THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD
OF THE
CISTERCIANS IN IRELAND,
1142-1541

written by
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Abstract

In the twelfth century the Christian Church experienced a revolution in its religious organisation and many new monastic Orders were founded. The Cistercian Order spread rapidly throughout Europe and when they arrived in Ireland they brought a new style of monasticism, land management and architecture.

The Cistercian abbey had an ordered layout arranged around a cloister and their order and commonality was in sharp contrast to the informal arrangement of the earlier Irish monasteries. The Cistercian Order expected that each abbey must be self-sufficient and, wherever possible, be geographically remote. Their self-sufficiency depended on their land-holdings being divided into monastic farms, known as granges, which were managed by *Cisterci* and worked by agricultural labourers. This scheme of land management had been pioneered on the Continent but it was new to Ireland and the socio-economic impact on medieval Ireland was significant.

Today the surviving Cistercian abbeys are attractive ruins but beyond the abbey complex and within the wider environment they are nearly invisible. Medieval monastic archaeology in Ireland, which in modern terms began in the 1950s, concentrated almost exclusively on the abbey complex. The dispersed monastic land-holdings, grange complexes and settlement patterns have been almost totally ignored.

This report discusses the archaeological record produced through excavations of Cistercian sites, combined with the historical record, and considers how archaeology has helped to expand our knowledge of an important period in Ireland's history.

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List of Abbreviations

CYP	Cistercians in Yorkshire Project
EPPI	Enhanced British Parliamentary Papers on Ireland
NAI	National Archives of Ireland
NLI	National Library of Ireland
NMI	National Museum of Ireland
OPW	Office of Public Works
OSI	Ordinance Survey Ireland
PROI	Public Records Office of Ireland
TCD	Trinity College Dublin

Acknowledgements

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 *Research Question*

This essay will question how successful archaeology has been in expanding our knowledge of the Cistercian Order in Ireland from the creation of their first monastery, Mellifont in 1142, to the dissolution of the monasteries in the sixteenth century. My research will address this question by exploring a number of critical and interrelated themes.

The expansion of the Cistercian Order in Ireland was divided into phases; firstly the *filiatio Mellifontis*, which had a distinctly Gaelic style, and secondly the establishment of houses by the Anglo-Normans through the colonisation of territories captured since their initial invasion in 1169. It has been argued that monasteries with either a Gaelic or Anglo-Norman filiation pursued different architectural traditions so I will consider whether this is the case and if it continued until the dissolution.

Within each monastery was a household of monks, *Cisterci* and secular workers and this community had very different roles within the organization. I will consider whether it is possible to detect their presence within the archaeological record.

I will consider the Cistercian's use of granges in Ireland, the role that they played in the Order's economic model and whether the grange lost its monastic character and became a secular settlement.

Finally, I will explore the secular patronage of abbeys and consider if we can determine the impact that patrons had on abbeys and if it is possible to understand whether secular influences changed over time.

1.2 *Emergence of the Cistercian Order*

The Cistercian Order objected to other Orders' wealth and preoccupation with feudal rights (Stalley 1999, 176-177). Hundreds of Cistercian houses and thousands of monks dedicated to poverty, labour, worship, and prayer spread like wildfire across the breadth of Europe to form one of the first truly multi-national monastic orders which held vast stretches of land and controlled significant economic resources. The strictness of the Cistercian environment and its deliberate withdrawal and avoidance of the secular world was, and is, at the very core of its character and this resulted in the Order establishing monasteries in remote areas and on unencumbered and uncultivated land.

The Order acknowledged its practical needs through the building of more substantial buildings while attempting to express a symbolic, rather than literal, poverty by maintaining simplicity in its architectural form. The ascetic simplicity of the church was a mirror of the austere lives that Cistercian monks and *conversi* [lay brothers] led (Williams 1998, 62) and, although the design of Cistercian churches was never centrally legislated by the Order, their desire to express their spiritual ideals gave them commonalities. Saint Bernard had an aversion to decorations which impeded devotion or diverted a monk's attention; he described Romanesque sculptures as:

> *"array of grotesques in the cloister ... misbegotten and ugliness transmogrified"* (Bernard xii.29).

Cistercian buildings survive throughout Europe and beyond; they reveal an architectural unity and quality of construction that was so exceptional it must have been the work of professional architects and builders, rather than monks (Stalley 1999, 105-106). Their overall form had common features, for example those found in Burgundian monasteries such as Cluny, which must have been carried from monastery-to-monastery by monks. The Order's structure and scale, as

well as the remoteness of many abbeys, has ironically helped to make their remains in Ireland relatively extant compared to other orders and movements such as the Augustinians, Franciscans and the Knights Templars.

1.3 *Artistic and Antiquarian Interest*

From the eighteenth century artists and antiquarians showed an interest in the romantic nature of the monastic ruins and a corpus of their drawings and paintings which provide, even allowing for some artistic licence, a useful historic record. For example, images of Dunbrody, Fig. 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3, show that the western wall of the nave was mainly intact in the eighteenth century but over time it became more ruinous.

1.4 *Academic Research in Ireland*

Basil Champneys produced 'Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture' in 1910 and this was often seen as the beginning of architectural studies which placed Irish medieval buildings into a European framework (Stalley 1987, 4). Harold Leask, Inspector of National Monuments 1923-49, was very interested in Cistercian architecture and he wrote a number of papers during the first half of the twentieth century (Leask 1916). In 1943 Newport White (White 1943) produced a translation of the surveys performed on Irish monasteries after their dissolution and this still has huge value for Cistercian research.

In the following decades historical research was published by, amongst others, Colmcille Conbhuí (Conbhuí 1962), a Cistercian monk, Aubrey Gwynn (Gwynn 1949; Gwynn 1954; Gwynn 1955) and Geraldine Carville (Carville 1979; Carville 1989). Barry O'Dwyer translated Stephen of Lexington's register of letters (Lexington 1228, trans O'Dwyer 1982) which were written during his visitation to Ireland in 1228 as he attempted to introduce continental control into an Order fractured by the so called 'Conspiracy of Mellifont'; this translation is of huge value to both archaeologists and historians.

More recently Roger Stalley's book on Ireland's abbeys proved to be an excellent resource (Stalley 1987) as is David Roberson's similar works on British and Welsh monasteries (Robinson 1998; Robinson 2006). Overall there was an increased interest in the Cistercians from both a historical and archaeological perspective.

1.5 *Excavation of Cistercian Sites*

The first modern excavation, or rather conservation, of a Cistercian abbey was at Mellifont during the mid-1950s (de Paor *et al* 1969, 110). It used archaeological techniques and recorded the cloister, a passageway running between the cloisters and western range and a crypt under the nave. The excavation proved that a fire in the fourteenth century destroyed much of the structure. The passageway, possibly added as a fire break, and crypt are unique in Irish contexts which demonstrate that although it followed a generally 'standard' plan it was possible for local variations to be introduced.

Since then, excavations have been completed on a small number of abbeys and compared to Mellifont they were on a small scale. Excavations included the northern transept at Duiske, County Kilkenny (Bradley *et al* 1981, 397), the cloister and its transepts, including wall paintings, in Abbeyknockmoy, Co. Galway (Sweetman 1987, 1), a rescue excavation in Newry town, County Down (Crothers and Gahan 2000, 71), a small test excavation at Boyle, Co. Roscommon (Kalkreuter 2001; Barry 2003, 149), and at Holycross, Co. Tipperary. Reports were published for all of the excavations except Holycross whose reports are available via the OPW (Patricia Ryan 2013, pers. comm. 07-March). More recently, detailed excavations at Tintern de Voto Abbey, Co. Wexford (Lynch, A 2010), the granges at Knowth, Co. Meath (Eogan 2012), and Stalleen, Co.

Meath (Stephens 2008), and a church on Clare Island, Co. Mayo, have been completed (Manning 2005; Morton and Oldenbourg 2005; Oldenbourg 2005) as well as targeted digs within Bective's precinct (Stout 2011; Stout 2012; Lyons 2012).

Tintern de Voto was given into the care of the Commissioners of Public Works during the 1950s after being in continuous occupation by the Cistercians and then the Colclough family since its foundation. The buildings were dilapidated and a decision was made to remove the post-dissolution additions and to reinstate the site as a medieval Cistercian ruin (Lynch, A 2010, 13, 31). During the rebuilding work, between 1982 and 2007, an extensive excavation was undertaken which was recorded in a detailed monograph. Until Tintern de Voto was excavated the structure, economy and household of the monastery could only be theoretically reconstructed using the corpus of information from other abbeys in Britain and Europe.

The southern precinct of Bective was excavated between 2009 and 2012 and the final report will be published in 2014 (Stout 2011, 3; Stout 2012, 13-15). The research objective was to relate the abbey to the precinct by linking the excavation evidence with architectural topographical and remote surveys; it also investigated the relationship between the precinct and the granges. The excavation revealed three previously unknown phases of building, the lay-brother's range and drain, a barn with a timber superstructure which included the remains of a corn-drying kiln and ploughs and a monastic garden where peas and beans had been grown.

The Grange, a monastic farm, had been a feature of European monastic estates for some time before they were introduced to Ireland by the Cistercians as a method of applying intensive agricultural practices to produce a surplus for its monastery Williams 1998, 279). Grange buildings could be anything from a simple wooden structure to a highly organised settlement which might have been much like a small monastery.

The excavation of Tomb 1 at Knowth revealed the footings of a Cistercian grange, owned by Mellifont Abbey, with distinct areas of habitation within an enclosure which included at least two houses (Eogan 2012, 180). A second grange, at Stalleen, was the subject of a rescue excavation and it is thought to have been another of Mellifont's granges dating from the thirteenth or fourteenth century (Stephens 2009, 32). There has been very little research on the Cistercian grange in Ireland and only a small number of their buildings have been identified and investigated. Conbhuí and Carville have written about the land holdings of a few of the abbeys but the majority of monastic granges, as well their grange buildings, remain a mystery. There is still tremendous potential for research on Cistercian granges and, because so few Irish granges have been investigated archaeologically, Stalleen and Knowth are important both regionally and nationally.

The church on Clare Island, County Mayo, which is known as the 'Abbey', was built on the site of an earlier medieval church. The church is well preserved and its presbytery has decorative paintings on the walls and ceiling. The church was owned by the Cistercians of Abbeyknockmoy but over time its monastic purpose seems to have diminished as it was influenced by secular motivations.

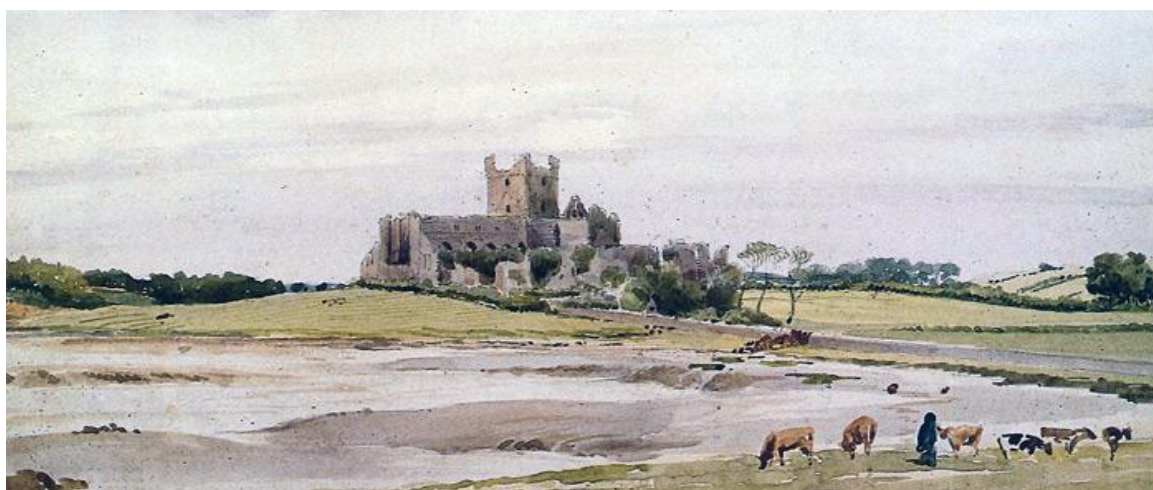*Figure 1.1: Dunbrody Abbey painted by Gabriel Beranger c.1770 – 1780* (NLI 2013)

Figure 1.2: Dunbrody Abbey painted by George Du Noyer c.1850 (Colfer 2004, 64)

Figure 1.3: Dunbrody Abbey photographed by Robert French c.1865 - 1914 (NLI 2013)

Chapter 2: Approaches and the Data

The method I have used to research the Cistercian monasteries in Ireland is two-fold. Firstly, I have focussed on the archaeological record produced by the more recent archaeological excavations in conjunction with primary and secondary historical record. Secondly, I have engaged on an active programme of field study at extant houses, and created an online resource that brings sites and historical evidence together (http://www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/index_4.htm).

2.1 *The Historical Record*

Tragically, the Irish Chancery Rolls were destroyed (TCD 2012). The Record Treasury of the PROI was part of the Four Courts complex occupied by Irish Republican Army 'irregulars' during 1922 and a massive explosion destroyed the building and most of the original records of English government in Ireland stretching back to the thirteenth century. The records had a long history of damage and loss and by the nineteenth century only 97 partially complete rolls, just over 23%, survived and every one of these were destroyed in 1922.

It was only in the later twentieth century that efforts were made to publish the surviving originals and copies, such as those collected by the seventeenth century Irish historian and antiquarian Sir James Ware (O'Sullivan, 1997, 69). Ware was the leading Irish historian and antiquarian of his day (Empey 2012, 21) and in 1626 he published *Archiepiscoporum Cassiliensium et Tuamensium Vitae* which had an appendix, *Cisterciensium Hiberniae*. His note books include records of lost evidence, for example, the Chartulary roll of the Abbey of Knockmoy and the Register of St. Mary's Dublin (BL MS Cotton Tib.A.XI or Bodl. MS Rawl.B495).

Historical records should be treated with a degree of scepticism particularly where it seems too anecdotal or slanted by political or other motivations. One of the most commonly referenced primary sources is the compilation of the letters written by Stephen of Lexington while he was performing a Visitation on the Cistercian monasteries in Ireland, or rather the Gaelic monasteries, during 1228 (Lexington 1228, trans O'Dwyer 1982, 3-11). Stephen was the youngest son of baron Richard of Lexington and, after being educated in Paris and Oxford, he became an abbot after only two years as a monk. This 'high flier' was a product of distinguished family and universities and the Irish visitation was a step in a career that culminated with Stephen being appointed Abbot of Clairvaux. His chronological and detailed letters reveal that Ireland was deeply divided between two antagonistic cultures and societies. Lexington's inspection was one of a number of visitations but his letters are unique and they provide a rich, but heavily slanted, picture of the people and places which archaeology alone cannot provide.

One of the most valuable secondary sources is Newport White's translation of the monastic extents which surveyed and recorded the newly confiscated Irish monasteries (Dickens 1945, 114). Only the areas of Ireland which were under English control were surveyed which included the counties of Dublin, Carlow, Cork, Kildare, Kilkenny, Limerick, Louth, Meath (with Westmeath), Tipperary, Waterford and Wexford (O'R 1944, 103). White's work included an inventory of each abbey including its granges, tenants and rents, land holdings, customs owed to the abbey, other property such as mills, fishing rights and altarages and details of the lands laid waste by "rebellion of the Irish" or buildings which were in need of repair (Appendix 1: Monastic Extents of Tintern de Voto).

2.2 *The Archaeological Record*

Ireland, in the twelfth century and before, was rural and its society was highly dispersed (Barry 2003, 15-17, 139). The lack of archaeological excavation and the scarcity of documentary sources have limited our understanding of its true complexity and this is complicated by the use of transhumance and seasonal settlements which are practically invisible to archaeology. There have

been few archaeological excavations of Cistercian monasteries and monastic buildings and most of these were small-scale and focused on the church.

These targeted excavations can only advance our understanding of part of the 'bigger picture', i.e. the monasteries impact on the socio-economic environment, but the targeted digs are not only a result of limited research objectives, a lack of public interest or even the lack of funding. Many of the Cistercian abbeys have been used, and are used, as graveyards and a license to excavate could only be granted after careful consideration of ethical issues and consultations with relatives and local communities (Buckley *et al* 2004, 5). Approaches to the Cistercian history and archaeology have traditionally relied firstly on examining the above-ground structures (Stalley 1987, 53) and secondly, conjecture because many of these sites have been significantly reused since the Cistercian Order was dissolved.

In Ireland there are more than twenty Cistercian sites which have extant remains and many of these are the impressive ruins of the church and possibly some of its claustral buildings. Many of the monasteries had fallen out of use and were dilapidated before the Dissolution so we should be happily surprised that so many of their buildings have survived. Many owe their survival to the fact that monasteries simply changed ownership and their vast land-holdings and buildings continued to have value and purpose. The Office of Public Works (OPW) is responsible for "caring, maintaining and operating" Ireland's 780 heritage sites and preserving heritage by conserving the monuments and encouraging visitors (OPW 2013).Their objectives can conflict with archaeological research because archaeology is destructive to the site and it can restrict public access.

By visiting and recording the extant sites it quickly became clear to me that at most sites only the church has survived and that this was because they had either been reused as secular residences, such as Bective and Tintern, or as parish churches, such as Abbeyshrule and Baltinglass. The claustral structures are less well preserved and today most are only visible via their footings. Few precinct buildings are extant which, considering the number of structures each abbey would have had, is disappointing. This is a point that Stout (2011, 4) has stressed, that the outbuildings which occupied the precinct have largely vanished from the landscape and the need for meticulous investigation of the precinct of an Irish Cistercian abbey was overdue until the excavations at Bective.

Figure 2.1: Location of the Cistercian Abbeys in Ireland (after Kalkreuter 2001, 11)

Chapter 3: The Cistercian Order in Ireland

The establishment of Cistercian abbeys and estates throughout Ireland was one of the physical manifestations of the reformation of monasticism in Europe which was attempting to re-establish a traditional monastic life free from corruption, especially simony and concubinage, widespread secular interference in religious affairs and the churches' integration with feudal and manorial systems (Benedict XVI, 2009).

The Order's first abbey was established in 1142 and within forty years of its foundation Ireland was invaded and partially conquered by the Anglo-Normans. Yet the Cistercians continued to thrive and expand within the highly charged and adversarial environment. It has been argued that monasteries in Gaelic and Anglo-Norman territories had different styles of architecture.

3.1 Cistercian Ideology and its Impact on Ireland

Gregory VII (Appendix 2: Timeline of Pontiffs) stated that the Church is supreme over the secular state and that the pope was God's representative, so disobedience to him was disobedience to God. This was a powerful and provocative position and one that had a significant impact throughout Europe as the church and secular world vied for control over each other. Gregory introduced reforms, known as the Gregorian Reforms, and he encouraged the *paupers Christi* movement which said that monks were 'the poor of Christ' (Williams 1998, 1-3a).

By the eleventh century the Congregation of Cluny had established more than 1,000 monasteries but over time it had adopted increasingly ostentatious trappings. This led Robert de Molesme, in 1075, to form the Burgundian abbey of Molesme which followed a "Strict Observance". The monastery was partially successful and Robert formed a new monastery at Citeaux on marsh land – its Latin name was *Cistercium* – which followed even stricter rules and this abbey became the mother of the Cistercian Order. The effect of Gregorian Reform was felt in Ireland by the end of the eleventh century.

3.2 Cistercian Introduction into Gaelic Ireland

Saint Malachy, bishop of Armagh 1132-1136, was one of a group of influential clerics who were determined to reform the Irish church (Kalkreuter 2001, 9-11). Malachy was probably aware that in England the Cistercian Order had spread since being established at Waverly, in 1128 during a period of political instability, and that the Order had resulted in a degree of territorial consolidation in disputed areas which were remote from developed areas. He was politically astute as were the High King and kings of Ireland (Jamroziak 2013, 65); they recognized the political advantages of introducing the Cistercians, as well as other Orders, into Ireland as a mechanism of revitalizing the decaying Irish church, and therefore Ireland as a nation, through monastic reform.

Malachy visited Rome during 1139-1140, having broken his journey in Clairvaux, and he returned to Ireland on Pope Innocent II's instruction to continue the reform in Ireland and to organize a synod to resolve the status of the Dioceses of Cashel and Armagh (Kalkreuter 2001, 11-13). While returning from Rome to Ireland he re-visited Clairvaux and left a number of Irish monks to be trained as Cistercian monks. He started the search for a suitable location for the first Cistercian community in Ireland and in 1142 the first monastery was established at Mellifont.

Mellifont was located within the territory of eastern Oirghialla, modern County Louth, part of the Clogher Diocese which had recently been captured by king Donnchadh Ó Cearbhaill (Stout 2004, 84). Mellifont's land-holdings formed an effective buffer zone on the southern border of Oirghialla; Ó Cearbhaill's grant was a political expediency and this was the motivation for a number of similar land grants to Irish monasteries including Baltinglass. Baltinglass Abbey, Co.

Wicklow, was founded by Diarmait Mac Murchada, king of Leinster, in 1148. His patronage earned him a certificate of confraternity from Saint Bernard of Clairvaux but more importantly the grant separated Ua Tuathail lands in Southern Kildare from their newly acquired lordship of Uí Máil in the western foothills of the Wicklow Mountains (F. Byrne cited by O'Keeffe 1997, 53).

