

# KING JOHN AND THE CISTERCIANS IN WALES

By

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## SUMMARY

Although the primary aim of this thesis was originally to explore the dynamic between King John and the Cistercians in Wales, it has been necessary to go beyond the bounds of this remit, namely to explore his relations with the Order in Ireland and England and also as a whole, to put his relations with the Cistercians in Wales into greater context. Primarily from an analysis of the charters John issued to individual abbeys, this thesis demonstrates that the interactions between John and individual Cistercian houses was not determined by where they were, rather their dynamic was more complex. John's grants to individual houses were often an extension of his relationship with the abbey's patron, when they were favoured their houses would prosper, when they fell from grace or defied John, their abbeys would suffer. Only however, by placing the charters John granted to individual houses into their wider political context can this correlation be appreciated, namely whether they were issued when John was trying to woo or punish the patron or at a time of hostility with the wider Order and as such clear demonstrations of royal favour. This was not the only dynamic that influenced the relationships between John and individual houses, those abbots who supported and opposed John were shown royal favour and anger respectively, and often this factor overrode all other concerns.

## **DECLARATION**

This work has not been submitted in substance for any other degree or award at this or any other university or place of learning, nor is being submitted concurrently in candidature for any degree or other award.

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## NOTE ON TRANSLATIONS

For direct quotations from Latin sources which I have translated, the Latin is included in the footnote.

## NOTE ON MONETARY VALUES

I shall not standardise the monetary values into either pounds sterling or marks, but shall rather only give what the source records. However, when presenting total values pounds sterling shall be used.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- Ann. Marg.* Annales de Margan (A.D. 1066-1232) in *Annales Monastici*, ed. Henry Richards Luard (London, 1864), vol. 1, pp. 3-40.
- Ann. Stan.* ‘Continuatio Chronici Willelmi de Novoburgo ad annum 1298’, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett (London, 1885), vol. 2, part 2, pp. 503-89.
- Ann. Tewk.* Annales de Theokesberia (A.D. 1066-1263), in *Annales Monastici*, ed. Henry Richards Luard (London, 1864), vol. 1, pp. 41-180.
- Ann. Wav.* Annales de Monasterii de Waverleia (A.D. 1-1291) in *Annales Monastici*, ed. Henry Richards Luard (London, 1865), vol. 2, pp. 129-411.
- C.Ch.R.* *Calendar of the Charter Rolls: Henry III to 8 Henry VIII, 1226-1516*, 6 vols. (London, 1903-1927).
- C.Pat.R.* *Calendar of the Patent Rolls [1232-1509]*, 52 vols. (1891-1916).

- Cal. Docs. Irel.*      *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland, 1175-1251, 5 vols.*, ed. H. S. Sweetman, (London, 1875).
- Chancellor's Roll,  
8 Richard      *The Chancellor's Roll for the eighth year of the reign of King Richard the First, Michaelmas, 1196*, ed. D. M. Stenton (Pipe Roll Society, 1930).
- Chartae Privilegia et Immunitates*      *Chartae, Privilegia et Immunitates; Being Transcripts of Charters and Privileges to Cities, Towns, Abbeys, and Other bodies Corporate, 18 Henry II. to 18 Richard II., 1171 to 1395* (Dublin, 1889).
- Chart. St. Marys Dublin*      *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin: with the Register of its house at Dunbrody, and Annals of Ireland*, ed. John T. Gilbert (London, 1884-86).
- Chron. Melsa.*      *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa, A Fundatione Usque ad Annum 1396*, ed. Edward Bond (London, 1866), vol. 1.
- Foedera*      *Foedera, Conventiones, Literae, et Cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica, inter Reges Angliæ, et Alios Quosvis Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Principes, vel Communitates*, 4 vols., ed. Thomas Rymer *et al* (London, 1816-69).

- Itinerary Hardy, Thomas Duffus, 'Itinerary of King John, &c.' in *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi Asservati*, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy (London, 1835), pp. xlix-lxxiv.
- Memoranda Roll, 1 John *The Memoranda Roll for the Michaelmas term of the first year of the reign of King John (1199-1200) together with fragments of the originalia roll of the seventh year of King Richard I (1195-6), the liberate roll of the second year of King John (1200-1) and the Norman roll of the fifth year of King John (1203)*, ed. H. G. Richardson (Pipe Roll Society, 1943).
- Pipe Roll *Pipe Rolls*: citations to Pipe Rolls are to the regnal years of the reigning kings and published by the Pipe Roll Society, London
- Rot. Chart.* *Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati* ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy (London, 1837), vol. 1.
- Rot. de Lib.* *Rotuli de Liberate ac de Misis et Praestitis Regnate Johanne*, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy (London, 1844).
- Rot. de Obl. et Fin.* *Rotuli de Oblatis et Finibus in Turri Londinensi Asservati, Tempore Regis Johannis*, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy (London, 1835).

*Rot. Lit. Claus.*      *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy  
(London, 1833-44), vol. 1.

*Rot. Lit. Pat.*      *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi Asservati*, ed.  
Thomas Duffy Hardy (London, 1835).

*Rot. Misae, 14 John*    ‘Rotulus Misae – Anni Regni Regis Johannis Quarti Decimi’,  
*Documents Illustrative of English History in the Thirteenth  
and Fourteenth Centuries, selected from the Records of the  
Department of the Queen's Remembrancer of the Exchequer*,  
ed. H. Cole (London, 1844), pp. 231-69.

# INTRODUCTION

Despite the sustained interest in King John's piety from at least the nineteenth century to the present day, there has not been a detailed analysis of his relationship with the Cistercian Order as a whole, let alone in Wales.<sup>1</sup> Why King John and the Cistercians in Wales have not before been studied may be indicative of what can perhaps be coined the 'boxing of history'. The Cistercians in any study of John are invariably relegated to at best a few sentences whilst the same is true of John in Cistercian studies, and there has been no attempt to integrate these fields of research.<sup>2</sup> This thesis argues that such studies have missed the unique features of John's relationship with the Cistercians in Wales. As such the primary aim of this study is to determine the relationship between John and the Cistercians and use this as a means of shedding light not only on John's piety but also his political skill. In so doing this thesis will suggest that their relationship is more complex than it first may appear and often individualistic rather than Order-wide. Factors such as an abbey's royal status had little impact on their relations with John and it was instead influenced by other factors, including hospitality and whether those within the abbey were supporting of him. John on occasion used a Cistercian house as a means of

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<sup>1</sup> The historiography of John's piety is discussed in greater detail later, see below pp. 4-13.

<sup>2</sup> This is even true of some of the best studies of monasticism such as Janet Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain 1000-1300* (Cambridge, 1994); Janet Burton and Julie Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2011); Frank G. Cowley, *The Monastic Orders in South Wales, 1066-1349* (Cardiff, 1977); David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (London, 1940); Clifford H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism* (London, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 1989); Roger Stalley, *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland: An Account of the History, Art and Architecture of the White Monks in Ireland from 1142 to 1540* (London, 1987); Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan, *Cistercian Settlements in Wales and Monmouthshire, 1140-1540* (New York, 1947); David H. Williams, *The Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages* (Leominster, 1998); David H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians* (Leominster, 2001). For a discussion of the Cistercians in King John studies see below pp. 4-13.



influencing its patron, whether as a means of rewarding him or as a means of punishing him, but this can only be appreciated by placing the charters John issued to the individual Cistercian houses into their wider context. John is perhaps the most appropriate medieval English king for such a study as his relationship with the Cistercians was nothing less than contradictory, typified by his foundation of the Cistercian abbey of Beaulieu in 1204 whilst ordering the destruction of the Welsh house of Strata Florida in 1212.

There are multiple reasons for the particular interest in Wales in this thesis. Firstly, John's involvement with Wales began in 1189, and as such allows a study of the relationship he had with Cistercian houses both before and after he became king and whether this had any affect on later interactions. Secondly, there is an argument, as suggested by Lewis and carried forward by others, that the Cistercian Order in Wales was split into two, those who supported the native Welsh and those who supported the English; and as it may be expected that this would greatly influence the interactions between the two, this study will shed greater light on this supposed split.<sup>3</sup> Finally, on a more practical basis, as the number of houses in Wales are relatively few, it enables a greater and more in-depth study of them than would have otherwise been allowed.

Although this thesis is predominately concerned with the houses in Wales, it has been necessary to go beyond the boundaries of Wales for only by doing so can we determine if his interactions with the houses in Wales were unique or typical. As such this study includes an analysis of John's relations with the Cistercians in Ireland and England. The inclusion of Ireland is intuitively obvious due to its clear

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<sup>3</sup> For this supposed split see such studies as Frank R. Lewis, 'Racial sympathies of Welsh Cistercians', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (1938), 103-18; Cowley, *The Monastic Orders in South Wales*; Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*.

similarities with Wales. John had previous experience with Ireland before he was king as he had in Wales, primarily when his father Henry II made him lord of Ireland. Moreover, as in Wales, the native rulers of Ireland were attempting to resist English incursions and there was also, as again like Wales, seemingly a split in loyalty within the Cistercians in Ireland, between those who supported the English and those which supported the native population.<sup>4</sup> This study also includes an analysis of John's relationship with the Cistercians in England, for this enables us to discern whether John's relations with the Cistercians were different with those houses in the 'Celtic fringe' as opposed to those in England, and if so would again throw the relationship with the Cistercians in Wales and Ireland into greater relief. This thesis must also consider other Monastic Orders, namely the Benedictine and Premonstratensian houses, for it will be crucial to determine whether any differences which occur between John's relations with the Cistercians in England, Wales and Ireland are indeed unique to the Cistercian Order or if such differences occur no matter what the Order, and can therefore be explained with political rather than religious motivations.

Although the Cistercian Order was established in 1098, when Robert of Molesme departed his Cluniac house to establish his own at Cîteaux in a search for a stricter observance of the Rule of St Benedict, it was not until 1128 that the first Cistercian house was founded in England, that of Waverley abbey in Surrey, founded by William Giffard the bishop of Winchester with monks drawn from the abbey of l'Aumône. It was not until 1131 that the first Cistercian house was founded in Wales, that of Tintern abbey in Monmouthshire, founded by Walter fitz Richard

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<sup>4</sup> As suggested by for example, Williams, *The Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages*; J. A. Watt, *The Church and the Two Nations in Medieval Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005).

the lord of Chepstow, with monks also drawn from l'Aumône.<sup>5</sup> The main period of Cistercian expansion in Wales was however after 1152, and Wales was in fact the only place of major expansion for the Cistercians after this period, with thirteen abbeys established by 1200.<sup>6</sup> This expansion has been often explained by the assertion that 'their recruits were Welsh, their cultural and literary tastes were Welsh' and their actions 'went beyond the duty owed to a single patron'.<sup>7</sup> However, as shall be discussed in far greater detail later and in following chapters, this may not be the case. The Cistercian involvement in Ireland was even later than in England or Wales. It was not until 1142 that the first Cistercian house was established in Ireland, that of Mellifont in County Louth, founded by Malachy, archbishop of Armagh with monks drawn from Clairvaux.<sup>8</sup> The Cistercian expansion in Ireland was equally rapid as in Wales, with 25 houses established by 1200.

## Historiography

Given the remit of this work, it is not necessary to produce the typical general historiographical survey of John, which has received a great deal of attention elsewhere.<sup>9</sup> Rather, given that no historian has discussed John in relation to the Cistercian Order, at least not to an extent that can be analysed, it is perhaps more

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<sup>5</sup> Although ultimately Neath abbey became the oldest Cistercian house in Wales, it was founded in 1130 as a Savigniac house and only became Cistercian after the Savigniacs were absorbed into the Cistercian Order in 1147.

<sup>6</sup> Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain*, pp. 71, 75.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 225-6.

<sup>8</sup> Once again although the houses of Erenagh and St. Mary's Dublin are older, founded in 1127 and 1139 respectively, these were founded as a Savigniac houses.

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps the best general historiographical discussion of John's reign remains the 1963 work of James C. Holt: James C. Holt, *King John* (London, 1963). However, for more modern discussions, see the 1999 work's of John Gillingham and Jim Bradbury: John Gillingham, 'Historians without hindsight: Coggeshall, Diceto and Howden on the early years of John's reign', in *King John, New Interpretations*, ed. S. D. Church (Woodbridge, 1999, repr. 2007), pp. 1-26; Jim Bradbury, 'Philip Augustus and King John: personality and history', in *King John, New Interpretations*, ed. S. D. Church (Woodbridge, 1999, repr. 2007), pp. 347-61.

appropriate to provide a historiographical survey of John's personal piety and one interaction with the Cistercian Order which has been mentioned more than all others, his decision to found Beaulieu abbey.<sup>10</sup> It shall become clear from the following discussion that albeit with a few anomalies there are perhaps three distinct periods in this aspect of John's historiography, which although influenced by more general historiographical changes, the connection is by no means guaranteed, with some historians who try to rehabilitate John's reputation more generally still damning his piety.<sup>11</sup> The first period was from the late nineteenth century to the late 1940s, epitomised by Stubbs, Green and Norgate, who based their work on the chronicle and their own concepts of morality. As such, these scholars damned John's piety and his reputation more widely and almost airbrushed his foundation of Beaulieu out of history, seemingly purely because its foundation did not conform to their pre-existing assumptions about John and his piety. During the second period, based primarily on the administrative record, from the 1950s to the 1980s, epitomised by Poole and Warren, John was portrayed as at least conventionally devout, with his foundation of Beaulieu used as evidence of this and his dispute with the church caused by John's determination to preserve royal rights. The third period, from the late 1990s to the present day, is characterised by a fragmentation of historical opinion, with some, such as Carpenter and McLynn, suggesting that the rehabilitation of John had gone too far, calling his piety once again into question and suggesting that his dispute with the church was due to his greed, whilst others, such as Turner, maintained the view of the second period that he was at least

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<sup>10</sup> Taking this approach sadly means that some scholars who deserve mention are omitted, as their work focussed on other aspects of John's reign or character: historians such as for example, Stephen Church, Nicholas Vincent and John Gillingham.

<sup>11</sup> For example in the 1934 work of D'Auvergne, see below p. 9.

conventionally pious and the dispute due to his attempts at maintaining long established royal rights.

Unsurprisingly, given his renown, John has long been discussed, even before the advent of history as an academic discipline, with John during the reformation being transformed from a medieval villain to a hero of English liberty.<sup>12</sup> However, the first academic work considered here, is the 1865 work of William Chadwick.<sup>13</sup> This somewhat anomalous work goes against the grain of what you may expect for the typical historiography of this period. Rather than continuing and maintaining the negative view of John that preceded and followed it, John is portrayed extremely positively. Chadwick, unlike the vast majority of his contemporaries, explicitly rejected the chroniclers deeming them unreliable, using instead the original records of the chancery.<sup>14</sup> Chadwick in his preface noted his aim was to ‘furnish a contribution [...] toward casting off the immense guano-piles of slander and caricature, bigotries and prejudices, that have for centuries lain upon his illustrious memory’.<sup>15</sup> Concluding his work with the following statement, ‘the nearer you get to the living and actual John, the more he will be found a TRUE MAN [sic], patriotic, brave, generous, thoughtful, vigilant, full of noble impulses, sagacious, self-sacrificing, and, in short, the very anti-podes of the historical John.’<sup>16</sup> Yet despite all of these statements, Chadwick makes remarkably little reference to John’s relationship with the church and no mention of Beaulieu whatever. With virtually all references to personal piety equally ignored, with the entire chapter devoted to the

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<sup>12</sup> Carole Levin, ‘A good prince: King John and early Tudor propaganda’, *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 11 (1980), 23.

<sup>13</sup> William Chadwick, *King John: A History and Vindication based on the Original Authorities* (London, 1865).

<sup>14</sup> Chadwick, *King John*, p. iv.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 285.

feeding of the poor designed to demonstrate John's giving and charitable nature rather than his personal piety, even though it cites examples of John feeding the poor when he broke fast days.<sup>17</sup> The few explicit remarks Chadwick does make are similar to reformation era works, portraying the Church in an extremely negative light, describing the pope as a 'scoundrel' and Stephen Langton as a 'traitor.'<sup>18</sup> John's submission to the church meanwhile is deemed an astute political move, describing it as 'far seeing', and a decision John made with the full support of those around him to save his kingdom.<sup>19</sup> He also makes the somewhat astonishing statement, 'By some, he was represented to have become apostate, and turned Mohammedan. And what wonder if he had, when the world swarmed with such Christians as Stephen Langton, and Eustace the Monk-Bishop of Ely.'<sup>20</sup> Such a perception and understanding was certainly anomalous and was certainly not to influence later works. It was instead to provoke a serious backlash with at least two devastatingly stinging rebukes written against it.<sup>21</sup>

Stubbs in 1873 was the first and last historian of John's reign, until Sidney Painter in 1949, to even acknowledge John's foundation of Beaulieu, yet he still declared 'of religion he has none', describing John's decision to be buried in a monastic habit as a 'posthumous tribute to religion, which he had believed only to outrage.'<sup>22</sup> Despite describing John as 'the ablest and most ruthless of the Angevins', a view which was to take hold in historical opinion, John Richard Green in 1874 continued Stubbs' damnation of John's personal piety, suggesting he 'scoffed at

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 224-8.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8, 66.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 69, 162.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 221.

<sup>21</sup> See for example Anonymous, 'Historical doubts concerning King John', *The Eclectic and Congregational Review* new series 48 (1865), 523-31; Anonymous, 'History and biography', *The Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review* new series 28 (1865), 271-2.

<sup>22</sup> William Stubbs, ed., *Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria* (London, 1873), vol. 2, pp. xv, lxxx.

priests and turned his back on the mass' and was 'daring in his impiety.'<sup>23</sup> Moreover, although like Chadwick, John's submission to the pope is deemed politically astute he damns this action as a betrayal, describing the 'wonder and disgust of his court' as John submitted, going on to suggest that it was deemed by the people of England as a 'national shame.'<sup>24</sup>

Kate Norgate in her 1902 work, *John Lackland*, unlike those who went before her, began to discuss in detail the relationship between John and the Church. She noted the 'spoliation [...] effected with brutal violence' towards the church at the beginning of his dispute with Rome, although suggesting that the laity at least initially supported John in his dispute.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, like those before her, Norgate explains John's submission to Rome as politically astute, designed to ensure he did not have both the barons and the church as his enemies, a viewpoint with which almost all historians after her were to agree. Unlike Chadwick and Green however, Norgate makes no comment whatever on whether this act brought shame upon the country or how contemporaries viewed this action.<sup>26</sup> Norgate was also the first historian to note the disputes that arose between John and the Cistercians, in 1200, 1210 and 1212, yet beyond a brief notice of their occurrence there is no comment or analysis of them and again perhaps surprisingly, no mention is made of the foundation of Beaulieu.<sup>27</sup> Norgate continued in many ways the general perception of John and his piety, ending with the conclusion that John was a man of 'almost superhuman wickedness.'<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> John Richard Green, *A Short History of the English People* (London, 1874), vol. 1, pp. 114-5

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117.

<sup>25</sup> Kate Norgate, *John Lackland* (London, 1902), pp. 128-9.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 160, 171.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 286.

The first work since Chadwick which presented John in a more positive light was the 1934 work of D'Auvergne. Using the chancery materials D'Auvergne justified many of his actions with a comparison of later monarchs. Stating,

If among the worst, he was by no means the worst of the men who have ruled England. He divorced his first wife, but he did not send her to the scaffold. He did not bastardize his own children. If [...] he put his nephew to death, he did it for reasons which in the opinion of all historians justified James II for sending his brother's son to the block, and with more excuse than other kings could have pleaded for getting rid of inconvenient heirs.<sup>29</sup>

D'Auvergne goes on to say that John was a victim of the system into which he was born suggesting 'His notions of government belonged to the sixteenth rather than to the thirteenth century.'<sup>30</sup> Despite this D'Auvergne damned John's personal piety and his relationship with the church, stating quite conclusively, that John was 'regarded as a detestable sinner, a lecher, and, as it was more than suspected an infidel.'<sup>31</sup> However, a distinction was seemingly drawn for the first time between his personal piety and his relationship with the church, for he goes on to say that he 'stood well enough with the church.'<sup>32</sup> The continued absence of any mention of Beaulieu in this and other contemporary works, is still more surprising as Sir James Fowler published *A History of Beaulieu Abbey* in 1911, which provided for the first time a historical analysis and narrative of John's decision to found the house.<sup>33</sup>

Vivian Galbraith in his 1944 work on Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris and in his 1945 article *Good and Bad Kings in English History* was a damning indictment of the chroniclers and the historians who based their histories on them,<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Edmund D'Auvergne, *John, King of England: A Modern History* (London, 1934), pp. 7-8.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 155.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>33</sup> Sir J. K. Fowler, *A History of Beaulieu Abbey* (London, 1911).

<sup>34</sup> V. H. Galbraith, *Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris* (Glasgow, 1944); V. H. Galbraith, 'Good and bad kings in English history' *History* 30 (1945), 119-32.



declaring that the history and portrayal as found in Stubbs 'is really independent of what any historian to-day would call "the facts" [...] [and is] just the medieval view.'<sup>35</sup> Galbraith was advocating what Chadwick first adopted in 1865 and D'Auvergne in 1934, namely the dismissal of the chronicler and more emphasis on governmental records. Using this approach historians were able to dismiss the wilder accusations of the chroniclers.

Yet it is important not to place the work of Galbraith as some marker in the sand, which marked the shift from a resoundingly negative view of John based on chroniclers to a positive one based on chancery records. Despite using the approach as advocated by Galbraith, and the more general improvement in John's reputation, the historical perception of John's personal piety and his relationship with the Church was slow to improve. Sidney Painter's 1949 study is indicative of this, for despite arguing John was a 'better king than his brother or his son - probably as good a one as his father' he goes on to state he was 'as close to irreligious as it was possible for a man of his time to be.'<sup>36</sup> Despite acknowledging the foundation of Beaulieu for the first time since Stubbs, he dismissed it as a 'semi-political bargain', summing up his viewpoint in the following phrase, 'At the best his attitude towards the church and its clergy was coldly practical - at the worst it was almost insanely ferocious.'<sup>37</sup> His assessment of the interactions between John and the Cistercian Order was summed up in a single sentence, 'John was accustomed to demanding money from the Cistercians whenever his treasury looked empty.'<sup>38</sup> After Sidney Painter, almost every historian was to acknowledge the foundation of Beaulieu, although some historians found it irreconcilable with their pre-existing views and the

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<sup>35</sup> Galbraith, 'Good and bad kings in English history', 128.

<sup>36</sup> Sidney Painter, *The Reign of King John* (Baltimore, 1949), p. 238.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 153.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.

views of the chronicle, leading some to astonishing inconsistencies in their argument. With Appleby in 1959, stating John founded Beaulieu ‘for the good of his soul’ before going on to note that John was ‘a complete skeptic [sic] or agnostic’ and that ‘He was not even a heretic; he simply cared nothing whatever about religion.’<sup>39</sup>

The pantomime villain created by the Victorian scholars and continued into the twentieth century was to die with Poole in 1951. He was seemingly the first historian to improve the perception of John’s piety and suggest his relationship with the church was not entirely negative. Explaining how ‘he [John] was not wholly inattentive to the needs of the church’, noting his foundation of Beaulieu and his small grants to religious houses, suggesting that these indicate that John ‘was not altogether out of sympathy with the Church and religious life.’<sup>40</sup> Although Poole was one of the first historians to suggest he was not wholly unpious he was by no means the last, for he set the precedent, for most historians after him, with the exception just noted of Appleby, continued to propagate this view.<sup>41</sup> In 1961 and again in the 1978 second edition Warren went even further than Poole, not only dismissing the accusations of irreligion but describing him as ‘conventionally devout’, noting his benefactions to religious houses especially during the interdict and explaining John’s conflict with the pope in the same terms as was advanced by Norgate, describing how John wished to preserve royal authority and ‘had indeed no animus against the clergy as such.’<sup>42</sup> Warren went on to blame the fact that religious houses that he favoured, such as Beaulieu, did not write histories, for the charges of irreligion that

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<sup>39</sup> John T. Appleby, *John, King of England* (New York, 1959), pp. 106, 272-3.

<sup>40</sup> A. L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta* (Oxford, 1951), p. 428.

<sup>41</sup> It should be noted that although Charles William Previt  Orton’s *The Shorter Cambridge Medieval History* of 1952 continued to propagate the previous approach, stating ‘Loyalty to man, law, or God meant nothing to him’, this is not another exception. For Orton died in 1947 and this work was published posthumously: Charles William Previt  Orton, *The Shorter Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 719; R. B. Dobson, ‘Orton, Charles William Previt  (1877–1947)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), vol. 41, p. 971.

<sup>42</sup> W. L. Warren, *King John* (London, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 1978), pp. 171-3.

have been laid against him.<sup>43</sup> Maurice Ashley in 1972 supported Warren's assessment, stating he 'was at least as good a Christian as his father or elder brother.'<sup>44</sup> Ashley also suggests that although the interdict damaged his reputation, it was a political tool used by the pope 'pretty indiscriminately' whilst noting that John tried to temper the harm done to the clergy by it, citing his grants to religious houses.<sup>45</sup> Alan Lloyd in 1973 almost wholly agreed with Warren, to such an extent it is difficult not to suggest that Warren was a massive influence. With Lloyd also dismissing the charges of irreligion, noting his benefactions to religious orders especially during the interdict, his treatment of the Cistercians in 1200 and foundation of Beaulieu, and explaining, 'John bore no animosity in principle against the Church or the papacy. His concern was to preserve what he saw as his sovereign rights.'<sup>46</sup> Lloyd also blamed the fact that John did not endow houses who wrote histories for his reputation.<sup>47</sup> During this period historians such as Peter Draper in his 1984 work, produced entire articles devoted to aspects of John's personal piety, and continued the historical perception that he was at least conventionally pious, noting his personal devotion to St Wulfstan.<sup>48</sup>

Christopher Harper-Bill in 1999 put forward two opinions surrounding John's dispute with the church, suggesting first that he was no more assertive with the church than his predecessors were before noting that he did flout the customs of the Norman Church. This demonstrates the split in historical opinion from the late 1990s, surrounding John's dispute with Rome.<sup>49</sup> Fryde in 2001 despite damning

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<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> Maurice Ashley, *The Life and Times of King John* (London, 1972), p. 152.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Alan Lloyd, *King John* (Trowbridge, 1973), pp. 181-2.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 182.

<sup>48</sup> Peter Draper, 'King John and St. Wulfstan', *Journal of Medieval History* 10 (1984), 41-50.

<sup>49</sup> Christopher Harper-Bill, 'John and the church of Rome', in *King John, New Interpretations*, ed. S. D. Church (Woodbridge, 1999, repr. 2007), p. 304.

John's character, describing him as a 'horrible person', carried on the argument that the dispute with the papacy was political rather than religious, noting that as soon as Innocent III became pope in 1198, 'conflict with the Angevin kings was unavoidable.'<sup>50</sup> Although Turner in 2005 supported this argument, McLynn in 2007 suggested his dispute with the church was a result of his greed and the presentation of it as a struggle against papal oppression, 'simply an excuse for a gigantic looting session.'<sup>51</sup> The historiography was not just split along these lines, it was also split on the issue of his personal piety, with David Carpenter in 2003 suggesting that despite founding Beaulieu 'he was not a pious man,'<sup>52</sup> a position supported by McLynn in 2007, who suggested 'John [...] seems a kind of avatar of the seven deadly sins.'<sup>53</sup> Whilst by 2011 John's foundation of Beaulieu as an act of piety was again called into question in the same way it was by Warren, with Mayr-Harting suggesting its foundation was 'something of a public relations exercise,' and was evidence of John's 'excellent political antennae.'<sup>54</sup> Yet even though Turner noted in 2005, 'Not all John's wickedness was imagined by idle monks', he went on to reinforce Warren's assessment, stating, 'Although no model of piety, he was conventionally pious.'<sup>55</sup> Going on to cite his foundation of Beaulieu and the choice of the Cistercian John of Forde as his almoner as evidence of this.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Natalie Fryde, *Why Magna Carta?: Angevin England Revisited* (London, 2001), pp. 9, 87.

<sup>51</sup> Frank McLynn, *Richard and John: Kings at War* (Cambridge, MA, 2007), p. 480; Ralph Turner, *King John; England's Evil King?* (Stroud, 2005), p. 110.

<sup>52</sup> David Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery: Britain 1066-1284* (Penguin, 2003, repr. 2004), p. 276.

<sup>53</sup> McLynn, *Richard and John*, pp. 478.

<sup>54</sup> Henry Mayr-Harting, *Religion, Politics and Society in Britain, 1066-1272* (Harlow, 2011), pp. 163-4.

<sup>55</sup> Turner, *King John; England's Evil King?*, p. 16.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

## Methodology

Before discussing the methodology behind this study it is first important to note which houses are included in this thesis, for by no means all houses ever founded in Wales, Ireland and England are considered. Although houses established after John's reign are obviously excluded, those founded shortly before or during John's reign, such as Cymer, Gwynedd (fd. 1198-9) and Valle Crucis, Denbighshire (fd. 1201) are included. Although these houses may have not been completed even by John's death in 1216, monks were still present and they could still be used, with John for example, employing the abbot of Beaulieu abbey, his own Cistercian foundation which itself was only founded in 1204 and not completed for 42 years, as a royal envoy to the papal court.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, one may expect that the very fact that these houses were new would make them more likely to attempt to gain a charter from John to solidify their claims to the land newly granted to them, whilst if relations with the house was determined at least in part by the patron, the abbey would not need to be completed to have a relationship with John. As given the sheer number of houses in England it is inappropriate to consider them all, this study considers only those houses whose relationship with John should be influenced by those factors identified which affected his relationship with those in Wales and Ireland; to establish whether the same factors influenced his relationship with those in England in a similar way.

Which houses are in these areas is also an important point. Although Ireland has a clear geographical boundary, Wales and England do not, sharing a somewhat contested border, and as a result an obvious difficulty is where the boundary of

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<sup>57</sup> W. H. St John Hope and Harold Brakspear, 'The Cistercian abbey of Beaulieu in the county of Southampton', *The Archaeological Journal* 63 (1906), 148.

Wales and England actually was. For most houses this is not an issue, being located far enough away from the border on their respective sides. Although Tintern abbey is virtually on the modern political boundary, the inclusion of this house as a Welsh abbey will arouse no controversy, for it is within Monmouthshire and has always been deemed a Welsh house. The inclusion of Dore abbey as a house in Wales will be more somewhat controversial. Whether Dore abbey is in Wales or in England has always been a matter of controversy, not only between modern historians but also in the medieval period. There is evidence that suggests that the monks saw themselves as being within Wales. In 1281 Dore was classed as a Welsh abbey by the Chapter General, although admittedly this was probably for taxation purposes.<sup>58</sup> However, when in 1521 fourteen monasteries were explicitly mentioned as forming the Welsh province of the Cistercian Order, Dore was one of those included.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, although politically within England, following ecclesiastical divisions it was technically within Wales. For the abbey was in the parish of Ewyas Harold, itself in the diocese of St David's until 1847.<sup>60</sup> Although this evidence is less than conclusive, this study must include Dore for John and his contemporaries classed Herefordshire as being in Wales, with for example both Richard I and John, in 1189 and 1215 respectively, addressing charters to 'Hereford in Wales'.<sup>61</sup> So in a study of John and his relationships with the Cistercians in Wales, Dore must be included.

The date from which we start analysing the relationship between the Cistercians and John does vary between Wales, Ireland and England, and is worth setting out here. John's involvement in Ireland began early in his life. In a desperate

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<sup>58</sup> David H. Williams, *White Monks in Gwent and the Border* (Pontypool, 1976), p. 1.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>61</sup> 'Hereford in Wallia': *The Manuscripts of Rye and Hereford Corporations: Thirteenth report, Appendix Part IV* (London, 1892), p. 284; *Rot. Chart.*, pp. 212-3.

attempt to secure at least some form of inheritance for John, who as the fourth son was destined for nothing earning him the title *sans terre*, his father Henry II seemingly bestowed upon him the lordship of Ireland in 1177, when John was just ten years old.<sup>62</sup> In March 1185, John was knighted and sent by Henry to secure his inheritance.<sup>63</sup> Although this was just a brief and ultimately failed foray John remained lord of Ireland until his death, returning just once in 1210. It is from 1185 therefore that we must study the relationship between John and the Cistercians in Ireland. John's involvement in Wales began somewhat later. Despite being betrothed to Isabel of Gloucester in 1176 it was not until his father's death in 1189 that he was married and gained the earldom of Gloucester. With this lordship came not only Gloucester but a significant proportion of South Wales. As such this study must study his relations with at least some of the Cistercian houses in Wales from 1189 and the same is true of some in England, for in 1189 Richard bestowed English lands upon him. Norgate demonstrated from an analysis of the Pipe Rolls that by 1190 John held not only the honours of Gloucester, Peverel, Lancaster, Tickhill, Marlborough and Luggershall but also the counties of Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Dorset, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall.<sup>64</sup>

Before analysing the relationship between John and individual Cistercian houses, it is first necessary to set out the relationship between John and the Cistercian Order as a whole, and this is set out in chapter one. For it is only in doing so that the relationship with the individual Cistercian houses can be placed into their appropriate context, and will highlight when the relationship with individual houses greatly differed from that of the Cistercian Order as a whole, and suggest other

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<sup>62</sup> Roger of Howden, *Chronica Magistri de Rogeri de Houedene*, 4 vols., ed. William Stubbs (London, 1868-71), vol. 2, p. 133. For a discussion of this grant see Warren, *King John*, p. 204n.

<sup>63</sup> John D. Hosler, *Henry II: A Medieval Soldier at War, 1147-1189* (Boston, 2007), p. 90.

<sup>64</sup> Norgate, *John Lackland*, pp. 25-7.

reasons for their relationship. Chapter two explores the argument that the Cistercian Order in Wales and in Ireland was fundamentally split along two lines, with one branch being of English foundation and the other of native foundation, with each branch supporting their respective 'nationality', for it would be expected that John would enjoy better relations with houses of English descent for they would support his cause, and consequently any occasion when their relationship transcended that of the Order as a whole this could be due to this factor. Using evidence such as the orientation of the founder, the 'ethnic' composition of each abbey (calculated based on an analysis of the names which occur in each house between 1150 and 1250), and the actions of the monks themselves, this chapter sets out which abbeys are considered for the purposes of this thesis as being English supporting or native supporting.

Chapter three then sets out the relationship between John and the abbeys in Wales based upon an analysis of the charters he granted to each house, whether it be a new grant of land or merely confirming existing holdings. In order to minimise the impact of lost materials and the gaps in the record sources, confirmations of later monarchs have been used, whether as a means of identifying a lost charter from John or of suggesting that John did not issue the house with a charter. Combined with this is an analysis of financial records, whether it be the Fine Rolls or the Pipe Rolls which may also refer to lost charters and will themselves be of use in determining John's relationship with the monks. For if a house had to pay heavily for charters, then it may be taken as a sign of disfavour, whilst in the same vein a generous charter issued for no charge is a sign of favour. From this analysis it becomes apparent that the relative orientation of each house seemingly had little or no impact on relations, with John on occasion enjoying a better relationship with some Welsh



houses over English houses, and more than this his relationship with them on occasion did indeed transcend that of the Order as a whole. Moreover, from an analysis of the interactions between the Welsh princes and English landholders and Cistercian houses it becomes clear that John was by no means alone in this respect. In chapter four this thesis argues that this relationship was on occasion political.<sup>65</sup> By placing the charters issued into their wider political context and by a detailed analysis of the charters themselves, it argues that John issued charters to Cistercian houses in an attempt to woo or reward the patron or attempt to damage the house as a means of hurting the patron, whilst chapter five suggests that this was not confined to Wales but that King John had similar relations with the Cistercians in Ireland. This was also the case in England, as argued in chapter six. However unlike the studies of Wales and Ireland, this study has not analysed all Cistercian houses in England, for due to their sheer number this would not have been practical. Instead, fewer houses were chosen but analysed more deeply than would otherwise have been possible: predominantly houses under royal patronage, and houses under the patronage of John's political friends and enemies. Throughout this study, it shall also become clear that on occasion the relationship with a religious house went beyond even the patron, however this was primarily when the abbey itself was deemed an enemy or ally of John.

It is appropriate at this juncture to explain the terminology that has been used in this thesis. Although the term 'Welsh' is employed this of course does not mean that these houses supported what can anachronistically be called the whole Welsh 'nation'. In fact it is probable that the people even of *Pura Wallia* identified themselves more by their region for Wales in this period was by no means a unified

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<sup>65</sup> For a definition of what is meant by the term political, see below p. 21.

country and the same must be true of the monastic houses. It is likely that for example a house in Gwynedd such as Aberconwy would support if anything only the people of Gwynedd. The term ‘Welsh’ was used within the contemporary sources with the *Brenhenedd Y Saesson* using the term *Kymre* or ‘Welsh’ and Orderic Vitalis using the term *Gualensis* which also translates as ‘Welsh’.<sup>66</sup> However, having said this the term was used by the English sources not only to describe those who opposed them in Wales, but also the native Welsh who supported the English, as King John did when he was count of Mortain when he granted a charter to Margam abbey in 1193, addressed to among others his Welsh men and friends.<sup>67</sup> Despite its obvious failings and multiple possible meanings the term ‘Welsh’ shall be used in this work as simply a generic geographical rather than linguistic term to describe all of the ‘Welsh’ in Wales outside directly English-controlled areas. The generic term Irish shall also be used to denote those native peoples in Ireland for the same reason. The term ‘English’ has been used throughout rather than the term Anglo-Norman as this term is an artificial construct with no inherent meaning and of course not employed by the contemporary sources. Whilst the term Norman implies that they all were born in Normandy, and the use of this term certainly makes little sense when you consider that not even King John himself was of Normandy or even a Norman king but was in fact born in England. Moreover, if he considered himself as anything other than English, then as his ancestors were Angevin then he may have considered himself of Anjou. It is also not possible to merely use the terminology used in the native sources. The Irish sources, such as for example the *Annals of the Four*

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<sup>66</sup> *Brenhenedd Y Saesson or The Kings of the Saxons, BM Cotton MS. Cleopatra B v and The Black Book of Basingwerk NLW MS. 7006*, ed. and trans. Thomas Jones (Cardiff, 1971), p. 198; Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1978), vol. 6, p. 495.

<sup>67</sup> *Earldom of Gloucester Charters: the Charters and Scribes of the Earls and Countesses of Gloucester to A.D. 1217*, ed. Robert B. Patterson (Oxford, 1973), no. 138, p. 127.

*Masters*, describe them merely as ‘*Gallaibh*’ [foreigners], hardly a useful term.<sup>68</sup> Although Welsh sources such as the *Brenhinedd Y Saesson* uses ‘*Ffrangkod*’ [French], this term has been rejected due to the obvious confusions which would result, namely it would be difficult if not impossible to discern between the Frenchmen of Philip Augustus and the Frenchmen of John.<sup>69</sup> It is also the case that both the terms ‘French’ and ‘English’ were being used simultaneously in the sources with perhaps the term French referring to the nobility whilst the term English referred to the lesser classes. It would however be far too confusing to use two terms concurrently as a method of identification. It also does seem probable that contemporaries in this period began to identify themselves more with their Englishness rather than Frenchness especially after the significant loss of what was once their native French lands which culminated in the loss of Normandy in 1204. After the loss of their native lands they must have concentrated on their English holdings and the term English as a form of identification, with the term ‘French’ being more associated with their enemies in France. Hugh Thomas has suggested that the term English was becoming widely employed by writers and kings alike, becoming fully engrained by Magna Carta, and during the associated Civil Wars both sides used ‘anti-foreign and especially anti-French sentiment as a rallying cry.’<sup>70</sup> Although this is discussed in chapter two it should also be noted that this thesis shall also not use the term Welsh or Irish Cistercians, and shall instead use the terms Cistercians in Wales and Ireland, for the former does imbue the Cistercians with an inert sense of national identity.

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<sup>68</sup> *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters from the Earliest Period to the year 1616*, ed. John O’Donovan (Dublin, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 1856), vol. 3, p. 68.

<sup>69</sup> *Brenhenedd Y Saesson*, p. 208.

<sup>70</sup> Hugh M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation and Identity, 1066-c.1220* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 4, 80.

Another term widely used in this thesis is the term ‘charter’. This is not just used to refer to charters as found in the Charter Rolls, rather it is used more generically to include such things as letters close and letters patent, and as such is employed simply to mean all writs emanating from the king.<sup>71</sup> This is employed purely for convenience, for it would be more difficult when discussing the relationship with individual houses to use the exact terminology when discussing such charters and letters more broadly, for example in a comparison of the number of such letters and charters granted to each house. It is rather more simple to group them under the term ‘charters’; dividing them into letters patent, letters close and charters, would make such a comparison more difficult, and would suggest that somehow more of one than another is a particular sign of favour or disfavour respectively. When discussing individual writs however, the appropriate term, whether it be charter or letter patent or close shall be used.

A final term which should be discussed which is used widely in this thesis and has indeed been used already, is the term ‘political’. This is often used in reference to grants being of political nature. Given the obvious importance of this term it needs to be defined. For the purpose of this work the term ‘political’ is used to imply simply not religious or economic but rather designed to advance John’s cause in a specific area. As such the term is used to include such meanings as attempts to ensure or reward loyalty, win allegiance, as part of a conciliation with its patron or quite simply grants were issued as John found it advantageous to accede to the demands for it, for whatever reason. However although the term ‘political’ is

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<sup>71</sup> This is valid given the Oxford English Dictionary’s definition of a charter; ‘A written document delivered by the sovereign or legislature.’: "charter, n.1". OED Online. March 2012. Oxford University Press.  
[<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/30814?rskey=RwbsyC&result=1&isAdvanced=false>]  
accessed April 20, 2012.

used to broadly encompass all these meanings, when discussing individual charters and the wider considerations which may have influenced why it was issued, the precise terminology as just set out shall be used, rather than this generic term.

It is also worth discussing some of the naming issues of the abbeys and how this may affect this study. Cistercian houses, especially in Wales were known by numerous names, Whitland abbey for example was not only known by the Welsh Ty Gwyn but also as Alba Landa, Alba Domus and also Blanchelanda.<sup>72</sup> These various house names can result in severe problems of identification. The best example of this is Whitland's alternative name of Blanchelanda. This name is not unique to Whitland, but is also the name of a Premonstratensian house in North Western France, whilst Blanchland is a Premonstratensian house in Northumberland and also according to the Romance of Fulk fitz Warin, 'Blaunche Launde' is the name for a castle in Shropshire, although we know it as Whittington.<sup>73</sup> This means that charters and other materials which refer to Blanchelanda can only be included if there is enough internal evidence to indicate beyond a reasonable doubt that it refers to Whitland, and although this is likely in the *Rotuli Chartarum* due to their general length and depth of information, there is very unlikely to be enough evidence in the *Rotuli Clausarum* or *Rotuli Patentium* to indicate to which place a document refers. This thesis will however use only the modern name for all abbeys unless directly quoting from the source material.

Via an analysis of amongst other materials confirmation charters, this thesis argues that the relationship between a religious house and the king could be based

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<sup>72</sup> Monastic Wales Project, Aberystwyth and Lampeter University.  
[<http://www.monasticwales.org/site/36>] accessed 8 March 2010.

<sup>73</sup> 'Fouke le Fitz Waryn', trans. Thomas E. Kelly in *Robin Hood and Other Outlaw Tales*, ed. Stephen Knight and Thomas H. Ohlgren (Kalamazoo, 1997), p. 722.

simply on the king's relationship with the founder. It is by no means the purpose of this work to argue that all charters, especially confirmatory charters, granted to all abbeys by King John are a clear indication of royal favour, as abbeys certainly attempted to gain confirmation charters themselves especially soon after there was a change in monarch. Yet it is perhaps a mistake to explain all confirmation charters as routine, as many historians appear to do. Charles Insley stated that the wording of King John's 1202 charter to Aberconwy abbey 'is unique in English royal charters for Welsh foundations', before then seemingly suggesting it was issued as a matter of routine, without explaining how a 'unique' charter could be routinely issued.<sup>74</sup> Even Rhys Hays in his *History of Aberconway Abbey* says that it was surprising this 1202 charter was issued before again suggesting, 'likely it was a matter of routine'.<sup>75</sup> Perhaps, especially as Insley noted it was unique, this charter should be interpreted as a mark of favour to this abbey, and although this will be considered in far more detail later, it remains a good example of how not all confirmation charters should be considered a matter of routine. It is certainly the case that confirmation charters could be, and indeed were, used in this period as marks of favour or reward and this is explicitly stated in a monition of Archbishop Hubert Walter to St. Augustine's Canterbury in 1201. Both the archbishop and the king were anxious to ensure that Simon of Wells obtain the church of Faversham, and Walter assured St Augustine's abbey that, 'Should he [Simon] get the church by the agency of the abbot and convent, they will more readily obtain confirmation of their charters by the king, their other affairs will be facilitated, and the archbishop will lend his help.'<sup>76</sup> This is a clear reference therefore to confirmation charters being not simply routinely issued

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<sup>74</sup> Charles Insley, 'The wilderness years of Llewellyn the Great', in *Thirteenth Century England* 9 (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 171.

<sup>75</sup> Rhys Hays, *The History of the Abbey of Aberconway, 1186-1537* (Cardiff, 1963), p. 42.

<sup>76</sup> *English Episcopal Acta; Canterbury, 1193-1205*, ed. C. R. Cheney and E. John (Oxford, 1991), vol. 3, no. 394, pp. 63-4.

but issued as a means of reward. It also seems clear that confirmations were not merely ‘rubber stamped’ by kings. According to the Chronicle of Battle abbey, when the abbot attempted to gain a renewal of a William the Conqueror charter from Henry II, not only was the new charter referred to the consideration of the king’s council, Henry II was actually directly involved in the composition of the charter and in fact altered and inserted new clauses.<sup>77</sup> John also seemingly put, at least on occasion, a great deal of thought into the consequences of such charters, for in June 1203 Hubert Walter replied to a letter in which John asked him to advise whether he should confirm his predecessors’ charters to the monks of St Augustine’s Canterbury.<sup>78</sup>

It could be suggested that John was unaware of the issuing of these charters to the Cistercians, with merely royal officials handling them, and consequently we are not analysing John’s relations with the abbey; but this seems unlikely. Given the generally suspicious nature of John and his renowned interest in the intricacies of governance that almost all historians, whether it be Sidney Painter in 1949, Wilfred Lewis Warren in 1978 or Ralph Turner in 2005, associate with John, it seems highly unlikely that he was unaware of any charter leaving his household.<sup>79</sup> This is even further enhanced when we consider that of the numerous charters issued to houses within Wales only one charter was issued to an abbey when John was not in the vicinity, that of Strata Florida in May 1212 which was issued at Westminster whilst

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<sup>77</sup> *Chronicon Monasterii de Bello: Nunc Primum Typis Mandatum*, ed. J. S. Brewer (London, 1846), pp. 164-5. Although some scepticism has been shown towards this story, Galbraith demonstrated in 1937 that a Henry II charter to Battle Abbey not only survives in the British Library but includes the phrases and terms added by Henry, suggesting this narrative may well be accurate: V. H. Galbraith; ‘A new charter of Henry II to Battle Abbey’, *English Historical Review* 52 (1937), 67-8.

<sup>78</sup> *English Episcopal Acta; Canterbury, 1193-1205*, vol. 3, no. 395, p. 64.

<sup>79</sup> Painter, *The Reign of King John*, p. 227; Warren, *King John*, p. 187; Turner, *King John: England’s Evil King?*, p. 19.

John was in Winchester.<sup>80</sup> In fact 11 charters to houses in Wales were witnessed by amongst others the king himself.<sup>81</sup>

Although it has long been recognised that the Cistercians have been used politically, studies have often highlighted a different political use from that advocated in this work.<sup>82</sup> Patterson, for example, demonstrates how Margam abbey itself was founded in 1147 in order to gain papal support for the Angevin cause during the Anarchy.<sup>83</sup> Hopkins meanwhile argued that grants to Cistercian houses could also be political, noting how the foundation of Neath was intended to ensure English control over the area with subsequent grants to Neath abbey representing an attempt to further solidify control of the region and Glanville's grant of Neath castle, intended to effectively decommission it.<sup>84</sup> Insley noted how Llywelyn ap Iorwerth's grants to Aberconwy in January 1199 effectively removed his rival Gruffydd ap Cynan for he granted them Cynan's lands, thus ensuring he would never be a threat again.<sup>85</sup> It has also been recognised how Cistercians were used politically outside Wales, with Hicks arguing that Richard I's decision to found Bonport abbey, south of Rouen on the Seine in 1190, was an attempt to fortify the region against possible

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<sup>80</sup> Although John's itinerary was deduced by Hardy, it is seemingly reliable. Itinerary, p. liiii; *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 92b.

<sup>81</sup> The charters John witnessed himself are those to Dore in 1213(x2), 1215(x2) and 1216; Margam in 1193; Strata Florida in 1212; Tintern 1215; Whitland in 1204, 1214 and 1215. This of course cannot include those charters he issued which are mentioned only in later charters, for most charters derived from *inspeximus* charters derive from the years lost in the administrative records, and as such we have no reliable itinerary of John in these years to compare them with. Whilst other grants mentioned in later charters survive only as a single clause recording that he gave it, with no indication of date let alone of an original witness list.

<sup>82</sup> An early example perhaps being Elizabeth Hallam, 'Aspects of the monastic patronage of the English and French royal houses, c.1130-1270' (Unpubl. PhD thesis, University of London, 1976).

<sup>83</sup> Robert B. Patterson, *The Scriptorium of Margam Abbey and the Scribes of Early Angevin Glamorgan: Secretarial Administration in a Welsh Marcher Barony, c.1150-c.1225* (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 35.

<sup>84</sup> Tony Hopkins, 'Cistercians and the urban community at Neath', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 154 (2007), 125-6.

<sup>85</sup> Insley, 'The wilderness years of Llewellyn the Great', p. 167.



efforts by Philip Augustus to reclaim Normandy.<sup>86</sup> Even once dissolved they were still used, with McCulloch arguing that ruined religious houses left in the gardens of the protestants after the reformation were not merely some kind of romantic decoration, rather they were intended to act as a political statement, to remind the houses owner and all others, that Catholicism had been defeated, almost acting as a form of trophy of battles won.<sup>87</sup>

Clearly although there is a long established historiography of the political use of Cistercian and religious houses more widely, this is only true in relation to the political use of foundations or land grants. This is quite different from what is argued in this thesis, namely that John used the Cistercians as a means of enlisting or rewarding support either of the abbey itself or of the patron, of which there is only a very limited and scattered historiography. Although Power in 2004 briefly asserted that a prince could patronise a house beyond his border to try and curry favour with it, he argues this is primarily done through gifts and not confirmations and mentions nothing of the possible connection between grants to the abbey and the patron.<sup>88</sup> Whilst Dalton's 2011 lone statement that King Stephen granted to the monks of Selby abbey a confirmation charter in 1154 whilst he was besieging Drax castle as part of his attempt to restore his authority, is the only example of a historian placing political importance on a confirmation charter that I am aware of.<sup>89</sup> Clearly this limited historiography only supports the argument that grants and confirmation charters were politically used to gain the support of the abbey and not the association

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<sup>86</sup> Leonie V. Hicks, *Religious Life in Normandy, 1050-1300: Space, Gender and Social Pressure* (Woodbridge, 2007), p. 98.

<sup>87</sup> Diarmaid MacCulloch, 'Changing perspectives on the reformation', Unpublished Conference Paper, Ecclesiastical History Society Summer Conference, 17-20 August 2011.

<sup>88</sup> Daniel Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 303.

<sup>89</sup> Paul Dalton, 'Ecclesiastical Responses to War in King Stephen's Reign', in *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. Paul Dalton, Charles Insley and Louise J. Wilkinson (Woodbridge, 2011), p. 147.

with the patron. It therefore remains important to justify this approach and demonstrate that John himself could, and indeed did, use abbeys and his charters to them as a means of cultivating a relationship with the patron or in fact as a means of punishing them. In September 1210 King John issued a letter to explain and justify his attack upon his one time favourite William de Braose. John related that he was justified amongst other reasons due to the fact that William and his sons had besieged the castles which John had confiscated from him and when getting no immediate result, '[...] they moved on to the town of Leominster, which is a priory of Reading abbey under my patronage. They burned down half the town [...]'.<sup>90</sup> It is clear from this single remark that John perceived this assault on Leominster priory by de Braose as being equivalent to a direct assault upon himself, for seemingly no other reason than that the priory was under his patronage, for there seems to be little other reason to mention the fact. Clearly the inference that de Braose's attack upon a priory under John's patronage was an attack upon John himself and therefore another justification for what happened to de Braose, was intended to be understood by all those who heard or read the contents of this letter. It can therefore be assumed that wider society interpreted relations with an abbey as an extension of the relationship with the patron, for otherwise such a justification would be resoundingly unhelpful for John. This is certainly supported by one of the continuations of Croyland abbey, for it states that during a dispute between it and Spalding priory, when taken to the royal court in 1202, the patron of Spalding, Ranulf of Chester reminded John, '[...] what was done for them would be considered as done for himself [...]'.<sup>91</sup> This was also not just confined to England, with Power citing examples from Normandy,

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<sup>90</sup> David Crouch, 'The Complaint of King John against William de Briouze (c. September 1210)', in *Magna Carta and the England of King John*, ed. Janet S. Loengard (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 170, 175.

<sup>91</sup> *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland with the continuations by Peter of Blois and Anonymous Writers*, ed. and trans. Henry T. Riley (London, 1854), p. 303.

demonstrating how individuals would confiscate the monastic lands of their neighbours' abbey in order to strike at the neighbour.<sup>92</sup>

It is perhaps not surprising that the patron would be extremely concerned with what happened to their abbey. Often such abbeys were not only the patron's intended burial place but also where their ancestors and immediate predecessors were buried. More than this they were the means by which many patrons hoped to obtain passage into heaven and who they hoped would sing for their souls after their death.<sup>93</sup> As the repository of their families' remains and the means by which they hoped to gain passage into the afterlife, it is unsurprising that patrons were extremely concerned with what happened to their abbey and how it was treated by the king. The clauses in the foundation charters of Duiske abbey and Cartmel priory, both William Marshal foundations, which curses anyone who dared to trouble the houses, a testament to the importance the patron placed on the safety of their house.<sup>94</sup> Moreover, as Daniëlle Westerhof noted, 'formal patronage of monasteries provided a context for the aristocratic [sic] to establish his political and social position within society',<sup>95</sup> and as such any attack upon their monastery would be an attack upon the patron's position in society, and by association bestowing gifts and grants upon the house could reinforce the patron's social position. As John himself perceived William de Braose's attack on Leominster priory, a religious house that was under his patronage, as an attack on himself and knew how important a religious house was

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<sup>92</sup> Power, *The Norman Frontier in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries*, p. 303.

<sup>93</sup> Recent scholarship includes: *Sepulturae Cistercienses: Burial, Memorial and Patronage in Medieval Cistercian Monasteries*, ed. Jackie Hall and Christine Kratzke (Cîteaux, 2005); Karen Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons: England and Wales, c.1300-1450* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 112-46.

<sup>94</sup> David Crouch, *William Marshal Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219* (London, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 2002), p. 213.

<sup>95</sup> Daniëlle Westerhof, 'Celebrating fragmentation: the presence of aristocratic body parts in monastic houses in twelfth and thirteenth century England' in *Sepulturae Cistercienses: Burial, Memorial and Patronage in Medieval Cistercian Monasteries*, ed. Jackie Hall and Christine Kratzke (Cîteaux, 2005), p. 37.

to the patron, then he was certainly aware of how his own relationship and interactions with religious houses would be interpreted as an extension of his relationship with their patron. Therefore on occasion his relationship with religious houses, whether positive or negative, may be interpreted as a device by John to enlist the support of the patron or as a means of hurting the patron.

#### Source Material

The historians of John's reign are in many ways extremely fortunate. For it is from his reign that the chancery records, the Charter rolls and Close and Patent letters were kept. It is these records and an analysis of the writs to the Cistercians they contain, which form the bedrock of this study. They do have significant drawbacks however. The Charter Rolls are only extant from 1199 whilst the rolls for John's third, fourth, eighth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth years of his reign are missing. Whilst the Patent Rolls only survive for the third to the tenth and fourteenth to eighteenth renal year of John, the Close Rolls survive in their earlier format as the liberate rolls for the second, third and fifth year of John's reign, whilst the Close Rolls themselves survive from the sixth to ninth and fourteenth to eighteenth year of John's reign. A further problem with these records is that it seems that, for even those years which are extant, there are on occasions, at least with the Patent Letters and perhaps therefore other materials, when a document was issued but not enrolled: for example, those patent letters not enrolled concerning the custody of Rochester castle.<sup>96</sup> These gaps in the material have serious implications, as it will be even more difficult to chart John's relations during these periods, and some charters that he issued to Cistercian houses will of course be lost. Whilst these records are of little

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<sup>96</sup> Ifor Rowlands, 'The 1201 peace between John and Llywelyn ap Iorwerth', *Studia Celtica* 34 (2000), 149-50.

use when it comes to analysing their relationship before he became king, later records are useful in trying to piece together what has been lost. Charters and grants were often inspected by later monarchs, quoting earlier charters in full, therefore it was crucial to analyse later *inspeximus* charters.

The financial records of John's reign are also of importance. The Pipe Rolls for example often note the payment for charters, which can be analysed for how much the respective charters cost; but also the Pipe Roll on occasion notes payment for a charter that is missing from the records. The same is true of the Fine Rolls. The surviving cartularies are also of great value, and so too are the surviving manuscripts from the houses themselves, whilst Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* notes some charters which have been lost.<sup>97</sup> Sources such as the cartularies and later collections such as the *Monasticon Anglicanum* are important not only because they record lost charters but also unlike the previous chancery records noted earlier they record charters and grants made by John before he became king, whether as lord of Ireland or as count of Mortain. Although such charters are occasionally mentioned in later confirmations whether by John himself as king or by later monarchs, modern collections of many of these charters have been assembled. Preen in 1949 recorded the extant charters and grants issued by John before he became king, and Vincent has made numerous additions to this in his work, and unlike Preen noted the extant charters and also many grants only mentioned in later sources.<sup>98</sup>

Several forms of source have been used when placing the interactions between John and the Cistercians into their wider context. The annals and chronicles

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<sup>97</sup> Sir William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6 vols in 8, ed. Roger Dosworth, John Stevens *et al* (London, 1817-1830).

<sup>98</sup> Margaret Preen, 'The *acta* of John, Lord of Ireland and Count of Mortain, with a study of his household', 2 vols. (Unpubl. MA thesis, University of Manchester, 1949); '*Acta* of John Count of Mortain', ed. Nicholas Vincent (Unpublished).

of numerous monastic houses, such as those of Fountains or of Margam, not only allow the charters to be placed into their wider framework and occasionally include references to charters they received but also relate their perspective on their relationship with the king. The primary chronicle source for Wales is the *Brut y Tywysogyon*.<sup>99</sup> Perhaps written at the Cistercian abbey of Strata Florida it relates primarily the political history of North Wales. Detailing the years from 681 to the year 1332, and although many early entries are very brief, by the time of John's first involvement in Wales, entries are far longer and far more useful. However as it was written at Strata Florida there is a tendency throughout to relate disproportionately the events of the abbey, whilst missing other important events in Welsh history, recording in 1255 that Strata Florida purchased a great bell, whilst failing to mention in 1188 Archbishop Baldwin and Gerald of Wales' tour of Wales.<sup>100</sup>

The loss of the great chroniclers such as Diceto (d.1200) and Howden (d.1201-2), hinders this study.<sup>101</sup> For after their deaths we must rely more heavily on the less reliable accounts of Roger Wendover and Matthew Paris.<sup>102</sup> This does not mean that the sources of Howden and Diceto cannot be used. Although Diceto's work ends in 1200 and Roger of Howden's in 1201, these sources remain extremely useful for an analysis of John before he was king and also in his early years immediately following his coronation. The chronicle of the Cistercian monk Ralph of Coggeshall is perhaps the most important chronicle for this study, for not only does it give a monastic perspective on events during John's reign, it is also highly

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<sup>99</sup> For a much fuller albeit dated discussion of the *Brut*, see John Edward Lloyd, *The Welsh Chronicles* (London, 1929).

<sup>100</sup> Lloyd, *The Welsh Chronicles*, p. 5.

<sup>101</sup> Ralph Diceto, *Radulfi de Diceto decani Landoniensis Opera Historica*, 2 vols., ed. William Stubbs (London, 1876); Howden, *Chronica*.

<sup>102</sup> Roger of Wendover, *Liber qui dicitur Flores Historiarum ab Anno Domini MCLIV. annoque Henrici Anglorum regis secundi primo*, 3 vols., ed. Henry G. Hewlett (London, 1886-9); Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, 7 vols., ed. Henry Richards Luard (London, 1872-83); Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, 3 vols., ed. Sir Frederic Madden (London, 1866-9).

detailed in its descriptions of John's various disputes with the Cistercian Order not only in England but also more widely, and particularly the dispute between the two in 1200.<sup>103</sup> John of Forde's *Sermons on the Final Verses of the Song of Songs* is of immense importance, not only in detailing the relationship between King John and Forde, but also the dispute between John and the Cistercians in 1210.<sup>104</sup>

Literary sources also provide a wider context. Gerald of Wales's numerous writings are extremely useful, not only because Gerald's writing invariably concerns Wales in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, but also because he was familiar with John long before he became king, accompanying the then Lord John in 1185 into Ireland as an advisor and chaplain.<sup>105</sup> It was actually whilst Gerald was in Ireland that he began two of his works, namely the *Topographia Hibernica* and the *Expugnatio Hibernica*, both of which are crucial not only to any analysis of Ireland but also of John's involvement there.<sup>106</sup> Although Gerald of Wales wrote a significant number of works, perhaps those most useful to this study of King John and Wales are the *De Instructione Principis* and the *De Rebus a se Gestis*.<sup>107</sup> Although the autobiography ends mid way through a sentence, Butler has produced not only an extremely useful translation of this source, but also supplemented it with other passages from other works, which he deemed autobiographical.<sup>108</sup> Another extremely useful literary source is *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, which is an

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<sup>103</sup> Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (London, 1875).

<sup>104</sup> John of Forde, *Sermons on the Final Verses of the Song of Songs*, ed. and trans. Wendy Mary Beckett (Kalamazoo, 1982-3), vols. 3 and 5.

<sup>105</sup> Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, 8 vols., ed. James F. Dimmock, J. S. Brewer and George F. Warner (London, 1861-91).

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 5.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 1-122; vol. 8.

<sup>108</sup> *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, ed. and trans. H. E. Butler (New edn., Woodbridge, 2005); first published as *The Autobiography of Giraldus Cambrensis* (London, 1937).

account of the life of William Marshal, the earl of Pembroke (c.1145-1219).<sup>109</sup> This source is clearly useful not just because it records the life of an extremely influential figure at the court of King John but also the very fact that he is the earl of Pembroke adds a Welsh dimension to the information. Despite the many problems with this source, particularly the fact that it was written after his death, it was completed by or not long after 1226 making it virtually contemporary. Moreover, the information it contains is seemingly reliable as it is based on the personal recollections of his entourage and also written records. Although the reliability of this source has to be questioned at times Crouch has clearly demonstrated that it remains an extremely valuable historical source.<sup>110</sup>

It is not only domestic sources to which the historian can turn however. Papal registers began to be kept from 1198, before which papal letters and charters have to be assembled from the archives of the recipients.<sup>111</sup> Although this material will not elucidate John's relations with individual abbeys it will go some way in exploring the abbeys' wider relations and also perhaps more crucially John's wider relations with the Church, which may go some way in explaining John's actions and relations towards the Cistercians. The *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis* which records the Cistercian Chapter General annual meeting is not only useful in indicating the relations between the Cistercians in Wales, England and Ireland and their Chapter General, but also the problems which they may have which would be discussed at the Chapter General might give an impression of their relationships with

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<sup>109</sup> *History of William Marshal*, 3 vols., ed. A. J. Holden; trans. S. Gregory; and historical notes by D. Crouch (London, 2002).

<sup>110</sup> For Crouch's discussion of the historical value of this work see *History of William Marshal*, vol. 3, pp. 37-41.

<sup>111</sup> For Innocent III see *The Letters of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) concerning England and Wales: A Calendar with an Appendix of texts*, ed. C. R. Cheney and Mary G. Cheney (Oxford, 1967); *Selected Letters of Innocent III concerning England*, ed. C. R. Cheney and W. H. Semple (London, 1953); For Honorius III see, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters 1*, ed. W. H. Bliss (London, 1893), pp. 40-117.



the king. Moreover, this source will assist in the process of determining whether all Cistercian abbots were prevented from attending the Chapter General in 1210 and 1212 by King John: if, for example, some of the Welsh abbots were allowed to attend whilst others were prevented this would certainly indicate an individualistic royal relationship with each house.<sup>112</sup> However this as a method of analysis is not without its flaws. As David Williams has demonstrated analysing the year 1200, only some 45 abbots of the then 525 Cistercian houses were mentioned, but that is of course not to say that more did not attend and were simply not mentioned as they were not involved in any business that year.<sup>113</sup>

Given the significant loss of Irish material due to amongst other things the destruction of the Irish record office in 1922, it is worth noting separately the sources for Ireland used in this thesis. Many of the materials for Ireland were fortunately recorded in the chancery records noted earlier, whilst some lost materials can be reconstructed via an analysis of later confirmations. Although there has been a significant loss of manuscript material, not all has been lost, charters issued by John as lord of Ireland to Mellifont and to Baltinglass survive.<sup>114</sup> The medieval materials once held at Kilkenny castle have survived, and published as the Ormond deeds.<sup>115</sup> Some now lost manuscripts are recorded in the 1889 work *Chartae, Privilegia et Immunitates*.<sup>116</sup> Records relating to Irish houses are also recorded in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* whilst the cartulary of St. Mary's Abbey Dublin records

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<sup>112</sup> *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 AD ad annum 1786*, ed. Josephus-Mia Canivez (Louvain, 1933), vol. 1.

<sup>113</sup> Williams, *The Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 37.

<sup>114</sup> 'The charter of John, Lord of Ireland, in favour of the Cistercian abbey of Baltinglass', ed. K. W. Nicholls, *Peritia* 4 (1985), 187-206; 'Original charter granted by Lord John of Ireland to the abbey of Mellifont', ed. Aquilla Smith, *The Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society* 1 (1846), 158-60.

<sup>115</sup> *Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 1172-1350*, ed. Edmund Curtis (Dublin, 1932).

<sup>116</sup> *Chartae, Privilegia et Immunitates*.

numerous grants to this house.<sup>117</sup> Yet it remains true that it is likely that many once-extant materials are long since lost, typified by the fact that the only reason we are aware that a confirmation charter was issued by John for Magio in 1210, is that it is mentioned in a 1786 work, namely the *Monasticon Hibernicum*.<sup>118</sup> There are sources that can be used to put John's interactions with the Cistercians in Ireland into context, such as the various annals, namely the *Annals of Loch Cé* and the *Annals of the Four Masters* and the work of Gerald of Wales noted earlier. It should be noted, however, that sadly due to the loss of financial records in Ireland, it is not possible to judge the relationship between John and the Cistercians in Ireland based on either how much they paid for their charters or any fines that were imposed upon them, as there is but one solitary Pipe Roll for Ireland, that of the fourteenth year of his reign [1211-12].<sup>119</sup> This is a great loss as one of the only ways to determine the negative relations between John and Dore abbey in Wales, which shall be discussed later, was a study of such records. We are therefore forced to be more than ever reliant on the charters themselves.

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<sup>117</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 6, pt. 2, pp. 1123-48; *Chart. St. Marys Dublin*.

<sup>118</sup> Louis Augustin Alemand, *Monasticon Hibernicum*, trans. John Stevens (London, 1722), p. 189.

<sup>119</sup> 'The Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John, 1211-1212', ed. Oliver Davies B. Quinn, *The Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 4 (1941), 1-76.

