

HI 1216
KINGSHIP AND WARFARE: IRELAND, c.1000–1318

Course Organiser: Seán Duffy (sduffy@tcd.ie)

Duration: Michaelmas Term (Sept-Dec)

Contact hours: 2 hrs per week plus 6 tutorials

Weighting: 10 ECTS

1. COURSE DESCRIPTION

This module begins with the rise Brian Boru from modest origins to become Ireland's most famous high king—a spectacular career that ended in the iconic battle of Clontarf in 1014. We explore how Irish society and kingship changed in the aftermath of Clontarf as a result of inter-provincial warfare and the changing role of the church.

The second half of the module examines the causes and implications of the English (or Anglo-Norman) invasion of the late 1160s, perhaps the single most formative development in Irish secular affairs. We study the interaction of cultures in its aftermath and the Irish opposition to English rule that saw the emergence of England's ongoing Irish problem through later centuries. The module closes with the most serious challenge to English power in medieval Ireland: the Scottish invasion (1315-18) led by Edward Bruce, brother of Robert Bruce king of Scots.

2. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Aim:

The course aims to provide students with a basic understanding of political, social and ecclesiastical developments in Ireland during the High and Later Middle Ages, by introducing essential knowledge and key concepts.

Learning outcomes:

By the end of the course, students should be able to

- outline chronologically the key developments in Ireland c.1000–1318
- offer explanations for the key developments in the period
- evaluate the significance of those key developments and appreciate their impact on the subsequent course of Irish history
- search for, and critically appraise, relevant literature
- undertake an analysis of select contemporary records (in translation)

Personal and transferable skills:

This course is intended to sharpen skills in

- written and verbal communication (explanation and argument), through essay work and tutorial discussion
- capacity for independent learning, through preparation for essays and tutorials
- IT, including word-processing and internet retrieval, through preparation for tutorials and essays
- documentary analysis, through the study of extracts from primary (i.e., contemporary medieval) sources

Attitudinal Skills:

Specifically, this course is intended to enhance appreciation and awareness of

- the structures of medieval Irish society, how it functioned, and the ways in which it differed from or mirrored contemporary society elsewhere
- the importance of kingship, and especially the position of the high-king
- the role of the church in medieval Irish life
- patterns of settlement and the physical imprint of man on the landscape
- the impact of the Vikings on Irish society and politics
- the causes and implications of the English invasion
- the effects on Ireland of the assertion of English lordship, especially the ensuing upheaval in Irish political life
- the social, cultural and economic impact of English colonization

3. ESSAY TITLES

1. "Brian was in fact the first overlord of all Ireland" (Kathleen Hughes). Discuss.
2. "The history of Ireland in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is the history of a race evolving its monarchy" (Standish Hayes O'Grady). Discuss.
3. To what extent was Dublin the *de facto* capital of Ireland before the Anglo-Norman invasion?
4. "Whatever the obstacles faced by reformist clergy, their genuine concern to transform the Irish church and society cannot be doubted" (Marie Therese Flanagan). Discuss, with reference to the twelfth-century reform movement.
5. "It is clear that Diarmait [Mac Murchada] intended to make himself high-king of all Ireland with the help of his Anglo-Norman allies" (Francis John Byrne). Discuss.
6. "The Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland [was]...an episode in European history" (Robin Frame). Discuss.
7. Evaluate the impact of the Anglo-Norman invasion on the physical landscape of Ireland.
8. "John...must be counted one of the best of the foreign kings" (Edmund Curtis). Discuss.
9. "Sooner or later the ruthless pressure of the barons towards expansion of the colony was bound to provoke a crisis" (Katharine Simms). How accurate is this assessment of Irish politics in the thirteenth century?
10. "The principal factor was national sentiment, intensified and supplied with a more definite political form under a sense of national oppression" (Eoin Mac Neill). Discuss, with reference to Irish opposition to English rule in the thirteenth century.
11. "A century and a half of remarkable progress, vigour, and comparative order" (Goddard Orpen). Discuss, with reference to the effects on Ireland of the Anglo-Norman presence, 1169-1315.
12. Why does it matter that a Scot was proclaimed king of Ireland in 1315?

4. INTRODUCTORY READING

Easy reads:

Seán Duffy, *Ireland in the Middle Ages* (London, 1997).

R.F. Foster (ed.), *The Oxford illustrated history of Ireland* (Oxford, 1989), chaps 1 and 2.

Robin Frame, *Colonial Ireland, 1169-1369*, 2nd edn (Dublin, 2012).

James Lydon, *The lordship of Ireland in the middle ages* (Dublin, 1972, 2nd edn 2003).

Donncha Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans* (Dublin, 1972) [out of print; available in library].

More difficult reads:

Francis John Byrne, *Irish kings and high-kings* (3rd ed., Dublin, 2001).

Art Cosgrove (ed.), *A new history of Ireland II: medieval Ireland* (Oxford, 1987, 1993).

Edmund Curtis, *A history of medieval Ireland* (2nd ed., London, 1938) [out of print; available in library].

Seán Duffy, *Brian Boru and the battle of Clontarf* (Dublin, 2013), Introduction.

Kenneth Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1973; 2nd edn 2003).

Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *Early medieval Ireland, 400-1200* (London, 1995).