3.3 Anglo-Norman Impact on Ireland

In 1155 Pope Adrian IV, an Englishman, issued Laudabiliter, a papal bull, which gave Henry II the right to rule Ireland and implement Gregorian Reforms. Henry adopted the title 'lord of Ireland' and twenty years later Ireland was invaded by Anglo-Norman forces (Kalkreuter 2001, 14) (Appendix 3: Timeline of British Rulers and Major Irish Events).

Anglo-Norman adventurers landed in County Wexford in 1169 and they quickly demonstrated their military prowess subjugating large tracts of land in eastern Ireland (Colfer 2004, 52). They consolidated the strategically important Hook Peninsula using the same approach used by king Donnchadh Ó Cearbhaill in Oirghialla; land was donated for the creation of three monastic estates, Fig. 3.1, by the Knights Templar, at Kilcloggan, and the Cistercians, at Dunbrody and

Tintern de Voto. The Cistercians were seemingly untroubled by the political changes which were dramatically changing Ireland and they continued to spread rapidly. Their expansion was divided into phases; firstly the *filiatio Mellifontis*, which had a distinctly Gaelic style, and secondly the Anglo-Norman colonisation of captured territories (Appendix 4: Irish monasteries and their affiliation).

They seized territory as far north as the River Boyne and by 1176 this became a disputed zone (Gywynn 1955, 18-20). The Annals of Ulster recorded that Louth had been wasted by the foreigners and, after John de Courci's pre-emptive raid into Downpatrick in 1177, County Louth, including Mellifont Abbey, was surrounded by Anglo-Norman forces. John, son of Henry II, visited Ireland as *dominus Hiberniae* in 1185 which initiated a drive northwards and the Anglo-Normans quickly gained control of this strategic area which bridged their north-eastern and south-eastern territories. Murchadh Ó Cearbhaill, the last king of Oirghialla, was defeated by the Anglo-Normans and in 1189 he retired to Mellifont Abbey to do

Figure 3.1: Monastic estates on the Hook Peninsula (Colfer 2004, 52)

penance and prepare himself for death (Gywynn 1955, 21) which heralded a surge of Anglo-Norman colonization.

The Anglo-Norman expansionism must have been a potential threat to the land holdings of the

Gaelic abbeys. The Gaelic Cistercians were used to rivalry from other religious Orders and they now faced competition from land-hungry Anglo-Norman Cistercians; both factions vied for unencumbered land, provided through patronage, in a complex political arena which was made more competitive as Gaelic kings and monasteries were aligning themselves to the powerful English overlord. Mellifont Abbey, for example, was quick to have its landholdings confirmed by Henry II in c.1177-1178 (Conway 1953, 36-41; Kenny 2008, 136).

In the decades following the Anglo-Norman incursion the Cistercians established ten monasteries, populated by predominantly non-Gaelic monks, which were distinctly English in both their outlook and architecture. Williams (1998, 20) summarized this by characterizing their buildings as having being built in the 'Early English style', i.e. Gothic, where the Gaelic monasteries preferred a more 'vernacular style', i.e. Romanesque. To these two stylistic forms we must add two others; firstly, two pre-Cistercian monasteries which were originally established within the Congregation of Savigny and merged into the house of Citeaux during 1147 (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 115); in Ireland these were St. Mary's Dublin and Erenagh, County Down, which Stalley (1987, 244) said were distinctly anglophile in their architecture and sympathies and secondly, the foundation of Cistercian nunneries.

Smith (1990, 42) observed that patronage was divided along nationalistic lines and that monastic expansion/rebuilding paralleled a twelfth and thirteenth century ascendancy of the Anglo-Normans. Chart 3.1 shows that Gaelic Cistercian monasteries continued to be established after the Anglo-Norman invasion and, numerically, there is not a significant decline in the formation of new monasteries within the *filiatio Mellifontis* until the beginning of the early thirteenth century.
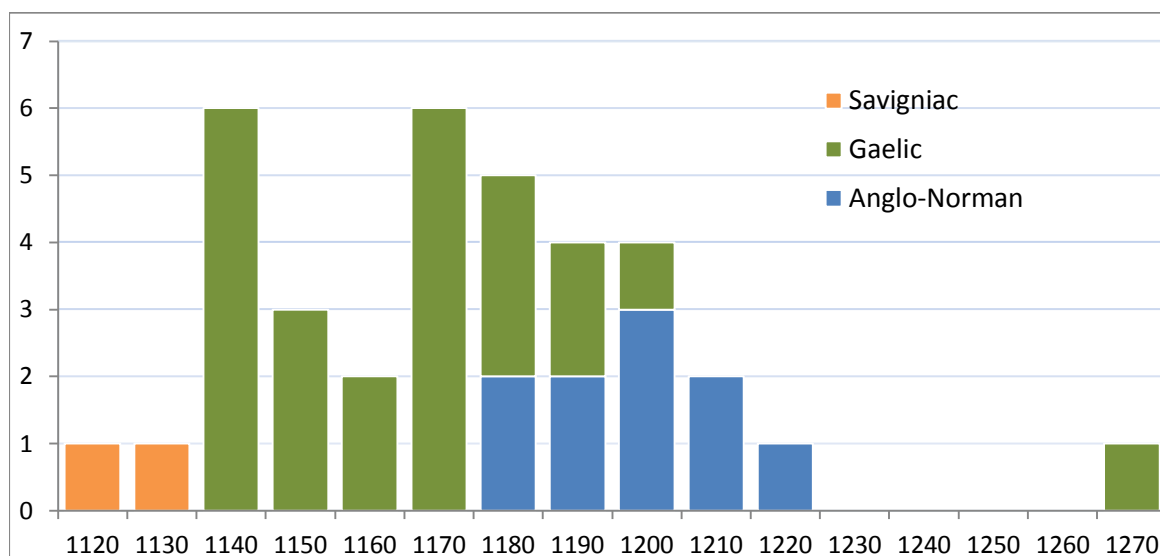
Chart 3.1: Abbey foundation by decade and alignment (excluding nunneries)

3.4 Cistercian Nuns

Historic records for Irish religious houses for women are meagre compared to those of men and this makes it difficult to do little more than confirm the probable existence of five establishments within the Cistercian community.

The presence of nuns in medieval Ireland is confirmed by Stephen of Lexington who was unhappy with the proximity of the nuns to the monastery. He does not specifically say that the nuns were Cistercian but Inishlounaght, Mellifont and Jerpoint are mentioned and it is clear that the abbots had responsibility for rehousing the nuns (Hall 2008, 80). In addition to those mentioned by

Stephen of Lexington, we also know that de Lacy, lord of Meath, established a monastery for nuns at Ballymore (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 313-316) which was taken-over by the Augustinian canons in 1470.

Should a nunnery be found and excavated it will be a huge opportunity to advance, or rather begin, our knowledge of Cistercian nuns in Ireland.

3.5 Architectural Canon

The monastic precinct was divided into three zones: the claustral range, the inner-court and the outer-court (Cassidy-Welch 2008, 25, 28). It was contained within a walled enclosure which had an outer and inner-court and access was controlled via gatehouses. The monastery's least sacred zone was the outer-court which typically contained a guesthouse and the utilitarian buildings such as a mill, byre, stable, smithy, bake-house, brew-house and tannery as well as orchards/gardens, ponds and dovecotes. The inner-court was contained within a second walled enclosure which segregated the spiritual and secular worlds; it held the claustral range as well as an infirmary, cemetery and, later, an abbot's house (France 2012, 108).

The claustral range was arranged around the cloister which formed a 'framework' for the daily-life of the community (Fig. 3.2). It included 1) the church, usually to the north of the cloister, with a nave, monks' choir, presbytery and transepts with chapels, 2) the eastern range which usually had a chapter house, parlour, book room and sacristy on the ground-floor and the monks' dormitory and reredorter on its upper-floor, 3) the southern range held a warming room, refectory and kitchens and 4) the western range ground-floor contained cellars and the lay-brothers dormitory on the upper-floor.

A monastery was colonized by its mother house and the knowledge of architecture, as well as the Order's rules, tended to radiate outwards from the centre before being blended with local preferences and the work-forces' capability (Stalley 1999, 180, 224). We know that Saint Bernard sent a Clairvaux monk to help with the construction at Mellifont which explain its Burgundian influenced architecture including pointed arches and barrel vaulting (Stalley 1987, 121-124, 131-132). The Burgundian form was replaced by the English Romanesque influences which, Stalley believes, may have pre-dated the Anglo-Norman invasion.

Monasteries in the west of Ireland were built or re-built with a Romanesque style well into the thirteenth century but in the east, mainly in the Anglo-Norman areas, the Gothic architectural style emerged. However, my field studies confirmed that the distinction between monasteries in the east and west of Ireland was short-lived and that Gothic architecture had spread throughout Ireland by the end of the thirteenth century. Romanesque features did not totally vanish from churches and they can still be found in abbeys throughout Ireland. There are varied views which might explain this including a lack of funds or patronage to commission rebuilding, that the feature was integral to the building's structure or in less visible parts of the building, or even that there was a local preference for the traditional style of architecture. Irrespective of the motivation it certainly confirms that an abbey, while following a general design canon, had self-determination over its architectural form.
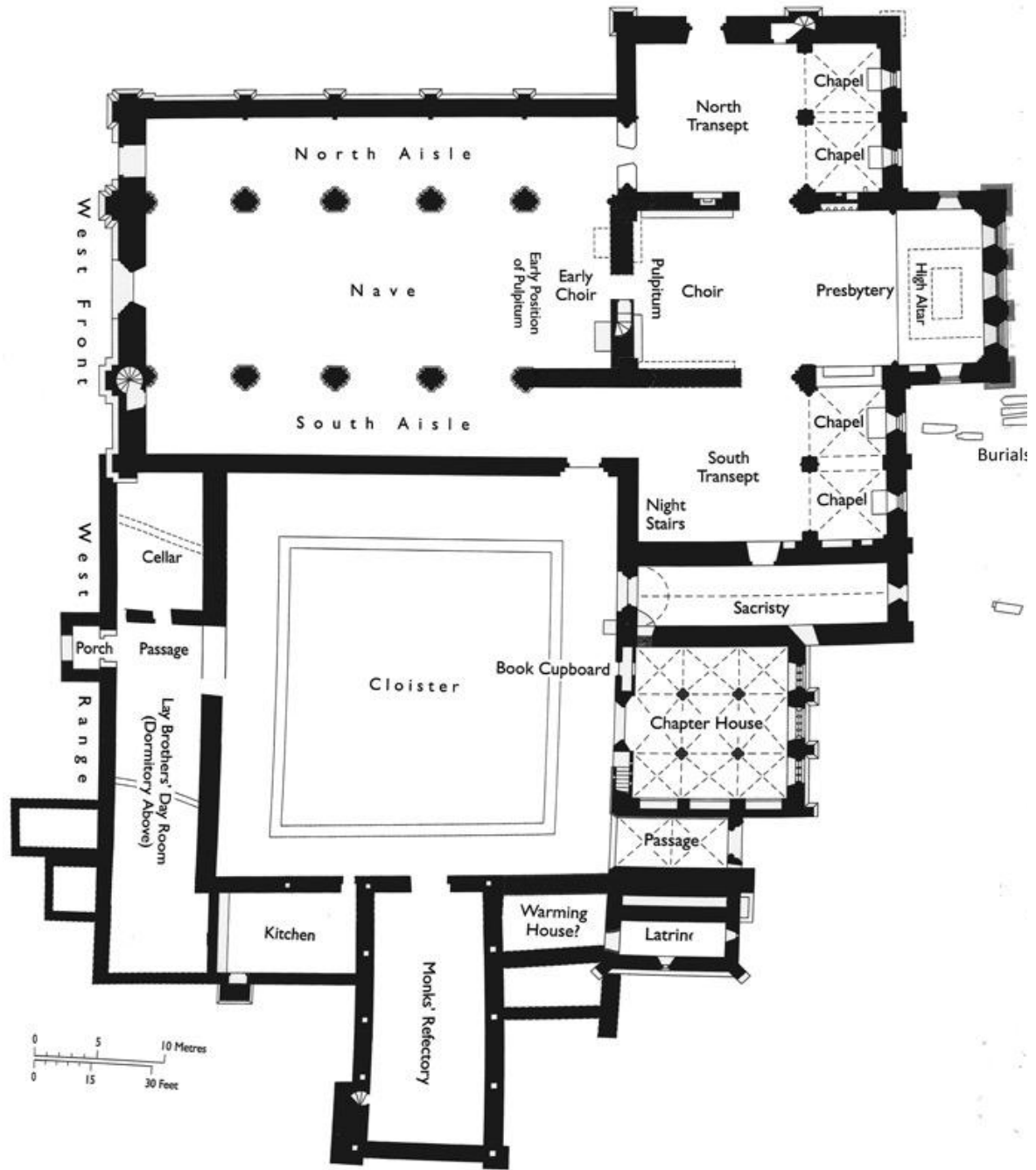
Figure 3.2: Example of a small abbey, based on Valle Crucis, Wales
(after Evans 2008, 57)

Chapter 4: Monastic Household

Each monastery was a self-sufficient village (Lynch, A 2010, 190) and its household included monks, *conversi* [lay-brothers who worked as farmers, carpenters, cobblers and merchants] and secular servants and agricultural workers (Williams 1998, 122-123). Because abbeys were self-sufficient the precinct had to contain all of the utilitarian buildings and services which the community required.

Having established that individual monasteries had localized control over the architectural features within their environment, yet within an overarching design canon, I will consider whether the archaeological record reveals any individuality within the monastic household.

4.1 The Monastic Community

Monks, as clerics, were well educated and predominantly from privileged families such as middle ranking nobility and their day was typically spent in liturgical prayer, private reading and manual labour (Kingston 1996, 184; Race 2011, 51). *Conversi* were unique to the Cistercian Order and they provided the Order's skilled labour force. They were not clerics or accorded the status of monks but they were considered to be equal in life and death to the monks, as without them the monks would not have been able to dedicate their lives to liturgy. The monks' lives were mainly spent within the monastic enclosure and it was the *conversi* who took an active role in the management of the economy via their granges and the generation of markets selling agricultural surpluses (Stout and Murphy, 2013). France (2012, 128) estimated that an average thirteenth century household contained 29 monks and 42 *conversi*, many of whom were at outlying granges, and this agrees with the 'rules' written by Stephen of Lexington (Appendix 5: Monastic Rules, thirteenth century).

The monastery's claustral range was designed to accommodate their segregated community, a feature that made their abbeys distinct from other orders based on the Rule of St. Benedict. Its heart was the cloister which gave unrestricted access to the essential structures within a monastery but many of these were notionally exclusive to the monks (cloister, sacristy, book cupboard, chapter house, warming house and monk's dormitory) or shared by both monks and *Cisterci* (cellars, refectory and kitchen). The entire spatial zone was divided into both east-west and north-south; monks, oriented to the east of the complex, and *Cisterci* to the west and a logical division of religious zones positioned to the north and the secular areas to the south.

4.2 Archaeological Evidence of the Monastic Household

The excavation at Tintern de Voto produced over 1,900 finds (Lynch, A 2010, 126-175) and, after excluding the non-monastic items, we have a corpus of artefacts which the excavation of any monastery might produce such as building fabric, including lime-washed plaster and grisaille window-glass, and items used or discarded by people during their daily lives such as pottery, tools and food waste (see Gazetteer 20 for a plan of the Tintern's claustral range). Most of the firmly dated artefacts came from a thirteenth century drain (Fig. 4.1). Ironically, excavations for a modern septic tank to service a visitor centre revealed the substantial and relatively intact monastic drains which serviced the monk's reredorter. Our knowledge of Tintern's household from the period after the monastery's foundation and during the height of the Anglo-Norman's short-lived period of stability and prosperity have come from this single area of excavation (Lynch, A 2010, 192). At Bective, like Tintern, it is the monastic drain which provided information on the monastery's occupants; the fill had significant amounts of charcoal and cereal waste and a mixture of the detritus of daily-life including sherds, bones (especially from fish), oyster shells and a possible piece of textile (Stout 2011, 27-29).

Excavation at Tintern established the drain's stratigraphy and the sequence of its A) construction, B) use and C) demolition and subsequent overbuilding. The drain serviced the sewer of a reredorter and it was fed with water through a channel which was supplied either by natural springs or from the nearby river (Lynch, A 2010, 88, 178). The reredorter was at the southern end of the east wing and it was accessed from the monks' dormitory; it probably had a row of wooden seats on the upper-floor which allowed faecal material to fall into the drain. Valle Crucis was a Cistercian monastery established in 1201 in north-east Wales (Evans 2008, 3) and its partially extant reredorter had a very similar design to Tintern de Voto (Fig. 4.2).
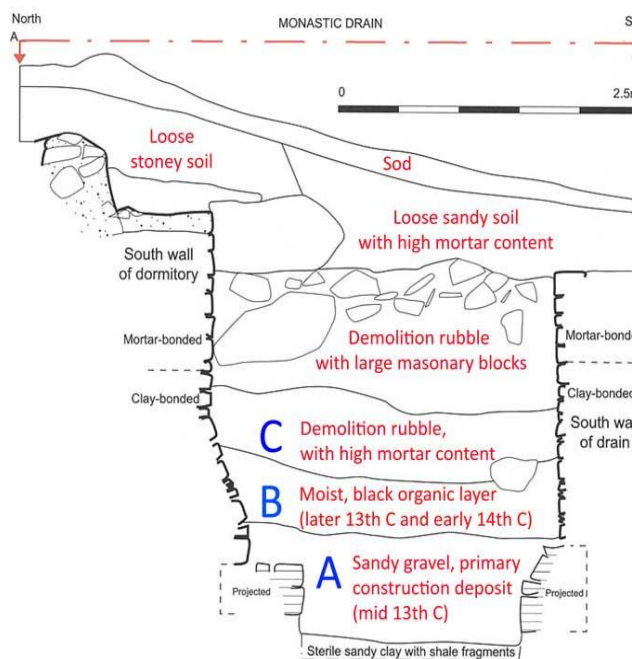
Figure 4.1: Section of the Tintern Drain
(after Lynch, A 2010, 89)

Tintern de Voto's architecture and the artefacts recovered from its drain suggest that the reredorter, and therefore the above-ground buildings and below-ground water channels, were constructed during the second quarter of the thirteenth century and that it had fallen into disuse by the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century (Lynch, A 2010, 85-91).

The primary layer of the drain contained a large number of building materials and artefacts including ceramics, iron fragments, green window-glass, lead tokens and a silver brooch (Lynch, A 2010, 90, 149-157). An organic layer contained some wood but no textile, horn, leather or parchment and it provided information about the household's diet. It contained cattle, sheep/goat, pig, and a wide variety of organics including cereals, different fruits and nuts as well as shellfish (oyster, mussel, cockle and whelk). We cannot say whether this diet was enjoyed by the entire household, which would contradict the vegetarian ideas of the early order (Williams, 1998, 245) and it is also possible that animals were only used for their hides. The drain was only one part of the water management system therefore we can be confident that some of the material remains were washed in from other parts of the monastery. The ceramics collection, analysed in Chart 4.1, has a variety of wares which date to c.1250-1300; the majority were locally manufactured but sherds of Saintonge, which originated in south-western France, confirms the

Figure 4.2: Reredorter at Valle Crucis
(after Evans, 2006, 41)
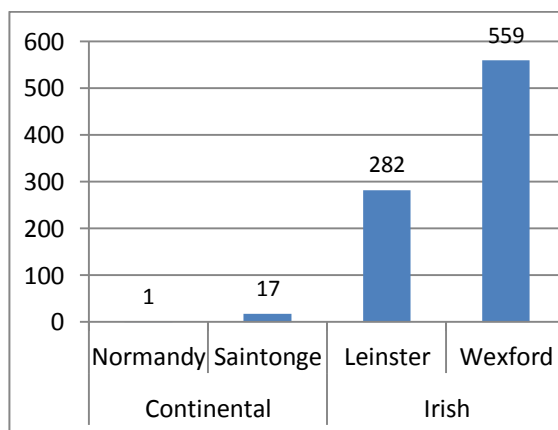
Chart 4.1: Pottery sherds from Tintern
(Lynch, A 2010, Table 17)

existence of trading networks with the continent (Lynch, A 2010, 90-91).

Early in the fourteenth century, after a period of no more than 50 years, the drain was demolished and sealed by a layer of demolition rubble. The short-lived drain is a clear indicator that a period of change occurred at the monastery. We cannot truly understand the reason for this and the physical remains and artefacts tell us very little about Tintern except that the complex's original building was similar to other small Cistercian monasteries and that its accommodation probably had contracted by the late thirteenth or the early part of the fourteenth century.

This is partially interpreted as a contraction of the number of people within the household - specifically that the *conversi* who resided within the monastery were reduced in numbers or were removed from the community. By the beginning of the thirteenth century there was an ambiguity in the spaces allocated to the *Cisterci,* both inside and outside of the monastery, as their importance was marginalized (Cassidy-Welch 2008, 168-169). Stephen of Lexington certainly believed that the *Cisterci* in Gaelic monasteries were performing roles and acting with a familiarity which was beyond their prescribed role (Lexington 1982, 157-177). In 1302 a Papal Bull permitted the Orders' land to be leased to tenants while continuing to be exempt from tithes and this removed the Order's dependence on *conversi* as a workforce whilst maintaining their income (Burton and Kerr 2011, 158-159). Without *conversi* the abbey changed from a divided space into a single space which was single-mindedly focused on devotional activities (France 2012, 88-89).

