Utilizing Papal Taxation Records for Geographical, Economic, and Cultural Analysis: A Study of Early Fourteenth Century Ireland

A dissertation submitted for the fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Geography

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Declaration

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Summary

This project explores the economic, physical, political, and cultural geography of medieval Ireland by mapping the 1302-20 papal tax valuations of ecclesiastical benefices, with parish incomes being used as proxies for local economies. Doing so addresses a lack of uniform, island-wide, and fine-tuned economic data for medieval Ireland. These valuations were ascertained for the purposes of papal tenth, or *decime*, taxations and offer a unique and invaluable look into the landscape of medieval Ireland that transcends cultural boundaries.

An initial step of this project was to clarify the details and nuances behind papal taxation, as well as papal finances specifically in Ireland. For this task, fieldwork was undertaken at the Vatican Secret Archives, the *Archives Nationales* (Paris), and the British National Archives (Kew) to evaluate documents regarding how and when valuations for papal tenths were made. Outside of this, these trips were undertaken to search for additional Irish valuations and identify analogous documents that could be employed for future studies and comparison. The 1302-20 sources themselves required analysis and clarification regarding their dating and contents.

The main effort of this thesis was to elucidate the modern locations behind the medieval parish placenames within the 1302-20 valuations. Many of the placenames were unidentified or contested due to the nature of their transcription (i.e. English and or Latin speaking clerks writing down Irish language placenames phonetically). Once this task was complete, the exact, or very proximate, coordinates of the corresponding medieval churches were obtained to create a geodatabase. The produced maps reveal the distribution of wealth of medieval Ireland at local, regional, and national scales, as well as illustrate the extent of English colonisation. Additionally, the valuations were combined with additional data, such as soil fertility, land slope, elevation, and archaeological records to perform quantitative analysis within the GIS. From the maps and analyses, insights were made regarding medieval Ireland's landscapes, cultures, and polities.

The English colony was largely defined by cambisol and luvisol soils, as well as flat lowland terrain. Within the colony, access to commercial networks and proximity to urban sites were leading factors in explaining wealth distribution. Gaelic lordships often contended with environmental and commercial marginalisation but proved resilient. The

analysis suggests that Gaelic economies were based on pastoralism, bartering, and billeting, producing only low-surpluses. However, these economies were adaptable to conflict and able to provide Gaelic lords with the resources to field armies and resist colonial intrigue. Political analysis and discussions regarding the colony's extent suggest that the degree of English domination over Ireland has been overstated.

The chronology of the sources used enables a measurement of the economic impact of the Great European Famine (1315-17) and Bruce Invasion (1315-18). Pre-war valuations were compared with their post-war counterparts to assess changes at a parish and diocesan level. In addition to this, commentary was provided on the events of the Bruce Invasion and how the devastation it caused impacted the colony in the long term.

This research has produced a baseline from which to evaluate the medieval Irish economy and peak of the medieval English colony, as well as a database that can allow future studies regarding Irish economics and geography. It must be noted that this project also addressed major gaps in Irish history and is the first monograph devoted to the utilised sources (though not the first to utilise or discuss them). The work concludes with comparative maps of English, Welsh, and French/Swiss dioceses, highlighting the potential of this type of source and their validity for geographical analysis. Additionally, suggestions were provided for future studies, as well as further work related to the maps produced by this research and the 1302-20 valuations.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Overview of the Thesis

This thesis is envisioned as a monograph on the 1302-20 papal valuations made of Irish ecclesiastical wealth and an exploration of their utility for geographical analysis. The 1302-20 Irish valuations are composed of six long rolls and various diocesan records (for Dublin and Ossory) that detail the assessments of regular annual income for benefices across Ireland. They were made for the purpose of the papal tenths, a ten percent income tax on ecclesiastic revenues overseen by the papacy. A vast majority of these assessed benefices were parishes, allowing insight into local economies and conditions.

The work for this thesis was approached in three stages. The first stage was to understand papal tenths, focusing on the means of evaluating wealth, the accuracy and content of assessments, the politics surrounding tenths, and to what extent Ireland conformed to guidelines and procedures. The second stage was to comprehensively evaluate the 1302-20 Irish valuations and address questions regarding their completeness, dating, ordering, and the context in which they were created. Once this was completed, the valuations were systematically attached to the sites of their corresponding medieval church after reconciling the listed medieval placenames to modern locations. The final stage was to use this data for geographical analysis and mapping. 1531 parishes valued between 1302-7 served as proxies for local economies, offering unique insights into the distribution of wealth across Ireland at local, regional, and island-wide scales. The subsequent maps and statistical analyses also shed new light on the extent of English colonisation, economic networks, environmental influences on wealth, and frontiers. Comparison between the 1302-7 valuations and revaluations made between 1319-20 also helped to explore and quantify the impact of both conflict (e.g. the Bruce Invasion) and shifting climatic conditions.

1.2 Introducing the Research Problem

The period of English colonialization from 1169 until the mid-fourteenth century saw some of the most formative processes in the shaping of the geography of Ireland. These processes included transformative elements of feudalisation, castellation,

manorialisation, commercialisation, and urbanisation, as well as new forms of landholding,[1] political legitimacy, and centralised government.[2] However, it was not just processes that were transplanted to Ireland, but people as well. Immigrants from England, Wales, Flanders, and France[3] journeyed to Ireland for economic opportunities, constituting a new ethnic group: the "Middle Nation" or Anglo-Irish. This group was defined by a unique colonial culture that was influenced by both Gaelic and English elements. Middle Nation is not a historian's classification, but rather a term or idea consciously used during the period (e.g. *The Remonstrance of the Irish Princes*), denoting a separate frontier culture.[4] Gerald de Barry, for example, stated that "they were Irish to the English and English to the Irish" only two years after the 1169 invasion.[5] Scottish mercenaries and nobles would also find themselves coming to Ireland in search of opportunity.

Acculturation, interaction, and intermarriage with the Gaelic Irish, both within and outside of colonial boundaries, varied not only geographically but interpersonally as well. There were Gaelic burgesses, just as there were Anglo-Irish pastoralists and mercenaries that fought for Gaelic aristocrats. Segregation existed in Ireland, just as Gall and Gael fought together and intertwined families through marriage and friendship. Although the Gaelic Irish are often portrayed as a static people, their culture was also irrevocably impacted by the English presence. Kevin Down states: "By western European norms Ireland before the Anglo-Norman advent was underdeveloped, but it was moving nearer to the general economic and social pattern of much of Western Europe. Irish society was not feudal or manorial, for theoretically land was held inalienably by families, while military, political, and administrative support had to be bought by superiors with cattle in

[1] Namely private land ownerships, feudal structures, and legal agreements such as charters. This is opposed to Gaelic land ownership, which was often defined by inalienable familial rights, reciprocal relationships, and the subjugation of minor aristocrats by overlords though force.
[2] Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, in *Early Medieval Ireland, 400-1200*, discusses the great strides Ireland made in paralleling Latin Europe before 1169, as well as advances towards a viable high kingship under the Ó Conchubhair. However, this trajectory was irreparably diverted by the 1169 invasion. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *Early medieval Ireland, 400-1200* (New York: Longman, 1995).
[3] This refers to the Norman descended elites in Ireland (i.e. Anglo-Normans and Cambro-Normans), as well as the mobility between the English crown's Insular and French domains such as Aquitaine and Normandy (until it was taken over by the French crown), rather than large scale migration.
[4] Thomas Finan*, Landscape and history on the medieval Irish frontier: The Kings' cantreds in the thirteenth century* (Turnhout, Brespolis, 2016), 3.
[5] William Colfer. "The Ethnic Mix in Medieval Wexford," *History Ireland* 10, no. 1 (2002): 19-23.

what was a largely pastoral economy."[6] This trajectory, however, was side-tracked as Gaelic economics, politics, and military culture were forced to contend with constant colonial intrigue, endemic warfare, and regionalisation.

There is an array of perspectives on both the extent of these processes and the very nature of the colony as well. It is a politically charged topic. Shortly after the unveiling of a monument for an Anglo-Norman landing at Hook Lighthouse (co. Wexford) in 1969, it was promptly defaced. Indeed, even the word English is often eschewed for Anglo-Norman or Norman as means of circumventing the stigma around the often stated 800 years of English oppression of Ireland. *La Geste des Engleis en Yrlande* has been titled the *Deeds of the Normans in Ireland* in a recent edition, while debate surrounds what the correct ethnic labelling should be used for the invaders and their descendants. Definitions of colonisation and frontier are also lacking consistency.[7] This contest over basic terminology and analytical lenses is symptomatic of larger issues within Irish research. Namely, that researchers are often confined to specific fields, geographical regions, and cultural groups, each of which invites different interpretations of medieval Ireland. Without agreement, it becomes difficult to compare research and further the understanding of medieval Ireland.

These issues stem mainly from three major obstacles faced by Irish historical researchers, namely: the regional nature of medieval Ireland, the characteristics of the contemporary sources, and the impact of colonialism on Irish historical research. As a result, basic questions on the character of English authority and colonization in medieval Ireland, the extent of the colony and Anglicization, the causes of colonial contraction, when and where these contractions began, and how colonisation redistributed wealth and resources still require substantial elucidation. The study of wealth and economy

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[6] Kevin Down, "Colonial Society and Economy," in *A New History Ireland: Volume II*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 441.

[7] Maginn provides a recent and concise overview of the various definitions and debates around cultural frontiers and borders in *Gaelic Ireland's English frontiers in the late Middle Ages* (Christopher Maginn, "Gaelic Ireland's English Frontiers in the Late Middle Ages." *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 110C (2010): 173-90.). Additionally, he also advances the literature by framing frontiers not just as borders to the English colony, but as the edges of the larger Irish and Scottish Gaelic world (or *Gaedhealtacht*). Patrick Duffy's *The Nature of the Medieval Frontier in Ireland,* however, provides a more thorough overview that describes different types of frontiers across time (i.e. initial colonisation, colonial contraction, and the Tudor reconquest) and different subject foci (e.g. politics, economy, culture, and settlement) (Patrick Duffy, "The Nature of the Medieval Frontier in Ireland," *Studia Hibernica*, no. 22/23 (1982): 21-38.). These works highlight the need to employ or at least consider multiple definitions of a frontier.

disproportionately requires investigation and exposition as exploitation, resource extraction, and economic landscape restructuring are key features of colonies.

This chapter will expand on these three barriers before presenting a unique source for addressing these problems: the 1302-20 Irish papal tenths valuations. Because papal authority extended across Latin Christendom, and valuations for papal tenths were based upon uniform instructions (as the research will illustrate), these sources provide an opportunity to map quantifiable data across Ireland and its varied economic, cultural, physical, and political regions.

1.3 Introducing the Research Aims and Questions

Despite the uniqueness of the Irish valuations and the opportunities that they afford, these documents have yet to receive the attention of a monograph or be fully utilised (i.e. mapped in totality). Three research aims will be pursued to ensure that the particularities of and context surrounding the 1302-20 valuations are comprehensively explored before the data within them is mapped and analysed. Understanding the source material is necessary to ensuring that the data is properly handled and that the observations drawn from the valuations are as accurate as possible.

Aim One: Understand the development and mechanisms of papal tenths, as well as their utility for geographical analysis

It is essential to discern how the 1302-20 valuations were made and if they were assessed in a systematic and uniform manner for each parish. Additionally, it is vital to note what incomes and aspects of the economy were and were not included to further gauge their utility. Understanding procedures is also pertinent as Ireland was home to an array of cultures and economies. As such, this work will be undertaken to establish that the economies of the Gaelic Irish, the Anglo-Irish, and those betwixt were incorporated within the papal instructions.

Evaluating papal tenth measures can be achieved by appraising papal documents, namely instructions to collectors, monarchs, and papal agents. Doing so helps to

acknowledge both the strengths and limitations of valuation practices, and ideally further an argument that the data within the 1302-20 valuations is reliable. Outside of this, the political and historical events surrounding papal taxation will be explored. It is especially prudent to understand the political context surrounding the tenths, as interference or support from monarchs could impact the conduction of the tenths. The fervour that tenths were pursued with, by both papacy and crown, also contributes to the discussion regarding the veracity of valuations.

Literature regarding papal finances can be arcane and dispersed across different topics and languages. Indeed, it is a considerable research subject by itself, something that can be an impediment to those that wish to use papal sources for geographical purposes. A goal of this thesis will be to bring disparate research threads and sources together to form a concise and accessible narrative for the reader (i.e. a primer on papal tenths). Additionally, the cited primary sources and bibliography can serve as a beachhead for further research.

Outside of this, there is limited discourse that explicitly discusses the geographical utility of papal tenth sources and methods for mapping the data within them. While papal tenths have been mapped, some existing analyses have been hamstrung by a superficial understanding of the source material (examples of this will be discussed in Chapter Four). The subject of papal tenths in Ireland, too, has also only been indirectly touched by broader discussions (e.g. of Italian merchants) or directly by a few authors. While these works are ground-breaking and commendable, questions remain regarding how and when papal tenths were conducted specifically in Ireland. This thesis will target these gaps. Doing so will not only add heuristic knowledge but enable a more streamlined utilization of the papal taxation data. Thus, a facilitator will be created for future research utilizing these types of valuations. Essentially, the methods utilized in this study can be replicated and honed to conduct similar research on different sets of papal valuations in other parts of Europe.

Aim Two: To contextualise and build a geodatabase from the 1302-20 Irish Valuations

The first step of this aim will be to perform source analysis on the original rolls and related archival material to understand their purpose, history, contents, and completeness. Once this has been completed, a geodatabase can then be constructed from contents of the valuations with a more grounded understanding of the source. To achieve this, a second step will be pursued: reconciling medieval parish placenames with modern coordinates. The means of doing this are detailed in Chapter Five. Rather than focus on macro or diocesan level data, the geodatabase is composed of local sites. This better reflects the subtleties in the data and creates a wide-array of analytical opportunities. The data can be visualized in the form of various maps to illustrate regional differences, distribution trends, the extent of colonization, and interactions with the physical and human environment. Additionally, it enables a wider array of quantitative geostatistical analyses.

Aim Three: To map and analyse the distribution of wealth in early fourteenth century Ireland

To pursue this aim, six main questions will be explored:

1) How do processes of commercialisation, manorialisation, urbanization, and Anglicization help explain the distribution of wealth? Additionally, what role does population density play?

2) What impact does physical geography and access to natural resources have on the distribution of wealth in Ireland?

3) What regions and economic zones can be derived from the data and analyses?

4) What was the immediate economic impact of the Bruce Invasion?

5) What factors of colonial decline and resiliency are reflected in the valuations?

6) Can the data be used to create a more accurate political map of Ireland c. 1300?

A corollary objective to this aim is to create a baseline against which the Irish economy before and after 1300 can be gauged. Such a baseline is missing within the literature and its existence could enable extensive studies within and outside of the

medieval period, as well as facilitate comparative studies with other nations. Besides this, the research will add to knowledge of Irish history and economics. Concerning the latter, there is an opportunity to create the first multiscale and fine-grained economic maps of medieval Ireland. This research will also further illuminate the role of GIS in historical research and the growing relevance of digital humanities. Altogether, it can serve to advance the state of the art and knowledge of medieval Ireland and Europe in several substantial ways.

1.4 Concerning Terminology

Before continuing, it is prudent to discuss some of the nomenclature and terminology used in this thesis regarding medieval Ireland's different cultures. Gaelic Irish is the standard and generally accepted term for Ireland's indigenous people.[8] Where debate and disarray appears is regarding the colonists, or Middle Nation.

Norman, Anglo-Norman, Cambro-Norman, Hiberno-Norman, Norman-Irish, English, Anglo-Irish, Anglo-Continental, Anglo-French, and French are all terms used by academics to describe the conquerors and settlers that came to Ireland. F.X. Martin writes concerning the debate: "These varied descriptions are themselves a reflection of the fact that 'between 1066 and 1200 there were real doubts and some confusion' about what made an Englishman."[9] Robin Frame has also been cognizant of this issue, stating: "There is no entirely satisfactory descriptive term for those who came to Ireland in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, for in them English, French (including Norman), Welsh and Flemish strains mingled together; moreover the flavour of the assortment differed at different social levels."[10] Each term has a degree of justification behind it, as well as heavy political connotations. However, these descriptors also have limitations.

Anglo-Norman is by far the most popular term within Irish historical research. Frame argues for its usage in *Colonial Ireland: 1169-1369*, stating that it: "seems less

[8] However, some scholars might prefer just "Irish."
[9] F.X. Martin, "Introduction," in *A New History Ireland: Volume II*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), lii.
[10] Robin Frame, *Colonial Ireland, 1169-1369* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2012), xv.

assertively categorizing."[11] Martin provides an overview of some of the nomenclature debates in the introduction to the *New History of Ireland (Volume II)*, discussing how the term Anglo-Norman has become fashionable as a result of racial and political debates between nationalists and unionists.[12] Indeed, the term differentiates 1169-1350 from the English Tudor Reconquest of the sixteenth century and later British colonialism. Additionally, it seemingly ameliorates the narrative of "800 years of oppression." However, the prefix-Anglo still acknowledges the 1066 conquest and ties to the English crown. Anglo-Norman is followed by Norman and, to a lesser extent, Cambro-Norman in popularity. The latter acknowledges the origins of many of Ireland's initial invaders from the Welsh marches.

These three labels, however, are flawed. They fail to acknowledge Gaelicisation, adaption to a new physical and human landscape, and the multi-ethnic origins of the colonists (many of which were English and Welsh), as well as intermarriage with the Gaelic Irish. Martin writes on using the term: "And in our use of Anglo-Norman we should note, for example, the reservation that 'the colonial nobility of medieval Ireland whom we describe as Anglo-Norman in fact came from a variety of sources, which included England and Normandy, but with substantial contributions from Wales, from areas of France other than Normandy, and also, on a small but significant scale, from Scotland."[13] Hiberno-Norman and Norman-Irish address Gaelicisation and adaption, but are more applicable to social and cultural elites rather than peasant or artisan settlers.

To complicate matters further, there is also debate over whether Norman culture should be considered distinct enough from French culture to warrant differentiation. This is where French comes into play. Using French over Norman does have the added benefit of acknowledging the expansion of Northern French culture during the High Middle Ages, as well as the fact that Norman forces drew upon multiple regions of the Francophone world[14] and that the English monarchy held French lands. Indeed, even Irish annalists

[11] Ibid.
[12] Martin, "Introduction," l.
[13] Martin, "Introduction," lii.
[14] It must also be noted that those among the Norman diaspora and William the Conqueror's forces were not confined to Norman origins. There were Bretons, Flemish, and French from Northern France among their ranks as well. There is also debate over whether the Normans were distinct enough from other French groups to warrant a differentiation.

referred to the invaders as Flemings or *Frainc* (French)[15] before 1169.[16] Eventually the Gaelic Irish would settle simply on *Gaill* (foreigner), or *Gaill glassa* (grey foreigners, a reference to either mail or a grey wolf (i.e. a term for alien residents in Irish law)) and *glashain*[17] (grey warrior-band).[18] The English of England would remain *Saxain*, differentiated from the English of Ireland.

However, the term French can be misleading or confusing, giving an impression that the French monarchy was involved in Ireland or that many colonists were coming directly from France. The term might also conflict with scholars that have a more Insular or regional outlook, viewing the colonisation of Ireland as a purely British Isles affair rather than part of larger expansions of the high medieval period.

English and Anglo-Irish have been used as a counter to Norman and French related terms, with English as the descriptor for the first generation of colonists and Anglo-Irish for those thereafter. One argument for this is that French-descended elites identified as English by 1169, thus rendering any French terminology obsolete. This argumentation is ignorant of the fact that identification as an "Englishman" was to signify loyalty to the English crown, rather than a cultural identity.[19] Indeed, Diarmaid Mac Murchadha would journey to France to meet Henry II and request permission to recruit soldiers from his domains. Normandy was still the crown jewel of the English monarchy and the focus of their efforts. Richardson and Sayles argue: "The kings of England who became lords of Ireland were not even Normans: they were as French as Frenchmen could be. It was their preoccupation with France and French affairs that left them so little time for any thought or care for Ireland, except as a source of profit."[20]

Richardson and Sayles, in their comprehensive study of the administration of Ireland, emphasize the French nature of the colonial administration and feudalism. Additionally, they also tie Ireland to similar colonial processes in Europe:

> "If we do not appreciate that Ireland and South Wales, the Lowlands of Scotland, Flanders, Brittany and many other lands, not excluding England,

[15] Martin, "Introduction."
[16] Martin, "Introduction," li.
[17] *Annals of Loch Cé*, 1204.
[18] Martin, "Introduction," li.
[19] Eoin MacNeill, *Phases of Irish history* (Dublin: M.H. Gill and Son., 1919), 302
[20] H.G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, "The Administration of Ireland: Introduction (Reprint)," *Analecta Hibernica*, no. 29 (1980): 5.

> were in like case, we shall not understand Irish mediaeval history. All these lands were part of a great congeries ruled by French knights and French clergy who, though living under different lords, were linked together by innumerable ties of blood and marriage, education, ecclesiastical office, homage and fealty. We may, for want of better words, speak of their world as that of French feudalism, though the element that can be termed feudal in any precise sense was small. Their world was, in any case, that of French culture, of the French way of life, which dominated and transformed native institutions and customs."[21]

Various charters and contemporary literature also differentiate between French and English,[22] including the works of Giraldus Cambrensis, which show that those of French-descent held themselves higher than their English subjects.[23] However, it is important to note that Giraldus derived his identity from his familial lineage and region, being from the Marches of Wales and the descendent of both Welsh royalty and Norman conquerors.[24] Regardless, English is a defective term as it fails to acknowledge that colonisation in Ireland was part larger European movements, as well as the multifaceted or complex identity of the cultural elites. It was both a movement of elites, as well as one of peasant and artisan migration from Great Britain. Anglo-Irish shares this issue, failing to fully capture the variety of migrants and cultures that constituted the colony, but at least acknowledging the Irish element of the colonists.

These issues are further complicated by the passage of time. Martin states: "There remains the question: at what point does Anglo-Norman become Anglo-Irish. The answer to this would vary according to the individual, the institution, or the part of the country being described. By and large, however, we have tended to use the term Anglo-Norman for the period before 1216, and Anglo-Irish thereafter."[25] The Hundred Years' War would largely wipe French identity from England as English identity and nationalism further developed. As the fourteenth century progressed in Ireland, parts of the English colony would become increasingly isolated or separated from the administration and the crown. The de Burghs of Connaught, for example, became immersed in Gaelic culture and politics

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[21] Ibid.
[22] Robert Bartlett*, Gerald of Wales: A voice of the middle ages* (Stroud: Tempus, 2006), 20 and 28.
[23] "The English people [are] the most worthless of all peoples under heaven… In their own land the English are slaves of the Normans, the most abject slaves. In our own land there are none but Englishmen in the jobs of ploughman, shepherd, cobbler, artisan and cleaner of sewers too" (Bartlett, *Gerald*, 20).
[24] Bartlett, *Gerald*, 19.
[25] Martin, "Introduction," liii.

(as well as secluded from changes in English culture and even abandoning colonial parliaments).

Considering these factors, no term is precise or all encompassing. It is beyond the scope of this thesis, or any singular academic, to put this debate to rest. Anglo-Irish can be modified to suit the needs of this work. Rather than use it to describe purely ethnicity or culture, Anglo-Irish will be defined as: a multi-ethnic group, largely of English and Welsh origin, that owed at least nominal allegiance to the English crown and its colonial administration, as well as possessed aspects of English and or Continental culture blended with Gaelic culture or adapted to the landscape of Ireland. Such a definition would also include highly Anglicised persons of Gaelic Irish descent that were incorporated into the colony. Sometimes, for the sake of brevity or to emphasize their relationship with landscape, colonial will also be used as an adjective this group.

Concerning the magnates and social elites of the colony, Anglo-Irish will also be applied to them for consistency. Nevertheless, future works might reconsider terms such as Anglo-Norman and English. Instead, perhaps these can be traded for Norman-Irish (which was a term that Otway-Ruthven employed) or Franco-Irish. The latter term would refer to the aristocratic French culture that expanded across parts of Europe c. 1050-c. 1300, while also tying Ireland to broader colonial trends of the high medieval period. However, this term might be more appropriate to the initial decades of colonisation. What is important, though, is that the Irish element and features of this class is acknowledged. The colony itself will be describe as English, as it was an extension of the English crown's domains and empire (at least in a *de jure* sense). In accordance with the *New History of Ireland*, Anglo-Norman or Norman will be used to describe the initial invaders of Ireland c. 1169-c. 1210. However, the caveats and limitations of these terms have been noted.

1.5 The Regional Nature of Ireland

The transformations and new cultural landscapes created from the colonial expansion were far from uniform or easily quantifiable. English colonisation was not

carried out as a unified front under an English king,[26] but by enterprising knights, lords, and mercenaries that wished to carve out new power bases in response to decreased opportunities in Great Britain and France for gaining territory.[27] There was no grander purpose, although pretences regarding civilizing the Gaelic Irish, bringing them closer into the fold of the papacy, and ending the slave trade might be cited. Therefore, Henry II arrived himself in 1171, to tame the rapid conquests of his subjects and prevent Richard de Clare (or Strongbow) from becoming a rival king. Ireland was likely nothing more than a thorn in his side and a potential launching point for rebellions. As such, a royal administration was established and centred in Dublin to exert control over these new lordships. This laid the foundation for an English state and colony in Ireland. Kings John and Henry III would actively try to reinforce the authority of the English crown over the Anglo-Irish magnates, as well as Gaelic aristocrats. Robin Frame argues that Henry III strategically and actively used royal patronage to influence landholding and influence in Ireland to pull Ireland more firmly into the Angevin sphere.[28] However, both kings were also distracted by conflicts and disputes in France and Scotland.

The colony's Englishness was defined by degree, rather than a stark dichotomy. The Dublin administration was relatively weak outside of Leinster,[29] although there were attempts to replicate forms of English government across Ireland with limited success. This process is meticulously documented in the works of Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven, who

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[26] Frame notes: "Geography and the freebooting nature of the conquest do much explain the medieval colony's deep-rooted and persistent fragmentation; and the lack of any sustained interest in Ireland on the part the English monarchy was also an important contributory factor we may take for granted" (Robin Frame, "Power and Society in the Lordship of Ireland 1272-1377," *Past & Present*, no. 76 (1977): 7).

[27] Empey argues in *Conquest and Settlement: Patterns of Anglo-Norman Settlement in North Munster and South Leinster*: "That the conquest of Ireland was haphazard, incomplete, and unevenly sustained- even in areas dominated by the Anglo-Normans- constitutes one of those rare points on which historians generally agreed. Unlike Duke William's lightning campaign a century earlier in England, the kingdoms of Ireland fell piecemeal over an extended period into the hands of adventurers acting for the most part independently of each other when they were not actually in conflict. The desire to a strong monarchy was remote from the minds of men who sought only to establish themselves firmly within the borders of their lordships" (C. A. Empey, "CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT: PATTERNS OF ANGLO-NORMAN SETTLEMENT IN NORTH MUNSTER AND SOUTH LEINSTER," *Irish Economic and Social History* 13 (1986): 5).

[28] Robin Frame, "King Henry III and Ireland: The Shaping of Peripheral Lordship," in *Thirteenth Century England Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne and Durham Conferences,* ed. M Prestwich, R. Britnell, and R. Frame (Woodbridge: Boydell Press): 179-202.

[29] In Chapter Four of ~~a~~*A Military History of Ireland*, Frame provides analysis and illustrations that highlight that paid military expeditions between 1295-1360 were overwhelmingly confined to Leinster and Munster (Robin Frame, "The defence of the English Lordship: 1250-1450," in *A Military History of Ireland*, ed. Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffrey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 78). Royal services between 1252 and 1315 also are predominantly located within Munster and Leinster (Frame, "Defence," 79).

wrote on shires,[30] royal service,[31] and administrative boundaries as part of her larger research theme of the colony's administrative functions and sources. Rather, Frame describes Ireland as a land of marches and that the colony was a patchwork of lordships over which the government had "a slender direct hold and fairly limited potential."[32] To Frame, the colony's history is gauged in terms of infirmity and not dominance.[33] Orpen also acknowledges the regional characteristics of medieval Ireland in his works. He writes:

> "One of the difficulties of writing in any detail the history of Ireland in the thirteenth century is that there was little or no history common to the whole country. Each province and sometimes even smaller districts must be treated more or less separately. For though there was a central government nominally supreme over all, its influence and activities, while fully maintained in some parts, were almost unfelt in others. Not only did the relative strength of the English and the Irish inhabitants vary enormously in different regions, but even in parts dominated by the English the actual organization of society varied greatly."[34]

The heterogeneous nature of Ireland, and the English colony, creates issues when studying the human geography of the island. Mark Hennessy's work on the 1292 Lay Subsidy[35] is a prime illustration of this, showing the inability of the colonial administration to effectively tax outside of parts of Leinster and Munster. Indeed, even lands of some Anglo-Irish magnates were not properly taxed. This is also something which has implications for the spatial scope of existing documents. Ireland's physical geography, which is also quite variable and produces vastly different experiences and livelihoods, also contributed to this heterogeneity.[36] Thus, there were different human and physical processes and factors acting on landscapes. This highlights a major methodological problem in medieval Irish research: how to track the impact of colonisation and

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[30] Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven, "Anglo-Irish Shire Government in the Thirteenth Century," *Irish Historical Studies* 5, no. 17 (1946): 1-28.
[31] Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven, "Royal Service in Ireland," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 98, no. 1 (1968): 37-46.
[32] Frame, "Power and Society," 32.
[33] "It cannot be denied that king's government bit deeper into more of Ireland in 1300 than 1200 or in 1400. But concentration on these matters has, perhaps, led to the neglect of a more basic truth: that the grip of government on the lordship was always relatively feeble, and that when we contrast one period with another we are measuring degrees of infirmity" (Frame, "Power and Society,"32).
[34] Goddard Henry Orpen*, Ireland Under the Normans: Volume IV* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920), 131.
[35] Mark Hennessy, "Making Ireland English in the Thirteenth Century: The Evidence of the Irish Lay Subsidy of 1292," in *At the Anvil: Essays in Honour of William J. Smyth*, ed. Patrick Duffy and William Nolan (Dublin: Geography Publications), 81-92.
[36] Frame, "Power and Society."

Anglicization across Ireland? Additionally, how can this be done in a uniform and methodologically sound manner?

The regional nature of medieval Ireland has been reflected in much of the literature to-date, which is characterised by researchers from disparate disciplines focusing on specific spatial areas. McNeill, for example, focused extensively on the archaeology of Ulster (particularly the Earldom situated in the east). Terry Barry has contributed immensely to our understanding of medieval settlement, archaeology, and castles. This work was largely centred upon southeast Ireland. C.A. Empey was an authoritative expert on the Butler lordships and northern Munster. He argued that the Anglo-Irish lordships in the area constituted a "Second Pale" that were stable and largely self-sufficient. William Colfer specialised on County Wexford, illustrating how the "arrogant trespass" of the Anglo-Irish upon Gaelic territories led to a pushback that would ingulf the northern part of the county across the fourteenth century. Orpen, in *Ireland Under the Normans,* emphasized the regional nature of Ireland's history, with each chapter in the four volumes, generally, serving as a regional case study representing a different part of the Anglo-Irish administration and colony.

More recent research also echoes this regional specialisation. Brendan Smith has advanced our understanding of the Anglo-Irish community of Louth, emphasising the fierce independence of the community there against the Gaelic Irish, Dublin administration, and English crown. Thomas Finan's work largely focuses on Roscommon and the Ó Conchobhair dynasty, mixing both GIS analysis and a command of Gaelic sources to conduct multifaceted analysis. Elizabeth Fitzpatrick has written on the Gaelic West, specifically looking at royal landscapes, inauguration, and gathering places. Kieran O'Connor has also worked on the manifestation of Gaelic elites in the landscape. Additionally, he has contributed to the understanding Anglo-Irish settlement in the Irish Midlands and Connacht, as well as has been an instrumental player in the Discovery Programme. Paul MacCotter works extensively on Desmond. However, he focuses on both Gaelic kingdoms and Anglo-Irish lordships, performing intercultural analysis. His work primarily relates to dynastic histories, ecclesiastical lands, and processes of feudalisation.

This regional work is invaluable to understanding the nuances of medieval Ireland's diverse landscapes. However, this brief survey of literature highlights the need for interregional and macroscale analysis to draw the results of these texts together. Another thread running through some of these works is that when they largely deal with colonial territories, Gaelic lands and people are heavily underrepresented.[37] Alternatively, when the focus is on Gaelic Ireland, the Anglo-Irish have a limited presence within the narrative. This dichotomy issue is not limited to regional studies, but Irish medieval studies more broadly as well. For example, Katherine Simms is an expert on Gaelic texts whereas Otway-Ruthven specialised in colonial documents. This is not a critique of the authors, their works, or their specialisations. Rather, it further highlights the need for sources and research that transcends cultural boundaries. In *Power and Society in the Lordship of Ireland 1272-1377*, Frame argues that there has been scholarly emphasis on English law and administration in Ireland, with politics, economics, and society within the colony receiving far less attention. Watt has also commented on this, noting: "As has been authoritatively, 'Irish law in the later middle ages is almost completely unexplored.' Where it has been investigated for this period, historians have been concerned more with the interaction of Irish and feudal law than with the law in its own right."[38] [39] An aim of this thesis will be to analyse the data not simply in terms of colonisation or from the lens of one particular group, but provide insight into both Gaelic Irish and Anglo-Irish domains and cultures, respectively.

1.6 Issues with Medieval Irish Sources

It is necessary to discuss the limited primary sources on medieval Ireland to further qualify issues in Irish historical research. Specifically, there is a dearth of contemporary sources, both colonial and Gaelic, that are germane to understanding the

[37] This, however, can be chiefly explained by the nature of the sources that exist for Gaelic Ireland, which rarely discuss settlement. Graham notes: "Nevertheless, a major difficulty- one demonstrated clearly in this study- remains that in the Gaelic documentary sources we have very little evidence concerning settlement" (B.J. Graham, "Medieval Settlement in County Roscommon," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 88C (1988): 35).

[38] Watt is quoting Gearoid Mac Niocaill, "The contact of Irish and common law," *N.I. Legal Quart.*, xxiii (1972): 16.

[39] J.A. Watt, "Gaelic Polity and Cultural Identity," in *A New History Ireland: Volume II*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 314-5.

distribution of the island's wealth and economic activities beyond a superficial level. This scarcity can be attributed to several factors. For the Gaelic Irish, cultural practices, outlooks, and values are the determining influence. Simms states:

> "Quite simply, the native Irish chiefs did not keep administrative records of the chancery and exchequer type, and although they acquired copies of charters and indentures from time to time, concerning land grants, and treaties with the English, little care seems to have been taken to preserve them."[40]

She then goes on to elaborate that:

> "This cavalier attitude to the written word arose for two reasons. Legitimate ownership and legitimate authority in this society was not traced to a recorded contract, but was founded on physical force and to a lesser extent on immemorial tradition, a view repeatedly expressed in bardic poetry…"[41]

It must be noted that the Gaelic Ireland was on the margins of Latin Europe and did not develop along the same paths as nations that were influenced by the Roman Empire, the Carolingian Renaissance, and Northern French culture. As such, the seeds of the civil and bureaucratic developments that were evolving in England and France had not been fully sown in Ireland. Ireland did possess learned clergy and secularists. However, in terms of administration and politics, their focus was more on oral tradition, mythology, and genealogy as a means of bolstering a lord's legitimacy.[42]

The major historical source for Gaelic Ireland lies instead in the Annals. However, these are concise entries regarding major events such as famine, raiding, dynastic changes, and major international phenomena (e.g. wars between England and foreign countries or the crusades). They are useful for explaining the context for economic growth (e.g. relative peace or a strong crop) or decline (e.g. war and poor weather/climate). However, Watt is wary of overutilizing and over-relying upon the Annals:

> "These have long been exploited by historians, though neither the so-called Annals of Connacht (particularly informative for the fourteenth century) nor the Annals of Ulster can be said to exist in satisfactory modern editions and translations. The Gaelic Irish Annals (as also their Anglo-Irish counterparts) are usually jejune, in historical and literary ambition falling a long way short of chronicle status. They are to a considerable degree necrologies, and since the deaths they record are preponderantly the casualties of battle, they are

[40] Katharine Simms, *From Kings to Warlords* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1987), 1.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Simms, *Kings*, 2.

> preoccupied with apparently unending tribal war. The Annals, with their emphasis on genealogy, royal succession, and the martial exploits of kings, stand in close relationship to the praise-verse."[43]

In *Landscape and History on the Medieval Irish Frontier: The King's Cantreds in the Thirteenth Century* Finan argues that the annals evolved during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, changing from short references into more substantial explanations and descriptions.[44] Some of these more illuminating passages will be incorporated into the analytical chapters. Nevertheless, the focus of these records is still unarguably on necrology and conflict, creating some degree of bias and potentially skewed portrayal of the period.

With Gaelic sources, there is also the issue of an overextension of anachronistic sources to earlier or later centuries. Scholars of Gaelic Ireland often cite Brehon laws that were written down during the Early Christian period to make observations about Gaelic Ireland during the high and late medieval periods. Additionally, sources from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are also often used to comment on gaps regarding preceding centuries. Simms summarises this conflict best by writing:

> "The essential challenge in writing the history of Gaelic Ireland is to utilise threads of evidence from many disparate sources and to weave from them a coherent pattern and a continuous narrative. With patience and scepticism it becomes possible to distil a few guarded certainties from a mass of flamboyant uncertainties."[45]

Kenneth Nicholls also commented on the issues presented by Gaelic sources, stating:

> "In consequence the historian of Gaelic Irish society is confronted, as regards his sources, with a historiographical situation more characteristic of Asia than of Europe, carrying with it the need to haphazard probabilities from scraps of evidence so fragmentary that it would be dangerous to base any generalisations upon them. Any attempts at quantification are out of the question, and an even more serious consequence of the paucity of documentation is the virtual impossibility of tracing changes in the economy and in institutional structures during the period under review."[46]

Sources from the colonial administration can offer a great deal of insight into the royal government of Ireland, as well as the economy of the colony's heartland (i.e. Dublin,

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[43] Watt, "Gaelic," 315.
[44] Finan, *Landscape and History*.
[45] Simms, *Kings*, 9.
[46] Kenneth Nicholls, "Gaelic society and economy," in *A New History Ireland: Volume II*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 398.

Meath, Kildare, and Louth). These sources are much more diverse in content when compared to Gaelic sources, something which Watt argues can make them too bulky and cumbersome.[47] Additionally, Hennessy's work on the 1292 Lay Subsidy, as aforementioned, illustrates that there were spatial limitations to colonial authority and the lands that could be effectively governed, even within the *de jure* boundaries of the colony. This was something that precluded any sort of island-wide survey or administrative source, from a colonial perspective.

What is left, then, are more sporadic and localised sources such as familial records and manorial extents. One of the main colonial sources regarding the Irish economy comes in the form of *Inquisitions Post-Mortem*. These were assessments of a lord or lady's wealth after their death to determine what was owed the crown and to assist with the inheritance process. Such records are invaluable for investigating local economies and studying manors. However, their scope is largely limited spatially. Additionally, these sources are sporadic and dependent on a noble's death, thus creating an infrequent or random temporal snapshot.

Aside from geographical constraints, conflict has affected both Gaelic and colonial sources, as Ireland has been subject to numerous wars and rebellions due to its colonial history. The most notable example is the shelling of Four Courts in 1922 during the Irish Civil War. This led to the decimation of a major archive of medieval and early modern sources. There was also a major fire in Dublin during 1305 that destroyed many valuable colonial records. As such, there are very few financial records before 1272[48] and perhaps only a tenth of what was produced (regarding finances) during Edward I's reign has survived.[49] Altogether, what is illustrated is a lack of sources that cover Ireland in its entirety and can fully transcend regional or cultural constraints.

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[47] J.A. Watt, "Approaches to the History of Fourteenth Century Ireland," in *A New History Ireland: Volume II*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 305.

[48] "Of the financial records relating to Ireland before 1272, which were once to be found among the English archives, there are few survivors" (Sayles and Richardson, "Administration," 1).

[49] "Of the general character of the records of Edward's administration between 1254 and 1272 we have, it is true, a good idea; but unfortunately only four rolls of his official correspondence for this period have survived, perhaps a tenth of what once existed. Transcripts of instruments issued in his name are scattered here and there; but that we are informed as well as we are and that is not to say very well is due mainly to the king's decision to reserve his rights over the Irish church and so to retain a substantial financial interest in Ireland" (Sayles and Richardson, "Administration," 7).

1.7 From Nationalist and Unionist to Revisionist

Another considerable obstacle that has impeded the study of the medieval Irish economy lies in prejudicial views regarding the Irish that originated during the medieval period, views which persisted and worsened well into modernity due to Ireland's continued colonial experience. Conversely, Irish nationalism since the Celtic Revival of the nineteenth century has offered romanticized views of Irish history that inhibit more grounded discourse. To address prejudices, stereotypes were turned into celebrations of rurality and egalitarianism.

Ireland was exposed to Latin culture much later than its British neighbours. England had been left with a Roman legacy and was conquered by the Normans in 1066 (who proceeded to restructure the country to reflect the Western European core of Northern France and Western Germany). The Scots had invited Normans into their nobility to strengthen themselves as part of the Davidian Revolution. Therefore, Scotland began to feudalise, develop burghs, and support both administrative and religious reforms (although the Highlands would retain more of its Gaelic culture and society). Both nations, additionally, had the added advantage of being less geographically isolated than Ireland. Wales, however, had a comparable experience to Ireland and its focus (culturally, politically, and economically) was also on the Irish Sea. After William the Conqueror's victory, the Normans seized Welsh borderlands in reprisal for Welsh support of English rebellions. These were then turned into marcher lordships and Norman nobles found themselves intermarrying with Welsh royalty. Heavy colonization and English settlement occurred, especially under Edward I. Edward devastated native Welsh resistance and heavily fortified Wales with stone castles. Welsh customs, too, were subverted and Welsh law was relegated to civil suits while Welsh peasants were often marginalised to the worst quality land. What could not synergise with Anglo-Norman culture and economic livelihoods was viewed as a threat.

Outside of the Gaelic Scots and the Celtic Welsh, to other Europeans the Gaelic Irish must have appeared to be alien and backwards. This is especially true of nobility of the Norman diaspora; whose Northern French culture was preeminent at the time. To the core of Europe, Ireland was comparatively underpopulated, pastoral, and economically

underdeveloped. Although through its Christianization and scholarly tradition Gaelic Ireland had established considerable cultural connections with the Continent, Gaelic culture was not extensively Latinised and retained a more unique character. Haywood authored a piece on Italian perceptions of the Gaelic Irish, noting that while they were sometimes positive, that Ireland was still perceived as being on the edge of the civilized world.[50] This even led to the indigenous peoples of the Americas being described as "Irish-like."[51]

Outside of its alien nature, the Gaelic Irish also engendered the enmity of the Anglo-Normans. This is due to two chief reasons. Foremost, the Normans had heavily incorporated Gregorian reforms (1050-80) into their culture and spirituality (something which was then carried with them to England and Wales). These reforms included clerical celibacy and the central role of the papacy, among other improvements designed to eliminate corrupt practices such as simony and emphasize a religious worldview. Although the Irish church had instituted reforms and was becoming more aligned with Continental norms, lingering issues remained. Ecclesiastical positions were heavily intertwined with royal Gaelic families, leading to hereditary positions such as *coarb* and *erenach*. Priesthood, at times, could be hereditary and the Irish clergy were notable for paying fees to the papacy to legitimise the children that they fathered. This was not as much of an issue in Gaelic Ireland, where bastards were not automatically disenfranchised. Regardless, to other Christians this was a reprehensible practice. Besides this, Ireland's more culturally and geographically isolated position was troubling for a papacy that was becoming increasingly centralized and monarchical.

The second major contention was Ireland's history of slavery. Coming out of the Viking Age, Dublin was Western Europe's largest slave market. Irish slavers took captives from within Ireland, as well as among the rest of the British Isles (especially Scotland and Wales). Anglo-Saxon England was their largest market for customers. This changed when the Normans arrived in England. William and his successors acted against the slave trade legally, as well as tangibly through stronger coastal defences against the Irish. Although this was a major blow to the Irish slave trade, it continued much to the ire of the

[50] Eric Haywood, "Is Ireland Worth Bothering About? Classical Perceptions of Ireland Revisited in Renaissance Italy," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 2, no. 4 (1996): 467.
[51] Ibid.

Normans. Despite popular views of the Normans as belligerent conquerors, slavery (at least of fellow Christians) appeared to be anathema to their culture. This antipathy was not helped by the 1138 invasion and slave raid of northern England by Scotland that precipitated in the Battle of the Standard. As such, slavery was utilized as a pretext for the conquest of Ireland and fuelled an image of barbarity.

While Ireland was increasingly coming into the orbit of mainstream Europe, this is a hindsight recognized by historians (and sometimes contested by them). The gradual changes in Gaelic society would not be easily recognized to outsiders (or even by the Gaelic Irish themselves). Yet a defence should not necessarily be made that the Gaelic Irish were becoming more mainstream or feudal. Culture is to a degree relativistic, and difference from other cultures is not necessarily a sign of backwardness or being less worthwhile. Additionally, while the Anglo-Norman's discriminatory views cannot be excused, they can be explained.

Prejudicial Anglo-Norman views towards the Gaelic Irish can be found within the historical writings of the time. The prime example of this are the works of Giraldus Cambrensis, a Cambro-Norman related to Robert FitzStephen and Raymond FitzGerald (two prestigious knights in the early conquest of Ireland). Writing in the aftermath of the Anglo-Norman invasion, Giraldus Cambrensis states in his *Topographia Hibernica*:

> "The Irish are a rude people, subsisting on the produce of their cattle only, and living themselves like beasts – a people that has not yet departed from the primitive habits of pastoral life. In the common course of things, mankind progresses from the forest to the field, from the field to the town and to the social conditions of citizens; but this nation, holding agricultural labour in contempt, and little coveting the wealth of towns, as well as being exceedingly averse to civil institutions – lead the same life their fathers did in the woods and open pastures, neither willing to abandon their old habits or learn anything new. They, therefore, only make patches of tillage; their pastures are short of herbage; cultivation is very rare and there is scarcely any land sown. This want of tilled fields arises from the neglect of those who should cultivate them; for theirs are large tracts which are naturally fertile and productive. The whole habits of the people are contrary to agricultural pursuits, so that the rich glebe is barren for want of husbandmen, the fields demanding labour which is not forthcoming."[52]

Another germane passage in the text is:

[52] Page 70 of Thomas Foster's translation, edited by Thomas Wright (LONDON: GEORGE BELL & SONS, 1894).

> "This people, then, is truly barbarous, being not only barbarous in their dress, but suffering their hair and beards (*barbis*) to grow enormously in an uncouth manner, just like the modern fashion recently introduced; indeed, all their habits are barbarisms. But habits are formed by mutual intercourse; and as these people inhabit a country so remote from the rest of the world and lying at its furthest extremity, forming is it were, another world, and are thus excluded from civilised nations, they learn nothing and practise nothing, but the barbarism in which they are born and bred and which sticks to them like a second nature. Whatever natural gifts they possess are excellent, in whatever requires industry they are worthless."[53]

Cambrensis portrays the Gaelic Irish as bestial, pastoral, and stubbornly rooted in their ancestral ways, preventing their advancement towards civility. The veracity of such observations is somewhat dubious or at least hyperbolic, the result of a biased view. However, *curiosa* written from later French and Spanish visitors to Ireland reveal that there is some truth to Gaelic Ireland's pastoralism and underdevelopment.[54] Writings, such as the *Topographia*, must not be wholly dismissed, but instead approached with an understanding of their authors' biases and motivations. Bartlett comments that some of Cambrensis' writings are not anthropologically infeasible.[55] Essentially, there may be some kernels of truth and genuine observations obscured by bias and hyperbole.

For Cambrensis, this image of the Gaelic Irish justifies the forcing of civility and Latin culture upon them, as well as seizing their lands for more productive cultivation. Indeed, Cambrensis likely viewed his relatives' actions not only warranted, but as a favour to the static and backward Gaels. It can be argued that it was a similar mind-set to the "White Man's Burden" outlook in that it was the duty of the colonists to drag Ireland into the present. One would not be hard pressed to find further parallels and overlaps between the writings of Cambrensis and nineteenth century imperialistic colonial works. Indeed, his discussion of excellent "natural gifts" is highly reminiscent of the noble savage trope. One can also see an advertisement of Ireland's rich resources as ripe for the taking (another theme found within later colonial literature). This would, of course, help foster adventurism among knights and create an image of Ireland as a frontier. To the enterprising Anglo-Normans, uncultivated arable lands must have seemed to be an irrational waste, furthering the justification for colonization and land seizure.

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[53] Ibid.
[54] Watt, "Approaches."
[55] Bartlett, *Gerald*.

Nearly a century and a half after its composition, Edward II would go on to provide Pope John XXII with an abridged version of *Topographia Hibernica* to garner support for his ecclesiastical reorganizational efforts in Ireland.[56] As such, it is important to take stock of such prejudicial views and how they may have impacted leaders or regimes. Bias is a major element of historical documents. These views not only affect contemporary readers but historical researchers in posterity. If a group is perceived as savage and culturally inferior, its exploits become less viable or noteworthy, thereby dampening any impetus to properly and respectfully research them.

Medieval Irish sources present issues not only by their very nature, but also by the means which with they are interpreted. This in part lies not only in geographical and discipline specialisation, but also personal lenses. These lenses have been greatly impacted by the legacy and politics of British colonialism, clouding the way in which the English colony and Gaelic people are analysed and portrayed. These lenses and their implications for the thesis will now be discussed.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the English colony was at the height of its territorial and administrative reach in Ireland. By the end of the century, the English crown's authority in Ireland was largely contracted to the Pale and a few urban enclaves. The fourteenth century and the decline of the English medieval colony is sometimes avoided by academics or viewed negatively. Watt explains: "The period of Irish history with which we are here concerned has been likened to a third act in the drama of post-invasion Irish history. The dramatic tension is between a colony in decline and a Gaelic Ireland in resurgence."[57]

Orpen, who viewed the English colony as a modernizing force, interprets the fourteenth century extremely negatively, stating: "The door was now finally closed on a century and a half of remarkable progress, vigour and comparative order, and two centuries of retrogression, stagnation and comparative anarchy were about to be ushered in."[58] Celtic tribalism and anarchy would triumph over the more orderly and progressive feudalism of the Anglo-Normans. Indeed, Watt notes that although Orpen's discussion of

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[56] J.A. Watt, "Negotiations between Edward II and John XXII concerning Ireland," *Irish Historical Studies* 10, no. 37 (1956): 1-20.
[57] Watt, 2008, 307.
[58] Orpen*, Normans*, 249.

the thirteenth century is guiding and even lauded by the patriot Eoin MacNeill for its scientific methods, his work on the fourteenth century carries a tone of derision and condescension.[59]Seán Duffy notes: “And prejudices, not objections on the grounds of historical accuracy, are at the core of the reaction to Orpen.”[60]

Orpen’s interpretation of the century is emblematic of a more traditionalist or unionist attitude, tinged with early twentieth century colonial sentiments and Irish politics. Duffy notes that he was researching during debates regarding Home Rule and independence, and some of these contemporary political sentiments may have seeped into his work or turned into metaphors (e.g. Strongbow and Aoife’s marriage representing the Union between England and Ireland).[61] Orpen concludes his magnum opus, *Ireland under the Normans*, by presenting the years between 1169-1333 in a positive light. He terms them a *Pax Normannica*, during which Ireland benefited from relative freedom from large-scale conflict (with the exception of the Bruce Invasion of 1315), advances in agricultural cultivation and productivity levels, properly managed lands and estates, ideal wages and commercial prices, town foundations, connections with international trade routes, ecclesiastical reforms, and greater ties to both Latin culture and the papacy.[62] Discussing the Gaelic Irish, he writes:

> "It seems indeed to be one of the most marked characteristics of the Celtic temperament in its native land to be ever looking backward to a supposed golden age in the past, while paying little heed to the actual conditions of the life of the day and making the best of them. But in the lapse of time this purely Celtic has become modified through the mingling of the races- for in spite of futile and mischievous legislation they have intermingled. The ground for this legislation was that the descendants of the Normans who intermarried with the Irish or whose children were nurtured among them became turbulent and 'degenerate,' or, as the phrase went, *Hibernis ipsis hiberniores*. But the real remedy for this, as for the turbulence of the Irish, was a more effective machinery for preserving order, a more consistent and less selfish policy, and a firmer and more impartial rule all around. In spite, however, of the default of the central government and of their own real or supposed degeneracy, the Anglo-Irish, while gaining something from the quick, sympathetic imagination of the Celt, never lost that energy of character, that power of initiative, and

[59] Watt, “Approaches,” 303.
[60] Seán Duffy, "Goddard Henry Orpen, Ireland under the Normans, 1169-1333 (1911-20)," *Irish Historical Studies* 32, no. 126 (2000): 252.
[61] Duffy, “Orpen.”
[62] Orpen, *Normans*, Chapter XXXIX.

> that capacity for leading and controlling men which they either inherited from their Norman ancestors or imbibed from the Norman tradition."[63]

Orpen's view echoes Irish stereotypes from medieval times, and one can easily find parallels with Cambrensis.[64] The Gaelic Irish are portrayed by Orpen and likeminded historians as tribal, backwards, bellicose, and unindustrious. As such, why seriously study a primitive tribal culture instead of a complex feudal one? It is partly due to such portrayals that the study of Gaelic Ireland was used by some historians during the nineteenth and early twentieth century to study human cultures more broadly or culture in its most rudimentary form. This emphasises how basic and undeveloped the Pre-Invasion and non-Anglicised Irish were viewed: a textbook case of tribalism. Such views have partially contributed to an overemphasis on the pastoral and subsistence aspects of the Gaelic economy.[65]

Eoin MacNeill drafted a riposte to Orpen within *Phases of Irish History*, critiquing Orpen's methods, aspects of Norman culture, and presenting the Gaelic Irish as quite advanced based on Brehon law tracts. For example, he argues:

> "Mr. Orpen says again and again that the Irish were turbulent. The Normans, he would have us believe, were all for law and order. It is again strange that this contrast did not occur at all to Giraldus, their comrade and kinsman and partisan. No one need wonder if a band of hardy adventurers should hold solidly together in their common interest for at least a generation. Yet the first generation of feudalism in Ireland witnessed a series of wars among the invaders themselves, quite as much, in fact, as you will find on average in an equal space of time among an equal number of chiefs of the turbulent Irish. But it was not only in Ireland that the Normans were turbulent."[66]

MacNeill provides some realism to counter Orpen's romanticising of the Normans. However, his approach of tearing down the Normans and bolstering the Gaelic Irish only serves to further a dichotomy between the groups and a political narrative. It did not effectively advance our understanding of the period. Duffy writes, regarding MacNeil's public lectures concerning Orpen: "This was not the stuff of a history lecture, rather a political rally, and one, at that, likely to incite to hatred."[67]

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[63] Orpen, *Normans*, 302-3.
[64] It should be noted, again, that Cambrensis held the English in lower regard as well, compared to the Normans (Martin, "Introduction").
[65] Martin, "Introduction," lix.
[66] MacNeill, *Phases*, 304.
[67] Duffy, "Orpen," 250.

MacNeill was a prominent Irish nationalist, a figure in the Celtic revival, and participant in the Irish Revolution. Although nationalists and revivalists provided invaluable work, especially in terms of translations, their biases and objectives would also harm Irish history. They helped portray the beginning of the early medieval period as a "Golden Age," praising the rural, communal, and pastoral nature of the Irish prior to its destruction by “individualistic English feudalism.”[68] James Connolly (founder of the Irish Labour Party) would go so far as to say that early medieval Ireland was "…a kind of primitive socialist utopia, with the Irish people knowing nothing of absolute property in…”[69] This was done to provide a foil to contemporary British industrialization and capitalization while rooting rural Ireland upon a glorious historical tradition. Thus, what we witness in such logic and rhetoric is an attempt to turn medieval stereotypes of the Irish into something benign, laudable, and or politically self-serving.

Stereotypical views towards the Irish economy continued long well into the twentieth century. In 1961 for example, R. H. M. Dolley, a prominent numismatist, argued that the Irish consciously rejected the use of currency prior to the Anglo-Norman's arrival, preferring the “melting pot” and transforming precious metals into craftworks.[70] Coinage or cash payments, accordingly, had little use in an economy more rooted in barter. This was based on his geographic interpretation of the distribution of Viking Age Irish coin hoards, despite not being a historical geographer or expertly-versed in Irish social or political history. Rgardless, Gerriets notes that this interpretation was initially accepted without contention.[71] What is striking is not Dolley’s assertion *per se*, but the lag in evaluating his work or will to resist its assumptions.

It is important to understand this context of prejudice in Irish historical research (both explicit or unintentional) as it germane to why, for a time, there was little impulse to investigate Gaelic Irish economics or the medieval Irish economy in an in-depth or scientifically rigorous manner. Why conduct research when the conclusion seemed to be a painfully obvious and simple dichotomy: developing or developed colonial territory

[68] O’Sullivan et al., 2013, 9.
[69] Ibid.
[70] R.H. M. Dolley and J. Ingold, “Viking Age Coin-Hoards from Ireland and their Relevance to Anglo-Saxon Studies” in *Anglo-Saxon Coins: Studies Presented to F. M. Stenton*, ed. R. H. M. Dolley (London, 1961).
[71] Marilyn Gerriets, "Money among the Irish: Coin Hoards in Viking Age Ireland," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 115 (1985): 121-39.

versus pastoral undeveloped Gaelic territory. How much can be gleaned from investigating pastoral reciprocal economies or conducting a macro-level study in which there is scant information for more than one-third of the island?

From the middle of the twentieth century to the present day, Irish historical research has moved into a period of revisionism. Nationalist and colonial lenses are being challenged as the number of historical sources, archaeological evidence, academic sources, and available resources grow. This revisionist period was launched primarily by Edmund Curtis and Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven. Concerning Curtis, Watt writes: "His main achievement was to prevent the hardening of an unnatural dichotomy which was developing in the historiography of his day between the study of the colony and of the Gaelic world. Curtis set out to write about both cultures with impartiality."[72] McNeil also cites Robin Frame as being instrumental in this process, particularly regarding the fourteenth century.[73] Nevertheless, nationalist and unionist politics continue to pepper and influence the study of medieval Ireland. Steven Ellis, in particular, has been vocal in illustrating how the "present-centred histories" and politics can overshadow historical realities, lead to inventions, or reshape history to fit convenient narratives. He is especially critical of the concept of Gaelicisation, believing that it takes away from the English identity and culture of the Anglo-Irish. His work, and the response to it from Kenneth Nicholls, will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

Orpen has been discussed extensively in this section, and this was no accident. Although Orpen is critiqued for some of his opinions regarding the Gaelic Irish, his work is still regarded as foundational, seminal, and well-sourced.[74] He also had the temerity to argue that the Anglo-Irish elites benefited Ireland during a time of sweltering nationalism. It becomes easy to label people coloniser, invader, and conqueror, forgetting that many who dwelled in medieval Ireland were of mixed ethnic background and or simply wished to stay alive in a turbulent land. Duffy concludes a piece on Orpen by writing: "Every monograph which has since appeared on this era of Irish history has paraphrased him,

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[72] Watt, "Approaches," 305.
[73] "Robin Frame has done much to correct this impression giving a more moderate view of a society where war had become endemic after the end of Anglo-Norman expansion but which is not an unremitting tale of collapse and chaos. This revision is primarily (as shown even in its chronological limits) one based on a re-interpretation of the political narrative, rather than social or economic history" (T.E. McNeill, "Church Building in 14th Century Ireland and the 'Gaelic Revival'," *The Journal of Irish Archaeology 3* (1985), 61).
[74] Duffy, "Orpen."

adjusted some of the minutiae of his account, added some details where a new source has been unearthed, or sought to tell the same story in a different tone."[75] Considering this, it becomes more prudent to contextualise his work rather than dismiss it. This is an approach that will be taken to all works that are grounded in sound scientific and historic research.

This issue of biased lenses highlights the need for more objective data, something that the 1302-20 valuations will be demonstrated to enable, as well as balanced and multifaceted approaches to analysis. This thesis will continue in the line of the revisionist movement (or at least how it should theoretically operate): challenging preconceptions, striving for objectivity, and consciously separating the research from twentieth century (and twenty-first century) politics. However, it will strive not just to revise, but break new ground and offer fresh observations.

1.8 Introducing the Sources

Katharine Simms has stated that papal sources might be a way to overcome the problematic nature of Irish medieval sources and regionalism.[76] This thesis illustrates that is indeed the case. The 1302-20 valuations made for papal tenths taxations offer unpresented insight into the near entirety of Ireland.

In 1807, George Vanderzee discovered a set of fourteen long rolls in a bag labelled "Hibernia" among the Exchequer records of Westminster, stating that they were part of the famous Nicholas IV taxation (*circa* 1292). These rolls were partly transcribed in the *Supplement to the Eighth Report of the Irish Records Commission*.[77] Vanderzee had found what William Reeves describes as "the most ancient collection of ecclesiastical statistics, connected with Ireland, now remaining." [78] In 1844, Joseph Hunter made a syllabus for six rolls from circa 1306.[79] Indeed, these six long rolls are enumerations of the valuations of

[75] Duffy, "Orpen," 259.
[76] Simms, *Kings*, 8.
[77] Published in 1820 within *Reports from the Commissioners Appointed by His Majesty: To Execute the Measures Recommended in an Address of the House of Commons Respecting the Public Records of Ireland: with Supplements and Appendixes* by the Commissioners on the Public Records of Ireland.
[78] William Reeves, *Ecclesiastical antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore, consisting of a taxation of those dioceses, compiled in the year MCCCVI.; with notes and illustrations* (Dublin: University Press, 1847), xii.
[79] *Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, Volume 5*, published in on March 25th, 1844 (London: William Clowes and Sons).

ecclesiastic income (spiritualties and temporalities) of Ireland's clergy for three distinct papal taxations 1302-5, 1306-7, and 1319-20. There is some ambiguity as to whether these six rolls were part of Vanderzee's fourteen rolls or a different set entirely. Nevertheless, the six rolls are currently held at the British National Archives at Kew,[80] and transcribed in *the Fifth Volume of Calendar of documents, relating to Ireland*.[81] These rolls will be the basis of the thesis, and Chapter Four will detail their history and clarify some misconceptions regarding them (as well as discuss Vanderzee's fourteen rolls).

The taxation in question was termed the "tenth" or "*decime*," an irregular but not infrequent income tax raised by the pope for the purposes of the Holy Land or when the papacy was in dire need of resources. It was named as such because it entailed requisitioning a tenth of ecclesiastical income, although assessing what was eligible for taxation was not straightforward. The tenth, additionally, was not without political interference, and secular rulers were sometimes successful in claiming majority portions of the tax's proceeds for themselves (namely the monarchs of England and France).

Valuations for the papal tenths in Ireland are not found exclusively in these six rolls. There also two additional known sources that William Reeves and Geoffrey Hand identified: the *Liber Rubrus Diocecis Ossoriensis* (the Red Book of Ossory)[82] and the Christ Church Deeds.[83] The former is a compilation of diocesan and colonial governmental matters ranging from the thirteenth century to the sixteenth century. Amongst these records are the very detailed valuations and procurations for the diocese for 1306-7 and 1319-20 tenths. The latter is a compilation of cathedral and See of Dublin documents. Within it is a revaluation of the diocese after the Bruce Invasion.

The value of these records cannot be overstated. Foremost, the valuations provide acute insight into and, arguably, accurate measurement of the ecclesiastical wealth of Ireland. However, they are not restricted to illuminating this portion of the medieval Irish economy. Ecclesiastical wealth was largely based on tithing, which was the practice of taking a tenth of agricultural wealth for the sustenance of the local parish church. As

[80] E 101/233/21
[81] Edited by Edward Sweetman and Gustavus Handcock (London: Longmans and Co, 1886).
[82] Transcripts from *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory* were consulted for this work (W. Carrigan, *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory* (Dublin: Sealy, Bryers, and Walker, 1905)). An unpublished transcript by William Reeves held in the Robinson Library was also consulted. This transcript will be discussed at length in Chapter Four.
[83] M. J. MacEnery and R. Refaussé (Eds.), *Christ Church deeds* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2001).

such, valuations for benefices such as parishes and vicarages can serve as a proxy for gauging the local economy. In terms of philology and linguistics, the placenames enumerated in these rolls are a treasure trove for those studying the evolution and pronunciation of Irish.

To find medieval documents that contain economic assessments outside of a localized geographical scope and use a uniform method of measurement is quite rare. For medieval Ireland, however, such a document is exceptional due to the political, economic, and cultural fragmentation of the island. On the contrary, the valuations within these rolls greatly ameliorate or supersede the difficulties. Although the English crown and colonial government was not dominant throughout all of Ireland, the papacy's authority was universal across Latin Christendom and ecclesiastical persons were coerced into paying their taxes via an array of censures (namely excommunication or the stripping of their benefices). As such, the valuations contained in these rolls cover both Gaelic and colonial regions with the same method of assessing wealth, something which cannot be said of any other medieval Gaelic or colonial document.

The valuations are also extremely timely, something which furthers their utility and importance. The first two sets of valuations (1302-5 and 1306-7) come as the apex of English colonial rule was tipping. C. 1300 is also the beginning of the late medieval period, which is distinct from the high medieval period in many regards. This period is synonymous with deteriorating climatic conditions, economic decline, chronic warfare (e.g. the Hundred Years War between England and France), and the dramatic demographic shift caused by the Black Death. When considering all these factors, it becomes apparent how opportune these two valuations truly are. Essentially, they provide a snapshot of the high medieval Irish economy right before the drastic changes of the late medieval period, as well as capture the impact of medieval English colonisation on Ireland near its full extent.

The third set of valuations that can be dated between 1319-20 are opportune due to the Bruce Invasion of Ireland (1315-18) and the Great European Famine (1315-17 or 1314-22). In 1315, Edward Bruce (de Brus), brother of Scottish king Robert the Bruce, landed in Eastern Ulster with a Scottish army. Allying with certain Irish dynasties (namely the powerful Ó Néill dynasty of Ulster), Edward would go on to devastate Ireland under

the title of High King of Ireland. This earned him the enmity of both the colonists and Gaelic Irish. His attempt to carve out his own kingdom in Ireland came to an end at the Battle of Faughart, where he was slain by an army of colonists and Gaels.

Coinciding with Edward's invasion was the Great European Famine. Caused by unnaturally heavy rains, the Famine lead to the deaths of millions by ruining successive crop cycles through much of Europe. In Ireland, the chaos wrought by the famine was a catalyst for Edward's atrocities, compelling him to forage and raid the Irish countryside for desperately needed supplies. The two phenomena combined caused considerable devastation to the Irish economy (necessitating new valuations). By comparing the three sets of valuations, it becomes possible to measure the immediate economic impact of these two events in parts of Ireland. Additionally, by pairing the comparisons with historical accounts of the invasion it also becomes possible to better track Edward's campaign routes and hotspots of conflict.

1.9 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis will be divided into eight chapters (including this introductory chapter) to address the research topic in a comprehensive and streamlined manner. The remaining chapters and their descriptions are as follows:

Chapter Two entails reviewing literature regarding Irish cultures, economies, intercultural relations, and frontiers to build a framework for analysing the valuation data geographically and providing context to the valuations. ***Chapter Three*** investigates the development of papal tenths and their mechanisms in Europe, with a specific focus on valuation procedures. It also details how the tenths became shared between popes and kings because of Philip IV of France and Edward I of England, highlighting the seriousness with which the taxes were treated. ***Chapter Four*** discusses when and how tenths were conducted in Ireland. It then proceeds to a source analysis of the 1302-20 Irish valuations, as well as a literature review of existing secondary literature that used or dealt with these valuations.

Chapter Five details the methods utilised to construct the geodatabase and deal with methodological issues. Additionally, it will also qualify how the data will be

visualised, as well as analysed in a quantitative and qualitative manner. ***Chapter Six*** begins with an island-wide analysis of the 1302-7 data to identify economic zones before proceeding to zonal and regional analysis. Primary sources such as Annals, colonial administrative documents, and archaeological data are utilised to better elucidate regional to local level trends, alongside germane secondary sources.

Chapter Seven explores and quantifies the impact of the Bruce Invasion and Great European Famine, as well as the implications the devastation had on the fate of the colony. This chapter is followed by the ***conclusion***, which will tie together the analytical findings and themes while also presenting opportunities for future work within and outside of Ireland.

Chapter Two: Creating a Framework for Analysing Medieval Ireland

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to create a framework for the geographical analysis of medieval Ireland during the early fourteenth century. Cultural characteristics, economic archetypes, intercultural relationships, the concept of the frontier in medieval Irish research, and colonial decline will be discussed and examined, while topics broached in Chapter One will be expanded on. Temporally, the reviewed literature will focus on the decades before and after the 1302-20 valuations as the aim is to understand the milieu, people, and processes that impacted the sources and the valuations that they contain.

2.2 Cultures and Economies

Ireland, circa 1300, was host to a broad cultural spectrum and diverse economic livelihoods. The purpose of this section will be to discuss the essential characteristics of the two main groups (the Anglo-Irish and the Gaelic Irish), before expanding beyond dichotomous categorizations and discussing processes such as acculturation and adaptation.

2.2.1 The Anglo-Irish

In the wake of the 1169 invasion, Ireland was mainly settled by English, Welsh, Flemish, and French descended colonists (with administrators and Crown officials also

coming from England and France[84]). Among them were also Gaelic Irish who became partly Anglicised, as well as Gaelic Irish that resided within colonial communities but strongly retained aspects of their culture (both groups will be expanded on in the following subsection). Of the immigrants, settlers from England and Wales were likely the most numerous (however, the adoption of English names by Gaelic Irish and limited archaeological evidence makes this difficult to quantify).

Altogether, this group formed the Anglo-Irish or Middle Nation, a multicultural but primarily English-descended people that were allied or at least nominally affiliated with the English crown and its colonial administration. Over them ruled the French-descended elites commonly referred to as Anglo-Normans. This name may be apt for the first generation of settlers, but afterwards the term Anglo-Irish or Norman-Irish becomes more appropriate once they began acclimating to Ireland, intermarrying, and adapting aspects of Irish culture.[85]

Serving as a landowning and cultural upper-class,[86] the Anglo-Irish magnates were part of a larger Northern French cultural expansion that proliferated much of Western Europe during the high medieval period (1000 CE – 1300 CE).[87] Said proliferation was largely the result of the Norman diaspora, which saw Norman-French adventurers conquer, colonise, and influence lands ranging from the British Isles and Italy to the Balkans and the Middle East. With them, the Norman-French brought the typical fixtures of Northern French culture; namely, feudalization, manors, chivalric ideals, warfare focused on heavy cavalry, and castellation.[88] As many of these adventuring elites had

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[84] Richardson and Sayles have contributed greatly to the study of this in "The Administration of Ireland," which they believed would be better entitled "The French Administration of Ireland" due to parallels between Anglo-Ireland and French administrative structures.

[85] Norman adventurers were known to adopt and interact with the cultures where they settled to better rule the peoples they conquered. The Normans in Ireland are no exception. Intermarriage was common from the very beginning of the colony; perhaps one of the most notable examples being between Richard de Clare and Aoifie Mac Murragh. This process would continue, and this group would also adopt bilingualism, patron Gaelic artists, employ Gaelic soldiers, and retain Gaelic cronies.

[86] Normans were defined by a tripartite social structure: those that fought (the nobility), those that produced (the peasantry), and those that prayed (the clergy). Haskins covers much of this in his work *The Normans in European History*. Nobles' authority was based in part on realistic power politics, but also inheritable titles, honour systems, and formalized charters. Clearer lines of succession helped to fostered strong dynasties of nobles and discouraged (but not fully prevent) power struggles. In Ireland, this led to several Hiberno-Norman dynasties. Namely, these include the FitzGeralds, de Burghs, de Clares, de Barrys, de Lacys, and Butlers.

[87] Robert Bartlett has provided an overview of this process in his noteworthy *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonisation, and Cultural Change, 950-1350* (Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: conquest, colonization and cultural change, 950-1350*. London: Allen Lane, 1993).

[88] Ibid.

English and Welsh origins, there were also features of Welsh marcher and English culture and administration brought by these elites to Ireland.

Despite limited knowledge regarding the extent of migration, linguistic studies provide some insight into the origins of the English settlers. Bliss and Long note:

> "In general, as might be expected, the linguistic character of medieval Hiberno-English resembles that of the Middle-English dialects of the south west-counties and of the south-west midlands; individual features occur in Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Somerset, Devon, Shropshire, and Wales, but the dialect of none of these areas has all the features in combination."[89]

Immigrant groups also appear to have clustered together in some locations. For example, Waterford was home to many Flemish settlers while south County Dublin had a strong Welsh contingent. Welsh immigrants seem to have brought in as mercenaries to help guard the Irish marches and were even brought into Connaught by the de Burghs.[90] Kilkenny also had its own Flemish quarter, as well as an Irishtown (although Bradley cautions against assuming that areas were strictly ethnically segregated and unmixed).[91]

Nevertheless, cultural mixing still occurred within the Middle Nation. Colfer, for example, conducted research on the origins of settlers in County Wexford, noting a heavy percentage of French, English, and Welsh surnames.[92] His analysis on contemporary documents also gives insight into the ethnic makeup of the settlers: "For example, in 1175, Raymond le Gros issued a charter to 'all present and future, French, English, Flemish, Welsh and Irish', and in 1200, William Marshal's Charter to Tintern Abbey was addressed to 'all his men, French and English, Welsh and Irish'."[93]

Geographically, Anglo-Irish domains were often organised into cantreds. These were comparable to the Welsh cantrefs and English hundreds. Originally, these land units were often former Gaelic petty kingdoms known as *triúcha céad*, and would later evolve into modern baronies.[94] Cantreds were further distributed into knights' fees (or a set amount of land that could support a knight). Down has noted that these knights' fees

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[89] Alan Bliss and Joseph Long, "Literature in Norman French and English to 1534," in *A New History Ireland: Volume II*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 709.
[90] *Annals of Connacht*, 1266, Entry 19.
[91] J. Bradley, "Planned Anglo-Norman towns in Ireland," in *The Comparative history of urban origins in non-Roman Europe: Ireland, Wales, Denmark, Germany, Poland, and Russia from the ninth to the thirteenth century*, ed. Anngret Simms and H.B. Clarke (Oxford: B.A.R., 1985), 446.
[92] William Colfer. "The Ethnic Mix in Medieval Wexford," *History Ireland* 10, no. 1 (2002): 19-23.
[93] Colfer, "Ethnic," 19.
[94] Paul MacCotter, "Medieval Irish Political and Economic Divisions," *History Ireland* 15, no. 5 (2007): 18.

were normally coincident with ecclesiastical parishes.[95] Ní Ghabhláin argues that parishes played an integral part of the colonising process and economic restructuring of Ireland:

> "In the Anglo-Norman areas of Ireland, therefore, the process of parish formation went hand in-hand with the process of subinfeudation so that manors and parishes became essentially synonymous (Otway-Ruthven 1964). Where historical sources documenting the process of parish formation are available, they indicate that the pace of parish formation was rapid. Ten out of thirteen parishes within the deanery of Fethard were established by 1200, while the remainder were clearly established by the early thirteenth century."[96]

MacCotter states that parishes themselves were based on the Gaelic *túath* or *baile*.[97] High ranking lords were given knights' fees that enabled them to protect and administer their domains, as well as answer royal calls for support.[98] These nobles would then subinfeudate this land among lesser nobles to promote better administration and reward loyal service (a typical process of feudal societies). Ireland underwent this process, and knights' fees were still being rewarded towards the end of the thirteenth century from Gaelic territories (e.g. Thomond).[99] However, the process appears to have peaked circa 1250. Knights' fees were not standard but based on the quality of the land. As such, knights' fees in the core of the colony such as Dublin and Meath were more comparable to those in England in terms of size. Fees outside of Leinster and colonial Munster, however, were sometimes more than three times as large as those within the it. This reflected not only hostile conditions, but the decreased fertility of the land.

Conquered lands were also organised into shires, the typical administrative boundaries of England. Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven argues that: "The organization of the medieval Anglo-Irish lordship was designed to reproduce as exactly as possible the administrative system of England, but it was not introduced suddenly or all at once."[100]

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[95] Kevin Down, "Colonial Society and Economy," in *A New History Ireland: Volume II*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 443.
[96] Sinéad Ní Ghabhláin, "The Origin of Medieval Parishes in Gaelic Ireland: The Evidence from Kilfenora," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 126 (1996): 38.
[97] MacCotter, "Divisions," 18.
[98] Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven, "Knight's Fees in Kildare, Leix and Offaly," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 91, no. 2 (1961): 163-81.
[99] "In two directions King Edward favoured pure feudal expansion. One was his grant of Desmond and Decies to FitzMaurice, the other was when in 1276 he granted 'the whole land of Thomond' (county Clare) to Thomas de Clare, a kinsman of the Earl of Gloucester, as a feudal liberty. De Clare was a brave soldier; he invaded Thomond at once, built a strong castle at Bunratty, and colonized the land around it with Englishmen" (Edmund Curtis, *A history of Ireland* (London: Routledge, 1992), 90).
[100] Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven, "Anglo-Irish Shire Government in the Thirteenth Century," *Irish Historical Studies* 5, no. 17 (1946): 1.

She provides a thorough overview of the shire creation and administrative process in *Anglo-Irish shire government in the thirteenth century*, substantiating her argument by documenting the creation of new shires throughout the thirteenth century. By 1297 there were nine shires (with an additional two mandated by the Parliament of Kilkenny of the same year). These figures can be misleading, however, as Cork and Waterford were often managed by one sheriff and sheriff positions in frontier shires such as Roscommon were sometimes vacant.[101] Otway-Ruthven concludes her text by stating: "In nearly every respect the local government of the lordship of Ireland during the thirteenth century was a copy, as exact as possible, though no doubt less efficient, of that of England. There were already some interesting divergences from the pattern, but during our period they were relatively unimportant."[102] Although English practices undoubtedly functioned within the core of the lordship, the colony itself and its people were heterogeneous. English systems would have to accommodate or coexist alongside the requirements of marchlands, as well as the growing acculturation that would define the fourteenth century.

Economically, the Anglo-Irish were more representative of feudalised Europe. Thus, the colonial landscape was largely manorial,[103] with emphasis on intensive agriculture. The three-field rotation was employed to produce mainly wheat, oats, and barley.[104] Towns were founded, and resembled those in both England and Normandy in terms of layout.[105] Gearoid Mac Niocaill states: "But it is also worth while emphasizing that in the case of the colonial towns in Ireland almost every phase of their establishment and growth in this period is derivative and imitative. There is not, I think, a single privilege or liberty granted to any one of them for which precedent or exemplar cannot be found in English borough charters some time previously."[106] These towns were vital to commercial activity and forming more complex trading routes. Graham argues, in "Anglo-

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[101] Ibid.
[102] Otway-Ruthven, "Shire Government," 28.
[103] Also referred to seignoralism. Communities would generally revolve around a manor, which formed a comprehensive economic, political, and social unit. Relationships were more vertical in nature, with lower classes being largely dependent on lords for leadership and land.
[104] "The crops grown on Irish Manors were very much the same as those found on their English counterparts. Wheat and oats were the largest crops, with barely, rye, beans, peas, and leeks occupying much less of the arable" (Down, "Colonial Economy," 470-1).
[105] "The model, if one can use such a positivistic term, was the interplay between Norman feudalism and urban creation and development in Wales, England and Normandy" (Graham, 1993).
[106] Gearóid MacNiocaill, "The colonial town in Irish documents," in *The Comparative history of urban origins in non-Roman Europe: Ireland, Wales, Denmark, Germany, Poland, and Russia from the ninth to the thirteenth century*, ed. Anngret Simms and H.B. Clarke (Oxford: B.A.R., 1985), 376-7.

Norman settlement in County Meath," that boroughs were a way of increasing manorial profits, diversifying income sources, and mobilise wealth via markets.[107] He sees no reason why boroughs in Ireland did not function like *villae maercatoriae* in England, also noting the importance of boroughs to lords as a means of turning rents into cash and drawing upon lines of credit.[108] As such, it is important to focus on these commercial functions. Mac Niocaill does not view boroughs as colonising forces, instead stating: "When we describe them as colonial towns, we need to be clear about our meaning. They were not towns that were agents of colonisation; they were, rather, the overspill of colonisation with which the rural settlement seems to have had priority."[109]

Excessive amounts of burgh statuses and liberties were granted to promote immigration to Ireland and portray it as a land of opportunity and freedom.[110] Most Irish boroughs, though, were quite small. However, Graham does not believe this was dissimilar to England or Normandy. Rather, he argues, research has been disproportionately focused on "the far less common but more dramatic mercantile city" than smaller and ubiquitous small towns.[111] Patrick Duffy writes on this new Irish economy:

> "The initial 150 years of the English colony in Ireland undoubtedly saw the establishment of a distinctive, integrated, productive manorial economy with an organised market orientation in contrast to the localised pastoralism of Gaelic areas. Wool and grain were the staples of the colony which was characterised by extensive tillage fields, mills, towns, villages and monastic granges. The central role of the Italian merchants, who feature prominently in the state papers and administrative records of the colony, symbolised the importance of European linkages and the economic success."[112]

In *Anglo-Norman Colonization and the Size and Spread of the Colonial Town in Medieval Ireland*, Brian Graham provides three main categories for boroughs: manorial boroughs, *capite baroniae*, and seigniorial boroughs.[113] Seignoral boroughs refer to lands held directly from the Crown, these include urban settlements around royal castles,

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[107] B. J. Graham, "The definition and classification of medieval Irish towns," *Irish Geography*, 21 (1988): 26-27.
[108] Graham, "Classification," pg. 27.
[109] MacNiocaill, "Colonial Town," 377.
[110] Graham, "Anglo-Norman Colonization," 356
[111] B. J. Graham, "The high middle ages: *c*.1100 to *c*.1350," in *An historical geography of Ireland*, ed. B. J. Graham and L. J. Proudfoot (London: Academic Press Limited, 1993), 58–98.
[112] Patrick Duffy, "The Nature of the Medieval Frontier in Ireland," *Studia Hibernica*, no. 22/23 (1982): 33.
[113] Graham, "Anglo-Norman Colonization."

centres arisen from major Church holdings, and initial land grants made under Henry II and John in Meath, Leinster, Uriel, Munster, and parts of Ulster.[114] *Caput baroniae* are "settlements on the large grants (the principal lands grants in Meath and Leinster and the largest subdivisions elsewhere) of lords who were tenants of the barons holding land directly from the Crown."[115] Manorial boroughs were smaller grants to subtenants of the holders of *capite baroniae* and seigniorial boroughs. Graham notes that manorial boroughs were the most numerous (42.0 percent of 163 identified boroughs). However, seigniorial and caput baroniae were more likely to be built upon pre-Invasion monastic sites and situated upon the coast or a river.[116] Navigable waterways were vital for the longevity of boroughs as they tied the settlement into long-distance trade, but were also necessary to control to achieve territorial control and form defensive networks.[117] Expanding on viability, MacNiocaill states that: "And viability seems to have depended mainly on the density of colonial settlement around the town itself and on the level of peace enabling it to trade and to cultivate the surrounding land."[118]

Concerning layout, there is debate over whether colonial settlements were generally nucleated to promote defence or dispersed. Work by Anngret Simms and Meenan suggests that Anglo-Irish settlements were not nucleated (and perhaps instead passed on pre-invasion townland structures), an observation that Barry believes would be useful to study further.[119] Additionally, he suggests comparing colonial settlements at the peripheries of the colony and at its core. Nevertheless, there is still a great deal of work that needs to be done on this topic. Simms, for example, co-authored a piece that illustrates the potential that phosphate testing had in determining settlement patterns at Newcastle Lyons (and that this could provide a model for other manorial settlements).[120]

What is less contestable is that Anglo-Irish towns were more likely to be walled than their other European counterparts. McKeon notes that while only a quarter of English towns had walls, over three-quarters of Irish towns possessed these

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[114] Graham, "Anglo-Norman Colonization," 360.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Graham, "Anglo-Norman Colonization," 362.
[117] Graham, "Anglo-Norman Colonization," 363-4.
[118] MacNiocaill , "Colonial Town," 375.
[119] T.B. Barry, "Rural settlement in medieval Ireland," in *A History of Settlement in Ireland*, ed. T.B. Barry (London: Routledge, 2000), 117.
[120] K.J. Edwards, F. W. Hamond, and A. Simms, "The Medieval Settlement of Newcastle Lyons, County Dublin an Interdisciplinary Approach," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 83C (1983): 351-76.

fortifications.[121] This reflects both the frontier mentality of Ireland and state of conflict that necessitated permanent defences.

Up until the colonial peak (*circa* 1300), Ireland was a significant source of cereals for England. Down notes that yields were "comparable to English"[122] and that "large surpluses of cereals were available on the home and export market."[123] During the Scottish Wars of Independence, Ireland wasn't just exploited for precious metals, but also provisions.[124] Supplies from Ireland were vital to English campaigns, as well as victualing castles in Wales. However, the situation would change drastically as the fourteenth century progressed. The growing unrest that boiled over at the end of the thirteenth century would render intensive agriculture unviable.[125] Raids, endemic warfare, and the threat of Gaelic or outlaw attacks either destroyed crops or instilled fear in farmers. It would become counterintuitive to plant crops that would only be lost. Intensive agriculture would persist in some pockets of Ireland during the late medieval period (e.g. the Pale), but the landscape would overwhelmingly revert to low-intensity Gaelic practices.[126]

2.2.2 Gaels within the Colony

Narratives on Irish history often give a misleading view of the colony's ethnic composition, creating a dichotomy of free Gaelic areas and colonial areas populated by newcomers. As such, the colony's internal frontiers and Gaelic inhabitants can sometimes be left understudied (though this is increasingly being rectified within the literature). Acknowledging these people hurts the narrative of an underpopulated and rather empty Irish landscape, as well as more nationalistic views of Gaelic resistance and cultural

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[121] Jim McKeon, "Urban Defences in Anglo-Norman Ireland: Evidence from South Connacht," *Eolas: The Journal of the American Society of Irish Medieval Studies* 5 (2011): 190.
[122] Down, "Colonial Economy," 471.
[123] Down, "Colonial Economy," 472.
[124] "At the same time, it is evident from the accounts of the purveyors gathering provisions in Ireland for the Scottish and Welsh wars of Edward I and Edward II that up to about 1324 large surpluses were being produced by some lords and their free tenants even after the catastrophic Bruce Invasion" (Ibid).
[125] "Unfortunately there are no figures form even an impression of whether yields declined naturally in Ireland as in England in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, but it is clear that, as the country became increasingly disordered in the fourteenth century, agriculture suffered and in many areas warfare, rather than deteriorating arable land, was a more potent reason for declining cereal production." (Ibid).
[126] Down, "Colonial Economy," 472-3.

integrity. As such, it becomes important to challenge these biased notions and balance existing evidence.

As colonial influence expanded during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, intermixing naturally occurred. The Anglo-Irish would sometimes marry Gaelic wives, prompting Nicholls to be sceptical of an overemphasis on acculturation. Rather, Nicholls places heavy emphasis on intermarriage from the initial days of the Invasion, especially among nobles.[127] As such, this creates a mixing of cultures and synthesis of something new from the interpersonal level, rather than purely assimilation between two separate cultural groups. Intermarriage would continue well into the late medieval period and early modern period. This was true, even within the most archetypically English areas, as well as in opposition to parliamentary pressure.[128]

Some Gaelic Irish would take on cultural aspects of the newcomers. For example, Otway-Ruthven cites records of Gaelic Irish taking on Norman Christian names.[129] Additionally, she also notes the taking of English Christian and surnames by "Anglicized Celts." However, she believes that intermarriage was least frequent in areas heavily settled by newcomers.[130] Gaelic Irish who lived within heavily settled colonial domains were generally relegated to the lowest economic position (i.e. a villein[131]) or that of a betagh, as well as often tasked with working the least desirable farmland. Nevertheless, some could continue their traditional lifestyles within the manorial landscape. Colfer writes:

> "The native Irish can be divided into two categories: those who continued, where possible, to observe customary life-styles and land-holding practices, and another group, perhaps relatively small in number, who, as betagh, became part of the manorial structure and, as economic assets, were recorded in manorial extents. Occasionally, Irish were fully integrated into the feudal system, receiving charters to hold land in some instances."[132]

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[127] Kenneth Nicholls. *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1972).
[128] Sparky Booker, "Intermarriage in Fifteenth-century Ireland: The English and Irish in the 'four Obedient Shires'," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 113C (2013): 249.
[129] 1923, pg. 113
[130] Ibid.
[131] A villein or cottager was a serf or peasant legally tied to a manorial settlement. While not slaves, this class was subject to economic and mobility restrictions.
[132] Colfer, "Ethnic Mixture," 12.

McNeill would likely concur with this statement. He argues that in Ulster, the Gaelic Irish were not heavily displaced. Rather, the colony there saw a continuation of the "betagh."[133] Betagh comes from the Irish *biatach*, a term that can be translated as "food provider."[134] This relates to the peasants' role of providing sustenance to aristocrats in Gaelic society as a form of tax. It is possible that this relationship continued between Gaelic peasants and Anglo-Irish lords. However, little is known about the Gaelic lower classes. Colfer notes: "but the majority of the native Irish are virtually invisible in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century documents)."[135] He also argues: "Although documentary evidence relating to the Irish is rare, there are indications that their presence on the manors in the county was pervasive. It is generally considered that, in a manorial context, betaghs held specific townlands which were cultivated in the Irish system."[136] Curtis also argues that betaghs could be put on par with serfs and were land-holders. At the very least, they were above cottagers.[137]

The county that Colfer is referring to is, again, Wexford. It must be acknowledged that arrangements between the colonists and Gaelic Irish differed between regions and localities. Nevertheless, it may be safe to assume that there were patches within the colony where Gaelic lifestyles continued relatively unmolested. However, Gaels within the colony often lacked access to English Common Law. This created a power imbalance that could be exploited and fuel repression (i.e. Anglo-Irish committing crimes against Gaelic Irish with less fear of legal repercussion). This prompted the Bishops of Cashel, Killaloe, and Emly to negotiate to have English Common Law applied to the Irish between 1277 and 1280, with the Bishops offering to pay a large fee for blanket the rights. Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven (et al.) argues that their motivations were straightforward:

> "The desire to be answered in the courts of common law; to be able to sell their lands more easily than Irish law allowed; to hold their lands 'in fee and inheritance ', with the resulting security of tenure; to obtain dower for their widows; to have their persons and property protected by the harsher penalties of the common law. Individuals seem to have obtained charters of English liberty without difficulty, but it was apparently necessary to have recourse to

[133] T.E. McNeill, *Anglo-Norman Ulster: The history and archaeology of an Irish Barony, 1177-1400* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1980).
[134] Though, it should be noted that there is some debate over this translation.
[135] Colfer, "Ethnic Mixture," 12.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Edmund Curtis, "Rental of the Manor of Lisronagh, 1333, and Notes on "Betagh" Tenure in Medieval Ireland," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 43 (1935): 41-76.

