIL),* Letter Degra-dúus, column 431, l.69

[77] C. Kendall, 'Prayer on tympanum c.1150 at St Maur, Huy, Liege' in *Allegory of the Church* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), p.229

[78] J.M Leighton, *History of the County of Fife: From the Earliest Period to the Present Time*, Vol.3 (Glasgow: Joseph Swan, 1840), p.245

very spot where she should land. She came ashore at the mouth of a brook, since called *Chantereine*, because during the worst part of the storm the princess had promised to chant a hymn as soon as she could see land. The pilot of the vessel having discovered it, called out to her: *Chante reine, voici terre*. Matilda built a chapel on the spot, by the name of Our Lady of the Vow.[79]

Four years later in 1149, Count Waleran de Meulan was shipwrecked and rescued on the coast of Provence on his way back from the Crusade and vowed to found an abbey as a symbol of his gratitude for his salvation in the face of adversity.[80] In the event, in c.1152 the Empress Matilda took over the foundation of what was to become the Cistercian abbey of *Notre-Dame du Voeu* at Valasse near Bolbec, Normandy. The abbey church was consecrated nearly 30 years later in 1181 but it took until 1218 for the abbey complex to be completed.[81] There are two possible links between William and the abbey. The first is that his father, John Marshal (d.1165), had been a supporter of the Empress Matilda.[82] Although William was born after Matilda made her vow to found *Notre-Dame-du-Voeu* near Cherbourg both that abbey and that at Valasse were literally endowed, built, populated, and consecrated, during the course of his lifetime. The second is that we also know that William was sent in about c.1150 to Tancarville, which is 10 miles south of Valasse, to learn his future trade as a knight.[83] William may, therefore, have been aware of and been influenced by Matilda's two examples of a chapel being built and an abbey founded as a result of a vow.

A final example demonstrates that an uncomfortable voyage across the Irish Sea was equally capable of prompting a vow to establish an abbey. Affreca, the daughter of Godred king of Man and the wife of John de Courcy (1160–1219), presumably on a journey from the Isle of Man to de Courcy's seat of power in County Down, was caught in a fierce storm or sea surge. She vowed that if she reached land safely she would build a church. Her vow resulted in the foundation in August 1193 of the

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[79] M. Chibnall, 'Matilda (1102–1167)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; W. Coxe, *Galignani's Traveller's Guide Through France* (Paris: Galignani, 1819), pp.531-532

[80] A. Avenel, J-M., Cahagne, et É. Follain, *Le Valasse : Une abbaye cistercienne en pays de Caux*, Vol.1 (Rouen: PTC Édition des Falaises, 2008), pp.15-21; Crouch, *William Marshal*, p.210

[81] Avenel, Cahagne, et Follain, *Le Valasse*, pp.15-21

[82] Crouch, *William Marshal*, p.16

[83] Ibid, pp.24-25

Cistercian abbey of *Jugum Dei,* 'the yoke of God', more commonly known as *Mainistir Liath,* Grey Abbey, which is located on the east side of Strangford Lough.[84]

We can therefore say that William's vow to found an abbey was not without precedence and the assertion in the charter of that vow and the later descriptions of the reasons for it vow seem to be fully justified.

The Symbolic Dimensions of the Vow

Following his marriage to Isabel, and through her inheritance, William became a powerful baron often campaigning at the side of his new king, Richard. His improved status meant that, amongst other things, he represented his wife as patron of Tintern in Nether Gwent. That abbey had been founded in 1131 by Walter de Clare out of the abbey of L'Aumône and on his death patronage of the abbey passed to his nephew Gilbert fitzGilbert who was Isabel's paternal grandfather.[85] Tintern in Nether Gwent is situated on the west bank of the Wye valley which was within William's lordship of Striguel with its *caput* at nearby Chepstow castle.[86] Its importance to the de Clare family is symbolised by the fact that Isabel is buried there although it has been suggested that her heart is buried at St Mary's in New Ross, Wexford.[87] It was natural, therefore, for William as patron of Tintern in Nether Gwent to arrange for it to become the mother house of his intended new abbey within the lordship of Leinster, which he also acquired on his marriage to Isabel, in preference to other abbeys or indeed in preference to the abbeys of other monastic orders. The connections relied entirely on his wife's inheritance and not, for instance, on his own link to the Augustinians through his patronage of the priory at Cartmel in Lancashire.

As had been the case with other abbeys established as the Normans expanded their power base to the frontiers of opposition in northern England and then Scotland as well as into Wales in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Tintern in Nether Gwent and its monastic community was an enduring, 'symbol of Norman power as well as a

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[84] *Annales Hibernie,* John Pembridge, 'M1193.2'; *Monasticon Hibernicum,* John Stevens, (London: William Mears, 1722), p.199

[85] J.H. Round, 'Clare, Walter de (*d.* 1137/8?)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

[86] C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey, *Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood II* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1988), p.16

[87] H.G Leask, 'Cenotaph of Strongbow's daughter in New Ross' in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland,* (78) 1947, pp.65-67

nucleus of loyal support for an alien regime'.[88] Similarly, William's new abbey was to take its place as a symbol of his status as lord of Leinster and of Anglo-Norman 'domination and conquest' generally in its enclave in South Wexford. It served to symbolise the connection between the Anglo-Norman and Irish elements of William and Isabel's respective families. As with Tintern in Nether Gwent, the new monastic community in Wexford would form a 'nucleus of loyal support' near the original landing beaches but in an area that was reasonably secure behind the Anglo-Norman 'frontier' with the Irish opposition. This poorly defined 'frontier' stretched, according to Colfer's analysis, in a north-easterly direction from New Ross to near Courtown on the coast about twenty five miles north of Wexford.[89] It may also be that William's tangible support for the Cistercians at the age of 50 was prompted by his experiences on Crusade, which the Cistercians had supported from the outset.

There was though a more intangible reason for the decision to found the abbey. It was not simply a symbol of his personal search for rewards 'not in this world but in the next'.[90] It was also an act of faith in gratitude to God for answering his prayer for salvation from the storm. Psalm 106:25-30 provides a description of the effects of tempestuous seas the thanks and rejoicing required on making landfall.

> He said the word, and there arose a storm of wind: and the waves thereof were lifted up.
> They mount up to the heavens, and they go down to the depths: their soul pined away with evils.
> They were troubled, and reeled like a drunken man; and all their wisdom was swallowed up.
> And they cried to the Lord in their affliction: and he brought them out of their distresses.
> And he turned the storm into a breeze: and its waves were still.
> And they rejoiced because they were still: and he brought them to the haven which they wished for.

Acts 27:39-40 offers what could have been a detailed description of William's approach to Bannow Bay and of his safe landing at what would become Tintern.

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[88] Burton, *Monastic Order in Yorkshire,* pp.4 and185

[89] Colfer, *Arrogant Trespass*, pp.53-54

[90] J. Burton, and J. Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011), p.196; C.B. Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980-1198* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 2009), p.240

And when it was day, they knew not the land. But they discovered a certain creek that had a shore, into which they minded, if they could, to thrust in the ship.

And when they had taken up the anchors, they committed themselves to the sea, loosing withal the rudder bands. And hoisting up the mainsail to the wind, they made towards shore.

In making his vow, he may well have been reminded by his chaplain of these quotations and of the Empress Matilda's vow made in similar circumstances. It may also be that later reporters of the event used the description in Acts 27:39-40 to embellish their stories.