After the *Cisterci* were removed from the monastic household their accommodation was often reused; this has made the lay-brothers ephemeral within the archaeological record and this makes the excavation in Bective's claustral range and inner-court even more important. The earliest phases of building at Bective included a well-appointed stone building (Fig. 4.3), and its associated drains, which were part of the original lay-brothers range (Kevin O'Brien cited in Stout 2011, 27). The materials excavated from this area are typical of a high status building and this has led Stout (2012, 24) to suggest that the building was reused, possibly as the abbot's residence. The excavation established that a fire destroyed this building and also a barn, in the inner-court, which was adjacent to the range.

The barn was a vital part of the Cistercians' self-sufficient model and it was a link between the monastery and its granges. It is probable that all monasteries had one or more barns and their scarcity in the archaeological record suggests that they were usually constructed from wood and that they are now largely lost to the archaeological record.

Bective's barn was built after the lay-brothers range with an oak/ash superstructure which was supported by wooden uprights which stood on masonry post-pads. The barn's produce was analysed by Lyons (2012, 4, 10, 17) who found that 96% of the plant-assemblage were cereal grains (wheat 64% and oats 34%).

Figure 4.3: Lay-Brother's range at Bective (Stout 2012, 18)

Chapter 5: Monastic Granges

The grange was an independent farm whose function was to provide a surplus for its monastery (Stout 2004, 87) and it was the centre of intense agricultural activities focused mainly on grain, cattle or sheep; one of the most important sources of income was the wool trade. The surplus was vital to all monasteries so that they could provide alms, pay taxes to Clairvaux (see Appendix 6: Tax Book of the Cistercian Order), fund building programmes and to acquire new lands.

5.1 Grange Buildings and Landholdings

Granges had been a feature of monastic estates in Europe for some time but in Ireland they introduced a new scheme of farm management (Ealaíon 2012, 13). Grange buildings could be anything from a simple wooden structure to a highly organised complex much like a small monastery with enclosure ditches, gate-house and numerous buildings formed around a courtyard (Platt 1969, 16-19). The buildings might be protected by an enclosing wall and even towers, for example the extant hall-house at Rathumney, Co. Wexford, which was probably the headquarters of Tintern de Voto's grange of Rathumney (Gazetteer 21) or the tower-house at Ballyhack (Gazetteer 22) which protected Dunbrody's fishing and seaborne trading network (Colfer 2004, 54, 63). Patent Roll 49 of Edward III also instructed Dunbrody's abbot in his role as preceptor of Ballyhack to prevent any "victuals, horses or arms be taken to the Irish who are not continually at peace" (TCD 2012).

Monastic land-holdings can be partially traced by using their place names, for example Mellifont (Fig. 5.1), like all other monasteries, had a demesne grange and a number of remote granges with 'grange', or other clues, in its name. So today we can find townlands called Newgrange, Littlegrange, Roughgrange, Sheephouse and Monknewtown – of course many names also retained or were subsequently given Gaelic names (see Appendix 7: Irish Place Names).

5.2 Archaeological Evidence from Granges

Knowth was granted to the Cistercians in 1157 (Kenny 2008, 135) before the Anglo-Norman invasion of Meath and for a short period during the 1170s it was held by Richard Fleming (Ó Hinnse 2004, 61), an Anglo-Norman knight. The archaeological evidence is slight and Eogan (2012, 745) pondered whether it was fully completed. Kenny (2008, 135) says that by 1177-1178 Knowth was again held by the Cistercians and Henry II's charter to Mellifont granted them the grange at Cnogva [Knowth] as well as 12 other granges.

The excavation of Tomb 1 revealed that the site was levelled and an enclosed courtyard farm was constructed (Fig. 5.2). Nineteenth century quarrying destroyed much of the archaeology but excavation did reveal distinct areas of habitation (Eogan 2012, 180). The enclosure is
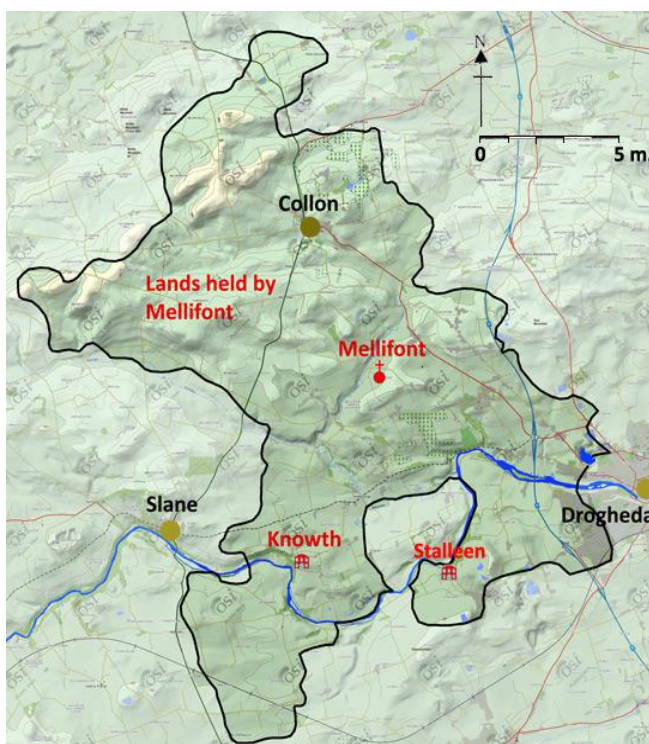

Figure 5.1: Mellifont land-holdings (within black line), and granges at Knowth and Stalleen (after OSI 2013 and Stout 2004, 85)

roughly rectangular and measures 27m by 36m and it includes at least two buildings which were enclosed by a substantial stone wall with entrances on two of its sides.

The courtyard 'plan' of granges might be explained by Stephen of Lexington (Lexington 1228, trans O'Dwyer 1982, 160) who instructed that no structures must be built in the middle of a grange's courtyard to preserve the complex's defence against "thieves and other chance dangers". It is not possible to confidently define the nature or number of internal buildings but the paving and hearths do confirm that it was used by people rather

Figure 5.2: Grange at Knowth (Stout 2004, 88)

than animals. High-quality carved architectural fragments from five different windows, stylistically dated to the thirteenth century, were recovered from a disturbed context and they indicate that Knowth contained a chapel or oratory. Outside of the enclosure, to the west, were two ovens, each heated by a hearth at both of its ends and, to the north, there were two corn-drying kilns (Eogan 2012, 181-183). Ireland's damp climate would have made corn-drying kilns necessary at any location where grain was processed. Eogan's report (2012, 617) says that the excavations recovered a wide range of building materials, large numbers of pottery sherds, domestic or agricultural artefacts, some weapons and a twelfth century silver coin.

Over 7,000 sherds of medieval pottery were recovered from Knowth (Eogan 2012, 444-445) and the majority of the medieval pottery originated from coarseware jugs which were hand-made, unglazed and locally made using similar fabrics (64.3%). Chart 5.1 shows that Irish pottery is represented by wares from Dublin (18.7%), Drogheda (7.1%), Mellifont (2.3%) and Trim (1.8%) as well as more generic Leinster/Irish (4.2%) wares and only 109 sherds were either British (1.3%) or continental (0.2%) imports.

O'Keeffe (2012, 623) suggested that the grange may have been leased to a tenant by the fourteenth century; this suggestion was based on (a) the imported pottery which he explained was more commonly associated with the wine trade and therefore to higher-status sites and (b) an analysis of the site's iron artefacts.
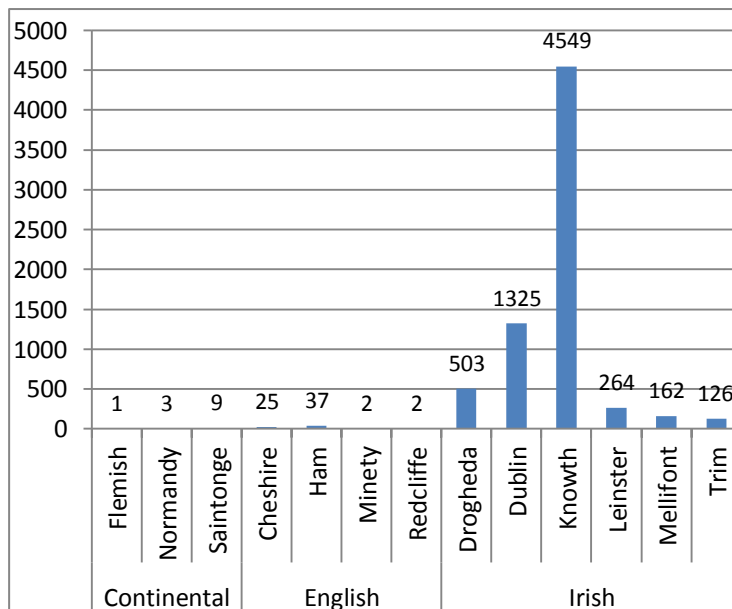
Chart 5.1: Pottery sherds from Knowth (Sandes and McCutcheon 2012, 445)

The iron artefacts included arrowheads, projectile heads and a, probable, spearhead and they were of a military rather than hunting style (Halpin 2012, 663-667). Unfortunately the context was so confused and the artefacts so generic that they might be either Hiberno-Norse or Anglo-Norman. The Boyne, like Tintern, was a march-land (Lexington 1228, trans O'Dwyer 1982, 547)

which suffered from 'continuous incursions' (Stout 2004, 102). Cistercians were not adverse to using force; for example the Chartularies of St. Mary's Dublin (Gilbert 1884, 302-303) include Edward III's permission to maintain "two horse and six hobelar" [Irish light cavalry (Lydon 2008, 198-199)] for their protection.

Sherds of thirteenth or fourteenth century roof tiles were recovered at Knowth and also floor tiles, one line-impressed tile, dating to the late-fourteenth/fifteenth century, and three relief-decorated tiles which are primarily associated with non-secular sites in Ireland (Wren 2012, 617). The relief-decorated tiles have the same 'Ava Maria' decorative scheme (Fig. 5.3) and are identical to the tiles described by Eames and Fanning (1988, 93, 130) from Mellifont and re-laid on the Chapter House floor and very similar to those from Bective. I believe that a clear association can be established between Mellifont and Knowth by the relief-decorated floor tiles.

*Figure 5.3: Ava Maria Floor Tile from Mellifont (*author)

Stalleen, Fig. 5.4, is thought to be the remains of one of Mellifont's granges which dates from the thirteenth/fourteenth century (Stephens, 2008) and was built over an early medieval ecclesiastical site (Stephens 2009, 32). The most significant feature is a huge stone-built gate which Stephens interpreted as the defended entrance of the courtyard which was flanked by a series of reused seventh century ditches. Its features include dumbbell shaped cereal-drying kilns, lime-slaking pits and the remains of a furnace and hearths. These confirm that cereal processing and lime production, probably for agricultural use, were happening within the enclosure. Artefacts included domestic items, large numbers of pottery sherds and animal bone and cereal/plant remains.

Figure 5.4: Grange at Stalleen (Smyth, 2009, 50)

The analysis of the remains would produce useful data on the industrial activities performed at Stalleen as well as the occupants' diet and its place in the wider economic environment but, so far, no further results have been published.

5.3 Grange Chapel

At Knowth fragments of architectural stone, carved by a skilled mason during the thirteenth century, which came from at least five relatively substantial windows were found (O'Keeffe 2012, 623). Cathy Johnson (2010, 651-652) found a piece of grisaille glass, which was commonly used in Cistercian churches throughout Europe (Williams 1998, 221). The windows may have had a secular use but their most likely use was within a chapel or oratory.

Initially granges were not permitted chapels but a thirteenth century Papal bull approved masses in granges which were remote from a parish church (Williams 1998, 286-287) and over time chapels often become parish churches. Knowth certainly did and this is confirmed by Bishop Dopping's *Visitation Book* which says that it was used as a church during the seventeenth century.

5.4 Secularization of Granges

Cycles of bad weather caused widespread poor harvests during 1294-1296 and 1308-1310 and this resulted in widespread famine and disease (Kelly 2004, 23, 40-41). Duffy (2002, 21) explained that the Bruce invasion, 1315-1318, caused extensive destruction and unrest, including the burning of Abbeylara, and that it marked the beginning of the Anglo-Norman decline in Ireland (Otway-Ruthven 2008, 263). Before this period wool was the most important commodity and much of the Cistercian's surplus was exported to the continent (Williams 1998, 355-359); the trade flourished until the 100 Years' War disrupted trading networks. The practice of selling future year's wool production caused a crisis for many abbeys when the trade was disrupted in either Ireland or the continent; for example Duiske in 1299 was indebted for £466 (Williams 1998, 359-360).

Famine, plague and warfare had widespread economic and social impacts as well as causing a labour shortage on the monastic granges. The Cistercians had similar problems throughout Europe and in the thirteenth century decreases in the numbers of *Cisterci* resulted in some granges being leased to tenants. Secularization quickened in the fourteenth century after Boniface VIII extended tithe exemptions to all Cistercian land holdings (Williams 1998, 297). The Cistercians evolved from a land-based economy into major landlords who received the majority of their income from rents, tithes and altarages (Stout 2004, 90). By the end of the fourteenth century most granges had lost their monastic character and had become secular settlements.

At the dissolution Irish abbeys held numerous granges and much of it was leased in ploughlands (approximately 120 acres) and used by their tenants for mixed agriculture; for example by 1540 Knowth [Knoythe] had 120 arable acres divided into messuages and Stalleen [Stayling] had 126 arable acres, a fishing weir and water-mill (White 1943, 216, 218). Most granges would have had a building complex and outbuildings and, although many granges were 'omitted' from the Extent (Kenny 2008, 152), there would be close to four-hundred granges in Ireland. So where are the grange buildings? The most reasonable explanation, and one that Stout (Geraldine Stout 2013, pers. comm. 26-August) and Lynch (Brenda Lynch 2013, pers. comm. 02-August) confirmed, is that many grange complexes formed the nucleus of churches, farms and settlements; for example at Grange, County Sligo, its granary was converted into a Catholic church (Sligoheritage 2005).

When the Cistercians arrived in Ireland their granges provided a surplus, both to feed and clothe its community and to provide an income. As the monastic household contracted its basic needs could be satisfied by the demesne grange while its economic needs were satisfied from rents. The 'new and improved' economic model made the Cistercians into major Irish landlords who participated actively in the secular world. Ironically, avoiding the secular world was one of the motivations for the foundation of the Cistercian Order in 1075.

Chapter 6: Secular Patronage

Secular patronage was essential to the Cistercian Order. Patrons provided land for a monastery's foundation, donated additional land or buildings for its expansion and helped to protect the community from attack. The motivation for benefaction was varied but it often involved the need for the patron's legitimization, the creation of buffer-zones or in the hope of religious salvation (Hoffman Berman 2010, 161).

6.1 Acquisition of Land

Abbeys acquired land and property by three main methods. Firstly, through purchases; for example in 1486 St Mary's Abbey, Dublin, purchased the Irish land-holdings of an English Priory for 450 Marks (Conbhuí 1962, 25). Secondly, smaller grants from individuals. From the later twelfth century Irish abbots encouraged donations for monks to offer prayers for their souls and bequests from patrons by offering spiritual advantages of becoming a *conversus* [monk] and ending their days in religious reflection within the monasteries or being buried in holy ground (Williams 1998, 133). Examples include donations by Henry de Wotton to St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, so that the monks would pray for his benefactors' souls (Smith 1995, 36) and Archbishop of Tuam's bequest of a church to Abbeyknockmoy, Co. Galway (Archdall 1876, 172). Thirdly, as a donation from a major landholder such as the king or members of the nobility; for example royal patronage was recorded in Patent Rolls such as the grant made by Richard II to Bective of two granges and the tithes of two churches (TCD 2012).

The Cistercian's were highly successful with acquisitions; Tintern de Voto, Co. Wexford, for example was founded in 1200 by William Marshall, earl of Pembrokeshire and lord of Leinster. He gifted 9,000 acres of land and granted the abbey significant liberties and freedoms (Bernard 1917, 529; Lynch, B 2010, 20-21). The monks developed the abbey complex and eventually acquired a further 6,000 acres of contiguous land through direct purchases and from donations from patrons.

It is estimated that the Cistercian Order in Ireland, at the dissolution, possessed 500,000 statute acres of land (Lynch, A 2010, 177).

6.2 Secular Burials

Excavations at Tintern have been able to confirm that some features, material remains and burials survived. The presbytery's north wall has three empty tomb recesses but until the excavations in 1982, 1983 and 1993 when the remains of 106 individuals were found, there was no knowledge of the interments (Lynch, A 2010, 102). The majority of secular burials dated from the fifteenth century and they are either as a result of a relaxation of the policy restricting secular burials in the abbey or a decision to allow monk/*conversi* burials within the claustral complex (Lynch, A 2010, 124). The burials have been analysed and interpreted in an attempt to understand the monastery's place within the local socio-political environment.

Burials were recovered from the nave, presbytery, south transept, south transept chapel and the west ambulatory (the crossing tower burials were left in situ and not studied (Lynch, A 2010, 105-110)). The burials in the chapel dated from the thirteenth or fourteenth century and the other burials dated from the fifteenth century. In the transept stone-lined graves contained a younger/middle-aged adult female, an adult male and an adult female. All other burials were in shallow east/west graves, head to the west, in the standard late medieval/early modern position; the deceased was buried without cultural objects and wrapped in a simple shroud (Gilchrist 2012, 200). Unfortunately, for our analysis, there are no discernible differences between ecclesiastical and secular burials.

The greater numbers of individuals from the nave and presbytery reflect the larger areas excavated there. Chart 6.1 demonstrates that, where gender can be determined, the adult males (67.7%) outnumbered females (22.3%) and that the imbalance was greatest in the presbytery. This is probably because interments within the presbytery were restricted to senior members of the convent, who were all male, and to a small number of major benefactors. Chart 6.2 shows that both age and gender were factors in where an adult might be buried. Younger males were most commonly buried in the presbytery but younger females were unlikely to be buried in the presbytery and they were more commonly buried in the nave.

Non-adults were buried throughout the complex but more commonly in the nave and presbytery and they represent more than 30% of the burials and of those 48% were up to 5-years old. We can be confident that infant mortality was even higher than 30% because post-mortem deterioration and destruction of children's remains is higher than those of adults (Mays 2009, 21). Chart 6.2 also indicates that people had a low life-expectancy, compared to today, in both the religious and secular communities; Palaeopathological evidence confirms that standards of health were low and that many of the individuals, both male and female, performed strenuous physical labour from their adolescence.

Chart 6.1: Tintern burials by gender (after Lynch, A 2010, Fig. 55)

Less than half of the Tintern Abbey complex has been excavated and this has provided a relatively narrow data-set for analysis. The interments of females and non-adults definitively confirm that secular burials were permitted inside the claustral range by the fifteenth century. These practices could have been common in most, or even all, Cistercian monasteries.

Chart 6.2: Age at death/Location of Tintern burials (after Lynch, A 2010, Fig. 54, 56 and 57)

6.3 Beyond the Monastery

The church on Clare Island, County Mayo, which is known as the 'Abbey', was built on the site of an earlier medieval church. Manning (2005, 24-26) confirmed that the church was constructed in three main phases; an early thirteenth century nave, followed by two distinct fifteenth century phases of a two-storey presbytery and finally the northern wing (Gazetteer 23). It was a Cistercian church but its purpose seems to have evolved into a secular family's mausoleum.

The original single cell nave was much like earlier Irish churches; a simple rectangular building constructed with timber and stone slates (2005, 135-137). There are no physical features which indicate that it is either monastic or Cistercian but the written records do confirm that it was held by the Cistercians of Abbeyknockmoy. Sir James Ware's notes on the chartulary roll of Abbeyknockmoy record that the church was annexed to Abbeyknockmoy in the early thirteenth century on the death of the abbey's founder, Cathal Crobderg Ó Conchobair [O'Connor], king of Connacht (O'Sullivan 1997, 71). Ó Conchobair died in 1224 having 'put on the cowl' during the final stage of his life (CYP n.d.).

Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 119) explained that Cistercian abbeys did not have dependent priories and typically they did not have cells. Clare Island may originally have been a cell for Abbeyknockmoy's monks who became hermits - Stephen of Lexington (Lexington 1228, trans O'Dwyer 1982, 29) wrote that two monks and a lay-brother of Holycross were granted permission to become hermits. Seventeenth century records mention the 'late dissolved abbey of Cleere' (Stalley 2005, 146) which confirms that the abbey continued to hold the property until the dissolution (Manning 2005, 10). Given its size and location its most likely role was as the Ó Conchobair family mausoleum, with a secondary role as the island's parish church.

The presbytery has three fifteenth or sixteenth century features which indicate that the church's rebuilding was commissioned by the Ó Máille [O'Malley] family; the local Gaelic lords. The features are 1) barrel vaulting, 2) an elaborate canopied tomb inset into the northern wall and 3) decorative wall and ceiling paintings which formed the diminutive space into a visually holistic design (see Gazetteer 23 for a plan of the church).