> the king himself, which entailed delays and additional expense, and the assumption that no Irishman was entitled to the common law unless he could produce a charter must have been a constant irritant."[138]

Although Edward I was receptive towards the request, it appears that colonial officials and some Anglo-Irish magnates were against the granting (perhaps not due to ethnic enmity, but because the granting of legal rights to cooperative Gaels gave the magnates a form of control). The negotiations would fail, leaving the Gaelic Irish in the colony legally vulnerable, with some Anglo-Irish justifying murder by trying to prove a victim's Gaelic heritage. This ignominy would help fuel the growing Gaelic revival of the late thirteenth century. Initially the Gaels may have been amicable to colonial lordship as replacements to their own overlords. Becoming disenfranchised within their ancestral lands and upsetting their customs, however, were not permissible. Otway-Ruthven (et al.) tempers discussions of Gaelic legal disenfranchisement by noting that it may be attributed, in part, to class and not ethnicity. She cites, for example, similar legal a lack of legal protections for Anglo-Irish and English of similar social strata to betaghs (i.e. villeins).[139] However, documents such as the *Remonstrance of the Irish Princes* suggest that the lack of legal protections manifested in violent and racially discriminatory ways. It is also unlikely that Irish prelates would campaign for common law rights so adamantly and offer up large sums of precious metals unless their kin were truly suffering (especially since ecclesiastics would be subject to their own religious courts). It is also not a coincidence, arguably, that the three dioceses should be hybrid areas where Anglo-Irish lords were reigning over considerable Gaelic populations and where there were neighbouring Gaelic polities (the citizens of which would be in a precarious position if they crossed into Anglo-Irish territory). As such, a class-based interpretation of this disenfranchisement appears someone dubious.

With the Anglo-Norman (and later Anglo-Irish) advance, there were exoduses to areas where Gaelic culture was more dominant. Again, this is a phenomenon that is extremely difficult to quantify in light of limited archaeological and historical records. It is also difficult to ascertain if the flight was defined primarily by aristocrats that wished to maintain some degree of power within a Gaelic polity or the populace *en masse*.

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[138] Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven, "VI. The Request of the Irish for English Law, 1277–80," *Irish Historical Studies* 6, no. 24 (1949): 261–70.
[139] Ibid.

Nevertheless, it appears that Anglo-Irish magnates would make overtures to fleeing and disenfranchised Gaels, promising economic benefits and protection from violence.[140] While Anglo-Irish lords did feud among one another, conflict was arguably more intermittent in nature than the chronic cattle raids and dynastic feuds that were more akin to Gaelic lordships. Additionally, feudalisation and manorialism offered some degree of personal agency over wealth and land while urban centres provided economic opportunities for trade (even if segregation prevented full access to urban life).

There may have been other incentives to segments of the Gaelic population to remain within Anglo-Irish lands. For example, there is a dearth of literature regarding the extinction of slavery in Ireland under the Anglo-Irish magnates. Rather, what work exists focuses on the decline of Irish Sea slave trade after 1066. It would be intriguing to explore how some of the Gaelic Irish benefited and gained social status under the Anglo-Irish. Poul Holm notes existence of slavery among the Gaelic Irish even as late as 1234, despite ecclesiastical (the Synod of Armagh in 1170) and Norman attempts to stomp it out since 1066.[141] This is postulated not to present the colony as some benevolent or civilising force, but to note the complexities of having disparate cultures, livelihoods, and land holding patterns in proximity to one another; each with benefits and challenges to different social groups and individuals.

It must be noted that there was also an element of resistance to Anglo-Irish lordship within colonial domains. Robin Frame writes: “References on the rolls of the justiciar's court to spies, in many cases chaplains or women, who pinpointed goods worth plundering and then guided raiding parties to their goal, show a measure of planning and organization: for some Irish leaders robbery was a business.”[142] Thus, some Gaelic individuals transverse both worlds and were unsung heroes, passing on critical information and helping organise raids vital to the survival of Gaelic groups in terrain with

[140] “De Lacy not only gave reassurance to the colonists; he set out to conciliate the Irish. It was sound economic and political strategy. He invited back the Irish who had fled from their lands during the raids and counter-raids of Anglo-Norman and Irish since 1170, reestablished them with cattle and farms, guaranteed them protection, and while rewarding his followers kept their ambitions within bounds” (F.X. Martin, “Overlord becomes Feudal Lord: 1172-85,” in *A New History Ireland: Volume II*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pg. 117).

[141] Poul Holm, “The slave trade of Dublin, ninth to twelfth centuries,” *Peritia* 5 (1986): 317-345.

[142] Robin Frame, "English Officials and Irish Chiefs in the Fourteenth Century" *The English Historical Review* 90, no. 357 (1975): 752.

limited resources. These people could also act as mediators during conflicts, helping to broker local peace agreements.

Altogether, it becomes important to reconceptualise who the Anglo-Irish were and better acknowledge that there was an indigenous contingent among the colonists. Besides this, although colonisation brings with it elements marginalisation and exploitation, it would also be prudent to explore the ways in which Anglo-Irish rule potentially benefitted peasants or those marginalised by Gaelic society (e.g. slaves and lower classes). While a useful exercise, the colonial nature of the Anglo-Irish presence would never be undone or wholly mitigated by a segment of the population or individuals benefiting from the conquest.

2.2.3 Gaelic Ireland

The thesis will now explore Gaelic culture, including its political frameworks and economic livelihoods. Discussion of Gaelic culture must be approached with an understanding of the historical processes that have affected its study. Chapter One has surveyed some of the nationalistic and colonial views that peppered Irish historical research. Although studies of Gaelic Ireland have greatly advanced, there is still a great deal of revisiting and analysis to be done. Additionally, postcolonial approaches are sorely lacking in this field. Mitchell writes that this may be in part due to contemporary politics, as well as that medieval Ireland provides an interesting case of multidimensional colonialism and reverse conquest where settlers were altered and Gaelicised.[143] Thus, this reverse colonisation obscures and seemingly lessens the impact the English colony had on Gaelic Ireland.

It is prudent to briefly take note of the character of Gaelic culture and its trajectory before the events of 1169. This allows for better understanding of the impact of the events of 1169 and the colonisation that followed. Because of the English colony, Gaelic political evolution was forced to divert and adapt to this new presence. Prior to 1169, Ireland's fractured kingdoms were beginning to coagulate into more stable regional and provincial lordships that could exert their authority outside of their domain. Around

[143] Linda Mitchell, "Gender(ed) Identities? Anglo-Norman Settlement, Irish-ness, and The Statutes of Kilkenny of 1367," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 37, 2: 9.

the turn of the eleventh century, Brian Bóruma upset the political order of Ireland by seizing Munster for the Dál gCais sept. He then proceeded to usurp the title of High King from the Ó Néill, who had traditionally held the ceremonial position. Bóruma achieved this through multiple means, such as combined land and sea operations, seizing the naval and economic power of Limerick, subduing Dublin, and gaining the ecclesiastical support of Armagh.

Curtis argues that by dismissing the idea of a hereditary *ard ri*, Bóruma enabled provincial kings to strive for greater power.[144] This manifested itself in several ways. Katharine Simms states that kings began reducing the territory of their foes, sharing authority with subdued leaders, or outright confiscating lands.[145] Previously, Gaelic kingships and lands were held inalienably due to ancestral claims. Petty kings could be subdued by over kings, but rarely would they be disposed. Extraordinary military service also appeared to become more frequent, leading to kings paying vassals wages to conduct campaigns and the hiring of mercenaries from abroad (including Normans). Indeed, Dáibhí Ó Cróinín notes evidence of Gaelic lords beginning to extract rents from their tenants, moving away from a more reciprocal economy to one of redistribution.[146] Castles or fortifications, too, started to be utilised by rising dynasties such as the Ó Conchubhair by 1100, and Dublin's stone wall was built under the supervision of Gaelic king.[147] Fortification not only allowed rulers to exert control over territories outside of their core and strategic positions, but also reflects evolving views on territorial ownership and a substantial ability to redistribute resources (something which in turn indicates a move beyond a subsistence economy). Additionally, it must be noted that castle building was a fixture of the nobility in the European cultural core of France and Western Germany (although Gaelic castles were more likely fortifications at critical locations rather than fortified homesteads meant to dominate an area).

Despite these changes, the Gaelic Irish (either before or after 1169) never went beyond what Katherine Simms calls "bastard feudalism."[148] This term was originally employed by Charles Plummer to describe English feudalism during the War of the Roses.

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[144] Edmund Curtis, *A History of Medieval Ireland: 1086-1513* (London: Metheun and Co, 1938), xx.
[145] Katharine Simms, *From Kings to Warlords* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1987), 12.
[146] Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, *Early medieval Ireland, 400-1200*, (New York : Longman, 1995).
[147] Ibid.
[148] Simms, *Kings*, 147.

He believed that the move from more traditional feudalism (honour and land tenure-based vassalage) to one of *quid pro quo* service exchange added to the chaotic nature of the period. MacFarlane describes bastard feudalism as: "a label to describe the society which was emerging from feudalism in the early part of the fourteenth century, when most if not all its ancient features survived, even though in many cases as weak shadows of themselves, but when the tenure bond between lord and vassal had been superseded as the primary social tie by the personal contract between master and man."[149] MacFarlane challenged the negative depiction of bastard feudalism as mercenary. Rather, he portrayed it as the exchange of service for favour, standing, or wealth (namely cash payments). Thus, bastard feudalism goes beyond traditional honour agreements and the granting of lands. While it allowed lords to be more versatile in their relationships, it created issues of middling lords having retainers and personal armies.

The definition of bastard feudalism, though, is not uniform and still contested. However, the definition and characteristics of the classical form of feudalism are debatable as well. On a basic level, though, it is understood that bastard feudalism is anchored in service and interpersonal relationships, whereas traditional or classical feudalism is affixed to land ownership and honour bonds. Simms argues that Gaelic Ireland never truly experienced traditional vassal feudalism. However, by the fifteenth century lords were making and maintaining bonds with lesser lords outside of their territorial over-lordships.[150] In turn, Gaelic lords could also make arrangements with Anglo-Irish lords, the colonial administration, and the English crown. As Frame notes: “The Irish concept of allegiance was entirely personal.”[151] Altogether, this contributed to a more fluid and oscillating political landscape, leading to many Gaelic lords of lesser to prominent standing to maintain standing armies to navigate the chaos and increase their hard power.[152]

The initial English invasion of the late twelfth century was a major shock to Gaelic power structures, forever changing the trajectory of Gaelic civilisation. Curtis argues that Gaelic Ireland was being drawn within the orbit of the European core, and that despite a

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[149] K. B. MacFarlane’s essay ("Bastard Feudalism” in *England in the Fifteenth Century: Collected Essays*, ed. K. B. MacFarlane (London: Bloomsbury, 1981) remains widely influential.
[150] Simms, *Kings*, 147.
[151] Frame, “English Officials,” 775.
[152] Simms, *Kings*, 149.

degree of isolation was being impacted by the twelfth century Renaissance.[153] Simms notes that the invasion undid the evident progress towards a centralised and national theocratic kingship.[154] Ireland was split in half by the colony, prompting a return to local and regional foci that were the norm before Bóruma's reign. Fragmentation was not helped by the increased billeting of mercenaries and armies, something which allowed even small sub-lords to command a private force.[155] Nevertheless, regional rulers reasserted themselves and largely stabilized their territory by the mid-thirteenth century, and their larger and more professional armies enabled them to prevent further English incursion.[156] Their more threatening nature can be discerned from treaties and colonial documents. By Edward I's reign, the term "king" was avoided for Irish lords (whereas it had utilized and entertained before).[157] Indeed, Muirchertach mac Domhnall Óg mac Murchada Caomhánach's claim as King of Leinster in 1282 caused widespread panic in and around Dublin. King or *ri* would still be utilised, but alternative terms became more popular. Among the English*, captianeus nacionis sue* became preferable.[158] This term would have been less politically loaded, instead deriving from the Greek *katepánō* (for "placed at the top") and the Latin *caput* (for "head"). *Captianeus* accurately described placement within the Gaelic polity without connotations of sacral or legal authority.

The text will now discuss the Gaelic economy, touching upon its form before the English invasion, its trajectory, and its adaption to the colonial presence. The academic understanding of the Gaelic economy has advanced greatly since the days of Orpen and MacNeill. Nevertheless, the greater historiographical issues discussed in Chapter One still affect its study. Additionally, Nicholls notes: "No other aspect of medieval Irish life and society is more scantily served by the surviving evidence than the economic basis of

[153] Curtis, *Medieval Ireland*, XV.
[154] Simms, *Kings*, 13.
[155] Simms, *Kings*, 19.
[156] Simms, *Kings*, 18.
[157] Simms, *Kings*, 36.
[158] "At the focal point of the whole Irish social and political scene stood the ri, the tribal king, 'captain of his nation' (captianeus nacionis sue, as English officialdom usually latinised his status). Sometimes, it is true, the English described him as rex, but he was not a king in the sense that fourteenth-century Europe generally understood that word, for he was not anointed and crowned in church in a religious ceremony. But then, at the very beginning of our period, neither were the kings of Scotland" (J.A. Watt, "Gaelic Polity and Cultural Identity," in *A New History Ireland: Volume II*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 319).

society, the cultivation of the land."[159] When there has been a will to study the Gaelic economy, there have also been considerable challenges with what sources exist.

During the early medieval period (c. 400 CE to c. 1100 CE for Ireland), cattle ownership was the lynchpin of royal authority and an indicator of social rank. To simplify the matter, Gaelic kings would rent or lease their own herds to their subjects in exchange for certain services. McCormick argues that by the end of the early medieval period, though, that Gaelic authority relied less on cattle,[160] something which the rents, castles, and mercenaries Ó Cróinín cites that appeared around the same time would also support. Indeed, Kevin Down also argues that Gaelic Ireland was increasingly moving towards the orbit of and resembling Latin European by the end of the early medieval period.[161] The English incursion would force a reemphasis on cattle and return to cattle raiding as both a show of power and form of livelihood. Cattle, unlike cropland, were a mobile form of wealth, making it indispensable to surviving attacks from both Gael and Gall alike (a point which will be returned to multiple times within this thesis). Herds could be driven into forests and highlands or dispersed, only to be recovered later with minimal loss. As such, Gaelic culture both evolved while also returning to traditional roots that were practical (and perhaps necessary).

Watt sums up this political economy concisely, stating: "… cattle-raiding, by highly-skilled fighting men on horseback, was the chief occupation of the Irish aristocracy. The economy of fourteenth –century Gaeldom was dominated by the horse and the cow. It was also heavily conditioned by the harshness of the terrain in which for the most part the Gaelic Irish were forced to live: a land, Chrysted reported, which abounds in deep forests and in lakes and bogs and much of it is uninhabitable'."[162] Thus, the Gaelic Irish adapted not only to the new political geography, but the physical geography of their reduced domains as well. Cattle herding also appears to have synchronised with Gaelic ideas concerning dignity and masculinity. Nicholls notes: "but fighting men, while

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[159] Nicholls, *Gaelic Ireland*, 131.

[160] Finbar McCormick, "The Decline of the Cow: Agricultural and Settlement Change in Early Medieval Ireland," *Peritia* vol. 20 (2008), 210-225.

[161] "By western European norms Ireland before the Anglo-Norman advent was underdeveloped, but it was moving nearer to the general economic and social pattern of much of western Europe. Irish society was not feudal or manorial, for theoretically land was held inalienably by families, while military, political, and administrative support had to be bought by superiors with cattle in what was a largely pastoral economy" (Down, "Colonial Economy," 441).

[162] J.A. Watt, "Gaelic Polity and Cultural Identity," in *A New History Ireland: Volume II*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 329.

disdaining to stoop to manual toil, would not be unwilling to act as herdmen. This, no doubt, is what is meant by a statement in the 1560s that the lords on the borders of the Pale were deliberately replacing tillage by grazing to 'maintain their idle men of war'."[163]

There is some debate as to whether there was a degree of nomadism among the Gaelic Irish during the high and late medieval periods. This is difficult to discuss due to limited archaeological data regarding the Gaelic economy and settlements. What is often left, then, is written sources. However, contemporary sources (of any culture) often overlook the mundane details of everyday life. Nevertheless, Simms notes that the word *caoraigheacht,* which denotes a varied herd of transient livestock passing through or grazing upon lands (with or without consent), does not appear until the end of the fourteenth century.[164] These could be refugee populations, or displaced groups wishing to usurp resources or lands. Their role was to provide some profit to a Gaelic lord by paying rent or making use of marginal lands or territory gained through forfeit.[165] Simms argues that these were more emblematic of the Tudor Reconquest; however, there were classes such as bards and mercenaries that would migrate with their herds between different lordships.[166] Concerning common residences, one *curiosa* refers to peasant dwellings made of organic matter that could be easily constructed or collapsed in times of conflicts.[167] [168] Regarding lords, annalistic sources and the *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh* make a number of references to Gaelic strongholds (before tower houses became popular) belonging to particular families. The nature of these strongholds remains nebulous, as stone castles largely appear to be of Anglo-Irish make.[169] Gaelic lords would go on to occupy some of these sites, though. Timber or earthen defences have been proposed as an alternative. However, O'Conor notes that some of these also appear to have been Anglo-Irish in origin (especially mottes). He also explains why the Gaelic Irish had limited impetus to construct their own fortifications:

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[163] Nicholls, "Gaelic Ireland," 132.
[164] Katharine Simms, "Gaelic Warfare in the Middles Ages," in *A Military History of Ireland*, ed. T. Bartlett & K. Jeffrey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
[165] Katharine Simms, "Gaelic Culture and Society" in *The Cambridge History of Ireland* (The Cambridge History of Ireland), ed. T. Bartlett & B. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 418.
[166] Simms, "Gaelic Warfare."
[167] Jeanroy & Viganuax, 1903
[168] Watt, "Approaches,"309.
[169] Kieran O'Conor, "Gaelic Lordly Settlement in 13th and 14th Century Ireland," in *'Utmark': The Outfield as Industry and Ideology in the Iron Age and the Middle Ages*, ed. I. Holm, S. Innselset, and I. Øye, (Bergen, 2005).

> "The lands of any given lineage group were regularly divided and redistributed amongst all its male members. This meant that there was much settlement mobility for individuals and their nuclear families within the lands or estate owned by their lineage group. Periodic land redistribution was a disincentive to the erection of a castle for a high medieval Gaelic lord simply because occupation of it could not be guaranteed for any length of time (Nicholls 1987:431-433; O'Conor 1998:96-97)."[170]

Perhaps, then, these lords adapted prehistoric, early medieval, and natural sites to their use during emergencies and times of war. Westropp has done considerable work on detailing the fortifications of Munster, and there are many coastal sites in Cork and Kerry that make use of the terrain.[171] However, more archaeological work needs to be done to understand whether these sites were inhabited during the high and late medieval periods (though a lack of evidence for this does not rule-out temporary or emergency residence). Altogether, discussion of settlement and the economy suggests adaptability to conflict and fluidity within the confines of a territory rather than widespread nomadism. There was little need or use for permanent or complex buildings for the Gaelic economy to function, neither was there much impetus to invest in infrastructure or personal strongholds when considering Gaelic property-holding patterns. Outside of this, O'Conor notes: "The study of lordly settlement in high medieval Gaelic Ireland is a reminder that there were and are ways of displaying high status in any given society other than building large architecturally-complex structures such as castles."[172] As noted earlier in this section, Gaelic Ireland should not necessarily be analysed within the confined of Latin Europe. This was a different culture, with alternative value systems. Castles could have been seen as cowardly to a class of noble warriors, as well as foolhardy compared to the safety that dispersing cattle or escape into bog-land, mountains, or forests could offer.

Outside of an adaptable populace and economy, Gaelic Ireland's ruling classes were also hardy. Martin attests to the resilience of Gaelic lords by noting that most of the families that were prominent before 1169 still existed by the time of the Tudor Reconquest (and retained a degree of authority).[173] This was in part due to their elective method of kingship (tanistry), which made any male family member a legitimate claimant (giving Gaelic dynasties a strong edge over the much more restrictive primogeniture

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[170] O'Conor, "Gaelic Lordly Settlement," 217.
[171] These works have been detailed in the bibliography.
[172] O'Conor, "Gaelic Lordly Settlement," 220.
[173] F.X. Martin, "Introduction," in *A New History Ireland: Volume II*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), lx.

system of the colonial lords). However, resilient does not equate to effective (as frequent dynastic infighting illustrates).

Some of the core and unique characteristics of Gaelic Ireland have been noted. Now, it is time to expand on some its complexities. It is tempting to characterise the economy of Gaelic Ireland as pastoral and one of subsistence, for how could herding and raiding produce surplus or prompt extensive trade? However, academic overgeneralisations or simplifications often obscure actual complexity or discourage exploration. While pastoral herding appears to have formed the lynchpin of the Gaelic economic, it was multifaceted. Down argues that pastoralism is often overstated and overemphasized in research.[174] Alternatively, he cites the growing body of pollen and archeobiological studies that indicate land clearing and intensive agriculture.[175] Due to Ireland's preservative bog-lands, it is uniquely situated to explore the island's agricultural history.[176] Valerie Hall and Lynda Bunting conclude their chapter *Tephra-dated Pollen Studies of Medieval Landscapes in the North of Ireland* in *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland* by stating: "Preliminary findings from these studies show that the rural landscape of medieval landscape was at least as diverse as its modern counterpart."[177] However, it must be noted that these are preliminary studies and that the Anglo-Irish were also present in some areas of the rural landscape of Ulster.

Nicholls cites Ireland's considerable linen exports during the late medieval period as evidence of greater economic complexity and agriculture.[178] Simms also argues that:

> "Gaelic Ireland was essentially a rural society, based on subsistence agriculture and a barter economy. It would, of course, be wrong to exaggerate or over-simplify this situation. The Irish and Anglo-Irish lordships were not cut off from the colony's towns. As early as 1395 we find the chief Felim O'Toole petitioning Richard II "that I should peacefully enjoy buying and selling in your markets and towns ... for without buying and selling I can in no way live" (Curtis 1927, 206-7); and Sligo in the later middle ages continued to expand and flourish after the town had become the chief seat of an O'Conor dynasty. Moreover, both Irish and Anglo lrish lords were sophisticated enough to

[174] Down, "Colonial Economy," 440-1.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Valerie Hall and Lynda Bunting, *Tephra-dated Pollen Studies of Medieval Landscapes in the North of Ireland* in *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland,* in "Gaelic Ireland c.1250–c.1650: Land, lordship & settlement," ed. Patrick Duffy, David Edwards, and Elizabeth Fitzpatrick (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1995), 221.
[177] Hall and Bunting, "Pollen Studies," 221-2.
[178] Nicholls, *Gaelic Ireland*, 131.

> manipulate such trade as existed to their own profit, through monopolies, forestalled and 'grey merchants'...”[179]

F.X. Martin is also wary of over-generalizing; arguing, too, that the Gaels invested in agriculture (namely oats). However, he adds that pastoralism based around cattle was more suited to Gaelic culture in which cattle raids and endemic low-level warfare often entailed the burning of crops and structures.[180] Cattle was, as aforementioned, a moveable form of wealth that could be herded to safe locations, recaptured during a reprisal raid, or rescued by foiling a cattle raid directly. One burnt granary, however, could spell disaster for a community.

Outside of discussing food production, it is vital to note that the Gaelic economy was more reciprocal in nature than a typical feudal one. Simms writes:

> “Nevertheless, it remains true that while coins were known and handled throughout Ireland, in many districts they were not the basic medium of exchange, being chiefly needed for the purchase of imported luxuries (Public Record Office, London, 1912, 94-5). Money was not essential to pay rent, taxes or legal fines, to hire domestic servants or public officials, to purchase a night's lodging or give alms to a beggar. All these functions and many more could be fulfilled by direct consumption, regulated by customs to which I have given the general name of guesting and feasting.”[181]

Thus, hospitality and direct provisioning were the basic transaction methods of the Gaelic economy. This is also how lords mainly extracted wealth from their subjects. Simms argues that this was a necessity and practical.[182] Collecting coins or precious metals from a largely barter and pastoral based economy, only to distribute them back to soldiers, made little sense. Directly hosting soldiers or providing sustenance was both simpler and more appropriate for the culture.

However, Ó Báille’s work on Irish mercenaries and soldiery leads to questions of how disparate the Gaelic economy was from typical feudal structures, concluding that: “It follows, therefore, that, as long as the Gaelic scheme of life flourished, there was little room for the development of a native tradition for mercenary soldiering. The soldiering class was definitely rooted in the land just as were the feudal retainers of the Norman

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[179] Katharine Simms. “Guesting and Feasting in Gaelic Ireland,” *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 108* (1987): 67.
[180] Martin, “Introduction.”
[181] Simms, “Guesting and Feasting,” 67.
[182] Simms, “Guesting and Feasting,” 83.

lords."[183] Bonnaghts, kerns, and galloglasses directly provisioned and hosted by subjects has parallels to Anglo-Irish manors where taxes went to provision men-at-arms or knights (i.e. knights' fees). Different means helped serve similar functions.

Altogether, while guesting and feasting were undoubtedly pillars of the Irish economy, this does not preclude a more multidimensional economy with different livelihoods and forms of land ownership. Additionally, Patrick Duffy notes that traders and merchants passed through Gaelic areas as apolitical actors.[184] This sort of activity is impossible to quantify, but its existence offers further evidence of a more commercial Gaelic economy than generally portrayed. Nevertheless, the more informal nature of the Gaelic economy creates inherent difficulties in terms of measurement and recording. It also, perhaps, stunted growth. The redistributive powers of colonial lords allowed them greater versatility with how they spent their resources, as well as better opportunities to store wealth. This goes for colonial commoners as well. Gaelic betaghs, or food providers, however, seem to have little recourse but to give their excess produce to feed mouths imposed on them.

Richard Britnell argues in *Britain and Ireland 1050-1530* that the similar economic systems and pastoral practices in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland are deeply rooted in the environment that these cultures formed.[185] Thus, pastoralism seemingly provides security from conflict and political turmoil as well as adaption to the physical environment. He argues that this also explains farming methods and settlement sizes more than cultural factors.[186] Any discussion of environmental determinism must be nuanced, balanced, and delicate due its checked past, association with colonialism, and potential limitations of human agency. However, the controversy regarding the framework is somewhat dissipating as it is used in postcolonial research and more committed to the principal of non-malfeasance (i.e. it's not tied to exploitative imperialistic or colonial ends). The role of the environment on wealth and economic systems is something that must and will be

[183] M. Ó. Báille, "The Buannadha: Irish Professional Soldiery of the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 22, no. 1/2 (1946): 53
[184] Patrick Duffy, "The Nature of the Medieval Frontier in Ireland," *Studia Hibernica*, no. 22/23 (1982): 34.
[185] "The pastoral traditions of the Celts are similarly inseparable from the landscape they inhabited, much of which was better suited to pasture than to arable" (Richard Britnell, *Britain and Ireland 1050-1530* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 43).
[186] "The contrast in the scale between midland field systems and these Celtic parallels is satisfactorily explained by a different disposition of arable and pasture resources, and consequently the different size of settlements, rather than by differences of cultural inheritance" (Ibid.).

explored when approaching this data and the maps. Commentary on the exclusion of groups from natural resources, as well as adaption to landscapes, will also be provided.

2.3 Cultural Spectrums and Frontiers

The preceding section provided an overview of the major cultural archetypes existing in Ireland. Additionally, Section 2.2.2 discussed the Anglicisation of Gaels living within the bounds of the colony. This section will discuss how both culture and intercultural relations existed on a spectrum in Ireland, as well as how this helped to create frontiers.

Proximity between the Middle Nation and the Gaelic Irish facilitated cultural diffusion and blending. Conflict also forced both cultures to change, irrevocably. However, as has been noted, the history of Ireland is largely a regional one. The Ó Doṁnaill of Donegal had a much different experience to the Ó Tuathail of the Wicklow Mountains. The former were more isolated from the colony, whereas the latter were surrounded by the heartland of the colony and pressured to raid due to their precarious existence in highland terrain. Personal experiences were also largely intersectional. A burgher with an English father and Gaelic mother living in Dublin would have an extremely different worldview to an English immigrant living in the marches of Kerry. Both people and larger communities existed on a spectrum, neither wholly Gaelic nor English. Watt states: “The two cultures did not merely collide, they also interpenetrated: each nation assimilated people from the other.”[187]

The concept of a spectrum is also useful for understanding relations between different communities. At times, both independent Gaelic and colonial settlements coexisted next to one another peacefully. Even during times of conflict, colonial settlements could send Gaels amongst them to broker a peace. Indeed, some communities even arranged localized peace agreements with Gaelic outlaws and polities. This practise was outlawed by the colonial administration, but *de jure* does not always translate to *de facto* (especially in the politically fragmented medieval Ireland). This acculturation would extend to political reality and customs. Lydon argues:

[187] Watt, “Approaches,” 308.

> "…its emphasis on the importance of blood relationship, highlights the loosening of the feudal bond which was evident all over the lordship. Even in the thirteenth century something like a clan system was emerging in feudal Ireland. But it was the confusion of undending raids and wars and the lack of adequate governance that made the family bond important again. With it went 'bastards feudalism,' which produced a new family based not on ties of blood, but on service and fees."[188]

Katharine Simms also acknowledges the ambiguity and variation in medieval Ireland, arguing:

> "The 'Gaelic Ireland' of the title cannot always be strictly defined in ethnic or territorial terms, indeed there are circumstances in which it could best be described as a state of mind, but it is an undoubted fact that between the Norman invasion of the twelfth century and the Tudor reconquest of the sixteenth, the Irish language, culture and traditions continued and developed side by side with the newer, Anglo Norman culture of the towns and the more heavily colonised areas along the east coast."[189]

Although there are positive examples of intercultural interactions, it must also be noted that there were negative ones as well. Gaelic documents such as *the Remonstrance of the Irish Princes to Pope John XXII* reflect animosity towards the "Middle Nation," which the Gaelic leaders detail as a race separate from the English that is defined by perfidy and vice. Concerning views towards the Irish, Orpen notes: "The Norman settlers, especially at first, and the new-comers from England for many centuries, regarded the Irish as an inferior race, instead of (as they were) a race in a very different, and what was no doubt in some respects a less advanced, stage of culture."[190] Orpen concludes his four-volume *magnum opus*, *Ireland Under the Normans*, by saying that a large cause of the collapse of the colony is due to the racism that the Gaelic Irish faced and failure to fully include them within the colonial society.

Due to this blend of peoples and gradients of cultural domination, a mixture of legal systems would be employed across medieval Ireland depending on culture. Gaelic areas predominantly employed Brehon law methods, while the colonial core employed common law utilized in England. In the marcher lands, and areas were cultural mixing was heaviest, both systems were sometimes employed side by side. There were even instances of royal courts utilizing Brehon price-based punishments to settle civil disputes.

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[188] James Lydon, "The Impact of the Bruce Invasion: 1315-27," in *A New History Ireland: Volume II*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 297.
[189] Simms, "Guesting and Feasting," 67.
[190] Goddard Henry Orpen*, Ireland Under the Normans: Volume IV* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920), 299.

Patrick Duffy notes that it should also be understood that there is a different between the actions of administrators and that of the peasantry. He argues, additionally, that the colonial peasantry intermarried with the Gaelic Irish and spoke Irish more than the elites of the Pale (thus greatly reducing the gradients of difference between the two cultural archetypes).[191]

Altogether, it must be acknowledged that relations and identities varied on an intrapersonal, interpersonal, and community level. It is counterproductive and misleading to make overarching generalizations about medieval Ireland as a whole. Rather, it is prudent to explore local and regional trends regarding intercultural relationships. As such, this will be done in the analytical chapters, with emphasis on the implications for economic prosperity and stability.

Discussing the spectrum of identities and the relations between groups leads to a problematic issue for Irish historical researchers: the frontier. With the blending of cultures, polities, and economic livelihoods, boundaries become muddled. The concept becomes even more contentious when different lenses and disciplines are brought into the fray. Nevertheless, it has gained more popularity and interest since Robin Frame described Ireland as a land of many borders and marches in *Power and Society in the Lordship of Ireland 1272-1377,*[192] moving beyond the dichotomy of Anglo-Irish and Gaelic. He continues this logic in *Colonial Ireland*, arguing that there is much to be gained by exploring Ireland's British relationships through "a set of distinct regional histories."[193]

There have been issues employing the frontier framework, despite its popularity. For one, Magnin notes that it conflicts with nationalist wishes to frame Gaelic Ireland as unified or untouched during the medieval period. The idea of colonists impacting Gaelic culture or *vice versa* would be antithetical to a more romanticised picture of Gaelic resistance. Maginn also notes that the frontier framework lacks unity regarding basic terminology and concepts, a debate that he does not believe will ever truly end. He summarises some of the core disputes below:

> "Variously dubbed 'Anglo-Irish', 'Anglo-Norman', 'Anglo-French', 'Hiberno-Norman' or 'English', the use of any one of these terms has become something

[191] Duffy, "Medieval Frontier," 29.
[192] Maginn notes its importance in *Gaelic Ireland's English frontiers in the late Middle Ages* (2010).
[193] Robin Frame, "Power and Society in the Lordship of Ireland 1272-1377," *Past & Present*, no. 76 (1977): 155.

> of a written shibboleth. Kenneth Nicholls' spirited reply to an article by Steven Ellis on 'English' identity in late medieval Ireland was perhaps a turning point; in it, he criticised the latter 's approach to the period, dismissing it as what he referred to as 'two-nation theory'. Since then, the use of hyphenated terminology to describe the settler population has come to denote an historical approach, which highlights either this group's supposed 'Irishness' - in which the regularity of their interaction with the Gaelic polity is stressed - or their duality- in which they are depicted as belonging to a 'middle nation' whose interaction with two polities had rendered them neither wholly English nor wholly Irish."[194]

Ellis's article was '*More Irish than the Irish themselves'?: the "Anglo-Irish" in Tudor Ireland*, whereas Nicholls' response was *Worlds Apart? The Ellis Two-Nation Theory on Late Medieval Ireland.* Ellis believed that nationalist historians were denying the Anglo-Irish their English identity, creating Irish identity along modern lines, and criticised the concept of Gaelicisation.[195] To him, cultural blending was a narrative within historical research to justify the Irish Free State and the Irish national identity. However, the article gives disproportionate time to discussing modern politics, Irish educational directives, and the critique of Ellis's past work on Tudor Ireland rather than fully substantiating his argument. Indeed, it feels more like a demonization of the academic climate that did not wholeheartedly welcome his ideas on the era while touting the noble cause of revisionism. Nicholls' response is much more substantive, providing discussions on the dynasties of Kildare, Gaelic collaboration with English authorities in exchange for land claims, comparisons between the Irish and Scottish borders, and what it meant to be a *Gaill*. He concludes his riposte by arguing:

> "Dr. Ellis claims to be refuting nationalist views of Irish history, but it seems to me that his argument, if followed to its logical conclusion, points in precisely the opposite direction. For if one rejects -as he appears to- the Irishness' of any thing that has an English connection, one is left with the crudest kind of nationalist pseudo-history: 'the struggle of the Gael [sic] against the alien intruder'. I find it hard to accept that this is his intention."[196]

The debate between these scholars illustrates the continued influence of politics and nationalism in Irish historical research, as well as how drastically different some interpretive lenses can be. However, this interaction between Ellis and Nicholls also

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[194] Christopher Maginn, "Gaelic Ireland's English Frontiers in the Late Middle Ages." *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 110C (2010): 175.
[195] Kenneth Nicholls, "Worlds Apart? The Ellis Two-Nation Theory on Late Medieval Ireland," *History Ireland* 7, no. 2 (1999): 26.
[196] Ibid.

parallels MacEoin's response to Orpen discussed in Chapter One. Efforts are being diverted to debating lenses and nationalist agendas rather than pursuing heuristic objective and substantiated research. Not only is it divisionary, it hamstrings the advance of medieval Irish research.

The traditional usage of frontier (and perhaps the one that is primarily used) is to denote the edge of the English colony; essentially, its political, cultural, and legal borders. This is useful for research focused on the colony and the process of Anglicization, but this definition creates an inherently unbalanced narrative. What about the boundaries, consent, and culture of the Gaelic Irish? What was the edge of their world? In this context, this use of "frontier" often gives the impression of an underpopulated wilderness at the edge of civilization, as well as a singular dominant cultural force pressing forward. Using the term in such a way creates an Anglo-centric (or Pale-centred as Maginn writes) view and brings with it colonial preconceptions regarding the indigenous Irish. It detracts and partly invalidates the communities and culture which existed beyond the colony's bounds. This also ties into the idea of economic frontiers that reinforces this dichotomy. Duffy writes:

> "The idea of a frontier contrasting the feudalised, agrarian, town-and-village dwelling, politically-consolidated, wheat-growing English with the oats-and-barley growing, milk-drinking, cattle-raiding, economically-marginal societies is an attractive one. 'Nestled in their mountain hideaways where they had been shoved by English colonists, the highland Celtic world looked down angrily on the substantial immigration of colonists into Wexford, Meath, Tipperary, and Kilkenny led to a displacement of the landowning classes."[197]

To counter this, Maginn reconceptualises Gaelic Ireland as the cultural core of the *Gaedhealtacht* (the wider Gaelic world that included Ireland and Scotland). By doing so, Gaelic lordships and culture gain their own boundaries, and are also presented as an acculturating force (rather than one being overrun). This approach is more useful for explaining the increasing hybrid cultures of the fourteenth century, and the Gaelic Resurgence that would come to define the late Middle Ages in Ireland. Indeed, viewing England as a domineering cultural force expanding over the British Isles falls apart when considering the relative independence of both Ireland and Scotland *circa* 1400, as well as the Gaelicisation of much of the Middle Nation. Frame notes that after the fall of the Earls

[197] Duffy, "Medieval Frontier," 22-23.

of Ulster and the death of Robert the Bruce, Ulster would become almost wholly Gaelic speaking and semi-autonomous.[198]

However, even definitions that incorporate multiculturalism or are more inclusive of the Gaels don't fully suffice. Duffy critiques such views of Irish frontiers, arguing instead:

> "There is no doubting the unstable and turbulent conditions prevailing throughout much of the island. To what extent, however, was this any different to the instability throughout Europe, with duchies, liberties, lordships, and city states all in a state of recurring upheaval? In Ireland it seems the term frontier is applied too easily to a too-simplistic cultural or ethnic divide into Gael and Gall. In reality it was a much more complex and more European-like fragmentation of land-owning power groups, often but not-invariably, divided along ethnic lines."[199]

Instead, Duffy proposes a spectrum of stability with the Pale at one end and steady Gaelic lordship on the other, between which was a hybrid, ambiguous, and often disturbed zone.[200] Said zone would be a frontier. Nicholls would seemingly agree with this. He puts forth the idea of medieval Germany under the Holy Roman Empire as a parallel for medieval Ireland. Without a central authority, power became diffuse, variable, and local; with stronger lords often asserting dominance over weaker neighbours.[201]

It becomes important, then, to appraise contemporary references to frontiers and appraise definitions of frontier outside of ethnic or cultural ones. The Parliaments of Kilkenny in 1297, 1310, and 1367 provide insight into contemporary views of the frontier. The 1297 Parliament, often referred to as Wogan's Parliament, offers great insight into the conditions of the time.[202] The magnates agreed that residents must arm themselves, that common defence should be raised in the event of attack, and community action should be taken against robbers. It was also decreed that efforts must be made to defend rural and scattered communities that were attacked. Additionally, highways were to be maintained and the trees around them to be cut.

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[198] Robin Frame, *Colonial Ireland, 1169-1369* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2012), 155.
[199] Duffy, "Medieval Frontier," 38.
[200] Duffy, "Medieval Frontier," 21.
[201] Nicholls, "Worlds Apart," 26.
[202] The version within (H. Berry & J. Morrissey, *Statutes and ordinances, and acts of the Parliament of Ireland* (Dublin: Printed for H.M.S.O. by Alexander Thom & Co. Ltd., 1907)) was consulted.

Aside from this, no kern or soldiers should be maintained above what can be supported by a magnate's own lands and income. This was an attempt to curtail private armies, localisation, and billeting. As an offshoot of this, the parliament forbade leading armies through lands of peace. Both decrees were likely attempts to also prevent infighting between the Anglo-Irish, as well as highlight the destructive nature of medieval armies that often foraged and pillaged as they marched.

Relations with the Gaelic Irish were also reckoned with during the Parliament. Truces with Gaelic Irish were to be universal (i.e. no private arrangements or negotiations) and the Gaelic Irish at peace are not to be attacked (which was an issue since Henry II's reign and exemplified by the poor enforcement of the Treaty of Westminster). Additionally, Englishmen were to neither dress nor wear their hair as the Irish. This was an attempt to forestall degeneration and the Gaelicisation, as well as enforce clear visual distinctions between the two groups. Doing so would, hypothetically, abet the exclusion of the Gaelic Irish from certain areas (such as cities or towns). If both groups had a similar appearance, this would become extremely difficult. Katharine Simms also notes that Anglo-Irish that adopted the *culan* hairstyle had a greater incidence of mortality and being killed on-sight.[203] This hairstyle seems to have been associated with warrior-status or a martial cult (thus, some Anglo-Irish rebels and Gaelicised colonists would've adopted it).[204]

What is evidenced here is a society faced with endemic warfare, as well as growing concerns of localisation, political fracturing, and acculturation. A magnate that could billet soldiers and make alliances with Irish aristocrats could greatly bolster their political power, ignore the crown, and attack other nobles. Additionally, the need for universal alliances and to not attack Gaelic Irish at peace better highlights the lack of control that the colonial administration possessed in the marches.

The Parliament of 1310 illustrates further actions to address these concerns. There were clauses against aiding rebellions, billeting kern and idle men during times of peace, and forced lodging, as well as attempts to streamline the judicial administration.[205] Perhaps one of the most notable actions was that family heads were tasked with bringing

[203] Simms, "Gaelic Warfare," 101.
[204] Ibid.
[205] Ibid.

members of their line to justice, something which illustrates the growing clan system among the Anglo-Irish. Holden describes the Irish frontier as an area where the feudal system was tilting in favour of more personal and blood relations.[206] Speaking on the Parliament of 1310, Curtis also notes:

> "The parliament of 1310 passed an act that 'no mere Irishman shall be received into a religious order among the English in the land of peace'. This is the first use of the famous phrase 'mere Irish' (*merus hibernicus*), and it implied that Gaels living by Irish law and under their own chiefs were not possessed of civil rights among the English race. The phrase 'land of peace' is also significant of the feeling that only the shires were the true English land, while the lands of the great feudal lords were 'march lands', and those of the Irish were a 'land of war', beyond English control."[207]

The 1367 *Statutes of Kilkenny* are perhaps the most infamous, promulgating against intermarriage, intercultural alliances, and adopting Irish culture.[208] One article specifically tasks colonists with adhering to English language and customs. Violating this could be considered treasonous. These *Statutes* are sometimes quoted as an example of apartheid or extreme racism. It must be noted that the main proponent behind them was Lionel, Duke of Clarence, a man trusted by Edward III that had been raised outside of Ireland. His goal was to reign in a collapsing colony and assert the authority of an increasingly impotent administration. Keeping this in mind, these *Statutes* can be seen as an outside attempt to halt cultural blending and localisation, something which was a threat to the crown and colonial administration, rather than *de facto* segregation. Holden writes regarding the matter:

> "Lineages were often seen by official minds as disruptive, criminal, and redolent of the native Irish. In truth they were nothing more than a logical and effective answer to the weakness of the honour in colonial Ireland, and the concomitant failure of the royal government to take up the increased share of the burden of defence and the imposition of order which that weakness dictated. It is ironic that in the thirteenth century, colonial Ireland looked enough like England to hamper the functioning of strong honourial lordship,

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[206] "In the course of the thirteenth century what occurred in frontier society in Ireland was a simple tilting of the balance of lordship from the 'feudal' to the personal. Some form of organization, however loose, was necessary to meet the immediate demands of a frontier to which Dublin could be slow to react" (Brock Holden, "'Feudal Frontiers?' Colonial Societies in Wales and Ireland 1170-1330," *Studia Hibernica*, no. 33 (2004): 79).

[207] Edmund Curtis, *A history of Ireland* (London: Routledge, 1992), 81.

[208] Berry & Morrissey, *Statutes and Ordinances*.

> but it did not look enough like England for the problems of 'the land of war' to be solved."[209]

For the purposes of this thesis, and medieval Irish research more generally, it becomes apparent that a multiplicity of frontier definitions might be useful to address different aspects of Ireland: economy, politics, and culture. Duffy discusses this in *The Nature of the Medieval Frontier in Ireland* and provides a survey of different definitions. Additionally, he notes that Irish frontiers also change over time and that a temporal element must be considered and provides three distinct periods: the first 150 years of expansion, colonial contraction, and the new frontier of the sixteenth century English State using the Pale as a beachhead to advance into Ireland.[210]

Four frontier definitions will be explored in the analytical chapters, both implicitly and explicitly. These definitions are:

1) A politically contested area that exhibited both Gaelic and Anglo-Irish human landscape features (i.e. an area only partly Anglicized).

2) The boundaries of the colonial administration's authority and hard power.

3) Border regions between polities (e.g. domains of Gaelic lords, Anglo-Irish magnates, and Crownlands) (i.e. Duffy's stability spectrum).

4) Areas of cultural contact and exchange between Gaelic and Anglo-Irish communities.

By utilising a multiplicity of definitions, the aim is to capture more of the nuances of the data and provide a more comprehensive analysis. Additionally, the 1302-20 valuations will also allow for these definitions to be critiqued and fleshed out. There is also the possibility of creating new frontier definitions and add original heuristic lenses.

2.4 Colonial Decline

By 1300, the power and the stability of the English colony were showing clear signs of decline and decay. Territorial expansion had largely halted c. 1250, and the proceeding decades were marked by a Gaelic revival. There appears to have been a

[209] Holden, "Feudal Frontiers," 79.
[210] Duffy, "Medieval Frontier," 22.

conscious, though not wholly united, effort by the remaining independent Gaelic polities to resist encroachments upon their territory. Between 1270-1300 a tenuous equilibrium was maintained. Gaelic military victories kept the colony contained and cast doubt on the supremacy of mainstream fighting methods (i.e. a reliance on heavy cavalry and ranked infantry), while Gaelic infighting and colonial defences prevented Gaelic polities from reclaiming terrain. This subsection will discuss how this equilibrium began collapsing in favour of the Gaelic Irish. This will be done to understand the milieu in which the 1302-1320 valuations were made and the events that contributed to said milieu.

2.4.1 Exploitation

Under Edward I of England (r. 1272-1307), the lands of war began to increase in tandem with a general state of lawlessness and endemic warfare. Down argues: "If the lordship's fullest extent was in the reign of Edward I, that period also saw the beginning of decline. Although it is common to explain it by reference to the Bruce invasion and the accompanying famines, there are ample signs before 1315 of falling prosperity and possibly declining population in the widespread areas of English occupation, largely because of Irish attacks."[211] As a prince, Edward had been given Ireland as a lordship to govern (although his father, Henry III, still retained much of the authority in Ireland). However, Edward never visited his Irish lordship, instead entrusting it to handpicked justiciars and officials. This is largely due to his preoccupation with a baronial rebellion in England, the protection of Gascony from Castile, and joining the Ninth Crusade (or Eighth depending on perspective).

As king, Edward also never visited Ireland. Curtis states:

> "The persistent flaw in English rule in Ireland was the absence of the monarch himself. 'The Lion himself came not to the hunt' wrote Davies under James I, 'and left the prey to the inferior beasts.' Edward, a man of English and rigid mind, did not admit the rights of the native race, and in two instances, that of Desmond and that of Thomond, he granted to feudal lords two Irish kingdoms. He was not likely to sympathize with Brehon laws any more than he sympathized with Welsh laws."[212]

[211] Down, "Colonial Economy," 448.
[212] Curtis, *A history of Ireland*, 88.

The English colony was expected to serve as a cash cow to help fund and supply Edward's wars in Wales and Scotland. Orpen argues that despite his absence, Edward promoted financial reforms in Ireland and directed more resources into defending the colony. He states:

> "By exercising a greater control over officials and a stricter audit of their accounts, by the imposition of the fixed custom on the export of wool, and by his encouragement of trade and commerce, Edward greatly increased the revenue of Ireland; and notwithstanding a liberal expenditure on defensive works there and on salaries, he succeeded in obtaining large sums for building and provisioning castles in Wales and supplying his armies there and in Scotland."[213]

Increased revenue, however, does not necessarily reflect economic expansion or even stability. It can be the result of fine-tuning bureaucratic instruments and incorporating a wider array of revenue streams. Additionally, expanding the colony's defensive budget may be the sign of necessity, not progressive reform. Lydon notes that nearly 30,000 pounds were extracted from Ireland during the Welsh rebellions to help fortify Welsh castles and fund Edward's forces.[214] He adds that this was a time when the colony's financial administration was viewed as being in a "critical state."[215] As a counter to Orpen, it can be argued that Edward's resource extraction and lack of personal presence would serve to weaken a colony that greatly required detailed attention, assertion of royal authority, and resources poured into it. Even Edward's son, Edward II, was cognizant of this misstep:

> "For the most part we have caused to be converted and expended in promoting our affair in England and Scotland, as well as in divers victuals bought in Ireland for the promotion of our Scottish wars and transmitted to us in Scotland, as in sums of money sent to us to advance and execute our other business, so that the residue of our money of the issues of our land of Ireland remaining for a long time past is not remaining for a long time past is not sufficient for keeping the peace there (*ad conservacionem pacis ibidem*)."[216]

Edward II also believed that:

> "Because of this divers Irish of our land of Ireland, our felons and rebels, both because of this same lack of money (*pecunie defectum*) and their customary

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[213] Orpen, *Normans*, 46.
[214] Lydon, "The Years of Crisis: 1252-1315," in *A New History Ireland: Volume II*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 196.
[215] Ibid.
[216] Lydon, "Crisis," 202.

> pugnacity… [are] day by day perpetrating burnings, homicides, robberies, and other innumerable and intolerable transgressions."[217]

Outside of extracting money and sustenance, the Crown also drew upon the people of Ireland. Gaelic and colonial soldiers can be found on the warfronts of Scotland and France throughout the fourteenth century. This applies to both common soldiery and nobility, meaning that magnates and their veterans were sometimes drawn away from their Irish possessions (during the critical years of Gaelic revival). In addition to this, the movement of soldiers through urban zones and ports was destructive to colonial infrastructure. Medieval armies were notorious for their lack of discipline and mercenary nature. Colonial lords also would have little incentive to prevent their troops from foraging and ransacking a competing lord's lands while *en route* to their destination. There was instead incentive to encourage it as it reduced the sustenance that had to be provided. Besides this, service in Edwardian armies sometimes came with royal pardons for crimes as a means of prompting enlistment. This tactic backfired as it could encourage murders and crimes that would simply be pardoned by the king.

The grave extent of the situation in Ireland can be attested to in official documents. An Irish royal council went so far as to redirect payments to the Friscobaldi into the Irish Exchequer "for the salvation of Ireland."[218] Major inquests were also held within colonial territory by royal agents to collect outstanding debts, something which Lydon believes illustrates the ineffectiveness of local sheriffs and mechanism.[219]

Those within the lands of war were not necessarily committing violent acts but were viewed antagonistically nevertheless for rejecting the crown and English dominion. Additionally, those within the lands of war were not limited to the Gaelic Irish. Anglo-Irish also engaged in active rebellion and outlawry, taking advantage of frontier conditions to pillage or acquire new freedoms and independence. Indeed, some sheriffs and cadet members of Anglo-Irish noble families would foster a *de facto* kleptocracy.

The authors of *The Administration of Ireland* conclude their work by writing: "The overweening ambition of Edward I was a preeminent cause of the decline from the promise of the thirteenth century; and Edward I had for successors like-minded kings in

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[217] Ibid.
[218] James Lydon, "Edward II and the Revenues of Ireland in 1311-12." *Irish Historical Studies* 14, no. 53 (1964): 45.
[219] Lydon, "Revenues," 46.

Edward III and Henry V. The cadre of administration was there nor were good intentions wanting; but men and money were lacking, wasted in the follies of the Scottish and French wars. The lord of Ireland failed to discharge the responsibilities of lordship."[220] It is clear that despite the best efforts of some dedicated and competent actors, Ireland was injured by extraction policies of the English crown and disunity among the Anglo-Irish. This is, again, not surprising considering the way the colony was founded: as a network of loosely connected lordships that competed against each other and were managed by a colonial administration that wished to prevent any one Anglo-Irish lord from becoming too powerful.

2.4.2 Acculturation and Localisation

Although Anglo-Irish political elites were generally allies of the crown and many distinguished themselves during the Scottish Wars of Independence as allies of England, the remote presence of crown authority bred disobedience and opportunism. The Anglo-Irish would war with one another, as well as break the king's peace. Absenteeism would also become an increasing problem, with some magnates returning to Great Britain to focus on their holdings there.

As the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries progressed, the Anglo-Irish would progressively break away from the English crown and entrench themselves in Irish politics and culture. Lydon states: "Such rebels were motivated in many different ways, though personal gain was always the main driving force. Mainly they seem to have been people who had little or no hope of fortune, being younger brothers or from cadet branches of lineages."[221] Their outlook was now focused on Ireland, which still afforded opportunities for adventure, riches, and localised power. No English king had visited Ireland since John, and it seemed unlikely that Edward I or Edward II would ever have the opportunity as their reigns were defined by crises and foreign threats or interests. As such, some Anglo-Irish outright allied with independent Irish lords. Lydon also writes on the issue:

> "In the Wicklow mountains, for example, Harolds and Archbolds allied with O'Brynes and O'Tooles; further south de Cauntetons not only joined forces with O'Byrnes and other Irish from the mountains, but were willing to help a

[220] Sayles and Richardson, "Administration," 68-69.
[221] Lydon, "Bruce Invasion," 279.

> harper gain his revenge upon men who had refused him traditional hospitality; in the south Maurice fitz Thomas, later first earl of Desmond, was allied with O Briain and MacCarthaig. In Meath the de Lacys went into open rebellion, and in Munster Barrys, Cogans, and Roches were only some of the great names listed as rebels."[222]

Frame notes that when Raphe Ufford's tenancy as Justiciar of Ireland ended in 1346 (due to his death), the Earl of Kildare and other important magnate were imprisoned while the Earl of Desmond was hiding among the Irish of Kerry.[223] Desmond was a repeat offender that wished to assert and expand his power, having no qualms with making Gaelic alliances. Even a stint in prison was unable to quell his ambition. Thus, it was not just cadet branches of Anglo-Irish breaking away from crown authority, but the powerful caputs themselves. Just as victory over Gaelic warlords was often evanescent and oscillating, so was the fealty of the Anglo-Irish. The worldview of Norman adventurers cannot be forgotten either. The Norman-French valued enterprise, cunning, and land acquisition, readily adapting to the cultures and circumstances of their conquered lands. These qualities remained with their descendants in Ireland. As such, in terms of geographical analysis, it becomes pertinent to look for signs of localisation[224] and regionalisation within the colony to explain its form and wealth distribution. Understanding both localisation and regionalisation also helps to highlight the limits of the Crown and administration's authority.

Considering the nature of the crown's outlook towards Ireland (resource extraction and preventing a rival power from arising) and the political goals of the Anglo-Irish (establishing strong lordships for their familial dynasties), it becomes worthwhile to revisit the basic concept of English dominion in Ireland. Frame offers an interesting alternative perspective on it. In *Power and Society in the Lordship of Ireland 1272-1377*, he argues that there has been scholarly emphasis on English law and administration in Ireland, with politics, economics, and society within the colony receiving far less attention. When evaluating what research exists on these areas, he reasons that English

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[222] Ibid.

[223] Robin Frame, "The Justiciarship of Ralph Ufford: Warfare and Politics in Fourteenth-Century Ireland," *Studia Hibernica*, no. 13 (1973): 7-47.

[224] By localisation, I refer to a political focus on the immediate local domains of rulers, as opposed to oversees or extra-regional politics and affairs. Essentially, the worldview of smaller Anglo-Irish lords was concerned with survival, solidifying their claims, and adapting the realistic needs of their locales. The politics of the crown and the administration may have had little relevance or tangible impact on these goals, whereas relations with neighbouring communities and Gaelic polities would be a pressing issue and of paramount importance.

power in Ireland was always tenuous; stating: "It cannot be denied that king's government bit deeper into more of Ireland in 1300 than 1200 or in 1400. But concentration on these matters has, perhaps, led to the neglect of a more basic truth: that the grip of government on the lordship was always relatively feeble, and that when we contrast one period with another we are measuring degrees of infirmity."[225] He also defines the colony in this text not as a lordship, but a patchwork of lordships. Additionally, he emphasizes that the Gaelicisation of Anglo-Irish, or at least cooperation between Gaels and colonists, was a constructive process of relationship building. Perhaps, then, future literature would benefit from framing the colony's decline as much a process of integration and adaption as it was one of deterioration.

2.4.3 Sexism

Another factor that precipitated the decline of the colony was sexist attitudes towards women. Britnell notes that Celtic (i.e. Scottish, Welsh, and Irish) societies limited women's landowning and economic rights.[226] [227] Nicholls has also commented on the matter, noting that Gaelic women could not inherit land of her clan. However, they could purchase land, be pledged it as part of a dowry or legal arrangement, or be bequeathed it by a male family member.[228]

In Ireland, where Anglo-Irish and Gaelic Irish intermixed or ruled adjacent to one another, this could create political complexities where a magnate was respected by one lord but viewed as illegitimate to another. Curits writes:

> "In Meath the aged Geoffrey de Genville had retired into a monastery and the old Lacy earldom had to be divided again between Mortimer, as husband of the heiress Joan de Genville, and Theobald de Verdun, already lord of Westmeath. But the junior Lacys and Verduns, who were rooted in the Irish soil, resented the feudal law by which fiefs passed through females and like the Irish believed in male succession as long as there were men of the name

[225] Frame, "Power and Society," 3.
[226] "Concerns with the rights of male kin was closely associated with other features of Celtic tradition that operated to restrict the legal claims of women. Wales, Ireland, and perhaps Gaelic Scotland retained customs relating to sexual union, marriage, and the legitimacy of children that were being transformed elsewhere in Western accordance with ecclesiastical law" Britnell, *Britain and Ireland*, 42).
[227] "Women in England, and in most of Scotland, were unambiguously able to claim property as heiresses, or by right of marriage, or as the recipient of gifts, but in Wales, Ireland, and Gaelic Scotland women were only rarely allowed to be landowners" (Ibid.).
[228] Nicholls, *Gaelic Ireland*, 68.

> who could defend and maintain their country, according to the maxim 'tir mharbh tir gan tighearna ('a land without a lord is a dead land'). In a land of border wars the patriarchal and kin spirit became imperative and captured the invaders also."[229]

Concerning the former, the death or resignation of a lord or lady could lead to land parcelled between heirs. This could create non-contiguous territories, or lands weakened by administrative divisions. Regarding the latter, although medieval times were largely patriarchal, it appears that noble women in Ireland fared worse than their English and Continental counterparts (especially in terms of sovereignty). Abbott argues that in France, initially women not respected because of inability to fulfil feudal service. However, females eventually become preferable to grandsons as collaterals for land by the end of the twelfth century.[230]

Gaelic sovereigns were male, judged, greatly, by their virility and direct leadership of forces in combat due to endemic warfare and cattle raiding. Swartz notes:

> "Geography plays an important part in the development of social traditions. According to Goody, hilly country suitable for grazing is conducive to a patrilineal society based upon clans, like a great part of northern and western Ireland. In such areas it was important for powerful men to control and conserve resources for the benefit of a mobile ruling class."[231]

Although there are annalistic references to Irish queens (including one leading an army while her husband led a separate force[232]), as well as prominent female sovereigns in Irish mythology, post-1169 they do not appear to hold power separately from their husbands. Rather, their role appears to evolve into one of symbolic power and advisement, something which is complicated further by the legitimacy of male bastards and the practice of concubinage among Irish aristocrats. Doan argues:

> "In conclusion, I have attempted to show that the theme of the woman as the bearer of sovereignty, which predominates in much of medieval Irish and Welsh literature, did have an historical reflex in a very real political sense. The symbolic marriages of Irish noblewomen to Irish, Hiberno-Norse, and even Anglo-Norman lords, and the abductions of prominent Irish and Welsh

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[229] Curtis, *A history of Ireland*, 94.
[230] P. Abbott, *Provinces, pays and seigneuries of France* (Canberra: Abbott, 1981), 11.
[231] Dorothy Dilts Swartz, "The Legal Status of Women in Early and Medieval Ireland and Wales in Comparison with Western European and Mediterranean Societies: Environmental and Social Correlations," *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 13 (1993): 110.
[232] *Annals of Connacht*, 1315, Entry 20: "Aed O Domnaill, king of Tir Conaill, came into Carbury and ravaged the whole district, being advised thereto by his wife, the daughter of Magnus O Conchobair. She herself, with all the gallowglasses and men of the Clan Murtagh that she could obtain, marched against the churches of Drumcliff and plundered many of its clergy."

> women, can be seen to represent manifestations of this theme. In addition, we have seen that women did play a significant role in both Ireland and Wales, primarily in terms of their influence on their husbands and lovers, but also on their brothers, sons and other kinsmen."[233]

The impact of the Irish political milieu and Gaelic culture on the Anglo-Irish likely contributed to absenteeism and undermined the rule of noblewomen, which in turn abetted colonial decline. Concerning the former, in an already patriarchal world, there would have been little impetus to remain in a perilous frontier where your authority was challenged to an even greater degree. In England and France, warfare and power were more formalised. Allegiances were bolstered by a culture of chivalry and charters. Individual charisma was still important, but there were legal structures and rights that better protected one's authority. Female nobles, such as Duchess Isabella of Lorraine, would sometimes share power with their husbands, lead armies, and appear on the international stage. In Ireland, it must again be reiterated that the Gaels viewed their swords and will to protect their lands as their charters,[234] and opportunism often polluted politics across all cultures. Thus, female nobles in England and France could more reliably count on their feudal bannermen. Schwartz also notes that cash rents enabled noblewomen to hire mercenaries (whereas mercenaries in Ireland were often funded through hospitality obligations or complex alliances between Gaelic and Anglo-Irish factions).[235] Nevertheless, some Anglo-Irish noblewomen appear to have been extremely successful in Ireland. Lady Rohesia de Verdun, for example, reportedly built Castle Roche at the Armagh-Louth border, a feat that previous Anglo-Irish lords had failed to do due to its upland nature and hostile Gaelic forces.[236] She had further ambitions to fortify the area to protect royal domains, reflecting an ambitious nature and the hard power to see it through.

It is beyond the scope of this essay to fully analyse the complexities of gender rolls among European elites, however, the understudied role of women in medieval Ireland and the effects of sexism on colonial decline must be noted. Division among daughters was not a rare occurrence, with instances of up to six daughters receiving inheritance

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[233] James Doan, "Sovereignty Aspects in the Roles of Women in Medieval Irish and Welsh Society," *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 5 (1985): 97.
[234] Simms, *Kings.*
[235] Swartz, "Legal Status."
[236] Terry Barry, "The Study of Medieval Irish Castles: A Bibliographic Survey," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 108C (2008): 115-36.

from one magnate. Simply put: typical feudal structures couldn't easily function or survive within Ireland, nor could aspects of English or Continental culture.

It is also wrong to shift accusations of sexism solely upon the Gaelic Irish. Even noble women of powerful families, when single or widowed, could be ordered by the English crown to marry a lord. The autonomy of women was limited across cultures. My contention, rather, is that the issues of sexism were amplified at the intersections of cultures with different gender roles and legal protections.

2.4.4 Gaelic Revival

Colonial decline cannot be attributed solely to mismanagement and internal issues, but developments among the Gaelic Irish as well. Several notable powerful Gaelic families maintained their independence and a degree of control over other clans. Those areas that remained politically independent and culturally Gaelic were northern Connacht (under the Ó Conchubhair), central and western Ulster (largely under the Ó Néill and the Ó Doṁnaill), Thomond (under the Ó Briain), Gaelic Desmond (under the Mac Cárthaigh), southern Offaly and Laois (under the Ó Conchubhair Failghe), western Connaught, and the Wicklow mountains (under the Ó Tuathail, the Mac Murchadha, and the Ó Broin). There were numerous petty kingdoms and smaller Gaelic lordships as well, especially within the Midlands and at the borders of Louth and the Earldom of Ulster.

Some Gaelic families still maintained a degree of political authority within the colony. For example, some were given license to manage lands within County Waterford.[237] However, it should also be noted the colonial leadership in the area was attempting to chip away at Gaelic land tenure as Anglo-Irish intensive farming was much more profitable. Outside of this, some clans within Waterford also acted as cronies for Anglo-Irish lords (example), assisting them politically, as entertainers and artisans, or even joining them in outlawry.

Outside of cultural and political evolution discussed in Section 2.2.3, this independence can be attributed to changing military tactics, the importation of gall

[237] Ciaran Parker, "The Internal Frontier: The Irish in County Waterford in the Later Middle Ages," in *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland: Essays Presented to J.F. Lydon, ed.* T. Barry, K. Simms & R. Frame (London and Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press, 1995) 139-154.

óglaigh (gallowglass) mercenaries, and being pushed into marginal lands that were harder to transverse. Broken and sloped terrain, as well as bog-land, was not well suited for heavy cavalry or infantry fighting in ranks (both of which were staples of English or Continental style warfare). However, this terrain was perfect for the Gaelic *ceithern* (or kern). Wearing little or no armour, kerns instead relied on mobility and guerrilla tactics. This made them perfect for the cattle raids and skirmishes that often-defined Gaelic warfare. However, Gaelic forces became increasingly well-rounded. Kerns, although, ideal for their specified role, could not be expected to perform well against knights or armoured infantry in pitched battles. Galloglasses, however, complimented kerns well. Well-trained and disciplined, galloglasses possessed heavy armour and often wielded two-handed sparth axes to devastating effect. This combination of offensive and defensive capabilities allowed them to serve as rear-guards during raids and hold positions during battles. Originally mercenaries from western Scotland (the Hebrides particularly), galloglasses also had the benefit of being disconnected from dynastic feuds and were defined by their firm loyalty. Irish Gaels would adopt gallowglass tactics, arms, and training to compliment continued Scottish migration; thus, the term would come to denote a type of soldier rather than an ethnic group.

Galloglasses are often cited as a vital turning point in medieval Ireland within historical research; however, it's important to note an influence of exogenesis thinking here. Rarely are the Irish allowed innovations of their own. Ó Báille counters:

> "Again, the Irish resurgence of the latter half of the thirteenth century had insignificant, if any, assistance from the galloglaigh. Yet that the Irish soldier of the period compared favourably with his Norman opponent is evident, for instance, from the fact that the victories of Credran (1258) and of Callan (1261) in which Norman chivalry was worsted were completely Irish feats."[238]

Rather, Ó Báille argues that Irish tactics evolved under the ambition and innovation of Gaelic lords, as well as a response to colonial threat and proximity.[239] As such, Scottish mercenaries did not introduce ideas such as stone fortification building, heavier forms of armour, or tactical formations to the Gaelic Irish. Instead, these adaptions were already underway. As an alternative, it can perhaps be said that galloglasses helped catalyse military developments among the Irish and provided a

[238] Ó Báille, "Buannadha," 51-2.
[239] Ibid.

martial archetype that deployed them uniformly, as well as were an influx of much needed soldiery with a shared culture. We must move away from depictions of naked Irish warrior wielding naught but stones and too proud to wear armour.

In conjunction with these developments in infantry, Gaelic cavalry also evolved. Lords and lesser lords began fighting with better armour and arms, allowing them to serve as quasi-heavy cavalry and take an analogous position to knights on the battlefield.[240] It would be erroneous or misleading to suggest that the Gaelic Irish had heavy cavalry compared to mounted knights as the Gaelic Irish eschewed stirrups. As such, they could not easily crouch in their saddles or use lances. This limited their armour piercing potential or ability to conduct shock tactics. Nevertheless, a more widespread adoption of armour among Gaelic aristocrats at least aided their longevity in combat and ability to fight in pitched battles. In conjunction with this, light Irish cavalry (hobelars) became noted for their manoeuvrability. Their speed made them invaluable for skirmishes and guerrilla warfare, as well as for outflanking during pitched battles. Hobelars would be employed by the English in Scotland and France, later adapted into a type of mounted archer that could dismount at advantageous positions.

Post-1250, there were a string of decisive Gaelic victories across Ireland, sometimes described as a "Gaelic Revival" that preceded and prompted the later "Gaelic Resurgence." In 1257, Gofraidh Ó Domhnaill lead Tir Connel to victory and largely eliminated the Anglo-Norman presence in Sligo at the battle of Creadran Cille. In 1261, Fínghin Mac Carthaigh lead the Kingdom of Desmond to victory at the Battle of Callann. This victory allowed the kingdom to maintain its independence and for Gaelic culture to continue to grow in the region. Aedh mac Felim Ó Conchobair, in 1270, decisively defeated Walter de Burgh's army at Áth an Chip (County Leitrim). This enabled Aedh mac Felim Ó Conchobair to destroy Roscommon castle and pillage marcher lands with little resistance. As such, the colonial advance into Connacht was greatly hamstrung. This momentum, however, could not be sustained. After Aedh Ó Conchobair's death, the Ó Conchobair's would be wracked by infighting. Within fifty years, there would be fourteen Ó Conchobair kings of Connaught. Nevertheless, these critical victories prevented the

[240] Simms, *Kings*.

colony from gaining sway over the entirety of the island and signified a turning of the tide.

The Gaelic reversal occurred within the heartland of the colony as well. Gaelic clans formed centres of resistance in the Wicklow and Slieve Bloom mountains. The Wicklow mountains, especially, were of great threat to the colony. Both Anglo-Irish and Gaelic outlaws were primed to raid the fertile farmlands and coastal settlements at the mountains' bases and then escape back into the rugged terrain. The Ó Tuathail, the Mac Murchadha, and the Ó Broin that held power in the mountains proved to be particularly resilient as they could move their cattle deep into mountain valleys that were difficult to find or penetrate militarily. Indeed, in 1274 a Dublin administration's expedition into Glenmalure to pacify the Ó Tuathail and the Ó Broin led to complete disaster and the capture of several prominent citizens.[241] This prompted the MacMurroughs, who were generally in the king's peace and allies of the administration, to rise with the other Wicklow Gaels. One Mac Murchadha, Murtaugh, even went as far as to claim the hereditary title of Dermot Mac Murchadha and stylize himself King of Leinster before his capture. To counter this growing threat, the Lordship sent another expedition to Glenmalure of over 2,000 soldiers from Meath and Connaught. This army, too, found itself decimated in the valleys of Wicklow and eventually entrapped. The colonial force was resorted to eating their own horses before their ultimate defeat and the taking of many high-ranking hostages by Gaelic forces.

In 1277, a third Lordship expedition to Glenmalure proved more fruitful and the Gaelic rebels were pushed more deeply into the Wicklow mountains. Although rebellious activities were dampened for nearly two decades, dire troubles would reignite in 1295 under the leadership of the Mac Murchadha. Eventually the Wicklow clans were subdued and brought into the king's peace with a fine of cattle and the taking of hostages. The Mac Murchadha were charged with keeping the other Wicklow clans at peace, even through violence. However, these clans would leave the king's peace again in 1301.[242] This is reflective of the evanescent nature of colonial victories. Military victories affected little permanent change against a foe that had adapted to endemic warfare. Seizing and fortifying lands only had the effect of penning an already wronged people into marginal

[241] Orpen, *Normans*, 14-16.
[242] Orpen, *Normans*, 39.

lands and separating them from ancestral territories that they viewed as inalienably theirs.

Gaelic resistance also took hold in the Slieve Bloom mountains of County Offaly. The Ó Conchubhair Failghe held sway over significant parts of Counties Offaly and Laois, as well as part of northern Ossory. Orpen notes that the Irish of this region had generally been peaceful until 1282, as well as permitted to let land.[243] However, this situation rapidly reversed with the burning of the castle of Lea in 1284 and an Ó Conchubhair victory against John FitzThomas (Lord of Offaly) in 1288. Relative peace was restored through an armed hosting in 1289, but infighting among the Anglo-Irish lead to an outbreak of raids. Orpen states: "In 1294, probably taking advantage of this dispute, the men of Offaly took the castle of Kildare and Calvagh O'Conor burned all the rolls and tallies of the county. The O'Conors of Offaly and some adjoining clans continued to harass their English neighbours on all sides."[244]

The independence of the Ó Conchubhair Failghe was becoming both more apparent and threatening. As a result, Peter de Brimingham took a desperate and controversial action. In 1305, he invited Murtough Ó Conchubhair Failghe to his castle under peaceful pretences before slaying Murthough and 31 of his compatriots. De Birminghham was then rewarded 100 pounds by the Lordship for Ó Conchubhair's head and the act was given special praise.[245] De Birmingham's gambit backfired. Rather than hamstring the Ó Conchubhair leadership, he unleashed the fury of the Gaelic Irish in the region. According to Lydon, Kildare would be under constant pressure for the remainder of the fourteenth century as the Ó Conchubhair Failghe and allied clans raided their colonial neighbours. He continues to argue that this necessitated both constant government resources and attention to keep at them bay, weakening an already enfeebled administration.[246]

It is prudent not to apply romantic or nationalistic notions towards the study of medieval Ireland to create an English versus Irish narrative that resembles nineteenth and twentieth Century conflicts. Gaelic lordships, although adamantly defending their

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[243] Orpen, *Normans*, 32.
[244] Orpen, *Normans*, 35.
[245] James Lydon, "A Land of War," in *A New History Ireland: Volume II*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 268.
[246] Ibid.

freedom, would often ally with the crown or Anglo-Irish lords (or would be used to fight proxy wars between Anglo-Irish lords). Additionally, these lordships were often riddled with infighting and familicide. Attacks on smaller polities were also common, driven by the fact that cattle raids were a major source of legitimacy and wealth. Martial prowess and bravery, too, were signifiers of a worthy leader.

Infighting within Gaelic dynasties was common due to tanistry, a process by which the successor to a Gaelic lord was chosen before his death via election. This elective model could function well since the "ideal" tanist often possessed the economic and military resources to validate a claim, as well as personal character. MacNeill cites it as one of the causes of the 1250s "Irish Rally" and portrays it as a positive political process.[247] I contest that tanistry had significant potential to devolve successional into factional warfare and create ambiguities. This is clear with the fourteen "kings of Connaught" that reigned within a fifty-year timespan after Aedh mac Felim Ó Conchobair's death.

2.4.5 The Environment

The environment also played a multifaceted role in colonial decline. Foremost, it should be noted that c. 1300 the climate was shifting from optimal weather conditions that helped fuel the high middle period towards the Little Ice Age. Aspects of this shift will be discussed in Chapter Seven (in relation to the Great European Famine); however, it is important to note that weather conditions during the fourteenth century were becoming harsher and less hospitable to human well-being. For Gaelic peoples in marginal environmental areas, the impact of the climate was amplified. Frame notes: "The Irish, whose economy was by no means the utterly pastoral one that used to be depicted, had been driven into the less fertile areas; particularly in bad years, plunder is likely to have been a necessity. It is noticeable that many of the raids described by the Dublin annalist took place in the earlier months of the year, when supplies will have been running low."[248] Britnell observes that while the end of the thirteenth century the climate was becoming unhospitable, the conditions of the early fourteenth century were particularly

[247] MacNeill, *Phases*, Chapter XII.
[248] Frame, "English Officials," 752.

chaotic and unstable, with enormous potential for flooding.[249] Ludlow and Adelman have done considerable work discussing the utility of the Irish Annals for deciphering climatic events and shifts, noting that between 431 CE and 1649 CE there is a credible weather report approximately every 3.9 years.[250] Annalistic references will, indeed, be employed in Chapter Seven, namely those between 1300 and 1330 that make reference to violent weather events and climatic shifts. How this relates to colonial decline is that these changes likely decreased agricultural yields and productivity, as well as catalysed Gaelic raids and resentments. A parallel can be drawn between the decline of Rome (and the migration period), in that a negative climate shift pushed Germanic tribes (inhabiting marginalised forest regions) to invade more fruitful and prosperous lands under imperial control (e.g. France and Spain).

Outside of this, the terrain of Ireland did not abet hegemony. Part of the reason why Ireland's polities and cultures were so regional in scope is due to the abundance of highlands, mountains, and rivers that served as natural barriers and boundaries. Scholars akin to Orpen might chide the Gaelic Irish for anarchy and a lack of a central administration (though there were strides towards this), but in reality the Anglo-Irish fared little better in establishing true hegemony or dominance. When faced with mountains, bogs, or forests, the Anglo-Irish were at a distinct disadvantage. Finan notes that both Gaelic and Anglo-Irish peoples had radically different views of forests, something that is reflected in language and art.[251] A painting by Jean Creton of Richard II meeting Art Macmurchadha Caomhánach, for example, depicts the English army upon a plain while Gaelic forces emerge from highland forests.[252] While the English are in plain sight, situated in a tight formation, the Gaelic forces are advancing in a manner akin to an ambush or skirmish (thereby conveying a sense of savagery or wildness). To the Anglo-Irish and English, forests were a place for the *Hibernici slyvestr*es to launch attacks from or where danger lurked. Indeed, Nicholls notes that the term *sylvestris* would become the

[249] Britnell, *Britain and Ireland*, 88.
[250] Juliana Adelman and Francis Ludlow, "The Past, Present and Future of Environmental History in Ireland," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature* 114C (2014): 359-91.
[251] Finan, *Landscape and History*, Chapter Two.
[252] Finan, *Landscape and History*, 58-9.

modern "savage."[253] For the Gaelic Irish, however, Finan evidences poetry and Gaelic sources that portray forests as places of refuge, with trees often associated with strength, fertility, and prosperity.[254] Additionally, he highlights that the Irish word *enach* (which can be used for a bog or swamp) can also be applied to a chokepoint or ideal ambush-site.[255]

As for mountains and rugged terrain, Frame argues that they were naturally suited for defence and gave the Gaelic Irish a military advantage (even if there were limitations to habitation).[256] Regardless of cultural archetype, mountainous terrain offers natural defences, the "high ground," and narrow passages. However, when considering that Gaelic forces had familiarity with mountain ranges and could move their herds into them, the advantage becomes even more distinct. Kerns and hobelars were also well-situated to fight in these conditions, whereas armour and heavy warhorses could be a hindrance. As such, royal armies and colonial forces in Ireland often had to hire Gaelic contingents to transverse such terrain and operate effectively.[257] Regardless, even with such auxiliaries, expeditions into mountainous terrain were not a guaranteed success. It is no coincidence, then that free Gaelic lordships were largely based in highland territory.

2.5 Outline of an Analytical Framework

After exploring these dimensions of medieval Ireland, several key factors can be identified for constructing an analytical framework for the geographical analysis. These tenets are as follows:

1) Due to variations in medieval Ireland's cultural, economic, physical, and political landscapes, national analysis must be cognisant of these shades and is best approached from an inter-regional perspective rather than through overarching generalizations or indulging in dichotomous categories (i.e. Gaelic versus Anglo-Irish). The valuations will be utilised to identify and explore distinct zones defined by similar cultural, wealth, political, and density features. This will be done to create a new lens for exploring the medieval

[253] Kenneth Nicholls, "Woodland cover in pre-modern Ireland," in *Gaelic Ireland c.1250–c.1650: Land, lordship & settlement*, ed. Patrick Duffy, David Edwards, and Elizabeth Fitzpatrick (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1995.
[254] Finan, *Landscape and History*, 59-62.
[255] Finan, *Landscape and History*, 63.
[256] Frame, "English Officials," 759.
[257] Frame, "English Officials, 758.

Irish landscape, as well as take a fine-grained quantitative approach. Nevertheless, these zones will then be compared to pre-existing regions schemas identified in contemporary and secondary sources.

2) Both individuals and communities existed on cultural and economic spectrums. Gaelic economies were more defined by reciprocity, pastoralism, and bastard feudalism, whereas the Anglo-Irish exhibited a greater emphasis on intensive agriculture, nucleated settlements, commercialism, and trade. The Anglo-Irish within the hinterland around Dublin resembled English lifestyles and traditional feudalism to the strongest degree. For the Anglo-Irish residing outside of the colonial core, a mixture of cultural and economic elements became more necessary (as did adaption to frontier conditions). No individual or community fully actualised the English or Gaelic archetype, thus it becomes important to instead imagine them existing upon a continuum. Nevertheless, urbanisation, manors, ports, and commercialisation are key features of the Anglo-Irish economic archetype. As such, these processes and landscape features can be used in conjunction with the data to explore the extent and impact of Anglicization.

3) Geographical analysis of frontiers benefits from employing an array of definitions to encompass more variation and different boundaries. For the purposes of this thesis, Definitions One, Two, and Three in described Section Four of this chapter will be focused on as this work deals primarily with the distribution of wealth in medieval Ireland. Additionally, the creation of economic zones and the analysis of the data provide opportunities to redefine existing concepts of boundaries and perhaps generate more heuristic frameworks.

4) Conflict within medieval Ireland cannot be solely characterised by ethnic struggles between Gaels and the Anglo-Irish. Alliances transcended ethnicity and can be best explained by *realpolitik*. Aristocrats of all groups turned on kin and king to gain local or regional power. Anglo-Irish frequently feuded with one another and left the king's peace. Keeping this in mind, the analysis will explore localisation and shirk away from viewing the colony as a homogenous entity.

5) By 1300, colonial decline can be attributed to multiple factors. One was Gaelic martial and political reformation, with Gaelic lords able to resist intrigue, subdue minor Gaelic aristocrats, and field balanced armies. However, it should be noted that there was no pan-Gaelic or unified military resistance, something which prompted a drawn out rather than rapid decline. The colonial administration was hounded on multiple sides, forced to subdue rebel Anglo-Irish and Gaelic aristocrats, arbitrate disputes, and exact tribute to give itself any sort of credibility. As such, Frame argues that it took on the role of a typical Gaelic over-king.[258] Its control was not direct or based on land-tenure; rather, it revolved around interpersonal relationships, concessions and negotiations, and the application of force.

The colony's decline can also be attributed to cultural blending as Anglo-Irish colonists and aristocrats began to adopt Gaelic mentalities and cultural fixtures, eschewing allegiances to the English crown and Dublin administration for local and regional power that was more relevant. Adapting to a Gaelic lifestyle provided economic and political incentives, as well as opportunities to integrate with Gaelic neighbours. Without clear cultural distinctions, English authority and legitimacy would falter. Thus, the "decline" can also be framed as a period of transition and cultural shift, not necessarily a time of anarchy. For those of the Middle Nation that did not Gaelicise, retreat to the colonial core, absenteeism, or return to England would become increasingly attractive options.

2.5.1 Further Conclusions

Outside of this framework, it is important to note additional conclusions from this chapter. The colony was weakened by Edward I's policies of extraction to support his wars in Scotland, Wales, and France. During a time when the Irish administration needed an influx of resources and strong leadership, it was instead drained and neglected. Said conflicts also drew magnates and soldiers away from Ireland during critical years.

[258] "The government was being forced into a role reminiscent of that of the Irish over-king, who exercised little or no control within the territories of his vassal-chiefs and who had to launch raids, take hostages, extort tribute, and to do so repeatedly, if his supremacy were to have meaning" (Frame, "English Officials," 760).

In terms of the environment, the shifting climate presented challenges to both the Gaelic Irish and Anglo-Irish alike, abetting violent weather events, putting agricultural production at risk, and draining human well-being. Outside of this, it was a catalyst for conflict as dwindling resources could prompt raiding and crime. The environment also provided hard limits to the expansion of the colony, as well as to efficaciously managing it.

The impact of sexism among Irish aristocrats also cannot be overlooked. As more backwards views towards women's rights began permeating Anglo-Irish culture, female landowners and magnates found their status weakened. How could they operate in hybrid culture zones where their sex or gender prevented them from being viewed as legitimate, regardless of their ability? This also served as a catalyst for absenteeism. In terms of geographical analysis, such phenomenon would be difficult to identify in the landscape or data. However, studying gender roles in terms of cross-cultural interactions and power dynamics would be a useful qualitative study for future works. For this thesis, however, it has been discussed to provide context.

Chapter Three: Contextualising Papal Tenths

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to track the development of papal tenths to argue that the data contained within 1302-20 Irish valuations is viable for geographical analysis, as well as understand what the valuations capture. Additionally, it will provide a larger political and European context to contextualise Irish tenths. For this endeavour, both primary and secondary sources will be utilised. Due to the dearth of records in Ireland regarding tenths, it becomes essential to draw upon pan-European sources to fill in certain gaps within the knowledge. As the 1302-20 Irish tenths were carried out by English crown and ecclesiastical officials in conjunction with the Church, it is also imperative to understand English practices regarding the tenths as they were likely replicated within Ireland. France will also be investigated for multiple pertinent reasons. Namely, to further gauge the uniformity of tenth procedures and draw on a greater pool of sources. Besides this, Phillip IV of France played an essential role in papal politics and the development of the tenth during the turn of the fourteenth century, as well as impacted Edward I of England's foreign policy. Understanding his actions is essential to contextualising the tenths. It is also germane to explore how important the tenths were to political regimes and illustrate the severity with which they were pursued. The tenths specifically in Ireland will be discussed in Chapter Four, as this work is more specific and heuristic in nature.

3.2 Literature Regarding Papal Finance

The study of papal taxation, and finances in general, was arcane and hamstrung until 1881 (when Pope Leo XIII allowed scholars access to documents within the Vatican Secret Archives (*Archivio Segreto Vaticano* or *Archivum Secretum Apostolicum Vaticanum*) predating 1815).[259] The opening of the ASV was a boon to academics that enabled more thorough inquiry into a wide array of subjects regarding the history of the Church, as well as prompted meticulous studies. As such, it is during the decades following the opening of

[259] ASV will be used for conciseness, as it is the Archive's preferred abbreviation.

the ASV that one can find many seminal and authoritative works regarding papal finances and taxation.

There were works preceding the opening of the archives, though, that must be acknowledged. Lunt notes that Woker's work, *Das kirchliche finanzwesen der päpste, Ein beitrag zur geschichte des papstthums*, published in 1878 is, perhaps, the first monograph devoted solely to papal taxation and finances.[260] However, Lunt questions the utility of studies before 1881, arguing that "their work was controversial in temper and little instructive in substance."[261] The former claim was due to the "evil of sectarian bias."[262] Religious differences (i.e. Protestant and Catholic) precluded the impartiality required for proper historical inquiry. The latter claim refers to the dearth of sources that were available before 1881, something which prevented comprehensive study or "accurate treatment" of the subject.[263]

After 1881, German and French scholars, particularly, took advantage of the newly accessible plethora of papal documents. The academic community is indebted to Adolph Gottlob for bringing to light "the series of accounts kept by the papal exchequer and the value of their contents" with *Aus der Camera Apostolica des 15 Jahrhunderts, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des papstlichen Finanzwesens und des endenden Mittelalters* in 1889.[264] Gottlieb would go on to author a monograph on thirteenth century crusading taxes, which he viewed as the first and cardinal step for the further development of the papal financial system during the late middle ages.[265]

The decades following 1881 were defined not just by inquiry, but also the editing of documents to abet further study. Paul Fabre, for example, edited and analysed the *Liber Censuum* into eighteen volumes. This document enumerated the religious houses that paid a census fee to the papacy (generally in return for protection from secular powers), as well as miscellaneous other institutions that owed fees to the papacy (such as towns and cities within the jurisdiction of the Papal States). These edited volumes give

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[260] William Edward Lunt, "The Financial System of the Medieval Papacy in the Light of Recent Literature." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 23, no. 2 (1909): 252.
[261] Ibid.
[262] Lunt, "Recent Literature," 253.
[263] Lunt, "Recent Literature," 252.
[264] Lunt, "Recent Literature," 254.
[265] *Die papstlichen Kreuzzugs-Steuern des 13 Jahrhunderts: ihre rechtlicheGrundlage, politische Geschichte, und technische Verwaltung, Heiligenstadt* (Heiligenstadt: Cordier, 1892).

invaluable insight into the dispersion of religious houses across all of Europe, as well as a detailed look into the holdings of the church up until the end of the thirteenth century.

The duo of Charles Samaran[266] and Guillaume Mollat[267] were also prominent during this heyday of papal financial study. However, their work focused more exclusively on papal finances in France. Their main collaborative piece, *La Fiscalite pontificale en France au XIVe Siecle*, was published in 1905.[268] This study provides valuable insight into the collection of the tenth in France, providing information on chronology, figures on returns, and the practices of the collectors.[269] Although focused on France, the work does provide useful general information on the Central Administration of the papacy and the papacy's Pan-European revenue stream types. Samaran and Mollat cited Swiss historian J.P. Kirsch heavily in this study. Kirsch wrote extensively on fourteenth century papal revenues in Germany, with his first major volume being *Die papstliche Kammer unter Clemens V. und Johann XXII, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des papstlichen Finanzwesens von Avignon*.

Research into papal finances was not confined to the Continent. The British religious historian, Rose Graham, was one of the first scholars to explore papal finances within the context of the British Isles. Her article, T*he Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV*, is commendably comprehensive in scope, qualifying the developments in papal taxation practices from 1254 until 1291 (the year of Nicholas IV's taxation). This is mainly accomplished by comparing values found in the Norwich Taxation (1254-5) with those of the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* (1291-2), as well as providing explanations for the different methods of assessment used during the respective taxations. Her clarification of assessment techniques is extremely nuanced for a concise article, and she also notes some of the disadvantages of using papal the 1254-5 and 1291-2 taxation records for studying English economics. For example, vicarages that were too impoverished to be

[266] Samaran is one of France's most lauded archivists and contributed greatly to the *Archives Nationales*.
[267] Mollat also authored germane articles on tenths: *La collation des bénéfices ecclésiastiques sous les papes d'Avignon*, *Mesures fiscales exercées en Bretagne par les papes d'Avignon à l'époque du Grand schisme d'Occident*, and *Le roi de France et la collation plénière (pleno jure) des bénéfices ecclésiastiques étude suivie d'un appendice sur les formulaires de la Chancellerie Royale*.
[268] The two also collaborated on *Mesures fiscales exercées en Bretagne par les papes d'Avignon à l'époque du Grand schisme d'Occident.*
[269] Charles Samaran & Guillame Mollat, *La fiscalité pontificale en France au XIVe siècle* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1905), 12-22.

taxed were not itemized in the records, thus providing an incomplete picture of some parishes.[270]

Graham also published *An Ecclesiastical Tenth for National Defence in 1298*. This tenth (although not papal in nature) was raised by Prince Edward (the future Edward II) with the consent of English prelates to help forestall Scottish incursions. Graham's detailed study sheds insight into royal-ecclesiastical politics within England, the process of collecting the sums, figures of amounts collected from churches, and the assessment of this tenth (with ecclesiastical officials opting to use the Norwich Taxation assessments that valued their holdings at less than half of the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* assessments).[271] Graham's article is ideal in that it provides comprehensive information around the figures that she provides. War, politics, famine, and other critical factors must be considered to properly analyse medieval records, understanding the milieu in which they were inscribed is paramount.