# CHAPTER 1

## KING JOHN AND THE CISTERCIAN ORDER

The relationship between John and the Cistercian Order as a whole began shortly after he ascended the throne.<sup>1</sup> Their relations swung widely, from periods of extreme negativity typified by John extorting money from the monks and preventing them from attending their General Chapter, to periods of what appears, at least outwardly, as genuine positivity perhaps best demonstrated by John's decision in 1200 to found a Cistercian house, that of Beaulieu in Hampshire, which was established in 1203/4. Yet even this foundation was in penance for a period of earlier hostility between John and the Cistercian Order. It is of crucial importance to note however, that although this chapter gives an outline of the relationship between John and the Cistercian Order, it would be quite inappropriate to present a picture of uniformity. The relationship was not uniform even with the houses in England, let alone those in Wales and Ireland, and in fact it is on occasion by no means clear whether the relationship between John and the Cistercian Order in England had any impact on his relationship with the Cistercian Order in Wales and Ireland. Consequently at the beginning of each chapter of this thesis I will discuss in greater detail whether any of the general interactions described in this chapter actually affected the Cistercian Order in Wales and Ireland and also how individual abbeys in England may have

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<sup>1</sup> Although he certainly had individual relations with individual houses before this, from when he was made count of Mortain in 1189 and even before this when his father invested him as lord of Ireland in 1185, he seemingly did not have a relationship with the entire Order until after his accession to the throne in 1199. His individual relations shall be discussed as appropriate in the following chapters.

been treated differently.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless it remains essential to set out the narrative of the varying relationships between John and the wider Cistercian Order, for it is highly likely that this relationship, at least occasionally, affected his relationship with the houses in Wales and indeed in Ireland.

Despite numerous interactions between John and the Cistercian Order, there are several distinct periods in John's reign which are crucial in determining his wider relationships, namely in 1200, 1210 and 1212. Each of these was seemingly directly related to John's demands for money, which in turn was only demanded due to events which were beyond the control of the Cistercian Order. Even the reconciliations were seemingly not undertaken out of genuine remorse by John, but in the hope of 'saving face'. John's relationship with the Cistercian Order consequently can be seen on occasion as hinging upon and being directly related to wider political events. As will become clear throughout this discussion, John periodically used charters as a means of punishment and leverage in an attempt to get what he wanted from the Cistercian Order: that is, he revoked them in order to punish them and reinstated them as part of his reconciliations. In fact, as shall become clear in later chapters, John not only used charters as a means of punishment and reward for the Cistercian Order as a whole, but also for individual houses, whether it be a means of ensuring that house's support or as a means of cultivating a relationship with, or as a means of hurting, the house's patron.<sup>3</sup>

The source material available for each of these periods varies widely. The main source for the breach between John and the Cistercians in 1200 is rich, as the

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<sup>2</sup> For Wales, see chapter 3, pp. 94-7; For Ireland see chapter 5, pp. 174-5; For England, this is discussed throughout chapter 6.

<sup>3</sup> See these for example in relation to the abbeys of Strata Marcella, Strata Florida and Fountains, chapter 4, pp. 140-52, 159-63 and chapter 6, pp. 242-3.

breach is extensively discussed by the Cistercian chronicler Ralph of Coggeshall in his *Chronicon Anglicanum*, which is not only detailed and contemporary but also seemingly very reliable and surprisingly impartial in his dealing with the dispute. We are also fortunate in that for this dispute we have several other accounts, such as that contained in an account seemingly from Kirkstall abbey and also in Adam of Eynsham's *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis*.<sup>4</sup> Yet although all these accounts shall be included it shall be argued that Coggeshall's account is by far the most accurate. For the later breaches, we are heavily reliant on the various brief annalistic entries from various Cistercian houses, for although each event is discussed by Coggeshall regrettably his chronicle does not provide the grand narrative it did for 1200, as by these later periods it had reduced to what appears as mere annalistic entries.<sup>5</sup> Coggeshall's account of the 1200 breach covers some nine pages of printed text in the 1875 rolls series edition, compared to a single sentence for the 1210 breach and a mere three sentences for the 1212 breach.<sup>6</sup> Yet if we take the various accounts, as contained in these annals and the sermons written by John of Forde, holistically we are still able to provide an accurate depiction of events in 1210 and 1212.<sup>7</sup> Administrative material from the Pipe, Charter, Patent and Close Rolls are of some value, but this is somewhat reduced, for as shall be discussed later, certainly in the breach of 1200 and 1210, John's commands were sent to his officials by word of

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<sup>4</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 5, p. 682; trans. in Fowler, *A History of Beaulieu Abbey*, pp. 6-7. Adam of Eynsham, *Magna vita Sancti Hugonis*, ed. and trans. Decima L. Douie and David Hugh Farmer (Oxford, 1985), vol. 2, p. 232.

<sup>5</sup> For a greater discussion of Coggeshall and his chronicle, see David Carpenter, 'Abbot Ralph of Coggeshall's account of the last years of King Richard and the first years of King John', *English Historical Review* 113 (1998), 1210-30.

<sup>6</sup> Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 102-10, 163-5.

<sup>7</sup> The most detailed being the Annals of Stanley abbey, but those of Margam and Waverley are also valuable: *Ann. Stan.*, pp. 510-13; *Ann. Marg.*, pp. 29-32; *Ann. Wav.* 265-8; John of Forde, *Sermons on the Final Verses of the Song of Songs*, vol. 5, pp. 168-83. Cheney mistakenly suggests that this sermon, sermon 76 refers to the events of 1212 yet the sermon explicitly mentions John's invasion of Ireland, clearly dating the sermon to 1210: C. R. Cheney, 'King John and the papal interdict', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 31 (1948), 301n.

mouth rather than through these 'official' channels. Consequently the silence in the administrative records need not make the historian doubt the validity of these monastic writings. More than this, the letters patent do not survive before 1201, whilst letters close do not survive before 1204, so clearly for the breach of 1200 such sources are of no use whatsoever. Although we are heavily reliant on monastic annalists and chroniclers especially for the breach of 1200, this need not make us assume that we cannot come to an appreciation of events, for as long as we are careful to discern the wild accusations that some may contain, and place reliance only on what has been deemed the more reliable annals and those which are supported by other sources, it should still be possible to arrive at a convincing interpretation. It must however, be remembered that outside the specific years mentioned below, John seemingly had no particular relationship with the Cistercian Order in its entirety. For the most part their relationship was entirely neutral.

As noted above, the first discernible interaction between John and the wider Cistercian Order came in 1200. Soon after his accession, John was in desperate need of money. With a tenuous grip on the throne, due to the rival claims of his nephew Arthur of Brittany, John had no choice but to come to a peace agreement with the French King Philip Augustus. Augustus in return for acknowledging John as the rightful heir to the French Angevin lands demanded John not only acknowledge him as his overlord for these lands but also pay 20,000 marks.<sup>8</sup> In an attempt to raise this significant amount, John imposed a carucage of 3 shillings per plough, with Coggeshall noting the 'grave exaction, greatly thinned the people of the land'<sup>9</sup> Seemingly as part of this carucage, John at some point between 25-8 March, whilst

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<sup>8</sup> Chroniclers such as Coggeshall placed this as 30,000 marks: Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 101-2; Christopher Daniel, *From Conquest to Magna Carta, England 1066-1215* (New York, 2003), p. 48.

<sup>9</sup> '*gravis exactio valde populum terrae extenuavit*': Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 101.

at York, demanded a sum of money from the Cistercian abbots.<sup>10</sup> They refused however, fearful that this might set a precedent, arguing that they could only pay this with the advice and consent of their General Chapter.<sup>11</sup> This infuriated John. Possibly with the memory of how much money the Cistercian Order could contribute, demonstrated when the monks helped pay his brother Richard's ransom in 1193, John commanded his sheriffs, those who were present by word of mouth, those who were not by letters, to oppress the Order by whatever means they could.<sup>12</sup> 'They should trouble them, show them no justice in their injuries and claims nor assist them in their business, but refer everything else to the king.'<sup>13</sup> However, Hubert Walter the archbishop of Canterbury, a long time friend and ally of the

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<sup>10</sup> Although by no means certain that this demand was part of the carucage it is likely, for as shall be discussed in greater detail later, the abbot of Furness was to pay a significant sum for amongst others things, to be quit of the carucage: See below p. 41; *Pipe Roll 2 John*, p. 239. Moreover, although Coggeshall only recorded the place of the meeting, it must have been c.25-8 March. Despite the gaps in his itinerary, this remains the only time in 1200 that not only was John recorded as being at York, but the only time he could have been. Before and after this he was always a considerable distance away and therefore could not have made an unrecorded visit to York during one of these gaps: Itinerary, p. lxx. The entire account of the dispute which follows is summarised, unless otherwise stated, from Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 102-10.

<sup>11</sup> The suggestion that they had to gain permission from their General Chapter before they could pay a contribution was seemingly a common tactic employed by the Cistercian Order as they attempted to evade the various taxations imposed upon them. They used this again in 1210 and again in 1256: Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England: c.500-1307* (New York, 1996, repr. 2000), p. 415.

<sup>12</sup> Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 102; Sadly it is not clear how much the Cistercians contributed in 1193; *Ann. Wav.*, p. 248.

<sup>13</sup> 'ac molestias inferrent, ut de depressoribus ac calumniatoribus eorum nullam justitiam exhiberent, nec in aliquo negotio eis assisterent, sed totum ad regem referrent.': Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 102. John was not singling out the Order for his anger, for Geoffrey Archbishops of York's refusal to allow the carucage to be collected from his lands in 1200 and again in 1207 prompted a similar response namely extreme anger and retaliation, with the Archbishop of York being deprived of all his lands: Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 4, pp. 139-40; Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, vol. 1, p. 301, vol. 2, p. 35. It should be noted the remarkable similarity between this breach and the breach between the Cistercian Order and King Henry III in 1257. Matthew Paris describes how the Cistercian abbots were summoned before the king who then asked them for a sum of money. The Cistercians refused, stating they needed the permission of the whole Order. With this they departed and Henry in retaliation gave permission to the sheriffs, foresters and other royal agents to injure and harass all the abbots on any pretence: Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. 5, p. 610.

Cistercian Order, persuaded John against this, with John issuing new letters that presumably rescinded his earlier commands.<sup>14</sup>

Sadly for the Cistercians this was by no means the end of the matter. For as Coggeshall puts it, ‘he did not discard the animosity he bore towards them from his savage mind.’<sup>15</sup> Before John crossed to France, Archbishop Walter attempted to appease him further, offering on behalf of the Order 1,000 marks on condition that he confirm all charters and liberties that King Richard had confirmed to them. John was resoundingly unimpressed by this offer and totally rejected it, deeming it derisory.<sup>16</sup> It seems that during this time, at least one Cistercian abbey attempted to come to its own individual agreement with John. For Furness abbey gained a confirmation charter on 28 April, for which the monks had to pay the significant sum of £100, not only for the confirmation, but also so the abbey ‘may be quit of the aid of the carucage’.<sup>17</sup> John crossed the sea around 29 April and paid the king of France the money that was owed to him as part of the treaty of Le Goulet.<sup>18</sup> Seemingly therefore by this point he had raised the monies he required, yet this was not to mean that this signalled the end of their dispute.

John returned to England on 29 September. The next day he attended Westminster abbey, where his new wife, Isabella of Angouleme, was crowned. Before going to church in the morning, John ordered his chief forester Hugh de Neville and others to inform the Cistercians that within 15 days they must remove their stud horses, pigs and flocks, and all other animals from the royal forests and all

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<sup>14</sup> For Hubert Walter’s affection for the Cistercian Order see, Painter, *The Reign of King John*, p. 64.

<sup>15</sup> ‘*non tamen animositatem suam erga eos mens efferata deposuit*’: Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 103.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> ‘*sit quietus de auxilio carrucagii*’: *Pipe Roll 2 John*, p. 239; *Rot. Chart.*, p. 52b.

<sup>18</sup> Once again the date is not stated in Coggeshall, the date for his crossing has instead been taken from John’s itinerary: *Itinerary*, p. lxxii.



those that remained after this were to be sold for the king's use.<sup>19</sup> Clearly this was intended to increase the pressure on the Order to contribute. In response to which, according to Coggeshall, the monks of each house had little choice but to provide for their animals as best they could and to pray for divine intervention.<sup>20</sup> Once again however, the archbishop came to their aid, advising the abbots to meet at Lincoln for the king's arrival, namely on the eve of the feast of St Edmund [19 November], where together he hoped they could pacify the king.<sup>21</sup>

What happened next is clear: John made his peace with the Cistercians. The detail of this reconciliation is not clear, with numerous differing accounts, but the Coggeshall account is perhaps the most reliable. It is important to discern the events of this reconciliation, for it is only by doing this we can hope to come to any appreciation of why this reconciliation came about. The undated account taken from an unnumbered Cotton Manuscript that Dugdale believed to have belonged to the Cistercian abbey of Kirkstall, relates that at Lincoln, as the Cistercian abbots approached John in an attempt to regain royal favour, John ordered his servants to trample them under their horse's feet.<sup>22</sup> However, they refused, and the abbots wisely decided to return to their lodgings. That night John supposedly dreamt that he was led before a certain judge, with the Cistercian abbots standing there, the judge then ordered the abbots to beat John upon his back with scourges and rods, and on awakening John physically felt that he had been beaten. John related this, possibly to Hubert Walter, who told him that God was merciful to him beyond measure and had sent this dream in order to correct him and advised him to summon the abbots and beg for their pardon. He did so. As they were summoned the abbots feared they were

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<sup>19</sup> Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, pp. 103-4.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>21</sup> It is by no means clear which or how many abbots were intended to go to Lincoln: *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 5, p. 682.

to be banished, but the king had of course relaxed his anger due to God's intervention, for as the account explains God does not leave his own.<sup>23</sup> However, although an entertaining tale, it does seem that this is an embellished account from a Cistercian keen to emphasize the special favour God held them in, and even in a typical Angevin rage it seems implausible that John would order the abbots to be trampled under the feet of his servants' horses.<sup>24</sup> For, although angered, John was no fool, and he must have appreciated that doing so would only serve to alienate those whose support he desperately needed, namely the knightly class who still held the Order in high regard.<sup>25</sup> Another account is contained in Adam of Eynsham's *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis*, written shortly before 1214, which relates that John was so moved by the miracles and sight of the funeral of St. Hugh of Lincoln, that in the presence of some 50 assembled abbots, and out of veneration for the saint, he permanently remitted the tribute he exacted from them and promised to found a Cistercian house.<sup>26</sup> Although this account is also possible, it does seem that this account was written with the express purpose of showing how important and influential St. Hugh was even in death. For a possibly more faithful and certainly more credible account we have to return to that contained in Coggeshall.

Ralph of Coggeshall relates that the abbots did as Archbishop Hubert Walter requested, meeting the archbishop outside Lincoln on the feast of St Edmund [20 November], where Archbishop Walter was seemingly so humbled by the humility the abbots showed him, that he promised to aid them in any way he could. He

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<sup>23</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 5, p. 682; Fowler, *A History of Beaulieu Abbey*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>24</sup> For a discussion of Henry II's rages see, Nicholas Vincent, 'The Court of Henry II', in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 311-12.

<sup>25</sup> See below, p. 46.

<sup>26</sup> Gransden, *Historical Writing in England: c.500-1307*, p. 313; Eynsham, *Magna vita Sancti Hugonis*, vol. 2, p. 232.

advised that they should depart from the city and approach the king the following day. The archbishop then entered the city, leaving the abbots to discuss their situation on the plain outside. The abbots were divided, with some believing that they should pay the king in order to appease him, while others thought they should not, fearing it would mean that they would become regularly taxed. During this, the abbot of Meaux stepped forward with a letter he conveniently had on his person directed to the archbishop from the Chapter General, beseeching him to aid the Order and suggesting that it would be better for one branch of the Order to suffer shipwreck rather than be subject to undue royal exactions. With this the abbots decided that they should neither give nor promise the king money, for it could endanger the ancient liberties of the Order. The Order was in fact not forced to contribute money to the king, for the archbishop interceded with the king. Tact was seemingly one of Archbishop Walter's virtues, for on his first attempt to intercede with the king, as John intended to be bled he warned the abbots to avoid him.<sup>27</sup> Due to such delays and the meeting between John and the king of Scotland, the business with the abbots was put off until the first Sunday after the feast of St Edmund [26 November]. On this day after John heard mass, Archbishop Walter implored him to deal mercifully with the abbots, and after a short delay John summoned Archbishop Walter and they spoke together privately for some time. When they emerged the abbots were summoned before them, and Archbishop Walter told them that John had cast from his mind all anger and indignation which he held against them, and that the king asked for their forgiveness for whatever harm they may have incurred as a result of the disagreement. He also informed them that John asked them to intervene on his behalf so that he might be received into their brotherhood and that he had

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<sup>27</sup> Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 107.

decided to found a Cistercian monastery so that he would be remembered in life and in which he would be buried, and also promised to be a defender of their Order in all things.<sup>28</sup> The abbots then asked the king if he would send letters to his sheriffs to prevent them from doing further harm. John gladly agreed, issuing the letter then and restoring all that had been taken, taking the Cistercians' goods and possessions into his protection. During this breach, relations with individual abbeys were also affected, for grants to Cistercian abbeys almost entirely dried up after 27 March 1200 and did not resume until late 29 October.<sup>29</sup> This suggests that at least by 29 October, John had decided to come to some form of settlement with the Order, therefore before the 26 November Lincoln meeting.

Clearly this dispute was severe and long lasting, culminating in John backing down. This is at first glance surprising, for John would have hardly wished to appear weak at this time, and certainly needed the money, however, this sudden turnaround by John was not a genuine act of piety or remorse, but rather politically motivated. It was designed to regain Cistercian support and impress his piety and magnanimity, after he appreciated that the Cistercians would not back down. This would certainly explain why, after seemingly deciding to come to a settlement with the Order by late October with grants to them resuming from this point as a result, John waited until November to come to an outward settlement. For as Mayr-Harting suggests, John's

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<sup>28</sup> Although John did indeed ultimately found a Cistercian abbey, that of Beaulieu, he was buried in Worcester Cathedral, despite the best efforts of the abbey to procure his body. The monks even failed to receive his heart, which was instead sent to Fontevault abbey some 60 years later, to lay with, amongst others, his brother and father: John Steane, *The Archaeology of the Medieval English Monarchy* (London, 1999), p. 44.

<sup>29</sup> Between 27 March and 29 October, only four abbeys received anything: Croxden, Furness and two Welsh houses, Strata Florida and Strata Marcella. Although Paul Webster first noted this gap he argues the breach did not come until after April 11 and that grants did not resume until 24 November: Paul Webster, 'King John's Piety, c.1199-c.1216' (unpubl. PhD thesis, Cambridge, 2007), pp. 63-4. Yet Coggeshall is clear in dating the initial breach to 27 March and grants resumed from 29 October, with charters directed to St. Mary's abbey Dublin: *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, vol. 1, pp. 88-9; For a greater discussion about this argument and the charters to these two Welsh houses see below, chapter 3, pp. 94-6; chapter 4, p. 140.

outward display of humility was intended for widespread ‘publication’<sup>30</sup> What better place to ‘publicise’ his actions and piety, than at this Lincoln meeting, where according to Howden, some 3 archbishops, 12 bishops, 10 earls, the king of South Wales, the king of Scotland and numerous others were present.<sup>31</sup> Why John backed down is clear, as Mayr-Harting suggested, ‘The Cistercians were a highly influential group and John could ill afford to lose a propaganda battle with them as he was doing.’<sup>32</sup> As such he had little choice but to come to an agreement, especially when he appreciated that they were not going to back down, and on this occasion John blinked first. It also seems that John may have been correct to back down, for it does seem unlikely that the Cistercians would have, as they were extremely protective of their rights and privileges. There are few if any others which could have challenged the authority of Pope Innocent III and emerge victorious, but as we shall see later, in a conflict between the two over the privilege of being exempt from interdicts, the Cistercians certainly did. Mayr-Harting has argued that not only would the Cistercians not back down, John needed the Cistercians’ support, for they were still very influential, especially with the knightly classes, and as such John could ill afford to lose Cistercian support at a time when he was politically and financially weakened.<sup>33</sup> Clearly therefore, not only could disputes between the two arise due to wider political events, but they could also be resolved due to them.

Although the next fundamentally important period of interaction between John and the Cistercian Order occurred, as stated earlier, in 1210, this is not to say that there were no relations between John and the Order in the intervening ten years. It was in fact during 1202 that progress was finally made in the foundation of the

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<sup>30</sup> Mayr-Harting, *Religion, Politics and Society in Britain*, p. 163.

<sup>31</sup> Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 4, pp. 141-2.

<sup>32</sup> Mayr-Harting, *Religion, Politics and Society in Britain*, p. 163

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 163-5.

Cistercian house John promised to found as part of his settlement with the Cistercians in 1200, with Odo, abbot of La Ferté taking possession of the royal manor of Faringdon on 16 December.<sup>34</sup> Even accounting for the Cistercian insistence on inspecting prospective sites, it is clear John had delayed this foundation. Why John decided to found the house in 1202 was it seems, as Turner has argued, part of an attempt to gain papal support.<sup>35</sup> As part of which, John made a confession to Archbishop Hubert Walter for his sins who imposed a penance upon him. Walter then informed Innocent III of this, prompting Innocent to direct a letter to John on 27 March 1202 relating that Walter had informed him of John's confession to the archbishop who as a penance directed John to send one hundred knights to the holy land for a year and to found a Cistercian house.<sup>36</sup> Although nothing is heard of the knights, John did begin the process of founding a Cistercian house. Clearly John was willing to accept the financial loss this entailed in order to gain papal support for his efforts. It is clear that in 1202 John needed papal support, for he was faced with the resumption of hostilities with Philip Augustus, many nobles such as Fulk fitz Warin and William Marsh in open revolt and widespread desertions.<sup>37</sup> If this was his intent then it certainly worked, for on 7 May 1202 the pope wrote to the archbishop of Rouen condemning the Normans who had deserted John, and telling him that he should impose an ecclesiastical censure on those who failed to return their allegiance to John.<sup>38</sup>

Possibly hoping this progress with his Cistercian foundation would influence the Order, and faced with these renewed hostilities and once again in desperate need

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<sup>34</sup> *Ann. Wav.*, p. 254; *Ann. Marg.*, p. 266.

<sup>35</sup> Turner, *England's Evil King*, p. 114.

<sup>36</sup> *The Letters of Pope Innocent III, (1198-1216)*, no. 398, p. 65.

<sup>37</sup> Painter, *The Reign of King John*, pp. 157-8. The 1202 situation is discussed in greater detail in chapter 4, pp. 134-5, 152-9.

<sup>38</sup> *The Letters of Pope Innocent III, (1198-1216)*, no. 409, p. 66.

of money, John sent two letters to the Cistercian Order in 1202. The first of 7 July directed to the Cistercian abbots of York and Canterbury, the second, of 11 December directed to all Cistercian abbots in England.<sup>39</sup> In both letters John implored the abbots to aid him in his battle against what he describes as the treaty-breaking king of France, by providing him with a loan, the value of which is not set, but it seems likely that John wanted all he could possibly get from them. Despite the fact that in the first letter, John promised them that he would repay them the money according to the terms they set and that he would feel bound to aid them kindly and effectually in their affairs when they might require it, which is clearly an indication that John would support those who supported him, it would appear that this was rejected. For John was forced to send the second letter, once again imploring them for their aid. It seems possible that the reason for their initial refusal was that, as in 1200, they feared a precedent being set and them being taxed continually hereafter, and John therefore tried to assure them that this would not happen.<sup>40</sup> Although not clear, it does appear that the Cistercians once again rejected this request, for no annal refers to contributing towards any such loan, no letter is extant which refers to the repayment of a loan to the Cistercians nor does any reference appear in the financial records. The only evidence suggesting they did contribute is a reference in the *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis* under the year 1203 that relates, 'Concerning the Cistercian monks who this year in England paid tithes, we commit the lord of Cîteaux who may suitably correct and amend.'<sup>41</sup> Although this reference refers to a payment in 1203 this may refer to John's 1202 request, for it would take time for the Cistercians to raise and pay the money. Yet with the

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<sup>39</sup> *Foedera*, vol. 1, p. 87; *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 14.

<sup>40</sup> *Foedera*, vol. 1, p. 87.

<sup>41</sup> 'De monachis cisterciensibus qui hoc anno in Anglia solverunt decimas, committitur domino cistercii qui digne corrigat et emendet': *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, vol. 1, p. 287.

combination of their intransience when asked for money previously due to their protection of their privileges, the current economic climate, with widespread crop failures in 1202 and 1203 due to heavy rainfall that resulted in at least one abbey dispersing, and the lack of internal and external evidence it seems unlikely they contributed.<sup>42</sup> Surprisingly John seemingly accepted this rejection, with no evidence of forced extortions of money, seizure of property or the rescinding of charters, which lies in stark contrast to John's reaction to their rejection in 1210.<sup>43</sup> Why John reacted this way in 1202 is by no means clear, for it does seem unlikely he would have taken the economic situation of the Order into account. Rather it seems more likely that the last time John 'played chicken' with the Cistercian Order when he had been forced into a climb-down was still firmly ingrained within his memory and he therefore deemed another confrontation pointless. At the same time he appreciated that just as before, he could not afford to alienate the Cistercians and as such risk the support of the knightly class who supported them, especially at a time of renewed conflict and widespread desertion. King John was desperately attempting to ensure the support of those around him and certainly would not want to alienate them or the pope, whose support John had just ensured by finally founding his promised Cistercian house, for what could just be another fruitless confrontation with the Cistercian Order. John was not to explicitly ask the Cistercians for aid again until 1210.

Although John had in 1200 given the Cistercians his manor of Faringdon, and his hunting lodge there, in which to found a house, for whatever reason, whether it be the lack of an adequate water supply or it was too close to centres of population or

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<sup>42</sup> *Ann. Wav.*, p. 254. The monks at Waverley meanwhile were forced to disperse in 1203, *Ann. Wav.*, p. 255. Whilst the annals of Margam described a great famine in Wales in 1203, *Ann. Marg.*, p. 26.

<sup>43</sup> See below, pp. 54-61.



a combination of the two, the Cistercians moved to a site in Hampshire. This site acquired the name of Beaulieu, with Faringdon being reduced to a grange. The next interaction between John and the entire Order occurs in August 1204 and was in regard to this new abbey, when he entreated them to aid his foundation of Beaulieu, in particular reference to stocking it with animals.<sup>44</sup> Even in this there is a suggestion in a clause at the very end of the letter that those who aided his abbey might well then enjoy better relations with John and might be rewarded for their help, for why else would John ask for letters to be sent to him informing him of who aided his foundation?<sup>45</sup> Both these occasions, the 1202 loan request and this 1204 request, demonstrate that not all of John's contacts with the wider Cistercian Order had terrible results and in both cases there was a suggestion that John would aid or reward those who supported him in his aim, whether by raising money or stocking his abbey.<sup>46</sup>

Although John granted the abbot of Beaulieu 107½ marks to go on John's business to the Cistercian Chapter General in August 1205, we are sadly ignorant as to the reason, and it is not until 1207 that the relationship between John and the Cistercian Order is again brought into focus.<sup>47</sup> In 1207 John summoned amongst others the bishops, abbots, priors and earls to meet him in London on 8 January 1207, at which John asked them for a fixed sum of their revenues, they unsurprisingly refused. John met them again in early February and again they refused. Yet this was to little effect, for the tax, known as the thirteenth, was levied

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<sup>44</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 32b.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> With no evidence as to which if any abbeys provided John with a loan in 1202 or responded to his 1204 request, it is not possible to judge if he did indeed reward houses that supported his efforts. It is demonstrated later however, how abbeys were treated differently depending on if they supported or defied John's will. See below for particular reference to this in regards to Fountains abbey, Yorkshire, see chapter 6, pp. 242-3, 249.

<sup>47</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 47b.

regardless;<sup>48</sup> although the official writ on the Patent Roll directs that the tax should only be levied upon laymen it was levied on abbeys as well.<sup>49</sup> Both Roger Wendover and the *Annals of Stanley* relate under the year 1207 that a thirteenth was imposed upon bishops, abbots, priors and all ecclesiastics as well as the laity.<sup>50</sup> The Benedictine houses paid considerable sums, with for example the abbot of Abingdon paying 600 marks.<sup>51</sup> Yet it is by no means clear whether this tax was exacted from the Cistercians. However, the Waverley abbey annals stating under 1207, ‘from this exaction the Cistercian Order was free’ certainly indicates that the Cistercians were exempted from this taxation, suggesting either that John had learnt from his previous failed attempts to gain money from the Cistercian Order, or that this exemption is a sign of favour.<sup>52</sup> Yet it seems from a close letter of 3 June 1207 that at least one Cistercian house was forced to pay the thirteenth, namely Furness abbey. For the letter directed to the sheriff of Lancaster informs him to return the lands of Stalemine and Stapelterne to the abbey of which they were disseised by John’s order for their default on the thirteenth.<sup>53</sup> Sidney Painter seemingly unwilling or unable to account for the clear anomaly of a house from a supposed exempt Order paying the thirteenth, misinterpreted the letter, suggesting that it was evidence that Furness was being punished for concealing laymens’ chattels.<sup>54</sup> It does appear however that, at

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<sup>48</sup> *Ann. Wav.*, p. 258; *Pipe Roll 9 John*, p. xvii.

<sup>49</sup> *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 72; *Pipe Roll 9 John*, p. xvii.

<sup>50</sup> Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, vol. 2, p. 35; *Ann. Stan.*, p. 509.

<sup>51</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 84b.

<sup>52</sup> ‘*ab hac exactione liber fuit ordo Cisterciensis.*’: *Ann. Wav.*, pp. 258-9.

<sup>53</sup> Given the importance of this letter it is worth noting it in full: ‘*Rex Vicecomiti Lancastrie etc, Precipimus tibi quod reddas abbati et monachis de Furnesio terras suas de Stalemine et de Stapelterne cum pertinentiis unde dissaisiti fuerunt per preceptum nostrum pro defalta tredecimorum, et scire facias Hugonen de Neville precium catallorum predictarum terrarum que vendita sunt eadem occasione, quia volumus quod precium illud computetur eisdem monachis in debito quod nobis debent et illud eis habere facias, et si quid residuum fuerit ultra debitum illud quod nobis debent, ad opus nostrum retineas. Teste. me ipso apud Wudestok, iii. die Junii.*’: *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 85.

<sup>54</sup> ‘The Cistercian abbey of Furness was also suspected of concealing laymens chattels [...] Two of its estates were seized and the chattels on them sold, the Sheriff of Lancashire was ordered to

least from the evidence we have, Furness was the only Cistercian house to be compelled to pay this tax, and as such this seems to be evidence not of John's interaction with the Cistercian Order, but instead of a personal dynamic acting upon his relationship with Furness.<sup>55</sup>

Unsurprisingly the interdict laid upon John in 1208 directly affected the relationship between the two, but perhaps not in the way that may be expected. It appears that after the pronouncement John had a significant amount of Cistercian and other religious houses lands seized into his hands. This was not to remain the case for long however. For it seems that the Cistercians, due to their privileges, deemed themselves immune from the interdict and after a brief lull carried on celebrating services. The Cistercian Order at their Chapter General of 1208 sentenced the abbots of England to three days bread and water for obeying the interdict, with only the abbots of Meaux, Beaulieu and Margam being exempt, as they had not obeyed the interdict and as such stood for the liberties of the Order.<sup>56</sup> Possibly because John interpreted this as the Cistercians supporting him in his conflict, whilst staying at the Cistercian house of Waverley on 4 April 1208, John issued letters restoring without delay all lands, rents and effects to the Cistercian Order throughout England which had been seized on account of the interdict.<sup>57</sup> Perhaps unsurprisingly the pope was less than impressed when he learned of the Cistercian refusal to obey the interdict. This resulted in a battle of wills between an Order desperate to ensure its privileges and a pope determined to apply as much pressure on John as possible. A somewhat

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credit the money received for the chattels against the abbey's debts to the crown and to keep any balance for the king's use': Painter, *The Reign of King John*, pp. 133-4.

<sup>55</sup> The relationship between John and Furness abbey is explored in chapter 6, pp. 216-9.

<sup>56</sup> *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, vol. 1, p. 351.

<sup>57</sup> It seems likely that the Cistercians were merely protecting their privileges rather than supporting John, whom they had little reason to favour especially given their earlier interactions: *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 108b.

bitter dispute resulted with Pope Innocent III issuing a letter on 3 February 1209, in which he chastised the head of the Cistercian Order, Arnold abbot of Cîteaux the legate of the apostolic see, for calling into question the power of the bishops of London and informing him that despite the privileges the Cistercians were to obey the interdict.<sup>58</sup> This was by no means the end of the matter for the Cistercians still seemingly refused. At some point between 19-21 February Innocent sent letters to the bishops of England informing them that they are to compel the Cistercians to obey and another letter to Arnold abbot of Cîteaux on 21 February, not only informing him of the letter sent to the English bishops but also threatening him with severe penalties if he disobeyed again.<sup>59</sup> Even with these threats the Cistercians still disobeyed, and finally on 6 March Innocent sent two new letters, the first to the abbots of Cîteaux, La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux and Morimond urging them to bear the interdict and stressing the need not to show weakness to the king, the second to the bishops of London, Ely and Worcester informing them that if it can be done without scandal, to mitigate the rigours of the interdict for the Cistercians according to their privileges.<sup>60</sup>

Seemingly, due to the continuing refusal of the Cistercians to obey the interdict, John continued to show them favour. Although due to the virtual total loss of administrative records and our associated reliance on later confirmations we cannot know for sure, it seems that Cistercian houses continued to receive charters during this time, with Rievaulx receiving a grant for certain rights in August 1208

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<sup>58</sup> *The Letters of Pope Innocent III, (1198-1216)*, no. 839, pp. 138-9.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 842, 843, p. 139.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 844, 845, p. 139.

and Kirkstead abbey receiving a confirmation in June 1209.<sup>61</sup> John also allowed them to escape his taxations in 1209. Instead, in this year it was the Benedictines from whom money was extorted. The Waverley abbey annalist noted that on 2 November King John commanded John fitz Hugh to send two knights through all Sussex to seize all the rents of the black monks and to make a valuation of all their rents so that the monks could receive their necessary food from the hands of laymen.<sup>62</sup> Although we only know of this seizure in any great detail due to its recording in the *Annals of Waverley*, it seems likely that similar such seizures occurred throughout the country, and this is suggested by the Barnwell annalist.<sup>63</sup>

Despite being exempted from John's exactions in 1207 and 1209, the Cistercians were not so fortunate in 1210. Why this was, given that there is little evidence that the Cistercian position had changed and they had begun to obey the interdict in this year, shall be explored later.<sup>64</sup> Although John reacted with surprising, if not astonishing good grace when the Cistercians seemingly refused to assist him in 1202, he was by no means in the same mood in 1210. The exact course of the dispute is by no means certain, yet it seems clear that the initial breach came before John went to Ireland and was not resolved until shortly after he returned for this course of events is supported by the accounts in the Stanley, Waverley and Margam annals and also that given by John of Forde.<sup>65</sup> Although mentioned in these other sources, the *Annals of Stanley* provides the most detailed account of this dispute. It relates that John summoned the Cistercian abbots to meet him at York, and they came before

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<sup>61</sup> *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 85b. As well as surviving within a 1252 confirmation, the original Kirkstead abbey charter survives: *C.Ch.R.*, vol. 1. pp. 383-4; The National Archives (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO) E 211/338/P.

<sup>62</sup> *Ann. Wav.*, p. 264.

<sup>63</sup> *Memoriale Walteri de Coventria*, vol. 2, p. 200.

<sup>64</sup> See below pp. 58-60.

<sup>65</sup> *Ann. Stan.*, pp. 510-11; *Ann. Wav.*, p. 265; *Ann. Marg.*, p. 30; John of Forde, *Sermons on the Final Verses of the Song of Songs*, vol. 5, p. 171.

him on the appointed day. He met them at some point between 27-30 March 1210, and again asked them to provide him with an unspecified sum of money, with which he could recover and defend his lands.<sup>66</sup> However, their answer was, as in all cases before, a resounding and unequivocal no. John of Forde relates that they once again feared that this would encroach on their privileges and wanted to wait until they received an answer from their General Chapter.<sup>67</sup> Whilst the *Annals of Stanley* relates that they answered with one voice that they did not have any money themselves in their power, they were only the dispensers of alms, which had been granted to the monks to aid the maimed, the fatherless, widows and orphans and not to pay the king's rent or for him to use to pay his soldiers. John then exploded in fury, commanding that all the charters and liberties given to them whether by himself or his predecessors would be void, and also took away all their goods and pastures and lands.<sup>68</sup> It is also likely that it was at this meeting that John prevented the abbots from attending their General Chapter.<sup>69</sup>

After this March meeting it seems that John met again with the Cistercians to discuss this problem, namely at Northampton c.25-7 April 1210, yet the problem was not resolved.<sup>70</sup> After this although John travelled south and through Wales and

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<sup>66</sup> *Ann. Stan.*, pp. 510-11. The date is once again not included, but it was only on these three days that according to the itinerary deduced by Hardy, John was at York in 1210: Itinerary, p. lxxi.

<sup>67</sup> John of Forde, *Sermons on the Final Verses of the Song of Songs*, vol. 5, p. 170.

<sup>68</sup> *Ann. Stan.*, pp. 510-11.

<sup>69</sup> Although it is not clear in the sources when John ordered that the abbots were to be prevented from attending their General Chapter in 1210, it must have been at this meeting rather than at the London meeting in October, for the General Chapter meets in mid September, around Holy Cross Day (14 September), and the later meeting would have quite simply been too late to issue this prohibition: *Twelfth-Century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter*, ed. Chrysogonus Waddell (Cîteaux, 2002), p. 37; Burton and Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, p. 88. It is clear from the *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis* that the abbots were absent from the General Chapter in 1210, for although various English abbots are committed to do various things, they are to be informed of this by others, particularly the abbot of Clairvaux and Savigny: *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, vol. 1, pp. 374-7.

<sup>70</sup> John of Forde relates this meeting, although he does not include the date it must be around those indicated here, for according to King John's itinerary it is only at these dates that he was at

crossed to Ireland [c.16-19 June] this was by no means the end of the trouble for the Cistercians, for it seems that the rescinding of charters and preventing them from attending their General Chapter, was once again intended as a means of increasing the pressure on the Cistercians to aid the king. When he returned from Ireland [26 August], it seems that his patience was at an end.<sup>71</sup> John of Forde certainly supports this for he relates that ‘For a few days, while he lingered in Ireland, our trial held fire, but all the time, the fear of his coming judgement and a sort of terrible sense of expecting a sentence made our hearts very anxious.’<sup>72</sup> John of Forde was correct for the sentence was imposed upon them shortly after his return. According to the somewhat later Roger Wendover, John immediately marched to London, where he ordered all the ‘abbots, priors, abbesses, Templars, Hospitallers, the keepers of the estates of the Cluniac Order and of other regions across the sea, men of every dignity and order’ should meet him.<sup>73</sup> At this assembly [c.27-8 October] John compelled them all to pay what Wendover calls ‘heavy ransoms’, raising some 100,000 marks, whilst the Cistercians alone were forced to pay in total some 40,000 pounds of silver.<sup>74</sup> Although somewhat later it does seem that Wendover’s account is accurate. Not only is John’s visit to London, namely the Tower of London, soon after his return from Ireland assured by his itinerary, but the account is also supported to some extent by the *Annals of Stanley*, which relates that on his return, he commanded that all the abbeys should give money, some more, others less,

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Northampton after his initial meeting with the Cistercians in March: John of Forde, *Sermons on the Final Verses of the Song of Songs*, vol. 5, p. 181; Itinerary, p. lxvi.

<sup>71</sup> The dates of this Northampton meeting are taken from his itinerary: Itinerary, p. liii. The date of his crossing and return to and from Ireland is however taken from the additions to his itinerary made by Kanter: Julie Kanter, ‘Peripatetic and sedentary kingship: The itineraries of the thirteenth-century English kings’ (unpubli. PhD thesis, King’s College London, 2011), pp. 619, 621.

<sup>72</sup> John of Forde, *Sermons on the Final Verses of the Song of Songs*, vol. 5, p. 171.

<sup>73</sup> ‘abbates, priores, abbatissae, Templarii, Hospitalarii, custodes villarum ordinis Cluniacensis et aliarum regionum transmarinarum cuicumque dignitatis et ordinis’: Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, vol. 2, p. 57.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

according to his will.<sup>75</sup> Refusal was also on this occasion not an option, with John of Forde relating that if they had refused they would have to ‘take farewell’ to their monasteries.<sup>76</sup> Some abbeys therefore paid what they owed, whilst others did not, with John of Forde relating that some held, ‘that it is better to let these men seize whatever they please, rather than become themselves collaborators with thieves and agents in these acts of plunder.’<sup>77</sup> It certainly seems that if they did not pay willingly then their goods and abbey were seized by the king’s men. For the chronicle of the Cistercian abbey of Meaux relates that in response to their abbot’s refusal to contribute, their abbey was seized by the king’s officials, which resulted in the monks being forced to seek refuge elsewhere, only being able to return to normal with the resignation of their abbot and the payment of a 1,000 mark fine.<sup>78</sup> The amount John extorted from the Cistercian Order in total is by no means clear, although as related earlier Wendover suggests some 40,000 pounds of silver, the *Annals of Stanley* relates some 30,000 marks whilst the *Annals of Margam* gives some 27,000 marks, as the fines were not noted on any financial records we can never be sure.<sup>79</sup> We are therefore reliant on the few houses who recorded the amount they personally paid and those who suggested an Order-wide amount, as Margam and Stanley did. The amount individual houses were fined was extremely high it seems, with the *Annals of Waverley* relating that some abbeys were destroyed with monks and *conversi* scattered throughout the province.<sup>80</sup> Whilst John of Forde relates that given the amount his abbey was compelled to pay and the short time they

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<sup>75</sup> *Ann. Stan.*, p. 512.

<sup>76</sup> John of Forde, *Sermons on the Final Verses of the Song of Songs*, vol. 5, p. 171.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> This is discussed in greater detail later, see chapter 6, pp. 250-52.

<sup>79</sup> *Ann. Marg.*, p. 30; *Ann. Stan.*, p. 512.

<sup>80</sup> *Ann. Wav.*, p. 265.



were given, they were forced to sell their possessions for practically nothing. He goes on to relate that,

[...] there was a great selling: oxen who were but yesterday pulling the plough, were released from the yoke, and cows, with calves and heifers, sheep too, and any other animals we had, estates and rents, even the very clothes the community had to wear, not to mention our very food, our books as well, and our sacred vessels, all, all were sold.<sup>81</sup>

It is worth noting at this point that although John ordered this seizure from the entire Order in late October, it did take some time for the individual houses to be compelled. To give some idea, the Waverley annals relates that it was not until around the Feast of St. Martin [11 November], and therefore some two weeks after the seizure was ordered, that their abbot was forced to flee into the night in fear of the king, a clear indication that it was around this time that this abbey was visited by the king's officials to enforce payment.<sup>82</sup> Whilst those abbots who deemed it better to pay willingly than to wait for the king's men to seize what they wanted were given a set time. The abbot and monks of Forde were given in total some 11 weeks to pay their 750-mark fine.<sup>83</sup> Late payment was also unwise, with John of Forde relating that the king told one of his fellow abbots that 'to be one day late would cost him a hundred marks.'<sup>84</sup>

Why John extorted this money in 1210 despite excusing them the exactions of 1207 and 1209 is unclear. However, John's reaction may well have differed from his breach in 1200 due to various changes in circumstance. The Cistercians in 1210 no longer had their long-time friend and ally, Hubert Walter, to fight their corner and use his influence as he did in 1200, for he had died in 1205, instead his council was

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<sup>81</sup> John of Forde, *Sermons on the Final Verses of the Song of Songs*, vol. 5, p. 180.

<sup>82</sup> *Ann. Wav.*, p. 265.

<sup>83</sup> John of Forde, *Sermons on the Final Verses of the Song of Songs*, vol. 5, p. 180.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

replaced by Richard Marsh who was seemingly no friend of the Cistercians.<sup>85</sup> The influence of Hubert Walter upon John in regard to the Cistercian Order is clear, demonstrated not only during the breach of 1200, but also by the fact that a confirmation charter issued to the Cistercian Order, confirming the gifts they had of Hubert Walter, was cancelled due to the death of Walter.<sup>86</sup> Seemingly John was issuing this charter at the request of Walter and as such is a clear demonstration of Walter's influence. For if this charter was being given at the bequest of the Cistercians themselves it is likely that they would have wanted the gifts confirmed, especially after the death of the grantor. It is also possible that John quite simply exploded in genuine rage at their reply to his request, namely that their money was to aid the orphans and the widows and not to pay soldiers, which could be interpreted as a discourteous, critical and in many ways condescending reply, and it is not difficult to imagine John's reaction at being spoken to in this way. However, as it was several months after this that John eventually extorted the money from the Cistercians, it seems unlikely that anger, even Angevin anger, could last that long. Not only had the Cistercians lost their long-time ally, their position with the king himself had also altered by 1210. As argued previously John excused them from his various exactions as they were not observing the interdict, and although they did not at any point start to observe it, the Cistercians seemingly withdrew from court on John's excommunication and it is perhaps this that caused John to pursue the Cistercians in this way.<sup>87</sup> Therefore, when John needed to raise money for his Irish

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<sup>85</sup> Robert C. Stacey, 'Walter, Hubert (d. 1205)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 57, p. 163.

<sup>86</sup> *Rot. Chart.*, p. 154.

<sup>87</sup> The fact that the Cistercians did not obey the interdict is demonstrated by only two houses, Dore and Meaux having confiscated lands returned in 1213; indicating Cistercian lands were not seized *en masse* and by association suggests that the Cistercians did not obey the interdict. Although it is true that two Cistercian abbeys had their lands seized it seems that this was due to the personal interactions between these two houses and John: *Rot. Lit. Claus*, pp. 148b, 150.

expedition in 1210, he had no reason to exempt the Cistercian Order, with his anger towards them for withdrawing from his court and his financial need outweighing any previous concern of alienating the supporters of the Order. The Cistercians themselves seem to lay much of the blame on Richard Marsh, a royal clerk, with the chronicle of Meaux abbey noting that not only was it Marsh who was in charge of the exaction but also it was upon his council that the king relied.<sup>88</sup> Whilst the Fountains abbey chronicler goes further exclaiming, ‘The kindler and inciter of this wrong was Richard de Marisco, [...] of whom much must be told in his place and whose memory will never die so long as the Cistercian Order lasts in the world.’<sup>89</sup> Although the absence of Walter’s influence which had been replaced by Richard Marsh may be a contributing factor, it seems that they were treated so differently in 1210 due to a combination of their withdrawal from court and John’s desperate need of money, resulting in John being willing to alienate the Cistercians and those who supported them.

Despite the severity of this breakdown in relations, it does suggest that individual relations varied, with the *Annals of Stanley* relating how the amount individual abbeys were charged was dependant on the king’s will. This certainly seems to have been the case, with the abbeys of Margam and Beaulieu escaping the taxation altogether, whilst as noted earlier Meaux abbey was forced to disperse and

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For a discussion surrounding John’s relationship with Dore and Meaux see, chapter 3, pp. 104, 106-7, 108-9, 118-20; chapter 6, pp. 250-2. Only the abbots of Bindon and Beaulieu stayed at John’s side during his excommunication. For a discussion of the relationship between John and the abbots of Beaulieu and Bindon during this time, see, chapter 6, pp. 244-46, 256-7.

<sup>88</sup> *Chron. Melsa.*, p. 326. Richard Marsh was not only involved in the exactions from the Cistercians, for Matthew Paris relates how it was he who oppressed abbot John I of the Benedictine house of St Albans for payment to regain royal favour: Matthew Paris, *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley (London, 1867), vol. 1, pp. 242-3. For a detailed history of Richard Marsh and his involvement at John’s court see Robert C. Stacey, ‘Marsh, Richard (d. 1226)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 36, pp. 807-8.

<sup>89</sup> ‘*Narratio de Fundatione Fontanis Monasterii, in Comitatu Eboracensi*’: *Memorials of the Abbey of St Mary of Fountains I*, ed. J. R. Walbran, Surtees Society 42 (1863), p. 126; trans. in A. W. Oxford, *The Ruins of Fountains Abbey* (London, 1910), p. 228.

had to pay a significant sum and the abbot of Waverley fled into the night in fear of the king's officials, with his abbey also forced to temporarily disperse.<sup>90</sup>

This 1210 breach was the watershed in the relations between John and the wider Order. Before this, as we have seen, John had been less than willing to force them to contribute, but after this he certainly had no qualms in doing so again. Yet not all extortions were monetary: during 1212 it was charters and carts that John wrested from the Order. It should be noted that unlike after the 1200 dispute, John and the Cistercian Order did not come to a settlement. It is possible therefore that although the next period of serious negative relations we know of comes in 1212, John held the entire Order in disfavour through 1210 and 1211. Given that we do not know of a single grant or charter given to a Cistercian house by John in 1211, whether extant or within a later confirmation, this is certainly possible. Yet given the missing evidence due to the loss of all chancery records for this year we can by no means be certain. What we do know however is that in 1212 King John extorted letters from the Cistercians, forcing them to say that they had resigned their property to him voluntarily, as opposed to John having forcibly confiscated it from them. Although numerous sources including Coggeshall and the *Annals of Stanley* make reference to letters and charters being extorted from the Cistercian Order in 1212, only the *Annals of Waverley* gives the text of at least one of the letters that John attempted to extort.<sup>91</sup> These were of course part of his wider attempt to reconcile

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<sup>90</sup> These individual relations will be discussed in far greater detail later. See chapter 4, 136-40; chapter 6, pp. 250-3.

<sup>91</sup> Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 165; *Ann. Stan.*, p. 513. '*Noverit universitas vestra nos bono animo remisisse, et omnino gratuita voluntate quietum clamasse dilecto et venerabili domino nostro Johanni regi Angliae, totam pecuniam, et quicquid honoris et obsequii domus nostra ei contulit, a prima coronatione sua usque ad festum natalis beatae Mariae, anno regni ejusdem regis domini nostri xiv., videlicet quicquid ei contulimus, sive ad petitionem ejusdem domini nostri Johannis, sive sine petitione ejus aliqua, sive alio quocunque modo de facultatibus domus nostrae illud habuit; et ei praedicta omnia quieta clamavimus, et de caetero non repetemus. Et ne aliquis haec praedicta dona et obsequia gratuita exactiones appellare valeat vel extorsiones, hanc cartam*

with the Church and to have the excommunication, which had been placed upon his kingdom several years previously, lifted. Although at first glance it may seem odd to suggest that this extortion from a religious order was part of John's wider reconciliation with the church, it makes more sense when we consider that as part of the reconciliation John would have to make reparation to the Church and restore all that he had taken, and clearly the extortion of these letters was an attempt to ensure that he lost as little money and land as possible.<sup>92</sup> This was by no means the end of the interaction between John and the Order in 1212, for in the same year, John extorted horses and long carts from the Order, with the *Annals of Stanley* relating that not only did each abbey have to prepare a Long Cart with the five best horses for the king, but he also commanded some of the greater abbeys to prepare two carts with ten horses for his service with their appurtenances or equipment.<sup>93</sup> We are also not wholly reliant on the annalist for evidence of this breach, with a letter close of 19 July 1212 directed to the sheriff of York, directing him to return the two carts supplied by the abbot of Byland because they did not have good horses, and as a result they were to provide three good carts with good horses, which may well be a reference to this breach.<sup>94</sup> Although by no means clear what these were intended for, it is possible that they were intended to be used in the aborted invasion of Wales in 1212.<sup>95</sup>

Although it is clear why John attempted to extort letters in 1212, it is less clear why John extorted horses and carts from the Order. Although John may well have needed the carts it does seem unlikely that this is the first time he needed such

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*nostram praedicto domino nostro regi Johanni in testimonium praedictae gratuita voluntatis nostrae contulimus.*: *Ann. Wav.*, p. 268.

<sup>92</sup> It is worth noting however that we are not aware how successful, if at all, these letters were.

<sup>93</sup> *Ann. Stan.*, p. 513.

<sup>94</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 120b.

<sup>95</sup> For a discussion of this abandoned invasion, see below chapter 4, pp. 159-60.

equipment, and as such, this extortion does seem to be evidence of a breach with the Order. It is possible that the extortion of horses and carts was part of a wider breach with the Order, for according to Coggeshall also in 1212 John extorted some £22,000 from the Cistercians in reparation for the damages inflicted upon his brother-in-law, Raymond VI of Toulouse, on account of the Albigensian Crusade which was led against him.<sup>96</sup> We have little in the way of associated evidence for this extortion. Yet it remains plausible, if not likely, not only because as stated earlier Coggeshall is generally a reliable account of events in John's reign, but also because of the fact that it associates the extortion with the Cistercian involvement with the Albigensian crusade. Members of the Cistercian Order were active participants in this crusade, perhaps best demonstrated by the fact that Arnold Amaury the abbot of Cîteaux was in charge of the direction of the Albigensian Crusade, and in fact it was he, who at the siege of Béziers allegedly uttered the now infamous phrase 'Kill them all; God will know his own.'<sup>97</sup> As Chazon suggested, King John was not in favour of this crusade and this is demonstrated by the defection of Walloon Alard II de Strepy from the crusaders in May 1213. Strepy was a vassal of John and as a result may well have been instructed not to take part in the Crusade, however this can only be speculation.<sup>98</sup> It would not be surprising if John attempted to aid Raymond, for not only was he family, he would also be protecting his own interests in France. Raymond was undoubtedly loyal to John. He had given homage to John in 1200 as

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<sup>96</sup> Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 164.

<sup>97</sup> Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, trans. H. Von E. Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland (London, 1929), vol. 1, pp. 343-7; Andrew Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States* (Longman, 2004), p. 172; Richard William Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, 1970), p. 270.

<sup>98</sup> Robert Chazan, 'Pope Innocent III, John of England and the Albigensian crusade (1209-16)', in, *Pope Innocent III and his world*, ed. John C. Moore (Aldershot, 1999), pp. 208-9.

Duke of Aquitaine, and aided John in previous years, sending men in 1204 to help John at the siege of Falaise in Normandy.<sup>99</sup>

Although Coggeshall dates this alleged extortion to 1212, it seems that if this exaction from the Cistercians did take place it would be more likely to have happened in the year 1213, for according to Coggeshall, Raymond fled to England and sought refuge and aid from John after his and his allies' defeat at the hands of the crusading army led by Simon IV de Montfort at the battle of Muret (12 September 1213). According to Coggeshall, in England Raymond received 10,000 marks from John, which was part of the £22,000 John had fined the Cistercian Order because of their support for the crusade.<sup>100</sup> There are in fact two references in the patent rolls to money being granted to the count of Toulouse, namely 15 December 1213 at Reading and also 16 January 1214 at Winchester, so clearly at least in respect to money being paid to Raymond, Coggeshall was correct.<sup>101</sup> It remains possible that John extorted the money from the Cistercians as Coggeshall said in 1212 with John paying it out in 1213, but as no other sources mentions this extortion we cannot be sure. Yet the very fact that other sources mention the extortion of charters and carts but not the money, suggests that either this extortion was not applied Order-wide or simply that the Cistercians regarded the forced extortion of charters and carts as more worthy of note than the extortion of money.

Throughout the above analysis of John's relationship with the Cistercians Order-wide, it has become clear that there were periods of extreme negative relations, particularly in the years 1200, 1210 and 1212. The breaches of 1200 and

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<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 207.

<sup>100</sup> Chazan, 'Pope Innocent III, John of England and the Albigensian crusade (1209-16)', p. 210; Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 164.

<sup>101</sup> Chazan, 'Pope Innocent III, John of England and the Albigensian crusade (1209-16)', p. 210; *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, pp. 106, 108.

1210 were directly related to John's insatiable need for money, whilst that of 1212 was part of the wider reconciliation with the church and also seemingly John's attempt to punish the Order for its support of the Albigensian crusade. Each conflict was also a conflict of wills between John and the Order, and although John backed down first in 1200, as a result of the intervention of Hubert Walter and John's need of Cistercian support, in 1210 and 1212 John's will was irresistible and the Cistercians suffered greatly as a result. Given the nature and ferocity of these breaches it seems almost certain that they would have affected John's relations with houses in Wales and Ireland. These would have been, at least on occasion, directly affected. Hence, when houses in Wales, Ireland or even England were explicitly spared from John's ire at the wider Order as Margam and Beaulieu were in 1210, it appears that there were other factors at play, rather than merely John's relations with the wider Order.



## CHAPTER 2

### THE 'WELSH' AND 'IRISH' CISTERCIANS?

Given the argument that the Cistercian Order in Wales and Ireland were split, between those who supported the English cause and those who supported the native cause, it is highly likely that this split, perhaps even more so than his relationship with the wider Order, would affect King John's dynamic with individual Cistercian abbeys in these regions. For surely he would enjoy a better relationship with houses that supported the English, than those that opposed them. Consequently before commencing an analysis of John's interactions with the Cistercians in Wales and Ireland, it is crucial to consider the position of the Cistercians in these areas to test the validity of this argument and also to discern which houses should be considered 'English' and 'Welsh' or 'Irish'. In so doing this study will demonstrate that although there is evidence for this 'split' in Ireland, there is little obvious indication of it in Wales in the twelfth and thirteenth century. Perhaps suggesting therefore that the entire concept of the 'Welsh' Cistercians is misleading, and they were rather the Cistercians *in* Wales.

Although Lewis in 1938 attempted to discern houses' orientations in Wales, his work covers practically the entire medieval period and it is possible that orientations changed over time.<sup>1</sup> The title of his work, 'The Racial Sympathies of the Welsh Cistercians', indicates it was perhaps written with the explicit aim of finding 'racial sympathies', regardless of whether they existed. It is also a mistake to assume that those houses located in what has been deemed 'Welsh' Wales or *Pura Wallia*

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<sup>1</sup> Lewis, 'Racial sympathies of Welsh Cistercians', 103-118.

were Welsh in sympathy and the same for abbeys founded in ‘Irish’ Ireland, for it is possible that such assumptions led previous historians to assume that this fundamental split existed in this period. Moreover, as shall become clear throughout this chapter, although there are many possible ways of attempting to determine orientation, each has significant shortcomings producing seemingly anomalous results. Consequently it may only be possible to determine orientation by amalgamating all the evidence together, with its sheer weight, despite its obvious flaws indicating the orientation of individual houses. This is particularly the case for the Irish houses for, even when compared to the Welsh evidence, the material is sparse.<sup>2</sup>

The two-branch argument does highlight an interesting point, what was the position of the Religious Orders in these areas? Even though the Welsh and some, although by no means all, Irish princes at various times paid homage to the English kings for their lands and acknowledged them as their overlords, this was in reality only lip-service. Both exercised a high degree of independence and sought not only to extend their powers and influence at the expense of their fellow princes but also at the expense of the English. However, was this indicative of the Cistercian position in these areas? Lloyd in his iconic 1911 work claimed that the Cistercians in Wales were, ‘foreign communities planted on the soil by the strong hand of the conqueror.’<sup>3</sup> Likening them therefore to the early Benedictine and Augustinian foundations, of which he said, ‘these houses were, without exception founded by the invading race and added to the strength of the alien element in the land; castle and priory went

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<sup>2</sup> This chapter shall only briefly discuss events directly concerned with King John’s relationship with the Cistercians in Wales and Ireland, with these discussed in far greater detail in forthcoming chapters.

<sup>3</sup> John Edward Lloyd, *A History of Wales: from the Earliest times to the Edwardian Conquest* (London, 1911), vol. 2, p. 593.

closely together in a partnership not easily sundered.<sup>4</sup> However, Lloyd went on to argue that unlike the Benedictines the Cistercians ingratiated themselves, with the Welsh soon founding Cistercian houses. As such two distinct branches of the Order developed in Wales, those on the one hand who supported and attempted to advance the cause of the native princes and on the other, those houses that supported English attempts to subjugate Wales.<sup>5</sup> Although put forward in 1911, this idea remains popular, with Davies in his 1987 work stating that there was a ‘siege mentality’ in Benedictine houses with the English inside, and the Welsh outside; and Williams in 1998 arguing; ‘Eight of the thirteen abbeys in the principality were [...] all nationalistic in sympathy, strongly supporting the native Welsh princes throughout the thirteenth century.’<sup>6</sup> This idea of a two-branch Order was equally applied to Ireland. The theme of ethnic orientations and sympathies of the ‘English’ or ‘Irish’ houses in Ireland pervades almost the entire historiography of the Cistercians in Ireland, with for example Williams stating, ‘There was a serious divide in Ireland between the Anglo-Norman and Irish Cistercian foundations.’<sup>7</sup>

## 2.1 – The ‘Welsh’ Cistercians?

An intuitive approach to establishing orientation is to suggest that those houses founded by the English would be English in sympathy whilst those founded by the Welsh would be Welsh in sympathy. If we apply this technique we can suggest the following orientations.

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<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 591.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 591-603.

<sup>6</sup> R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415* (Oxford, repr. 1991), p. 181; Williams, *The Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 20.

<sup>7</sup> Williams, *The Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 58.

Table 1 - Cistercian Houses Founded by the English in Wales.<sup>8</sup>

<b>Abbey</b>	<b>Founder</b>	<b>Date</b>
Basingwerk	Ralph II, Earl of Chester	1131
Dore	Robert de Ewyas	1147
Margam	Robert, Earl of Gloucester	1147
Neath	Richard Granville	1131
Strata Florida	Robert fitz Stephen	1164
Tintern	Walter fitz Richard	1131
Whitland	Bernard, Bishop of St Davids	1140

Source - David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (New York, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 1971).

Table 2 - Cistercian Houses Founded by the Welsh in Wales.

<b>Abbey</b>	<b>Founder</b>	<b>Date</b>
Aberconwy	Llywelyn ap Iorwerth?	1186
Cwmhir	Maredudd ap Maelgwyn/Cadwallon ap Madog	1143/1176
Cymer	Maredudd ap Cynan	c.1198/9
Llantarnam	Hywel ab Iorwerth	1179
Strata Marcella	Owain Cyfeiliog	c.1172
Valle Crucis	Madog ap Gruffydd	1201

Source - David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (New York, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 1971).

Although most historians would intuitively accept most of these suggested orientations, the inclusion of Strata Florida and Whitland abbeys as English houses would certainly appear anomalous with their inclusion highlighting the obvious shortcoming of this method. It only provides a static snapshot of who controlled the region in which the abbey was founded when it was founded and consequently takes no account of the ever-shifting areas of control between the native Welsh princes and the English. If we account for this, consequently inferring that houses in areas reacquired by the Welsh princes would become Welsh themselves, this would alter the orientation of Strata Florida and Whitland abbeys. For in 1165 Rhys ap

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<sup>8</sup> Only those houses founded by John's reign are included in these tables. The dates of Whitland's and Strata Florida's foundation included here are those of their initial foundation and not of their subsequent re-foundations in 1144 and 1184 respectively.

Gruffudd, Lord of Deheubarth [the Lord Rhys] conquered Ceredigion, captured Robert fitz Stephen the constable of Cardigan castle and founder of Strata Florida, and assumed the patronage of both Whitland and Strata Florida.<sup>9</sup> Yet if a change in political control resulted in orientation changing, then an abbey's support for one side or another cannot be a form of patriotism or nationalism. If this was the case, orientation would transcend their *de facto* political controller and would not vacillate due to a change in political control. Although this perhaps cannot be applied to Strata Florida, for the monks first arrived there in 1184 and therefore after it came under the control of the Lord Rhys, this does not explain the orientation shift of Whitland.<sup>10</sup> The shift at Whitland is perhaps indicative that abbeys assumed Welsh identity, if they had any particular and unifying ethnic identity, for more survivalistic than nationalistic reasons. The monks appreciated that the only way their abbey could flourish was to support their 'political masters', and in many ways they were correct. Strata Florida flourished under the Lord Rhys, who began to see himself as the founder, stating not only that he 'began to build the monastery called Ystrad-fflur' but also that he 'cherished it after it was built'.<sup>11</sup>

Clearly therefore patronage was more important than the founder in determining orientation. This is perhaps unsurprising, for not only would the patron be the abbey's closest source of protection and be the most likely person to make grants and donations to the abbey but it was also generally they who guaranteed abbeys' existing holdings. Patrons also may have had some role in the choice of abbot, and they certainly on occasion attempted to interfere with abbatial elections, presumably to ensure the election of a man whom the patron deemed as supporting. Matthew the new abbot of Strata Marcella abbey in a 1333 petition to Edward III

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<sup>9</sup> *Brut Y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, ed. and trans. Thomas Jones (Cardiff, 1952), p. 64.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *The Acts of Welsh Rulers, 1120-1283*, ed. and trans. Huw Pryce (Cardiff, 2005), no. 28.

relates how he was elected in the presence of the abbots of Clairvaux, Cymer and Valle Crucis to prevent the interference of John de Charlton of Powys, who claimed to have the right to create the abbots of Strata Marcella.<sup>12</sup> However, although an English lord with the support of the king of England, with the power and resources he possesses, would be a powerful patron, this would not cause many abbeys to support the 'English'. For distance was a far more important consideration than power; a person with relatively less power perhaps a day's ride away would be more important to an abbey than an English lord who was many days away. Yet patronage as an indicator fails when applied to Llantarnam abbey in Gwent. Founded by Hywel ab Iorwerth in 1179, it assumed English patronage in the thirteenth century and was located within the heartland of what is considered English controlled Wales. Yet it remains classed in the historiography as a Welsh house, with Cowley arguing that rather than shifting allegiances it 'maintained its Welshness because of its affiliation to the abbey of Strata Florida'.<sup>13</sup> He goes on to suggest that the orientation of the mother house was 'a potent factor which could often override other considerations.'<sup>14</sup> Given the influence mother houses could exert on their daughter houses, with for example, the father abbot until 1265 fixing the election date for new abbots in their daughter houses and perhaps influencing the outcome, this is certainly possible.<sup>15</sup> As the monks who first inhabited a new foundation were drawn from the mother house, it would certainly make sense that the daughter house would be of the same orientation. Historians such as Janet Burton have argued that when the Lord Rhys assumed the patronage of Whitland, which was itself a foundation of Clairvaux, Whitland became a house with no connections with the 'English invaders'

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<sup>12</sup> *Calendar of Ancient Petitions Relating to Wales: Thirteenth to Sixteenth Century*, ed. William Rees (Cardiff, 1975), pp. 400-1; TNA: PRO SC 8/239/11937.

<sup>13</sup> Cowley, *The Monastic Orders in South Wales*, p. 47.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Williams, *The Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 72.

from which other ‘Welsh’ foundations could be made, which in itself explains the popularity of the Cistercians amongst the Welsh princes and Welsh society, who supposedly were less than keen on propagating an Order if their ranks were to be filled with Englishmen.<sup>16</sup> On this basis we can suggest the following abbeys were Welsh.

Table 3 - Cistercian Houses Descended From Whitland.

<b>Abbey</b>	<b>Mother house</b>
Aberconwy	Strata Florida
Cwmhir	Whitland
Cymer	Cwmhir
Llantarnam	Strata Florida
Strata Florida	Whitland
Strata Marcella	Whitland
Vale Crucis	Strata Marcella
Whitland	Clairvaux

Source - David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (New York, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 1971).

Yet this takes no account of other contributory factors and imposes a top-down theory that may give a false picture of uniformity and consequently reduce the agency of the monks themselves. For such top-down theories suggest that all the monks in an individual abbey must be, for example, Welsh in sympathy just because the house was founded from Whitland by a Welsh prince in an area of Welsh control, and although certainly possible, in fact likely, it is not something that we can take for granted.

An analysis of the roles and actions of the monks themselves and the uses made of them by the Welsh princes provides an indication of orientation and allows the monks at least some form of agency. There are numerous later actions that indicate individual houses’ orientation. Prince Dafydd of Gwynedd in 1244

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<sup>16</sup> Clairvaux abbey was of course French and enjoyed the patronage of the kings of France, including Louis VII: Elizabeth M. Hallam and Judith Everard, *Capetian France, 987-1328* (New York, 2001), p. 251; Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain*, p. 75.

persuaded Innocent IV to order King Henry III to appear before the abbots of Aberconwy and Cymer (who were acting as papal delegates), at Caerwys, suggesting not only the power these abbeys had but also that Dafydd perceived these abbeys and abbots as supporting the Welsh cause or at the very least his own.<sup>17</sup> Although possibly the abbots had little choice in this. The fact that a Cistercian monk from Cwmhir in 1231 led the English troops of Henry III into a trap and in retaliation Henry plundered before burning down a grange of the abbey then ordering the abbey itself burnt, which was only averted when the abbot paid 300 marks, certainly indicates its orientation was Welsh.<sup>18</sup> So too does the classification of the abbots of Whitland and Aberconwy as rebels during Glyndwr's rebellion and the death of the abbot of Llantarnam in 1405 when urging on Welsh forces during a battle with the English.<sup>19</sup> Similarly there is evidence for English orientation, for whilst Prince Llywelyn the Last was using the abbots of Aberconwy and Strata Florida in negotiations suggesting these were considered 'Welsh' supporting abbots if not houses, English monarchs presumably employed 'English' supporting abbots, namely the abbots of Tintern in 1268 and Dore in 1273.<sup>20</sup> The abbeys themselves were also used extensively, with Strata Florida in 1238 acting as the place where 'all the princes of Wales swore allegiance and fealty to Dafydd, son of the Lord Llywelyn'.<sup>21</sup>

Although some of these cases support the suggestion that houses descended from Whitland were Welsh in orientation, many were far later than John's reign. Given how quickly orientation could change it is important to find such cases from John's reign. The abbot of Aberconwy was in 1203 one of three delegates involved

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<sup>17</sup> Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, p. 28.