3. The Foundation Charter

It has already been noted that the abbey's original documents are missing but what we do have is a royal confirmation, by *inspeximus*, of William's charter which is written as a letter. It is addressed to William's men 'French and English, Welsh and Irish' and to his 'friends and faithful subjects' over whom he was lord, evidencing the ethnic and linguistic mixture present in Wexford but also following the style known to have been used in the period 1194-1214.[91] It is written in Latin, the diplomatic language of the Anglo-Norman chancery, in the past tense, *sciatis me ... dedisse*, 'you know I … have given'. The gift it represents was made with the consent of his wife, Isabel. It refers only to the original estates granted to the abbey, which are considered in the next section, and it therefore makes no mention of the lands that came to the abbey in 1245 on lease from Christ Church, Canterbury. It created a borough with rights appropriate for an abbey located on the coastline.[92] It was witnessed by those closest to him, some of whom were based near to the abbey, for the purposes of proving his grant and thereby confirming that it was drawn up in Leinster. The witness statement is followed by a formal confirmation that the *inspeximus* mirrors the original charter. The original would have been written on parchment and authenticated by William's seal. In recording a past event, the original may have followed the old Norman style of not being dated.[93] Presumably, Innocent III (1198-1216) would have issued a papal charter confirming William's grant in much the same way that in 1195 Celestine III confirmed the terms of the foundation of Dunbrody.[94]

William's spiritual justification at the beginning of his charter, *Sciatis me pro amore dei et pro salute anime mee,* 'Know that I have for the love of God and for the salvation of my soul', is a typical introduction to such documents. It is also the same phrasing used in his foundation charter for Duiske abbey.[95] By employing it William sets up a 'permanent' two-way arrangement. He and his successors as patrons agree

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[91] R. Sharpe, 'People and languages in eleventh- and twelfth-century Britain and Ireland: reading the charter evidence' in D. Broun (ed.), *The reality behind charter diplomatic in Anglo-Norman Britain* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2011), pp.57-58

[92] Inspeximus, line 26, *infra burgu* 'within the borough'

[93] M. Gervers, *Dating Undated Medieval Charters* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2002), pp.9-10

[94] Gilbert, *Chartularies*, *Vol.2*, pp.97-104

[95] Butler, *Duiske Charters*, pp.18-19

to ensure the well-being of the monks and their abbey whilst the monks agree to provide the general spiritual benefits that William expects to receive in return. That is to say, the monks were to provide constant intercessory prayers for the individuals and groups mentioned in the charter throughout their lives and beyond in exchange for the endowment and on-going patronage they received.[96]

Under the terms of William's grant the abbot, monks and lay brothers were given a substantial number of subsidiary assets, rights and responsibilities. It was an endowment that would allow the abbot and his successors to control, develop and exploit the abbey's estates *in perpetuam et puram elemosinam,* 'in perpetual and pure alms'. It included anything that might come to the abbey in the future from the faithful by way of 'pious donation and devotion, or by sale'.

William excluded entirely his 'service' and that of his heirs meaning that the abbey was not bound to provide, for instance, the knights' service that might otherwise be due from the abbot, the incidence of that duty falling naturally upon William.[97] The land gifted to the abbey included the churches, chapels, and shrines, and all liberties and free customs associated with them. Most of the common law rights granted to the abbot had earlier been absorbed in England by the Normans from Anglo-Saxon common law or introduced from Norman feudal law and subsequently translated in a monastic context in Leinster. Those rights included the right to hold court (sac) and to receive various fines, forfeitures and other dues (soke). Eventually, and perhaps by 1211, through his steward, the abbot was able to exercise a variety of rights in his borough court including the right to tax his lay workers; to hold a court in which those not resident within his jurisdiction could be vouched; and to punish a thief caught within the bounds of the abbey estates. The lands were to be enjoyed 'in peace, freely and quietly, fully and wholly and honourably'. Perhaps confirming their pre-existence in the landscape, they were described as being;

> in wood and in plain, in the meadows and pastures, in the waters in the ponds and fishponds, in the marshes and the mills and fisheries and wrecks, in the granges and thickets on the roads and path, and all other places and things within the borough and outside.

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[96] Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister*, pp.75-76

[97] F. Pollock, F.W. Maitland, *The History of English Law Before the Time of Edward I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952) vol.1, p.245

In addition, the abbot, monks, the lay brothers, and their goods and possessions, were made exempt, from amongst other things, paying land and borough taxes to the king. They were also free from paying fees in lieu of military service, port and cargo duties, and fines for giving sanctuary to outlaws. The abbey and its estates including its woodlands were also not subject to the laws of the forest and the monks were free to exploit their rivers, streams, and ponds. They were to do so without interference from 'foresters, serjeants and the other servants' and free from all kinds of 'secular exactions'. William then guaranteed that in the event of a dispute with the terms of his grant to the abbey whether 'in the present or in the future' the complaint should be addressed to him or his heirs and 'the challenger if successful shall be compensated by some reasonable means to conserve what has been granted to the abbey'. Finally, there is a solemn sanction followed by threatened malediction and relief from it in a promise of eternal blessing. William sets a fine of ten marks to be imposed on anyone 'vexing the monks or their servants or their property or possessions or maliciously harassing, burdening, or disturbing anything', and threatens the potential transgressor of his instructions that 'he shall fall under the curse of God and mine too' but he makes sure that 'whosoever shall support the monks and the monastery in free alms shall know that he will find eternal benediction of God and mine'. The perpetual relationship between the abbey and the secular world is thereby set out and over time confirmed by successive monarchs including Elizabeth until the dissolution.

Orpen was of the opinion that the original charter could be dated to the period 1207x1213 on the basis of the names of the witnesses and the fact that William was known to have been in Ireland from early in 1207.[98] There were eleven witnesses appearing in the order of their importance and role. The first two, Jordan de Sauqueville and John d'Earley, were longstanding members of William's *mesnie*. They were appointed with Stephen d'Evreux as the guardians of his interests in Ireland in the autumn of 1207 when the suspicious John summoned William back to England.[99] Despite John's best efforts to get them recalled to England, they continued with their task until William's return to Leinster in the summer of 1208. John Marshal, the third witness was William's nephew who had been in Ireland since

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[98] Orpen, *Ireland Under the Normans*, p.234
[99] Crouch, *William Marshal*, p.109

1204 as his seneschal.[100] He accompanied William to England in 1207 as well as on his return to Ireland in 1208 having been appointed by John as Marshal of Ireland. In either role, he was an important witness. It raises the question of whether he was acting as John's representative at the consecration, which if true would narrow the date of that event to the period from when he returned from England in mid-1208 to 1213. Seven of the other witnesses were William's tenants and guardians of the abbey's boundaries. The first two, William and Maurice de London also witnessed the charter William granted to Duiske. In addition, Maurice witnessed Dunbrody's charter that Colfer dated to 1201 but which Butler incorrectly dated to 1208.[101] His brother William probably died in 1211 and was buried at Ewenny Priory in South-west Wales.[102] The family were later recorded as tenants of the manor of Rosegarland that lay between the Owenduff and Corrock rivers.[103] Third, Walter Purcell of either Kilmannan, two miles to the north of Pollmanagh, or of Kilmenan in Kilkenny, was an adviser to de Sauqueville.[104] Fourth, Baldwin Keting held Bridgetown near Ballycross and its castle.[105] It is ten miles south-west from Wexford. Fifth, Robert Keting, possibly Baldwin's brother, held Slievecoilta which possibly stood guard at the northern limit of the abbey estates. Sixth was William Chevre who held Ballyhealy and its castle nine miles south-west of Wexford on the road to Kilmore.[106] Finally, of this class of men, there was Nicholas Brü who held Mulrankin and its castle.[107] It is seven miles south-west of Wexford also on the road to Kilmore. A neighbour of Baldwin Keting and William Chevre, he was also a witness to Dunbrody's charter. Last of all was Phillip the Clerk, the son of the archdeacon, who probably wrote out the original charter. He appears again in three

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[100] *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati, 1201-1216,* (ed.), T,D. Hardy (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1835), p.42

[101] Butler, *Duiske Charters*, pp.21-22; Colfer, *Arrogant Trespass*, p.185, following an unsupported statement by Hore, *History of Wexford*, Vol.iii, p.60

[102] *Monastic Wales Project,* 'Remnants of Ewenny Priory', J. Burton, University of Wales Trinity St. David and K. Stöber, Universitat de Lleida (Catalunya)

[103] E. St John Brooks (ed.), *Knights' Fees in Counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny (13th– 15th century)* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1950), p.103

[104] T.B. Barry, R. Frame, and K.Sims (eds.), *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland: Essays Presented to J.F.Lydon,* (London: Hambledon Press, 1995), p.14; Crouch, *William Marshal,* p.172

[105] Brooks, *Knights' Fees*, p.11

[106] Ibid, p.33

[107] Ibid, p.34

Duiske charters and like Brü was a witness to the Dunbrody charter. Orpen's dating of Tintern's charter seems reasonable but the current analysis shows that one of the witnesses, William de London, had died in 1211. His death and William and John Marshal's temporary absence from Ireland therefore reduces the window of Orpen's assessment to mid-1208 to 1211, also marking the end of the available time-span from the vow to found the abbey to the consecration of its church (1195-1211).