Perhaps the most prolific and rigorous researcher on papal finances was American historian William Edward Lunt (1882-1956). Lunt's focus was on the financial relationship between England and the papacy, with attention given to Edward I and the collection of tenths during his reign. Lunt's *modus operandi* was to analyse and compile accounts from papal collectors to help create a narrative of the procedures and politics regarding the assessment and collection of the tenth. By doing so, Lunt allows historians insight into the *de facto* conditions of the collection, issues with the application of the tax, and the impact of political actualities on the tenth. Examples of such work include the articles: *A Papal Tenth Levied in the British Isles from 1274 to 1280* (1917), *Collectors' Accounts for the Clerical Tenth Levied in England by Order of Nicholas IV* (1916), and *The Account of a Papal Collector in England in 1304* (1913).

Lunt's interest in Edward I can be illustrated most explicitly in two works: *Papal Taxation in England in the Reign of Edward I* and *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327*. The second text is an extensive, seminal, and definitive book, covering

[270] Rose Graham, "The Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV," *The English Historical Review* 23, no. 91 (1908): 434-54.
[271] Rose Graham, "An Ecclesiastical Tenth for National Defence in 1298," *The English Historical Review* 34, no. 134 (1919): 201.

most aspects of papal finances in England (with emphasis on the tenths) in-depth. For the purposes of this study, it is the most germane and vital secondary source.[272]

The scholastic attention that Lunt paid Edward I was warranted for two salient reasons. It is under Edward's reign (r. 1272-1307) that papal taxation truly matured (in part due to the detailed and systematic assessment instructions drafted during the Second Council of Lyons), as well as evolved into a *de facto* form of royal taxation (with Edward being the driving force behind this development). Concerning the latter, Lunt provides a balanced and comprehensive of the king's personality and intentions despite Edward's common portrayal as ruthless and heavy-handed. He illustrates Edward's political acumen by showing the king's use of the English clergy's resentment towards papal taxation, as well as nationalist sentiment, to vie with Popes Nicholas IV and Boniface VIII (and to come out victorious). Indeed, Edward went from claiming portions of papal tenths to having them declared explicitly for both the English crown and the papacy. Edward's success would allow his son, Edward II, to have similar financial arrangements with the papacy during his reign as well.

Lunt's work was not confined exclusively to the Anglo-Papal financial relations. He also contributed a two-volume work entitled: *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages*. The first volume enumerates not only the revenue types, but also provides an analysis on the evolution of the papal camera (or financial arm of the church). The volume serves as an excellent primer, as it is more general than intensive. The second volume of the work (as part of the first volume) is a collection of financial documents, translated from Latin into English, which provide insight into specific duties of officials, the first mention of select titles and terms, and examples of germane correspondences (e.g. letters of safe conduct to collectors, letters of credence to royals, and collectors' oaths). The sources that Lunt drew from included a wide array of nations, helping to provide a broad picture of the application of papal finances.

Lunt's contributions to the study of papal finances, and the tenth, cannot be overstated. However, Lunt's work has its limitations. Lunt fails to separately discuss the "Celtic Fringe" of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland and qualify how persistent conflict (more so in Ireland and Scotland) may have affected the collection and valuation of the tenths.

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[272] This work was followed by a second text: *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England: 1327-1534*.

Indeed, there are several correspondences specific to the tenth in Ireland that are not even alluded to in his works (which are, laudably, comprehensive). The valuations upon which this study is based are largely overlooked. Lunt may simply not have wanted to overextend his reach into nations with which he was less familiar or beyond the scope of his expertise, or perhaps he felt that because the tenths were conducted in a uniform manner that this was something that didn't need to be discussed explicitly. Alternatively, gaining expert familiarity with Irish sources may have been prohibitive.

After Lunt, the main contributor to the literature of this subject was Jeffrey H. Denton. Denton researched both English and French tenths *circa* 1300, as well as contributed extensively to the University of Sheffield's *Taxatio* database.[273] Of interest to this thesis is *The Valuation of the Ecclesiastical Benefices of England and Wales in 1291-2*, which builds upon Lunt's work by analysing the particularities of wealth assessment during Nicholas IV's tenth. Additionally, it offers specific insight into each of the English and Welsh dioceses. Denton also authored *Taxation and the Conflict between Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII*, as well *as Philip the Fair and the Ecclesiastical Assemblies of 1294-1295*. These texts are particularly useful for understanding the greater European politics affecting the granting of tenths, as well as the attitudes of the French clergy towards the tenth. For the latter text, Denton provides original and extensive analysis of documents related to ecclesiastical council summoned specifically for negotiations of the tenth. By doing so, he highlighted the opportunities to illuminate the particularities of tenths even further.

The authors which wrote during the heyday following the opening of ASV have helped change, to a degree, the modern perception of the medieval Roman Catholic Church from a backward institution that inhibited economic growth into one of the "principle forces which aided the establishment of money and credit transactions on a large scale."[274] Despite this, Lunt remains the "go to" source for papal finances and there is a dearth of monographs on the subject dating after his death, apart from Denton. The opportunities for investigating European economies afforded by papal financial records remain greatly underutilized (despite existing databases such as the University of Sheffield's one of the *Taxatio Ecclesiatica*). As records, including papal registers, become

[273] "Taxatio," Taxatio Database, University of Sheffield, last modified 2014, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/ .
[274] Lunt, "Recent Literature," 252.

increasingly digitized, exploration of papal finances will become decreasingly prohibitive. It can only be hoped that this ushers in another period of rigorous study and interested in papal finances.

3.3 Early History and the Second Council of Lyons

Prior to the twelfth century, the financial apparatus of the Catholic Church largely mirrored that of Imperial Rome's, with influences from Justinian's empire. Indeed, even official titles were taken from their Imperial predecessors (*arcarius*, *saccellarius*, and *vestararius*).[275] Papal revenues until the eighth century were largely garnered by managing estates within the papacy's considerable holdings (alongside voluntary offerings).[276] However, as the high medieval period dawned, the papacy would take part in and benefit the expansions of the period.[277] It is important to view the papacy not simply as a religious organization, but also a powerful political force. Not only did it directly control the Papal States, but it also interjected itself into the dealing of other polities.[278] The efficacy of this monarchy, Watt contends,[279] evolved until it peaked during the late thirteenth century.

The first papal taxation outside of the Papal States was the census (which Fabre documented meticulously). With the decline of the Carolingian dynasty, religious houses turned to the papacy for protection of their lands in the absence of a strong secular body that would shelter them from "encroachments of lay and ecclesiastical lords."[280] *De jure*, all the property of houses that paid the census belonged to the pope and was thus

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[275] William Edward Lunt, *Papal revenues in the Middle Ages, Vol. 1 and 2 (*New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 3.
[276] M. D. O'Sullivan, "Italian Merchant Bankers and the Collection of Papal Revenues in Ireland in the Thirteenth Century," *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 22, no. 3/4 (1947): 132.
[277] Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: conquest, colonization and cultural change, 950-1350*. London: Allen Lane, 1993.
[278] Indeed, Watt argues that: "The papacy was a unique sort of monarchy in that it claimed jurisdiction in both spiritual and temporal affairs. It claimed primacy of jurisdiction as 'monarch of all Churches', headship of the ecclesiastical world. It did not claim a comparable jurisdiction over the secular world because it did not doubt that a division of spiritual and temporal powers had been decreed by God himself. But it did claim a right to judge lay rulers and, at its own assessment of need, otherwise to intervene authoritatively in the temporal order" (J. A. Watt, "The papacy," in The New Cambridge Medieval History, ed. David Abulafa, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 107-63.)
[279] Watt, "Papacy," 107.
[280] Lunt, *Revenues*, 61.

untouchable. To molest them was to risk the wrath of the papacy. *De facto*, the pope did not actually have authority to seize or meddle with this property. In exchange for this protection, religious houses paid a novel fee to the pope. O'Sullivan notes that relatively few English and Irish houses paid the census, with only three in Ireland.[281] Both nations were outside of the purview of the Carolingian empire, which may partly explain this lack of participation in the census. In early medieval Ireland (c. 400 to c. 1100), monasteries and religious figures were often interlaced within politics and royal families (perhaps precluding the effectiveness or need of papal protection).

The next form of papal revenue to develop was tribute from "kings, princes, lords and cities."[282] Similar to the concept of the census, theses elites would pay the papacy tribute in recognition for their temporal holdings and titles. These figures are also recorded with the *Liber censuum*. Another form of income that was similar in principle to the census was Peter's Pence. Likely originating before the tenth century in Anglo-Saxon England, Peter's Pence entailed the extracting of one penny from every household under the leader's domain.[283] By the tenth century, payment of the pence was mandatory and enforceable through secular laws.[284] It seems to have gone out of fashion before, O'Sullivan argues, William the Conqueror revived the custom in the late eleventh century as a *de facto* census for the protection of St. Peter.[285] Peter's Pence would also be practiced in the Scandinavian kingdoms, Poland, and several smaller lordships.[286] It would only come to Ireland after the 1169 Invasion and Henry II's intervention.[287] Generally, the fixed amount was 199 pounds, 6 shillings, and 8 pence for England, a sum so small that it generally stayed within the hands local papal collectors.[288] Irish records appear to be much less forthcoming and more sporadic in nature.

With increasing amounts of revenue, the papal financial system was forced to evolve from its antiquated form. In 1017, the camera (which is the Latin for chamber) became the new designation for the papal financial body, with the title *vestiarium*

[281] O'Sullivan, "Italian Merchant Bankers," 135.
[282] Lunt, *Revenues*, 63.
[283] Lunt, *Revenues*, 65-66.
[284] Lunt, *Revenues*, 66.
[285] O'Sullivan, "Italian Merchant Bankers," 136.
[286] Lunt, *Revenues*, 65.
[287] O'Sullivan, "Italian Merchant Bankers," 135-6.
[288] Ibid.

becoming defunct by 1033.[289] Several key developments occurred during the latter part of this century that abetted the development of the camera. Foremost, the papacy began to wrest control of the Papal States away from the Italian nobility and mollify the feudal constraints on papal income.[290] In addition to this, there was the influence of Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII). Between 1059 and 1073, Hildebrand was archdeacon of Rome and, in Lunt's eyes, a financial genius.[291] Foremost, he was influential in subduing the Italian nobility (both as archdeacon and pope). Additionally, Fabre provides evidence in *Étude sur le Liber censuum de l'Église romaine* that he was especially rigorous and successful in collecting dues to the papacy.[292] As pope (r. 1073-1085), Hildebrand's vigour continued, and he was also noted for attempting to increase papal sovereignty and temporal possessions.

The role that Hildebrand played as archdeacon appears to have catalysed the creation of a new role. Lunt notes the first mention of the *camerarius* in 1099, a role which enveloped and replaced the *arcarius* and *saccellarius* after 1250.[293] As such, we see the camera become a centralized organization during a time in which the papacy had reasserted itself both within the Papal States and the international sphere. O'Sullivan agrees with Lunt's characterizes of the camera during the twelfth century as "a great department of state," having beforehand been a "mere organ of the household.[294]"

The camera continued to grow before reaching its apex in the fourteenth century.[295] The reason for this was, simply, additional and substantial forms of taxation. Perhaps the most important was ecclesiastical income taxes, which quickly transformed into the papal tenth. The tenth (*decime*, *decima*, or *decimae* in Latin) was commonly referred to within sources by several different names: the *taxatio*, *taxatus ad decimam*, and *taxatus.*[296] It was levied under two main pretences. Initially, the tenth was sanctioned for the *Terre Sancta*, or the Holy Land. By 1187, Saladin had greatly reversed the fortunes of the crusaders and weakened the European grip on the Holy Land, necessitating large

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[289] Lunt, *Revenues*, 6.
[290] Lunt, *Revenues*, 8.
[291] Ibid.
[292] Fabre, *Étude sur le Liber censuum de l'Église ,* (Paris: Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome), 155.
[293] Lunt, *Revenues*, 6 and 9.
[294] O'Sullivan, "Italian Merchants," 132.
[295] Samaran and Mollat, *La fiscalité pontificale*, 11.
[296] Samaran and Mollat, *La fiscalité pontificale*, 13.

scale mobilizations of capital to fund further military efforts. Because crusading efforts were so laudable, it was difficult to oppose aiding them. However, the tenth began to turn into a *taxation pro oneribus Romanae Ecclesiae* once the precedent for ecclesiastical income taxation had been set.[297] In other words, the tenth could be levied for the need of the papacy. For example, it would be utilized to assist the Papal States in their conflicts with the Holy Roman Empire in 1228.[298]

The first income tax was levied in 1199 by Pope Innocent III with his mandate that "his clerical subjects to pay one-fortieth of their ecclesiastical incomes for one year in aid of the Holy Land."[299] This concept was inspired by French and English kings that levied taxes in 1166 and 1188 on their subjects (both lay and religious) to support the crusading efforts.[300] These royal taxes were known as the Saladin tithe. Although a fortieth may seem like a novel sum, the income tax would evolve dramatically. Lunt notes: "The income taxes were imposed either universally or on the clergy of a single country or group of provinces for a period of years vary one from one to six."[301]

In 1215, the tax was increased to a twentieth of ecclesiastical incomes for three years. In both 1199 and 1215, the clergy was tasked with assessing their own incomes. The 1199 clergy were offered rebates "for willing and honest payments," whereas the 1215 taxation threatened payers with excommunication for fraud.[302] By 1228, the income tax had become a tenth of ecclesiastical revenues. Additionally, it was both assessed and collected more rigorously. Starting with this tenth, deputies were tasked with assessing benefices by papal tax collectors. These deputies then had local clergy provide assessments under oath.[303] This new system appears to have been efficacious, as it was increasingly honed and streamlined during the thirteenth century.[304]

As the tenth became increasingly ingrained within ecclesiastical life, its purview began to increase. Beginning with a tenth in 1253, temporalities were assessed within the

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[297] Samaran and Mollat, *La fiscalité pontificale*, 12.
[298] Lunt, *Revenues*, 72.
[299] Lunt, *Revenues*, 71-72.
[300] Fred Cazel, "The Tax of 1185 in Aid of the Holy Land," *Speculum* 30, no. 3 (1955): 385-92.
[301] Lunt, *Revenues*, 75.
[302] Lunt, *Revenues*, 73.
[303] Ibid.
[304] As a point of clarification, it must be noted that not all income taxes after 1228 were tenths. In 1245, for example, a triennial twentieth was declared during the First Council of Lyons (O'Sullivan, "Italian Merchants," 147-8). However, a tenth of income would increasingly become the standard as the thirteenth century progressed

income taxes (as opposed to solely spiritualties).[305] Spiritualties are incomes deprived from the holding of a religious office (e.g. tithes and penances). Temporalities, however, are secular incomes that are mainly defined by agricultural assets developed for ecclesiastical figures. With this change in assessments, records thus encompassed a more comprehensive picture of ecclesiastical wealth.

The papal tenths' true value as a revenue source would be actualized with the streamlining of instructions regarding assessments. This was accomplished, most notably, during the Second Council of Lyons between 1272 and 1274. Although perhaps more famous as an attempted reconciliation between Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy, the Council also involved summoning lay lords and prelates to negotiate a new set of assessment guidelines. Preparations for renewed crusading efforts were also discussed, although many of the specifics were not agreed upon. The new guidelines for assessing ecclesiastical revenues seem to have fully captured temporal wealth, as well as increased the efficacy of assessments overall. This is evidenced by significantly increasing assessments for England (which would not be fully explained by mere economic growth): 80,000 pounds in 1217, 101,000 pounds in 1254, and 203,000 pounds in 1291-2.[306] Each of these figures is a strong approximation by Lunt.

The importance of the instructions rendered during the Second Council of Lyons lies in their longevity. Indeed, Lunt notes: "The same rules with slight modifications were used by later popes, becoming the part of the canon law in the form issued by Boniface VIII in 1301."[307] He also states, in another work, that they would continue to be consulted for "for the assessment of clerical income for the remainder of the middle ages."[308] In Volume Two of *Papal Revenues of the Middle Ages*, Lunt provides an English translation of the instructions agreed upon during the Council.[309] The original Latin text can be found in the registers of Gregory X.[310] Because these instructions served as the basis for the tenths

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[305] Lunt, "Italian Merchants," 73.
[306] Lunt, *Revenues*, 74.
[307] Lunt, *Revenues*, 73.
[308] William Edward Lunt, *Financial relations of the papacy with England, Vol. 1 &2 (*Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1939), 313.
[309] Lunt, *Revenues Vol. 2*, 162-9.
[310] Item 571, dated the 23rd of October, 1274. The heading reads: "*Ordinationes de exigenda decima ecclesiasticorum prove tuum nuller, in concilio Lugdunensi, Terrae Sanctae subsidio deputata. (Reg. curiales, ann. III, n» 97, f. 198.).*"

focused upon in this study, understanding their subtleties is vital to understand the wealth that the 1302-20 Irish valuations document.

It is clear from the instructions that the valuations were systematic and designed to promote uniformity, as well as were adaptable to different cultural and economic circumstances. If there were major issues, the papacy was to be consulted. It becomes unlikely, then, that valuations made in Anglo-Irish and Gaelic domains should be conducted in different manners, or that there would be a failure to capture wealth in the Gaelic economy. Had there been ambiguities or concerns, the papacy would have been consulted so that it would receive its full due. Indeed, there was nearly a century of opportunity to rectify major issues before 1302. Failure to pay or honestly report would lead to excommunication, public shunning, and stripping of benefices (i.e. livelihoods).

A few key points from these instructions are particularly relevant to study:

1. Secular clerks that have ecclesiastical rents and revenues under seven pounds Tours (which Lunt estimates as seven gold florins or six English marks) will not pay the tenth.[311] This is unless they multiple benefices that exceed seven pounds in total (in which a tenth will be paid from each benefice).
2. Gifts and bequeathments made to ecclesiastical officials are not to be taxed.
3. Payees may choose to pay a rate based on actual annual income or upon a common estimation for the whole period of the taxation. However, once a method has been chosen, another may not be selected. The decision is to be made in writing with the first collection of the tenth, otherwise the method will automatically revert to the common estimation.
4. Nothing is to be paid from forests that are not customarily harvested. However, if something is harvested during the tenth, an estimate will be made of the annual rent of the part sold or harvested based upon local prices. The tenth will then be paid upon this estimation. Pannage, herbage, and underwood are treated with the same guidelines as forests.
5. For ponds and fisheries (if sold), the amount of the latest sale is divided by the number of years that nothing was sold from the asset. This averaged is then taxed

[311] Lunt, *Revenues Vol. 2*, 163.

for the duration of the tenth. The same assessment applies to game preserves and fluvial fisheries.

6. Fauna that is consumed or given away for charity is not taxed.
7. Prelates will not pay the tenth on victuals given to them; however, those who give the victuals shall include their worth within their revenues (and pay the tenth on them).
8. When paying the tenth, only necessary expenses made for agricultural efforts are deducted.
9. Expenditures on the keeping of castles or maintenance of buildings shall not be deducted.
10. Expenditures for military expeditions or defence of villages shall not be deducted.
11. The tenth may be paid in local currency. Exchange will not be forced.
12. If it appears that an ecclesiastical person has not paid the tenth fully, an investigation will be made by a diocesan council or figure appointed by the bishop. If the person has been found paying less than the tenth yet refuses to pay the tenth, the figure may be excommunicated if need be. Bishops, abbots, and other honourable ecclesiastical persons who are not suspected will be left to their own consciences. Censures are reserved for those intentionally paying less, fraud, malice, or those refusing to pay at all. However, if it's expedient, a general act of excommunication can be published against those which hinder the collection of the tenth.
13. Failure to pay the tenth should not lead to secular force (i.e. violence) being used unless the refusal or rebellion would normally merit the intervention of the secular arm.
14. Payment of the tenth must be made in coinage.
15. Collectors cannot make compacts regarding the payment of the tenth.
16. Produce from trees and gardens that is sold is taxable. That which is consumed is not.
17. The tenth will be paid on flocks and animals if they belong to churches after upkeep expenses are paid. If these animals belong to a person, however, they are not to be paid.
18. The collectors are empowered and charged with excommunicating any ecclesiastical person who defrauds or refuses to pay the tenth. These instructions

> are to be published in cathedrals and collegiate places. Excommunications are to be publicly announced and shunning encouraged to add to the compulsion. This will continue until satisfactory amends are made, and the collectors are also empowered with ending the excommunication.

Clauses relating to forests, fisheries, and fauna are important as they suggest that a pastoral economy would still be valued. Nevertheless, the fact that consumed fauna and gifts aren't included indicates that part of a reciprocal economy would not be wholly captured (e.g. billeting, hospitality, and guesting). As such, it is arguable that part of the Gaelic economy would be "hidden" due to direct consumption and the existence of livestock reserves not being sold or consumed, but that valuations would still capture surplus and regular income above subsistence. Concerning irregular gifts (e.g. patronage from lords or spoils from raids), this would be negligible as the goal of the valuations was to note the systematic income of benefices. Additionally, it is important to note that a lack of coinage among the Gaelic Irish is irrelevant. These are valuations of various income types represented as English coinage, not receipts of payments or valuations purely of coinage/precious metals income.

The fact that defence costs could not be deducted has implications for the Anglo-Irish economy. It has been discussed in Chapter Two that Anglo-Irish settlements were highly fortified compared to elsewhere in England and France. Although France and England faced their own conflicts, warfare in these nations was perhaps not as endemic or as economically draining. Considering this, the Anglo-Irish parishes might have a somewhat higher income than what is presented. Concerning the Gaelic Irish, Chapter Two has also noted that the Gaelic economy was more adaptable to endemic conflict. This is not to say that conflict would not depress Gaelic areas, but functionally it would not be as disrupted as Anglo-Irish economies that relied more on crops and infrastructure.

The instructions also include strong censures to inhibiting the tenth or defrauding, namely excommunication and the use of secular force if need be. One might argue that excommunication is simply a form of soft power. However, because it would coincide with social ostracization and failure to perform ecclesiastical duties, it was a direct threat to economic livelihood and social standing. Nevertheless, in a time of greater religiosity, the threat of excommunication should not be underestimated or scoffed at. The ability to

call in secular force, additionally, reinforces the seriousness of the tenth and that hard power was available to papal officials.

Overall, what do the valuations reflect? Essentially, they reflect the average annual income for a benefice. In terms of parishes, income would mainly be composed of tithes and glebe[312] lands. As for whether this income was net or gross, that is a complicated answer. In terms of agricultural assets, the valued income was net as deductions could be made for maintenance and farming costs. Income from rents and industries, however, appear to be valued as gross income. Other deductions, such as for certain salaries and defence, were less forthcoming. However, this income is less relevant to parishes, which were tied to more local agrarian economies. Instead, such matters would be under the remit of bishops.

3.4 Nascent Stages of Politicization

The papal tenths, after the Second Council of Lyon, encompassed a greater amount of wealth and were thus producing larger receipts for the papacy. Therefore, it is not surprising that it was during the decades after the Council that the tenth became increasingly politicized. The papacy, too, was becoming increasingly challenged by secular lords and embroiled in political conflicts. Two kings whom stand out for their manoeuvring of and contumacy towards the papacy are Edward I of England and Phillipe le Bel (Philip IV) of France.

Edward's reign was still in its budding stages when the Second Council of Lyons was summoned. Referred to as "Longshanks" due to his tall stature, Edward is known for reforming law, the structure and frequency of the English parliament, finances, and administration, as well as reasserting the power of the English crown. Although enamoured with Arthurian romances and renowned for the love he showed his first wife (Eleanor of Castille), Edward was also characterized by a harsh and frightening temperament. Indeed, there is even an account of his intimidating visage causing a

[312] A glebe was a piece of land attached to a church meant to provide direct income and sustenance to a clergyperson. Generally small in size, more modern glebes can be found on nineteenth century OSI maps.

clergyman to go into cardiac arrest. His reign would also be noted for the subjugation of Wales, incessant conflict with Scotland, and the expulsion of the Jews.

Though still a relatively new king and a fervent Christian, Edward did not sit idly by during the negotiations of the tenth during the Second Council of Lyon. The English clergy, too, was not eager to pay and was somewhat resentful of the tenth. Ecclesiastical resentment was understandable as the taxation was an imposition on limited incomes. For secular rulers, the tenth robbed their territories of their finite supplies of coinage (and thus also precious metals), as well as reduced ecclesiastical wealth that could be taxed during emergencies.

Aside from these qualms, Lunt notes that the English clergy was weary of Gregory X. A tenth which had been raised for the benefit of the Holy Land by Innocent IV was used by his successor to further the temporal interests of the Papal States.[313] Besides this, a recent biennial tenth had been placed upon the English clergy for Edward and his brother, Edmund.[314] As such, the representatives of English lay interests at the Council were instructed to oppose any taxation of the English clergy due to fears that a crusading tenth would be misappropriated by the papacy.[315] There were also concerns over whether the papacy was going to appoint apostolic collectors, further abetting the chance of misappropriation.[316] Richard Mepham, dean of Lincoln, attempted to prevent the taxation of the English clergy by citing both the aforementioned recent taxations and the aftermath of civil war in England. His memorandum was met by a papal reprimand. English dissent was overruled, and the Council approved the constitution unanimously."[317] The tenth was approved with general guidelines, leaving the pope to deal with the particularities (the result being the aforementioned instructions). The Cistercians, for this tenth, were able to purchase an immunity in exchange for a lump sum of around 100,000 pounds (Tours).[318] Exemptions were made to the Templars, Hospitallers, and the Teutonic Knights (a trend which would continue among future

[313] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 311.
[314] Ibid.
[315] H. Cole. *Documents illustrative of English History in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, selected from the Records of the Department of the Queen's Remembrancer of the Exchequer*, (London: Eyre and Spottiswwode, 1844), 358-60.
[316] Ibid.
[317] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 312.
[318] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 312-13.

tenths). It would be counterintuitive to tax the institutions which were vitally instrumental to furthering the crusades.

The pope's collectors for the 1274 taxation were Raymond de Nogaret and John of Darlington. Raymond was a Gascon and had been a papal collector in England prior to 1272. It must be noted that, during this time, Gascony was a domain of the English crown. John was English and a Dominican, having been Henry III's confessor and one of his counsellors. Lunt believes that John's appointment may have been done to ameliorate discontent with foreign collectors.[319] This discontent was not solely English in nature, but present among other nations as well.

Raymond and John were instructed to utilize the assistance of "at least two clergy in each diocese" under the advice of the bishop and two cathedral canons.[320] These "agents" or "deputies" were tasked with collecting the tenth, holding the proceeds as enjoined by the collectors, and take required oaths.[321] Raymond and John, the collectors, were tasked with inspecting their deputies' work and could change out any deputy that they felt compelled to. In addition to this, they were directed to report to the pope frequently on both progress and figures collected.

The discretionary power of the collectors increased dramatically in August 1275. During this month, collectors were endowed with the power to "establish the true value of the taxable revenues by the oaths of any whose testimony they should desire, or in any other manner which seems expedient."[322] In addition to this, Raymond and John were joined by the Gerard de Grandson (bishop elect of Verdun). Gerard's role was to further investigate the deputies and compel prelates and high ranking official to reveal their true incomes. He could also override how taxpayers wished to have their incomes valued.[323] Indeed, the instructors presented to him by the pope gave him power over all English clergy, including archbishops.

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[319] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 313.
[320] Ibid.
[321] Ibid.
[322] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 318.
[323] Lunt provides transcriptions in *English Historical Review Volume XXXII* on pages 64 (item no 10) and 70 (item no 15). William Edward Lunt, "A Papal Tenth levied in the British Isles from 1274 to 1280," *The English Historical Review*, Volume XXXII, Issue CXXV (January 1917): 49–89.

These new powers to overrule the taxpayers' choice of assessment and conduct testimony by oaths helped contribute to the assessments' accuracy. Collectors could use this power to have any unsatisfactory assessment revaluated or validated by additional testimony. Indeed, even the high-ranking abbot of Bury St. Edmunds had his assessment by "way of consciousness" confirmed by additional testimonies.[324] Some high-ranking prelates were denied the "way of conscious" outright.[325] As such, this method of self-assessment while *de jure*, did not function as it was retroactively denied or supplemented with other testimonies. Rather, Lunt states that it was rendered "innocuous."[326]

Any suspicion on the part of the collectors, regarding any form of an assessment, would lead to assessment by "neighbouring clerks or laymen without option."[327] Clergy were warned of this beforehand, providing an impetus to report accurately. The new assessment guidelines were not left unchallenged by the English clergy, which petitioned the papacy and sought redress. The *Registrum Johannis de Pontissara episcopi wyntoniensis, A. D. MCCLXXXII-MCCCIV* contains said petition in full.[328] Besides restating that the nation's clergy was already overburdened, the petition also enumerated specifics offences committed by the collectors and deputies. These included (but are not limited to) bribery, failing to reasonably wait for testimonies, overestimating revenues over six shillings (to then make them eligible for the tenth), and taxing hospitals for the poor. It was also difficult for clergy to seek redress, especially if they were impoverished and had to travel to collectors (who might be in London or itinerant as part of their duties).

Although the collectors conceded that the ambiguities within the papal instructions sometimes created difficulties, they fired back at these accusations. The English clergy was accused of fraud and corruption. Specific examples included profiteering off wealthy hospitals and attempts to value agricultural holdings under six marks (thereby making them exempt from the tax).[329] The pope, John XXI, attempted to arbitrate between the two groups, mainly by ordaining that some of the assessments be reassessed. Additionally, he allowed any of the taxed clergy to have the reassessments

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[324] Lunt, *Financial Relation*s, 319.
[325] Ibid.
[326] Lunt*, Financial Relations*, 325.
[327] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 320.
[328] Pages 362-366 of the version transcribed and edited by Ceceil Deedes (London: Canterbury and York Society, 1913)
[329] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 321.

done via common estimation if they wished.[330] Perhaps the greatest concession to the English clergy, though, was that he ordered public assembly whereby the collectors addressed the grievances and charges of corruption against them under oath.[331]

Although the pope's actions helped ameliorate some of the tension between collectors and clergy, the new taxation instructions drafted during Lyons II left a bitter taste in the mouth of the clergy. Indeed, one English annalist noted that the popes who had reigned during this tenth deserved their untimely deaths due to not reducing the tax.[332] This resentment is something that Edward I would later capitalize on and manipulate. For the purposes of this study, it is important to take stock of these petitions and the frequent collectors' reports as it means that there are ancillary documents that shed insight into the daily operations regarding the tenth. These documents also illustrate that there was a dialogue regarding assessments and genuine efforts (as well as impetuses) to achieve accuracy.

Lunt observes that there were numerous difficulties with collecting the tenth. Physical safety was one of the main obstacles cited by the collectors. Edward and his nobles (as well as their men at arms) were campaigning in Wales during a significant part of this tenth, leaving the countryside in a state of unrest. As such, the collectors state that travel was perilous "on account of robbers banding themselves together in various places."[333] The allure of pounds upon pounds of silver (and gold) must have been irresistible to outlaws. Aside from this, the change over to the Lyon instructions after the commencement of this tenth created a great deal of confusion regarding payments and which assessments to use for said payments. To further the confusion, the rapid succession of popes during this tenth led to several policy changes as well as the chaos which is consummate with administrative changes.

For the purposes of this study, it is important to note the differences between assessments for and collection of the tenth. It has been illustrated that these were two distinct processes with their own particular sets of problems. Collecting was likely the more difficult of the two. Unlike assessment, collection involved moving sums of coinage

[330] The germane documents can be found in *Les registres de Grégoire X et de Jean XXI (1271-1277)* edited by Jean Guiraud et Léon Cadier.
[331] Ibid.
[332] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 323.
[333] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 327.

(which invited robbery) and removing coinage from benefices (which invited resistance in various forms and could be delayed). Certain sums went to different repositories as well, such as royal caches, ecclesiastical strongholds, or Italian mercantile bankers (thus creating a nightmare for recording receipts). Assessment was not without its difficulties; however, the process has been demonstrated to have evolved and been streamlined before 1302. Additionally, the instructions allowed for collectors to challenge assessments and call in the testimony from different sources for a common estimation. Once the assessment was made, it was written down and thus remained static regardless if the tenth was paid. As such, it is the preferable source to have and less subject to inaccuracy or interference. It would, however, be of great interest to compare receipts and valuations to see if there were indeed major discrepancies between the two. Finding discrepancies and seeing if they occurred in certain parts of Ireland would be a study onto itself.

The 1274-80 tenth was important as it reflected greater centralization of papal control and development of the papacy's financial arm. This tenth necessitated an unprecedented amount of correspondence, adjudication, and assertion of papal authority. Lunt takes note that "Gregory X was the first pope to require from the collectors frequent consultation and reports. The collectors not only reported to the pope in detail the amounts received and expended, but they also supplied frequent statements of their proceedings and their transactions with deputies, depositaries and payers."[334] This paper trail, or what is left of it, is a boon to historical researchers. Additionally, the pope was consulted, liberally, regarding proceedings and ambiguities of the tenth, highlighting the importance of the taxation and the pope's role as a *de facto* monarch. Pope Martin IV would conduct a full audit of the 1274-80 English collectors and Italian merchants in 1284. Such an audit had not occurred before on this scale, thus further demonstrating the papacy's developed administrative capacity and continued authority.[335] Altogether, this also illustrates a change in mentality. The tenth was no longer a half measure. The papacy could and did amass a fortune though taxation of clergy members.

[334] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 333.
[335] Cal. Pap. Regs. Letters, Volume I, 477.

3.5 The Tenth of Nicholas IV

The next tenth of great importance was granted to Edward I on the 18th of March, 1291 by Pope Nicholas IV and was to commence on June 24th of the same year.[336] This papal tenth is famous for the valuations of England and Wales that have been preserved in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* (which enumerated parishes and prebends within each diocese). The *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* was digitized in 2014 by the University of Sheffield and is accessible to the public. However, despite the richness of this resource, it has yet to be fully utilized (perhaps this is due to its relatively recent digitization).

The tenth initiated in 1291 was a sexennial one, with only Hospitallers and Templars gaining (general) exemptions. Lunt notes:

> "John of Pontoise, bishop of Winchester, and Oliver Sutton, Bishop of Lincoln, were commissioned to assess and collect the tenth, with power to enforce payment by papal authority, to absolve from ecclesiastical censures and to dispense for irregularities. They were to assess the tenth in accordance with the regulations used in 1276, the exception that the taxpayers were allowed no choice of the method to be employed. The valuation was to be made in each diocese with the advice of discreet men of the diocese, and other discreet men were to be appointed collectors in the diocese with the counsel of the bishop. The principal collectors were to exact from both assessors and collectors an oath to perform their duties faithfully, and they were to require accounts from the latter at least once a year."[337]

What is illustrated here is a continuation of the Lyon II instructions after they had been amended to address the realities of the tenth. The need for reporting also reflects that the efficacy and vigour of the 1274-80 tenth was institutionalized and not tied to the strength of the past popes' personalities. One difference that must be qualified is that cooperation and synergy between collectors and local prelates became an integral procedure of the tenth, and not simply a nicety or a helpful dynamic to be pursued. Indeed, Lunt also states:

> *"The assessors, though they received their commissions and instructions from the collectors, were named in each diocese by the bishop. Two were appointed to assess spiritualties and another two to assess temporalities. The former were selected from local clergy, but the latter were generally not beneficed in the diocese. The latter were also given charge of the work in more than one*

[336] Bartholomæi de Cotton, *Historia Anglicana A.D. 449-1298* (1857 Rolls House Edition), 191-8.
[337] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 347.

diocese, and sometimes they assessed the spiritualties of religious houses in addition to the temporalities."[338]

These amendments were likely enacted as a means of appeasing the taxed clergy. The clergy would be assessed by their fellow countrymen and persons with whom they had a personal relationship. The bishops, too, could name candidates of their choice, another olive branch on behalf of the papacy. This helped ameliorate accusations of overvaluation or negative bias. Members of the clergy within the diocese also had a more intimate knowledge of local benefices and were in a superior position to assess local or regional wealth. Bringing in assessors outside of the diocese to value temporalities was likely done to protect the clergy from the ire of their own bishops and prevent bias. What is witnessed here is a calculated and sophisticated means of taxation, not one solely pressing the divine will of God but one which understands nuances and politics.

Concerning the assessments themselves, Lunt identified that: "The values were established by the process of common estimation. The assessors of spiritualties relied solely upon the evidence of neighbouring rectors, vicars and chaplains given under oath in each rural deanery."[339] Testimony was also drawn from members of the laity, ranging from sheriffs and bailiffs to common villagers.[340] Testimony by clergy and laity was, as aforementioned, subject to swearing of oaths. Altogether, it must be reiterated that each benefice was valued by several persons who faced varied censures if they were caught perjuring themselves. If a person drastically undervalued (or perhaps overvalued) a benefice, he or she would be found out when his or her testimony was compared to the others. It is unlikely that all the assessors would perjure themselves as they risked being found out if the main collectors decided to investigate further. Those that were fervent Christians also risked the wrath of God. What can be expected, then, is a strong degree of veracity for the valuations. Indeed, the differences between the Norwich valuations and the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* reflect almost a doubling of ecclesiastical wealth in England.[341] This doubling is due in part to the inclusion of temporalities, as well as the economic growth which defined the high medieval period. Had the valuations been chronically underestimated, the amount would not be this high.

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[338] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 348.
[339] Ibid.
[340] Cotton, *Historia,* 198.
[341] Graham, "The Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV."

Assessors, however, were free to reject the valuations via common estimation and conduct their own audit of a benefice. This was likely done as a safeguard to challenge and deter suspicious testimonies and empower assessors. However, this created problems. Lunt cites several complaints by religious houses of assessors increasing their estimations of wealth twofold to fourfold.[342] However, he rejects these accusations and notes that the assessors' increases were nowhere near as high as alleged. These assessments via direct valuation, as with any assessment, could be challenged legally and thus led to further review by the main collectors. Appeal to the papacy was also a valid option. Thus, either through common estimation, estimation by assessor, or an appeals process, an acceptable valuation would have been achieved. Nevertheless, the English clergy still rallied against the valuations, prompting extensive and wide-spread revaluations in 1292 as a means of appeasing the English clergy. Lunt believes that most spiritualties retained their value. However, where revisions were made, they were generally reductions because of overvaluing.[343] Prelates also had temporalities reassessed and errors such as double-counting amended.[344] However, Lunt states that there is a dearth of reassessment information on temporalities, preventing a more general observation from being made.[345] Altogether, this review process is a further testimony to the accuracy of the valuations as it ensured that even smaller benefices and low-ranking clergy would be able to have their concerns heard.

3.6 Philip the Fair, Boniface, and the Age of Shared Tenths

The thesis will now examine French tenths *circa* 1300, as well as the role that the French royal family played in papal taxation during the period of the Irish 1302-20 valuations and how dispute over the papal tenths led to the papacy's authority being challenged and by monarchs. Considering the limited amount of secondary literature on papal finances and the tenth, it would also be unwise not to incorporate the works of scholars focused on Franco-Papal relations. This section will discuss Edward I's tenuous relationship with the papacy as well.

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[342] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 349.
[343] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 351.
[344] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 350-1.
[345] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 352.

Towards the close of the thirteenth century, France had its own formidable ruler: Phillip IV (b. 1268- d. 1314). Known as Phillip the Fair due to his handsome visage, Phillip was also called le Roi de fer (the King of Iron or the Iron King) due to his strong-willed nature. Such a portrayal, however, is contestable. Rather, Philip may have been a tractable ruler that paid credence to several unsavoury advisors. Reigning from 1285 until 1314, Phillip is famous for modernizing the French monarchy: relying more heavily on bureaucrats, as well as streamlining revenue streams and consolidating royal holdings. These bureaucrats were largely legalists and dawn from secular society rather than the church. Yet with this rational state building also came, somewhat antithetically, a great deal of religious zeal and demagoguery. Philip utilised accusations of heresy against the Knights Templar, uncooperative French clergy, and even Pope Boniface VIII.[346]

Phillip is infamous for his feud with Boniface (a feud which inadvertently caused the death of said pope) and dealing a major blow to the authority and respectability of the papacy. Indeed, his reign would see the beginning of the Avignon Papacy (1309-77). During this period, the papal court (presided over by seven French popes) resided in Avignon (modern France, but the semi-independent Kingdom of Arles at the time) and under the thumb of the French royal family. Nevertheless, Strayer argues that Phillip's antagonistic reputation is somewhat undeserved and that his conflicts with Boniface VIII have taken undue precedence among historians. This overemphasis on the dynamic between these two figures overshadows collaborations between Phillip and the multiple popes that presided during his reign. For twenty-four out of the twenty-nine years of his reign, Strayer notes that Phillip was on cooperative terms with the papacy.[347]

One of the main forms of collaboration and points of negotiation between the papacy and the French monarchy were papal tenths. Phillip would come to rely on the revenue of the tenths for extraordinary expenses, while the papacy required the support of one of the richest and most powerful dynasties in Europe. The major tenths which had occurred in England under Edward I also occurred in France. Denton states:

> "Papal tenths had been levied on the French clergy directly to aid the policies of the Crown whether planning a crusade to the Holy Land or in promoting the war against Aragon: a triennial tenth granted in 1274, a quadrennial tenth in 1284 and a triennial tenth in 1289. The last of these was

[346] James Given, "Power and Fear in Philip IV's France," *Historein*, 6 (2006): 88.
[347] Joseph Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), 237.

> conceded by Nicholas IV in bulls dated 31 May 1289. Although granted at the request of the French Crown and for its benefit, these were certainly papal rather than royal taxes: all matters concerning their assessment and collection were directly authorised by the pope."[348]

Although Strayer argued that Phillip and the papacy were often on cooperative terms, this cooperation might be qualified as begrudging and wary. Indeed, the royal family and any laymen were explicitly prevented from assisting or interfering with the 1289 French tenth. The papal instructions stipulating this are still in existence.[349]

Despite these instructions, there was a serious disconnect between what was *de jure* and *de facto*. Phillip and the royal family played a considerable role in this tenth. Indeed, Denton cites correspondences between Phillip and the papal tax collectors in Bourges that were almost identical to those between said collectors and the papacy.[350] Within these correspondences, Denton notes that Phillip refers to the collectors as his own.[351] This reveals that not only did the collectors collude with the king, but that there were conflicting allegiances among and claims of authority over the French clergy.

Matters were complicated further when Pope Nicholas IV called for a new crusade on August 1st, 1291 as a response to the fall of Acre in the Holy Land. This call received much less zeal than previous crusades, especially from the French. For one, it would be Edward I of England leading the crusading efforts. Edward was a vassal of Phillip's for the lands that he held in France (the Duchy of Aquitaine), making it a conflict of pride and authority for the French to receive commands from an English monarch. Aside from this, reports rendered during French ecclesiastical councils deliberating on the crusade illustrate that the clergy believed a new crusade to simply be infeasible at the time.[352] This was due to several reasons: the need for greater financial resources, conflict existing in Christendom, the lack of a Holy Roman Emperor, and disunity between orders of crusading knights. Additionally, there was a call for a member of the French royal family or a charismatic Frenchman to lead a French military force. French military assistance was crucial to the success of a crusade.[353] However, these deliberations would be in vain as

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[348] J. H. Denton, "Philip the Fair and the Ecclesiastical Assemblies of 1294-1295," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 81, no.* 1 (1991): 4-5.
[349] Reg. Nic., pg. 13, Item 1008, and *Les actes pontificaux,* Item 1843.
[350] Denton, "Assemblies," 5.
[351] Ibid.
[352] Denton, "Assemblies," 6-9.
[353] Denton, "Assemblies," 9.

the main driving force behind the crusade, Pope Nicholas IV, died in 1292 before any serious actions could precipitate.

As in England, the papal tenths were no trivial matter and could provide the monarchy with a considerable influx of wealth. Said wealth was especially needed during a time that France had tensions with multiple neighbours (including full blown military conflicts with England and Flanders) and ongoing attempts to launch another crusade against Argon. Indeed, Denton states:

> "Clerical tenths had certainly become a major item of royal income. While no precise calculations of the Crown's total revenue are possible, a tenth was probably the equivalent of little short of a half of the Crown's annual revenue. The 1289 tenth was worth, without taking into account delays in payment, in excess of 265,000 livres tournois each year, though a total of 200,000 livres tournois for the three years was claimed by the pope. The king of France, like the king of England, had come to rely very heavily on extraordinary taxation. But the regular sums which the French clergy had been paying from the beginning of the reign were drying up in 1292, and between the spring of 1292 and the summer of 1294 there was no pope in office to be petitioned for a further grant. Without a papal mandate there could not be - or rather there had never been - a grant from clerical income."[354]

Denton's figures for royal income are based on Stayer's calculations. Strayer's calculations are grounded, in turn, upon Templar accounting records of Phillip's balances.[355] These records were compiled and analysed by Léopold Delisle, who authored *Mémoire sur les operations financières des Templiers* in 1889. This is an invaluable collection of documents for understanding medieval finances, especially when factoring in the fact that the Knights Templar had financial operations across much of Europe.

Nevertheless, with the passing of Nicholas IV, the tenth became imperilled and its fate uncertain until a new pope was elected (a process which could be deadlocked by ecclesiastical and secular politics). As such Phillip focused on gaining independence from the Church. He began employing bureaucrats to manage his finances outside of the Templars, as well as finding alternative sources of income within his own kingdom. These sources include sales taxes, hearth taxes in exchange for the expulsion of the Jews from select provinces, and the tallage. While the king and his administration were very successful in increasing royal revenues, the resulting amounts would not sustain France

[354] Denton, Assemblies," 10-11.
[355] Strayer, *Reign*, 147.

during a war. As such, dependence on ecclesiastical taxation was not eliminated, only ameliorated.

War did come and the Kingdom of France was financially tested. In 1293, Norman and English naval forces attacked one another after a Norman fisherman was supposedly slain by an Englishman over a trivial matter. The battle consisted of English, Irish, and Dutch mariners fighting Norman, French, Flemish, and Genovese sailors.[356] While no king explicitly authorized this battle, it is asserted by some scholars that there may have been tacit approval and that the battle was a proxy conflict (though it may simply have been the result of more mundane maritime feuds).[357] What is also asserted is that Charles de Valois, Philip's brother, instigated and fanned the flames of the tensions between France and England. Thus, the groundwork was laid for the Anglo-French War of 1294, also termed the *Guerre de Guyenne* in French. Phillip requested Edward's presence in France, something which he was entitled to ask since Edward owed him homage for Aquitaine. He wanted restitution for the Norman fleet and to assert his authority over Edward. Relations would, however, break down and Philip thrust into Edward's fief of Gascony.

The conflict was a costly one as there were few casualties in Aquitaine and no decisive victory, requiring substantial costs to sustain the occupying forces in Aquitaine. To meet these extraordinary financial needs, Phillip called provincial ecclesiastical councils in 1294 for the prospect of raising a tenth out of necessity. This was done, however, without a pope's consent. This was not due to a disregard to papal authority, but because a new pope had yet to be elected. Celestine V, who had been elected after Nicholas IV, abdicated the papal throne after five months and eight days at the end of 1294 (becoming the first pope to formally resign). Regardless, this created some legal conflicts and possibilities for contention. The Third and Forth Lateran Councils set down the "principle of papal control of all clerical taxation."[358] [359] However, in cases of emergencies and dire necessity lay rulers were allowed to ask clergy for voluntary and consensual contributions. In terms of the pope's role in voluntary taxation, Berthaud de Saint-Denys "had noted, as indeed canon law in fact dictated, that papal permission

[356] T. Heeboll-Holm, *Ports, piracy, and maritime war* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
[357] Ibid.
[358] Denton, "Assemblies," 12.
[359] Jeffrey H. Denton, *Robert Winchelsey and the Crown, 1294–1313: A Study in the Defence of Ecclesiastical Liberty* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 90.

should first be sought."[360] This creates a major legal ambiguity when necessity coincides with the lack of an elected pope. It must also be noted that Phillip did not coerce the French clergy into contributing to the war effort either, rather he followed the rule of asking for voluntary contributions.

Denton notes that, unfortunately, there still needs to be a great deal of work done to properly elucidate the records and political context of these provincial councils fully.[361] However, thanks to Denton and scholars such as Pierre Dupuy and Joseph Avril, considerable headway has been made. It appears that the king was able to rally considerable support for these tenths of necessity, especially in northern French dioceses that were strongly tied to the royal family.[362] For prelates, who were large financial and agrarian stakeholders, the defence of the realm was a tangible and pressing matter. Besides this, supporting the king would also lead to being in his favour, enshrinement of clerical rights, and certain privileges being granted. Strayer comments on this dynamic frequently in *The Reign of Philip of Fair*, noting that the king could provide more immediate benefits and protections than the pope (particularly by granting the clergy special social rights and status). Nationalism was also in its incipient stages and the desire for France to triumph over England and Flanders cannot be overlooked.

Another reason that the French clergy supported these tenths was that it was a means to assert freedom from the papacy. Denton argues: "Taxation of the clergy was not a simple matter of obedience to the pope and resistance to the king. If need be the clergy were perfectly capable of defending their interests independently of Rome, even in opposition to Rome."[363] The French clergy could and did support their king without the pope's permission because it benefitted them and was likely viewed as the righteous course. Their wealth was theirs to dispose of in a manner that they saw as morally sound. This support of Philip also smacks of Gallicanism, or the concept that a civil or monarchic authority's power over the Church is on par with the pope's. Ideas regarding the Church were not wholly universal across Europe, and each nation brought with it particular

[360] Ibid.
[361] Ibid.
[362] Ibid.
[363] Denton, "Assemblies," 14.

notions and schools of thought. The concept of monarchic authority over the Gallican church had existed since Frankish and Carolingian times.

The king did not act unilaterally but had the assistance of archbishops to provide legitimacy to his plans. Only these metropolitans had the authority to summon clergy of all ranks *en masse* to provincial councils, although they would step outside their jurisdiction at times. There was some fear that either archbishops or bishops might extend their power over lower-ranked clergy through these councils; however, no formal complaint against the king exists because of the proceedings.[364] Again, it must be emphasized that Philip was asking for voluntary contributions and was working with French prelates. For those that existed outside the purview of a diocese or province, though, the king's iron will was more apparent. Due to a lack of a pope, those clergy that answered to the pope directly were asked to appear directly before royal representatives. Philip was clever as these clergy-members met the royal agents after the provincial councils, the same councils which had provided consent for an ecclesiastical tenth. As such, it would have been foolhardy to oppose the royal representatives in the wake of this acquiescence to Philip. Philip was also bold in having these clergy-members appear before him at all, as such a request had never been made before.[365] Philip was defined by temerity, yet this was tempered by shrewdness. His gamble paid off as he was able to collect over 250,000 *livres tournais* within the first year of the biennial tenth.[366] Taxes were even collected within Edward's domain of Aquitaine.[367] It is hard to discuss the efficacy of the second year of the collection, however, as the newly elected Boniface VIII caused serious complications in multiple dioceses after his ascension. His intervention within the French tenths and antagonistic relationship with Philip will be discussed now.

Boniface VIII is a controversial and important figure within historical research. With his reign came the twilight of the papacy's secular power and numerous scandals (including the alleged murder of Celestine V). What is not debatable are Boniface's atrocities in Italy. Boniface engaged in open warfare with his Italian rivals, the Colonna family, after they proclaimed that he had been elected illegally. During the siege of Palestrina (1298), the Pope assured the residents of the city that they would be spared if

[364] Denton, "Assemblies," 17.
[365] Denton, "Assemblies," 24.
[366] Strayer, *Reign*, 5.
[367] Denton, "Assemblies," 25.

they surrendered peacefully. After their surrender, the citizens were massacred as the city was razed to the ground. The ground was then salted by the pope's forces. Shortly thereafter the Colonna were exiled and became pronounced allies of Philip.

As the Anglo-French war drudged onwards, it became apparent that more funds were needed. Phillip arranged for another set of ecclesiastical councils in 1296. Boniface, however, had been consecrated in January 1295 and was offended by Philip's actions (as well as similar actions undertaken by Edward I of England). As such, he forbade the payment of the second year of the 1294 tenth, thereby creating complications for dioceses that had yet to pay. Although the French clergy was willing to pay another round of taxes (albeit in return for greater concessions), Boniface issued the papal bull *Clericos Laicos* on February 24th-25th (1296) to forestall Phillip's councils.[368]

Clericos Laicos is of great importance to understanding the political context surrounding the tenths, even though its effects were somewhat evanescent. The bull, in simple terms, forbids clerical taxation without permission from the papacy. Alternatively, the bull also forbids ecclesiastical persons from handing over wealth to lay persons and rulers without papal permission. The punishment for both lay and ecclesiastical persons involved in this unsanctioned transfer of wealth was excommunication. Thus, not only was papal authority asserted over secular rulers, but the clergy as well. Boniface had covered all of his bases and hamstrung the self-determination of nation collectives of clergy. *Clericos Laicos*, however, is more nuanced than these stipulations. It attempts to demonize lay persons and secular rulers, as well as instil enmity between secular and ecclesiastical. This tactic can be seen within the opening paragraph.

There is an evident disconnect between the bull and reality. Philip had taxed the French clergy with their consent and for the defence of the French realm. Denton believes that such heavy-handed language may have been directed more towards Edward, who had been more aggressive than Philip when acquiring clerical support.[369] Denton also states that this bull was promulgated much earlier in England than in France.[370] This heavily implies that Edward was the main target.

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[368] Strayer, *Reign*, 251.
[369] Denton, *Robert Winchelsey*, 91.
[370] Ibid.

Philip, as king of France, enjoyed a distinct position among monarchs. As successor to great defenders of Christendom such as Charlemagne and St. Louis, Philip could call upon the privileges and prestige granted to these famed rulers to further his legitimacy. The bull, however, appears to make it clear that past privileges would be of not avail and that papal authority was eminent.

Clericos Laicos was successful in impacting both the English and French war efforts. However, it was Philip who was able to counter the papal bull. Whether Philip was intentionally trying to coerce the pope to amend the bill remains uncertain. However, on August 17th (1296) Philip put forth an ordinance that prevented the export of horses, martial goods, and money.[371] Strayer argues that this was not an extraordinary wartime occurrence and discusses in "Notes on the Origin of English and French Export Taxes" that the movement on precious metal had been enacted prior to the papal bull.[372] [373] Coinage needed to remain within the realm to abet the payment of soldiers as older terms of feudal military service were becoming obsolete. Precious metals had to be retained in order to fuel the war effort and for minting. Nevertheless, Boniface viewed the ordinance as a challenge to papal authority. He was reliant on French money for much of the Vatican's income, and the prohibition on precious metals was a significant blow to the Italian merchant banking system.[374]

Boniface's response was to counter with the bull *Ineffablis amor* in September 1296. The bull was a strong assertion of papal authority, stating that the church was the "universalem matrem et dominam."[375] This thus provided him with "dominon" over faithful Christians.[376] In other words, Boniface was reminding Philip of the natural pecking order and that he superseded all. Additionally, the bull argued that Philip's ordinance was an attack on the concepts of *Clericos Laicos* and the Church's separateness from secular rule. As such, Boniface would give due consideration to supporting Edward I of England and the Holy Roman Empire against France.[377]

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[371] P. Dupuy, *Preuves des libertés de l'église Gallicane* (1651), 13.
[372] Ibid.
[373] J. Strayer & C. Taylor, *Studies in early French taxation* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1972), 29.
[374] E. Hallam, *Capetian France 987-1328* (London: Routledge, 1980).
[375] Dupuy, *Prevues*, 15.
[376] Strayer, *Reign*, 252.
[377] Dupuy, *Prevues*.

Boniface's bull did not stop at such proclamations and accusations. The pope tried to strip away Philip's legitimacy by stating that his constituents were losing faith in him[378]. By doing so, Boniface could muddy Philip's reputation among other rulers and the French populace, making him appear to be unpopular and on the edge of being subverted. This assertion, however, appears to far from the truth. Indeed, Strayer states that a campaign developed in France against the pope as a response to this bull.[379] The Colonna and select members of the French clergy spread rumours concerning the pope and openly questioned his morality. By further engaging in the political arena, the pope had opened himself up to a variety of attacks. Two major scholarly works, *Disputatio inter clericum et militem* and *Antquam essent clerici*, came out in support of Philip. The king was seen to have the natural right to defend the realm, even if it entailed taxing the wealth of the church. *Antquam essent clerici* criticized the pope for hindering the king instead of aiding him, as well as affirmed the legitimacy of Philip's ordinance.[380]

Boniface began to relent in 1297. The special position of French power was not lost on the pope, who could not extend his reach outside of central Italy without Philip's backing. His support was necessary to secure Sicily. Yet even within central Italy, the conflict between the Papal States and the Colonna was a threat to Boniface. Overtures from French officials to the Colonna seem to have helped break his resolve. In February 1297, Philip was granted a double tenth (for the Anglo-French war).[381] [382] On July 31st (1297), after French clergy from the northern French dioceses requested the right to support Philip, Boniface issued the bull *Etsi de statu*. This bull was not a simple concession, but rather a major boon to Philip that had major implications for the tenth in France.

Denton qualifies the importance of the bull. He states: "Not only did the Pope, in his remarkable bull *Etsi de statu* of 31 July, concede that the king and his successors could follow their consciences in seeking ecclesiastical subsidies and determine for themselves what constituted an emergency. He also ordered the archbishop of Rouen, the bishop of Auxerre (Peter de Mornay, one of the king's diplomats) and the abbot of Saint-Denis to

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[378] Dupuy, *Prevues*, 16.
[379] Strayer, *Reign*, 252
[380] Dupuy, Prevues, 21-23.
[381] Strayer, *Reign*, 255.
[382] J. H. Denton, "TAXATION AND THE CONFLICT BETWEEN PHILIP THE FAIR AND BONIFACE VIII," *French History* Volume 11, Issue 3 (1997): Section Two.

compel the clergy to pay subsidies."[383] Thus, not only did Boniface empower Philip, he also gave the French clergy greater financial freedom. This was no feeble concession or half-measure, Boniface was bowed and wished to bring Philip back into the fold. Philip also received another peace offering. Louis IX was canonized on August 11th, something which Philip had been pursuing for some time.[384]

The Franco-Papal amity resulted in multiple tenths being granted to Philip with the Pope's support until 1301, allowing him to count on the tenths to fuel his war efforts and stabilize his income. However, old tensions resurfaced over Bishop (of Pamiers) Bernard Saisset and Languedoc. Languedoc was home to heretical movements against the Church. This prompted the presence of the papal inquisition in the region (an oppressive and violent institution), as well as the pope's personal interest in the area. Both figures needed to assert their authority over Languedoc. As a papal legate, Saisset had a stronger allegiance to Boniface than Philip, with Stayer characterizing him as Boniface's protégée.[385]

After Saisset made disparaging remarks against Philip, the king attempted to gain evidence against him, seized his person after he attempted to flee, and snatched up his lands. Boniface responded by suspending the king's privileges regarding the tenth (as well as forbade the further collection of tenths that had already been granted), as well as summoned French bishops to Rome to hold council over the sins of Philip, his bureaucrats, and the French laity in general. Again, we see the importance of the tenth and the understanding that secular enticements were the true means of coercing (otherwise an excommunication would have been rendered first). In other words, ecclesiastical taxation was the pope's means of bending Philip, perhaps Europe's strongest monarch, to his will.

Boniface also issued a letter (December 5th, 1301) to Philip entitled *Ausculta fili*, or "give ear, my son." His demeanour is clearly more paternal than in his past addresses to Philip, perhaps reflecting the good will that accumulated during the Franco-Papal amity between 1997 and 1301. Clearly there was hope to restore the concordance between the two rulers. Boniface also tried to frame the letter as if he was saving Phillip's soul.

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[383] Denton, "Conflict," pg. 249.
[384] Strayer, *Reign*, 254.
[385] Strayer, *Reign*, 262.

However, this position and the general nature of Boniface's accusations were too weak. Philip, who epitomized the growing trend of powerful monarchs, was enraged by the pope summoning his subordinates to convene and discuss his actions and faults. As such, the letter was ignored and suppressed by Philip and his officials. However, its main note was not lost on them: "Know that you are subject to us in temporal as well as in spiritual affairs."[386] Philip responded by convening a council in Paris of prelates, barons, and lay representatives, resulting in a strong demonstration of support for Philip and letters to cardinals that protested the pope's actions. The situation, however, was not allowed to time to ameliorate. Philip's army would lose the Battle of Courtrai (*Bataille des éperons d'or*) in 1302 against Flanders. As such, Philip required resources to rebuild his forces to both reassert himself and extract vengeance for Courtrai.

Philip responded to Boniface by forbidding French prelates from travelling to Rome. He was successful as slightly less than half of the French bishops and archbishops travelled to the pope.[387] Those that did come, Strayer notes, were not from the core of the French kingdom. Rather, they were from the margins or politically contested areas such as Aquitaine.[388] As such, these prelates were politically compromised or could not speak for the general French populace. The turn-out was also indicative that within the core of the French kingdom the prelates continued to respect the king's authority. Indeed, the pope had the ability to strip away their titles or excommunicate them, yet these prelates stood with Philip instead.

Boniface responded with what is perhaps the Church's most authoritative statement of power. *Unam Sanctum* was issued on November 18th, 1302. Some of the principles of the bull were a firmer rehashing *of Ausculta fili*, as well as long-stated canon on papal authority. What makes the bull notable was the political context of its issuing, as well as the more direct language contained within it. The bull emphasizes the importance of the Church, as there is no salvation outside of it (*extra quam nec salus est, nec remissio peccatorum*) and compares it Noah's Ark (for outside of the ark there was only destruction). This, of course, is not a radical statement, but does reinforce the necessity to be within the fold of God's flock. The pope then continues by describing two swords

[386] Strayer, *Reign*, 271.
[387] Strayer, *Reign*, 273.
[388] Ibid.

that represent authority in the Church: a spiritual sword and a temporal sword. Perhaps the most poignant and controversial statement of the bull is: *Oportet autem gladium esse sub gladio, et temporalem auctoritatem spirituali subjici potestati*. In other words, temporal authority is subject to spiritual authority. The bull elaborates that temporality is innately inferior to the spiritual (which possesses the ability to take the inferior and elevate it). Temporal authority is limited and cannot bring itself or Christians towards salvation. Only the spiritual sword can do this, making it the superior one. As such, it is for the good of the one Church for the temporal sword to submit to the spiritual sword to better itself. This extended not only spiritual matters, but also temporal ones should the pope judge it.

Boniface's assertiveness did not stop at proclaiming that the spiritual "sword" was superior to the temporal one. He also states: "*Porro subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanae creaturae declaramus dicimus, definimus et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis*." Essentially, it is necessary for all human creation to be subject to the pope. Boniface's bull was extremely misguided and miscalculated, a drastic overextension of temporal power over a more politically powerful opponent without enough moral high ground. Not only was it not received well within the Church, but it was a contentious assertion of authority over all secular rulers in Latin Christendom. From a realist political perspective, this could in no way engender any love among feudal monarchs and lords. Boniface, however, had not stated anything revolutionary. Rather, it was the context in which it was delivered that would produce such ire. Riviere states:

> "Besides, the strong personality of Boniface VIII and the boldness of his actions must not lead to a misunderstanding of the fact that his doctrine is, for the most part, fashioned from traditional elements. One finds, of course, nothing essentially new in the first half of the bull, which is pure dogma: the unity of the Church and the necessity of belonging to it in order to be saved were affirmed in formal terms… in the third century; the primacy of the Roman pontiff goes back in multiple strands to the oldest of ecclesiastical history. As for the powers of the Church whose exposition makes up the second part of the bull, not only the foundations, but even the wording is borrowed from older authorities."[389]

Boniface was a conservative at the apex of the papacy's might. His assertion of power was not mere egotism, but a continuation of the authority that the papacy had

[389] J. Riviere, "Boniface's Theological Conservatism," in *Philip the Fair and Boniface VIII: state v. papacy,* ed. C. Wood (New York, 1967).

enjoyed during the high middle ages. With *Unam Sanctum*, Phillip was placed in a precarious position that Michelet describes as, when translated, "do or die."[390] Having been forced to broker an expensive peace with Edward I that cost him the Kingdom of Bordeaux, Phillip was in dire need of ecclesiastical tenths to combat Flanders and to reassert his authority after the resolution with England. To make matters more intense, Boniface issued a bull that excommunicated anyone complicit in prohibiting the French bishops from attending his council in Rome (i.e. Phillip and his advisors). As such, Phillip decided to "do" rather than "die." With the consent of the barons and French prelates (whom he either pressured by seizing their temporalities or courted by offering royal protection), Phillip sent his agent Guillaume de Nogaret into Italy with charges drawn up against the Pope by Guillaume de Plasian. These charges included both spiritual and temporal accusations, such as sodomy, violating the confessions, inciting war against the ideal Christian nation of France, and misusing the funds of the tenth (thereby leading to the loss of the Holy Land.[391] Nogaret was given *carte blanche* from Phillip and was empowered to seize Boniface. Nogaret than allied, for the strike, with Sciarra Colonna (of the Colonna family that had a long-standing feud with Boniface).

With a company of mercenaries, Nogaret and Colonna took over the papal residence at Anagni. The townspeople assisted in the looting of the papal treasury while the pope was abandoned except for a select few. Rather than abdicate the throne, Boniface indicated points on his body for the attackers to strike and thereby kill him. Boniface was then struck by one of the Colonna with an iron gauntlet, a violent blow known infamously as the "Anagni slap." A French knight, or Nogaret, prevented the pope from being struck again.[392]

Although the Colonna were willing to execute Boniface, Nogaret did not seem comfortable with this prospect. Neither did transporting the pope to France appear to be a feasible option. Nogaret's dilemma was not ameliorated by the deteriorating health of Boniface. Aside from being injured from the blow, Boniface was refusing water and sustenance out of fear of being poisoned (something which drastically reduced the elderly

[390] J. Michelet, *Le procès des Templiers* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1841), 71.
[391] Michelet, *Templiers*, 72-3.
[392] Michelet, *Templiers*, 75.

man's health). As such, a tense standstill took place for three days while Nogaret and Colonna discussed their options or perhaps waited for the Pope's resolve to break.

Nogaret's quandary resolved itself when the townspeople of Anagni drove out Nogaret and his force, rescuing the pope from his captors. Driven by faith or fear of being implicated with a pope's death, the townspeople provided the Pope with sustenance and restored most of the papacy's treasure. Boniface forgave them before he was whisked away to Rome to hold council. However, the pope would die five weeks after the attack.

Boniface's successor, Benedict XI, quickly annulled *Unam Sanctum* and ended the excommunication against Phillip. With Benedict's annulment came his own bull regarding taxation of the clergy.[393] The pope restored the royal right to tax the clergy during times of emergency, with their consent. The papacy was to be consulted during these exactions, but punishments were only reserved for laymen that seized ecclesiastical wealth without consent. Thus, the French clergy gained greater self-determination when dealing with Phillip over new tenths.[394]

Benedict's pious reign, however, would come to an end suddenly after less than a year. It is believed, but not proven, that Guillaume de Nogaret poisoned the pope (likely because of the excommunication). This precipitated an interregnum for nearly a year before Pope Clement V was elected in 1305. A Frenchman from Aquitaine, Clement V would usher in the Avignon Papacy, also known as the Babylonian Captivity (1309-1377). During this period, the papacy was relocated to Avignon in the Kingdom of Arles, which is within modern France. Here, the papacy was under the influence of the French royal family while being free of the nobility in Rome. However, it must be noted that the papacy did not become a direct puppet of the French monarchy (initially, at least). While being amicable to the French, the papacy did not concede every request and worked to rebuild the Church's image.

In 1306, Clement would go about revoking *Clericos Laicos*, as well as went about granting Philip IV, Edward I, and Edward's son (Edward II) tenths of clerical income (of which he took a quarter, generally). These tenths for royal benefit would become the norm under Clement and his successor, John XXII. Not only did these tenths provide

[393] Document 1269 in the *Registers of Benedict XI*.
[394] Denton, "Conflict," 256-8.

income to the papacy but were also great boons to the French and English kings. This was a necessity in the Post-Boniface era. Clement's move from Rome to Avignon would have another effect on papal tenths. Both Clement V and John XXII would become heavily influenced by French court culture and royal centralization. As such, the papacy would begin to emulate Philip's strong monarchical structure, as well as pursue a more opulent lifestyle. Cardinals became *de facto* princes of the papal *curia*. As such, the processes for auditing and conducting tenths became even more streamlined while tenths themselves became more frequent. Part of this drive was not simply to appease powerful monarchs, but also fund the papacy's more decadent lifestyle (although some of the funds may have been genuinely raised for religious or practical purposes).

The relationship between Philip IV and the papacy should not be simplified as a mere egotistical feud between Philip and Boniface or confined to these two individuals. Rather, it was a complex and dynamic relationship impacted by theology, politics, growing nationalism, and taxation. Although Denton has discussed the importance of the taxation in the feud between Philip and Boniface, its central role and importance cannot be underestimated. Indeed, the tenth was arguably the main catalyst for the conflict between pope and king.

After Boniface, the tenth became one of the main forms of courting royal favour. The papacy would also not enjoy the temporal authority afforded it during its zenith (1050-1300), therefore it would need to rely on cooperation and concessions (i.e. joint taxations). Avignon popes, particularly, granted further tenths to ingratiate themselves to rulers (an act of submission) and fund their own lavishness and affluence.

What the Franco-Papal tenths convey for Ireland is an important dynamic. Denton states:

> *"Who, then, controlled the taxation of ecclesiastical wealth? Papal authority in the matter of raising tenths for the needs of the Church had not been weakened or in any sense abandoned. Papal orders to pay taxes brooked no refusal on the part of French churchmen. But when the king attempted to raise tenths for the needs of the kingdom, without papal backing, he required the clergy's consent and had to use every available stratagem to cajole them."*[395]

[395] Denton, *"Conflict,"* 258.

Papal authority regarding taxation was not refused in France. When the French clergy deigned for self-determination, it was for the right to consent to the king's tax. Even Philip couldn't coerce the clergy if the pope had explicitly refused the king's levying of a tenth. In terms of understanding the validity of the Irish valuation, this is an important observation. Spiritual authority trumped the temporal authority in respect to the tenths. Regardless of resistance to the English crown in Ireland, or the fragmentation of Gaelic leadership, papal authority reigned supreme in this regard. Considering this, the papacy's synergy with the English crown to collect funds, and the ecclesiastical censures the tenth involved, it is a safe assumption that papal valuators would have been able to effectively assess wealth across cultures and political boundaries within Ireland.

3.7 Conclusions

By 1302, the procedures of the papal tenths had become refined, uniform, and efficient after a century of implementation and refinement. Additionally, they were backed by both spiritual and political authorities, both of which had a vested financial and political interest in the taxes functioning properly. Both English and French kings coveted the profits of this tax to fund military operations during a historical period when cash surpluses were extremely limited. Keeping this in mind, it must be emphasized that the valuations and collections were pursued with a great deal of vigour and seriousness. Chapter Four will discuss further amendments to valuation procedures and Irish specific information. Nevertheless, from the sources reviewed in this chapter alone it can be strongly argued that fourteenth century tenth valuations were made with a strong degree of accuracy and uniformity.

Chapter Four: Exploring Papal Tenths in Ireland and the 1302-20 Irish Valuations

4.1 Chapter Aims

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss papal tenths specifically in Ireland and then perform source analysis on the 1302-20 valuations, discussing their origins, contents, utility, and limits. Additionally, it will detail the findings of fieldwork undertaken to perform the source analysis, find contextualising primary documents, and search for additional Irish tenth related sources. It will conclude by reviewing and critiquing literature that has utilised the 1302-20 Irish valuations to date.

4.2 Methods

To accomplish these aims, calendared royal and colonial administrative documents, as well as calendared papal texts (such as bulls), will been analysed to provide insight into Irish papal income taxes. The main text utilized is Henry Savage Sweetman's five volume *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland* (abbreviated as CDRI). Covering the years 1171 until 1307, these volumes contain pertinent administrative documents and correspondences (such as letters from the papacy to the crown). Unfortunately, the coverage of these volumes ends in 1307 (when Edward II came into power). Thankfully there are the *Calendars of Close Rolls preserved in the Public Records Office* (abbreviated as CCR) that allow for documentation from 1307 to 1323 (as well as the preceding reign of Edward I) to be thoroughly reviewed. These Calendars have the added benefit of covering the entire British Isles.

Also incorporated are James Mills' three volume *Calendar of Judiciary Rolls* (incorporating the years 1295 to 1314) and Volumes One and Two of Henry William Bliss' *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (abbreviated as CEPR) (covering the years 1198 to 1348). In conjunction with the CEPR is the *Pontificia Hibernica: Medieval Papal Chancery Documents concerning Ireland 640-1261* (Volumes I and II).[396] This will be abbreviated with Pont. Hib. Additionally, the registers of individual popes have been consulted to analyse papal documents in their original Latin. The registers being used are those compiled by French scholars during the

[396] Edited by Maurice Sheehy (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1962).

late nineteenth century. Fieldwork was also taken to the *Archivum Secretum Vaticanum* (ASV), *Archives Nationales* (Paris), the Robinson Library (Armagh, Northern Ireland, UK), and the National Archives (Kew) to survey primary sources related to the tenths and ascertain what additional tenth valuations exist.[397]

4.3 General Observations of Irish Ecclesiastical Income Taxes

This section will provide overarching information on Irish ecclesiastical income taxes, as well as detailed information on the taxes preceding 1300, before proceeding to the specifics surrounding the 1302-20 Irish valuation rolls.

Reasons for Ecclesiastical Income Taxes in Ireland

The reasons for ecclesiastical income taxations in Ireland, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, were the same as those in England and France (as well as Europe more generally). In summary:

1) Taxations could be levied solely by the pope, or by the pope with the backing of an ecclesiastical council (e.g. Lyon, Lyon II, and Vienne). These taxations were made in the name of the Holy Land or for the express needs of the Roman Catholic Church (e.g. the Papal States' wars in Italy). By 1228, taxations via the papacy were termed tenths as they levied a tenth of ecclesiastical income. These taxations were backed by both ecclesiastical censures (i.e. excommunications) and the threat of seizure of benefices (which would spell economic ruin). The Kings of France and England could claim a share of these taxations, but oaths had to be taken to assist with crusading efforts or take the cross personally (failure to uphold these oaths came with the threat of having to refund revenues to the papacy). Taxations of this nature primarily occurred from 1199 until circa 1301.
2) Taxations were also levied directly by the King of England in Ireland (and his other domains). However, unlike taxations mandated by the papacy, these income taxes required the consent of the clergy. As such, prelates could leverage the taxation to gain political concessions. These taxations were rare

[397] Aspects of this work will be discussed in Chapter Eight.

(due to having to cede rights to the clergy) but were nonetheless made by the Kings of England and France in their lands for national defence. It should also be noted that these taxations were also not always tenths, sometimes instead being a fifteenth, and could be levied concurrently with taxations mandated by the papacy. The papacy had less involvement with these tenths, sometimes endorsing or contesting a king's right to ask for them. However, the means of evaluating wealth set down by the papacy were used to gauge ecclesiastical contributions to these taxes.

3) Starting regularly with Pope Boniface VIII in 1301, heavy concessions were made to the King of England to secure his support for a tenth in his domains. Subsequent popes would build upon this precedent. Papal income taxes during and after the reign of Pope Clement V (r. 1305-14) were made both in the name of the English crown and the papacy. The English crown heavily assisted with the processes of the taxation in exchange for a majority share (generally three-fourths) while the papacy secured a quarter share with far less political resistance. These taxations were also enforced with ecclesiastical censures and the threat of benefice confiscation. However, unlike taxations before 1301, oaths regarding the Holy Land were taken much less seriously (if they were made at all) and without avowals to repay funds for failures to uphold promises. This reflects the growing issue of opulence and corruption that would plague the papacy during the Avignon Papacy and the late medieval period.

4.4 Timeline of Ecclesiastical Income Taxes in Ireland from 1199 to 1300

As to when ecclesiastical income taxes occurred in Ireland, the literature has yet to tackle this question directly; prompting a need to document when these taxations occurred in Ireland. Assuming that theses income taxes took place concurrently with those in England is a dangerous presumption. Below is a tabulation of the known ecclesiastical income taxes levied in Ireland from 1250 until 1300:

Levying Commencement	**Percentage Levied**	**Duration**	**Source**

1251/1252	Tenth	Three years	CDRI Vol. I, pp. 464, No. 3115 CDRI Vol. II, pp. 4, No. 25 CDRI Vol. II, pp. 24, No.163
1254	Tenth	Two years	CDRI Vol. II, pp. 59, No. 374
1266	Tenth	Three years	CDRI Vol. II, pp. 131, No. 812
1270	Tenth	Three years	CDRI Vol. II, pp. 144, No. 885
1274	Tenth	Six years	O'Sullivan 1947, pp. 160
1282-88?	Tenth[398] and Fifteenth	?	CDRI Vol. II, pp. 221, No. 465
c. 1291	Tenth[399]	One year?	CDRI Vol. III, pp. 442, No. 980
1292	Tenth	Six years (only four years levied)	CDRI Vol. III, pp. 325, No. 650

Table 4.1: Thirteenth Century Irish *Decime* and Papal Income Taxations

O'Sullivan asserts in *Italian Merchant Bankers and the Collection of Papal Revenues in Ireland in the Thirteenth Century* that Ireland was subject to a papal tenth in 1228 and 1245 .[400] O'Sullivan, however, bases this on papal bulls proclaiming the tenth in

[398] The tenth referred to in this series of letters is likely the 1274 tenth. Due to the length of this tenth, and its novel nature, there were notable issues with collecting arrears. Attempts to collect these arrears did persist well into the 1280s. Nevertheless, a separate fifteenth was levied in Ireland that did not have an English counterpart.

[399] This is not the famous taxation of Nicholas IV. The text states that select prelates (Archbishops of Dublin and Cashel) in the Irish clergy granted Edward I a tenth, and that Edward "demands and prays" that the remainder of the clergy to grant him a like tenth. As seen in Chapter Three, both English and French kings were able to solicit consensual tenths universally from their main kingdoms. This reflects resistance to Edward's rule, and it is no coincidence that Archbishops in colonial Irish territory consented to the taxation. It should be noted that this tenth did not have a papal mandate behind it, thus explaining its evident failure outside of the King's secular reach.

[400] M. D. O'Sullivan, "Italian Merchant Bankers and the Collection of Papal Revenues in Ireland in the Thirteenth Century," *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 22, no. 3/4 (1947): 137-8.

all lands. There are specific references to tenths in Ireland for 1228[401], 1234,[402] and the years 1246-8[403] that do exist, though.

Orders or permission for the tenths were issued to English kings for both the kingdom of England and the lordship of Ireland together.[404] Wales was also included, as well as Scotland[405] and parts of France.[406] Scotland was referred to as a kingdom, while Wales was classed as a "lordship" or "dominion" like Ireland. Permission, though, could be and was granted specifically for the taxation of Ireland. Comparison with Lunt's extensive list of papal revenues levied in England shows that the 1270 tenth, activities between 1282 and 1286, the 1291 tenth, and 1293 fifteenth all appear to have only occurred in Ireland.[407] For example, the Irish clergy granted Edward a tenth in 1291 in order to help ameliorate his debts.[408] The remaining taxations were synchronized with those in England or were part of pan-European tax levying. This highlights the importance of not assuming total synchronization between Ireland and England.

4.5 Valuation and Conduct of Ecclesiastical Income Taxations from 1250 until 1300

In terms of how wealth was assessed, there is no evidence that the valuations within Ireland were substantially different than those conducted in England and France. Before 1274, there would likely have been some degree of variation in valuation practices between the jurisdictions of chief collectors due to the embryonic nature of the income tax and the lack of streamlined instructions. However, the ambiguities that existed prior to 1274 were dealt with during the Second Council of Lyon. The purpose of the Lyon II instructions was to insure uniformity and prevent erroneous interpretations of instructions. If there were doubts, principal collectors sent questions regarding

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[401] William Edward Lunt, *Papal revenues in the Middle Ages, Vol. 1 and 2 (*New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), (Volume 2) 184-8.
[402] Pont. Hib. 214
[403] Pont. Hib. 281n, 287n, 310n
[404] Document SC 7/30/21 in the National Archives (UK) exemplifies this.
[405] Scotland was not always granted, but was increasingly during the latter part of Edward I's reign and the early part of Edward II's reign. While Alexander III ruled Scotland, his consent had to be given for English involvement in the tenth (William Edward Lunt, *Financial relations of the papacy with England, Vol. 1 &2 (*Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1939), 337).
[406] The revenues from the English Crown's holdings in France were occasionally granted to the English King, but were generally pledged to the King of France (who ultimately held them by feudal right) (Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 337).
[407] Lunt, *Financial Relations*.
[408] CDRI Vol. III, pg. 442, No. 980.

ambiguities in papal instructions to the papacy directly. Principal collectors were also increasingly expected to send frequent reports and accounts to the papacy, enabling the pope and camera to ensure that standards were being adhered to. It was a central authority that ultimately orchestrated the endeavours and strove to ensure their correctness. Additionally, it must be noted that the papal income taxes were generally levied in conjunction with and always under the purview of the English crown. As such, it's unlikely that practices in Ireland would deviate from those in England. O'Sullivan also supports this position, stating: "Naturally, there are fewer details about events in Ireland but there seems little doubt that the main features of the English collection were reproduced there."[409] This is a boon as papal, Continental, and English materials can be used to supplement findings that relate to Ireland.

Perhaps the strongest piece of evidence for uniform practices is document SC 7/30/21 in the National Archives.[410] It is a letter from Nicholas IV to Edward, providing instructions for conducting the tenth in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. This helps to confirm that practices in England and the Continent were the same to Ireland, and those surviving valuation instructions and guides can be used to elucidate the data in the 1302-20 Irish valuations.

Although valuation practices in Ireland may have been very similar to those elsewhere in Europe, collection appears to have been more troublesome in Ireland than elsewhere. Instances of robbery and theft of collectors in England were documented,[411] however, the measures taken in Ireland appear to be more forceful than those in England. Indeed, it was the colonial Justiciar who initially oversaw the taxation which began in 1252.[412] Such a role should have been immediately consigned to a bishop, but rather it was tasked to the official tasked with enforcing the law and the king's will in Ireland. It is unlikely that the papacy would relegate this responsibility to a layman unless it was a strong necessity.

[409] O'Sullivan, "Italian Merchants," 160.
[410] SC 7/30/21: "Notification to Edward [I.] of the rules for the collection of the tenth of ecclesiastical revenues granted to him in England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales."
[411] As discussed in Chapter Three.
[412] CDRI Vol. II, pg. 4, No. 25.

In 1254, the pope empowered sentences against rebellious persons concerning matters of the tenth in Ireland.[413] This is noteworthy as a reading of Lunt does not appear to reveal such strong reaffirmations of collectors' authority in England, nor actively rebelling clergy or persons.[414] As such, it can be inferred that collectors were facing significant resistance. Additionally, he sanctioned the archbishop of Dublin, Laurence de Sumercote, as the new collector in Ireland. The archbishop was given the sole permission of being able to move revenues and clarify matters, powers putting him on par with the chief collectors in England (who should have been his superiors). This indicates that a strong presence and central figure was required in Ireland.

Issues in Ireland regarding collection do not appear to have been resolved after the 1252 tenth. In 1291, the pope ordered bailiffs and lieges of the king to advise the Bishops of Meath and Kildare, respectively, when they required counsel.[415] In 1295, the king ordered his sheriffs and bailiffs to assist the Bishop of Meath and Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral (Dublin) with the collection of the tenth and give counsel.[416] In both instances, what is illustrated is the need for secular assistance backed by either papal or royal mandate to carry out the taxation. This is intriguing as papal income tax documents emphasize the use of ecclesiastical censures. The Lyon II instructions also eschew or explicitly prohibit the use of secular force, prompting its use only in cases where lay law would naturally intervene. The use of secular aid was undesirable as it could be viewed either as disrespect to the pope or the pope relying on temporal force to coerce clergy. Considering such factors, these mandates suggest a state of relative lawlessness in Ireland. However, it's important to note that this support was needed for collections, rather than assessment. Essentially, armed protection was likely needed to move coinage along collection routes, but not necessarily to obtain it from the parishes themselves. Thus, tenth procedures would have operated as they did elsewhere in Europe, but with a greater need for security. While communities and ecclesiastical person had coercions to cooperate, bandits, outlaws, rebels, and warlords did not and a caravan of riches was an attractive target.

[413] CDRI Vol. II, pg. 59, No. 374.
[414] Lunt, *Revenues* and *Financial Relations*.
[415] CDRI Vol. III, pg. 466, No. 1055.
[416] CDRI Vol. IV, pg. 107, No. 255.

4.6 Irish Tenths from 1300 to 1324

This section will focus on the ecclesiastical income taxes between 1300 and 1324. The 1302-20 Irish valuation rolls that form the basis of this study were made and utilized during this period, before being deposited in Westminster during October, 1322. It is important to treat these years separately to track changes made to taxation procedures and take note of potential impacts they had on the information contained within the 1302-20 Irish valuations. Otherwise, the information cannot be fully appreciated or understood.

4.6.1 A Timeline of Ecclesiastical Income Taxations from 1300 to 1324

Below is a table of documented ecclesiastical income taxations made between 1300 and 1324 in Ireland. All of these taxations were tenths:

Imposition[417]	**Length**	**Levying**	**Pope**	**English King**	**Source(s)**
February 26th, 1301	Triennial	Nov. 1301-Jan. 1304	Boniface VIII (d. Oct. 11th, 1303), Benedict XI	Edward I	CDRI Vol. 5
August 1st, 1305	Biennial	June 1306-Dec. 1307	Clement V	Edward I and Edward II	CDRI Vol. 5 CEPR Vol. II, pp. 16
December 1st, 1312	Sexennial	October 1313-April 1314	Clement V (d. April 20th, 1314)	Edward II	CCR 1313-18, pp. 20, 23 and 40 CEPR Vol. II, pp. 118

[417] Information on impositions and levying, outside of the 1320 tenth, is based on Lunt's documentation of the same tenths in England. Although theses tenths occurred in Ireland, there may have been delays concerning levying. As such, these dates must be considered approximations in terms of the exact months.

28th March, 1317	Annual	June-October 1318	John XXII	Edward II	CCR 1318-23, pg. 7
December 18th, 1319	Annual	October 1320-February 1321	John XXII	Edward II	CCR 1318-23, pg. 73
June 9th, 1320[418]	Annual	"Quinzaine of Michaelmas" to "the Quinzaine of the Purification"	John XXII	Edward II	CCR 1318-23, pg. 194-5
April 20th, 1322	Biennial	February 1323- May 1324	John XXII	Edward II	CEPR Vol. II, pp. 451

Table 4.2: Early Fourteenth Century Irish *Decime*

Except for the 1320 annual tenth, these income taxations were levied by the English crown and the papacy in unison. When compared with Lunt's list of papal financial exactions,[419] it is also clear that, except for the 1320 tenth, all these taxes occurred in England as well. The Post-Boniface unity between the crown and the papacy explains the increased frequency of the tenths when compared to the income taxes that occurred between 1250 and 1300.

4.6.2 The Basis and Evolution of Assessment for the 1302-20 Irish Valuation Rolls

Although the Lyon II instructions serve as the basis for the 1302-20 Irish valuations rolls, there are several changes made by the time of and during the evaluation of the Irish valuation rolls that must be noted. Indeed, one of these changes prompted the drafting of

[418] It appears that this was a tenth raised exclusively in Ireland via clergy consent.
[419] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 608-9.

the Irish valuations of 1302/1303. Under Lyon II, income needed to be over six marks for an assessment to be made and for taxation to occur. Boniface VIII, however, enabled incomes between two and six marks to be taxed in 1302.[420] As such, new valuations needed to be made. This is a vital piece of information for this study, as it means that a greater scope of sites would be included in the rolls.

Boniface needed this tenth, declared in 1301, in order to combat rebellion in the Papal States and resolve the War of the Sicilian Vespers. This was a worthy cause and thus not very objectionable to the English clergy. Boniface, however, elected not to tell the clergy that half of the tenth would be going to the English crown. The letters to the clergy and Edward I can be seen in Rymer's *Foedera.*[421] This was objectionable, due to the lack of transparency and the forced taxes to the king. Thus, Edward I benefited greatly from such an arrangement: the papacy garnered the odium of the English clergy while the crown secured vital funds. Edward could deflect blame back to the papacy, as well as serve as an "advocate" for his clergy. To sour the deal for the papacy even further, this tenth served to deepen the divide between Boniface and Philip IV. Indeed, a French assembly argued that Boniface "would not give the tenth of England to the King of England unless he promised to make war on the King of France with the same tenth."[422]

In Ireland, the merchant bankers, the Spina (or Spinorum) of Florence received the pope's portion proceeds of the papal income tax.[423] The Spina had been collecting papal revenues since the 1250s.[424] O'Sullivan notes that there has never been a lack of Italian merchants in Ireland. Indeed, they were eager to take advantage of Ireland's opportunities for growth and development.

Lunt emphasises the significance of this tenth, arguing: "It was of value to the papacy which subsequently from time to time demanded shares of the tenths imposed upon the English clergy by papal mandate, but it was of far more profit to the king. Though it was not the first tenth of the type, it was the first levied by papal mandate of which Edward I obtained a share without avowal of an intention of to make a crusade."[425]

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[420] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 370.
[421] Vol. I, 929- 930. This is the 1869 Longmans, Green, and. Co. edition published in London and edited by Thomas Duffus Hardy.
[422] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 366.
[423] CDRI Vol. 5, pg. 372, No. 824.
[424] O'Sullivan, "Italian Merchants."
[425] Lunt, Financial Relations, 381.

Thus began an era of joint taxation (from an English perspective) for both crown and papacy that would continue under Edward II. As noted in Chapter Three, tenths would become significantly more frequent. Popes would gain both secular aid and consent for the tax in exchange for taking a portion (generally a quarter under Edward II). This helped to make the processes of the income tax easier, gain the favour of secular lords, and frequently secure significant sums of money for an increasingly lavish papal curia.

During this tenth, punishments for non-payment or negligence appear to have become even more stringent than those qualified in Chapter Three. Archdeacons, rural deans, and other local leaders were tasked with announcing when instalments for the tenth were due to clergy under their purview and give them appropriate notice.[426] Failure of payment could lead to excommunication, placement of a benefice under indirect, suspension, and the seizure of incomes.[427] With this came public shunning, as well as fear of damnation. Thus, economic, spiritual, and social sanctions continued to be employed to ensure payment of the tax. Deans and deputies that were remiss with their duties also faced the threat of greater excommunication, or removal from the Catholic community and isolation (which entailed no communication or trading with other Christians).[428] As such, these supervisors were greatly compelled to ensure that the valuations were accurate and the tenth went about in an orderly fashion.