Stone vaulting was integral to the construction of all Irish monastic churches and they might be viewed as synonymous with the churches' sacred spaces (Stalley 2005, 138). Lexington (1228, trans O'Dwyer 1982, 160) wrote that "Only solid roofing shall be constructed in any monastery" and this suggests that some roofing was either constructed with wood or that it was thatched. The presbytery, although remote and small, followed this well established medieval practice but, more uniquely, it was built using barrel, rather than ribbed, vaulting which had been a characteristic of twelfth century Romanesque buildings. Barrel vaulting did have a mini-revival in Ireland; the presbytery of both Jerpoint and Kilcooley were constructed with barrel vaulting (Stalley 1987, 139); neither have their original plaster work but it is possible that they were decorated in a similar way to Clare Island's church.

Morton and Oldenbourg (2005, 48) have determined that the painting was executed in two phases. The earliest paintings are partially preserved on the south and north walls and they were executed before the presbytery was rebuilt. The later ceiling paintings have two main elements; a simulation of ribs and corbels and in-between the 'ribs' a range of decorative scenes which are mainly representations of hunters and their prey (Oldenbourg 2005, 66-69). Barrel vaults are visually less impressive than a ribbed vault and this may explain why it had been painted (Stalley 2005, 138). The painting simulates the vaulting in Abbeyknockmoy which is architecturally more sophisticated and which dates to c.1220 (predating Clare Island's presbytery by two centuries). The paintings post-date the canopied tomb and are more remarkable because so few decorations survive from this period (Morton and Oldenbourg 2005, 47) and they do have some stylistic similarities to wall paintings in the Cistercian churches at Abbeyknockmoy and Holycross (Jerpoint's paintings are currently being researched and restored (Brenda Lynch 2013, pers. comm. 02-August)). I agree with Stalley (2005, 135,146) that the paintings are at variance with Cistercian ideals – Stephen of Lexington expressly prohibited painting which simulated "marble or anything else" (Lexington 1228, trans O'Dwyer 1982, 160) - and that the paintings are most likely a response to the secular taste of the church's sponsors. For this reason we can safely view them as secular and not Cistercian artefacts, and so are an example of the active participation and influence that a sponsor had on the church.

The tomb is a high-quality canopied structure probably dating to the beginning of the sixteenth century (Stalley 2005, 140-141). It is decorated with a tracery screen and an ogee headed gable and, as its location is "usually reserved for founders or major benefactors", we can be confident that this was the tomb built for the sponsor during his life-time.

6.4 Dissolution

Tintern was suppressed on 6th May 1536 on the orders of Henry VIII and the sales of chattels raised a trifling £13 9s 4d. For much of its monastic period it was a march-land and by the dissolution its extents recorded that seven landholdings were described as being 'waste by rebellion of the Irish' (White 1943, 358-363).

The confiscation of the monastery's estate returned the lands and building to secular ownership and this allowed the crown to select a suitable individual to act as a bulwark against the Irish insurgency (Colfer 2004, 64). Elizabeth I's Fiants of 1576 recorded that Sir Anthony Colclough, a supporter of the new Protestant religion, was granted the abbey and its estate (EPPI 2013) and this was conditional that the house must be fortified and that he retain three English horsemen and four archers for its defence. The Colclough family dominated all aspects of life in the region for the following three hundred years and they had a profound impact on the area's society and landscape.

During the post-dissolution period the Colclough family changed the architecture radically and most of the monastic buildings were quarried for blocks to build the manor's fortifications (Lynch, A 2010, 196-201). The east, west and south ranges were demolished along with the northern aisle and transept and only the mid-section of the church, the southern aisle and transept, parts of the cloister and gatehouse remained. The site's archaeological record is challenging to decipher because of Tintern's demolition and overbuilding. My field studies at the monastery revealed that the surviving structure has secular characteristics more in common with a tower house with an enclosing bawn and that very little of the original monastic design remains above ground.

Secular patronage was important, even vital, to the Cistercian Order throughout their existence but the nature of benefaction changed over time. During the twelfth century donations allowed the foundation of over thirty monasteries in Ireland but after the 1220s, with one exception, there were no new foundations. Patronage of the Cistercians seems to have lost its purpose for the nobility, possibly as the Order lost some of its religious zeal and transformed into a major landlord or famine and warfare disrupted the nation's economic stability. The ever resourceful Cistercians encouraged patronage from large numbers of the minor nobility and individuals by stressing the spiritual advantages of either becoming a *conversus* or *conversi* before they died or by having monks offering prayers for their souls or for the souls of their family.

Conclusion

This dissertation has considered the archaeology of the Cistercian Order in Ireland and its role in expanding knowledge of an important period in Ireland's history.

In Ireland many of the Cistercians' abbeys survive as attractive ruins and, even though some are in locations which satisfied the Cistercian ideal of geographical remoteness, they are a well visited part of the national heritage. My field studies confirmed that parts of the churches have survived in the extant abbeys but very little of the claustral structures and even less of the precincts or outbuildings have survived. OPW, who are responsible for Ireland's 780 heritage sites, are tasked with conserving the monuments and encouraging visitors rather than archaeological research and this must continue to limit the research from excavations in many of the sites which have been prepared for tourism. While this approach is understandable, especially in an economy which has little discretionary funds, I have noticed how popular excavations are with visitors and I wonder whether OPW might achieve both goals without compromising its mission statement.

Professor Barry (2003, 167) wrote, of Irish Archaeology, that the "random nature of many of these excavations" have prevented them from "solving particular problems." My research into the excavations of Cistercian sites confirmed Barry's view, but my desire to understand more about the Cistercians must be moderated by the reality that excavation is destructive, funding is limited and historic properties need protection for the public and future research. Of course this should not deter us from finding opportunities to learn more about less understood topics such as the monastic enclosure or the dispersed land-holdings and properties which today are virtually absent from the archaeological record.

The excavation of Cistercian sites, using modern archaeological techniques, began in the 1950s. Most of these were small scale and focused on the claustral range, particularly the church, and the archaeology was secondary to the building's conservation. The recent excavations at Tintern de Voto Abbey, Bective, Knowth, Stalleen and Clare Island have been revealing.

Matthew and Geraldine Stout's meticulous yet low-budget excavations within Bective's precinct are excellent examples of how small-scale digging can advance our knowledge of areas which have not been extensively researched. The team, mainly of volunteer diggers and aided by remote surveys, revealed the lay-brothers range, a timber barn and the monastic garden. Conversely, an extensive twenty-five year excavation of Tintern de Voto established that its archaeological record was confused and, ironically, a monastic drain which was in use for only one-hundred years provided most of our knowledge of the abbey's household. There are parallels to one of Bective's drains but only further excavations will expand our range of evidence and 'fill in' some of the many gaps in our knowledge, for example whether we can differentiate between the diet of the segregated communities and whether their diet or roles changed over time.

The Cistercians are believed to have held 500,000 statute acres of land and much of this was donated through secular patronage and bequests. Historical records provide reliable evidence of some benefactors and their donations. The monastic extents contain a reasonable level of detail on the monasteries' tenants and holdings such as mills, fishing rights and customs as well as some lands over which the Anglo-Normans had lost control. Secular burials, as the excavations at Tintern showed, are an example of where the secular world was permitted within the Cistercians' most sacred zones. Burials of the nobility were possible from the formation of the monasteries but other burials, such as those within the cloister were a later development and this implies that the rules concerning burials were relaxed over time and that a close relationship was formed with the local community. The church on Clare Island is an interesting example of how far the secular world was able to insert itself within the Cistercian space.

Our understanding of the Orders' land-holdings and grange complexes has considerable potential for research - because so few have been investigated or even identified. In the 1980s Stalley (1987, 6) was reluctant to discuss granges because of the dearth of archaeological evidence for them; he wrote that he preferred to "leave them to the historical geographer and economic historian". Today, after the excavations of only two granges, which were both highly developed complexes, we have a wealth of data but on a very narrow range of sites.

On a cautionary note, Reitz and Wing (2008, 154) warned against being too reliant on a narrow range of evidence. This is especially true as we accept that individual Cistercian sites followed a general design canon but that they demonstrated individuality in their architectural style. Also, from Stephen of Lexington's register of letters, we know that during the thirteenth century monasteries with either Gaelic or Anglo-Norman cultural alignment followed different practices and even spoke different languages.

Archaeology, so far, has only been able to partially advance our understanding of the impact Cistercian foundations had on medieval life in Ireland and there are considerable opportunities for research beyond the claustral complex and within the wider environment. Research in Ireland has progressed a tremendous distance during the last three decades, considering the lack of resources expended, and I am confident that these studies will continue to broaden our knowledge of the Cistercian Order's impact on Ireland's socio-economic environment.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Monastic Extents of Tintern de Voto (White 1943, 358-363).
Note: the spellings are taken directly from the Extents and there are some inconsistencies.

Extent made at Donbrody 22 Jan. 1541
Jurors; David Power, John FytzWater, Maurice McNicholas, Donald O Duff, Philip McWilliam, David McTege, Thomas McTege, Nicholas McRychard, William McPeers, John Flemyng, tenants and farmers of the possessions.

The abbey church has from time immemorial been the parish Church. All the other buildings in the precinct are suitable for the farmer and with a garden containing ½ acres and are worth nothing above repairs.

Tyntern:
> In the demesne lands, 30 acres arable, 10 acres underwood, Pasture and moor, Value 10s.
> A mill called le see mylle, Value 10s.
> Another mill called le Over shott mylle. Value 20s

St. Keran:
> 60 acres arable, Pasture and wood. Lately worth 20s and customs, 2 hookdays, 2 weeding days, 1 sheep, 12d. Now waste by rebellion of the Irishman called le Carre McArte and worth nothing.

Kermore:
> 60 acres arable, meadow, pasture and wood, 20s. Now waste as in the proceeding.

Bannoo:
> 120 acres arable, meadow and Pasture. Value 2s. Leased, with the ferry there, which is worth 13s. 4d, to Walter Browne of Balrankan, for a term of years for 20s.

St. Leonard's:
> 60 acres arable, meadow, pasture and wood. Value 13s 4d. Now waste as above and worth nothing.

St. Brandan's:
> 180 acres arable, pasture, wood and moor; Patrick Browne, for a period of years for 20s.

Granges of Kylmore:
> 120 acres arable, meadow, pasture and wood, a mill, Value 40s.

Ballycrosse with Pollenton:
> 200 acres arable, meadow, pasture and moor. Value 6os. Leased to William Sutton, for a period of years for 30s.

Ballyboght:
> 80 acres arable, meadow and pasture; Thomas Browne for a period of years, Value 13s 4d.

Castelton:
> 60 acres arable, meadow and Pasture, Value 20s.

Naysshe and Gayneston:
> 120 acres arable, pasture, wood and moor, Lately worth 16s. Now waste by rebellion of the

Irish called the Cavaners and worth only 11s 8d and customs, 8 hookdays, 8 weeding days, a sheep 2s, Value 13s 8d.

Dounmaian and Flernyngeston:
20 acres arable, 40 acres wood and Pasture, 10s and customs, 2 hookdays, 2 weeding days, 1 sheep, 12d, Value 11s.

Rathdoune:
20 acres arable, 40 acres pasture and moor; David Power 20s and customs, Value 21s.

Rathnegerragh:
60 acres pasture, wood and moor; David Power 16s and customs, Value 17s.

Ballygarwy:
30 acres arable, pasture and wood; David Power. Value if the lands were fully occupied, 10s. but at present only 4s and customs, Value 5s.

Bole:
60 acres arable, pasture and wood, Lately worth 16s. Now waste as above and worth only 6s. and customs as above, Value 7s.

Scarte:
20 acres arable, pasture, meadow and wood; David Power; 4s and customs, Value 5s.

Coyndowe:
10 acres land, lately worth 4s now waste as before and worth nothing.

Tobbyrnassan:
30 acres arable, pasture and wood; 16s. 8d. and customs, Value 17s 8d.

Ballytarssyn:
60 acres arable, meadow, pasture and wood; David Power 10s and customs, Value 11s.

Shast:
In one of these villa 120 acres arable, meadow, pasture and wood, 10s. in the other, 60 acres arable, meadow, pasture and wood, 6s 8d, Value 16s 8d.

Kyllanke in Fassaghbentre:
The tenant used to pay a chief rent of 5s. All waste as above.

Barony of Tymolyn:
The whole barony contained 400 acres arable and 300 acres pasture and wood; value 10li. It is detained without right by Carre McArte, who pays nothing.

Town of Rosse:
A tenement lately worth 13s, now waste.

Town of Wexford:
A tenement worth 6s. held for a period of years by Robert Stafford for 2s.

RECTORIES

Bannoo:

    Vill of Brandon 10li

    Vill of Carryk 100s

    Chapel of St. Binok, 100s. Leased by letters patent to Walter Aphoowell for 15li. 6s. 8d.

    A third part of the altarages of the parable and the sheave tithes of Culleyn belong to the
    vicarage (Advowson, the king's). Total 20li.

Kylcohan:

    A moiety of the tithes, 6li.; leased to Walter Devereux and Walter Browne for 4li. The other
    moiety of the tithes and all the altarages belong to the vicarage (Advowson, the king's).

Kylmare:

    Tithes: 60 pecks corn, 18 pecks barley, 50 pecks oats (Waterford measure, each peck of 16
    gallons, 20d.), 13li. 10s. Granted for a number of years to William Seyntlowe without rent.
    The altarages and the sheave tithes of Ballyseskyn, belong to the vicarage (Advowson, the
    king's).

Kilteyrk:

    Tithes, 12li.; leased to Walter Devereux and John Devereux for 10li. The altarages and the
    tithes of Tretyllwards, belong to the vicarage (Advowson, the king's).

    Naasse. 106s. 8d. Ballygarwan. 40s. Clomyn. 15s. 4d. Tynterne. 4 1i. 13s. 4d. Temolyn. 6s. 8d.

Whytchurche in Fassaghbentre:

    Occupied by Richard Butler and William Seyntlowe for 21 years, paying for the first three
    years 6s. 8d. and afterwards 20s.

    The vicar of the parish church of Kyllagge pays for an annual pension 6s. 8d.

    A tenement; James Gough; 2s.

    A tenement; William Wyse; 3s. 4d.

Co. WATERFORD, City of Waterford:

    A tenement in the parable of St. John; the archdeacon of Water ford; 3s 4d.

                                              Total of the Extent 59li 19s 4d

_____

Shane McConner, farmer of the demesne lands and mills of Tynterne and collector there; 60s. 8d.

Issues from the mill near the monastery not reckoned, it being unoccupied for want of repairs.

William McLaghland; St. Reran; 10s.

John Broun; Cormoren; 3s. 4d.

John Moron; island of the Banno; 15s.

Nicholas Cullan; parish of St. Brandon; 10s.

The occupier of lands in the parable of St. Leonard; 6s. 8d.

James Ketyng and others, farmers of the Grange of Kilmore, with the watermill; 33s. 8d.

Robert Furlong; Ballycrosse; 10s.

Richard Brandon; Ballyboght; 6s. 8d.

Robert Furlong; Pollenton; 3s. 4d.

Philip Ketyng; Castelton; 9s.

Walter Talbott; Balligarven; 53s 4d.

David Pouer; lands in the parable of Naissh; 46s. 8d,

Robert Poster; Rathton; 8s.

Nicholas Pouer; Donmayan; 3s. 4d.

Moriartagh Okeley; Ranekeraght; 8s.

Nothing from certain lands in Ballygarvy and Gayneston, they being waste.
John McLaghleyn; the Bole; 8s.
William Duff; Scart; 2s.
William Leghlan; Coyndowe; 2s.
John McComen; Tobbirnassan; 8s. 4d.
David Pouer; Ballyscarfyn; 3s. 4d.
James Ketyng; Ballysissyn alias Smythestowne; 34. 4d.
Walter Broun; the Two Salties; 6s. 8d.
Oulton of Kilcowan; a chief rent there; 2s. 6d.
A tenement in Wexford; 2s.
A tenement in Rosse; 6s. 8d.
Walter Broun and Paul Turnor; tithes and rectory of le Banno; 8li.
Walter Deverex and Walter Braun; tithes and rectory of Kilguan; 4os.
William Sentlowe and James Ketyng; tithes and rectory of Kilmore; 8li.
John Deverox; tithes and rectory of Kiltorky; 100s.
Occupiers of the tithes of Ballygarven; 30s.
David Power; tithes of Clonemyne, 5s. and tithes of Tynterne, 20s.
Kair McArte; tithes of Shymylyng and Killogan; 40s.

Co. Waterford:
 William Wise; two messuages in Waterford; 4s. 4d.
 The rectory of Killag is waste.
 Vicar of Kiflag from his pension, 3s. 4d.

<div align="right">Total 44li 15s 2d.</div>

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Pension per letters patent 13 Dec. 1537 of 15li. from Easter 1537 to John Pore late abbot, for life or till his promotion to a benefice worth 20li.

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Receipts accounted for by James Shurloke, receiver general, rents and farms, 65li 12s.

―――――――――

Arrears: Co. Wexford
 James Ketinge, Grange of Kilmore; William Jerbote, farmer of the same; Walter Browne and John Talbote, the island of Banno and the ferry; Robert Ap Rice, certain lands and the passage of the Banno; James Ketinge, Ballysissin; Sir John Trevers, rectory of Whitechurche; Walter Ap Hoell, r. of Banno; Walter Browne, r, of Kilcowan; Walter Ap Hoell, tithes of Temolinge, with pension of Killage; John Bowcher, pension of Killage; Charles McArte, tithes of Temolinge; the occupier or receiver of the pension 'of Killagge; Owen Askeughe, St. Brandons; Richard Ketinge, Ballybought, Polenton, Ballycrosse and Castelton; Robert Keyle Forlonge and Thomas Browne clerk, Castelton; Robert Stratford, a tenement in Wexford; John Devereux, Kiltirke; the tenants of a messuage in Rosse; the dean of Waterford, receiver of the spiritualities of Kilcowan; the executors of Walter Talbote, r.r. of Ballygarvey and Rathtoune; the receivers farmers or occupiers of the possessions; David Power, the site of the monastery with certain lands; Henry Draycote, receiver for co. Wexford.
 The tenants of a tenement in Waterford.

<div align="right">Total 473li 7s 8d.
By sale of goods and chattels, 13li. 9s. 4d.</div>

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The monastery was dissolved 6 May 1536. No goods and chattels came into the hands of the accounting officer save three bells which remain at the abbey in his custody.