Idem (ed.), *A new history of Ireland I: prehistoric and early Ireland* (Oxford, 2005).

G.H. Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans* (1st published, Oxford, 1911-20; one-vol. edition, Dublin, 2005).

A.J. Otway-Ruthven, *A history of medieval Ireland* (London, 1968, 1980) [out of print; available in library].

The wider context:

Robert Bartlett, *The making of Europe: conquest, colonization and cultural change 950–1350* (London, 1993).

Richard Britnell, *Britain and Ireland: economy and society 1050-1530* (Oxford, 2004).

R.R. Davies, *Domination and conquest: the experience of Ireland, Scotland and Wales, 1100-1300* (1990).

Idem, *The First English empire: power and identities in the British Isles: 1093-1343* (Oxford, 2000).

Idem, *Lords and lordship in the British Isles in the late Middle Ages*, ed. Brendan Smith (Oxford, 2009)

Seán Duffy and Susan Foran (eds), *The English Isles: cultural transmission and political conflict in Britain and Ireland, 1100-1500* (Dublin, 2013)

Robin Frame, *The political development of the British Isles, 1100-1400* (2nd edn, Oxford, 1995).

John Gillingham, *The English in the twelfth century: imperialism, national identity, and political values* (Woodbridge, 2000).

5. MODULE BIBLIOGRAPHY

General Reading:

- F.J. Byrne, *Irish kings and high-kings* (1973, 3rd ed., Dublin, 2000).
- Art Cosgrove (ed.), *A new history of Ireland II: Medieval Ireland* (Oxford, 1987, 1993).
- Edmund Curtis, *A history of medieval Ireland* (2nd ed., London, 1938).
- Seán Duffy, *Ireland in the Middle Ages* (London, 1997).
- R.F. Foster (ed.), *The Oxford illustrated history of Ireland* (Oxford, 1989).
- Robin Frame, *Colonial Ireland, 1169-1369* (Dublin, 1981, 2nd ed., 2012).
- James Lydon, *The lordship of Ireland in the middle ages* (Dublin, 1972, 2nd ed. 2003).
- Eoin MacNeill, *Phases of Irish history* (Dublin, 1919).
- Donncha Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans* (Dublin, 1972).
- Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (ed.), *A new history of Ireland I: prehistoric and early Ireland* (Oxford, 2005).
- G.H. Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans* (4 vols, Oxford, 1911-20; 1 vol. edition with intro. by Seán Duffy, Dublin, 2005).
- A.J. Otway-Ruthven, *A history of medieval Ireland* (London, 1968, 1980).

Bibliographies and guides:

- P.W.A. Asplin, *Medieval Ireland c.1170-1495. A bibliography of secondary works* (Dublin, 1971).
- F.J. Byrne, 'Senchas: the nature of Gaelic historical tradition' in *Historical Studies IX* (1974), 137-59.
- Philomena Connolly, *Medieval record sources* (Dublin, 2002).
- Art Cosgrove (ed.), *A new history of Ireland II: Medieval Ireland* (1987, 1993), pp 827-964.
- Peter Crooks, 'Government, war and society in English Ireland, 1171-1541: a guide to recent work', in idem (ed.), *Government, war and society in medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2008).
- Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Ireland: an Encyclopedia* (2005).
- Idem (ed.), *Atlas of Irish history*, 3rd edn (Dublin, 2011).
- Kathleen Hughes, *Early Christian Ireland: introduction to the sources* (1972).
- Fergus Kelly, *A guide to early Irish law*, Early Irish Law Series 3 (Dublin, 1988).
- Paul MacCotter, 'The Anglo-Norman surnames of Ireland', *Irish Roots*, vols 22-27 (1997-8).
- Idem, *Medieval Ireland: territorial, political and economic divisions* (Dublin, 2008).
- Gearóid Mac Niocaill, *The medieval Irish annals* (Medieval Ir. history ser no. 3, Dublin, 1975).
- K.W. Nicholls, 'The Irish genealogies: their value and defects', *Irish Genealogist* 5 (1974-9), 56-61.
- Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'A handlist of publications on early Irish history' in *Historical Studies X*, ed. G.A. Hayes-McCoy, 172-203.
- Idem, 'Creating the past: the early Irish genealogical tradition', *Peritia*, 12 (1998), 177-208.

- Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (ed.), *A new history of Ireland I: prehistoric and early Ireland* (Oxford, 2005), pp 996-1147.
- Padraig Ó Riain *et al.* (eds), *Historical dictionary of Gaelic placenames*, Irish Texts Society (London, 2005–).
- Pádraig Ó Riain, *A dictionary of Irish saints* (Dublin, 2011).
- Katharine Simms, 'Bardic poetry as a historical source' in *The writer as witness: Historical Studies XVI*, ed. Tom Dunne (1987), 58-75.
- Katharine Simms, *Medieval Gaelic sources* (Dublin, 2009).
- Alfred P. Smyth, *Celtic Leinster: towards an historical geography of early Irish civilization, A.D. 500–1600* (Blackrock, 1982).