The valuations under this tenth were made between autumn 1302 and January 18th, 1303, though the work may have persisted into the winter.[429] As the valuations and collections progressed, the deputy collectors heavily documented their work (more so than they had in the past).[430] This illustrates the increasing uniformity of papal taxations and centralization of the papal camera.

In late 1305, an additional tenth was imposed for the purposes of supporting the Holy Land and crusading efforts by Clement V. Having subdued rebellion in Scotland, Edward was unburdened and finally free to pursue a crusade. Although Edward's intent to crusade appeared genuine, Clement nevertheless added a clause that the King did not

[426] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 371.
[427] Ibid.
[428] Ibid.
[429] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 370.
[430] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 371.

have to set a defined date to take up the cross.[431] Additionally, failure to take up the cross would not result in the Crown having to refund the collected revenues.[432]

Letters from the chief collectors in England (the Bishops of Lincoln and London, respectively) to their deputies are preserved in the *Register of Bishop Halton* (Volume II). The letters went to deputies in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. This is important to note as it reflects conformity of practice.[433] Another set of valuations were made in 1306 for this new papal income tax. It is interesting that another valuation was conducted so shortly after the one made beginning in 1302. The instructions issued by the chief collectors do not contain any instructions to alter valuation methods (although this may have been contained in a separate letter). Lunt also does not note any changes in valuation practices for this tenth. The reason for the new valuations appears, then, to be due to secular reasons. Anglo-Scottish conflicts had caused significant damage in Northern England and Scotland. Ireland constantly faced endemic warfare and outlawry by 1305, and it also had been drained at times by Edward for his Scottish wars. This seems to be the case as Edward asked the Bishop of Carlisle to show mercy towards those who had paid the previous tenth lately or irregularly due to the Anglo-Scottish conflict.[434]

For this tenth, three-fourths of the revenues were reserved for the King, while a fourth was the papacy's share for the needs of the Church.[435] This reaffirmed the new arrangement between the crown and the papacy. Edward I died in 1307: his son, Edward II, succeeded to the English crown. Edward II would continue this new arrangement with the papacy. Indeed, ecclesiastical income taxes would become more frequent to fund both the growing fiscal needs of Edward and the Avignon papacy.

Under Clement V, a council was called at Vienne in southern France. Though called in 1308, it did not convene until 1311. Deliberations continued until 1312. The Council is perhaps most notable for its role in the persecution of the Templars. During the Council, it was decided to fund a new crusade to the Holy Land, a crusade which never took place. In order to fund the proposed crusade, a sexennial tenth was called, seemingly across

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[431] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 383.
[432] Ibid.
[433] W. Thompson & T. Tout, *The register of John de Halton, Bishop of Carlisle, A.D. 1292-1324 (*London: Issued for the Canterbury and York Society, 1913), 253-261.
[434] Thompson and Tout, *John de Halton*, 261.
[435] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 383.

Europe. In the English domain, it would only be collected from October 1313 until April 1314.

One major change made for this tenth was that bishops were charged with the collection of the tax in their dioceses.[436] As part of these duties, the bishops were empowered to select deputies. These deputies were required to take a slightly different oath from those taken in the past, but these oaths were largely similar in substance.

Although many documents from the Council of Vienne have been lost, a translation of the Council's letter to the bishops being taxed still exists.[437] It contains general instructions, as well as the oath that deputies were required to take. Aside from instructions, the theological and moral justifications behind the tenth are also detailed. From this letter, several vital points stand out:

1) There are multiple instances in which the Council refers to customary practices. This is vital, as it highlights the standardized and universal procedures of the income taxes.
2) The state of the Holy Land serves as the primary justification for the taxation, highlighting the moral imperative of cooperating.
3) Ecclesiastical censures remain the foremost tool for enforcing the taxations, while the remission of sins is provided as an enticement for those overseeing collections.

It appears that the appointing of bishops replaced the need for principal collectors of the tenth.[438] Lunt states:

> "Each bishop was to account to the pope. When the bishop received the money, he was to deposit it in the cathedral church or other safe place under the guardianship of the bishop and the chapter, keeping it on deposit until the pope should order its assignment to designated persons for the affairs of the Holy Land. The instruction to collect the tenth in the customary manner was interpreted to justify the levy of the tenth by the established valuation."[439]

The lack of principal collectors seems to have negatively impacted the collections of this tenth. Lunt observes that the "collection of the first year of this tenth appears to

[436] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 396-7.
[437] The surviving documents can be found within: N. Tanner. *Decrees of the ecumenical councils* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1990).
[438] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 396-7.
[439] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 397.

have fallen short of the standard upheld by the collectors of the immediately preceding tenths."[440] However, Lunt concedes that to make such an observation is quite difficult. Indeed, it is difficult to create a comprehensive monetary account of the tenths due to the multiplicity of recipients, different record sources, and belated payments. Nevertheless, the rate at which arrears were collected appears to convey a great deal of laxity.[441] This may be attributed to decentralization, as well as allocating the task to bishops that were preoccupied and or unfamiliar with the processes of the income tax.

This tenth was only collected for one of the six designated years in English controlled domains. The reason for this remains uncertain but appears to be bishops using Clement V's death in 1314 as justification to state that the authority for taxation had expired.[442] Ecclesiastical income taxation would cease until a new imposition in 1317 by John XXII. This hiatus was due to the interregnum prior to John XXII's ascension in August 1316. Additionally, the impact of the Great European Famine likely delayed any discussion of income tax.

Despite the presence of Edward Bruce's army in Ireland, the island was still subjected to John XXII's income tax in 1317. The king empowered the Archbishop of Dublin to head the endeavour, as is attested to in the following letter:

> "To J. bishop of Winchester. Order to appoint Alexander, archbishop of Dublin, to collect in Ireland the tenth of the clergy granted by the pope to the king in the realms of England and Scotland and in the lands of Ireland and Wales, which the pope appointed the said John and Walter, bishop of Exeter, to levy and collect for the king's use, as the king considers that the tenth in Ireland can be more conveniently collected by the archbishop than by the said John ; so that the archbishop may answer to the full at the exchequer of Dublin. He is ordered to cause the pope's original letters of appointment, which are in his possession because the bishop of Exeter has excused himself as to the collection, to be delivered to the archbishop, in order that he may publish them in Ireland, after which publication John is to receive them back again. By K. and C."[443]

Another tenth was promulgated by John XXII in December of 1319. However, either due to issues with the immediately preceding taxation or in anticipation of this

[440] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 399.
[441] Ibid.
[442] Lunt, *Financial Relations*, 400.
[443] CCR 1318-23, pg.7 (August 10th, 1318).

tenth, Edward II issued orders for a revaluation of areas impacted by the Scots in both England and Ireland.

> "To J. bishop of Winchester, principal collector of the tenth of the clergy York. of England and Ireland granted to the king by the pope. Order to cause enquiry to be made as to the true yearly value of all ecclesiastical benefices and of the temporalities of prelates usually taxed amongst spiritualties in Ireland that have been wasted and destroyed by the invasion of the Scotch rebels, and to cause them to be taxed to the tenth on this occasion according to the value thus ascertained. By K."[444]

It is critically important to note that only areas that were impacted by the Scots received revaluation, not all dioceses. This partially explains why not all dioceses are present in the revaluations within the 1302-20 documents. Additionally, this passage helps pinpoint the creation of post-war evaluations and allows them to be dated. Previously, the 1319-20 estimation was not fully substantiated or obtuse (i.e. given a range of 1318-23).

The reason that Ireland received no respite, despite the effects of the Great European Famine and the Bruce Invasion can be found in two letters:

> "To the archbishop of Dublin, collector of a tenth granted to the king in aid of his war in Scotland by the clergy of Ireland, and of another tenth imposed upon the said clergy by the pope for the king's use. Order to cause the tenths to be levied of ecclesiastical benefices and temporalities that have been wasted by the attack of Edward de Brus and his accomplices, Scotch rebels, to be levied according to the new taxation thereof made by the king's order, and to answer to the king at his exchequer of Dublin according to the new taxation, as the clergy have besought the king to cause the said tenths that still remain unlevied to be levied according to the new taxation, because the benefices and temporalities aforesaid are still wasted and impoverished. The king has ordered the treasurer and barons of the exchequer to receive the tenth from the archbishop according to the new taxation."[445]

> "To A. archbishop of Dublin, Order to pay into the exchequer of Dublin without delay all the money collected by him of the arrears of tenths of the clergy and from divers grants and aids to the king or from other sources, to be delivered to the treasurer and chamberlain of the said exchequer for the expedition of the Scotch war, for which the king needs much money. By K."[446]

Although Edward Bruce had been defeated in Ireland in 1318, Robert the Bruce remained a threat. Edward II needed whatever resources that he could muster to combat

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[444] CCR 1318-23, pg. 73 (June 4th, 1319).
[445] CCR 1318-23, pg. 391-2 (Aug. 6th, 1321).
[446] CCR 1318-23, pg. 432 (April 14th, 1322).

the Scottish threat to northern England. The Irish clergy, though, was less than hospitable to the King's needs. For the 1322 tenth, Irish prelates and clergy demanded from the King the original papal bull authorizing the taxation in 1323.[447] This is noteworthy for two reasons. First, it indicates the international respect for papal authority in the matter of taxations (something which the validity of the 1302-20 Irish valuations rolls is based upon). Second, and conversely, it indicates growing resistance to the authority of the English crown.

4.7 Analysis of the Content and History of the 1302-1320 Valuations

This section will provide analysis of the valuation rolls themselves. The diocesan contents and approximate dating of the six rolls have been tabulated below:

Roll	Dioceses Included	Valuation Years
One	Armagh,[448] Down, Connor, Clogher, Kilmore, Raphoe, Dromore, Ardagh, Derry, Clonmacnois, Killala,[449] Achonry, Kilmacduagh, Clonfert, Elphin, Tuam, Annaghdown	1302/3 and or 1305/6
Two	Dublin, Kildare, Leighlin,[450] Meath	1302/3 and or 1305/6
Three	Meath	1319-20[451]
Four	Limerick, Cloyne, Ross, Emly[452]	1302/3 and or 1305/6
Five	Cloyne, Limerick, Ross, Ardfert, Kilfenora, Killaloe,	Mixture of pre- and post-war valuations

[447] CCR 1318-23, pg. 665.
[448] Only the Gaelic Irish of Armagh are included in this valuation. The colonial areas, including coastal areas that would have been relatively wealthy, are not included.
[449] Dated August 27th, 1306 (Geoffrey Hand, "The Dating of the Early Fourteenth-Century Ecclesiastical Valuations of Ireland," Irish Theological Quarterly 24, no. 3 (July 1957): 271–74.; CDRI Vol. V).
[450] This diocese is combined with the valuation of Kildare and not listed separately.
[451] Hand bases the dating on the significant devaluation between Meath in Rolls 2 and 3 (1957).
[452] Dated the 9th of March for 1302-3 (Hand,"Dating."; CDRI Vol. V).

	Waterford, Lismore, Cork, Cashel, Emly	
Six	Waterford, Cashel, Cork	A mixture of pre- and post-war valuations

Table 4.3 Contents of the 1302-20 Valuations

Outside of these rolls, there are additional sources for valuations. One is the *Red Book of Ossory,* a diocesan register that contains vital documents related to the administration of Ossory. The Red Book, or *Liber Ruberus*, contains both antebellum and postbellum valuations of the Diocese of Ossory. It is distinct from the six rolls in that *solutiones*, or receipts, are also enumerated aside the taxed benefices, making it a more complete record.

The second additional source is contained within the *Christ Church Deeds*.[453] This is a calendar of documents related to the Diocese of Dublin and the activities of the Christ Church Cathedral. Within it are post-war valuations for the Diocese of Dublin, with many of the listed parishes being completely wasted by the conflict. However, there are no *solutiones* for this set. Originally these documents were assumed to be c. 1294. However, this is due to a common misconception that the 1302-20 Irish valuations were cognates for the British *Taxatio* of 1292. There is, however, no precise date on these documents (just references to warfare). Chapter Seven will illustrate that these valuations are significantly lower than the 1302-7 Dublin valuations. Considering this, the in-text mentions of warfare, and the context of Irish tenths, it is very safe to assume that these are the post-war valuations made of Dublin.

As mentioned in Chapter One, the six rolls are preserved by the National Archives, Kew division (Richmond, UK). The reference number for the collection, again, is: E 101/233/21. The documents were originally held by the London Records Office before the Office was absorbed. There is, as aforementioned, some ambiguity over the existing Irish valuations and when they were rediscovered, as well as if these six rolls are part of what Vanderzee discovered or a separate finding by Hunter.

[453] M. J. MacEnery and R. Refaussé (Eds.), *Christ Church deeds* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2001).

It's important to note that Vanderzee discovered fourteen rolls, not six.[454] Additionally, he tied the rolls to Nicholas IV and stated that all of Ireland was included. Hunter, however, dates the rolls in his syllabus (accurately) to c. 1306 and notes their geographic limits. The partial transcription of Vanderzee's rolls seems to correspond to the pre-war valuations in the 1302-20 valuations for colonial areas of Munster, indicating that the six rolls are part of the fourteen.[455] However, an alternative explanation can be provided for this overlap. The dioceses found in Vanderzee's transcription are colonial areas. The 1302-7 revaluations were done, in part, to incorporate very poor benefices, something which might not be pertinent to more wealthy dioceses. Additionally, there was less than a decade between these valuations and the ones made for the Nicholas IV tenth. Essentially, there may not have been any need to make major adjustments. When considering that valuations could be a time consuming and costly affair, it possible that the 1302-7 valuations for certain areas are modelled off their c. 1292 counterparts. Thus, it remains possible that Vanderzee and Hunter found different documents, but unlikely as there are no reports of Hunter making a rediscovery.

Analysis of the physical copies of the six rolls and consultation with archival staff indicates that the rolls had not been stitched together or reorganised. Rather, the staff suggested that Vanderzee's fourteen rolls (or the remaining eight rolls if the six rolls were part of Vanderzee's findings) may have been accidentally absorbed into a private collection or are currently within the *miscellanea* of the National Archives (which is a rather large collection in itself).

There was a fire that damaged British tenth records in the Cottonian Library during the early nineteenth century.[456] It is unclear if the Irish valuations were being held alongside the British records. If so, perhaps the simplest answer, then, is that these six rolls are the only survivors of the fire.

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[454] Page 302 of *Reports from Committees of the House of Commons: Re-printed by Order of the House. Supplementary Volumes, Volume 6,* printed 1819.

[455] The transcription begins on page 61 of the *Supplement to the Eighth Report* (1819) contained within *Reports from the Commissioners Appointed by His Majesty: To Execute the Measures Recommended in an Address of the House of Commons Respecting the Public Records of Ireland: with Supplements and Appendixes* (1920).

[456] Charles Purton Cooper, *An account of the most important public records of Great Britain, and the publications of the record commissioners : together with other miscellaneous, historical, and antiquarian information. Compiled from various printed books and manuscripts* (London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1832), 284.

The Records Commission agreed to pay Vanderzee to make multiple full transcriptions of the fourteen rolls.[457] These transcriptions, if they could be located, would be the closest facsimile of the fourteen rolls to their discovery in 1807. It is possible that this work was not completed, but it is unlikely as Vanderzee was actively working for the Commission at least twenty years after 1819 (when he was charged with transcription duties). Unfortunately, the temporal constraints on this thesis prevented a more thorough search for these copies or through the National Archives' *miscellanea*. However, at least there are now stronger directions for those that wish to expand on this work and search for these rolls/transcripts that have been likely lost.

Why the records were found in England, instead of Ireland, can be attributed to Edward II. Edward wanted to make the Irish Church more tractable, something which would be abetted by a reduction of the number of Irish dioceses to ten. Medieval Ireland had an arguably disproportionately high number of dioceses considering its size, something that contributed to the relative poverty of Irish dioceses and engendered disorganization.[458] Contraction, although a somewhat logical reformation, would also serve the King's political goals by allowing him to replace Gaelic bishops with loyal English or colonial bishops. The number of unruly Gaelic bishops would at least be reduced.

Part of Edward's strategy to justify contraction involved the rolls. These were papal, not royal, documents that Pope John XXII had familiarity with and could trust. Thus, they could be used effectively to illustrate the "poverty" of Irish dioceses. Watt states:

> "There were two main lines of argument by which Edward could hope to gain papal approval for his scheme. He made ample use of the first when he showed how miserably poor the dioceses were. It seems likely that he had exact information on which to argue, from a valuation of all the dioceses, taken two years or so before. At any rate, he did present values to demonstrate diocesan poverty. The second line of argument is not explicitly stated in the document but can be inferred from John's later letters: that the degree of papal control over the Irish church left much to be desired. And to John XXII, in whose pontificate ecclesiastical centralisation made such progress, this was an argument of no little force."[459]

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[457] *Reports from the Commissioners appointed by His Majesty to execute the measures recommended in an address of the House of Commons, respecting the public records of Ireland; Third Report*, 485.
[458] J.A. Watt, "Negotiations between Edward II and John XXII concerning Ireland," *Irish Historical Studies* 10, no. 37 (1956): 1-20.
[459] Watt, "Negotiations," 8.

The rolls were deposited at Westminster on October 1st, 1322.[460] Watt is erroneous in saying that the valuation was of all dioceses made *circa* 1320. The rolls are, as noted, multiple valuations made between 1302 and 1320. Multiple valuations would have been advantageous to Edward, allowing him to illustrate the relative poverty of Irish dioceses predating the disastrous Bruce Invasion and the Great European Famine.

The fact that Edward II relayed the information contained within the valuations to John XXII also means that there may be a complete copy of what Edward sent within the Papal Archives. Work done to find this copy will be detailed in Chapter Eight. Although diocesan totals could have been dispatched, a more complete enumeration of benefices would have benefited the King's argument, though, by highlighting poverty on a local scale.

It is prudent to discuss additional reasons for the incompleteness of the valuations, outside of the Vanderzee-Hunter mystery. The lack of post-war evaluations for all dioceses can possibly be explained that not all areas were revalued. Although revaluation would have been beneficial to dioceses in this instance as it would have saved the clergy money, the king's orders specify areas that areas impacted by the Bruce Invasion to be revaluated. A blanket statement was not issued. Following this logic, however, the Earldom of Ulster and Ferns should be included (something which greatly weakens this argument). Chapter Seven will detail the events and impacts of the Bruce Invasion; however, it is important to note that it is not infeasible that these two regions were too wrought with havoc to be revalued. What is also noteworthy about the six rolls is that the immaculate and detailed valuations and receipts contained in the *Red Book of Ossory* are not contained within them. The Diocese of Ossory was one of the more stalwart areas of the colony, as such it would be unlikely that its bishop would not hand over copies of the valuation to the colonial administration.

Although not all dioceses have an antebellum valuation, by combining the 1302-3, 1305-6, and 1319-20 valuations, economic data is provided for nearly the entirety of Ireland. The only diocese that is not contained in some form within the six rolls, outside of Ossory, is Ferns. Additionally, there are also the Anglo-Irish of Armagh, largely situated within County Louth. For Ferns there is no data or mention. It should be noted that Ferns

[460] Ibid.

was largely within control of the King and colonial administration, as well as contained the port of Wexford. However, the northern part of County Wexford was experiencing attacks from Gaelic septs (e.g. the Mac Murchadhas). Why the diocese is missing, considering that it was relatively wealthy for Ireland and pliable to the Crown, is unclear. Even if the northern part of County Wexford was experiencing difficulties, Wexford city and its immediate hinterland should have been able to afford the tenth, unless defending the city and outposts in the north of the county were significantly draining resources. One possible explanation can be found in the *Calendar of entries in the Papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*. In 1309, the Dioceses of Ferns was singled out for failure to pay the arrears of Pope Nicholas IV's tenth and other dues to the papacy.[461] It's possible that this merited Fern's valuations being requisitioned and audited by either the crown or the papacy. These valuations may have been subsequently lost or continuously held by the Dublin administration, the king's exchequer, or the papacy. William Grattan Flood, who wrote an authoritative history on the diocese, was unable to locate any taxation valuations for Ferns and notes the uniqueness of their absence.[462]

After discussing other possibilities for incompleteness, the strongest argument is that Vanderzee and Hunter made separate discoveries and that twenty rolls (at least) were deposited in 1323. Vanderzee's rolls are likely misplaced. Additionally, there may have been additional transcriptions sent to London (i.e. Dublin's postwar values, Ossory's documents, and Ferns). Although these other documents may never be rediscovered or are lost to time, the rich opportunities that the combined six 1302-20 valuations rolls, the *Christ Church Deeds*, and the *Red Book of Ossory* afford cannot be underestimated. What exists is, simply put, priceless.

After reviewing this information, it is now necessary to return to the dating of dioceses within the rolls. As noted in Table 4.3, Rolls Five and Six contain a mixture of initial valuations and revaluations. Hand assumed that Roll Five contained post-war revaluations, whereas Roll Six was pre-war valuations that had been reshuffled and put at the end of the collection. However, Hand concedes that it was very difficult to compare the data as the parishes are not always enumerated in the same order and can have

[461] CEPR Vol. II, pg. 78.
[462] W. Flood and L. Renehan (1916). *History of the diocese of Ferns* (Waterford: Downey, 1916).

different name-spellings (thus, a full review of the data was not conducted by him).[463] As part of this thesis however, this comparison was done. The valuation of Cloyne in Roll Six is significantly lower than that in Roll Five (whereas Cork in Roll Six is much wealthier than in Roll Five).[464] As such, it is unlikely that the valuation for Cloyne in Roll Six is from the pre-war period. It is also dubious that Lismore, Ardfert, Kilfenora, and Killaloe would have been valued in the post-war period (especially when considering that these are the only dioceses in Roll Five that are not revaluations). Chapters Six and Seven will discuss how the colonial presence was decimated in Thomond during the Bruce Invasions, as well as how southwestern Munster was thrown into disarray. It is extremely doubtful that colonial or papal agents would have ventured into these areas to make revaluations. None of the valuations for these three dioceses, additionally, refer to war or conflict. As for Lismore, there is also no reference to conflict. If these valuations were to be counted among the 1319-20 valuations, Lismore would be the richest area of Ireland during these two years, something which seems suspect. Additionally, it is unlikely that this colonial area would only be valued during the post-war era and not the pre-war. Combining these factors with the fact that Cloyne's valuations are not chronologically ordered, there is no reason to tie the data for these four dioceses to 1319-20.

Considering that these rolls are transcriptions made to be sent to England, I propose that there may have been chronological mixing in Rolls Five and Six (perhaps an oversight by a clerk or the result of transcription as records arrived in Dublin and became available), and that it is prudent to work off this analysis rather than Hand's initial survey. As such, this thesis will class Ardfert, Kilfenora, Lismore, and Killaloe within the 1302-7 valuations while making appropriate switches between the valuations of Cloyne (with the data in Roll Five being the pre-war values for the Diocese).

4.7.1 Contents

The contents of the six rolls require some additional qualification. The benefices generally found within the valuations are incomes for bishops, diocesan officers, monastic houses, and parishes. Parishes (often denoted as *ecclesia* or simply with a placename)

[463] Hand, "Dating."
[464] There is, however, only about a two percent decrease between Roll Six and Roll Five for Waterford in terms of total diocesan value.

overwhelming constitute the benefices, with the incomes of vicars, *plebanus* (or parish priest), prebendary fees, and rectors separately listed but still tied to their respective parishes. Gaelic areas could see a bishop or archbishop taking a share of a parish income for himself, Tuam and Annagdown being prime examples of this. Regardless, the full income of the parish is still enumerated and captured. Having the breakdown of the payments helps researchers to better understand the ecclesiastical structure of each diocese.

The word p*lebanus* occurs, but very rarely. The word refers to a parish priest or rural dean, thereby indicating the income of a parish church. Where the word does occur is Armagh, where only the Gaelic Irish of the Diocese were valued.[465] *Communia* is a term that also appears, but quite seldom. These were lands or goods held in common by canons of a cathedral.

Where a benefice was wasted by war or too poor for the taxation, a notation is inserted. It was also explained if the benefice was exempt due to the instructions (e.g. Templars, Hospitallers, or mendicant immunity). In some benefices, immune organisations only took a portion of the income (which wasn't taxed). Those that held the remainder of the benefice were taxed for their share.

Three dioceses only have values for officers and bishop's incomes listed, these being Kilmore, Clonmacnoise, and Ardagh. This is abnormal as benefices that were too poor for the burden of the tax or wasted by conflict are still enumerated in other dioceses. It must also be noted that these dioceses were all within Gaelic or frontier territory.

Two main explanations can be provided for these incomplete valuations. One is that these dioceses were rebellious or in a state of conflict. As such, their bishops (as well as officers) were the only ones that had their income assessed (as they were the clergy that answered directly to the papacy and could have their positions stripped away). Assessors may have also been wary of venturing into certain territories or warzones to extract wealth, and rightly so. The second explanation is that the whole dioceses were impoverished outside of the bishops and officers. Thus, there would have been no need to enumerate parishes. There are only three parishes valued in these dioceses, all of

[465] As to why the Anglo-Irish of Armagh, largely residing in Louth, were not taxed is likely due to conflict and the community's attempts to be independent.

which are in Clonmacnois. One of these, “de Lieth” was noted for being devastated by war. It is no coincidence, though, that these dioceses were contiguous and in areas where conflict abounded. As such, I would argue that the first explanation is the most sustainable one. In other dioceses, when a benefice was too poor to tax, a notation would be added that said that its income did not suffice. Simply put, this region was too dangerous to papal agents to fully transverse.

4.8 Existing Literature Regarding and Utilizing the 1302-20 Valuations

` The topic of the tenth in Ireland and the 1302-20 valuations have produced a few notable and rigorous studies; however, these studies are often related to Irish placenames and philology. The most notable of said works is *The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore, consisting of a Taxation of those Dioceses* (1847) by Bishop William Reeves. Reeves' work is meticulous and entails an attempt to locate the medieval churches of Down, Connor, and Dromore enumerated in the rolls, as well as provide a concise history of each site (which is invaluable when trying to determine whether a modern church is situated upon medieval remains). Reeves was extremely successful in his endeavours, rediscovering nearly all the ecclesiastical sites recorded in these dioceses and postulating where missing sites may be. In addition to this, Reeves provides references to multiple correspondences regarding the tenth in Ireland, as well as a useful glossary of the Latin abbreviations and terminology contained within the six rolls. His work avails of the nineteenth century Ordnance Survey maps, as well as the 1615 and 1633 Royal Visitations.

Reeves's work on the valuations was not limited to this text. Contained within the Public Library of Armagh (aka the Robinson Library) is an unpublished manuscript called *the Taxatio Ecclesiatica Hiberniae*. Within it, Reeves copied the text of the six rolls with immense precision from the original copies held within the London Records Office. He then set out about finding the modern townland or settlement associated with each taxed site (in a similar vein to his work on Down, Connor, and Dromore). The existence of this work remains esoteric and known to but a few researchers. I visited the Public Library of Armagh and handled this manuscript on two occasions, as well as several correspondences related to its authoring. As with *The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down,*

Connor and Dromore, consisting of a Taxation of those Dioceses, Reeves heavily utilized royal vitiations for placename elucidation. As part of this process, Reeves sent correspondences to diocesan officials in Ireland to ascertain whether there were additional records to compliment the six rolls. It does not appear that there are any other existing papal tenth assessments within Irish archives outside of the *Liber Rubrus Diocecis Ossoriensis* (The Red Book of Ossory), which Reeves also transcribed within this manuscript, and the Dublin post-war valuations.

Reeves was able to clarify placenames for a significant portion of Ireland; however, his work remained incomplete. Additionally, the manuscript remains unchecked and has not been openly reviewed by the academic community. As such, the placenames contained within it must be used with some discretion. Nevertheless, Terry Barry attests to its accuracy and the preliminary work for this thesis also suggests that it is an extremely efficacious tool.[466]

H.S. Sweetman cannot go unmentioned. Working in the same period as Reeves, Sweetman calendared documents relating to medieval Ireland (from Henry II until Edward I) into five volumes. Among these documents are the six roles, and it is quite advantageous to have a transcribed version of the assessments to abet reading and analysis. Sweetman also attempted to provide locations for benefices, such as Reeves attempted, before his death. However, some of these attempts are noted by Philomena Connolly as being erroneous.[467] G.F. Handcock added extensive corrigenda to Volume Five of the CDRI by offering retranslations of and comparison with the original rolls in the London Records Office. Additionally, he offered alternative placenames to those that Sweetman rendered in the calendar. Handcock's additions are helpful, yet even so many dioceses remain incomplete or untouched.

Reeves work was built upon and emulated. At the turn of the twentieth century, and the decades proceeding, several Irish clergymen began publishing histories of their dioceses. Some were successful in correlating medieval sites with modern parishes, though the task never spawned a monograph like Reeves'. The six rolls continue to be

[466] T. B. Barry, "The Pope Nicholas IV taxation of the early fourteenth century and Irish medieval rural settlement archaeology: a case study," in *Mélanges d'Archéologie médiévale: liber amicorum en hommage d'André Matthys,* ed. J. De Meulemeester & P. Gillet (Liege: Mardaga, 2006), 8-15.
[467] Philomena Connolly, *Medieval record sources* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002).

referenced in placename research, including within the placename database *Logainm*, which is backed in part by the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht.[468] The database, when listing former names of townlands and population centres, sometimes connects the names given in the rolls to modern locations. However, the process of tying the valuations to modern placenames is incomplete.

There are three unique works written explicitly on the tenth in Ireland. The first is written by Geoffrey Hand and entitled *The Dating of the Early Fourteenth Century Ecclesiastical Valuations of Ireland*.[469] Hand analyses the six rolls alongside additional primary sources (e.g. *Liber Niger of Christ Church Cathedral* and the *Liber Ruberus of the diocese of Ossory*), as well as Reeves' notes and the aforementioned diocesan histories of the early twentieth century in order to date their assessments. Hand also adds context to the Irish assessments, citing a similar reassessment made in England (in 1317) due to incursions by the Scots into Northern England. Hand's work was a strong step forward in properly dating the rolls and breaking away from a common misconception that they were part of Nicholas IV's taxation. However, the limitations of this piece were discussed in the previous section.

The second work is *Italian Merchant Bankers and the Collection of Papal Revenues in Ireland in the Thirteenth Century* (1947) by M.D. O'Sullivan. O'Sullivan's article begins with an overview of the evolution of papal financial organization and (Pan-European) revenues before focusing on papal revenues in Ireland, heavily citing Lunt and Fabre for the former task. O'Sullivan accomplishes the latter mainly by utilizing Sweetman's Calendars (primarily Volume 1) and the *Calendar of Papal Registers IX* to survey the primary resources related to the topic, as well as various accounts of Irish ecclesiastical debts to Italian merchant bankers. In her work, O'Sullivan illustrates the integral role that Italian merchant bankers played in the papal financial system and the Irish economy, stating that: "We find them, for instance, not only lending money to the clergy, the aristocracy, and the merchants, but engaging extensively in the wine and wool trades, collecting the royal revenues, an even taking a hand in real estate."[470] Though O'Sullivan touches upon multiple Irish revenues streams in her study (e.g. Peter's Pence, subsidies,

[468] Logainm," Government of Ireland, 2019, https://www.logainm.ie/en/ .
[469] Hand, "Dating."
[470] O'Sullivan, "Italian Merchants," 142.

and the *servita*), the collection of tenths forms the crux of her work (including meticulously enumerating where portions of the Irish tenths were allocated to). However, O'Sullivan's work is mainly confined to the reign of Henry III (only truly analysing the 1274 tenth under his son, Edward I). Her rationale for this, she argues, is that it was at the middle of the thirteenth century that both the papacy and the English crown were under the direst financial pressures.

The 1302-20 Irish valuation records have been utilized to investigate the Irish economy and historical geography as well. The third work to deal specifically with the Irish tenths is *The Pope Nicholas IV taxation of the early fourteenth century and Irish medieval rural settlement archaeology: a case study*.[471] Terry Barry discusses the Irish tenths in this article and their potential to explore rural Irish landscapes, noting that the difficulty of clarifying the names in the rolls has been the prime obstacle to their utilization. He also attempts to highlight major issues with the source: benefices that are valued under six marks were not documented in every diocese, the extent of tax evasion has not been assessed, and some clergy were exempted from the tenths. The first point is erroneous, as these documents are not part of Nicholas IV's tenth. Rather, they are revaluations explicitly done to value benefices under six marks. Nevertheless, as these are the only source for the entirety of the island, Barry does emphasis that they must be fully used despite complications with the data.

Barry proceeded to use data for south-eastern Ireland in order to create two maps, one reflecting the region before the Bruce Invasion/Great European Famine and another reflecting the change in wealth after these events. His maps used square grids (i.e. a raster map) to enable the contouring of areas in correspondence to their valuation. Such a process allows for the mapping of valuations without the precise location of the taxed site, thus helping to ameliorate issues with clarifying placenames. The succeeding analysis illustrated that the higher tax paying areas correlated to agricultural lowlands and areas of high density within the colony. There were also positive correlations between wealth and landscape features such as markets, towns, and major valleys. As such, Barry's study is evidence that the taxation data can accurately reflect local economic and demographic conditions. His comparison between his two produced maps

[471] Barry, "Pope Nicholas IV."

also indicates the valuations' potential to better explore the disastrous Bruce Invasion and Great Famine on a local level.

Barry's work is an inspiration for this thesis and provides direction for future research paths. It is also an example of how to conduct a case study using this data. However, the case study has a few limitations, confines that this thesis will hopefully overcome. Foremost, the lack of literature on papal finances in Ireland shines through in the text. For example, there is some confusion on how to title the valuations. Nicholas IV should not be tied to the six rolls as he died nearly a decade before they were assessed. Using his name is misleading, especially since there was a very different political milieu under succeeding popes, such as Boniface VIII. Barry's references also lack general sources dealing with papal finances, such as Lunt, Graham, or Denton. His only source related to contextualizing the Irish valuations was Hand, who was more focused on dating than on the nuances of the valuations (additionally, it has been illustrated that his dating was not entirely accurate). Not understanding the technicalities and context of the papal tenths weakens the analysis. Issues or concerns regarding the data, such as evaluating the degree of taxation evasion, can be addressed to some degree with an interdisciplinary approach and by consulting the appropriate primary and secondary sources. However, Barry may have thought that conducting this analysis would have been outside the scope of this article.

Barry had used the taxations before in his doctoral thesis, *Medieval Moated Sites of the Southeast of Ireland* (1977), which was an archaeological work. Indeed, these valuations have a great deal to offer archaeologists by providing information on the placement of churches and religious edifices in the local landscape. Due to the importance of churches within the community, this is invaluable knowledge for studying medieval geography. Herring was the first to do so and used the values to study colonial settlement in *County Down in The Lagan Valley: parish values in the early fourteenth century*.[472] However, Herring felt that the values could be inflated if a colonial lord endowed a church with gifts, thus limiting their utility. While gift-giving certainly occurred in both Gaelic and colonial communities, papal tax instructions reveal that such gifts are not taxed. The focus of the taxation was on more regular income. Again, the importance

[472] Ivor Herring, "County Down in The Lagan Valley: parish values in the early fourteenth century," *Down and Connor Historical Society Journal* 7 (1936): 41-47.

of contextualizing the data cannot be emphasized enough. Herring also asserted that it was wrong to assume that low value sites belonged to Gaelic communities; a view which was progressive for the time. Watson attempted a study similar to Herring's in 1940 entitled *Prehistoric sites in South Antrim*.[473] Watson tried to correlate low church density and low valuations with Gaelic settlement patterns. However, Barry notes that this assertion was weakened by a dearth of ringforts in the area of Watson's study (a structure which is a strong indicator of pre-colonial Gaelic settlement).[474] Watson had to concede that the valuation rolls were not necessarily well-tailored for distinguishing between colonial (or Anglo-Norman) and Gaelic settlements. However, he also proffered that the Gaels may have inhabited unenclosed settlement types.

T. E. McNeill also used the valuations in his study *Anglo-Norman Ulster: The History & Archaeology of an Irish Barony 1177-1400*. He plotted each parish, using proportional symbols to reflect income.[475] His analysis noted how the Anglo-Norman parishes were considerably higher, with one Anglo-Norman parish (Billy) in the Earldom of Ulster being more valuable than all the Gaelic Irish parishes in the Dioceses of Clogher combined.[476] He also notes that Gaelic Irish parts of Ulster dioceses were detached in the valuations to note their separateness.[477]

Finan took a similar approach in *Landscape and History on the Medieval Irish Frontier*, mapping parishes in Roscommon (or the Diocese of Elphin) and using proportional symbols to reflect valuations.[478] However, he uses GIS software to identify clusters and discuss their relationship with soil, townland boundaries, ringforts, and distance from transportation networks.[479] He notes that the diocese was very impoverished for Ireland, as well as discusses how the valuations for Elphin are not as detailed as other dioceses.[480] His statistical analysis suggested that access to transportation routes was the driving force behind parish wealth, but also stated that

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[473] Edward Watson, "Prehistoric Sites in South Antrim," *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 3 (1940): 142-51.
[474] Barry, "Pope Nicholas IV."
[475] T.E. McNeill, *Anglo-Norman Ulster: The history and archaeology of an Irish Barony, 1177-1400* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1980), 35.
[476]McNeil*, Anglo-Norman Ulster*, 33.
[477] Ibid.
[478] Thomas Finan*, Landscape and history on the medieval Irish frontier: The Kings' cantreds in the thirteenth century*, (Turnhout, Brespolis, 2016), 106.
[479] Finan, *Landscape and History*, 103.
[480] Finan*, Landscape and History*, 102.

there is little variation between parish values in Elphin.[481] Rather, he concludes that the region was relatively impoverished with little surplus to provide to the church; what outliers exist in the dioceses were churches tied to religious houses or likely received patronage from the Ó Conchubhair or MacDermot's.

Helen Perros (née Walton), in her doctoral thesis *The English in Connaught: 1171-1333* supervised by James Lydon, uses the 1302-7 valuations to help map the extent of English colonisation in Connaught. She creates hand drawn choropleth maps that reflect values in shillings per 1000 acres, shading modern parish boundaries.[482] Additionally, she creates an appendix of Connaught parishes from the original rolls and then ties them to modern parishes or townlands.[483] In conjunction with this, she utilises revenue figures, Gardiner's 1980 soil map, mottes, castles, and principal English settlements to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the colony's extent in Connaught, as well as the factors that prevented it from gaining a true hold.

Orpen also used the rolls for qualitative analysis. For one, he used them in a study of the Earldom of Ulster to gauge the area's wealth before the Bruce Invasion.[484] Additionally, he discusses them in *Ireland Under the Normans*. In Volume Four, he states: "The ecclesiastical taxation of Ireland, c. 1302, made with a view to the levy of the 'the Papal Tenths,' affords some index of the relative prosperity of the districts under Anglo-Norman and Irish rule respectively."[485] Regarding his analysis, he concludes: "Everywhere the valuation of the benefices in the Irish districts was relatively much lower; and this result cannot be attributed solely to the inferiority in the quality of the land, but was primarily due to the disturbed state of the districts under Irish rule. In some cases the churches are described as waste owing to war, and of no value."[486] It will be interesting to test the veracity of this claim, or at the least the degree of its legitimacy, through comprehensive mapping, interregional comparison, and quantitative analysis.

Sinéad Ní Ghabhláin, in *The Origin of Medieval Parishes in Gaelic Ireland: The Evidence from Kilfenora*, uses the valuations for Kilfenora to study the Diocese's

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[481] Finan, *Landscape and History*, 100-105.
[482] 1980, Map V.
[483] 1980, Appendix I.
[484] Helen Walton, "The English in Connacht, 1171-1333," [PhD Dissertation] Trinity College Dublin, Department of History, 1980.
[485] Goddard Henry Orpen, *Ireland Under the Normans: Volume IV* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920), 48.
[486] Orpen, *Normans*, 48-49.

topography and parish formation.[487] She ties the medieval churches to their modern sites and plots the churches within baronial maps. With the assistance of other ecclesiastical records and townland data, she concludes that parishes in this diocese: "…are, therefore, integral to the Gaelic territorial organisation. The presence of detached portions of parishes existing in adjoining parishes suggests that the medieval parishes may be subdivisions of larger territorial units, which I have called "primary parishes."[488]

Perhaps the most salient work related to this thesis's topic is Bruce M.S. Campbell's study *Benchmarking medieval economic development: England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, c. 1290*. Campbell's landmark study uses papal taxation assessments, 1291 for England, Wales, and Scotland and "1303-6" for Ireland, to conduct a cross-national assessment of the economic conditions in the British Isles. For Ireland, he cites Reeves' unpublished *Taxatio Ecclesiatica Hiberniae*. Campbell assesses these figures on a diocesan, provincial, and national level. Additionally, he utilizes this data in conjunction with existing literature on population estimates, urbanization, customs revenues, port traffic, and physical geography to further the utility of the papal sources and increase the study's comprehensive nature. From this, Campbell produces estimates such as (but not limited to) mean parish size (in square miles), average wealth per ecclesiastical benefice, ecclesiastical wealth per 100 miles, population per mile, population per parish, and percentage of urban population for each of the four nations. He also provides estimates for total ecclesiastical revenue, which is vital for macro-level comparison.

Campbell's estimates provide some stark contrasts between the nations of the British Isles, most dramatically between England and Ireland. Relative to lowland area below 500 feet, Irish parish sizes were on average 10.7 square miles (compared to 4.8 for England), and 13.6 square miles relative to total land area (as opposed to 6.1 for England).[489] Ecclesiastical wealth (relative to total land area) was accessed at 39 pounds per 100 square miles for Ireland, and 255 pounds per 100 square miles for England (this divide becomes even more drastic when it is relative to lowland area).[490] In terms of

[487] Sinéad Ní Ghabhláin, "The Origin of Medieval Parishes in Gaelic Ireland: The Evidence from Kilfenora," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 126 (1996): 37-61.
[488] Ní Ghabhláin, "Kilfenora," 59.
[489] Bruce M. S. Campbell "Benchmarking Medieval Economic Development: England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, C.1290," *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 61, no. 4 (2008): 896-945.
[490] Campbell, "Benchmarking," 922.

ecclesiastical wealth per capita, Ireland is assessed at 2.3 pence per capita as a whole and 3.3 pence per capita for the Lordship of Ireland (the area under colonial control). Scotland and Wales were estimated in this regard at 6.4 pence per capita and 4.2 pence per capita, respectively. He partly summarizes his finding on parishes by stating:

> "Thus, Welsh parishes, relatively poorly furnished with rich, tithe-yielding grain lands and valuable arable glebe lands, were assessed on average at little more than half the value of English parishes. Many, in fact, fell below the £4 minimum threshold for contributing to the tax. Irish parishes were poorer still and in 1303–6 were worth only 33 per cent of their English counterparts; their revenues were clearly inferior although this is undoubtedly exaggerated by the token valuations returned for most dioceses located outside the Crown's effective jurisdiction (table 3). This undervaluation is all the more dramatic when juxtaposed with the impressively high mean valuation of Scottish parishes in 1291, which was over four times that of Irish parishes and more than a third greater than that of English parishes (table 2). England may have had by far the greatest number of parishes, but Scottish parishes were on average wealthier; Irish parishes, in contrast, were poorest."[491]

Campbell exhibits nuance when dealing with his assessment of Ireland and is cognizant of factors that hinder the study of Irish medieval economics. Indeed, the second paragraph of the text discusses dramatically decreasing royal and customs revenue between 1275 and 1349 (with income being more than halved).[492] This is, partly, reflective of the contraction of the colony and royal authority. As such, he states that "Undoubtedly, the 1303–6 ecclesiastical taxation must have raised far less than its precursor, just 12 to 15 years earlier."[493] As aforementioned, Campbell sometimes delineates statistics between Ireland as whole and the Lordship of Ireland. This is useful in that Gaelic Ireland and colonial Ireland had separate socioeconomic profiles. The geographic differences between the Gaelic areas (predominantly highland) and colonized areas (predominantly more fertile lowland) *circa* 1300 also make a general assumption of Ireland's economy quite difficult and further necessitate his delineation.

Despite the many merits of Campbell's work, there are some significant flaws regarding his utilization of Irish tenth records. He states that: "Moreover, the Irish returns for 1291 are missing. Instead, what survive are the returns from a corresponding tax levied in1303–6, by which time the yield of all other Irish taxes and royal revenues had

[491] Campbell, "Benchmarking," 902.
[492] Campbell, "Benchmarking," 897.
[493] Campbell, "Benchmarking," 904.

fallen substantially from their level in 1290/1 (figure 1)."[494] There are three fallacies contained within the second sentence. Foremost, the six valuations rolls contain assessments of the benefices within each diocese, not the receipts. Campbell seems to have completely misunderstood a major aspect of the documents in question, and the distinction is vital. Returns and assessments were both subject to different obstacles and procedures. The column “decima” contained within the six valuations rolls are not a listing of the tenth collected, but rather a calculation of the tenth which was due. Campbell, however, acknowledges this error in a *corrigendum* to the work.

Cambell's second mistake is regarding dating the tenths. The figures in the 1302-20 valuations are part of three separate tenths, and not simply 1303-6 (a tenth which did not occur). Considering this, there is a risk that pre-war and post-war data was mixed together (something which is likely considering that most scholars would have relied on Hand’s dating). There was no mention of the Bruce Invasion or the 1319-20 assessment. As such, it is logical to assume that the antebellum and postbellum figures are mapped side by side indiscriminately, thereby potentially presenting multiple Irish dioceses at a significantly lower level of wealth than was the norm.

The only change that was made to the Irish valuation figures was that the value for Ferns (which Campbell states is the only missing diocese) was estimated via the surrounding dioceses' values. This is problematic as each area had its own political, economic, physical, and cultural characteristics and conflicts. With the Gaelic Irish raiding northern Ferns, for example, it is likely to have been more impacted by war than Waterford (which was somewhat isolated from conflict). Statistical applications would be ignorant of such factors, instead giving Ferns a comparable level of wealth to its relatively prosperous neighbours.

There are further methodological issues with Campbell’s approach. Kilmore, Clonmacnoise, and Ardagh only contain information for officers within the dioceses and not the information for local parishes. As such, they cannot be considered complete and the information cannot be used within a macro-analysis. In addition to this, only the Gaelic Irish in Armagh are included within the taxation of the diocese. The colonial settlements of the diocese, which are likely to be significantly wealthier, are not included

[494] Ibid.

within the valuation of the diocese. To support this argument, Reeves identified a majority of these missing colonial parishes, some of which are coastal or on the periphery of the wealthy Dublin zone.[495] Thus, this diocese cannot be considered complete or admissible within a macro-analysis. The included Gaelic Irish communities alone cannot be a proper representation of the diocese of the whole. It is important with these sources not to take the figures at face value, but instead put each diocese within its proper context and evaluate the enumerations of parishes.

The final misconception is the assumption that declining royal authority would necessarily have had a comparable impact on papal taxation. Indeed, Campbell states that Ireland's changing political geography resulted in "token valuations returned for most dioceses located outside the Crown's effective jurisdiction."[496] There is a crucial difference between the authority of the crown and that of the papacy. The crown's reach in Ireland, even at its high watermark, had never eclipsed more than two-thirds of Ireland. Even within those two-thirds, there was resistance to both the crown and colonization. The returns of the lay subsidy tax in Ireland illustrate that the royal tax had laughable returns outside of the strongest areas of colonization (namely Leinster and parts of Munster).[497] However, the papal tenth, although sometimes a *de facto* royal tax, was one enforced with ecclesiastical censures. Failure to pay or the act of perjury could result in excommunication and the stripping away of benefices, as has been highlighted in Chapters Three and previous sections of this chapter. Bishops were pressured into enforcing the tenth within their diocese at risk of similar punishments or falling out of favour. Indeed, Irish tenths preceding 1302 appear to have resulted in a full collection despite there being persistent conflict in Ireland.[498] As such, it is not prudent to assume that papal tenths were contingent upon royal authority without supporting evidence. Part of this thesis, though, will involve investigating problems with and idiosyncrasies of the collection of the tenth in Ireland. This is not to say that by 1302 wealth in Ireland may have declined from endemic warfare, the stirrings of the Gaelic Resurgence, and Edward I's draining of Irish resources for his wars.

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[495] This was done in his unpublished Irish *Taxatio*.
[496] Campbell, "Bechmarking," 902.
[497] Mark Hennessy, "Making Ireland English in the Thirteenth Century: The Evidence of the Irish Lay Subsidy of 1292," in At the Anvil: Essays in Honour of William J. Smyth, ed. Patrick Duffy and William Nolan (Dublin: Geography Publications), 81-92.
[498] Lunt, *Financial Relations*.

Campbell's article covered a great array of topics and sources, something which explains, to a degree, why the nuances of the Irish valuations were overlooked. Considering the past treatment of Irish medieval economics and the methodological issues concerning their study, it is also commendable that Campbell did include Ireland within this paper. Nevertheless, the paper is a testimony to the state of the research regarding papal finances that these errors could be so easily made and remain in place despite revisions to the article. Ideally, this thesis will help make the particularities surrounding the Irish valuations more accessible so that future studies do not repeat these errors.

It is apparent from of this chapter that the topic of papal finances and taxation is in dire need of further academic attention. The topic, especially regarding Ireland, continues to remain a somewhat arcane field despite the ground-breaking work of scholars such as Lunt. Studies such as Barry's and Campbell's illustrate the wealth of insight these records can provide into historical economics, while existing work on the Irish tenths represent the boons to geographers, philologists, and, more obviously, ecclesiastical historians. The opportunities for interdisciplinary research are myriad, as it is only by understanding the subtleties and multifaceted nature of papal finances that the sources become truly useful.

4.9 Conclusion

Although a great deal of work still needs to be undertaken regarding the topic of papal finance and ecclesiastical income taxations in Ireland, a framework with which to understand the 1302-20 Irish valuations and the dates of these income taxations has been established. Hitherto, when these taxations occurred, how ecclesiastical wealth was evaluated, and the particularities of ecclesiastical income taxes in Ireland was uncertain or not fully qualified. These uncertainties and ambiguities have contributed to either misunderstandings or underutilization of the 1302-20 Irish valuations. This chapter has also evidenced that Irish taxations were largely synchronous with those in England and on the Continent when levied with papal authority. This is vital to the understanding of the 1302-20 valuations as it enables Pan-European papal sources, such as the Lyon II

instructions, to be used to decipher the valuations. Additionally, it allows for international comparisons of ecclesiastical income valuations (for future studies).

The research has also identified that there may be misplaced Irish tenth documents in existence. Should they be discovered, they would likely allow for a comparison between the 1302-20 valuations and the Nicholas IV valuations. The implications of these records for Irish studies cannot be understated and it is a search that must be prioritised. It is also of great importance that Vanderzee and Hunter's notes be thoroughly analysed to provide greater context to the discovery of these documents.

Chapter Five: Geographical Methods

5.1 Introduction:

The initial methods of this thesis were to contextualise the Irish tenths and perform source analysis on the 1302-20 valuations (Chapters Three and Four). The purpose of this chapter is to detail how the content of the valuations was systematically processed into geographical data. It will then proceed to detail how this data was used to visualize Ireland's distribution of wealth, as well as perform both quantitative and qualitative analyses.

5.2 Clarification on Versions of the Sources

The most commonly used and widely available version of the 1302-20 valuations is, as previously mentioned, contained within the Fifth Volume of the *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland, Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London: 1302-1307* (CDRI). However, Sweetman died before completing his work on Volume Five, leading Handcock to correct the existing text and transcriptions. Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven, Helen Perros,[499] and Philomena Connolly[500] have all expressed concerns regarding the usability of this source. Otway-Ruthven states: "This volume was not revised by the editor, and the text as printed is far from satisfactory."[501] Considering this, it becomes prudent not to accept the CDRI at face value, especially regarding placenames. Rather, it is practical to supplement the CDRI with additional materials. Reeves' *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Hiberniae* was used to double check the rendered placenames and their values in the CDRI. The partial transcription in the *Supplement to the 8th Report of the Commissioners* made by Vanderzee was also consulted.[502] The original six rolls were examined, as well, in cases where there were discrepancies among the transcripts. This was done to ensure accuracy and that the data reflected in the geodatabase and maps are as close to the original primary sources as possible. Nevertheless, it is highly recommended that the sources be the subject of a new transcription by a palaeographer

[499] Her approach is discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis.
[500] Philomena Connolly, *Medieval record sources* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002).
[501] Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven, "Parochial Development in the Rural Deanery of Skreen," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 94, no. 2 (1964): 115.
[502] Published in 1824, the supplement is contained within an Irish Records Commission report.

(outside of additional archival work done to potentially complete the sources and add more context).

5.3 Phase One: Geodatabase Creation

A considerable portion of this thesis' work involved elucidating the placenames contained within the 1302-20 Irish valuations and finding the coordinates of the medieval sites that were assessed. The valuations contain thousands of medieval Irish placenames (though there are some in Latin, Norman-French, and Middle English). Finding the modern equivalent of these placenames is not a simple matter of translation. The placenames for many churches were written down by clerks that did not comprehend Irish or use uniform linguistic standards. As such, the names were sometimes rendered phonetically or are not easily identifiable. Indeed, one can see drastically different spellings of the same location when comparing the 1302-7 valuations with the 1319-20 post-war revaluations. To complicate matters further, there is a scarcity of administrative documents (especially for Gaelic areas) that enumerate the names of ecclesiastical sites or settlements. The passage of time and the legacy of colonization in Ireland also do not serve to make the situation less complex. However, because the parishes are bounded within a diocese and sometimes a deanery, search efforts can be geographically concentrated.

The focus of this thesis is on parish church valuations, including the incomes of vicars and rectors (or other clergy that claim a fee from these benefices) that can be amalgamated and attached to a specific church. A parish church's income was based on tithing, and by c. 1300 tithing practices (like those of papal tenths) and parish boundaries were established for both the Gaelic Irish and Anglo-Irish (partly due to the colonial presence pushing for and catalysing parish formation).[503] There were differences in terms of fee-claiming between cultures (i.e. Gaelic rectors, vicars, and bishops claiming portions of a benefice's income), something which Nicholls suggests indicates that Gaelic

[503] The works of Otway-Ruthven, particularly, have illustrated the integral part parishes played to the Anglo-Normans as they conquered Irish territory. Not only did it have a religious basis but was tied to political and economic boundaries. Nicholls, in *Rectory, Vicarage and Parish in the Western Irish Dioceses,* also contributed immensely to our understanding of Gaelic parish formation.

communities had clear distinctions between religious and lay properties.[504] These fee-claims can also help to delineate what dioceses had limited colonial influence (essentially the Great Irishry and parts of Connacht); however, they do not compromise the data as the different claims can be tied to a respective parishes. Altogether, parishes drew from standardized forms of income (largely agricultural produce) and by 1302 had static boundaries. As such, they offer comparable social units that cut across cultures and economic systems.

In terms of population, parishes density can serve as a rough gauge of population density by showing how closely communities were situated from one another. However, parishes can arguably offer more precise insight than just representing communities more broadly. As discussed in Chapter Two, manors, parishes, and knights' fees were generally concurrent with one another (within a colonial context), serving to fund the upkeep of a single knight. Knights' fees adapted to the quality of the land and local economy (e.g. growing larger in areas where there was limited commercial activity or less fertile soil). It stands to reason that these fees and manorial economies would have had roughly similar amounts of human capital and population to function. Ergo, parishes within a rural context would have serviced a similar number of parishioners. Bruce Campbell's work in *Benchmarking medieval economic development: England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, c.1290* involved, in part, dividing population estimates for Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and England by the number of parishes in each respective nation. While his estimates of population density varied greatly, for England, Wales, and Ireland the calculated numbers of people per parishes (or benefice) were relatively close to one another (490, 535, and 540, respectively).[505] Such similarity cannot be pure coincidence. While there may have been some degree of variation between parishes (and perhaps between cultures), a case can be made that each parish would service a somewhat standard number of parishioners.

Although the 1302-20 valuations contain religious houses, officer incomes, temporalities, and urban rents, parish incomes are the best indicators of local wealth. Religious house income could vary drastically based on size and the type of order.

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[504] Kenneth Nicholls, "Rectory, Vicarage and Parish in the Western Irish Dioceses," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 101, no. 1 (1971): 63.
[505] Bruce M. S. Campbell "Benchmarking Medieval Economic Development: England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, C.1290," *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 61, no. 4 (2008): 931.

Bishops' temporalities and urban rents are also very variable per diocese and are not something that can be as systematically analysed as well as parishes. Although these other benefices and additional forms of data can and should be used as economic indicators, they cannot be mapped among parishes as they are a disparate form of income.

Incomplete parish valuations will not be included in the mapping. Some valuations were not completed as religious orders exempt from taxation (i.e. the Hospitallers and Templars) took undefined portions from parishes under their jurisdiction.[506] Additionally, there are also churches destroyed by conflict that were not valued at all. These churches will not be included as their inclusion would throw off quantitative analysis and give a misrepresentation of the area's wealth. Only fully valued parishes will be utilised for this study, although parishes under Templar control or wasted by conflict could prove useful in future geographical works.

There are multiple means of confronting the challenges surrounding the placenames. Foremost, there is some secondary literature that provides direct assistance. It is important to note, however, that placename indications given in secondary sources or databases are not taken at face value. Rather, the approach of this thesis is to refer to multiple sources to ensure accuracy and confirm that the identified location is valid.

Sweetman's *Calendar* (that contains Handcock's corrigenda) provides translations and modern locations for some of the valued parishes. However, these must be used with caution. Reeves, in *Ecclesiastical antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore*, provides modern placenames for most of eastern Ulster, as well as concise parish histories.[507] Within the Robinson Library (Armagh, Ireland), Reeves' personal notes can be found. There is a document among the collection called the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Hiberniae*, which is Reeves' personal transcription of the six rolls and his attempt to find the modern placenames of the benefices (with reference to primary sources used to substantiate his work). Reeves also made a list of the Anglo-Irish parishes that were not taxed as part of Armagh and Louth within this text.

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[506] If these portions can be ascertained or estimated, however, the full values can be obtained and mapped in future works.

[507] William Reeves, *Ecclesiastical antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore, consisting of a taxation of those dioceses, compiled in the year MCCCVI.; with notes and illustrations* (Dublin: University Press, 1847).

Outside of these works, there are also extensive diocesan studies that provide local histories and appendixes of primary documents related to local history. Many of these were authored at the turn of the twentieth century by dedicated local or regional historians. The appendixes are invaluable to tracking linguistic and boundary changes over time, and sometimes include enumerations of parishes. Indeed, the 1302-20 valuations are occasionally used as a source for discussing diocesan layouts during medieval times by these studies. These works are included within the bibliography. Of great utility were the works of Patrick Power, who extensively researched the antiquities and archaeology of Munster.

Knowledge of Irish can help decipher what words were being rendered phonetically, as well as discern if the placename was a descriptor of the surrounding environment. Indeed, there is some degree of linguistic continuation from the medieval period for many parishes. In conjunction with this, the *Logainm* database was consulted to help trace the evolution of placenames.[508] Some entries within the database contain direct citations of the 1302-20 valuations, thus facilitating identification efforts. To compliment this database, the *Historical Environment Viewer* by the National Monuments Service (Republic of Ireland) has substantial archaeological data on medieval churches (some of which includes medieval placenames or references to the 1302-20 valuations).[509] County archaeological surveys, atlases, and reports are also of great assistance in this endeavour.

There are a limited number of primary documents which can be utilized. These documents are mainly from the early modern era. Royal visitations of Ireland (which Reeves heavily used) can be extensively analysed for placenames and parishes. Being at the tail end of the medieval period, the names contained in these documents are germane and capture a great deal of Ireland (in a spatial sense). Medieval documents can be consulted but are often too diffuse to offer any systematic assistance or might just

[508] "*Logainm*," Government of Ireland, 2019, https://www.logainm.ie/en/ .
[509] "Historic Environment Viewer," Government of Ireland Department of Arts, Heritage, Regional, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, 2017, http://webgis.archaeology.ie/historicenvironment/ .

contain passing references to a location. On notable exception, however, are *obligationes* for select dioceses (also included within the bibliography).[510]

Once a medieval placename has been tied to its modern counterpart, the next step is to acquire the coordinates of the medieval church. Coordinates (using the Irish Transverse Mercator coordinate system) are found via the *Historical Environment Viewer*. This application provides both present day base-maps and the nineteenth century Ordnance Survey maps. Both base-maps can be overlain with archaeological data from both the National Monuments Service (Republic of Ireland) and the National Inventory of Architectural Heritage (Republic of Ireland), such as church sites, holy sites, ruins, and castles. The Ordnance Survey maps themselves note locations of medieval ruins and contemporary church sites.

Fortuitously, many medieval church sites are easily identifiable in the landscape as either ruins or modern Church of Ireland parish churches. The remains of religious houses, too, have generally remained undisturbed outside of urban zones. Cathedral sites are almost always contiguous with their medieval foundations. As such, coordinates can generally be achieved with exact precision once the placename is reconciled within the landscape.

Where medieval sites cannot be easily identified, there is an alternative route to providing coordinates for a site. If a valuation can be tied to a specific townland, the centre of the townland can be utilized as the coordinate as a townland is a succinct enough geographical area to provide accuracy.[511] If a valuation cannot be properly tied to a specific site or townland with certainty or strong evidence, however, it will not be approximated or utilized within any point maps.

After the coordinates were ascertained, a database was created for each diocese (or two for those dioceses that were revalued after the Bruce Invasion). Every parish has its medieval placename, its modern name, its modern parish or diocesan affiliation, coordinates, and value in pence listed. It also notes if the coordinates are a townland approximation, as well if there was a failure to elucidate the medieval placename. Any

[510] *Obligationes* refer to regimented oral debates, part of the medieval intellectual life as both an important exercise in logic and means of competition. Records of participating ecclesiastics can provide details of their parish name within a diocese.

[511] This was done for less than ten parishes altogether. Shapefiles of Irish townlands were imported, and then an ArcGIS function was used to find the centre of the polygons.

notations related to the parishes were also included (e.g. wasted by conflict or under Templar control). Overall, 1531 fully-valued parishes were ascertained from the 1302-7 valuations, with an approximate 75 to 100 percent recovery rate for dioceses.

In addition to finding these coordinates to enable the plotting of points, the data was also amalgamated into baronies for the purposes of generating choropleth maps. The purpose of this was two-fold. Foremost, it provides a different geographical unit of analysis that can be easier to visualize than points. Besides this, although not all the valued sites can be connected to a precise location, some can still be placed within baronies. This can be achieved with the assistance of Ordnance Survey maps, the Down Survey maps that have been digitised by Trinity College Dublin, and nineteenth century administrative documents (regarding townlands, civil parishes, and baronies). Thus, more of the data can be captured within the maps produced from the database. However, if a benefice could not be tied to a barony with verification, it was not be included.

Another dataset involving the Bruce Invasion was also created. The differences between pre- and post-Invasion valuations was calculated per parish. The percentage of change between the valuations was then attached to the germane site to enable statistical analysis and mapping. Outside of this, the total values of the dioceses (that were revalued) was manually tallied to note changes in total diocesan wealth.

5.4 Phase Two: Geographical Visualisation

Once the geodatabase has been constructed, it can be utilized to produce maps of varying scale, as well as juxtapose the data alongside other datasets and project it on multiple base-maps. Alternative base-maps will highlight different physical dimensions of the Irish landscape, such as elevation,[512] soil suitability for agriculture, slope,[513] soil type,[514] and topography.

Concerning suitability for agriculture, a task of this thesis was to digitise M.J. Gardiner's 1980 National Soil survey map, so that it can be used as a base-map. This entailed scanning the map, georeferencing the jpeg, and then manually drawing

[512] The European Digital Elevation Model (EU-DEM), version 1.1 was used for elevation analysis.
[513] Slopes were obtained from the European Soil Database of the EUROPEAN SOIL DATA CENTRE (ESDAC).
[514] The United Nation's Food and Agriculture Organisation's Harmonised World Soil Database was used.

approximately 250 polygons to represent different soils patches. These polygons were then amalgamated into Gardiner's five broader categories of soil classification to abet the analysis and readability of the map. Gardiner's map has the advantage of applying the same classifications to soils within both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, while also being specifically tailored to Ireland. European Union data can be too broad (e.g. focusing in on larger regional soil trends than local variations) while recent data from the UK and ROI national governments often uses different methods and classifications (inhibiting concurrent use). Nevertheless, in order to incorporate more recent information, soil constraint (for agriculture) data from the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation will also be utilised.[515]

ArcGIS has been selected to analyse the data and produce the maps. This software is ideal as it is the industry standard and offers a wide-array of analytical applications that can add to the depth of the research. It's also complimented by geodatabase features that allow it to manage and import multiple databases, something which is necessary for this thesis. The main type of map that will be produced will be point-populated that represent each valued parish as an individual symbol and projected with a very high-degree of accuracy (within several meters of the physical church site). However, due to the high level of detail and sheer number of valuations, these maps will be primarily used for local and regional analysis. The data will be organized using a Relational Database Management System (RDBMS). An object-oriented vector GIS would not be useful for the study as there are no rules (or methods) regarding the distribution or placement of the sites. RDBMS, which is defined by attributes, is thus more suitable to the study.

Visualising the data as points also has three added benefits. Foremost, it avoids the issue of medieval parish boundaries. It cannot be safely assumed that these boundaries wholly correspond to modern civil divisions (though this is likely the case in much of Leinster and Munster). Points based on the exact sites of medieval churches circumvent the issues of boundary changes from the medieval period. Secondly, the distribution of parishes or lack thereof helps highlight areas that escaped valuation or that weren't heavily populated due to natural features (e.g. mountain ranges). Besides

[515] The basemap is provided via the UN FAO's Harmonised World Soil Database (Version 1.2). The metrics for constraints are based on nutrient availability, nutrient retention capacity, rooting conditions, oxygen availability to roots, excess salts, toxicity, and workability (i.e. ease of human management).

this, points can be used to extract information more easily from rasters and are more versatile for quantitative analysis (e.g. analyses that involve proximity and density). These extractions can then be added to parish information in the RDBMS database.

Choropleth maps will take two forms: baronial maps and diocesan maps. Both baronial and diocesan boundaries can be expressed via shapefiles. These maps have the added benefit of amalgamating totals for a distinct geographical area to convey them in a more streamlined and readable manner. Concerning the former, baronies can be shaded by total value in pence and average parish valuation per barony to better visualize the distribution of wealth and demography on a national level, as well as highlight outliers. These maps can then be adapted and expanded on to help flesh out different political and economic zones. Nevertheless, a few caveats must be noted regarding these baronies. Such maps lose nuance and cannot as easily be projected onto different base-maps. Concerning the former, there is a risk that a singular parish might represent an entire barony in areas where political control was contested or was not fully valued, giving a false impression of the area's wealth (such as the issue with Campbell's approach to the data). Using baronial maps in concert with point-populated maps helps ameliorate this issue, but it must be remembered that the point-populated maps are the more accurate of the two types. Concerning diocesan choropleth maps, these will be utilized to represent percent changes caused by the Bruce Invasion, providing an image of regional devastation.

5.5 Phase Three: Qualitative and Quantitative Analysis

The third phase will be divided into two parts. The first part, detailed in Chapter Six, will explore Ireland's distribution of wealth based on the 1302-7 valuations, explore the extent of colony, and comment on the political landscape at the time. Part Two, contained in Chapter Seven, will analyse the impact of the Bruce Invasion and the 1319-20 valuations.

5.5.1 Stage One

The first stage of this analysis will be to identify national trends using the 1302-7 data, with the aim of defining larger regions and then zonal archetypes with similar characteristics within the landscape. Qualitatively, point and barony maps can be used to compare the distribution of wealth to existing regional schemas of Ireland identified in the primary sources and secondary literature (e.g. the Pale and the Great Irishry), as well as move away from preconceptions by exploring deviations from established frameworks and expectations. This will be complemented with quantitative analysis: namely, point density and clustering functions in ArcGIS. Density can help to highlight areas where parishes were heavily concentrated. As parishes (arguably) serviced a similar amount of people, not only can they serve as economic proxies, but population ones as well. Thus, density analysis can allow for inferences on demographics and the quality of the land (i.e. if parishes were closely situated then the land was high enough quality to support a dense population). Clustering can identify hotspots and cold-spots of wealth, detect outliers, and show areas with little statistical significance (which would translate to randomness or a mixture of high, middling, and low valued parishes). Both metrics will greatly abet identifying shared features between regions and zones.

In addition to these endeavours, the different base-maps discussed in the previous section (i.e. soil suitability, elevation, topography, and soil type) will be overlain with the valuation data to assist with identifying trends and explore drivers behind Ireland's distribution of wealth. The drivers to be explored are the environment, urbanisation, and commercialisation.

Commercialisation in this context will refer to the movement towards a profit-driven, monetary, and market-based economy. Existing records of manors, such as *Inquisitions Post Mortem*, or towns (such as taxes or customs revenue) are too sporadic and not uniform enough to perform a nationwide statistical analysis (however, they would be of great utility for a local or regional study in conjunction with the valuations). What can instead be used to measure commercialisation's impact would be accesses to overseas ports, which provided a means for agricultural surpluses and other goods (e.g. hides, wool, mantles) to be commodified.

Two distinct datasets of ports will be created. The first set will be the major urban ports that paid substantial customs fees (over 1000 pounds) between 1276-1333: Dublin,

Cork, Waterford, New Ross, and Drogheda.[516] In addition to this, there will be a second set containing: Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Wexford, New Ross, Youghal, Galway, Drogheda, Dundalk, Dingle, Carlingford, Strangford, Coleraine, Carrickfergus, Tralee, and Kinsale. These ports have been identified via primary and secondary sources as having urban characteristics[517] and overseas trade between 1276 and 1333. The rationale behind the use of two sets is to better gauge the impact of larger urban ports on their hinterlands in the first set. Radial maps will be created for both sets of ports to help visualise what parishes might have been impacted by their hinterlands. Additionally, regression analysis will be run between distance from both sets of ports and wealth (with an expected negative relationship as proximity to a port was likely beneficial). Distances will be acquired by using the Near feature in ArcGIS, thereby calculating the nearest port to a parish. It is expected that the first set will have a more pronounced statistical relationship than the second set due to the amount of trade and their urban populations. Furthermore, the second set contains several ports in frontier zones that likely faced limits or challenges to their growth and activity.

Concerning both urbanisation and commercialisation, K. Nicholls and R. Glasscock's map of *Principal Towns and Manors c. 1300* map in the *New History of Ireland (Volume II)* has also been digitised for this thesis so that it can be inserted into ArcGIS to help understand the spread and extent of the colony.[518] However, the sites contained within the map do not differentiate between manors and towns, indicate their size, or comment on their longevity. Nevertheless, it can still serve as a useful aid for understanding the extent of Anglo-Irish settlement (qualitatively) and quantitatively understanding the importance of access to or presence within a broader colonial economic network. A regression analysis between distance and wealth will also be run with the variables (with the Near feature also used to find the closest Anglo-Irish economic site).

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[516] Margaret Murphy, "The Economy," in *The Cambridge History of Ireland*, edited by Brendan Smith and Thomas Bartlett "Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 397.
[517] John Bradley, "Planned Anglo-Norman towns in Ireland," in *The Comparative history of urban origins in non-Roman Europe: Ireland, Wales, Denmark, Germany, Poland, and Russia from the ninth to the thirteenth century*, ed. Anngret Simms and H.B. Clarke (Oxford: B.A.R., 1985), 418-9.
[518] Robin Glasscock, "Land and People, c. 1300," in *A New History Ireland: Volume II*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 233.

To further map and test urbanisation, John Bradley's list of 56 towns in *The Comparative History of Urban Origins in Non-Roman Europe (Part II)* will be utilised. Bradley's used criteria of commercial dependence, legal independence, communal organisation, social hierarchy, and specialist activity to denote a town. This helps to distinguish them from the rural boroughs discussed in Chapter Two that were created to attract settlers but did not possess truly urban characteristics (of which there are approximately 174[519]). Bradley's list is authoritative and has been well received. What other lists of towns exist are often regional or focus on a specific attribute (i.e. the work on walled towns done by Avril Thomas). The procedure done on ports and Anglo-Irish economic sites will be replicated for towns. Distance between parishes and the nearest urban site will be calculated and then extracted. As urbanisation was overwhelmingly an Anglo-Irish feature, mapping this data can also be expressed as points to help gauge the extent of colonial settlement (with radials to help gauge the extent of potential impact). It will be expected that proximity to an urban site will result in higher parish valuations. The logic behind this is that towns and cities not only provided markets and access to trading networks, but abetted economic specialisation, the formation of defensive networks, and political organisation.

Regarding quantitative tests on environmental drivers, the Extraction feature of ArcGIS will be used to tie soil constraint and slope data to the valuations. Doing so will enable regression analyses between wealth and these variables. It is expected that both tests will result in negative relationships (i.e. as environmental constraints increase wealth will considerably decline). Elevation was not chosen as exact church sites might not be representative of the surrounding locale and region (e.g. a church being built on high ground or on the locale's best soil). The slope data, which averages an area's slope into distinct tiers, would be a better gauge of this. Outside of these tests, aforementioned base-maps will be used to understand and explore the environment's impact on wealth distribution qualitatively.

Once national trends and the drivers behind them have been noted, the next stage will be to identify distinct zones. These zones will be defined by similar environmental, density, cultural, and wealth characteristics. Said zones will not necessarily be contiguous. Rather, the intent of these zones is to find comparable

[519] Bradley, "Anglo-Norman towns."

patterns across Ireland. The number of archetypes will be dependent on the complexities revealed by the data. It is expected that there will be three broader zones (Gaelic, Anglo-Irish, and frontier) that can be broken down into smaller more specific zones. The goal of these zones is to move away from preconceived and dichotomous understandings of Ireland. Instead the approach will rely more on quantitative methods and multifaced observations while adding further depth and nuance to the understanding of medieval Ireland's landscape.

After the zones have been defined, the next step will be to perform more specific analysis at a local and sub-regional level. Previously utilised environmental base-maps, as well as ports, towns, and manors, will be employed for this. Additionally, data on castles will be drawn from the *Historical Environment Viewer*[520] and the *New History of Ireland*.[521] Only stone-castles of Anglo-Norman masonry erected before or at the time of the valuations were utilised. Mottes and tower-houses were not included within the dataset.

Primary and secondary literature will be surveyed to help provide general cultural and political context to the zones and outliers in the maps. However, the thesis will avoid in-depth case studies for each region as this would become too cumbersome. Such an endeavour would be more appropriate for an atlas or collaborative project. The intent of the survey will be to ascertain who were the primary political actors, the nature of stability and or local conflict, broader economic activity, and cultural attributes, operating within the framework laid out in Chapter Two. The scope of this survey will be the same as the scope of Chapter Two; namely, the decades before and after the valuations were made. Again, the intent is to understand the processes that were occurring during the valuations to better explain the distribution of wealth and provide context.

Once the national, quantitative, and zonal studies have been completed, the final stage of Part One will be to discuss the implications of the data and analysis for concepts regarding political boundaries and frontiers (utilizing the framework established in Chapter Two). Once this discussion has been completed, maps will be generated reflecting these redefined concepts. Additionally, a conjectural map that fills in the

[520] Government of Ireland, "Historic Environment Viewer."
[521] Glasscock, "Land and People, c. 1300."

missing economic zones will be generated, based upon the results of the national and zonal research.

5.5.2 Stage Two

Part Two will deal specifically with the 1319-20 valuations, placing them within the context of the Great European Famine (GEF) and the Bruce Invasion. A three-step process will also be followed for this. The first step will be to concisely discuss the GEF and Bruce Invasion, as well as scholarly opinions on their impacts. Concerning the Bruce Invasion, the focus of this discussion will be on the path of the Scottish army and hotspots of conflict to help create a framework for understanding why some areas of Ireland may be significantly more devastated than other. For this, both primary and secondary sources will be drawn upon. Additionally, some of the major debates regarding the motivations behind the Invasion, such as founding of a Bruce-headed Irish kingdom or causing damage to the English colony, will be briefly surveyed. Understanding the rationale for invading Ireland can help contextualise and qualify actions taken by Edward Bruce and Robert the Bruce.

Step two will be to track changes in parish valuations quantitatively for each diocese. This is not a simple task, as revaluation lists did not always enumerate benefices in the same order (or use the same spelling). Once a post-war valuation has been tied with its predecessor, the percent change in value will be calculated. These changes will then be expressed via point-populated maps that will illustrate percentage of depreciation (or increase if some localities were untouched and continued to grow). This will ideally highlight change not only across Ireland, but within smaller regions as well. By analysing these changes in the context of the established framework, it may become possible to better track the movements of colonial and Scottish armies, as well as the impact of smaller local conflicts.

If a post-war value cannot be tied to its pre-war counterpart, it will not be included within the measurements. Parishes that are completely wasted (there are extremely few of these outside of Dublin) will not be factored into the maps and calculations as 100 percent. The rationale behind this is that these are not precise revaluations, and that treating these parishes separately can be more effectively in

highlighting areas of extreme destruction. Meath will also not be included in the produced maps as the data is, again, not precise but rather a blanket estimation.

In conjunction with these maps and measurements, a choropleth map of total diocesan change (along with a chart outlining the changes) will be included. Once these tasks are done, both regional and local analyses and discussions can take place within the framework during step one. Step three will be to draft a conclusion and briefly comment on the impact of this devastation on Ireland, as well as how it influenced the political, economic and human landscape of different regions in the following decades. This will be done with the assistance of primary sources, namely annalistic references, and a limited amount of secondary literature.

Chapter Six: Analysis of the 1302-7 Valuations

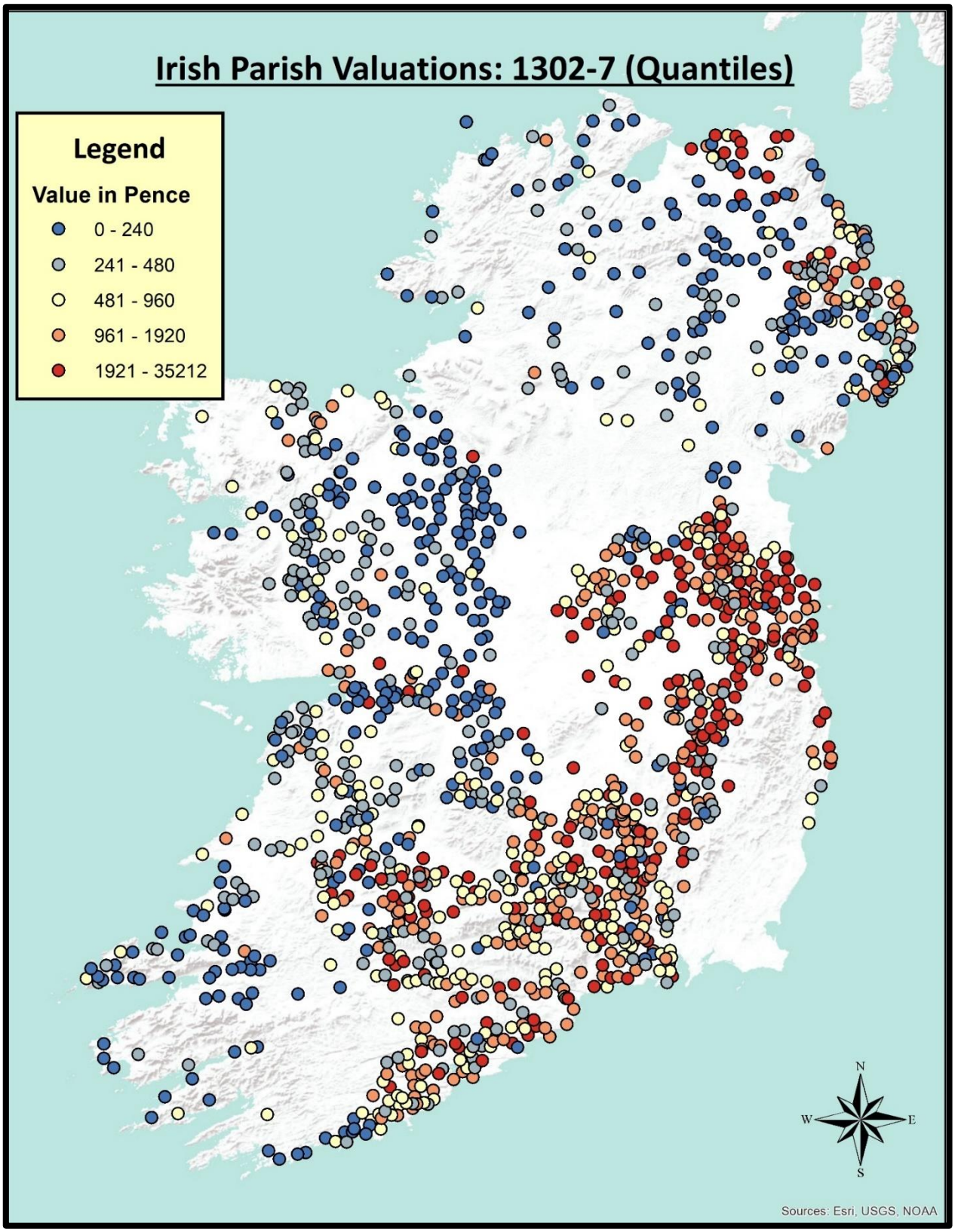
6. 1 Introduction

This chapter identifies and explores regions in Ireland, c. 1300, alongside an array of human and environmental variables. Initially, factors of urbanisation, commercialization, and the physical environment will be analysed on a macro-level scale to quantify their impact and understand regional or island-wide trends. This will also be done with the intent of identifying economic zones within the landscape. Once identified, these zones will be qualitatively explored with a greater emphasis on politics, culture, and human interaction to discern the reasons behind their unique characteristics. This will

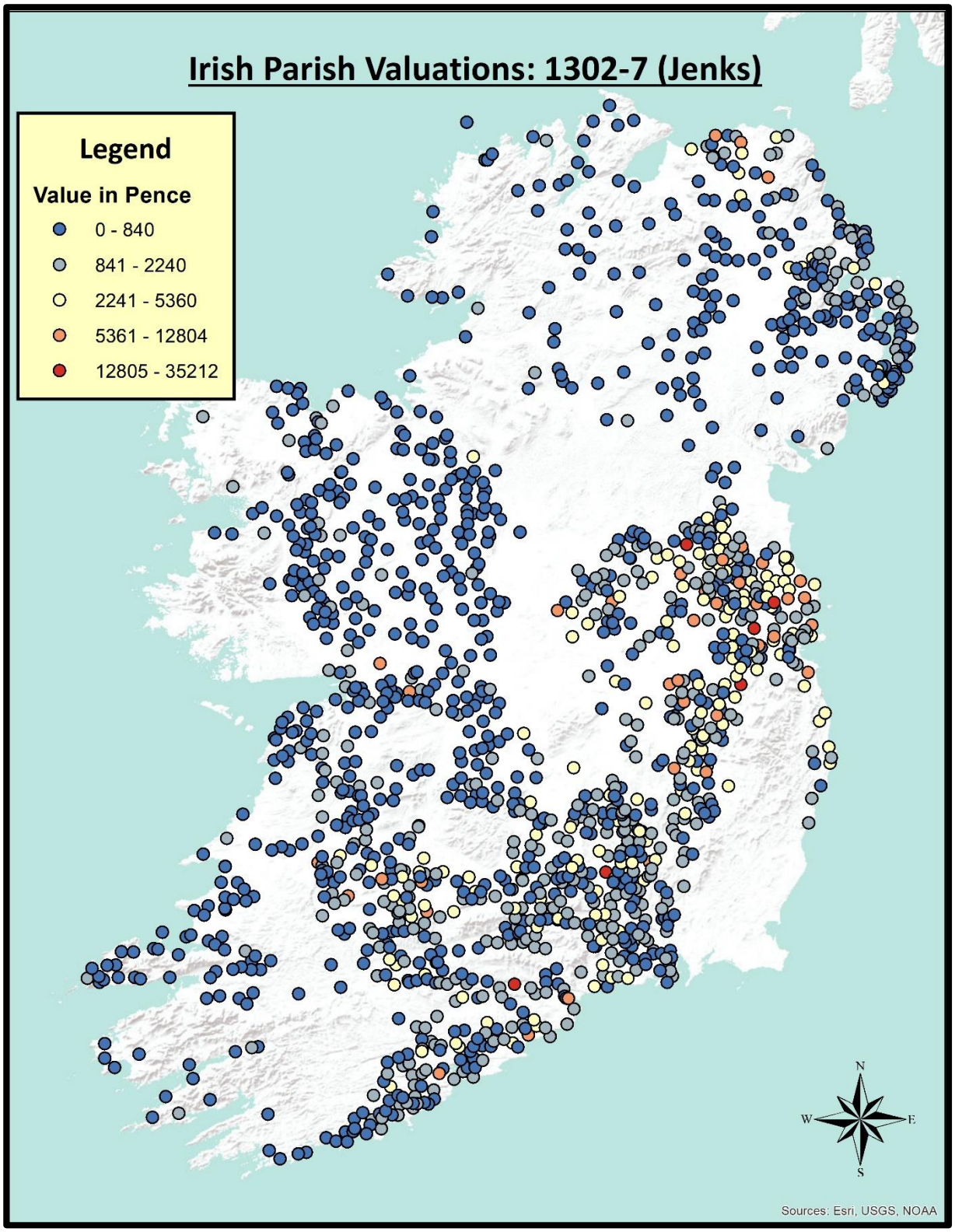
lead to a synthesis of the previous sections and an attempt to revaluate the political landscape of Ireland c. 1300. The chapter will end with preliminary conclusions regarding Ireland's distribution of wealth and a conjectural map that covers unvalued areas. The 1319-20 valuations will be discussed separately in Chapter Seven, as they must be evaluated within the context of the Bruce Invasion, the Great European Famine, and shifting environmental conditions.

6.2 Core National Maps

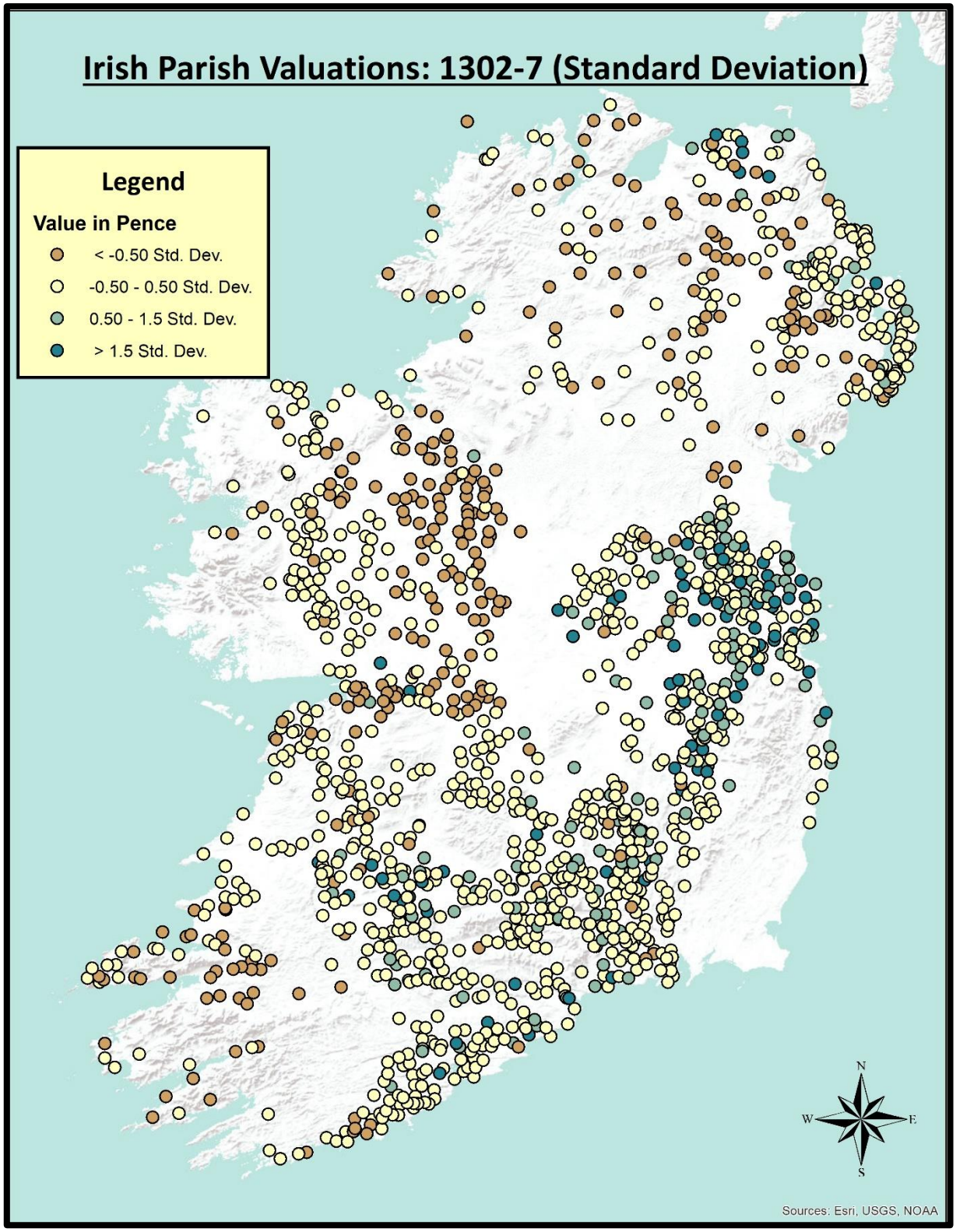
Below are the main maps reflecting the distribution of wealth across Ireland. Point populated maps feature 1531 Irish parishes valued between 1302 and 1307, while the baronial map contains these 1531 parishes aggregated with additional ones that could be tied to a barony (thus reflecting c. 1600 parishes). Areas without data or dioceses that were partly valued (as discussed in Chapter Four) have been excluded from the initial maps. However, why they were missing and what can be derived from their absence, in a political, cultural, and economic sense, will be discussed throughout this chapter.