Appendix 2: Timeline of Pontiffs (Moody *et al* 2011, 583-586)

Pontiff	Pontificate	Pontiff	Pontificate
Gregory VII	1073 - 1085	Clement V	1305 – 1314
Victor III	1086 - 1087	John XXII	1316 – 1334
Urban II	1088 - 1118	Benedict XII	1334 – 1342
Paschal II	1118	Clement VI	1342 – 1352
Gelasius II	1118 - 1119	Innocent V I	1352 – 1362
Calixtus II	1119 - 1124	Urban V	1362 – 1370
Honorius II	1124 - 1130	Gregory XI	1370 – 1378
Innocent II	1130 - 1143	Urban VI	1378 – 1389
Celestine II	1143 - 1144	Boniface IX	1389 – 1404
Lucius II	1144 - 1145	Innocent VII	1404 – 1406
Eugenius III	1145 - 1153	Gregory XII	1406 – 1417
Anastasius IV	1153 - 1154	Martin V	1417 – 1431
Hadrian IV	1154 - 1159	Eugenius IV	1431 – 1447
Alexander III	1159 - 1181	Nicholas V	1447 – 1455
Lucius III	1181 - 1185	Calixtus III	1455 – 1458
Urban III	1185 - 1187	Pius II	1458 – 1464
Gregory VIII	1187	Paul II	1464 – 1471
Clement III	1187 - 1191	Sixtus IV	1471 – 1484
Celestine III	1191 - 1198	Innocent VIII	1484 – 1492
Innocent III	1198 - 1216	Alexander VI	1492 – 1503
Honorius III	1216 - 1227	Pius III	1503
Gregory IX	1227 - 1241	Julius II	1503 – 1513
Celestine IV	1241 - 1243	Leo X	1513 – 1522
Innocent IV	1243 - 1254	Adrian VI	1522 – 1523
Alexander IV	1254 - 1261	Clement VII	1523 – 1534
Urban IV	1261 - 1265	Paul III	1534 – 1550
Clement IV	1265 - 1271	Julius III	1550 – 1555
Gregory X	1271 - 1276	Marcellus II	1555
Innocent V	1276	Paul IV	1555 – 1559
Adrian V	1276	Pius IV	1559 – 1565
John XXI	1276 - 1277	Pius V	1566 – 1572
Nicholas III	1277 - 1280	Gregory XIII	1572 – 1585
Martin IV	1281 - 1285	Sixtus V	1585 – 1590
Honorius IV	1285 - 1287	Urban VII	1590
Nicholas IV	1288 - 1292	Gregory XIV	1590 – 1591
Celestine V	1294	Innocent IX	1591
Boniface VIII	1294 - 1303	Clement VIII	1592 – 1605
Benedict XI	1303 - 1304	Leo XI	1605

Note: Dates indicate when the Pontiff was elected and died

Appendix 3: Timeline of British Rulers and Major Irish Events (Ross 2013; Carroll 2003, 8)

House	Ruler	Ruled	Irish Event	Historical Periods
Norman	William I	1066 - 1087		High Medieval 1000 – 1300
	William II	1087 - 1100		
	Henry I	1100 - 1135	Synod and Gregorian reform	
	Stephen	1135 - 1154	Foundation of Mellifont	
	Matilda	1141		
Plantagenet	Henry II	1154 - 1189	1154 Pope Adrian IV issued bull Laudabiliter. Henry adopts title 'lord of Ireland'. 1169-70 Anglo-Norman adventurers 1171 Henry II invasion	
	Richard I (Lionheart)	1189 - 1199		
	John	1199 - 1216		
	Henry III	1216 - 1272	Visitation by Stephen of Lexington	
	Edward I	1272 - 1307		
	Edward II	1307 - 1327	Edward Bruce invasion	Late Medieval 1300 – 1500
	Edward III	1327 - 1377	Black Death	
	Richard II	1377 - 1399		
House of Lancaster	Henry IV	1399 - 1413		
	Henry V	1413 - 1422		
	Henry VI	1422 - 1461		
House of York	Edward IV	1461 - 1483		
	Edward V	1483		
	Richard III	1483 - 1485		
Tudor	Henry VII	1485 - 1509		
	Henry VIII	1509 - 1547	Dissolution of the Monasteries	Early Modern 1500 – 1800
	Edward VI	1547 - 1553		
	Jane Grey	1553		
	Mary I	1553 - 1558		
	Elizabeth I	1558 - 1603		

Appendix 4: Cistercian Houses in Ireland (Stalley 2011, 138)

Name	County	Founded	Dissolved	Mother House	Founder	Value [1]	Aligned
Erenagh (*)	Down	1127	1177	Savigny, France	Niall Mac Dunlevi, king of Ulster		Savigniac
St. Mary's Dublin	Dublin	1139	1539	Savigny, France		537 li	Savigniac
Mellifont	Louth	1142	1539	Clairvaux, France (+)	Malachy, Archbishop of Armargh	352 li	Gaelic
Bective	Meath	1147	1536	Mellifont	Diarmait Mac Murchada, king of Leinster	83 li	Gaelic
Inislounaght (*)	Tipperary	1147 - 1148	1540	Mellifont	Malachy O'Phelan and Donal Mor O'Brien	16 li	Gaelic
Baltinglass	Wicklow	1148	1536	Mellifont	Dermot McMurrough	76 li	Gaelic
Boyle	Roscommon	1148	1589	Mellifont	MacDermots of Moylurg	Not listed	Gaelic
Monasteranenagh	Limerick	1148	1540 - 1580	Mellifont	Turlough O'Brien	nil	Gaelic
Monasterevin (*)	Kildare	1148	1539 - 1540	Baltinglass	Dermot O'Dempsey	20 li	Gaelic
Kilbeggan (*)	Westmeath	1150	1539	Mellifont	MacCoghlan family	13 li	Gaelic
Newry (*)	Down	1153	1538 - 1550	Mellifont	Maurice MacLoughlin	35 li	Gaelic
Abbey Dorney	Kerry	1154	1537	Monasteranenagh		Not listed	Gaelic
Killenny (*)	Kilkenny	1162 - 1165	1227	Jerpoint	Dermot O'Ryan	n/a	Gaelic
Jerpoint	Kilkenny	1163 - 1165	1540	Baltinglass	Donal MacGillapatrick	87 li	Gaelic
Fermoy (*)	Cork	1170	1539 - 1541	Inishlounaght (*)	Donal Mor O'Brien, king of Limerick	2 li	Gaelic
Glanawydan (*)	Waterford	1171 – 1200	1228	Inishlounaght (*)		n/a	Gaelic
Abbeymahon (*)	Cork	1172	1541	Baltinglass	Dermot MacCormac MacCarthy	18 li	Gaelic
Assaroe (*)	Donegal	1178	1597	Boyle	kings of Tír Chonaill	21 li	Gaelic
Midleton (*)	Cork	1179 - 1180	1573	Monasteranenagh		23 li	Gaelic
Holycross	Tipperary	1180	1600	Monasteranenagh	Donal Mor O'Brien, king of Limerick	n/a	Gaelic
Inch	Down	1180	1541	Furness, England	John de Courcy	Not listed	Anglo
Dunbrody	Wexford	1182	1536	St. Mary's Dublin	Herve de Montmorency	40 li	Anglo

Name	County	Founded	Dissolved	Mother House	Founder	Value [1]	Aligned
Kilcooly	Tipperary	1182 - 1184	1540	Jerpoint	Donal Mor O'Brien, King of Thomond	32 li	Gaelic
Abbeyleix (*)	Laois	1183 – 1184	1552	Baltinglass	Connor O'More	2 li	Gaelic
Abbeyknockmoy	Galway	1190	1542	Boyle	Cathal Crobderg Ó Conchobair, king of Connacht	78 li	Gaelic
Grey	Down	1193	1541	Holmcultram, England (+)	Affreca, wife of John de Courcy	Not listed	Anglo
Corcomroe	Clare	1194 - 1195	1600+	Inishlounaght (*)	Donal Mor [O'Brien] and Donough Cairbreach, kings of Thomond	Not listed	Gaelic
Abington (Owney) (*)	Limerick	1196	1557	Furness, England	Theobold Walter	44 li	Anglo
Abbeyshrule	Longford	1200	1592	Mellifont	O'Ferrall family	nil	Gaelic
Comber (*)	Down	1200	1543	Whitland, Wales	Brien Catha Dun/White family	Not listed	Anglo
Tintern de Voto	Wexford	1200	1536	Tintern, England	William Marshal, lord of Leinster	96 li	Anglo
Duiske	Kilkenny	1202 - 1204	1536	Stanley, England (+)	William Marshal, lord of Leinster	76 li	Anglo
Abbeylara	Longford	1210 - 1204	1540	St. Mary's Dublin	Richard de Tuit	4 li	Anglo
Macosquin (*)	Londonderry	1218	1600	Morimond, France			Anglo
Tracton (+)	Cork	1225	1541+	Whitland, Wales	Odo de Barry	5 li	Anglo
Hore	Tipperary	1272	1540	Mellifont	David McCarville	21 li	Gaelic

Cistercian Nunneries (Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 310-311)

Name	County	Founded	Dissolved
Ballymore (*)	Cork	1218	1470
Downpatrick (*)	Down	1200?	1513
Inishlounaght (*)	Tipperary	?	c. 1228
Jerpoint (*)	Kilkenny	?	c. 1228
Mellifont (*)	Louth	?	c. 1228

(*) no extant remains of the abbey exist
(+) little remains of the abbey

[1] Value of the House recorded by the post dissolution survey

Appendix 5: Monastic Rules

Stephen of Lexington (Lexington 1228, trans O'Dwyer 1982, 157-177) wrote rules during August 1228 for the Cistercian Monasteries in Ireland. These were in response to the infringements that he had observed in Gaelic Monasteries. These rules indicate that Lexington judged the Gaelic abbey to be lacking in respect for the rules of the Order and that the monks and particularly the *Cisterci* preferred to continue following local traditions rather than following their vows and modifying their character to satisfy the Order's desire for conformity based on French customs and practices (Kalkreuter 2001, 16-18).

MONASTERY	
FINANCES and ADMINISTRATION	The churches and chapels shall be conferred only on reliable residential chaplains, and not all on the one chaplain; rather, its own priest shall be in residence at each.
	All officials, monks as well as lay-brothers, shall render clear and thorough accounts to the abbot and the council of the house, and this shall be handed in in writing.
	In order that the possessions of the house be not uselessly squandered or the abominable crime of simony committed in future, it is decreed that monks shall not in future buy land or receive churches unless it is first established by means of a previous thorough enquiry that they can have clear right of entry and secure title.
	No land shall be given in rent to any knight or man-at-arms in future.
	No charter shall be lent in future for any reason unless a proper record has been made of it and the special permission of the abbot himself has been obtained.
	It is prohibited that lands or holdings of the monastery be alienated or even given to seculars to rent without the consent of the father-abbot.
CHURCH	The cross on the high altar shall be removed because the image is damaged, and candles shall not be placed in choir except on feast days when the sermon is given in chapter.
	The Book of New Provisions shall be kept complete and amended.
	It is decreed that the rules of the Order in chanting and psalmody shall be followed according to the writing of Blessed Bernard. No one shall attempt to sing with duplicated tones against the simplicity of the Order.
	The cellarer shall provide enough lead to roof over the northerly part of the church.
	The shrines on the window recess of the chapter house shall be placed elsewhere according to the rules of the Usages.
	The scriptorium in the cloister of the novices shall be removed and none other shall be constructed in future.
REFECTORIES, FOOD and DRINK	The law already in force in the statutes which begins thus: 'Since there is confusion concerning the use of meat', etc.
	Neither the sub-cellarer nor any other monk shall on his own authority prepare or offer an extra dish without the special permission of the abbot, prior, or keeper of the order.
	The prior and sub-prior shall be watchful lest any monk or lay-brother expect a second meal without good, reasonable and necessary cause.
	Sick monks as well as lay-brothers shall eat together in their own infirmaries, with the exception of the blind and bed-ridden.
	Since the frequency of drinking produces serious disorders and dangers to souls, it is strictly forbidden for any monk or lay-brother to attempt to enter the refectory for the purpose of drinking between the community drinking time and supper in summer, or between lunch and vespers in winter, except just once or when they are with the abbot.
	No monk or lay-brother shall eat or drink within the confines of the monastery or within three leagues of granges, or receive hospitality in the homes of seculars, without the special permission of the abbot.
	The lay-brothers in the granges shall not attempt to drink outside the refectory on

	account of someone or other's presence, the only exception being their own abbot or another abbot of the Order.
	No one shall change his extra dish unless it is on account of obvious infirmity, and fish shall on no occasion be served in the community for three days continuously and in place of vegetables.
	All goblets from the mother-house shall be removed from the lay-brothers' refectory.
	The lay-brothers shall not ask to be placed on a level with the monks when some favour is granted them in the refectory, especially on account of vigils or for illness, but they shall always partake of the general extra dishes according to the rules of the Usages.
	Goblets made wholly of silver or with silver bases, or spoons of the same material, shall not be used in the infirmary.
PRECINCT	The house where the press was set up is to be divided from the courtyard of the sick with a solid, high fence, and both the rear of the servants quarters and the gate nearest the lay-brothers' infirmary shall be completely closed in by the feast of St Denis.
	No structure shall be built in future in the middle courtyard of the monastery; it shall be built on the side within the confines on account of thieves and other chance dangers. Only solid roofing shall be constructed in any monastery in future.
	It is strictly decreed that all exits and entrances between the outer and inner courtyard, be completely closed up, apart from the large gate which is near the kitchen.
	It is strictly decreed that in future there shall not be any different styles of painting, to look like marble or anything else, in the church or in other places of household service; the simplicity of the Order shall be observed.
	The buildings outside the gate-house shall either come down or shall be very carefully controlled and closed up.
	Precaution shall be taken for the time being that the cottage within the precincts of the monastery be closed.
	No chapel or altar shall be built or maintained in the gate-house, and the structure already commenced shall be terminated as soon as it can be done with advantage.
	The porter shall not have a bed in the gate-house in future and he shall not sleep there.
CHARITY	A third part of the habits, hoods, cowls, and shoes shall be given to the porter at the latest before the Feast of Blessed Martin to be turned over for the use of the poor.
	The infirmarian shall not speak with two monks together but only with one in the place set aside according to the rules of the Usages.
	The infirmary of the poor shall be better provided for as decreed in the previous visitation.
	The porter shall show himself more merciful and humane towards the poor.
	Nothing is ever to be given, except by the porter and this from the alms-box assigned to the gate-house, to the fugitives who are making satisfaction at the gate-house to prove whether their humility is genuine, until such time as they are received.
	The infirmary for the poor shall be suitably provided for with linens, and the sick shall be evidently better provided for with suitable food and drink than has been the practice.

RULES for PEOPLE	
EVERYONE	All blood-relatives of monks and lay-brothers shall be completely removed from the monastery and the granges.
	Any monk or lay-brother, whenever he is intoxicated, shall be flogged.
	No monk or lay-brother shall receive guests to stay in that house without our per-mission, and no-one sent out shall be transferred to any house of that region on account of its excessive poverty; they will be sent to monasteries of other regions where they

	shall be suitably provided for with necessities and shall be taught discipline.
	The number of monks and lay-brothers is fixed; this number is by no means allowed to be exceeded without the special permission of the father-abbot; the number is thirty six monks and fifty lay-brothers.
	The monk who threatened to kill his abbot … shall never be admitted in that house
	Monks as well as lay-brothers, shall bear themselves moderately this year and shall apply themselves in every way they can to helping and assisting this house so that it can rise up from the excessive burden of debts.
	An Account of all the granges shall be audited in brief once in the year.
	Monks and lay-brothers shall not ride unless it is for the business of the house.
	The general blood-letting shall be observed in future.
	The mass in the community on the days of the eves of festivals shall be said more slowly than is the custom and the psalms of the office for the dead shall be recited with a longer pause between half-verses.
	In order that monks do not rush around through the town in a frivolous and immature manner, it is strictly decreed, for the avoidance of the possibility of scandal, that whoever is required to go to town on any matter shall go by horse.
	All monks and lay-brothers who have possessions shall hand them all over to the abbot.
	No monk or lay-brother shall presume to interfere when the cellarers freely make distribution with the consent of the abbot of the corn and other things which they have in the granges, and lay-brothers shall not have a certain portion allotted them as if by custom.
	To eliminate any cause for frivolity according to which expensive cloths of russet and other kinds used to be worn under the provision for grey cowls, to the shame of the Order.
	Irregular belts with elaborate stitching are forbidden to monks and lay-brothers.
MONKS	Permission for going outside the boundaries for the purpose of conversation shall not be granted to monks because this is the breeding-ground of conspiracies and many disorders.
	Junior monks within the seventh year of *conversi*on shall profitably spend some hour each day in studying the Books of Usages and memorizing the church services.
	It is firmly decreed that no cowl be provided for any monk in future, either by gift or purchase, unless it be white.
	So that there will be uniformity in the Order, it is strictly decreed that in future the Rule shall be expounded only in French so that the less well-ordered do not conceal themselves and visitors when they come may understand and be understood by the monks.
	Monks shall not talk together except in the presence of the abbot, the prior, or the keeper of the Order.
	The fixed number of monks for Mellifont is fifty, of lay-brothers fifty.
	Monks shall be more assiduous in the work they are accustomed to do and shall not carry out private works without proven necessity.
	It is strictly decreed concerning monks traveling on horse-back that they keep the silence in accordance with the rules defined in the Usages.
CISTERCI	Lay-brothers shall never eat or drink in the vicinity of the monastery or of the granges at the houses of seculars within two leagues except in the presence of the bishop or abbot.
	In future lay-brothers shall not talk for any reason with monks in the refectory, dormitory, or infirmary in order that the regulations be observed.
	The lay-brother who after our departure lifted up his heel against the statutes of the

	Order and of the present visitation shall be sent out to another region, not to return except through the father-abbot, unless he worthily repents and refrains from such actions in future.
	The lay-brothers shall maintain the required silence.
	The lay brother cobbler shall have a monk with him who is informed of all the things which he does in selling, buying, giving, and lending. He will put these down in writing and will know how to make clear assessments of them.
	No delicate or very frivolous attire shall be provided for lay-brothers.
	The master of the lay-brothers shall always go around all the granges within a five-week period to look into diligently the habits of the lay-brothers and correct transgressions.
	Lay-brothers who have a monk assigned to their charges shall do nothing except with his knowledge; they shall arrange and dispose of whatever needs to be done by common counsel.
	The lay-brother cobbler shall not provide sandals for any monk, lay-brother, or other person without the permission of the abbot, the cellarer, or perhaps another monk whom the abbot has deputized for this.
	The lay-brothers shall show more reverential respect than has been usual to monks, especially to the cellarers.
SECULAR	At least two suitable seculars shall be deputed to guard the woods and cornstalks of the monastery lands, and no standing trees shall be cut for burning while there is so much fallen timber.
	No monastic allowances shall be given or sold to seculars without the abbot's permission.
	No secular shall be served meat in a room or inside the boundaries, and no guest shall spend the night within the inner courtyard, except only Count Marshall.
	No secular shall serve in the infirmary or enter the kitchens to prepare food.
	No secular shall drink in the infirmary or shall be introduced into the refectory.
	It is strictly prohibited that secular boys or others eat in the infirmary kitchen.
WOMEN	No woman shall spend the night in the gate-house of the monastery because this is completely contrary to God and the rules of the Order.
	It is strictly forbidden that any woman ever in future be received as a nun on account of the greatest disorders and scandals arising throughout Ireland from such practices.
	On account of the complaint of Count Marshall and others, a suitable place shall be assigned to the nuns by the feast of St Michael where they will construct their building and live in a more fitting manner in future.
	No monk or lay-brother shall dare to speak with a woman, he alone with her alone, either at the gate-house or elsewhere.
GRANGES	No monk shall remain outside the monastery in the granges for any reason; a secular chaplain specially appointed for that shall celebrate divine service there in future.
	No structure shall be built in future in the middle courtyard of the grange; it shall be built on the side within the confines on account of thieves and other chance dangers.
	The carpenter shall be appointed to the grange of the castle.
	The cobblers-stall shall be transferred to the grange of the castle same as soon possible.
	No structure shall be built in the granges, apart from a barn and shelter for animals, until the house is discharged from the burden of debts with which it is intolerably oppressed and until the monks' chapter-house and the guest house kitchen are completed.

Appendix 6: Tax Book of the Cistercian Order

Secundum Registrum monasteriorum ordinis Cisterciensis dates to 1354-1355 and records the annual alms which each Abbey was expected to give to Clairvaux for the Orders' upkeep and support of poorer Abbeys. Over 650 Abbeys were listed and each was assessed on its wealth. Different levels of alms were defined so that either 9,000 (Moderate), 12,000 (Average), 18,000 (Double) or 24,000 (Excessive) Livres Tournois could be raised depending on the Order's needs (Johnsen and King 1979, 11, 22, 28, 38-95).

Abbey's English Name	Abbey's Latin Name	Livres Tournois (l.t.)			
		Moderate	Average	Double	Excessive
Abbey Dorney	Kyrie Eleyson	xii	xvi	xxv	xxxv
Abbeyknockmoy	Collis Victorie	x	xiii	xx	xxvii
Abbeylara	Grenarde	v	vii	xi	xv
Abbeyleix	Lex Dei	xvii	xxiii	xxxv	xlvii
Abbeymahon	Fons viuus	vii	x	xvi	xxi
Abbeyshrule	Flumen Dei	ii	iii	v	vii
Abbeystrowry	Re	i	i	iii	x
Abington	Utristaul	xv	xx	xxx	xl
Assaroe	Semeria	xvii	xxv	xxxvi	l
Baltinglass	Vallis Salutis	vi	x	xv	xx
Bective	Beatitude	ii	v	vi	x
Boyle	Buellium	xxi	xv	xxv	xxx
Comber	Camor	xvii	xxv	xxxvi	l
Corcomroe	Petra Fertilis	v	vii	xi	xv
St Mary's Dublin	Diueline	v	vii	xi	xv
Duiske	Sanctus Saluator	xv	xx	xxx	xl
Dunbrody	Dubrotina	iii	v	vii	x
Fermoy	Castrum Dei	vi	x	xv	xx
Glanawydan	Vallis Caritatis	xvii	xxv	xxxv	l
Grey	Jugum Dei	vi	x	xv	xx
Holycross	Sancta Crux	xii	xvii	xxxi	xxxv
Inch	Jaiz	vii	x	xv	xx
Inislounaght (Suir)	Surium	xvii	xxv	xxxv	l
Jerpoint	Geripons	xxx	xl	lx	?
Kilbeggan	Benedictio	xxi	xxx	xlv	lx
Kilcooly	Aluicampus	xvii	xxv	xxxvi	l
Killenny	Vallis Dei	xii	xvi	xxv	xxxiii
Macosquin	Abbas de Clarofonte	ii	v	vi	x
Mellifont	Mellifons in Hybernia	v	vii	xi	xv
Midleton	Chorus Sanacti Benedicti	vi	x	xv	xx
Monasteranenagh	Magium	xxi	xxx	xl	lx
Monasterevin	Rosauallis	xv	xx	xxx	xl
Newry	Viride Lignum	xvii	xxv	xxxv	l
Tintern de Voto	Votum in Hibernai	iii	v	vii	x
Tracton	Streechem	xii	xvii	xxvi	xxxv
Total (l.t.)		cccxci	dvli	dcccxv	mxxxv

Note: Erenagh had been dissolved and Hore had not been founded when the register was prepared.

Appendix 7: Irish Place Names

Many Irish place names and geographic features were Anglicized when they were spelt phonetically from the pronunciation of the original Gaelic names (Irish Place Names 2011; MacShamhráin 1991, 19-21; MacShamhráin 1993, S14-15).