<sup>18</sup> Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, vol. 3, pp. 11-12.

<sup>19</sup> David H. Williams, *Atlas of Cistercian Lands in Wales* (Cardiff, 1990), p. 14.

<sup>20</sup> Williams, *The Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 73.

<sup>21</sup> *Brut Y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, p. 104.



in the investigation into Llywelyn ap Iorwerth's marriage to the daughter of the king of the Isle of Man.<sup>22</sup> Also in 1198 monks were involved in keeping the peace between the sons of the deceased Rhys ap Gruffudd, namely Gruffudd and Maelgwn.<sup>23</sup> This was not the only occasion in this period that monks, presumably of the Cistercian abbey of Strata Florida, maintained the peace in Wales, for in 1202, the *Brut Y Twysogyon* which was written at Strata Florida relates how, 'through the intercession of men of the church and laymen', peace was maintained between Llywelyn ap Iorwerth and Gwenwynwyn.<sup>24</sup> The fact that the Cistercians attempted to maintain the peace is not however clear evidence of orientation, for it is likely that the Cistercians attempted to maintain the peace in order to protect their own holdings that would undoubtedly be ravaged during any conflict, rather than an innate sense of patriotism. Moreover, at least during John's reign, there is very little evidence the Cistercians were used as intermediaries. Although this may seem surprising, after Llywelyn's marriage to Joan in 1205, it made sense to use her in diplomatic negotiations as she would have far more influence over John in negotiations than did the Cistercians. Joan negotiated the peace between Llywelyn ap Iorwerth and John in 1210 then petitioned the king for the release of hostages in December 1214 and January 1215.<sup>25</sup> Yet the fact that in November 1216, soon after the death of King John in October 1216, the abbot of Strata Florida and others protested at the interdict laid on Wales because of the Welsh princes' support of the baronial rebellion and subsequent invasion by Prince Louis, resulting in the removal of the abbots of Strata Florida and Whitland and five priors in Wales in 1217, certainly suggests these houses were 'Welsh'. It is unfortunate that we do not know from which houses the

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<sup>22</sup> *The Letters of Innocent III Concerning England and Wales (1198-1216)*, no. 469, p. 77.

<sup>23</sup> *Brut Y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, p. 80.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

<sup>25</sup> *The Acts of Welsh Rulers*, nos. 227-8; *Brut Y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, p. 85.

priors came.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, although the abbot of Whitland was used by the English in 1202 to take money to Maelgwyn ap Rhys to pay for the release of English hostages, this is by no means definitive, for he may have been chosen simply as he was already returning to Wales after visiting England.<sup>27</sup> Nor is the fact that Peter, abbot of Whitland (according to Gerald of Wales) aided Archbishop Hubert Walter in opposing Gerald's election to the bishopric of St David's. For he apparently did this not out of a form of patriotism but in return for an unfulfilled promise of the bishopric for himself.<sup>28</sup>

As most of the examples listed above, which can indicate orientation are later than John's reign, this perhaps reflects that orientation was not a major issue for the abbeys in Wales in the early thirteenth century. Even these later examples are perhaps less than indicative, for abbots were employed throughout the medieval period as intermediaries, as in fact King John did, employing Hugh, the abbot of Beaulieu as an agent.<sup>29</sup> Cistercians were used extensively in this way not only by the kings of England and the Welsh princes but throughout Europe, perhaps because they were deemed trustworthy or less likely to be attacked on their way to meetings as they were respected as religious men. It is also plausible that the abbots mentioned earlier were chosen not because they were 'Welsh' or 'English' but at least by the Welsh princes, they were chosen as they came from the nearest Cistercian house, and if the Welsh were not to use a Cistercian whom else should they have used, at least after the death of Joan? There were few other Religious Orders they could choose

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<sup>26</sup> *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, vol. 1, p. 484; *Medieval Chronicles of Scotland*, trans. Joseph Stevenson (Dyfed, repr., 1988), p. 50; Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, pp. 26-7.

<sup>27</sup> *Pipe Roll 4 John*, p. 41.

<sup>28</sup> Although an abbot of Whitland was to get a bishopric later in John's reign it was not Peter, for he had been previously deposed: Gerald of Wales, *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, pp. 195-7.

<sup>29</sup> There are numerous examples of Hugh's use as an agent by King John including: *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, pp. 126-7; *The Letters of Pope Innocent III, (1198-1216)*, p. 120.

from and they would avoid secular messengers who risked attack and capture by the person he was visiting. Monastic houses may have been used as a meeting place and abbots used as intermediaries because they were deemed neutral parties. Moreover, on occasion the Welsh princes used an abbot of what has previously been classed as an ‘English’ house, with Llywelyn ap Gruffudd in 1256 sending a letter to Henry III via the abbot of Basingwerk.<sup>30</sup> However, the fact that the Welsh monks of Strata Marcella were replaced by English ones in 1328 at the instigation of John Charlton, lord of Powys, suggests that at least in the fourteenth century Strata Marcella was considered a ‘Welsh’ house. Yet as there were no such actions in the thirteenth century then it appears that the orientation of houses was not then considered an issue, or at least an issue not worth acting over.<sup>31</sup>

It seems clear therefore that during John’s reign, the use of the Cistercians by the relative sides and the actions of the Cistercians themselves were so minimal and open to interpretation it is inappropriate to use these as an indication of orientation. This in turn suggests that at this time the Cistercians may not have been orientated particularly one way or the other. However, Williams suggested in 2001 that, ‘The identification of the Cistercians with the nation was emphasised when Welshmen of princely stock were buried in a Cistercian house, and when their abbeys set down a permanent record of Welsh affairs in their annals and chronicles,’ and this was supported in 2011 by Burton and Kerr.<sup>32</sup> Yet this is far from convincing, as it is improper to argue that simply because a house kept an annal of Welsh affairs it must have been Welsh orientated. For many abbeys kept annals and chronicles, and it is unsurprising that a house in Wales recorded Welsh affairs for what else would a

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<sup>30</sup> *Calendar of Close Rolls: Henry III*, ed. A. E. Stamp (London, 1932), vol. 10, p. 115.

<sup>31</sup> *Calendar of Close Rolls; Edward III*, ed. H. C. Maxwell (London, 1896), vol. 1, p. 410; David H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians; Aspects of Their Economic History* (Pontypool, 1969), p. 26.

<sup>32</sup> Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, p. 29; Burton and Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, p. 46.

house in Wales record? It would be far more unusual and more worthy of comment if it recorded primarily English affairs. Moreover, it is certainly the case that most chronicles and annals were not written out of a form of patriotism, with the Belgian *Annals of Ghent* relating why it was started,

One day when I was not very busy, it occurred to me that as I enjoy reading and hearing stories and true facts about old times, and write quickly, and also had at my disposal a stock of small membranes of no great value, stitched together, I might set forth on them, in chronological order [...] those manifold battles and perils, distresses and oppressions of various kinds, expeditions, sieges, and attacks both passive and active, which had befallen our land [...] My motive was to please and entertain some of the brothers who at times enjoyed hearing or reading such things.<sup>33</sup>

The *Brut Y Tywysogyon* contains numerous references to Welsh princes being buried within Cistercian houses, including Strata Marcella, Aberconwy and Strata Florida, with Llywellyn ap Iorwerth himself buried within Aberconwy abbey in 1240.<sup>34</sup> However, it is again important not to place too much emphasis on this, as it is unsurprising that many were buried within Cistercian houses for on many occasions they themselves or their families founded them, and it would be far more difficult to explain why the Welsh princes were not buried within them. The Cistercian monks may have allowed the Welsh princes to be buried within their abbeys not out of a sense of patriotism, but out of an appreciation of the prestige a burial of a prince could bring to a house, with the body of a Welsh prince the highest such ‘prize’ they could receive. The abbots of Aberconwy and Strata Florida, escorting the body of Prince Gruffudd ap Llywelyn from the Tower of London to Aberconwy for burial in 1248, is therefore only evidence of the lengths to which Cistercian houses would go to gain a royal burial, and not orientation.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, although less common, the

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<sup>33</sup> *The Annals of Ghent*, ed. and trans. Hilda Johnstone (London, 1951), p. 1.

<sup>34</sup> *Brut Y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, pp. 79, 80, 82, 105.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

burial of Welshmen also occurred in what has been typically seen as English houses, with Morgan ap Caradog of Avan buried within Margam abbey around 1208 for example, again suggesting it is location not orientation which determined who was buried within the abbeys.<sup>36</sup>

Location was also seemingly more important in determining land grants rather than abbeys' supposed relative orientation.<sup>37</sup> There are numerous examples of grants by the Welsh to what are supposedly English houses, with for example grants to Margam abbey by Morgan ap Caradog (c.1186-99) and Einon ap Rhirid (c.1189-1201), whilst Maredudd ap Caradog (d.1211) was even taken into the fraternity at Margam sometime between 1189-99.<sup>38</sup> These are by no means the only examples, in fact there are many others, not only to Margam abbey but also to other 'English' houses such as Neath.<sup>39</sup> The fact that Margam received donations of land from Gruffudd ab Ifor (d.1210), lord of the cantref of Sengynyedd and others, to found a daughter house, although eventually aborted, strongly suggests that it was not perceived as an outpost of Norman power.<sup>40</sup> Rather Margam was viewed as just another Cistercian house from which a daughter house could be founded, rather than an English Cistercian house that oppressed the Welsh populace. Although there are no recorded Welsh grants to Tintern this is unsurprising for the Welsh held little land near to this house for it is well within an area of English control. Moreover, given the vast majority of donations to religious houses came from the higher aristocracy if not the Welsh princes, they would of course give donations to abbeys that were near to them, and not to the distant English houses, such as Tintern. This also explains the

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<sup>36</sup> A. Leslie, *Margam Abbey* (Port Talbot, 1996), p. 67.

<sup>37</sup> Although considered in far greater detail in forthcoming chapters, donations must be considered here albeit briefly.

<sup>38</sup> *The Acts of Welsh Rulers*, nos. 122, 125, 150.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 119-20, 127, 128, 130-40, 142-6, 148-180, 181-90, 616-8.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 616.

lack of gifts or grants made to ‘Welsh’ houses by the English. Consequently, it seems that once again orientation had little influence.

Another interesting method of determining orientation is the relationship between the *conversi*, the native Welsh and individual abbeys. The Margam annals under 1223 relates how over 1000 of its sheep were killed and two barns were destroyed by the native Welsh.<sup>41</sup> There were even more serious problems with the native Welsh in 1224, for they were blamed for the death of two servants at Margam, whilst Morgan ap Æneus burnt a house of Neath abbey together with 400 sheep, killed four of their servants and severely injured a monk and lay brother.<sup>42</sup> Yet this is not evidence that the Welsh saw these houses as English, for why did they kill a child shepherd? There is no suggestion that the Welsh killed other Welshmen because of supposed complicity with the English, at least not at this social level. The lack of reference to any attacks on Margam Abbey in 1183 despite the fact that in that year due to the death of Earl William of Gloucester the Welsh rose up and attacked Norman strongholds such as Neath Castle, suggests the attacks of 1223 were not due to the Welsh believing it was an English house but simply localised civil disturbance, for such attacks on monasteries occurred elsewhere where there is no suggestion of ethnic tensions.<sup>43</sup> Even the Welsh uprising on the death of Earl William of Gloucester is not evidence of an oppressed people taking their opportunity, for it was common after the death of the power holder for the people to rise up due to the associated breakdown in control. Ralph of Coggeshall reports that on learning of Richard I’s death the people after partaking of Holy Communion,

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<sup>41</sup> *Ann. Marg.*, p. 34.

<sup>42</sup> *Ann. Marg.*, p. 34.

<sup>43</sup> Stoneliagh abbey Warwickshire for example was attacked in 1288 by unknown persons, who amongst other things, set fire to the abbot’s houses and burnt the abbey gatehouse. If such an assault was launched on a house in Wales, then it would be presented as evidence of ethnic tensions: J. C. Cox, ‘Abbey of Stoneleigh’ in, *The Victoria History of the County of Warwick*, ed. William Page (London, 1908), vol. 2, p. 80.

ravaged the land.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, according to Gerald of Wales, Margam attempted to alleviate a famine in the area by sending a boat to Bristol to buy corn so they could distribute it to the poor and needy, hardly indicative of a negative relationship between Margam and the local natives.<sup>45</sup> Whilst the fact that the *conversi* rose up at Margam abbey in 1206 is not evidence of the Welsh trying to throw off the control of the English monks. For although the *conversi* of Margam in 1206 threw their cellarer from his horse, and an armed band pursued the abbot for fifteen miles before barricading themselves in their own dormitory and withholding food from the monks, such risings are not unique to the supposed English houses.<sup>46</sup> There was trouble at Strata Florida in 1196 and at Cwmhir in 1195 where the *conversi* stole the abbot's horses.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, in Gerald of Wales' account of the Margam rising, he suggests it was caused by the hatred felt towards the abbot and mentions nothing of the ethnicity of those involved.<sup>48</sup> Such isolated examples lay in stark contrast to the levels of violence experienced in areas where the ethnicity of monks was an issue. The statutes of the Cistercian Chapter General in 1195 relates a grizzly attack by lay brothers on an unidentified monk of Szentgotthárd abbey in Hungary, seemingly triggered by the French ethnicity of the house and the exclusion of local peoples as monks if not as the *conversi*.<sup>49</sup> This certainly suggests that if ethnic tensions were present at all within the Cistercian Order in Wales, they were minor, for there is no suggestion of violence on the scale of Szentgotthárd in any Cistercian house in Wales throughout the centuries. Disturbances were instead minor and uncommon

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<sup>44</sup> Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, p. 98.

<sup>45</sup> Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales and The Description of Wales*, ed. and trans. Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth, 1978), p. 127.

<sup>46</sup> *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, vol. 1, p. 324.

<sup>47</sup> *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, vol. 1, p. 191; Cowley, *The Monastic Orders in South Wales*, p. 120.

<sup>48</sup> Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, vol. 4, pp. 141-2.

<sup>49</sup> *Twelfth-Century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter*, pp. 344-5.

and more in line with the usual disturbances associated with the Cistercian Order more widely than in areas of severe ethnic tensions.

It seems clear therefore that not only are there numerous difficulties when discussing the roles and actions of the monks, *conversi* and the abbeys themselves when attempting to analyse orientation, but also much is ambiguous. Perhaps a better approach is an analysis of the ethnic composition of each house, for one would expect that 'Welsh' houses would be filled with 'Welsh' people whilst those in 'English' houses would be 'English'.<sup>50</sup> Although there was seemingly no explicit attempt to exclude the native peoples from the Cistercian Order, demonstrated clearly in 1275 when the General Chapter exclaimed there was to be 'impartial reception, especially of natives, since these have the greater claim',<sup>51</sup> this does not mean that individual houses did not exclude those who they did not want, as was noted at Szentgotthárd abbey earlier. The monks of Basingwerk meanwhile not only recruited from Cheshire but stated in 1281 that they had 'no knowledge of the customs of the Welsh', suggesting in 1346 that the monks were aliens living 'among them',<sup>52</sup> strongly indicating that 'English' houses only recruited the English, validating this analysis. Moreover, this analysis will be far more holistic than the patchy forms of analysis allowed by previous methods.

This analysis can only be performed by building up a list of names of the monks and *conversi* of each house, from which the number of names that are indicative of the person's ethnicity can then be analysed. This type of analysis is however fraught with difficulties. One issue is that, despite the excellent work of

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<sup>50</sup> It should be noted that the term 'ethnicity' has been used throughout this analysis, as although the term 'racial' was used by Frank Lewis this is an extremely loaded term with obvious negative connotations: Lewis, 'Racial sympathies of Welsh Cistercians', 103-18.

<sup>51</sup> Williams, *The Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 57.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.



Williams and my additions, the sample size remains quite small.<sup>53</sup> In an attempt to increase the sample size, this analysis considers all those who can be dated to the years 1150-1250. Although it may be argued that this date period is too wide, with orientations changing due to political shifts during this period, for example with Whitland and Strata Florida, as suggested above, this need not negate the utility of this analysis. For it will enable us to determine if there was a distinct shift in recruitment from English to Welsh, which could be linked to this shift in political control and consequently support the two-branch argument. Moreover, although a wide date range, given the amount of time a monk could be a member of the house it is plausible that a monk who appears in certainly 1220 or 1230 was a monk of the house during John's reign. However, despite this, the sample sizes remain extremely small and the reliability of results reduced in direct association. With the evidence for the orientation of Margam abbey which has a sample size of 107 more reliable than that of Aberconwy abbey which has a sample size of just 6, whilst even the sample size for Margam is small in comparison to the number of monks and *conversi* that would have been present at this house during the one hundred year period.

The reasons for these small sizes are many and varied. The significant and perhaps unsurprising loss of innumerable charters is a major factor, whilst the survival of Strata Marcella and Margam charters accounts for their large sample size. The size of usable data is further reduced by a common feature within medieval charters, namely not including the full name or even the full Christian name, but rather merely giving an initial, for example only giving an 'R' which could denote numerous names, including Robert, Richard and Rhiryd. The size of usable data is yet further reduced when even the full Christian names are included, for example in

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<sup>53</sup> David H. Williams, 'Fasti Cistercienses Cambrenses', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 25 (1971), 181-229: for the various additions I have made see Appendix I.

the case of Margam the name 'William' occurs numerous times. Although each William is given a different role within the monastery each time it occurs, appearing as the porter and then as the cellarer, it is as possible that over this one hundred year period there are numerous monks with the name William as it is that each refers to the same person who had numerous roles over time. Therefore, although names which include only the full Christian name are included, they are only included once for each Christian name in each abbey and only included more than once when the same Christian name is attached to differing surnames. Meanwhile, names that are ambiguous, Biblical names for example, such as Abraham or John, given that such names could denote either ethnicity have to be excluded. The latinisation of names is a further issue, with for example the Welsh name 'Iorwerth' latinised into the English name 'Gervase'. Consequently, unless a surname is given such names are not included, for although tempting to translate 'Gervase' in a Welsh house into 'Iorwerth' and to leave it as Gervase in an English house, such a pre-determined approach would obviously corrupt the results. Nor can we translate all 'Gervase' into 'Iorwerth', for it would be like suggesting that we should translate Gervase of Canterbury as Iorwerth of Canterbury and this would of course be simply guessing. Another issue is when a person has an English Christian name but a local place name, for example, Philip of Carmarthen in Margam abbey. Although tempting to include him as an Englishman because of his Christian name, as he was born in Carmarthen he is on that basis Welsh. We cannot be sure therefore of such persons' orientation and therefore all those with an English name but a local place name are excluded.

It is not only the sample size and the latinisation of names which need to be considered. It is possible that 'Welsh' people could give their sons what would be

deemed English names. According to Gerald of Wales, Clement, the prior of Neath despite his English name was a Welshman.<sup>54</sup> Although we cannot be sure if Gerald was correct in this we have to assume so and therefore place Clement as a Welshman. Although we are aware that Clement was Welsh despite his name, there is no way to discover how many other times this occurred and therefore the reliability must yet again be reduced for if it was not for Gerald of Wales, Clement would be included as an Englishman and used to advance the argument that Neath was an English house. The names themselves are also problematic, for they could be altered when entering a monastic house. With Orderic Vitalis relating ‘The name Vitalis was given me in place of my English name, which sounded harsh to the Normans’.<sup>55</sup> Although no evidence for this occurring in Wales, it is easy to envisage a strong Welsh name being replaced with a name that is easier to pronounce if that person entered a house that had many English or French inhabitants, and this will of course serve to undermine the reliability of the results. One final problem is that this analysis by its very nature assumes that if a person has a Welsh name then they would support the Welsh cause and the same is true of an English name and the English cause, and this again reduces the agency of individuals. Moreover, such an analysis is perhaps too simplistic as it is possible that some people with a Welsh name may have supported the English cause, especially if they thought that the English would weaken their enemies even if their enemies were fellow Welshmen, or even the Welshmen who supported the English in Wales. Yet despite the clear problems with this analysis, if we appreciate them and the resulting issues and also use this analysis as just another small part of determining orientation which has to be included with the other forms of analysis it remains illuminating.

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<sup>54</sup> Clement’s brother was Maurice of Llangeinor: Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, vol. 8, p. 310.

<sup>55</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford, 1980), vol 1, p. xiv.

Table 4 - The Ethnic Composition of Cistercian Houses in Wales.

<b>Abbey</b>	<b>Total Number</b>	<b>Biblical Names</b>	<b>Ambiguous Names</b>	<b>Welsh Names</b>	<b>English Names</b>	<b>Suggested Orientation</b>
Aberconwy	6	2	1	1	2	English
Basingwerk	8	2	2	0	4	English
Cwmhir	7	0	1	5	1	Welsh
Cymer	4	1	1	2	0	Welsh
Dore	8	0	4	0	4	English
Llantarnam	12	1	1	7	3	Welsh
Margam	107	5	18	9	75	English
Neath	22	2	2	1	17	English
Strata Florida	28	1	4	22	1	Welsh
Strata Marcella	61	3	16	32	9	Welsh
Tintern	4	0	0	0	4	English
Valle Crucis	23	2	4	9	8	Welsh
Whitland	8	1	0	4	3	Welsh

Source - See Appendix I.

From Table 4 it is clear that although there are usually more Welsh monks in what has previously been classed as Welsh houses and the same for the English ones, the difference between the number of English and Welsh in all houses is on occasion quite close, far closer than would be expected if houses did support one side over the other. Even in the case of Whitland where orientation switched in 1165 there was no discernible shift in recruitment, for Welsh names occurred prior to 1165 and English names long after. We can go further and even suggest that on this basis, Aberconwy was English. However, due to the very small size of useable data these results cannot overturn all the other evidence that suggests that Aberconwy was a ‘Welsh’ house. Although this is the only case that indicates a different orientation from what has previously been suggested and some may argue this can tell us little due to the small size of the sample data, the very fact that any Welsh names at all occur in English houses and English names in Welsh houses is very interesting. Suggesting that there was no explicit attempt to exclude those of a different ethnicity from individual

Cistercian houses and further indicates that these houses may not be orientated in a particular way but was rather a neutral party used by both sides. This is even further supported by the fact that not only are there Welsh names in Margam abbey, but there was a Welsh abbot, Cynan. Cowley argues he was not Welsh as the name was popular with the Bretons and that Cynan, ‘was a descendant of one of the many Breton families which had established themselves along the border at the end of the eleventh century.’<sup>56</sup> Although plausible, it seems that Cowley was desperate to explain the appearance of a Welsh abbot in what he has classed as an English house, for he does not suggest that the Cynan who appeared as an abbot of Whitland (d.1176) was a descendant of a Breton. Even Cowley concedes that in this period, ‘Cynan’ was a popular name amongst the Welsh.<sup>57</sup> This is not an isolated example, for Neath was to have a Welsh abbot, namely when the above-noted Welshman Prior Clement became abbot. These occurrences are extremely interesting for an abbot had to be elected by the other monks, suggesting that the other monks, despite being primarily English did not discriminate against Cynan or Clement simply because they were Welsh. It is possible therefore, that if the monks did not discriminate then King John also would not discriminate against Cistercian houses just because they had more Welshmen within them than other houses.

What has become clear throughout this discussion is that there is a significant amount of evidence both in terms of the ethnic composition, their actions and uses by others, to suggest the relative orientations as noted in table 5.

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<sup>56</sup> Cowley, *The Monastic Orders in South Wales*, p. 49.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

Table 5 - 'Welsh' and 'English' Cistercian Houses.

<b>'Welsh' Cistercian houses</b>	<b>'English' Cistercian houses</b>
Aberconwy	Basingwerk
Cymer	Dore
Cwmhir	Margam
Llantarnam	Neath
Strata Florida	Tintern
Strata Marcella	
Valle Crucis	
Whitland	

Although we can suggest these orientations, what has become increasingly clear especially from the ethnic analysis is that Cistercian houses were not classed in this period as English or Welsh but rather simply as Cistercian. This is even more pronounced by the fact that despite the many ways of attempting to determine orientation that has been applied above, not a single one gave definitive results. Each produced a result seemingly out of step with the arguments put forward by historians who stress the two-branch argument, whether it be the grants to Margam abbey by Morgan ap Caradog or Aberconwy abbey appearing ethnically English. This strongly suggests that if there was any division it may not be as pronounced as previously thought, especially in this period.

## 2.2 – The 'Irish' Cistercians?

Although in 1324-5 a complaint was made that the Cistercians in Ireland would not accept Englishman, suggesting a more pronounced ethnic division in Ireland than in Wales, as this complaint does not identify individual orientations this still must be explored.<sup>58</sup> Due to the sheer lack of Cistercian charter materials for houses in Ireland it is of little value to try and reproduce the 'ethnic' analysis of the monks as was completed for Wales. For as the numbers of monks whose ethnicity

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<sup>58</sup> TNA: PRO SC 8/8/359.

could be identified by their names would be so small if not nonexistent the value of such an analysis, which could never be more than a generalisation, would be negligible. One of the most obvious and successful ways however of discerning orientation is an analysis of who founded the abbey, for as with abbeys in Wales it can be assumed that an abbey founded by the English would be English-supporting and by the Irish, Irish-supporting.<sup>59</sup> Based on this we arrive at the following inference.

Table 6 - Cistercian houses founded by the English in Ireland.<sup>60</sup>

<b>Abbey</b>	<b>Founder</b>	<b>Date</b>
Abbeylara	Richard Tuit	1214
Abington	Theobald Walter	c.1204
Dunbrody	Hervé de Monte Marisco	1171-2
Duiske	William Marshal	1204-07
Grey Abbey	Africa, wife of John de Courcy	1193
Inch	John de Courcy	1180 or 1188
Midleton	Fitz Gerald	1180
Tintern Parva	William Marshal	1200

Source - Aubrey Gwynn and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland* (Bristol, 1970).

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<sup>59</sup> Although we are not aware on all occasions the name of the founder, this need not prevent us from assuming the ethnicity of the founder, for if the house was founded before the first arrival of the Normans in Ireland in 1169 then it must have been founded by an Irishman.

<sup>60</sup> It should of course be noted that these tables only include those houses founded by John's death, namely 1216. Moreover, sites which were mere site transfers shall not be included and the dates of foundation shall be for the original house, and therefore may on occasion predate the time when the house became Cistercian.

Table 7 - Cistercian houses founded by the Irish in Ireland.

<b>Abbey</b>	<b>Founder</b>	<b>Date</b>
Abbeydorney	Unknown	1154
Abbeyknockmoy	Cathal Crobderg O'Conor	1190
Abbeyleix	Connor O'More	1183
Abbeymahon	Dermot Mac Cormac Mac Carthy	1172
Abbeysrule	O'Ferrals	1200
Assaroe	Roderick O'Cananan	1178
Baltinglass	Dermot Mac Murrough	1148
Bective	Murchad O Melaghlin	1147
Boyle	Unknown	1148
Comber	Brien Catha Dun	1200
Corcomroe	Donal O'Brien	c.1175
St Marys Dublin	Unknown	1139
Erenagh	Magnellus Makenlefe	1127
Fermoy	Donal Mor O'Brien	1170
Holycross	Donal Mor O'Brien	1169
Suir	Unknown	1147
Jerpoint	Donal Mac Gillpatrick	1166-70 or 1180
Killbeggan	MacCoghlan	1150
Kilcooly	Donal Mor O'Brien	1184
Killenny	Dermot O'Ryan	1162-5 or 1185
Kilmonaster	O'Doherty	c.1194
Mellifont	Malachy, archbishop of Armagh	1142
Monasterevin	Dermot O'Dempsey	1189
Monasteanenagh	Turlogh O'Brien	1148
Newry	Maurice MacLaughlin	1153

Source - Aubrey Gwynn and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland* (Bristol, 1970).

It should be noted at this point that there is not in either table a reference to Drogheda abbey, for it seems almost beyond doubt that this abbey and Mellifont abbey were one and the same. Although Gwynn and Hadcock referred to Drogheda abbey as a Benedictine house, it does seem clear that this was an error.<sup>61</sup> There has been great debate about whether these two houses were the same, for example in the work of that great scholar of the Cistercians in Ireland, Father Colmcille.<sup>62</sup> As this is such a common error, which still dominates the historiography of Irish monastic history, it is worth noting here the reason why this work believes these abbeys to be

<sup>61</sup> Gwynn and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland*, p. 106.

<sup>62</sup> Fr. Colmcille, *The Story of Mellifont* (Dublin, 1958).



one and the same. An *inspeximus* charter of Edward I dated 8 September 1294 notes how an error in earlier charters had been discovered.

It appears to us by inspection of the rolls of the chancery of Lord Henry heretofore king of England our great grandfather that he our great grandfather caused his charter to be made to God and the Church of the Blessed Mary of Drocheda [sic] and the monks serving God there now as it is named the monks of Mellifont in these words [...] <sup>63</sup>

This charter does seem to suggest that as with many Cistercian abbeys Mellifont had more than one name, and as such over the years charters had been addressed to both. This was noticed in 1294 when they deemed it necessary to alter earlier charters to conform to the name being used at the time.

Returning to the ethnic orientation of each houses, based on the foundation analysis it would appear that there were only 9 English houses in Ireland compared to 25 Irish houses. However, as noted earlier in relation to Wales, ethnic allegiances certainly could change over time, with for example Strata Florida becoming classed as a Welsh house after its patronage was assumed by the Lord Rhys in 1165. It is likely therefore that this also occurred in Ireland. We can say for some certainty that St Marys Dublin became an English house, for it was based in the heartland of English power and soon patronised by the English. What is more difficult to ascertain however is to what extent ethnic orientations changed in the face of English incursions and advances which were often sporadic. As with Wales therefore, perhaps one of the best ways of discerning orientation is an analysis of the abbey's actions and conveniently for Ireland, unlike Wales, there is an event which occurred in the early thirteenth century, therefore only a few decades after John's arrival in Ireland, that is highly indicative of orientation, namely the 'Conspiracy of Mellifont,'

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<sup>63</sup> Although the original charter has been lost, a translation survives in an undated but clearly late, perhaps nineteenth or early twentieth century, manuscript in the National Library of Ireland: National Library of Ireland, MS 5880, no. 31.

something often cited as the best evidence for Irish orientations. Although unnecessary to discuss in detail the conspiracy itself, it is necessary to give a basic outline of events, in order to highlight why this event is so indicative of orientation. The dispute centred unsurprisingly around Mellifont, and it began in 1216 when the General Chapter related problems at the house resulting with the abbot being deposed in the following year. From this point the situation soon deteriorated. In 1228 during a visitation of Irish houses by Stephen Lexington the abbot of Stanley, not only was he himself attacked by a robber near Kilcooly, barricaded out of Maigue and his messenger beaten by the monks of Suir, he deposed the cellarer of Mellifont and the abbot of Baltinglass for conspiring against the Order. This was not a successful measure by the Order however, for the new abbot of Baltinglass was soon forced from his position by his fellow monks. A number of abbots were identified as the leaders of the rebellion, namely that of Assaroe, Boyle, Fermoy, Ordorney and Newry.<sup>64</sup> Clearly therefore, by at least 1228 these houses alongside Baltinglass and Mellifont were certainly Irish Cistercian houses in orientation. It is clear therefore that the orientation of houses in Ireland rarely changed, with the only one changing ethnic orientation, St Marys Dublin, being in the heartland of English power. Therefore, it can be safely assumed that if the houses were Irish at foundation and continued to be so until the 1220s, then they were Irish during John's reign, as such we can suggest the orientations noted on table 8.

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<sup>64</sup> Annette Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven, *A History of Medieval Ireland* (Worcester, 1980), p. 136; Williams, *The Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 58.

Table 8 - 'Irish' and 'English' Cistercian Houses.

<b>'Irish' Cistercian houses</b>	<b>'English' Cistercian houses</b>
Abbeydorney	Abbeylara
Abbeyknockmoy	Abington
Abbeyleix	St Mary's Dublin
Abbeymahon	Duiske
Abbeysrule	Dunbrody
Assaroe	Grey
Baltinglass	Inch
Bective	Midleton
Boyle	Tintern Parva
Comber	
Corcomroe	
Erenagh	
Fermoy	
Holycross	
Jerpoint	
Kilcooly	
Killbeggan	
Killenny	
Kilmonaster	
Mellifont	
Monasteanenagh	
Monasterevin	
Newry	
Suir	

Clearly therefore, there was a distinction between native and English houses in Ireland, which prompted violence and disobedience. Such violence was wholly absent from Wales where such a distinction was much less defined. It should be remembered that although we as historians have a significant amount of evidence to suggest orientations, it is less reliable than at first it may appear. For the ultimate aim is to discern which houses *King John* classed as English, Welsh or Irish and it is likely that he did not gather such evidence to come to a balanced view on relative orientation. However, as he was highly involved in Welsh and Irish affairs from a young age it does seem likely that he would have been aware of any relative orientations. Consequently, although we will never truly know which houses John

classed as Welsh, Irish or English or if he even did, this is perhaps the closest we can come. Moreover, if in fact there is no discernible correlation between the houses' relative orientation and the relations John had with individual houses, then it would suggest that such categorisations were not important to John and therefore their utility for the historian must also be reduced. Such categorisations of monastic houses cannot be used as a form of study or analysis if the categorisations into Welsh, Irish and English were not important to contemporaries, as appears to be the case, at least in this period.

## CHAPTER 3

### KING JOHN AND THE CISTERCIANS IN WALES

From an analysis of administrative records, Pipe Rolls and by placing John's relations with individual abbeys in Wales into the context of his relations with the Cistercian Order more widely, it is clear that John had grossly varying relations, not only with abbeys in Wales as a whole but even between the different abbeys of Wales: with, for example, virtually continuous positive relations with Margam and virtually continuous negative relations with Dore abbey. There is also no correlation between the relative ethnic orientation of each house and positive or negative relations respectively. Relations varied not only between the houses of the Order but also over time, and through an analysis of the relationship between the native Welsh princes and the 'English' abbeys and the English and the 'Welsh' abbeys, it shall be demonstrated that John was in no way unique in having seemingly little interest in the ethnic orientation of the house.

A difficulty in analysing John's relations with the Cistercians in Wales is that although sources refer to his relations with the wider Cistercian Order, it is often unclear whether these various interactions applied to those in Wales also. However, as noted in an earlier chapter, Paul Webster demonstrated that the 1200 rupture did indeed include the whole Cistercian Order, citing the charters John granted to Cistercian houses, which shows that six Cistercian houses received grants or royal confirmations between John's accession and April 1200, namely, Bindon, Croxden, Fountains, Furness, Strata Florida and Strata Marcella abbeys. Webster goes on to

suggest that after April 1200 the grants disappear until the period after Hugh of Lincoln's funeral when grants resume, with Swineshead abbey granted protection on 24 November.<sup>1</sup> This argument needs to be amended, for the breach did not begin in April but late March, and grants resumed before Hugh's funeral, with St Mary's Dublin receiving a charter on 29 October 1200. As argued earlier, although John publicised his settlement at the November meeting this was only for effect, for he had seemingly already decided by late October to come to a settlement. Yet Webster's argument remains useful for it does highlight that the entire Order, including those in Wales and Ireland, was impacted by this breach. If we alter this argument to account for the breach beginning in late March 1200, it is interesting that four abbeys received grants in the midst of a serious breakdown in relations. Two of these can be explained. The charter to Croxden abbey was merely John exchanging some of their land in Ireland for an annuity of £5 from the exchequer, which was hardly suggestive of positive relations as it was probably to John's benefit; whilst his grants to Furness were, as argued earlier, indicative that the abbot had come to a personal settlement with John, for which the abbot paid £100.<sup>2</sup> The only grants which cannot be explained are those received by Strata Florida and Strata Marcella in April 1200, for these were not granted for John's benefit nor is there any evidence that these houses had come to a personal agreement and settlement with John. Therefore the charters to these Welsh abbeys are extremely interesting and an obvious sign of favour, and it shall be argued later, that these charters to these Welsh abbeys at a time of extremely negative relations between John and the Cistercian

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<sup>1</sup> Webster, 'King John's Piety, c.1199-c.1216', pp. 63-4.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter 1, p. 45; *Rot. Chart.* pp. 52b, 61.

Order, is not evidence of John making a distinction between the houses in Wales and England, but rather that these grants were part of his wider aims in Wales.<sup>3</sup>

It is also unclear whether the 1210 fines imposed upon the wider Cistercian Order were imposed on houses in Wales. A reference in the *Annals of Margam* does however suggest they were, relating how Margam and Beaulieu were the only abbeys to escape the taxation.<sup>4</sup> Not only does this suggest that the abbeys in Wales also had to pay fines in 1210 it also suggests an especially positive relationship between King John and Margam abbey. The *Annales Cambriae* also suggests that the abbeys of Wales were fined in 1210, relating,

On his [John's] return, putting aside his fear of God, he took vengeance on the churches, he burdened the magnificent ecclesiastical beneficed priests with unheard of taxes. Thus it was that many monasteries of the Cistercian Order that had never been so heavily tested or the like, to the point they were seen to be almost destroyed.<sup>5</sup>

These Welsh sources suggest the fines were also imposed, at least in part in Wales, for if not, then it seems surprising that it is recorded, at least without the phrase 'the Cistercian Order in England.' Yet it remains improbable that all Cistercian houses in Wales were actually fined, for it was outside John's power to compel houses, which were in the heartland of *Pura Wallia*, to contribute. How could he for example ensure payment from Strata Florida, an abbey at which Gerald of Wales deposited his books so they would be 'out of the power of the English.'<sup>6</sup> Therefore it seems likely that John imposed the 1210 Order-wide fine upon only those houses in Wales which were in his power or at least those which he travelled past on his way back

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<sup>3</sup> See chapter 4, pp. 140-52.

<sup>4</sup> *Ann. Marg.*, p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> '*Annales Cambriae: A Translation of Harleian 3859; PRO E.164/1; Cottonian Domitian, A 1; Exeter Cathedral Library MS. 3514 and MS Exchequer DB Neath, PRO E*', ed. Paul Martin Remfry (Malvern 2007), p. 111.

<sup>6</sup> Gerald of Wales, *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, p. 162.

from Ireland. Moreover, with no abbots from houses in Wales attending the Chapter General of 1210, we can suggest that John's command that all abbots were to be prevented from attending was equally applied to abbots of Welsh houses.<sup>7</sup>

Although John extorted letters from the Cistercians in 1212 before supposedly exacting money from them in reparation for the damages inflicted upon his brother-in-law, Raymond VI of Toulouse by the Albigensian Crusade, then compelling each abbey to provide him with carts and horses for his Welsh campaign, there is no evidence that any of this was applied in Wales, with no mention of these extortions in the Welsh sources.<sup>8</sup> Clearly therefore, although there are occasions when John's wider relations with the Cistercian Order impacted the Cistercians in Wales, this was certainly not always the case.

Given how the royal charters to Strata Florida and Strata Marcella in 1200 are clear indications of favour, perhaps one of the most obvious ways of determining his relationship with each abbey is an analysis of the charters, patent and close letters John granted to each house.<sup>9</sup> Despite the problems with the use of charter evidence, especially as some were requested, this remains a useful analysis. For charters granted to an abbey especially for no or relatively little payment remains illustrative

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<sup>7</sup> *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, vol. 1, pp. 374-7.

<sup>8</sup> See above, chapter 1, pp. 63-4.

<sup>9</sup> There can be problems in collecting these grants however. Edward Owen in his *Catalogue of the Manuscripts Relating to Wales in the British Museum*, suggested that British Library, Add. Man. 4562, f.292 concerned a payment by Aberconwy abbey to King John for rights to buy land in Worcester. On closer inspection, it is an eighteenth century transcription by Thomas Madox, who was preparing for his proposed work '*Feudal History and Customier of England* [sic]', of a Pipe Roll entry from 1211, whereby a fine was imposed on Aberconwy abbey which came under the Worcester Account. It should be noted however, that Edward Owen was not the first to make this error, in fact Henry Ellis when publishing '*The register and chronicle of Aberconwy abbey*' in 1847 also made this mistake: *Catalogue of the Manuscripts Relating to Wales in the British Museum*, ed. Edward Owen (London, 1922), vol. 4, p. 909; British Library, Add. Man. 4562, f. 292; *Pipe Roll 13 John*, p. 253; '*The register and chronicle of the abbey of Aberconwy*', ed. H. Ellis, *Camden Miscellany* 39 (London 1847), p. 3.



of favour, in the same way that extracting large payments is indicative of negative relations.

Table 9 - Grants to the Cistercian Abbeys of Wales.<sup>10</sup>

<b>Abbey</b>	<b>Content of Charter/s</b>	<b>Date</b>
Aberconwy	1) Protection and Quittance of toll	1 Apr. 1202
Cwmhir	1) Confirmation 2) Protection and Quittance of Toll	27 Dec. 1214 27 Dec. 1214
Dore	1) Confirmation 2) Grant of land in Trivel 3) Restored Land 4) Re-issue of above 5) Grant of land and permission to enlarge a millpond 6) Wine given to Dore 7) Deforestation of Monastic Land	c.1199 15 Sept. 1202 30 Aug. 1213 4 Nov. 1213 30 July 1215 5 Oct. 1215 28 July 1216
Llantarnam	1) Quittance of toll and Custom	c.1189-99
Margam	1) Confirmation 2) Protection 3) Confirmation 4) Confirmation (x2) 5) Confirmation	4 Mar. 1193 14 May 1205 15 May 1205 22 July 1207 11 Aug. 1207
Neath	1) Grant and Confirmation 2) Confirmation 3) Confirmation and Quittance of Toll	c.1189-99 5 Aug. 1207 6 Jan. 1208
Strata Florida	1) Confirmation 2) Quittance of Toll 3) License to sell its wool abroad 4) Ordered its destruction	11 Apr. 1200 11 Apr. 1200 29 May 1212 17 Aug. 1212
Strata Marcella	1) Quittance of Toll 2) Confirmation	11 Apr. 1200 11 Apr. 1200
Tintern	1) Wine given to Tintern	5 Oct. 1215
Whitland	1) License to sell and buy 2) Confirmation 3) Protection and Quittance of Toll 4) Elevate abbot to Bishopric 5) Royal assent to election to Bishopric of Bangor	15 Dec. 1204 27 Dec. 1214 27 Dec. 1214 13 Mar. 1215 13 Apr. 1215

Source - See Appendix II.

<sup>10</sup> The abbeys of Basingwerk, Cymer and Valle Crucis have been omitted from this table as they did not receive anything from John.

At first glance there appears to be very little pattern to John's charters to the various abbeys. What can be said with some certainty even at this point, however, is that John did not treat 'Welsh' Cistercian houses differently from 'English' ones, with grants to both, which certainly goes some way towards undermining the argument that there was a discernible split within the Order. The absence of grants meanwhile to Valle Crucis and Cymer is not evidence of negative relations based on ethnicity for he did not grant anything to Basingwerk, and he only granted Tintern wine, hardly suggestive of a particular positive relationship, especially considering that this letter close was directed not only to Tintern and Dore abbey but another twelve Cistercian houses. The numerous *inspeximus* charters relating to these abbeys that do not refer to any grant from John, undermine the possibility that grants to these houses were made and simply lost. For example, a large *inspeximus* charter to Basingwerk in 1285 enumerates charters by amongst others Henry II; while an *inspeximus* to Tintern in 1307 again enumerates numerous charters including those of Henry II and William Marshal the Younger.<sup>11</sup> When the very purpose of this charter type was to inspect and record existing charters, the lack of any reference to anything from John is suggestive that he issued nothing to these houses, for any existing royal charters or grants would have been confirmed or at least mentioned in such charters. For why would they in later years confirm a Henry II charter, for example, if they were also granted a John charter?

The only occurrence of serious negative interactions between John and Welsh Cistercian houses comes in 1212 when John ordered his mercenary captain Falkes de Bréauté to destroy Strata Florida, yet this is likely unconnected to its 'Welshness'.<sup>12</sup> For John had in previous years enjoyed seemingly positive interactions with the abbey, as demonstrated when he granted it a confirmation charter and quittance of toll in April 1200 in the midst of his

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<sup>11</sup> *C.Ch.R.*, vol. 2, pp. 289-91, vol. 3, pp. 88-9.

<sup>12</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 112. This charter and what it may mean for John and his relations with the Cistercians in Wales is discussed in far greater detail later, see chapter 4, pp. 159-163.

dispute with the wider Order. If interactions with Strata Florida and other abbeys were predetermined and dependant on their ‘Welshness’, they would not fluctuate, certainly not to this degree. The granting of numerous charters to Welsh houses, whilst seemingly neglecting the English houses of Basingwerk and Tintern, certainly indicates that ethnic orientation was unimportant to John. His relationship with the Benedictine Carmarthen priory is still more suggestive of this. In 1208 Kadiour, the clearly Welsh prior of Carmarthen, paid 10 marks to hold his priory in peace. John agreed, commanding William de London to hold the priory in peace and to do no molestation to the prior, and then commanding the bishop of St Davids to cause the canons of Llanthony Gloucester [Llanthony Secunda] to depart from the priory.<sup>13</sup> Clearly there was an effort by either William de London or the canons of Llanthony Secunda themselves to take control of this priory, however for just 10 marks John was willing to prevent this, even though it would have meant an English takeover of this Welsh house. Even accounting for his insatiable demand for money, it is unlikely that John would accept just ten marks to prevent an English takeover if the ethnicity of religious houses was important to him.

Some abbeys were seemingly far more likely than others to try and obtain confirmation charters. Insley demonstrated that 32 of Margam abbey’s 60 surviving charters are confirmations, whilst all seven surviving Strata Florida charters are confirmations, strongly suggesting they both had a policy of continually trying to get confirmations of their existing holdings. This lies in stark contrast to the surviving Strata Marcella charters, of which most are new grants of land, with very few confirmations.<sup>14</sup> This, alongside the lack of any form of cartulary for Strata Marcella led Insley to argue that the monks of Strata Marcella

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<sup>13</sup> *Rot. de Obl. et Fin.*, p. 434.

<sup>14</sup> *The Charters of the Abbey of Ystrad Marchell*, ed. Graham C. G. Thomas, (Aberystwyth, 1997); Charles Insley, ‘From Rex Wallie to Princeps Wallie: charters and state formation in thirteenth-century Wales’, *The Medieval State: Essays Presented to James Campbell*, ed. J. R. Maddicott and D. M. Palliser (London, 2000), p. 185.

were less concerned with securing confirmations than those of Margam due to the more settled tenorial conditions in Powys and Gwynedd.<sup>15</sup> Yet this does seem unconvincing especially considering the sheer number of battles fought in these areas between the native Welsh. However, the fact that the monks were apparently little concerned with securing themselves confirmation charters suggests that at least in the case of Strata Marcella the charters granted by John must be interpreted as a sign of favour.

It is crucial, where possible, to come to an appreciation of what charters were probably issued at the request of the house, and are therefore not immediately indicative of John's relations with the abbey.<sup>16</sup> With Neath abbey hoping to relocate to its property at Exford in Somerset (perhaps because of the dangers associated with the various and continuing conflicts in Wales or that its property was too scattered to be efficiently managed) it is plausible that the confirmation charters to Neath abbey were issued at the request of the abbey as they secured their existing holdings before they moved. This may only explain however its confirmation from John when he was count of Mortain, as by 1198 Cleeve abbey was founded too close to its proposed site and by 1199 even though it had been founded without permission Neath knew that there was no chance of Cleeve being rejected as a house of the Order.<sup>17</sup> Having said this, the Cistercian Chapter General had informed Neath that despite the proximity of Cleeve, they could still transfer to Exford if they wished to do so, as long as they did so within twenty years of the 1199 statute.<sup>18</sup> It is plausible therefore that the abbey may still have planned its transfer and only abandoned its plans in 1207. This would explain the confirmations in 1207 and 1208, however this can only be speculation.

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<sup>15</sup> Insley, 'From Rex Wallie to Princeps Wallie', p. 186.

<sup>16</sup> However, the amount the abbey paid for their charter remains indicative of favour or disfavour respectively. This is explored in more detail below, see pp. 103-104.

<sup>17</sup> *Twelfth-Century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter*, p. 427.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

The charters Margam and Neath obtained from 1205 may be connected to their dispute which began in the same year.<sup>19</sup> The dispute concerned the rights of pasture on the mountains to the east side of Neath, which Morgan ap Caradog had granted to Margam before granting the same pasture to the monks of Neath in 1205 as he was ‘overcome by greed on account of poverty.’<sup>20</sup> Through the arbitration of the abbots of Fountains, Warden and Boxely this dispute was settled on 28 May 1208 when it was agreed that two thirds of the pasture be granted to Margam whilst Neath were allowed to keep the remaining third.<sup>21</sup> Gerald of Wales indicates that two abbeys on the South Wales coast, which have been suggested as Margam and Neath, whilst in dispute even went as far as attacking each other, with monks from Neath abbey leading a party of hired men against the lands of Margam abbey and attacking one of its granges, driving all the cattle and horses to a mountain hide-out.<sup>22</sup> Obtaining charters from King John to help them in their dispute seems mild in comparison. For Margam abbey, the charters John issued must be considered within the wider framework of Margam frequently gaining confirmation charters and charters of protection not only from John but also from the papal court. Namely, Margam gained two papal bulls from Innocent III in 1203. Firstly, they gained a bull that instructed the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops and clergy of the province to excommunicate those who seek to take tithes from Margam abbey.<sup>23</sup> Secondly, they gained a papal bull that confirmed all their possessions and privileges.<sup>24</sup> While some abbeys did gain charters to aid themselves with disputes, the fact that some abbeys did not get a charter when or just after they were in dispute suggests a negative relationship with the king. It seems difficult if not

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<sup>19</sup> *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, vol. 1, p. 318.

<sup>20</sup> *The Acts of Welsh Rulers*, no. 141.

<sup>21</sup> *Cartae et alia Munimenta Quae ad Dominium de Glamorgancia Pertinent*, ed. William Lewis (Cardiff, 1910), vol. 2, no. 329, p. 330.

<sup>22</sup> Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, vol. 4, pp. 131-3; Williams, *The Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 147; Cowley, *The Monastic Orders in South Wales*, p. 124.

<sup>23</sup> *Cartae et alia Munimenta Quae ad Dominium de Glamorgancia Pertinent*, vol. 2, no. 281, p. 280-1.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 282, pp. 282-7.

inexplicable that Llantarnam abbey, if it enjoyed a positive relationship with the king, did not request a confirmation charter from John in or before 1203. For before 1203 Llantarnam was in dispute with Margam abbey concerning the land of Ynys Newydd in Gwent, and the land between the rivers Taff and Neath.<sup>25</sup>

It is perhaps misleading to suggest that the sheer number of charters issued to abbeys is a clear indication of the abbey most favoured by John. For in many ways the fact that even one charter was granted to Aberconwy abbey is truly remarkable and perhaps more of an indication of favour than the numerous charters granted to Margam. For John granted Aberconwy protection and quittance of toll in 1202 despite the fact that the abbey held no lands from John or in fact from the English, being firmly established in the heartland of Gwynedd.<sup>26</sup> It is also possible that John would use the issuing of charters as a money making exercise. However, even if an abbey did pay for a charter, the amount it cost the monks can be indicative of favour or disfavour. This is certainly the case for many of the charters mentioned above. In the case of Margam abbey, although there is no evidence for payment for the charter issued when John was count of Mortain, Margam paid 20 marks and two palfreys for their 1205 charter,<sup>27</sup> while their 1207 charter cost 100 marks and two horses.<sup>28</sup> This was only in fact payment for one of their charters in 1207, the other cost them an additional 100 marks.<sup>29</sup> In total therefore, Margam paid 220 marks and 2 good horses just on charters. This at first glance certainly suggests a negative relationship, at least during 1207. Neath abbey also paid for its charters, for it paid 100 marks and a palfrey for its 1207 charter.<sup>30</sup> However, these prices are relatively low compared to others: in 1200 John charged

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<sup>25</sup> *Catalogue of the Manuscripts Relating to Wales in the British Museum*, vol. 2, p. 554.

<sup>26</sup> The reason this charter was issued shall be discussed later, see chapter 4, pp. 152-9.

<sup>27</sup> *Pipe Roll 10 John*, p. 24.

<sup>28</sup> *Rot. de Obl. et Fin.*, p. 386.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 424.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 389.

the abbot of York £100 and £200 to Bury St Edmunds for their confirmation charters.<sup>31</sup> Yet as these houses were far wealthier than Margam and Neath it is possible that the prices charged may simply reflect how much they could pay rather than the relationship with a monarch. Therefore, charging for charters can only be deemed an indication of negative relations if the amount charged is significantly higher than those charged to other abbeys or beyond that charged to wealthier abbeys. Nevertheless, it remains the case that Margam was charged significantly more for its charters in 1207 than it was in 1205, suggestive that between these years something had changed in its relations with John.<sup>32</sup>

Simply from the amount paid for charters, we can suggest serious negative relations between John and Dore, with Dore abbey paying £999 6s 4d and ten palfreys for its three charters.<sup>33</sup> This must have put a significant burden on such a small house. Dore was in no way on the same scale as the great northern abbeys like Fountains, or even on the same scale as Margam, demonstrated by its net income of £101 in 1535 compared to the £181 of Margam and the £1115 of Fountains.<sup>34</sup> These charters and the amount Dore paid for them certainly could be a symbol of John's displeasure with the abbey, when you consider that the almost £1000 the monks spent on charters in John's reign was approximately ten times higher than their sixteenth century annual income.

Surprisingly, there is no evidence for fines being imposed or goods being offered in exchange for other abbeys' charters in Wales. This cannot be explained by the fact that for numerous years the Fine Rolls are lost, for very often such fines appear on the Pipe Rolls. Even though there was of course no regular tax collection in the heartland of Wales under which such fines would be recorded, Welsh payments are often recorded under the accounts

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<sup>31</sup> *Pipe Roll 2 John*, pp. 110, 148.

<sup>32</sup> For an analysis of their relationship, see below, chapter 4, pp. 122-40.

<sup>33</sup> Dore abbey paid £333 6s 4d, for their confirmation charter in 1199; In 1215 they paid 600 marks and 10 palfreys for their charter, and in 1216 a further 300 marks for another charter: *Rot. de Obl. et Fin.*, p. 3; *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 227; *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 191b.

<sup>34</sup> Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, pp. 104, 108, 111.

of the border counties.<sup>35</sup> The fines imposed on Strata Florida, Basingwerk and Aberconwy meanwhile appear on the rolls in 1211, suggesting that these houses' other payments would be recorded.<sup>36</sup> It is also not the case that normally a single payment was made to the king and as such would only be recorded on a financial record, such as the Pipe or Fine Rolls. When the abbot had to travel to pay the fine, it could well be recorded on the Close Rolls, as it was when the Margam cellarer visited the king at Bradenstoke, Wiltshire, in 1207 to pay the fine imposed on the abbey.<sup>37</sup> Even given the obvious losses in source materials it does seem remarkable that if any of these other abbeys did pay for their charters there is not a single reference, strongly suggesting these abbeys paid nothing and consequently they are indicative of royal favour.

An analysis of the fines and gifts to respective houses contained within the Pipe Rolls provides another useful method of determining the relationship between John and individual houses.<sup>38</sup> We have to be extremely careful however in considering all references, whether fines or gifts, as an indication of John's relations with the abbey for John may not have even been aware of them. The only reference to Tintern abbey within the Pipe Rolls, when the monks were fined 200 marks in 1212 and two palfreys for transgressing the forest, is not indicative of John's relations with the abbey, for it was probably imposed by the chief forester, especially given it appears under the 'forest account'.<sup>39</sup> Small fines also probably had little to do with John but rather once again local officials, for example, the one mark Basingwerk owed as a forest fine in 1212.<sup>40</sup> Even the £10 Basingwerk received annually from 1199 to 1207 under the Nottingham and Derbyshire account is once again less than

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<sup>35</sup> For example, the recording of 200 marks and one palfrey owed by the men of Carmarthen for having a confirmation of the king's charter, under the Gloucestershire account in 1201: *Pipe Roll 3 John*, p. 46.

<sup>36</sup> These fines are discussed in greater detail below, see pp. 106-107.

<sup>37</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 92b.

<sup>38</sup> Although these have been considered earlier, they were only considered when reference was made to payment in return for a charter.

<sup>39</sup> *Pipe Roll 14 John*, p. 145.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167.



informative about John's relations with this house.<sup>41</sup> This was paid merely as a matter of routine, for Henry II in 1157 gave Basingwerk abbey not the land of Langendal but rather only the money from it.<sup>42</sup> As this payment of £10 *per annum* to Basingwerk abbey from Langendal commenced from 1194 therefore even before John's reign, the fact that it remained unaltered throughout his reign means it cannot be used to indicate relations either way.<sup>43</sup> We are even unsure why the payment stopped in 1207 for the Nottingham and Derbyshire account continued, however, as this payment never re-materialised even under Henry III it is unlikely that this is a mark of royal disfavour. Rather it is possible that sometime after 1207, Basingwerk actually received the land itself rather than simply the value of it. This seems even more likely when you consider that Langendal itself never re-materialised on the Pipe Rolls.

Despite such issues, the 840-mark fine imposed on Dore abbey in 1206 just for assarting five hundred acres of woodland certainly suggests negative relations,<sup>44</sup> as does the large fines imposed on some of the abbeys in Wales in 1211, with Basingwerk abbey offering £100 for the king's good will and to recover their lands, Strata Florida offering 1,200 marks, whilst Aberconwy owed 600 marks that they might have the king's favour and his letters patent to beg the money through the king's lands.<sup>45</sup> Despite Robinson and others suggesting the 1,200 marks owed by Strata Florida was offered to prevent John's commanded destruction of the abbey mentioned earlier, this cannot be the case for the fine was imposed in 1211 therefore before John's 1212 order of destruction.<sup>46</sup> Although the fine was still

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<sup>41</sup> Despite appearing before and after, this payment is not found in the 1201 Pipe Roll: *Pipe Rolls 1 John*, p. 205; *2 John*, p. 12; *4 John*, p. 189; *5 John*, p. 166; *6 John*, p. 164; *7 John*, p. 223; *8 John*, p. 77; *9 John*, p. 116.

<sup>42</sup> *The Cartae Antiquae Rolls 11-20*, ed. J. Conway Davies (Pipe Roll Society, NS. 33, 1957), pp. 156-7.

<sup>43</sup> As before despite appearing before and after, this payment is not found in the 1195 Pipe Roll: *Pipe Rolls 6 Richard*, p. 86; *8 Richard*, p. 272; *9 Richard*, p. 153; *10 Richard*, p. 117.

<sup>44</sup> *Pipe Roll 8 John*, p. 69.

<sup>45</sup> *Pipe Roll 13 John*, pp. 93, 235, 253.

<sup>46</sup> David M. Robinson, *The Cistercians in Wales: Architecture and Archaeology 1130-1540* (London, 2006), p. 268; The Cistercians in Yorkshire Project, Sheffield University. [[http://cistercians.shef.ac.uk/abbeys/strata\\_florida.php](http://cistercians.shef.ac.uk/abbeys/strata_florida.php)] accessed 25 May 2010.

outstanding in 1213 perhaps causing this confusion, it was to remain unpaid until 1248.<sup>47</sup> Although John possibly ordered Falkes de Bréauté to ‘destroy the abbey as far as he was able’ in 1212 in retaliation for the abbey’s failure to pay this now year old fine, it does seem unlikely.<sup>48</sup> An order of destruction is out of character, for, as shall be discussed in chapter 5 in relation to John’s treatment of those Cistercian abbeys in England who resisted paying his Order-wide taxation of 1210, John did not attempt to destroy abbeys who failed to pay their fines, he sent his agents to confiscate the abbeys’ lands.<sup>49</sup>

Although tempting, it is a mistake to link these 1211 fines to John’s relations with the wider Cistercian Order, namely his rupture with the Cistercian Order in 1210 when the brothers refused to pay him a subsidy, which resulted in John preventing them from attending their General Chapter and John fining the houses of the Order a significant sum. The 1210 fines were not recorded on the Pipe Rolls and had to be paid quickly with the abbot and monks of Forde given just 11 weeks to pay a 750-mark fine, with other abbots threatened with an additional 100-mark fine for every day they were late.<sup>50</sup> Yet the 1211 fines were on the Pipe Rolls, and Strata Florida took decades to pay their fine. More than this, the 1211 fine was an entire year after John’s breach with the wider Order. Although tempting to see these fines as John explicitly targeting these abbeys for disfavour, what seems far more likely is that these fines are indicative of John’s actions within Wales and his wider Welsh policy.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> The *Brenhinedd Y Saesson* relates under 1248: ‘In that year Gruffudd, abbot of Strata Florida, made a settlement with the king, in the month of July, concerning a debt that was owed by the monastery a long time before that, remitting the abbot and the community ten marks and two-score marks. And he paid three hundred marks’: *Brenhinedd Y Saesson or the Kings of the Saxons*, pp. 236-7.

<sup>48</sup> The license to transport wool abroad granted to Strata Florida just two months before this commanded destruction is not evidence of a positive relationship despite their lack of payment, for as mentioned earlier, this charter was issued at Westminster whilst according to Hardy’s itinerary John was at Winchester. Therefore, John was probably unaware of this charter being issued, especially as it contains a clause noting it was granted ‘by the lord of Winchester’ [*Per Dominum Wintoniensi*], indicating that this charter was issued on the authority of the Bishop of Winchester, not of John: *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 92b.

<sup>49</sup> This is certainly how John reacted to Meaux abbey’s failure to pay the fine imposed upon them in 1210, see below, chapter 6, pp. 251.

<sup>50</sup> This dispute is discussed in chapter 1, pp. 54-8.

<sup>51</sup> These fines are discussed in relation to his wider Welsh affairs later, see below chapter 4, pp. 160-61.

### 3.1 – Individual Relationships

There is clear evidence of an individualistic relationship between John and certain Cistercian abbeys in Wales, with grossly differing experiences for some Cistercian abbeys in Wales during the interdict. The very fact that John issued a charter to Dore abbey on 30 August 1213 restoring their lands to them, indicates its lands were confiscated.<sup>52</sup> Although the confiscation of monastic lands was not uncommon during the interdict and the subsequent excommunication of King John, the very fact that this is the only reference to a Welsh abbey having its lands confiscated, and one of only two Cistercian abbeys to have any lands confiscated, surely is an indication of disfavour.<sup>53</sup> It is clear that the confiscation of Dore's lands was part of the interdict for this restoration charter refers to lands they held before the discord between the king and the clergy.<sup>54</sup> It is also not the case that Wales was exempted from the interdict, for as the Church in Wales was subject to Canterbury it too was laid under interdict; confirmed by Welsh sources such as the *Annales Cambriae*.<sup>55</sup> Although it could be argued that John would be unable to confiscate the lands of many of the abbeys within Wales even if he wanted to, as they were outside his power, this argument does not explain why there is no mention in any source of any confiscation or indeed of restoration of Neath, Margam or Tintern lands, all of which were well within the power of the king and could certainly have been confiscated by the king if he so wished. Rather it seems that Dore was picked out for special disfavour and had a torrid time during the interdict. The Dore annalist who recorded on 2 July 1214 how the interdict was lifted which had 'lasted six years three

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<sup>52</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 148b.

<sup>53</sup> As mentioned previously only Dore and Meaux received a letter granting land back to them after the settlement with Rome, suggesting it was only these who had land confiscated.

<sup>54</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 148.

<sup>55</sup> 'Christianity was interdicted by the lord pope throughout England and Wales as the king opposed the archbishop of Canterbury.': *Annales Cambriae*, p. 110.

months and seventeen days,<sup>56</sup> certainly suggests they were counting down the days. This lies in stark contrast to the *Annals of Margam* which do not even record it, certainly suggesting they had a far easier time in the interdict and subsequent excommunication of John, than Dore abbey.<sup>57</sup> In fact Robinson has suggested that Margam abbey built its chapter house between 1203-13, certainly indicating Margam was unaffected by the interdict.<sup>58</sup> Therefore, although the interdict was placed upon the whole kingdom of England and Wales, John still had remarkably varying relations with the individual Cistercian abbeys of Wales. John's positive relations with Margam is further demonstrated when in 1212 John paid the abbot of Margam 100 shillings, possibly for the abbot of Margam's expenses whom he may have summoned to discuss how he may go about reconciling himself with the Church,<sup>59</sup> for this has been suggested as the reason why John had summoned the abbot of Fountains to meet him around the same time.<sup>60</sup> If this is the case then it is perhaps one of the best demonstrations of continuing positive relations between John and the abbey of Margam, as it suggests John trusted the abbot of Margam. Regardless, it remains a demonstration of positive relations, for at a time when John was fining monastic houses and confiscating Dore abbey's lands John was paying the expenses of the abbot of Margam. This payment also suggests that this positive relationship was reciprocal, for the abbot of Margam seemingly had no problem in coming to the court of an excommunicate king.

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<sup>56</sup> 'Annales Dorenses' ed. R. Pauli, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores* 27 (1885), p. 527; Joe Hillaby, 'Superfluity and singularity', in *A Definitive History of Dore Abbey*, ed. Ron Shoesmith and Ruth Richardson (Woonton, Almeley, 2000), p. 111.

<sup>57</sup> See the annals under the years 1213 and 1214: *Ann. Marg.*, pp. 32-3.

<sup>58</sup> Robinson, *The Cistercians in Wales: Architecture and Archaeology*, p. 192.

<sup>59</sup> *Pipe Roll 17 John and Praestita 14-18 John*, p. 92.

<sup>60</sup> *Pipe Roll 14 John*, p. xxix.

### 3.2 - The Wider Relationship Between the Welsh and English and the Cistercians in Wales

It is clear that King John's relationship with each abbey seems to have little to do with whether the house was 'Welsh' or 'English' in ethnicity. Although at first this may seem extremely surprising, from an analysis of the relationship between the English and Welsh with the Cistercians abbeys in Wales, it shall become clear that John was by no means unique in seemingly not considering the ethnicity of the house as a factor. An analysis of the gifts and grants made to the Cistercians is perhaps the most appropriate; as one would expect the English to make grants to 'English' houses whilst the Welsh would grant to 'Welsh' houses. It is important to note however, that the lack of, for example, English gifts to the 'Welsh' house of Aberconwy should not be taken as evidence of the English treating this house differently because of its ethnicity for it is more likely that simply there were no English people living remotely close to the abbey. Therefore, it is only worth exploring the gifts to abbeys in which both English and Welsh were nearby. Despite evidence of serious breakdowns between the English and Welsh and abbeys of a different orientation, whether it be Llywellyn ap Iorwerth exacting a 60 mark tribute from Margam abbey in 1231 or the attack launched on Whitland abbey by English forces in February 1258, it is only by analysing the relationships between them based on charter evidence can we ascertain whether King John's relationships with the Order in Wales was unique.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, such breakdowns were not common and may simply reflect the fact that Cistercian houses were deemed sources of revenue, whether through the forced payment of tributes or by attacking and looting them.

Perhaps an interesting abbey to consider first given the generally negative relations it had with John is the English abbey of Dore. Founded by Robert de Ewyas in 1147, Dore was seemingly a very 'English' house. Not only was Dore founded by the English, the abbot was

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<sup>61</sup> *Ann. Marg.*, p. 39; Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, p. 28.

also used by the English in negotiations and in fact, technically Dore abbey is within Herefordshire, and not therefore even within Wales. The analysis of the ethnicity of the members of the house also demonstrated that each monk, whose name was known and not ambiguous, was English.<sup>62</sup> Despite which there are five examples of both Welsh donations and confirmations to this house.<sup>63</sup> Although five extant Welsh grants to Dore abbey there are only two known charters issued to Dore by the Welsh princes. Yet despite the low number, they are suggestive and surprising especially given the distance, for they were granted by the princes of Gwynedd.<sup>64</sup> Although it is important not to overemphasise these few charters, given the massive loss of Dore abbey charters they may indicate numerous now lost charters and grants to Dore abbey by the native Welsh. Donations to Dore abbey by the Welsh are also suggested in Gerald of Wales' *Speculum Ecclesiae*. Gerald described how the dying, 'especially the Welsh who are more simple minded and easy to deceive with promises of salvation in return for appropriate gifts' were carried off to Dore.<sup>65</sup> Although this is probably both an attack on the Welsh themselves for their supposed 'simple mindedness' and also the

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<sup>62</sup> This is not to say that the ethnic analysis is definitive. When the ambiguous names are removed we are left with only four names, which is a very small number. However, this evidence remains indicative that this is an English house. See Appendix 1.