We know from the histories of other abbeys that the process from initial vow to consecration could take a considerable time. The provisional time scale of seventeen years for Tintern may be compared with the nineteen years between 1182 and 1201 that it took to achieve the consecration of the church at Dunbrody. Dr Glyn Coppack of Nottingham University has suggested to Lynch that the initial stone church at Tintern comprised the area taken up by the tower and the east end of the nave.[108] It seems quite possible that there was sufficient time for this to have been completed ready for consecration before 1211. The charter would have been symbolically read out at the consecration mass in the presence of William, Isabel, the abbot, the monks, the witnesses, and all the others, *et multis aliis*, too numerous to mention. The charter would probably have been symbolically placed on the altar during the ceremony.[109] The consecration may have been conducted by Herlewin, bishop of Leighlin (1201-1217). He was a Cistercian and a nephew of Hervey de Montmorency who had consecrated Dunbrody in 1201.[110] On the other hand, Crouch hints that it may have been Hugh le Rous, Bishop of Ossory (1202-18), a Cornishman, who he suggests assisted William with the foundation of Tintern.[111]

Whatever the precise date, the consecration of the church would have brought the foundation process to an end. It was the culmination of the process that started with William's selection as a household knight and ended with the settlement and establishment at the abbey site of the Cistercians from Nether Gwent. The study moves now to consider the charter evidence of the properties that were gifted to the abbey to help ensure its survival.

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[108] *Tintern Abbey,* Lynch, p.180

[109] Galbraith, *Kings and Chroniclers*, p.208

[110] Colfer, *Arrogant Trespass*, p.185; Hore, *History of Wexford*, Vol.iii, p.60

[111] Crouch, *William Marshal*, p.152. His reference to Hugh Le Rous and Tintern is elusive.

4. The Abbey's Estates

The Abbey

One of William's concerns when founding the abbey would have been to ensure that the first community was provided with the minimum accommodation required by the Order, that is 'an oratory, refectory, dormitory, guest house, and gatehouse'.[112] It may have been that an advance party was organised to put up these buildings or the abbey was established at the site of a former religious settlement or, as at Beaulieu in Hampshire, a secular building was made available as temporary accommodation.[113] Lynch during the course of her excavations at Tintern found no evidence of any of these first buildings possibly because they were constructed of wood and wattle. She suggested that they were located to either the east or north of the site of the stone abbey.[114]

A potential location to the north of the abbey for buildings constructed for the newly arrived monks is at Ballyvarogue in the valley overlooking Tintern's river. It is to the east of a stream flowing into the Bannow inlet that marks Tintern's western boundary and contains evidence of a possibly pre-existing Celtic site, a large complex enclosure with two entrances defined by a fosse.[115] Hervey's foundation charter for Dunbrody and a papal bull of confirmation refer to this stream as the boundary between Dunbrody and the land belonging to the 'Black Monks'.[116] The papal bull is dated 1195 which it has already been demonstrated is the earliest probable year for William's journey. J.H. Glascott thought that these monks were Cistercians who had been established at Tintern by Robert fitzStephen, a short time before the foundation of Dunbrody Abbey.[117] Unfortunately, he does not cite a reference or give dates so that there is a great deal of uncertainty about his claim. If

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[112] Burton, *Monastic Order in Yorkshire,* p.98

[113] Burton and Kerr, *Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, p.61; Hockey, *Beaulieu: King John's Abbey*, p.14

[114] *Tintern Abbey,* Lynch*,* p.177

[115] Archaeological Survey of Ireland, Ballyvaroge:: SMR WX045-086----, Irish grid reference E278468, N111308; see G. Carville, *The Occupation of Celtic Sites in Ireland by the Canons Regular of St Augustine and the Cistercians* (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications 56, 1982) for an extended discussion of this subject.

[116] Gilbert, *Chartularies*, *Vol.2*, p.98 and p.151

[117] J.H. Glascott's transcript of the Dunbrody charter in *Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, (1) 1871, p.348.n

by the foundation of Dunbrody he meant the year of its church's consecration, 1201, then his comment about the establishment of Tintern a short time beforehand referred to the recent arrival of the first monastic community might be correct but he would have been wrong about fitzStephen's involvement with Tintern. If he was referring to the original grant to Dunbrody in 1182 then he was not referring to the Cistercians at Tintern because the papal delegates did not approve Tintern's site until 1199. Further confusion is caused in the light of the knowledge that Diarmait granted Shelburne where Tintern is situated to Hervey and not to fitzStephen. Hore repeats the point about the 'Black Monks' suggesting that early Cistercians wore black habits but he makes no reference to fitzStephen.[118] J.F.M. Ffrench also discusses the possibility that an early Irish monastic foundation occupied the site.[119] The idea that fitzStephen was involved in settling a cell of Benedictine 'Black Monks' in the area is perhaps derived from the knowledge that he was one of the leaders of the first Anglo-Norman force to land at Bannow in 1169 at the invitation of Diarmait. The Romanesque style of the doorway of the *capella ante portas,* which is very different from the early Gothic architecture of the abbey fits with this possibility.

This single cell chapel, which is not specifically mentioned in the charter, was used by passing travellers and visitors to the abbey. It is situated to the south east of the abbey on the side of the hill alongside the medieval road leading to the crenellated bridge outside the abbey precinct.[120] By coincidence, a church outside the precinct of Hailes abbey consecrated in 1175 predates the foundation of that abbey by Richard of Cornwall in c.1246 following his vow to found an abbey following his earlier deliverance from shipwreck.[121]

The monastery precinct is not directly mentioned in the charter implying that its very existence, even though not completed, was sufficient identification. At the dissolution it was described as including the abbey church; other buildings 'suitable for the farmer', including presumably the cloister, chapter house, hall, dormitory; other domestic buildings; a garden of half an acre; 30 acres of arable land plus 10

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[118] Hore, *History of Wexford,* Vol.ii, p.11

[119] J.F.M. Ffrench, 'Dunbrody and its History', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, (26), 1896, pp.339-340

[120] *Tintern Abbey,* Lynch, p.1

[121] R.L.Poole, (ed.), 'Book Review', *The English Historical Review,* VIII (XXXI) 1893, p.552; N. Denholm-Young. *Richard of Cornwall* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1947), p.50

acres of under-wood, pasture, and moor; a sea mill, and an overshot mill.[122] An aerial survey seems to confirm that the area within the abbey's outer precinct boundary was 40 acres which is an area, for instance, comparable with the precincts at Kirkstall and Melrose.[123]

The Land Grants

It has become clear that it probably took from 1195 until the papal delegates' visit in 1199 to agree the areas to be occupied by the abbey. The first indication of the extent of its estates is given in John's charter of December 1200 which approves William's gift of 30 carucates of land (approximately 3,600 acres).[124] William's charter provides a more detailed description of the abbey's estates. It locates the majority of the land in Shelburne (*Síol MacBrain*), a lesser amount in Bargy (*Uí Bairrche*), and possibly part in Bantry *(Beanntraighe)*, these areas taking their names from the Irish families that once occupied them. Although the descriptions of the various places in the charter would have had meaning for those involved with drafting and bearing witness to it, some of them cannot now be identified with certainty. Colfer follows Hore in advising that, 'Of nine place-names mentioned in the charter to Tintern, four can be identified in the modern landscape'.[125]

Hore identified three in Shelburne the first of which was Ballinruane in Tintern parish (477 acres). It is about two miles north-east of the abbey.[126] He thought that this was 'the land of Balienner … opposite the land of the monastery from the brow of the hill to where it slopes down to the ditch and beyond the uncultivated land to the water'. Balienner could be a personal name, a place name or both. In Gaeilge, *Baile* means a farmstead belonging to 'one family group or individual' and *Rúainne* can mean fishing-line.[127] As a personal name, it is possible that 'balienner' is equivalent to *baleinier*, the French name for a whale hunter. This, in a medieval

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[122] White, *Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions*, p.358; *Tintern Abbey,* Lynch*,* p.1

[123] Aerial survey conducted using Google Maps Area Calculator Tool; 'Kirkstall Abbey: the precinct', *The Cistercians in Yorkshire Project*, S. Foot, Sheffield University.