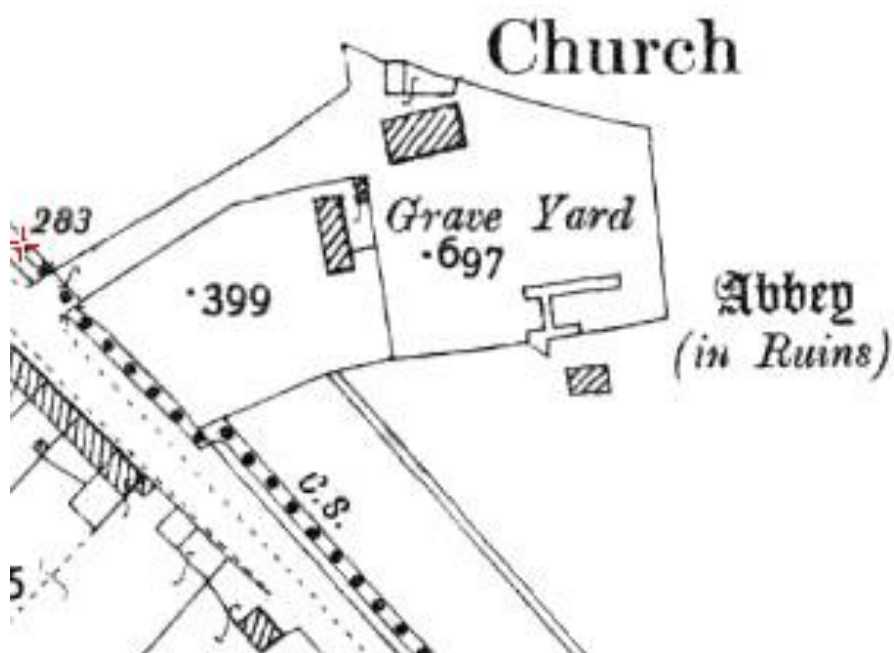| Gaelic	Meaning	Example of Anglicized names
ard	hill, height	Ardagh, Ardmore
áth	Ford	Adare, Athenry, Athlone
baile	town, townland, place	Ballymena, Ballina, Ballinlough
béal	mouth (usually of river)	Ballydehob, Ballyshannon, Belclare
beann	peak, pointed hill	Binroe, Benburb
… beag	small (usually at end)	Killybegs, Lambeg
bóthar	Road	Stoneybatter, Boherduff
bun	river mouth	Bunclody, Buncrana, Bunratty
caiseal, cathair	circular fort	Cashel
Carn	cairn, heap of stones	Carndonagh, Carnew, Carnlough
carraig	a rock	Carrick, Carrickfergus, Carrickmacross
ceapach	tillage plot	Capparoe, Cappamore
cill, cil, cill	Church	Killarney, Kildare, Kilcullen, Kilkenny
cluain	Meadow	Clones, Clonmel, Clontarf, Clontibret
cnoc	Hill	Knock, Knockroe, Knocktopher
coill	a wood	Kilclare, Kilgowan, Killylea, Kilturk
cruach	rounded hill	Croaghbeg, Croaghpatrick
cúil	corner, nook	Coleraine, Coolgreaney
cúl	Back	Cullohill, Coolcullen
doire	oak wood, grove	Derry, Derrycarna, Derrygarriv
domhnach	a church, Sunday	Donaghadee, Donaghmore
droim	ridge, hillock	Drumcree, Dromkeen, Drumanoo
dún	fort, palace	Doneraile, Dundrum, Dunloe
glaise, glaisín	small river/stream	Glasagh, Glasheencoombaun
gleann	glen, valley	Glendalough, Glenealy, Glenroe
gort	tilled field	Gortboy, Gortahork
inbhear	mouth of a river	Dromineer, Inver
ghráinseach	monastic grange	Sheepgrange, Grangecon, Newgrange
Inis	island, water meadow	Ennis, Inch, Inistioge, Lahinch
leitir	hillside	Letterkenny, Lettermore
Lios	ring fort	Lismore, Listowel
má, machaire	a plain	Moy, Moyard, Moyglass, Magherafelt
mám	mountain pass	Maum, Maumtrasna, Maumturk
manach	monk	Graiguenamanagh
mainistir	monastery	Monastrevin
muileann	a mill	Mullinahone, Mullinavat, Mullingar
mullach	a summit	Malahide, Mullagh, Mullaghmore
port	river bank, stronghold, fort	Portmarnock, Portlaoise
Ráth	circular fort/mound	Raheen, Raheny, Rathkeale, Rathmore
Ros	wood, headland	New Ross, Roscommon, Roscrea
sliabh	mountain	Slemish, Slievenamon, Slievenamuck
termon	church lands	Termon, Termonfeckin
tuaim, tulach	burial mound, hillock	Tuam, Tuamgraney, Tulrahan

Gazetteer of extant remains

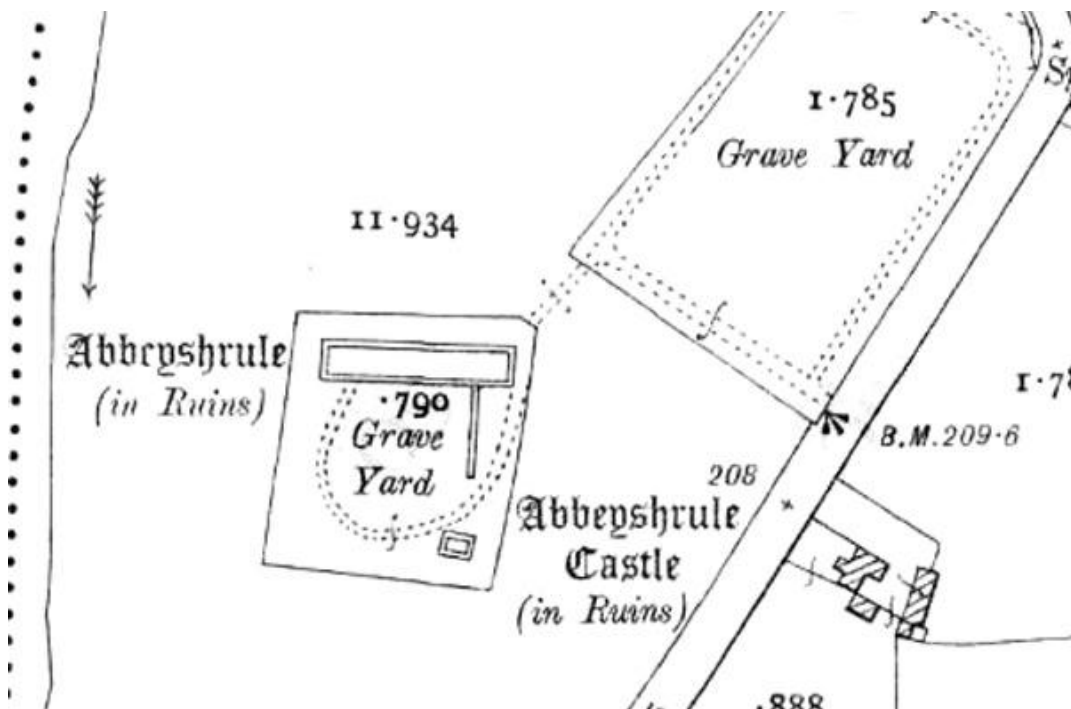Gazetteer 1: Photo of Abbey Dorney (Author 2013) and plan of the monastery (Stalley 1987, 128). http://www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/Cistercians/Abbeydorney/index.htm.

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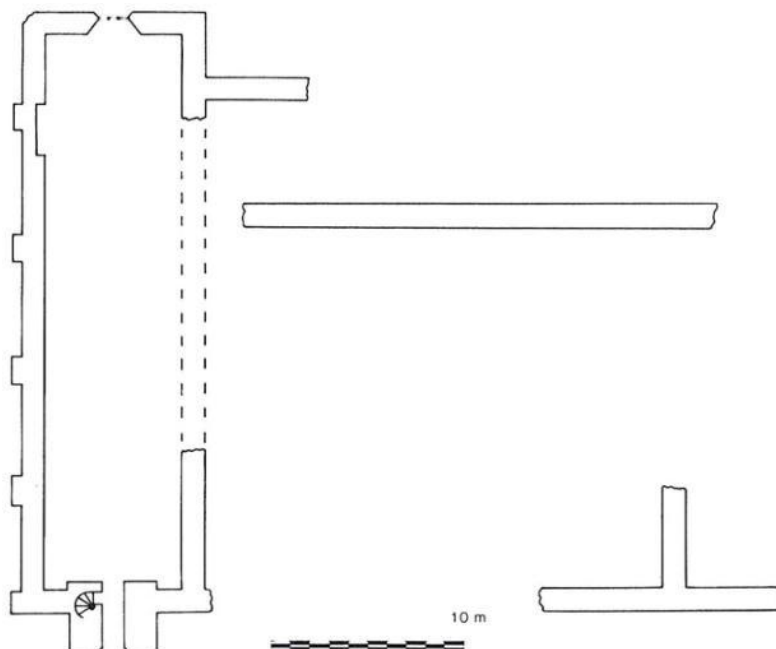
Gazetteer 2: Photo of Abbeyknockmoy (Author 2013) and plan of the monastery (Cochrane 1904, 246). http://www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/Cistercians/Abbeyknockmoy/index.htm.
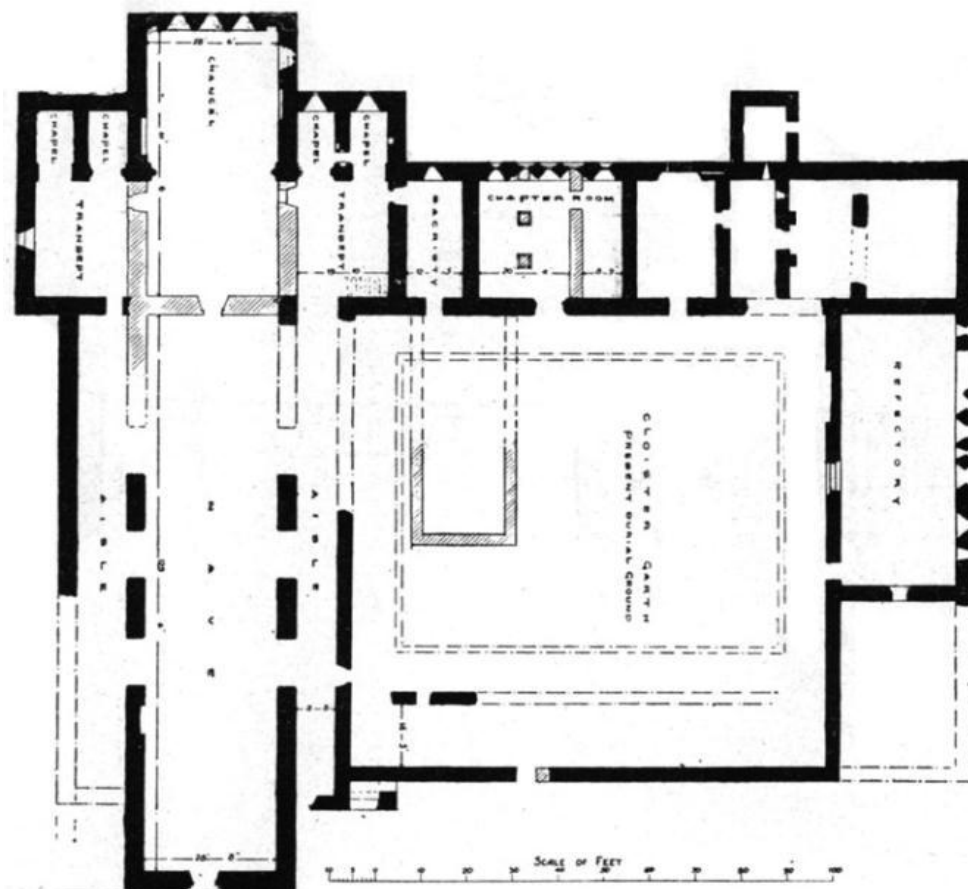
Gazetteer 3: Photo of Abbeylara (Author 2013) and an Ordinance Survey map of the area in 1824 (OSI 2013). http://www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/Cistercians/Abbeylara/index.htm.

Gazetteer 4: Photo of Abbeyshrule (Author 2013) and the 1824 Ordinance Survey map (OSI 2013). http://www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/Cistercians/Abbeyshrule/index.htm.

Gazetteer 5: Photo of Baltinglass Abbey (Author 2013) and plan of the remains (Carville 1989, 246). http://www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/Cistercians/Baltinglass/index.htm.
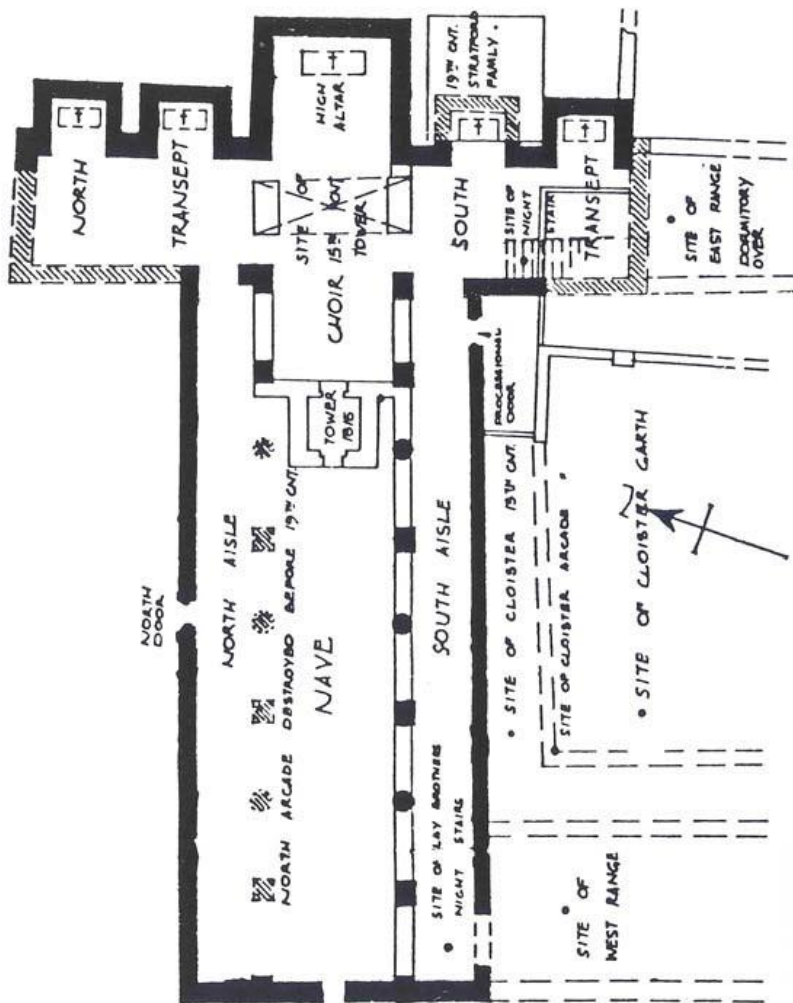
Gazetteer 6: Photo of Bective Abbey (Author 2013) and ground plan of the monastery (Leask 1916, Fig.2). http://www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/Cistercians/Bective/index.htm.
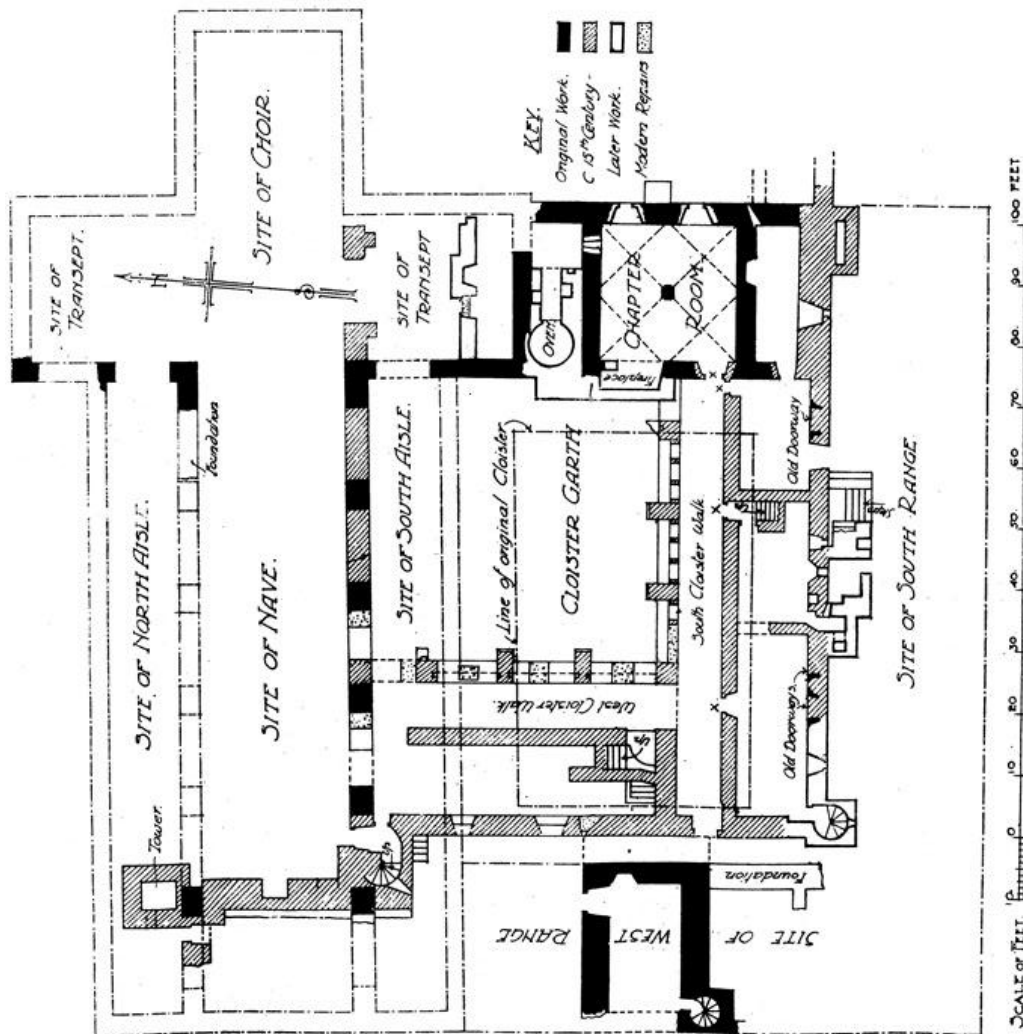
Gazetteer 7: Boyle Abbey (Author 2013) and ground plan of the monastery (after Kalkreuter 2001, Fig.2). http://www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/Cistercians/Boyle/index.htm.
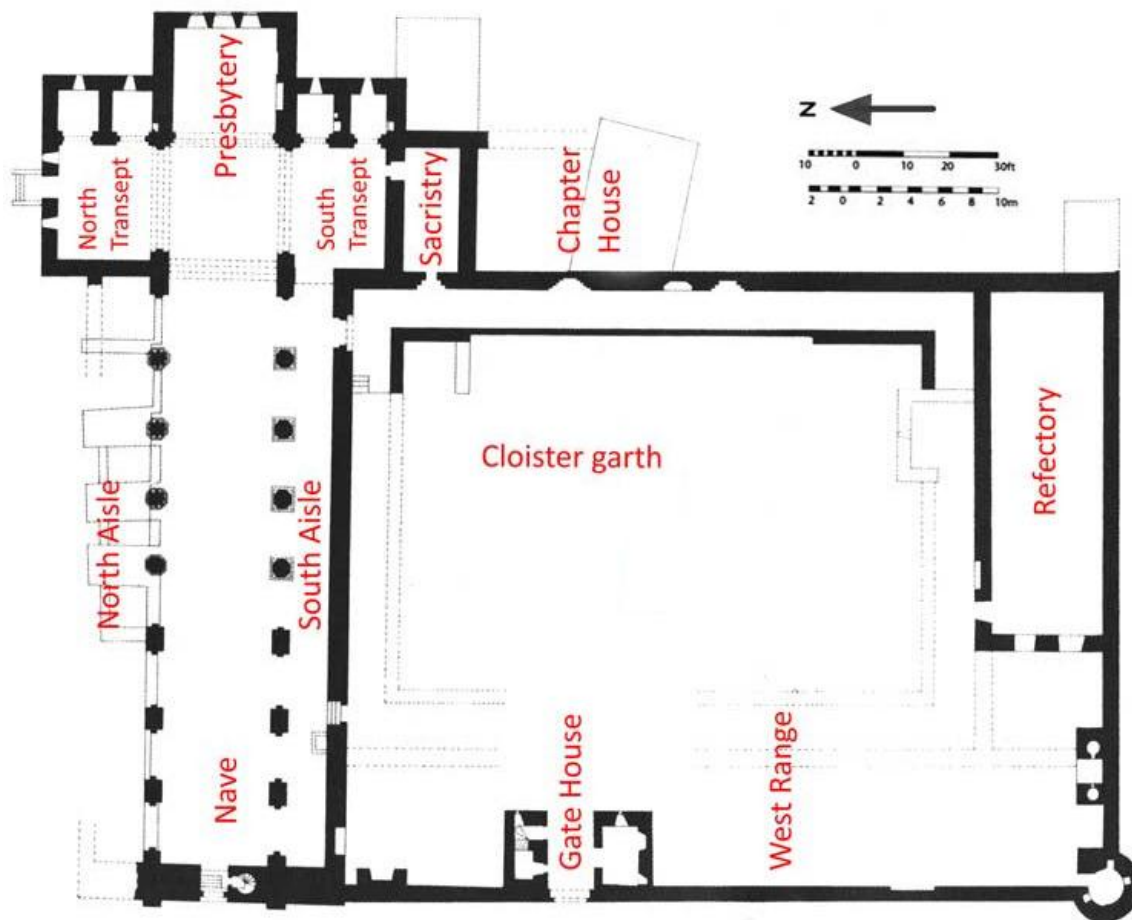
Gazetteer 8: Corcomroe Abbey (Author 2013) and ground plan of the monastery (Stalley 1987, 72). http://www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/Cistercians/Corcomroe/index.htm.