<sup>63</sup> One is a charter roughly dated to the thirteenth century of a grant from Kenewricus son of Moredicus, granting Dore an area of his land and the rent from another. Given the grantor's name there can be little doubt that this person is Welsh, especially combined with the charter's witness list, which includes Griffin Goub and Llywellyn and Wen sons of Moredicus: *A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, ed. H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London, 1894), vol. 2, no. B.2605, p. 317. Another, albeit later example, is an agreement made 2 February 1280, between Dore abbey and Madoc ap Howel Goov, of Cummot, relating to a grant Madoc made to them of 40 cows: TNA: PRO E 326/36. Another grant to Dore by a Welsh person occurs in 1309-10 when Llywelyn ap Griffith demised a piece of land at Skenfrith, Abergavenny to Dore Abbey: Despite the name, this grant, given the date, does not come from Llywelyn the Last: TNA: PRO E 210/5760. In 1317-18, David ap Wronou granted to Dore the land between the lands of Ivor ap Wronou and Walter de Traveleye: It is likely that the name is in fact Dafydd rather than David, but the spelling in the catalogue has been maintained here, and as has been described above such names are interchangeable as both are rendered identically into Latin: *A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, vol. 2, no. B.2602, p. 317. Whilst a confirmation comes from Griffin son of Meuric in the early thirteenth century, who confirmed the grant made to Dore by Ralph de Baskerville of land out of his fee of Bredwardine, Herefordshire: TNA: PRO E 326/404.

<sup>64</sup> Although admittedly one of these charters is merely an arbitration by Llywellyn ap Iorwerth of a dispute between Dore and Strata Florida in 1209 and consequently hardly suggestive of positive relations: *The Acts of Welsh Rulers*, no. 230. The other that of Daffydd ap Llywellyn (d.1246), of July 1244-February 1246, is more suggestive. Addressed to Rhys ap Hywel, Gwilym Fychan, Llywellyn ap Gruffudd and Madog Fychan the bailiffs of Brecon, Dafydd informs them to protect Dore from injury and violence and not to give refuge to those who have committed these offences: *The Acts of Welsh Rulers*, no. 307.

<sup>65</sup> Hillaby, 'Superfluity and singularity', p. 109.

supposed greed of Dore abbey, or more precisely that of its abbot, Adam, this reference is in many ways extremely interesting. Firstly, it suggests that not only could the native Welsh be buried within this supposed English house but also that they wanted to be, rather than in a house of supposed Welsh orientation. Secondly, it further reaffirms that gifts to Dore abbey by the Welsh were by no means unknown or unusual, for Gerald does not express surprise that the Welsh were giving gifts to this ‘English’ house, suggestive that in wider society at least there was no such distinction.

Not only is it the donations by the Welsh to Dore abbey which suggests that this house was not treated differently because of its ethnicity, but also the actions of the Welshman Cadwgan of Llandefai, once abbot of Whitland, who with the assent of King John, became the Bishop of Bangor in June 1215.<sup>66</sup> When Cadwgan, a man described by the *Brut Y Tywysogyon* as a ‘man of great accomplishments and learning’ decided to resign his bishopric in 1236, perhaps to retire, instead of retiring to his old abbey of Whitland, or even to Llantarnam abbey where his brother was a monk, or in fact any abbey that was ethnically Welsh, he retired to Dore abbey.<sup>67</sup> Where according to the *Annals of Tewkesbury* he died in April 1241 and was presumably buried.<sup>68</sup> Although Cowley saw this as an act of piety rather than a resignation by Cadwgan, for he chose to become a simple monk, this in many ways does not matter.<sup>69</sup> What is important is that Dore abbey, an English abbey was chosen. Yet if Cowley was correct and Dore was chosen for pious reasons, then this further suggests that Dore’s relative ethnicity was not even considered by Cadwgan. It seems clear then, from the Welsh donations and Gerald’s reference, the Welsh laity did not discriminate on the basis of

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<sup>66</sup> King John’s involvement in this election and what it means for his relationship with Whitland and the wider Welsh is discussed later, see below, chapter 4, pp. 165-8.

<sup>67</sup> *Brut Y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, p. 104; David Walker, ‘Cadwgan (d. 1241)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 9, p. 427.

<sup>68</sup> *Ann. Tewk.*, p. 122.

<sup>69</sup> Cowley, *The Monastic Orders in South Wales*, p. 123.

ethnicity, whilst the reference to Cadwgan choosing Dore, suggests that Welsh members of the Religious Orders also did not discriminate on this basis.

Although unsurprisingly far more charters were issued to Dore abbey by the English, disputes still arose between them. In 1203 the Chapter General committed the abbot of Margam to investigate a dispute between Dore abbey and the merchant men of William de Braose.<sup>70</sup> There were still even more serious disputes with the English, with Dore abbey in dispute with Walter Clifford III, Lord of Bronllys and his bailiff in 1240-41, and in fact during another dispute with Clifford in 1252 the Welsh abbot of Cwmhir acted as the arbitrator.<sup>71</sup> It seems clear therefore, that there is little evidence for either a particularly good relationship with Dore because of its ethnicity or orientation by the English or of a particularly bad relationship with the Welsh, in fact there are several examples which are the total opposite of what one would expect if ethnicity was an important factor.

The experience of Dore abbey was not unique, other supposed 'English' houses received grants from the Welsh. There are some four recorded donations to Neath abbey by the native Welsh princes of Glamorgan.<sup>72</sup> Although four charters are hardly impressive this again more than likely reflects the significant loss of Neath abbey's charters and also the loss of its register. Basingwerk abbey received ten charters from the Welsh princes of Powys and Gwynedd.<sup>73</sup> Whilst another 'English' house, Margam received some 61 charters from the

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<sup>70</sup> *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, vol.1, p. 294.

<sup>71</sup> TNA: PRO E 326/8398; Williams, *The Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 28.

<sup>72</sup> *The Acts of Welsh Rulers*, nos. 119-20, 140, 156.

<sup>73</sup> Five from Llywellyn ap Iorwerth (d.1240) of Gwynedd, one from Elise ap Madog (d.1223) and four from Owain Brogyntyn ap Madog (d.1218) both of Powys, all of which date between 1186 and 1240: *The Acts of Welsh Rulers*, nos. 213-16, 224, 486, 492-95. Although these 10 charters from the Welsh princes to Basingwerk are extremely few, especially in comparison to the 52 they granted to the Welsh house of Strata Marcella, this perhaps reflects the survival of records more than specific indications of favour. Perhaps best demonstrated by the fact that from the surviving charters an argument could be made that the Welsh princes enjoyed a more positive relationship with Basingwerk than Cwmhir and Cymer, to which only nine and two charters respectively from Welsh princes survive: *The Acts of Welsh Rulers*, nos. 34, 103-5, 108-9, 113-5, 209, 229, 547.



Welsh princes of Glamorgan, and 3 from those of Senghennydd.<sup>74</sup> Margam also received numerous grants from the free Welsh landholders, with Pryce suggesting that there are as many as 140 charters recording grants by the free Welsh to Margam in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>75</sup> Even given the remarkably impressive survival of Margam abbey charters and the likelihood that many were issued in return for payment, the sheer number of charters remains extremely impressive, and certainly indicates that the abbey was not defined by its 'Englishness'. Although Evans argued that this is rather evidence that they lived in fear of the monks, and the grants of land to Margam was part of an attempt to flee the area, there seems to be no evidence to support this theory.<sup>76</sup> Rather this theory seems like a blatant attempt to explain Welsh grants to an English abbey that was supposedly oppressing the native Welsh, rather than accepting the Welsh may have seen this house merely as a Cistercian house to which they could give grants to aid their soul. Seemingly therefore, the princes were merely keeping up with the fashion of monastic patronage to Cistercian houses.<sup>77</sup> For as Pryce suggested, 'monasteries like castles were emblems of Anglo-French culture and power which those rulers tried to emulate'.<sup>78</sup> Reaffirming the suggestion that ethnic orientation was not a consideration.

There is even evidence of serious breakdowns between 'Welsh' houses and the native Welsh princes, with for example David of North Wales launching a complaint against

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<sup>74</sup> *The Acts of Welsh Rulers*, nos. 122, 127-8, 130-39, 141-55, 157-80, 182-90, 616-8. Although these charters are numerous, many are confirmations, yet even having excluded these, the number of fresh grants remains impressive, with some 39 apparently fresh grants: *The Acts of Welsh Rulers*, 122, 131-9, 142-6, 148-50, 159-61, 165-8, 170-71, 173-4, 176, 179, 182-6, 189, 616-7. Although some 22 charters mention some form of payment, by no means all charters were issued in return for payment: *The Acts of Welsh Rulers*, nos. 122, 132-4, 136, 143-6, 148, 150-1, 160, 166, 168, 171, 175-6, 183-6.

<sup>75</sup> Pryce, 'Patrons and patronage among the Cistercians in Wales', 88; *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Penrice and Margam Abbey manuscripts in the possession of Miss Talbot of Margam*, 8 vols., ed. Walter de Gray Birch (London, 1893-1905).

<sup>76</sup> Evans, *Margam Abbey*, p. 61.

<sup>77</sup> Huw Pryce, 'Patrons and patronage among the Cistercians in Wales', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 154 (2005), 86.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

Aberconwy in 1192.<sup>79</sup> Although we are unsure what the issue or complaint was, the very fact there was one at all suggests that the Welsh princes by no means enjoyed continually positive relations with the Welsh abbeys. Yet it must be noted that if this was a complaint launched by David of North Wales against an ‘English’ house, it would be deemed by some as evidence of conflict due to ethnicity.

Clearly therefore the Welsh did not treat houses which were ‘English’ in orientation obviously worse than those of Welsh orientation, and perhaps therefore it is unsurprising that John’s interactions were also not fundamentally based on this distinction. However, it is still worth analysing the relationship between the English and ‘Welsh’ Cistercian houses to see if the same is true on the English side. Although there is less evidence, what will become clear is that the English also did not necessarily treat Welsh houses worse than English houses, at least on the basis of grants to the abbey.

Just a simple analysis of whether any lands were given to Whitland and Strata Florida by the English is not possible nor worthwhile, for as mentioned previously both abbeys were initially founded by the English before becoming Welsh after the conquest by the Lord Rhys. Not all English grants are evidence of a positive relationship with a Welsh abbey therefore, for they may have been granted before these abbeys came under the direct patronage of the Welsh. Consequently it is only grants made to these abbeys after this conquest and associated change in patronage that suggest positive relations between these houses and the English. One such case is Payn de Chaworth’s (son and heir of Lady Hawise de London) grant of 19 acres of land to Whitland abbey in pure and perpetual alms, on condition that every priest, in his daily mass should make a special mention for the living of the Chaworth family, from an

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<sup>79</sup> *Twelfth-Century Statutes from the Cistercian General Chapter*, p. 248.

*inspeximus* of Henry III in 1270.<sup>80</sup> Chaworth's charter was issued long after the abbey supposedly became Welsh, and is therefore evidence of a positive relationship between the English and a Welsh house. Francis argued that this charter, 'reveals how the Cistercians preserved the friendship of the Anglo-Normans while winning the affections of the Welsh.'<sup>81</sup> This seems to suggest that the monks attempted to remain somewhat neutral or perhaps this charter reflects that the orientation was not a particularly important factor in relation to donations and confirmations to the Cistercians in Wales. Although there are no surviving charters which suggest that the English made donations to Strata Florida. However this could once again be due to the loss of evidence or simply the expulsion of the English after the Lord Rhys' conquest and therefore were not in a position to grant to this abbey.

There is however evidence of donations by the English to other 'Welsh' houses. With for example, five charters from the English to Strata Marcella abbey, all of which date from the middle of the thirteenth century.<sup>82</sup> Although these charters are not overly impressive in nature, primarily consisting of confirmations or quitclaims, they still strongly suggest a seemingly neutral if not positive relationship and in no way suggests the negative relationship that one may expect should exist. The same is true of donations to Cwmhir abbey, specifically by the Mortimers. With Roger Mortimer II for example, issuing an important charter to the abbey in 1199, which granted lands in Gwrtheyrnion and Maelienydd, and states he granted this not only for the souls of his family but also those of his men who had died in the conquest of Maelienydd and is consequently a pious donation.<sup>83</sup> This positive relationship was seemingly reciprocal, with the abbey allowing the Mortimers to hunt on its

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<sup>80</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 5, p. 589; O'Sullivan, *Cistercian Settlements in Wales and Monmouthshire*, p. 9.

<sup>81</sup> O'Sullivan, *Cistercian Settlements in Wales and Monmouthshire*, p. 9.

<sup>82</sup> *The Charters of the Abbey of Ystrad Marchell*, nos. 66, 72, 78-9, 82.

<sup>83</sup> 'An early charter of the abbey of Cwmhir', ed., B. G. Charles, *Transactions of the Radnorshire Society* 40 (1970), 68-74.

lands, surely an indication of favour.<sup>84</sup> Although these are the only few examples of English donations to Welsh houses, they are strongly suggestive that the relationship with these houses was not based on their 'ethnic' orientation.

Although it is certainly the case that the Welsh and English did not necessarily enjoy a more positive relationship with abbeys of a different orientation than those of their own orientation or their local abbey, this was not expected. There are conspicuously more charters issued in favour of their local houses of their own orientation and this is unsurprising for it is almost always the case that the local abbey would be of the same orientation as the donor. What this section hopes to have demonstrated however, is that relationships with the Cistercian abbeys were not predetermined. For although less in number, the number of charters from the Welsh to English houses and from the English to Welsh houses is sufficient enough to suggest that orientation was not a deciding factor it only mattered that the house was Cistercian.<sup>85</sup> If relations were based on ethnicity then there should be no donations at all from the Welsh to English houses or vice versa. The important factor in deciding which abbey to donate to was its status as Cistercian. The donations made to Margam, Neath and Dore abbeys are good examples of the positive relations enjoyed by the English Cistercians with the Welsh. These abbeys were the local abbey and the Welsh were seemingly unfazed in granting to them. Although the number of grants by the English to 'Welsh' houses is very small this is unsurprising for very few would be living near to these abbeys, unlike the Welsh who very often lived close to the abbey, albeit under English rule. Consequently it seems that King John was by no means alone in having a relationship with the Cistercians in Wales that

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<sup>84</sup> Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, p. 28.

<sup>85</sup> Perhaps the lack of grants from the Welsh is unsurprising when you consider how Walter Map compared the Cistercians to the Welsh: 'If you make a point of toil, cold and food, why, the Welsh lead a harsher life in all these respects. The Cistercians have numbers of coats, the Welsh none. The Cistercians wear no skins; nor do the Welsh. The former use no linen, the latter no wool [...] the one class has boots and shoes the other goes bare footed and bare legged. The monks eat no meat, the Welsh no bread.' Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium: Courtiers' Trifles*, ed. and trans. M. R. James, C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1983), p. 101.

seemingly transcended whether they were ‘Welsh’ or ‘English’ Cistercians. As John and others could enjoy positive relations with an abbey of a different orientation or ethnicity, other factors determined relations.

### 3.3 – King John and Dore abbey; A Case Study

The relationship between John and Dore abbey provides a useful case study of some of the other factors that determined relations. John’s relationship with Dore abbey, especially until the later years of his reign, was extremely negative, indicated by the extremely high prices it was forced to pay for its charters and its lands being at least partially confiscated during the interdict.<sup>86</sup> The abbey’s ethnicity or orientation cannot explain this, and therefore there must be other factors at play.

Although there are normally numerous possible explanations for King John’s relationship with abbeys and barons, there are fewer to explain John’s negative relations with Dore. However, this is not necessarily a constraint for although we have only one possible reason for the negative relations between John and Dore, it is extremely convincing, even though it comes from Gerald of Wales. Gerald in his *Speculum Ecclesiae*, relates how the abbot of Dore, Adam, coveted an area of land next to his abbey, namely the royal wood of Trivel.<sup>87</sup> In 1198 after a battle between the Welsh and English, one of the Herefordshire lords involved suggested that Adam cross to Aquitaine to see King Richard and tell him of the battle, suggesting Adam relate that the victory was mainly due to this particular lord. The abbot, in return, was to have a letter of introduction from the lord. Adam, trusting the letter of

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<sup>86</sup> The charter of 1202 to Dore is not indicative of positive relations, for as shall be discussed in the next chapter, it seems this charter was issued for political reasons. See below, chapter 4, pp. 134-5.

<sup>87</sup> Although the *Speculum Ecclesiae* does not mention the name of the wood, this story is an expansion of one found in his *De Rebus a Se Gestis* which names the wood as Trivel: Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, vol. 4, pp. 186-91; *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, p. 149.

recommendation and the power of money, crossed to see Richard. Having delivered the message and letter the abbot informed the king of three hundred acres of wild and rough royal domain, adjoining his abbey lands, which were a peril to the neighbourhood, inaccessible to all save Welshmen and robbers, to whom it offered a secure refuge. Adam proposed the king give the land to the abbey, offering in return three hundred marks. The king, unfamiliar with the area wanted more information; whereupon the abbot bribed a soldier of Hereford serving with the king, Ralph of Arden, to support him. The king, suitably reassured, granted the land. Encouraged by the success of this venture, the abbot returned later and bought an additional two hundred acres, with a stream for a mill, the finest piece of land in all the royal forests. Soon after this King Richard died; and John, who had often hunted in this very spot, and knew the value of the land, at once stripped the abbot of his new possession.<sup>88</sup>

Although little evidence for this, it certainly is convincing. John, as is well known loved hunting and it is certainly possible that whilst earl of Gloucester John hunted in this area and was aware of the value of this land.<sup>89</sup> Perhaps John regularly stayed at Kilpeck to hunt in Trivel wood whilst king, and as such he may have been less than enthused to discover that part of it had been granted to a Cistercian house.<sup>90</sup> A reference in the fine for Dore's 1199 confirmation supports this story, for it relates how they first made the fine to Richard but did not pay it, suggesting that the area was indeed first given by Richard.<sup>91</sup> Moreover, this story provides a possible explanation for John's extremely negative relations with Dore, especially in the early years of his reign. Although John's relations with Dore abbey did

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<sup>88</sup> Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, vol. 4, pp. 186-91; trans. in A. T. Bannister, *The History of Ewias Harold* (Hereford, 1902), pp. 46-8.

<sup>89</sup> Painter, *The Reign of King John*, p. 84.

<sup>90</sup> According to his itinerary John was at Kilpeck on at least 3 occasions, 11 March 1211, 27-8 November 1213 and 18-19 December 1214: Itinerary, p. lxi; Hillaby, 'Superfluity and Singularity', p. 111.

<sup>91</sup> *Rot. de Obl. et Fin.*, p. 3.

seemingly improve in the later years of his reign, this is not as clear cut as it first appears, as will be explored in greater detail later.<sup>92</sup>

To sum up, what has become clear throughout this analysis of King John's relationship with the Cistercians in Wales, is that on occasion his relationship was Order-wide. A good example being, when he prevented every single abbot of the Order, regardless of whether they were in Wales or in England, from attending their Chapter General in 1210. What has also become apparent is that it is often extremely difficult to ascertain whether the events recorded by many of the English chroniclers, whether it be the fine imposed on the Order in 1212 or the providing of wagons to the king for his Welsh campaign, applied to the Cistercians in Wales. However, leaving these problems aside it remains clear that John had a fundamentally different relationship with some abbeys in Wales over others. Surprisingly these grossly differing relations were not connected to the abbey's ethnic orientation, something that should go some way in undermining the suggestion that at least in the thirteenth century, such a distinction was important in determining relations, or even if an abbey was considered at all in ethnic terms. Although there are examples of negative relations with some Welsh abbeys, for example the fining of Strata Florida and Aberconwy there are equally examples of negative relations with English abbeys, for example the fining of Basingwerk or the confiscation of lands from Dore. Moreover, John was by no means unique in seemingly having little interest in an abbey's orientation.

It has also become clear that John's relations with individual abbeys vacillated greatly, for example enjoying positive relations with Strata Marcella and Strata Florida in April 1200, demonstrated by his granting of confirmation charters and quittances of toll for no payment in the midst of his dispute with the wider Order, then ordering the destruction of Strata Florida in 1212. Therefore, the reason behind John's interactions with individual

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<sup>92</sup> See below, chapter 4, pp. 163-5.

abbeys, especially ones with which he had varying relations, cannot be a static factor, such as their 'Welshness'. Moreover, although there are numerous examples of vacillating relations, there are also examples of positive relations with some abbeys whilst negative relations with other abbeys for the entire duration of his reign. It has become clear that John had a particularly positive and continuing relationship with Margam abbey, demonstrated not only by his granting of various charters, but also by the fact that Margam was one of only two abbeys exempted from the 1210 taxation. In contrast John had continuing negative relations with Dore abbey, not only charging significant sums for his charters, far above the average, but also seemingly confiscating its lands during the interdict, yet this was also an abbey to which John granted an area of land. If John's relations with the individual abbeys in Wales cannot be explained by his relations with the wider Cistercian Order or by the abbeys relative 'Welshness' there must of course be other factors which must explain these grossly varying relations. Although the case study of Dore suggests personal relations was one factor in determining relations whether positive or negative, this does not explain his relationship with other houses.



## CHAPTER 4

### THE 'USE' OF THE CISTERCIANS IN WALES

King John's varying relations with individual Cistercian abbeys in Wales were not based on their respective ethnic orientation, but rather on a variety of factors, with his relations with the wider Order not always a pre-determining factor. This chapter shall demonstrate that their interactions were on occasion, fundamentally connected with the local politics of the area and part of John's wider diplomatic and political efforts, whether it be to hurt the patron or to garner their support.<sup>1</sup> In addition, at least with the case of Dore abbey in John's later years this chapter shall argue that John's relations were part of his wider conciliation with the church. This chapter therefore argues that it is crucial not to view the gifts, grants and charters to Cistercian houses in Wales as isolated events, rather they must be analysed as part of the wider relationship between John and the Welsh. Although it is perhaps appropriate to discuss this in chronological order, given its long-standing nature this work shall discuss the influence of William de Braose upon John's relationship with some of the abbeys in Wales, predominantly Margam, first.

From 1193, John enjoyed a positive relationship with Margam abbey, typified by his granting of five charters. This however declined by 1207, when

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<sup>1</sup> Given this, it is perhaps surprising that Tintern abbey did not enjoy varying relations with the king, given that its patron was William Marshal. It would perhaps be expected that the relationship between John and Tintern would be based on his relationship with William Marshal, improving when Marshal was in favour and declining when out of favour. The relationship between John and Tintern was seemingly totally disconnected from this. Yet this need not undermine the argument, for William Marshal was a significant landholder and as such was the patron of numerous abbeys and as such it was another house which enjoyed varying relations with the king as a result of William Marshal's patronage, namely Marshal's own foundation, that of Cartmel priory, an Augustinian house. The relationship between John and Cartmel priory and its association with Marshal is analysed in chapter 6, pp. 239-42.

Margam was charged significant sums for its charters, before then improving in 1210, being exempted from a Cistercian wide taxation and then the abbot possibly advising John on a reconciliation with Rome in 1212. With ethnicity rejected, other factors must explain these oscillating interactions and this section shall demonstrate that despite numerous possible reasons John's relationship with Margam was, at least up to and including 1210, dependant on his relationship with its patron, William de Braose. Given the importance of the association between William de Braose and Margam abbey it is necessary to demonstrate their connection.<sup>2</sup> Although de Braose did not gain the custody of Glamorgan until 1202, he had an association with Margam from at least as far back as 1171-89, when he amongst others was ordered by Henry II to protect Margam and capture those offending against it.<sup>3</sup> The Margam annals further demonstrates their association, noting under 1199 how influential William de Braose was in assuring John's succession.<sup>4</sup> Given that his role is not mentioned in other sources, then this very much reads like an annalist praising his patron.<sup>5</sup>

It is also not the case that this positive relationship was determined by a positive relationship established before John was king and this continued into his reign. Although plausible, with John's connection to Margam assured by their

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<sup>2</sup> Although this has been done to some degree by Powicke, given its importance it is worth noting the evidence: F. M. Powicke, 'King John and Arthur of Brittany', *English Historical Review* 24 (1909), 670.

<sup>3</sup> Although the date given in Clark is c.1154-89, as the charter is also addressed to the Lord Rhys, who did not come to a form of peace with Henry until 1171, it seems highly unlikely Henry would address such a charter to Rhys prior to this date: *Cartae et Alia Munimenta quae ad Dominium de Glamorgancia Pertinent*, vol. 6, no. 1550, p. 2271. Given this insecure dating it is possible that the William de Braose to which it refers was William de Braose's father, William de Braose II, yet this need not undermine the argument here. For if nothing else it shows the long association of the de Braose family with Margam abbey, if not William de Braose III himself even before he gained the custody of Glamorgan.

<sup>4</sup> *Ann. Marg.*, p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> Admittedly, as the scribe who wrote these annals was writing c.1225-50, then this may merely indicate the later association between the de Braose family and Margam: Patterson, *The Scriptorium of Margam Abbey and the Scribes of Early Angevin Glamorgan*, p. 92.

charter of 1193, this possibility is unconvincing. For despite having similar, if not identical, contact with Neath and Llantarnam abbeys and others in England, John did not go on to have a particularly positive relationship with these houses.<sup>6</sup> Although an argument could be made that John struck up a particular rapport with the monks or abbot of Margam and not with others, there are several other factors which makes pre-existing relationships as an explanation unlikely. Firstly, throughout John's contact with the abbey, Margam had in total some four abbots.<sup>7</sup> Although it is possible John enjoyed a peculiarly positive personal relationship with each of these abbots it does seem remarkably unlikely. Secondly, the 1193 charter is the only occasion when we know John could have met the abbot. In fact, we can only definitively state that John was in Wales twice as earl of Gloucester, namely during his intervention in south west Wales in 1189 and in 1193, as all other charters were issued elsewhere, and the importance of Wales to John when earl of Gloucester is certainly up for debate.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, although John entered Wales at Richard's behest to relieve the siege of Carmarthen in 1189, coming to what the *Annales Cambriae* refers to as a 'private peace' with the Lord Rhys, it would only be conjecture to suggest that John met the abbot during this time.<sup>9</sup> Despite Orpen's suggestion, although John travelled to Ireland in 1185, he did not, as he was to do in 1210, visit Margam, or in fact even travel through Wales, with the *Annals of Chester* relating

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<sup>6</sup> Their pre-existing relationship determined, as with Margam by his charters to them, see chapter 3, p. 98. Whilst for pre-existing contact with houses in England see chapter 6, pp. 215-20.

<sup>7</sup> Namely, Cynan, Roger, Gilbert and John of Goldcliff: See Appendix I.

<sup>8</sup> *Earldom of Gloucester Charters*, nos. 1, 10, 31, 45, 50, 73, 80, 91, 107, 117, 163. Despite Stenton's suggestion it does seem unlikely that John was involved in relieving the 1192 siege of Swansea. His involvement is not testified by the sources as his 1189 intervention was, and the 100 mark payment to John to support him in the king's business at some point in 1192 Stenton cites as evidence for his involvement could merely be an attempt to pay him off: *Pipe Roll 5 Richard*, pp. xiv, 148.

<sup>9</sup> *Annales Cambriae*, p. 97.

how he went by ship, only stopping over at Pembroke on his way.<sup>10</sup> This point is further reinforced by the Margam annalist despite mentioning John's visit to Ireland, not relating that he went through Wales let alone stayed at Margam.<sup>11</sup> Although it is possible that the abbot of Margam visited John elsewhere, establishing this positive relationship, this could only ever be conjecture. It is not even the case that the charters John issued as earl of Gloucester were composed at Margam abbey's *scriptorium*. Although Patterson has convincingly suggested that Margam's *scriptorium* was important to the earls of Gloucester, acting as an 'external comital secretarial resource', through his analysis of John's charters issued as earl of Gloucester, he has demonstrated that there is no evidence John used Margam's *scriptorium* in such a way, even the charter John issued in 1193 was written by a member of John's administration as count of Mortain.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, it seems that King John's only definitive pre-existing contact with Margam was in 1193, yet if they were to build a positive relationship, to the extent it would impact later interactions, it would have to take more than a single brief encounter. Given that pre-existing contact does not always guarantee a positive relationship and the debatable amount of pre-existing contact anyway, it seems unlikely this played any role in later interactions.

As Margam was under the patronage of de Braose, John's interactions with it can only be appreciated in this light, with this the most important factor for their peculiarly positive relationship. Namely, the relationship with Margam was directly

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<sup>10</sup> G. H. Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans, 1169-1216* (Oxford, 1911), pp. 93. 'John Lackland, son of King Henry II, with a great band of armed men, and a multitude of ships, arrived by sea at Pembroke in Wales. On the Sunday after Easter he started for Ireland in order to be crowned king there.' 'Annales Cestrienses or The Chronicle of the Abbey of S. Werburg at Chester', ed. and trans. Richard Copley Christie, *Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 14 (1886), pp. 32-3.

<sup>11</sup> *Ann. Marg.*, p. 18.

<sup>12</sup> Patterson, *The Scriptorium of Margam Abbey*, p. 27.

connected to John's relationship with de Braose. This would explain the positive relationship between John and Margam abbey from 1193 and its decline from 1207, for de Braose was a man whom John held in high regard and continually rewarded with favours, until his rapid fall from grace in 1207 and 1208, being deprived of his custody of Glamorgan in February 1207 indicative of this.<sup>13</sup> Conversely, the charter John issued to Margam abbey on 4 March 1193 as earl of Gloucester, which granted Margam abbey his protection, was not issued because John enjoyed a positive relationship with de Braose. Rather it was issued to try and garner, amongst others, William de Braose's support, an important power holder in the region, holding amongst other lands and offices, the sheriffdom of Herefordshire. However, in order to understand why, an appreciation of John's actions in the 1190s during his brother Richard I's absence and how John's position during his intrigues of 1190-2 differed from those of 1193, is crucial.

Having enlarged John's land holdings on the death of Henry II to such an extent that he perhaps feared John might challenge for the throne whilst he was away, Richard in February 1190 made John swear that he would not set foot in England for three years. Yet whether due to the persuasion of their mother Eleanor or John swearing to serve Richard faithfully, Richard released John from this.<sup>14</sup> Whichever William of Newburgh was correct when he stated, 'John, being indulged with this tetrarchical power, became first ambitious of obtaining the monarchy, and afterwards faithless to his brother, and finally, manifestly hostile.'<sup>15</sup> For although when Richard departed on crusade in 1190 he left his chancellor, William

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<sup>13</sup> *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 68b.

<sup>14</sup> Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 3, p. 32.

<sup>15</sup> William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum* in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. Richard Howlett, (London, 1884), vol. 1, p. 302; trans. Joseph Stevenson, *The Church Historians of England* (London, 1861), vol. 4, part 2, pp. 559-60.

Longchamp the bishop of Ely in England, to rule in his stead, he soon became universally unpopular. With William of Newburgh noting how, '[he] domineered with most consummate arrogance equally over the clergy and the people' and 'Finally, the laity at that time felt him to be a king, and more than a king in England - the clergy, a pope and more than a pope; and, indeed, both of them an intolerable tyrant.'<sup>16</sup> Perhaps unsurprisingly it was not long until he and John came to a confrontation. The break came in 1191 when Longchamp demanded that Gerard de Camville give up Lincoln castle to him, Gerard refused and fled to John. Longchamp then collected troops from the surrounding area and began to besiege the castle, however appreciating that John had the support of the barons he sent for a foreign force.<sup>17</sup> John seeing this as his chance for power, took the castles of Nottingham and Tickhill and demanded that Longchamp lift the siege of Lincoln.<sup>18</sup> However, the two soon came to an agreement whereby according to Newburgh 'he satisfied John by abandoning Arthur's interest, and gave security to restore the royal fortresses to John, as the rightful heir, if perchance the king should not return from abroad.'<sup>19</sup> This was by no means the end of the matter for although Howden states 'John was quiet for the time being' it seems the earlier agreement was not fully carried out and another had to be made and both Longchamp and John agreed to meet at a conference in Winchester on 28 July.<sup>20</sup> John possibly as a show of strength brought with him 4,000 Welshmen, whilst Longchamp summoned a third of the feudal levy which would

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<sup>16</sup> Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, p. 333; trans. Stevenson, *The Church Historians of England*, vol. 4, part 2, p. 578.

<sup>17</sup> Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, pp. 337-8; Richard of Devizes, *The Chronicle of Richard Devizes*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II., and Richard I* (London, 1886), vol. 3, p. 406.

<sup>18</sup> It is apparent that John seized these castles as they were a source of grievance, as they were within his own lands but withheld from him: Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, p. 338; Devizes, *The Chronicle of Richard Devizes*, p. 407.

<sup>19</sup> Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, p. 339.

<sup>20</sup> 'His actis, Johannes pro tempore quievit': Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, p. 339; Devizes, *The Chronicle of Richard Devizes*, p. 408.

produce some 2,000 knights and he too brought a number of Welshmen, and another settlement was made.<sup>21</sup> Yet this was still not the end of the matter. For in September 1191, John's brother, Geoffrey arrived to take up his bishopric at York. However, soon after his landing he was imprisoned in Dover castle by the men of Longchamp after attempting to take refuge at the priory of St. Martins.<sup>22</sup> John not only protested he also sent two knights to free him, and the chancellor was soon overwhelmed by protests.<sup>23</sup> John was now more popular than Longchamp, both amongst the barons and church, and he informed them all that they should attend a conference in October between Reading and Windsor. Longchamp failed to appear, however at a later meeting at St. Pauls church it was decided that he be deposed.<sup>24</sup> Although John may have thought he was about to gain power for himself, Walter, the archbishop of Rouen became chief justiciar instead. Consequently when Philip Augustus returned from the third crusade, John was tempted to go over to him, however the arrival of his mother Eleanor into England changed everything.<sup>25</sup> Aware of the offer and with the justiciars rallying around her, she informed John that if he left for France all his lands in England would be confiscated.<sup>26</sup> John was unsure what to do but he did not at this moment leave for France. However, he did open negotiations with Longchamp who returned to England. A great council meeting was called at London in March 1192, John was called and appeared before them and they asked for his help in removing Longchamp once again, however he was little concerned with this, and with the prospect of an alliance between Longchamp and John, the council paid

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<sup>21</sup> Devizes, *The Chronicle of Richard Devizes*, p. 409.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 411-2.

<sup>23</sup> John T. Appleby, *England Without Richard, 1189-1199* (London, 1965), pp. 76-7.

<sup>24</sup> Devizes, *The Chronicle of Richard Devizes*, pp. 413-5.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 432.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

him £500 to remain neutral, and without John's support Longchamp had no choice but to leave England once more.<sup>27</sup>

Despite remaining peaceful for a time, the next opportunity for John came in late December 1192, for on 28 December the Emperor informed Philip Augustus of Richard I's capture on his return from the Holy Land.<sup>28</sup> Philip informing John that Richard was a captive added that he would never escape and if John did what was asked of him, he would be given Philip's sister Alice in marriage, the lands of Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou and all other territory that his father held and Philip would even help him gain England.<sup>29</sup> John quickly crossed from England to Normandy, and ignoring the Seneschal of Normandy's request that he instead go to a conference at Alençon to discuss the king's liberation, on the basis that the seneschal refused to swear fealty to John and receive him as their lord, John went to Philip and performed homage for his territories in France, Roger of Howden suggesting that it was believed by some that he performed homage for England as well.<sup>30</sup> John also made an oath that he would marry Alice and released to Philip all claim on the Gisors and the Vexin, in return Philip promised that he would do all he could in gaining England for John.<sup>31</sup> John then returned to England, announcing that Richard was dead and that he was his rightful heir and attempted to raise support for his cause from the Scottish and Welsh. Although his overtures to the Scots were rejected

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<sup>27</sup> Appleby, *England Without Richard*, pp. 103-4.

<sup>28</sup> Although John was mainly peaceful during 1192, this does not mean he was not actively scheming, trying to ensure his support and to settle affairs to ensure he could devote all his energies in England, particularly in relation to his Irish lands, see chapter 5, pp. 191-7.

<sup>29</sup> Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 3, p. 203.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 204.

<sup>31</sup> The date of Philip and John's meeting is not entirely clear, for the treaty of John and Philip dated as January 1193 in *Foedera* was misdated, for from internal evidence it has since become clear that this treaty was not actually written until January 1194. My thanks go to Professor Daniel Power for his assistance in this matter: *Foedera*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 57; Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 3, p. 204.



the Welsh were far more receptive.<sup>32</sup> Using his Welsh supporters John secured Wallingford and Windsor castle and then went to London and demanded from the archbishop of Rouen and other justiciaries the kingdom and fealty of the subjects, however when this failed he withdrew and began to attack his brother's lands. With his Welsh supporters ravaging the land between Kingston and Windsor.<sup>33</sup> Even with the king absent and perhaps dead, John's revolt did not go well, for Richard's supporters laid siege to his castle of Windsor. With Hubert Walter, the archbishop of Canterbury's, arrival on 20 April 1193 directly from Richard, with his lie of Richard's death therefore exposed and his castles on the verge of surrender, John made a truce, with many castles placed in the hands of his mother Queen Eleanor.<sup>34</sup> Despite desperate attempts by both John and Philip to prevent Richard's release he was released in 1194 and John retreated to France before eventually being reconciled to his brother.<sup>35</sup>

Placed into this context it is possible that the charter John issued at Cardiff to Margam in March 1193 was an attempt to ensure the support of William de Braose. There are in fact several reasons for thinking this. Firstly, this is the first and only charter John issued to Margam whilst he was earl of Gloucester, and it does seem a remarkable coincidence that the only charter he issued to Margam was when he was in Wales desperately seeking support for his attempt to usurp the throne. This is especially true as this charter contains the clause, 'John count of Mortain to all his men and friends, French, English and Welsh',<sup>36</sup> a clause suggesting that John was

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<sup>32</sup> Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1879), vol. 1, pp. 514-5.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 515.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 516.

<sup>35</sup> Maurice Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy, 1189-1204* (Manchester, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 1961), p. 91.

<sup>36</sup> 'Ioh[ann]es come Moreton[i]e omnibus hominibus et amicis suis Francis Angli[is] et Walen[sibus]': *Earldom of Gloucester Charters*, p. 127.

aiming to woo. Although John was not the only earl of Gloucester to issue a charter with such a clause it does seem unlikely that it was placed in this charter as a matter of routine, for as mentioned previously this charter was not issued by a local scribe who would be well aware of this tradition but rather by someone of John's own administration as count of Mortain. More than this it is a remarkable coincidence that the abbey's patron William de Braose was at Cardiff for this charter to be issued, especially given his wide ranging land holdings, unless the grant was purposefully timed to coincide with de Braose's time there or issued at his request. Whilst the inclusion of other important figures in the witness list is also suggestive that this was a political grant, 'Hamo de Valoiniis' for example, a man who was constable of Cardiff castle since at least 1186 and went on to hold further important positions in Glamorgan under John, being styled bailiff of Glamorgan in 1202.<sup>37</sup> It is unsurprising that John would try to gain the support of William de Braose, for he was not only Sheriff of Hereford, he was Lord of Brecon, Builth, Radnor and Abergavenny and from 1190-92 held the custody of the castles of Carmarthen, Swansea and Llanwaden.<sup>38</sup> With these lands de Braose was seemingly able to call upon significant Welsh forces, demonstrated when he was responsible for collecting Welsh sergeants to presumably assist in relieving the siege of Swansea in 1192.<sup>39</sup> However, if the aim of this charter was to ensure the allegiance of de Braose then it seemingly failed, for de Braose was to maintain his role as sheriff of Hereford and to

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<sup>37</sup> 'Contributions towards a cartulary of Margam', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 14 (Third Series, 1868), 25; *Cartae et Alia Munimenta quae ad Dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent*, vol. 2, no. 273, pp. 270-71.

<sup>38</sup> *Pipe Roll 2 Richard*, p. 48.

<sup>39</sup> *Pipe Roll 5 Richard*, p. xix.


continue holding his lands even after Richard returned, whilst those who supported John often had their lands confiscated.<sup>40</sup>

In fact it is even possible that the other charters John issued to abbeys in Wales when earl of Gloucester, namely to Neath and Llantarnam, although both undated, were issued at this time, and these were also an attempt to garner support, this time not just of William de Braose, but the local Welsh. This would of course make sense, for John held significant lands and the amount of time John actually spent in Wales when he had the opportunity to issue such charters, is debatable. This is especially true when one considers that the charter issued to Margam is the only charter John issued, at least that survives, which was issued by John as earl of Gloucester in Wales. Therefore, it is difficult to see many other opportunities for these charters to have been issued, and consequently they can either be seen as John attempting to enlist the support of their patrons in the case of Llantarnam abbey, the Welsh lords of Senghennydd, or simply John attempting to portray his piety by granting these charters as a demonstration of his suitability to succeed Richard as king of England. The granting of a charter to Llantarnam abbey to enlist the support of the lords of Senghennydd would certainly make sense for Gruffudd ab Ifor ap Meurig of Senghennydd, was a patron of Llantarnam and must have particularly favoured the abbey for he was buried there. Moreover, Gruffudd ab Ifor ap Meurig was a supporter of John as demonstrated by the fact that he served in King John's armies in Normandy.<sup>41</sup>

It may be questioned why, if this charter to Margam in 1193 was an attempt to garner de Braose support and part of a wider effort to gain Welsh support, it was

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<sup>40</sup> Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery: Britain 1066-1284*, p. 260.

<sup>41</sup> David Crouch, 'Gruffudd ab Ifor (d. 1210)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 29, p. 193. 

only issued in 1193, for as mentioned earlier John needed Welsh support for his earlier intrigues against William Longchamp. Although this is a valid question it must be appreciated that although John had indeed intrigued against William Longchamp using the Welsh in the early 1190s, this was very different from his intrigues of 1193. In 1193 John was not supported by the barons and the church in his attempts at removing a universally unpopular chancellor, he was attempting to usurp the throne from his brother Richard, who must have been viewed as a crusading hero, still enjoying the privileges accorded to the crusader. More than this, John must have known that his lie concerning the death of Richard would soon be exposed and indeed it was in April 1193. It is even possible that by March it was already appreciated that Richard was still alive and John may therefore have already been exposed as a liar and a usurper, explaining why Richard's supporters opposed him. In this light, John's desperation in March 1193 to gain support, is understandable for it is only at this point that he had to try and 'buy' support, for in his 1190s intrigues support was given to him willingly by almost all. Moreover, with the disturbances between de Braose and the Welsh in the intervening years, testified by the Lord Rhys freeing his son Maelgwyn from de Braoses' prison in 1192 who then besieged the castle of Swansea, it is unsurprising that John would have to go out of his way to try and lure de Braose to join a revolt led by an attempted usurper and perhaps involved some of his Welsh enemies.<sup>42</sup> John was desperate to ensure the loyalty and support of de Braose and his Welsh supporters for his efforts and perhaps even an effort to woo them to his cause, with these Margam and possibly Neath and Llantarnam abbey charters indicative of this. Evidently his situation in 1193 was totally different from that in his early intrigues, and as such it is not surprising that it

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<sup>42</sup> *Annales Cambriae*, p. 98.

was not until 1193 that John issued charters to these Cistercian houses to try and gain and ensure support.

If the 1193 charter to Margam was an attempt to garner favour with amongst others, William de Braose, later relations with Margam can perhaps be explained in a similar way, not that John was trying to gain the favour of de Braose but rather his interactions with Margam were determined by his positive relationship with him as its patron. Even the anomalous grant to Dore abbey of 15 September 1202 is likely connected to William de Braose, who was also patron of Dore, testified by his attempts to found a daughter house from this abbey in 1204.<sup>43</sup> On 25 March 1202 Philip demanded the surrender of Andeli, Arques and Falaise and ordered John to appear at Paris a fortnight after Easter to answer charges of injustice.<sup>44</sup> Powicke argued that when negotiations with France broke down in late April 1202 John faced a serious crisis, and he was therefore desperate to recruit and maintain troops.<sup>45</sup> As such John in 1202 was attempting to ensure continuing support from the marcher barons, and this charter may well have been part of the attempt to ensure the support of de Braose. Roger Mortimer was with the king on 1 April 1202, and about the same time acquired an estate which was part of his brother-in-law's Norman fief of Ferrieres.<sup>46</sup> Whilst at Bonport on 8 and 11 July 1202 John procured two loans of a hundred Angevin librates for the 'use of his beloved and loyal' Roger Mortimer, the king himself agreeing to see their repayment.<sup>47</sup> Clearly John was trying to ensure the support of the Marchers, and possibly was at this time bestowing grants and gifts

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<sup>43</sup> Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, p. 4.

<sup>44</sup> Diceto, *Opera Historica*, vol. 2, p. 174. For a fuller discussion of the injustice for which John was summoned and the meeting that never was and its aftermath see Warren, *King John*, pp. 70-76.

<sup>45</sup> Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy, 1189-1204*, p. 221.

<sup>46</sup> B. P. Evans, 'The family Mortimer' (Unpubli. PhD thesis, University of Wales, Cardiff, 1934), p. 67.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

upon de Braose to ensure his support also. John in August 1202 further enforced de Braose's claims on Thomond, whilst on 17 September, just two days after the Dore grant, John forgave de Braose all his debts which he owed to Henry II and Richard I.<sup>48</sup> Moreover on 23 October 1202 John granted to 'William de Braose, whose service we greatly approve' the custody and castles of Glamorgan, Gwentllwg and Gower.<sup>49</sup> This charter to Dore would therefore have formed part of John's attempt at solidifying his relations with de Braose and the wider marcher baronage. It also does seem unlikely that the monks of Dore travelled to see and ask John for this charter, for it surely would have been a brave monk who would travel to visit a king to ask for land in Trivel wood. As mentioned previously, John had confiscated their lands in Trivel just a few years before, as he had been annoyed with the house for what John saw as them manipulating his brother Richard. It is possible therefore, that John granted Dore abbey the lands in Trivel woods in order to restore what he had taken from them in order to further cultivate a relationship with its patron de Braose, for by 1202 John's desire to appease and woo de Braose overrode his own personal dislike of the abbot and abbey.<sup>50</sup> The inclusion of de Braose as a witness to this Dore abbey charter further reinforces his connection to it. After the 1202 crisis passed and John was no longer desperate to ensure the support of de Braose his individualist relations with Dore re-emerged with further negative relations between the two in the following years, suggesting that although John used religious houses to cultivate his relationships with their patron, his individual dynamic with the house could override this, with only brief moments, such as in 1202, when the importance of wooing the patron would take pre-eminence.

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<sup>48</sup> *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 18b; Norgate, *John Lackland*, p. 141.

<sup>49</sup> *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 19b; Norgate, *John Lackland*, p. 141.

<sup>50</sup> The possible reasons for which are discussed in chapter 3, pp. 118-20.

With royal favour flowing upon its patron de Braose, Margam abbey continued to enjoy royal favour, but with the removal of de Braose as custodian of Glamorgan in February 1207, indicative of the beginning of his fall from grace, the coming years would be more difficult for the abbey. The monks paid 220 marks and two palfreys for their charters in July 1207, just five months after de Braose's removal, compared to just 20 marks and two palfreys in 1205. This fall from grace was only temporary, however, with John in 1210 exempting Margam from his Order wide taxation. Why by 1210 they had regained royal favour is by no means clear, with numerous possible explanations, but it may well be again connected to de Braose.

Historians such as Knowles have suggested that it was providing John with good hospitality that regained royal favour for this house, for John stayed at Margam twice in 1210, on May 28 and August 28, on his way to Ireland and again on his return.<sup>51</sup> There is certainly some evidence for this, with the *Annals of Margam* stating, they were exempted 'because there the king had received hospitality with his army when he was going into Ireland, and when he was returning from there',<sup>52</sup> suggesting this was the reason at least as far as the monks themselves were concerned. This is certainly a possibility, for Margam was seemingly well known for its good hospitality with Gerald of Wales noting, 'Of all the houses of Wales this was by far the most renowned for alms and charity. As a result of the almost limitless liberality and most open-handed hospitality which it offered unceasingly to the needy and those in transit.'<sup>53</sup> With such generous hospitality perhaps it would

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<sup>51</sup> Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, p. 368; Itinerary, p. lxiv.

<sup>52</sup> 'Duae tamen domus ejusdem ordinis ab hac exactione tunc immunes fuere, de Margan scilicet in Wallia, eo quod hospitatus ibi fuisset rex cum exercitu eodem ann iens in Hiberniam, et inde rediens': *Ann. Marg.*, p. 30.

<sup>53</sup> Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales and the Description of Wales*, p. 126.

only be fair to release Margam abbey from the general taxation for as Evans said, when John and seemingly his entire army stayed in and around Margam on not one but two occasions, the ‘abbey’s resources must have been strained to breaking point’,<sup>54</sup> yet when had anything in the Medieval period been fair? From an analysis of the correlation between hospitality and gifts and grants from the king to Cistercian houses in England in a later chapter, it is clear that although hospitality could prompt grants, this was very uncommon.<sup>55</sup> What makes it even less convincing that John excused Margam from the taxation of 1210 simply due to the hospitality he enjoyed there, is John’s itinerary. For as can be seen in map 1, John was not simply travelling to Ireland by the quickest route, he went first to Neath, then back to Cardiff before then travelling to Margam and then onwards. Gerald of Wales’ journey through Wales demonstrates that such diversions were certainly not a necessary part of travelling through Wales in this period and also relates the dangers involved in crossing the river Neath which John must have done three times.<sup>56</sup> Clearly therefore, John’s march back and forth through Wales entailed significant dangers, whether it be natural or from the Welsh themselves and must have therefore only been undertaken with significant forethought. Moreover, it is not likely to be hospitality which explains John’s relations with Margam for John must have enjoyed hospitality at Neath yet he did not exempt that abbey, could the level of hospitality enjoyed at Margam be that much better than that at Neath, so that one could be exempted whilst the other was not?

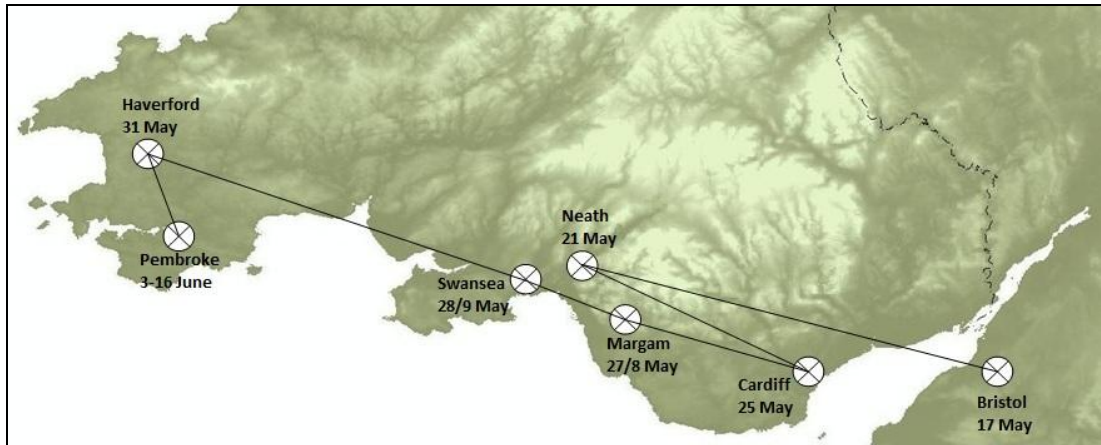
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<sup>54</sup> Evans, *Margam Abbey*, p. 49.

<sup>55</sup> See below, chapter 6, pp. 220-6.

<sup>56</sup> Once when he first came to Neath, again on his return to Cardiff and a third time on his way between Margam and Swansea. Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales and the Description of Wales*, pp. 32-4, 130-32.





Map 1 - King John's Journey Through Wales to Ireland, 17 May - 16 June 1210.<sup>57</sup>

Moreover, as was demonstrated earlier, John did not impose the taxation until late October, therefore a significant amount of time after John enjoyed hospitality at Margam and it hardly seems likely that after this amount of time John would have still taken his hospitality there into account.<sup>58</sup> The hospitality John enjoyed at Margam does not therefore explain why John had a positive relationship with this house.

In order to come to an appreciation as to the reasons why, an awareness of the political situation in South Wales at this time is necessary. After the removal of de Braose from all his lands in Wales, a significant power vacuum would have developed, with this possibly explaining the disturbances in Wales in 1208, which resulted in Thomas of Erdington, the sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire failing

<sup>57</sup> Itinerary, p. li; Kanter, 'Peripatetic and sedentary kingship: the itineraries of the thirteenth-century English kings', p. 619. John's itinerary is not complete of course. Outside the specific dates noted on the map, we are unaware of where John was, consequently he could have stayed at any of these locations for more than one day. This map should therefore not be taken as a complete list of where John was and when. However, although John's location on 27 May is not included in the itinerary, we can infer that he was at Margam on that day. For as noted elsewhere, the Margam annals note how John exempted them due to the hospitality he enjoyed there, suggesting that he stayed at least one night. However, the itinerary notes that John was at Margam then Swansea both on 28 May. Clearly therefore he did not spend the night of 28 at Margam and we must therefore conclude that John arrived at Margam by at least 27 May, stayed at Margam that night before departing for Swansea on 28 May.

<sup>58</sup> See chapter 1, p. 56.

to account for these sheriffdoms in the 1208 Pipe Roll.<sup>59</sup> As a result John took steps to secure Wales, appointing William, Earl of Salisbury on 18 December 1208 to keep the March of Wales.<sup>60</sup> This was not however successful, with the *Brut Y Tywysogyon* and all versions of the *Annales Cambriae* relating serious disturbances between the Welsh princes themselves and between the Welsh and English from 1208 up to and including 1210 and beyond.<sup>61</sup> In this light it seems possible that John appreciated the importance of having a powerful religious house on his side in the region. John was certainly making grants to try and gain support and favour in what was de Braose controlled areas of Wales, granting privileges in November 1208 to the Welshmen and Englishmen of Gower for example, an area held by de Braose since 1202.<sup>62</sup> As such John's special favour towards Margam in 1210 was just as much a measure of securing a disturbed land as his appointment of the earl of Salisbury to keep the March and trying to buy support in Gower in 1208. The very fact that John decided to go to Ireland through Wales at all is suggestive, especially given that he had sailed to Ireland in 1185 only stopping over at Pembroke on his way.<sup>63</sup> Given the obvious dangers of travelling through Wales, made worse by recent and continuing disturbances and how John's progress would likely be slowed by his decision to go through Wales by land, John must have had a clear objective in mind, and arguably it was to try and demonstrate and solidify his power. This would certainly account for John's seemingly erratic itinerary as he and his army crisscrossed what was de Braose-controlled lands as a demonstration of power to all those that were disturbing the region in order to allow John to ensure and reinforce

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<sup>59</sup> *Pipe Roll 9 John*, p. xi.

<sup>60</sup> *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 88; *Pipe Roll 9 John*, p. xii.

<sup>61</sup> *Brut Y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, pp. 83-4; *Annales Cambriae*, pp. 109-10, 187, 220, 235-6.

<sup>62</sup> *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 87.

<sup>63</sup> 'Annales Cestrienses or The Chronicle of the Abbey of S. Werburg at Chester', pp. 32-3.

his authority. This would also certainly account for why, months after visiting Margam he still made special provision for them. For by exempting the monks from the Cistercian-wide taxation and allowing their abbot to go the Cistercian Chapter General, John could have hoped to ensure Margam's support, despite the fact that he was actively pursuing and persecuting their patron, William de Braose.

Clearly the relationship with the patron was of crucial importance in determining the relationship between John and a specific Cistercian house, and this was certainly not confined to Margam. The charters which shall be considered next which are almost certainly political in nature are the confirmation and quittance of toll charters granted by King John to Strata Florida and Strata Marcella abbeys, issued on 11 April 1200 and as such in the midst of a bitter dispute between John and the Cistercian Order, and therefore not routinely issued. The dispute with the Order began in late March with nearly all grants to the Cistercian Order ceasing until October before their publicised reconciliation with John in November. During this time only four houses received grants. Whilst the grant to Croxden was granted purely as it was to John's benefit and the grants to Furness due to the fact that this house had already come to an individual arrangement with John, the grants to Strata Florida and Strata Marcella cannot be explained in such ways.<sup>64</sup> Consequently these charters transcend John's relationship with the Cistercians Order-wide, and this chapter shall argue that John's relationship with these houses and the grants to them in 1200 were connected to John's wider political aims in Wales. Namely they were issued as part of a wider attempt by John to pacify the Welsh princes. However, once again in order to appreciate the political motivations behind these charters it is

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<sup>64</sup> These have been discussed in greater detail in chapter 3, pp. 94-6.

crucial to understand the wider political framework in which they were issued, and in fact we have to take the history back to the very succession of John.

When Richard died in April 1199, John's succession to the throne was far from assured, for he had a rival, namely his nephew, by his late brother Geoffrey, Arthur of Brittany. With the Angevin Empire little more than a collection of provinces loosely connected to the Plantagenets by marriage, each province had its own inheritance laws. This resulted in, amongst others, Normandy, England and Aquitaine choosing John whilst Brittany, Anjou, Touraine and Maine came out in favour of Arthur.<sup>65</sup> With this disputed succession, John sent William Marshal, Geoffrey fitz Peter and Hubert Walter to secure England and to preserve the peace there, and quickly had himself invested as duke of Normandy before crossing over to be crowned king of England on Ascension Day 1199.<sup>66</sup>

This was unsurprisingly not the end of the matter, Arthur had secured much of the Angevin Empire, whilst Philip Augustus, not a man to let such an opportunity pass him by, had not only attacked and captured Evreux on the news of the death of Richard, but also had secured Arthur for himself, and therefore controlled his lands and castles.<sup>67</sup> It may of course be asked how events in France and John's succession in 1199 can have any bearing on John's relations with the Welsh let alone his relationship with two Welsh abbeys. However, as Sidney Painter suggested, not only did the French see this as an opportunity but also, 'every magnate of the island whether he was English, Welsh, or Scots saw in the doubtful succession a magnificent opportunity.'<sup>68</sup> Painter was correct, for what better time to secure

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<sup>65</sup> Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 4, pp. 86-7.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 86-8, 90.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 85, 87.

<sup>68</sup> Painter, *The Reign of King John*, p. 11.

privileges or to air grievances to a king whose hold is if not tenuous then not strong. John may have even been aware of the situation that faced King Stephen shortly after he succeeded King Henry I, when his enemies united, with Orderic Vitalis relating, 'But the most powerful of the rebels recklessly steeled themselves to resist, and entered into an alliance with the Scots and Welsh and other rebels and traitors, bringing down ruin upon the people.'<sup>69</sup> It also seems that at least the Welsh were aware that if the king of England was distracted in France they could act without fear of reprisal. Gerald of Wales relates how Hywel ap Iorwerth of Caerleon fearful that Henry II would attack him in retaliation for his assault on English holdings, was reassured by his soothsayer that, 'You need not fear the king's anger [...] One of his cities the noblest which he possesses across the channel, is being besieged by the king of the French. He will be forced to put aside all other preoccupations and to cross the sea without losing a moment.'<sup>70</sup> John was no young fool either, he was now in his mid thirties and had undoubtedly witnessed the disorder the Welsh created on the death of Henry II, made worse by the fact that Richard had refused to meet the Lord Rhys. At war with France John was not in a position to tackle such disorders that had plagued his predecessors and little appetite for dividing his forces to suppress revolts. Perhaps anxious to ensure that his enemies would not unite together as they did against King Stephen, both in Wales and Scotland he took a diplomatic approach. As part of this when King William of Scotland sent envoys to John even before he was crowned king of England, in an attempt to secure Northumberland and Cumberland, John did not reject these demands outright.<sup>71</sup> Although John had no

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<sup>69</sup> Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol. 6, p. 495; Seán Duffy, 'Henry II and England's insular neighbours', *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge, 2007), p. 130.

<sup>70</sup> Gerald of Wales, *The Journey Through Wales and the Description of Wales*, pp. 119-20; Duffy, 'Henry II and England's insular neighbours', p. 147.

<sup>71</sup> Howden, *Chronica*, vol. 4, p. 88-9.

interest in such an agreement, as part of his diplomatically nuanced approach to the ‘Celtic Fringe’, instead of simply refusing these demands which would have created a new enemy who may well have taken his chances on an invasion of England, simply to use a political phrase, John ‘kicked the issue into the long grass’. John sent to Scotland Williams’ son in law Eustace de Vesci, to inform him that John would satisfy him when he returned to England on all demands, if he remained peaceful.<sup>72</sup>

King John took a similar approach to the situation in Wales. Whilst at Poitou in December 1199, John issued charters to each of the main Welsh principalities, namely to Gwenwynwyn of Powys, Gruffudd ap Cynan of Gwynedd and Maelgwyn ap Rhys of Deheubarth, which confirmed their lands and whatever they could conquer from the king’s enemies in return for homage and service.<sup>73</sup> John was not attempting to ferment discontent amongst the princes and by association trying to keep them weak, rather he was simply attempting to win over all the major Welsh princes.<sup>74</sup> He was therefore attempting to carry on the Welsh policy first instituted by Henry I, whose policy according to Warren ‘rested on the notion of a partnership between king, Welsh princes, and Norman barons.’<sup>75</sup> After a brief period of ultimately failed intervention, Henry II also advanced this policy establishing a working relationship with the Welsh princes.<sup>76</sup> In fact, John was following a remarkably similar approach to the Welsh as his father had, confirming and therefore recognising the Welsh princes’ holdings in return for their acknowledgment of the king of England’s overlordship, something Henry II began in 1177 at the

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<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> *Rot. Chart.*, p. 63.

<sup>74</sup> Although the clause ‘whatever they could conquer from the kings’ enemies’ has often been seen as evidence that these charters were an attempt to ferment discontent, this clause may simply have been entered as an additional sweetener for the princes, namely by authorising territorial expansion, something which all princes wanted.

<sup>75</sup> W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (New Haven and London, 1973, repr. 2000), p. 160.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161.

conferences of Geddington and Oxford.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, although John granted a charter to Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, extending to him protection and once again anything he could conquer from the kings' enemies on 28 September 1199 just over two months before he granted the same charter to Llywelyn's rival, Gruffydd ap Cynan, this is not evidence that John was trying to 'divide and conquer' or stir up discontent.<sup>78</sup> These charters rather reflect the political situation that prevailed in Gwynedd at this time. For Llywelyn ap Iorwerth was not by late December 1199 the dominant power in Gwynedd, this only happened with the death of Gruffydd in 1200. As such there were two men competing for power in 1199 in Gwynedd and with the victor unclear, these charters may simply show that John did not want to 'back the wrong horse', and surely if John was attempting to ferment discontent he would have done all he could to foster these rivalries, perhaps even with military support, for if these charters were as some argued his attempt to foster these rivalries then they are poor efforts. Moreover, an important point was made by Ifor Rowlands, namely, the charter to Llywelyn ap Iorwerth in September 1199 was issued first not out of an attempt to ferment discontent but to protect the Marches. For Llywelyn had in 1199 attacked the border stronghold of Mold and John may have been anxious to ensure the security of the border. This is certainly suggested by the clauses in the charter issued to Llywelyn of September 1199, namely protection is extended only to the lands Llywelyn holds by right, and this therefore may have been an implicit attempt to dissuade Llywelyn from further attacks on the March.<sup>79</sup> It also seems that not only was John attempting to make a diplomatic effort with the Welsh in order to prevent rebellion, he may well have been anxious to recruit troops from Wales, for John must have known that in the struggles with France he would need all the men he could

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<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 167-8.

<sup>78</sup> *Rot. Chart.*, p. 153.

<sup>79</sup> Rowlands, 'The 1201 Peace between King John and Llywelyn ap Iorwerth', 154.

muster. These charters certainly suggests this, for as Ifor Rowlands observed the inclusion of the clause, '*nobis fideliter servientes [...] contra omnes mortales*' into the 1199 charters, must have included rather than excluded military service.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, John's desire to settle Wales at this time certainly makes sense, for John was still at war with France at this time, and was so until the treaty of Le Goulet of May 1200.

It seems therefore that John was following a peaceful approach to the Welsh princes. However, these confirmation charters were not the end of the matter for the princes still had to perform homage. Although it is not immediately clear when this was completed, this thesis argues that homage was performed by both Maelgwyn ap Rhys and Gwenwynwyn in April 1200 alongside diplomatic activity designed to reinforce their support and demonstrate John's position as overlord, of which John's grants to these abbeys was part. There are several reasons for believing homage was performed in April. One is the references on the 1200 Pipe Rolls to the transfer of the hostages of Maelgwyn and Gwenwynwyn from Gloucester to Cardigan and the taking of Welsh hostages from Gloucester to Winchester.<sup>81</sup> Although there is no reference to the need for hostages in the charters of 1199, the taking of hostages was common practice in medieval treaties, especially those of John. Moreover, if these hostages were not taken as part of a treaty between the two it does seem curious why they were taken, and if they were part of the peace between John and Maelgwyn and Gwenwynwyn, then other than April when John was on the Welsh March it is not clear when they would have been taken. Secondly, the presence of Robert Corbet, demonstrated not only by the charter of 10 April 1200 by which John granted him

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<sup>80</sup> Ifor Rowlands, 'Warriors fit for a prince': Welsh troops in Angevin service, 1154-1216', in *Mercenaries and Paid Men*, ed. John France (Leiden, 2008), p. 223.

<sup>81</sup> *Pipe Roll 2 John*, p. 119.



and his heirs permission to hold a weekly market at Caus but also his appearance as a witness to the Strata Marcella charter, suggests that not only were these days put over to Welsh affairs but also that Gwenwynwyn was with the king.<sup>82</sup> For it was around this time that his daughter, Margaret Corbett, married Gwenwynwyn.<sup>83</sup> Therefore, it is possible that either the marriage was decided around this time or more likely they were already married and Robert Corbett had been told to bring his son-in-law Gwenwynwyn to the king's court, something which he certainly was to do later.<sup>84</sup> It is also clear that 10 and 11 April 1200 was put over to settle Welsh affairs. For example on 11 April 1200 John granted Whittington to Maurice of Powys, despite Fulk fitz Warin offering a large sum of money for it.<sup>85</sup> It seems that this is further evidence of John trying to settle Wales before going back to France. This would certainly make sense for Maurice's father, Roger of Powys, had supported the Angevin cause in Wales, including the invasion by Henry II in 1165, whilst Maurice himself had commanded Welsh troops in Normandy in 1194.<sup>86</sup> The fact that John in his charter stated that he had granted him Whittington in return for the service his uncle and father had performed to Henry II may well indicate that he wanted such loyal service to continue.<sup>87</sup>

Therefore, if we take April 1200 to be when homage was performed then the charters to Strata Florida and Strata Marcella issued on 11 April 1200, take on

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<sup>82</sup> *Rot. Chart.*, pp. 44-5.

<sup>83</sup> Huw Pryce in his *The Acts of Welsh Rulers* mistakenly suggests that Margaret is the daughter of Thomas, Thomas was rather her brother: *The Acts of Welsh Rulers*, p. 42. For a more detailed genealogical breakdown see Janet Meisel, *The Barons of the Welsh Frontier: The Corbet, Pantulf, and Fitz Warin Families, 1066-1272* (London, 1980), p. 5.

<sup>84</sup> Robert Corbett, alongside Hugh Pantulf, escorted Gwenwynwyn to the king's court in 1204 and was also one of the witnesses to Gwenwynwyn's treaty of October 1208: *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 45; *Foedera*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 101.

<sup>85</sup> In 1200, Fulk offered £100 for having possession of Whittington, whilst Maurice of Powys offered 50 marks: Meisel, *The Barons of the Welsh Frontier*, p. 36; *Pipe Roll 2 John*, p. 175; *Rot. de Obl. et Fin.*, p. 58; *Rot. Chart.*, p. 43.

<sup>86</sup> Rowlands, 'Warriors fit for a prince: Welsh troops in Angevin service, 1154-1216', p. 223.