[124] The acreage recorded in the *Extents* does not add up the equivalent of 30 carucates and given the description appended to some of the holdings it is clear that much of it was 'waste'. However, the acreages given in the Census of 1871 approximates to the 30 carucates or 3,600 statute acres.[124]

[125] Colfer, *Arrogant Trespass*, p.186; Hore, *History of Wexford,* Vol.ii*,* p.19

[126] Census of Ireland 1871: *Alphabetical index to the Townlands and Towns of Ireland*, (Dublin: HMSO, 1877), p.41

[127] R.I.A. *eDIL,* Letter B, column 15, 1.a.; R.I.A. *eDIL,* Letter R, Column 107

context, would be a person who dealt with stranded whales, including those perhaps deliberately driven aground in Ballyteague bay.[128] Confirmation of the probable location of Balienner and proof that William's grant did not include the whole of Balienner is found in a quitclaim of 1240/41 in respect of 24 acres in favour of Dunbrody abbey by one of William's tenants, the charter witness, Maurice de London.[129] The second area, Rathumney (Rathubenai) in Owenduff (1,152 acres), is five miles to the north of Tintern.[130] Colfer suggests that 'the remains of an early thirteenth-century hall house and a church site' at Rathumney 'may have been developed as the headquarters of the detached (northern) portion of the abbey estate within Shelburne.[131] This conclusion requires further exploration but in Gaeilge *rath* may mean either a property given as an act of grace or *ráth* meaning an earthen rampart.[132] The third area he recognised was Dunmain (Dunmethan) also in Owenduff (688 acres).[133] The name appears to derive from *Dún Maín,* macMaein's fort.[134] It is eight miles to the north of Tintern. In the *Extents* of 1641 it is described as containing 20 acres of arable land along with 40 acres of wood and pasture.[135]

Hore also identified in Bargy, Ballycross (Balicros) near Bridgetown, north of Kilmore.[136] Ballycross is some 18 miles from Tintern and was described at the dissolution as 'Ballycrosse with Pollenton: 200 acres arable, meadow, pasture, and moor'.[137] As noted above, *Baile* is a farmstead whilst 'cross' speaks for itself supporting the idea that a grange was in operation at the time the charter was drawn up. The layout of the farmstead currently known as Ballycross Apple Farm suggests that the buildings may be medieval. They are arranged around a four-sided courtyard contained within a large enclosure. It could be the site of the original grange

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[128] A.E.J. Went, 'Whaling from Ireland', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland,* (98) 1968, p.31

[129] Gilbert, *Chartularies, Vol.2,* pp.177-178

[130] Census of Ireland 1871, p.612

[131] Colfer, *Arrogant Trespass*, p.190

[132] R.I.A. *eDIL,* Letter R, column 15, l.4; Ibid, Letter R, column 16

[133] Census of Ireland 1871, p.333

[134] R.I.A. *eDIL*, Letter Degra-dúus, column 449, l.44; Letter M, column 35, l.84

[135] White, *Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions*, p.359

[136] *Cill Mhór* (the big church). W. abbot of Tintern and G. prior of Kylmor witnessed the ratification of Dunbrody's estates before 1243, Gilbert, *Chartularies, Vol.2,* pp.170-172. Kilmore, Kilturk, Bannow, and the Saltee Islands, were gifted by Hervey to Christ Church. It was not until 1245 that they were leased to Tintern.

[137] White, *Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions*, p.377

buildings that, although not listed as a national monument, may be worth further detailed investigation. Colfer does not take the opportunity to link Ballycross with Tintern as its eastern grange when discussing the sub-infeudation of the area known as Bargy merely leaving it to the reader to deduce that there were two manors not held by military tenure, Ballycross and Kilmore.[138]

The two areas accounting for the balance of the estates (approximately 650 acres) that have not yet been positively identified are Meiler's land and William the Irishman's land. The 'land that belonged to Meiler the serjeant to the west of Anaduf' (Owenduff), may be synonymous with the southern part of the modern townland of Mylerspark and includes Nash, Rathnageeragh, Ballygarven, and Boley, perhaps in all perhaps 500 acres.[139] It is about eleven miles north of the abbey and nine from New Ross. As far as the land of William the Irishman is concerned it may have been part of the barony of St Mullins (Teighmolin) in Idrone which is approximately nine miles north of New Ross and twenty four from Tintern. At Tintern's dissolution it was described as the barony of Tymolyn containing 400 acres of arable, and 300 acres of pasture and wood.[140] The analysis suggests that the foundation gift was a much smaller area. It is also known that lordship of the barony was given by William's daughter, Maud, to her third son Ralph Bigod of Stockton whilst Ballycrinnigan about 3 miles north-east of St Mullins was given to the abbey (c.1246-1248).[141] William the Irishman has not been identified but we know that by 1195 at least part of the area was under the control of William de Carew, the nephew of Raymond le Gros.[142] Neither has Geoffrey de Mora been identified but the surname may be derived from the Irish name Ó'Mórdha who were chiefs of Leix to the north of Teighmolin.

The place-names or locations of properties no longer identifiable in the landscape are the burgages in Ross and Wexford, Aketyper, and the first-named grant of Pulnegaver. The burgages at Wexford and one at Ross 'on the south side of the

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[138] Colfer, *Arrogant Trespass*, pp.96-97

[139] White, *Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions*, pp.358-360

[140] Ibid, p.360

[141] M. Morris, *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), pp.38-39

[142] A. Halpin and C. Newman, *Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp.483-484; N. Furlong, *A history of County Wexford* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 2003), p.49

bridge' are described in the *Extents* as tenements worth 6/- and 13/4.[143] As with Domesday barons, the burgages provided the abbot and his deputies with accommodation when at Wexford or Ross 'on business and with a place of refuge in time of trouble' and may have also been used by the abbey's guests when visiting Ireland.[144] As far as Aketyper is concerned, it may be the writer's attempt at the Gaeilge *ached úr* (the fresh or new field).[145] Hore described it as the 'field of the well' with its appurtenances.[146] He does not say so but there is a 'Lady Well' conveniently located for passersby just below the main abbey bridge between the *capella ante portas* and the estuary.

Finally, the reference in the charter to the first mentioned and therefore probably symbolically important Pulnegaver reads, *tres carucate terra de terra karuet junioris juxta aquam Banne circa pulnegaver,* 'three carucates of land, from the land of Karnet the younger, by the water of Banne around Pulnegaver'. It is not clear if *Banne* refers to the whereabouts of the abbey's land or if it is a means of identifying Karnet.[147] Colfer takes the first view suggesting in his map of the abbey's estates in Shelburne that Karnet's land is equivalent to the townland of St Kierans which lies immediately to the east of Tintern on the shore of Bannow Bay or *Banne.* This suggestion is plausible because St Kierans is adjacent to the abbey. It is mentioned in the dissolution survey of 1541 whilst Bannow is described as *Banne* in Dunbrody's foundation charter.[148] It is approximately 360 statute acres (three carucates) in extent and therefore accords with the charter's description. No evidence has yet emerged to suggest that St Kieran's was acquired by the abbey at a later date.

On the other hand, Eric St John Brooks identifies Karnet as Reginald de Kernet of Kilcomb in the barony of Scarawalsh.[149] His logic was that Kernet may be read as Karnet and cited the fact that the river Bann flows along the southern boundary of Kilcomb, hence Karnet of Bann. He identifies Ballyregan in Ballymore as the

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[143] White, *Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions*, p.361

[144] D.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950), p.523

[145] R.I.A., Letter U, column 87, 2.b

[146] Hore, *History of Wexford*, Vol.ii, p.45

[147] Karnet is the version given in Calendar of Patent Rolls, 5 Richard II, Membrane 2, f.130 on 12 June 1382

[148] White, *Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions*, p.358; Colfer, *Arrogant Trespass*, p.187; Glascott, 'Dunbrody charter', p.348

[149] Brooks, *Knights' Fees*, p.40

location of Reginald de Kernet's ¼ knight's fee.[150] Against his analysis are the facts that Ballyregan contains only 60 statute acres compared with the 360 of the grant; it is over 30 miles from Tintern so beyond the customary day's walk; there are no local place-names that suggest a monastic connection or association with the probable meaning of *pulnegaver;* and the area generally does not seem to have sufficient distinguishing features to warrant its prime place in William's charter.