Viking-Age Ireland

- Edel Breathnach, *Ireland and the medieval world AD 400-1000: landscape, kingship and religion* (Dublin, 2013).
- F.J. Byrne, *The rise of the Uí Néill and the high-kingship of Ireland* (Dublin, 1970).
- T.M. Charles-Edwards, 'Irish warfare before 1100', in Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery (eds), *A military history of Ireland* (Cambridge, 1996), pp 26–51.
- Howard B. Clarke, 'The bloodied eagle: the Vikings and the development of Dublin 841–1014', *The Irish Sword*, 18 (1990–2), 91–119.
- Charles Doherty, 'Exchange and trade in early medieval Ireland', *RSAL Jn.*, 110 (1980), 67–89.
- Clare Downham, 'The Vikings in Southern Uí Néill to 1014', *Peritia*, 17 (2003–4), 233–55.
- Clare Downham, 'The historical importance of Viking-Age Waterford', *Journal of Celtic Studies*, 4 (2005), 71–96.
- Clare Downham, 'Living on the edge: Scandinavian Dublin in the twelfth century', in Beverley Ballin-Smith *et al.* (eds), *West Over Sea. Studies in Scandinavian Seaborne Expansion and Settlement before 1300* (Leiden, 2007), pp 33–52.
- Clare Downham, *Vikings kings of Britain and Ireland: the dynasty of Ívarr to A.D. 1014* (Edinburgh, 2007).
- Colmán Etchingham, 'North Wales, Ireland and the Isles: the Insular Viking Zone', *Peritia*, 15 (2001), 145–87.
- David Griffiths, *Vikings of the Irish Sea: conflict and assimilation AD 790–1050* (Stroud, 2010).
- Poul Holm, 'The slave trade of Dublin, ninth to twelfth centuries', *Peritia*, 5 (1986), 317–45.
- Bart Jaski, 'The Vikings and the kingship of Tara', *Peritia*, 9 (1995), 310–53.
- Fergus Kelly, *Early Irish farming*, Early Irish Law Series 4 (Dublin, 1997).
- John [Eoin] MacNeill, 'Early Irish population-groups: their nomenclature, classification, and chronology', *RIA Proc.*, 29C (1911), 59–109.
- Gearóid Mac Niocaill, *Ireland before the Vikings* (Dublin, 1972).
- Ailbhe MacShamhráin, *The Vikings: an illustrated history* (Dublin, 2002).
- Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Ireland, Wales, Man, and the Hebrides', in Peter Sawyer (ed.), *The Oxford illustrated history of the Vikings* (Oxford, 1997), pp 83-109.

- Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'The Vikings in Scotland and Ireland in the Ninth Century', *Peritia*, 12 (1998), 296–339.
- Brian Ó Cuív, 'Personal Names as an indicator of relations between native Irish and settlers in the Viking period', in John Bradley (ed.), *Settlement and society in medieval Ireland. Studies presented to F.X. Martin, O.S.A.* (Kilkenny, 1988), pp 79–88.
- Ragnall Ó Floinn, 'The archaeology of the early Viking age in Ireland', in Howard B. Clarke *et al.* (eds), *Ireland and Scandinavia in the Early Viking Age* (Dublin, 1998), pp 131–65.
- Eoin O'Flynn, 'The career of Máelsechnaill II', *Ríocht na Midhe*, 20 (2009), 29–68.
- Idem, 'The Dublin Vikings and the Clann Cholmáin kings of Southern Uí Néill', in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin XIII* (Dublin, 2013), pp 13-26.
- Aidan O'Sullivan *et al.* (eds), *Early Medieval Ireland, AD 400-1100. The evidence from archaeological excavations* (Dublin, 2014).
- Immo Warntjes, 'The alternation of the kingship of Tara 734–944', *Peritia*, 17–18 (2003–4), 394–432.
- Idem, 'Regnal succession in early medieval Ireland', *Journal of Medieval History*, 30 (2004), 377–410.

Society and Politics, 1000-1169

- Anthony Candon, 'Muirchertach Ua Briain, politics and naval activity in the Irish Sea, 1075-1119' in Gearóid Mac Niocaill *et al.* (eds), *Keimelia: studies in medieval archaeology and history in memory of Tom Delaney* (Galway, 1988), pp 397-415.
- Clare Downham, 'England and the Irish Sea zone in the eleventh century', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 26 (2003), 55–73.
- Seán Duffy, 'Irishmen and Islesmen in the kingdoms of Dublin and Man, 1052-1171', *Ériu*, 43 (1992), 93-133.
- Idem, 'Ostmen, Irish and Welsh in the eleventh century', *Peritia: Journal of the Medieval Academy of Ireland*, 9 (1996), 378-396.
- Idem, 'Ireland and Scotland, 1014-1169: contacts and caveats', in Alfred P. Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas. Essays presented to Francis J. Byrne* (Dublin, 2000), 346-56.
- Idem, "'The western world's tower of honour and dignity': the career of Muirchertach Ua Briain in context", in Damian Bracken and Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the twelfth century: reform and renewal* (Dublin, 2006), pp 56-73.
- Idem, 'Ireland, c.1000-c.1100' in Pauline Stafford (ed.), *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages. Britain and Ireland c.500-c.1100* (London, 2009), pp 285-302.
- Idem, *Brian Boru and the Battle of Clontarf* (Dublin, 2013).
- Marie-Therese Flanagan, *Irish royal charters: texts and contexts* (Oxford, 2004).
- Eadem, 'High-kings with opposition, 1072-1166', in Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, i: Prehistoric and early Ireland* (Oxford, 2005), pp 899-933.
- Benjamin Hudson, *Irish Sea studies 900-1200* (Dublin, 2006).
- Bart Jaski, *Early Irish kingship and succession* (Dublin, 2000).