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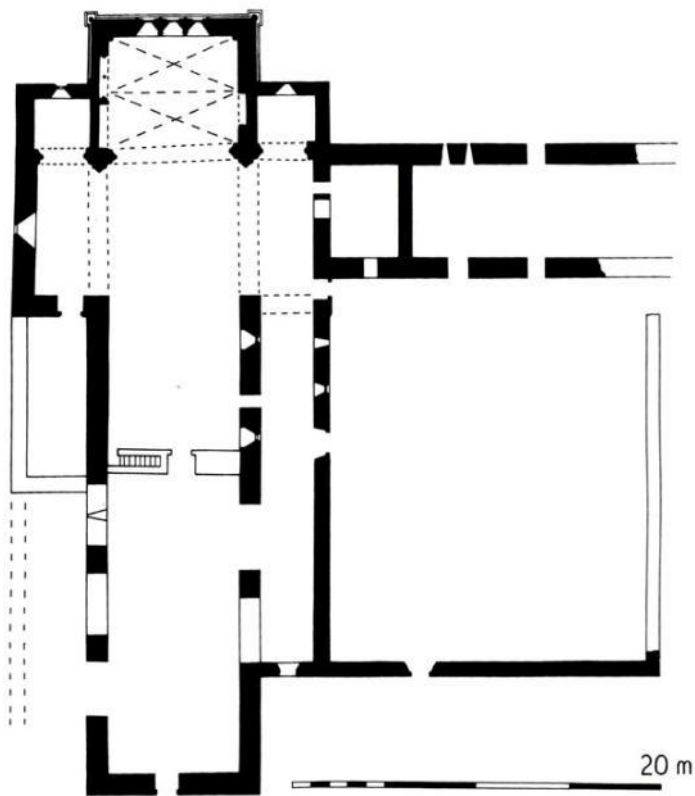
Gazetteer 9: Duiske Abbey (Author 2013) and plan of the monastery (Carville 1979, 16).
http://www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/Cistercians/Duiske/index.htm.

Gazetteer 10: Dunbrody Abbey (Author 2013) and plan of the monastery (Stalley 1987, 62).
http://www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/Cistercians/Dunbrody/index.htm.

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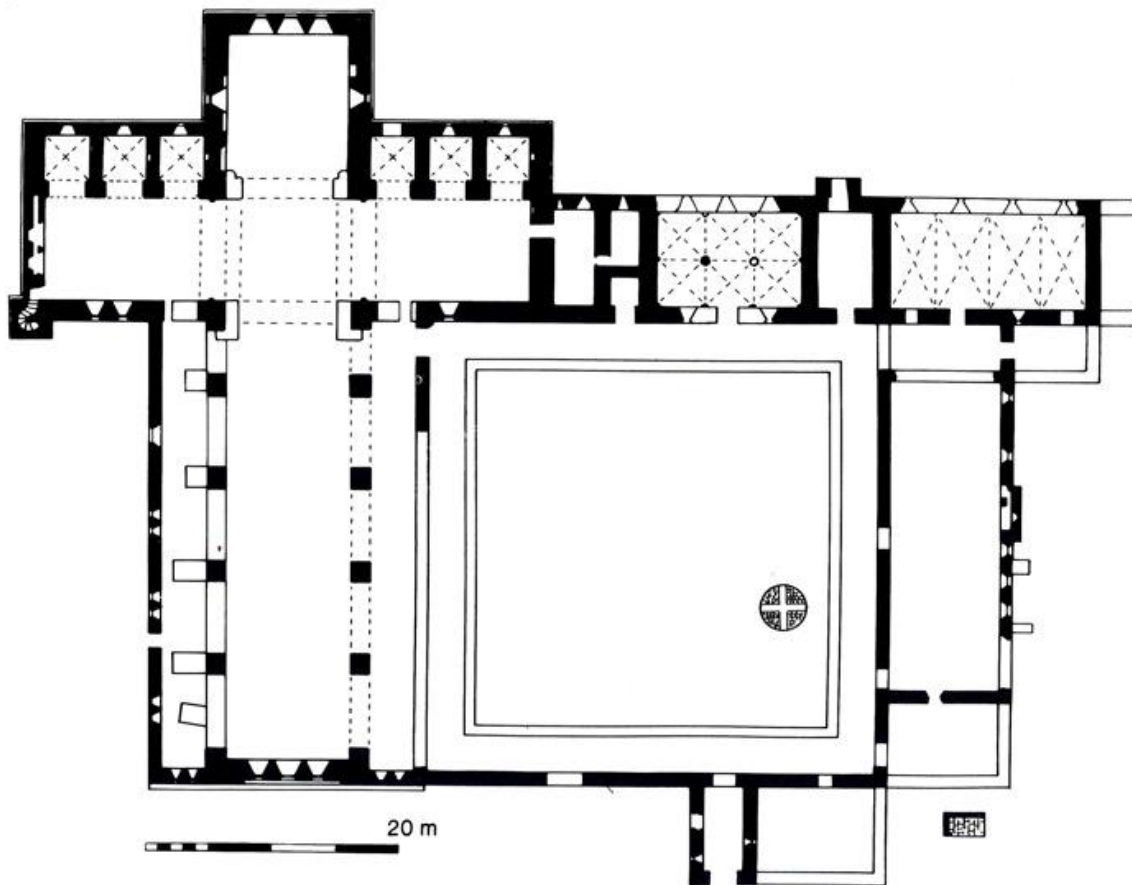
Gazetteer 11: Grey Abbey (Author 2013) and plan of the monastery (Stalley 1987, 55).
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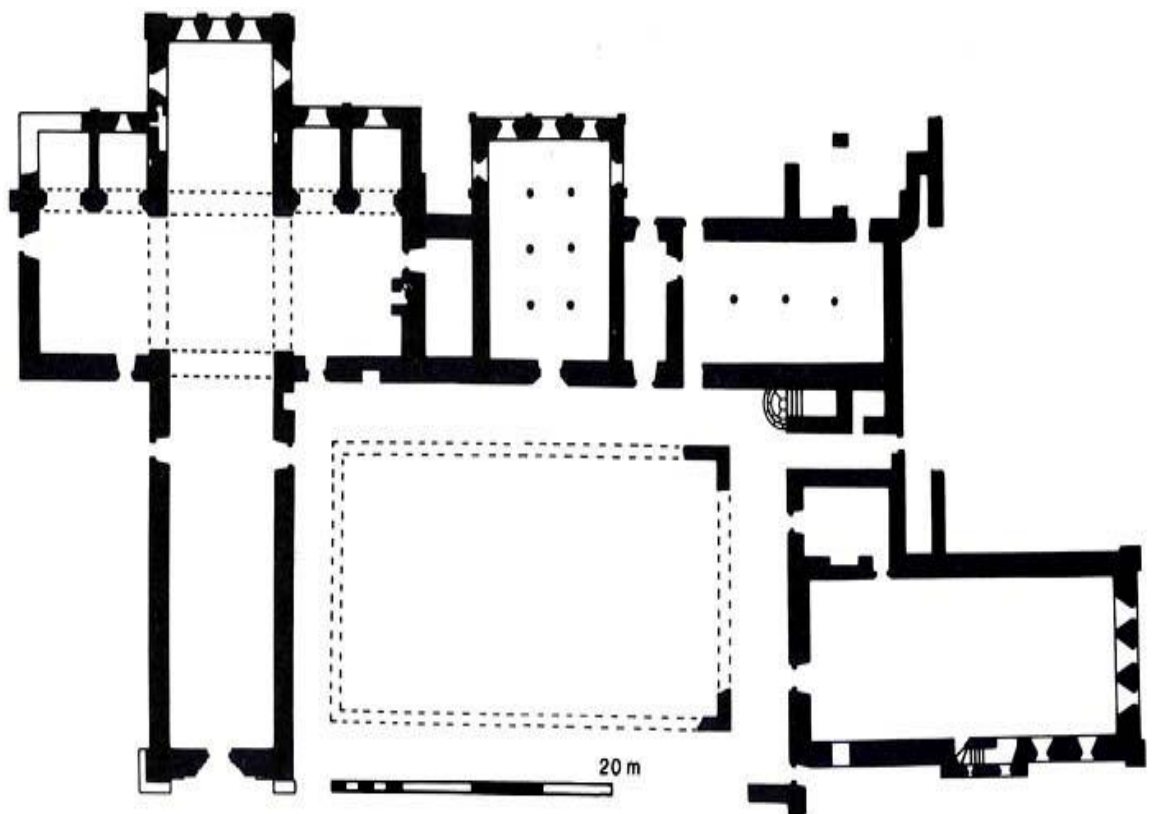
Gazetteer 12: Holycross Abbey (Author 2013) and plan of the monastery (Stalley 1987, 120).
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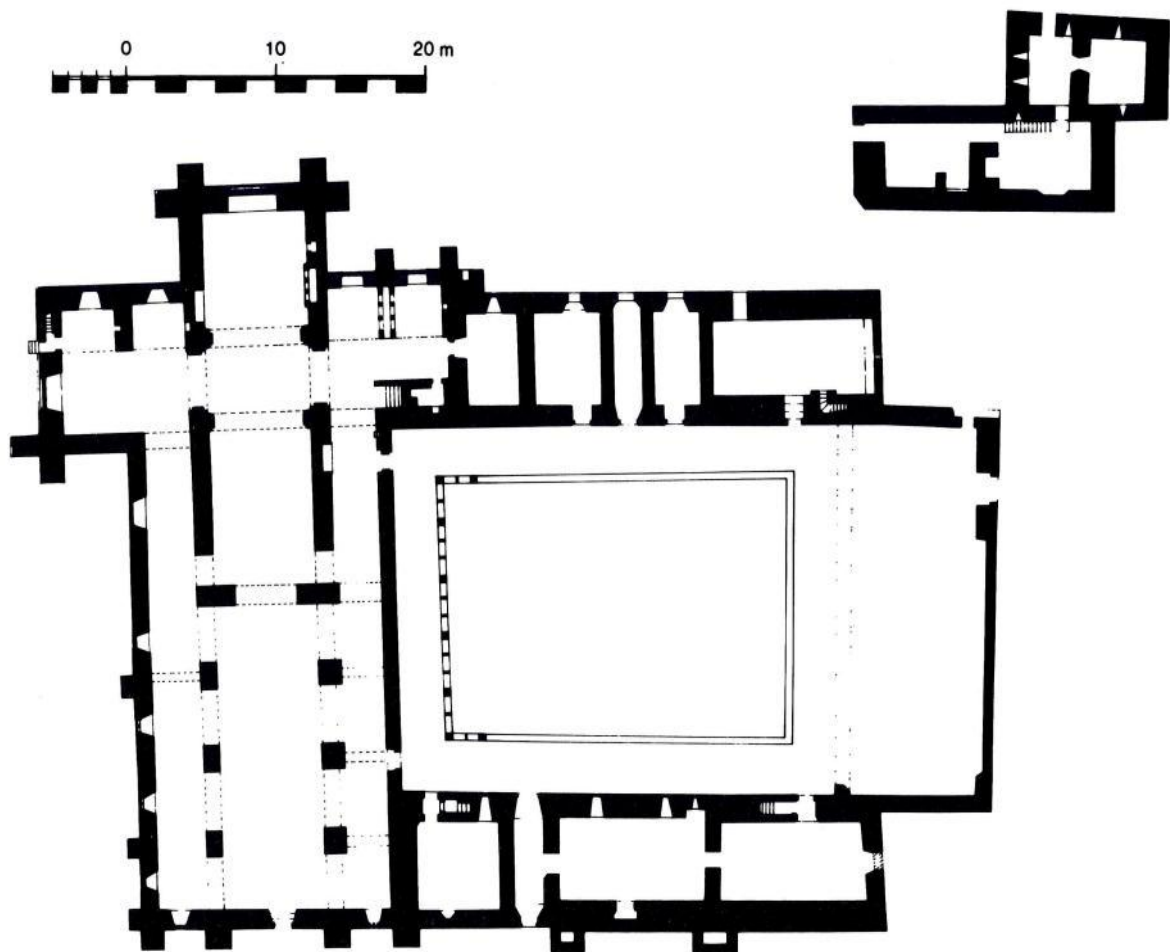
Gazetteer 13: Hore Abbey (Author 2013) and plan of the monastery (Carville 1989, 16).
http://www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/Cistercians/Hore/index.htm.
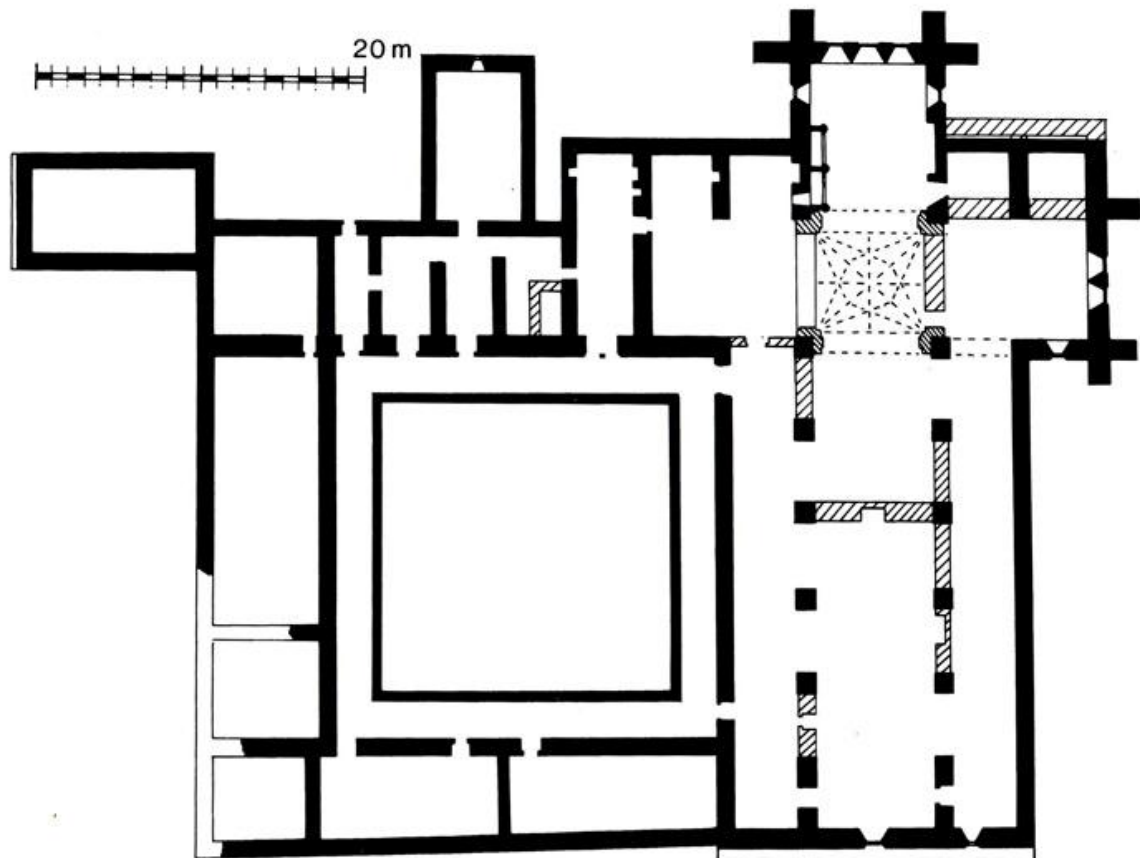
Gazetteer 14: Inch Abbey (Author 2013) and plan of the monastery (Stalley 1987, 94).
http://www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/Cistercians/Inch/index.htm.