However, to the north-west of Bridgetown, just three miles north of the abbey grange at Ballycross and 15 miles from Tintern, there is the townland of Regan.[151] It is there that we find Great and Little Pollmanagh, the monk's pools. In Gaeilge the genitive of *manach* 'monk' is *manaigh*.[152] Immediately to the north of Pollmanagh is the townland of Wetmeadows, to the west Norristown, Brownstown, and Grascur, to the south Baldwinstown, whilst to the east we find the appropriately named Heavenstown. There is a clear monastic connection but the area is not mentioned in the *Extents* perhaps because the area had beforehand been sold or exchanged.

The question remains as to whether this area was in fact Pulnegaver or the property of another abbey or perhaps of the priory at Kilmore. There is no evidence either way but it is worth recording that the extent of the two Pollmanagh townlands is 208 acres whilst Heavenstown is 124 acres and Wetmeadows 52 acres, a total of 394 acres, which it is suggested is close to the three carucates (360 statute acres) mentioned in the charter. The ponds at Pollmanagh, the pasture at Wetmeadows and the possibly better land at Heavenstown (approximately 2 hides) might despite the acreage still only be equivalent to ¼ of a knight's fee.

Hore did not identify the location of Pulnegaver but interpreted it as 'the pool of the goat'.[153] In Gaeilge, *poll na* generally means 'pond of the' whilst *gaber*, can be translated as 'goat'.[154] By way of contrast, in connection with the foundation of Holycross abbey, Dr Geraldine Carville notes that its foundation charter records in third place the quarry at *Poll na Sgearda*.[155] So it might be that *Poll na Gaver* was the site of a quarry containing a pond where a goat was kept. The types of stone used

[150] Ibid, p.102; White, *Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions*, p.359

[151] Census of Ireland 1871, p.615; Colfer's map of medieval church lands in Wexford appears to attribute Pollmanagh to Tintern but does not mention it in his text.

[152] R.I.A. *eDIL ,* Letter M, column 54

[153] Hore, *History of Wexford*, Vol.ii, p.19

[154] R.I.A. *eDIL,* Letter P, column 194; Ibid, Letter G, column 6

[155] G. Carville, *Occupation of Celtic Sites*, p.54

to build the abbey include granite, sandstone, and limestone, all of which can be found locally especially the outcrops of sandstone and limestone found in the Hook. So this is a possibility despite the fact that Henry II granted at least part of the Hook to the Templars in 1172.[156]

An analysis of the word *pulnegaver* beyond that made by Hore and Colfer reveals an alternative, symbolic, meaning that perhaps goes someway to explain its prime position in the list of the abbey's endowments. Although *gaver* or *gaber* may be equated with 'goat', in Gaeilge it can also mean 'sea horse' or 'monster'.[157] In Scottish Gaelic *gabhar, gabhar-mor,* means 'craw or crayfish, lobster'.[158] Similarly, in Cornish *polen* is 'a small pool' or 'pond' whilst *gaver* is either a goat or a freshwater crayfish.[159] So, the suggestion is that Pulnegaver in a monastic context is indicative of a crayfish pool rather than a goat's pool. The crayfish, like any available crustacean, was consumed by monks during Lent since it was looked upon as a 'symbol of death and resurrection because of the periodic shedding and renewal of its carapace, or exoskeleton'.[160]

The obvious place for one or more fishponds fed with clean water would be to the north of the abbey but within the precinct. However, as the location for a crayfish pool it can be discounted because the precinct is only one-ninth of the area of Pulnegaver. St Kierans is on the face of it the next most likely location of Pulnegaver but if the name refers to a crayfish pool then it too can probably be discounted because the substrate at Tintern and its environs is granite whilst crayfish thrive in limestone river systems.[161] The only area within Tintern's known granges where the substrate is limestone is at Ballycross and nearby Pollmanagh.[162] There appear to be

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[156] Colfer, *Arrogant Trespass*, p.221; *Calendar of Documents Ireland 1171-1251,* (ed.) H. S. Sweetman (London: Longman & Co, 1875), 1199, no.85

[157] R.I.A. *eDIL,* Letter G, column 6

[158] A.R. Forbes, *Gaelic Names of Beasts (Mammalia), Birds, Fishes, Insects, Reptiles, Etc.* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1905)

[159] F.W.P. Jago, *An English-Cornish Dictionary, Compiled from the Best Sources* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co, 1887), p.37

[160] S. Malaguzzi, *Food and Feasting in Art*, (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2008), p.177

[161] J.D. Reynolds, 'Conservation management of the white-clawed crayfish, *Austropotamobius pallipes'* in I*rish Wildlife Manuals* (1) 1968, p.13

[162] S. Lewis, 'Kilmore', *Topographical Dictionary of Ireland* (1837), pp187-188; M.J. Gardiner and P. Ryan, 'Relic Soil on Limestone in Ireland', *Irish Journal of Agricultural Research* (1) 1962, p.181

no words equivalent to 'crayfish' in Gaeilge. This suggests that it was not native to Ireland.

This raises the questions of which species of crayfish are present in Ireland and how did they get there. Ireland is host to only one crayfish species, the white-clawed crayfish, *Austropotamobius pallipes*. Julian Reynolds of Trinity College Dublin, an expert on crayfish stocks, has suggested that they were probably brought to Ireland by twelfth-century Cistercian monks.[163] This idea is supported by the results of a study which demonstrated that Irish crayfish belong to one of four rare haplotypes found in Poiteau-Charentes and concluded that they were 'derived from a low number of introduced individuals translocated from populations in western France'.[164] The wetlands of the Marais Poitevin close to La Rochelle are one of the likeliest sources of the Irish crayfish. It is also an area where a number of Cistercian abbeys were located (Aubeterre, Bournet, Grosbot and Ré). Significantly, Waterford was an important medieval commercial harbour strategically situated as a first port of call for boats on passage from La Rochelle.[165] This, therefore, appears to have been the likely source of the crayfish.

The impression of the lands granted to the abbey is that they contained a variety of conditions and because the abbey did not later move to a new site they were sufficient for it to prosper at least initially. However, the question of whether the lands granted to the abbey included churches, tenanted properties, mills, and fisheries that yielded an income for the abbey remains open to further research.

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[163] J.D. Reynolds, *White Clawed Crayfish in Ireland - Under Increasing Threat*, 2011, p121

[164] N. Gouin, F. Grandjean, D. Pain, C. Souty-Grosset and J. Reynolds, 'Origin and colonization history of the white-clawed crayfish, Austropotamobius pallipes, in Ireland', *Heredity,* (91) 2003, pp.70-77

[165] Michael McCaughan and John Appleby (eds.), 'Trade and Shipping on the Irish Sea in the Later Middle Ages' in *The Irish Sea: aspects of maritime history* (Belfast: Queen's University, Institute of Irish Studies, 1989), p.30

5. Conclusion

The study has shown that even though much of the original documentary evidence relating to the abbey has been lost or destroyed it has been feasible to make a close examination of the remaining material and the related events to bring out significant new interpretations of the facts concerning the abbey's origins and foundation.