- Paul MacCotter, 'The Rise of Meic Carthaig and the Political Geography of Desmuma', *Cork Hist. & Arch. Soc. Jn.* (2006), 59–76.
- Darren McGettigan, *The battle of Clontarf: Good Friday 1014* (Dublin, 2013).
- Ailbhe MacShamhráin, 'The battle of Glen Máma, Dublin and the high-kingship of Ireland', in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin II* (2000), 53–64.
- Idem, 'Brian Bóruma, Armagh and the high-kingship', *Seanchas Ardmhacha*, 20, no. 2 (2005), 1–21.
- Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, *Brian Boru: Ireland's greatest king?* (Stroud, 2008).
- Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Nationality and kingship in pre-Norman Ireland' in *Nationality and the pursuit of national independence (Historical Studies XI)* ed. T.W. Moody, 1-35 (Now available on the web at <www.ucc.ie/celt/nation_kingship.html>).
- Idem, 'Irish regnal succession: a reappraisal', *Studia Hibernica*, 11 (1971), 7-39.
- Idem, 'The career of Diarmait mac Máel na mBó', *Old Wexford Soc. Jn.*, 3 (1970), 27-35; 4 (1972), 17-24.
- Idem, 'The Uí Chennselaig kingdom of Leinster', *ibid.*, 5 (1974-5), 26-31 and 6 (1976-7), 45-53.
- John Ryan, 'Brian Bóruma, king of Ireland', *North Munster Studies* ed. Étienne Rynne (1967), 355-74.
- Idem, 'The O'Briens in Munster after Clontarf', *North Munster Antiq. Jn.*, 2 (1941), 141-52; 3 (1942-3), 1-52, 189-202.
- Idem, *Toirdelbach Ó Conchobair 1088-1156*, O'Donnell lecture (1966).
- Paul Walsh, 'The Ua Máelechlainn kings of Meath', *Irish Ecclesiastical Rec.* 57 (1941), 165-83. Reprinted in idem, *Irish Leaders and Learning through the ages* ed. Nollaig Ó Muraíle (2003), 90-107.

The pre-Norman church

- Damian Bracken and Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the twelfth century: reform and renewal* (Dublin, 2006).
- Anthony Candon, 'Barefaced effrontery: secular and ecclesiastical politics in early twelfth century Ireland', *Seanchas Ardmhacha*, 14 (1990-91), 1-25.
- Colmán Etchingham, *Church Organisation in Ireland, AD 650 to 1000* (Maynooth, 2000).
- Idem, 'Episcopal hierarchy in Connacht and Tairdelbach Ua Conchobair', *Jn. Galway Arch. Hist Soc.*, 52 (2000), 13–29.
- Marie Therese Flanagan, 'St Mary's Louth and the introduction of the Arroasian observance into Ireland', *Clogher Record*, 10 (1978-81), 233-44.
- Eadem, 'Saint Malachy and the introduction of Cistercian monasticism to the Irish church', *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*, 22 (2009), 8-24.
- Eadem, *The transformation of the Irish church in the twelfth century* (2010).
- John Fleming, *Gille of Limerick (c. 1070-1145)* (2001).
- Dermot Gleeson and Aubrey Gwynn, *A history of the diocese of Killaloe I* (1961).
- Aubrey Gwynn, *The Irish church in the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (1993).
- Martin Holland, 'Dublin and the reform of the Irish church in the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *Peritia* 14 (2000), 111-60.

Idem, 'The synod of Dublin in 1080', in Seán Duffy (ed.) *Medieval Dublin III. Proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium 2001* (Dublin, 2002), 81–94.

Idem, 'Were early Irish church establishments under lay control?' in *Ireland and Europe in the Twelfth Century: Reform and Renewal* ed. Damian Bracken and Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel (2006), 128-42.

Kathleen Hughes, *The church in early Irish society* (1966).

Tomás Ó Carragáin, *Churches in early medieval Ireland: architecture, ritual and memory* (New Haven and London, 2010)

Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Máel Muire Ua Dunáin (1040-1117), reformer' in *Folia Gadelica* ed. Pádraig de Brún et al. (1983), 47-53.

Idem, 'Foreign connections and domestic politics: Killaloe and the Uí Briain in twelfth-century hagiography' in *Ireland in early medieval Europe* ed. Dorothy Whitelock et al. (1982), 213-31.

Tomás Ó Fiaich, 'The church of Armagh under lay control', *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*, 5, no.1 (1969), 75–127.

Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Irish Benedictine Monasteries on the Continent', in Martin Browne and Colmán Ó Clabaigh (eds), *The Irish Benedictines* (Dublin, 2005), pp 25–63.

Helen Perros-Walton, 'Church reform in Connacht', in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Princes, prelates and poets in medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2013), pp 279-308.

A. B. Scott, *Malachy* (1976).

John Watt, *The church in medieval Ireland* (1972, new ed. 1998).

Ireland and the 12th-century Renaissance

H.G. Leask, *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings II: Romanesque* (1960).

Françoise Henry, *Irish Art in the Romanesque Period 1021-1170* (1970).