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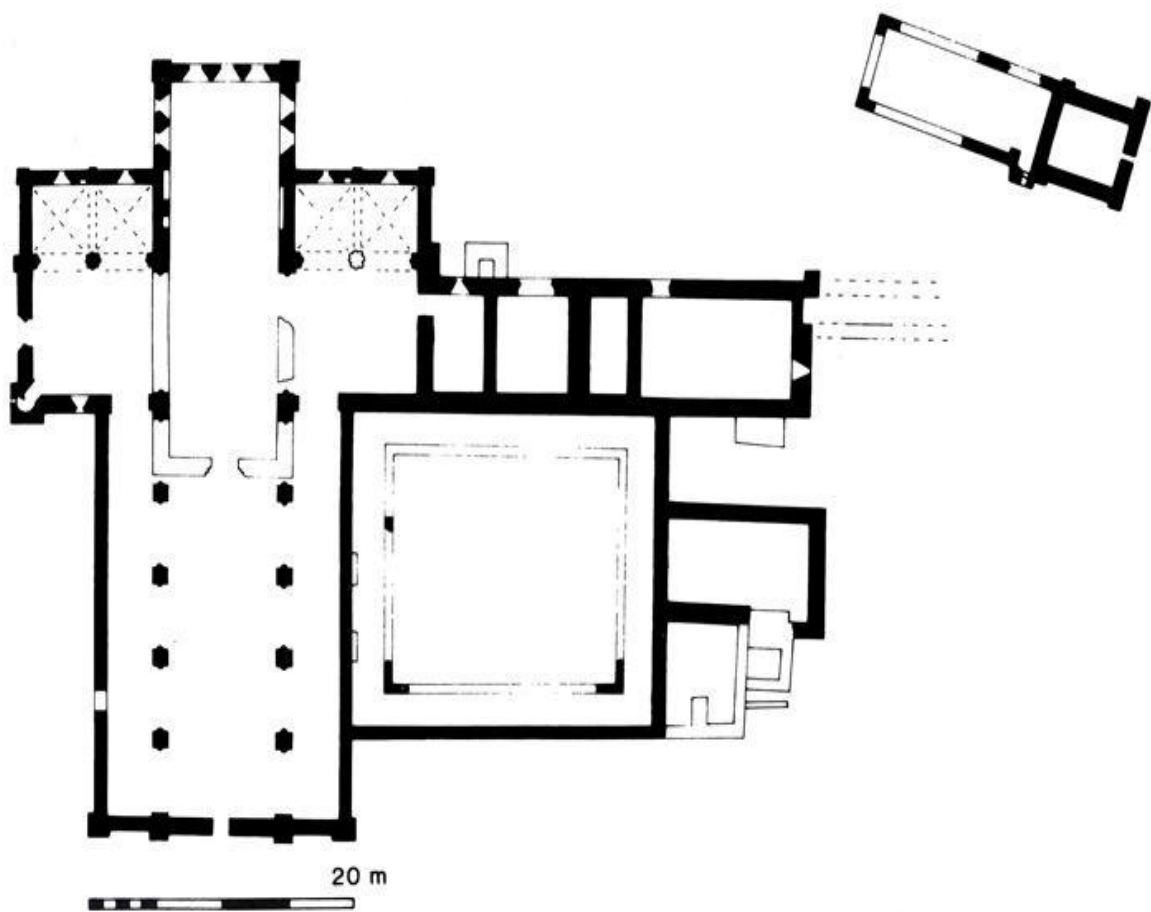
Gazetteer 15: Jerpoint Abbey (Author 2013) and plan of the monastery (Stalley 1987, 55). http://www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/Cistercians/Jerpoint/index.htm.
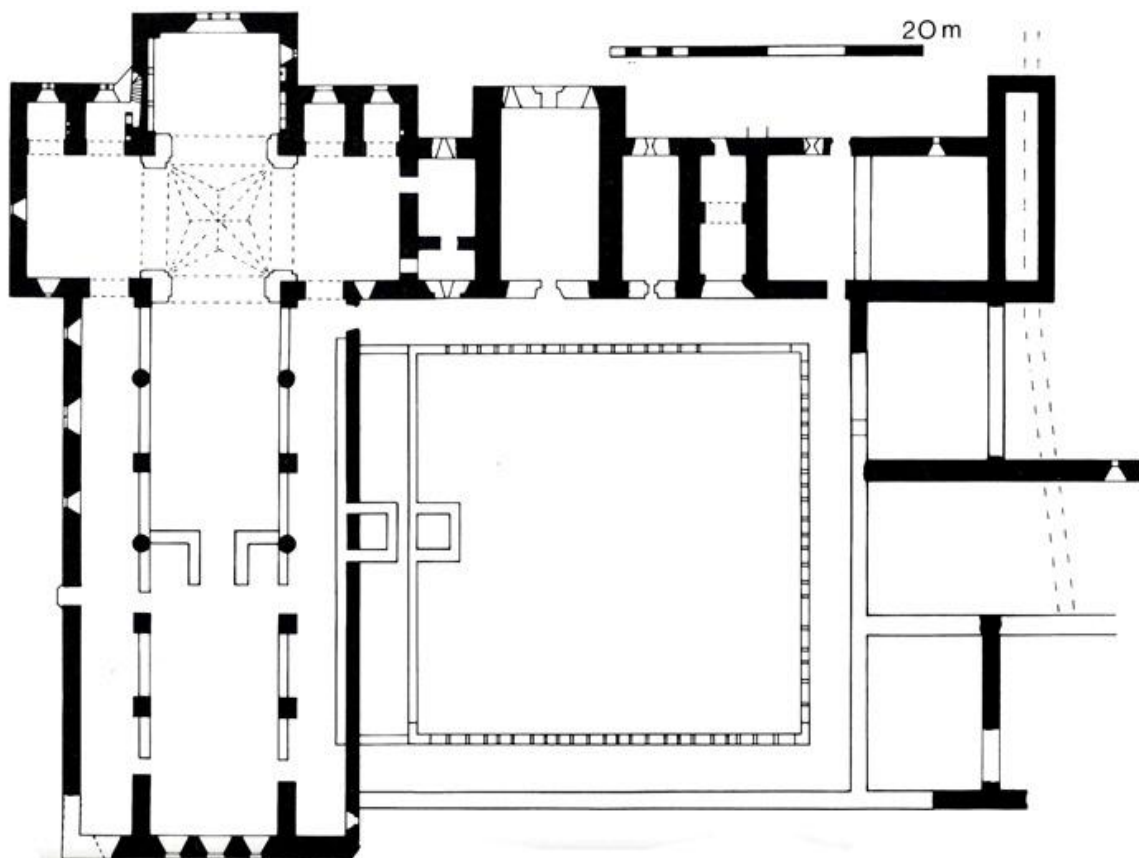
Gazetteer 16: Kilcooly Abbey (Author 2013) and plan of the monastery (after Healy 1890, 221).
http://www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/Cistercians/Kilcooly/index.htm.
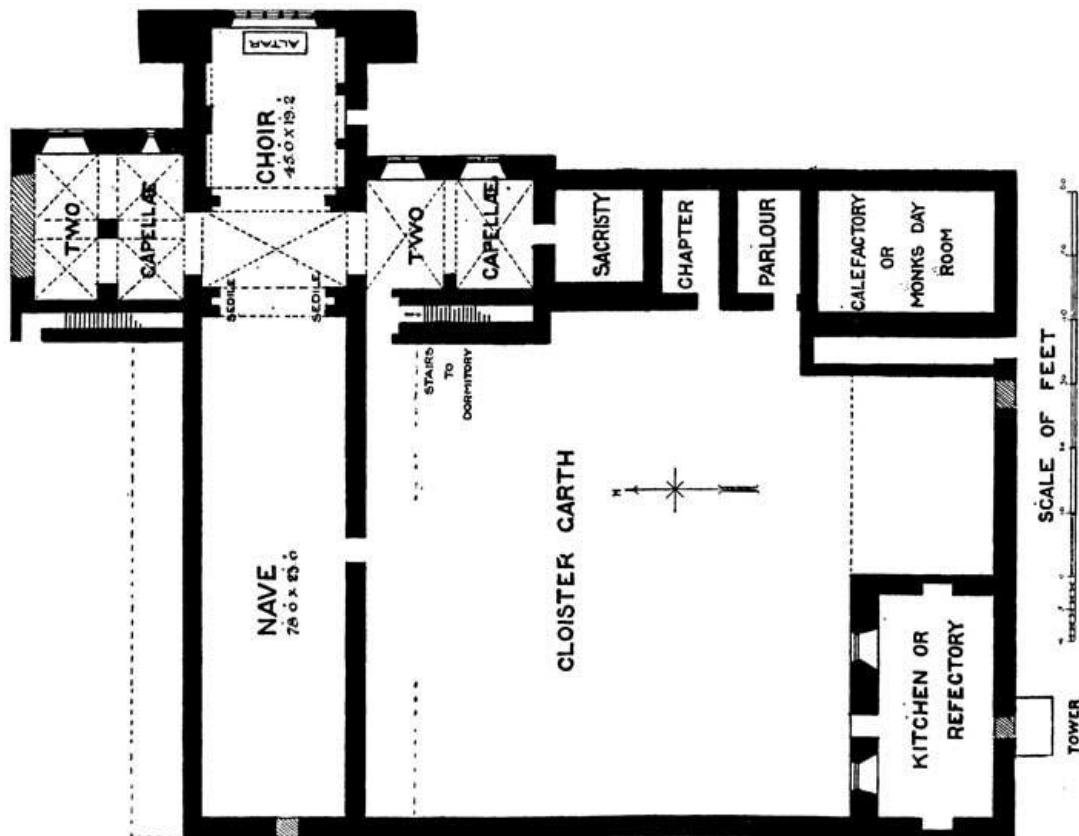
Gazetteer 17: Mellifont Abbey (Author 2013) and plan of the surviving remains (Stalley 1980, 278). http://www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/Cistercians/Mellifont/index.htm.
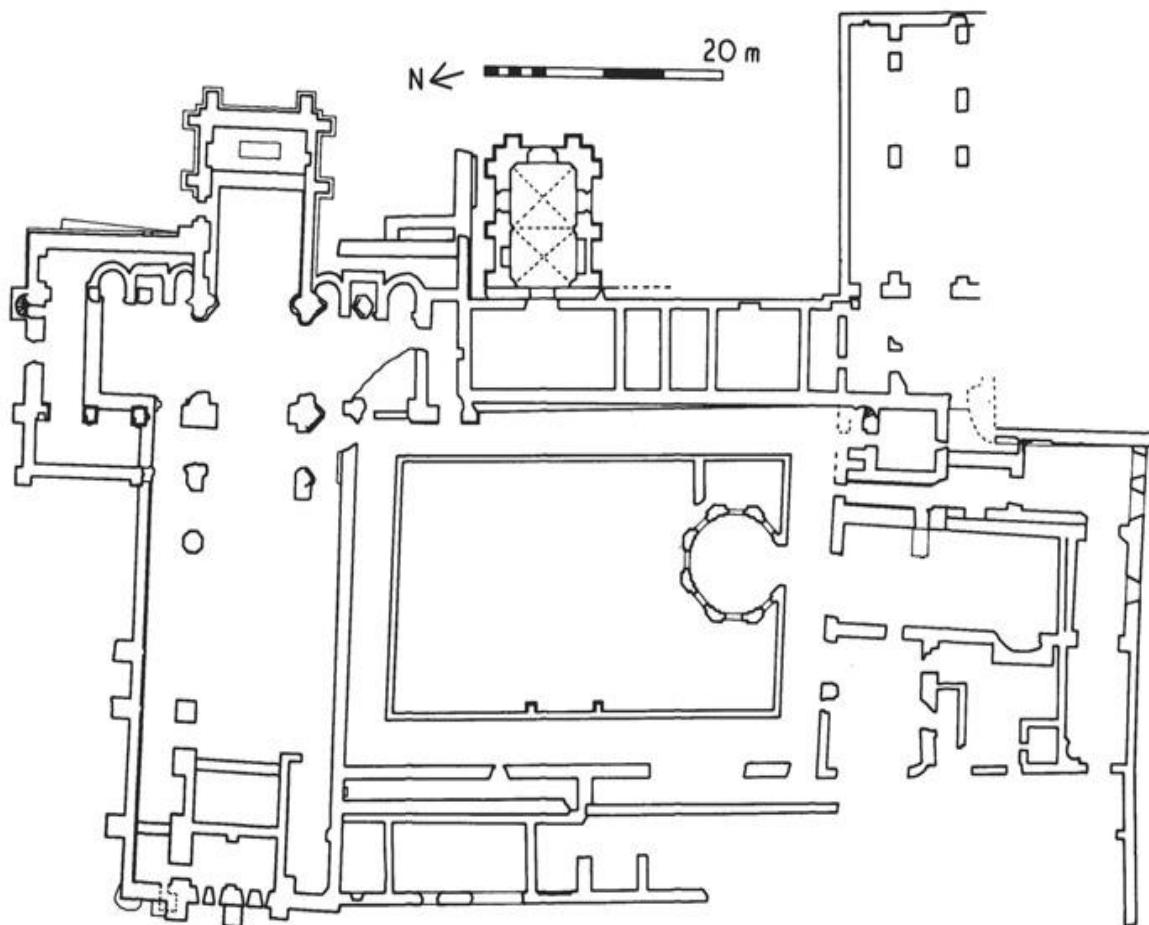
Gazetteer 18: Monasteranenagh Abbey (Author 2013) and plan of the surviving remains (Stalley 1987, 104). http://www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/Cistercians/Monasteranenagh/index.htm.
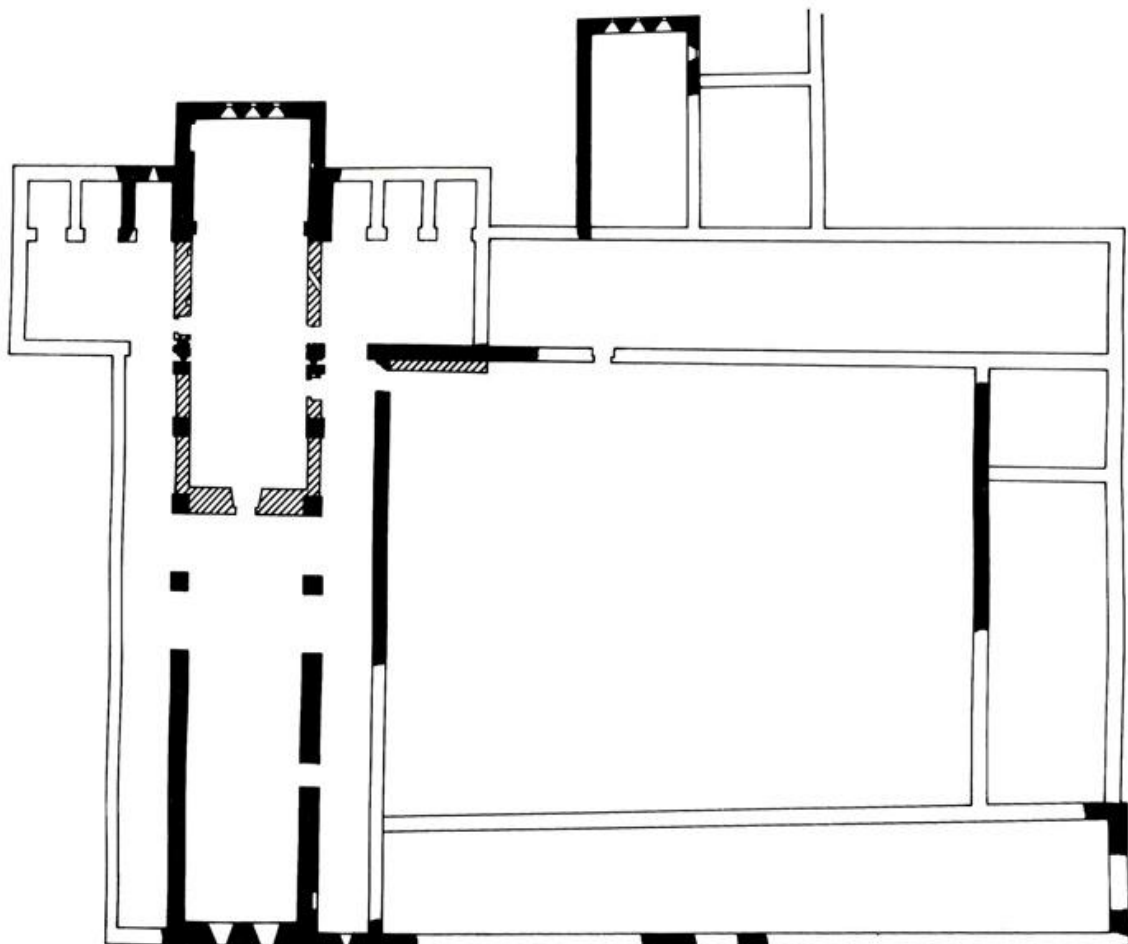
Gazetteer 19: St Mary's Abbey (Author 2013) and an axonometric projection of the abbey (OPW, n.d.). http://www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/Cistercians/St%20Marys%20Dublin/index.htm.
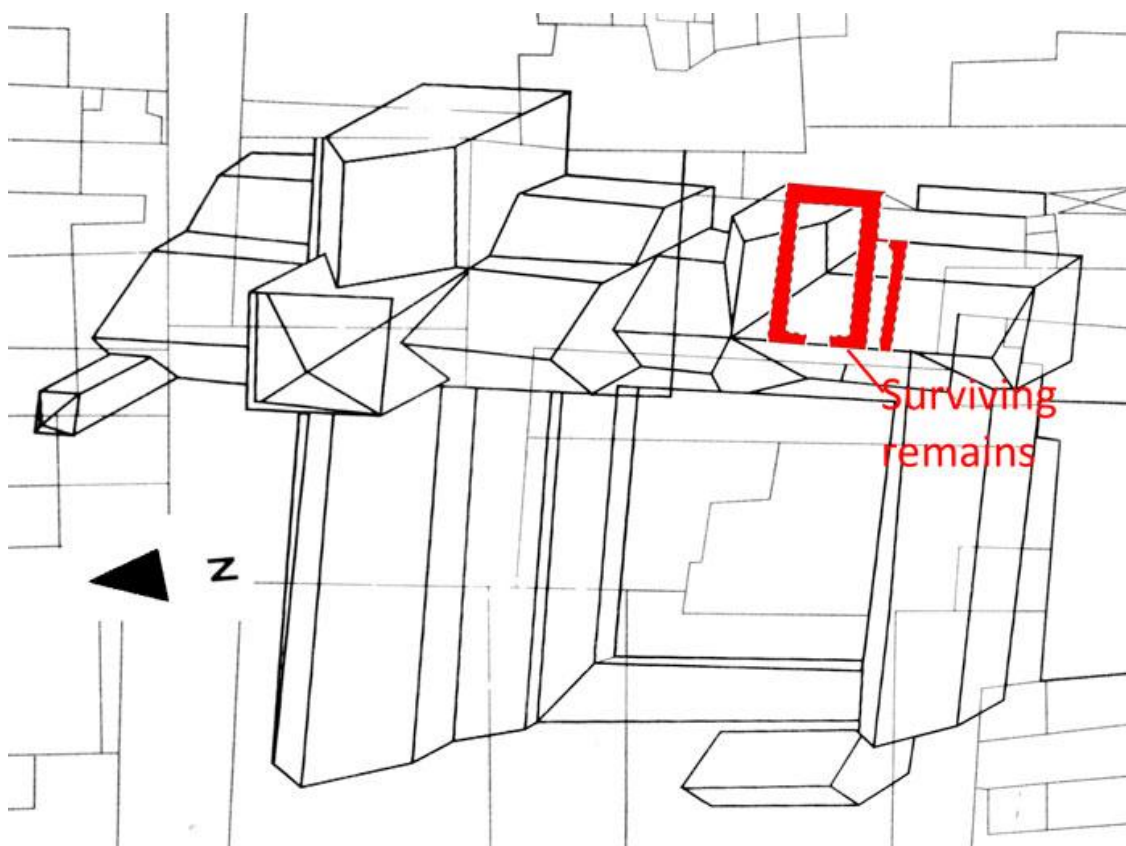
Gazetteer 20: Tintern de Voto Abbey (Author 2013) and plan of the monastery (after Lynch, A 2010, 181). http://www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/Cistercians/Tintern%20de%20Voto/index.htm.
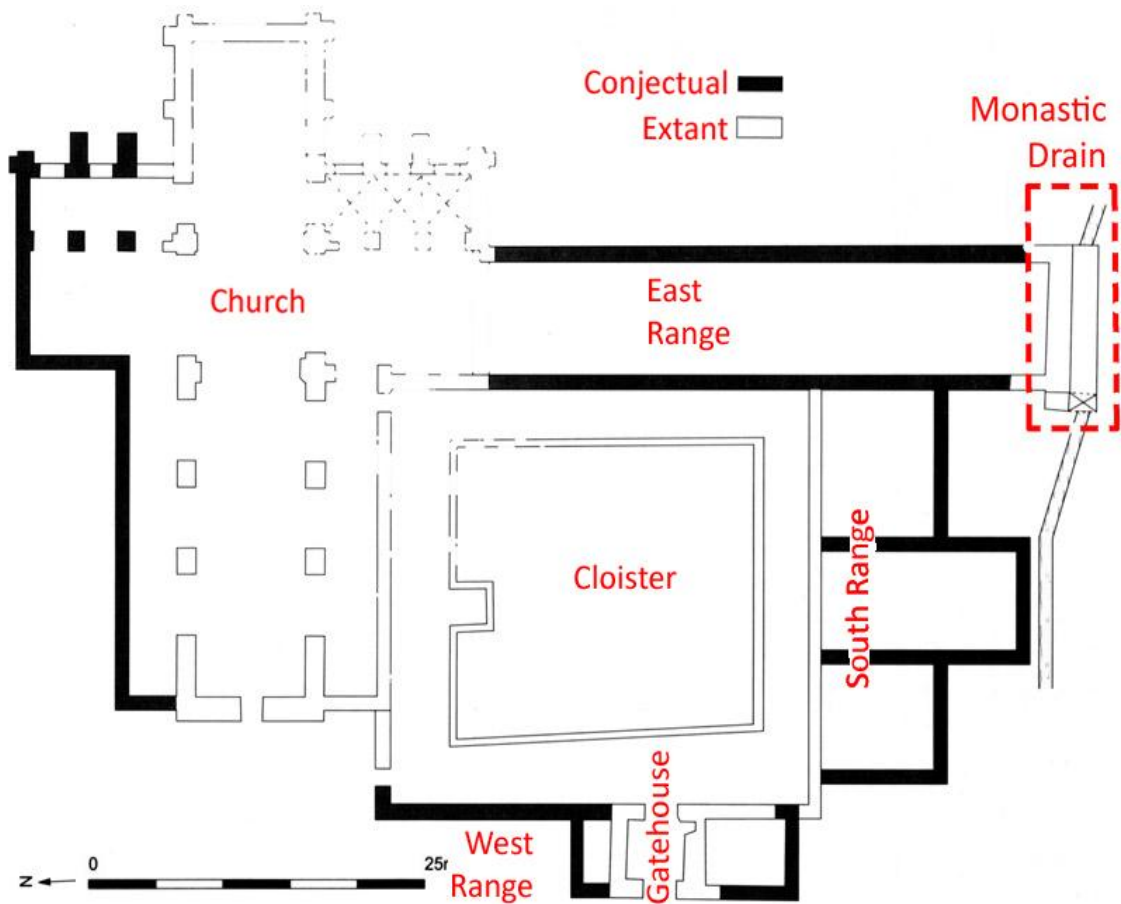
Gazetteer 21: Rathumney (Author 2013). http://www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/Cistercians/Rathumney/index.htm.

Gazetteer 22: Ballyhack (Author 2013). http://www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/Cistercians/Ballyhack/index.htm.

Gazetteer 23: Clare Island church (Author 2013) and lower/upper floor plans (after Manning 2005, 23). http://www.ancient-egypt.co.uk/Cistercians/Clare%20Island/index.htm.
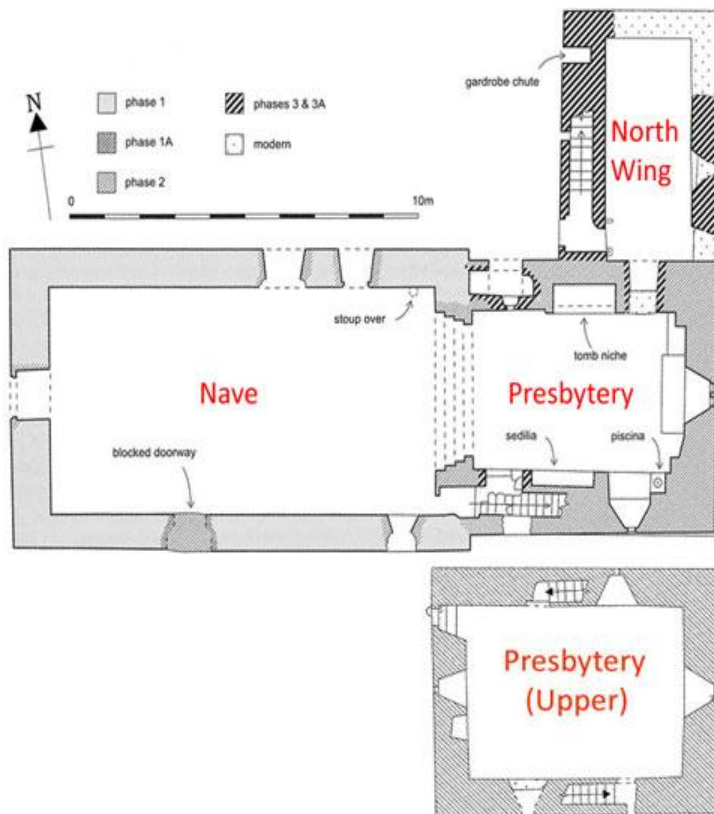
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