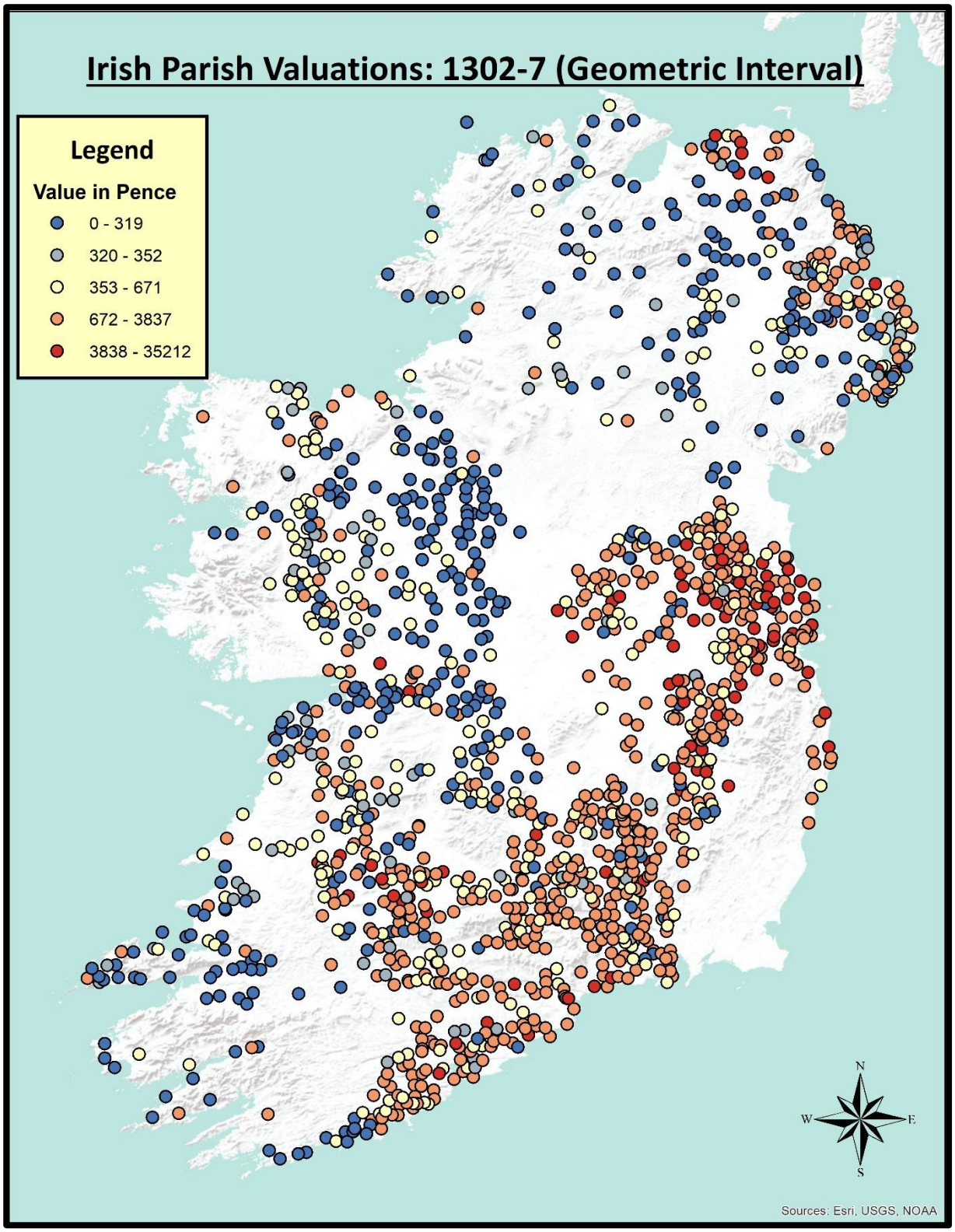
Map 6.1: Divides the parishes into quintiles (based on their values) and then ranks the tiered brackets.



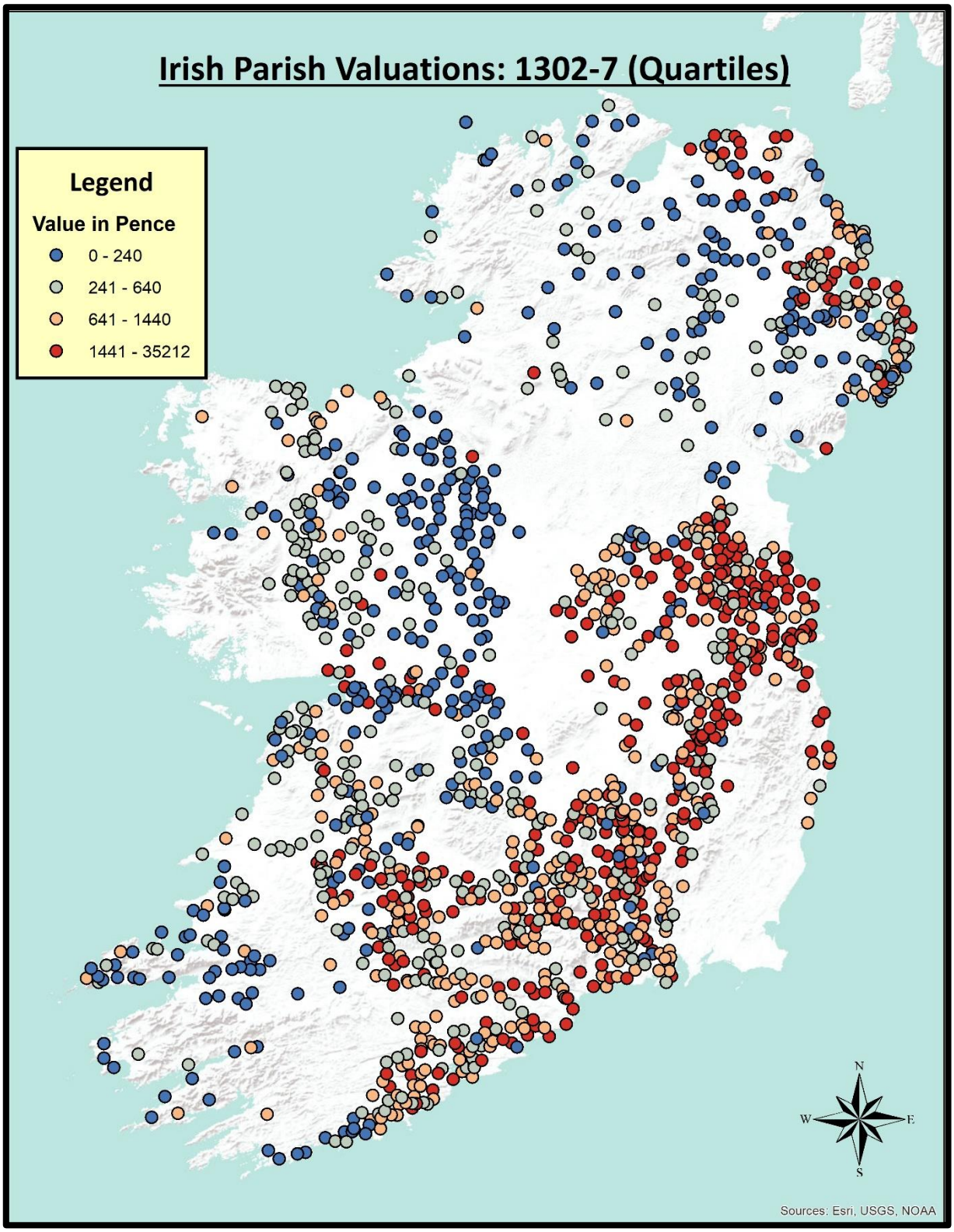
Map 6.2: Utilises the Jenks data clustering method, which optimises variance between classes while reducing variance within classes.



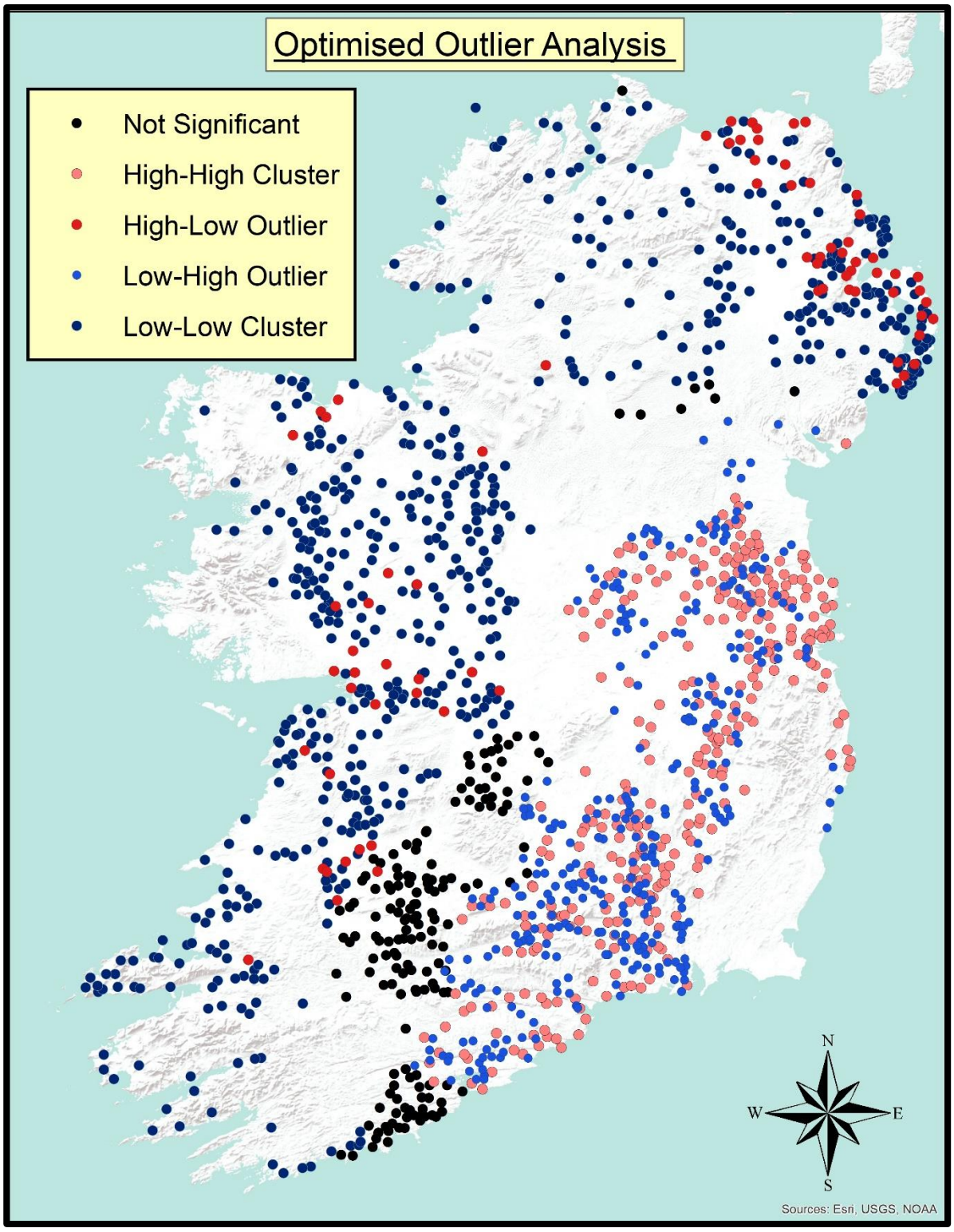
Map 6.3: Uses standard deviations from the mean (c. 1200 pence) to illustrate wealth distribution.



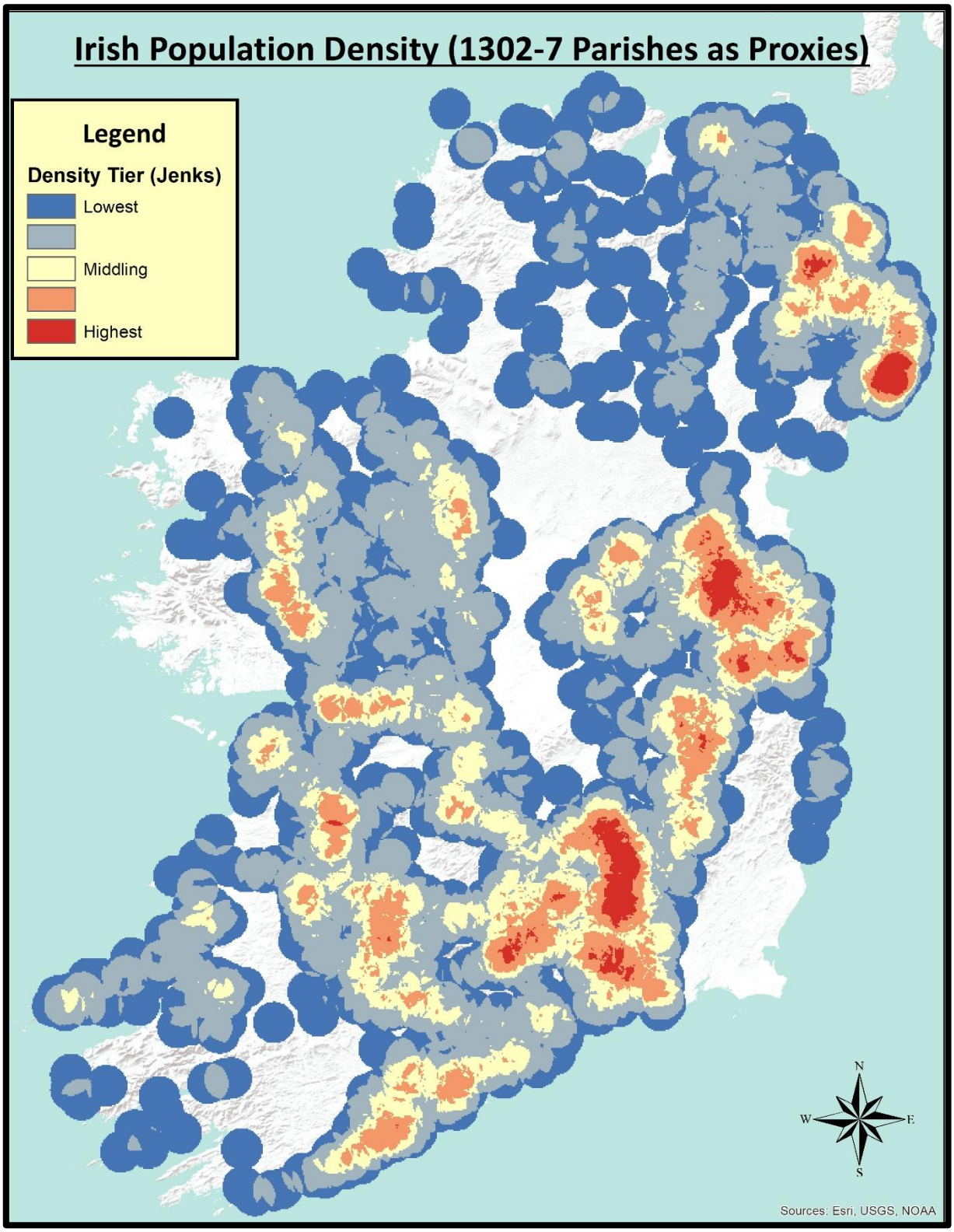
Map 6.4: Illustrates wealth distribution via geometric intervals, or "smart quantiles" that have an equal number of parishes in the classes while maintaining consistent intervals between classes.



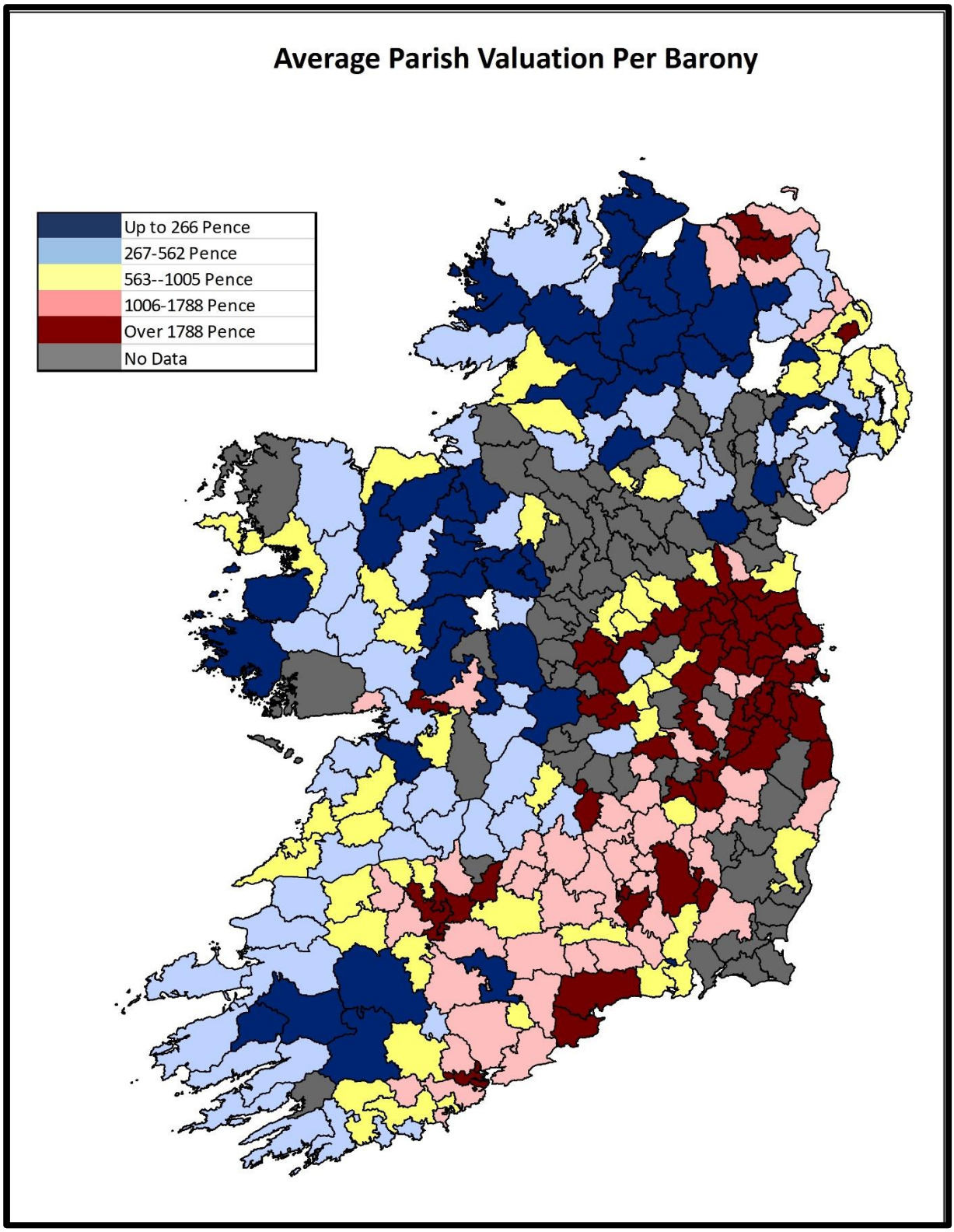
Map 6.5: Divides data into fourths and ranks them by tiers. In this instance, each tier represents a deviation from the median (thereby functioning like standard deviation while also illustrating valuations ranges within each deviation).



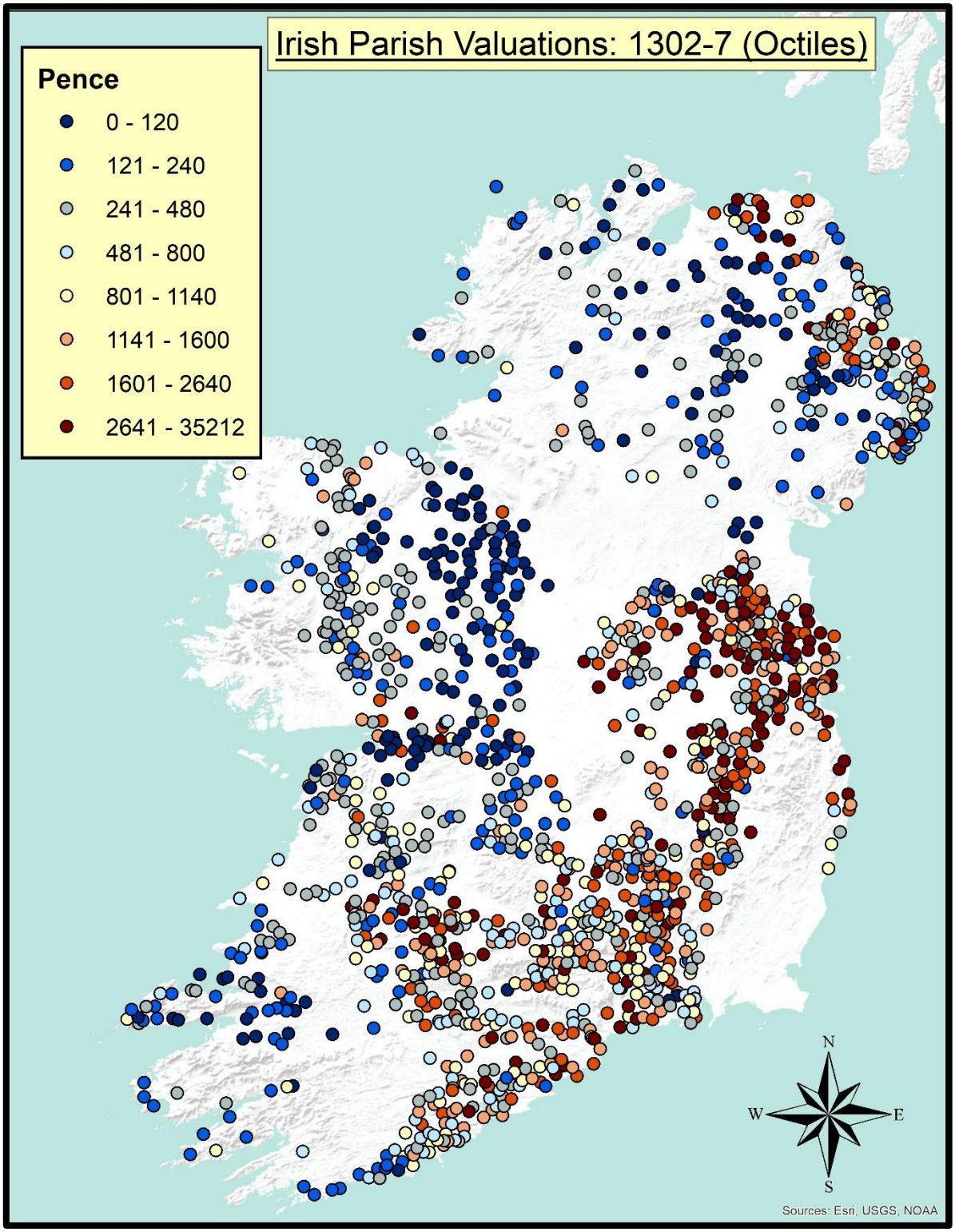
Map 6.6: Outlier analysis helps to highlight where high-valued parishes and low-valued parishes are clustered together, respectively, so that local and regional outliers can be pinpointed. Areas without statistical significant are a melange of high, low, and middling values.



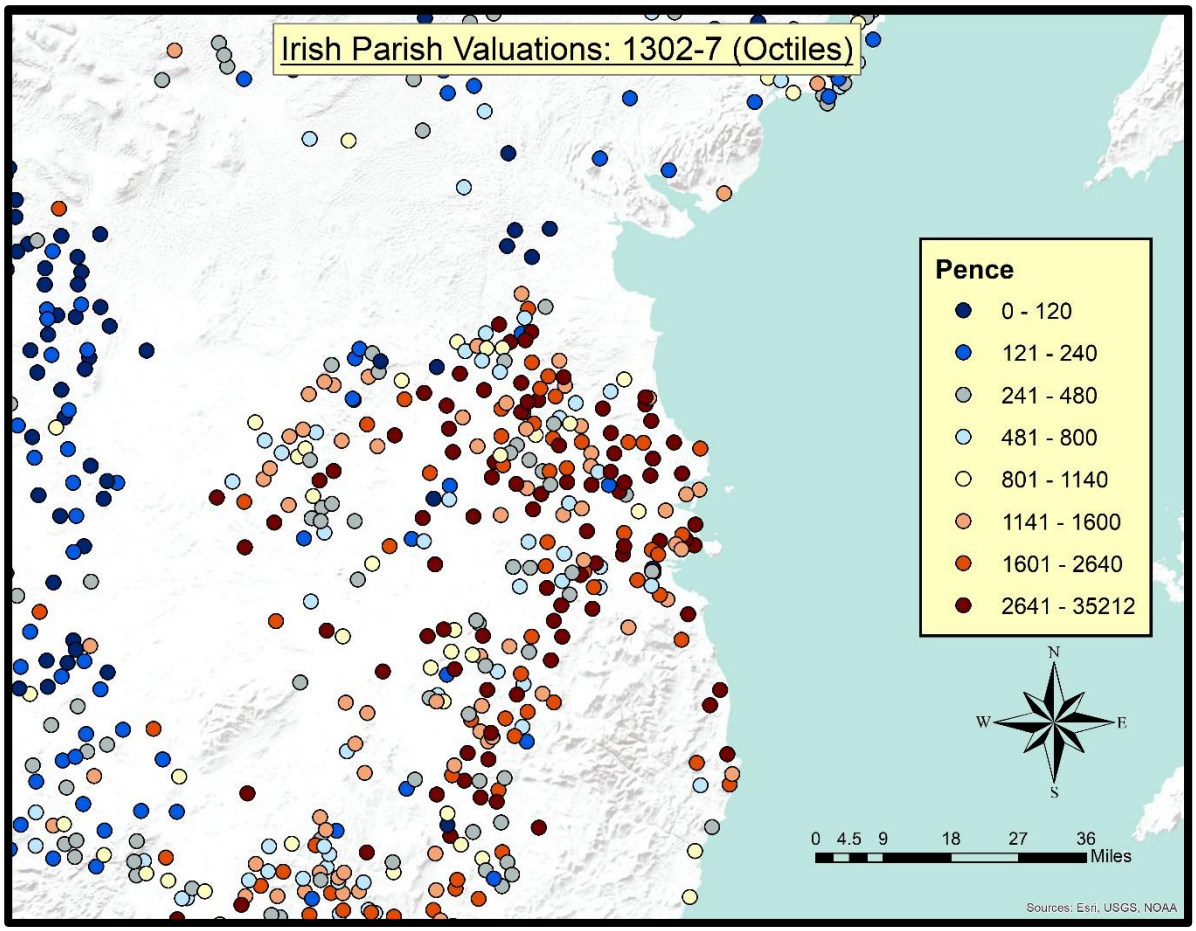
Map 6.7: Is the product of point density analysis on the 1302-7 parishes. The density tiers are determined by the Jenks natural break optimization.



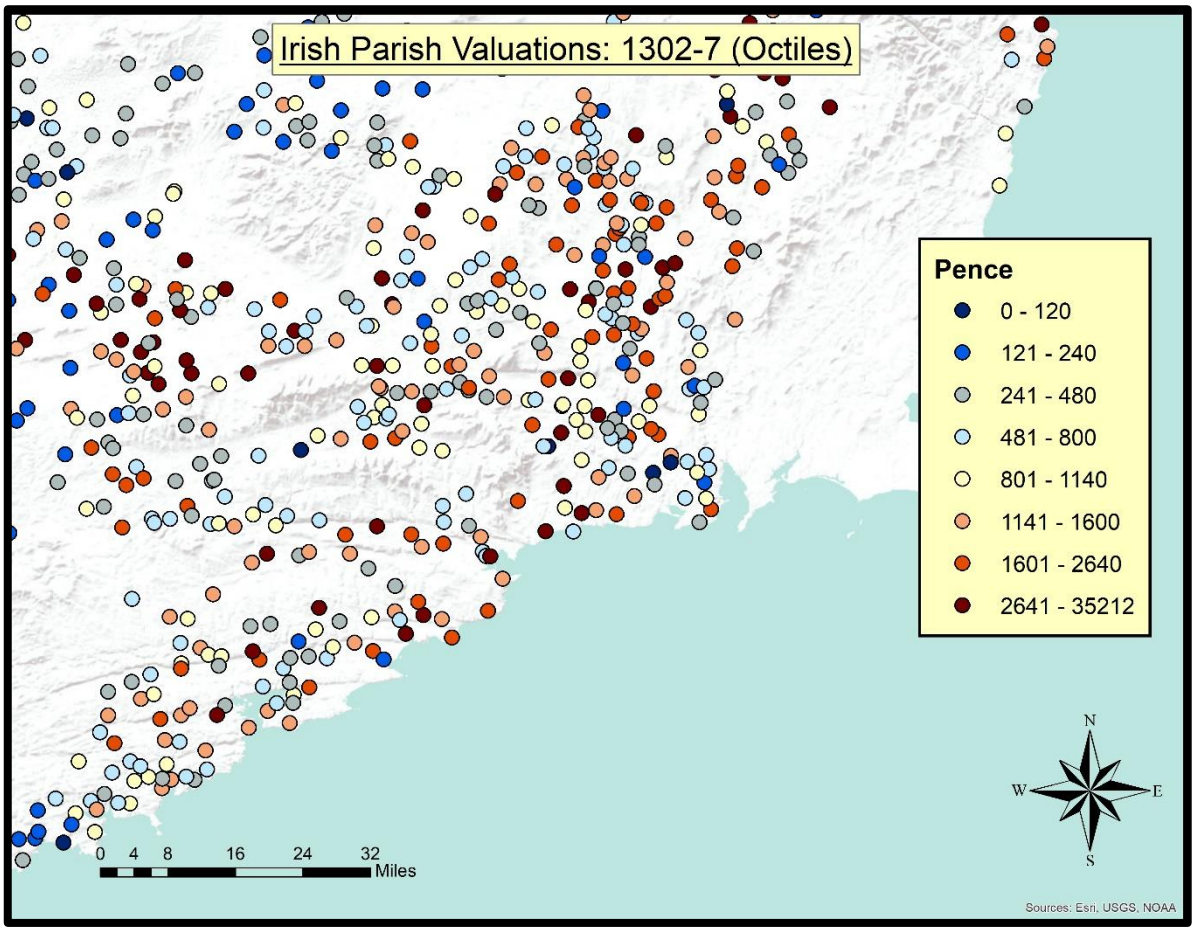
Map 6.8: Represents the average parish valuations per barony divided into quintiles.



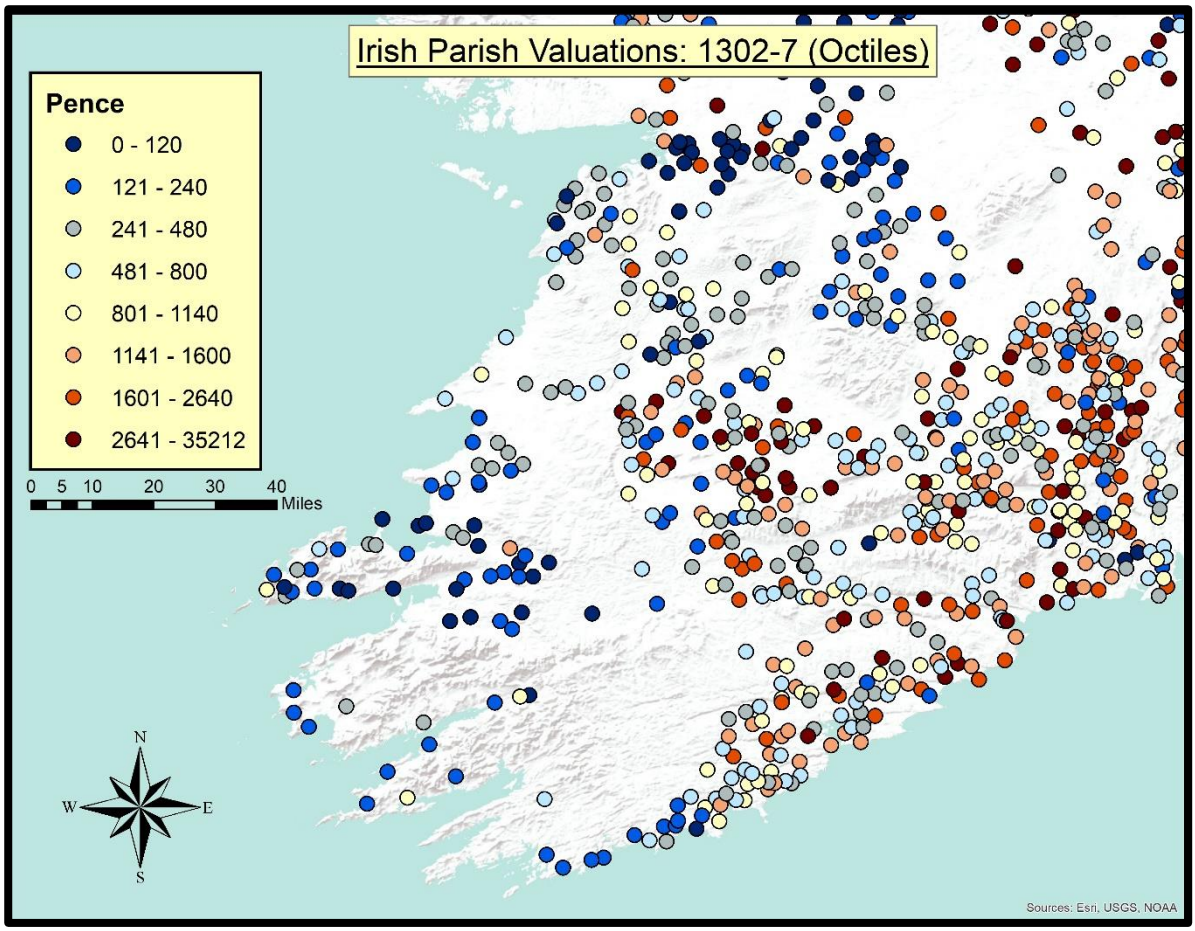
Map 6.9: Divides the parishes into octiles (based on values) and then ranks the tiered brackets. This has been done to highlight a greater array of variance and diversity within the data.



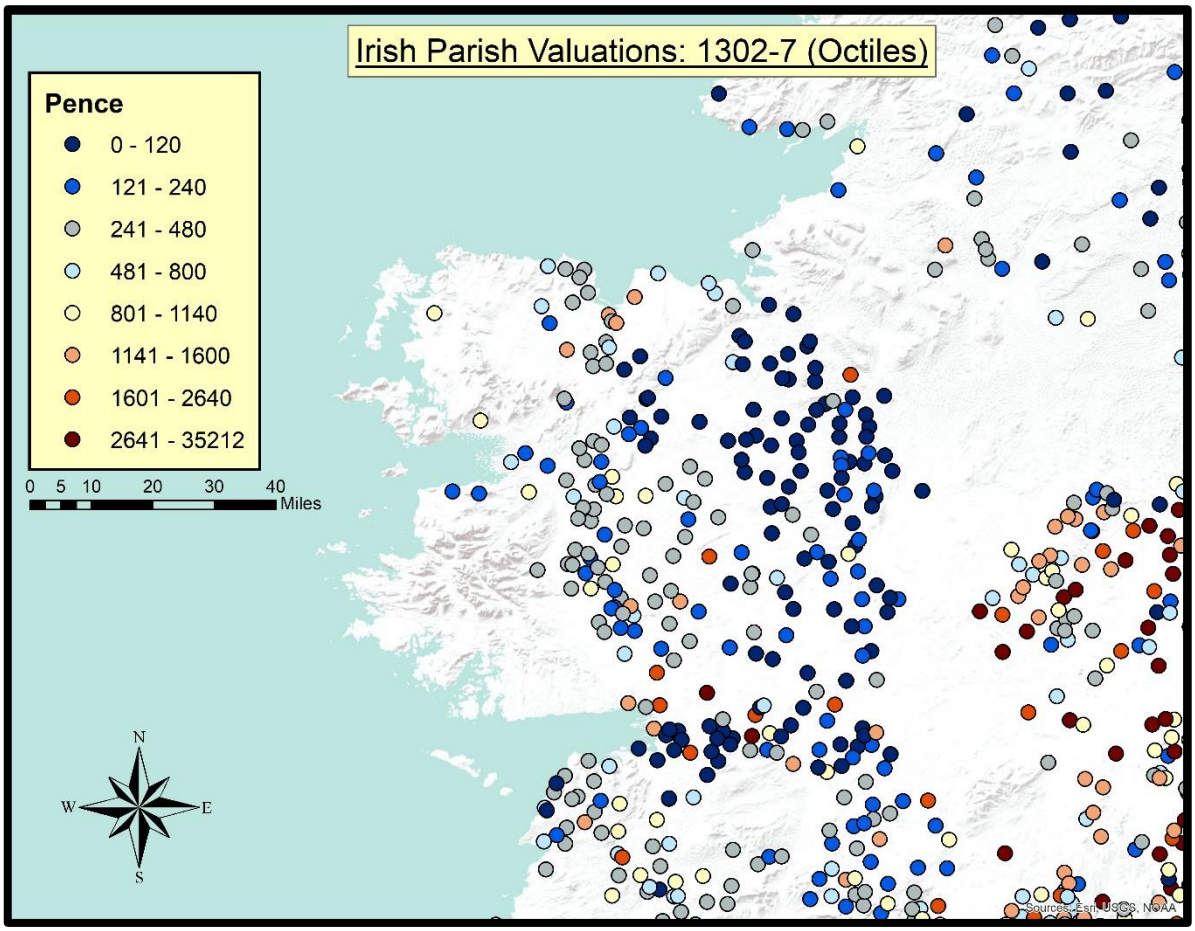
Map 6.9.1: Focuses on Dublin and its Hinterland.



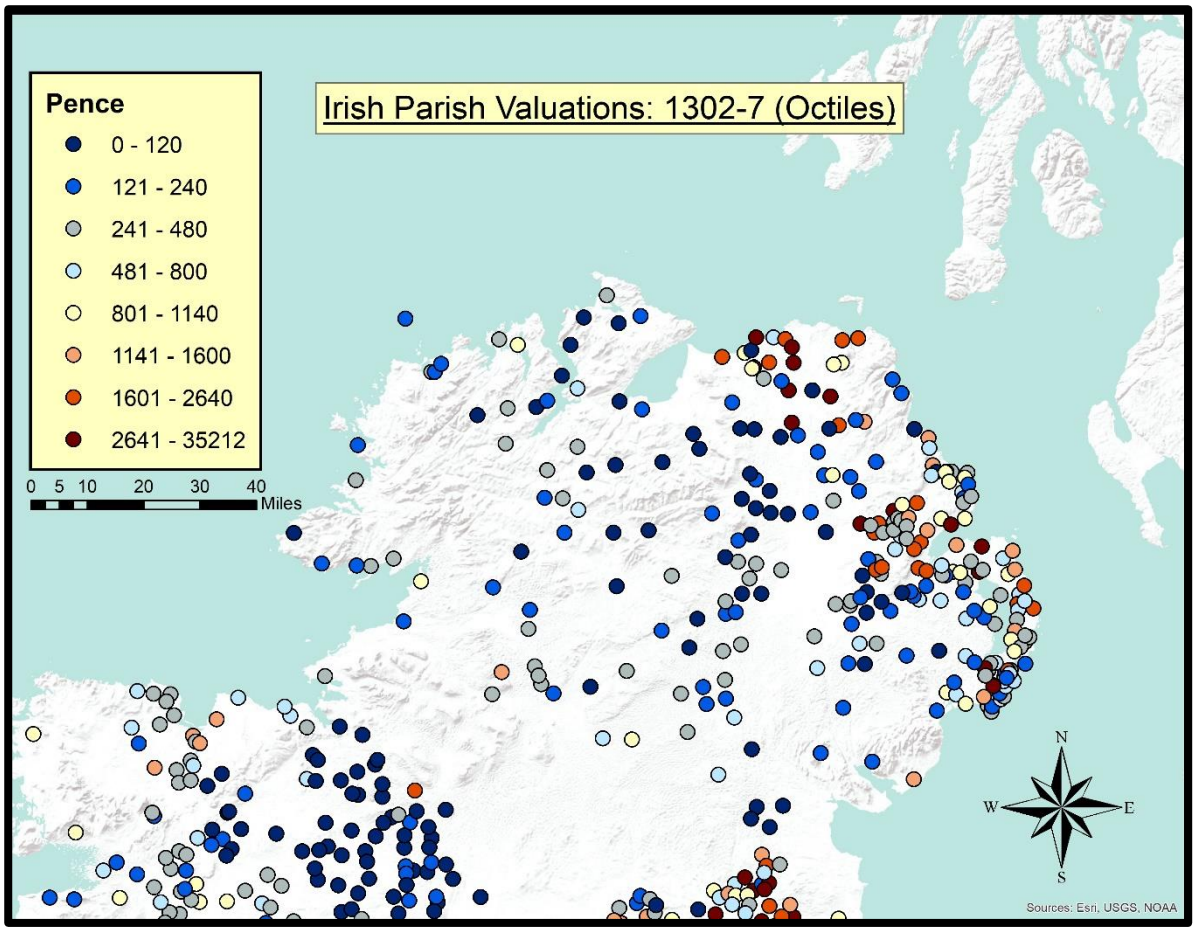
Map 6.9.2: Focuses on Southeast Ireland (namely Waterford and Kilkenny).



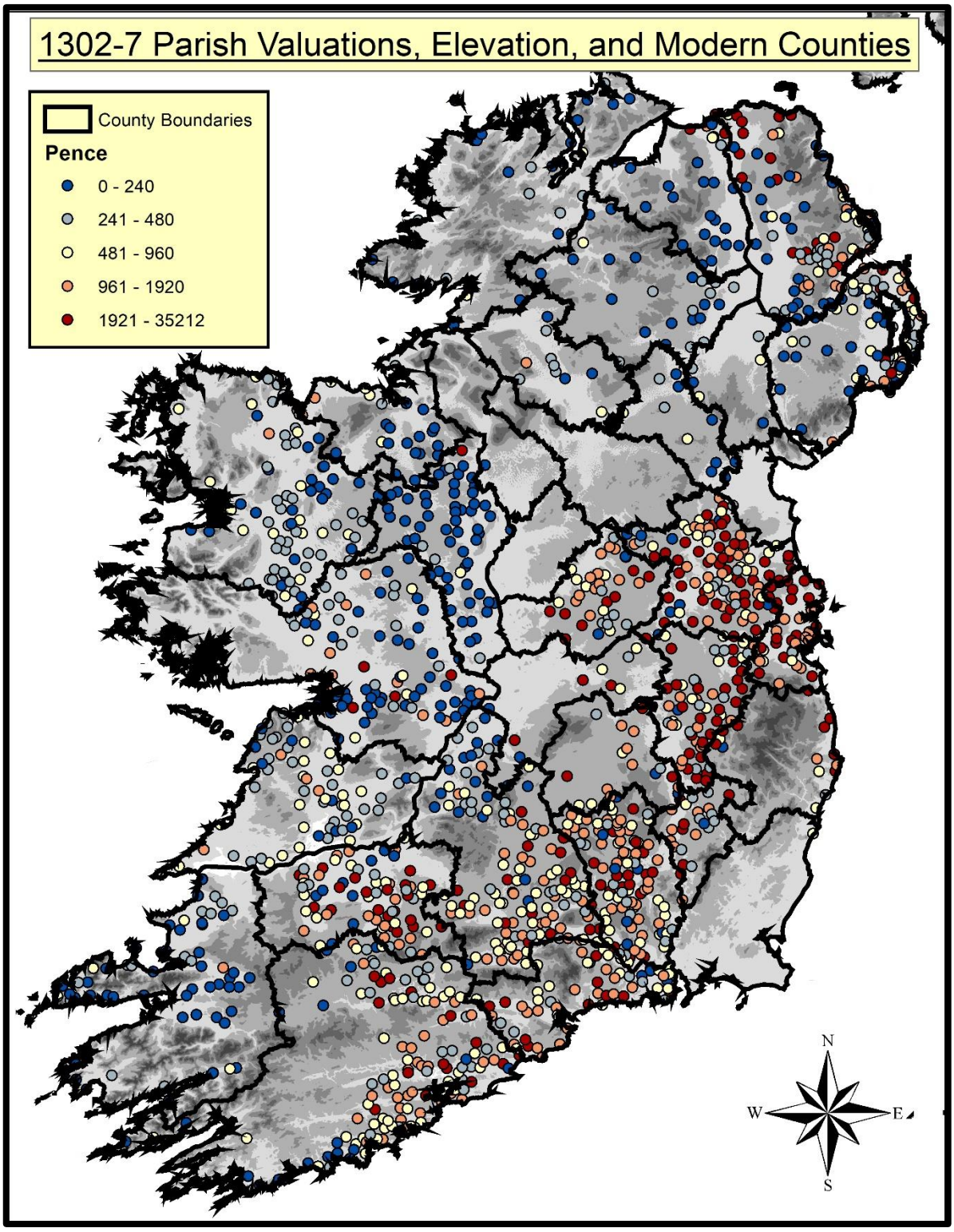
Map 6.9.3: Focuses on Southwest Ireland.



Map 6.9.4: Focuses on Connacht.



Map 6.9.5: Focuses on Ulster.

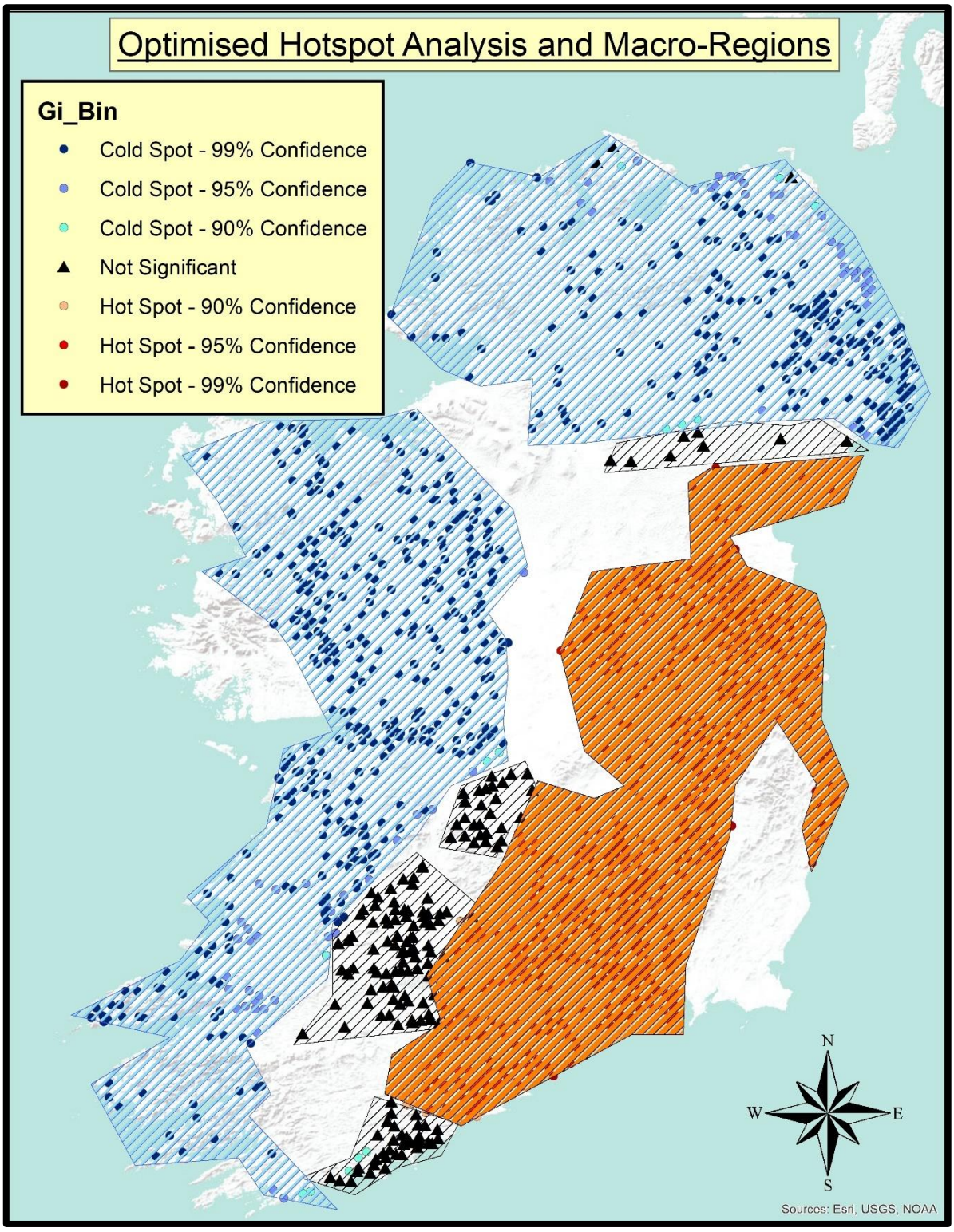


Map 6.10: Provides the parish valuations as quintiles alongside modern county boundaries for the reader's reference.

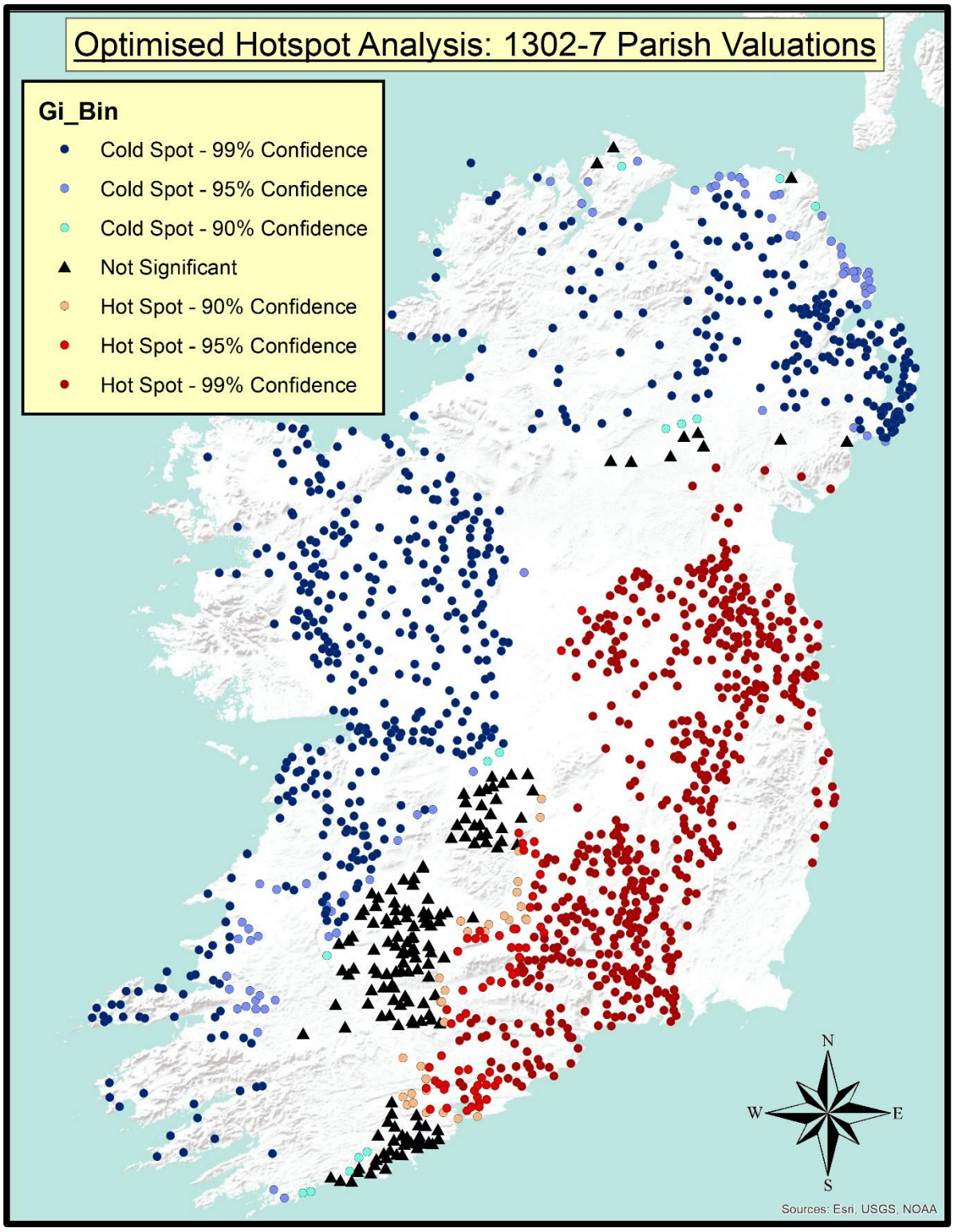
6.3 Macro-level Trends

Across maps 6.1 to 6.10, several common trends become apparent concerning the distribution of wealth in Ireland. These must be discussed before exploring the potential drivers behind them. Foremost, it is important to note that wealth is not randomly distributed. Quintile, quartile, and geometric interval mapping consistently indicate that the upper tiers of wealth fall within Leinster and southeast Ireland, with wealth outside of these areas being less consistently high or uniformly lower-tier. Jenks mapping, while not particularly useful for identifying tends for much of Ireland, does highlight that outliers of extreme wealth generally fall within Dublin or around colonial economic centres (e.g. Athenry, Limerick, Cork, Coleraine, and Kilkenny). Concerning Standard Deviation, positive deviations from the median are largely found in northern Munster and Leinster as well, with the greater positive deviations largely clustered within Dublin's immediate hinterland. Strong negative deviations from the median cover nearly all of Roscommon and eastern Connacht. They can also be found in large numbers across central and western Ulster, as well as County Kerry. Altogether, these maps demonstrate a clear political and cultural association between Anglo-Irish domains and higher tiers of wealth.

Outlier analysis (Map 6.6) is perhaps the most useful for illustrating distinct larger economic regions (aka macro-regions) by identifying areas where high- and low-valued parishes are clustered together. High-high clusters and low-high outliers define the Dublin (and Meath) region and south-eastern Ireland (Region A). Areas without statistical significance (i.e. middling wealth or a mixture of values) can generally be found in three sections of Munster and one section of Ulster (which will be referred as Transition Regions). All of these align with pre-established political frontier regions or marches. The rationale for using the term Transition Region is that they serve as an area of political, cultural, and economic flux between areas that are more well-defined (e.g. clusters of high-value parishes).



Map 6.11: Defines the A and B Macro-Regions, as well as Transition Zones, over Hotspot Analysis Results. The test highlights the confidence in either Cold-spots (low valuation clusters) and Hot-spots (high valuation clusters).



Map 6.12: Provides the Hotspot Analysis without regions for greater legibility.

Low-low clusters and high-low outliers largely define Ulster and regions west of the Shannon (Region B). In this final region, its high-low outliers overwhelmingly correspond to areas of colonial activity (e.g. de Burgh strongholds in southern Galway and the Earldom of Ulster). Regression analysis on clustering (using the High/Low Clustering (Getis-Ord General G) tool) also yielded strong results. The z score was 4.572077, while statistical significance was reported at a p-value of 0.000005.[522] From these statistical results, it can be said with near certainty that higher valued parishes are clustered together, and that said clustering is not random. This highlights the need to identify the cores that precipitate these clusters, as well as smaller nodes and nascent hotspots of wealth.

Map 6.7, which reflects population density, also largely corresponds with these macro-regions. The highest population spikes are found around Dublin and within south-eastern Ireland (Kilkenny in particular). Outside of Region A, there are also high populations spikes in Eastern Ulster, Coleraine, central County Clare, and three parts of Connacht. Two of these spikes are within the scope of de Burgh domains. The third, however, is frontier territory contested with the Ó Conchubhair (nevertheless, it might be defined as a more Gaelic area). Generally, however, much of Ulster, Connacht, and southwestern Munster are defined by low-population density. This is most severe in western Ulster (Donegal) and the south coast of Kerry; however, it is less severe in central Ulster. As for the Transition Regions, there is high density surrounding Limerick, west of Kinsale, and in parts of northern Tipperary. It is important to note that even with a rudimentary topographic base-map, the role of the physical environment starts to become apparent. In some dioceses that are fully valued and surveyed, there are considerable stretches of land without a parish church due to mountain ranges. This is particularly true of Ardfert, Raphoe, and western Galway.

The macro-level trends in Regions A and B are also further highlighted in Map 6.8 (aka the Barony Map). The highest-tier baronies are largely found within Dublin and Meath, with the second highest wealth tier largely composing south-eastern Ireland. Region B, however, is largely comprised of the lowest tiers of wealth, with north-central Ulster being particularly impoverished. The exceptions to this are the Earldom of Ulster, de Burgh holdings in Connacht, and central Clare. Concerning the Transition Zones, there

[522] The null hypothesis, in this test, would be that the high clusters have a random distribution.

is a melange of low, middling, and high-tiers of wealth. This reinforces their frontier nature, essentially areas of limited or contested Anglicisation.

Moving away from these maps, the point populated map-sets allow for greater insight into the variations within the regions, as well as enable local-level analysis. This also provides an opportunity to begin associating economic trends more definitely with political and cultural boundaries. Focusing on Region A, it is apparent that this region largely corresponds to the principal domains of the English colony (essentially Dublin, Meath, Kildare, Carlow, and much of the Second Pale). The greatest concentration of wealth radiates from Dublin City into the See of Dublin and the adjoining Dioceses of Meath and Kildare. This concentration is maintained across quantiles, quartiles, Jenks, standard deviation, and geometric interval maps. This wealth then continues down into the "Carlow Corridor."[523] This whole area constitutes a zone that will be referred to as the Colonial Heartland.

The second highest concentration of wealth (within both the region and Ireland more broadly) can be found across the "Second Pale,"[524] ranging from Kilkenny westwards towards Limerick City (with south-eastern County Limerick being particularly wealthy in western Munster) and south into Waterford and Cork. Kilkenny and New Ross appear to have fostered a very dense economic hinterland. Limerick itself, surprisingly, is not particularly wealthy (although it must be noted that some urban wealth was not included in the parish incomes). Previously, it was referred to as part of a Transition Zone. Now, it may be contextualised as part of the colony's economic limits in Munster.

The point-populated maps also help to highlight the essential role that ports and major urban sites played in catalysing wealth. The colony's overall structure can be described as a network of urban cores with economic hinterlands. These cores are Dublin, Limerick, Waterford, Kilkenny, and Cork. Wexford would likely have been among them, but without data for Ferns this cannot be quantified. The lack of data for Louth and the English of Armagh also hamstrings the study of urban sites such as Dundalk and Drogheda. Within the hinterlands of these cores are smaller urban centres that function

[523] A term that Linda Doran has greatly helped to define and conceptualise.
[524] While the term "Pale" is anachronistic for c. 1300, it can still be employed as a conceptual term here to denote an area of stable and resilient colonial control.

as nodes. These nodes are, in turn, surrounded by local manorial economies, thus helping commercialise the agriculture wealth of the hinterlands and foster trade.

This type of economic structure appears to have penetrated Region B. Within the colonial frontiers of Ulster, Munster, and Connacht, there are some burgeoning cores and nodes developing hinterlands. These include Galway, Athenry, Carlingford, Carrickfergus, Strangford, and Coleraine. Tralee and Dingle in County Kerry appear to have been fostering parish density, but with limited corresponding increased wealth. Despite the strength of neighbouring Irish kingdoms, the Earldom of Ulster's cores are surprisingly wealthy. This suggests more intensive economic development than previously expected.

Delving further into Region B, the distribution of the lower valued parishes is found chiefly within western and central Ulster (the Great Irishry), Gaelic Desmond, Geraldine Kerry, and Connacht. Gaelic Ulster and Desmond are characterised by low to middling valuations, low density, and isolated parishes nestled in the habitable nooks of mountain ranges or rough terrain. There are some exceptions to this in O'Neill territory and at the borders of the Earldom of Ulster. Concerning Connacht, the colony's direct economic impact (not political influence) was somewhat confined to strongholds. The Diocese of Elphin is particularly low-valued, despite the presence of royal castles and pockets of population density. This appears counterintuitive, as population density should reflect more hospitable environmental conditions and a critical mass for commercial activities. This is something that will need to be addressed within the zonal analysis by examining the politics and geography of the area in detail.

Thomond (County Clare at this juncture in history) has some pockets of wealth and top-tier parishes. It also possesses a few pockets of high parish density. However, there are also pockets of lower tiered parishes (thus, it didn't achieve the more consistent wealth of archetypical colonial lands). It must be noted that there were attempts by the de Clares to settle parts of Thomond, meaning that part of this wealth could be partly attributed to interaction with colonial settlements and economic systems, as well as colonial management. This will be explored and clarified within the zonal analysis.

When evaluating the maps, there appears to be a lack of a smooth gradient between bordering cultural areas (except those identified by the hotspot and outlier maps and tests). Rather, borders are more defined by stark constraints between valuations. The

Earldom of Ulster is a prime example of this, as is the Mullingar hinterland compared to the western banks of the Shannon. This further emphasizes the need to fully investigate physical and human factors impacting wealth.

Outside of these trends, the maps illuminate features and uses of the data. Foremost, there are variations within regions and between neighbouring parishes. While the parishes within regions and locales generally fall within the same tier or classification, the values range (i.e. one parish with a value of 1080 pence and its immediate neighbour having a value of 1200 pence). Such dispersion is particularly well-highlighted in the octile set of maps. This is further testimony to the accuracy of the valuations as it indicates that proper assessments were earnestly made rather than a more blanketed unrefined approach. Secondly, the stark contrasts between the Gaelic Irish and Anglo-Irish parishes (in certain regions) provide an opportunity to produce territorial maps with local variation and nuances. Building off this, mapping parishes as points can identify areas within dioceses that are disproportionately low or missing. This can provide insight into regions of conflict or contested authority, as well as areas under control of Gaelic or Anglo-Irish rebels.

6.4 Environmental, Urban, and Commercial Drivers

This section will now explore drivers behind the regions and nascent sub-regions that were identified in the previous section. These drivers are urbanisation, commercialisation, and environmental quality (namely soil quality, elevation, and slope). Initially, quantitative analyses will be run on these drivers to assess their statistical significance before they are explored further through additional maps and qualitative analysis.

6.4.1 Results of Quantitative Analyses:

When performing statistical analyses on the data, several statistically significant associations were discovered and are tabulated below:

Variable	P-Value	Relationship

Soil Constraints	0.001	Negative
Slope	0.000001	Negative
Distance from Major Ports	0.01	Negative
Distance from All Ports	Failed the 0.05 Threshold	Negative
Distance from Functional Towns	0.00000000001	Negative
Distance from Anglo-Irish Manors and Towns	0.00000001	Negative

Table 6.1: Main Statistical Results[525]

Concerning environmental factors, when soil constraints were tested, a negative association was discovered, with statistical significance reported at p = 0.001. Essentially, as soil constraints increased, parish values decreased. An analysis on land slope also yielded a negative association that was statistically significant at a 0.000001 p-value. In other words, as land became increasingly sloped, parish values declined. For both tests, the level of statistical significance is very high. In the case of land slope, the level of significance is particularly striking.

The human environment also yielded strong results, with one exception. The correlation test on the major urban ports passed a 0.01 p-value statistical significance threshold with a negative association. Thus, the further parishes were from the major ports, the lower their value. There was no distance cut-off for this test. The rationale behind having no cut-off is that the impact of these ports and their hinterlands could have regional and inter-regional impacts across the island, as opposed to a smaller town or port.

When an analysis was performed on Bradley's towns (i.e. fully functional towns) with a 25-mile radial cut-off, it was statistically significant at a 0.00000000001 p-value with a negative association (i.e. distance from a major town decreased parish wealth). Two tests on all ports (detailed in Chapter Five), both bounded (with a 25-mile radius) and unbounded, resulted in a strong negative association. However, both tests failed to meet the standard 0.05 p-value threshold. This is likely due to the nature of the valuations and colonial economy. Several parishes might represent an urban zone and its

[525] In all these tests, the null hypothesis would be that there is no association between the variables.

immediate hinterland. However, these parishes can be surrounded by very wealthy singular parishes consummate with manors that represent a robust agricultural economy. As such, this geographical layout has the potential to skew the analyses. Besides this, there is also an issue of smaller frontier ports tying into less developed frontier zones in a more immediate proximity. Nevertheless, it may also be conceded that smaller ports (such as Tralee or Galway) simply had a more localised and immediate impact.

An unbounded test on the Anglo-Irish towns and manors (gathered by Nicholls and Glasscock) did not meet the 0.05 p-value threshold when tested. Nevertheless, ArcGIS reported a ~~strong~~ notable negative association (which was to be expected). When the radius was bounded at 25 miles, the negative association was reported again. However, this time the association was stronger, and the test reported statistical significance at a 0.00000001 p-value, which is an extremely high degree.

The analysis will now continue to expand on these results through visualisations and the plotting of additional variables. However, some preliminary conclusions can be taken from the results. Concerning the human environment, what mattered was not necessarily proximity to a port, but inclusion within the larger Anglo-Irish trading and economic networks created by towns and manors. As discussed in Chapter Two, larger urban sites have received inordinate attention compared to smaller towns. Their vital and immediate role in local and regional economies, as well as serving as nodes for larger networks should be better acknowledged. Concerning the physical environment, it is intriguing that slope should produce the more dramatic of the two tests. Although soil utility is tied to slope, difficult terrain also brings barriers to trading networks, population density, political hegemony, and the built environment.

6.4.2 Limits to Statistical Analyses

There are some additional limits and caveats to the quantitative use of this data on a national scale that must be noted. Foremost, it must be said that colonial parishes are more represented in the valuations. Less territory was controlled by Gaelic lords, and what terrain was possessed had a low parish density. This is not to suggest that studying variation within colonial territory or general economic trends is not a worthwhile venture. Neither is it to suggest that that the pool of Gaelic parishes is statistically nonviable;

however, the differences in sample sizes between the two political archetypes should be acknowledged when interpreting the results.

Variable	R Value
Soil Constraints	-0.1
Slope	-0.1
Distance from Anglo-Irish Manors and Towns	-0.2
Distance from All Ports (25 Miles)	-0.0316
Distance from Major Ports	-0.0707
Distance from Functional Towns	-0.1732
Distance from Functional Towns (25 Miles)	-0.2236

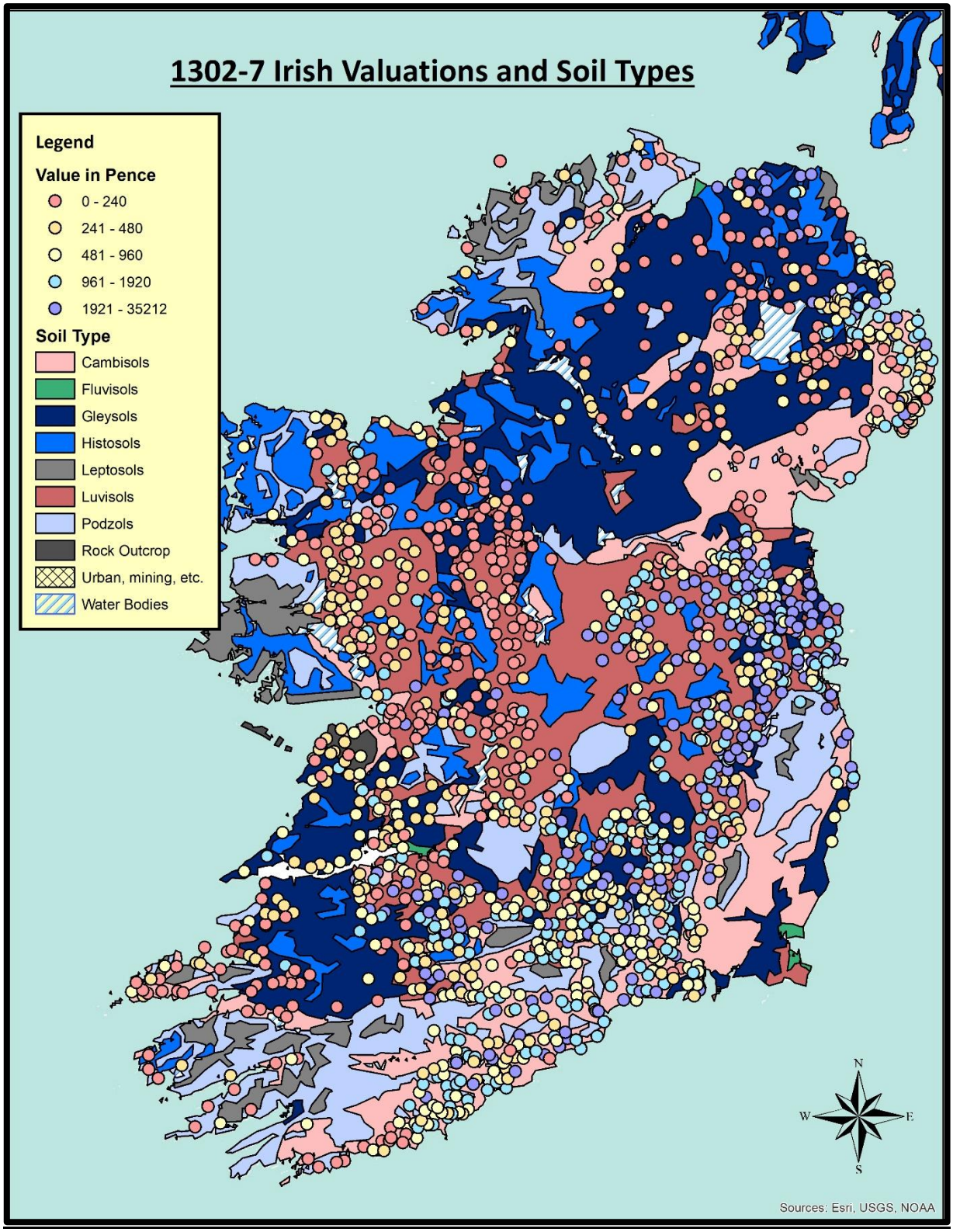
Table: 6.2 Correlation Results

Trying to find a strong positive or negative correlation between certain variables (i.e. 1 or -1) could lead to misleading results when considering the structure of colonial networks. This was illustrated with the two tests of the ports dataset (composing smaller and major sites). Another issue identified via preliminary analysis is that economic hinterlands may need to be bounded when running tests (i.e. only testing associations within a limited geographical radius). The presence of bordering or overlapping hinterlands runs the risk of skewing results. Additionally, there is a risk of including parishes that aren't relevant. For example, the nearest town to a parish in western Donegal might be Coleraine. It is unlikely, though, that this site impacted said parish. Geographically limiting the parishes tied to a site not only makes the analysis more relevant but helps ameliorate the issue of different hinterlands impacting the results.

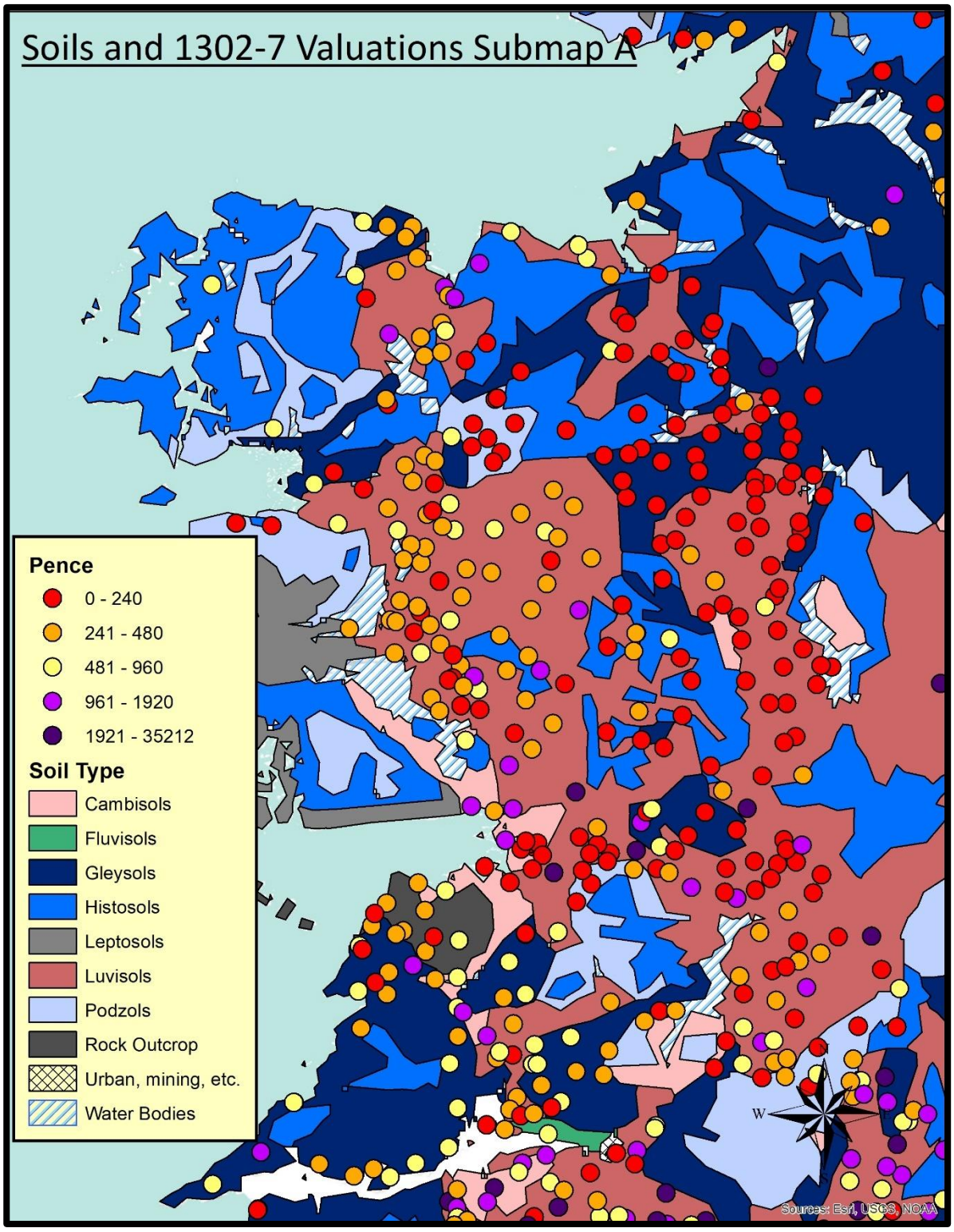
Correlation analyses were run; their results, however, were generally around zero or very low (see chart 6.2). This ties into the noted limitations of statistical tests on the data. While most of the tested associations are statistically significant, the high variability of the distances and or valuations is too great to make precise predictions. Indeed, the range of the main body of data (excluding some high outliers) goes from a few dozen pence to nearly two thousand. Distances between parishes and the selected variables (e.g. ports) can create issues as a one-to-one association might not be realistic (e.g. one

kilometre of distance corresponds exactly to a five pence decrease). This could be ameliorated by aggregating the values into tiers (e.g. quintiles), but it might be more prudent to focus on probability value tests and other analyses that are more appropriate to the data, such as hotspots and outliers.

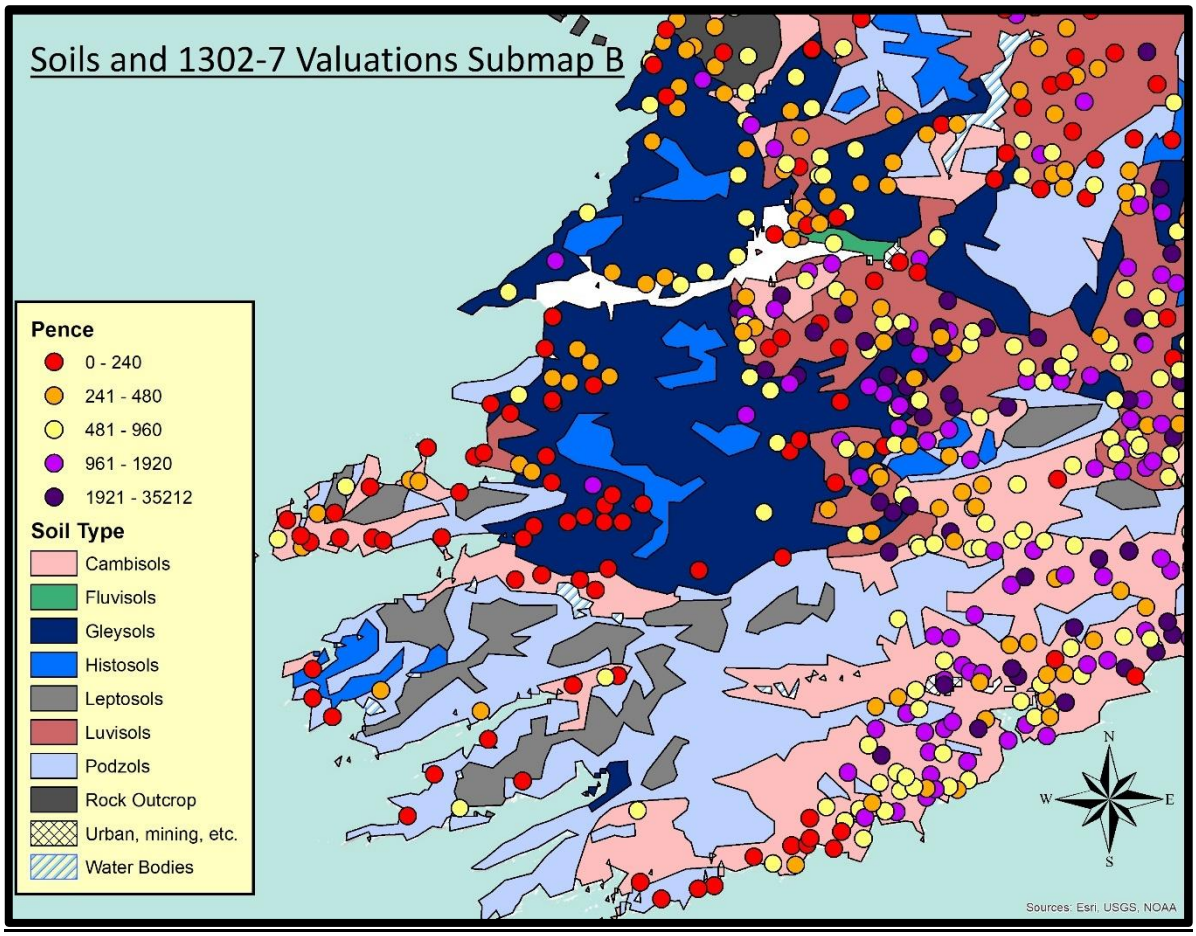
6.4.3 Environmental Maps



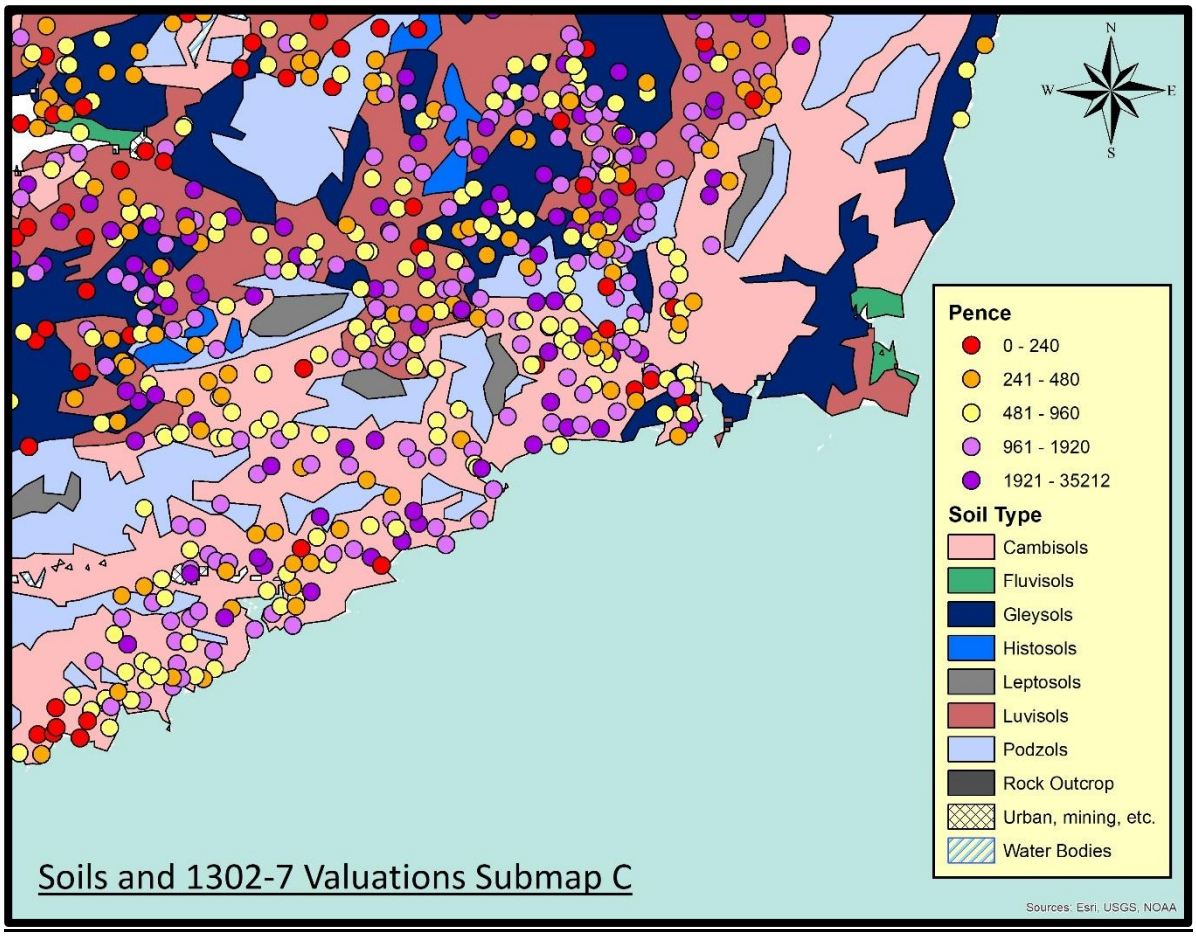
Map 6.13: Overlays the valuations over UN FAO data of dominant soil types. Reddish hues represent more arable soils, while blue and grey hues represent soils with limitations to agriculture.



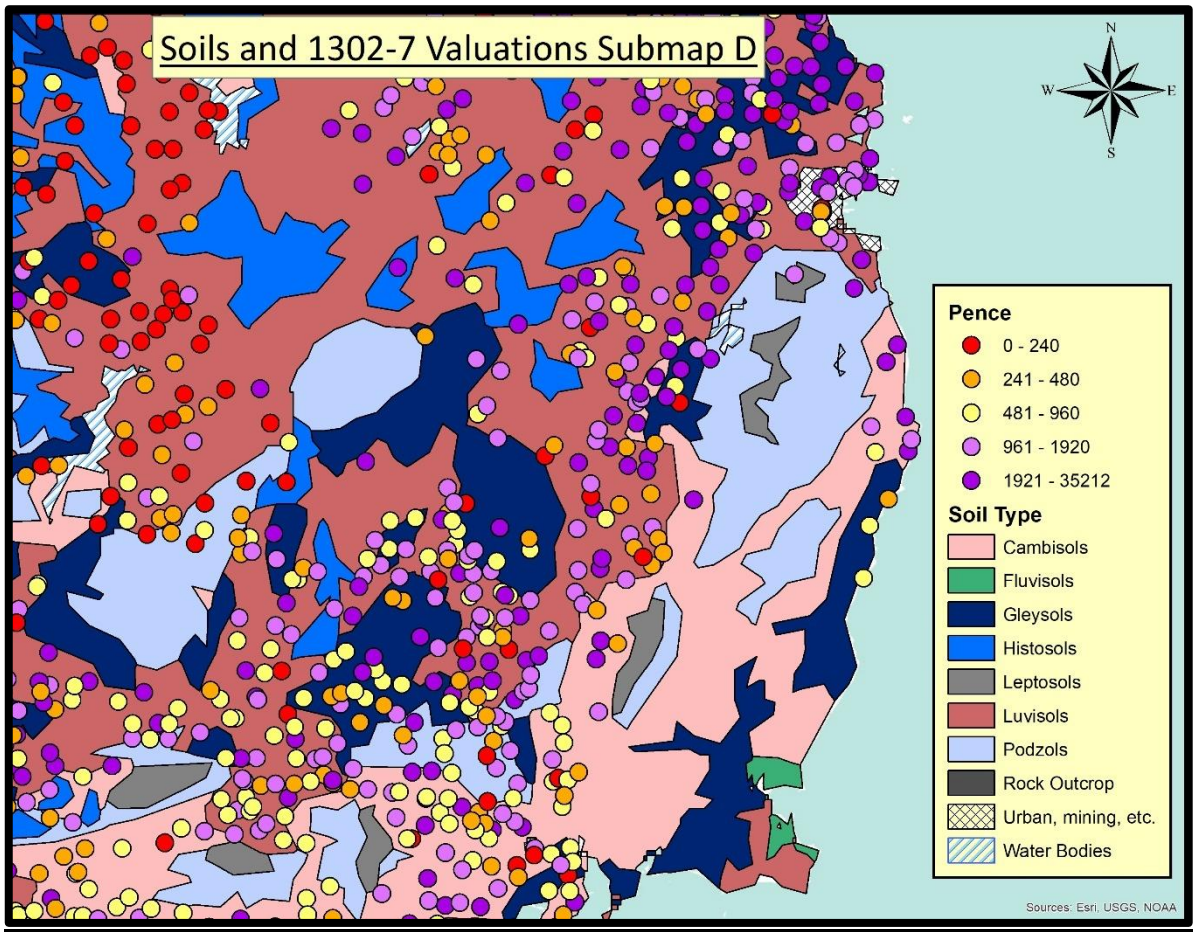
Map 6.13.1: Focuses on Connacht.



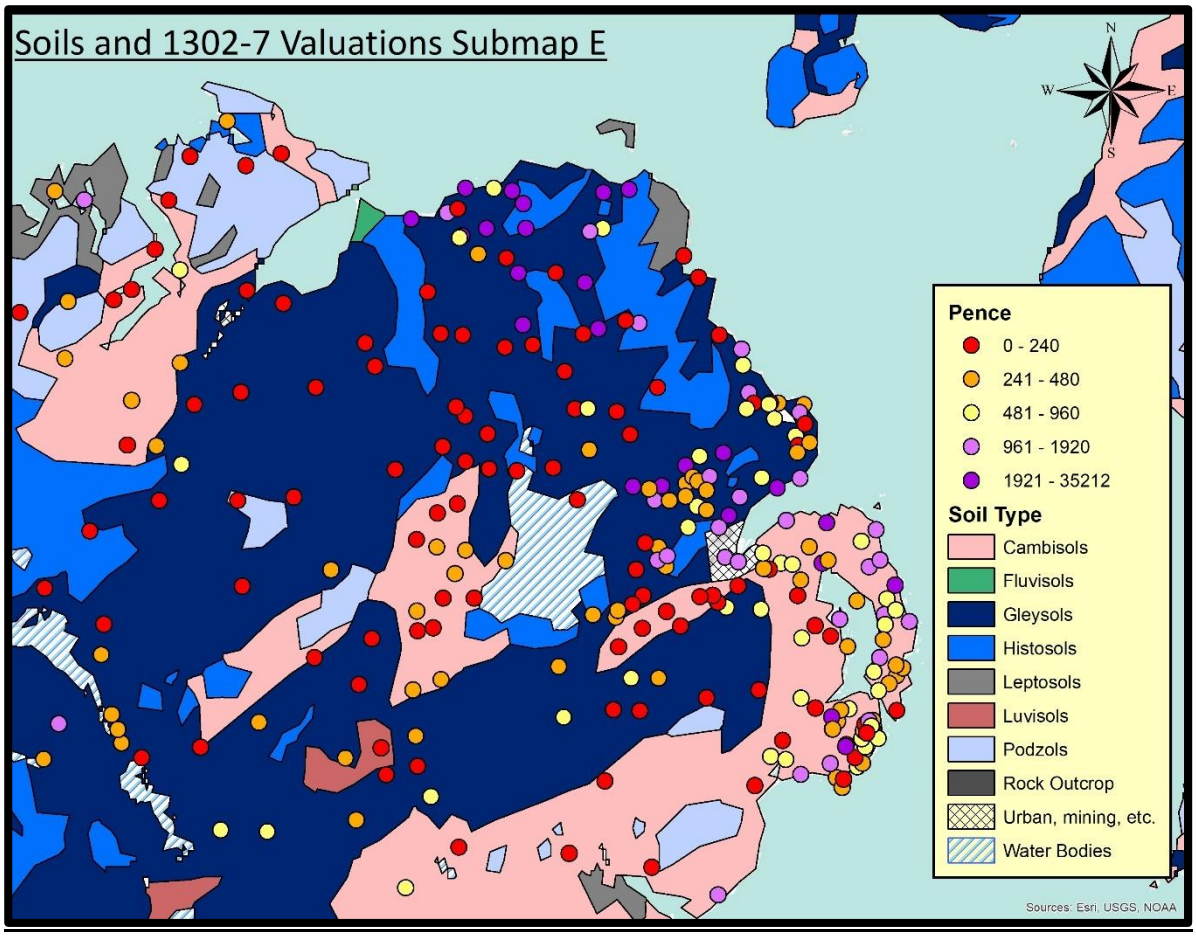
Map 6.13.2: Focuses on Southwest Ireland



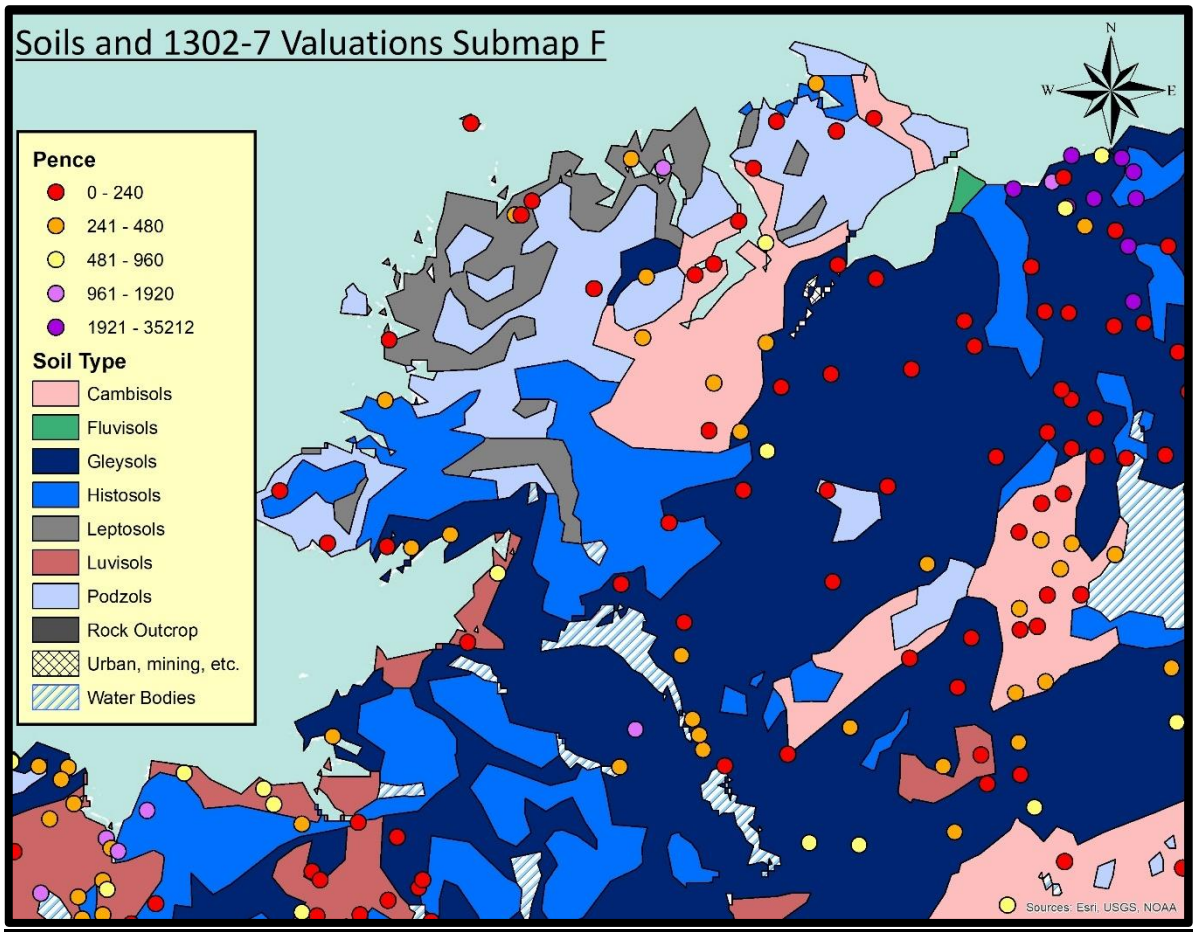
Map 6.13.3 Focuses on the Southeast Coast of Ireland.