<sup>87</sup> *Rot. Chart.*, p. 43.

another dimension. Firstly, the Strata Marcella charter may well have been issued in an attempt to further improve relations between John and Gwenwynwyn and a demonstration of John's overlordship. This would certainly make sense for John on 11 April 1200 was certainly attempting to improve relations, granting Gwenwynwyn on that day the royal manor of Ashford in Derbyshire and separately a licence to hunt in the royal forests with four hounds and one bow when going and returning to and from the king's court, during which he could take as much game as he could capture.<sup>88</sup> Both these charters very much sound like either John attempting to woo Gwenwynwyn or rather rewarding him for his homage and faithful service. In fact, the charter John issued to Strata Marcella on 11 April 1200 is so important it is worth reciting it in detail so that it can be analysed adequately.

John, by the grace of God, [...] Know that I have granted and confirmed and by the present charter to God, the Glorious Virgin, Holy Mary and to the abbot of Strata Marcella and the monks who serve God in that same place, all gifts duly made to them by Owain Cyfeiliog and by Gwenwynwyn his son and by their other benefactors, as is duly testified by the charters of benefactors which they have there. Wherefore, he wishes and firmly directs that the aforesaid abbot and monks of Strata Marcella may have and hold all gifts duly given to them by the aforesaid Owain and Gwenwynwyn his son and by their other benefactors, well and peaceably, freely and quietly, wholly, completely and honourably, with all matters and liberties and free customs pertaining thereto. Witnesses – Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, R[obert] Bishop of Bangor, G[oeffrey] fitz Peter Count of Essex, William Marshal Count of Pembroke, William fitz Alan, Hugh Bardolf, William Briwerr, Robert Corbett, John de Gray Archdeacon of Gloucester, at Worcester, 11 April, first year of our reign [1200].<sup>89</sup>

This charter certainly suggests that it was issued for political reasons, especially given it was issued on the same date as the charters he issued in an attempt to woo Gwenwynwyn as mentioned above. Firstly, it seems highly unlikely that this charter was issued on the request of the abbey as there is no detailed breakdown of their

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<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>89</sup> *The Charters of the Abbey of Ystrad Marchell*, no. 25.

lands, but rather a more generic confirmation. The witness list is also highly suggestive, not only does it include Robert Corbett, whose importance was discussed earlier; it also included Robert the Bishop of Bangor. This is especially significant when you consider that the bishop of Bangor was paid five marks as a gift of the king in 1200 perhaps for his involvement in negotiations with the Welsh princes.<sup>90</sup> For Welsh bishops had long been used as emissaries to the Welsh princes.<sup>91</sup> The fact that each appear as witnesses surely goes some way in determining that this was a political charter. Moreover, the very fact that out of all the possible donors to this abbey the ones picked out for special mention are ‘all gifts duly made to them by Owain Cyfeiliog and by Gwenwynwyn his son’, is of crucial importance. An obvious question is why were these picked out over all others, especially considering Owain Cyfeiliog had died in 1197. It is also not the case that this family were the only major donors to this house.<sup>92</sup> The answer is that this charter and the other charter of 11 April 1200 to Strata Marcella granting them quittance of toll were written as part of the wider attempt to woo and reward Gwenwynwyn. If John was to choose any abbey for special favour in an attempt to curry favour with Gwenwynwyn then Strata Marcella is the natural choice. Not only was Gwenwynwyn a major patron, but in fact his father had assumed the monastic habit before dying and being buried there, and it was in fact Cyfeiliog who had founded the abbey.<sup>93</sup>

The fact that these names were picked out for special mention is also significant when you consider the history of Angevin involvement in Powysian

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<sup>90</sup> *Pipe Roll 2 John*, p. 170.

<sup>91</sup> For example the bishop of St Asaph and the archdeacon of St Davids employed as emissaries to the Lord Rhys in 1191: *Pipe Roll 3 and 4 Richard*, pp. xx, 165.

<sup>92</sup> See for example the grants of Elisse ap Madoc or Howel ap Howel in 1198 and in fact many others: *The Charters of the Abbey of Ystrad Marchell*, no. 17.

<sup>93</sup> *Brenhinedd Y Saesson*, p. 194.

history. The Angevins had long taken the approach of dividing the ruling house by supporting one brother against the other, and as a result weakening the dynasty. When Owain Cyfeiliog retired to the abbey of Strata Marcella in 1196, he left two sons namely Gwenwynwyn and Cadwallon, with Gwenwynwyn heir his brother Cadwallon went over to the English. Always being happy to cause strife within the Welsh dynasties the Angevins did not hesitate to support him, granting him money and lands from 1195 onwards.<sup>94</sup> He was also supported in the first year of John's reign [1199], whilst it seems that John also supported another candidate in that year, namely Meurig of Powys who may well have been Owain Cyfeiliog's brother.<sup>95</sup>

It seems therefore that the Angevins by 1199 were supporting two people against Gwenwynwyn. However, it seems likely that John was less than willing to keep this status quo. This is of course unsurprising for as mentioned previously John was attempting to settle rather than to disturb Wales at this time. Moreover, although Cadwallon was still supported by the king in 1200, this was the last time that he appeared.<sup>96</sup> Although he maintained control of his lands in England there is no further reference to him or Meurig of Powys being given money either to sustain themselves or to aid in their battle against Gwenwynwyn. In this light the clause, 'all gifts duly made to them by Owain Cyfeiliog and by Gwenwynwyn his son', sounds

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<sup>94</sup> In the 1195 Pipe Roll there is a payment on the Staffordshire account of 29 shillings for leading Cadwallon from Careghofa with 20 men and 11 horses to the archbishop at Lincoln and leading him back again to Careghofa: *Pipe Roll 7 Richard*, pp. xxvi-xxvii, 254. In 1196 he was given 20 marks to sustain himself in the king's service, 13 marks for his dress when he went overseas in the king's service and 5 marks for his losses: Chancellor's Roll, 8 Richard, pp. xxiv, 42. Whilst in 1197 Cadwallon was given custody of Church Stretton castle: *Pipe Roll 9 Richard*, pp. xxiv, 194. Although in 1197 a peace between the English and Gwenwynwyn prevailed as Gwenwynwyn handed Gruffydd ap Rhys over to the English and was compensated with 40s 40d for the harm his brother Cadwallon had done to him, this was but a brief lull, for Cadwallon continued to hold Church Stretton and received 15 liberates of corn to support himself in the king's service in 1198: *Pipe Roll 10 Richard*, pp. xxxi, 108.

<sup>95</sup> From the Shropshire account Cadwallon received 20 marks to sustain himself and continued to hold Church Stretton, whilst Meurig of Powys received 40 shillings to pay for his arms: *Pipe Roll 1 John*, pp. xxiii, 73.

<sup>96</sup> He was given 10 marks to sustain himself in the service of the king, noted as 'Casswalano f. Oeni de Kuunoc' on the Shropshire account: *Pipe Roll 2 John*, p. 170.

very much like a clause inserted for Gwenwynwyn's benefit or perhaps even at his request, as it reads like a less than subtle way of acknowledging Gwenwynwyn's right to give gifts to Strata Marcella as the rightful ruler of Powys and as heir to his father, and perhaps is also an implicit acknowledgment by John that the English court will not attempt to destabilise the dynasty by supporting competing candidates. Yet it seems that this confirmation charter and the other grants of land and royal licences served a dual purpose, and were similar in some ways to Henry II's land grants to Dafydd of Gwynedd and the Lord Rhys of Deheubarth in 1177, namely not only did they serve to cultivate a positive relationship they were also a clear demonstration of overlordship.<sup>97</sup>

The charter to Strata Florida of 11 April 1200 is also highly political in nature, and it is not just the date that suggests this. In fact, the charter to Strata Florida is also once again so important it is worth quoting in full.

John, by the Grace of God, King, etc. Know that we have given, and by this our charter have confirmed to God and the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the abbot of Strata Florida, and the monks of the Cistercian order there serving God, all reasonable gifts which have been given to them, as well spiritual as temporal, and which according to the charters of the donors they reasonably hold, except in the comot of Cardigan, which Maelgwyn, the son of Rhys, has given us. Wherefore we and firmly decree that the aforesaid abbot and monks should have and hold well and peacefully all their reasonable gifts as above written. Witnesses, William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke. Geoffrey fitz Peter, Earl of Essex. William [de Longespee], Earl of Salisbury. Given by the hand of Hubert [Walter], Archbishop of Canterbury, our Chancellor, at Worcester, on the 11 day of April in the first year of our reign. [1200]<sup>98</sup>

This charter is undoubtedly political in nature and not only a demonstration of John's overlordship. For when the protection charter was issued to Maelgwyn ap Rhys in 1199, it was not issued simply in return for homage and service, as the others were.

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<sup>97</sup> Warren, *Henry II*, p. 168.

<sup>98</sup> Stephen Williams, *The Cistercian Abbey of Strata Florida: Its History and an Account of the Recent Excavations made on its site* (London, 1889), pp. xvii-xviii; *Rot. Chart.*, p. 44.

Maelgwyn was far weaker than the others, for he was involved in an extremely vicious battle with his brother Gruffydd for control of Deheubarth, after the death of his father, the Lord Rhys, and he unlike the others needed royal support to aid him, and John therefore exploited this. The charter to Maelgwyn therefore stated, that John,

[...] concedes to his beloved and faithful Maelgwyn, son of Rhys, for his homage and faithful service, the four cantrefs which are called Cardigan, together with Cilgerran and Emlyn, as well those of them which he has already acquired as those which are yet to be acquired from the king's enemies, so that Maelgwyn should serve him faithfully, and remain faithful to him against all men. Maelgwyn for himself and his heirs, gives up and quit claims to the king and his heirs forever the Castle of Cardigan with a certain comot adjacent to the said castle.<sup>99</sup>

Although Cardigan had to be paid for, and the amount described by the Welsh sources as 'a small and worthless price,' from later sources we learn that John paid 200 marks however, this may well be described as a 'small and worthless price' when you consider the importance of Cardigan castle, which the *Brut Y Tywysogyon* described as 'the lock and stay of all Wales.'<sup>100</sup> Moreover, although they came to this agreement in 1199 with a quittance of toll and passage granted to Cardigan in December 1199, it seems that it was not until 11 April 1200, that the agreement either came into being or was at least confirmed.<sup>101</sup> For on that day John granted to him 'four cantrefs of Cardigan, excepting the castle of Cardigan and the commot called Bisberwern, adjacent to the said castle, which the aforesaid Maelgwyn has given up to the king.'<sup>102</sup> Therefore, the charter which John granted to Strata Florida confirming all their holdings 'except in the comot of Cardigan, which Maelgwyn, the

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<sup>99</sup> Williams, *The Cistercian Abbey of Strata Florida*, p. 116; *Rot. Chart.*, p. 63.

<sup>100</sup> British Library, Harley MS. 6068, ed. in Williams, *The Cistercian Abbey of Strata Florida*, p. xxi; *Brut Y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, pp. 80-81.

<sup>101</sup> *Rot. Chart.*, p. 63.

<sup>102</sup> It is possible that the agreement only came into force in April 1200 as this was when the 200 marks was paid: Williams, *The Cistercian Abbey of Strata Florida*, p. 116; *Rot. Chart.*, p. 63.

son of Rhys, has given us,' was simply John protecting his new lands in Wales from any possible claims by the Cistercians of Strata Florida. This is undoubtedly therefore a politically motivated charter, for it is not at all likely that the charter was issued at the request of Strata Florida as it would likely include a detailed list of lands and a detailed list of everything that they had in Cardigan. Moreover, it seems that the monks of Strata Florida were less than impressed with being deprived of their holdings in Cardigan, with the clause confirming everything they had *except* in the comot, being altered to include it in a 1426 confirmation charter of Henry IV.<sup>103</sup>

The protection and quittance of toll charter issued to Aberconwy abbey on 1 April 1202 is the next charter considered. Once again however, before a detailed analysis of the significance of this charter, it is crucial to appreciate its political background, through a sketch of the dispute between Gerald of Wales and King John over the succession to Peter de Leia as bishop of St Davids. It may seem odd that the affairs of the secular church in an area of not only many miles from Aberconwy but in a different diocese is of importance. However, it must be considered, for it demonstrates that the fortune and relationship of Aberconwy was inextricably linked to the political situation and relationship between King John and Llywelyn ap Iorwerth Prince of Gwynedd. When Peter de Leia died, the chapter of St Davids nominated a series of candidates, including Gerald of Wales. However, Hubert Walter, the archbishop of Canterbury, refused the nominations, especially that of Gerald of Wales, supposedly as King Richard would not have any Welshman as a

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<sup>103</sup> Although this may have been scribal error or an error in transcription and translation by William Rees, even more likely when you consider that the translation was based on a copy of a transcribed copy of the original, as the charter which was in 1833 in the possession of a James Davies of Hereford is seemingly lost, this cannot be checked and confirmed either way: transcription and translation by William Rees in 'Documents and charters connected with the history of Strata Florida abbey', ed. G. Roberts, *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 3 (1848), 198-211.


bishop of Wales.<sup>104</sup> Walter instead put forward two of his own candidates, however, the chapter refused to agree to either of these men, and instead sent a deputation of two men including Gerald to visit the king in France.<sup>105</sup> However, on their arrival in April 1199 they found that Richard had died and they instead met John, who at first agreed to Gerald's nomination, however he soon changed his mind on the persuasion of Hubert Walter. Therefore although Gerald was elected by the canons of St David's on 29 June 1199, in December 1199 Walter abbot of St Dogmaels, was elected to the bishopric of St Davids by the procurement of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>106</sup>

There was therefore a vicious dispute between John and Gerald, and John used all his powers to prevent Gerald from becoming bishop. On 13 January 1201, John sent a letter to the chapter, clergy and bishopric of St Davids sending them his clerks, Master Richard Belat and Henry de Rolveston, protesting that the election of Gerald never had been and never would be assented to by him, and appealing to them that nothing should be done in prejudice of the king's dignity concerning him.<sup>107</sup> Whilst on 17 December 1201, John issued another letter exclaiming that 'in the times of his ancestors and in his time, by the long and approved custom of the kingdom, they [vacant bishoprics] were accustomed to belong to him,' accusing Gerald, who bears himself as bishop elect of St Davids, of attempting to usurp the custody of the temporalities of the bishopric of St Davids, to the damage and despite

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<sup>104</sup> Gerald of Wales, *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, p. 129.

<sup>105</sup> Namely the Englishmen Alexander abbot of Ford who had shared his board and had been his domestic chaplain, and by his efforts the recently promoted abbot and Geoffrey, prior of Llanthony on account of his medical skill, of which the archbishop had high opinion: *Ibid.*, pp. 147-8.

<sup>106</sup> Gerald of Wales, *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, p. 155; Henry Owen, *Gerald the Welshman* (London, 1904), pp. 16-7; Robert Bartlett, 'Gerald of Wales (c.1146-1220x23)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 21, p. 926. 

<sup>107</sup> *Rot. Chart.*, p. 100; *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents Relating to Welsh Dioceses, 1066-1272*, ed. James Conway Davies (Cardiff, 1946-8), vol. 1, pp. 312-3.



of the dignity of the king's crown. John went on to order that no one shall promote or maintain Gerald in the temporalities which belong to that Church, as they respect the king's fealty and crown and if anyone did so it would be in manifest enmity to the king's dignity and crown.'<sup>108</sup> During this time Gerald was of course not idle, he was in Rome trying to enlist support for his claim of the metropolitan status of St Davids and also went to North Wales to try and gain support from the Welsh princes.<sup>109</sup>

It may be questioned what these disputes between John and the secular church in Wales has to do with the abbey of Aberconwy. Namely, it was not only the bishopric of St Davids, which was at this time vacant, so too was Bangor. When Gwion, bishop of Bangor, died in 1190, the cathedral chapter unanimously voted for Rotoland, subprior of Aberconwy to be his successor, however Hubert Walter would not assent. The vacancy continued until 16 April 1195 when Hubert appointed Alan de St Croix prior of the hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England, however this was not a success and he soon returned to England and died 19 May 1196. At which the canons of Bangor once again elected Rotoland, however Walter again refused to assent and on 16 March 1197 consecrated Robert of Shrewsbury.<sup>110</sup> Gerald of Wales met with Rotoland when both were in Rome pleading their cases in 1201 and they decided to join forces, which culminated in Gerald appointing Rotoland as his proctor. Both then returned to Wales in late 1201, and visited several monasteries including Aberconwy, the abbot and monks of which most likely supported

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<sup>108</sup> *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 3; *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents Relating to Welsh Dioceses, 1066-1272*, vol. 1, p. 316.

<sup>109</sup> The fact that Gwenwynwyn would give no aid to Gerald so 'that he might appease the archbishop and the English,' demonstrates that John's attempts to woo him in April 1200 had been successful: Gerald of Wales, *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, pp. 250-51.

<sup>110</sup> R. W. Hays, 'Rotoland, sub-prior of Aberconway, and the controversy over the see of Bangor, 1199-1204', *Journal of the Historical Society of the Church in Wales* 13 (1963), 9-10.

Rotoland. Shortly after Christmas 1201 Robert of Shrewsbury complained to Geoffrey fitz Peter that Gerald favoured Rotoland's claim although it had not received the king's assent and that Gerald had restored Rotoland to the see.<sup>111</sup>

These events certainly put the charter of John to Aberconwy into perspective. John was struggling to preserve English control in not one but two bishoprics, with one claimant being a member of Aberconwy. The charter of 1 April 1202 to Aberconwy is therefore very surprising, not only because it was so generous, but as the disputes were not settled. For on 8 March 1202 there is a Patent Letter from John reaffirming that he has not assented to Gerald's election whilst on 10 April 1202 there is another Patent Letter relating how John had instead consented to the election of Walter abbot of St Dogmaels.<sup>112</sup> The dispute carried on even after this, with the bailiff of Pembroke in June 1202, by precept of the king and the justiciar, secretly prohibiting all the clergy of St Davids in his power from obeying Gerald and from attending his synods or chapters, and on 1 June 1203, John granted away half of Gerald's pension.<sup>113</sup> The dispute continued however prompting John on 11 September 1203 to send another Patent Letter to all faithful barons and subjects of St Davids, informing them that Gerald tried to undermine him and that the tranquillity of the whole kingdom was greatly disturbed.<sup>114</sup> Therefore, the charter to Aberconwy was in the very middle of the disputes with Gerald and consequently with his proctor Rotoland. It is also not the case that John was simply unaware of the role that Rotoland, and by association Aberconwy abbey, played in these disputes. This is testified not only by his removal but also by the fact that when he and Gerald were

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<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 11-13.

<sup>112</sup> *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, pp. 7, 9.

<sup>113</sup> *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents Relating to Welsh Dioceses, 1066-1272*, vol. 1, pp. 319-26.

<sup>114</sup> *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 34.

returning to Wales in late 1201, they both came before the king, whilst he was in Normandy.<sup>115</sup> It is unlikely that the charter to Aberconwy was an attempt by John to woo the abbey away from supporting Rotoland, for although Gerald suggests the Order supported Rotoland, there was already an Angevin plan to get Rotoland expelled from the Cistercian Order, which indeed he was in 1202, and surely John would deem this sufficient.<sup>116</sup> What seems perhaps more likely is that John granted this charter not because of these disputes but despite of them. John did not really need to woo the abbey away from Rotoland, surely, he must have thought that getting him thrown out of the Order would be enough, and rather this charter was John attempting to enhance relations between himself and Llywelyn ap Iorwerth.

This would certainly make sense, for although John had granted Llywelyn letters of confirmation and protection in September 1199 as mentioned above, this was by no means the end of their disputes, for unlike with Gwenwynwyn of Powys and Maelgwyn ap Rhys of Deheubarth, John had not come to a lasting settlement with Llywelyn ap Iorwerth in April 1200. Instead, a treaty between the two was not agreed until 11 July 1201, which perhaps reflects that it was not until 1201 that Llywelyn was recognised as the dominant ruler in Gwynedd.<sup>117</sup> However, even once this was issued in July 1201 it was not finalised. Rather, as Ifor Rowlands has argued, the verification of the peace was conditional, namely upon Llywelyn's homage at such time as King John returned to England, and this seemingly did not happen until 1204.<sup>118</sup> Therefore from July 1201 to 1204, there was no firm peace

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<sup>115</sup> Hays, 'Rotoland, sub-prior of Aberconway, and the controversy over the see of Bangor, 1199-1204', 12.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 11. Although we are unsure if Rotoland's expulsion was ensured by Hubert, the very fact that the decree was to be sent to Hubert Walter, certainly is very suggestive: *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, vol. 1, p. 281.

<sup>117</sup> Rowlands, 'The 1201 Peace between King John and Llywelyn ap Iorwerth', 149.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 164.

between John and Llywelyn, and it is possible that the charter to Aberconwy in 1202 was part of a wider attempt by John to ensure continuing positive relations with Llywelyn until the treaty was confirmed when Llywelyn performed homage. For as Lloyd noted, when Gerald of Wales went to North Wales in the winter of 1201 to gain support for his claims ‘the loyalty of Llywelyn [to John] was by no means assured,’ whilst according to Gerald of Wales he was accused by the justiciar of going to North Wales to ally Llywelyn with the other princes of Wales to rise up against the king.<sup>119</sup> Clearly therefore there was some anxiety that the dispute over the appointment to these sees would alienate Llywelyn. Especially when one considers that Llywelyn was very much in favour of Rotoland’s appointment, demonstrated by his inclusion as a witness to a Basingwerk abbey charter of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, as ‘Rotoland, elect of Bangor.’<sup>120</sup> John was therefore overtly keen to ensure positive relations, perhaps best demonstrated when John organised the marriage of his own daughter, Joan, to Llywelyn. Although the date of this betrothal is not clear, it may well have been in 1203, when there is a record of a ship carrying the king’s daughter to England from Normandy, however they were definitely betrothed before 15 October 1204.<sup>121</sup> The granting of a charter to Aberconwy as part of an attempt to ensure relations would make sense as Llywelyn was a major patron to Aberconwy, and his devotion to this house is perhaps best demonstrated by the fact that he was to be buried there. It was noted earlier how John was desperate in 1202 to ensure the support of those around him due to his deteriorating position in France, with war resuming by April 1202. The fact that John was therefore determined in April 1202

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<sup>119</sup> Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, vol. 1, p. 615; Gerald of Wales, *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, p. 225.

<sup>120</sup> ‘*Rawatlan(us) electus de Bangor*’: the date of this charter is unclear, but Pryce indicates it was issued between June 1196 and October 1202: *The Acts of Welsh Rulers*, no. 216.

<sup>121</sup> Kate Norgate and rev. A. D. Carr, ‘Joan (d. 1237)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 30, p. 134.

to ensure Llywelyn's loyalty certainly makes sense. Although negotiations with France were still ongoing John must have known that they had little chance of success and he was equally aware that he could certainly not afford to leave any men behind to keep the peace in Wales, and may well have hoped to have Llywelyn send Welsh troops, for the inevitable clash that was to come.<sup>122</sup> What also makes it likely that this charter was political is the presence at court of Roger Mortimer, a major marcher baron who by mid 1202 was at the height of his power and was seen as 'enjoying supremacy'<sup>123</sup> and may well have advised John in this matter. Moreover, also on 1 April, the same day as the charter to Aberconwy, John was also readying his French lands for war as he was seemingly attempting to secure the allegiance of Eu, sending a letter to the knights, burgesses and tenants of Eu informing them that their lady and wife of Ralph of Exoudun was dead and commanded them to receive John of Eu as the rightful heir.<sup>124</sup> This was clearly a malicious attempt by John to ensure the loyalty of Eu and to remove the rebellious Ralph of Exoudun who held it through his wife, for his wife was in fact still alive.<sup>125</sup> The Aberconwy charter was therefore part of a wider attempt by John to ensure loyalty and to prepare for the coming war just as his charter to Dore abbey was. Despite noting the granting of this charter with surprise, Hays dismissed it as routine.<sup>126</sup> Yet it is very doubtful that the

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<sup>122</sup> As Powicke demonstrated, John's desperation to attract troops is illustrated by the open letters he entrusted to his recruiting serjeants in May, on 2 May, William Cresec was commissioned to enroll recruit on liberal terms, whilst on 27 May Simon of Haveret was sent to try and attract knights of Flanders, Hainault and Brabant: Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy, 1189-1204*, p. 221.

<sup>123</sup> Roger Mortimer is to be found witnessing an inspeximus charter on 1 April 1202, the same day as the Aberconwy Charter: *Rotuli Normanniae in turri Londinensi asserbati: Johanne et Henrico Quinto Angliae Regibus*, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy (London, 1835), vol. 1, pp. 18-19; R. R. Davies, *Domination and Conquest: the experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales 1100-1300* (Cambridge, 1990), p. 93.

<sup>124</sup> *Magni Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae*, ed. Thomas Stapleton (London, 1844), vol. 2, p. ccxxii.

<sup>125</sup> Sidney Painter, *William Marshal: Knight-errant, Baron, and Regent of England* (Baltimore, 1933), p. 129.

<sup>126</sup> Hays, 'Rotoland, sub-prior of Aberconway, and the controversy over the see of Bangor, 1199-1204', 13

monks of Aberconwy would have approached John to ask for this. Not only because they may well have been exposing themselves to the wrath of John who, at least as far as they were aware, may punish them for supporting Rotoland's claims, but also there seems little reason why they should have sought such a charter at this time. For by 1202 Llywelyn ap Iorwerth was the dominant ruler in Gwynedd, if the charter was issued in 1200 or 1201 then it may be explained as routine as the monks attempted to protect themselves from the disputes between Llywelyn and his rivals, yet this was not the case. Consequently, the very fact that John was using grants to the Cistercians to solidify alliances in Wales, explains why Cymer abbey did not get a single charter, for Cymer was associated with Maredudd ap Cynan, a one time rival of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, and consequently there was no political advantage to be gained by granting them a charter.<sup>127</sup>

The next charter which shall be considered is that from King John to Falkes de Bréauté on 17 August 1212, which ordered the destruction of Strata Florida. This charter once again can only be understood when placed in the context of wider Welsh affairs, which has to be taken back to 1210. Although as mentioned previously John had taken a peaceful approach to Welsh affairs by favouring the Welsh princes and particularly Llywelyn ap Iorwerth, this detente was smashed in 1210. Although the cause is not entirely clear, John Edward Lloyd suggested that Llywelyn ap Iorwerth had attempted to aid William de Braose in the ultimately fruitless attempt at recapturing his lands, which had been confiscated by John.<sup>128</sup> After which John seems to have been determined to crush Llywelyn once and for all,

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<sup>127</sup> *The Acts of Welsh Rulers*, no. 209. I would like to thank Dr. Charles Inlsey for suggesting this to me.

<sup>128</sup> Although this is possible, it is equally possible that Llywelyn saw how John could treat men who had at one time been his intimate familiars and began to reevaluate his relationship with him: Poole, *From Domesday to Magna Carta, 1087-1216*, p. 299.

invading as far as Degennwy castle in 1211 before being forced back due to lack of food, however he returned shortly afterwards.<sup>129</sup> Around the calends of August he departed from Oswestry, coming to the banks of the river Conwy from which he sent men to burn Bangor, with Bishop Robert being seized in his cathedral and was only saved with a ransom of 200 falcons.<sup>130</sup> Llywelyn, seeing that he was beaten, sent his wife, John's daughter Joan, to make peace.<sup>131</sup> Agreed on 12 August 1211 the peace was devastating for Llywelyn. Llywelyn had to hand over the castle of Degannwy alongside numerous other lands, give over his son Gruffudd as a hostage alongside as many other hostages as the king chose, 10,000 cows, 40 destriers and 60 hunters and perhaps most humbling, agreeing that if he should die without heir by the king's daughter, then all his lands would pass to John, and it was to be John who would decide what, if any lands Llywelyn's son was to hold.<sup>132</sup> Then according to Powell, 'the king returned to England with great triumph.'<sup>133</sup> After which and perhaps buoyed by his success, John commanded Falkes de Bréauté to take the host of Glamorgan alongside Maelgwyn ap Rhys and Rees Gryg and their hosts, to 'force the sons of Gruffudd ap Rhys to yield or else to drive them from the kingdom.'<sup>134</sup> This campaign was very successful, with Rhys and Owain ap Gruffudd submitting, granting to the king all their land between the Aeron and the Dyfi before travelling to the king's court where they were reconciled to him. It was also during this time that Bréauté began building a castle at Aberystwyth.<sup>135</sup> It was seemingly during these two campaigns that the fines were imposed on Aberconwy, Basingwerk and Strata

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<sup>129</sup> *Brut Y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, p. 85.

<sup>130</sup> David Powell, *The Historie of Cambria, now called Wales*, trans. H. Lhoyd (orig. publi. 1584, London, 1911), p. 265; *Brut Y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, p. 85.

<sup>131</sup> *Brut Y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, p. 85.

<sup>132</sup> *The Acts of Welsh Rulers*, no. 233.

<sup>133</sup> Powell, *The Historie of Cambria, now called Wales*, p. 265.

<sup>134</sup> *Brut Y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, pp. 85-6.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

Florida abbeys.<sup>136</sup> However, rather than evidence of John's negative relations with these houses, these can be seen as simply imposed by either John or Bréauté as they passed them by in order to raise much needed revenue to fund the Welsh war. For from his route through north Wales, John or his men would travel near to both Basingwerk and Aberconwy abbeys, whilst Bréauté travelling up from south to mid Wales, would travel near Strata Florida. Conveniently for the other Cistercian houses in Wales, neither John's nor Bréauté's itinerary brought them near enough for them to be fined and so they escaped.

John planned to finally end the Welsh problem, and seemingly took a similar view to that of Edward I, namely that castles were crucial in this.<sup>137</sup> Yet it was this very policy which seemingly caused his next Welsh problem. For seeing that these castles may have represented the permanent presence of the English king, the Welsh united to try and throw off the king. They rose up in 1212 and 'they won all the castles which the king had built in Gwynedd, except Deganwwy and Rhuddlan.'<sup>138</sup> Wendover notes how, 'when the king found out he was indignant, and collected a numerous army of horse and foot, determining to ravage the Welsh territories and to exterminate the inhabitants.'<sup>139</sup> John therefore devoted all of June and July 1212 to preparing for this fresh invasion, he had clearly learnt from his first invasion of 1211, that an army needs to be well prepared. John consequently ordered the muster to gather at Chester on 19 August 1212.<sup>140</sup> However, despite all these preparations the proposed invasion was never to take place, for John was informed first by the king of

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<sup>136</sup> These fines were discussed above, see chapter 3, pp. 106-7.

<sup>137</sup> This is clear by the fact that 1,260 forks, 240 spades, 160 picks and 100 axes were sent into Wales, presumably for castle construction: *Pipe Roll 13 John*, p. xiv.

<sup>138</sup> *Brenhenidd Y Saesson*, pp. 205-7.

<sup>139</sup> Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, vol. 2, p. 61; trans. in Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History*, ed. and trans. J. A. Giles (London, 1849-59), vol. 2, pp. 257-8.

<sup>140</sup> *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 94.



Scots and then by his daughter Joan, at Nottingham on 14 August 1212, of a conspiracy that he would either be killed by his magnates or handed over to his enemies, if he continued his Welsh campaign.<sup>141</sup> Clearly John took the threat seriously, for on 16 August 1212 he called off the muster and ordered that no one was allowed to see his son, clearly the rumours that his son was in danger had also reached him.<sup>142</sup> It is in this context that the Strata Florida charter of 17 August 1212 needs to be considered and as such it is worth citing in full.

The king to Falkes [de Bréauté]. We command that you destroy the Abbey of Strata Florida, which harboured our enemies (as we have commanded you), in so far as you are able. That the weak castles in your bailiwick which you are not able to hold be burned; and that those which are good and it is possible to defend, let them be held and guarded. Witnessed by me myself at Nottingham, the 17 day of August in the 14<sup>th</sup> year.<sup>143</sup>

Although the clause, ‘which harboured our enemies’, has often led historians to suggest that the abbey was a refuge into which the Welsh retreated and it was this which prompted John to order its destruction, this is somewhat unlikely. Rather, placed into its wider political context, it seems that this charter was a vindictive attempt to hurt those that had turned against him. John had already ordered 28 Welsh hostages to be hanged on 14 August 1212, in the same impotent vindictive rage that prompted the retreating Henry II in 1165 to order the mutilation and hanging of 22 Welsh hostages.<sup>144</sup> On 17 August 1212, the same day as the Strata Florida charter, John commanded Geoffrey de Lucy to take ships and harry the Welsh coast as much

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<sup>141</sup> Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, vol. 2, pp. 61-2; *The Acts of Welsh Rulers*, no. 276.

<sup>142</sup> *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 94.

<sup>143</sup> Williams, *The Cistercian Abbey of Strata Florida*, p. xx. As the dating clause is ‘*ut proximo supra*’, the dating clause has been added for ease of reference from the charter preceding it: *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 122.

<sup>144</sup> Although Wendover suggests that John arrived at Nottingham and hanged the hostages then heard of the threat, it seems far more likely that this occurred the other way around: Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, vol. 2, pp. 61-2; Ifor W. Rowlands, ‘King John and Wales’, in *King John: New Interpretations*, ed. S. D. Church (Woodbridge, 1999, repr. 2007), p. 280.

as possible.<sup>145</sup> The rage which John was in is further demonstrated by the fact that he set a price on the head of every Welshman delivered to him, with a payment of 6s in 1212-13 to William, the man of Adam Crok for bringing six amputated heads of Welshmen who were in the service of Cadwallan to the king at Rochester.<sup>146</sup> Clearly this was powerless rage intended to hurt the Welsh, the same as his order to Strata Florida in 1212. It is also not surprising that of all the possible abbeys that John could choose from to try and exact his vindictive revenge, he chose Strata Florida. For it was likely to be one of the few Welsh houses under the patronage of those who had deserted John in 1211 within his power due to the proximity of Bréauté. Although as discussed earlier, Rhys Gryg and Maelgwyn ap Rhys had actively supported John in his Welsh affairs assisting Bréauté's campaign in 1211, after this they turned against him, not only destroying Aberystwyth castle but joining the uprising more generally in 1212.<sup>147</sup> Therefore when John in a fit of rage attempted to hurt those who had turned against him, particularly Rhys Gryg and Maelgwyn ap Rhys, what better house to choose than one which was a favourite of their family, particularly of their fathers and also one which they themselves seemed to particularly favour.<sup>148</sup> In the same way he was hurt by the assault on Leominster priory by William de Braose, he hoped this assault on Strata Florida would hurt them.<sup>149</sup>

The charters John issued to Dore abbey on 30 August and 4 November 1213, restoring the land he confiscated during the interdict, were not political in the same

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<sup>145</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, pp. 121b-22.

<sup>146</sup> *Rot. Misae, 14 John*, p. 231; Poole, *From Domesday to Magna Carta, 1087-1216*, p. 300n.

<sup>147</sup> *Brut Y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, p. 86.

<sup>148</sup> See the numerous grants from Rhys Gryg and Maelgwyn a Rhys to the abbey of Strata Florida in *The Acts of Welsh Rulers*, nos. 35-40, 48, 50-1. I am greatly indebted to Professor Daniel Power who highlighted their role as patrons at the 2011 Gregynog Conference.

<sup>149</sup> See Introduction, p. 27.

way as the aforesaid charters, rather they were part of John's wider relationship with the Church. Faced not only by the revolt in Wales, which had been given papal sanction, his rebellious barons, a possible French invasion and also his dispute with the church, John in 1213 made the astute political decision to make peace with the church in Rome, which would not only reduce the number of enemies but also give him a useful ally against the Welsh and his barons. John was in many ways correct, for now the rebels were no longer fighting a holy war against an excommunicate king, and the result was a truce between John and the Welsh, negotiated by the legate Pandulf, which was to last through 1214.<sup>150</sup> John therefore surrendered his kingdom to the pope on 15 May 1213.<sup>151</sup> Although this did not automatically end the interdict, which was not to end until 2 July 1214, John wasted little time in attempting to reconcile himself fully with the Church, of which these charters restoring lands to Dore were part. This would certainly make sense for John was doing all he could to reconcile himself to the church as quickly as possible, for example in July 1213 John issued orders for filling the vacancies of both sees and abbeys.<sup>152</sup> What also makes it clear that these charters were issued as part of John's reconciliation to the church is that the charter explicitly states that he is restoring land which Dore held 'before the discord between us and the clergy.'<sup>153</sup> Even more than this, John on the same day as this charter also granted a charter to Brecon Priory, restoring to them the tithes which they once held from certain castles, which they had lost on account of the dispute between the king and the church.<sup>154</sup> However, it is certainly possible that the restoration of land to Dore was part of his wider attempt to reconcile himself more specifically with the bishop of Hereford, Giles de Braose, who had fled overseas

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<sup>150</sup> Poole, *From Domesday to Magna Carta, 1087-1216*, p. 300.

<sup>151</sup> The surrender is to be found in full in *Foedera*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 112.

<sup>152</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, pp. 146b, 148, 150, 150b; Norgate, *John Lackland*, p. 192.

<sup>153</sup> 'ante discordiam inter nos et clericos': *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 148b.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*

when the dispute with the church began but returned in May 1213.<sup>155</sup> John had already seemingly begun the process of attempting to reconcile himself with Giles, ordering on 28 October 1212 the sheriff of Hereford to return to the dean and chapter those prebends which had been seized because it was said that the bishop of Hereford had granted them after he went overseas.<sup>156</sup> Moreover, when John visited Hereford in late 1213 he granted Giles de Braose seisin of the manor of Tetbury.<sup>157</sup>

Yet the charters issued to Cwmhir and Whitland in 1214 and 1215 are certainly political in nature. Although tempting to see the confirmation, protection and quittance of toll charters granted to Cwmhir on 27 December 1214 as simply routine and issued at the request of the monks, for Roger Mortimer, the patron of the house had died just a few months before, the fact that they were issued on the same day as confirmation, protection and quittance of toll charters were issued to Whitland makes this unlikely. Instead it is possible that these charters were John's attempts to solidify his hold over these abbeys and the lands in which they were set. For as Crouch said, 'There can be no doubt that John expected the worst in the autumn and winter of 1214, and was getting prepared for it.'<sup>158</sup> The importance John attached to Wales and the March during this time demonstrated by his tour through Gloucestershire, Herefordshire and Worcestershire in December 1214, during which these charters to Cwmhir and Whitland were issued.<sup>159</sup> John certainly appreciated how important the church could be in holding the region, for why else would John on 11 January 1215 entrust the temporalities of the See of St David to William

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<sup>155</sup> Julia Barrow, 'Briouze, Giles de (c.1170–1215)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 7, p. 673.

<sup>156</sup> C. R. Cheney, 'King John's reaction to the interdict on England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 31 (1949), 148.

<sup>157</sup> Barrow, 'Briouze, Giles de (c.1170–1215)', p. 673.

<sup>158</sup> Crouch, *William Marshal, Knighthood, War and Chivalry*, p. 120.

<sup>159</sup> Itinerary, p. lxxv; Paul Latimer, 'Rebellion in south-western England and the Welsh marches, 1215-17', *Historical Research* 80 (2007), 204.

Marshal?<sup>160</sup> Given the advances the Welsh were making and the virtual collapse of royal control in Wales it may have seemed only a matter of time before that land in which these abbeys were set also fell, especially given the loss of Roger Mortimer, and at least for Whitland abbey this was soon to be true, for in May 1215 Dyfed was conquered by the Welsh.<sup>161</sup> It is also possible however that these charters were an attempt to once again woo the Welsh. John was seemingly attempting to win back Welsh support or at least to pacify them, for on 18 December 1214 he ordered Engelard de Cigoné, sheriff of Gloucester, to release Llywelyn ap Iorwerth's hostages, and he also ordered the release of another of his hostages, Gwyn ap Iorwerth, on 7 January 1215. Moreover, even if both of these were released on the request of John's daughter, Joan, the fact he agreed suggests he was willing to do so, perhaps in the hope of gaining Welsh support.<sup>162</sup>

In addition, these charters to Cwmhir and Whitland, especially that to Whitland abbey, was very much dependant on John's relations with the Welsh and his wider relations with the Welsh Church, for once again John's relations with the Cistercians in Wales were directly related to a vacant bishopric. This time it was to the bishopric of Bangor, which was itself a political attempt by John to try and win Welsh support. The bishopric of Bangor had been vacant since the death of Robert of Shrewsbury in 1212 and it remained vacant until 1215, when it was filled by Cadwgan, abbot of Whitland. His election moved very quickly: on 13 March 1215 King John allowed the canons of Bangor cathedral to hold a free election, provided that it elect the abbot of Whitland, and he gave his consent to Cadwgan's

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<sup>160</sup> *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 126.

<sup>161</sup> *Annales Cambriae*, pp. 116-7.

<sup>162</sup> *The Acts of Welsh Rulers*, nos. 277-8.

consecration on 13 April 1215.<sup>163</sup> Therefore, it is possible that the confirmation charter to Whitland in December 1214 may have been an attempt to ensure the support of Cadwgan, who was to become bishop of Bangor. This is not to say that this election had nothing to do with John's wider relationship with the secular church, for John had on 21 November 1214 granted free elections to churches and this election may therefore simply be part of him fulfilling this promise, yet it hardly seems a free election when one considers that John allowed them a 'free' election as long as they elect the abbot of Whitland, they were therefore only 'free' so long as they did what John wanted.

Gerald of Wales claims that Cadwgan ensured his election by claiming to be related to Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, and therefore won his support. Yet this does seem somewhat unlikely, for Gerald was hardly going to be supportive of a man who whilst a monk at Strata Florida had refused to allow Gerald to have the books he had placed there for protection.<sup>164</sup> It also seems unlikely that this elevation was a sign of King John's weakness, and that a Welshman was forced onto him by Llywelyn, for it seems hardly likely that Llywelyn if he was in such a dominant position would insist on an abbot who would have little reason to support him. Surely it would have made more sense for Llywelyn to put forward a candidate from Aberconwy, for he could surely rely on their support. Rather it seems likely that although John wanted to placate the Welsh by electing a Welshman (something he strongly resisted with Gerald of Wales for the see of St Davids) John wisely chose an abbot who would not blindly support Llywelyn, but rather a man who may have looked more favourably on the English king, something which John tried to ensure by granting him and his

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<sup>163</sup> *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, pp. 130b, 132b; J. Goering and H. Pryce, 'The de modo confitendi of Cadwgan bishop of Bangor', *Mediaeval Studies* 62 (2000), 4.

<sup>164</sup> Walker, 'Cadwgan (d. 1241)', p. 427.

abbey a confirmation and quittance of toll and custom. The likelihood that these charters were issued in connections with John's relationship with the secular church is even further enhanced when you consider the men who were at court that day, for the Cwmhir charter was witnessed by no less than three bishops, namely Giles of Hereford, Peter des Roches of Winchester and Jocelin of Bath and Glastonbury, as well as William Marshal.<sup>165</sup> Clearly therefore John would not have a lack of advice from the men at his court on how to deal with the secular church. What makes it even more likely that these charters were issued politically is their date. They were issued on 27 December, consequently it seems extremely unlikely that an abbot or prior asked for the charter for it would have resulted in them missing one of the most holy feasts in the Christian calendar. In fact that date of the charter suggests that John may have invited members of these houses to celebrate Christmas with him, which would certainly go some way in solidifying his relations with these houses, the support of which would have been very important in the ongoing attempt to hold the areas against the Welsh advance.

Despite the numerous charters, which have been outlined above, which were undoubtedly issued for political reasons, many were issued for genuinely pious reasons. This is also true of the foundations of houses, for many were founded out of genuine pious initiative, for example, Flaxley abbey was founded by Roger earl of Hereford in memory of his father Miles of Gloucester, supposedly on the spot where he was killed in a hunting accident.<sup>166</sup> Moreover, not all charters to the Cistercians in Wales by John were political, the charters to Margam abbey in 1205 and 1207 and those to Neath 1207 and 1208 were seemingly simply just confirmation charters

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<sup>165</sup> *Rot. Chart.*, pp. 205-6.

<sup>166</sup> James Bond, 'The location and siting of Cistercian houses in Wales and the West', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 154 (2005), 54.

asked for by the abbeys themselves.<sup>167</sup> The same is true of the grant to Whitland in 1204 of a license to sell and buy throughout England and Ireland. Although the charters to Dore in 1213 were issued as part of the wider reconciliation with the church, this was not the case for their charters of July 1215 and 1216. The charter of July 1215 was issued purely for financial gain. Although the charter of July 1215 granting Dore abbey land and permission to enlarge a mill pond, does at first seem quite remarkable for despite John's efforts as mentioned above to woo Giles de Braose, from May 1215 Giles rose in rebellion with he and his brother Reginald taking possession of their family's castles in Brecon, Giles himself capturing Brecon, Hay, Radnor, Builth, and Blaenllyfni.<sup>168</sup> Moreover, John in July 1215 was extremely weak, his hopes of recapturing his French lands were all but over with the humiliating loss at the Battle of Bouvines on 27 July 1214. After John returned to England he found his barons in virtual open revolt and the Welsh continuing to push out the English, and John was forced on 15 June 1215 to accept Magna Carta. Although it is possible that the July 1215 charter to Dore abbey was an attempt to once again woo Giles de Braose or was connected with John's attempts to install pro-royalists in Hereford this is unlikely. For even though on 14 August 1215, Walter Clifford had been given the custody of Hereford, and John's 1215 charter to Dore could have been an attempt to gain their support, or in fact to further ensure the adherence of the Cliffords, this falls down when you consider that John charged 600

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<sup>167</sup> This is not to say that just because the initiative came from the abbey that John did not bear in mind the political implications, for example in his 1207 charter to Neath abbey, John inserted a clause, stating he allowed them the area except the tenements of the burgess of Neath and that although they may have their homage and rent they were forbidden to remove them. John therefore wanted to ensure the locals would not stir up unrest: *Rot. Chart.*, p. 168.

<sup>168</sup> Barrow, 'Briouze, Giles de (c.1170-1215)', p. 673.



marks and 10 palfreys for this charter.<sup>169</sup> Consequently, it seems this was issued in an effort to raise much needed monies to fill the now empty coffers. The inclusion of additional approval by the bishop and chapter of Hereford for the grant at the very end of the charter, suggests that the monks were aware of the purely economic motives behind the grant and were keen to ensure they held onto the area.<sup>170</sup> Perhaps they were fearful that once John was in a better economic position he would confiscate the lands, due to their very negative relationship.

The charter granting permission to Dore abbey to deforest an area of land in July 1216 was however perhaps issued due to wider political events. John's situation in 1216 was going from bad to much worse. Not only were the Welsh making significant advances in Wales, the barons were in almost full revolt and by June 1216 Prince Louis of France had landed with an invasion army, which was then further reinforced with support from Scotland. The king, faced with these multiple threats, fled from his base at Winchester, and according to the *Annales Cambriae*, 'King John of England with many of his men pressed on to Herefordshire and sent envoys to Reginald [de] Braose and other princes of Wales and tried to seduce them by any means; and when this did not prevail he attacked Hay on Wye and Radnor burning the towns and overthrowing the castles as well as burning and destroying Clun and Oswestry.'<sup>171</sup> This certainly puts a different perspective on John's charter to Dore abbey, for it may well have been an attempt to woo Reginald de Braose, the brother of the now deceased Giles, the marcher barons or the Welsh more widely. Not only is the *Annales Cambriae*'s suggestion that John was trying to buy the

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<sup>169</sup> For example, the failed daughter house of Dore, Trawscoed was intended to be founded on land which was given to them in 1173 by Walter de Clifford: *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 153; *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents Relating to Welsh dioceses, 1066-1272*, vol. 1, p. 276.

<sup>170</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 5, pp. 553-4.

<sup>171</sup> *Annales Cambriae*, pp. 119-20.

adherence of the Welsh supported by the *Brut Y Twysogion*, the description of events the *Annales Cambriae* contains is also supported by John's itinerary, which clearly shows John marching up the Welsh border and going to the places the *Annales Cambriae* noted.<sup>172</sup> Whilst the charter granting the 'faithful' citizens of Hereford their city at fee farm for £40 annually on 10 July 1215 is perhaps further evidence that John was trying to ensure support in this region.<sup>173</sup>

A. T. Bannister suggested, 'when John, broken in health and in fortune, and now close upon his death, spent the month of August wandering in the neighbourhood of Dore, the new abbot [...] extorted from the royal fugitive a confirmation of the grant.'<sup>174</sup> Although possible, John was hardly a broken man at this point, for although the situation was bleak there is no indication that John had given up. However, having said this it is possible that this charter was issued not because of his diplomatic attempts but rather in spite of them, as all of John's diplomatic overtures were rebuffed, and one may therefore expect him to take out his wrath not only on the castles but the religious houses as well. Yet it seems he did not do this, as his desire for ready money in order to fight the marcher barons was greater than his desire for revenge. Instead, he charged them 300 marks.<sup>175</sup> Consequently, it seems that this charter, rather than being issued for political reasons was issued for purely financial gain. Although crucial not to attempt to find political motivations when there are none nor see all charters as being issued politically, it is also true, and has been clearly demonstrated above, that it is a mistake to see all

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<sup>172</sup> *Brut Y Tywysogyon, Peniarth MS. 20 Version*, p. 93. Itinerary, pp. lv, lvii; Julie Kanter, 'Peripatetic and sedentary kingship: the itineraries of the thirteenth-century English kings', pp. 748-9.

<sup>173</sup> *Rot. Chart.*, pp. 212-3.

<sup>174</sup> A. T. Bannister, *The History of Ewias Harold, its Castle, Priory and Church* (Hereford, 1902), pp. 46-8.

<sup>175</sup> *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 192.

charters as being issued merely as a result of a monk's request and consequently routinely issued.

It is also not the case that John's relations with other Orders in Wales was based on political considerations, there in fact appears to be no evidence for that whatsoever. This may at first seem quite surprising but it is possible that John had no need to try and 'buy' these houses' support as they always supported the English cause. This certainly seems plausible when you consider that the prior of Cardigan along with Henry the clerk of Robert fitz Richard was given 20 marks in 1208 to fortify the castle of Cardigan.<sup>176</sup> Connected to this is the fact that most priories were located in or near castles. Therefore, there was no need to buy their support. This therefore supports the argument however, that John's relations with individual houses was not based on their orientation in the way that may be expected, namely granting houses which supported his cause, instead it was often the total opposite. It is not the case however that charters were always issued at a time you would expect John would attempt to buy support. A good example of this is that fact that although John attempted to ensure Cadwgan's support as bishop of Bangor when he elevated him by granting a charter to his house of Whitland as mentioned previously, he did not issue a charter to Talley despite the fact that its abbot, Gervase was also elevated to a bishopric around the same time, namely to the Bishopric of St Davids which John confirmed in June 1215.<sup>177</sup> Although it is possible that John did not believe he needed to buy his support, it seems more likely that John was continuously trying to get someone else elevated, namely Hugh Foilet the archdeacon of Salop.<sup>178</sup> As such this is why John did not issue a charter to try and buy Talley abbey's support, for

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<sup>176</sup> *Pipe Roll 10 John*, p. 103.

<sup>177</sup> *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 143.

<sup>178</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 203.

right until the very end John was attempting to get someone else elevated and when he had to admit defeat and elevate someone else it was too late to try and woo the abbey and its abbot, a person whom John had fiercely resisted.

## CHAPTER 5

### KING JOHN AND THE CISTERCIANS IN IRELAND

Although increasingly apparent that John's relations with the Cistercians in Wales were often inextricably interconnected with his wider political aims, was this the case in Ireland?<sup>1</sup> Although John only visited Ireland twice, once in 1185 as lord of Ireland and once in 1210 as king, this does not mean that his interactions with the Cistercians there were confined to these two years, rather they continued from 1185 until at least 1213. From an analysis of these relationships, this chapter will demonstrate that the interconnection between patron, house and John's political aims is evident via these relationships, therefore reinforcing the argument that John's relations with individual Cistercian houses were on occasion based on wider political events. It is important to note at this point that it seems that John's relationship with the wider Cistercian Order, as set out in chapter one, was totally separate from his relationship with the Cistercians in Ireland. There is little evidence that any of John's exactions, which permeated his relations with the wider Order, were ever enacted in Ireland.<sup>2</sup> For as Crouch said 'His [John's] power there was more theoretical than real unless he came himself with a large army.'<sup>3</sup> Consequently perhaps the only occasion when John's relations with the Cistercians in Ireland would be directly affected by his relationship with the wider Order would occur in 1210 during his Irish invasion,

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<sup>1</sup> One of the best and most recent studies of John in Ireland, is the excellent work, Seán Duffy, 'John and Ireland: the origins of England's Irish problem', in *King John: New Interpretations*, ed. S. D. Church (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 221-45.

<sup>2</sup> Although of course only the fines, extortions and perhaps the order to remove animals from royal forests and rescinding of royal charters would not be enacted, John could still refuse to confirm their charters if an Irish abbot visited him in England during one of his breaches with the wider Order.

<sup>3</sup> Crouch, *William Marshal, Knighthood, War and Chivalry*, p. 109.

especially as noted previously, John's 1210 breach with the Cistercian Order began before he travelled to Ireland and not resolved until his return. It would certainly not be expected that John would differentiate between the Order as a whole and that in Ireland. As such the grants he gave to houses in 1210 were not routine but instead directly related to his wider political affairs and objectives in Ireland.

As with Wales, the most productive way of determining John's relationship with the Cistercians in Ireland is an analysis of the charters, letters patent and letters close he granted them. However, as noted previously due to the loss of financial records we cannot analyse the relationship between John and the Cistercians in Ireland based on either how much they paid for their charters or any fines that were imposed upon them.

Table 10 - Grants to the Cistercian Abbeys of Ireland.

<b>Abbey</b>	<b>Content of Charter/s</b>	<b>Date</b>
Baltinglass	1) Confirmation 2) Payment for inquisition of Mort d'ancestor against the abbot and monks of Baltinglass 3) Land seized into the kings hands	1185 Sept. 1199 1199-1216
Holycross	1) Confirmation and Quittance of toll 2) Grant of land	21 July 1192 1210
Jerpoint	1) Confirmation 2) Protection	1189-91 1189-91
Mellifont	1) Confirmation 2) Grant 3) Grant Fishery on the Boyne 4) Confirmation	1185 1188 1188-9 1 Apr. 1203
Tintern Parva	1) Confirmation of William Marshal's Will, of 30 carucates of land	3 Dec. 1200
St Mary's Dublin	1) Confirmation 2) Confirmation 3) Preamble 4) Freedom of Toll and Protection 5) Confirmation 6) Confirmation 7) Freedom from Toll and Protection 8) Protection 9) Restoration of Land 10) Dispute over Custody	1185 1185 1189-99 1189-99 1189-99 29 Oct. 1200 30 Oct. 1200 2 May 1201 12 May 1204 7 June 1213
Dunbrody	1) General Confirmation 2) Protection Charter 3) Protection Charter	1185 1185 1185
Magio	1) Confirmation 2) Confirmation 3) Confirmation	1189-99 1 Nov. 1200 20 June - 24 Aug. 1210
Suir	1) Enfoeffment of a meadow of Glannewaydan	1199-1216

Source - See Appendix III.

John granted some 29 charters to 9 abbeys, a considerable number, yet it remains the case that many abbeys in Ireland did not receive a single charter from John at any point, at least not one that survives. In fact, out of the 24 Irish abbeys only 6 abbeys received any charters at all. Although this seemingly suggests that, unlike in Wales, John treated native houses worse than English ones, this is misleading. For although numerous native houses did not receive a single charter, a significant proportion of

these houses were a considerable distance away from any English held lands. As such John was not in a position to confirm any lands they held, for although John was technically lord of all Ireland this was not the case in practice and he exercised no control over native areas. Moreover, the very fact that John seemed to enjoy a continuing positive relationship with Mellifont, the later epitome of Irish ethnic identity, as demonstrated with the ‘Mellifont Conspiracy’ discussed earlier, hardly suggests his relationships were based on ethnicity.<sup>4</sup> More than this, out of the nine abbeys to which John granted charters, six were native Irish, indicating he instead enjoyed a better relationship with native houses.

Surprisingly of the nine English houses, John only granted charters to three of them, and although they received some 13 charters, 10 were for St Mary’s abbey Dublin, further undermining any suggestion of a correlation between royal favour and ethnicity. For if this were the case John would have granted lands or other privileges to these English houses whilst attempting to undermine the Irish houses. Instead however, it seems that John’s relationship with the English houses were worse than with some of the Irish houses, especially considering that the limited power John did have in Ireland was in the English areas. It is also highly unlikely that English abbeys felt secure enough with their English lord’s confirmations that they did not deem it necessary to gain confirmation charters. For not only did the houses in Wales find it prudent, so too did the abbeys in England, and given the great disturbances which occurred in Ireland at this time and the fact that a person’s hold on their lands was by no means secure in the face of continued fighting with the native Irish, one may well assume that these houses would find it prudent to gain a confirmation charter from John as king of England if not from John when lord of

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<sup>4</sup> See chapter 2, pp. 90-91.



Ireland. It is also not the case that a mere loss of material can explain this lack of evidence, with for example the significant amount of extant material relating to Marshal's Duiske abbey.<sup>5</sup> It is possible therefore that in the same way that some charters were granted politically in Wales, and as shall be demonstrated later in Ireland, the absence of charters may also indicate political intent, as the lack of charters to the Cistercian abbey of Cymer in Wales demonstrated earlier.<sup>6</sup> The English barons in Ireland were not supportive of John as lord of Ireland and later as king of England or he supportive of them, simply because they were English, as in fact they were often bitter enemies, as demonstrated when John in 1210 pursued his once favourite William de Braose to Ireland and expelled the de Lacy family.<sup>7</sup> Yet as mentioned in regard to the absence of charters to Tintern abbey, Monmouthshire, earlier, the lack of any form of grant to the Marshal foundations of Duiske and only the confirmation of Marshal's will in relation to Tintern Parva does not constitute evidence that there was no connection between patron and abbey. Rather it seems that the relationship with Marshal's foundation of Cartmel priory in Cumbria was directly affected instead. Perhaps indicating Cartmel was most important to Marshal, perhaps because unlike Duiske or Tintern Parva, Cartmel was founded on his own rather than his wife's lands, with monks drawn from Bradenstoke priory where his father was buried.<sup>8</sup>

The charters John granted to the Cistercians in 1185 were seemingly issued for political reasons. What at first seems surprising is how few charters John gave whilst in Ireland in 1185. For it seems that in total he only granted seven charters to

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<sup>5</sup> "The charters of the Cistercian abbey of Duiske in county of Kilkenny", ed. C. M. Butler and J. H. Bernard, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 35C (1918), 1-188.

<sup>6</sup> See above, chapter 4, p. 159.

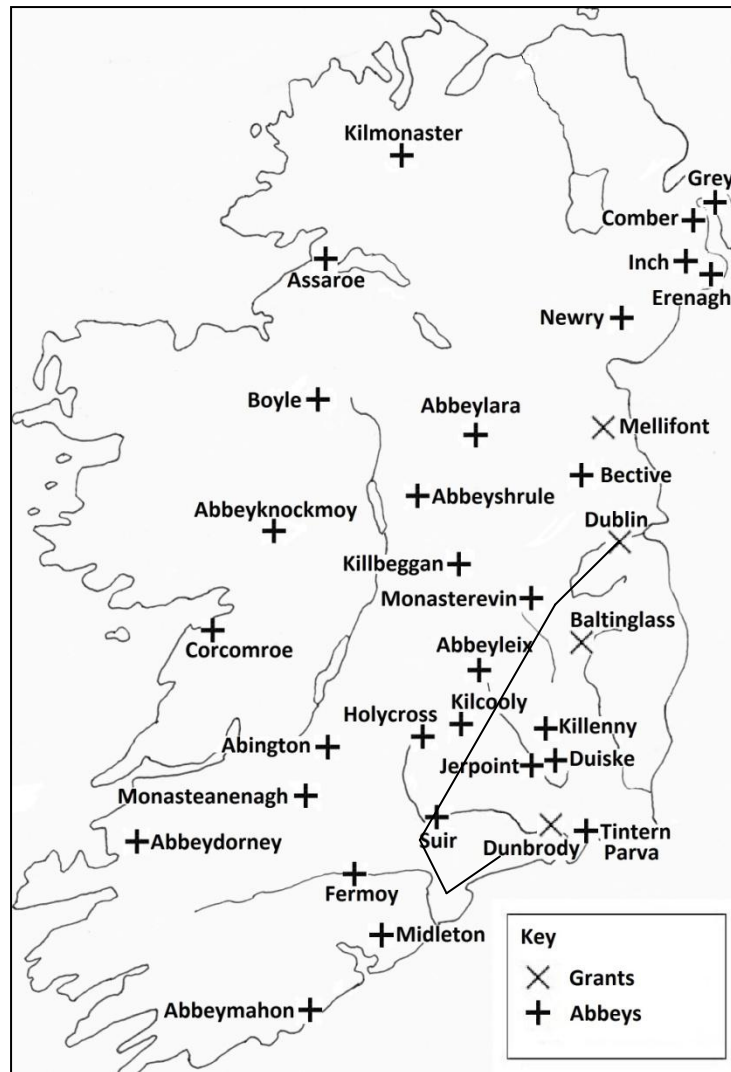
<sup>7</sup> This shall be discussed in greater detail later.

<sup>8</sup> Crouch, *William Marshal, Knighthood, War and Chivalry*, pp. 211-2.

four abbeys, namely confirmation charters to Mellifont, Baltinglass and Dunbrody, two confirmations to St Marys Dublin and two protection charters to Dunbrody.<sup>9</sup> This does seem extremely surprising, for John was in Ireland in 1185 to secure his inheritance. Therefore, we may be forgiven for assuming that John would grant numerous confirmation charters to various abbeys to demonstrate his power as overlord, but this was not the case. Distance was also not a consideration, as we can see from map 2, although he did grant charters to abbeys which according to his itinerary were nearby, there are a significant number of nearby abbeys to which he did not grant charters.

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<sup>9</sup> It should be noted at this point that one charter which shall not be discussed here is the charter that John granted to Suir abbey, by which he granted the monks a meadow in Glennewaydan. Although Colmcille Ó Conbhuidhe in his otherwise excellent work, *The Cistercian abbeys in Tipperary*, relates that this gift was given in 1185 in return for the hospitality that was offered to John by Suir abbey, and goes on to relate that this grant was confirmed in 1210 on his next visit to Ireland as king, which was again intended to reward them for their hospitality, it is by no means clear what evidence Colmcille Ó Conbhuidhe used in constructing this argument. Although it is certainly the case that John at some point granted Suir abbey a meadow in Glennewaydan, as demonstrated in the later, 1292-1302 letter from the monks to the king noted in appendix III, it is by no means clear when John gave it. There is in fact no evidence that he gave this before he became king let alone in 1185 in return for hospitality. I have been unable to find any evidence to support this argument, nor to any reference to this being confirmed in 1210. Therefore, sadly we cannot use this as evidence of John's relationship with this Cistercian house. This is in many ways extremely disappointing, for as suggested earlier and will become clear later, John issued very few charters in 1185. In fact it seems that as we cannot date John's gift to this house, it is impossible to construct an argument as to why it was given: Colmcille Ó Conbhuidhe, *The Cistercian Abbeys of Tipperary* (Four Courts Press, 1999), p. 107.



Map 2 - John's Itinerary Through Ireland in 1185 and Cistercian Houses he Patronised.<sup>10</sup>

As has been long argued John's expedition to Ireland in 1185 was a complete failure. Even though John was at this time just a young man he acted extremely foolishly. On arrival instead of acting like the lord he was expected to be, at least according to Gerald of Wales, he alienated the native Irish who came to pay homage to him by tugging at their beards, and in the face of this insult they left, going to the court of Domnall Mór Ua Brian [Donal O'Brien, Domhnall O'Briain] the king of Limerick and also Mac Carthaig the prince of Cork and Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair of Connacht, to relate what had happened to them. They then united in common resistance against

<sup>10</sup> Itinerary taken from Edmund Curtis, *A History of Mediaeval Ireland from 1110 to 1513* (London, 1923), p. 101.

John.<sup>11</sup> John then compounded his foolishness by making land grants to his friends and wasting the money his father had given him, so in just eight months John was forced to flee Ireland penniless with his army lost. In this light it is difficult to believe John's relationship with the Cistercians in Ireland could mean anything. For if John was foolish enough to tug at the beards of those who came to offer homage to him it hardly fills the historian with confidence that, at least at this time, he was capable of having a nuanced relationship with the Cistercians in Ireland. Yet the many Irish princes uniting against John explains why so few abbeys received a charter. John had little interest in confirming an abbey's lands, whose patron was actively fighting him, and equally the abbey itself would be less than interested in securing a confirmation from a man who was at war with their patron, they would undoubtedly find it politically expedient to see who won before attempting to get a confirmation charter.

As the evidence discussed so far would account for the lack of grants to most native Irish Cistercian houses, the grants and charters issued to these select few houses become extremely interesting. The charter to Baltinglass at first certainly seems to show John attempting to demonstrate his power as lord of Ireland and particularly over his personal domains. This charter, given at Lismore, relates that John confirms all the lands they were granted by King Diarmaid [Diarmait Mac Murchada, 1110-71] and his men before the coming of the Normans.<sup>12</sup> For although Baltinglass was a native Irish house founded by a king of Leinster, since Henry II's Irish invasion of 1171, Leinster was an English royal demesne, part of which had been granted in fief to Richard 'Strongbow' de Clare. Strongbow had died in 1176,

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<sup>11</sup> Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland*, trans. A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin (Dublin, 1978), pp. 237-9.

<sup>12</sup> 'The charter of John, Lord of Ireland, in favour of the Cistercian abbey of Baltinglass', 189.

leaving his daughter Isabelle as a minor. It seems possible, therefore, that John in granting this charter to Baltinglass was attempting to not only demonstrate his power over Leinster but also to assume control of it. For as Sidney Painter said, from 1185 until Isabelle was married to William Marshal in 1189, John held the custody of Leinster as the suzerain of the fief,<sup>13</sup> and as such John by granting this charter was attempting to enforce his power and control over the area. Even though the charter was, as Marie Flanagan noted, based on the declensions used and the translation of Irish place names, copied from an exemplar whose native language was Irish, presumably Diarmait Mac Murchada's original charter, this may simply mean that John summoned the abbot to him to confirm these land grants.<sup>14</sup> This is also supported by the fact that even though this charter is very extensive it only confirms lands granted to it by Diarmait Mac Murchada and others before the coming of the Normans and no land granted to them by the English is confirmed. It is hardly feasible that between 1171 when Strongbow was granted Leinster in fief and 1185 when this charter was issued, they were given no charter or lands by an English lord that they would want to get confirmed. Surely after the death of their founder Diarmait Mac Murchada they would have gained a charter from the local power holder, in this case Strongbow. As such why in 1185 did they have a charter, that was at least fourteen years old and in fact probably a great deal older and surely outdated, confirmed? If this was merely a case of an abbot visiting John of his own volition to get his lands confirmed he would have chosen the most up to date charter to have confirmed. It is also not the case that John did not find it necessary to confirm lands given to abbeys by the English, as he did so in other charters. Instead it seems more likely that John was attempting to demonstrate his power and control

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<sup>13</sup> Painter, *William Marshal: Knight Errant, Baron and Regent of England*, p. 151.

<sup>14</sup> Marie Therese Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters: Texts and Contexts* (Oxford, 2005), p. 44n.

over the area and also recoup lands that had been granted by the Irish and English after 1171. As the Baltinglass charter was granted to solidify and recoup power and lands in what was ultimately a royal demesne and therefore of John's domain, this could explain some of the other charters issued to Cistercian houses in 1185. Dublin remained a royal demesne after Henry's departure in 1171 and so too did Waterford, clearly therefore the granting of charters to abbeys which lay inside Dublin, as in the case of St Marys and also those which lay nearby to Waterford, makes sense in this context.

John's relationship with another Cistercian house in Leinster, Jerpoint, was also seemingly part of John's political machinations in Leinster. Two charters were issued to Jerpoint at some point between 1189-91, one a confirmation and the other a protection charter. It does seem exceptionally unlikely that these charters were issued just on the volition of the monks themselves, for surely if they wanted their charters confirmed by the lord of Ireland they would have done so in 1185 when John was in Ireland, rather than waiting until 1189-91 and travelling to Leicester to gain the charter. There must have been a spur behind this decision. Although it is true that the local native landholders and the founders of the house, the Gillapatricks, were forced to flee their lands into upper Ossory in the face of English aggression, this was not until 1192. Gaining a charter in 1192 would therefore have made perfect sense given the political upheavals in the area due to the flight of the Gillapatricks, so perfect in fact it has led some historians to misdate this charter to 1192.<sup>15</sup> It was however clearly issued before November 1191.<sup>16</sup> The only way these charters can be understood is in the context of John's attempt to hold on to Leinster. Despite marrying Isabelle de Clare, the heiress of Leinster in 1189, William Marshal did not

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54.