It has been possible to demonstrate that the necessary circumstances and precedents to support the tradition that the abbey was founded as a result of William's salvation from a storm at sea when crossing from Wales to Ireland were present. Marie Flanagan's discovery of a charter that implied that Hervey de Montmorency had died by 1189, the year in which William married Isabel, has helped confirm the earliest possible year in which William could have made his vow whilst the instruction to the papal delegates in 1199 provided the proof that the journey was not made in the year 1200. The fact that there were two papal delegates brought the earliest date for the journey forward to 1194. Similarly, the finding that the abbot of Tintern in Nether Gwent received his father-immediate from L'Aumône in 1196 provided a well-timed occasion for William's vow to be discussed and provisionally agreed. These factors and other incidental evidence have helped to suggest that his journey took place in late 1194 or early 1195. This also illustrates the idea that William was apparently able to exercise greater control over at least a good part of the lands in Leinster he acquired by right of his wife at a date earlier than otherwise thought. It has been shown that the charter contained evidence of the social, spiritual, and environmental factors that helped create the abbey and a secure, viable, home for the abbot and monks. It created, for instance, a borough with considerable rights and lands, backed up by a powerful patron and defended by his knights. An assessment of the charter witnesses has led, for the first time, to the identification of the year 1211 as the latest probable year for the charter and the consecration of the abbey rather than the rather wider date range of 1207x1219. The review of the whereabouts of the lands initially granted to the abbey has brought out the possibility that the abbey occupied a pre-existing monastic site; it has tentatively identified a little known priory at Kilmore, on lands that later became a grange of the abbey; and it has indicated that the probable location of the land of William the Irishman was at St Mullins. Not least, the provisional site and symbolic meaning of

the first mentioned gift of land referred to in the foundation charter, Pulnegaver, have been put forward and justified.

William's legendary journey that ended with him landing at what would become Tintern on the shore of Bannow Bay in Wexford, and where he would found a Cistercian abbey, was the original basis for this study. Much of what has been described is provisional. In historical terms there is a considerable distance yet to be covered between the founder's death in 1219 and the dissolution of the abbey in 1536 since there is no modern academic account of the abbey. Further research could follow any one of a number of cultural, geographical or economic strands to chart the further rise and ultimate decline of the abbey prior to its dissolution.[166] The role of William's sons and that of their sister Maud, who in turn inherited the role of patron of the abbey, and their interaction with the abbots during the thirteenth century, would be an obvious route to follow since their actions are those that are most likely to have left an imprint in the historical record. Any such investigations may well, of course, reveal further evidence concerning the origins and early years of the abbey's life.

Although the decision to found the abbey appeared unexpectedly, it was the result of direct personal experience but ambiguity can be detected in William's actions. On the one hand, he was symbolically expressing his thanks to Mary as the mother of Christ for his salvation from drowning during a storm off the south coast of Wexford and, on the other, he was symbolically conveying to the Anglo-Norman and Irish communities in Leinster his relatively newly acquired political and economic power in being able to do so.

An extended examination of the abbey's history will no doubt reveal the extent to which Anglo-Norman influence in Leinster eventually waned and the effect of a gradually increasing level of warfare eventually had on Tintern's community up to the time of the dissolution when the survey indicated that the abbey had fallen into disrepair and its lands laid waste, echoing Ruaidri Ua Conchobair's warning to Diarmait MacMurchada that arrogant trespass by 'foreign troops' would lead to dire consequences.

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[166] Inquiries such as these could be tied in with that currently being conducted as part of the Monastic Ireland project at University College Dublin and University College Cork

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Appendix 1: Latin Texts

King John's Approval (BL Add. MS. 4783, fo.28)

Johannes dei gratia Rex Anglorum, Dominus Hybernie, Dux Normannie (et) Aquitanie, et Comes Andegavie, omnibus fidelibus suis salutem.

Noveritis nos gratum et ratum habere testamentum dilecti et fidelis nostri Willelmi Mariscalli comitis Pembroc sicut illud condidit per manus executoris ipsius testamenti faciendum :

Volentes et firmiter precipientes quod inviolabiliter observetur et precipue de voto suo perficiendo, scilicet de quadam abbacia de ordine Cisterciensi in Hybernia construenda, de triginta carrucatis terre in loco competenti, sicut I(sabella) comitissa uxor sua et Gaufridus filius Roberti senescallus eius providebunt, quibus injunxit hoc facere.

Testibus: dominis Exonie et Wigornie episcopis, G. filio Petri comite Essex, et W. comite Sarisbir, apud Hamsted iij die Decembris.[167]

John Pembridge's Account of William's Journey

Eodem anno, fundatur monasterium de Voto, id est, Tynterne, per Willelmum Mareschallum, Comitem Mareschallum et Pembrochie, qui fuit Dominus Lagenie, scilicet, quatuor comitatuum, Weysford, Ossorie, Caterlachie, et Kyldare, ratione et jure uxoris sue, quia desponsavit filiam Comitis Ricardi Strogulensis et Eve, filie Dermicii Murcardi; sed quia predictus Willelmus, Comes Mareshallus, fuit in maximo periculo in mari die nocteque votum vovebat Domino Jesu Christo, quod si liberaretur a tempestate, et veniret ad terram, faceret monasterium Christo et Marie, matrique ejus et sic factum est cum pervenisset secure ad Weysford, fecit monasterium de Tynterne ex voto, et vocatur monasterium de Voto.[168]

James Grace's Account of the Foundation

Conditur monasterium de Voto, id est Tinternae a Gulielmo Marescallo comite Penbrokiae, domino Lagine, scilicet 4. comitatum, Weixfordiae, Osseriae, Carlogiae et Kildariae, que ei obtigerunt jure uxoris filiae Ricardi comitis Strongulensis, quam in uxorem duxerat, filia filiam Evae, filiae Murchardi; hoc monasterium vero vovit cum in mari periclitaretur.[169]

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[167] Bernard, 'The Foundation of Tintern Abbey co. Wexford', pp.527-529

[168] John Pembridge, 'M1200.2' in Gilbert, *Chartularies*, *Vol.2,* pp.307-308

[169] *Annales Hiberniae,* Jacobi Grace, p.20

Appendix 2: Elizabethan Inspeximus of Foundation Charter

Calendar of Patent Rolls Ireland
24 Elizabeth
Membrane 5.d
11 October 1582

Charta abbatiae de Tynterne a rege confirmatur [170]

Ricardus, dei gratia, Rex Anglie et Francie et dominus hibnie, omnibus ad quos presentes littere pervenerint salutem

Inspeximus quandam cartam Willelmi Marescalli quondam comitis pembroc in hec verba –

Willmus Marescallus comes de Pembroc universis hominibus suis Francis et Anglis Walensibus et Hyberniensibus et omnibus amicis et fidelibus suis salutem.

Sciatis me pro amore dei et pro salute anime mee, et pro salute Isabelle uxoris mee ac liberorum nostrorum, et pro animabus omnium antecessorum et successorum nostrorum, cu consens et voluntate prenotiate Isabelle ux mee et dedisse et concessisse deo et beate Marie de voto et Monachis de ordine cisterciens deo ibidem servien et carta mea planta in perpetuam et puram elemosinam confirmasse

tres carucate terra de terra karuet junioris juxta aquam Banne circa pulnegaver cu quad pticula terre de Balienner ex opposito terr monaster pCilium montis ubi descensus est in aquam extra terram cultam sicut fossata ostendit et totam terram de Balicros et totam terr que fuit Meileri servientis ad occdentem Anaduf et totum terr de Rathubenai cu pertinentiis suis et totu Dunmethan et totum terram que fuit Willi hibniensis juxta terram Galfreidi de mora, et totam terr de Aketiper cu pertinentiis suis et unu Burgagiu de Wexford et unu Burgagiu de Ros ex australi pte pontis

Concessi etiam eidem Abbie et carta mea prenotiate confirmavi quicquid ei poterit in futur rationabiliter pia donatione et devocione sue vendicoe fideliu salvo servicio meo et hered et meoz pvenire volo igitur et firmiter statuo ut Abbia pnoiata et Abbas et monachi ipius loci heant et teneant oes pdictas terras et tenta pnoiata cu eccliis et capellis et oibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis, et cu socha et sacha et tol, et Theam et infangene yef bene et in pace libere et quiete, plenarie et integre et honorifice in bosco et in plano in pratis et pasturis, in aquis et molendinis et wregh in stagnis et vivariis in mariscis et piscariis et gliseriis in grangiis et virgultis in uiis et semitis, infra burgu et extra et omnibus aliis locis et rebus.