Eadem, *Irish art during the Viking invasions, 800–1020 A.D.* (Cornell, 1967).

Peter Harbison, 'The otherness of Irish art in the twelfth century', in Colm Hourihane (ed.), *From Ireland Coming: Irish Art from the Early Christian to the late Gothic period and its European Context* (2001), 103-120.

Myles Dillon, 'Literary activity in the pre-Norman period' in *Seven Centuries of Irish Learning* ed. Brian Ó Cuív (Dublin, 1961), 27-44.

Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'The education of Diarmait Mac Murchada', *Ériu*, 28 (1977), 71-81.

Tadhg O'Keefe, *Romanesque Ireland: architecture and ideology in the twelfth century* (2003).

Timothy O'Neill, *The Irish hand. Scribes and their manuscripts from the earliest times to the seventeenth century* (1984).

Katharine Simms, 'Literacy and the Irish bards' in *Literacy in medieval Celtic societies*, ed. Huw Pryce (1998), 238-45.

Roger Stalley, *The Cistercian monasteries of Ireland* (New Haven, 1987.)

The English Invasion

- Colin Veach, 'Henry II's grant of Meath to Hugh de Lacy in 1172: a reassessment', *Ríocht na Midhe*, 18 (2007), 67-94.
- Seán Duffy, 'Ireland's Hastings: the Anglo-Norman conquest of Dublin', *Anglo-Norman Studies XX: Proceedings of the Battle Conference*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1998), 69-85.
- Idem, 'The 1169 invasion as a turning-point in Irish-Welsh relations', *Britain and Ireland 900-1300. Insular responses to medieval European change*, ed. Brendan Smith (Cambridge, 1999), 98-113.
- Idem, 'Henry II and England's Insular neighbours', in Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent (eds), *Henry II: new interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp 129-153.
- Idem, 'The Welsh conquest of Ireland', in Emer Purcell et al. (eds), *Clerics, Kings and Vikings: essays on Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2014).
- Anne Duggan, 'The making of a myth: Giraldus Cambrensis, Laudabiliter, and Henry II's lordship of Ireland', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, 4 (2007), 249-312.
- Marie Therese Flanagan, *Irish society, Anglo-Norman settlers, Angevin kingship: interactions in Ireland in the late twelfth century* (Oxford, 1989).
- Eadem, 'Strongbow, Henry II and Anglo-Norman intervention in Ireland' in *War and government in the Middle Ages* ed. John Gillingham and J.C. Holt (1984), 62-77.
- Eadem, 'Irish and Anglo-Norman warfare in the twelfth century' in Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery (eds.), *A military history of Ireland* (Cambridge 1996), pp 52-75.
- Eadem, 'Strategies of Lordship in Pre-Norman and Post-Norman Leinster', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 20 (1998), pp 107-26.
- John Gillingham, 'The English invasion of Ireland', in Brendan Bradshaw et al. (eds), *Representing Ireland: literature and the origins of conflict* (1993), 24-42; reprinted in John Gillingham, *The English in the twelfth century* (2000).

Aftermath of the invasion

- Billy Colfer, *Arrogant trespass: Anglo-Norman Wexford 1169-1400* (2001).
- Peter Crooks, "'Divide and rule": factionalism as royal policy in the lordship of Ireland, c. 1171-1265', *Peritia*, 19 (2005), 263-307.
- Seán Duffy, 'The first Ulster plantation: John de Courcy and the men of Cumbria' in *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland* ed. T. Barry et al. (1995), 1-27.
- Idem, 'King John's expedition to Ireland A.D. 1210: the evidence reconsidered', *I.H.S.* 30 (1996), 1-24.
- Idem, 'John and the origins of England's Irish problem', *King John: new interpretations*, ed. S.D. Church (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1999), 221-245.
- C.A. Empey, 'The settlement of the kingdom of Limerick' in *England and Ireland in the later Middle Ages*.
- Idem, 'A case study of the primary phase of Anglo-Norman settlement: the lordship of Kells', *Old Kilkenny Rev.* 3 (1984), 32-40.
- Idem, 'The Anglo-Norman settlement of Eliogarty' in *Settlement and society in medieval Ireland* ed. John Bradley (1988), 207-28.

- Idem, 'Conquest and settlement: patterns of Anglo-Norman settlement in north Munster and south Leinster', *Irish Economic and Social History* 13 (1986), 5-31.
- James Lydon, 'John de Courcy (c. 1150-1219) and the medieval frontier' in *Worsted in the Game* (see above, no. 63), 37-48.
- Paul MacCotter, 'Lordship and colony in Anglo-Norman Kerry 1177–1400', *Jn. Kerry Arch. & Hist. Soc.* (2004), 39–85.
- K.W. Nicholls, 'Anglo-French Ireland and after', *Peritia* 1 (1982), 370-403.
- A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The character of Norman settlement in Ireland', *Historical Studies* V ed. J.L. McCracken (1965), 75-84 (reprinted in Crooks (ed.), *Government, war and society*).
- J.R.S. Phillips, 'The Anglo-Norman nobility' in *The English in medieval Ireland* ed. James Lydon (1984), 87-104.
- Colin Veach, 'King and magnate in medieval Ireland: Walter de Lacy, King Richard and King John', *Irish Historical Studies*, xxxvii, no. 146, (Nov, 2010), 179-202.
- Idem, *Lordship in four realms: the Lacy family, 1166–1241* (Manchester, 2014).
- Idem and Freya Verstraten Veach, 'William Gorm de Lacy, "chiefest champion in these parts of Europe"', in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Princes, prelates and poets in medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2013), pp 63-84.
- W.L. Warren, 'John in Ireland, 1185' in *Essays presented to Michael Roberts* ed. J. Bossy and P. Jupp (1976), 11-23.
- Idem, 'King John and Ireland' in *England and Ireland in the later Middle Ages* ed. James Lydon (1981), 26-42.