<sup>16</sup> For a greater discussion on the dating of this and other charters, see Appendix III.

immediately gain possession of the region for John was less than willing to give it up. According to *The History of William Marshal*, Marshal was forced to ask King Richard to compel John to give up Leinster. Although John initially attempted to ensure all his grants of land from the area would remain valid, Richard was unimpressed, retorting, ‘That can never be, what could he possibly have left, since you have given and surrendered all his land to your men?’<sup>17</sup> Reluctantly John agreed to hand over control of the land if the lands he had granted to Theobald Walter out of the lordship of Leinster were allowed to remain valid, although they were to be held of Marshal and not of John, after which Marshal was to perform homage to John for this land.<sup>18</sup> In this context it is possible to interpret the charters to Jerpoint in numerous ways. It seems most likely however that these charters were issued by John whilst he was still attempting to hold on to the area and resisting calls to allow Marshal to take control, especially given the fact that the protection charter explicitly states that it was granted to ‘my monks of Jerpoint’ a phrase rarely found in such charters and as such a clear indication and demonstration by John that he considered the abbey and Leinster more widely to be his own and is therefore part of John’s attempt to hold onto the area.<sup>19</sup> Given this clause it does seem extremely unlikely that this charter was issued after the area was given to Marshal. Not only is the above clause suggestive that the ultimate aim of this charter was to hold on to Leinster, so too is the witness list. For it not only includes Theobald Walter himself, but it also includes ‘Manasserus Arsic’, although a name not commonly associated with English Ireland he was clearly a land holder there, for the charter itself refers to the gift of Manasserus Arsic to the abbey of Jerpoint.<sup>20</sup> The witness list also includes

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<sup>17</sup> *History of William Marshal*, vol. 1, p. 489, lines 9605-08.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 486-9, lines 9581-619.

<sup>19</sup> ‘*meam [sic] monachos de Ioriponte*’: *C.Pat.R.*, Edward III, 1358-1361, p. 490.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

Roger and Richard Tyrel, both of whom are well known for their long associations with Ireland. These witnesses, particularly Arsic and the Tyrels would not be so suggestive if this charter had been given in 1185. As this was given in 1189-91 these men had to travel to meet John at Leicester. It would be an amazing coincidence if the abbey of Jerpoint just on its own volition chose to get its charters confirmed by John and when they arrived they discovered that one of those who had donated land to them just happened to be also at court with John. Clearly it is no coincidence that Jerpoint had its charters confirmed and also a protection charter issued at the same time that a number of Irish land holders were also with John and John was trying to resist handing Leinster over. These charters were perhaps issued therefore to try to ensure the support of not only the abbey but also the local landholders such as Arsic, for John's attempts to hold on to Leinster.

The 1185 and 1188 charters that were issued to Mellifont by John were not issued due to the political machinations in Leinster, but due to his political machinations in Louth, as each charter reflects the changing divisions and ownership of the land in the region. The 1185 Mellifont charter was different in style from the 1185 Baltinglass charter: it makes no mention of Irish gifts and instead confirms what was granted to them by the English. An obvious reason for this difference is that this abbey had its Irish gifts confirmed by Henry II. Nevertheless, this charter was seemingly issued for political reasons. For in 1185 John divided the region in which Mellifont was based, Louth and Airgialla. It appears that with the consent of the nearby native Irish ruler, Donnchad Ua Cerbaill, who had submitted to Henry II in 1171, John divided the region between Bertram de Verdun, Gilbert Pipard and



also allowed Donnchad Ua Cerbaill to retain some land until his death.<sup>21</sup> Clearly therefore it was prudent for John to issue a charter to this abbey to ensure it retained its lands and also there could be no issue with this abbey in the future as it tried to regain lost lands. It was also perhaps this division of land which caused Mellifont to gain its 1188 charter. For although it is often suggested that Donnchad Ua Cerbaill died in 1189, it is possible that he died in 1188.<sup>22</sup> His death could have triggered this charter being issued, for his lands would have reverted to John before being granted to either Pipard or Verdun, as they were in 1189. This is not merely an attempt to explain an erroneous charter as being political, as the charter explicitly mentions and confirms lands which Donnchad Ua Cerbaill had held. The 1203 charter, which refers to the 1188 charter, relates it confirms amongst other lands, ‘[...] and in the land that Occauel held from us [...]’.<sup>23</sup> Although not clear due to the way it was latinised, it does appear that its reference to *Occauel* is a reference to Ua Cerbaill, as was suggested by Otway-Ruthven.<sup>24</sup> The reference in the charter to the confirmation as being given by John ‘to the same monks of our own proper gift, as they were of our demesne, in free, pure and perpetual alms in the year of our lord 1188 [...]’<sup>25</sup> again supports the suggestion that the land reverted first to him on the death of Ua Cerbaill, when he issued this charter, and as such the lands were of his fee, before he granted them out to Pipard and Verdun. This reference in the 1188 charter raises another possibility, namely it was connected to John’s wardship of the de Lacy lands. After de Lacy died in 1186 John assumed the wardship and when Hugh de

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<sup>21</sup> Brendan Smith, *Colonisation and Conquest in Medieval Ireland: The English in Louth, 1170–1330* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 23-4.

<sup>22</sup> For the suggestion that he died in 1189 see, A. J Otway-Ruthven, ‘The Partition of the de Verdon Lands in Ireland in 1332’, *Royal Irish Academy Proceedings* 66C (1967), 401.

<sup>23</sup> ‘Seven documents from the old abbey of Mellifont’, ed. Father Colmcille, *County Loath Archaeological Journal* 1 (1953), 36-7.

<sup>24</sup> Otway-Ruthven, ‘The partition of the de Verdon lands in Ireland in 1332’, 401n.

<sup>25</sup> ‘Seven documents from the old abbey of Mellifont’, 36-7.

Lacy's heir Walter came of age in 1188, John should have given the lands to him, however he failed to do so. In fact it seems that John began to appropriate lands for himself as he seems to have done in Drogheda.<sup>26</sup> In this light the charter of 1188 begins to look political in nature not due to the death of Ua Cerbaill but instead suggests John's attempts to hold onto the area. This would also explain why John was so eager to reassure that in 1188 their lands were of his 'own proper gift as they were of our demesne.' Consequently there are two possible reasons why this 1188 charter was issued, and as it has been suggested that Ua Cerbaill did not die until 1189, it seems most likely that this charter was issued as part of John's political aims of assuming control of the de Lacy lands. As shall be noted later when discussing Llanthony Secunda, John was certainly to use other abbeys in his attempt to do this.<sup>27</sup>

In short, the charters John issued to these abbeys were clearly issued for political reasons. The absence of charters to some native Irish houses in 1185 is easily explained as the patrons were in open conflict with John, yet the absence of charters to English houses is more difficult to explain. The English abbeys you may expect would be more than willing to visit John to try to gain confirmations out of him if that was what they wished. It also seems unlikely that these abbeys would not think they needed to gain a confirmation charter as they felt secure enough with the confirmation of their patron. Instead it seems the absence of charters was political. One factor in the absence of charters to these English houses may be that part of the reason that John was dispatched to Ireland by his father Henry was to bring the troublesome English barons to heel. However, if this was the case, it might be

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<sup>26</sup> Matthew Strickland, 'The bones of the kingdom and the treason of Count John', in *Culture Politique des Plantagenêt (1154-1224)*, ed. M. Aurell (Poitiers, 2003), p. 163.

<sup>27</sup> See below, pp. 188-9.

expected that he would make grants to their abbeys to try to gain their support or try to assume control. There are in fact two charters to a foundation much favoured by the de Lacys, namely the Augustinian Llanthony Secunda. John gave them two charters in 1185, the first of which was given in London, presumably before his departure for Ireland, granting them the church of St Cianan in Duleek. This gift may well have been an attempt by John to try and buy de Lacy's support, so too the charter by which he granted Llanthony Secunda the church of St Patrick in Wicklow, a grant that was witnessed by Hugh de Lacy himself.<sup>28</sup> However, if these charters were an attempt to win de Lacy's support they were ultimately unsuccessful for when John was to leave Ireland in 1185, utterly humiliated, he blamed de Lacy for his misfortune. It is possible therefore that John quickly became aware that any attempts to win over the English baronage in Ireland by grants to their abbeys or any other means was doomed to failure and therefore he did not continue, and that may explain why there are no 1185 charters to the English Cistercian houses.

Although John did at first attempt to use his donations to Llanthony Secunda in an attempt to gain favour with de Lacy, after de Lacy's death in 1186, John used such grants to try and hold onto the de Lacy lands. It was long assumed that after Hugh de Lacy's death his lands of Meath were held in wardship, presumably by John, before the lands were eventually transferred to Hugh's son and heir in 1194. However, Veach convincingly argued that Walter inherited his lordship in 1191 before being stripped of his lordship by John in 1192, due to Walter's failure to support John's campaign to assume the throne of England.<sup>29</sup> It is in this light that John's grants to Llanthony Secunda need to be seen. For in 1192 John started to

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<sup>28</sup> Arlene Hogan, *The Priory of Llanthony Prima and Secunda in Ireland, 1172-1541: Land, Patronage and Politics* (Dublin, 2008), pp. 236-7.

<sup>29</sup> Colin T. Veach, 'A question of timing: Walter de Lacy's seisin of Meath 1189-94', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy Section C* 165 (2009), 165.

grant a significant amount to Llanthony Secunda and other de Lacy houses. He for example granted Llanthony Secunda the land of Balybyn, whilst on 13 May 1192 John confirmed to the canons of Kells all the lands, revenues and possessions which they had of the gift of Hugh de Lacy, with the further gift of John's town of Durrow.<sup>30</sup> Veach has argued that, John was using the long established bonds between the de Lacys and these abbeys to try and assert his lordship in Meath.<sup>31</sup> John's granting of Durrow is the most suggestive of political motives, for Durrow was the very place where Hugh de Lacy was killed. What better way for John to demonstrate his control and lordship over the area at the expense of Walter de Lacy, than by granting away the land at which his father was killed? Clearly John in 1192 was attempting to demonstrate and exercise his power in Ireland. For example, on 21 July 1192, John not only made grants to Henry Tyrel, his household sergent, but also bestowed upon him the sergency of County Dublin.<sup>32</sup> Connected to this, John bestowed upon Dublin in 1192 its very first charter, a charter which was extremely generous in nature. It is tempting to see this Dublin city charter and other grants in this period as evidence that John was attempting to buy and secure support in Ireland for his attempts to usurp the throne in England, especially when we consider that the Dublin charter was issued at London in May 1192, seemingly around the same time that John was attending a council, which was intended to discuss with him his seizure of castles in England, but ended up by simply bribing John with 2000 marks in order to ensure his support against the chancellor.<sup>33</sup> The connection is not direct, for there is a charter which relates that the men of Dublin pay 20 shillings for the

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<sup>30</sup> Preen, 'The *acta* of John, lord of Ireland and count of Mortain: with a study of his household', vol. 2, pp. 149-50, 232-4.

<sup>31</sup> Veach, 'A question of timing: Walter de Lacy's seisin of Meath 1189-94', 182-4.

<sup>32</sup> Preen, 'The *acta* of John, lord of Ireland and count of Mortain', vol. 2, pp. 239-40.

<sup>33</sup> Benedict of Peterborough, *Gesta regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti abbatis: The Chronicle of the reigns of Henry II and Richard I, A.D. 1169-1192; known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough*, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1867), vol. 2, p. 239.

messenger to go to John for negotiations.<sup>34</sup> Seemingly therefore the Dublin charter was issued out of the volition of the men of Dublin themselves, however this does not mean that John did not make this extremely generous grant to ensure the support of the most important English town in Ireland during his dispute in England. In this period John was certainly willing to use charters to towns and cities politically in an attempt to gain their support during his struggles, as he did when he promised a commune to the citizens of London in October 1191 during his struggles with Longchamp in return for their recognition of him as legitimate heir if Richard was to die without an heir.<sup>35</sup> It cannot be coincidence that all of these actions and demonstrations of power in Ireland occurred in the same year, namely 1192. They must have been connected to his attempts to usurp the throne in England.<sup>36</sup>

It would even appear that a charter to the Cistercian house of Holycross was connected to this, which was itself seemingly granted on the same day as the grants to Henry Tyrel, 21 July 1192. To understand why this Holycross charter was issued and how it was political in nature, it is crucial to come to an appreciation of the situation and John's relationship with Domnall Mór Ua Brian, the king of Thomond. Although Ua Brian submitted to Henry II, he soon began to become a serious threat to English forces in Ireland, for example capturing Limerick in 1176, which was not recaptured until after his death. Ua Brian also attacked John and his forces during John's brief visit in 1185, for example, twice attacking the English garrison of Ardfinnan.<sup>37</sup> Even more than this, the *Annals of Loch Cé*, relates that in 1185, 'A

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<sup>34</sup> Seán Duffy, 'Town and crown: the kings of England and their city of Dublin', *Thirteenth Century England X, Proceedings of the Durham Conference 2003* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 106-7.

<sup>35</sup> Lionel Landon, *Itinerary of King Richard I* (Pipe Roll Society, new series, 13, 1935), p. 201.

<sup>36</sup> His actions in England and his attempts at gaining support by granting charters to abbeys around this time are discussed in chapter 4, pp. 125-34.

<sup>37</sup> M. T. Flanagan, 'Ua Briain, Domnall Mór [Donal O'Brien] (d. 1194)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 55, p. 830.

victory was gained by Domhnall O'Briain over the people of the son of the king of the Saxons, in which very many Foreigners were slain, along with the foster-brother of the son of the king of the Saxons.<sup>38</sup> The reference to the death of a foster brother of John, perhaps refers to a death of one of Ranulf de Granville's sons.<sup>39</sup> Relations with Ua Brian were certainly not to improve, and even in 1192 he was a bitter enemy of the English, for according to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, 'The English of Leinster committed great depredations against Donnell O'Brien [...] Donnell O'Brien defeated the English of Ossory, and made a great slaughter of them.'<sup>40</sup> Although Ua Brian had been a long time enemy of the English and defeated them in battle in 1192, by 1193 it would appear that he had become their ally, for in that year the castle of Brigins was said to have been erected with the 'consent of Ua Brian.'<sup>41</sup> Given the position of strength Ua Brian held in 1192 after his defeat of the English it does seem unlikely that he was forced to accept this castle in his lands especially as no further battle is recorded as having occurred between him and the English in 1192 or 1193. More than this, Ua Brian does seem to have come increasingly into the orbit of the English, for around this time one of his daughters was to marry William de Burgh.<sup>42</sup>

If, by 1193 Ua Brian had come to an agreement with the English, it is possible that the charter to Holycross in July 1192 is the first evidence of an accommodation being reached, and may in fact be part of it. There are several reasons for thinking this to be the case. Firstly, the timing of the charter: as

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<sup>38</sup> *The Annals of Loch Cé: A Chronicle of Irish Affairs from A.D. 1014 to A.D. 1590*, ed. and trans. William M. Hennessy (London, 1871), vol. 1, p. 171.

<sup>39</sup> M. T. Flanagan, 'Butler, Theobald (d. 1205)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 9, p. 218.

<sup>40</sup> *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*, vol. 3, p. 95.

<sup>41</sup> Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters: Texts and Contexts*, p. 143.

<sup>42</sup> C. A. Empey, 'Burgh, William de (d. 1206)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 8, p. 794.

mentioned earlier John was in the process of attempting to ensure his support and power in Ireland and to usurp the throne in England and as such he may have wished to try and settle Ireland in order to concentrate on England and perhaps even to obtain Irish support. As mentioned earlier he certainly used the Cistercian abbeys in Wales in the 1190s to try and ensure the support of the Welsh during his rebellion, as the charters to Margam and perhaps Neath and Llantarnam testified.<sup>43</sup> This would certainly explain why his grant to Holycross was so generous, not only confirming their lands but also freedom from toll throughout Normandy, England, Wales and Ireland.<sup>44</sup> More than this, the charter to Holycross explicitly states that John was issuing a confirmation of, '[...] all the underwritten lands as fully and freely as Domnall Mór Ua Brian King of Limerick, gave and granted [...]'<sup>45</sup> This is suggestive that it was part of an accommodation. For it explicitly recognised Domnall Mór Ua Brian as the king of Limerick, and perhaps implicitly suggested that the English were not going to try and deprive him of his lands. This is especially suggestive as this abbey was founded by Domnall Mór Ua Brian, as Burton and Kerr argued, as a defensive mechanism, in an area that was particularly under threat from English attack.<sup>46</sup> Consequently, by confirming Holycross' lands, John explicitly stated to Ua Brian that the English would not trouble this area, and in so doing this acted as a confirmation of the border between the two and also a demonstration of John's role as overlord. It is also clear that this charter was issued after the 1192 battle and was therefore not an effort to buy this abbey's support before or during the English incursion, for it states, 'These lands I have given and confirmed to the aforesaid monks for the salvation of my soul and those of my predecessors and successors, as

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<sup>43</sup> See above, chapter 4, p. 132.

<sup>44</sup> *Chartae, Privilegia et Immunitates*, p. 9.

<sup>45</sup> '*omnes terras subscriptas sicut melius et plenius et liberius eas Domnall Obrian rex Limbricensis dedit*': *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Burton and Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, p. 47

well as for the souls of my soldiers who lie buried there.’<sup>47</sup> This is undoubtedly a reference to John’s soldiers who died in the 1192 battle, and it may have been after this defeat that John appreciated he would not be able to defeat Ua Brian in open battle and would not want to expend any more resources here, as he attempted to concentrate his resources in England. As such, John may have decided that accommodation was the best policy. Although tempting to suggest that John’s confirmation charter that he issued whilst count of Mortain to Magio abbey was issued at this time, for this abbey also was an Ua Brian foundation, due to the wide date range possible for this charter we cannot be sure of this. It remains the case however that the Holycross charter was probably issued for reasons of alliance and was not issued merely on the volition of the abbot of the abbey. It would make little sense for the abbot to deem it necessary in 1192 to gain a charter from John, for the English in Ireland had been heavily defeated by their patron. If the monks deemed it necessary to gain a confirmation from the most powerful man in the region, then they should have gone to Domnall Mór Ua Brian. Clearly therefore, there must have been a change in the relationship between the abbey and the English in Ireland which would have realistically only been enabled by a change in dynamic between the English and Domnall Mór Ua Brian. John was certainly concerned with Irish affairs in 1192, not only due to the grants made in that year mentioned earlier, but also by the fact that so many from Ireland were with John in this year, ranging from Albin the bishop of Ferns, Simon bishop elect of Meath, Simon prior of St Thomas’ Dublin to John de Courcy, Gilbert de Nangle, Peter Pipard and Roger Tyrel.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, John would probably have been concerned to ensure his support in his Irish domains

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<sup>47</sup> *‘Has ergo terras suprascriptas dedi et concessi et confirmavi predictis monachis pro salute anime mee et meorum antecessorum et successorum necnon pro animabus militum meorum qui ibi iacent’*: *Chartae, Privilegia et Immunitates*, p. 9.

<sup>48</sup> Preen, ‘The *acta* of John, Lord of Ireland and Count of Mortain: with a study of his household’, vol. 1, p. 74.



whilst undertaking his efforts to usurp the throne: this hypothesis is supported not only by the Dublin charter but also by the fact that on 25 January 1193 John granted three cantreds in Ireland to Peter Pipard, which Matthew Strickland has suggested is evidence that John ‘was seeking to re-affirm loyalties in Ireland prior to any action he might take in England.’<sup>49</sup> If John was anxious to ensure his support in Ireland as he was in Wales, then this was perhaps an attempt to bring over troops from Ireland to support his efforts in England. Although sources such as Gervase of Canterbury do not mention that John used men from his Irish domains during his rebellion, it is clear that he did so.<sup>50</sup> For on 4 July 1193, John granted to Hamo de Valoignes the town of Waterford in compensation for lands he lost whilst in John’s service, until John restores to him his lost land.<sup>51</sup> Given the timing of this charter, this must refer to service to John in England. Whilst the fact that Richard found it necessary to gain homage from the Irish barons in 1194 once John’s rebellion had failed, as Crouch said, was Richard ‘crushing the last adherents of John in England’ is suggestive that at least some of the Irish baronage were involved in the rebellion.<sup>52</sup>

The charter to Holycross abbey in 1192 was therefore part of his wider relationship with Domnall Mór Ua Brian, and his relationship with the Ua Briens was to be hugely significant for John’s interactions with other Ua Brian abbeys from this point forward. Although as mentioned earlier, we are unsure when it was issued, the charter issued by John to Magio abbey as count of Mortain, and therefore between the years 1189-99, may well have been due to the enduring positive relationship with the Ua Briens, for Magio was an Ua Brian foundation. It is clear

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<sup>49</sup> National Library of Ireland, MS D.14; Strickland, ‘The bones of the kingdom and the treason of Count John’, p. 152n.

<sup>50</sup> Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, vol. 1, pp. 514-5.

<sup>51</sup> ‘Acta of John Count of Mortain’, ed. Vincent (Unpublished).

<sup>52</sup> Crouch, *William Marshal, Knighthood, War and Chivalry, 1147-1219*, p. 189.

that the Ua Brians were to remain on positive terms with John for the rest of his reign, even surviving the death of Domnall and the disputed succession of his son Donogh Cairbrech Ua Brian in 1194, and the charters the Ua Brians received often reflect this. The charter John issued in favour of Donatus Ua Brian the bishop of Limerick in c.1199, is perhaps best suggestive of this, for in the protection charter Donatus is described as ‘my devoted and faithful man’.<sup>53</sup> John was possibly keen to ensure the protection of the bishop of Limerick, as he tried to ensure this continuing positive relationship with the Ua Brians. As such, in 1201 John commissioned William de Burgh to establish where the property of the bishopric lay: facts were established on the oaths of 36 jurors, 12 Englishmen, 12 Irish men and 12 Ostmen.<sup>54</sup> Clearly John wanted to ensure he or his men did not intrude on the lands of the bishopric, and the inclusion of an equal number of all ethnicities as jurors suggests that this was a genuine effort to find the truth, and further reinforces the suggestion that ethnicity was not important to John’s alliances. It is also probably due to this close relationship that Magio abbey gained a confirmation charter from John in 1200, even though the monks had to pay 20 marks for this privilege.<sup>55</sup> More than this it is unlikely to be a coincidence that when John visited Ireland in 1210 and knighted Donogh Cairbrech Ua Brian and gave him the strategic de Burgh castle of Carrigunnell, the only charters John gave to Cistercian houses were to confirm the lands of Magio abbey and also to give a donation of land to Holycross abbey, both of which were Ua Brian foundations.<sup>56</sup> These grants also need to be put into the context of John’s relations with the wider Cistercian Order, for it was at this time that John

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<sup>53</sup> ‘*devotum et fidelem meum*’: *The Black Book of Limerick*, ed., James MacCaffrey (Dublin, 1907), p. 38.

<sup>54</sup> W. L. Warren, ‘King John and Ireland’, in *England and Ireland in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. J. Lydon (Dublin 1981), p. 29.

<sup>55</sup> *Cal. Docs. Irel.*, no. 135.

<sup>56</sup> C. A. Empey, ‘Ó Briain, Donnchad Cairprech [Donogh Cairbrech O’Brien] (d. 1242)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 41, p. 348.

was in the midst of a bitter dispute with the Cistercian Order, yet despite this John showed favour to these abbeys, and his desire to bestow favour upon their patron can explain this, whilst the lack of grants to any other houses can be explained as part of his wider negative relationship with the Order. In short, John's granting of charters to the Ua Brian foundations demonstrates that John was willing to suspend his wrath against certain Cistercian abbeys when it was politically expedient to do so, and as such his grants to these abbeys were almost certainly issued in order to reward Ua Brian.

It appears therefore that John's relationships with some Cistercian abbeys in Ireland were based on power relationships, namely they were given land or charters to try to woo or reward their patron. This is not the case of all abbeys however, and although John's later relationship with Mellifont abbey was still political in nature, it was not an attempt to secure the patron's support. Instead, it seems the charter to Mellifont in 1203 was connected to John's efforts in securing his own candidate for the archbishopric of Armagh. After Tommaltach Ua Conchobair's death in 1201, Meyler fitz Henry, the king's justiciar, in 1202 ordered the electors to meet at Drogheda to elect a new archbishop. Only three attended however, Simon Rochfort the bishop of Meath, an unknown bishop and Gregory Mac Gilla na nAingeal the abbot of Mellifont, who said that he had a privilege which allegedly allowed him to give first voice in an Armagh election.<sup>57</sup> At which they chose three men, all of whom were English, including the king's favoured choice, Humphrey de Tickhill. However, soon after, the archdeacon of Armagh summoned all electors to Armagh to choose the candidate, all of whom went except for the three that met at Drogheda, including the abbot of Mellifont, who would on no account go there for fear of the

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<sup>57</sup> Watt, *The Church and the Two Nations in Medieval Ireland*, p. 226.

Irish. At this meeting the other electors unanimously chose Echdonn Mac Gilla Uidhir (Eugenius), prior of the Augustinian house of Bangor. This second meeting was made and this man chosen without the assent of John, and therefore a bitter dispute arose. John appealed to the papal legate, addressing a letter to him on 15 August 1202 relating that the bishops of Clogher, Clonmaenois, Kells and Ardagh and also the archdeacon of Armagh had worked against him.<sup>58</sup> On 11 April 1203 John announced that for the sake of peace he grants 20 marks a year to Bishop Eugenius payable at Louth.<sup>59</sup> Clearly John thought this was the end of the matter, for he on 4 May announced that Bishop Eugene who had opposed Humphrey de Tickhill's election had dropped his opposition.<sup>60</sup> John was wrong however, for on 22 May 1203 he was forced to issue another letter stating that Eugenius had gone to Rome to be promoted to the see without John's consent, and declared Eugenius the king's enemy and informed the suffragens to not receive him as archbishop.<sup>61</sup>

Although ultimately in 1206 John was to accept Eugenius as bishop, for the purposes of understanding why the Mellifont charter of 1203 was issued this is not important, for it was issued on 1 April 1203 and therefore in the heart of the dispute. It seems once again beyond the realms of coincidence that another charter was issued to Mellifont routinely in the midst of the abbot of Mellifont's involvement in the bitter dispute to the archbishopric of Armagh. Rather as the abbot of Mellifont was one of only three men who attended the king's appointed election and chose the king's man it seems that this charter was a reward for this support. It is tempting in fact to see a connection between this charter and John's assumed settlement with Eugenius. Namely was the abbot of Mellifont involved in the negotiations for this

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<sup>58</sup> *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 16b.

<sup>59</sup> *Cal. Docs. Irel.*, vol. 1, p. 28.

<sup>60</sup> *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 29.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29b.

settlement? This would make perfect sense for John certainly did need a man who would be able to negotiate with Eugenius and who better than not only a Cistercian abbot, but an Irish one? Especially when we consider that it seems that the abbey of Mellifont was involved in a settlement between Eugenius and King John on a later occasion, when on 30 August 1207, two monks of Mellifont were charged by Eugenius to deliver 300 marks of silver and 3 marks of gold to the king.<sup>62</sup> Possibly therefore this Mellifont charter was a reward from John to the abbey in recognition of the role the abbot played in coming to this ultimately unsuccessful settlement. John it seems was not the only one to reward this abbey for the support it gave to the English cause. Brendan Smith has argued that Hugh de Lacy II's massive land grant to Mellifont at Ballymascanlon after he became earl of Ulster after the defeat of John de Courcy, was such a reward.<sup>63</sup> Therefore it seems probable that this charter although connected to the wider politics of the region was in fact issued in order to reward the abbey and to support an abbey which supported John. It is certainly possible that John was rewarding those who had supported him in Ireland; and it was certainly not unknown for John to reward loyalty in this way, John almost certainly supported an establishment of Arroisian Nuns at Dublin known as the abbey of St Mary de Hogges for this reason. For it is recorded that at some point after 1195 during an uprising by the Irish, the nuns allowed some English to hide in their nunnery and King John rewarded them for their conduct and humanity by rebuilding their nunnery and endowing it with several chapels when he visited Ireland in 1210.<sup>64</sup> John seemingly continued to favour Mellifont abbey for the support it gave

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<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72b.

<sup>63</sup> Brendan Smith, 'The Armagh-Clogher dispute and the "Mellifont Conspiracy": Diocesan politics and monastic reform in early thirteenth century Ireland', *Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society* 14 (1991), 30-31.

<sup>64</sup> Thomas Walsh, *History of the Irish Hierarchy: With the Monasteries of Each County, Biographical Notices of the Irish Saints, Prelates, and Religious* (New York, 1854), p. 423.

and presumably continued to give to him, attested by his charter to the monks in 1215 which commanded the justiciar of Ireland to secure to the abbot and convent in the confirmation of their lands granted to them by the king and others and also to have the protection of the king.<sup>65</sup> It is by no means clear why this charter was deemed necessary as there is no report of any disturbances in Ireland in this period, but the very fact that a charter was issued to this abbey alone, does suggest special favour.

Throughout this analysis of John's donations, it has become increasingly clear that most donations to the Cistercians in Ireland were made for political rather than purely pious reasons, such as the consistent support of Ua Brian foundations as John cultivated a relationship with them, whilst others such as the Mellifont charter of 1203 were to reward the house for its support during the election dispute in Armagh. This therefore serves to support the earlier Welsh material, for donations and confirmations were made for just the same reason. There is also no evidence that John's pre-existing contact with an abbey had any effect on his later relationship and this once again supports the Welsh material, for although John had pre-existing contact with Baltinglass abbey and Dunbrody this had no effect on their later relationship for no other charters were forthcoming, and in fact Baltinglass was to have its lands seized into the king's hands, and although this may be connected to the landholder of the region, William Marshal, falling from royal favour for an extended period of time, as this charter cannot be dated we can by no means be sure. Although John was to have a later positive relationship with Holycross and Mellifont, both abbeys with which John had pre-existing contact, this was due to their political usefulness. In the case of Holycross it was part of John's wider settlement and

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<sup>65</sup> *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 153b.

relationship with the Ua Brians whilst his relationship with Mellifont was in part a reward, for they supported the English cause.

Although there is evidence that John's relationship with the Cistercians and other Religious Orders in Ireland was occasionally based on wider political events, as with Wales it is once again not the case that all charters issued are political in nature. More than this it does seem that there are occasions when we might expect John to grant or confirm something to an abbey for reasons of power to try and ensure support for example, yet he did not. When John for example was trying to buy support in Ireland during his dispute with Marshal in 1207 or even when he was cultivating a relationship with Cathal the king of Connaught, there is no evidence whatsoever of any donations to Cathal's abbeys, even though by August 1214 John was issuing letters of protection for him whilst in February 1215 John issued orders to the archbishop of Dublin to buy scarlet cloth sufficient for robes to be given to the kings of Ireland.<sup>66</sup> Clearly this was evidence that John was trying to court the kings of Ireland, yet once again there is no evidence that John issued charters to any abbeys at this time as part of this. This perhaps demonstrates that the use of the Cistercians in Ireland and in Wales for political ends was not a consistent policy. Although it is possible that it was not really appropriate to make grants to the king of Connaught's and others' abbeys, for as said earlier, most native Cistercian monasteries were a great distance from English lands and as such held no lands which John could confirm. John was only able to make grants to the Ua Brian abbeys as they were relatively close to English lands and most likely held lands in English areas.

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<sup>66</sup> Crouch, *William Marshal, Knighthood, War and Chivalry*, pp. 105-6; *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 120b; *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 186b.

It also becomes clear from a closer examination of the Irish Cistercian charters that John was by no means alone in making grants to native Irish houses, as we saw earlier when examining the English grants to Welsh houses. Sadly however due to a great loss in materials the amount of evidence for such grants is greatly less than in Wales. This should just serve however to give further weight to the evidence which we do have. As mentioned earlier Hugh de Lacy II as earl of Ulster made a large grant to the native house of Mellifont at Ballymascanlon as a reward for the abbot's support. This was not the first time that the de Lacy family had supported Mellifont, for there is a reference in the 1185 charter to two carucates of land that Hugh de Lacy I gave to them.<sup>67</sup> It was not only the de Lacy family which supported this native Irish house, for there is another reference in this 1185 charter to a gift made to them by Robert of Flanders, whilst the 1189-91 charter to Jerpoint abbey by John as earl of Mortain relates several English donors to this house, such as Manasserus Arsic, Richard fitz Fulco, John fitz Robert and John of Lenhall.<sup>68</sup> Clearly these donors were less than concerned that this was a native house, as surely they would not have made such grants to an abbey which they considered to be an enemy. Although these are but very few examples they are highly suggestive, but sadly it is not practical to use later charters to see if such donations continued or if it is replicated by the native Irish to English houses, for as shall be discussed later,

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<sup>67</sup> *'Scilicet ex dono Hugonis de Laci duas carucatas terre scilicet Croch et Inseil cum omnibus pertinentiis suis.'*: 'Original charter granted by Lord John of Ireland to the abbey of Mellifont', 159.

<sup>68</sup> *'Et ex dono Roberti Flandrensis unam carucatam terre in Crevoda sicut carte donatorum suorum testantur'*: 'Original charter granted by Lord John of Ireland to the abbey of Mellifont', 160; *'Ex dono Manasseri Arsic terram de Dadurles in Uthoh; et ex donatione eiusdem et Ricardi filii Folconis, Balemacgillore Weig in Arewy campo; et communiam. Ex donatione praedicti filii Folconis terram prope grangiam Raichellela. Et ex donatione Johannis filii Roberti villam totam, quae vocatur Clohan, et alio nomine dicitur Dunchrohi, in Congtella. Et ex dono Johannis de Lenhal partem terrae, cujus pars vocatur Raithdoninail, quae est prope grangiam Raithellela, cum omnibus pertinentiis, et terminis, et metis ipsarum terrarum, sicut cartae donatorum testantur, et distinguunt.'*: Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 6, pt. 2, p. 1131.



shortly after John's death an ethnic policy of exclusion was adopted in Ireland, and therefore later donations are not appropriate for comparison.

What has become clear throughout this analysis of John's donations both before and after he became king to the Cistercians in Wales and in Ireland is that there is very little evidence that the relative 'ethnic' orientation of the abbey played a role. In fact, there is little evidence that ethnicity played any part in John's actions in either Wales or Ireland, for as made clear in the preceding chapters, John's relations were instead often determined by whether the house supported him or whether John was trying to cultivate a relationship with the patron. This means consequently that John could indeed have negative relations with a native house, as he did with Strata Florida in Wales and also a negative relationship with English houses as he did with Dore, whilst enjoying a positive relationship with a native house as he did with Mellifont and a positive relationship with the English Margam abbey. If one was to search for evidence that John's relationships with Cistercian houses especially in Ireland was based on ethnicity there is some material, such as the consistent references in the charters confirming all lands that the Cistercians received by the Irish before the coming of the Normans, which implicitly suggested that all Irish grants after the coming of the Normans were considered invalid. This is certainly supported by a reference in the Jerpoint charter of 1192 which stated that 'I have also granted them all the lands and tenements which are reasonably conferred on them after the first coming of Earl Richard into Ireland, and those which were afterwards reasonably conferred on them by men of my tongue in Ireland.'<sup>69</sup> This very much does support the idea that ethnicity was a factor for John. So to does the papal letter

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<sup>69</sup> *'Concessi etiam eis omnes terras et omnia tenementa, quae eis rationabiliter collata sunt, post primum adventum comitis Ricardi in Hiberniam; et quae de caetero eis rationabiliter collata erunt, ab hominibus de lingua mea in Hibernia.'*: Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 6, pt. 2, p. 1131.

of June 1205 which states that there is ‘a law, brought in by the English, to the effect that a donation made by an Irishman to a religious house is of no effect when the king has granted the same to an Englishman.’<sup>70</sup> However, it is perhaps a mistake to see this simply as evidence that John had a particular ‘ethnic’ policy when making these confirmations. It is equally possible that John did not confirm these grants as they were made by men who would not be English-supporting, rather than simply because they were made by the Irish. It is of course well known that there would eventually be an ethnic policy, which in effect excluded the Irish from Episcopal positions, but there is very little evidence that this was a policy that was enacted in John’s reign, for it is not referred to until the minority of Henry III namely January 14, 1216.<sup>71</sup> This was therefore enacted by the regent William Marshal. It was also not simply the case that this was a policy that was long enacted but not codified until 1216, for Honorius III felt a need to respond to this policy in 1220, which he described as being enacted with ‘the unheard of audacity of certain Englishmen.’<sup>72</sup>

In both Wales and Ireland there is no evidence that John was ever concerned with whether a person or abbey was Welsh, Irish or English, but was rather far more concerned that the person should be a loyal supporter of the crown. This becomes apparent when we look at Episcopal appointments. The Irish abbot of Baltinglass, Albin O’Mulloy, was to be promoted to the bishopric of Ferns in 1186, despite the fact that he had launched a bitter and scathing attack on the Welsh and English clergy in Ireland.<sup>73</sup> Despite this, he was given the bishopric of Ferns. It seems clear

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<sup>70</sup> *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 1, p. 22.

<sup>71</sup> *Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office* (London, 1901), vol. 1, p. 22.

<sup>72</sup> W. L. Warren, ‘The Church and State in Angevin Ireland’, Delivered as the Aubrey Gwynn Lecture at University College Dublin, 1997

[<http://www.ucc.ie/chronicon/warrfra.htm>] accessed 2 July 2011.

<sup>73</sup> Gerald of Wales, *The Autobiography of Gerald of Wales*, p. 91.

that Albin was chosen and not forced upon John, for John had previously offered the see to Gerald of Wales, clearly the power of choosing the new bishop was John's.<sup>74</sup> John was in fact to remain firm friends with this Irish bishop throughout his reign. Attempting to make Albin the archbishop of Cashel in April 1206, John informed the chapter that he wanted them to unanimously consent to and hasten Albin's promotion, and that he wanted no one else to be promoted but Albin, whilst in 1216 granting him the custody of the vacant see of Laoniensis.<sup>75</sup> Albin was also trusted enough to be used as a messenger to the native Irish kings, as he was in June 1208.<sup>76</sup> Perhaps the occasion which is most often cited as evidence of John's ethnic policy is his consistent refusal to accept Eugenius to be archbishop of Armagh, a case which was discussed earlier. In the light of John's relations with Albin, it does seem unlikely that his refusal of Eugenius was due to his ethnicity. In fact throughout the entire dispute there is no reference to there being any issue with his ethnicity but more to the fact that he was elevated to the see without John's permission, and John may therefore have been simply trying to enforce his rights. This is certainly suggested in 1203 when John offered Eugenius 20 marks a year but only until another vacant see should become available, and one to which he could be canonically elected according to the custom of the kingdom.<sup>77</sup> This is also not just John merely lying to Eugenius in order to come to an agreement, for although Eugenius was eventually recognised by John, he did not remain archbishop for long and was seemingly forced out by the locals and despite this earlier dispute, John nominated Eugenius in 1207 to become the custodian of the see of Exeter.<sup>78</sup> John was also more than willing to allow Irishmen to be consistently elected to the see of

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<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>75</sup> *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, pp. 61, 196b.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84b.

<sup>77</sup> *Cal. Docs. Irel.*, vol. 1, p. 28.

<sup>78</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 88.

Clonmacnoise without resistance, despite the fact that this see fell vacant on three occasions during his involvement in Ireland, namely 1187, 1207 and 1214, and was in fact concerned to make restitution to the bishop of Clonmacnoise in 1216 for his land occupied during the construction of a nearby castle.<sup>79</sup> John was also not totally resistant to allowing a Welshman become elevated to a see in Wales. For, as mentioned in a previous chapter, John in 1215 allowed the Welshmen Cadwgan, the abbot of Whitland, to become bishop of Bangor and Gervase, abbot of Talley, to become bishop of St Davids. Although there are references throughout John's reign to disputed elections to the sees in Wales, to which John constantly tried to get Englishmen appointed, this may once again simply be John trying to ensure someone who would support him was elevated. Although Gerald of Wales suggests that he was not allowed to become bishop of St Davids because he was seen as being Welsh, this was perhaps Gerald attempting to explain and excuse his failure to be appointed.<sup>80</sup>

It is not only just in Episcopal appointments that John seemed to have little interest in a person's ethnicity. As mentioned earlier John had a particularly favourable relationship with Mellifont abbey as this abbey supported him and his efforts. When we consider that Mellifont is often seen as the house most associated with the native Irish and was heavily involved in the later dispute, if John was able to cultivate a relationship with this house, then ethnicity was not a factor. It also seems beyond belief that this could be excused by suggesting that this house was temporarily an English house during John's reign, not only when we consider that the abbot was called Gregory Mac Gilla na nAingal, and it takes little imagination to suggest that this is an Irish name, but also this house began as a native Irish

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<sup>79</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 273; Warren, 'The Church and State in Angevin Ireland'.

<sup>80</sup> See above, chapter 4, pp. 152-3.

foundation and was certainly Irish by the 1220s. Not only does this suggest that ethnicity was not important to John, but equally important it was not important to Mellifont, for the monks and abbot there were seemingly more than willing to support and advance King John's policies. John therefore demonstrated little interest in ethnicity in Wales and Ireland, and this was not confined to just religious institutions. John was concerned in his 1207 charter to Neath abbey granting them an area of land, to prevent them from removing the nearby population, who we can assume were Welsh.<sup>81</sup> In 1201, when granting the honour of Limerick to William de Braose, John at first granted him 'the lands of the Franks and Englishmen in Ireland', this was cancelled and altered however to 'all men except the Irish and those who are with them,' which Warren has, I believe correctly, interpreted as John wanting to safeguard his relations with the Irish.<sup>82</sup> It seems therefore that it is a mistake to see any ethnic policy in John's relations with the Cistercians in Wales and Ireland as it is equally a mistake to see a sharp divide between the native Cistercians' houses in Wales and Ireland and the English. For although problems were to emerge and along with them ethnic policies there is little evidence for this in John's reign, and John's relations with the Cistercians were based on fundamentally different factors.

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<sup>81</sup> See above, chapter 4, p. 169n.

<sup>82</sup> Warren, 'King John and Ireland', p. 33.

## CHAPTER 6

### KING JOHN AND THE CISTERCIANS IN ENGLAND

The sheer number of Cistercian abbeys in England makes a detailed analysis of every grant and reference to each house and placing them into their wider political and social context quite impractical. A more nuanced approach is therefore called for. As such this chapter will only analyse those houses whose relationship with the king may have been affected by those factors that influenced his relationship with houses in Wales and Ireland. Namely those under royal patronage, those with which John had pre-existing relations before he became king, those at which John enjoyed hospitality, those that supported and opposed him and finally those under the patronage of his political friends and enemies. As such this chapter considers the relationship between John and some 22 Cistercian houses.<sup>1</sup> Given Beaulieu abbey's unique status as John's own foundation, the relationship between John and this house will be considered separately. It will come as little surprise however that some houses had more than one of the identified factors influencing their relationship, with Furness abbey not only being a royal house but also having a pre-existing relationship with John from when he was count of Mortain. As it would be quite inappropriate to analyse the same materials for Furness abbey several times, Furness is only noted briefly in relation to it being a royal house and is discussed in greater detail as a case study. Moreover, as many of John's political friends and enemies patronised not just Cistercian but houses of other Orders, then houses of other

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<sup>1</sup> Beaulieu, Bindon, Bordesley, Bruen, Buckfast, Buildwas, Cleeve, Coggeshall, Dieulacres, Dunkeswell, Flaxley, Forde, Fountains, Furness, Kirkstall, Louth Park, Meaux, Rievaulx, Stanley, Stonleigh, Swinshead, Waverley.

religious denominations are considered. It will become clear that John's relationship with the Cistercians in England, as it was in Wales and Ireland, was far more complex than it first appears: dependent not on whether the house was under royal patronage or whether he stayed there, but on those which supported him and those houses through which John hoped to win or reward the support of his baronage. A case study of the Augustinian house of Cartmel, a William Marshal foundation, will demonstrate how dependant the relationship between John and the patron was for the relationship between John and the religious house.

Houses under royal patronage certainly expected better treatment due to their royal connection, with one of the continuators of Ingulph's chronicle, when describing the dispute between Croyland abbey and Spalding Priory, noting that Croyland '[...] is the property of our lord the king, and has been that of his predecessors, the kings of England, in right of the crown,'<sup>2</sup> clearly perceiving that royal status should have afforded them some protection. The monks of Glastonbury meanwhile, when imploring John not to hand over the patronage of the house to Bishop Jocelyn, invoked the fact that his father was their patron, noting how he was 'our most beloved patron, and your father'.<sup>3</sup> For what other reason would the abbot of Bindon in 1272, when given the choice of patronage by Henry de Newburgh, choose the king and his successors, if it was not in the belief that his house would be advanced with royal patronage?<sup>4</sup> Whilst Geoffrey of Anjou in 1133 declared, 'It is most salutary [...] for princes to care with affection for those churches and abbeys founded by their antecessors, and to take their lands, men and buildings under the

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<sup>2</sup> *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland with the continuations by Peter of Blois and Anonymous Writers*, p. 284.

<sup>3</sup> 'dulcissimo patrono nostro, et patri vestro.': Susan Wood, *English Monasteries and their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1955), p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 5, p. 658.

shadow of their protection.<sup>5</sup> Clearly there was a belief by both abbey and patron that special care and favour should be shown to abbeys founded by a family member. It would therefore be expected that John would enjoy better relations with houses that were of royal foundation and therefore under his patronage. It was noted earlier with Leominster priory, how John understood attacks upon houses of his patronage as an attack upon himself and we can therefore suggest that John was protective of 'his' abbeys and as such patronage was important to him, suggesting it would influence his ongoing relationship. Patronage certainly influenced later monarchs' relations with their houses, with Edward I taking Leominster into his hands to relieve the debt of its motherhouse Reading abbey, which he was bound to help considering his ancestors' pious intention in founding it.<sup>6</sup> John's own extremely positive relationship with Reading abbey, demonstrated by his borrowing and loaning of books to and from the abbey, his grants of relics, such as a piece of the head of St Philip with a gold casket encrusted with precious stones to contain it and his annual payment of a mark of gold for the maintenance of a light on the high altar, is also difficult to explain if it was not based on the house's royal status.<sup>7</sup>

As we can see from Table 11 there were some six Cistercian houses of Royal foundation by 1216, not including John's own foundation.

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<sup>5</sup> Lindy Grant, 'Aspects of the Architectural Patronage of the Family of the Counts of Anjou in the Twelfth Century', in John McNeill and Daniel Pringent eds., *Anjou. Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology*, *British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions*, 26 (2003), p. 97.

<sup>6</sup> *'si piam intencionem quam progenitores nostri, Reges Anglie, in fundacione domus et Monasterii de Radinge que ab eisdem Regibus immediate noscuntur esse fundata, dilligenter in animo revolvamus, eiusdem domus iminentis destruccionis periculo tenemur celeri remedio subvenire, ne dictorum progenitorum in hac parte fraudetur intencio, et ut ipsorum, non solum pro eo quod ipsa domus pro ipsis et nobis nostrisque successoribus fundata extitit verum eciam tanquam nove fundacionis seu relevacionis domus ipsius auctores atque participes fieri debeamus.'* *Registrum Thome de Cantilupo Episcopi Herefordensis*, ed. R. G. Griffiths (London, 1907), p. 37.

<sup>7</sup> Susan H. Cavanaugh, 'Royal Books: King John to Richard II', *The Library* 10 (1988), 304-5; Webster, 'King John's Piety, c.1199-c.1216', pp. 78-9. Although John's original grant for the maintenance of a light is lost, it is noted in Reading abbey's various petitions to Henry III in 1290 trying to get this payment restored and arrears paid: TNA: PRO SC 8/184/9184B; TNA: PRO SC 8/69/3449; TNA: PRO SC 8/69/3450.



Table 11 - Grants to Royal Cistercian Houses in England, 1199-1216.<sup>8</sup>

Abbey	Founder	Foundation	Grants
Furness	King Stephen	1124	8
Buckfast	King Stephen	1136	0
Bordesley	Empress Matilda/Henry II	1138	1
Coggeshall	King Stephen and Queen Matilda	c.1140	2
Stoneleigh	King Stephen	1141	4
Stanley	Empress Matilda	1151	4

Source - See Appendix IV.

The inclusion of Bordesley as a royal house does require some clarification, for there is some confusion around its foundation, with two extant foundation charters, that of Waleran de Beaumont, count of Meulan and Worcester, and of the Empress Matilda.<sup>9</sup> Yet despite this it must be considered a royal house for in 1157 when Henry II took the house into his custody he declared his mother Matilda as founder, and as Henry considered it a royal house then it may be assumed that so too did John.<sup>10</sup> There is however an issue when it comes to analysing the individual grants made to Stanley and Stoneleigh abbey, namely it is often impossible to tell them apart in the records. Demonstrated with both noted as *Stanleg* in the Pipe Rolls, and the editors seemingly confusing them throughout, with some land noted as belonging to Stanley in one year being noted as that of Stoneleigh in another.<sup>11</sup> Although as Stanley is in Wiltshire and Stoneleigh in Warwickshire it is possible to determine which lands belong to individual house to some extent in the Pipe Rolls, because often the county is not mentioned in writs or charters, the difficulty in determining to which house each grant was issued remains, especially if it is a generic confirmation

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<sup>8</sup> Only grants made after John became king are included, those he issued before are considered later whilst no financial records are included. For those before he was king see below, pp. 215-20.

<sup>9</sup> A. A. Locke 'Abbey of Bordesley' in *The Victoria History of the County of Worcester*, ed. J. W. Willis-Bund and William Page (London, 1906), vol. 2, p. 151.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Pipe Roll 6 John*, pp. 222, 251.

or quittance of toll and does not provide a detailed breakdown of lands. Consequently all grants are counted and included for each house, unless it is clear from the grant to which house it refers, and although not an ideal solution it is perhaps the only one, for choosing one over the other would in reality be little more than a guess. Even with this approach the number of grants to these houses are not above and beyond what was granted to others and therefore should do little to damage the conclusions we can draw from them.

There is certainly some evidence of a positive relationship between John and Cistercian houses based on the royal status of the house. The charter of 27 March 1205 to the abbey of Bordesley in which John granted them quittance of toll and custom for the things they bought and sold, describes the house with the clause ‘which is of our own patronage’, certainly suggesting this.<sup>12</sup> With little reason to include such a clause other than to highlight the abbey’s special status, this is certainly suggestive that whether houses were of royal patronage or not was important in determining grants and therefore wider relations. Moreover, it is possible that they obtained this grant for no payment, as no such payment is referred to in the Pipe Rolls, again further evidence of a positive relationship between the two possibly based on its status as a royal house. For as was demonstrated in a previous chapter, the amount houses paid for individual grants is a barometer of their relationship with the king.<sup>13</sup> From clauses in grants to houses of other Religious Orders we can suggest that a relationship with a house was on occasion explicitly determined by its royal status. John in September 1199 directed a charter to the Benedictine abbey of Selby in which he took the house into his hands and protection,

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<sup>12</sup> ‘*qui sunt de propria elemosina nostra*’: *Rot. Chart.*, p. 145.

<sup>13</sup> See particularly the cases of Margam and Dore abbey, chapter 3, pp. 104.

going on to describe how the abbey was located on his land.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps a reference to the importance John placed on patronage and perhaps royal patronage, in this case connected to its supposed foundation by William the Conqueror.<sup>15</sup>

Yet before he became king, John seemingly had little interest in whether an abbey was a royal house or not and it certainly did not positively impact his interactions with them. It has already been noted how in 1191 during the dispute between the Benedictine houses of Spalding priory and Croyland abbey, John did not aid the royal abbey of Croyland but rather supported Spalding.<sup>16</sup> Yet as John was merely a prince in 1191 he was not the official patron of the house and perhaps John may have deliberately not aided the house as it was under the patronage of his brother. Possibly John wanted to emphasise his personal power now that Richard was on crusade and the chancellor removed, by punishing a house which should have enjoyed royal protection, or more simply John had little choice as he needed the support of those who advanced Spalding's case and this outweighed any consideration of Croyland's royal status. Yet the possibility that houses of royal patronage enjoyed a better relationship with John than others after he became king as he was then their official patron becomes increasingly less convincing when we consider that clauses which explicitly state that the house was of his patronage are extremely rare in Cistercian charters. That found in the Bordesley abbey charter of 1205 is the only such inclusion, with other grants to royal houses mentioning nothing of its royal status, including instead typical clauses that can be found in a charter to any Cistercian house of whatever patronage. Even the number of grants to royal houses are hardly suggestive of a peculiarly positive relationship and certainly not

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<sup>14</sup> *Rot. Chart.*, p. 20b.

<sup>15</sup> T. M. Fallow, 'Abbey of Selby' in *The Victoria History of the County of York*, ed. William Page (London, 1913), vol. 3, p. 95.

<sup>16</sup> See Introduction, p. 27.

enough to suggest that they were picked out for special favour over and beyond what other Cistercian houses could expect. Although Furness received eight grants, Coggeshall received just two and Bordesley one. Even if we take these eight grants to Furness to indicate special favour it cannot be connected purely to its royal status, for the other royal houses should have enjoyed equal favour if it was based on status. Moreover, although there is no evidence that Bordesley paid for its charter of 1205, indicative of special favour, it is unlikely that any special favour was due to its royal status, for other royal houses certainly had to pay for theirs. Coggeshall in 1204 paid 40 marks for its charter and Furness in 1201 paid 40 marks and one palfrey to have its lands in Stapelton Terne.<sup>17</sup> Although it is perfectly true that these sums are not above and beyond what can be reasonably expected of houses of their size to pay and by no means indicative of a negative relationship, as the size of payment extracted from Dore abbey noted earlier was, it is likewise not suggestive of a positive relationship. Even the fact that the royal abbey of Bordesley in 1199 received some £40 7s on the Pipe Roll from its various lands is not evidence of John's favour but instead of earlier monarchs' favour, for it received the same amount during Richard's reign.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, even though it continued to receive this amount during the interdict and excommunication, this is once again more indicative of its routine nature rather than a particular sign of favour.<sup>19</sup>

There is little if any evidence royal Cistercian houses fared better during the interdict or the many and various breaches between John and the wider Order. During the breach of 1200, when John attempted to force the Cistercian Order to contribute a sum of money and punished the Order on their refusal, there is no

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<sup>17</sup> *Pipe Rolls 3 John*, pp. 274-5; *6 John*, pp. 33-4.

<sup>18</sup> *Pipe Rolls 10 Richard*, pp. 73, 74, 120, 152, 189; *1 John*, pp. 79, 162, 219, 245.

<sup>19</sup> *Pipe Rolls 11 John*, pp. 17, 62-3, 148, 151; *12 John*, pp. 89, 169, 170, 173; *13 John*, pp. 7, 188, 251, 252; *14 John*, pp. 18, 58, 61, 136.

suggestion that royal houses were spared. Rather it seems they were treated in the same way as the rest. John merely saw them through the lens of ‘Cistercian’ rather than considering any other factor and they were treated as such, with for example no indication that John exempted them from his order to remove Cistercian animals from the royal forest. Given that we are reliant on the royal house of Coggeshall’s chronicle for the details of this episode, it would surely mention if they and others were picked out for special favour due to their royal status. Instead, there is evidence that royal houses were affected just as much as the others, with Furness paying £100 for confirmation charters and to be quit of the carucage.<sup>20</sup> This was also true during the breach of 1210, with again no evidence that royal houses were spared or even shown leniency. Although it is true that Beaulieu was spared from the taxation of this year, given its special status as John’s own foundation it is inappropriate to include this as evidence of royal houses enjoying better relations, for seeming all others had to contribute. Moreover although the *Annals of Stanley* related that John commanded all the abbeys should give money, some more, others less, according to his will, it did not state that the amount houses were compelled to contribute was affected by its status, namely whether under royal patronage or not.<sup>21</sup> Given that this was again recorded at a royal house it would be expected that it would take some pleasure in noting its special treatment if it received any. Although only two periods have been analysed in any detail here, there is no evidence of special treatment for royal houses during any of the various interactions between John and the wider Order.

Consequently although royal status on occasion did impact upon the interaction, certainly in relation to the 1205 charter to Bordesley abbey when this

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<sup>20</sup> See chapter 1, p. 41.

<sup>21</sup> *Ann. Stan.*, p. 512.

fact was picked out for special mention, there is certainly not enough evidence to suggest that John viewed royal Cistercian houses purely on this basis, with most charters to royal Cistercian houses employing the standard clauses that would be found in a charter to any house. In fact, John seemed to care little about its status, with relations with individual houses often being pre-determined by his relations with the wider Order and its status as a royal house simply not important enough to John for him to excuse or exempt them from his exactions. Even outside the periodic difficulties between John and the wider Order, these houses did not particularly enjoy royal favour, certainly not based on the number of grants to them, with Buckfast abbey not receiving a single grant. The fact that relations with a religious house could transcend its status as a royal house was not unique to Cistercian houses and is in fact further confirmed when we consider that despite the outpouring of royal favour flowing upon Reading abbey noted earlier, the monks were still compelled to pay a gift of £100 in 1199.<sup>22</sup>

Although it seems that status as a royal house had little impact upon the relationship between John and the Cistercian houses in England, it is possible that they were affected by whether John and the house had pre-existing relations. Namely, it is plausible that an abbot through his interactions with John before he became king, cultivated a positive or in fact negative relationship with John before, and this may have been carried on into his reign. This possibility is perhaps supported by the later interactions between John and the abbot of Dore, who was without royal favour throughout John's reign, due to the abbot's manipulative pre-existing contact with King Richard.<sup>23</sup> Surely if this had an impact on later relations with John, then the interactions between the houses and John himself would be even

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<sup>22</sup> *Pipe Roll 1 John*, p. 260.

<sup>23</sup> For a discussion of this episode, see chapter 3, pp. 118-20.

more of an influencing factor. A continuator of Ingulph's chronicle of Croyland certainly indicates this, for when relating their dispute with Spalding priory, he notes the delight of the Spalding prior at the death of King Richard, for it was John who had supported Spalding's efforts previously,<sup>24</sup> clearly indicating that there was an assumption, certainly on the behalf of the religious houses themselves, that pre-existing relations and contact would have an impact on later relations.

Based on the 'Acta of John Count of Mortain' collected by Nicholas Vincent, John had a pre-existing relationship with some eight Cistercian houses.<sup>25</sup> Although it is likely that John had a pre-existing relationship with more Cistercian houses than these eight, and the evidence of which has simply been lost, these eight do provide a large enough sample size to analyse any possible correlation between pre-existing and later relations.

Table 12 - Writs Relating to Cistercian Houses in England pre-1199.<sup>26</sup>

<b>Abbey</b>	<b>No. of Records</b>	<b>Date/s</b>
Bindon	1	c.1189-99
Bruern	1	c.1189-99
Buildwas	1	c.1185-89
Forde	2	c.1189-89
Furness	6	c.1189-99
Kirkstall	1	c.1189-99
Stanley	1	c.1189-99
Swinshead	1	c.1189-99

Source - 'Acta of John Count of Mortain', ed. Nicholas Vincent (Unpublished).

Yet there is very little indication that these houses had a differing dynamic with John than others because they had pre-existing contact.<sup>27</sup> Perhaps the best way to illustrate

<sup>24</sup> *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland with the continuations by Peter of Blois and Anonymous Writers*, p. 297.

<sup>25</sup> 'Acta of John Count of Mortain', ed. Vincent.

<sup>26</sup> The dates are based on whether the grant was issued as lord of Ireland, and therefore from 1185-9 or as count of Mortain, and therefore from 1189-99.

this is via a case study of the interactions between John and Furness abbey: a house with which John not only had by far the most significant pre-existing relations, with at least six writs being issued to them by John between 1189-99, but also a royal house. Given this combination it would be expected that Furness would enjoy significant and continual royal favour, but this was by no means the case. It was noted earlier how Furness was compelled in 1200 to pay £100 for its charters and to be quit of the carucage. Not only did the monks have to pay for their charter in 1200, they had to pay 40 shillings yearly, with this not ceasing until 1204.<sup>28</sup> Consequently in total the monks of Furness paid some £13 4s for their lands in Stapelton Terne, hardly an insignificant sum and by no means suggestive that this house was picked out for special favour. Things also did not get any easier for this house, and its status as a royal house and pre-existing relations certainly did not prevent the monks from being amerced significant sums, being fined some 500 marks in 1205-6 for trespassing on the royal forest.<sup>29</sup> It can often rightly be argued that such fines tell us little of the relationship between the king and the house for the king would have little if any knowledge of the fine, however this is not the case in this instance for the Fine Roll under 1206 records how they were fined by the mouth of the king.<sup>30</sup> Although it is true that John ultimately pardoned them some 300 marks of this fine and accepted two palfreys instead, the very fact that John imposed such a heavy fine in the first place suggests that John had little interest in the royal status of the house.<sup>31</sup> It was

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<sup>27</sup> Although the relationship between John and the abbots of Bindon and Forde are interesting and different from his interactions with other abbots, this was due to other factors, which are explored later, see pp. 243-53.

<sup>28</sup> *The Lancashire Pipe rolls of 31 Henry I, A.D. 1130, and of the reigns of Henry II, A.D. 1155-1189; and King John, A.D. 1199-1216: the Latin text extended and notes added; also early Lancashire charters of the period from the reign of William Rufus to that of King John*, ed. Henry Young (Liverpool, 1902), pp. 133, 152, 166, 176.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 204.

<sup>30</sup> *Rot. de Obl. et Fin.*, p. 365.

<sup>31</sup> Thomas Beck, *Annales Furnesiesis, the History and Antiquities of Furness Abbey* (London, 1844), p. 171.



also noted earlier that in 1207 despite the fact the Cistercians were supposed to be exempt, Furness was compelled to pay the thirteenth on moveables John imposed, for the monks were disseised of some of their lands for defaulting upon it.<sup>32</sup> Then in 1215 Furness was compelled to pay ten palfreys to have a royal confirmation of its lands in Bordale.<sup>33</sup>

This is not to say that all interactions between John and Furness abbey were negative, John did indeed make some grants to them, allowing them in 1212 a licence for a boat to carry corn and malt from Ireland and also permitting them to bring one boat filled with victuals from Ireland for their sustenance in 1213.<sup>34</sup> It is likely that Beck is correct and that both these grants indicate crop failure at the abbey, and such grants were desperately needed by the house.<sup>35</sup> In 1200 they were given the right to capture their needs in Lancaster forest and what they need from the fishery there, before in 1215 being allowed timber from the forest to repair Lancaster bridge.<sup>36</sup> However, although important these grants are hardly significant enough to allow us to suggest that the house was treated favourably due to its royal status or pre-existing contact, not when you consider that during John's reign the monks of Furness paid at least some £259 4s and 13 palfreys on its various fines and confirmations. This sum does not even include any payments they possibly made towards the thirteenth before they defaulted upon it, of which we are totally ignorant. Why this abbey seems to have incurred the wrath of the king in 1207, when it was the only Cistercian abbey that we are aware of compelled to pay the tax on moveables, is by no means clear. Painter suggested that it was due to the monks

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<sup>32</sup> See chapter 1, pp. 51-2.

<sup>33</sup> *Rot. de Obl. et Fin.*, p. 559.

<sup>34</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, 118b, 157b.

<sup>35</sup> Beck, *Annales Furnesiesis*, p. 171.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 180.

concealing laymen's chattels within the precincts of the abbey, and although this is convincing, the argument is based upon a misunderstanding of the writ by which the abbey was disseised of some of its lands.<sup>37</sup> It is possible however, that John treated them in this way as he was still angered by their transgression of the royal forest, clearly this act angered him in 1205 for he himself imposed upon them a significant fine. This is perhaps unsurprising for monarchs were certainly protective of their forest rights, demonstrated by Henry II issuing the Assize of the Forest in 1184 and the barons deeming it necessary to insert several clauses in Magna Carta relating to the royal forest.<sup>38</sup>

From the case study of Furness abbey it is clear the pre-existing relations even combined with status as a royal house did little to ensure a positive relationship with John. It was not just the Cistercians which were seemingly unaffected by whether or not they had a pre-existing relationship with John. Perhaps the best example of this is Gloucester itself. For despite the fact that John had been earl of Gloucester since 1189, in 1199 the men of Gloucester had to pay 200 marks for having the same liberties as the men of Winchester.<sup>39</sup> Meanwhile the burgesses of Gloucester owed 40s for having their town at the ancient farm with the increment of £10, and the sheriff of Gloucester also in 1199 accounted for £20 for quittance of the carruage.<sup>40</sup> By way of comparison, in 1199 Norwich was charged 200 marks for having Richard's charter confirmed and the burgesses of Oxford charged 200 marks for having the liberty they had in Henry's reign and the liberty the citizens of

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<sup>37</sup> See chapter 1, pp. 51-2.

<sup>38</sup> Clauses 44-8: *Magna Carta*, ed. and trans. G. R. C. Davis (British Museum, 1963); *English Historical Documents*, ed. W. D. Hadcock and David Charles Douglas (Oxford, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 1981), vol. 2, 1042-1189, no. 28, pp. 451-3.

<sup>39</sup> *Pipe Roll 1 John*, p. 28.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

London have and to have their town at farm.<sup>41</sup> Therefore, it seems that Gloucester was simply charged the ‘going rate’, and certainly did not enjoy any special favour. The fact that no ‘special relationship’ existed just because of pre-existing contact between John and Gloucester, is further demonstrated by the fact that in 1201 the men of Gloucester were fined 40 marks as they disobeyed him in regard to the lampreys he commanded.<sup>42</sup> It is also not the case that although not enjoying a special relationship due to pre-existing relations with the secular world, John did so with the religious world. The £100 William de Verdun, the archdeacon of Gloucester, owed in 1201 for having the king’s benevolence, is hardly suggestive of a positive relationship.<sup>43</sup> Yet as we cannot be sure why he owed the money, it is difficult to come to a conclusion either way, but it remains clear that pre-existing relations had little impact on relations with John after he became king.

Given John’s itinerant nature and the suggestion in the Margam annals that John exempted them from the 1210 taxation due to the hospitality he enjoyed there, although admittedly a suggestion that has been disproved, it is worth exploring the possibility that John’s relationship with Cistercian houses could have been based upon, or at least influenced by, the hospitality he enjoyed at them.<sup>44</sup> For hospitality certainly could play a role in determining interactions between an abbey and patron, demonstrated when the hospitality offered by the Welsh house of Strata Florida temporarily saved it from suppression in 1537, so the monks could ‘devoutly extend their hospitality.’<sup>45</sup> Hospitality was in fact so important that some abbeys were

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<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xix-xx, 224, 290.

<sup>42</sup> Although some may argue that the fact he had a special agreement with the men of Gloucester regarding lampreys suggests a positive relationship, it does seem more likely that simply Gloucester was regarded by John as a place from where he could get lampreys and punished the men of Gloucester when they failed to meet his demand: *Pipe Roll 3 John*, pp. xiii, 46.

<sup>43</sup> *Pipe Roll 3 John*, pp. xiii, 46.

<sup>44</sup> See chapter 4, pp. 136-40.

<sup>45</sup> Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, p. 143.

founded with it in mind, with Gerald of Wales suggesting this a motivating factor to Ranulf Glanville's foundation of the Premonstratensian abbey of Leiston.<sup>46</sup>

Hospitality could also prompt positive relations with the king, with Torigny seemingly describing such an event occurring with Henry II, when he stated,

Then the king came to Mont Saint Michel and after hearing mass at the high altar, he ate in the monks' refectory with his barons. Abbot Robert, with great difficulty and many prayers, induced him to do so. After, in the new chamber of the abbot, he gave the churches of Pontorson to Saint Michel, the abbot and the monks of the same place [...]<sup>47</sup>

Although this may be a gift to simply mark Henry's visit to the abbey, as Martinson suggests, it does very much seem like a reward for good hospitality.<sup>48</sup> Not only could hospitality play a role in the gifts granted to a house, it is also clear that good hospitality was extremely important to kings, as demonstrated when Edward I built a special room for such an occasion at Dunstable abbey.<sup>49</sup> Not only was hospitality an important factor in determining the relationship between patron and abbey, it seems the Cistercians were well aware of the importance of providing good hospitality and how it may result in grants and gifts. With Caesarius of Heisterbach, a Cistercian writing in Germany in the thirteenth century, relating a tale in which a Benedictine house received a sum of money, due to a recommendation by a one-time visitor to the house who had received good hospitality.<sup>50</sup> Given that Caesarius included this tale within his work *The Dialogue on Miracles*, a work intended to act as a manual to

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<sup>46</sup> Gerald of Wales, *Opera*, vol. 4, pp. 244-5; Richard Mortimer, 'Religious and secular motives for some English monastic foundations', *Religious Motivation: Biographical and Sociological Problems for the Church Historian*, *Studies in Church History* 15 (Oxford, 1978), p. 84.