Et sint quieti ipsi et homines et servientes sui, et res et possessiones eorum, de geld et denegeld et murdro et latrocinio, et de pecunia que ad murdrum pertinet vel ad latrociniu et

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[170] Irish Records Commission, 1829-30, 'CPI80', *privilegia et immunitates, being transcripts of charters and privileges to cities, towns, and other bodies corporate, […] 1171–1395* (Dublin: Irish Records Commission, 1889), p.80

de vaccarum solucone que dari solebant pro capitibus uthagoruni et de scuatagio et hidagio et carrucagio et cornagio, et sumagio et hutiban et sciris et hundredis, et de sectis scyrarum et hundredorum, et de excitibus et assisis, et summonitionibus, et de thesauro ducendo, et de auxiliis vicecomitum et omnium servientium suorum, et omnibus aliis auxiliis, et de operationibus castellorum et pontium, et parcorum, et murorum et vivariorum, et de misericordia comitatus et de theloneo et pontagio et pannagio et passagio et lestagio et tallagio et de clausuris et de werdpeni et hanerpeni et theying peni, et blodwite et fichtwite et hengwite et flemenerwite.

Et sit ipsa abbatia cum omnibus tenementis suis extra forestam et omnino sine regardo forestarie. Et liceat eisdem monachis de boscho et in omni bosco suo de aquis et in aquis suis quicquid voluerint facere et sint liberi ab omni vexacone et penitus extra dangeru forestario et omnium aliorum servientu terre de pastu videlicet et omnibus aliis exactionibus quas forestarii et alii servientes terre solent exigere et de omnibus querelis et occacoibus et consuetudinibus, et de omni servili opere et seculari exaccoe.

Et habeant sibi omnio dam forisfacturam propriovum hominum suorum (sola iusticia vite et membrorum michi et heredibus meis retenta) et per omnes forestas meas pasturam habeant Aialiu suorum quietam et quicquid ad ardendum et edificandum hue rint necessarium.

Si quis vero vel in presenti vel in futuro de hiis quiequam que predicte abbatie concessi calumpniatus fuerit, non tenebuntur inde monachis respondere, sed ad me pertinebit et ad heredes meos calumpniatoribus eorum vel excambio vel alio rationabili modo satisfacere, monachisque quicquid eis donavi warentizare et integrum eonservare districte ergo phibeo super forisfacturam meam videlicet decem marcarum ne quis eos vel homines suos ant servientes suos aut res aut possessiones eorum maliciose vexet aut gravet vel in aliqua re disturbet quod si quis facere presumpserit dei maledictionem et meam similiter et forisfacturam premonstratam se noverit incidisse Quicunque vero locum ipsum et elemosinam meam eidem assignatam promoverint sine manutenuerin cum dei benedictione et mea remuneratiouem eternam inveniant.

Hiis testibus Jordano de Sachaville, John de Herlege, John Marscallo, Willmo de London, Mauricio de London, Waltero Porcell, Baldewino Keting, Roberto Keting, Willmo Chevre, Nicho Brü, Pho Clico et multis aliis –

Nos autem cartem pdict et omnia contenta in ead rata habentes et grata et p nobz est acceptamus approbamus ratificamus et nunc abbati et monachis abbie pdict et eoz successoribus tenore pntim concedimus et confirmamus sicut carta pd plenius testatur et put ipi et pdecesores sui terr et tenta pdict a tempe confectionis carte pdict tenuerunt et libertatibus et privilegiis pdict rationabiliter usi sunt et gavisi

In cujus Rei testimoniu has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes Teste mei ipso apud

Appendix 3: Translation of Inspeximus of Foundation Charter

Calendar of Patent Rolls Ireland
24 Elizabeth
Membrane 5.d
1582
October 11.

The charter of the abbey of Tynterne is confirmed by the King

Richard, by the Grace of God, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, to all to whom these present charters will come, greeting;

We have inspected a certain charter of the late William Marshal Earl of Pembroke in these words -

William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, to all his men French and English, Welsh and Irish, to all his friends and faithful subjects, greeting.

Know that I have for the love of God and for the salvation of my soul, and for the salvation of Isabel my wife and of our children, and for the souls of all of our ancestors and successors, with the consent and will of Isabel, previously noted as my wife, given and granted to God, and the blessed St Mary de Voto, and to the monks of the Cistercian order who there serve God, by this my only charter and all that flows from it, in perpetual and free alms confirm the gift of three carucates of land, from the land of Karnet the younger, by the water of Banne around Pulnegaver with a certain portion of land of Balienner opposite the land of the monastery from the brow of the hill to where it slopes down to the ditch and beyond the uncultivated land to the water, and the entire land that was Balicros, the land that belonged to Meiler the serjeant to the west of Ananduf, the land of Rathubenai, all Dunmethan, all the land that was William the Irishman's near the land of Geoffrey de Mora, and the whole land of Aketi with pertinences, a burgage at Wexford, and a burgage at Ros on the south side of the bridge.

I have also granted to the same Abbey and by this my charter have confirmed that whatever may reasonably in future come to it by the pious donation and devotion, or by sale, of the faithful, saving my service and that of my heirs, I therefore firmly resolve that the previously mentioned Abbey and the Abbot and monks of that abbey shall receive and hold the lands and tenements aforementioned along with the churches, chapels, and shrines, and all liberties and free customs, and with sac and soke and toll, and theam and infangtheof, well and in peace, freely and quietly, fully and wholly and honourably, in wood and in plain and in the meadows and pastures, and in the waters in the ponds and fishponds in the marshes and the mills and fisheries and wrecks in the granges and thickets on the roads and paths, and all other places and things within the borough and outside.

And let him and the rest of his men and servants, and their goods and possessions be exempt from geld and danegeld, and murder and robbery, and from money that belongs to murder, or to larceny, and of payment for cows for the heads of outlaws, and scutage, hidage carucage, cornage, sumage, and hue and cry, and hundreds, and

suits of shires and hundreds, and of summonsing assizes, and summonses, and of bringing treasure, and of aids of sheriffs and all their serjeants and all their other assistance and aids, and of making castles, bridges, parks, walls and ponds, and of the mercy of the county, and of toll, pontage, pannage, and passage, and of lastage, tallage, and of enclosures, and of wardpeni, haverpeni, theying-peni, and blodwite and fichtwite and hengwite and flemenerwite.

And let the abbey with all its holdings be outside the forest and completely without regard to foresters. And it is lawful for the said monks to do what they will in respect of wood and in all their woods and in respect of water and in their waters and to do whatever they want to do free of any and all vexation and danger from foresters, serjeants and the other servants and to be completely outside the exactions which foresters and other servants of the land are accustomed to take for food and free from all the exactions for causes of complaint, and tributes and customs, and from all the work of a slave, and secular exactions.

And let them all have forfeiture of their own (the right to life and limb being retained by me and my heirs) and let them have pasture throughout all my forests. Let them be quietly released from any obligations of the forest in respect of their beasts and allow them whatsoever they hold necessary for burning and building.

If anyone in the present or in the future disputes what has been granted to the abbey, they will not address their complaint to the monks, but they will instead seek redress from me or my heirs and the challenger if successful shall be compensated by some reasonable means to conserve what has been granted to the abbey.

I strictly prohibit, on forfeiture of ten marks, anyone from vexing the monks or their servants or their property or possessions or maliciously harassing, burdening, or disturbing anything, and if anyone should presume to do so he shall fall under the curse of God and mine too and whosoever shall support the monks and the monastery in free alms shall know that he will find eternal benediction of God and mine.

These being witnesses, Jordan de Sachaville, John de Herlege, John Marshal, William de London, Maurice de London, Walter Porcell, Baldwin Keting, Robert Keting, William Chevre, Nicholas Brü, Phillip Clerk, and many others.

We have before us the charter aforesaid and all the contents in the same are valid and acceptable and do accept, approve, ratify and grant and confirm them for us and our heirs as much as in us lies to the now abbot and monks of the abbey aforesaid and to their successors by the tenor of these presents as the charter aforesaid fully testifies and as they and their predecessors held the lands and tenements aforesaid since the time of the making of the charter aforesaid and have reasonably held and used and enjoyed the aforesaid privileges and liberties.

In testimony whereof we have caused these our charters to be made patent

Witness ourself at Westminster this twelfth day of June in the fifth year of our reign.