Medieval Dublin

- Howard B. Clarke (ed.), *Medieval Dublin: the making of a metropolis/The living city*, 2 vols (Dublin, 1990)
- Howard Clarke, Sarah Dent and Ruth Johnson, *Dublinia: the Story of medieval Dublin* (Dublin, 2003)
- Art Cosgrove (ed.), *Dublin through the ages* (Dublin, 1988)
- Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin I [II, III, IV, etc.] Proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium 1999 [2000, 2001, 2002, etc.]* (Dublin, 2000-)
- Andrew Halpin, *Weapons and warfare in Viking and medieval Dublin*, Medieval Dublin Excavations 1962–81, Series B, 9 (Dublin, 2008).
- Ruth Johnson, *Viking Age Dublin* (Dublin, 2004)
- Margaret Murphy and Michael Potterton, *The Dublin region in the Middle Ages: settlement, land-use and economy* (Dublin, 2010).

The church in later medieval Ireland

- Marie-Thérèse Flanagan, 'Hiberno-papal relations in the late twelfth century', *Archivium Hibernicum* 34 (1976-7), 55-70.
- Eadem, 'Henry II, the Council of Cashel and the Irish bishops', *Peritia*, 10 (1996), 184–211.
- Aubrey Gwynn, 'Archbishop John Cumin', *Repertorium Novum* 1 (1955-6), 285-310.
- Aubrey Gwynn and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland* (1970).

- G.J. Hand, *The church in the English lordship 1216-1307* (A history of Ir. Catholicism ii, fasc. 3, 1968).
- Paul MacCotter, *A history of the medieval diocese of Cloyne* (Dublin, 2013).
- Margaret Murphy, 'Balancing the concerns of church and state: the archbishops of Dublin 1181-1228' in Barry, Frame and Simms (eds), *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland*, 41-56.
- Colmán Ó Clabaigh, *The friars in Ireland, 1224–1540* (Dublin 2012).
- B.W. O'Dwyer, *The Conspiracy of Mellifont, 1216-1231* (Medieval Irish history series, no. 2, 1970).
- Idem, 'The problem of reform in the Irish Cistercian monasteries and the attempted solution of Stephen of Lexington in 1228', *Jn. Ecclesiastical Hist.* 15 (1964), 186-91.
- A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The medieval church-lands of county Dublin', in *Medieval Studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn S.J.*, ed. J.A. Watt et al. (1961), 54-73.
- John A. Watt, *The church and the two nations in medieval Ireland* (Cambridge, 1970).
- Idem, *The church in medieval Ireland*, chaps. 2-4.

The thirteenth century

- Seán Duffy, 'The lords of Galloway, earls of Carrick, and the Bissets of the Glens: Scottish settlement in thirteenth-century Ulster' in David Edwards (ed.), *Regions and rulers in Ireland 1100-1650* (Dublin, 2004), 37-50.
- Robin Frame, 'Ireland and the Baron's Wars' in *Thirteenth-Century England 1* (1986), 158-67; reprinted in idem, *Ireland and Britain 1170-1450* (1998), 59-70.
- Idem, 'Aristocracies and the political configuration of the British Isles' in R.R. Davies (ed.), *The British Isles 1100-1500* (Edinburgh, 1988), pp 142-59; reprinted in Frame, *Ireland and Britain*, 151-70.
- Idem, 'King Henry III and Ireland: the shaping of a peripheral lordship', in *Thirteenth-Century England IV* (1991), pp 179-202; reprinted in idem, *Ireland and Britain*, 31-58.
- Beth Hartland, 'Vaucouleurs, Ludlow and Trim: the role of Ireland in the career of Geoffrey de Geneville (c.1226–1314)', *Irish Historical Studies*, 32 (2001), 457-77.
- Eadem, 'English Lords in late thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century Ireland: Roger Bigod and Thomas de Clare', *English Historical Review*, 121 (2007), 318-48
- James Lydon, 'Lordship and crown: Llywelyn of Wales and O'Conor of Connacht' in *The British Isles 1100-1500* ed. R.R. Davies (1988), 48-63.
- Idem, 'The problem of the frontier in medieval Ireland', *Topic* 13 (1967), 5-22 (reprinted in Crooks (ed.), *Government, war and society*).
- Idem (ed.), *Law and disorder in thirteenth-century Ireland. The Dublin Parliament of 1297* (Dublin, 1997).
- Eoin Mac Neill, *Phases of Irish history* (1919), Chap. 12.
- Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, 'The battle of Callan, A.D. 1261', *Cork Hist. Soc. Jn.* 66 (1961), 105-15.
- G.H. Orpen, 'Richard de Burgh and the conquest of Connacht' *Galway Arch. Soc. Jn.* 7 (1911-12), 129-47.