<sup>47</sup> Robert of Torigny, *Chronica*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett (Rolls Series 82, London, 1890), vol. 4, p. 197; Amanda M. Martinson, 'The monastic patronage of King Henry II of England, 1154-1189' (Unpubl. PhD thesis, University of St. Andrews, 2008), p. 26.

<sup>48</sup> Martinson, 'The monastic patronage of King Henry II of England, 1154-1189', p. 26.

<sup>49</sup> Hallam, 'Aspects of the monastic patronage of the English and French royal houses, c. 1130-1270', p. 17.

<sup>50</sup> Caesarius of Heisterbach, *The Dialogue on Miracles*, trans. H. Von E. Scott and C. C. Swinton Bland (London, 1929), vol. 1, book 4, chapter 71, p. 272.

teach novices, there seems little reason for its inclusion unless intended to teach novices that providing good hospitality could well result in a reward for the abbey. This is further reinforced when you consider that Abbot John I of Fountains (abbot 1203-9) was accused of using hospitality to gain favour. With the foundation history of the house relating how he used generosity to gain the friendship of the powerful and of the king himself.<sup>51</sup> Although the author dismisses this accusation as slander, given that this ‘generosity’ may well refer to his spending on hospitality, it remains indicative of how it was understood as a possible means of gaining favour. With houses well aware of the role hospitality could play in influencing relations with their patrons and the king it can consequently be expected that houses would do all they could to provide John with the best hospitality they could to try and gain his favour.

It remains important however not to overemphasize how significant hospitality was in determining relations, with Martinson demonstrating that Henry II did not ‘visit the places he patronized or patronized the places he visited’ before suggesting that ‘Henry was not inclined to be overly generous when staying at or near the monasteries.’<sup>52</sup> In fact, it can often be the reverse of what you expect, for example, when Edward I stayed at Aberconwy abbey from 13 March to 9 May 1283, instead of granting anything to the abbey he rather saw the strategic value of the abbey site, and he removed the abbey to a new site at Maenan seven miles away and built a castle on the site of the original abbey.<sup>53</sup> Although Edward compensated them, we can perhaps be sure that the monks did not see this act as Edward I

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<sup>51</sup> ‘Narratio de fundatione Fontanis Monasterii, in comitatu Eboracensi’, p. 126.

<sup>52</sup> Martinson, ‘The monastic patronage of King Henry II of England, 1154-1189’, p. 44.

<sup>53</sup> Monastic Wales Project, Aberystwyth and Lampeter University.  
[<http://www.monasticwales.org/event/102>] accessed 5 August 2010.

rewarding them for the hospitality he enjoyed with them, however this is perhaps an extreme case.

Yet despite this, there is clearly a strong and longstanding connection between hospitality and favour to religious houses. However, from the narrative records there is little evidence that John was motivated into bestowing such favour upon religious houses at which he stayed. With the description in the *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis* of John's actions whilst visiting the tombs of his father and brother at Fontevrault abbey hardly suggestive he was concerned with rewarding the house. Relating that despite visiting on a feast day, when gold coins were placed in his hand so he could make an offering he delayed, causing an irritated bishop to enquire, 'Why do you look at them so intently?' to which John replied, 'I am looking at these gold pieces and thinking that if I had them a few days ago I would not have delivered them to you, but have pocketed them.'<sup>54</sup> Yet according to the same work, when first refused entry to the abbey as the abbess was away he asked the bishop who was travelling with him to intervene on his behalf asking him to tell the nuns to, 'pray to God for him, and express *his intention of conferring many favours on them* (own italics).'<sup>55</sup> Indicating that hospitality could indeed spur John into making grants to religious houses; however, this may simply be evidence of John trying to manipulate his way into the abbey, especially given the fact that he was not to bestow any favour upon them. The description of his visit to the abbey of Bury St Edmunds shortly after his coronation in 1199 is equally suggestive. John supposedly offered little, namely a 'silken cloth, which his servants borrowed from our sacristan and have not

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<sup>54</sup> Adam of Eynsham, *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis*, vol. 2, p. 142.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

yet paid for.’<sup>56</sup> Leading Jocelin of Brakelond to complain, ‘He enjoyed the hospitality of St. Edmund, which involved great expenses, and when he left he gave nothing at all honourable or beneficial to the saint, except thirteen pence sterling, which he paid for a mass for himself, on the day on which he departed from us.’<sup>57</sup>

Purely from the narrative records of John’s visits to religious houses therefore, there was no connection between hospitality and royal favour never mind more long lasting relations more generally. However, given the obvious biases of such accounts they are perhaps less than reliable. Yet even by directly analysing the connection between John’s visits to Cistercian houses and grants to those houses, there is little evidence of a correlation.

Table 13 - The Relationship Between Hospitality and Grants to Cistercian houses in England.<sup>58</sup>

<b>House</b>	<b>Date of Visit/s</b>	<b>Grant/s?</b>
Bindon	26/27/28 July 1213	Yes
Coggeshall	16 Oct. 1205	No
Flaxley	16 Nov. 1207	No
	8/9/12 Nov. 1212	No
	30 Nov. 1213	No
	11 Dec. 1214	No
Louth	18/19/20/21 Jan. 1201	No
	4 Oct. 1216	No
Stanley	25 Oct. 1200	No
Swinshead	12/13 Oct. 1216	No
Waverley	2/3/4/5 Apr. 1208	Yes

Source - See Appendix V.

Despite staying at some seven Cistercian houses on 11 occasions and spending at least 22 days enjoying Cistercian hospitality, we are only aware of two grants to two

<sup>56</sup> Jocelin of Brakelond, *The Chronicle of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds*, ed. and trans. Diana Greenway and Jane Sayers (Oxford, 1989), p. 103.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> Due to a lack of information about John’s itinerary before he became king, this only includes religious houses he stayed at after he became king, and also due to the reasons set out earlier, does not include those occasions when he stayed at Beaulieu.

Cistercian houses that can be connected to the hospitality John enjoyed there.<sup>59</sup> There are even occasions when if hospitality was important to John then you would expect some kind of grant or exemption to the Cistercian houses at which he stayed. For example, when in the midst of a bitter dispute with the wider Cistercian Order John stayed at Stanley abbey in October 1200, there is no evidence whatsoever that he treated the house of Stanley any better than others or exempted them from his oppressions of the Order. The first grant that can be connected to hospitality is the letters allowing the abbot and monks of Bindon thirty cartloads of lead for the roof of their monastery and fifty oaks, issued at Bindon abbey on 27 July 1213.<sup>60</sup> Yet as shall become clear later, this grant may have less to do with the hospitality John enjoyed at Bindon and more to do with the personal relationship between John and the abbot. The only other grant that could be connected to the hospitality John enjoyed at a Cistercian house was when on 7 April 1208, some two days after staying at Waverley abbey, John released the rents and possessions of William, priest of Broadwater, so that the church of Waverley that he was building at his own expense could resume.<sup>61</sup> Yet it is important not to over-emphasise the connection between these two events, for on 4 April 1208 John had released all Cistercian lands which had been taken into his hands on account of the interdict and this individual release to Waverley may be connected to this wider release of lands. It is possible however that the release of Cistercian lands more widely was connected to the hospitality John enjoyed at Waverley. For as argued earlier, John released Cistercian

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<sup>59</sup> Despite the tale that whilst on a sojourn John saw how small Furness abbey's grange of Stapelton Terne was, he gave them the whole vill, there is no evidence that John stayed at Furness at all during his reign, let alone in 1201 when the grant was made. Moreover, as noted earlier Furness had to pay 40 marks and one palfrey for its land in Stapelton Terne: F. M. Powicke, 'Abbey of Furness' in *The Victoria History of the County of Lancaster*, ed. William Farrer and J. Brownbill (London, 1908 repr. 1966), vol. 2, p. 127.

<sup>60</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, pp. 148, 150.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.



lands because he viewed them as supporting him during the interdict, as they did not obey it. Consequently it is possible that John first appreciated this fact when staying at Waverley, although this connection is at best speculative. Nevertheless these two grants out of the numerous visits to Cistercian houses are by no means enough evidence of a direct correlation between hospitality and royal favour, especially given that those noted may have been unconnected to hospitality, and more to do with his wider relationship with Bindon abbey or the wider Cistercian Order.

Providing John with good hospitality, whether or not it prompted an immediate grant, certainly did not ensure good relations with the king in later years: with the abbot of Waverley in 1210 fleeing into the night in fear of John, having refused to contribute towards the Order-wide taxation, despite John enjoying hospitality there in 1208, being perhaps the clearest demonstration of this.<sup>62</sup> Given his itinerant nature, visits to Cistercian houses are by no means evidence of royal favour in itself. It was only Flaxley that John ever seemingly went out of his way to visit. Given the fact that John stayed at Flaxley on four occasions, and on each occasion visited in either November or December, suggestive that John went to this house at this time purposefully. These visits spread over a number of years were not an indication of favour, but rather John simply stayed at this house in order to hunt nearby, and his repeated visits in November and December had more to do with hunting seasons than royal favour. With the royal hunting dogs joining John whilst he stayed at Flaxley on at least one occasion, there seems little doubt.<sup>63</sup>

With little if any connection between hospitality, pre-existing relations or houses of royal patronage and their relationship with John, as in Wales and Ireland,

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<sup>62</sup> For greater detail of this, see below p. 250.

<sup>63</sup> They joined John on 12 November 1212: Stephen Church, 'Aspects of the royal itinerary in twelfth-century England', *Thirteenth-Century England* 11 (2007), pp. 37-8.

their relationship was instead often determined by wider political concerns or due to John's relationship with the patron. This is shown definitively by John's one and only charter to a Scottish house, namely that to the Tironensian abbey of Arbroath of 19 February 1206: granting quittance of toll on all that they should sell and buy throughout his kingdom, with the exception of London.<sup>64</sup> This is a remarkable charter and is in fact unique as a grant to a Scottish house by an English king. It also contains a clause explicitly confirming its political nature, for it notes it was granted due to the petition of King William of Scotland.<sup>65</sup> This unique charter is extremely generous not only by what it grants but as it was also seemingly granted with nothing given to John in return. When placed into the wider political context, it is apparent why this was issued. John and William the Lion had recently met at York for discussions, sadly we know very little about the reasons behind the meeting or whether it was successful, for we only know of the meeting due to the safe conduct John issued in November 1205 for William to meet him at York on 9 February 1206.<sup>66</sup> However, Duncan was likely correct when he suggested that for John the meeting was merely an attempt to ensure a quiet border and to convince William to send men to accompany him to Poitou.<sup>67</sup> The fact that this Arbroath charter was issued at a time when John was not only meeting the king of Scotland but was also trying to gain his support is not coincidental. It made perfect sense for John to agree to give this generous grant at the request of William the Lion, for in the same way as granting it would improve relations, refusing to do so would very much damage relations and make it even less likely for the king of Scotland to accede to John's

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<sup>64</sup> This charter has been misdated to 1207 in, *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland, 1108-1272*, ed. Joseph Bain (Edinburgh, 1881), vol. 1, p. 65; See *Rot. Chart.*, pp. 162-3.

<sup>65</sup> *Rot. Chart.*, pp. 162-3.

<sup>66</sup> *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 56.

<sup>67</sup> A. A. M. Duncan, 'John king of England and the king of Scots', in *King John: New Interpretations*, ed. S. D. Church (Woodbridge, 2007), p. 255.

requests. This is by no means the only occasion that John acceded to a request by a king of Scotland to try and gain his support, ordering the release of Michael fitz Roger due to the petition of King William on 30 September 1213, for example.<sup>68</sup> It appears fitz Roger had been captured in Ireland and in 1213 John was desperate to cultivate as many friends and alliances as possible as his domestic enemies were multiplying.

The meeting between John and William the Lion in 1206 prompted other grants, perhaps surprisingly, to English Cistercian houses. As noted earlier, John directed the king of Scotland to meet him on 9 February 1206 at York. On 8 February 1206, without precedent either before or after, John granted a silver vessel worth 30 marks to Fountains abbey, a silver dish worth 30 marks to Furness abbey and a silver dish worth 20 marks to Rievaulx abbey.<sup>69</sup> There was seemingly no reason for these extremely generous gifts, and they were certainly unique, for John was to never do something similar again and this generosity is certainly out of character, for as Poole said, he only doled out small sums to religious houses, and these grants although not exceptionally large are by no means small.<sup>70</sup> It is possible that the king of Scotland arrived at York on 8 February, as John had, in preparation for their meeting set for the next day. In this light these generous gifts to these three Cistercian houses begin to appear as a cynical political ploy to act as either an outward display of wealth or piety, possibly designed to either impress or intimidate the king of Scotland in preparation for their forthcoming meeting. For it is too coincidental that these generous and unique gifts were given at the same time that John was meeting the king of Scotland. Seemingly therefore John's relationship with

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<sup>68</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus*, p. 151b.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64b.

<sup>70</sup> Poole, *From Domesday to Magna Carta*, p. 428.

the Cistercians in England could be influenced by wider political events, even it seems with political events in Scotland.

John's relationship with religious houses were also affected more directly by his relationship with their respective patrons, particularly at times of political unrest. In fact, the occasions in which John's relationship was seemingly based on this dynamic can be tentatively divided into two broad time periods, namely shortly after he became king in 1199/1200 and then again during the time of Magna Carta and civil war.

As described elsewhere John's succession to the throne was by no means easy due to the disputed succession between John and his nephew Arthur, which caused a fundamental split in the Angevin Empire, with some coming out in support of John and others Arthur. As part of John's efforts to secure what he saw as his rightful inheritance he dispatched Hubert Walter, William Marshal and Geoffrey fitz Peter to England to secure it for him. It is in this light of split loyalties, disunity and John's desperate need of support that his relationship with individual religious houses at this time needs to be viewed. For John was seemingly anxious to reward and ensure the continuing support of these three key buttresses of royal support in England. As part of this on the same day as his coronation, 27 May 1199, John rewarded Marshal with the earldom of Pembroke. This was not the only form of royal favour flowing upon Marshal, with John issuing a royal confirmation to Marshal's Augustinian foundation of Cartmel on 1 August 1199, which includes the clause 'our beloved and faithful' William Marshal.<sup>71</sup> Although Marshal did not

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<sup>71</sup> *'dilectus et fidelum nostrum'*: *Rot. Chart.*, p. 8. It is of course dangerous to take such phrases at face value, for in the license John granted in 1207, allowing Marshal to go to Ireland, it too included the phrase 'our beloved William Marshal', despite the fact that this was granted in the midst of a bitter dispute between the two and almost seems to have been included sarcastically.

witness this charter, he did witness another charter of the same day, clearly therefore he was at court and would have been aware of this favour being shown to his foundation and perhaps even the wording of it.<sup>72</sup> It is possible in fact that he himself as patron presented the prior or abbot to the king and asked him to show favour to this house, and therefore this charter, especially due to the clause included within it noted earlier, was a clear indication of royal favour and John further attempting to cultivate a relationship with Marshal. John continued in the early years of his reign to cultivate his relationship with Marshal, typified perhaps by John granting Marshal the pastoral staff of Nutley abbey in August 1200, with a clause in the charter again bestowing praise upon Marshal; stating it was given ‘to our beloved and faithful’ Marshal.<sup>73</sup> More than this it included the explanatory clause ‘for the good and faithful service which he himself gave to us’.<sup>74</sup> Clearly this charter was intended as a reward for the loyal and faithful service Marshal had provided John, for there seems little reason to mention the fact in the charter otherwise. The interconnection between royal favour to Marshal and to his religious houses, especially in relation to Cartmel, is so blatant that it is discussed in much greater detail as a case study later.

Favour not only flowed upon Marshal and his religious houses, it also flowed upon others who John deemed as loyal and influential. It was noted earlier how Marshal was girded with the sword of the earldom of Pembroke on the day of John’s coronation, on the same day John rewarded another important figure, namely Geoffrey fitz Peter, girding him with the sword of the earldom of Essex. John also

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However, when placed into the wider context of 1199 the phrase noted above does seem to be a genuine expression of feeling: *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 81; Crouch, *William Marshal, Knighthood, War and Chivalry*, p. 100. For the relationship between John and Marshal during this time see below p. 245.

<sup>72</sup> *Rot. Chart.*, p. 8.

<sup>73</sup> ‘*erga dilectum et fidelum nostrum*’: *Ibid.*, p. 74b.

<sup>74</sup> ‘*propter bonum et fidele servicium quod ipse nobis fecit*’: *Ibid.*

aided fitz Peter in his quarrel with the Benedictine prior of Walden. Walden priory was founded by Geoffrey de Mandeville as earl of Essex sometime around 1136-44. The priory was raised to the status of abbey on 1 August 1190 and the patronage passed into the hands of the crown.<sup>75</sup> When fitz Peter gained the Mandeville inheritance before John's ascension, he quarrelled with the monks, as he was angered by Mandeville's grant of half of Walden to them on his deathbed and also by the status of the priory being raised to an abbey, which he interpreted as the monks attempting to disinherit him of the advowson and the right to appoint a head. As part of this quarrel fitz Peter seized some of their lands. The quarrel eventually reached the ears of King Richard who compelled them to come to a settlement and fitz Peter compensated the monks.<sup>76</sup> It is in this light that we need to appreciate the significance of John in 1199 granting fitz Peter the patronage of Walden abbey 'as it was enjoyed by his predecessor, earl William de Mandeville, before King Richard raised the status of Walden from priory to abbey' and the right to institute the abbot so far as a layman could.<sup>77</sup> Clearly therefore John was willing to lose the patronage of a royal house in order to reward and further cultivate the relationship with the loyal fitz Peter. It would also seem those houses under the patronage of royal favourites were aware of the special favour that John may show to them, with the prior of Hurley expecting to be exempt from paying towards the carucage of 1200, as Geoffrey fitz Peter was their patron.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> R. C. Fowler, 'Abbey of Walden' in *The Victoria History of the County of Essex*, ed. William Page and J. Horace Round (London, 1907), vol. 2, p. 111.

<sup>76</sup> Ralph Turner, *Men raised from the dust: administrative service and upward mobility in Angevin England* (Philadelphia, 1988), pp. 65-6.

<sup>77</sup> *English Episcopal Acta, III, Canterbury, 1193-1205*, vol. 3, pp. 284-5; Wood, *English Monasteries and their Patrons*, p. 169.

<sup>78</sup> Memoranda Roll, 1 John, p. 57; Robert S. Hoyt, *The Royal Demesne in English Constitutional History: 1066-1272* (New York, 1950), pp. 118-9n.

John cultivated the relationships with Marshal and fitz Peter in the difficult early years of his reign through secular donations as well as through their religious houses. However, when it came to cultivating the relationship with Hubert Walter, the archbishop of Canterbury, perhaps unsurprisingly he cultivated their relationship through religious grants and confirmations, particularly in regard to the Premonstratensian house of West Dereham, a religious house Walter himself had founded at his birthplace in 1188.<sup>79</sup> On 7 September 1199 John granted a royal confirmation to this house ‘on the petition of our venerable father H. [archbishop] of Canterbury’ with Hubert Walter himself acting as a witness.<sup>80</sup> Although once again it may be argued that as this was not issued at John’s behest but instead at Walter’s and therefore it does not indicate royal favour, it remains the case that John acceded to this request and explicitly stated that he was granting the charter by the petition of Walter and perhaps hoped that this would serve to cultivate the relationship between the two. The grant to this house in June 1200 of a weekly fair, that was again witnessed by Hubert Walter, further suggests that the fortunes of this house were directly connected to their founder and that John was still anxious to cultivate and ensure a continuing positive relationship with Hubert Walter.<sup>81</sup> In contrast, after Archbishop Walter’s death in 1205, there is no evidence of royal favour being bestowed upon West Dereham.

Clearly therefore John rewarded the loyal and faithful service of his inner circle in the early years of his reign, particularly in regard to those who he sent to England to secure it for him in 1199, not only by secular grants but also by gifts,

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<sup>79</sup> J. C. Cox, ‘Abbey of West Dereham’ in *The Victoria History of the County of Norfolk*, ed. William Page (London, 1906), vol. 2, p. 414.

<sup>80</sup> ‘*ad petitionem venerabilis patris nostri H. Cantuariensis*’: *Rot. Chart.*, pp. 21-2.

<sup>81</sup> This charter is seemingly no longer extant, not surviving in the administrative rolls, surviving only as a description in, Charles Parkin, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (London, 1775), vol. 4, p. 88.

grants and confirmations to their religious houses. John was also to do this in the later years of his reign, particularly during his troubles with his barons, troubles that were to result in first Magna Carta and then ultimately civil war. It is of course not necessary to relate here the narrative of how John's troubles with the barons began, this has been done numerous times by other historians, suffice to say that by the beginning of 1215 John's relations with his baronage had come to breaking point.<sup>82</sup> The king summoned his opponents to meet him at London on 6 January 1215 and supposedly began formal negotiations.<sup>83</sup> The meeting however was seemingly a failure, for according to some accounts the barons entreated John to restore the ancient customs of the realm, whilst according to others John tried to compel the barons to issue charters relinquishing claims to ancient liberties which the king condemned, to which only Peter des Roches, William Brewer and Ranulf, earl of Chester agreed.<sup>84</sup> In this light the extremely favourable charter from John to the Benedictine abbey of St Werburgh Chester, of 11 January 1215, which freed them from amongst other things, aids, amercements and all demands, issued when John was still at London, becomes increasingly interesting.<sup>85</sup> Given this abbey's close association with Ranulf, earl of Chester, due to its foundation by his ancestor Hugh de Avranches in 1092, and the fact that Ranulf was a witness to this 1215 grant, it appears more like a charter issued for political reasons.<sup>86</sup> It is possible that this charter was issued as a means of either attempting to ensure or reward the support of Ranulf, a man who at least according to one account, was one of the few barons to

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<sup>82</sup> See for example the excellent work, J. C. Holt, *Magna Carta* (Cambridge, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., 1992).

<sup>83</sup> Holt, *Magna Carta*, p. 222.

<sup>84</sup> Nicholas Vincent, *Peter des Roches: An Alien in English Politics, 1205-1238* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 115.

<sup>85</sup> Although this charter is enrolled within the *Rotuli Chartarum*, the extant version has been used as it, unlike the *Rotuli Chartarum* version, contains the full dating clause and list of witnesses: *Rot. Chart.*, p. 202b; Derbyshire Record Office, D 779B/T 123.

<sup>86</sup> The association of Ranulf of Chester with St Werburgh abbey is confirmed in, Westerhof, 'Celebrating fragmentation: the presence of aristocratic body parts in monastic houses in twelfth and thirteenth century England', pp. 28-9.



remain loyal to John throughout the ultimately failed London meeting, and certainly was to remain a staunch loyalist for the rest of John's life. However, as this charter was issued seemingly at the end if not just after the failed meeting it is most likely a sign of favour and reward for his loyal support, especially given that not only was Ranulf a witness but so too were the other loyalists identified, namely Peter des Roches and William Brewer.

The charter to William Brewer's foundation of Dunkeswell on 9 May 1215 is also seemingly more significant than at first glance it may appear.<sup>87</sup> For the situation had deteriorated markedly for John by this time, typified by open hostilities between royalists and the rebels from around 19 April and the barons withdrawing their fealty on 5 May.<sup>88</sup> In this light this charter seems very much politically motivated, designed to ensure the continuing support of William Brewer. The very fact that Brewer, although not a witness to the charter itself, was certainly at court on this day supports this.<sup>89</sup> Although there is no indication that the loyalty of Brewer ever wavered, given the political climate and John's renowned mistrust which may have verged on paranoia, it is unsurprising that John was keen to ensure his loyalty. Given that by his death in 1226, Brewer held some 60 knights fees, most of which were built up in the reigns of Henry II and Richard; ultimately Brewer was a man whose support John needed, especially given previous desertions.<sup>90</sup> This political motivation becomes ever more likely when you consider that John was around this time using other charters and grants to guarantee or ensure loyalty. The charter to the barons of

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<sup>87</sup> *C.Ch.R.*, vol. 6, p. 284.

<sup>88</sup> *Annals of Southwark and Merton*, ed. M. Tyson (Surrey Archaeological Collections, xxxvi, 1936), p. 49; H. G. Richardson, 'The morrow of the great charter', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 28 (1944), 431.

<sup>89</sup> He was a witness to the charter to the London barons, issued on the same day, discussed below.

<sup>90</sup> S. D. Church, 'Brewer, William (d. 1226)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 7, p. 522.

London, issued on the same day as the Dunkeswell charter, in which John allowed them to elect a mayor once a year, seems very much like John attempting to buy the support of the London baronage.<sup>91</sup> Controlling London would have been crucial to John in his upcoming confrontation with his barons given its obvious political and economic might. The barons themselves appreciated this, with Robert fitz Walter on July 6, writing to William de Albini postponing a planned tournament, fearing if the rebels left London it would be seized by royalist forces.<sup>92</sup> Although John's effort to ensure the loyalty of the barons of London ultimately failed, with London falling to the barons on 17 May 1215, Brewer remained loyal.<sup>93</sup>

Despite the cessation of hostilities and the signing of Magna Carta in June 1215, this was of course not the end of the dispute, nor the end of John's political use of religious houses. The generous grants to the Premonstratensian house of Cockersand, the first of 28 July that granted them two-plough lands from John's demesne lands and freeing them from taxation and the second, a confirmation of 20 August 1215, both appear to be politically motivated.<sup>94</sup> By at least August John was actively preparing for war in the north, and these charters may well have been part of these preparations.<sup>95</sup> For although the patron of this house, Gilbert fitz Reinfrey, did indeed rebel in 1215 we are unsure exactly when, and it seems that during July and August not only was he still loyal, but John was desperately attempting to ensure his continuing support, with these charters to Cockersand indicative of this, with the fact that Reinfrey himself witnessed the July grant further reinforcing that these were

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<sup>91</sup> Walter de Gray Birch, *The Historical Charters and Constitutional Documents of the City of London* (London, 1887), no. 11, pp. 19-20; Ralph Turner, *Magna Carta: Through the Ages* (New York, 2003), p. 28. John had of course used this method of gaining support before, granting a charter to London allowing them to revive a commune during his revolt in 1191, for example.

<sup>92</sup> Holt, *Magna Carta*, p. 356.

<sup>93</sup> Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 117.

<sup>94</sup> *Rot. Chart.*, pp. 216, 218.

<sup>95</sup> Holt, *Magna Carta*, p. 352.

issued for his benefit. John's efforts are unsurprising for Reinfrey's continued allegiance was vital as he was Baron of Kendal and sheriff of Lancashire and therefore an important and powerful landholder. After his rebellion, as J. C. Holt noted, 'there was no serious check to the power of the rebels west of the Pennines southwards to the bounds of the earldom of Chester.'<sup>96</sup>

With the renewal of hostilities by at least September 1215, John continued to use grants to religious houses in this way. The charter of 28 August 1216, by which John granted the pasture of Rossall to Ranulf of Chester's Cistercian foundation of Dieulacres, is evidence of this, especially considering that it was directed to Ranulf himself and explicitly stated that it was granted on Ranulf's petition.<sup>97</sup> This grant is even more generous when we consider it was granted it seems for no payment. The level of generosity is demonstrated by the fact that not only was it in subsequent years seized back by the crown not being restored until 1227, but also by the fact that in 1228 the monks paid 700 marks to hold this in free alms rather than of the royal will.<sup>98</sup> This clearly demonstrates the value of this grant, yet John was willing to give it away for no payment purely to ensure Ranulf's continuing support. This charter to Dieulacres is therefore as much evidence of this effort as the charter of the same day by which John granted Ranulf the custody of the honour of Lancaster.<sup>99</sup>

Other grants to religious houses although connected to wider political affairs were seemingly issued out of genuine pious reasons. The grant of 1 April 1216, to St Leodegar, Niort, granting quittance and various other rights was directly connected to John's association with Savaric de Mauléon, John's loyal mercenary

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<sup>96</sup> J. C. Holt, *The Northerners: A Study in the Reign of King John* (Westport, 1981), p. 137.

<sup>97</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 284.

<sup>98</sup> A. P. Duggan and M. W. Greenslade, 'The Abbey of Dieulacres' in *A History of the County of Stafford*, ed. M. W. Greenslade and R. B. Pugh (London, 1970), vol. 3, p. 231.

<sup>99</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 284.

commander.<sup>100</sup> For in 1216 John was marching on London, but feeling unable or not strong enough to assault the capital, turned away on 1 April.<sup>101</sup> Savaric de Mauléon was seemingly sent on to London, whereby he and his forces came under attack, resulting in numerous casualties with Mauléon himself being severely injured.<sup>102</sup> Given that this grant contains the clause ‘on the petition of our beloved and faithful Savaric de Mauléon’, combined with the date of the grant, it seems that Mauléon appreciated he might not survive going to London alone and as such John is acquiescing to a pious request from his loyal commander, on the same day that John left him to go on alone.<sup>103</sup>

During his disputes with his baronage, John was not only attempting to advance the cause of his faithful barons’ houses, he was also actively attempting to ensure that faithful political adherents or their family members were elected to fill abbey’s vacancies and in turn to thwart any possible elections of potential enemies. A prime example of this is during the election to the vacancy of the royal abbey of Barking. For John around August-September 1215 ordered Peter des Roches, as bishop of Winchester, to try and obtain the election of one of three persons, preferably the aunt of Robert de Ros, a baron who was at that time loyal and acting as sheriff of Cumberland. John further commanded that on no account should he allow the election of the sister of the rebel leader Robert fitz Walter.<sup>104</sup> Then again in June, John ordered William Marshal that the candidates of Robert fitz Walter and

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<sup>100</sup> *Rot. Chart.*, p. 220b.

<sup>101</sup> H. J. Chaytor, *Savaric de Mauléon: Baron and Troubadour* (Cambridge, 1934), p. 34.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>103</sup> ‘*ad petitionem dilecti et fidelis nostri Savarici de Malo Leone*’: *Rot. Chart.*, p. 220b.

<sup>104</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 202.

also of another rebel, Roger Bigod Earl of Norfolk, should be denied election to the vacancy at Bury St. Edmunds.<sup>105</sup>

It has become clear therefore that John used religious houses as a means of attempting to cultivate or reward the support of his barons, particularly during two periods, while at the same time attempting to prevent the advancement of political enemies or even members of their family to monastic vacancies. This is not to say that all interactions between John and religious houses based on his wider relationship with the patron was confined to these two periods, in fact on occasion it occurred throughout his reign. The grants to Cleeve abbey in 1202 were probably connected to the royal favour flowing upon its patron Hubert de Burgh.<sup>106</sup> The same is true of the grants to Brewer's foundations, with the August 1207 grant of Shebbear to Torre abbey relating how it was given as much as it pertained to a patron.<sup>107</sup> The charter meanwhile of 3 May 1205 was also seemingly directly connected to John's relationship with their patron John de Lacy, Constable of Chester, and to the political climate of 1205.<sup>108</sup> The foundation history of Kirkstall notes the circumstances surrounding the charter, by which John restored to them the grange of Micklethwaite, a grange lost since Henry II had confiscated it, relating how their abbot was aided in his pleas by their patron Roger de Lacy, and others at the court. Although John would only do so for an annual payment this is still perhaps an indication of a positive interaction with Kirkstall due to the influence of its patron.<sup>109</sup> For this grange had been confiscated at least 16 years previously, there must have

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<sup>105</sup> Matthew Strickland, 'Fitzwalter, Robert (*d.* 1235)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 19, p. 951.

<sup>106</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 5, p. 732. For the favour shown to Hubert de Burgh in 1202 see, Clarence Ellis, *Hubert de Burgh: A Study in Constancy* (London, 1952), p. 14.

<sup>107</sup> *Rot. Chart.*, p. 168b.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 148-9.

<sup>109</sup> 'The foundation of Kirkstall abbey', ed. and trans. E. Clark, *Publications Thoresby Society* 4 (Leeds, 1895), 186-7.

therefore been a factor which influenced John to give it back in 1205, and considering that payment could have been offered at any time it does seem likely this was the deciding factor. This, combined with the history which does suggest that it was only through the influence of Roger de Lacy did the king agree to this restoration, suggests that the relationship with John and the patron was key.<sup>110</sup> Why John was keen to accede to Roger's request was likely connected to the wider political circumstances, for John was in late 1204 and 1205 having serious troubles in the north, with Holt suggesting the north was on the verge of open war. During this time of strife John simply needed Roger de Lacy on side and loyal to him, for de Lacy was crucial to John's efforts in the north around this time, characterised by John sending him payments to fortify Carlisle in November 1204 and crossbowmen in March 1205.<sup>111</sup>

This is not to say that the relationship between John and his baronage's houses were fixed as either positive or negative. John's turbulent relationship with Cartmel abbey, an Augustinian house founded by William Marshal, is illustrative of this. The course of this was intricately connected to the fortunes of their patron throughout John's reign. It was noted earlier how in the first year of his reign John granted this house a confirmation charter for his 'beloved and faithful' Marshal possibly as a reward for his loyalty and aid in securing England. With Marshal in high regard in the early years of John's reign, grants and favour continued to flow upon the abbey, being granted permission to buy and export corn from Ireland in June 1202, and being granted protection and a licence to purchase necessities throughout all the king's land of Ireland free from toll in August 1203.<sup>112</sup> The fact

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<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>111</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, 15, 21b; Holt, *The Northerners*, pp. 205-6.

<sup>112</sup> *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 12b; *Rot. Chart.*, p. 110.

that William Marshal was a witness to the August 1203 grant, further reinforces the argument that such grants were explicitly connected to him. These grants were of course extremely generous, especially when you consider that there is no evidence that the abbey ever offered something for them in return. After this August 1203 grant, royal favour ceased to flow upon the house, with the next reference to this house occurring in May 1208 when Marshal seemingly agreed to pay to gain custody of the abbey during the interdict, but only for as long as it pleased the king.<sup>113</sup> Hardly a sign of favour towards the house or in fact to Marshal, especially when you consider that John normally handed over custody of his loyal barons' houses without the need for payment and without the clause, 'for as long as it pleased the king', as he did with William de Braose's priories.<sup>114</sup> It also seems that during the interdict the king extorted money from Cartmel, for instead of paying for their next charter, a confirmation of 25 July 1215, they relinquished their claims upon 200 marks that had been extorted from them.<sup>115</sup> Despite this it would appear that this 1215 charter is a sign of a resumption of royal favour, which is once again associated with William Marshal, for the confirmation includes the clause 'our beloved and faithful W[illiam] Marshal', with Marshal himself once again appearing as a witness to this grant.<sup>116</sup> Clearly therefore it can be seen that from 1199-1203 the house enjoyed royal favour, it then seemingly fell out of favour from 1203/4-15, with royal favour resuming after that.

Given these dates it would seem that royal favour towards Cartmel was intricately associated with the standing of William Marshal at court. For Marshal

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<sup>113</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 114.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup> *Rot. Chart.*, pp. 215-6; *The Lancashire Pipe Rolls of 31 Henry I, A.D. 1130, and of the reigns of Henry II, A.D. 1155-1189; and King John, A.D. 1199-1216*, p. 249.

<sup>116</sup> 'dilectus et fidelum nostrum W. Marescall': *Rot. Chart.*, p. 216.

was held in high regard at court from John's accession, constantly rewarded with royal favour, however in 1204 Marshal began negotiations with the king of France to hold his French lands and in spring 1205 he performed homage to the French king for his French lands, and this caused a public dispute between John and Marshal when he refused to accompany John on campaign in Poitou.<sup>117</sup> Despite some favour still being shown to the Marshal during 1204, this may well reflect John's appreciation that he could not afford to alienate such a powerful figure when attempting to hold onto his French lands, it may well have been scaled back, with the favour ceasing to flow upon Cartmel part of this. Certainly from 1206 to 1213 Marshal was out of favour and in the words of David Crouch he was 'in the political wilderness.'<sup>118</sup> *The History of William Marshal* suggests that in 1205 at the beginning of his open dispute with Marshal, John 'Once he had eaten, [...] considered how he could exact revenge, how he could find a way of doing the Marshal harm.'<sup>119</sup> It is not difficult to envisage a scenario like this being played out, during which John conjured up different ways of hurting the Marshal, which may have included trying to get to him through Cartmel. For during this time John was certainly attempting to hurt Marshal in different ways, not only was royal favour withdrawn, he for example gleefully informed Marshal in 1207, that he had made one of Marshal's household, John of Earley, landless due to the service he gave to Marshal.<sup>120</sup> However, from 1212 relations began to improve and he continued to rise in royal favour, with Marshal being the chief negotiator between John and the Barons in 1215. When in July 1215 war broke out he was sent to secure the March

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<sup>117</sup> For the history of Marshal that follows see, David Crouch, 'Marshal, William (I), fourth earl of Pembroke (c.1146–1219)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 36, pp. 815-22.

<sup>118</sup> Crouch, 'Marshal, William (I), fourth earl of Pembroke (c.1146–1219)', p. 819.

<sup>119</sup> *The History of William Marshal*, vol. 2, lines, 13249-52, p. 163; Crouch, *William Marshal, Knighthood, War and Chivalry*, p. 98.

<sup>120</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 103; Crouch, *William Marshal, Knighthood, War and Chivalry*, p. 162.



and hold back the Welsh. Clearly therefore royal favour flowed upon the house when Marshal was in favour, ceased when he was out of favour and then recommenced in July 1215 when John, faced with war, was determined, as we saw earlier in the discussions of the abbey's of Cockersand and Dieulacres, to ensure and reward the loyalty of those around him.

This is not to say that the only reason John issued charters or made any grants to Cistercian houses was as part of an extension of his relationship with the patron. There are numerous occasions when the relationship between John and Cistercian houses transcended the relationship between John and their patron, for there were certainly periods when John's relationship with individual houses was almost wholly dependant on the house or the abbot himself, particularly in regard to whether the abbot supported or opposed him. Matthew Paris relates that when the abbot of St Albans John I refused to obey King John's mandate to celebrate divine services during the interdict, King John was furious, taking the abbey into his hands and ejecting the monks with abbot John only regaining his abbey on the payment of 600 marks, with the king's favour only being regained with a further 600 marks.<sup>121</sup> Clearly this story demonstrates how those that opposed John's will were punished, whilst as was discussed earlier, John released the Cistercian lands he had confiscated in 1208, as they did not observe the interdict and were therefore seen as supporting him. The confirmation charter to Fountains abbey 13 September 1212 is an excellent example of this, for it would appear that it was granted as a reward to the abbot.<sup>122</sup> 11 days previously, on 2 September John issued a letter begging the abbot to come to him as quickly as possible, by day and by night, noting that the quicker he came to the king the greater he would be favoured, possibly in connection with John deciding

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<sup>121</sup> Matthew Paris, *Gesta Abbatum*, vol. 1, pp. 235-6, 241-3.

<sup>122</sup> *C.Ch.R.*, vol. 5, p. 110.

to make conciliatory moves towards the pope.<sup>123</sup> Given that the journey was in total at least 112 miles, some 11 days is impressively quickly and given the timing of this confirmation charter and the letter begging the abbot to come, with the promises of rewards if he did so, it very much appears that these two are directly connected.<sup>124</sup> Given the seeming loss of administrative records for this meeting, we are unaware if anything else was granted to reward the abbot, for it is only by a later confirmation does this charter survive.

This is by no means the only example of a Cistercian house enjoying positive relations with the king as it was seen as being supportive of him. The relationship between John and Bindon abbey was almost wholly positive: beginning before John became king, with a now lost charter from John as count of Mortain mentioned in their confirmation charter of 1199.<sup>125</sup> More than this it appears from the Pipe Rolls of 1199 that, presumably as count of Mortain, John granted Bindon abbey the right to receive 10 shillings from a mill at Fordington, for which it noted ‘that they have of the gift of the king’.<sup>126</sup> Given that this mill is not mentioned in previous years it is more than likely that this was a gift of John and not merely a matter of routine. This gift was increased to 20 shillings in 1200 and from 1204 the abbot of Bindon received the right to receive a further 15 shillings from a mill outside Dorchester,<sup>127</sup> whilst from 1205 this was increased, with the abbot to receive 30 shillings from the mill outside Dorchester.<sup>128</sup> these increases suggest royal favour, and more than this, the fact that the 15 shillings from the mill outside Dorchester was to be given to the

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<sup>123</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 132; *Pipe Roll 14 John*, p. xxix.

<sup>124</sup> Request sent by John from Darlington, some 30 miles to Fountains, then 82 miles from Fountains to Nottingham, where John issued the confirmation charter. Distances based on Google Earth.

<sup>125</sup> *The Cartae Antiquae, Rolls 1-10*, ed. Lionel Landon (Pipe Roll Society, new series 17, 1939), p. 68.

<sup>126</sup> ‘*quod habent de dono R.*’: *Pipe Roll 1 John*, p. 231.

<sup>127</sup> *Pipe Rolls 2 John*, p. 92; *6 John*, p. 176.

<sup>128</sup> *Pipe Roll 7 John*, p. 133.

abbot himself rather than more generically to the 'abbey' suggests a personal relationship between the two. Grants of royal favour were therefore significant even before 1207, when the abbot of Bindon, Henry, became the king's almoner.<sup>129</sup> After which perhaps unsurprisingly royal favour continued to flow, with half a house in London, given to the abbot in July 1207, indicative of this.<sup>130</sup> The abbot also became influential at court, with at least two letters close being issued on his behalf, with one, unsurprisingly given the abbot's role, connected to royal piety, commanding the archdeacon of Strafford in October 1207 to cause the abbot of Beaulieu to have three plough teams.<sup>131</sup> Perhaps more surprisingly the second letter that was issued on his command directed the earl of Salisbury to permit the bishop of Ely to come before the king to discourse with him as John had requested, and a similar order to Earl Alberic for the bishop of London.<sup>132</sup> Although it may be argued that this was also connected with royal piety it seems that it was more political, for it was issued on 30 March 1208, and consequently after the commencement of the interdict. Given the timeframe between the abbot of Bindon's command and the commencement of the interdict [23 March], it is likely that this order was connected to it, especially given that these two bishops were two of the three bishops who pronounced the interdict and were to soon go into exile, if they had not already done so.<sup>133</sup>

Not only was the abbot of Bindon active at royal court, he remained by the king's side throughout the interdict, with various payments to him for alms noted on the *Misae* between 1209-11.<sup>134</sup> Given that almost all abbots and religious men left

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<sup>129</sup> John of Forde, *Sermons on the Final Verses of the Song of Songs*, vol. 5, p. 180.

<sup>130</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 88b.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95b.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>133</sup> Warren, *King John*, p. 169.

<sup>134</sup> *Rot. de Lib.*, pp. 115, 128, 139. His presence at court is further reinforced by his appearance as a witness to a grant from Geoffrey fitz Peter to St. Swithun, Winchester in 1210: British Library, Add. Man. 29436, f. 31-2.

court during this time, with the abbots of Bindon and Beaulieu being the two that remained, the fact Henry remained suggests that he supported John in his disputes, although it is of course possible that he remained as he was fearful of what might happen to him or his abbey if he left. In any case the abbot was employed throughout the interdict, acting as a royal messenger. In February 1208 when John invited Simon Langton to come and speak with him, John commanded that Langton give security to the abbot of Bindon to guarantee that neither him nor his men would do harm or damage to the kingdom.<sup>135</sup> John also directed the bailiffs of Dover to find passage into Flanders for the abbot and Master Henry de Sandford.<sup>136</sup> The abbot was again used in 1209 and 1210, as a messenger possibly at the Roman curia.<sup>137</sup> The appearance on the Pipe Rolls of 1210 of a loan from the king to the abbot of Bindon of some £40 may be connected to the order-wide taxation of the same year, suggesting that Bindon was not favoured during this dispute.<sup>138</sup> However, this may be misleading for it noted that the abbot should not be summoned to pay until he returned from the king's business, and the amount pardoned if the abbot died or succeeded in this business. Given that he was later pardoned this amount, and did not die on the journey, suggests that he succeeded. We can perhaps suggest therefore that although not an obvious sign of favour, the very fact that it seems the monks of Bindon abbey did not have to physically pay towards the taxation of 1210, does suggest favour, whilst the amount they were initially to pay, stands in stark contrast

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<sup>135</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 102b.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>137</sup> *Rot. de Lib.*, pp. 139, 144, 146.

<sup>138</sup> *Pipe Roll 12 John*, p. 75.

to the remarkably high amounts extorted from others' houses.<sup>139</sup> Perhaps therefore this supports the assertion that John would support those who supported him.

Henry, abbot of Bindon, was staunchly loyal to the king's cause throughout his difficulties and it seems John attempted to reward him for this. In either 1209 or 1211 John attempted to force the election of Henry to the bishopric of Coventry and Lichfield, and when the electors declined John is reported to have exclaimed, 'You don't want to appoint anyone I like.'<sup>140</sup> Although this may be a literary device used by the author to portray John negatively, it does show a personal connection between John and the abbot. Ultimately however, John failed to get Henry elected to this position, yet he did not give up in his attempt to reward Henry for his faithful service, resulting ultimately in Henry being promoted to the bishopric of Emly in Ireland, by 1212.<sup>141</sup> Even after this John bestowed royal favour, with Henry noted as receiving the king's rent from 'Grean' and 'Caherconlish' in the Irish Pipe Roll of 1211-12.<sup>142</sup> Not only was Henry at the king's court in July 1215 he was again bestowed with royal favour, with John granting him the residue from a tun of wine in June and in July permission for an annual fair at Emly.<sup>143</sup> This was by no means the end of the association between the two, with hostages being delivered to Henry, presumably to hold, in July 1215 and his again acting as a royal emissary in April 1215.<sup>144</sup>

Given the congeniality between Henry and John perhaps royal favour was directed towards him and not the abbey itself, and as such royal favour towards

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<sup>139</sup> See particularly in regard to the amounts extorted from Meaux, Forde, Fountains and Louth Park, discussed below p. 250.

<sup>140</sup> C. R. Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England* (Stuttgart, 1976), pp. 130-31.

<sup>141</sup> *Ann. Wav.*, p. 267.

<sup>142</sup> 'Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John, 1211-1212', ed. O. Davies and D. B. Quinn, 69, 71.

<sup>143</sup> *Cal. Docs. Irel.*, vol. 1, nos. 555, 576-7, 579, 587.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 552, 610.

Bindon itself would cease after his elevation to the bishopric of Emly and the election of a new abbot. Yet this was not the case, with the money from the mills of Fordington and outside Dorchester continuing to be paid to the abbey and the new abbot.<sup>145</sup> More than this, it was noted earlier that whilst staying at Bindon in July 1213, John granted some 30 cartloads of lead and 50 oaks for the abbey's roof. Given that there was little if any connection between hospitality and grants, this instance must instead be an indication of royal favour. It also seems that despite Smith and London's suggestion, the house was not vacant for the grant was directed to the abbot and monks: clearly a new abbot had already been elected.<sup>146</sup> Therefore, this grant must be taken as a sign of continued royal favour, albeit possibly still based on the loyalty which Henry, when abbot, had showed him.

Whilst John bestowed favour upon those who supported him, he equally showed his malice to those who defied or acted against him or his men, clearly demonstrated in March 1208 when the king issued letters to the bishoprics of Lincoln and Ely informing them that all the lands and goods of abbots, priors, all religious and clergy of their diocese would be taken into royal hands if they did not celebrate divine services, therefore those who opposed John.<sup>147</sup> This was demonstrated again in 1209 when the abbot of the Benedictine house of Croyland was charged with a debt of four palfreys to recover his lands, rents, goods and chattels, of which he was disseised because he had excommunicated the king's servants.<sup>148</sup> The case of Forde abbey is an interesting case study, for its abbot did initially support John before opposing him, indicated by his resignation as almoner

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<sup>145</sup> *Pipe Rolls 14 John*, p. 113; *16 John*, p. 96; *17 John*, p. 19.

<sup>146</sup> *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales*, ed. David M. Smith and Vera C. M. London (Cambridge, 2006), vol. 2, p. 262; *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 148.

<sup>147</sup> *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, 80b; C. R. Cheney, 'King John and the papal interdict', 301-2.

<sup>148</sup> *Pipe Roll 11 John*, pp. xxii, 37.

in 1207. The association between John and Forde abbey, like that of Bindon abbey, began before John became king, with two administrative records relating to Forde abbey issued from John as count of Mortain,<sup>149</sup> and with John abbot of Forde, preceding Henry abbot of Bindon as King John's almoner from 1204-7.<sup>150</sup> As such, royal favour flowed upon Forde abbey particularly from 1204, with wine being given to the abbot to celebrate divine services in January 1205 and 40 cows and 10 bulls given in April of the same year.<sup>151</sup> In the same way that Henry of Bindon issued royal grants so to did John of Forde, issuing alongside William Marshal in September 1204 a prebend of 3 denarii to John de Broc.<sup>152</sup> Unsurprisingly given his role as almoner, various entries relating to poor relief are to be found, for example being involved in the distribution of 30 robes to the poor in April 1207.<sup>153</sup> By late 1207 it seems that the abbot of Forde resigned from his position, with John of Forde himself noting in his *Sermons on the Final Verses of the Song of Songs* 'When I realised that I was doing nothing as confessor, I withdrew from the office.'<sup>154</sup> Given that the conflict between John and Rome was beginning to escalate dramatically, John may have deemed this resignation as John of Forde abandoning him, and therefore unsurprisingly this action seemingly had a direct effect on his relationship with the king, with no grant or charter being issued in favour of Forde abbey after 1207.

The experience of Forde and other houses during the breach of 1210 between King John and the wider Cistercian Order demonstrates in perhaps the clearest terms, how those deemed disloyal or as defying John were oppressed. We noted earlier in

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<sup>149</sup> *The Cartulary of Forde Abbey*, ed. Steven Hobbs (Taunton, 1998), nos. 356, 415, pp. 93-4, 110.

<sup>150</sup> John of Forde, *Sermons on the Final Verses of the Song of Songs*, vol. 1, p. 8.

<sup>151</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, pp. 18, 25.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81b.

<sup>154</sup> John of Forde, *Sermons on the Final Verses of the Song of Songs*, vol. 5, p. 180.

relation to Bindon, how this house escaped relatively unscathed due to the abbot's loyalty to the king, but this was by no means the case for all houses. Given the fact that Stanley abbey noted that some houses were fined more, others less depending on the king's will, the amount each house paid in 1210 can be interpreted as an indication of royal favour or disfavour respectively. Why particular houses were chosen for royal disfavour over others soon becomes clear when placed into the wider context of the breach of 1210. Some disfavour, like that towards Fountains abbey indicated by it being compelled to pay 1200 marks, was likely connected to, and in revenge for, its abbot's actions in the early days of the breach.<sup>155</sup> For, as noted previously, before forcibly extorting the money from Cistercian houses after his return from Ireland in August, in March whilst at York John tried asking the Cistercians for a voluntary contribution, which they refused.<sup>156</sup> Given the proximity of Fountains abbey to York, it seems highly likely that its abbot John was present at this York meeting, and that the high sum exacted from it in August was due to its abbot's connection to this earlier refusal. Despite the lack of evidence it does seem extremely likely that other houses were fined higher amounts than could be expected due to their connection to this March refusal.

Not only did abbots resist in March, some resisted even when compelled to pay in August, and it is their houses that were picked out for royal disfavour, with John of Forde noting,

[some abbots] chose to retire and withdraw, rather than to put into the moneybags of the sacrilegious the goods of the poor, the wealth bestowed by God and what men call 'the patrimony of the crucified Christ'. They hold that

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<sup>155</sup> 'Narratio de fundatione Fontanis Monasterii, in comitatu Eboracensi', p. 126.

<sup>156</sup> See chapter 1, pp. 54-61.



it is better to let these men seize whatever they please, rather than become themselves collaborators with thieves and agents in these acts of plunder.<sup>157</sup>

Despite the loss of material, we can tentatively suggest that the houses involved in this August resistance, were those of Louth Park, Meaux and Waverley, with each house's fine being above and beyond what would be expected, with Louth Park contributing some 1680 marks and Meaux some 1000 marks, whilst Waverley was forced to disperse.<sup>158</sup> Although it is likely others were involved, it is only for these houses that we can suggest royal displeasure based on the amount they paid or in the treatment of their houses. Also in the case of Waverly and Meaux abbeys, we have narrative accounts of their resistance. Waverley noted how all their goods and chattels were seized, forcing the dispersion of the monks and lay brethren, whilst the abbot himself, John III, fled into the night in fear of the king,<sup>159</sup> clearly supporting John of Forde's assertion that some abbots refused to pay resulting in the king's men seizing it from them. The chronicle of Meaux abbey is even more detailed, and the account it contains is perhaps the best example of royal disfavour towards those who resisted and therefore defied John.

The Chronicle of Meaux abbey relates that although at the beginning of the 1210 dispute numerous abbots resisted John, over time each abbot relented and went to the king's court to sue for peace and pay their fines,<sup>160</sup> ultimately leaving Alexander abbot of Meaux as the lone opponent, and through him a complaint was

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<sup>157</sup> John of Forde, *Sermons on the Final Verses of the Song of Songs*, vol. 5, p. 171.

<sup>158</sup> *Chronicon Abbatie de Parco Lude*, ed. and trans. Arthur Roland Maddison, Sir. William H. St. J. Hope, Edmund Venerables (Horncastle, 1891), p. 11; *Chron. Melsa*, p. 329; *Ann. Wav.*, p. 265.

<sup>159</sup> *Ann. Wav.*, p. 265.

<sup>160</sup> It is by no means clear when the abbot of Meaux resisted, whether at the March meeting also or just in August.

made to the apostolic see.<sup>161</sup> Although when pressed by his fellow abbots, Alexander journeyed towards the king, he met the abbot of Fountains on the way and offered him his resignation, stating he would never submit to the king's exactions. Although the abbot of Fountains convinced him to remain in his post, Alexander would not submit personally to the king, however appreciating that he now stood alone he directed letters to the cellarer of his house, instructing him to go to the king's court and make peace with John.<sup>162</sup> Meanwhile, given John's temperament, he perhaps unsurprisingly reacted with fury towards this abbot who blatantly opposed him, and as at Waverley the king's men seized Meaux abbey. Two of them were stationed at the doors of the house, and the monks were forced to purchase from them their belongings, with the monks ultimately being dispersed, gaining hospitality from the earl of Albemarle. Due to this, Alexander resigned, with ultimately the cellarer coming to an agreement with John to purchase peace for some 1000 marks.<sup>163</sup> This account perhaps gives us the clearest indication that in the same way that John favoured those who supported him and complied with his demands, those who did not felt the full force of his wrath, with not only the seizure of the abbey but the amount John exacted from them a clear demonstration of this. Even despite the fact that Louth Park and Fountains were forced to pay even more, given that Meaux was one of only two houses which had any of its lands confiscated as a result of the interdict, we can suggest that this house more than the others fared badly as a result of its resistance to John.<sup>164</sup> The protracted resistance of its abbot to contribute in 1210 and his complaint to the apostolic see, perhaps the only reasons that can

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<sup>161</sup> It should be noted that it was Alexander of Meaux who was also highly involved in, if not the leader of the Cistercian abbots, who opposed contributing towards the carucage of 1200, see chapter 1, p. 44.

<sup>162</sup> *Chron. Melsa.*, p. 327.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 327-9

<sup>164</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 150. The only other house being that of Dore abbey.

explain why this house was treated worse than almost all others. The treatment of this house may seem quite surprising, given that the abbey's patron, Baldwin de Bethune count of Aumale, was a loyal and faithful adherent to John throughout his reign and a man who was continually rewarded with royal favour, for as argued earlier abbeys of such loyal men were often rewarded rather than treated in such a way. This suggests that when these two factors competed, for John it was whether the house supported or opposed him that was by far the most important, and as such relations between John and a religious house could on occasion transcend the relationship between John and its patron.

The experience of the abbot of Forde in the dispute of 1210 is an interesting case in point. For the abbot of Forde, unlike the abbots of Waverley and Meaux, did not resist payment, resulting in the king's men seizing the abbey to collect what they considered the abbey owed, nor is there a suggestion that he was present at the March meeting, especially given it was held almost 300 miles away from Forde. Consequently why this house fell under profound royal disfavour, indicated by it being forced to pay some 750 marks within six weeks, is at first unclear.<sup>165</sup> Yet it seems that this house was under royal disfavour due to the fact that, as noted earlier, John of Forde had resigned as confessor to King John and seemingly withdrew from court, with King John viewing John of Forde from that point negatively. John of Forde was certainly not supportive of the king during the interdict, noting for example in his *Sermons on the Final Verses of the Song of Songs*, 'For princes, also, as the prophet says, "there is no charm", in other words, these men with poisoned minds prevailed in their wickedness because of their foul actions, and it is this great

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<sup>165</sup> John of Forde, *Sermons on the Final Verses of the Song of Songs*, vol. 5, p. 180.

power to hurt that has won them the title “kings”.<sup>166</sup> When this heavy fine was placed upon Forde, its abbot pleaded with the king claiming poverty, but the king angrily retorted that, ‘a fat monk is no good to anyone!’<sup>167</sup> Despite this the abbot continued with ‘violent reproaches’ heaped upon him to plead his case, but to no avail, unable to even reduce the amount or increase the time in which to pay.<sup>168</sup> From the amount that Forde was compelled to pay we can suggest royal anger towards this house, especially considering that this house did not resist payment in the same way that the abbot of Meaux had. The ‘violent reproaches’ from the king noted by John of Forde certainly indicate a personal dislike for the abbot, which is probably connected to the abbot’s resignation as confessor in 1207.

The relationship between King John and his own Cistercian foundation of Beaulieu was seemingly independent from all other factors, perhaps only influenced in later years by the loyal service of the abbot, Hugh, during and after the interdict. Their relationship was throughout his reign almost entirely positive. Given Painter’s statement that John founded Beaulieu ‘as cheaply as he could’, it may seem surprising to suggest a positive relationship between the two.<sup>169</sup> Yet it seems that although perhaps not generous in his endowments, he was by no means ‘doing it on the cheap,’ with John contributing, just on building, some £1596 6s 6d. Although certainly not on the same scale as Henry III’s re-foundation of Westminster abbey which cost some £40,000 it certainly was in line with other religious foundations, with Henry II spending some £1573 8s 5d on his re-foundation of Waltham.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 134-5.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180.

<sup>169</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the relationship between John and Beaulieu see: James Hadyn Jenkins, ‘The King’s Beaulieu’ (unpubl. MA thesis, Cardiff, 2009); Painter, *The Reign of King John*, p. 153.

<sup>170</sup> Steane, *The Archaeology of Medieval England and Wales*, p. 74; H. M. Colvin, *The History of the King’s Works* (London, 1963), vol. 1, p. 88.

Moreover, given John's insatiable demand for money throughout his reign, spending this amount voluntarily certainly indicates a positive relationship. It seems that payments to the house did not cease during the interdict, although the financial records are lost for these years, for in a writ of 1213 directing money to the house, it states that the money should be paid quickly so that the work does not stop.<sup>171</sup> Given that this suggests that the work was continuing in 1213 this must mean that money had been paid since 1208, for it hardly seems likely that an amount given before the interdict would be enough to sustain building works for five years. John not only supported his house by providing monies to build their house, he provided for them in other ways. For example, in 1203, presumably in preparation for the monks' arrival, John spent £79 14s 9d to repair his hunting lodge at Beaulieu.<sup>172</sup> John also supported his abbey with goods. For example, in the sixth year of his reign John gave Beaulieu 30 sacks of corn. This donation not only demonstrates that John could support Beaulieu not just financially but in other ways, it also demonstrates that John was financially limited in what he could give the abbey but attempted to avoid this by giving his abbey goods as opposed to monies. For the charter states that only corn should be given and not money.<sup>173</sup> This is not the only example of John giving his abbey goods. For example, in total during the sixth and seventh years of his reign he gave his abbey 120 cows, 12 bulls, 3 plough teams and the oxen to pull the ploughs.<sup>174</sup> Moreover, in January 1215 King John gave to Beaulieu abbey the service of Roger de Kyvill, burgess of Bristol, with the lands and tenements he held and the

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<sup>171</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 144.

<sup>172</sup> *Pipe Roll 5 John*, p. 161.

<sup>173</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 2b.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15b, 18, 95b, 97.

8s rent which he used to pay the king.<sup>175</sup> From later sources, we learn that these amounted to five tenements, three in Mary-le-Port Street, one opposite Blackfriars and one in Broad Street.<sup>176</sup>

When compared to monarchs who faced similar pressures to John and whose piety is also open to debate, the favour John bestowed upon Beaulieu is further highlighted. A comparison with Edward I would seem appropriate, not only was he a monarch not seen as overly pious, but he too faced the economic constraints due to the burdens of war, namely through his wars against Wales and Scotland. Despite the fact that Edward began the construction of the Cistercian abbey of Vale Royal in 1277 and explicitly intended it to be larger than Beaulieu, John still compares well with Edward.<sup>177</sup> For when the hostilities with the Welsh broke out Edward diverted the monies and masons intended for the abbey to castle building, in fact by 1290 the king's agent at Vale Royal was informed that Edward had 'ceased to concern himself with the works of that church, and henceforth will have nothing more to do with them.'<sup>178</sup> The abbey was then to remain unfinished for many years, with the abbot in 1301 complaining that not a single workman had been employed for the previous ten years.<sup>179</sup> In fact, the church was left exposed to the weather and consequently the nave collapsed in the great gale of 19 October 1360.<sup>180</sup> It seems clear therefore, that compared to Edward and his foundation, John and Beaulieu enjoyed a positive relationship.

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<sup>175</sup> London and Oslo, The Shøyen Collection, MS 610, [[http://www.schoyencollection.com/latindocscr\\_files/ms610.jpg](http://www.schoyencollection.com/latindocscr_files/ms610.jpg)] accessed 19 August 2009; *The Beaulieu Cartulary*, ed. S. F. Hockey (Southampton, 1974), p. 10.

<sup>176</sup> Frederick Hockey, *Beaulieu - King John's Abbey* (Surrey, 1976), p. 21.

<sup>177</sup> Colin Platt, *Medieval England: A Social History and Archaeology from the Conquest to 1600 A.D.* (London, 1978), p. 68.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>179</sup> Ann J. Kettle, 'The abbey of Vale Royal', in *The Victoria History of the County of Chester*, ed. B. E. Harris and C. R. Elrington (Oxford, 1980), vol. 3, p. 158.

<sup>180</sup> Steane, *The Archaeology of Medieval England and Wales*, p. 74.

The positive relationship between the two is further highlighted when you consider that Beaulieu was exempted from the Order wide taxation of 1210. Although we are unaware of how Beaulieu fared during the other disputes between John and the Cistercian Order, such as that of 1212, when carts were extorted from the monks, given that an exemption to Beaulieu is not mentioned we should perhaps suggest that they too were treated in the same way. This may seem unlikely, especially when we consider that in 1212, Hugh abbot of Beaulieu was acting as an agent of John. It does seem possible that Hugh, alongside all the other abbots of the Order, was prevented from going to their General Chapter in 1210, however this perhaps is more of an indication of the abbot being caught up in a command which John intended to act as a means of pressuring the Order to pay.

There are numerous reasons why John may have bestowed such favour upon the house, but it seems most likely it was simply due to the fact that it was of his foundation and that the abbot was a faithful royal adherent throughout John's reign. The *Annals of Margam* support the suggestion that its status as not just a royal house, but of John's own foundation played a role, for as a means of explaining why Beaulieu was exempted from the 1210 exaction, it simply relates that it was of his own foundation: clearly for the annalist this was reason enough.<sup>181</sup> This was combined with the loyal and faithful service of the abbot and abbey more widely, testified not only by the abbot Hugh staying with the king during the interdict but also by the prior of Beaulieu collecting money for the royalists from Waltham, Wight, Merdon and Hambledon as royal finances collapsed in Hampshire during the baronial rebellion.<sup>182</sup> It is of course true that the relationship would have more than likely gone into virtual free fall if the abbot had not stayed faithful to John during

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<sup>181</sup> *Ann. Marg.*, p. 30.

<sup>182</sup> Vincent, *Peter des Roches*, p. 129.

this time, as the abbot stayed alongside him it perhaps indicates a mutual supporting relationship, and the loyalty would only serve to solidify that relationship. The relationship was seemingly unconnected to John's employment of the abbot. For even though John used Hugh on no less than six diplomatic missions, namely in 1206, 1208, 1212, 1213, 1214 and 1215, grants to the house were not 'rewards' or 'payments' for this service, as very few grants can be connected to these missions.<sup>183</sup> Once again as the positive relationship began before he was first employed then they cannot be connected. Rather it seems more likely that his role is further evidence of this positive relationship, for John must have chosen Hugh as he was seen as a loyal and trusted servant.

To conclude, it has become clear throughout the above analysis that the relationship between King John and the Cistercians in England was based on a wide variety of, sometimes competing, factors. Perhaps surprisingly although factors such as the royal status of the house could on occasion influence relations, as it perhaps did with Bordesley in 1205, this was by no means commonplace, with most royal houses seemingly having little or no relationship whatsoever, whilst pre-existing relations again played little if any role. Even a combination of these factors seemingly had little if any direct impact. Furness abbey despite being a royal house and having a long association with John from when he was count of Mortain did not enjoy peculiarly positive relations, in fact on occasions quite the opposite. Hospitality also played very little if any role, with this seemingly only prompting a grant on one occasion, but even this was more to do with John's individualistic relations with the abbey of Bindon than the hospitality he enjoyed there.

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<sup>183</sup> Jenkins, 'The King's Beaulieu', pp. 52-5.



There were in reality only two influences that had a direct impact upon John's relations with religious houses, namely John's relationship with the patron and whether the house itself supported or opposed him. Those houses whose patrons were close intimates of John enjoyed royal favour especially at time of crisis. Those houses whose patrons were influential in aiding John ascend to the throne, namely those houses of Marshal, Walter and Fitz Peter were rewarded. Similarly during his dispute with the baronage, religious houses whose patron was either a faithful adherent to John or whose support John was desperate to ensure were bestowed with royal favour, as John attempted to cultivate his relationship with their patron, and as such must be viewed in the same vein as John bestowing grants of lands or titles upon the patron for the same purpose. This is not to say of course that on all occasions when John was attempting to cultivate his relationship with an abbey's patron, whether as a means of rewarding him or otherwise, John was guaranteed to use a religious house in this way, quite the contrary. It rather seems that John only used a religious house in this way as and when the opportunity presented itself, possibly in fact when it was presented to him by the patrons themselves.

Meanwhile those houses whose abbots opposed John or at least did not outwardly support him fell under profound royal anger, the experiences of Forde abbey due to the actions of its abbot being indicative of this, whilst those who stood by him and supported him were rewarded with royal favour, the experiences of Henry abbot of Bindon being a clear example of this. When these two factors, of an abbey's support or otherwise and John's relationship with the patron, competed it seems that it was the latter which was more of a direct influence upon relations, with John's anger and treatment of Meaux abbey transcending what was always a positive relationship between him and their patron, Baldwin de Bethune count of Aumale.

Yet it remains the case that during the times of dispute between John and the wider Cistercian Order, it seemed to matter little to John who the patron of the house was or whether the house was of royal patronage, rather it only mattered that they were Cistercian. Perhaps this indicates that during times of dispute John did not see the Order as an independent collection of houses, each with their own aims and personal relations with him, but rather, as a single homogenous unit and treated them as such. The only house whose experiences ever transcended any such concerns or factors was perhaps unsurprisingly that of his own foundation, Beaulieu, and it was seemingly due to the fact that it was of not just royal but of his personal foundation. This house from its foundation was bestowed with royal favour, with John contributing in goods as well as financially, with this house unlike all others in England picked out for special favour in 1210, being exempted from the Order-wide taxation.