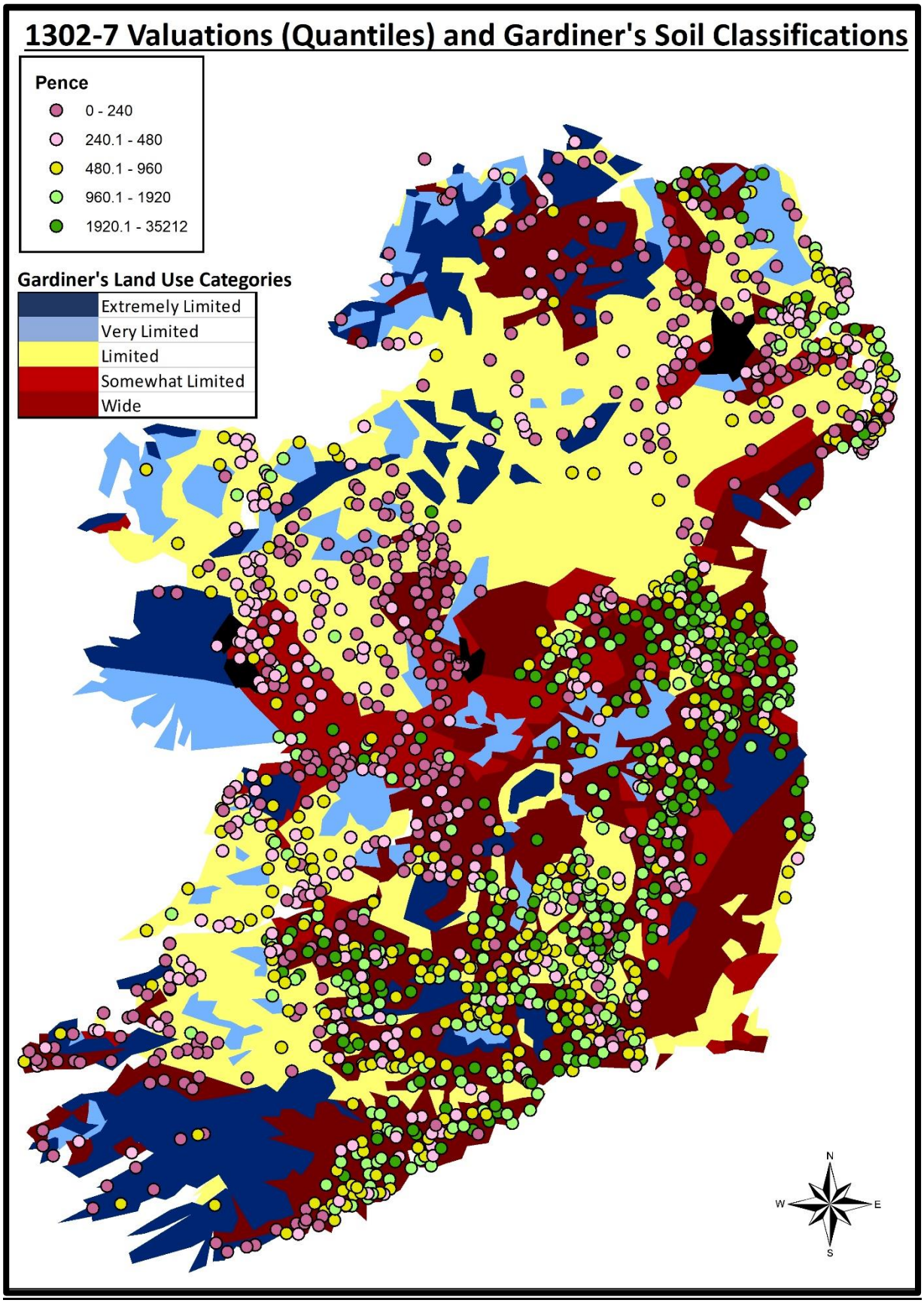
Map 6.13.4: Focuses on Northern Munster and the Carlow Corridor



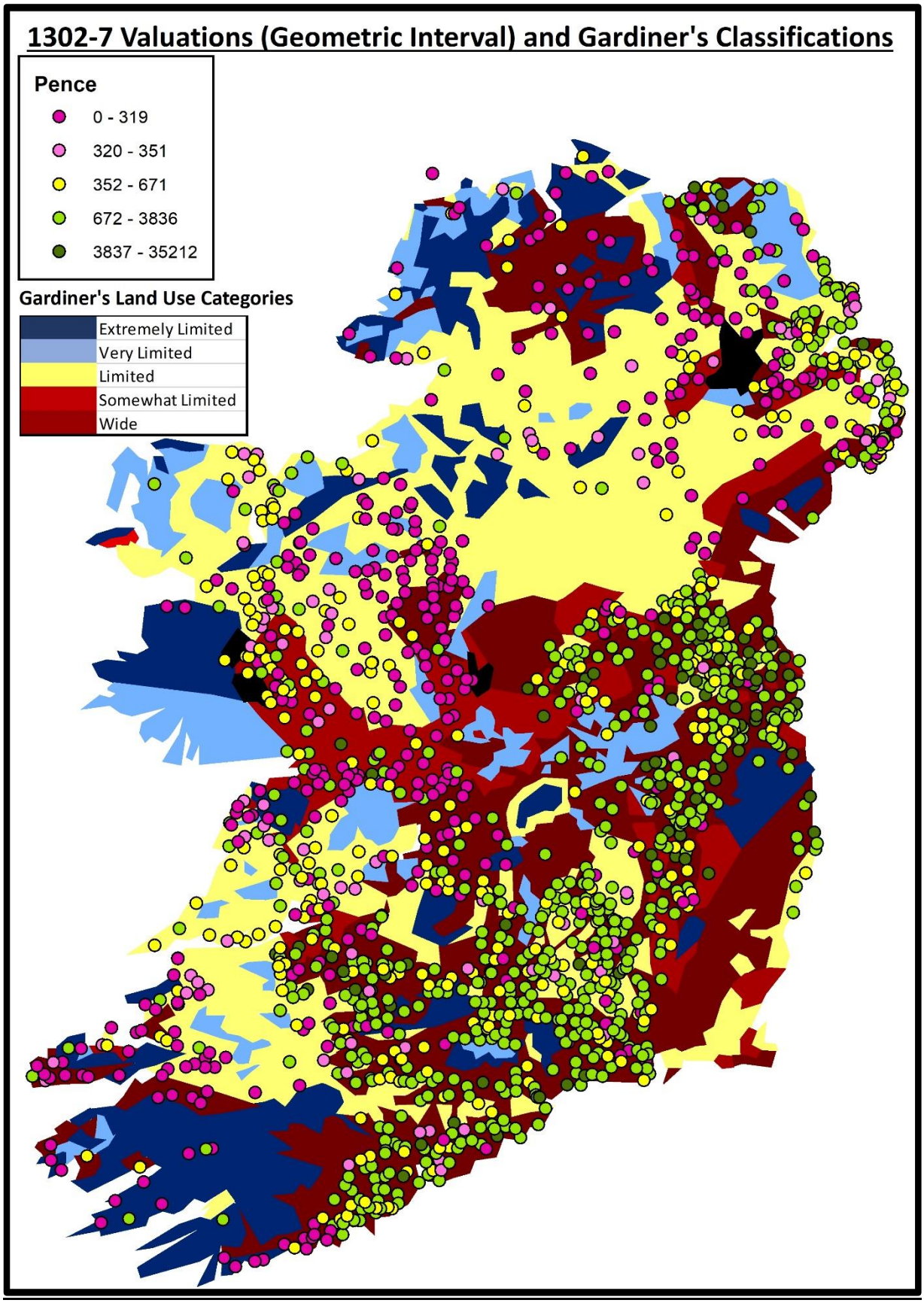
Map 6.13.5: Focuses on Eastern Ulster



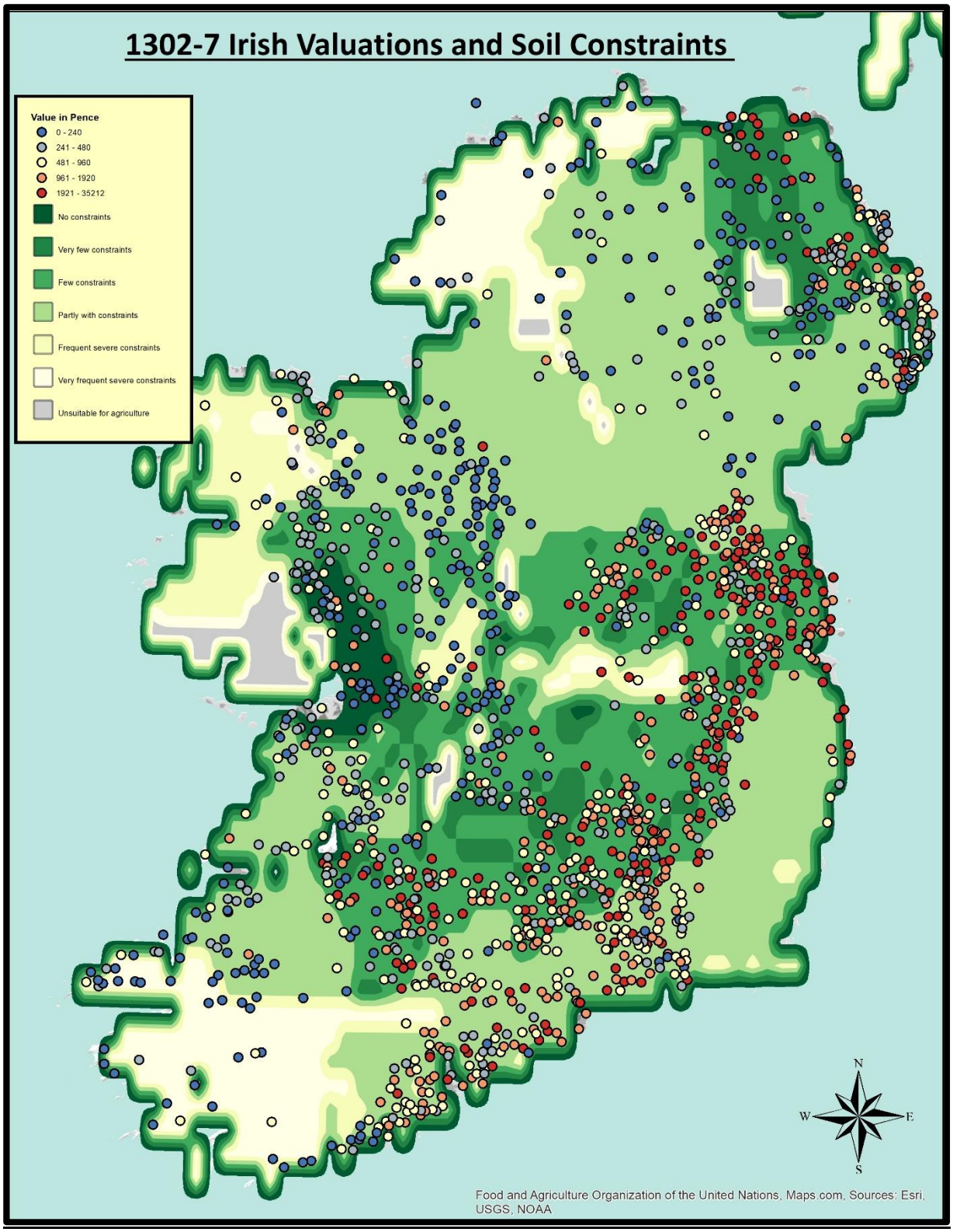
Map 6.13.6 Focuses on Western Ulster



Map 6.14: Overlays Gardiner's Map with Quintiles

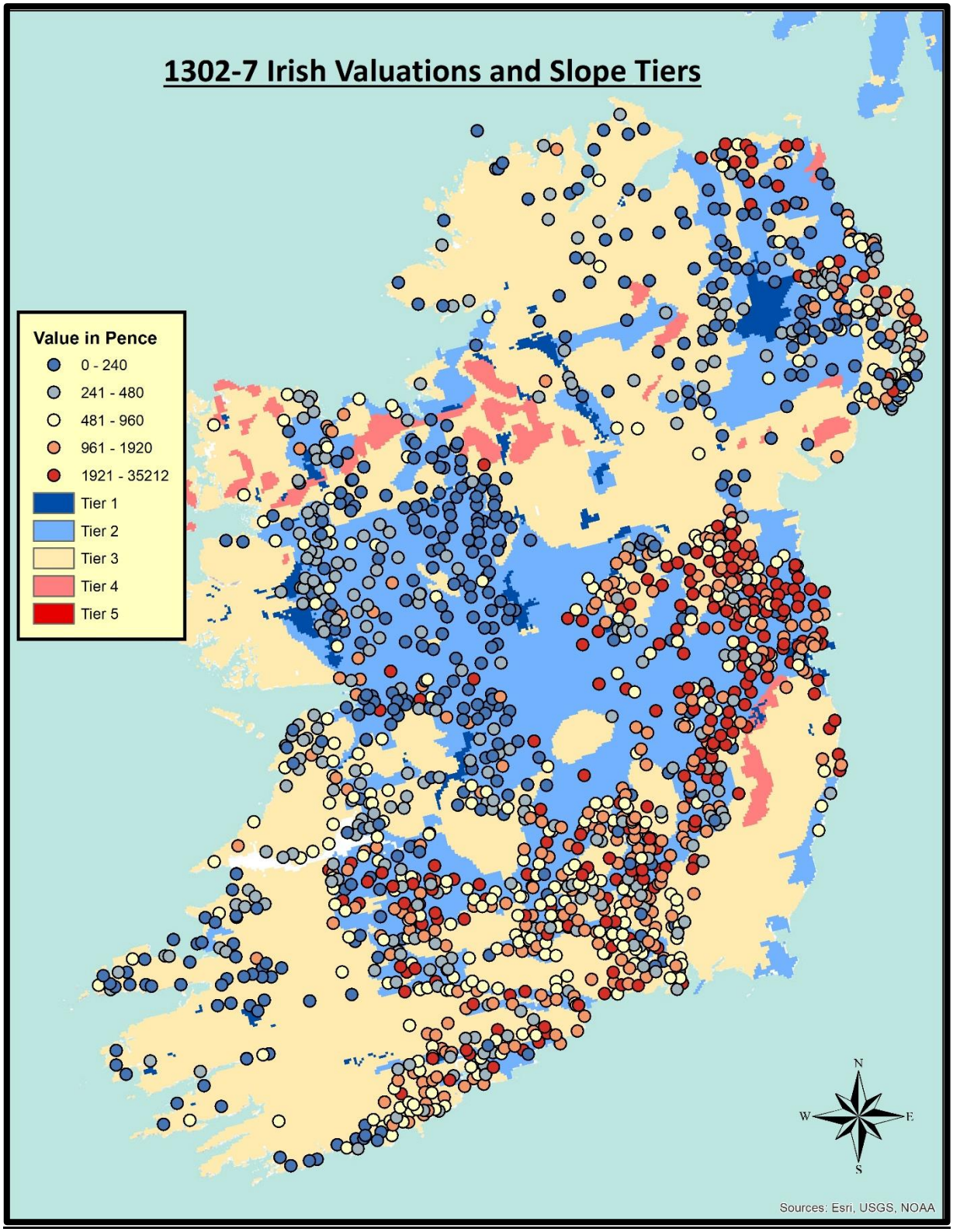

1302-7 Valuations (Geometric Interval) and Gardiner's Classifications
Pence
0 - 319
320 - 351
352 - 671
672 - 3836
3837 - 35212
Gardiner's Land Use Categories
Extremely Limited
Very Limited
Limited
Somewhat Limited
Wide

Map 6.15



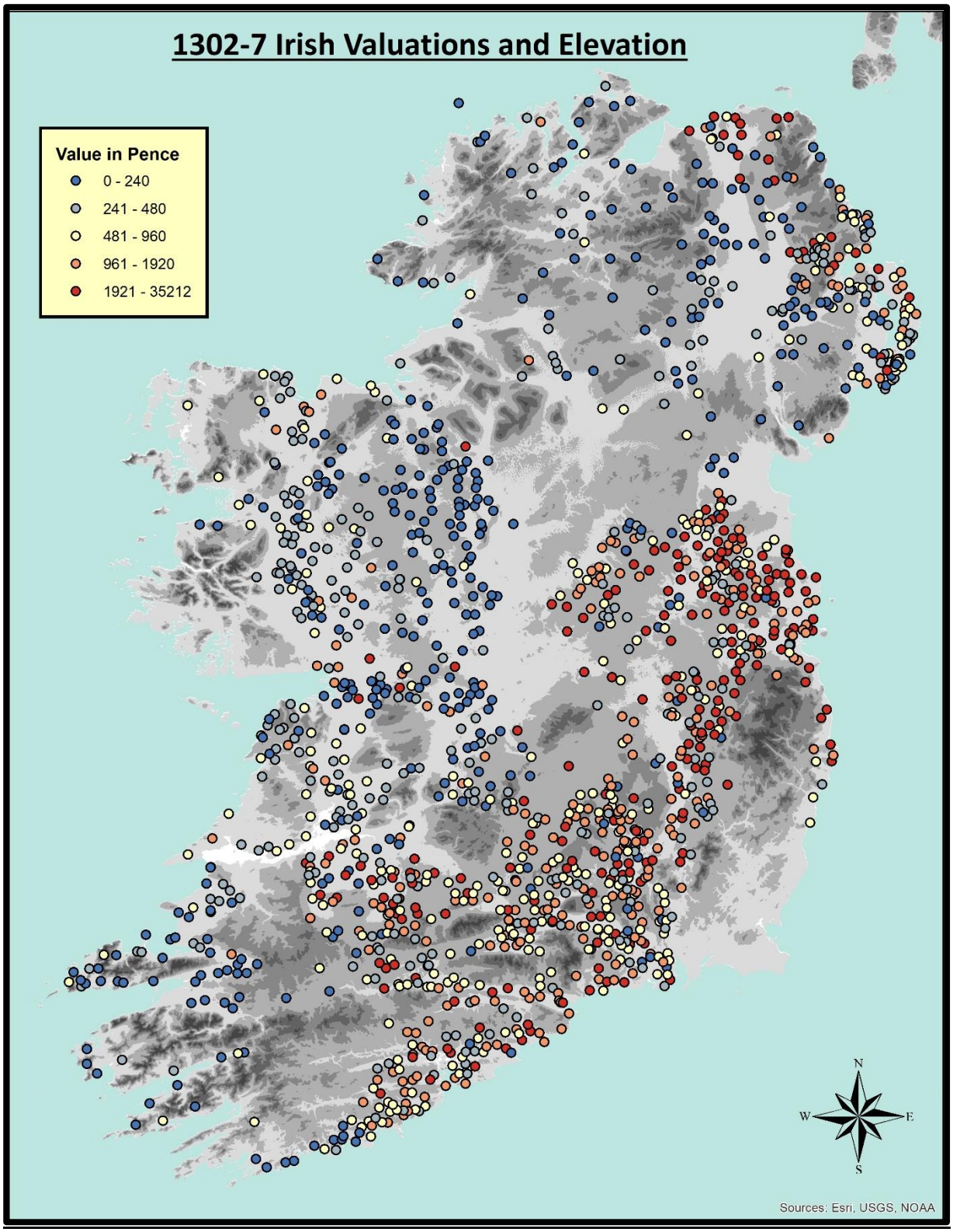
Map 6.16[526]

[526] Soil constraint data provided by the UN FAO (See Chapter Five).



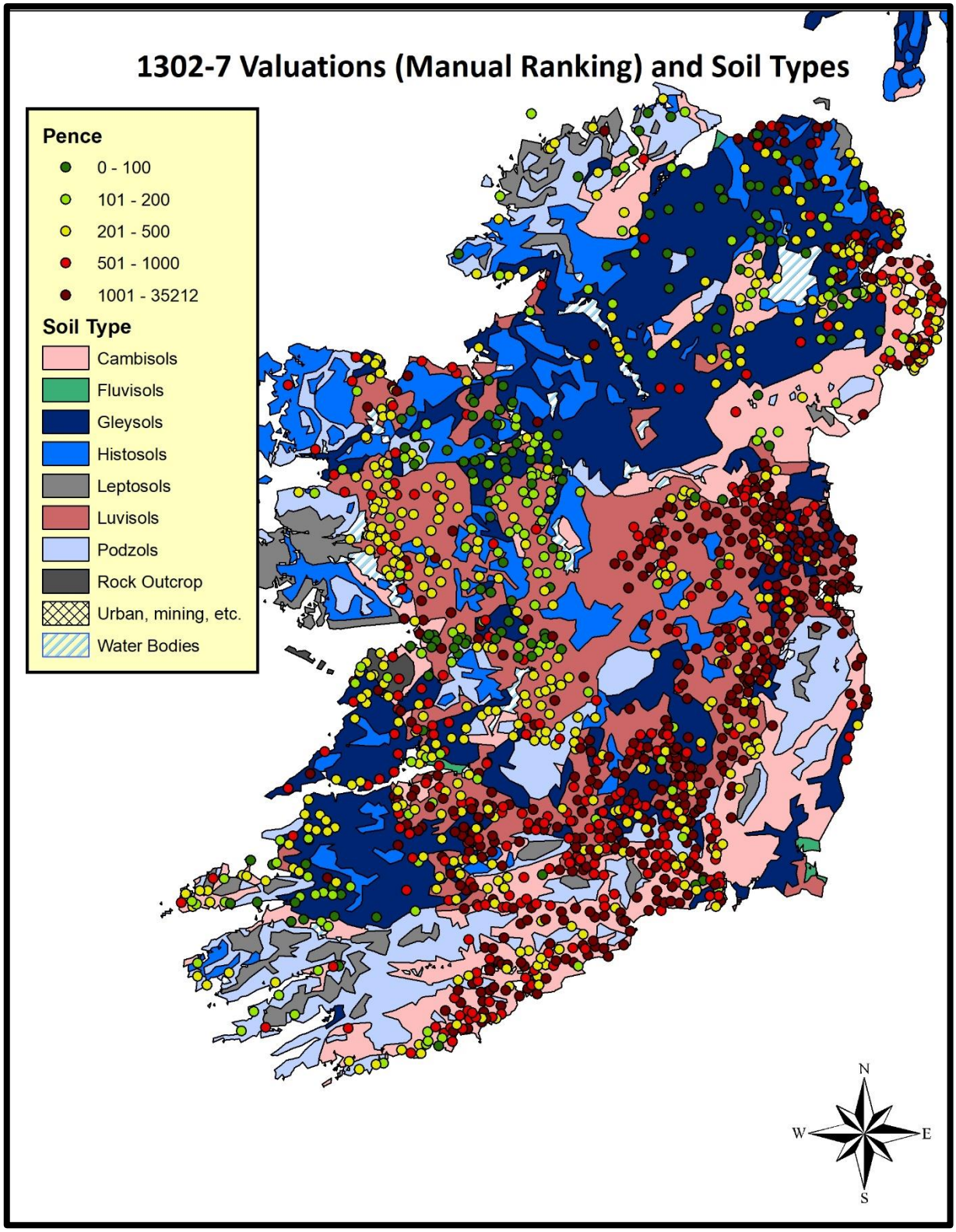
Map 6.17[527]

[527] Slope data provided by the European Commission (See Chapter Five).



Map 6.18[528]

[528] The Digital Elevation Model was provided by the Copernicus Land Monitoring Service of the European Commission.



Map 6.19[529]

[529] Manual, for the purposes of this thesis, will refer to breaks in the ranks at the author's discretion to illustrate different aspects of the distribution or tailor the breaks to a particular region.

6.4.4 Environmental Drivers

The difference between soils in high-tier and low-tier valuation areas is quite apparent. Soils in the former are characterised by high fertility, versatility, and ease of use, mainly defined by luvisols[530] and cambisols.[531] Low-tier areas, however, are characterised by podzols,[532] leptosols,[533] and gleysols.[534] These soils require rigorous management and reclaiming before they can be properly utilised for more intensive agriculture, a risky investment for Gaelic culture, that was predominantly reciprocal in nature (defined by barter, billeting, and direct consumption) and contended with endemic warfare. Naturally, these soils are more suited to pastoralism.

The utility of Irish soils can be further emphasized by employing metrics of agricultural constraints and soil fertility measurements. Map 6.16 exhibits constraints on agriculture based off the United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organization's *Harmonised General Soil Database*. It is imperative to note the degree to which the colony conforms to soils of higher quality. The Colonial Heartland, the Munster lordships, and the Earldom of Ulster are defined by areas of few, very few, and no constraints. Galway, Athenry, and Loughrea, the strongest colonial outposts within Connacht, also, reside on the soil with the greatest utility in the Province. It is also interesting to note that the Red Earl was investing resources into developing the coast of Derry, which was defined by high utility soil. The Great Irishry, Gaelic Desmond and Thomond, the Wicklow Mountains, and parts of Connaught, however, are largely defined by soil constraints.

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[530] "Most Luvisols are fertile soils and suitable for a wide range of agricultural uses" (Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations*, World reference base for soil resources (2015 Update of the 2014 version): International soil classification system for naming soils and creating legends for soil maps* (Rome, 2015), 167).

[531] "Cambisols generally make good agricultural land and are used intensively. Cambisols with high base .saturation in the temperate zone are among the most productive soils on earth. More acid Cambisols, although less fertile, are used for mixed arable farming and as grazing and forest land" (UN FAO, "Reference Base," 153).

[532] "In temperate regions they are more frequently reclaimed for arable use. The low nutrient status, low level of available moisture and low pH make Podzols unattractive soils for arable farming" (UN FAO, "Reference Base, "172).

[533] "Leptosols comprise very thin soils over continuous rock and soils that are extremely rich in coarse fragments. Leptosols are particularly common in mountainous regions" (UN FAO, "Reference Base," 163).

[534] "For many Gleysols, the main obstacle to utilization is the necessity to install a drainage system to lower the groundwater table. Adequately drained Gleysols can be used for arable cropping, dairy farming and horticulture. Soil structure will be destroyed for a long time if soils are cultivated when too wet. Therefore, Gleysols in depression areas with unsatisfactory possibilities to lower the groundwater table are best kept under a permanent grass cover or swamp forest" (UN FAO, "Reference Base," 160).

Maps 6.14 and 6.15 are a digitization of Gardiner's 1980 soil map, which classifies Irish soils into five main categories (based on their utility for agricultural use) and fourteen subcategories (based on their physical characteristics). For the purposes of this study, the fourteen subclasses have been recoloured to correspond to their degree of utility. When parish valuations are added, Gardiner's map continue to highlight the interplay the relationship between wealth, the environment, and colonial expansion. The Colonial Heartland conforms to the largest contiguous area of wide land use applications. The Second Pale and its lordships also correspond to higher-tier land, but are the terrain is punctuated by some areas of middling to poor land utility. Gaelic areas, however, are generally defined by lower classed land (with major restrictions to agriculture) punctuated by very small stretches of land with wider utility. There are, however, some exceptions to this; namely, the area around Derry and parts of the Connacht Ó Conchubhair kingdom.

Such a relationship between wealth and soil quality may seem to be a foregone conclusion, but not to such a dramatic degree. Even some frontier zones situated on areas of high soil quality were able to achieve relative wealth. Should valuations from Nicholas IV's tenth be rediscovered, it is very likely that the income of colonial border regions may have been even higher (as the Gaelic revival and drains on the colonial economy had not come into full effect).

Map 6.17 illustrates levels of ground slope in Ireland. While this coincides, in part, to soil quality, is should also be explored separately as it emphasises the harshness of the terrain and barriers to the human environment (such as mobility and construction). The main body of the colonial settlement coincides largely with a continuous stretch of optimally sloped land. Gaelic territories are, however, defined by areas of suboptimal slope (i.e. hilly and mountainous) almost to a surgical degree. Map 6.14, which reflects elevation, also reinforces these differences in terrain.

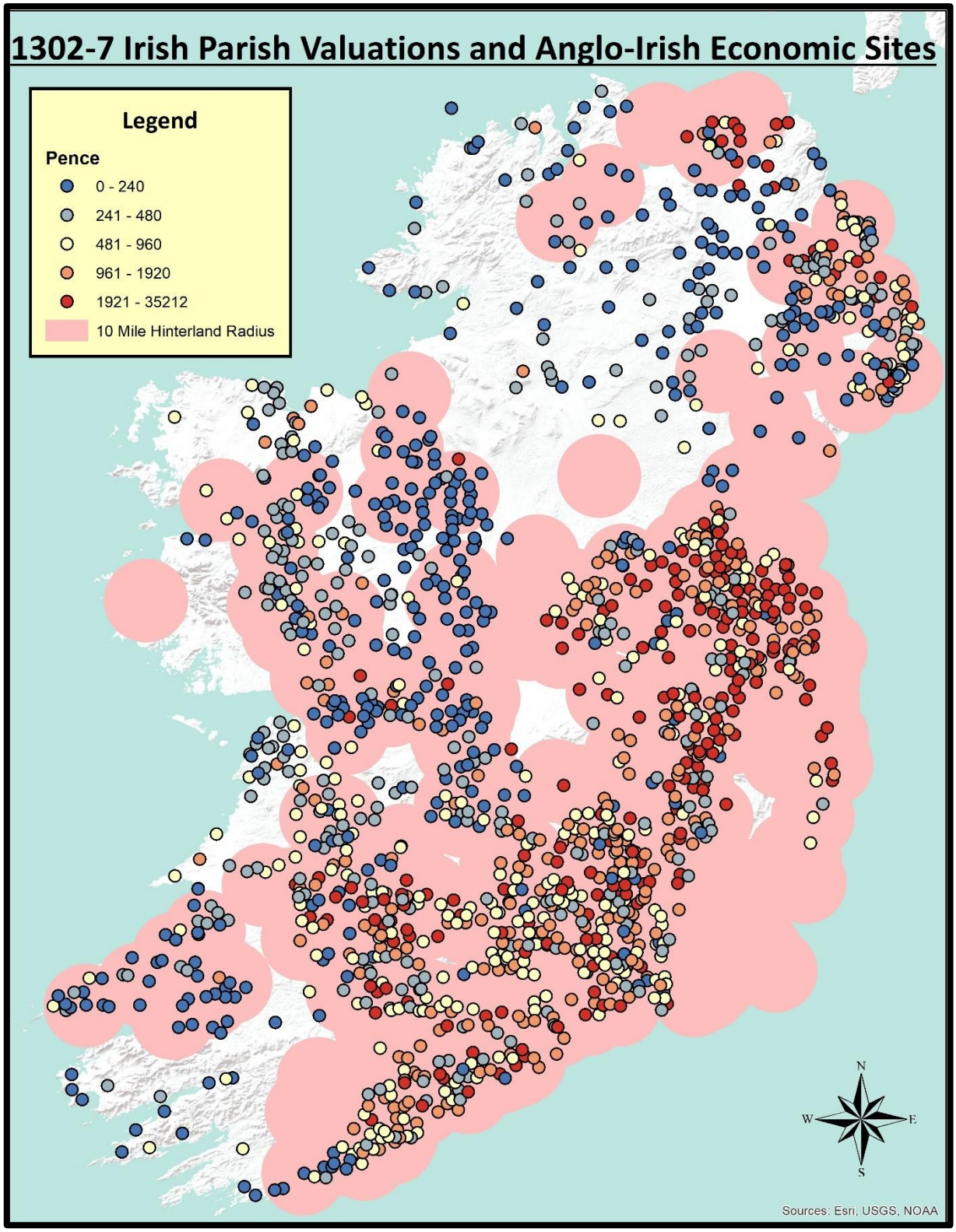
To summarise, there were radical environmental differences between the territory held by Gaelic and colonial aristocrats. Although this thesis will continue to investigate other factors, the fundamental importance of the environmental to medieval economies and societies cannot be stressed enough. Recent conceptualisations of

environmental determinism[535] are extremely relevant to the data and these preliminary conclusions. Gaelic territories generally faced considerable obstacles to intensive agriculture, trade and communication networks, and population density. These territories, essentially, sat upon environmental margins that inhibited and or limited economic development. While the rugged terrain helped stay the colonial advance, it also impeded political hegemony within Gaelic polities and Gaelic military reach outside of them. Mountains, bogs, forests, and hills could provide strongholds and refuges for smaller Gaelic polities to contend, resist, or isolate themselves. Mountain chains and other physical obstacles very likely increased the difficulty and length of travel, a considerable constraint on any medieval ruler's efficacy.

There are exceptions to the marginalisation, however. The Ó Conchubhair held some luvisols in the King's Cantred while there were stretches of cambisols in Gaelic Ulster. In both locations, Gaelic parishes appear denser, but not wealthier. The Colonial Heartland and Anglo-Irish lordships, conversely, entrenched themselves within land that was well-suited for manorial and commercial economies, as well as feudal lordships. Only in Connacht and Kerry did the colony fail to have a consistent economic impact despite some stretches of high-quality soil. These exceptions prompt a look into the human environment and politics of the areas in question, suggesting that there are caveats to environmental determinant of wealth. Additionally, they also evince that there are a multitude of factors at play across Ireland, not simply environmental ones.

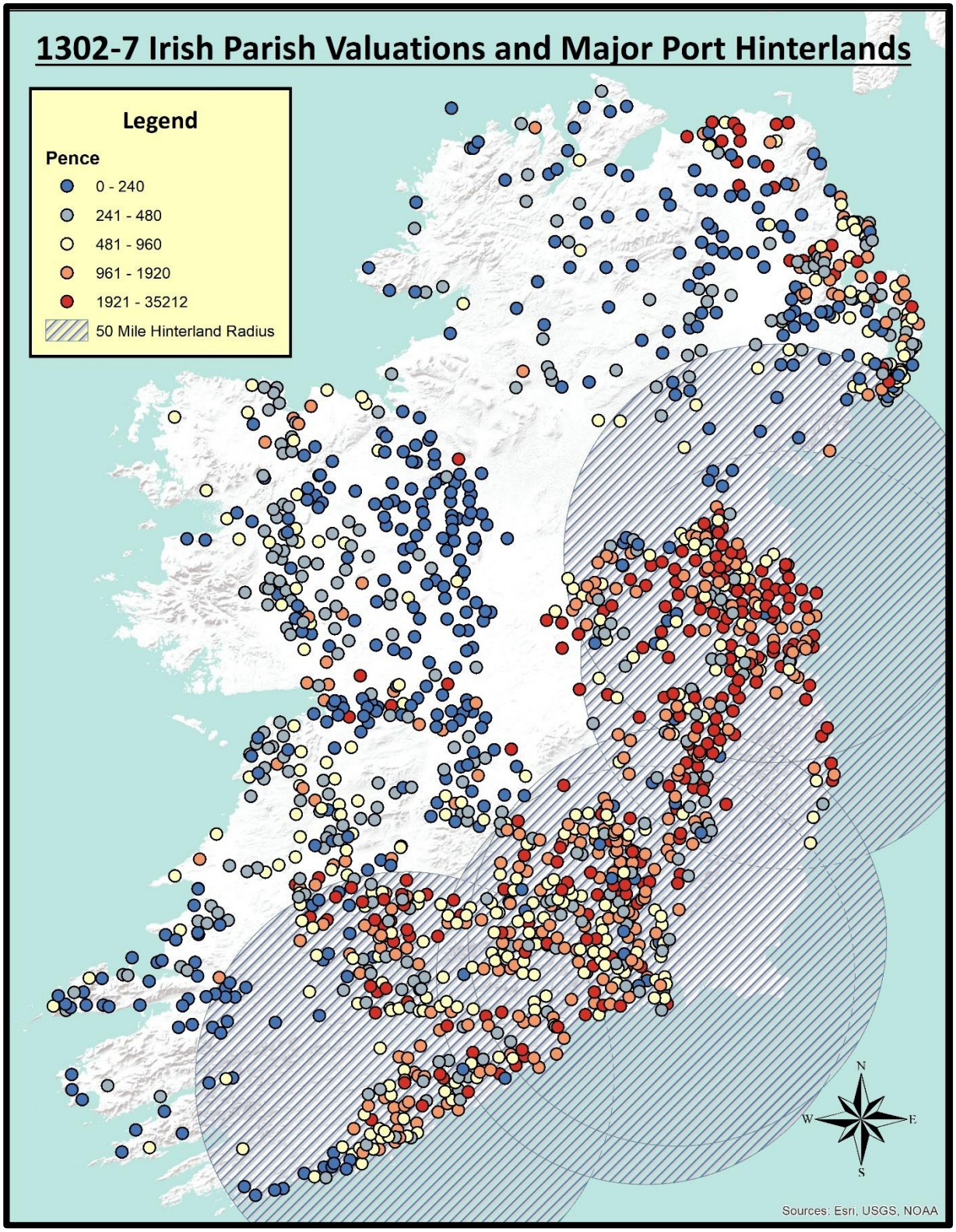
[535] Environmental determinism can be a taboo subject for geographers as it was used during the colonial period (of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) to justify imperialistic and exploitative practices, as well as support racist pseudo-science. Presently, the study or approach has been somewhat rehabilitated by researchers to explore how the environment impacts state building, economics, health, and *etcetera*, influencing the trajectories of states and societies. While it can be employed for postcolonial research, there is still criticism that neo-environmental determinism removes or limits human agency, as well as hasn't significantly broken away from earlier forms of the study. It must, then, be approached with some degree of caution.

6.4.5 Commercial, Urban, and Castle Maps



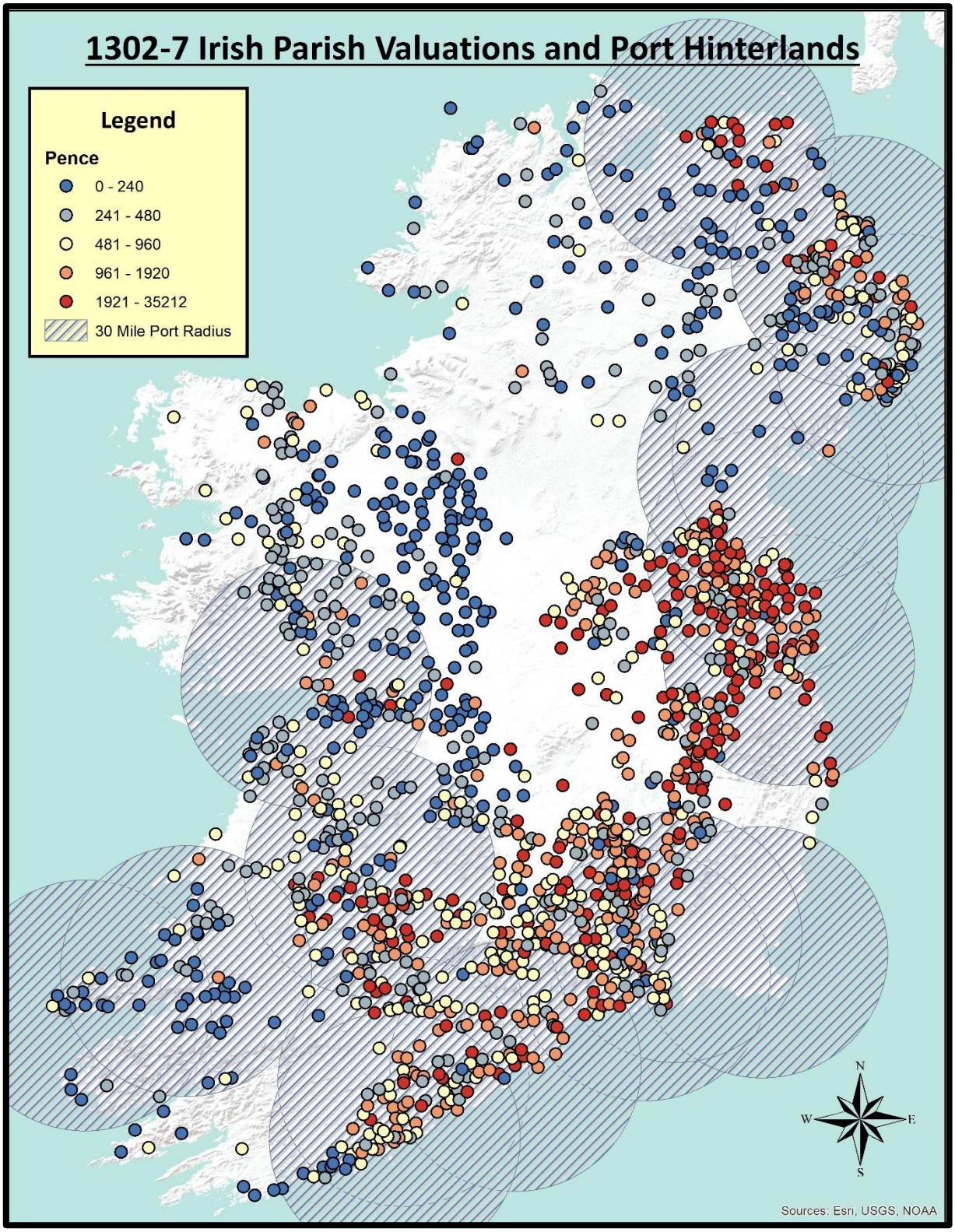
Map 6.20[536]

[536] The sites refer to the principle towns and manors listed by Glasscock and Nicholls (See Chapter Five).

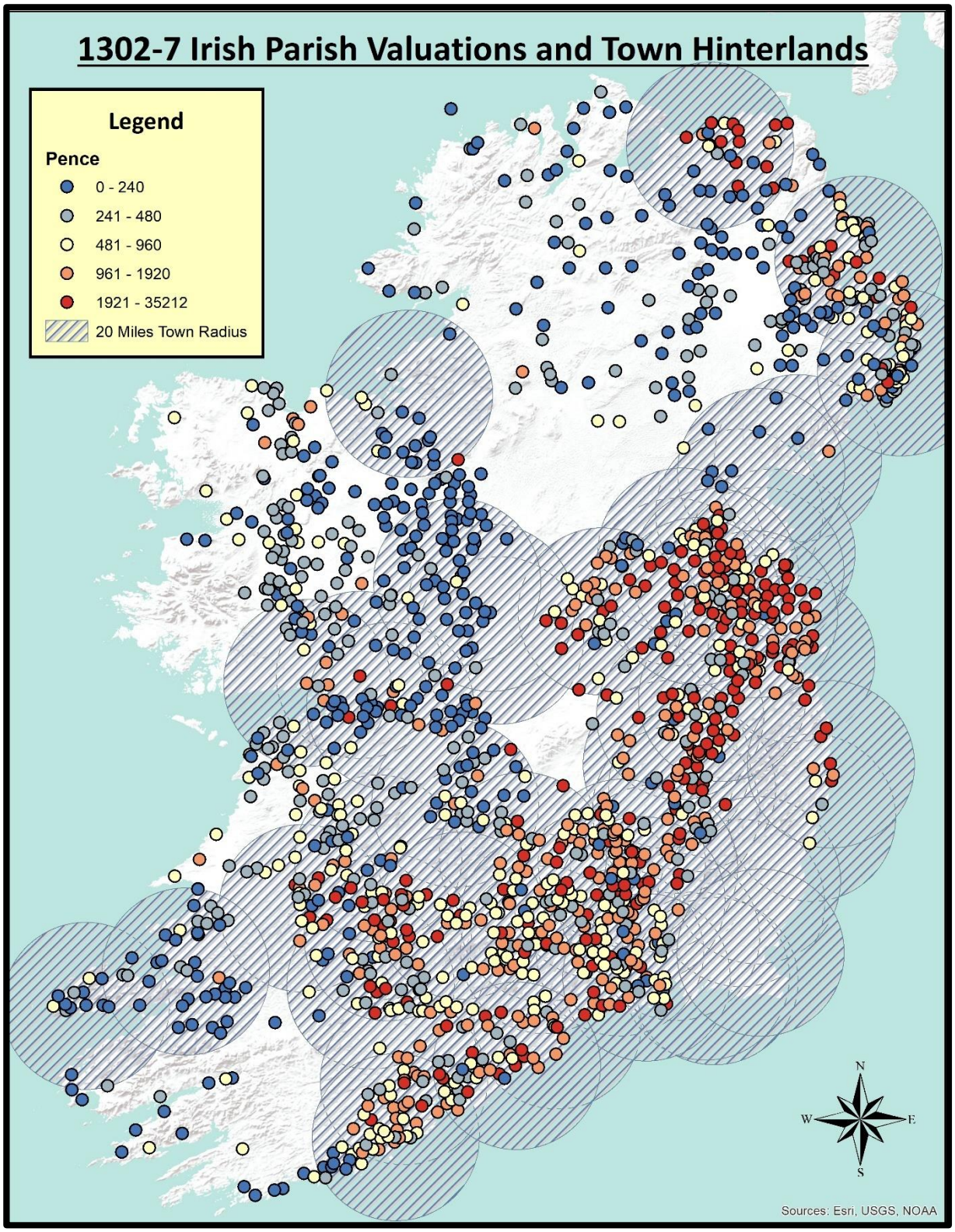


Map 6.21[537]

[537] These ports belong to: Dublin, Cork, Waterford, New Ross, and Drogheda.

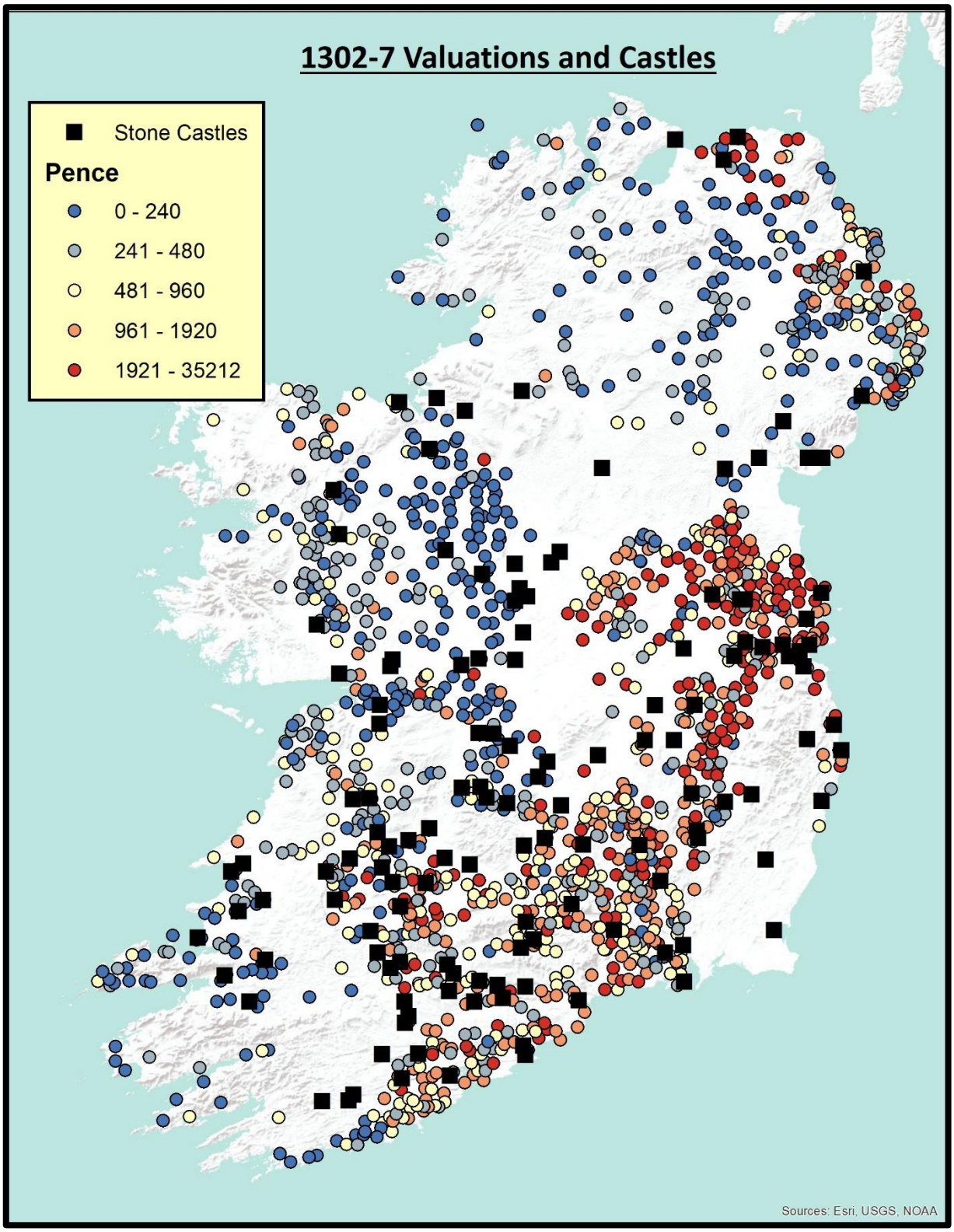

1302-7 Irish Parish Valuations and Port Hinterlands
Legend
Pence
0 - 240
241 - 480
481 - 960
961 - 1920
1921 - 35212
30 Mile Port Radius
N
W
E
S
Sources: Esri, USGS, NOAA

Map 6.22



Map 6.23[538]

[538] These are the fully functioning urban towns designated by J. Bradley.


1302-7 Valuations and Castles
Stone Castles
Pence
0 - 240
241 - 480
481 - 960
961 - 1920
1921 - 35212
Sources: Esri, USGS, NOAA

Map 6.24

6.4.6 Commercialisation, Urbanisation, and Castles Explored

With a better understanding of the environmental characteristics driving Ireland's wealth distribution, the human environment and its impact on wealth distribution will now be explored further. Although a separate discussion, the interplay between the physical environment and the built human environment cannot be forgotten, nor can the physical obstacles to population density, commercialisation, and urban development faced in Gaelic areas. Nevertheless, any discussion of environmental determinism or determinants must be tempered by an exploration of culture and human agency.

Maps 6.20, 6.21, 6.22, and 6.23 reflect radiuses from different economic sites (ports, towns, and manors), with radials appropriately adjusted to different potential hinterlands. The results of the quantitative analyses synchronize with these maps, as well as shed light on new insights. It is apparent that the main concentration of wealth falls within 50 miles of the five main ports (Dublin, Cork, Waterford, New Ross, and Drogheda). It is also evident, across multiple metrics, that Gaelic kingdoms were largely isolated from commercial and urban economic zones. Radials on Bradley's towns and the Anglo-Irish settlements correspond to general perceptions of colonial political authority c. 1300. These radials generally conform to areas of high wealth, except for Connacht. This also prompts a revaluation of the colonial presence in the province.

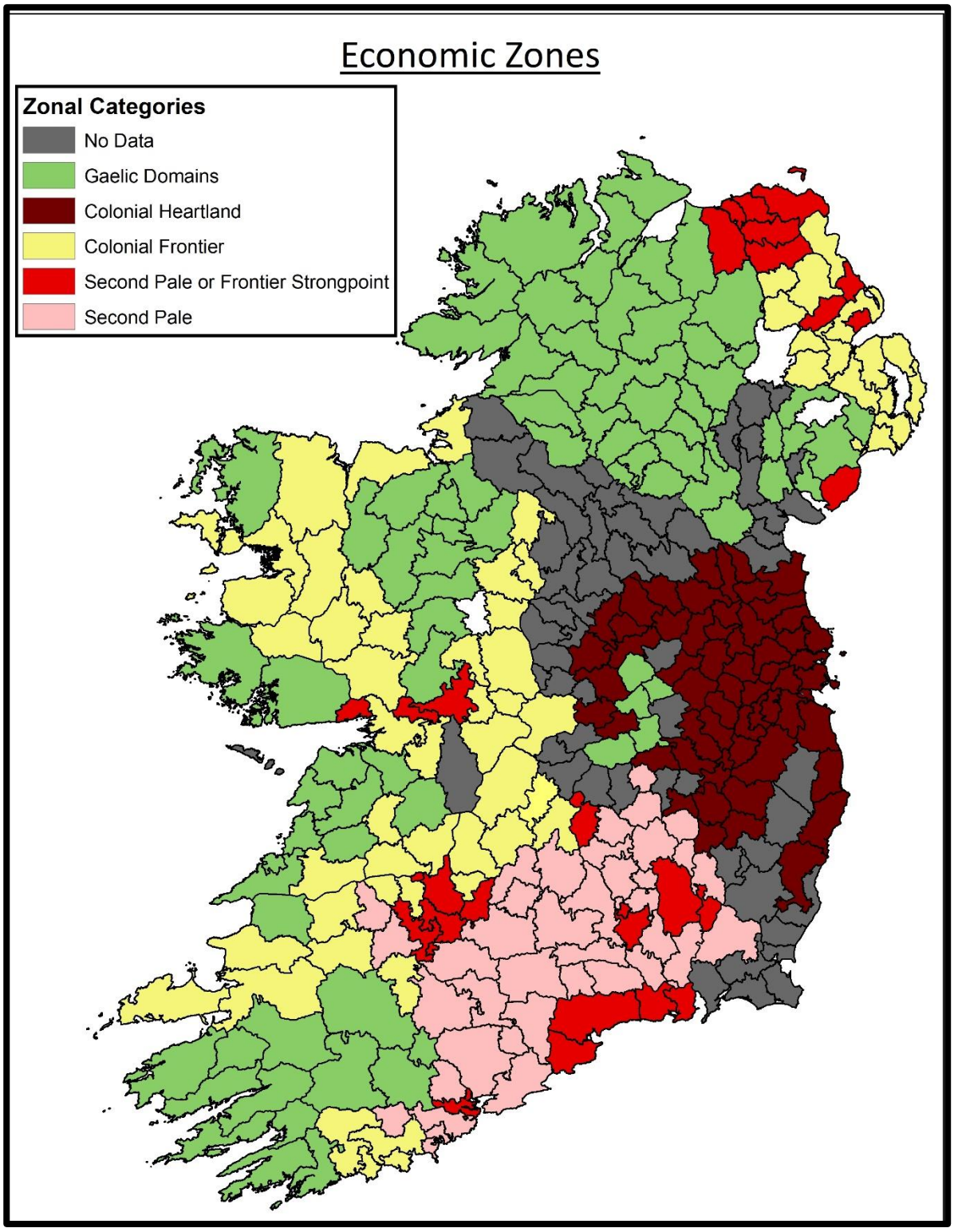
Concerning smaller ports, the visualisations help to explain the statistical analysis. Smaller ports and their hinterlands in Ulster, Munster, and Connacht are generally restricted by mountainous terrain (especially when compared to Dublin, Cork, and New Ross). Dingle and Tralee are prime examples of this, as are Kinsale and Carrickfergus. Even Galway's western hinterland has considerable environmental constraints to intensive farming and travel. These obstacles to economic and demographic expansion cannot be ignored. In addition to this, ports outside of Leinster and southeast Munster were more situated in frontier territory. Limerick, for example, bordered Thomond while Dingle and Tralee were near the Kingdom of Desmond. Limited political authority, as well as less firm trading agreements due to endemic conflict, likely served as a detriment to commercial activities.

Regarding stone castles, there appears to be little relationship or association with wealth in terms of direct proximity. Rather, they are largely situated at border regions

with Gaelic territories. For example, there are clusters of castles at the base of the Dublin Mountains, the banks of the Shannon, critical junctures of the Wicklow Mountains, strongpoints of the Earldom of Ulster, and the marches of the Second Pale (especially northern Tipperary and Geraldine). These fortifications likely benefitted the regions that they shielded by creating buffers and safeguarded the lives of locals. However, they do not appear to have stimulated local economies by the mere fact of existing (except perhaps in more stable parts of the Colonial Heartland and Second Pale). It should also not be assumed that castles equate to settlement or control. Indeed, colonial castles along the Shannon and in Connacht are not associated with an increase in higher parish valuations.

6.5 Identified Zones

Drawing from these preliminary conclusions, distinct zones can be identified. These zones are not necessarily contiguous. However, they share same similar economic, spatial, political, demographic, cultural, and environmental features characteristics. For the purposes of this analysis, Map 6.25 visualises and bounds these zones based on the existing papal data:



Map 6.25

The analytical zones are as follow:

The Colonial Heartland*:* This zone is a singular contiguous region that consists of County Dublin, as well as parts of County Kildare, Meath (Diocese), the Carlow Corridor, and County Wicklow. It's characterised by a high density of parishes, as well as top and high

tier valuations diffused throughout the region. Outlier analysis of Ireland in Map 6.6 helps to highlight the wealth of the area and that low-valued parishes are the exception rather than the norm.

***Second Pale Urban Cores and their Associated Lordships**:* These zones are characterised by comparatively dense clusters of high tier valuations surrounding an urban core (e.g. Kilkenny, Cork, Waterford, and Limerick). Smaller urban nodes emanate from these clusters, serving to extend the core's hinterland and redistribute wealth from manors and their own smaller spheres of influence. These cores are nearly all based in Munster, under the tutelage of Anglo-Irish lordships (although the English Crown might reserve authority over the cities themselves, it appears that the charters ensured a great deal of independence[539]).

***Frontier Regions**:* Northern Kerry, much of Connacht, northern Tipperary, the Earldom of Ulster, and parts of the Midlands represent economic frontier zones for the colony. Each zone has its own burgeoning urban nodes with a developing hinterland, but also the notable presence of strong Gaelic neighbours. As such, there are spatial constraints to the intensity and extent of economic penetration.

***Gaelic Domains**:* Characterised largely by low parish density, as well as generally low valuations, this archetype consists of the Great Irishry, Desmond, contested regions of Connacht, and Thomond. County Donegal (or the Diocese of Raphoe) is particularly defined by isolated parishes. Margins is a fitting term for these areas due to the relative poverty, remoteness from trade routes, and the environmental characteristics of these regions. Concerning trade, there are either significant physical barriers (i.e. mountainous terrain) or distance between these areas and major ports.

Where useful soils for agriculture exist, such as a stretch of cambisols in County Derry, these areas are generally very limited in size and disjointed from one another.[540] To add to these barriers, Maps 6.17 and 6.18 illustrate that these territories are disproportionately composed of elevated and mountainous terrain (something which

[539] A. F. O'Brien, "The Royal Boroughs, the Seaport Towns and Royal Revenue in Medieval Ireland," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 118 (1988): 13-26.
[540] This was the reason, perhaps, why the Red Earl was interested in the area around Derry.

contributes to the dearth of easily farmed land and the large degree of distance between parishes). There are considerable obstacles to economic growth, demographic capacity, political hegemony, and intensive agriculture. The environment in these regions was instead more suited to pastoralism, cattle herding, local governance, and a more rural human landscape. However, while this thesis will acknowledge elements of economic marginalisation and environmental racism present in medieval Ireland, it will shy away from emphasizing Gaelic poverty. Rather, an argument will be made through the zonal analysis that although Gaelic economies produced a low-surplus, they were able to meet the sustenance needs of the population while supporting armies and adapting to conflict. As stated in Chapter Two, there is a need to not solely compare Gaelic Ireland to its neighbours. Rather, it must also be treated and explored as a unique culture.

***Conflict Zones**:* Where parish valuations were not made, when paired with historical accounts and this analysis of the valuations, can also offer insight into the state of Ireland during the early fourteenth century. Taxing only the Irish of Armagh (because the English were too impoverished by war), for example, helps to flesh out the cultural divide in the area and the relative independence of Louth. The Dioceses of Kilmore, Clonmacnoise, and Ardagh where only the bishops and their staff were properly evaluated, indicates a degree of conflict that prevented parishes from being safely valued. The omission of Ferns, where MacMurrough and rebel raids were becoming increasingly problematic, is also telling. As such, pre-existing views on the borders of the colony need to be revisited and challenged. The question of how we define control in medieval Ireland, must also be raised. This creates an opportunity to redraw the political and territorial map of medieval Ireland, moving beyond the dichotomy of Gaelic and English to flesh out areas where control was contested or existed on a spectrum.

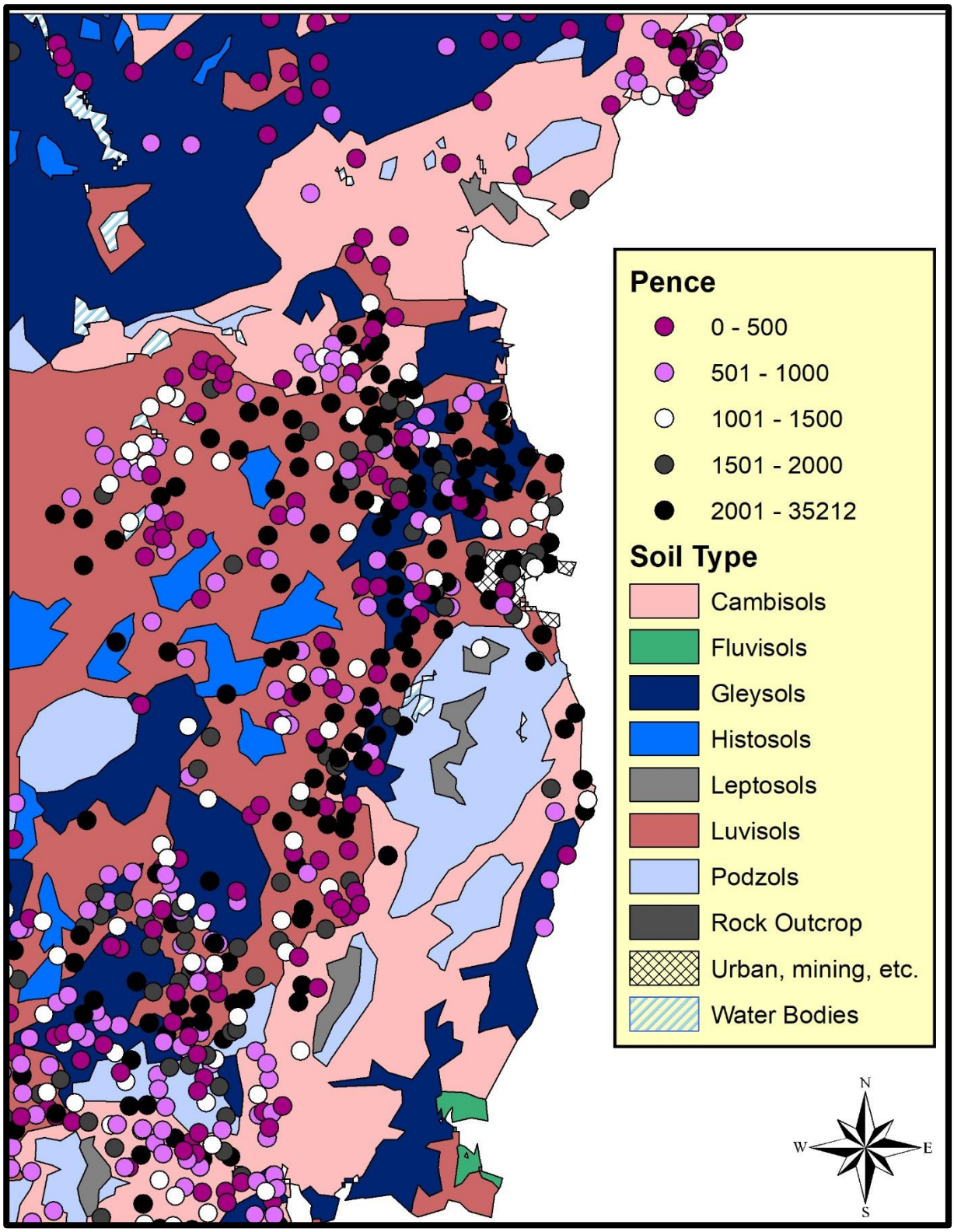
7.6 Zonal Analysis

7.6.1 Colonial Heartland

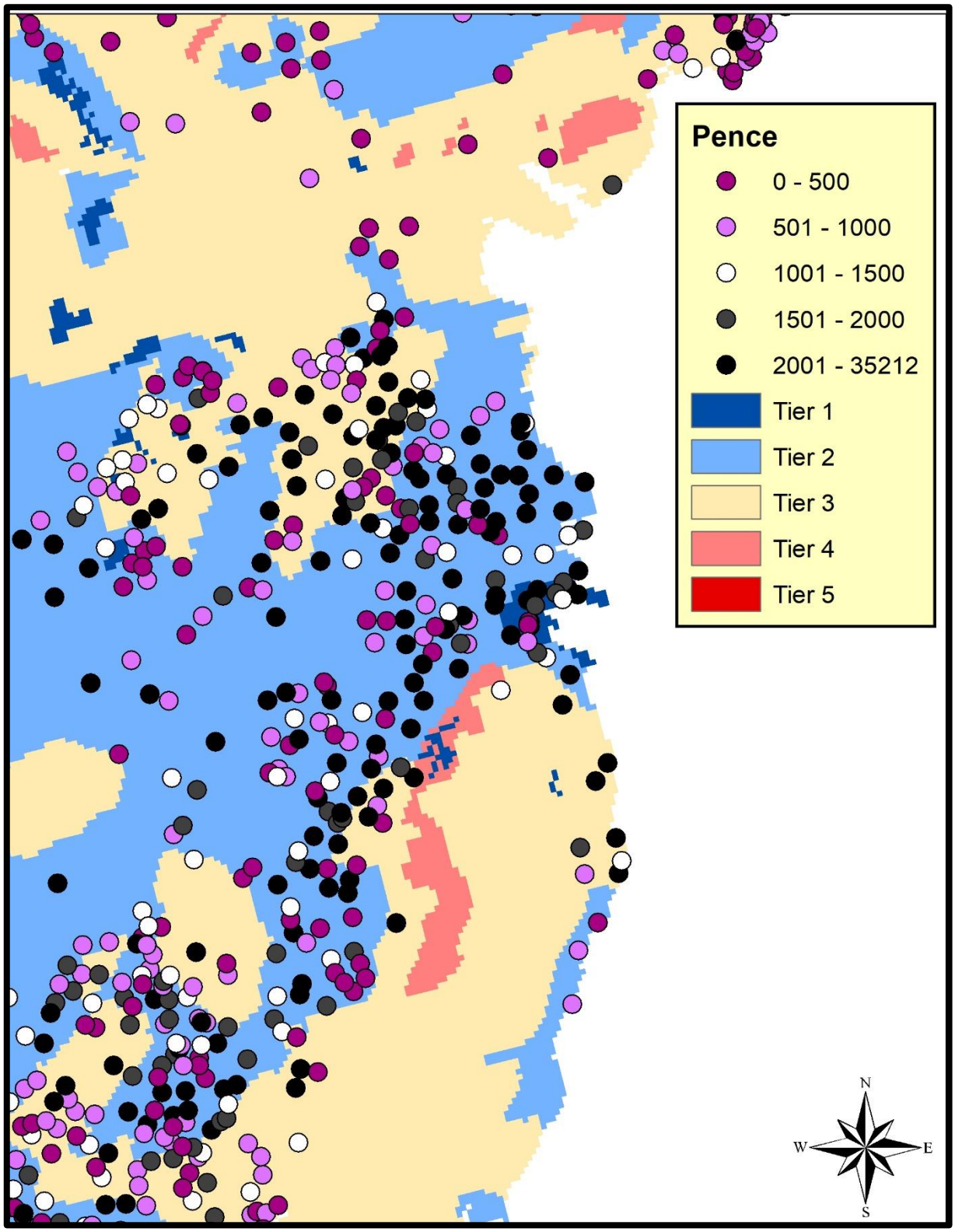
The Colonial Heartland is concurrent with much of the land that was the most heavily manorialised and settled by immigrant groups. This connection is highlighted in Map 6.20, which illustrates the major towns and manors of the era, as well as Map 8.23

that's based on Bradley's list of towns. While the Heartland contains the area that would later be known as the Pale, it extends significantly beyond the Pale's boundaries. This largely synchronises with understandings of the colonial administration's reach. For example, Brendan Smith writes: "From the early fourteenth century the four counties of Dublin, Meath, Louth and Kildare were treated together for some administrative purposes, an arrangement which anticipated the later notions of 'the Pale' and 'the four obedient shires'. While comparisons between this and the north of England have been made for the Tudor era, a similar approach has not been attempted for an earlier period which offers ample scope for such an exercise."[541] However, Louth is missing from the 1302-20 papal records due to conflict rendering the parishes too poor to tax. Smith explains this by continuing: "During the first three decades of fourteenth century County Louth was frequently neither peaceful nor obedient."[542] Louth will be discussed more fully in the Conflict Zones subsection; however, it is important to note that the area had similar access to commercialisation and urban development as the Colonial Heartland.

[541] Brendan Smith, "A County Community in Early Fourteenth-Century Ireland: The Case of Louth," *The English Historical Review* 108, no. 428 (1993): 562.
[542] Ibid.



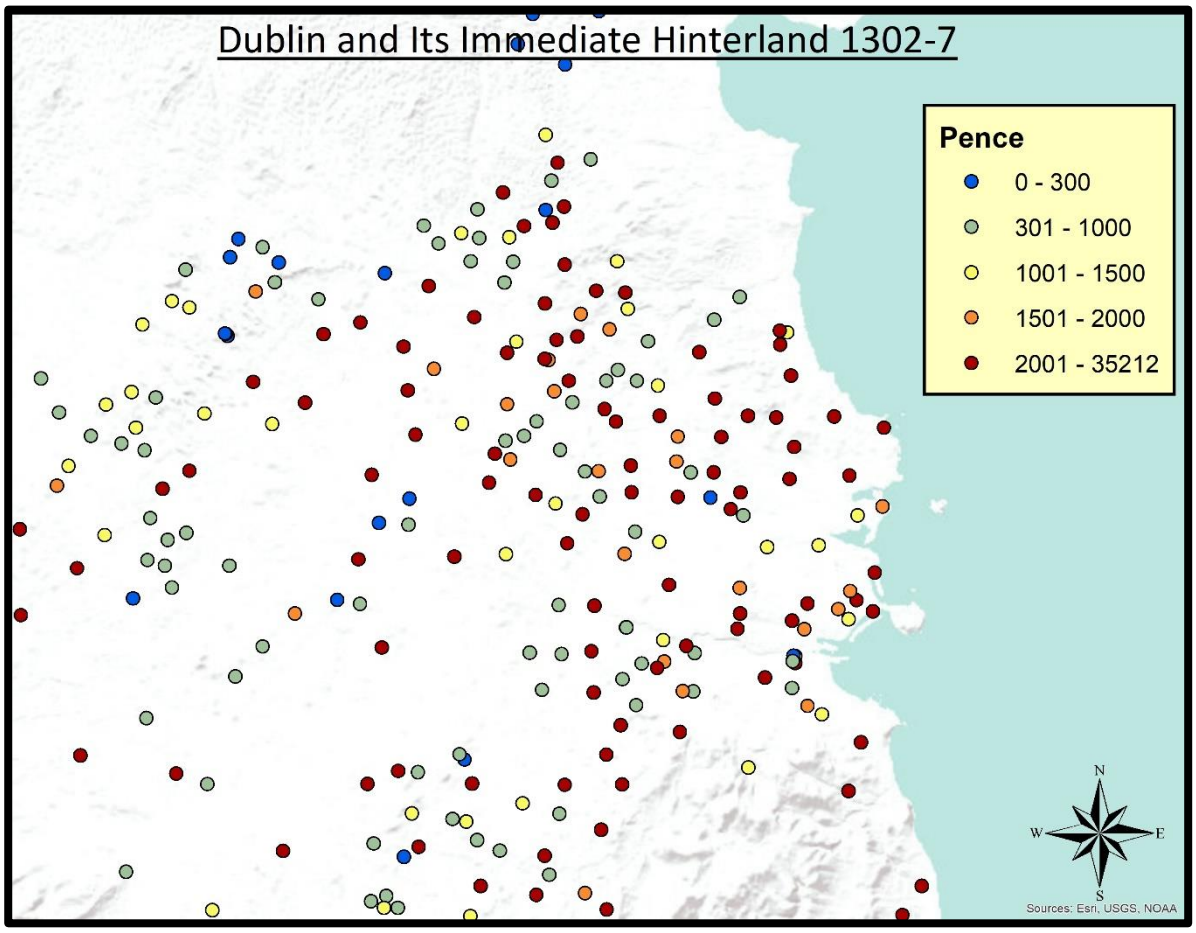
Map 6.26: Soils Types in the Colonial Heartland



Map 6.27: Slope within the Colonial Heartland

The parishes found in this zone are uniquely wealthy and, as seen in Map 6.7, densely situated together. The region's soils generally consist of luvisols and cambisols. Both soils are well-suited for agricultural use and have few barriers to being utilized. There are gleysols and podzols. However, because there is an abundance of prime land

these areas appear to be only lightly settled by colonist. Where there are areas of limited soil utility and quality, the colonists could simply circumvent such terrain. As such sub-par and boggy terrain is largely unsettled. High quality land is contiguous in this zone, not defined by pockets as it is in Ulster. This provides greater opportunity to form complex settlement networks and support higher population densities. In terms of elevation and land slope, the Heartland is also optimal in this regard and is largely defined by a low slope gradient and lowland. Altogether, it can be said that the physical environment of the Heartland is ideal for intensive agriculture and the manorial social landscape that existed in England and France. Fox, in "Taxation and Settlement in Medieval Devon," discusses the importance of expanses of soils for the development of Southern England, permitting density and trading networks.[543] The observations of this work can be applied to Dublin and its hinterland.

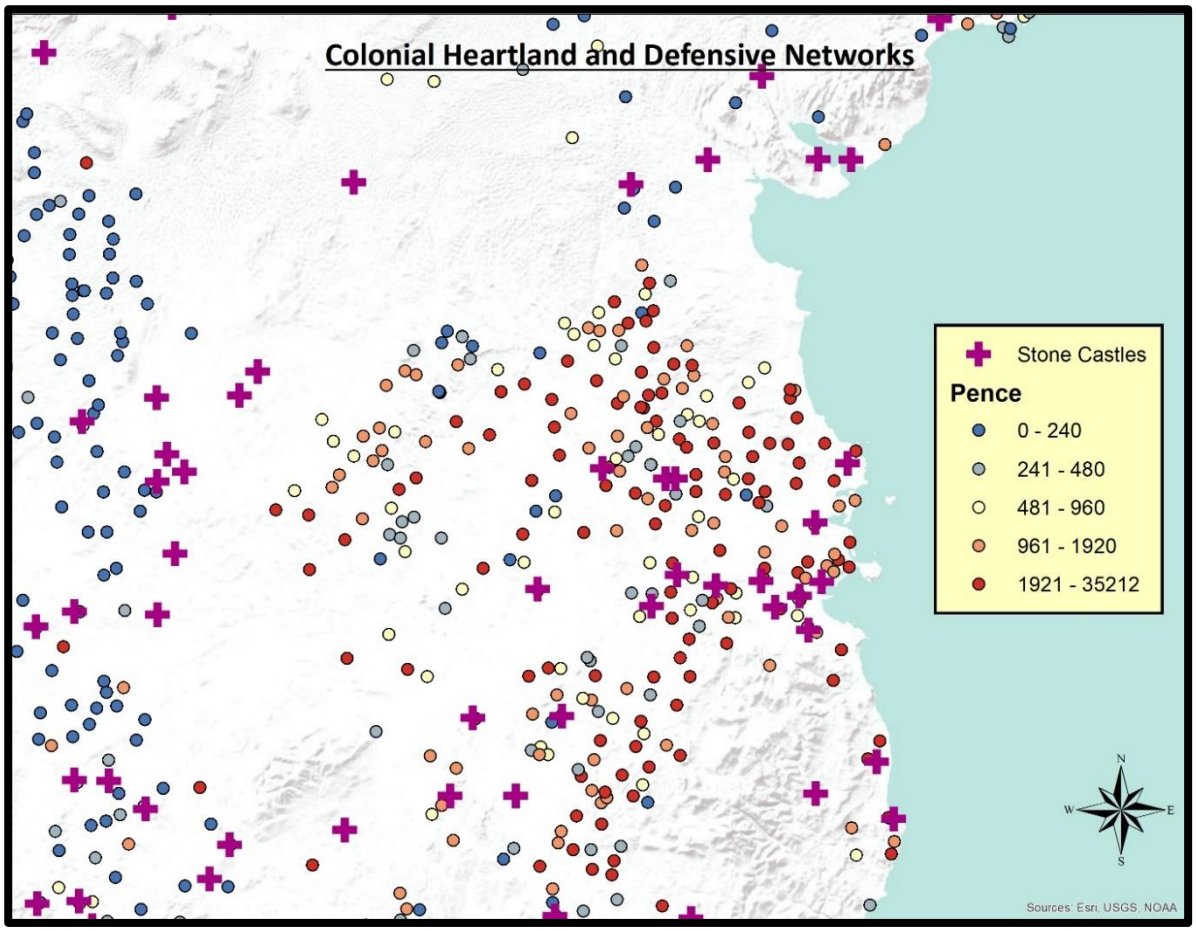


Map 6.28

[543] Harold Fox. "Taxation and Settlement in Medieval Devon," in *Thirteenth Century England X: Proceedings of the Durham Conference, 2003*, ed. Prestwich Michael, Britnell Richard, and Frame Robin, (Boydell and Brewer, 2005).

The human geography of the Heartland also possesses several key attributes that both contribute to and indicate its high degree of wealth. Foremost is the presence of ports and coastal sites, most notably the city of Dublin that was long established as a political and economic powerhouse. These sites could tie inland towns and settlements into maritime trading networks. Dublin had strong trading ties to England and was also the key to extracting resources and military aid for the Welsh and Scottish Wars. As the seat of the colonial administration and a royal city, it was also the site under the strongest royal control where the crown had the most vested interest. It is not by happenstance that the Pale, the site of continued English control after the Gaelic Resurgence, would be centred around Dublin. Outside of Dublin, Drogheda and Dundalk bolstered its hinterland, as did smaller coastal sites (e.g. Howth, Bray,[544] Wicklow, and Arklow). While these coastal sites were not as vital as Dublin, they nevertheless provided further opportunities for trade and transport.

[544] "The grant of a market in 1213, together with the burgesses mentioned above, indicates that the settlement of Bray at this time had borough status, a status it would fail to maintain. Surrounded by fertile coastal lowlands, Bray might well have flourished had it not been for the proximity of the Wicklow Mountains" (K.M. Davies, *Irish Historic Town Atlas: Bray* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1998), 1).



Map 6.29: Stone Castles and the Colonial Heartland

Although growing pressures from Gaelic areas have been illustrated, the Heartland appears to have benefited from a defensive network of castles. Map 6.29 visualises the castles in the region, showing heavy castellation at the Ulster-Leinster border, Dublin's immediate periphery, and at critical junctures along the Wicklow Mountains. The first group is notable as this area was the critical entryway into the southern parts of the Earldom of Ulster and the rich regions of Southern Louth/Northern Dublin. The second group reflected the interests of lords in the region; for example, the Geraldine castle at Maynooth protecting their manor there. The third group reflects measures against the Wicklow rebels and Gaelic polities. The Shannon, while an obstacle to controlling Connacht, also provided some buffer against Gaelic lords based in western Ireland. Thus, even if castles did not necessarily boost local wealth, they did abet regional stability. As such, the Heartland was somewhat insulated from raids and the growing endemic conflict brewing in other regions.

Leinster also benefited disproportionately from royal support and military expeditions. This indicates the practical reach of the colonial administration, as well as

the area that the administration was most willing to invest precious resources into. Frame sheds insight into geographical determinants of the core's shape: "The royal administration in its south-eastern base found itself cramped. Access to Munster depended on the control of river valleys constricted between hostile uplands, and in the fourteenth century Irish expansion threatened to block these arteries of communication. Leinster and Munster came almost to be governed separately, far as they were taxed and administered at all."[545] The administration would also have to adapt to Gaelic peoples and lords in Leinster. Frame notes: "In negotiating with Irish leaders the justiciar again adopted practices usual in native society, where the distribution of gifts by the over-king, or a mutual exchange of gifts, was regarded as establishing a relationship of superiority and subordination."[546] Indeed, it was noted in the conclusion of Chapter Two that the administration would take on the role, in a functional sense, of a provincial Gaelic king; making raids, taking prisoners, and claiming fines of cattle. It is ironic that despite cruel legislation such as the *Statues of Kilkenny* (1367), the administration itself would exhibit Gaelic features and adapt to the Irish political landscape.

Considering the decades leading up to 1300, it is still somewhat surprising that such a high degree of wealth would be found both throughout and at the edges of the core. It is possible that high values would have persisted out to Athlone (if the data fully encapsulated the region). Athlone, according to the *Irish Historic Towns Atlas* project (IHTA), exhibited indicators of significant settlement during the thirteenth century.[547] These included the building of a church, aquaculture, boat building, and two water-mills. Nevertheless, the Ó Conchubhair specifically targeted the town to prevent it from becoming a staging ground for colonial incursions.[548] Under such duress, Athlone's development must have been somewhat stunted and prevented from reaching its full potential. It also helps partly explain the poorly valued parishes to its west.

Writing on the Westmeath frontier, Andrews and Davies state:

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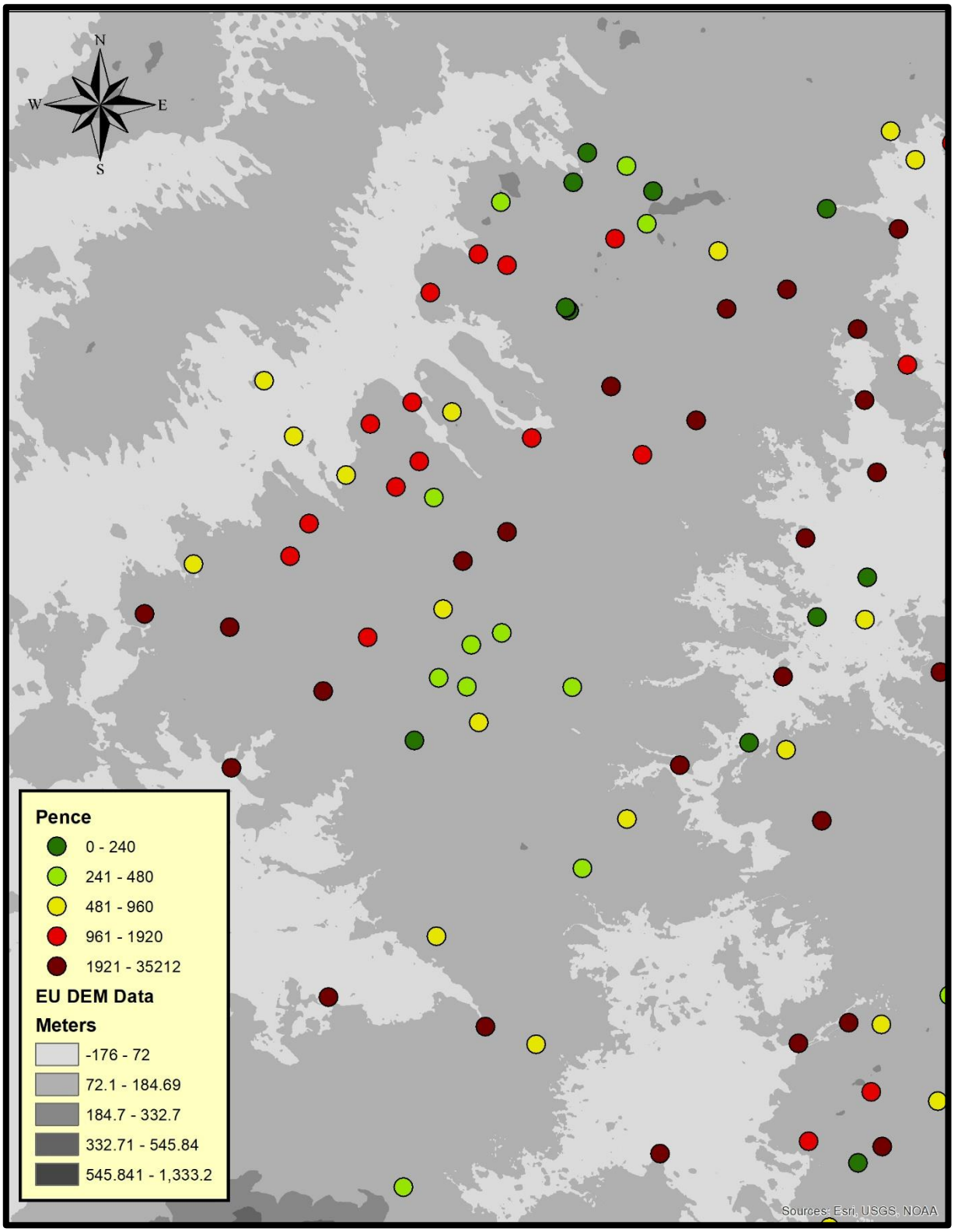
[545] Robin Frame, "Power and Society in the Lordship of Ireland 1272-1377," *Past & Present*, no. 76 (1977): 7.
[546] Robin Frame, "English Officials and Irish Chiefs in the Fourteenth Century" *The English Historical Review* 90, no. 357 (1975): 765.
[547] Harman Murtagh, *Irish Historic Town Atlas: Athlone* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1994), 2.
[548] "Security was fragile. Between 1218 and 1315 Athlone was burnt on at least six occasions, generally by the Ó Conchubhair who, in a reversal of roles, now sought to prevent Athlone's use as a bridgehead for English incursions into Connacht.12 The bridge itself, broken down in an attack of c. 1272, was subsequently in poor repair. A replacement erected in 1306 was apparently short-lived and a ferry was in use by 1314" (Ibid.).

> "In retrospect, Westmeath can be identified as a distinctive region before it became a separate county. Part of its distinctiveness was to be geopolitically vulnerable. Remote from the safety of Dublin, the Anglo-Norman salient supported few large nucleated settlements. Even boroughs, so often unsuccessful candidates for urban status rather than true towns, were surprisingly scarce, and most of them too hemmed in by bogs and lakes or too near the Norman Irish frontier to have much chance of long-term viability."[549]

This appears to correspond with Graham's interpretation of Meath and Weastmeath as well: "Evidence from elsewhere in Ireland indicates that the shrinkage of Norman settlements was well under way by the fourteenth century but it appears that the onset of this decline was somewhat delayed in Meath because of the comparative stability of the area in the medieval period; only in the western areas of the county did conditions become somewhat more unstable with the existence of a frontier zone."[550] Indeed, there are a few pockets of middling wealth on the border of Gaelic territories (such as that of the Ó Conchubhair Failghe) that can be seen in Map 6.30.

[549] J.H. Andrews with K.M. Davies, *Irish Historic Town Atlas: Mullingar* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1992), 1.

[550] B. J. Graham, B. J., "Anglo-Norman Settlement in County Meath," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 75 (1975): 245.



Map 6.30: The Marches of Westmeath

Interestingly, however, while patches of Weastmeath appear to have escaped valuation or were exhibiting signs of decline, there were signs of prosperity. Concerning Mullingar, the IHTA report on the town argues that it exhibited signs of development and

several markers for strong community life.[551] This is reflected within the data. Although its neighbours to the east that were under stronger Anglo-Irish control would later eclipse it, c. 1300 Mullingar might be viewed as the last secure town for the Colonial Heartland on its western fringe. Beyond this, deteriorating environmental conditions and Gaelic threats limited security, potential for manors to be established, and motivation to expand.

It is unsurprising that Trim should have produced a considerable hinterland. By the beginning of the thirteenth century it exhibited core features of urbanity, developed as a means of tapping into and controlling Meath's agricultural potential.[552] Despite being inland, it was tied into French, Flemish, and English markets (especially during annual fairs). Its market also helped provide seafood, cloth, and foreign goods to its hinterland.[553] Although weakened by partible inheritance, the royal government would take over Meath and Trim during succession disputes to preserve this strategic holding.[554] As such, it was not without a strong authority for extended periods and its value was acknowledged. Trim and Meath, more generally, also benefited from greater feudal organisation. For example, there were ordinances for military defence and the arming of landholders.[555] How long this persisted before bastard feudalism and cash payments became the norm is complex, but these local defensive measures likely significantly bolstered defensive structures, private armies, and the administration's own forces.

Looking at Kildare, there is also considerable wealth. This is somewhat surprising for the period as Kildare was harassed and attacked by the Ó Conchubhair Failghe, as well as by the Wicklow rebels to the east. Indeed, the Ó Conchubhair Failghe even burned down Kildare castle in 1294 (with its administrative records). With this critical defence removed, both Anglo-Irish brigands and Gaelic-Irish forces razing the immediate area.[556] Orpen tends to characterise 1290s as somewhat quiet, but these punctuations of violence cannot be forgotten. Neither should the cost of mounting expeditions into the Wicklow

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[551] Andrews and Davies, *Mullingar*.
[552] Mark Hennessy*, Irish Historic Town Atlas: Trim* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2004).
[553] Michael Potterton, "Trim in the Middle Ages: A Market Town on the River Boyne," *Archaeology Ireland*, 2009: 4.
[554] Ibid.
[555] Robin, Frame, *Colonial Ireland, 1169-1369* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2012) .
[556] Goddard Henry Orpen*, Ireland Under the Normans: Volume IV* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920), 118.

mountains and Ó Conchubhair Failghe territory (albeit with the assistance of the administration).