- Idem, 'The Normans in Tirowen and Tirconnell', *R.S.A.I. Jn.* 45 (1915), 275-88.
- Helen Perros, 'Crossing the Shannon frontier' in Barry, Frame and Simms (eds), *Colony and frontier in medieval Ireland*, 117-38.
- Katharine Simms, 'The O'Hanlons, the O'Neills and the Anglo-Normans in thirteenth-century Armagh', *Seanchas Ardmhacha*, 9 (1978-9), 70-94.
- Eadem, 'Relations with the Irish', in James Lydon (ed.), James Lydon (ed.), *Law and disorder in thirteenth-century Ireland. The Dublin Parliament of 1297* (Dublin, 1997), pp 66-86.
- Brendan Smith, 'Tenure and locality in North Leinster in the early thirteenth century', in T.B. Barry, R.F. Frame and K. Simms (eds), *Frontier and colony in medieval Ireland: essays in honour of J.F. Lydon* (London, 1995) 29-40.
- Freya Verstraten, 'Both king and vassal: Feidlim Ua Conchobair of Connacht, 1230-65', *Galway Arch. & Hist. Soc. Jn.*, 55 (2003), 13-37.
- Eadem, 'Naming practices among the Irish secular nobility in the high middle ages', *Journal of Medieval History*, 32 (2006), 43-53.

Colonial institutions, society and culture

- Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay (eds), *Medieval Frontier Societies* (1989), articles by Bartlett, Frame and Simms.
- Alan Bliss and Joseph Long, 'Literature in Norman-French and English' in *A New History of Ireland II* ed. Cosgrove, 708-36.
- Paul Brand, 'Ireland and the literature of the early common law', *Irish Jurist* new ser. 16 (1981), 95-113.
- Peter Crooks (ed.), *Government, War and Society in Medieval Ireland: Essays by Edmund Curtis, A.J. Otway-Ruthven and James Lydon* (Dublin, 2008).
- Seán Duffy, 'The problem of degeneracy', in James Lydon (ed.), *Law and disorder in thirteenth-century Ireland. The Dublin Parliament of 1297* (Dublin, 1997), 87-106).
- Idem, 'Town and crown: the kings of England and their city of Dublin', in *Thirteenth Century England X. Proceedings of the Durham Conference 2003*, ed. Michael Prestwich et al. (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2005), 95-117.
- R.F. Frame, "'Les Engleys néés en Irlande": the English political identity in medieval Ireland' in *Transactions of the Roy. Hist. Soc.* 6th ser., 3 (1993), 83-103; reprinted in idem, *Ireland and Britain*, 131-50.
- G.J. Hand, *English law in Ireland 1290-1324* (1967).
- Idem, 'English law in Ireland, 1172-1351', *Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly*, 13 (1972), 393-422.
- Idem, 'The status of the native Irish in the lordship of Ireland, 1272-1331', *Irish Jurist* new ser., 1 (1966), 93-115.
- A.M. Lucas (ed.), *Anglo-Irish poems of the Middle Ages* (1995).
- James Lydon (ed.), *The English in medieval Ireland* (1984).
- Evelyn Mullally, 'Hiberno-Norman literature and its public' in *Settlement and Society* ed. Bradley, 327-43.

- A.J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Knight service in Ireland', *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, 89 (1959), 1-15 (reprinted in Crooks (ed.), *Government, war and society*).
- Eadem, 'Royal service in Ireland', *ibid.*, 98 (1968), 37-46 (reprinted in Crooks (ed.), *Government, war and society*).
- Eadem, 'Anglo-Irish shire government in the thirteenth century', *I.H.S.* 5 (1946), 1-28 (reprinted in Crooks (ed.), *Government, war and society*).
- Eadem, 'The organisation of Anglo-Irish agriculture in the middle ages', *R.S.A.I. Jn.* 81 (1951), 1-13 (reprinted in Crooks (ed.), *Government, war and society*).
- H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, *The administration of Ireland, 1172-1377* (1963).
- Eidem, *The Irish parliament in the middle ages* (1952).
- Katharine Simms, 'Women in Norman Ireland' in *Women in Irish society* ed. Margaret MacCurtain et al. (1978), 14-24.
- Gillian Kenny, *Anglo-Irish and Gaelic women in Ireland, c.1170-1540* (Dublin, 2007).