## CONCLUSION

What quickly became clear when analysing the relationship between King John and the Cistercian Order in Wales is that it could only be done alongside a discussion of the situation of the Cistercians in Wales and John's relationship with the Cistercian Order as a whole and in other areas, namely England and Ireland. From the analysis of the relationship between John and the Cistercians in these areas it became increasingly apparent that their relationship was far more complex than it at first appeared. It was dependant not on the ethnic orientation of the house but instead on factors such as John's relationship with the patron or even on his personal dynamic with the abbot. This study has also demonstrated the importance of the detailed analysis of administrative records, such as charters, and placing them into their wider political context, for it is only by doing so that their significance can be understood. At the same time, it has shown that it is often a mistake to dismiss all confirmation charters as routine. For such charters are on occasion indicative of a positive dynamic between John and the abbey and were certainly used to cultivate their relationship, the message from Hubert Walter to St. Augustine's abbey Canterbury assuring them that if they ensured that Simon of Wells obtained Faversham church, 'they would more readily obtain confirmation charters by the king,' being a clear demonstration of this.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the confirmation charter that John granted to Fountains abbey on 13 September 1212 would be classed as merely routine, unless it was placed into its wider context and as such connected to the letter John sent to the

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<sup>1</sup> *English Episcopal Acta; Canterbury, 1193-1205*, vol. 3, no. 394, pp. 63-4.

abbot, eleven days previously, begging the abbot to come to him, informing the abbot that the more quickly he shall come the more gratefully he shall be received.<sup>2</sup>

An understanding of the interactions and dynamic between John and the wider Cistercian Order was crucial to an appreciation of the relations between John and individual Cistercian houses, for it is only by an appreciation of the wider relationship can the individual relationships be thrown into relief. From this study it became clear that there are several distinct periods of dispute between John and the Order as a whole, namely in 1200, 1210 and again in 1212, with those of 1200 and 1210 seemingly revolving around John's insatiable demand for money, whilst that of 1212 was due to the Cistercian involvement in the Albigensian crusade. These breaches also greatly varied in severity, with John in 1200 demanding they contribute towards his 20,000 mark payment for the treaty of Le Goulet, reacting with fury when the Cistercians refused fearing it would set a precedent, ordering the removal of their animals from the royal forests and the rescinding of all their charters.<sup>3</sup> Yet through the mediation of Hubert Walter and possibly due to John's desire to keep the Order on side due to the high regard they were still held by certain sectors of society, John backed down and restored all that they lost and also promised to found a Cistercian house. Despite backing down in 1200, this was not the case in 1210, when again John demanded a sum of money, he again reacted with fury on their refusal and possibly as they did not have Hubert Walter to protect them or simply because John needed the money more than he was fearful of losing Cistercian support, he forced them to contribute, with houses being seized if the abbots refused. This is not to say that John's only interactions with the Cistercian Order were when John needed money, on the contrary John seemingly showed

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<sup>2</sup> *C.Ch.R.*, vol. 5, p. 110; *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter 1, pp. 39-46.

favour to the Order during the interdict, restoring all Cistercian lands that had been confiscated as a result of it on 4 April 1208, possibly due to the fact that John saw them as supporting him by not observing the interdict.<sup>4</sup> From this appreciation of the relationship between John and the wider Order, a simple confirmation charter was transformed into something much more significant if given at a time of dispute between John and the wider Cistercian Order, the Strata Florida and Strata Marcella charters of April 1200, given at the height of the 1200 breach, being a prime example of this.

It also became increasingly clear that although these interactions were between John and the Order as a whole, suggesting John saw them as a homogenous unit, there were individual relations between John and individual Cistercian houses that seemingly transcended this even during these breakdowns. Furness abbey for example seemingly came to an individual agreement with John during the breach of 1200, whilst John exempted Margam and Beaulieu from his Order wide taxation of 1210. The fact that there was differing treatment for some over others was further supported by the *Annals of Stanley* which suggested that some in 1210 were to pay ‘more, others less, according to his [the king’s] will’.<sup>5</sup> As a result, purely on the basis of how much individual abbeys paid, it is possible to suggest that Fountains, Louth Park, Meaux, Waverley and Forde had particularly negative relations with John during this breach. The fact that, despite John restoring all land to the Cistercian Order during the interdict, Meaux and Dore abbey had lands in the king’s hands at the end of the interdict, suggests an individual negative relationship with these two

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<sup>4</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 108b.

<sup>5</sup> ‘*jussitque ut pecuniam darent, alii plus alii minus, secundum voluntatem suam.*’: *Ann. Stan.*, p. 512.

houses, for what other reason could there be for just these two Cistercian houses having their lands confiscated.

What also became increasingly clear however was the difficulty in determining whether if any or all of these Cistercian wide relations actually affected the Cistercian Order as a whole at all, or whether it was just those houses in England. For despite the fact the sources often simply state ‘the Cistercian Order’, suggesting they were applied equally to the Order as a whole, it was necessary to demonstrate this. Although it was not necessarily likely that such demands, such as that during the 1200 breach to remove Cistercian animals from the royal woods, were sent across to Ireland and into Wales, it is likely that relations with the houses in these areas would be affected, for surely John, when filled with a typical Angevin rage towards the Cistercian Order, would make no distinction between the Cistercians in England, Wales and Ireland. It is rather unlikely that if an abbot approached John during a breach, John would enquire as to whether he was from a house in England or from Wales or Ireland, and treat him accordingly, rather it seems likely that the abbot would simply be deemed a Cistercian and treated as such. Therefore, it seems that it was only if an abbot from these areas came to John or if John himself went to an abbey in these areas would they be equally affected. It does seem unlikely that if the Cistercian houses in Wales and Ireland were expected to contribute towards the Cistercian wide taxation of 1210, John and his men would have the power to force each abbey to contribute. Rather it seems only those houses that John visited or travelled past or if the abbot visited John were their relations affected.

At the outset of this work, it was assumed that if the Cistercian Order was split into two branches in Wales and Ireland with one branch supporting the English and the other supporting the native peoples, as suggested in the existing

historiography, then John's relationship with the houses would be dependant on this. For it was expected that John would surely want to avoid advancing the cause of the native peoples at the expense of English control and as such he would bestow favour upon the English houses whilst trying to undermine native houses. As such it was crucial to try and determine which houses in Wales and Ireland should be considered 'native' and which houses should be considered 'English'. However, it soon became apparent that such a distinction is a mistake. For by whatever means one tries to determine the orientation of each house, whether by the orientation of the founder, of the patron, burials and the roles and actions of the monks themselves, certainly in Wales, it would almost always result in houses that have been typically classed as of another orientation being classed as the other, with for example Whitland being deemed as English if using the founder as an indication. Even from an analysis of the 'ethnicity' of the monks within each abbey, there was no explicit ethnic division with Welshmen becoming not only monks but abbots and priors of English houses, with Cynan becoming abbot of Margam and Clement abbot of Neath for example, and seemingly Englishmen becoming at least monks in Welsh houses. This is not to say that there were not always more English people in English houses and Welsh in Welsh houses, but this is not surprising for given their locations this was to be expected. If there was an explicit ethnic division, then there should be no native peoples in English houses at all and vice versa. Although this distinction in Wales was misleading, in Ireland however the distinction is valid, for the serious uprising known as the 'Conspiracy of Mellifont' was seemingly based on the ethnicity of the houses themselves. Yet despite this, there is, perhaps surprisingly, no evidence whatsoever that John's relationships with abbeys in Wales or Ireland was at all based on the ethnic orientation of the house. In fact, it seemed on occasion to be quite the

opposite, with John in 1200 seemingly enjoying a better relationship with the 'native' Welsh houses of Strata Florida and Strata Marcella than English houses, whilst - despite being an English house - Dore suffered from continually negative relations with John throughout his reign. Despite instances which suggest negative relations based on the ethnicity of the houses, such as John's order to destroy Strata Florida in 1212, this was demonstrated to be due to John's desire to hurt the patrons rather than any sense that this house was 'Welsh'. John also seemed to have no relationship whatsoever with some English houses in these areas, with very little evidence of an interaction between John and the English houses of Tintern and Basingwerk in Wales or of the English abbey of Duiske in Ireland. Out of the nine abbeys to which John granted charters in Ireland, six were 'Irish' abbeys and only three were 'English' houses, suggesting that John in fact favoured native houses. Surely as there is little or no evidence that John treated native houses worse than English houses, then the entire argument for such a distinction is misleading, at least in this period.

It was not just in connection to his relationship with Cistercian houses which were seemingly unaffected by any concern over ethnicity, John allowed the consistent election of Irishmen to the see of Clonmacnoise on no less than three occasions, and also allowed the election of Welshmen to the sees of St Davids and Bangor in 1215. There are of course occasions when John opposed the election of native Irishmen and Welshmen to Irish and Welsh sees respectively, with for example, his long standing opposition and refusal to accept Eugenius as archbishop of Armagh, but it seems rather more likely that this was not due to their ethnicity but more simply John was anxious to ensure that only those who would support his cause were elevated. John also seemingly cultivated what can only be described as



friendships with native peoples, such as that with the Irishmen Albin, bishop of Ferns. Not only did John initially promote him to the bishopric of Ferns in 1186, but he attempted to appoint him as archbishop of Cashel in 1206 and granted him the custody of the vacant see of Laoniensis in 1216.<sup>6</sup>

It becomes increasingly obvious therefore that John had little interest in ethnicity and certainly his relationships with individuals let alone religious houses was certainly not based on this factor. Instead as in England, John's individual relations with abbeys in Wales and Ireland was based on other factors. Perhaps surprisingly the status of a religious houses as royal house, pre-existing relations or even hospitality played little if any role in determining their individual relationship with John. Rather it was John's wider political concerns and aims that often directly affected their interactions. John used his interactions as demonstrations of power and control and also as an extension of his relationship with the patron. Although having said this, the abbot of individual houses could override such aims. Houses whose abbots were deemed as supporting or defying royal power were rewarded and punished respectively.

At least in Ireland, John used religious houses as demonstrations of power as he tried to hold onto areas. He did this particularly before he became king, namely as lord of Ireland and as count of Mortain. In 1185, as lord of Ireland, John issued confirmation charters for this very purpose, the confirmation charter to Baltinglass abbey, for example, was designed not just to demonstrate his power as lord of Ireland but also to try and demonstrate his control over Leinster (of which he held custody until 1189), namely by only confirming grants made to the house by the Irish and ignoring all grants made to it by the English. The two charters he granted to

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<sup>6</sup> *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, pp. 61, 196b.

Jerpoint abbey between 1189-91 are also a clear demonstration of this intent, for this abbey was like Baltinglass within Leinster, an area which by at least 1189 John was desperately trying to hold onto despite the fact that Isabelle de Clare, the heiress of Leinster, was given in marriage to William Marshal in 1189 by Henry II, and these charters directed by John to 'my monks of Jerpoint' is merely evidence of John resisting the calls by his brother, Richard, to hand the land over to Marshal. This was also the case for his charters to Mellifont abbey, Louth, in 1188. For despite the fact that Hugh de Lacy's heir Walter came of age in 1188 John did not hand the Louth lands over to him, and the confirmation charter shows John demonstrating his power and lordship over the area, as the 'rightful' lord to make such confirmations.

John's relationships with houses in England could also be influenced by John's desire to demonstrate his power, but in a different way to these demonstrations in Ireland. They were not designed to ensure his control over an area, rather John would make high value grants to individual houses in order to demonstrate his power and wealth to either impress or intimidate those around him. John seemingly did this in 1206 when he granted a silver vessel worth 30 marks to Fountains abbey, a silver dish worth 30 marks to Furness abbey and a silver dish worth 20 marks to Rievaulx abbey, apparently as a demonstration of power or wealth, designed to impress or intimidate the king of Scotland who was with him.<sup>7</sup>

On numerous occasions the individual relations between John and Cistercian houses were based on John's relationship with their patron. Royal favour to Cistercian houses was often used as a means of cultivating a relationship with their patron, whilst disfavour was often an attempt to hurt the patron. For it became increasingly clear during this thesis that a person's relationship with an abbey was

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<sup>7</sup> *Rot. Lit. Claus*, p. 64b.

deemed an extension of that person's relationship with the abbey's patron. For what other reason would John interpret the de Braose attack on Leominster priory as an attack upon himself and cause Ranulf of Chester in 1202 to remind John during the dispute between Croyland and Spalding, that 'what was done for them [his abbey] would be considered as done for himself.'<sup>8</sup>

John used grants to Cistercian houses in this way even before he came to the throne, particularly in the early 1190s when John began his rebellion against his absent crusading and ultimately captured brother, Richard. After initiating this rebellion, John was desperate to ensure the support of those around him, and as such John issued charters to their religious houses to try and buy their support. Although this cannot be argued in relation to English houses due to the very loose dating of grants to religious houses in England before 1199, John certainly did this not only in Wales but also Ireland. The 1193 charter to Margam abbey in Wales, issued at Cardiff, was designed to gain the support particularly of William de Braose, a powerful landholder and influential figure as sheriff of Herefordshire, who was a patron of the house and also witnessed the charter. It is also possible that the undated charters to Neath and Llantarnam abbeys were issued during his rebellion, with each designed to ensure the support of their patron and also, particularly with the Llantarnam charter, of the native Welsh, whose support was to prove crucial during the rebellion, with John using his Welsh supporters from the very beginning, bringing 4,000 Welshmen to the conference with Longchamp in 1191 for example. The charters to Cistercian houses in Ireland, also around this time, was also part of this wider attempt at ensuring and solidifying support. The charter to Holycross

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<sup>8</sup> Crouch, 'The Complaint of King John against William de Briouze (c. September 1210)', pp. 170, 175; *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland with the continuations by Peter of Blois and Anonymous Writers*, p. 303.

abbey of 21 July 1192 is evidence that John was trying to settle his Irish lands and presumably trying to gain Irish support. This charter explicitly recognised Domnall Mór Ua Brian as the rightful king of Limerick, despite the fact that until this point Ua Brian was a long time enemy of John. This charter is therefore evidence that John was trying to come to a settlement with Ua Brian in 1192, perhaps as John was anxious to divert all his resources towards his rebellion in England; whilst it is also possible that the undated confirmation charter that John issued as count of Mortain to Magio abbey was also given around this time, for it to is an Ua Brian foundation. These charters to these Cistercian houses are therefore just as much evidence of John trying to solidify support for his rebellion, as was his grant to the citizens of London allowing them to revive a commune in 1191 and his grant to Peter Pipard of 25 January 1193.

The association between John's relationship with the patron and his relationship with their abbeys carried on throughout his reign. When John came to the throne faced with threats on all fronts, he tried to take a peaceful approach in Wales and his relationship with Cistercian houses was part of this. His confirmation and quittance of toll charters to Strata Florida and Strata Marcella in April 1200, clear demonstrations of favour given they were issued at the height of a dispute between John and the Cistercian Order, were directly connected to his relationship with their patrons. The Strata Marcella charters were designed to further enhance John's relationship with the abbey's patron, Gwenwynwyn of Powys, for they implicitly recognise him as the rightful ruler of Powys, and were as much as a means to woo and enhance his relationship with Gwenwynwyn of Powys as John's grants of the royal manor of Ashford and a hunting license to Gwenwynwyn, issued on the same day as the Strata Marcella charters. The charters to Strata Florida meanwhile

were issued to ensure John's hold on an area of land which had been given up to him by the abbey's patron, Maelgwyn ap Rhys, and to ensure the Cistercians did not try and claim parts of it as theirs. It was not just in Wales that in the early days of his reign John attempted to cultivate a relationship with the patron through their religious houses, he did the same particularly with those houses of the three men who helped him secure England, namely William Marshal, Archbishop Hubert Walter and Geoffrey fitz Peter, with royal favour flowing upon their religious foundations.

John periodically throughout his reign, particularly at times of political unrest, used religious houses to try and enhance his relationship with its patron or wider society. The grant to Kirkstall abbey in 1205 was designed to appease their patron John de Lacy and to ensure his continuing support, for he was an important figure in the north, an area which was in 1205 on the verge of total revolt. Such a use of religious houses becomes increasingly apparent during the crisis years of 1215 and 1216. The royal favour flowing upon Dunkeswell abbey in May 1215 was designed to try and ensure the support of William Brewer, whilst, in the same vein, the favour flowing upon the Premonstratensian house of Cockersand in August 1215 is evidence of John desperately trying, and ultimately failing, to ensure the loyalty of its patron, Gilbert fitz Reinfrey. Moreover the royal favour flowing upon Ranulf of Chester's foundation of Dieulacres in 1216 shows John rewarding Ranulf for his support and trying to ensure it in the future. John was not only attempting to ensure support in England at this time but also in Wales, with the charters to the Cistercian houses of Whitland and Cwmhir in Wales, in late December 1214 being part of John's ultimately futile effort at regaining Welsh support for his upcoming confrontation with his barons. The charters to these religious houses are therefore as

much evidence of John trying to buy or ensure support as his granting of the custody of Lancaster to Ranulf of Chester, whilst the charters to the Welsh houses as much evidence of John trying to ensure Welsh support as his command to release the hostages of Llywelyn ap Iorwerth of 7 January 1215.

Such grants were not only ‘one-off’ grants designed as a short-term means of improving the relationship between John and the patron. Relationships between John and individual abbeys were on occasion affected for several years due to the influence of their patron. The relationship between John and the Cistercian house of Margam abbey in South Wales, the Ua Brian Cistercian houses in Ireland and the Augustinian foundation of William Marshal, namely Cartmel priory, provide useful case studies for how John used religious houses in Wales, Ireland and England to cultivate the relationship with their patron over a long period of time. With royal favour flowing upon their patrons, these religious houses enjoyed royal favour. The number of grants issued to Margam between 1193 and 1207, when William de Braose was in royal favour, for little if no payment, are clear evidence of this. As too are the grants to the Cistercian houses of Ua Brian, particularly the houses of Magio and Holycross, both of which received grants in 1210, and therefore during the height of John’s breakdown with the Cistercian Order, and which were the only houses which were to receive grants during John’s visit to Ireland in 1210, with grants and favour equally flowing upon Cartmel priory when Marshal was in favour. Royal favour to Cartmel and Margam almost wholly stopped when their patrons fell from favour, with Cartmel once again returning to royal favour when Marshal did, and Margam only returning to royal favour when John appreciated how influential the house was in the region. Those abbeys whose patrons were deemed an enemy of the king in contrast could be used as a means of hurting the patron. The order to

destroy Strata Florida abbey in 1212 was a demonstration of John's powerless rage seemingly intended to hurt the patrons of the house, namely Rhys Gryg and Maelgwyn ap Rhys who had broken their alliance with John and turned against him. It is of course a mistake to portray this as some form of consistent policy. It was by no means guaranteed that John would always use religious houses as an extension of his relationship with the patron, and would on occasion not even have a relationship with a religious house even if he was trying to woo its patron in other ways. In fact, it is unlikely that John ever had any sort of consistent policy beyond recovering his lost French lands, rather it seems that using religious houses in this way was something that happened periodically and sporadically when the opportunity presented itself.

It is also inappropriate to say that John's relationship with the patron, whether positive or negative, would guarantee positive or negative relations with a Cistercian house. On occasion other concerns would transcend this, primarily if the abbey itself was seen as supporting or opposing royal will or more simply a personal dynamic between John and the abbot. John had peculiarly negative relations with Dore abbey in Wales and it is only by an appreciation of their individual actions can the reasons behind this be determined. The disfavour towards Dore was clearly demonstrated by the fact that it one of only two Cistercian houses which had any of their lands seized during the interdict. It seems that Dore was held in such profound disfavour because of its abbot's actions before John even came to the throne. For their abbot had manipulated Richard into giving them, for very little money, a prime area of land in Trivel wood. When John ascended the throne, being familiar with the area and the value of the land he quickly confiscated the land, and seemingly hereafter punished Dore for its actions, imposing significant fines upon the abbey,

above and beyond what could be expected. Those houses which defied John's will fell under profound royal anger. Those abbeys, such as Meaux, Waverley, Fountains and Louth Park who resisted paying their fines in 1210, were forced to pay even higher sums, with Meaux abbey itself being seized by the king's men and the abbot of Waverley fleeing into the night in terror of the king. Whilst Forde abbey fell under royal displeasure in 1210 not due to its resistance to payment, but because its abbot John, had resigned as royal confessor possibly due to the interdict and as such was deemed an enemy of the king and was treated as such.

Those abbeys who, in contrast, proved themselves loyal were rewarded with royal favour, with John supporting the abbey of St Mary de Hogges as the nuns had protected Englishmen during an uprising of the native Irish in the 1190s. This was by no means the only occasion, royal favour flowed onto Margam, Mellifont, Bindon and Beaulieu, favoured in almost equal measure as they proved themselves loyal to the king. It was noted earlier how Margam was held in high regard due to its patron, William de Braose, yet even after his fall, Margam quickly retained royal favour. John in 1210 not only appreciated the value of having the support of a powerful religious house in the now disturbed de Braose lands but after this seemingly favoured Margam because it supported him, demonstrated by the fact that not only did John in 1212 ask the abbot for advice regarding his relationship with the church, but the very fact that the abbot came to the excommunicate king. Mellifont abbey, Ireland, was equally rewarded with a royal charter in 1203 as it supported the king's cause, with the monks seemingly being rewarded for their support in trying to elevate the king's man to the archbishopric of Armagh. John seemingly continued to favour Mellifont long after this, possibly due to this demonstration of support, perhaps best illustrated in 1215 when John directed a charter which commanded the



justiciar of Ireland to secure the abbot and convent and protect them. Bindon abbey meanwhile was almost consistently shown royal favour, especially when its abbot, Henry was almoner and confessor of the king. Henry, unlike John of Forde, stayed loyal to the king during the interdict and subsequent excommunication, and the royal favour that flowed upon Bindon was his reward. Even after Henry was elevated to the bishopric in Emly, John still favoured Bindon, granting the monks thirty cartloads of lead for the roof of their monastery and fifty oaks, which is perhaps again connected to the loyalty that their last abbot had showed him. Beaulieu abbey meanwhile, in the same vein, was rewarded for the loyalty of its abbot Hugh. This loyalty combined simply with the fact that it was of his own foundation ensured that royal favour flowed upon the house.

Whether John used such an approach with religious houses of other denominations or in other areas, particularly in Angevin France remains to be studied. At the same time further study is needed of other monarchs to see if they followed a similar approach to John, with perhaps Edward I, given his similarities to John with his involvement in Wales and similar interpretations of his piety, an obvious choice. Although it was not the purpose of the work to make a judgement upon the character of John, it has become clear throughout that although he may have been at least conventionally pious, unsurprisingly, his relationship, at least with the Cistercian Order was based not solely on pious concerns but on wider political concerns and aims and therefore perhaps goes in some way towards supporting Painter's 1949 assertion that his relationship with the church was 'coldly practical.'<sup>9</sup> However, this work disagrees with Painter who seems to mean this statement as some form of criticism. Rather, this research suggests that John was politically astute

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<sup>9</sup> Painter, *The Reign of King John*, p. 153.

enough not only to recognise the connection between the patron and their abbey but also, when the opportunity presented itself, to use religious houses in Wales, Ireland and England to further his own aims and ambitions, whether it was to demonstrate his control over the area, to cultivate a relationship with the patron or even to reward the house for its abbot's support. At the same time, it suggests that royal grants or confirmations, particularly to religious houses, were not just simply routine and reactionary but were, at least on occasion, granted after careful consideration and calculation, when the advantages that could be gained from such grants fully understood.

*APPENDIX I*  
MEMBERS OF THE CISTERCIAN ORDER IN WALES, 1150-1250.

ABERCONWY ABBEY

Name	Position	No. of Appearance/s	Dates of Appearance/s	Reference/s <sup>1</sup>
Abraham	Abbot	1	1196-1202	<i>AWR</i> , no. 216.
I.	Prior	1	1226	<i>CYM</i> , no. 69.
Phillip	Monk	1	1200	<i>FCC</i> , p. 208.
Roland	Monk	2	23 July 1201	<i>EA</i> , vol. 1, pp. 313-4.
Abraham	Monk	1	1225	<i>FCC</i> , p. 191.
David/Dafydd	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1227	<i>CYM</i> , p. 55, no. 70.

BASINGWERK ABBEY

Name	Position	No. of Appearance/s	Dates of Appearance/s	Reference/s
Gilbert	Abbot	1	1155	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 1. p. 126.
Matthew	Abbot	1	1180	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 1. p. 126.
Robert	Abbot	1	1192	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 1. p. 126.
W.	Abbot	1	1198	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 1, p. 270.
A.	Abbot	1	1208-26	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 1, p. 270.
Simon	Abbot	1	22 Sept 1226	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 2. p. 259.
John	Abbot	1	10 Nov 1245	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 2, p. 259.
Gregory	Monk	1	1240	<i>FCC</i> , p. 197.

<sup>1</sup> Due to the very little amount of space available, the references included have been highly abbreviated, a key to which can be found below, p. 293.

CWMHIR ABBEY

Name	Position	No. of Appearance/s	Dates of Appearance/s	Reference/s
Meurig	Abbot	1	?-1184	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 1. p. 126.
Canawg	Abbot	1	Late 12th c.	<i>FCC</i> , p. 188.
Rhiryd	Abbot	3	c.1200; c.1210-12; May 1212	<i>CYM</i> , no. 26; <i>EA</i> , vol. 1, p. 339; <i>AWR</i> , p. 251.
Gwrgeneu	Abbot	1	c.1215-1222	<i>EA</i> , vol. 1, p. 352.
A.	Abbot	1	1227	<i>CYM</i> , no. 70.
Philip	Abbot	1	c.1241	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 2, p. 258.
Gwrgeneu	Prior	1	1206	<i>CYM</i> , no. 42.

CYMER ABBEY

Name	Position	No. of Appearance/s	Dates of Appearance/s	Reference/s
Esau	Abbot	1	1209	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 1. p. 131.
Gervase/Iorwerth	Monk	1	1209	<i>FCC</i> , p. 196.
Llywydyarth	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1209	<i>FCC</i> , p. 226.
Madoc	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1209	<i>FCC</i> , p. 226.

## DORE ABBEY

Name	Position	No. of Appearance/s	Dates of Appearance/s	Reference/s
Adam (1186-1205)	Abbot	1	Aug-Sept 1198	<i>EA</i> , vol. 1, p. 300; <i>HRH</i> , vol. 1, p. 126.
Adam II	Abbot	1	1214; 1227	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 1, p. 126.
Godfrey	Abbot	1	1230	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 2, p. 258.
Stephen of Worcester (1236-57)	Abbot	2	4 Jan 1246/7; 29 July 1248	<i>EA</i> , vol. 1, p. 372; vol. 2, p. 730.
A. (Adam?)	Abbot	1	1227	<i>CYM</i> , no. 70.
S.	Sub-Prior	1	1227	<i>CYM</i> , no. 70.
Symon	Monk	1	c.1172-4	<i>EA</i> , vol. 1, p. 276.
William of Ewyas	Monk	1	Late 12th c.	<i>FCC</i> , p. 219.

## LLANTARNAM ABBEY

Name	Position	No. of Appearance/s	Dates of Appearance/s	Reference/s
Walter	Abbot	1	c.1193-1218	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 697.
Cynwrig	Abbot	1	1227	<i>CYM</i> , no. 70.
Cnaithur	Prior	1	c.1193-1218	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 697.
Isaac	Prior	1	1203/4	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 1, p. 272.
A.	Sub-Prior	1	1227	<i>CYM</i> , no. 70.
Jew of Talrein	Monk	1	c.1204	<i>WM</i> , p. 80.
Cradoc	<i>Conversus</i>	1	c.1218-30	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 700.
Philip ap Seisil	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1204	<i>WM</i> , p. 80.
Rolland	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1204	<i>WM</i> , p. 80.
Randulf	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1204	<i>WM</i> , p. 80.
Wastelius	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1204	<i>WM</i> , p. 80.
Kadrod	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1204	<i>WM</i> , p. 80.

MARGAM ABBEY

Name	Position	No. of Appearance/s	Dates of Appearance/s	Reference/s
William of Clairvaux	Abbot	1	1147-53	<i>FCC</i> , p. 189.
Andrew (Died 31 Dec 1155)	Abbot	1	31 Dec 1155	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 647.
Cynan	Abbot	1	1166-88	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 1, p. 137.
Roger	Abbot	1	1196-1203	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 1, p. 137.
Gilbert	Abbot	1	20 Nov 1203	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 684.
John of Goldcliffe	Abbot	3	17 June 1213	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 688; <i>HRH</i> , vol. 1, p. 137.
John La Ware	Abbot	1	Nov 1236	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 714.
Thomas of Porcthwest	Abbot	1	22 Sept 1250	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 730.
Roger	Abbot	2	c.1193-1218 (x2)	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, pp. 694-5.
James	Prior	3	c.1186-91; 2 Feb 1198; c.1203-08	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, pp. 673, 680, 688.
Adam	Prior	1	1212-24	<i>FCC</i> , p. 192.
Robert	Prior	1	1213-30	<i>FCC</i> , p. 212.
William	Sub-Prior	1	c.1189	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 670.
Richard de Selebi	Sub-Prior	2	c.1205-13; c.1215-17	<i>AWR</i> , no. 168; <i>FCC</i> , p. 211.
Philip	Sub-Prior	1	c.1217-40	<i>AWR</i> , no. 175.
Jacob	Sub-Prior	1	c.1217-41	<i>AWR</i> , no. 177.
James	Sub-Prior	1	1234	<i>FCC</i> , p. 199.
Roger	Cellarer	2	c.1186-91	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, pp. 673-4.
Andrew	Cellarer	1	c.1208-17	<i>AWR</i> , no. 163.
William	Cellarer	1	1189-1229	<i>MAM</i> , p. 21.
William	<i>Infirmarius</i>	1	c.1189	<i>EA</i> , Vol. 2, p. 670.
Richard	Porter	1	1200-13	<i>MAM</i> , p. 118.
Ralph	Porter	1	1213-36	<i>MAM</i> , p. 11.

William	Porter	2	Late 12th cent.; c.1170-80	<i>MAM</i> , p. 8.
Robert de Biri	Sacrist	1	c.1200	<i>FCC</i> , p. 212.
Vincent	Monk	2	c.1175-80; c.1186-91	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, pp. 663, 673.
Godfrey	Monk	9	c.1190; c.1186-91 (x6); c.1193-1218 (x2)	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, pp. 671, 673-6, 694-5.
William de Bedintun/Bedington	Monk	9	c.1186-91 (x4); 2 Feb 1198; c.1199; c.1203- 08; c.1193-1218 (x2)	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 673, 675-6, 680, 682, 688, 694-5.
William de Lichesfield	Monk	5	2 Feb 1198; c.1199; c.1203-08; c.1193- 1218 (x2); c.1219-29	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, pp. 682, 688, 694, 698, 705.
Geoffrey Brendan	Monk	1	c.1184-1230	<i>FCC</i> , p. 196.
Helias	Monk	1	1189-1229	<i>MAM</i> , p. 21.
William de Bordeslee	Monk	1	1189-1229	<i>MAM</i> , p. 98.
Richard Cnitth	Monk	1	1189-1229	<i>MAM</i> , p. 98.
William de Hereford	Monk	1	Late 12th cent.	<i>FCC</i> , p. 219.
Lucas	Monk	1	1203	<i>FCC</i> , p. 206.
Henry de Cardiff	Monk	1	1200-13	<i>MAM</i> , p. 118.
William de Cardiff	Monk	1	1230-46	<i>FCC</i> , p. 219.
William de Chipstaple	Monk	1	c.1245	<i>FCC</i> , p. 219.
Robert Sampson	Monk	1	c.1217	<i>MAM</i> , p. 41.
Reymond de Sulli	Monk	1	c.1219-29	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 705.
Walter Pain	Monk	1	c.1219-29	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 705.
Walter de Costentin	Monk	1	c.1219-29	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 705.
Walter de Haverford	Monk	1	c.1217-31	<i>AWR</i> , no. 174.
Jordan de Haverford	Monk	1	c.1217-40	<i>AWR</i> , no. 175.
William of St. Peter	Monk	1	c.1217-40	<i>MAM</i> , p. 28.

William de Diuelin	Monk	1	c.1217-40	<i>AWR</i> , p. 304.
Walter Bagelan	Monk	1	c.1217-40	<i>MAM</i> , p. 26.
Phillip of Kenfig	Monk	1	c.1217-40	<i>AWR</i> , no. 175.
Richard de Beleby	Monk	1	c.1217-40	<i>AWR</i> , no. 175.
Hywel ab Ivor	Monk	2	c.1219-29; c.1240	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 705; <i>FCC</i> , p. 198.
William	Monk	1	c.1219-29	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 705.
William de Punchardun	Monk	1	c.1203-08	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 688.
Thomas of Bristol	Monk	1	c.1193-1218	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 698.
William of Bristol	Monk	1	c.1208-14	<i>AWR</i> , no. 159
Walter of Cardiff	Monk	1	c.1215-17	<i>AWR</i> , no. 168.
Helya of Bristol (Elias)	Monk (later Prior)	1	c.1215-17	<i>AWR</i> , no. 168; <i>FCC</i> , p. 195.
Osmer Cuiian	Monk	1	c.1193-1218	<i>MAM</i> , p. 97.
Henry	Monk	3	c.1199; c.1193-1218 (x2)	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, pp. 682, 694, 695.
Elias	Monk	1	c.1199	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 682.
William Fridai	Monk	1	c.1230	<i>FCC</i> , p. 219.
Thomas de Cantelo	Monk	3	c.1218-30; 1 Nov 1234; 7 Aug 1247	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, pp. 700, 712, 729; <i>AWR</i> , no. 177.
Osbern Cantelo	Monk	2	c.1218-30; 1 Nov 1234	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, pp. 700, 712; <i>AWR</i> , no. 177.
Philip of Camarthen	Monk	1	7 Aug 1247	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 729.
William de Valle	Monk	1	c.1208-1217	<i>AWR</i> , no. 163.
John of Sueynese	Monk	1	7 Aug 1247	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 729.
William de Mora	Monk	1	1230-41	<i>AWR</i> , no. 180.
John Paris	Monk	1	Early 13th cent.	<i>MAM</i> , p. 44.
Lawarh ab David	Monk	1	Early 13th cent.	<i>MAM</i> , p. 44.
Wronu de Korneli	Monk	1	Early 13th cent.	<i>MAM</i> , p. 44.
Adam Fridai	Monk	1	1230	<i>FCC</i> , p. 192.



David Ailward	Monk	1	1230	<i>FCC</i> , p. 194.
Dunstan	Monk	1	1230-52	<i>FCC</i> , p. 195.
Nicholas Pontius	Monk	1	c.1230	<i>FCC</i> , p. 207.
Simon	Cook	1	c.1217-40	<i>MAM</i> , pp. 35-6.
Gilbert	Novice	1	c.1246	<i>FCC</i> , p. 226.
Richard	Granger of Llantmeuthin	1	c.1199	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 682.
John	Master of the Grange	1	1170-80	<i>MAM</i> , p. 8.
Roger	Hospital <i>Conversus</i>	1	1170-1180	<i>MAM</i> , p. 8.
Meiler the Hermit	<i>Conversus</i>	1	c.1189	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 670.
Jordan	<i>Conversus</i>	9	c.1189; c.1190; c.1186-91 (x4); c.1193-1218 (x2); c.1219-29	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, pp. 670, 671, 673, 675-6, 695, 698, 706.
Hugh	<i>Conversus</i>	1	c.1189	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 670.
Richard	<i>Conversus</i>	1	c.1189	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 670.
Withfare/Witefare	<i>Conversus</i>	3	c.1190; c.1186-91 (x2)	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 671, 675-6.
Justin	<i>Conversus</i>	2	c.1199; c.1193-1218	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, pp. 682; 699.
Roger Sturmi	<i>Conversus</i>	1	c.1186-91	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 673.
Wittfare	<i>Conversus</i>	2	c.1186-91 (x2)	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, pp. 673-4.
Roger Cole	<i>Conversus</i>	1	c.1186-91	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 673.
Espus	<i>Conversus</i>	2	c.1218-30; 1 Nov 1234	<i>EA</i> , Vol. 2, pp. 700, 712.
Anyan	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1 Nov 1234	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 712.
Roger	<i>Conversus</i>	1	c.1186-91	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 673.
Richard Terri	<i>Conversus</i>	2	c.1186-91 (x2)	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, pp. 673-4.
Ralph Picard	<i>Conversus</i>	1	c.1186-91	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 673.

Walter Rufus	<i>Conversus</i>	1	c.1186-91	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 674.
Gregory	<i>Conversus</i>	1	c.1193-1218	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 695.
Godwin	<i>Conversus</i>	1	c.1219-29	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 706.
Cnaithur Broch	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1200-08	<i>AWR</i> , p. no. 137; <i>FCC</i> , p. 225.
Robert Pulmor	<i>Conversus</i>	2	1200-08; c.1217-31	<i>AWR</i> , nos. 137, 174.
Henry	<i>Conversus</i>	1	29 Sept 1208	<i>AWR</i> , no. 148.
Riered'	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1213-36	<i>MAM</i> , p. 11.
William Grossus	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1213-36	<i>MAM</i> , p. 11.
Kethereh	<i>Conversus</i>	1	Early 13th cent.	<i>MAM</i> , p. 44.
Hyrgois	<i>Conversus</i>	1	Early 13th cent.	<i>MAM</i> , p. 44.
Goceline	<i>Conversus</i>	1	Early 13th cent.	<i>MAM</i> , p. 95.
Ernald	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1208	<i>FCC</i> , p. 226.
John Faber	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1230-50	<i>FCC</i> , p. 226.
Peter	<i>Conversus</i>	1	c.1182-7	<i>FCC</i> , p. 227.
Richard Cnicht	<i>Conversus</i>	1	c.1203	<i>FCC</i> , p. 227.
Richard Hyrgois	<i>Conversus</i>	1	c.1245	<i>FCC</i> , p. 227.
Robert de Lantmeuthin	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1230	<i>FCC</i> , p. 227.
Robert Petit	<i>Conversus</i>	1	c.1230-40	<i>FCC</i> , p. 227.
Stephen	<i>Conversus</i>	1	Early 13th cent.	<i>FCC</i> , p. 227.
Thomas	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1229	<i>FCC</i> , p. 227.

NEATH ABBEY

Name	Position	No. of Appearance/s	Dates of Appearance/s	Reference/s
Richard	Abbot	1	1147-83? [Two Richards?]	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 1, p. 273.
Ralph	Abbot	1	12 Aug 1150	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 1, p. 138.
Walter	Abbot	4	c.1148-83; c.1186-91 (x2); c.1193-1218	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, pp. 691, 694.
Abraham	Abbot	1	1201	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 1, p. 138.
Clement (?-1218)	Abbot	4	c.1218	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, pp. 658, 672, 676, <i>HRH</i> , vol. 1, p. 138.
Gervase (1218-?)	Abbot	1	1218-?	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 2, p. 295.
John	Prior	1	1180-1190	<i>FCC</i> , p. 199.
Richard (?-1245)	Abbot	1	1245	<i>FCC</i> , p. 190.
Robert	Abbot	1	Excom. 1245-53	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 2, p. 295.
Osbern	Cellarer	3	c.1190; c.1186-91 (x2)	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, pp. 671, 675-6.
Randulph/ Ranulf	Monk	1	c.1150	<i>FCC</i> , p. 209.
Richard	Monk	1	1147-83	<i>FCC</i> , p. 209.
Reginald	Monk	1	c.1186-91	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 675.
Gervase (Iorwerth?)	Monk	1	c.1193-1218	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 694.
Gaufridus	Monk	1	c.1217	<i>MAM</i> , p. 41.
Geoffrey	Monk	1	c.1217-34	<i>FCC</i> , p. 195.
John	Monk	1	1220	<i>FCC</i> , p. 199.
Osmond	<i>Conversus</i>	1	c.1150	<i>FCC</i> , p. 227.
Henry	<i>Conversus</i>	1	c.1180-90	<i>FCC</i> , p. 226.
Odo	<i>Conversus</i>	1	c.1180-90	<i>FCC</i> , p. 227.
Richard	<i>Conversus</i>	1	c.1180-90	<i>FCC</i> , p. 227.
William	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1201	<i>FCC</i> , p. 228.

## STRATA FLORIDA

Name	Position	No. of Appearance/s	Dates of Appearance/s	Reference/s
David	Abbot	1	?-1185	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 1, p. 143.
Seisill	Abbot	1	7 Apr 1188	<i>EA</i> , vol. 1, p. 292.
Dyniawal	Abbot	1	c.1200	<i>CYM</i> , no. 26.
Cadwgan of Llandyfai	Abbot (prev. Monk)	1	1202	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 1, p. 274.
Cedifor	Abbot (prev. Monk)	1	?-1225	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 1, p. 143.
P.	Abbot	2	1226; 1227	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 69-70.
Gruffudd	Abbot	1	1248	<i>HRH</i> , vol 2, p. 312.
Dafydd	Prior	1	1215	<i>CYM</i> , no. 59.
Anian	Sub-Prior	1	1198	<i>FCC</i> , p. 192.
Cadell ap Gruffydd	Monk	1	d.1176/8	<i>FCC</i> , p. 192.
Elider	Monk	1	1198	<i>FCC</i> , p. 195.
Meredith	Monk	1	1198	<i>FCC</i> , p. 207.
Abrham	Monk	1	1202	<i>FCC</i> , p. 191.
Itello	Monk	1	1198-1227	<i>AWR</i> , no. 63.
Cydifor	Monk	1	1206	<i>CYM</i> , no. 42.
Giles (Egidius)	Monk	1	1250	<i>FCC</i> , p. 196.
Cadwgon ab Ithel	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1227	<i>CYM</i> , no. 70.
Dafydd Bach	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1215	<i>CYM</i> , no. 59.
Dolffin	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1227	<i>CYM</i> , no. 70.
Iuor Perwras	<i>Conversus</i>	1	c.1215-29	<i>EA</i> , vol. 1, p. 357.
David/Daffydd Vachan	<i>Conversus</i>	1	c.1215-29	<i>EA</i> , vol. 1, p. 357.
Dyermith	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1198-1227	<i>AWR</i> , no. 63.
Bleddyn	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1202	<i>FCC</i> , p. 225.
Diermuth	<i>Conversus</i>	1	c.1200	<i>FCC</i> , p. 226.
Dristan	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1202	<i>FCC</i> , p. 226.

Iorn	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1202	<i>FCC</i> , p. 226.
Ivor Perenbas	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1202	<i>FCC</i> , p. 226.
William	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1202	<i>FCC</i> , p. 228.

STRATA MARCELLA

Name	Position	No. of Appearance/s	Dates of Appearance/s	Reference/s
Enoch	Abbot	1	(First Abbot - Founded 1170-72)	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 1, p. 144.
Ithel	Abbot	1	1176	<i>CYM</i> , no. 4.
Gruffudd	Abbot	6	1183-98	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 5, 11-12, 14-15, 17.
Phillip	Abbot	3	1200-01	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 26, 33, 34.
I. or J.	Abbot	1	1201	<i>FCC</i> , p. 190.
Daffydd	Abbot	2	1215	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 59, 61.
Goronwy	Abbot	2	1225-30; 1227	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 67, 70.
Ieuf (Joab)	Abbot	1	1234	<i>CYM</i> , no. 82.
Gregory	Abbot (pr. Prior)	1	1248	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 2, p. 313.
Dafydd?	Prior	1	1215	<i>AWR</i> , no. 11.
Phillip	Prior	3	1183-98	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 5, 15, 17.
Suger	Prior	2	1199	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 20-1.
Iorwerth	Prior	2	1206-09	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 42, 52.
T.	Prior	2	1215	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 59, 61.
Efelyn? (Euelino)	Prior	2	1231/32; 1234	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 80, 82.
Cadwgon	Prior	1	1241	<i>CYM</i> , no. 83.
Cadwgon	Sub-Prior	2	1229; 1234	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 72, 82.
Aaron	Cellarer	2	1199	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 20, 21.
I.	Cellarer	1	1207	<i>CYM</i> , no. 55.
Dafydd	Precentor	1	1229	<i>CYM</i> , no. 72.
I.	Master of Lay Brethren	1	1207	<i>CYM</i> , no. 55.
Lawrence	Guest-Master	1	1195/96	<i>CYM</i> , no. 16.
Elias	<i>Magistri</i>	4	1190/1-c.1215	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 14, 16, 50, 53.

Heilyn	<i>Magistri</i>	9	1183-1204/5	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 5, 11-12, 17, 23-4, 26-7, 34, 36, 41.
Mabyn	<i>Magistri</i>	4	1201-c.1215	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 34, 37, 41, 50.
Rhufon	<i>Magistri</i>	6	1176-98	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 4-5, 11-12, 15, 17.
Roger/Rhosier (Rogerius)	<i>Magistri</i>	2	1190/1; 1195/96	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 14, 16.
Ithel	Monk	1	1198-1229	<i>FCC</i> , p. 198.
Cadwgon	Monk	1	1241	<i>CYM</i> , no. 83.
Dafydd	Monk	1	1231/2	<i>CYM</i> , no. 80.
Einion	Monk	2	1207, 1215	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 54, 60.
Einion? (Eneas)	Monk	1	1231/2	<i>CYM</i> , no. 80.
Elfin or Elffin	Monk	1	1190/1	<i>CYM</i> , no. 14.
Goronwy ap Meinon	Monk	1	1190/1	<i>CYM</i> , no. 14.
Guy	Monk	1	1228	<i>CYM</i> , no. 71.
I.	Monk	2	1226	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 68-9.
Ieuf	Monk	1	1231/2	<i>CYM</i> , no. 80.
Iorwerth	Monk	1	1207	<i>CYM</i> , no. 64.
Iorwerth	Monk	1	1231/2	<i>CYM</i> , no. 80.
John/Sion	Monk	1	1215	<i>CYM</i> , no. 60.
John/Sion	Monk	1	1241	<i>CYM</i> , no. 83.
Madog	Monk	1	1231/2	<i>CYM</i> , no. 80.
Maredudd	Monk	1	1198	<i>CYM</i> , no. 19.
Seisyll	Monk	1	1206	<i>CYM</i> , no. 42.
Simwnt	Monk	1	1228	<i>CYM</i> , no. 71.
Terence	Monk	2	1226	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 68-9.
Hugonies	Monk	1	1200-01	<i>AWR</i> , no. 499.
Anian	Monk	1	1207-15	<i>FCC</i> , p. 192.
Cueline	Monk	1	1231-34	<i>FCC</i> , p. 193.

Cadwgon	<i>Conversus</i>	2	1183 (Edirnion); 1198 (Penllyn)	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 5, 17.
Cydifor	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1207 (Arwystili)	<i>CYM</i> , no. 54.
Cydifor	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1234 (Bahcwilim)	<i>CYM</i> , no. 82.
Cydifor Grug (Cryc)	<i>Conversus</i>	2	1206; 1207 (Arwystili)	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 42, 54.
Cydifor ap Gruffudd	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1206 (Arwystili)	<i>CYM</i> , no. 42.
D.	<i>Conversus</i>	2	1226 (Cyfeiliog)	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 68-9.
Dafydd ab Ieuf	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1207 (Arwystili)	<i>CYM</i> , no. 55.
Daniel	<i>Conversus</i>	2	1199 (Cyfeiliog)	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 20-1.
Dehwaint	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1229 (Caus)	<i>CYM</i> , no. 72.
Elifn or Elffin	<i>Conversus</i>	2	1199 (Cyfeiliog)	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 20-1.
G. Ap Cadwgon	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1207 (Arwystili)	<i>CYM</i> , no. 55.
S. Ap Cadwgan	<i>Conversus</i>	1	c.1200	<i>FCC</i> , p. 227.
Goronwy	<i>Conversus</i>	2	1199 (Cyfeiliog)	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 20-1.
Hoedlew	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1234 (Bahcwilim)	<i>CYM</i> , no. 82.
I.	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1209 (Edeirnion)	<i>CYM</i> , no. 58.
Iorwerth	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1234 (Bahcwilim)	<i>CYM</i> , no. 82.
Iorwerth ab E.	<i>Conversus</i>	2	1215 (Arwystili)	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 59-60.
K.	<i>Conversus</i>	2	1226 (Cyfeiliog)	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 68-9.
M.	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1226 (Cyfeiliog)	<i>CYM</i> , no. 68.
Madog ab Ieuf	<i>Conversus</i>	4	1206-15 (Arwystili)	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 42, 55, 59-60.
Tegwared	<i>Conversus</i>	2	1199 (Cyfeiliog)	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 20-1.
Tegwared	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1206-15 (Caereinion Uwch Coed)	<i>CYM</i> , no. 49.
Tegwared	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1191 (Penllyn)	<i>CYM</i> , no. 15.
Tegwared ap L.	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1215 (Arwystili)	<i>CYM</i> , no. 59.
Gervase ap C.	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1215	<i>FCC</i> , p. 226.



## TINTERN

Name	Position	No. of Appearance/s	Dates of Appearance/s	Reference/s
Henry	Abbot	1	?-1153	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 1, p. 145.
William II	Abbot	1	?-1188	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 1, p. 145.
Eudo (Vido)	Abbot	1	1188-?	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 1, p. 145.
Ralph -1245	Abbot	1	1232-45	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 2. p. 316.

VALLE CRUCIS

Name	Position	No. of Appearance/s	Dates of Appearance/s	Reference/s
Phillip	Abbot	1	c.1200	<i>CYM</i> , no. 26.
Dafydd	Abbot	1	1206/7	<i>CYM</i> , no. 52.
John	Abbot	1	?-1215	<i>HRH</i> , vol. 1, p. 146.
Madoc	Abbot	1	1234	<i>CYM</i> , no. 69; <i>HRH</i> , vol. 2, p. 318.
Tenhaer	Abbot	1	1227	<i>CYM</i> , no. 70; <i>HRH</i> , vol. 2, p. 318.
Adam Vras	Abbot	1	1240	<i>FCC</i> , p. 191.
Madoc	Abbot	1	1247	<i>AWR</i> , no. 513.
Phillip	Prior	1	1236	<i>AWR</i> , no. 511.
Nennius	Prior	1	1247-54	<i>FCC</i> , p. 207.
G.	Master of <i>Conversi</i>	1	1222	<i>FCC</i> , p. 195.
Youne (Yvo)	Monk (later Prior)	2	1236; 1247	<i>AWR</i> , no. 513.
N. Ab Ieuf	Monk	1	1234	<i>FCC</i> , p. 207.
H. Ap Jacob	Monk	1	1234	<i>FCC</i> , p. 197.
Nennio	Monk	1	1247	<i>AWR</i> , no. 513.
Phillip	Monk	1	1247	<i>AWR</i> , no. 513.
Huw	Monk	1	c.1200	<i>CYM</i> , no. 26.
I.	Monk	1	c.1200	<i>CYM</i> , no. 26.
Ivone Porc	Monk	1	1247	<i>FCC</i> , p. 199.
R.	<i>Conversus</i>	1	c.1200	<i>CYM</i> , no. 26.
Adam ap Peredur	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1247	<i>FCC</i> , p. 225.
Gervase	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1247	<i>FCC</i> , p. 226.
Philip	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1236	<i>FCC</i> , p. 227.
Richard	<i>Conversus</i>	1	1236	<i>FCC</i> , p. 227.

WHITLAND

Name	Position	No. of Appearance/s	Dates of Appearance/s	Reference/s
Conan (Cynan) (?-1176)	Abbot	1	c.1166	<i>EA</i> , vol. 2, p. 652; <i>HRH</i> , vol. 1, p. 147.
Rhydderch	Abbot	1	1184	<i>FCC</i> , p. 191.
John	Abbot	1	7 Apr 1188	<i>EA</i> , vol. 1, p. 292.
Richard (?-1184)	Abbot	1	c.1176-84	<i>EA</i> , vol. 1, p. 298; <i>HRH</i> , vol. 1, p. 147.
Peter (?-1202)	Abbot	2	Sept 1198; c.1200	<i>EA</i> , vol. 1, p. 301; <i>CYM</i> , no. 26; <i>HRH</i> , Vol. 1, p. 147.
Cadwgan of llandyfai	Abbot	1	?-1215	<i>HRH</i> , Vol. 1, p. 147.
Hoedlew	Abbot	2	1226, 1227	<i>CYM</i> , nos. 69-70.
Philip	Monk	1	1206	<i>CYM</i> , no. 42.

KEY -

*EA - Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents Relating to Welsh Diocese, 1066-1272*, 2 vols., ed. J. Conway Davies (Cardiff, 1946-8).

*CYM - The Charters of the the abbey of Ystrad Marchell*, ed. Graham C. G. Thomas (Welshpool, 1997).

*HRH - The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2 vols., ed. David Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke and Vera C. M. London (Cambridge, 2001).

*AWR - The Acts of Welsh Rulers, 1120-1283*, ed. and trans. Huw Pryce (Cardiff, 2005).

*MAM - A Descriptive Catalogue of the Penrice and Margam Abbey Manuscripts*, ed. Walter De Gray Birch (London, 1893-1905), vol 1.

*WM - David H. Williams, White Monks in Gwent and the Border* (Pontypool, 1976), citing British Library, Add MS. 48984.

*FCC - David H. Williams, 'Fasti Cistercienses Cambrenses', Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 25 (1971), 181-229.

*APPENDIX II*  
KING JOHN'S GRANTS TO THE CISTERCIANS IN WALES

<b>Abbey</b>	<b>Content of Charter/s</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Reference</b>
Aberconwy	1) Protection and Quittance of Toll	1 Apr 1202	'The register and chronicle of the abbey of Aberconwy', p. 10.
Cwmhir	1) Confirmation	27 Dec 1214	<i>Rot. Chart.</i> , pp. 205-6.
	2) Protection and Quittance of Toll	27 Dec 1214	<i>Rot. Lit. Pat.</i> , p. 125b.
Dore	1) Confirmation	c.1199	Mention only: <i>Rot. de Obl. et Fin.</i> , p. 3
	2) Grant of land in Trivel	15 Sept 1202	TNA: PRO 31/8/37, p. BB 11.
	3) Restored Land	30 Aug 1213	<i>Rot. Lit. Claus.</i> , p. 148b.
	4) Re-issue of above	4 Nov 1213	<i>Rot. Lit. Claus.</i> , p. 154b.
	5) Land Grant and enlarge a millpond	30 Jul 1215	Dugdale, <i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i> , vol. 5, pp. 553-4.
	6) Wine given to Dore	5 Oct 1215	<i>Rot. Lit. Claus.</i> , p. 230.
	7) Deforestation of Monastic Land	28 Jul 1216	<i>Rot. Lit. Pat.</i> , p. 191b.
Llantarnam	1) Quittance of toll and Custom at Bristol	c.1189-99	Mention only: <i>C.Ch.R.</i> , vol. 1, p. 402.
Margam	1) Confirmation	4 Mar 1193	<i>Earldom of Gloucester Charters</i> , p. 127.
	2) Protection	14 May 1205	<i>Descriptive catalogue of the Penrice and Margam Abbey Manuscripts</i> , vol. 1, pp. 32-33.
	3) Confirmation	15 May 1205	<i>Rot. Chart.</i> , p. 149.
	4) Confirmation (x2)	22 Jul 1207	<i>Rot. Chart.</i> , p. 167.
	5) Confirmation	11 Aug 1207	<i>Rot. Chart.</i> , p. 168-9.
Neath	1) Grant and Confirmation	c.1189-99	Mention only: no. 3 [1208]
	2) Confirmation	5 Aug 1207	<i>Rot. Chart.</i> , p. 168.
	3) Confirmation and Quittance of Toll	6 Jan 1208	<i>Rot. Chart.</i> , p. 174.
Strata Florida	1) Confirmation	11 Apr 1200	<i>Rot. Chart.</i> , p.44.
	2) Quittance of Toll	11 Apr 1200	<i>Rot. Chart.</i> , p.44.
	3) License to sell their wool abroad	29 May 1212	<i>Rot. Lit.Pat.</i> , p. 92b.
	4) Ordered its destruction	17 Aug 1212	<i>Rot. Lit. Claus.</i> , p. 122.

Strata Marcella	1) Quittance of Toll 2) Confirmation	11 Apr 1200 11 Apr 1200	<i>The Charters of the abbey of Ystrad Marchell</i> , no. 24. <i>The Charters of the abbey of Ystrad Marchell</i> , no. 25.
Tintern	1) Wine given to Tintern	5 Oct 1215	<i>Rot. Lit. Claus.</i> , p. 230.
Whitland	1) License to sell and buy <sup>1</sup> 2) Confirmation 3) Protection and Quittance of Toll 4) Entreats chapter of Bangor to Elevate abbot of Whitland 5) Assent to election of abbot of Whitland to Bishopric of Bangor	15 Dec 1204 27 Dec 1214 27 Dec 1214 13 Mar 1215 13 Apr 1215	<i>Rot. Lit. Pat.</i> , p. 48. <i>Rot. Chart.</i> , p. 206. <i>Rot. Lit. Pat.</i> , p. 125b. <i>Rot. Lit. Pat.</i> , p. 130b. <i>Rot. Lit. Pat.</i> , p. 132b.

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<sup>1</sup> Although addressed to the abbey of 'Blanchlenda', this refers to Whitland abbey, which was also called 'Blanchelanda', which at this time would have an interest in Ireland; as it was in the process of founding a daughter house there. Another charter addressed to a 'Blanchelanda' has not been included as this was addressed to the bailiffs of Normandy and was therefore likely referring to the 'Blanchelanda' abbey in France, see *Rot. Lit. Pat.*, p. 35.

*APPENDIX III*  
KING JOHN'S GRANTS TO THE CISTERCIANS IN IRELAND.<sup>1</sup>

Abbey	Content of Charter/s	Date	Reference/s
Baltinglass	1) Confirmation	1185	'The charter of John, Lord of Ireland, in favour of the Cistercian abbey of Baltinglass', 189-91. <i>Rot. de Obl. et Fin.</i> , p. 26.  TNA: PRO SC 8/258/12871.
	2) Payment for inquisition of Mort d'ancestor against the abbot and monks of Baltinglass	1199	
	3) Land seized into the kings hands	1199-1216	
Holycross	1) Confirmation and Quittance of toll	21 July 1192	<i>Chartae, Privilegia et Immunitates</i> , p. 9. Mention only: <i>Cal. Docs. Irel.</i> , vol. 1, no. 2061.
	2) Grant of land	1210	
Jerpont	1) Confirmation	1189-91	Dugdale, <i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i> , vol. 6, pt. 2, pp. 1131-2. <i>C.Pat.R.</i> , Edward III, 1358-1361, p. 490.
	2) Protection	1189-91	
Mellifont	1) Confirmation	1185	'Original charter granted by Lord John of Ireland to the abbey of Mellifont', 158-60. Mention only: no. 4 [1203] Mention only: no. 4 [1203] 'Seven documents from the old abbey of Mellifont', 36-7.
	2) Grant	1188	
	3) Grant Fishery on the Boyne	1188-9	
	4) Confirmation	1 April 1203	
Tintern Parva	1) Confirmation of William Marshal's Will, granting 30 carucates of land	3 Dec 1200	J. H., Bernard, 'The foundation of Tintern Abbey, Co. Wexford', <i>Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy</i> 33 (1916/1917), 527.

<sup>1</sup> The reasons for the dates assigned to previously undated charters are noted below, pp. 298-9.

St Marys Dublin	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Confirmation</li> <li>2) Confirmation</li> <li>3) Preambulation</li> <li>4) Freedom of Toll and Protection</li> <li>5) Confirmation</li> <li>6) Confirmation</li> <li>7) Freedom from Toll and Protection</li> <li>8) Protection</li> <li>9) Restoration of Land</li> <li>10) Dispute over Custody</li> </ol>	<p>1185</p> <p>1185</p> <p>1189-99</p> <p>1189-99</p> <p>1189-99</p> <p>29 Oct 1200</p> <p>30 Oct 1200</p> <p>2 May 1201</p> <p>12 May 1204</p> <p>7 June 1213</p>	<p><i>Chart. St. Marys Dublin.</i>, vol. 1, pp. 84-5.</p> <p><i>Chart. St. Marys Dublin.</i>, vol. 1, pp. 86-7.</p> <p>Mention only: <i>Cal. Docs. Irel.</i>, vol. 1. no. 30</p> <p><i>Chart. St. Marys Dublin.</i>, vol. 1, pp. 87-8.</p> <p><i>Chart. St. Marys Dublin.</i>, vol. 1, pp. 89-90.</p> <p><i>Rot. Chart.</i>, pp. 77-8.</p> <p><i>Rot. Chart.</i>, p. 77.</p> <p><i>Rot. Chart.</i>, p. 103.</p> <p><i>Chart. St. Marys Dublin.</i>, vol. 1, p. 90.</p> <p><i>Rot. Lit. Claus.</i>, p. 137.</p>
Dunbrody	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) General Confirmation</li> <li>2) Protection Charter</li> <li>3) Protection Charter</li> </ol>	<p>1185</p> <p>1185</p> <p>1185</p>	<p><i>Chart. St. Marys Dublin.</i>, vol. 2, pp. 166-167.</p> <p><i>Chart. St. Marys Dublin.</i>, vol. 2, pp. 167-168.</p> <p><i>Chart. St. Marys Dublin.</i>, vol. 2, p. 168.</p>
Magio	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Confirmation</li> <li>2) Confirmation</li> <li>3) Confirmation</li> </ol>	<p>1189-99</p> <p>1 Nov 1200</p> <p>20 June - 24 Aug. 1210</p>	<p>Mention only: <i>Cal. Docs. Irel.</i>, vol. 1, no. 136.</p> <p><i>CDI</i>, Vol. 1, no. 136.</p> <p>Mention only: Louis Augustin Alemand, <i>Monasticon Hibernicum</i>, trans. John Stevens (London, 1722), p. 189.</p>
Suir	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) Enfoeffment of a meadow of Glannewaydan</li> </ol>	<p>1199-1216</p>	<p><i>Cal. Docs. Irel.</i>, vol. 3, no. 1187.</p>



## THE DATING OF UNDATED CHARTERS TO THE CISTERCIAN HOUSES IN IRELAND.

Those which styled John as lord of Ireland and given in Ireland have been dated to 1185 as this is the only time that he was in Ireland as lord of Ireland. Those which styled John as count of Mortain must date between 1189-99 when he was using this title and those granted as king must date from 1199-1216. Some can be dated more precisely however, and the reasons for which shall be discussed in turn.

### HOLYCROSS

No. 1 – Confirmation and Quittance of Toll, 21 July 1192.

Granted as count of Mortain the date can be immediately restricted to 1189-99.<sup>2</sup>

However, the similarity in witness list to another dated charter to Henry Tyrel both of which were granted at St Edwards makes it highly likely it was given on the same day. This is especially reinforced when you consider that the witnesses who appear in both, such as Albin bishop of Ferns and John de Courcy would likely rarely be in England at all, and the chances of these coming to John at St Edwards together at a different time is highly unlikely.<sup>3</sup>

No. 2 – Grant of Land, 1210

This grant is only mentioned in a 1233 letter close of Henry III. It relates that the abbot of Holycross desires Henry III to confirm an area of land granted to them by his father John, whilst count of Mortain and in Ireland. This is obviously confused, as John never visited Ireland as count of Mortain, only visiting in 1185 as lord of Ireland and in 1210 as king. In this light, it seems unlikely that the abbot would mistake where John was when he granted the land especially when you consider it is possible that the abbot was present when the grant was made. Therefore, the land

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<sup>2</sup> In the printed edition of the Ormond deeds, John is styled as Lord of Ireland, and if this was the case then it would restrict the date to 1185-9. However, on closer inspection of the original charter it is apparent that the manuscript itself is severely water damaged making the introductory clause virtually illegible. Although John is indeed styled as count of Mortain in the charter it is easy to see how the editor of the Ormond deeds made this mistake: *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, no. 7, p. 15; National Library of Ireland, MS. D.16. The transcription from a now destroyed memoranda roll of 13/14 Edward II in the *Chartae, Privilegia et Immunitates* also styles John as count of Mortain reinforcing that it was indeed granted as count of Mortain: 'Acta of John Count of Mortain', ed. Vincent.

<sup>3</sup> Preen, 'Collection of the *Acta* of John, Lord of Ireland and Count of Mortain', vol. 2, pp. 239-40.

grant must date to either 1185 or 1210 and given that their patron was a bitter enemy of the English in 1185; it is most likely this was granted in 1210.

#### JERPOINT

No. 1 – Confirmation, 1189-91

Granted as count of Mortain with Roger de Planes who died in November 1191, as a witness, this charter must date to 1189-91.<sup>4</sup>

No. 2 – Protection, 1189-91

Granted as count of Mortain at Leicester like the confirmation, with the only witness it includes, William Parvo, also appearing as a witness to the confirmation, it is highly likely that they were granted together.

#### MAGIO

No. 3 – Confirmation, 1210

This confirmation is only mentioned by Alemand citing a lost Patent Letter of John from the twelfth year of his reign, consequently dating it to 27 May 1210-11 May 1211. However, given that John was in Ireland in 1210 between 20 June and 24 August, it is highly likely that he granted this confirmation during this time.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> *Earldom of Gloucester Charters*, no. 10n.

<sup>5</sup> *Itinerary*, pp. liii-lvii.

*APPENDIX IV*  
GRANTS TO ROYAL CISTERCIAN HOUSES IN ENGLAND, 1199-1216.

<b>Abbey</b>	<b>Content of Charter/s</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Reference/s</b>
Furness	1) Confirmation	26 Mar 1200	<i>Rot. Chart.</i> , p. 49.
	2) Confirmation	28 Mar 1200	<i>Rot. Chart.</i> , p. 41.
	3) Protection	28 Mar 1200	<i>Rot. Chart.</i> , p. 41b
	4) Silver Dish	8 Mar 1206	<i>Rot. Lit. Claus.</i> , p. 64b.
	5) Permission to bring Corn and Malt from Ireland	3 Jun 1212	<i>Rot. Lit. Claus.</i> , p. 118b.
	6) Permission to buy in Ireland and transport ship of provisions	15 Dec 1213	<i>Rot. Lit. Claus.</i> , p. 157b.
	7) Confirmation	19 Jul 1215	<i>Rot. Chart.</i> , p. 213b.
	8) Materials Grant	13 Aug 1215	<i>Rot. Lit. Claus.</i> , p. 225b.
Bordesley	1) Quittance of Toll	27 Mar 1205	<i>Rot. Chart.</i> , p. 145.
Coggeshall	1) Permission to Enclose a Park	1 Jan 1204	<i>Rot. Chart.</i> , p. 114b.
	2) Money Grant	24 April 1213	<i>Rot. Misae, 14 John</i> , p. 260.
Stoneleigh/ Stanley	1) Land Grant	28 Feb 1202	<i>Rot. de. Lib.</i> , p. 27
	2) Confirmation	12 May 1204	<i>Rot. Chart.</i> , p. 130
	3) Confirmation	12 May 1204	<i>Rot. Chart.</i> , pp. 130-1
	4) Money for building	18 Dec 1214	<i>Rot. Lit. Claus.</i> , p. 182.

*APPENDIX V*  
 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HOSPITALITY AND GRANTS TO THE CISTERCIAN HOUSES IN  
 ENGLAND

<b>Abbey</b>	<b>Date of Visit</b>	<b>Reference</b>	<b>Grant?</b>	<b>Reference</b>
Bindon	1) 26-8 Jul. 1213	Itinerary, p. lii.	Yes [27 Jul. - 30 cart loads of lead and 50 oaks for their roof]	<i>Rot. Lit. Claus.</i> , p. 148.
Coggeshall	1) 16 Oct. 1205	Itinerary, p. lv.	No	-
Flaxley	1) 16 Nov. 1207 2) 8-9, 12 Nov. 1212 3) 30 Nov. 1213 4) 11 Dec. 1214	Itinerary, p. lviii.	No No No No	-
Louth	1) 18-21 Jan. 1201 2) 4 Oct. 1216	Itinerary, p. lxiii.	No No	-
Stanley	1) 25 Oct. 1200	Itinerary, p. lxxi.	No	-
Swinshead	1) 12-13 Oct. 1216	Itinerary, p. lxxii.	No	-
Waverley	1) 2-5 Apr. 1208	Itinerary, p. lxxiii.	Yes [4 Apr. - Restore to Cistercians all lands taken on account of interdict] [7 Apr. - Release of land so building work can recommence]	<i>Rot. Lit. Claus.</i> , p. 108b.  <i>Rot. Lit. Claus.</i> , p. 110.

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John

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E 326/36 - Agreement between Dore abbey and Madoc ap Howel Goov

E 326/404 - Confirmation by Griffin son of Meuric to Dore Abbey

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Florida, 1209

E 326/8398 - Certificate concerning land held by the monks of Dore

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