Missing gaps in the data for Kildare mesh with Otway-Ruthven's assessment of the region:

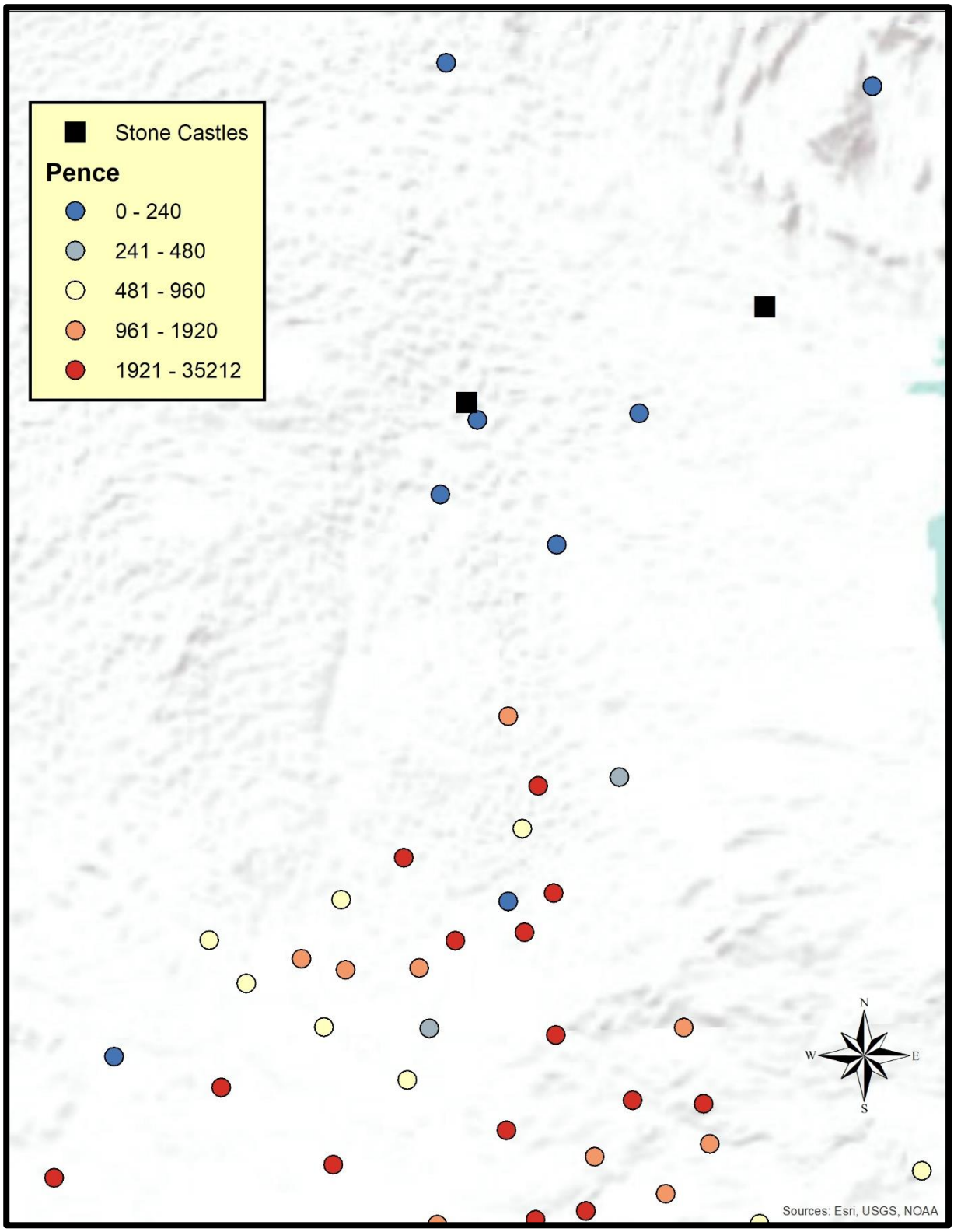
> "It is clear that by the end of the twelfth century Norman settlement was effective in the whole of the modern county and well west of it in the modern counties of Offaly and Leix, though it is also clear that the western area was always march country, liable to constant inroads from the unconquered Irish. It must be remembered that the whole north-western area was only a series of islands of relatively high ground among bogs, while both to the east and to the south-west and west there were considerable mountain areas, untouched by Norman settlement, which does not seem to have gone above the 6oo foot contour."[557]

Despite the destruction of Gaelic raids, Kildare's importance would grow. Andrews notes: "Perhaps more significant as a measure of perceived importance, it also gave its name first to a shire and later (in 1316) to an earldom whose holders, the FitzGerald family, kept possession of most of the land in the town until well into the twentieth century. Medieval Kildare was twice chosen as meeting place for the Irish parliament."[558] Indeed, the Kildare Geraldines would be later lauded for their power and ascendancy during the late medieval period. Concerning the county town, the IHTA project on Kildare states: "In 1331 its burgage rents amounted to £9 9s 8d, which some scholars, reckoning one shilling per burgage, believe to imply a burgess household population of 945 persons, capable of occupying as large a built-up area as the eighteenth-century town."[559]

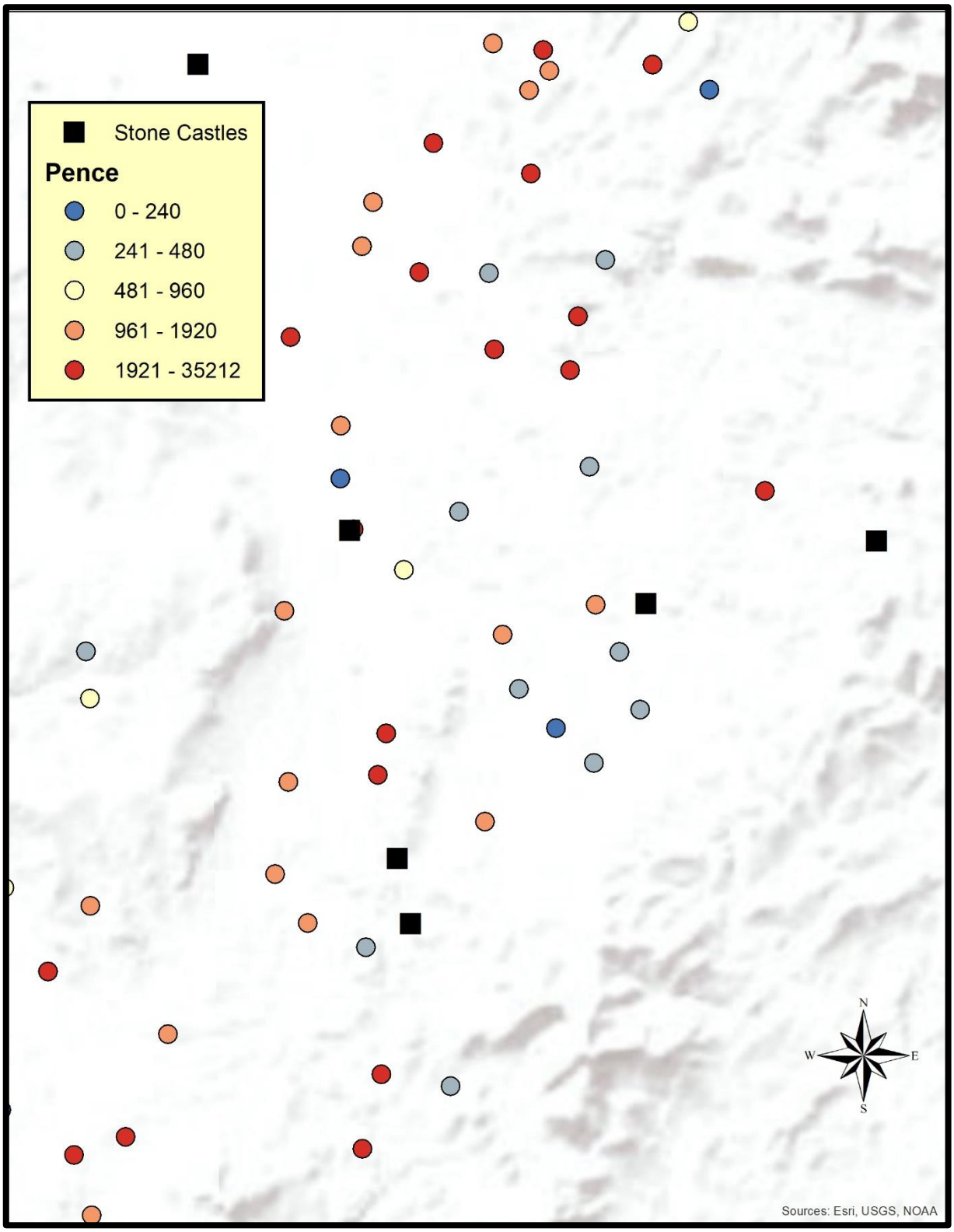
Although the Colonial Heartland developed a complex and robust economy, there are points of colonial retreat that should be noted. Clusters of low values at border zones can be seen in at the Ulster-Leinster Border and the base of the Wicklow mountains.

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[557] Jocelyn Otway-Ruthven, "The Medieval County of Kildare." *Irish Historical Studies* 11, no. 43 (1959): 184.
[558] J.H. Andrews, *Irish Historic Town Atlas: Kildare* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1986), 3.
[559] Ibid.



Map 6.31: Gaelic Advances on Pipard Domains



Map 6.32: The Carlow Corridor

Map 6.31 represents Donaghmoyne Castle and its surrounding parishes. In 1302, the Pipard family surrendered grant of the castle to Edward I. Essentially, it had been

captured by the Gaelic Irish of the area and could no longer be held. Thus, the associated parishes are under Gaelic control. Map 6.32 is at the base of the Wicklow Mountains and part of County Carlow. The low value parishes indicated in Figure are Gaelic dominated. This is further substantiated by Simms' Map of coarbs and erenachs in *Frontiers in the Church- Regional and Cultural*, in which these parishes stand out in a mostly Anglo-Irish landscape.[560] Adjacent to these parishes are two Anglo-Irish castles, a likely attempt to contain the Wicklow Irish. The Carlow corridor was also showing signs of deterioration. Lydon writes regarding the county:

> "The once great and prosperous Bigod lordship of Carlow is a good example of neglect and desertion. The records of the 1307 extents present a depressing picture. In Carlow itself the castle and hall were so defective that 'no one would rent them'. The same picture of decay was evident on other manors, with rents falling for lack of tenants. The extents of the tenements held by the earl of Glouchester were hardly any better. With the exception of the city of Kilkenny, they too show decay and neglect rampant, so that again and again the jurors on manors returned that they 'can be extended at no price because nothing can be got of them'."[561]

The maps reflect the conditions that Lydon describes. While the region has high valued parishes, it also has several gaps where valuations don't appear to have been made. Carlow was essentially becoming a march, a border zone between the Colonial Heartland and the hinterland of Kilkenny where political control was ambiguous. This, alongside the Gaelic Irish of the Wicklow mountains, illustrates an example of an "internal frontier." It also highlights the need for a strong political presence in Ireland. Doran's work on the "Carlow Corridor" would substantiate these insights as well. She notes that by 1290 the colonial reversal was becoming evident, and that the population was essentially divided between Anglo-Irish rebels, Gaelic Irish of the mountains, and loyal colonial subjects.[562] She also notes that a great deal of intermarriage would take place in the region, with Irish becoming the preeminent language (even in towns).[563] Additionally, towns and colonial settlements would become increasingly reliant on trade with the

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[560] Katharine Simms, "Frontiers in the Irish Church- Regional and Cultural." in *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland: Essays Presented to J.F. Lydon,* ed. T. Barry, K. Simms & R. Frame (London and Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press, 1995), 177-200.
[561] James Lydon, "The Impact of the Bruce Invasion: 1315-27," in *A New History Ireland: Volume II*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 273.
[562] Linda Doran, "Medieval settlement hierarchy in Carlow and the 'Carlow Corridor' 1200-1550," in *Carlow: History & Society,* ed. T. McGrath (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2008), 201.
[563] Ibid.

Gaelic Irish, especially for essential goods such as firewood.[564] As Gaelic territory under the Mac Murchadha increased, the colonists needed to accommodate Gaelic culture or else their economic hinterlands would become unviable. Outside of this, frequent interaction and local arrangements also abetted this integration.

On the eastern side of the Wicklow mountains, chaos was also growing. There is a considerable thinning of parishes between Bray, Wicklow, and Arklow (i.e. the density greatly decreases). Although this may be partly attributable to terrain constraints, historical sources also note extremely disruptive warfare. The *Irish Historic Towns Atlas* report on Bray states:

> "The manor of Bray, separated from the nearest O'Toole stronghold of Powerscourt by only a few kilometres, must always have been a prime target for the raiders, and certainly it was of doubtful value to its various lessors. The 1311 extent recorded that 'there is a certain wood outside from which the lord can take nothing on account of robbers and war' and three years later Bray was burnt by the O'Byrnes and the O'Tooles when they raided the coastlands from Arklow northwards."[565]

Indeed, the serjeant of Wicklow and Kildare was given a stipend to accommodate the loss of his Wicklow income.[566] The O'Toole warcry would become feared along the Wicklow mountains, while the colonists would parlay with Gaelic outlaws for the return of their goods or make their own individual peace treaties (despite the illegality of such agreements). For the administration and Anglo-Irish lords, the evanescence of military victories and negotiation results made the Wicklow mountains and its borders a particularly contentious area. Unlike a remote colonial post, what was being threatened was the rich and vital Heartland. The direness of this situation can be reflected in the castle-building efforts, but also by the colonial armies that marched to their death in Glenmalure. O'Byrne writes on the issue: "A powerful Irish lord's agenda could vary from one year to the next, choosing to ally with the settlers at one time before attacking them the next. The merry-go round of march politics was reflected in the dealings of the settlers with the Irish, which resulted in a landscape littered with skirmishes, parleys, marriages, blood feuds, truces and broken alliances. Self-interest was the first rule of

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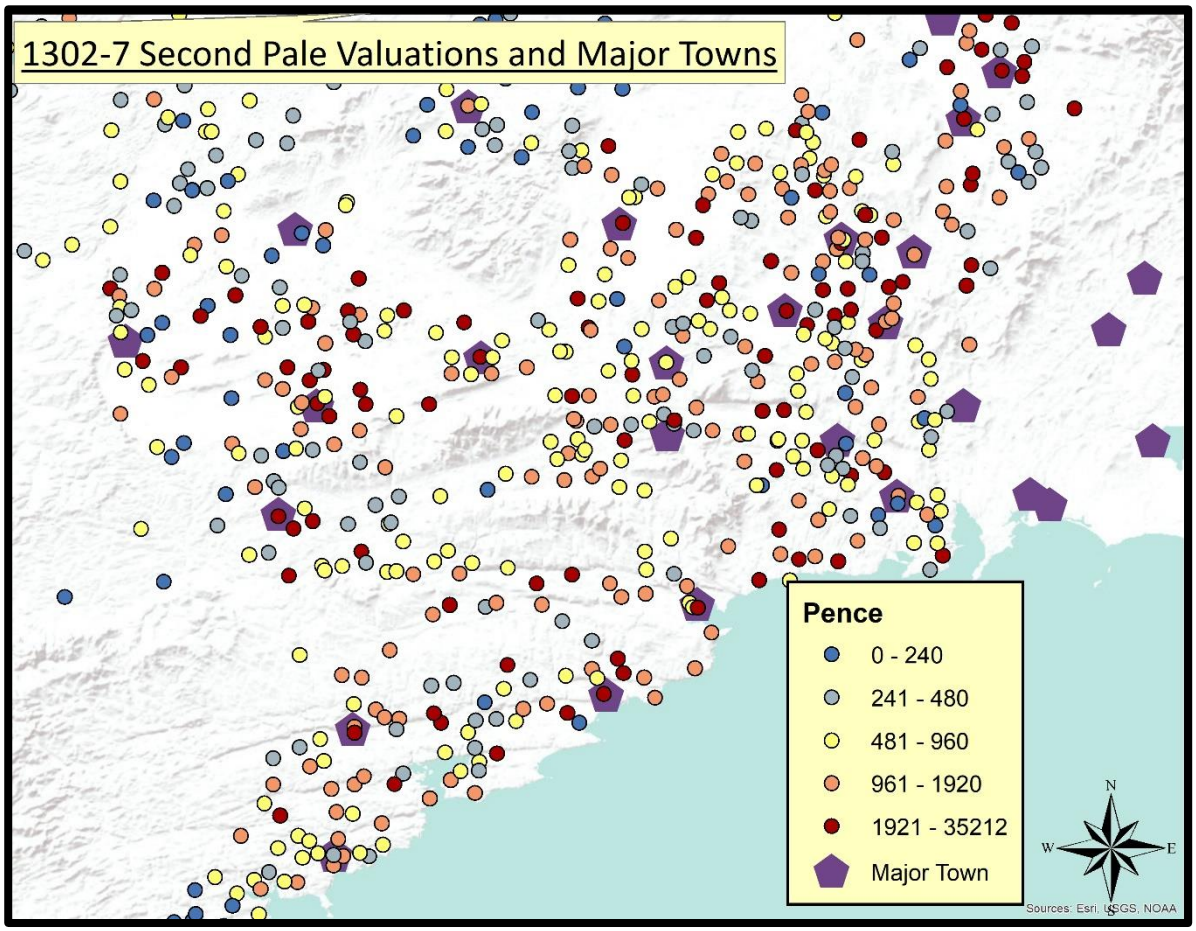
[564] Ibid.

[565] Davies, *Bray*, 9.

[566] "Already in 1315-16 the sheriff of Kildare was being allowed 2s. in his account 'because of the loss of the rent of the serjeantcy of Wicklow, since no serjeant has dared exercise his office in that bailiwick during his time" (Otway-Ruthven, "Kildare," 197).

thumb on the march."[567] Considering this, neither the lack of parishes along the coast nor the absence of Ferns should be surprising. It appears that the Wicklow lords were in a powerful position, able to raid the lowlands while utilizing the safety of the mountains.

7.6.2 The Second Pale Urban Cores and their Associated Lordships

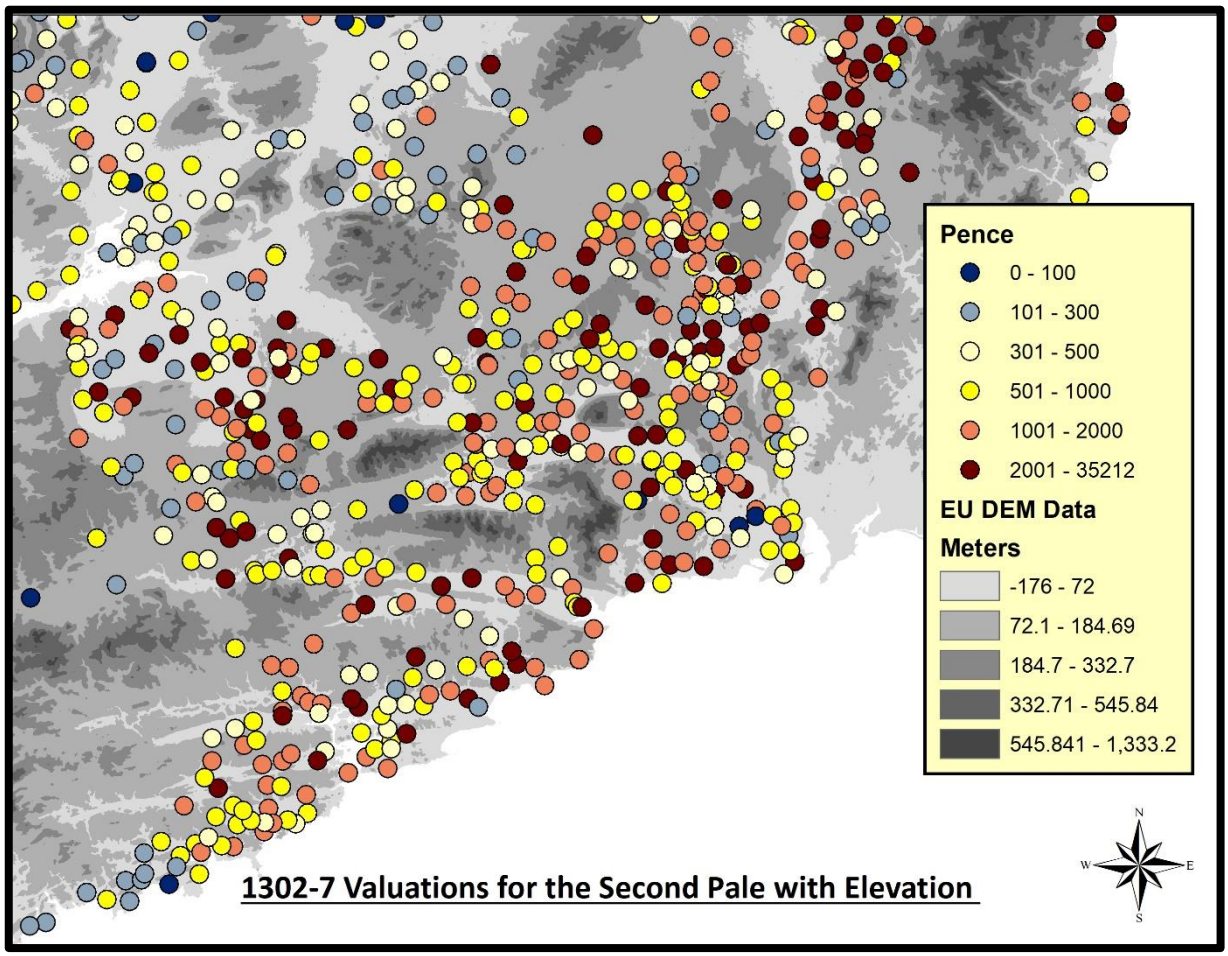


Map 6.33

The Second Pale, its urban cores, and its marcher lordships constitute a diverse and intriguing zone. An unexpected feature of these areas is that they are still exhibiting such strong indications of wealth by 1300, despite their distance from Dublin and the Gaelic pushback. Outside of the Colonial Heartland, cooperation, cultural mixing, and integration with the Gaelic Irish became more of a necessity (although this also occurred, to a degree, within the Heartland itself). These cores and their associated lordships survived into the Early Modern period. Considering this, the question must be raised of

[567] Emmett O'Byrne, "One World: The Communities of the Southern Dublin Marches," *History Ireland* 13, no. 3 (2005): 119.

whether these cores truly fit the criteria of a colony (i.e. an extension of or dependent on England) or had become self-sufficient polities with oscillating loyalty to the English crown (i.e. their loyalty was opportunistic, half-hearted, or wavering). O'Brien notes that large parts of Munster (Cork and Geraldine Desmond, for example) were *initially* settled peacefully, with the replacement of Gaelic aristocrats rather than large-scale displacement or disenfranchisement.[568] Some Gaelic aristocrats would continue to maintain power, paying a rental fee to Anglo-Irish aristocrats. Thus, the wealth found surrounding cannot simply be written off as another example of the supposed supremacy of colonial economics and culture. Rather, there were multicultural factors at play here and hybridisation.



Map 6.34

[568] A. O'Brien, "Politics, Economy and Society: The Development of Cork and the Irish South-Coast Region c. 1170 to c. 1583," in *Cork: History and Society,* ed. P. O'Flanagan & C. Buttimer (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1993), 83-156.

6.6.2.1 Kilkenny and Ormond

When considering the location and characteristics of Kilkenny, its high degrees of population density and wealth are to be expected. As a cathedral city, it possessed both ecclesiastical significance and wealth. Geographically, it benefited from the River Nore, ideal elevation, and fertile soils (helping it foster a strong degree of parish density). Its soils were mainly composed of luvisols, where the population was compactedly situated. These soils bordered by lightly inhabited or uninhabited gleysols.

Kilkenny was a focal point of the region's settlement and development from the early days of the English colony. F.X. Martin writes:

> "Large numbers of settlers were introduced, English and Welsh free tenants, to farm the land. With them came the agricultural revolution. Inevitably and rapidly a series of satellite towns sprang up in Kildare, Kilkenny, Carlow, and Wexford, looking to Kilkenny as the capital and New Ross as the port. With this urbanisation came a thriving commercial life, which meant income for Marshall and revenue for the crown. The lordship of Leinster was not unique in a transformation that was a many-sided but integrated process embracing settlement, agriculture, urbanisation, and trade."[569]

Indeed, it is the hinge, or connector, between the Colonial Heartland and the Munster lordships. The political importance can be attested to by the multiple parliaments situated there. Curtis writes that Kilkenny also benefited from protection under the Earls of Ormond, with a polyglot society arising in the city.[570] Kilkenny would preserve the French language longer than many other areas, something which is indicative of trade, scholarship, multiculturalism, and hospitable conditions that allowed the nobility to preserve the culture of the initial invaders.

Empey's work on the region suggests the continuity of an Anglo-Irish regime that adopted Gaelic features. The Butlers of Ormond held sway over Kilkenny and much of Tipperary. Their consistent and involved presence in the region allowed them to continue into the early modern period as lords of the region. Indeed, many Earls of Ormond would hold the chief governorship of Ireland.[571] This success can be partly attributed to

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[569] F.X. Martin, "John, Lord of Ireland 1186-1216," in *A New History Ireland: Volume II*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 151-2.
[570] Edmund Curtis, "The Spoken Languages of Medieval Ireland," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 8, no. 30 (1919): 234-54. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30092737.
[571] Robin Frame, *Colonial Ireland, 1169-1369* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2012) 148.

adaptation to the Gaelic political and cultural landscape.[572] One of the main mechanisms of this was the incorporation of coign and livery into the lordships' political and economic framework, allowing Anglo-Irish lords to supplement their resources through exactions, billeting, and labour duties. As such, Empey argued that the Butler's helped foster a framework in which Anglo-Norman customs and organization could continue. However, within this framework was accommodation to the Gaelic Irish. Empey also notes that Brehon law was used extensively outside of Kilkenny City,[573] with Anglo-Irish lords even employing brehons in Tipperary.[574] Brehon law would be mixed with common law the countryside. However, its poor protection of goods and trade rights made it less viable for urban and commercial life.[575] Outside of this, the Purcells and Clanwilliam de Burghs would adopt Gaelic culture, with some Purcell leaders receiving Gaelic eulogies and becoming known for raiding the Anglo-Irish as much as Gaels.

Empey argues that the Liberty of Tipperary functioned throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[576] Essentially, northern and central Tipperary eventually fell apart due to Gaelic resurgence, while southern Tipperary (the Liberty) would be weakened by internal Anglo-Irish feuds but survive. The nascent stages of the Gaelic resurgence can be seen in the data. There is a partial lack of valuations for Gaelic areas (which partly correspond to Robin Frame's 1314 frontier map[577] and Patrick Duffy's frontier map[578]). These lands belonged to septs such as the Ó Cinnéide (O'Kennedy's), the Ó Cearbhaill (O'Carrols), and the MacGillpatricks. Additionally, there is a weakening of colonial parish values on the periphery of these Gaelic lands, despite the high quality of the land that the communities are situated upon. This reflects that northern Tipperary had not been successfully settled or fully incorporated into Anglo-Irish lordships. Gaelic lords had not been subdued. Southern Tipperary (aka the Liberty), conversely, perfectly corresponds

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[572] C. A. Empey and Katharine Simms "The Ordinances of the White Earl and the Problem of Coign in the Later Middle Ages" *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 75 (1975): 161-87.

[573] C. A. Empey, "The Butler lordship in Ireland" (PhD dissertation Trinity College Dublin (Department of History), 1970) 498.

[574] Empey, "Butler," 499.

[575] Empey, "Butler," 503.

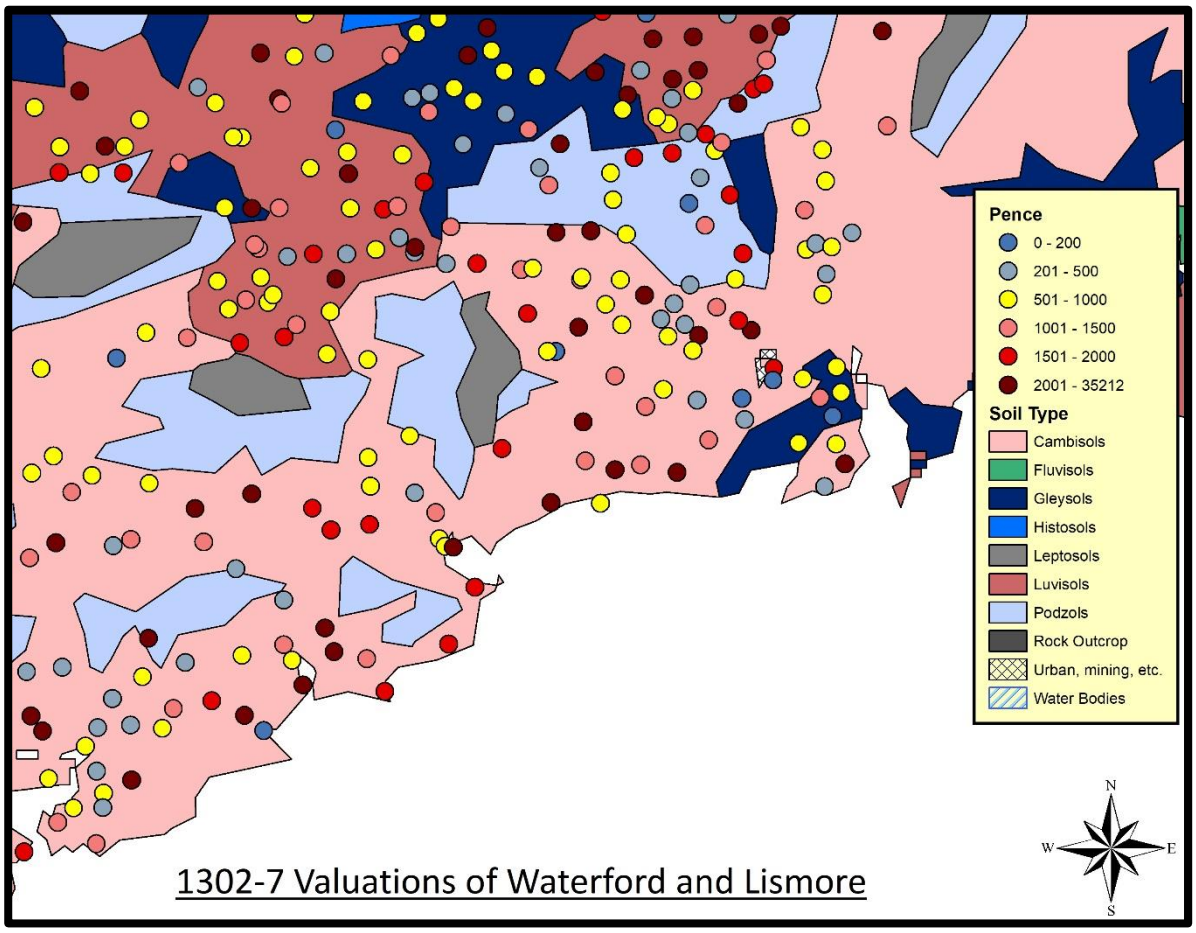
[576] Empey, "Butler," 499-500.

[577] Frame*, Colonial Ireland*, 130.

[578] Patrick Duffy, "The Nature of the Medieval Frontier in Ireland," *Studia Hibernica*, no. 22/23 (1982): 30.

with Empey's narrative of stability, as reflected by the high degrees of both population density and parish wealth.

6.6.2.2 Waterford



Map 6.35

Waterford provides an example of the Gaelic Irish becoming more involved and integrated into colonial society. In 1254, Gaelic families eased and held some authority over holdings at Fews (O'Flennagan), Balikerin (Creglehan O'Culan), Ardsillagh and Moylachety (Mac Kermekan), Ballylinehan (Maccrane), and Ballygunnar (Okeleghyn).[579] Although these holdings would be diminished by 1300, Gaelic families were still leasing smaller tracts of land.[580] Additionally, Gaelic Irish found themselves patronised or employed by colonial families; albeit sometimes also joining them in acts of violence and

[579] Ciaran Parker, "The Internal Frontier: The Irish in County Waterford in the Later Middle Ages," in *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland: Essays Presented to J.F. Lydon, ed.* T. Barry, K. Simms & R. Frame (London and Rio Grande: The Hambledon Press, 1995) 141.
[580] For example, the Ó Flannagáin at Dungarvan (Parker, "Internal Frontier," 142).

robbery.[581] These opportunities, according to Parker, helped ameliorate ethnic tension and provided opportunities for some Gaelic Irish to advance themselves.[582]

The city and its hinterland were generally insulated from Gaelic raids and thus had low levels of paranoia towards the Gaelic Irish.[583] Nevertheless, Anglo-Irish outlaws were disruptive and causing damage. Parker notes: "Waterford was atypical in that it was not a frontier region, yet it produced lineages similar to those found in other areas of the lordship that were on the frontier. Lineages, furthermore, came to dominate the political society of the county to the partial exclusion of non-baronial families, who were forced to rely on the le Poers for positions of local influence."[584]

Waterford's immediate hinterland was not particularly wealthy, when only considering its diocesan values. This may be partly attributable to outlawry. However, the terrain surrounding the city is mountainous and sloped, something that would inhibit agricultural production. Additionally, there are patches of gleysols, podzols, and leptosols that break up the utility of the terrain. When considering Lismore as part of Waterford's hinterland, however, the wealth of the area can be better understood and appreciated. The diocese was situated more firmly on cambisols and luvisols; eschewing sub-optimal soils completely. The diocese also benefitted from trading networks with Youghal and Cork as well. This may help explain its high tiers of wealth. However, it is important to note that the Lismore parishes directly adjacent to Waterford are wealthy and exhibit density. Outside of this, Waterford would have also tied into parts of Kilkenny's rich economic network. When considering this, it becomes less surprising that Waterford had more overseas trade that Dublin at times between 1270-1330.[585]

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[581] "Similarly, while many crimes were of a spontaneous nature often economically motivated, many more were not committed by the Irishmen on their own initiative but occurred within the pattern of patronage and clientage which pervaded the society of County Waterford in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries" (Parker, "Internal Frontier," 143).

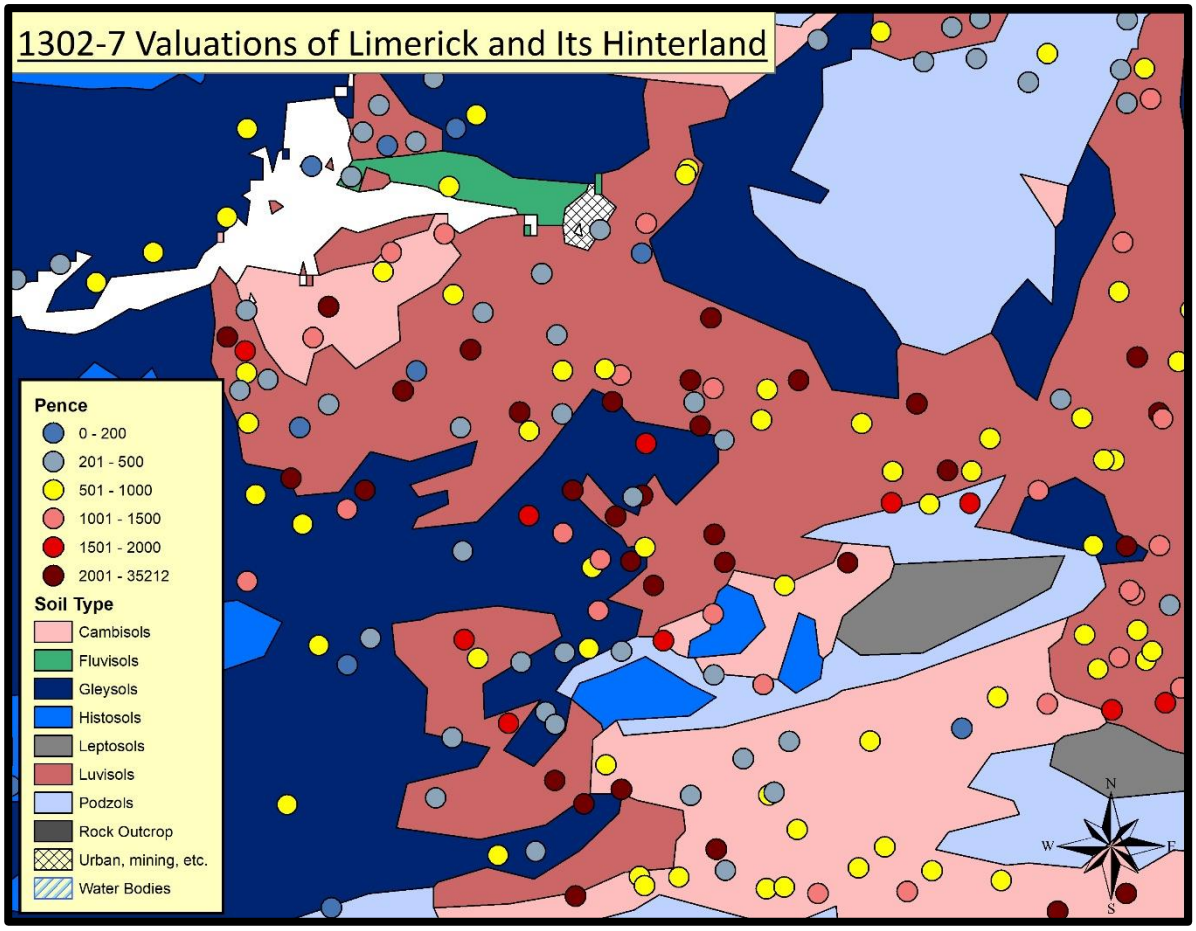
[582] "An Irishman seeking to improve his position needed a powerful patron amongst the local political elite and this was true even for members of the parochial clergy. This placed them within a net of mutual dependency that embraced not only Irishmen but all levels of society, in this environment the favour of a powerful friend was worth as much, if not more, than the possession of a charter of enfranchisement." (Parker, "Internal Frontier," 154)

[583] Ibid.

[584] Ciarán Parker, "Paterfamilias and Parentela: The Le Poer Lineage in Fourteenth-Century Waterford," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 95C, no. 2 (1995): 93-117.

[585] John Bradley, "Waterford: Patronage and Position," *Irish Arts Review (2002-)* 28, no. 3 (2011): 99-102.

6.6.2.3 Limerick



Map 6.36

Limerick, in the context of the Munster lordships, can be characterised as the edge of intensive and stable westward colonisation. It was also the largest urban core, in terms of economic impact, to be surrounded by multiple immediate frontier regions. To its west was Thomond, to its east the Midlands septs, to its north Connacht, and to its south the Mac Cárthaigh. Considering this, the city's survival becomes somewhat enigmatic. As noted before, the city itself was not particularly wealthy. Indeed, the Historical Towns Atlas for it notes that it was under increasing pressure c. 1300: "Limerick, like other peripheral parts of Anglo–Norman Ireland, was effectively being thrown back on its own resources as the power of the colonial administration declined. Customs receipts, which survive for the period 1276–1333, show Limerick towards the bottom of the Irish ports

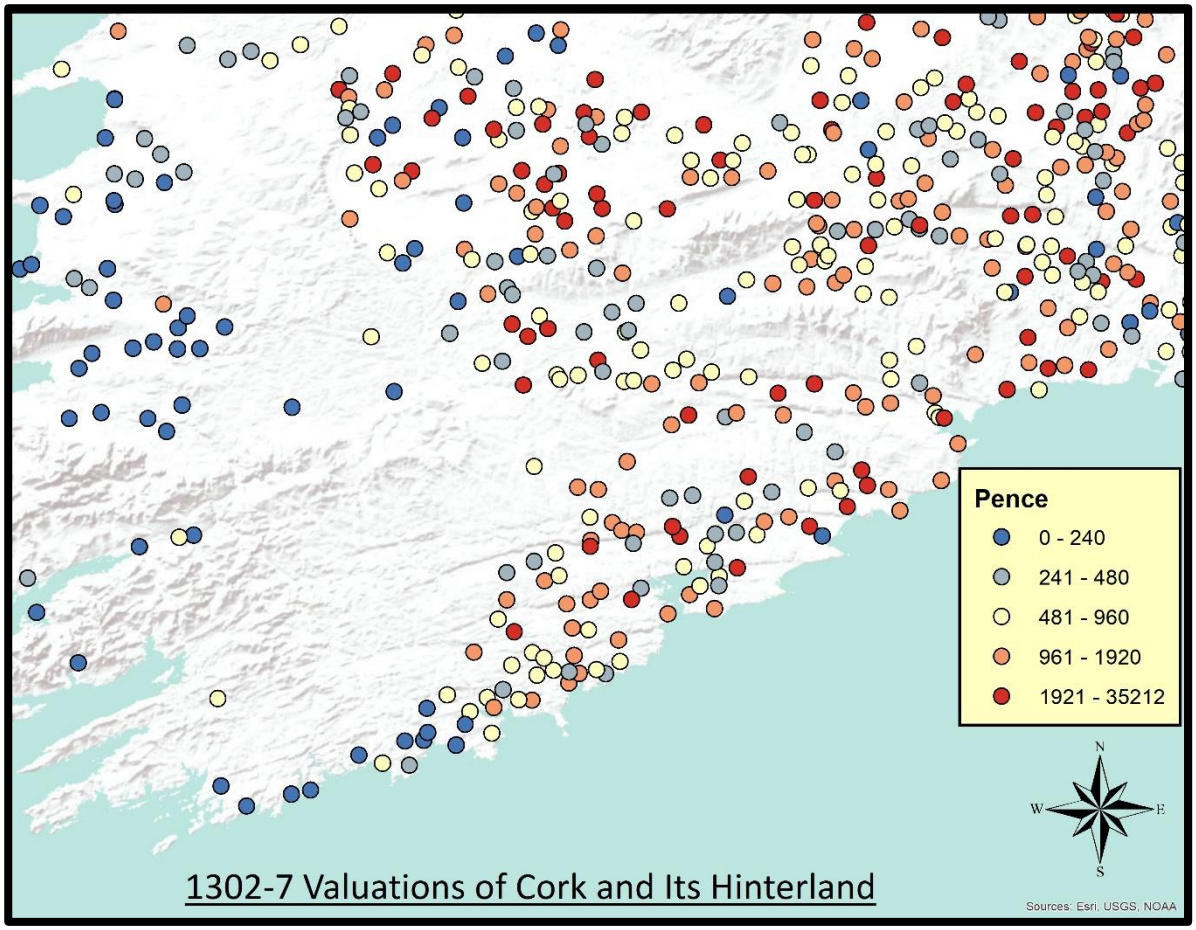
table, contributing only 0.63% of the total receipts, and nothing after the Bruce invasion."[586] Nevertheless, records show the city was developing under Edward I and that the English government would still invest resources into the city after the Bruce Invasion.[587]

Where Limerick did draw wealth from was its south-eastern hinterland at the border between Counties Cork and Limerick. This area, benefited from luvisols, natural barriers, castle defences, and urban sites. As such, there also a hotspot of population density in this area. As with Lismore, the overlap of ports (Cork and Limerick in this instance) benefited the area. However, the city's borders under Gaelic influence to the west, southwest, and north produced middling to low wealth. This, to reiterate, reinforces that the city was a colonial limit and bounded by Gaelic lordships.

[586] O'Flaherty*, Irish Historic Town Atlas: Limerick* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2010), 4.

[587]"The fourteenth century saw a continuation of the fortification and building projects initiated by the Anglo-Normans. A charter was granted by King Edward I allowing the citizens to elect a mayor in 1292 and the existence of a guildhall (gyhalda) is recorded in 1307. The condition of Thomond Bridge was a source of concern to the English government by the 1330s and grants were made to repair it in 1358–9" (Ibid.)

6.6.2.4 Cork



Map 6.37

Cork (city), like Galway, suffered from a western hinterland of limited utility for intensive agriculture. Physically, the terrain is homogenously mountainous and sloped. It is, instead, more suitable for pastoral livelihoods. Indeed, the Mac Cárthaigh held most of the western county, especially Carberry and Muskerry.[588] Nevertheless, the Cork colony benefited from a more suitable environment to the north, where it, Kilkenny, and Limerick fostered the breadbasket of the Second Pale. Additionally, it had a network of connecting ports such as Youghal, Dungarvan, and Kinsale, both of which generated their own hinterlands. The wealthy lands of Lismore, too, fed its economy.

The Cork colony, like other regions of the Second Pale, was known for acclimating to the Gaelic landscape. However, Gaelic families also adapted Norman or English cultural aspects. The Ó Riagáin for example, would continue to hold strong social positions (even

[588] Katharine Simms, "The Political Recovery of Gaelic Ireland," in *The Cambridge History of Ireland,* ed. T. Bartlett & B. Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 283-4.

as clergy in towns).[589] Before the 1169, they had been kings of Fermoy and held regional prestige, perhaps explaining how they continued to hold some degree of social standing in both Gaelic and Anglo-Irish circles. Though holding authority within the colonial landscape, the family were also stalwart lieutenants of the Mac Cárthaigh well into the Early Modern period.[590] This family and the O hAodha (O'Hea) also adopted Norman given names and aspects of French culture. There is, intriguingly, an annalistic reference to the O hAodha being attacked by the Mac Cárthaigh.[591] They, it is important to note, held land at the borders of Carew and Barret coastal territory in southern Cork, putting them in a position to ally with different lords. This is perhaps, then, an example of the opportunities the colonial presence offered small or middling Gaelic families to gain independence and or status. By accommodating and incorporating the Anglo-Irish, to a degree, they could engage allies from all ends of the cultural spectrum. There are additional Munster Gaelic families that adopted English or French characteristics, however, these two have been cited to provide interesting examples.

Other Gaelic families continued to hold their land and authority in return for paying rent to an Anglo-Irish magnate. Additionally, Simms notes that the crown and administration would sometimes back Gaelic dynasties in Munster as a counterweight to other Gaelic lords or Anglo-Irish magnates.[592] Anglo-Irish Lords in the region would, as aforementioned, also become increasingly Gaelicized. The Desmond Geraldines (or FitzGeralds) are perhaps the best and most notable example of this. The de Barry, another Anglo-Irish family that held great sway in Cork, also provide another illustration of Gaelicization. This is, in part, due to the regional Anglo-Irish magnates resenting and struggling with the colonial administration over who should have discretion over their holdings.[593] As such, integrating with the local populace and aristocratic culture provided a means of increasing their power and independence from the crown and administrations while also engaging with Gaelic lords (who could become potential allies).

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[589] Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, *Family Names of County Cork* (Cork: Glendale press, 1985).
[590] John Collins, "The O'Regans of Carbery*," Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society,* Vol. LXIII (1958).
[591] Ó Murchadha, *Family Names*.
[592] Simms, "Political Recovery," 279.
[593] Ibid.

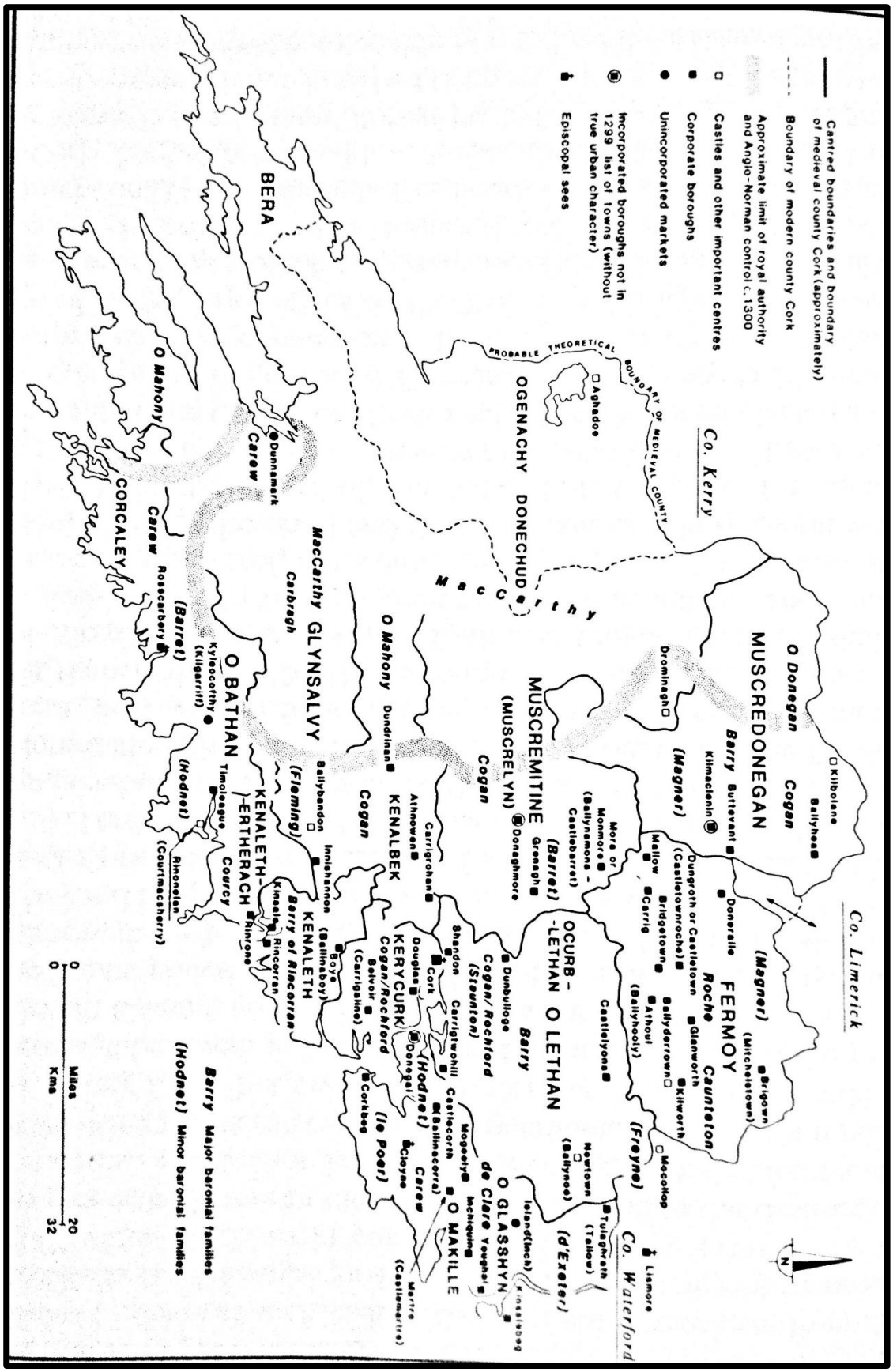
Western Cork was, as aforementioned, under the influence of the Mac Cárthaigh,[594] [595] as such, there are decreased values in this frontier area and an increased presence of castles. These boundaries largely correspond with Nicholls map of County Cork in *Cork: History and Society*.[596] This map has been included as Map 6.38. Interestingly, however, there are some middling and high-tier valuations under Gaelic remit (especially around Muskerry). Gaelic Desmond will be discussed within its own section. However, it is important to make note that the wealth found in Cork is not exclusively found within colonial domains.

Barrett and Carew lands to the West of Kinsale were uncharacteristically low for colonial territory.[597] This may be partly due to remoteness and environmental constraints, but the presence of neighbouring Gaelic lords such as the O'Mathúna (O'Mahonys), Ó Súilleabháin (O'Sullivans), O hAodha, and Ó Dálaigh (O'Dalys) also meant that political control of the area was contested. Interestingly, Anglo-Irish magnates occasionally sued Gaelic families for land claims in southern Cork.[598] This suggests that the colonists were unable to seize these domains with brute force. Additionally, it suggests that Gaelic families had some presence within Anglo-Irish society and legal systems (though there may have been an enormous legal imbalance or favouritism against the Gaelic Irish). Regardless, it is reflective of the complexities of the Second Pale, with both common law and Brehon law operating in a land where two peoples both intermarried and fought one another.

Cork provides an opportunity to revisit a question posed earlier in this section. With the presence of Gaelic neighbours with which the Anglo-Irish interacted, Gaelic peoples holding land and positions within colonial domains, Gaelicizing Anglo-Irish magnates, Normanizing or Anglicizing Gaelic families, and increasing independence from the colonial administration, can we truly characterise these Anglo-Irish domains as part of a "colony?" Essentially, had parts of the Second Pale become their own distinct cultural and political regions that were self-sufficient? Additionally, can we attribute the high

[594] Kenneth Nicholls "The Development of Lordship in County Cork: 1300-1600," in *Cork: History and Society*, ed. P. O'Flanagan & C. Buttimer (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1993), 161.
[595] Liam Ó Buachalla, "An early fourteenth-century place-name list for Anglo-Norman Cork," *Dinnseanchas* 2 (1966/67), 1–12, 39–50, 61–7.
[596] Nicholls, "County Cork," 161.
[597] Ibid.
[598] O'Brien and Nicholls cover this phenomenon in Chapters Five and Six of *Cork: History and Society*.

degrees wealth here fully to Anglo-Irish endeavours when considering some positive relationships with Gaelic neighbours and the presence of Gaelic peoples within the Cork Anglo-Irish lordships? These questions will be fleshed out during the remainder of the text, implicitly and explicitly. However, it can be said that a melange of cultures and the cultural/political transitions of the fourteenth century should not necessarily be termed as degeneracy or viewed as only reaping chaos. Rather, they likely served as key ingredients to longevity and seem to have fostered some high degrees of wealth.

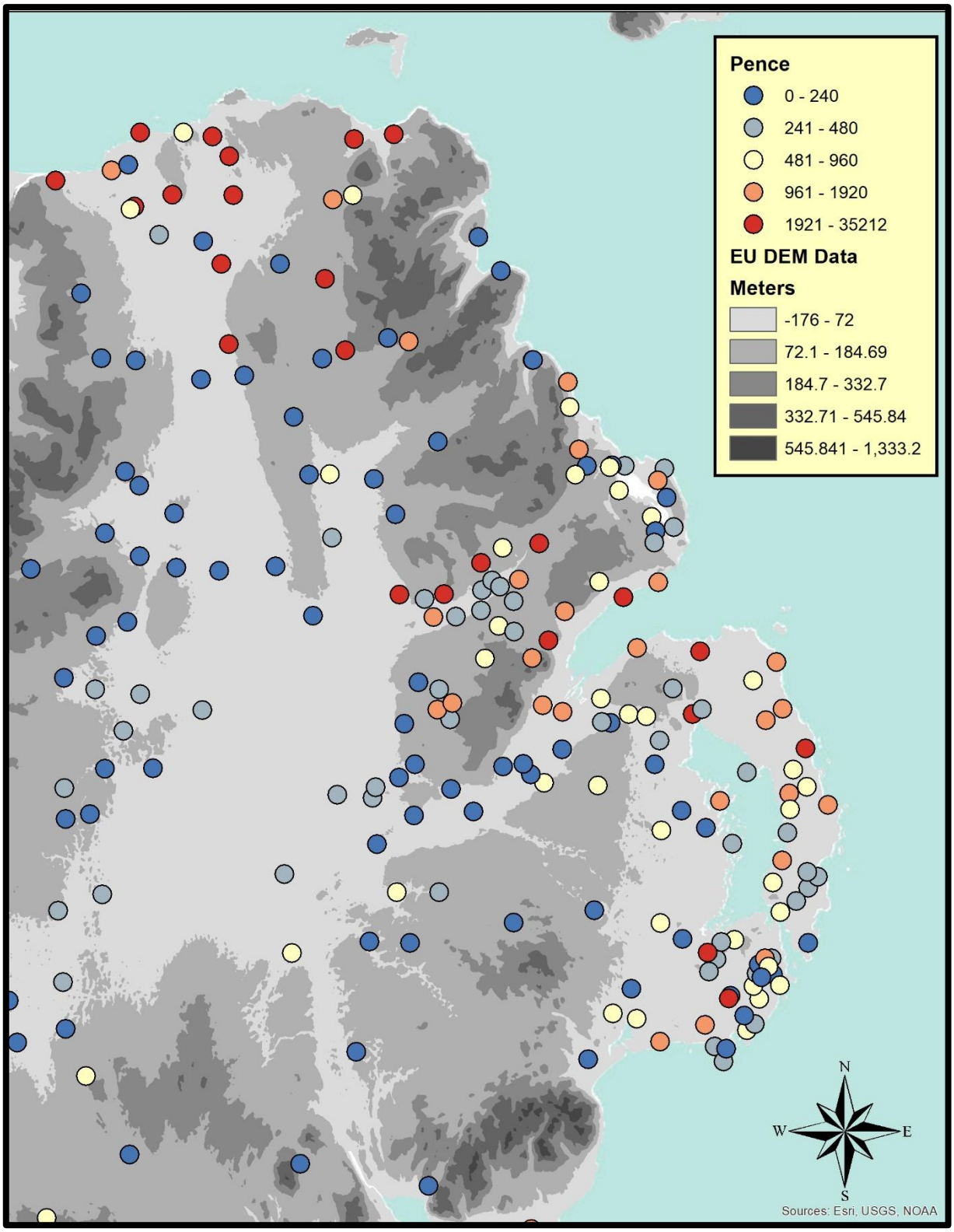


Map 6.38: The County of Cork c. 1300[599]

[599] Nicholas, "County Cork."

6.6.3 Frontiers and Gaelic Domains

6.6.3.1 The Earldom of Ulster



Map 6.39: Eastern Ulster and Elevation

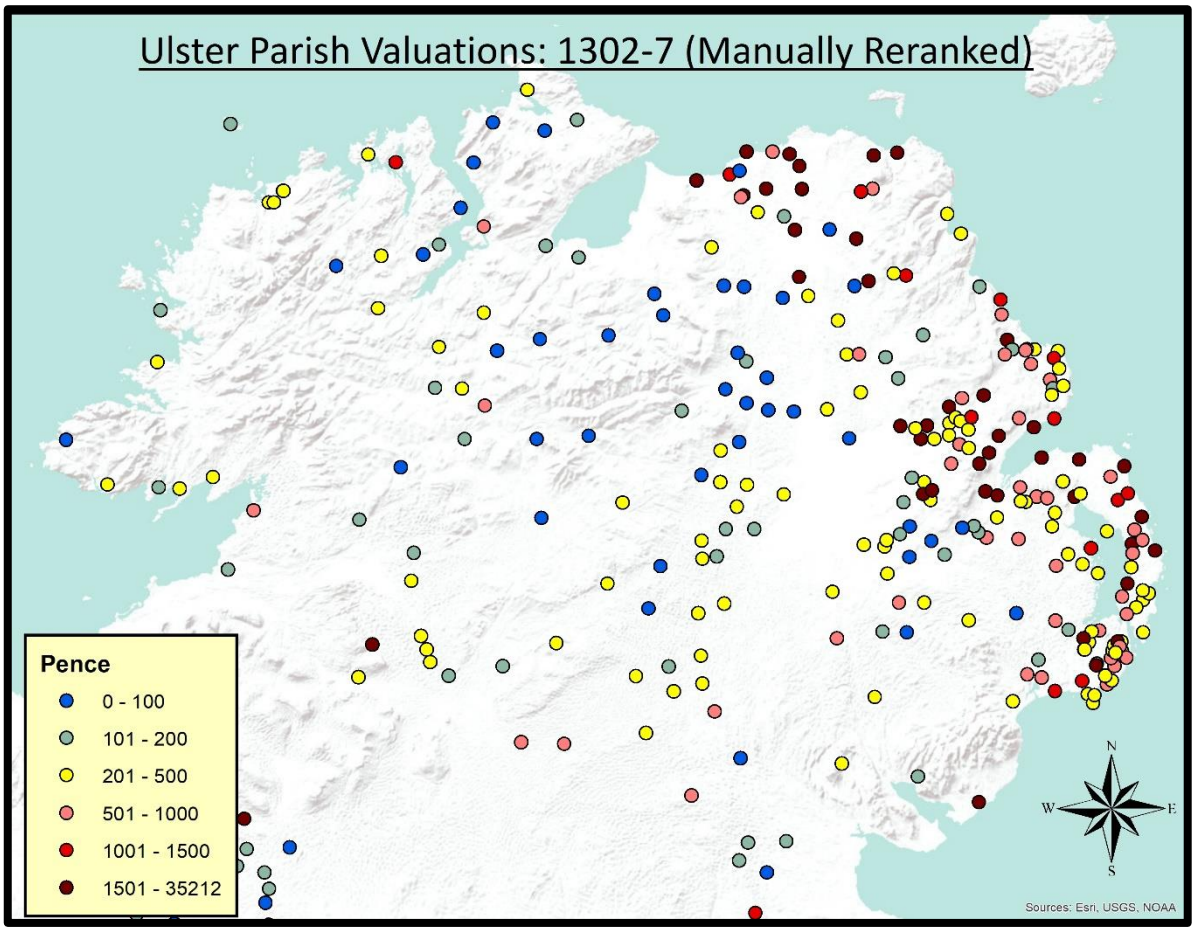
The Earldom of Ulster exhibits multiple developing economic cores and nodes. The Coleraine core largely conforms to a stretch of land with wide applications for agriculture, as well as is serviced by the river Bann. Outside of having strong utility for agriculture, the area has First and Second tier slope. However, the area's soils are largely gleysols and histosols, something which does provide obstacles to agriculture unless properly drained. Regardless of this soil type, Orpen notes: "Up to the year 1315, when the hands of Edward Bruce and his Irish supporters fell heavy upon the land, this district of the Twescard was apparently the most thickly settled and the most prosperous division of the lordship of Ulster. This appears not only from the accounts of the customs in 1262 and 1276, already given, but also from the Ecclesiastical Taxation of 1306 - no bad guide to the relative order and prosperity of the lands included in the deaneries taxed."[600]

Orpen also argues that the settlement at Coleraine had largely peaceful relations with its Irish neighbours until the Bruce Invasion. The Red Earl of Ulster was even able to procure grants of land in county Derry between 1305-1310 from Irish bishops (even founding Greencastle not far from modern day Derry City). This was despite the colonial territorial advance largely ceasing fifty years early in the rest of Ireland.

Other nodes were also developing. Despite physical constraints (the sea and mountainous terrain) to its growth, Carlingford achieved "modest prosperity" according to the IHTA,[601] with a substantial population that may have been "half the size of contemporary Kilkenny."[602] The report also states: "By 1333 the toll of the fair was reckoned to be worth 2s. a year or about a fifth of that yielded by the very wealthy trading centre of Kilkenny. By the end of the thirteenth century Carlingford was noted in customs returns as one of the east Ulster ports and it may have been a significant element in trade along the coast.[603]"Although not featured within the data, being part of Louth, its eastern hinterland exhibited prosperity. Strangford, for which data does exist, also achieved middling wealth despite being on the border of the Earldom.

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[600] Goddard Henry Orpen, "The Earldom of Ulster: Part IV. Inquisitions Touching Coleraine and Military Tenures (Continued)," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Sixth Series, 5, no. 2 (1915): 123.
[601] Harald O'Sullivan and Raymond Gillespie, *Irish Historic Town Atlas: Carlingford* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2011), 2.
[602] Ibid.
[603] Ibid.



Map 6.40

Carrickfergus also appears to have been a site of importance, something reflected by the Scottish efforts to obtain it during the Bruce Invasion. It benefited from curtilage walls, castle towers, and artificial waterways, as well as derived some defensive features from the natural terrain. The IHTA report on the town found signs of commercial activity at the friary c. 1200, suburban craft activity c. 1250, and a corn mill c. 1334.[604] There is limited evidence for the exact morphology of the town, but it, its port, and its castle were vital for controlling the Earldom.

The human geography and political milieu of the Earldom of Ulster offers insight into another landscape where cooperation and coexistence occurred. Orpen asserts that many of the Ulster Gaelic aristocrats served as tenants for the Red Earl (an assertion supported by their presence in different military campaigns such as Scotland and Flanders). Indeed, this position existed during the mid-thirteenth century as well. Brian O'Neill's attack on the Earldom failed in 1260 largely because a number of Gaelic

[604] Philip Robinson, *Irish Historic Town Atlas: Carrickfergus* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1986).

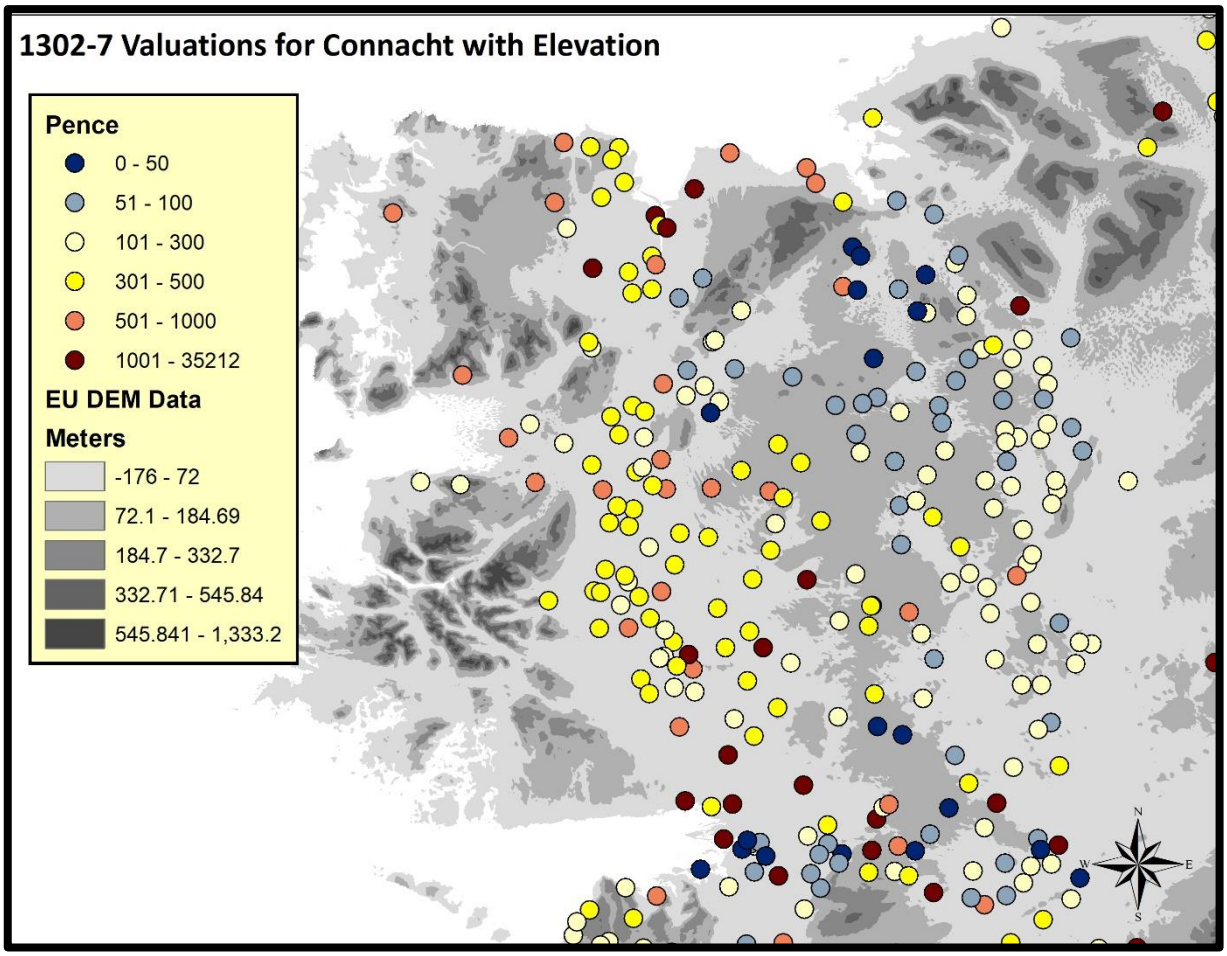
aristocrats remained neutral or loyal to the contemporary Earl.[605] The Earldom was able to exact cows as tribute and fines from a number of Gaelic septs during this time as well.[606] Orpen goes so far as to write: "the last half of the thirteenth century Tirconnell had been what may be called the Geraldine " sphere of influence."[607]

Although there was only sporadic and precarious Anglo-Irish settlement west of the Bann, the Red Earl was also able to procure some rents from the Gaelic Irish (outside of the grants aforementioned). These were repayments and concessions, it appears, for favours done by the Earl. The Red Earl garnered Gaelic-Irish subservience through military support of the Ó Néill against the Ó Domnaill, as well as engaged in political meddling to bolster potential allies. As such, he ingratiated himself with some of the Irish aristocracy. Additionally, he partook in punitive expeditions and hostage taking. Thus, through a mixture of proactivity, influencing politics, and cooperation, the Red Earl was able to foster some sense of security in Coleraine, despite its distance from the colonial heartland. However, Orpen notes that "Anglo-Norman influence and partial domination in the parts of the province of Ulster west of the Bann have not, I think, received due recognition at the hands of our historians."[608] Indeed, this political situation is extremely complex and our understanding of it is still to a degree, nebulous. Orpen's view must also be reined in to a degree as he has a penchant for viewing the Norman elites in a positive and romantic light. The Ó Néill and other Ulster aristocrats would ally with Edward the Bruce in 1315, with the O'Neill claiming the crown of Ulster for himself. Domhnall O'Neill was also one of the authors behind the Princes' Remonstrance, a document which accounted the harms visited upon the Gaelic Irish by the "Middle Nation." The opportunistic nature of both Gaelic and Anglo-Irish leaders cannot be forgotten, as well as the often-evanescent character of dominion, alliances, and victories. Nevertheless, the Red Earl's efforts seem to have been effective until 1315.

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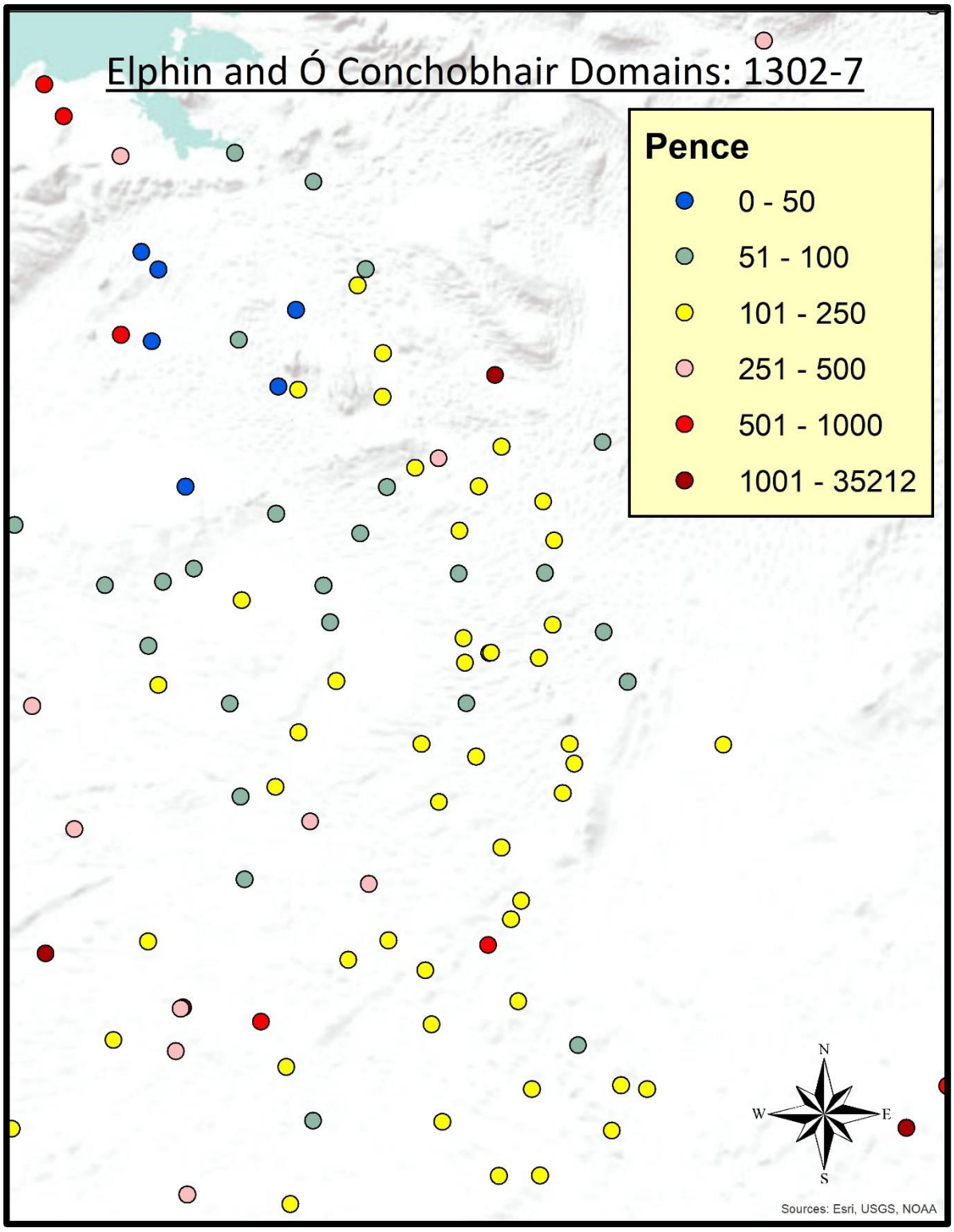
[605] Goddard Henry Orpen, "The Earldom of Ulster. Part I.: Introductory to the Inquisitions of 1333," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Sixth Series, 3, no. 1 (1913): 36.
[606] Orpen, "Earldom of Ulster Part I," 37.
[607] Orpen, *Normans*, 125.
[608] Orpen, *Normans*, 124

6.6.3.2 Connacht



Map 6.41

Connacht provides one of the more archetypical examples of a "frontier." Except for select manors and towns orbiting around the Galway-Athenry-Loughrea and fortifications in Roscommon, the maps produced from the 1302-7 valuations show little evidence of a substantial colonial economic impact. The province is largely composed of middling to low tiers of wealth, although it features a higher density of parishes than found within Gaelic Domains. Map 6.6 further highlights the relative poverty of the province by illustrating that it contains a preponderance of low-low clusters.



Map 6.42

The Diocese of Elphin, mainly in present-day County Roscommon, was largely contiguous with the King's Cantred. *De jure*, it was English royal territory granted to feudal lords. *De facto*, it was largely under the sway of the Ó Conchubhair. Anglo-Irish political authority was mainly relegated to castles (e.g. Roscommon, Ballintober, Rindown, Elfeet, and Corrool). Nicholls states that Anglo-Irish communities in the

countryside were largely abandoned as they were unviable.[609] Graham also supports this portrayal of the area, writing:

> "Given, therefore, that we seem to be encountering a much more complex ethnic mixture of settlement in medieval Ireland than hitherto suspected, the evidence suggests that Anglo-Norman colonisation in Roscommon was minimal. The settlements around Ballintober and Dunamon can be regarded as easterly extensions of the more successful Anglo-Norman colonisation in Galway, east Mayo and Sligo, connected by tenuous roadways to the Shannon frontier. In the shifting world of medieval Irish politics and in the thirteenth-century policy of containment, Roscommon was a march over which the Anglo-Normans were apparently powerless outside their few castles, upon the protection of which so much effort was expended."[610]

These conditions are reflected in the data and maps. Within the 1302-20 Irish valuations, the diocese contains multiple records of warfare and parishes ruined by said conflict. Anglo-Irish and rival Gaelic communities often were at the mercy of Ó Conchubhair raids and succession wars. The placenames in the diocese have also proven to be particularly problematic, several of which are barely intelligible and offer little clue to their present analogues. This may indicate that colonial or church agents had little familiarity with parishes more firmly within Gaelic control (ergo, they had little actual control outside of their castles). Even parishes near castles were impoverished (and thus could not be properly protected). Rather, the castles in this area more likely functioned as an outpost to hold the Shannon and insult the power of the Ó Conchubhair kings.

Margaret Murphy has discussed the underestimation of Roscommon castle in terms of hijacking a place of Gaelic political, economic, and religious significance.[611] It was built upon existing Gaelic infrastructure and took advantage of natural defences, just as Rindown was based on an earlier Gaelic fortification. Between 1220 and 1284, Lynn notes 25 annalistic references to castles in Western Ireland being burned, destroyed, or torn down. Within ten years of its founding, Roscommon castle alone was devastated three times.[612] This reinforces the depiction of colonial forces being confined to their military strongholds but having very limited influence outside of them. Indeed, if stone castles

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[609] Nicholls, *Gaelic Ireland*, Chapter 8.

[610] B. J. Graham, "Medieval Settlement in County Roscommon," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 88C (1988): 36.

[611] Margaret Murphy, "Roscommon Castle: Underestimated in Terms of Location?," *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 55 (2003): 47.

[612] C.J. Lynn, "Some 13th-Century Castle Sites in the West of Ireland: Note on a Preliminary Reconnaissance," *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 40 (1985): 90-113.

were being razed, how viable could a manorial community be in this region? What sort of military presence did the Dublin administration hope to maintain if beachheads were consistently in a precarious position and on the defensive?

The chaos of the Ó Conchubhair in Connaught must be further discussed to better elucidate the milieu of the area. Aedh mac Felim Ua Conchobair can be largely credited with changing the nature of colonisation in Connaught. Shying away from his father's more diplomatic tactics,[613] [614] Aedh had a penchant for violence.[615] [616] Blinding prisoners,[617] receiving the heads of colonists as tributes,[618] and killing those sent to negotiate with him,[619] he added a new level of brutality to the frontier warfare. The Anglo-Irish even once planned their castle building and repairs around his periods of illness.[620] His victories in open battle and sieges, as well as raiding and the establishment of fleets, effectively ended any attempts for the colony to expand in much of the midlands and Connaught. However, upon Aed's death, the Gaelic Irish were unable to follow up on this victory. The Ó Conchubhair dynasty would be wreaked with infighting, causing rapid leadership succession and intra-dynastic warfare. His son's reign would barely last three months.[621] The next king would last no longer than that either.[622]

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[613] *Annals of Connacht*, 1264, Entry 7.

[614] *Annals of Connacht*, 1265, Entry 7.

[615] *Annals of Connacht*, 1265, Entry 4: "Sligo castle was pulled down by Aed O Conchobair. He also pulled down and burned the castles of Bannada and Raith Aird Craibe."

[616] *Annals of Connacht*, 1265, Entry 8: "Aed his son succeeded him in the kingship of Connacht and made his king's raid against the Ui Failgi. He burned and damaged a good deal on that expedition, and on returning to Athlone he blinded Cathal son of Tadc O Conchobair, who died afterwards."

[617] *Annals of Connacht*, 1266, Entry 7: "Diarmait Ruad son of Conchobar son of Cormac Mac Diarmata and Donn Cathaig son of Donn Oc Mag Oirechtaig were blinded by Aed O Conchobair."

[618] *Annals of Connact*, 1266, Entry 19: "A party of O Conchobair's followers, [led by] Lochlainn son of Diarmait son of Muirchertach and Mac Ceithernaig and the son of Domnall Dub O hEgra, made a great slaughter on the Welsh and Leinstermen of West Connacht; thirty-one heads did they present to O Conchobair. Cormac son of Gilla Crist Mac Diarmata received a wound, from which he died."

[619] *Annals of Connacht*, 1270, Entry 5: "The Galls then advised the Earl to make peace with O Conchobair and to give Uilliam Oc son of Ricard Mor son of Uilliam the Conqueror into the custody of O Conchobair's people while O Conchobair should be in their own camp arranging the terms of settlement. This was done. And when Uilliam Oc surrendered to O Conchobair he was made prisoner, and Seoan Doilifin and his son were then killed in that same place. But when the Earl heard that treachery had been practised on his brother he marched, early next day, to Ath in Chip; for on these two nights O Conchobair was ranging about them, as a fierce rending mighty lion prowls about his foes and slays them, so that he did not allow them to eat or rest. And Aed O Conchobair moved off that same day."

[620] *Annals of Connacht*, 1269, Entry 3.

[621] *Annals of Connacht*, 1274, Entry 3.

[622] *Annals of Connacht*, 1274, Entry 4.

In the wake of Aed, the colony was unable to make effective gains against the Ó Conchubhair. However, neither was this Gaelic kingdom able to advance or permanently end colonial intrigue. Even the Red Earl of Ulster, who held lands in Connaught, was unable to gain the level of submission in Connacht that he had in Ulster.[623] [624] As such, this frontier was particularly exposed to both endemic low-level warfare and periods of intense fighting. The *Annals of Connacht* spell out the implications this had for wealth:

> "Aed son of Eogan O Conchobair was deposed by his own Council and the Clan Murtagh were brought in to replace him, the lordship and hostages of the country being given to Conchobar Ruad son of Cathal Ruad O Conchobair. The whole land, church and lay, was ruined as a result of this deposing of the king. The Clan Murtagh burned and ravaged Carbury and attacked its churches, but God and Columba and Mary, whose churches were then violated, punished them for that act."[625]

This ties into Orpen's analysis of the 1302-20 valuations (discussed in Chapter Four). Although Orpen acknowledged environmental factors as a contributing factor behind wealth disparities, he cited the Ó Conchubhair and Elphin as a prime example of Gaelic mismanagement and anarchy. While colonial intrigue must be acknowledged, Orpen has a point. This Ó Conchubhair territory, while having limited access to major trade routes, was situated upon fertile territory with little slope and possessed a moderate degree of population density. When considering this, constant infighting and suppression of smaller Gaelic politics (which is well documented within *the Annals of Connacht*) can be cited as a major suppressant of wealth.

Eoin MacNeill argued, in response to Orpen's writings, that the Normans (i.e. Anglo-Normans or Anglo-Irish) were not defined by peace or political homogeneity.[626] Nevertheless, the moderating presence of the English crown, clearer lines of succession, and succession based more on legal claims than armed seemed to have produced greater stability and claims of legitimacy. When the Anglo-Irish warred among one another, it was generally between and not within families. While the thesis will continue to examine other Gaelic political and cultural regions, I contend that the Ó Conchubhair domains highlights some of the negative aspects of Gaelic political culture and its impact on wealth generation. Kieran O'Connor argued in Chapter Two that a lack of individual property

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[623] *Annals of Connacht*, 1292, Entry 2.
[624] *Annals of Connacht*, 1292, Entry 3.
[625] *Annals of Connacht*, 1296, Entry 2.
[626] Eoin MacNeill, *Phases of Irish history* (Dublin: M.H. Gill and Son., 1919).

ownership inhibited the construction of castles. I would also add that in political landscapes where leadership was oscillating and dynamically changing, the construction or initiation of major or long-term economic projects was unfeasible. Economic damage and loss of human capital caused by dynastic struggles would have also been an economic drain, as forced tribute giving would have been as well. For merchants, the frequent renegotiation of trade terms with new leaders was likely been discouraging too.[627]

Looking at other parts of Connacht, the relationship between Gael and Gall becomes more interesting. In counties Mayo and Galway, the colonial presence appears to have been more stable and extensive. Concerning the data, there is limited information for Western Galway and Mayo, outside of select colonial outposts. This is not the result of a missing diocese. This may reflect a limited sphere of actual Anglo-Irish control, beyond which it may have been too perilous to tax.

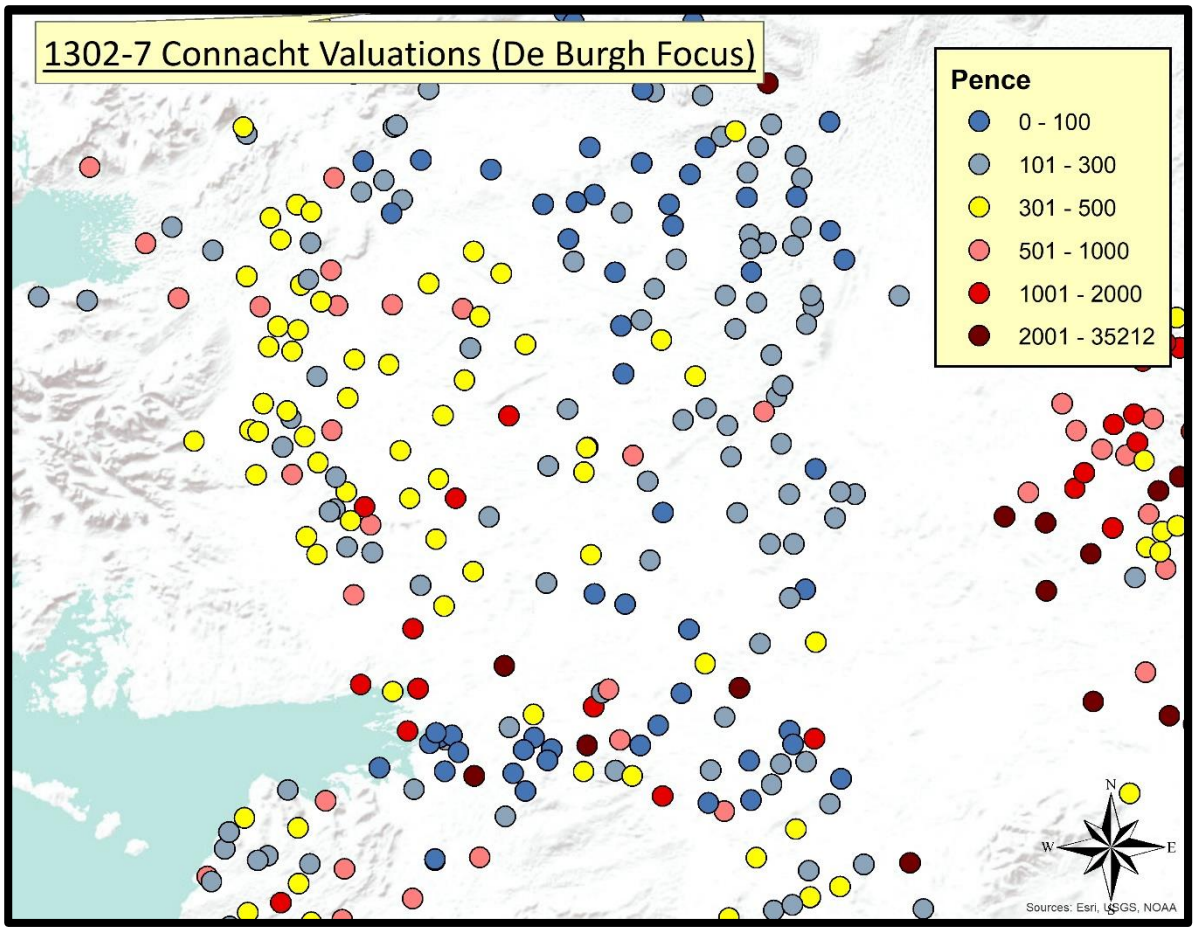
There are few parishes above the middle tier of valuation. Rather, the Anglo-Irish sphere is relatively impoverished compared to other colonial territories. This suggests limited Anglicization, something that conforms with the later history of the region. Anglo-Irish families would exercise political power in the region, but their subjects would be largely Gaelic and they themselves were engulfed by Gaelic culture and politics. Holland writes on the process: “The number of lesser tenants may have been low with many of the native Irish remaining to work on the manors and, in what seems to be a deliberate policy, many of the native Irish kings were allowed to retain part of their lands within the manorial system.”[628]

Knox also supported this narrative of cooperation: “A remarkable feature is the willingness of the Irish to accept government. The O'Kellys, O'Maddens, O'Heynes, O'Shaughnessys, O'Flahertys, O'Dowdas, were generally quiet. The minor chieftains, lords of Tuaths, like Mac Neills of Carra and O'Malleys of Umall, gave no trouble at all. This is intelligible. They were protected from raids as they were never protected before, were relieved of the uncertain exactions of the kings above them, and were at most required to pay a rent.”[629] When considering the valuations, this observation is substantiated. There

[627] As discussed in Chapter Two, Gaelic politics and agreements were largely based on interpersonal relationships.
[628] Patrick Holland, "The Anglo-Normans in Co. Galway: The Process of Colonization" *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 41 (1987): 86.
[629] H. T. Knox, "Occupation of Connaught by the Anglo-Normans after A.D. 1237 (Continued)," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Fifth Series*, 33, no. 2 (1903): 182.

is a cluster of wealth where Ó Dubhda and de Burgh territories meet. Additionally, there are de Burgh sites of moderate wealth at the edges of Gaelic territories. Although this area would not achieve the same level of wealth as other colonial territories, it should be noted that the de Burgh would continue in Connacht as nobles long after breaking away from the colonial government and into the early modern period. While economic penetration may not have been intensive or extensive, aristocratic colonisation that synergised with Gaelic aristocrats and customs was more likely at play. Knox would likely be sympathetic to this interpretation, noting the de Burgh adoption of Gaelic customs and integration into local Gaelic political structures within his own works.[630] Indeed, the de Burgh were even involved with the election of some Ó Conchubhair overkings.[631] Frame notes that the O'Maddens were rewarded with Common Law for their loyalty during the Bruce Invasion.[632] This sept, as well as the O'Kelly's, continued to pay the Connacht de Burghs rents and fees well after 1333 and these Anglo-Irish lords broke away from the colonial government.[633]

[630] "Thus we understand too why so many lords of territories paid no rent to either MacWilliam, and were only general adherents in time of war, de Exeter, de Angulo, Prendergast, Bermingham, Butler, among the English; O'Malley, O'Flaherty, O'Kelly, O'Madden, O'Shaughnessy, among the Irish. The Clanwilliam had no desire to come into collision with more than they could help. These lords dealt with their chief lord, and made their own arrangements in the same way. When, to secure their position, the Connaught lords adopted Irish customs, the breach was complete" (Ibid., pg. 188).
[631] *Annals of Connacht*, 1309, Entry 3.
[632] Frame, *Colonial Ireland*, 126.
[633] Frame, *Colonial Ireland*, 100.



Map 6.43

Knox's views, however, need to be tempered somewhat. It is true that *the Annals of Connacht* largely feature the Ó Conchubhair as instigators of conflict. The Ó Ceallaigh do appear to have been somewhat peaceful and benign.[634] However, when provoked, they could be a potent force, going so far as to raze Roscommon in retaliation for a raid.[635] Additionally, at the Second Battle of Athenry, during the Bruce Invasion, many Connacht Gaelic aristocrats marched against the Burke lordship (just as many Gaelic Irish under the Earl of Ulster turned on him during the Bruce Invasion). This included Ó Ceallaigh. This comes with the caveat, however, that even within smaller Gaelic polities

[634] *Annals of Connacht*, 1307, Entry 2: "Donnchad Muimnech O Cellaig, king of the Ui Maine, renowned at large throughout Ireland for bestowing food, clothing, gold and cattle, died after a victory over the world and the Devil. His son Tadc O Cellaig, died after him."