The age of the Bruces

- J.R.S. Phillips, 'The mission of John de Hothum to Ireland, 1315-16' in *England and Ireland* ed. Lydon (as above, no. 73), 62-85.
- Idem, 'The Irish Remonstrance of 1317: an international perspective', *I.H.S.*, 27 (1990), 112-29.
- J.A. Watt, 'Negotiations between Edward II and John XXII concerning Ireland', *I.H.S.*, 10 (1956), 1-20.
- J.F. Lydon, 'The Bruce invasion of Ireland' in *Historical Studies IV*, ed. G.A. Hayes-McCoy (1963), 111-25.
- Idem, 'An Irish army in Scotland, 1296' *The Irish Sword*, 5 (1961-2), 184-90.
- Idem, 'Irish levies in the Scottish wars, 1296-1302', *ibid.*, 207-17.
- Idem, 'Edward I, Ireland and the war in Scotland, 1303-4' in *England and Ireland*, 43-61.
- Robin Frame, 'The Bruces in Ireland, 1315-18', *I.H.S.* 19 (1974), 3-37; reprinted with corrections in idem, *Ireland and Britain*, 71-98.
- Seán Duffy, 'The Bruce brothers and the Irish Sea world, 1306-29', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 21 (1991), 55-86.
- Idem, 'The Gaelic account of the Bruce invasion *Cath Fhochairte Brighite*: medieval romance or modern forgery?', *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*, 13 (1988-9), 59-121.
- Idem, 'The "continuation" of Nicholas Trevet: a new source for the Bruce invasion', *R.I.A. Proc.*, 91 (1991), 303-15.
- Idem (ed.), *Robert the Bruce's Irish wars: the invasions of Ireland 1306-1329* (Stroud, 2002).
- Idem, 'Edward Bruce's invasion of Ireland: a revised itinerary and chronology' in idem (ed.), *Robert the Bruce's Irish Wars*, 9-43.
- A.A.M. Duncan, 'The Scots' invasion of Ireland, 1315' in *The British Isles 1100-1500* ed. Davies, 100-17.
- Colm MacNamee, *The wars of the Bruces: Scotland, England and Ireland, 1306-1328* (East Linton, 1997).
- Ranald Nicholson, 'A sequel to Edward Bruce's invasion of Ireland', *Scottish Hist. Rev.* 42 (1963), 30-40.

Katharine Simms, 'The battle of Dysert O'Dea and the Gaelic resurgence in Thomond', *Dál gCais*, 5 (1979), 59-66.

Aoife Nic Ghiollamhaith, 'Dynastic warfare and historical writing in North Munster, 1276-1350', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 2 (1981), 73-89.

Gaelic Ireland in the later middle ages

Edel Bhreathnach and Ragnall Ó Floinn, 'Ireland: culture and society', in S.H. Rigby (ed.), *Companion to Britain in the later Middle Ages* (2003).

Seán Duffy, *The world of the Galloglass: kings, warlords and warriors in Ireland and Scotland, 1200-1600* (Dublin, 2007).

Elizabeth fitzPatrick, *Royal inauguration in Gaelic Ireland c.1100–1600: a cultural landscape study* (Woodbridge, 2004).

Gearóid Mac Niocaill, 'The origins of the betagh', *Irish Jurist* new ser. 1 (1966), 292-8.

Idem, 'The interaction of laws' in *The English in Medieval Ireland* ed. Lydon, 105-117.

Kenneth Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the later middle ages* (1972, revised ed. 2003).

Emmett O'Byrne, 'The MacMurroughs and the marches of Leinster, 1170-1340' *ibid.*, 160-92.

Idem, *War, Politics and the Irish of Leinster 1156-1606* (2003).

Katharine Simms, *From kings to warlords: the changing political structure of Gaelic Ireland in the later middle ages* (1987, 2000).

Eadem, 'Warfare in the medieval Gaelic lordships', *Irish Sword*, 12 (1975-6), 98-108; reprinted in *Irishmen in war: Essays from the Irish Sword* 1 ed. Harman Murtagh (2006).

Eadem, 'Guesting and feasting in Gaelic Ireland', *R.S.A.I. Jn.* 108 (1978), 67-100.

Eadem, 'The O'Reillys and the kingdom of East Breifne', *Breifne*, 5 (1979), 305-19.

Eadem, 'The brehons of later medieval Ireland' in *Brehons, sergeants and attorneys*, ed. Daire Hogan et al. (1990), 51-76.

Eadem, 'Bards and barons: the Anglo-Irish aristocracy and the native culture' in *Medieval Frontier Societies* ed. Bartlett et al., 177-97.

Eadem, 'Late Medieval Donegal in, editor(s)W. Nolan, L. Ronayne, M. Dunleavy, *Donegal History and Society*, Dublin, Geography Publications, 1995, pp 183–202.

Eadem, 'Frontiers in the Irish church – regional and cultural' in Barry et al. (eds), *Colony and frontier in medieval Ireland*, 177-200.

Eadem, 'Gaelic warfare in the Middle Ages', in T. Bartlett and K. Jeffery (eds), *A military history of Ireland* (Cambridge, 1996), 99-115.

Eadem, 'Tír Eoghain "North of the Mountain"', in G. O'Brien (ed.), *Derry and Londonderry: History and Society* (Dublin, 1999), 149-173.

Eadem, 'Late medieval Tír Eoghain: the kingdom of the Great O'Neill', in C. Dillon and H.A. Jefferies (eds), *Tyrone: history and society* (Dublin, 2000) 127-162.

Eadem, 'Medieval Armagh: the kingdom of Oirthir (Orior) and its rulers the Uí Anluain (O'Hanlons)', in A.J. Hughes and W. Nolan (eds), *Armagh: history and society* (Dublin, 2001), 187-216.

Eadem, 'Medieval Fermanagh', in E.M. Murphy and W.J. Roulston (eds), *Fermanagh: history and society* (Dublin, 2004), 77-103.

Freya Verstraten, 'Images of Gaelic lordship in Ireland c. 1200-c.1400' in *Lordship in Medieval Ireland: Image and Reality* ed. Linda Doran et al. (2007), 47-74.