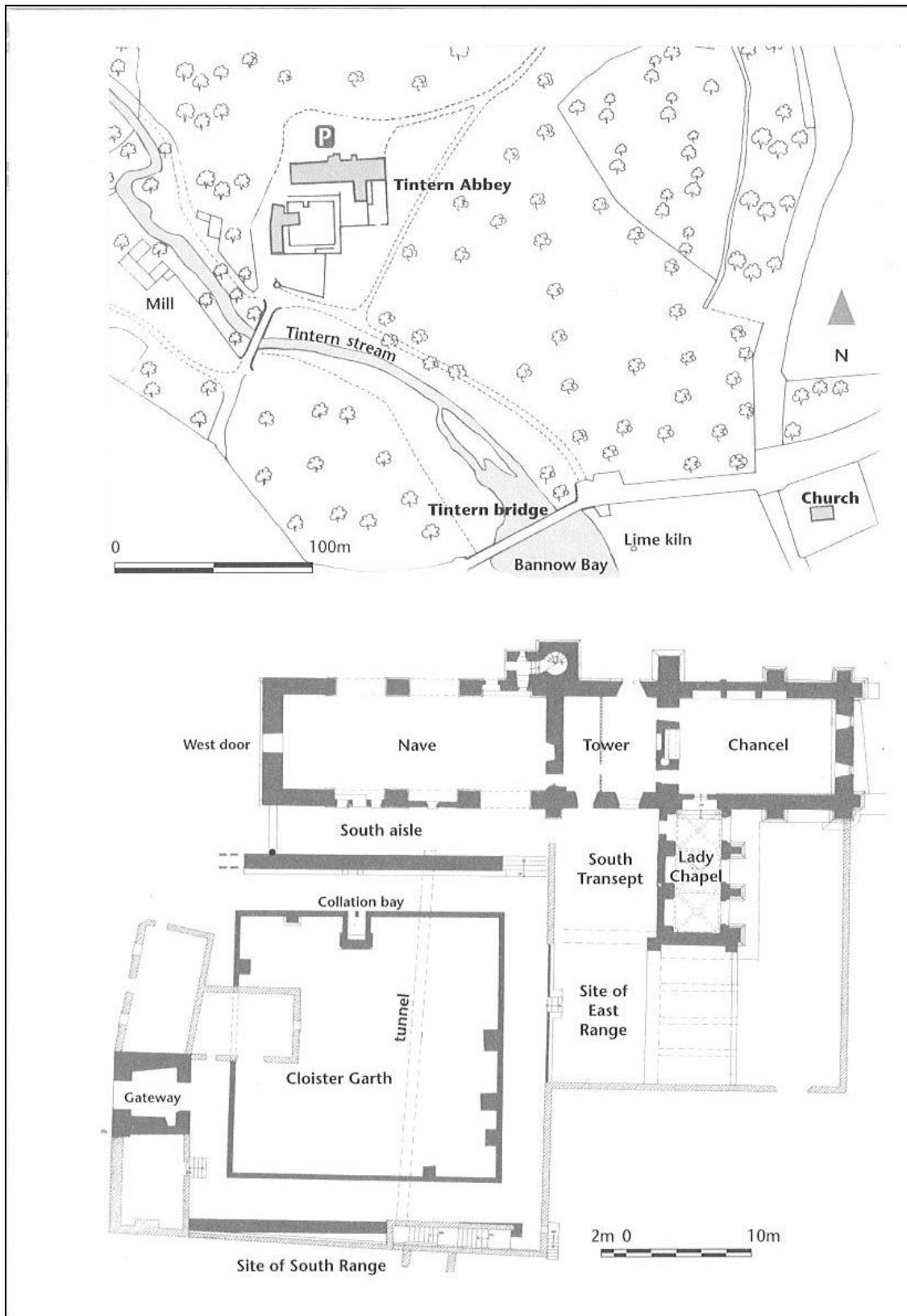**Appendix 4: Map of County Wexford**
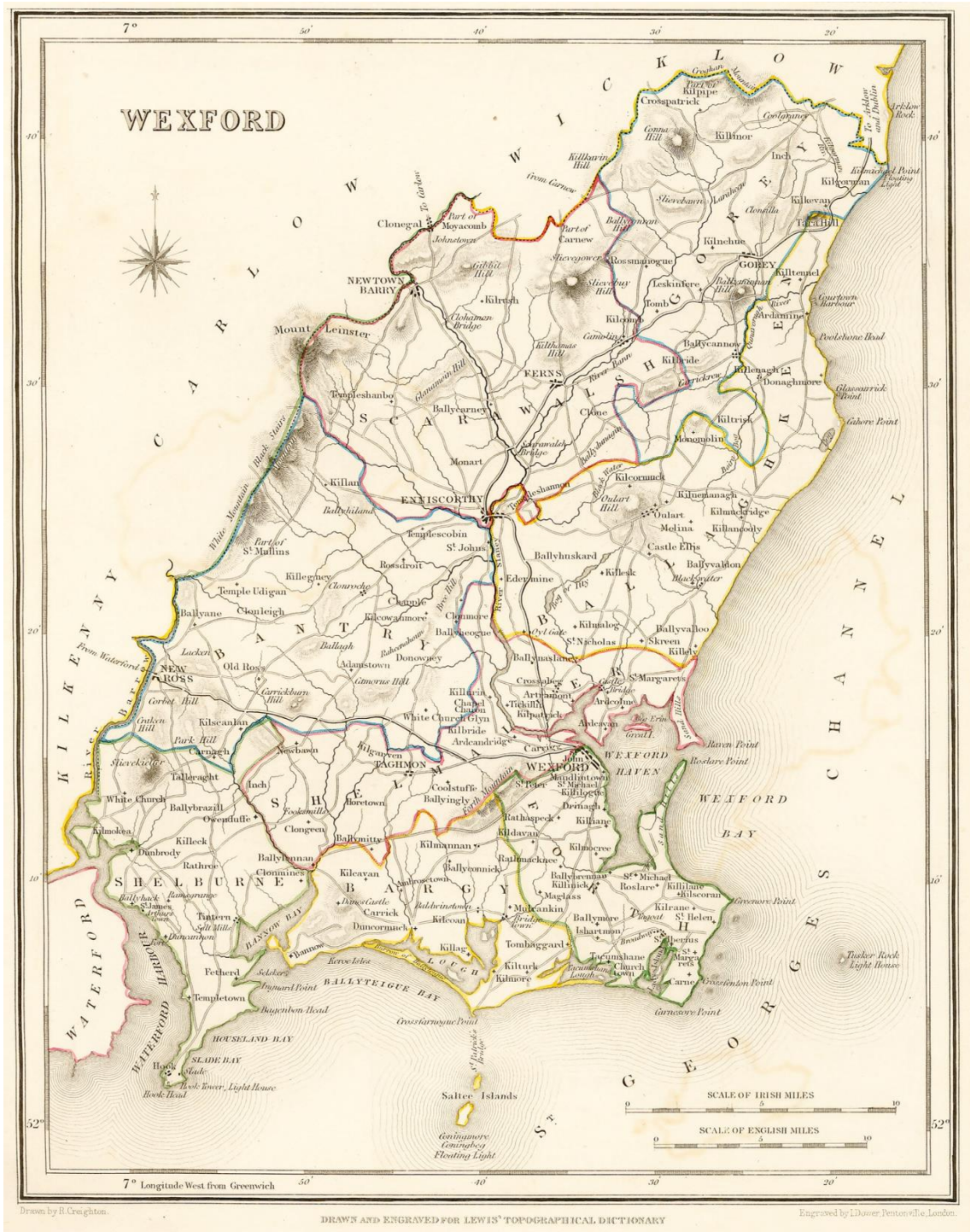
Map of County Wexford
Lewis' Topographical Dictionary of Ireland 1837

Appendix 5: Map of South Wexford

Map of South Wexford
Tintern, Bannow Bay and to the East the Saltee Islands
Extracted from Lewis' Topographical Dictionary of Ireland 1837

Appendix 6: Location Map and Plan of Abbey Ruins

Tintern Abbey Visitors Guide
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Appendix 7: Photographs of Tintern

Tintern de Voto Abbey – View from the South
© C W F Marshall - June 2012

Tintern de Voto Bridge - Looking South towards Bannow Bay
© C W F Marshall - June 2012