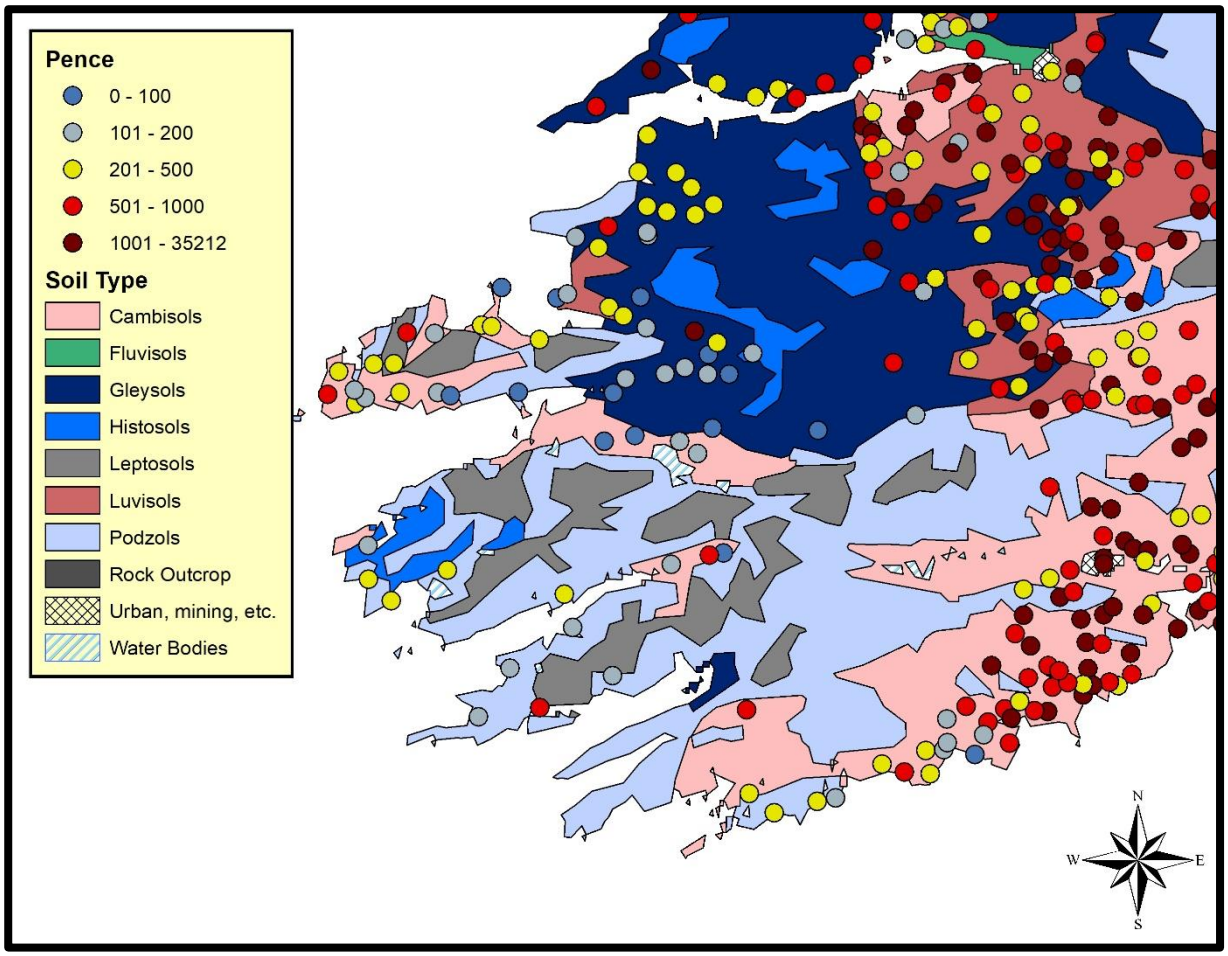
[635] *Annals of Connacht*, 1307, Entry 6: "All the Galls of Roscommon were killed by Donnchad Muimnech O Cellaig a little while before his death, at Ahascragh. Here fell Philip Munter and Seoan Munter and Matthew Driu, and eighty others were killed or captured. The Sheriff of Roscommon, and Diarmait Gall Mac Diarmata and Cormac Mac Ceithernaig were taken prisoner; their followers were released and after a time they were themselves released, and afterwards they made peace because the town had been burned by Edmund Butler."

there were different factions. Thus, it is wrong to portray these septs as subservient or the Anglo-Irish as saviours of the Connacht Gaels from the Ó Conchubhair. Realpolitik, again, is probably the best descriptor of the situation, with many factions allying for power and realistic gains regardless of ethnic or cultural background. Altogether, what is witnessed in Connacht is an example of aristocratic colonisation rather than full-scale settlement. The de Burghs possessed some key fortifications and powerbases but expanded their power through diplomacy and integration, as well as drew upon Gaelic bannermen and communities. However, their success was not predicated on large numbers of immigrants, dispossessing local Gaelic peoples *en masse*, or extensive manorialisation.

6.6.3.3 Geraldine Kerry

Circa 1300, southern Kerry was within the orbit of the Mac Cárthaigh and a stronghold of Gaelic Ireland. In northern Kerry however, there were jousting tournaments and chivalric orders more reflective of England and France.[636] Indeed, the Shanid Geraldines, FitzMaurices, and the FitzThomas family entrenched themselves in this area of the county, setting up ports at Tralee and Dingle. These ports appear to have fostered some population density, but not a great deal of wealth. This can possibly be attributed to limited environmental benefits,[637] the remoteness of the region, and intermittent conflict with neighbouring Mac Cárthaigh family.

[636] Paul MacCotter, "Lordship and colony in Anglo-Norman Kerry 1177–1400," *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society* (2004): 59.
[637] "A lesser level of settlement consisting merely of a colonial landholding class probably represented the colony in the more marginal moorland and woodland areas of eastern Kerry and the Laune Valley" (Ibid.).



Map 6.44: The Soils and Parish Values of Desmond

Despite this limited economic penetration, the colony of Kerry had an unusually long lifespan. Even as late as Richard II's visit the Mac Cárthaigh of Kerry were still holding lands via Anglo-Irish lords and paying rents to Geraldine earls.[638] MacCotter attributes this longevity to the assistance of the Geraldine earls,[639] localisation, and interweaving with the Gaelic population. Indeed, MacCotter notes that it was the Gaelic aristocracy, not the larger Gaelic populace, that was displaced in the county.[640] As such, there was likely little impetus to rebel against lords that might have provided greater stability and protection (compared to Gaelic overlords) when there was limited change to the Gaelic way of life (i.e. allowing pastoralism lifestyles and Gaelic culture to be practiced). The colonial administration, outside of planting antagonistic Anglo-Irish Lords next to each other to

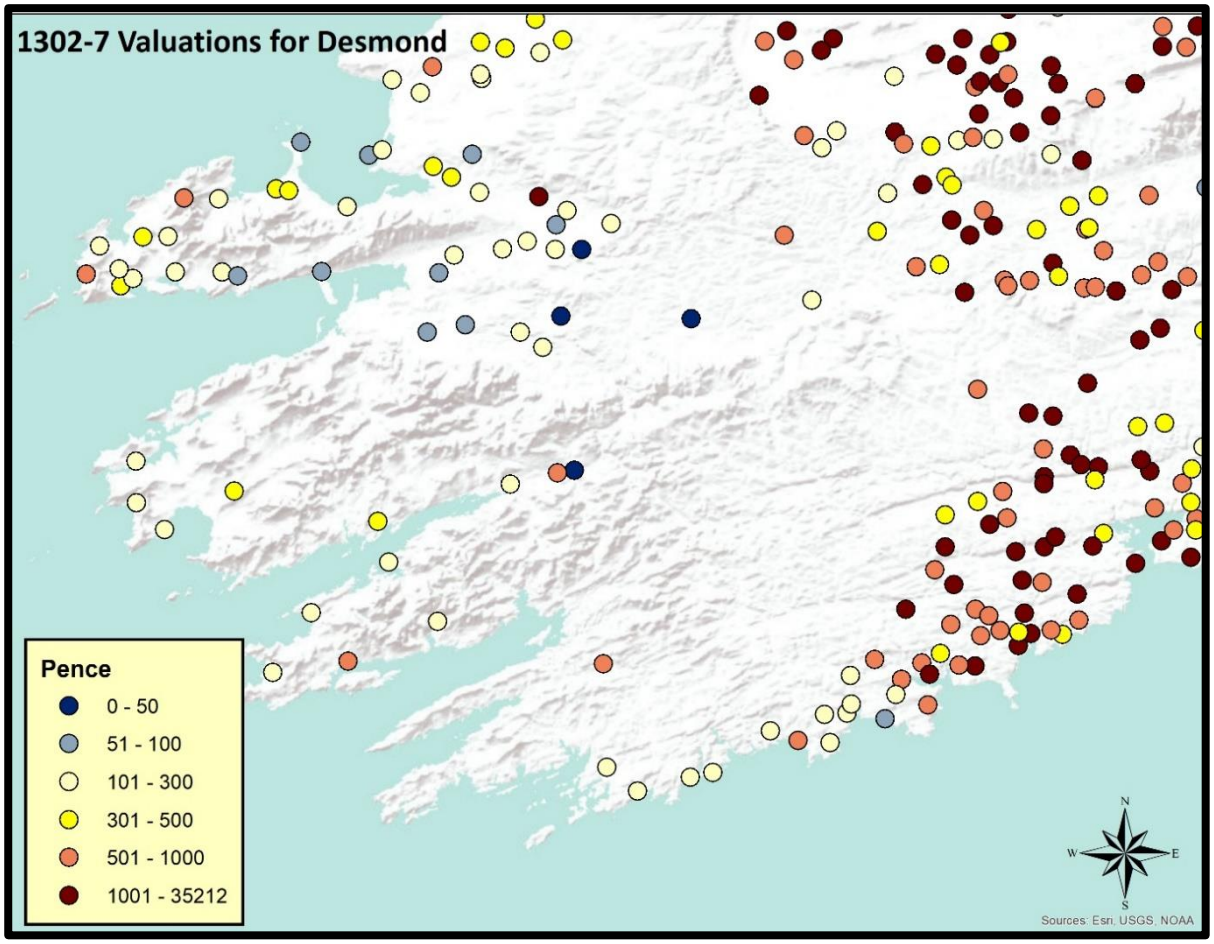
[638] MacCotter, "Anglo-Norman Kerry," 56.
[639] "Indeed, the structures of local government established in Kerry at the time of the conquest had an atypically long existence over the succeeding centuries, principally due, no doubt, to the undisturbed lordship of the earls of Desmond here" (MacCotter, "Anglo-Norman Kerry," 59).
[640] "It is axiomatic that a colony needs the colonised, and every effort would have been made to retain the native lower orders in the colonial areas in order to provide labour for the manorial system. Thus the only section of native society dispossessed by the colonists was the aristocracy" (Ibid.)

balance power,[641] had little influence over the region.[642] As such, we see a parallel to de Burgh Connacht, namely, low-levels of settlers and Gaelic displacement. Without disrupting Gaelic culture, the Anglo-Irish lords were able to achieve longevity and integrate.

Concerning the distribution of wealth in Gerladine Kerry, it is perhaps not surprising to see that the border with Mac Cárthaigh territory was the lowest valued for the domain, despite the presence of cambisol soils. Either conflict depleted wealth here, or the Geraldines did not disrupt the Gaelic way of life. Coastal settlements, however, appear to have benefited slightly from the ports of Dingle and Tralee. The highest valued parish, for the domain, was Nohoval (Kerry, near present Dromclough), which appears to have benefited from the insulation the sheer terrain to its north offered. What is surprising is that the Listowel Gaelic area appears to have rivalled domains more strongly under Anglo-Irish control, in terms of wealth. Again, the lack of displacement or harassment likely engendered a degree of stability and cooperation.

[641] "Efforts to restore some balance of power in Kerry were a marked feature of continuing government policy in the county until its virtual abandonment to the rule of the Shanid Geraldines in the mid-14th century, with first the Clahulls and Kildare Geraldines and later the FitzMaurices being chosen as counterbalance to the Shanid Geraldines." (MacCotter, "Anglo-Norman Kerry," 61).
[642] MacCotter, "Anglo-Norman Kerry," 51-52.

6.6.3.4 Gaelic Desmond



Map 6.45

Gaelic Desmond was largely under the sway of the Mac Cárthaigh dynasty and their sub-branches (Reagh, Muskerry, and Duhallow being the most prominent). O'Brien argues that the initial invasion of much of Munster was rapid and comparatively peaceful, with good relations between Anglo-Irish magnates and the Mac Cárthaigh.[643] This changed when the Anglo-Irish involved themselves in a succession conflict after the death of Cormac Finn Mac Cárthaigh.[644] This occurred in 1248,[645] which is when the tides were turning against the Anglo-Irish across Ireland.[646] In 1261, Fínghin Reanna Róin Mac Cárthaigh won a decisive victory against John FitzGerald (the 1st Baron of Desmond) at Callan. The battle cost the Geraldines many soldiers, as well as many important Anglo-

[643] O'Brien, "Politics, Economy, and Society,"107.
[644] Ibid.
[645] *Annals of Inisfallen*, 1248, Entry 1: **"**Cormac son of Domnall Mór Mac Carthaig, king of Desmumu, died in his own encampment at Mag Senglaise."
[646] See Chapter Two of this thesis.

Irish barons and nobles.[647] In the aftermath, the Geraldines lost momentum against the Gaelic Irish of Desmond. Thus, the battle is popularly believed to have saved the Gaelic septs of the region and helped to bolster a bastion of Gaelic culture. MacCotter, however, cautions against overdramatizing the battle across his works on the region. Frame too, cautions against this.[648] Callan created an equilibrium, as discussed in Chapter Two; it did not, however, lead to an expulsion as Dysert O'Dea did in Clare. Rather, it put the Anglo-Irish lords and their subjects on the defensive. O'Brien notes that in 1282, an inquisition into FitzGerald holdings reflected significant value in Kerry and Limerick, but assets in or bordering Gaelic Desmond were largely wasted or rendered useless due to war with the Gaelic Irish.[649]

The Mac Cárthaigh, Butler argues, greatly benefited from *de facto* primogeniture.[650] There was generally a succession of the crown from father to son, leading to the Mac Cárthaigh Mor title.[651] While the dynasty was not exempt from treachery, it did not suffer from the same degree of infighting that plagued the O'Briens and O'Niells. Butler notes that this may have been, in part, due to the main branch providing sub-branches with new territories and spoils.[652] Nicholls also supports this, stating that "in practice the Gaelic lordships of the region seem also to have been remarkably stable and this is probably not merely an impression conveyed by the lack of detailed annalistic evidence."[653]

While this forestalled civil war, it also dispersed the authority and resources of the dynasty.[654] Nicholls, in *Cork: History and Society*, notes that the Muskerry branch of the Mac Cárthaigh possessed an atypical level of territorial control and power for a sub-branch of a Gaelic lordship.[655] Indeed, the baronial map reveals that East Muskerry held a

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[647] *Annals of Connacht*, 1261, Entry 6: "A great hosting was made by the Fitz Geralds into Desmond, to attack Mac Carthaig; but he attacked them and routed them and fitz Thomas, John by name, and his son were killed there, as well as fifteen knights, besides eight noble barons and many young squires and countless soldiery. He killed Barrach Mor (Barry More) also. Afterwards Fingen Mac Carthaig was killed by the Galls and the kingship of Desmond was assumed by his brother, the Ex-cleric Mac Carthaig."
[648] Paul MacCotter, "Parish, Pastoral Care and Túath in the Diocese of Limerick, C. 1201," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 142/143 (2012): 86-99.
[649] O'Brien, "Politics, Economy, and Society," 107.
[650] W. F. Butler, "The Pedigree and Succession of the House of Mac Carthy Mór, with a Map," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Sixth Series, 11, no. 1 (1921): 32-48.
[651] Nicholls, "County Cork," 158.
[652] Butler, "Pedigree."
[653] Nicholls, "County Cork," 157.
[654] Butler, "Pedigree."
[655] Nicholls, "County Cork," 158.

middling level of wealth, not a small feat considering local environmental conditions and an immediate border with the Anglo-Irish.

Outside of limited infighting, the Mac Cárthaigh also benefited from loyal lesser nobles. The Ó Súilleabháin, for example, were grateful for the chance to reclaim some power after being driven out of Tipperary by the colonists.[656] In return, they secured territories in Cork and Kerry from rival Gaelic lords.[657]

Although Fínghin perished in battle shortly after Callan and the colony was able to claim victories against the dynasty,[658] the Mac Cárthaigh remained a force to be feared. The years[659] and decades[660] after Callan illustrate an ability to raze castles, while a united front appears to have been presented against the colonists.[661] Unfortunately, a more complete account of the dynasty is hard to construct as most existing annalistic accounts are focused on northern and western Ireland.[662] The *Annals of Inisfallen*, however, help to remedy this to some degree, noting that there was full-out warfare involving Desmond in 1305.[663]

From the papal taxation data, it is apparent that Gaelic Desmond was largely composed of low to middle-value parishes (when compared to the national pool of parishes). However, as with Geraldine Kerry, this might be attributed largely to environmental conditions. Large swathes of the area were defined by mountainous terrain, low-quality soils (leptosols, histosols, and podzols), and inopportune slope. Indeed, there is a large segment of the Kingdom where no valuations occur. This may have been due to low population density, the mountainous terrain, or perhaps strong resistance to colonial agents and outsiders. Issues of safely navigating this area may have

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656 W. F. Butler, "The Lordship of Mac Carthy Mór," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Fifth Series, 36, no. 4 (1906): 349-67.

657 Butler, "Lordship," 359.

658 *Annals of Inishfallen*, 1263, Entry 2: "MacWilliam de Burgo accompanied by a great army of foreigners and Gaedil invaded Desmumu, and Cormac Mac Carthaig was slain by them after a victory of prowess and valour. For he himself unaided, slew Gerald Roche, a great and noble knight, and [also] another good squire, and no others of the Desmumu fell save he, although many of the [enemy] army were slain. Nevertheless some of the Clann Charthaig gave hostages to MacWilliam, and he left the country."

659 *Annals of Inishfallen*, 1262, Entry 11: "The castles of Dún Mac Ogmain, Dún Uisce, Mag Cromtha, Mag Olig, and Dún Lóich, also Cell Forglann and much of Uí Chonaill, were burned by the Desmumu."

660 *Annals of Inishfallen*, 1281, Entry 7. "The castle of Dún Lóich was evacuated by its guards through fear of the Desmumu and Mac Carthaigh, and it was burned after they had departed."

661 *Annals of Inishfallen*, 1281, Entry 5.

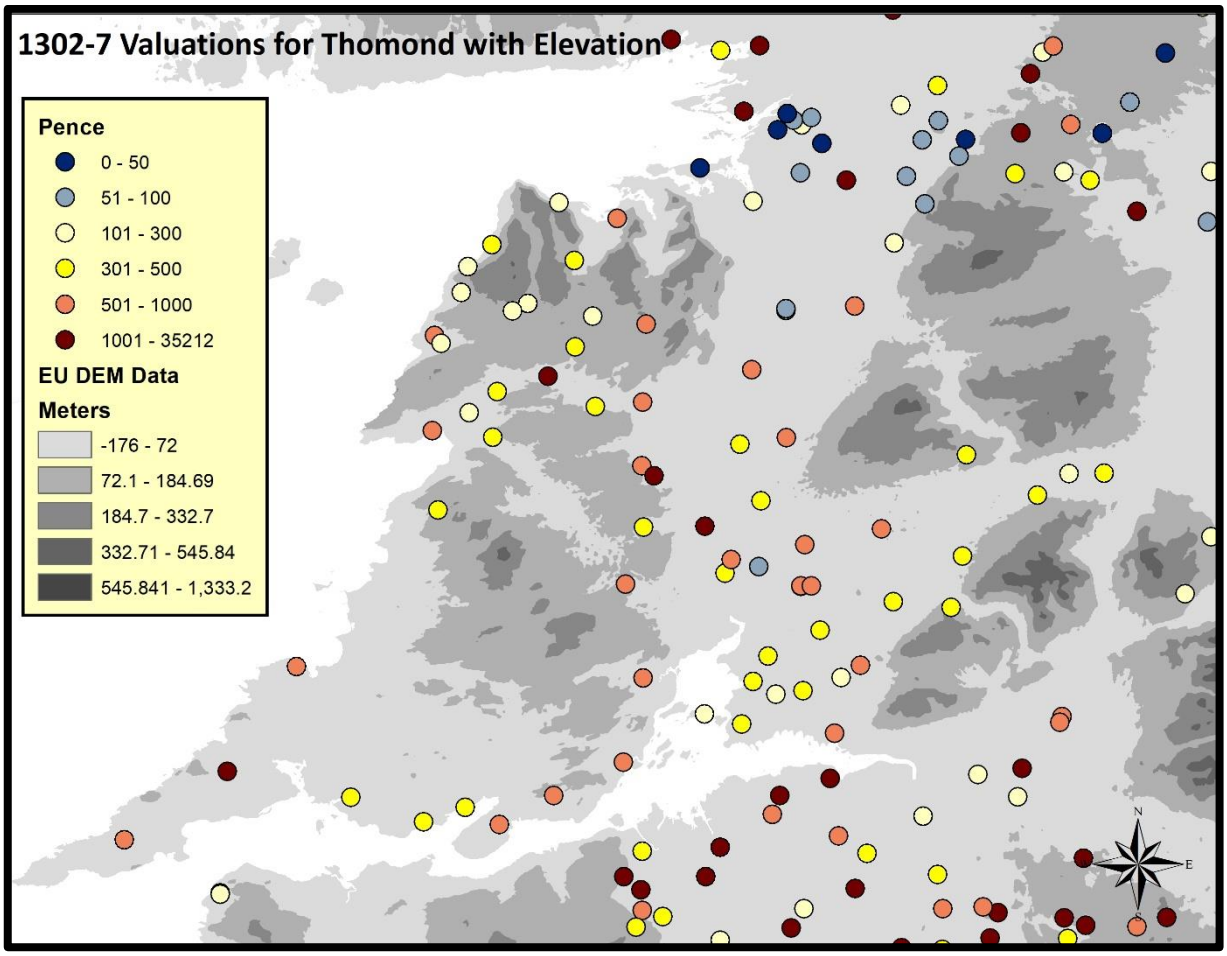
662 "The annals, compiled in the north and west, tend to notice south-eastern events only at moments of special drama" (Frame, "English Officials," 75).

663 *Annals of Inisfallen,* 1305*, Entry 9* **"**Great warfare in the above year between the foreigners and Gaedil in Laigin and Desmumu."

also been problematic. Even if the populace and aristocrats were not opposed to the assessors, bandits, outlaws, and roving kerns could have posed a threat. Nevertheless, there were, inarguably, considerable obstacles to intensive agriculture, population density, and travel. On the other hand, this terrain would have been greatly advantageous to the Mac Cárthaigh in defending against colonial encroachments. However, with such limited resources there were also obstacles to sustained campaigns against the Anglo-Irish or Gaelic rivals.

6.6.3.5 Thomond

Thomond provides an interesting and complex case as it may serve as one of the few examples of consistently high valued parishes within an independent Gaelic lordship. However, this is complicated by the presence of the de Clare lordship in Thomond, creating ambiguities over the extent and influence of the colony in the area. This prompts a more in-depth look into the nature of the colonial impact in Clare.



Map 6.46

The wealth in County Clare largely corresponds with Frame's 1314 Frontier map, with higher valued parishes being more within Ó Briain territory or at the borders between the kingdom and the lordship.[664] This is surprising as, according to this division, the de Clares positioned themselves on a patch of luvisols, as well as along the shore of the Shannon. Additionally, it's also paradoxical that wealth should exist near the border of these lordships, where conflict was potentially most severe. The spike in population is substantiated by FitzPatrick's "Heritage Report" on County Clare, which also infers that the clusters of churches also reflect population density.[665] Hardiman, in his *History of Galway,* notes that the Ó Briain were vital to protecting and participating in the town's trade. In 1277, one Ó Briain leader received 12 tonnes of wine to protect the city from pirates and maintained a navy for this purpose.[666] This is not suggestive of a society struggling to survive or a weak lordship. Indeed, in medieval times it was a considerable feat to maintain standing military forces.

The data and maps, then, would suggest that the de Clare economic impact was not particularly intensive and that the Ó Briain were relatively wealthy. This may be partly explained by the particularly violent marcher conflict between the de Clares and the Ó Briain that Orpen describes in Volume Four of *Ireland Under the Normans*.[667] These Anglo-Irish lords were undermined by their neighbours. The Burkes, for example, gave aid to Gaelic groups such as the McNamaras to fight a proxy war with the de Clares, resulting in such events as the "Carnage of Clare" where the McNamaras massacred the women, children, and cattle of the Ó Grádaigh.[668] Hartland notes that conflict in Thomond resonated outside of Clare, even reducing the customs receipts of Galway by twenty percent c. 1308.[669]

The nature of the de Clare settlement in Thomond has been understudied in some respects. Westropp was the first modern historian to write extensively on it. However,

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[664] Frame, *Colonial Ireland*, 130.
[665] Elizabeth FitzPatrick. "Heritage Guide No. 56: The Burren, Co. Clare: A Guide to the Medieval Landscape," *Archaeology Ireland*, 2012.
[666] J. Hardiman, *The history of the town and county of the town of Galway: From the earliest period to the present time; embellished with several engravings ; to which is added a copious appendix, containing the principal charters and other original documents* (Galway: Connacht Tribune, 1985), 50-2.
[667] Orpen, *Normans*.
[668] Orpen, *Normans*, 85.
[669] Beth Hartland, "English Lords in Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Century Ireland: Roger Bigod and the De Clare Lords of Thomond," *The English Historical Review* 122, no. 496 (2007): 330.

Orpen's discussion of it within *Ireland Under the Normans* remains the authoritative and perhaps seminary study of it. Nevertheless, Hartland recently published a study on the de Clares c. 1300 that provides new and updated insights, as well as more balanced perspective than Orpen's.[670]

Orpen does not believe that the de Clares had a viable long-term future in Thomond. They had not acclimated to Gaelic culture or come from the Welsh marches, where conflict and cooperation with the indigenous population would have provided invaluable skills and experience. Rather, they were, accordingly, accustomed to feudalism, chivalry, and loyalty to the crown.[671] As such, they lacked the flexibility and experience that would allow them to better survive to the oscillating and chaotic nature of the Gaelic and Gaelicized political landscape (least of all hope to control the Thomond septs).

While the basic premise that the de Clares failed to acclimate to Gaelic Ireland has merit, Orpen's further arguments regarding de Clare chivalry fall flat. This was a family cutting out territory from established Gaelic families and a proud dynasty. Rather, Nic Ghiollamhaith in *Dynastic Warfare and Historical Writing* states that the de Clares were 'inept lacking in honour' when interacting with Gaelic aristocrats.[672] Hartland notes that the de Clares murdered one of their Ó Briain allies (Brian Ruad) purely to further their own ends,[673] and that their blatant treachery would undermine their reputation in the region.[674] It was not that de Clare chivalry failed to acclimate to Ireland, but that colonial attitudes of cultural superiority prevented them from integrating with a culture that they viewed as inferior and aristocrats that they would not treat with dignity. To attribute honour or some high standard of morals to the de Clares is, simply put, ludicrous.

The *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh* can be used to help understand the political and military state surrounding the papal valuations of County Clare.[675] Although this piece was written decades after the events that it describes and has political motives, scholars have

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[670] Vide supra.
[671] Orpen, *Normans*, 94-95.
[672] Aoife Nic Ghiollamhaith, "Dynastic warfare and historical writing in North Munster, 1276–1350,"*Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 2 (Winter, 1981): 83-85.
[673] Hartland, "English Lords," 327.
[674] Ibid.
[675] The translation by Standish Hayes O'Grady (edited by Emer Purcell Proof) host on the *Corpus of Electronic Texts* was consulted.

noted that it possesses historical utility. Katharine Simms has noted that it is a treasure trove for understanding Gaelic military organisation, politics, and worldview.[676]

A few major points can be drawn from it. Foremost, within the papal valuation period Gaelic aristocrats possessed the ability to effectively besiege colonial castles. This is not only true of the Ó Briain, but of other groups such as the Mac Conmara as well.[677] In 1305, the Ó Briain seem to have almost taken Bunratty, if not for the intervention of the Red Earl of Ulster.[678] This does not engender a sense that colonial domains were secure. Rather, Gaelic aristocrats appear to have been more than capable to exert force upon the Anglo-Irish, something which substantiates the observation that colonial territory there was largely impoverished. Outside of this, there also seems to have been considerable ethnic hostility between the Gaelic Irish and settlers at a local level, precipitating into outright violence.[679] Again, the de Clares failed to integrate the Gaelic Irish into their framework and communities under their purview.

Brian Nally researched the marches of Thomond, and his findings support the interpretation of the data. Bunratty and its manor required a considerable amount of cash to defend, its mill was rendered useless except for those based at the castle, its profits declined during the close of the thirteenth century, and early fourteenth century manorial extents reflected "a ghost town."[680] Outside of this, his geographical analysis of the manor's lands (and subsequent map) reflects a number of vils lying waste.[681] It is important to note that the areas where the greatest numbers of wasted vils are border Gaelic territory and some of the parishes that I have asserted were under Gaelic control.

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[676] Katharine Simms, "Gaelic Warfare in the Middles Ages," in *A Military History of Ireland*, ed. T. Bartlett & K. Jeffrey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 106-7.
[677] "Which impudent liberty that the English had taken with his people coming to Cumea More Mac Conmara's ears, immediately he attacked Quin castle: its ditch was crossed, earthworks carried, great gate battered in and hewn down; its strong walls were breached, its English stammerers captured; the place was cleaned out of horses and warlike stores, and in the actual great castle a huge pile of stuff was given to the flames that ran riot till the whole became a black-vaulted hideous cavern" (*Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh,* 30).
[678] *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh*.
[679] "By and by it came to pass that, Sheeda mac Cumea Mac Conmara's people visiting Kilsarnat's pleasant borough-town, betwixt them and the sour constable of the place there was a falling out. Unhesitatingly either party faced the other, and the constable very expeditiously was slain" (CT, pg. 35).
[680] Brian Nally, "Maintaining the Marches: Seigneur, Sept and Settlement in Anglo-Norman Thomond," in *Clare: History & Society,* ed. M. Lynch & P. Nugent (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2008), 51-2.
[681] Nally, "Marches," 43.

A third point to make is regarding Gaelic military terminology and descriptions. While it is beyond the scope of this work to evaluate this document in-depth, the text makes numerous references to battle formations (e.g. phalanxes and closed ranks), armour, swords (an expensive item during this period) and a variety of battlefield weapons (as opposed to ones suited more for skirmishes), complex siege tactics, and battle-standards. These are hallmarks of well-organised military forces, not ragtag bands or levies. This, in-turn, is suggestive of resources and political power. Taking this into consideration, it is not surprising that there are pockets of wealth within the Kingdom of Thomond.

The de Clares were pushed out of Thomond after losing the Battle of Disert O'Dea in 1318. Richard de Clare was killed, and his forces devastated by an alliance of Ó Deághaidh, Ó Briain, Ó hEithir, Ó Conchubhair (of Clare), and Mac Conmaras. As in Callan, many Anglo-Irish nobles were felled, something which was distatrous to the political stability of the lordship. After the battle, the Gaelic alliance advanced on Bunratty, only to find the castle and settlement abandoned and aflame as Richard de Clare's wife, Joan, fled with her valuables. While not completely outsted (there was some lingering until c. 1332[682]), the colonial presence was effectively ended in Thomond. Hartland notes*: "*De Clare rule in Thomond, moreover, relied on military presence, a fact made apparent during both minority and absence of Gilbert de Clare (1287-1308), when Bunratty castle was besieged twice, and during Richard de Clare's short absence from the lordship in 1314 when civil war broke out among the O'Briens." [683]

Harbison notes that during the fifteenth century, County Clare would experience a boom of church building and economic activity.[684] While this is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is an important indicator of the economic potential in Thomond. It is also a reminder that the colonial presence, when it did not incorporate the Gaelic Irish and was purely discriminatory, could suppress the wealth and potential of the Gaelic people. While discussion of the environment, commercialisation, and urbanisation are important,

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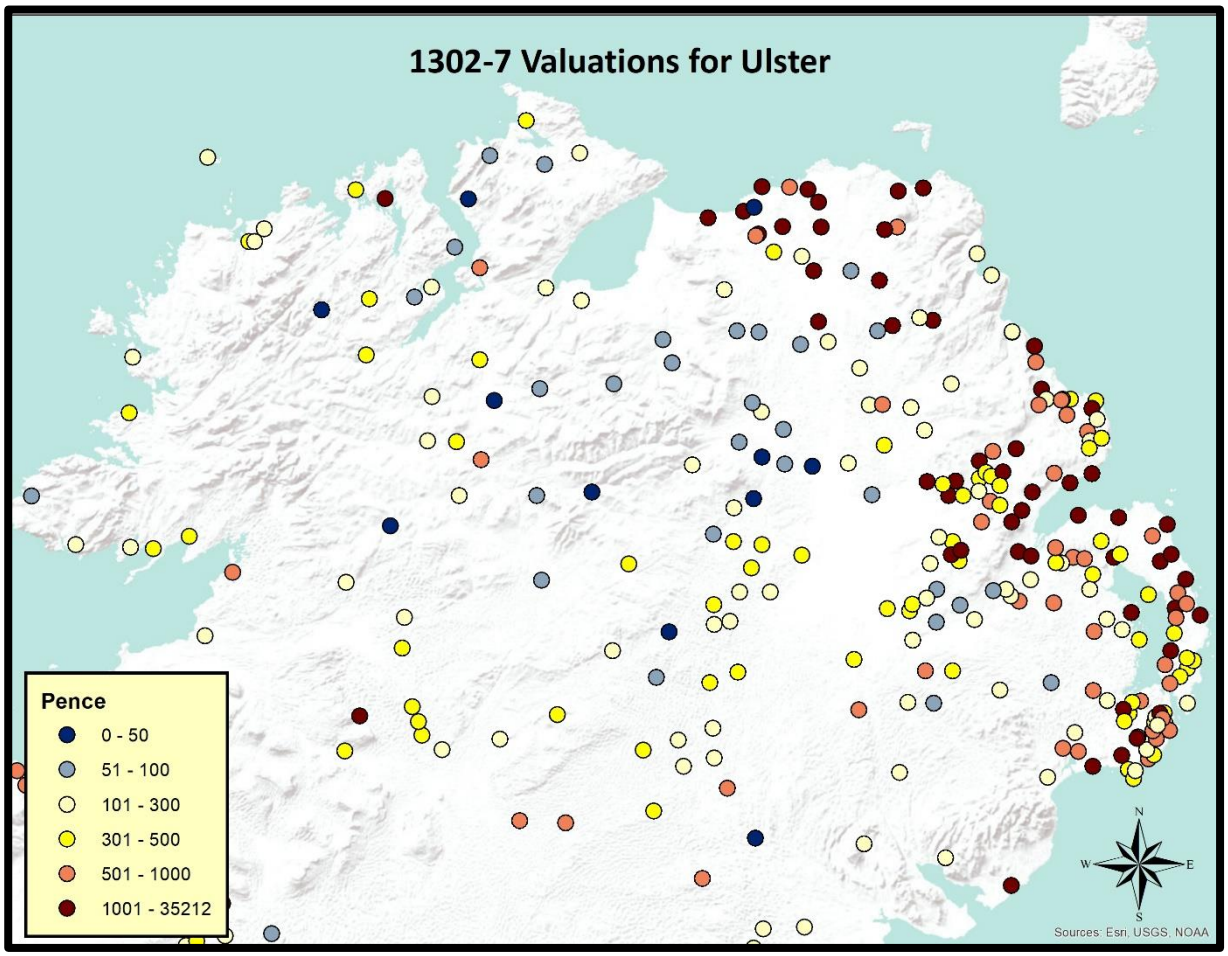
[682] "Quin Castle was overthrown during his minority. Bunratty was held for some years by constables appointed by the justiciar, but in 1332 the castle was taken by Murtough O'Brien and the Macnamaras, and was levelled to the ground. The existing castle would seem to have been built on the same site, but on a different plan, after this date" (Orpen, *Normans*, 92).

[683] Hartland, "English Lords," 345-6.

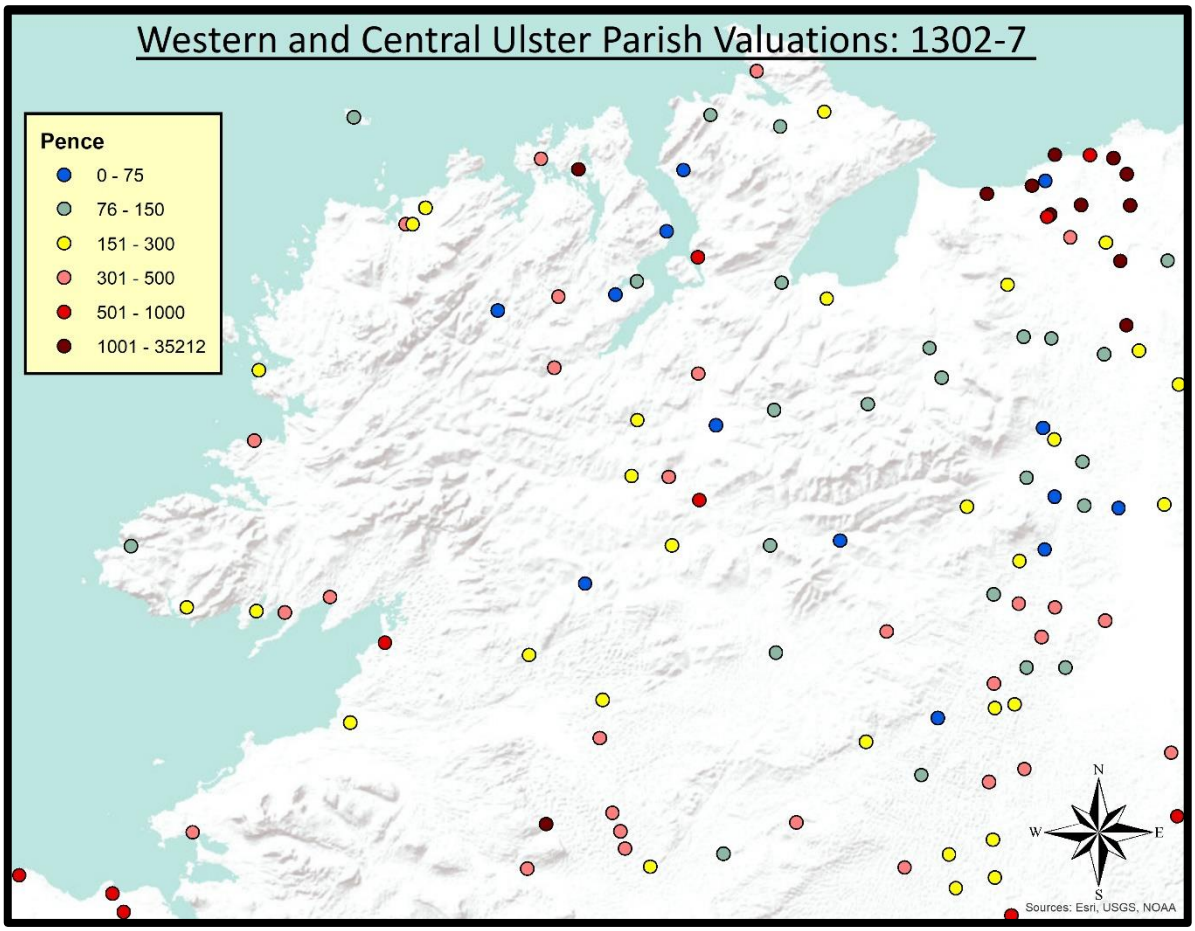
[684] P. Harbison, "The Churches of Medieval Ireland," in *Clare: History & Society,* ed. M. Lynch & P. Nugent (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2008), 18.

it cannot be forgotten that colonialism is a parasite. Combating constant intrigues, dealing with spatial constraint, and fending off incursions cannot be a boon to any society, rather these are irritants, transgressions, and drains on resources. Nevertheless, the proud people of Thomond threw off the yoke of the de Clares and literally sent them running in 1318.

6.6.3.6 Magna Irecheria



Map 6.47



Map 6.48

Western and central Ulster, known as the *Magna Irecheria* (or Great Irishry), was the largest contiguous stretch of independent Gaelic territory during the high and late medieval period. While parts of it were under the influence of the Red Earl of Ulster, the maps suggest that there was little colonial settlement west of the River Bann. Rather, the Earldom of Ulster was confined to strongholds and economic cores within eastern Ulster, from which Earl and allied Anglo-Irish magnates could assert power. Yet even in eastern Ulster, colonial control was not uniform. The valuations show that parts of Armagh remained Gaelic (as the Anglo-Irish of the diocese do not figure within the valuation records for the diocese), whereas clusters of low-tier parish in Down and Antrim that coincide with preconceived boundaries of Ó Néill, Mac Artáin, Ó hEaghra, and Magennis lands also indicate limited settlement in parts of the region. McNeill had similar conclusions based on his analysis of the 1302-7 valuations, noting that central and western Down were under Gaelic sway.[685] He also notes that the division between Gaelic

[685] T. E. McNeill, "County Down in the Later Middle Ages," in *Down: History and Society,* ed. L. Proudfoot (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1997), 108-9.

and Anglo-Irish land holdings in eastern Ulster is unique in that it is not as defined by physical terrain as in other areas of Ireland.[686] Indeed, Gaelic lords would control some stretches of cambisol soils in eastern Ulster and east of the Bann. These resulted in some density, but not consummate increases in valuations. This, then, furthers the argument that the Gaelic economy was defined by an adaptable low-surplus base. However, these peoples should not necessarily be viewed as impoverished. McNeill notes that the Gaelic lords of eastern Ulster would partake in castle building and fortification as the medieval period progressed.[687] Additionally, McNeill argues that lords such as the Magennises were becoming more preoccupied with their lands and rooting themselves in them.[688] This seems to be an exception to the trend that O'Conor described, where Gaelic lands were often left unfortified due to diffuse landownership.[689]

When evaluating Ulster as a whole, it can be said that the colonial presence is largely defined and limited by slope (i.e. the Anglo-Irish only settle lowlands and flatlands where they could easily build and farm). West of the Earldom and the Bann, the degree slope and elevation becomes higher, essentially more mountainous, rugged, and broken up in character. Soils in the Great Irishry are largely composed of gleysols, histosols, leptosols, and podzols. However, where there is a population and (moderate) wealth spike (Ó Néill territory), the dominant soil type is cambisols.

The region benefitted from links with Scotland, which was becoming England's nemesis. This allowed for intermarriage and contact between the Gaelic aristocracies of both nations, trade, and the importation of gallowglass mercenaries. These links would help spur the Bruce Invasion of 1315-18, and while Gaelic soldiers were used against Scottish forces fighting for independence, some Gaelic lords also came to Robert the Bruce's aid. Additionally, there was a direct Scottish aristocratic presence in Ireland (outside of gallowglasses). The Mac Domnaill held lands in both nations,[690] with their Irish lands being parts of County Antrim.

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[686] Ibid.
[687] McNeill, "County Down," 119.
[688] Ibid.
[689] See Chapter Two, Section 2.2.3 of this thesis.
[690] *Annals of Ulster*, 1295, Entry 1: "Alexander Mac Domnaill, the person who was the best for hospitality and excellence that was in Ireland and in Scotland, was killed, together with a countless number of his own people that were slaughtered around him, by Alexander Mac Dubghaill."

While the Earl had some success in balancing his Gaelic neighbours, I noted that this political acumen did not necessarily equate to benevolence. Katharine Simms comments: “It is clear that the treachery and violence which mars this period of Irish history was by no means the monopoly of the chiefs.”[691] Indeed, an O'Anluain king and his kin would be slaughtered at Dundalk after serving the Red Earl.[692] There was no apparent reason for this outside of pure racism. Apparently, the brother of the Bishop of Connor said to Edward Bruce in an outburst: “that it is no sin to kill a man of Irish birth and if he were to commit it himself he would none the less for that celebrate mass.”[693] The fact that the 1302-30 valuations can clearly delineate between the Gaelic Irish and Anglo-Irish of Armagh is also telling, suggesting a strong degree of segregation and limited integration. Indeed, the Bruce Invasion was not the first time Ulster lords attempted to oust the colonial presence.

In 1260, multiple Gaelic lordships declared Brian Ó Néill High King of Ireland and united an army under him. However, the colonists and their Gaelic allies soundly defeated Brian and hopes for a new high kingship at the Battle of Down (or Druim Dearg).[694] It is, perhaps, not a coincidence that Ulster Gaelic lords should be behind the *Remonstrance*, a document that greatly details the misdeeds and ill-character of the Anglo-Irish. Rather, cultural relations in this area appear to have been particularly contentious (especially if Gaelic lords were in ill-favour with the Anglo-Irish regime). Simms notes that the Mag Uidhir (Maguire) of Fermanagh benefitted greatly under the Red Earl.[695] Indeed, the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* compare one Mag Uidhir king’s hospitality, in 1302, to that of a Mac Cárthaigh’s.[696] Simms notes that this is an important sign of prosperity, as the Mac

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[691] Katharine Simms, "The O Hanlons, the O Neills and the Anglo-Normans in Thirteenth-Century Armagh," *Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society* 9, no. 1 (1978): 88.
[692] *Annals of Ulster*, 1297, Entry 7: “Cu-Ulad O'Anluain, king of the Oirrthir and his brother and Aenghus Mag-Mathgamna and many of the chiefs of his people were killed by the Foreigners of Dun-delgan, in returning to their houses from the Earl.”
[693] Page 43 of the Corpus of Electronic Texts Edition: T310000-001, translated by Edmund Curtis.
[694] *Annals of Ulster*, 1260, Entry 1: “The battle of Druim-derg *was fought* (in a place which is called Dromma-derg) at Dun-da-leathglas by Brian Ua Neill and Aedh, son of Feidhlimidh *Ua Conchobair*, against the Foreigners of the North of Ireland, wherein were killed many of the nobles of the Gaidhil, namely, Brian Ua Neill and Domnall Ua Cairre and Diarmait Mag Lachlainn and Maghnus Ua Catha*i*n and Cian Ua Inneirghi and Donnsleibhe Mag Cana and Concobur O'Duibhdirma and Aedh, his son, and Amlaim Ua Gairmleaghaidh and Cu-Uladh Ua hAnluain.”
[695] Katharine Simms, “Medieval Fermanagh,” in *Fermanagh: History & Society,* ed. E. Murphy & W. Roulston (Dublin: Geography Publications, 2004), 85.
[696] “Down Magwyer, prince of Fermanagh, the best of all Ireland for hospitallity, liberallity and prowes, died. Great comparisons have been made between this Down Magwyer and Donell Roe m'Carthye before mentioned for their bountyes and hospitallityes, which Down Magwyer by the judgment of a certaine

Cárthaigh ruled over considerably more territory.[697] Their lands in the Diocese of Clogher are higher than their Gaelic neighbours, though middling in nature when looking at Irish valuations as a whole. It must be emphasized, again, that these valuations are more indicative of an alternative economy than an impoverished one.

It is somewhat difficult to discuss the colonial presence, as parts of Southern Ulster and its border were not fully valued. Annalistic accounts, however, do suggest that the Anglo-Irish were helping to sow discord even as far as Donegal *circa* 1300.[698] [699] Additionally, they were able to establish a castle in Sligo during 1306.[700] The Red Earl built North Burgh (alternatively Inishowen or Greencastle) near Derry in 1305, as well. These actions suggest that de Burgh was attempting to close in on the Ó Doṁnaill, as well as control *Loch Feabhail* and tap into the economic potential of the area (e.g. high-tier soils). Nevertheless, in the bordering conflict zones it is likely that the colonial presence was confined to select enclaves and castles. Simms notes that the Ó Doṁnaill and their Scottish mercenaries were able to keep the Anglo-Irish at bay while also launching counter attacks into Sligo.[701] The Ó Doṁnaill were known for being one of the main importers of gallowglass soldiers, as well as intermarrying with Scottish aristocrats such as the McSweeney and MacDonnels (who were gallowglass leaders).[702] The Wars of Scottish Independece would only provide more opportunities for Scottish mercenaries and aristocrats to settle in Donegal as those who fell on the wrong side of the Bruces or the English could be forced to flee. This relationship with gallowglass families continued into early modernity.

The Anglo-Irish had to contend with other strong Gaelic dynasties as well. Foremost were the Ó Néill. Although on the defensive after and weakened by the Battle

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learned poet (which remained for a long time in the houses of the said Dowm and Donell, Covertly and in the habit of a Carrough or common gamester to know which of them surpassed the other), was accounted to surpass or excell Donell in all good parts, as by this Irish verse made by the said Poet you may know."

[697] Simms, "Medieval Fermanagh," 85.

[698] *Annals of Ulster*, 1291, Entry 5: "Great war in Tir-Conaill in this year."

[699] *Annals of Ulster*, 1299, Entry 4: "Toirdhelbach Ua Domnaill, king of Tir-Conaill and Muircertach Mag Flannchadha and Donn O'Cathain and Donnchadh Mac Menman and Aedh Mac Menman, i.e. two grand-sons of the Lector Ua Domnaill and Niall, son of Niall Ua Buighill and Mac Ughosai and his son and his brother and Adam Sandal and many other Foreigners and Gaidhil in addition were killed by Aedh Ua Domnaill, namely by his (own) brother (that is, the chief of Muinnter-Feodachain)."

[700] *Annals of Ulster*, 1306, Entry 10: "The Castle of Sligech was built by the Earl."

[701] Katharine Simms, "Late Medieval Donegal," in *Donegal: history and society,* ed. W. Proudfoot & M. Dunlevy (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1995), 184.

[702] Simms, "Donegal," 187-8.

of Down (part of the reason they invited the Bruces to Ireland), this family remained the strongest Gaelic claimants to the over-lordship of Ulster. Indeed, after the Bruce Invasion and the de Burgh Civil War, Simms notes: "… it was followed by a steady acquisition of real dominion by successive O'Neill kings over the surrounding lesser chieftains."[703] Thus, we can infer that while this dynasty was under attack, it would retain enough political, economic, and military resources to counterattack over the course of the fourteenth century, something which is reflected in the population clusters under their control. Frame notes that: "When a political shape was again imparted to northern Ireland, it was the work of the O'Neills."[704]

After the Ó Néill, the O'Anluain played a key role in the landscape *circa* 1300. Positioned on the colonial borders of Louth and Armagh, Simms notes that the dynasty was pulled between different Anglo-Irish lords, the administration, and Gaelic aristocrats, all of whom vied for their loyalty and support (or attempted to assert control over them).[705] Indeed, she notes that this dynasty had a more immediate impact on the Anglo-Irish of Armagh and Louth than the O'Neills.[706] In 1306, they appear to have contributed to the disturbances and marcher warfare in Louth that prevented the Anglo-Irish parishes there from being valued.[707]

By contesting O'Neill over-lordship, the colony created vacuums for local lords to seize power and gain independence from both the Anglo-Irish and other Gaelic lords alike.[708] The knife would cut both ways, in this instance. Although weakening provincial kingships disturbed Gaelic resistance, it also helped foster independent Gaelic polities with their own desires and agendas. Rather than simply treating with one Gaelic overlord, the Earls of Ulster had to contend with several. The O'Anluain appear to have remained neutral during the Bruce Invasions, as well as paid the de Verduns rents and homage.[709] This is reflective of an independent political will, as well as resistance to de Burgh

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[703] Simms, "Political Recovery," 293.
[704] Frame, "Power and Society," 9.
[705] Katharine Simms, "The O Hanlons, the O Neills and the Anglo-Normans in Thirteenth-Century Armagh," *Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society* 9, no. 1 (1978): 70-94.
[706] Ibid.
[707] Simms, "Donegal," 198.
[708] Katharine Simms. "Medieval Armagh: The Kingdom of Oirthir (Orior) and its Rulers the Uí Annluain (O'Hanlons)." In *Armagh: History & Society,* ed. A. Hughes and W. Nolan, 187-216. Dublin: Geography Publicationsshers, 2001.
[709] Simms, "Donegal," 198-9.

dominion over Ulster (even if it involved using another Anglo-Irish lord as a counterweight).

Overall, in Ulster there were multiple factors that kept the colonial presence at bay. There were strong Gaelic dynasties, some with strong economic and population bases, as well as independent political wills and prestige. The environment, additionally, was difficult to manoeuvre and could not support manorial economies in a consistent manner outside of eastern Ulster. Besides this, connections with and proximity to Scotland insured a constant influx of mercenaries and potential aristocrats that could supplement Gaelic lords' power. While the Earldom possessed economic resources and some stronghold, its cores and nodes were disconnected and reliant on a strong de Burgh leader. The Ó Néill, however, were a resilient and well-established dynasty with more concentrated lands. While tanistry sometimes promoted dissent and civil war, it also meant that Gaelic dynasties were nearly indestructible and would appoint either someone based on merit or who had the strongest powerbase. It would only be a matter of time before the Ó Néill would retake their rightful place.

6.6.4 Conflict Zones

Louth is a prime example of Patrick Duffy's argumentation, discussed in Chapter Two, regarding Irish frontiers being more political than cultural in nature and not dissimilar from other European regions. Culturally and economically, Louth was firmly anglicised. Even into the late middle ages it constituted part of the Pale. However, politically, the Anglo-Irish of Louth were largely independent and resisted outside influence. During the first three decades of the fourteenth century, the county rebelled, killed a sheriff, and murdered its newly appointed Earl and his retinue (nearly 160 people). Brendan Smith has done extensive work on Louth's community, noting:

> "Louth, however, although it was a border county, was neither insular nor peripheral: it constituted part of the most strategically important of the core regions of English authority in Ireland. The explanation for the recurring unrest in the county in the early fourteenth century must be sought in an

> examination of the relationship between private and public authority in a county which was both a frontier and a governmental heartland."[710]

Internal frontiers were not simply created between isolated Gaelic groups and colonists, but between Anglo-Irish groups as well due to regional and local politics. Ireland had not been colonised for any grander purpose (although moral pretences might be cited), but instead for land-grabbing and economic opportunity. As argued in Chapter Two, Anglo-Irish allegiances were becoming increasingly local, geared towards those who were familiar and could provide protection.

Smith's views appear to synchronise with this logic. He also writes concerning Louth: "The activities of the Louth gentry in 1312 and 1329 display a basic continuity of purpose: the desire to be allowed to control the political machinery of their county with the minimum of outside interference. In 1312 the threat to this control was seen to come from the Crown, in 1329 from John de Bermingham."[711] Concerning John de Bermingham, this aristocrat was awarded Louth as a County for his family's (as well as his own) personal service in serving the Crown. In 1329, he and 160 members of his family and retinue were brutally murdered at Braganstown by Louth colonists. This was not the first instance of murder of an outsider. 1312, which Smith also mentioned, involved the murder of a sheriff. This was followed by an open rebellion led by an Anglo-Irish family only five months later. Considering this context, it is possible that valuations were not made in Louth solely due to the burden of warfare, but due to an inability or reluctance to value the area out of fear.

Another colonial area that was not valued was Wexford. This is likely due to growing conflict with the Gaelic Irish based in the Wicklow Mountains. Indeed, Colfer's work on the region sheds great insight into this. He states in *Arrogant Trespass*: "By the end of the fourteenth century, the north of the county had been abandoned by the settler community and was controlled by the Irish. The beginning of this process can be traced back to the early part of the century: a distribution map of decayed manors in 1324 shows a close correlation with the abandoned manors regranted by Richard II seventy years late. The colony in the southern English cantreds of Forth and Bargy, with parts of Shelmalier and Shelburne, was relatively secure, protected by the natural

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[710] Brendan Smith, "A County Community in Early Fourteenth-Century Ireland: The Case of Louth," *The English Historical Review* 108, no. 428 (1993): 562.
[711] Smith, "County Community," 586.

defences of Forth Mountain and the Corock and Owenduff rivers. The frontier, originally across the centre of the county, had moved south to the vicinity of Ross and Taghmon."[712]

Outside of Colfer's maps on manors in decline, he also produced work on tower house distribution and the continuity of land ownership. These metrics also illustrate that northern Wexford was overrun by Gaelic forces during the fourteenth century. Colfer's explanation for this Gaelic resurgence was that colonial settlement wasn't uniform and that manors were in exposed locations.[713] Besides this, there was failure to impose military domination, as well as internal feuding among Anglo-Irish leaders.[714] Indeed, conventional military methods would have been ineffective in Wexford's terrain. Regardless, even with Gaelic auxiliaries and adaptation to Gaelic tactics, the Wicklow septs had an enormous defensive advantage. Being excluded from the richer lowlands at the base of the mountains likely fuelled their indignation and fury. Although it is possible that the valuations for Ferns were simply lost or replaced, a lack of valuations due to deteriorating and dangerous conditions would not be an unfounded assumption.

Frame has also noted that Wexford was becoming a march. In 1312 wards were established in Arklow and Ferns due to Ó Broin forces ranging south from the mountains.[715] Other Gaelic lords (e.g. the Mac Murchadha) had to be enlisted to capture Ó Broin leaders, as well as defend the borders from both the Ó Broin and O'Tooles.[716] This supports Colfer's argument that traditional Anglo-Irish methods were ill-suited for mountain and border warfare. By c. 1333, Orpen notes that Ferns manor was rendered practically worthless (and was essentially overtaken by the Gaelic Irish by 1324).[717] Additionally, colonial forces had to make an expedition to retake castles at Clonmore, Arklow, and Ferns the same year.[718] These insights reinforce the proposal that the absence of Ferns' valuations is not a mere coincidence, but due to conflict.

The remaining areas that escaped full valuation are highlighted in Map 6.8 (i.e. baronies without valuation data). Essentially, these areas (outside of Wexford/Ferns and

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[712] William Colfer, *Arrogant Trespass: Anglo-Norman Wexford 1169-1400* (Enniscorthy, Duffry Press, 2002), 241.
[713] Colfer, *Arrogant Trespass*, 240-1.
[714] Ibid.
[715] Frame, "English Officials," 768.
[716] Ibid.
[717] Orpen, *Normans*, 244.
[718] Ibid.

Louth) were under Gaelic sway, with some colonial frontier outposts (e.g. Athlone, which has been previously discussed). The Ó Conchubhair Failghe were successfully in besting multiple colonial armies, as well as raiding Kildare and surviving the deceitful de Birminghams. The Ó Fearghail, Ó Maolmhuaidh, Ó Raghallaigh, Mac Diarmada, Ó Ruairc, and the Ó Conchubhair of County Sligo also held sway over the defined territory (alongside other smaller septs and clans).

The strength and stability of these lordships was growing (in power and influence at least) to such an extent that the colonial administration feared that the Ó Díomasaigh (O'Dempsey), generally staunch allies, would give hostages to a hostile Gaelic lord.[719] Indeed, this family even betrayed the Scottish army during the Bruce Invasion, promising them safe passage through Gaelic territory, only to lead them into a swamp that cost them resources and horses.[720] Around the time of the valuations, the Ó Díomasaigh petitioned the colonial government to help them against their neighbours, something which indicates growing Gaelic tenacity and power.[721] The administration was right to be afraid. As discussed in Chapter Two, it, like any Gaelic lord, relied on personal relationships and fluctuating arrangements with Gaelic and Anglo-Irish leaders. If it could not protect its allies against Gaelic forces close to its power-base in Dublin (relative to, say, Connacht), what hope would it have in convincing other Gaelic polities to ally with it. Rather, this provided smaller polities with an incentive to submit to or join forces with a more effective regional overlord.

As cited in Chapter Two, the dishonourable conduct of the de Berminghams and the administration had invoked the wrath of the Ó Conchubhair Failghe. As such, Kildare and the surrounding colonial settlements would face attack from them. Orpen notes that castles could keep only imperfect control over Gaelic groups in Offaly, Laois, and parts of

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[719] Frame, "English Officials," 762.

[720] Cormac Ó Cléirigh, "The Impact of the Anglo-Normans in Laois," in *Laois: History and Society*, ed. P.Lane and W. Nolan (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1999), 175.

[721] "But it was not only English settlers who suffered from the raids of the O'Conors Faly and ther Finn neighbouring clans. In January 1306, O'Dempsey, O'Demp- chieftain of Clanmalier, territory lying on both sides of the Barrow in the present baronies of Portnahinch and Upper Philipstown, in a petition to the justiciar and council showed that the O'Conors of Offaly, O'Dunn of Iregan (now the barony of Tinnahinch), Mac Gillapatrick of Upper Ossory, Macgeoghegan of Kenaliagh (the barony of Moycashel, Westmeath), and O'Molloy of Fircall (the baronies of Eglish Ballyboy and Ballycowan in King's County) and their confederates do not cease to fight and injure him and others who adhere to the king's peace', and he prayed aid against them" (Orpen, *Normans*, 36).

Ossory.[722] Fast raids and strikes could be made, followed by quick retreats into the Slieve Bloom Mountains. The colonial government and local Anglo-Irish magnates would take steps to pacify the area, including garrisoning Geashill.[723] Interesting, the church of Geashill is one of the few parishes bordering Ó Conchubhair Failghe domains to be valued. Indeed, it is a striking feature of the data due to the lack of surrounding parishes. Ó Cléirigh notes that Anglo-Irish settlements in Laois would disintegrate from c. 1290 to c. 1330.[724] The Bruce Invasion, coupled with Gaelic pushback, was simply too much for the scattered and diffuse settlements. Indeed, there were 127 burgesses for the Anglo-Irish settlement of Leys in 1283 but only 40 in 1323.[725] The Earls of Kildare would always exhibit some control or influence over the region. However, the power dynamics would become more horizontal than vertical.[726] Anglo-Irish magnates would instead try to curry favour and negotiate instead of launching violent raids and resorting to force. Nevertheless, Ó Cléirigh writes that Gaelic forces in Laois could be opportunistic, sometimes allying with or tolerating the colonists. As such, the colonial decline was prolonged, in part, by a lack of unity among Gaelic polities.[727] In the harsh landscape of medieval Ireland, allegiances were not clear-cut, and sometimes decisions needed to be made to ensure survival.

It appears that as colonial control declined in Offaly and Laois, a degree of prosperity returned to the Gaelic peoples there. Ó Cléirigh writes of the Ó Conchubhair Failghe lordship *circa* 1400: “Murchad had been ruler of Offaly for a decade. His lordship appears to have been enjoying a reasonable level prosperity, as he had founded the Franciscan friary of Killeigh the year previously. Politically, despite the presence of a distant cousin who held the office of Tánaiste, Murchad and his brother Diarmuid were dominant, and this helped to prevent internal fragmentation.”[728] This synchronises with McNeill’s conclusions in *Church Building in 14th Century Ireland and the 'Gaelic Revival.’*[729] He notes that in the fifteenth century arable pastoral farming, local autonomy,

[722] Orpen, *Normans*, 261.
[723] Ó Cléirigh, “Laois,” 174.
[724] Ó Cléirigh, “Laois,” 175-7
[725] Ó Cléirigh, “Laois,” 175-6.
[726] Ó Cléirigh, “Laois,” 178.
[727] Ó Cléirigh, “Laois,” 177.
[728] Cormac Ó Cléirigh, "The O'Connor Faly Lordship of Offaly, 1395-1513," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 96C, no. 4 (1996): 88.
[729] T.E. McNeill, “Church Building in 14th Century Ireland and the 'Gaelic Revival',” *The Journal of Irish Archaeology 3* (1985).

and cultural exchanges helped to foster a degree of prosperity and building in much of Ireland.[730] MacEiteagáin, too, writes on how Donegall and Tír Chonaill benefitted and participated in the Renaissance.[731] To counter Orpen's idea of a *Pax Normanica*, I argue instead that when a stronger degree of cultural, economic, and political parity returned to Ireland that it truly prospered. The intrigues and discriminatory actions of the high medieval colonists sowed destruction and discord that was not sustainable, as well as prevented Gaelic polities from reaching their full potential. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to comment fully on later centuries. However, it would be of great interest to compare more general proxies, such as *annates*, to bishop's income for these areas from the 1302-20 valuations to see if there is an significant increase during the fifteenth century (after the Black Death and weakening of the Dublin administration).

The dioceses that covered these conflict zones reported incomes for bishops, religious houses, and officers; however, there is no information for parishes (except for three in one diocese).[732] If the parishes were too poor for taxation, they would have still been valued or a notation would be made (e.g. does not suffice for the burden of taxation). The same would be done if they were devastated by war (e.g. Elphin). How can this be explained, then?

It is most likely that bishops, religious houses, and officers, who had a greater accountability to archbishops, papal agents, and the colonial leadership were more easily compelled to submit to valuations. Outside of this, however, rurally situated clergy hosted among independent Gaelic aristocrats may have been too dangerous to access. For colonial settlements, much like in Louth and Armagh, there may have been an immunity for communities under duress. When looking at the marches of Trim and Westmeath, one can see a lack of valued parishes within Ó Conchubhair Failghe territory, something which reinforces the argument that these Gaelic areas were purposefully avoided.

It is a shame that full valuations weren't made of these areas. For part of Westmeath, it would have offered greater insight into the state of the colonial frontier,

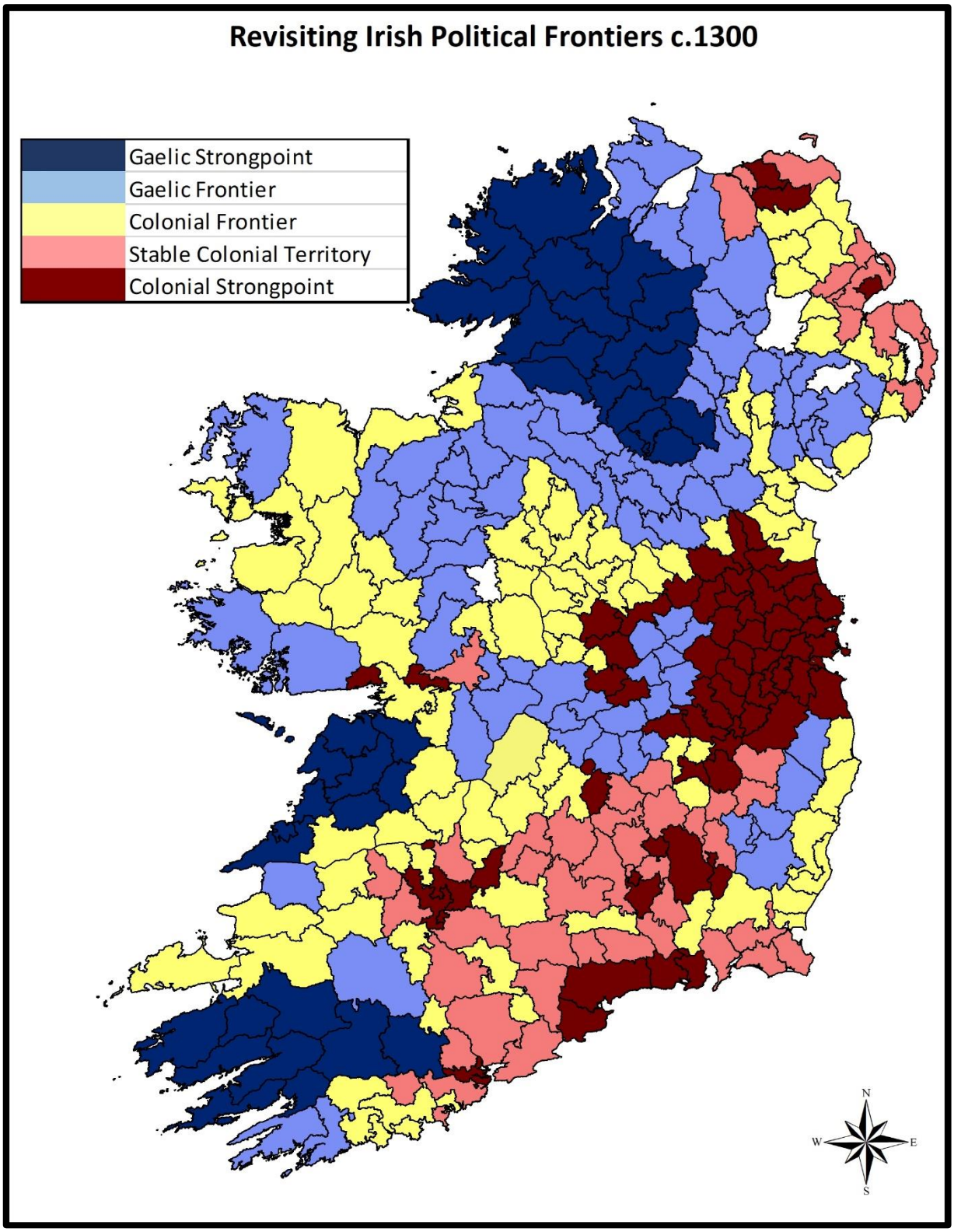
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[730] Ibid.
[731] D. Mac Eiteagáin, "The Renaissance and the Late Medieval lordship of Tír Chonaill," in *Donegal: history and society*, ed. W. Proudfoot & M. Dunlevy (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1995), 203-229.
[732] This is, of course, except for bordering colonial dioceses that reported fully except for within these Gaelic areas.

whereas Offaly, Leitrim, and Longford would have added more diversity among Gaelic parishes. Nevertheless, the lack of information is also telling. It bolsters the academic understanding of Westmeath as unique frontier zone, one that the colony had tenuous control over. The unvalued Gaelic sites are a testimony of Gaelic resistance, as well as failure of the colony to fully control terrain that was mountainous or boggy. This is an observation that applies to Wexford as well. Forests, mountains, and bogs gave Gaelic lordships refuge from which to launch attacks and preserve their wealth (cattle). As with Connacht, these areas invite further critique of the colony's actual extent and power.

6.7 Redefining the Anglo-Irish Colony and Political Boundaries

After conducting the zonal analysis, Map 6.49 is an attempt to redefine medieval Ireland's broader political boundaries as a spectrum, moving away from a binary system. It was created based on the economic data reflecting stability (i.e. frontier areas and signs of conflict), different economic systems (i.e. dense commercial areas versus dispersed pastoral communities), and the spread of Anglicization, while also coupling these insights with the human narratives of the preceding economic zonal analysis.



Map 6.49

These political zones are defined below. However, before doing so, so caveats must be mentioned. Foremost, the Gaelic Irish Ireland, Anglo-Irish, and groups betwixt them all impacted one another. This map does not suggest anything to the contrary, but rather delineates the degree to which this occurred. Second, Ireland's frontiers were

constantly in flux. Considering this, these gradients reflect more consistent holdings and processes c. 1300 rather than absolute boundaries

Defining Political Zones:

***Independent Gaelic Territories*:** These territories, largely under the remit of larger Gaelic dynasties, were areas where the colony held little to no influence and Gaelic lifestyles remained relatively unperturbed. Rather, they were political strongpoints and cores for Gaelic lordships.

Gaelic Frontier: This refers to areas where Gaelic lordships held sway but were subject to frequent colonial interference or confinement, or areas where Gaelic culture was resurging and beginning to dominate.

Colonial Frontier: This area can be defined as territory where colonial settlement was incomplete, contested, or tenuous, but Anglo-Irish lords held some degree of tangible control (as opposed to *de jure* claims). Additionally, it denotes areas where environmental conditions prevented or limited Anglicization.

Colonial Strongpoints: This refers to two types of territory. The first was the area most directly under the control of the colonial administration based in Dublin and, by extension, the English crown. While not free from conflict or raids, it greatly benefited from the administration's armed forces and attention. This was also the area that most closely resembled England in terms of culture, economics, and settlement.

The second area that it refers to is a concentrated area, outside of the Heartland, that benefitted from a strong degree of prosperity and stability, serving to help exert control over surrounding areas. This essentially translate to cities, ports, and fortified towns (e.g. Athenry and Galway) (or clusters of close networks of towns, manors, and castles) under *de facto* sway of major magnates, such as the Butlers, Geraldines, and assorted branches of the de Burghs.

Stable Colonial Territory: This is a reference to lands belonging to Anglo-Irish lords that reflected middling to high prosperity, as well as were consistently and securely under Anglo-Irish control. However, these areas were not defined by critical political, strategic or economic importance.

What can be said of the political state of medieval Ireland and its frontiers? When moving towards a gradient model, the island becomes increasingly complex and multidimensional. Two words, however, come to mind: fragmentation and failure. While the colony held some degree of tangible sway and settlement over nearly half to two-thirds of Ireland, the degree of control within this area was highly variable.

Concerning failure, in no province of Ireland was colonial control complete, creating both internal (i.e. Gaelic enclaves within colonial territory) and external frontiers that eroded at colonial control and redirected resources to constant warfare. In Leinster, the Ó Broin's, Mac Murchada, and Ó Tuathail raided north, west, east, and south upon coastal settlements, Carlow, Wexford, and south Dublin. From the southern Midlands, the Ó Conchubhair Failghe, Ó Maolmhuaidh , Ó Mórda, and Ó'Duinn, pressed upon Kildare and the Westmeath frontier. From the Leinster-Ulster border, the Ó Raghallaigh, O'Farrells, and O'Hanlons struck back against colonial outposts in Roscommon and at the border of the Heartland.

In Munster, Anglo-Irish lords had to contend with Gaelic Desmond and Thomond; strong and venerable kingdoms that had adapted to colonial intrigue. There were also middling Irish lords, such as the Ó Ceallacháin, O'Fogaratigh, Ó Cinnéide, Mac Craith, and O'Mathúna. Thus, the province had Gaelic pushback from the southwest, the northwest, and north of the colony, as well as Gaelic peoples within colonial domains as well.

Fragmentation and failure can be applied to both Ulster and Connacht. The Earldom of Ulster was relatively cut off from the main body of the colony. Within the Earldom, there were also gaps of Gaelic territory between its strongpoints, as well as a precarious proximity to Scotland (that was at odds with the crown and Dublin administration) and a border with the sometimes politically contentious Louth. While it is true that the Earldom c. 1300 appeared to be developing and quite vigorous, this was partly reliant on the Red Earl's charisma and ability to influence neighbouring Gaelic aristocrats (as well as his own Anglo-Irish ones). Charisma, however, is not a viable long-term strategy as it is not a guaranteed quality among successors. Indeed, when the Red Earl died in 1326, the Earldom would become enveloped in civil war in 1333. As Chapter Seven will detail, it would also be overrun during the Bruce Invasion and subjected to

further Scottish interference during the 1320s. After this, Frame notes: “The O'Neills expanded from the west, and the difficult passes of the south came to be firmly controlled O'Hanlon, MacCartan and Magennis, so isolating the earldom more effectively from Dublin. Immigration from Scotland and Isles intensified.”[733]

Connacht can be considered a success for the de Burghs, but not for the colony. On the western-side of the Shannon and cut-off from the colony, the de Burghs of Connacht integrated within Gaelic political frameworks and broke away from the colonial administration; eschewing involvement with it for a more secure regional focus. Similarly, in Geraldine Kerry, the local Anglo-Irish lords would focus on their local domains rather than contributing to a greater English cause. Altogether, it becomes apparent why Anglo-Irish lordships would integrate more strongly into Gaelic culture and regional political landscapes. The colonial administration could offer them limited support due to geographical conditions and fracturing.

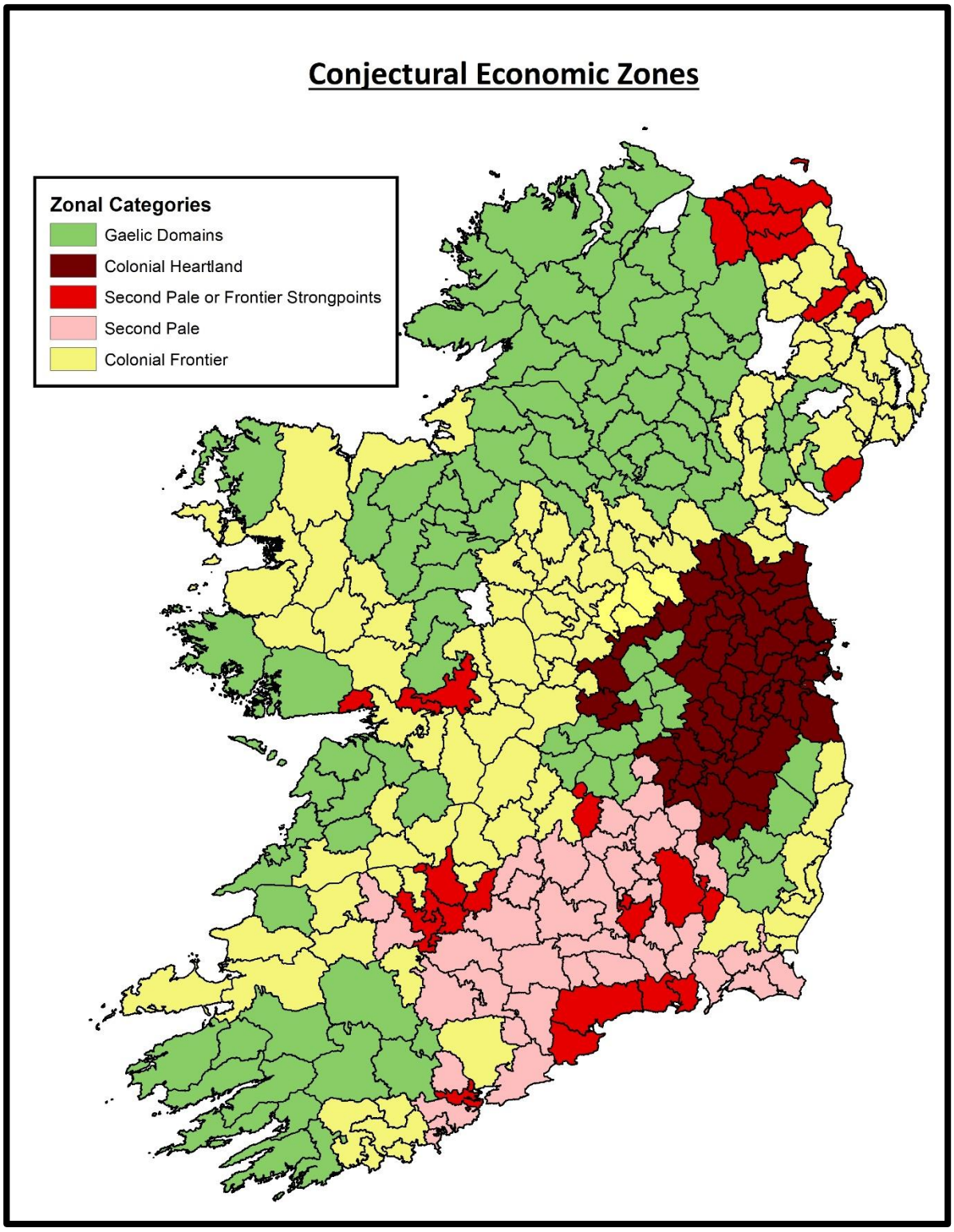
Overall, claims of three-fourths or two-thirds domination of Ireland by the colony are greatly exaggerated. Cartographic conceptualisations of a Gaelic Irish vs. Anglo-Irish landscape are also misleading and oversimplified. When considering the colony itself, the administration was largely confined to the Heartland. Between the Heartland and the Second Pale (i.e. Carlow, the base of the Wicklow Mountains, and the Kildare marches), the colony was faltering and becoming increasingly hemmed in by resurging Gaelic polities. The Second Pale and colonial frontiers, as the zonal analyses have shown, were becoming more independent and Gaelicised, as well as exhibited resilience to both chronic warfare and acute disasters such as the Bruce Invasion (illustrating little need for the colonial administration). However, even these self-sufficient lordships had to contend with growing borders with Gaelic lordships and competition with one another. As such, perhaps the term Tudor Reconquest should be reconsidered. Conquest may be more apt as a descriptor as it is evident that the 1169 invasion failed to truly control or conquer Ireland. Rather, the colonial administration fulfilled the goal that Henry II intended for it: maintaining a system of checks and balances over Anglo-Irish nobility and preventing a rival power from arising that could threaten the English crown. Overall, the maps correspond with Robin Frame’s conceptualisation of Gaelic Ireland as a patchwork of lordships, over which the colonial lordship had ebbing degrees of control and influence.

[733] Frame, “Power and Society,” 9.

Neither Gaelic Ireland nor Anglo-Ireland, however, should be portrayed as homogenous entities in a political sense.

6.8 Preliminary Conclusions on Ireland's Distribution of Wealth

Map 6.50 fills in the conflict areas (or areas with no data) with the preestablished economic classifications, helping to create a more complete picture of Ireland c. 1300 based on bordering areas and the narratives created from the zonal analyses. It was suggested during the research to utilise statistical applications within ArcGIS to fill in the missing regions (based on neighbouring parish values). Purely statistical predications should, however, be cautioned against as the research has illustrated the existence of steep gradients and great variance between neighbours. Additionally, in these conflict zones it would be difficult to establish the degree to which a local area was maintaining its prosperity without evaluating local accounts and records (something which statistical software would not be readily able to do).



Map 6.50

Concerning Ferns, southern Wexford was likely relatively wealthy and stable, with urban defences and the River Slaney to the north. However, the northern part of the county and coastal zones (north of the River Slaney) that was increasingly under Gaelic influence and the strain of conflict was likely more emblematic of a frontier zone. Between Mullingar and the Shannon, the colony's holdings were likely limited to the

frontier archetype: cultural hybrid zones with limited settlement, economic impact, and political contest.

The colony firmly held nearly all the prime fertile land. However, even in some marginal areas the Anglo-Irish were able to cultivate wealth (e.g. parts of the Earldom of Ulster). The high pockets of wealth found there were not reproduced in Kerry and parts of southern Cork. However, this comes with the qualification that these areas were also frontier zones prone to conflict and where limited immigration occurred. For Anglo-Irish economies, a greater focus on intensive agriculture, urbanisation, commercial trade, and redistribution allowed for more intensive development, with the caveat that a certain degree of stability and infrastructure was needed for such an economy to function.

The colony appears to have had tenuous control over the Westmeath west of Mullingar (as evidenced by the incomplete diocesan valuations), while Connacht was only partly Anglicised in an economic sense (rather, intense manorialisation appears to have been spatially limited select areas). Nevertheless, the de Burghs established themselves as a viable alternative to the Ó Conchubhair. Aside from this, in the Midlands, Clare, and parts of Leinster (Carlow, West Kildare, the Wicklow Coast, and northern Wexford), where the Gaelic Irish were pushed into more marginal lands or not well incorporated, the colony would lose control.

The Second Pale, while exhibiting frontiers and signs of peripheral decay, mainly reflects a complex and well-established economy. This, combined with incorporation of Gaelic culture and people, helped the Anglo-Irish lordships in these areas persist into the Tudor reconquest. Essentially, cooperation and compromise became key to longevity. This is especially true in remote areas such as Kerry. Considering this, and the traditional definition of colony that includes the requirement of dependency upon a homeland, these lordships and peripheries might instead be termed as associated lordships, rather than true colonial settlements. Henry II's successors failed him, they allowed individual lordships that had limited need or regard for the crown to take hold. This is, of course, not to say that there weren't loyal Anglo-Irish magnates strongly aligned to the English crown and its objectives; however, the Geraldines and other "Old English" families would not take kindly to Tudor incursions in the future and took part in rebellions against both the administration and crown.

Gaelic lordships were largely confined to commercially[734] and environmentally marginal lands that created barriers to economic networks, trade, intensive agriculture, population density, and political hegemony. Nevertheless, even where they held stretches of ideal soil (such as the Ó Conchobhair in Elphin or the Ó Néill dynasty in parts of southern Ulster), only higher density was achieved. This prompts further consideration of why such low-values existed in these areas.

The reasons behind low tier valuations within Gaelic domains can be explored by pursuing several different explanations. Foremost, as discussed in Chapter Three, the valuations would have focused on regular surplus livestock and produce. As such, Gaelic communities and lords may have had abundant herds in reserve that simply weren't accounted due to the nature of the instructions. It is also important to remember that Ireland's climate lent itself to winter grazing, reducing a need for fodder. Essentially, less surplus produce was needed to feed livestock and could instead be directly consumed by humans. In addition to this, aspects of a barter and hospitality economy (such as billeting soldiers) would be difficult to tax and evaluate. Perhaps, then, it might be better to categorize Gaelic economies as low-surplus rather than impoverished. Simply put, communities met their subsistence needs and were able to host military forces but did not produce large marketable surpluses. These papal valuations were assessments of average annual parish income, not of community livestock holding, reserve wealth, or irregular trading/income. This a sounder and more comprehensive argument than, perhaps, simply contending that valuations were improperly made in Gaelic areas. Despite these areas being areas falling in the same or similar brackets of wealth (when evaluating the national-level point populated and baronial maps), there is considerable variation within them when looking at a local level and manually adjusting the tiers. This is emblematic of systematic valuation, rather than rough estimates. Additionally, Chapters Three and Four have illustrated that these mechanisms were fine-tuned by 1300 and that multiple parties had vested interest in their effectiveness and thoroughness. It is extremely unlikely that the English crown and papacy would have let money go untaxed, or that Irish bishops would put their livelihoods at stake by hiding income. Ireland, as a whole, had been subject to papal income taxes since their onset, it's improbable and

[734] This is not to say that the Gaelic Irish did not trade, an assumption that has been argued against in Chapter Two. Rather, that there were physical and human barriers to their regular and full inclusion within commercial networks.

uncharacteristic that assessors would have failed to capture the Gaelic economy by this point. Rather, these valuations reflect a low-surplus economy that had a resilient basis in billeting, hospitality, and pastoralism. Commercialisation and trade did occur but were arguably less integral to the economy functioning.

There is also merit to Orpen's interpretation of the valuations. Looking at Ó Conchubhair territory in eastern Connacht, it is evident that this area was wracked by constant warfare, with churches sometimes being targeted by both the Gaelic Irish and Anglo-Irish. Fighting among Gaelic lordships, however, was not confined to the Ó Conchubhair dynasty, endemic warfare, cattle-raids, and assertion over lesser aristocrats undoubtedly supressed local economies across Gaelic lordships. It also likely removed impetus for long-term investments and the construction of infrastructure such as roads, bridges, and urban foundations. Not only would these be an investment of limited resources but the longevity of such projects was tenuous when conflict was so prone. The Anglo-Irish did war against each other; however, this was more intermittent. Anglo-Irish political hierarchies also did not necessitate exerting power violently over sub-lords, rather conflict appears to have been between lordships rather than within them.

Outside of this, the issue of redistribution and versatility of resources must come into play. The hybrid zones that Anglo-Irish lords controlled provided them regularly with victuals, taxes/rents, labour, billeting, and fines/tributes (from Gaelic lords under their influence). The resources that Gaelic lords seem to *regularly* avail of were largely billeting, victuals, and exacting tribute from rivals or sub-lords. Considering this, there was only so much a Gaelic lord could do to spur a local economy.

Altogether, the low-values found in Gaelic areas might be attributed to a confluence of factors. Environmental obstacles and commercial exclusion are perhaps, the most important of these. Further work needs to be done on this data through a lens of postcolonialism and environmental racism, focusing fully on the intergenerational violence and destructiveness caused by excluding peoples from ecosystem services and economic opportunities. Outside of this, Gaelic political and economic systems were not conducive to economic growth or stability. Rather, they were buoyant and more well-suited to surviving endemic warfare and providing alimentary sustenance. However, this in turn was likely an adaptation to environmental conditions and colonial trespass.

The 1302-7 valuations help reveal the extent and degree of medieval English colonization, as well as quantitative insights into Gaelic Ireland hitherto believed impossible. Some expectations were realized, while the data also offered new insights and surprises. The valuations and produced maps are also a testimony to Gaelic resistance, and the cruel nature of colonialism. Despite numerous obstacles and with limited resources, a patchwork of Gaelic lordships and communities were able to prevent colonial dominance and begin to pushback against the "arrogant trespassers," as Colfer termed them. Yet, the prosperity found in Anglo-Irish lordships outside of the Colonial Heartland is also a testimony to the fruits of integration, multiculturalism, intermarriage, and cooperation.

Chapter Seven: Analysing the Impact of the Bruce Invasion and Great European Famine

7.1 Introduction

After the decisive and legendary victory of Robert the Bruce at Bannockburn in 1314, Scotland was in a more secure position than earlier during the Wars of Scottish Independence. Building off this momentum, the Scottish assembly at Ayr made Edward, brother of Robert the Bruce, the legal heir of Scotland and supported an invasion of Ireland. The plan was for Edward to join forces with Domhnall mac Briain Ó Néill in Ulster. Ó Néill and his lords needed aid to defend against further Anglo-Irish encroachments. In exchange for Scottish support, Ó Néill would use his claim on high kingship (*ard ri*) to anoint Edward as High King of all Ireland. By doing so, Ó Néill also created an opportunity to reclaim dynastic supremacy over Ulster. Despite a string of Scottish military successes, what followed were some of the most tumultuous and destructive years of medieval Ireland as Edward's campaign coincided with extreme weather conditions and perennial famine.

This chapter will discuss the impact of the Bruce Invasion and the Great European Famine (GEF) on Ireland. Unfortunately, revaluations are limited to the Colonial Heartland and the Second Pale. Nevertheless, the data helps shed light upon the destructive nature of both events (even if the insights are almost exclusively anchored in colonial domains). Before the analytical results are discussed, an overview will be provided regarding the causes and order of events. This will assist with both providing context and a framework from which to interpret the results. The chapter will conclude with a discussion on how the Bruce Invasion and GEF influenced events in Ireland leading up to 1333.

7.2 Causes of the Bruce Invasion

The impetus for and impact of the Bruce Invasion continues to stir up a wide gamut of feelings and opinions. Concerning the driving factors for it, there appear to be four main theories. For some romantics and nationalists, it's seen as an attempt at a Pan-Celtic or Gaelic alliance that would drive the English from Ireland (as well as Wales and the Scottish border), with the Scots being portrayed as invited saviours. For those that are more cynically inclined, Robert the Bruce sent his brother, Edward, to Ireland to rid himself of a potential rival and usurping heir to the Scottish throne (Robert did not have a

legitimate male heir at the time).[735] Building a separate alternative off this theory, Robert may have wished to establish Edward in Ireland for more benign reasons that strengthened his family and Scotland. The fourth rationale, however, suggests that Ireland was invaded to deny England Irish resources while also distracting Edward II with another warfront.

The most substantiated theory is the establishment of a Scottish kingdom in Ireland. Control of Ulster, at least, would protect Scotland's borders, help secure the Irish Sea, and provide a launching point for invasions southwards into Ireland and Wales. Outside of this, Frame notes that the investment of resources the Scots risked far outweighed the potential damage to the English war effort.[736] Indeed, not only were veteran soldiers deployed to Ireland, but several influential nobles joined the fray.[737] Robert arrived himself to assist Edward in 1317, a move that left the fledgling Scottish kingdom and his life vulnerable. Outside of this, it's important to acknowledge that Edward Bruce would curry the defection of Anglo-Irish magnates, set up a court at Carrickfergus, and gather correspondences to petition the papacy regarding his kingship. These are not the actions of someone who just intended on short-term raids. Depriving the English of Irish supplies was likely a secondary goal that synchronised with occupying Ireland. As for cultural alliances, McNamee notes that these appear in history but are rarely acted upon in a meaningful way. Bruce propaganda and the presence of Scottish forces did indeed incite Gaelic rebellions throughout Ireland, but it failed to coalesce into a national front. The question will remain whether Gaelic support was a means to an end or if the Bruces truly felt a fraternity with the Gaelic Irish. For the purposes of this thesis, the working assumption will be that Edward intended to establish himself in Ireland while disrupting the Dublin administration and English crown's war efforts.

7.3 Charting the Events of 1315-18

7.3.1 Initial Stages

[735] This theory is largely the result of Barbour's *The Bruce.*
[736] Robin Frame, "The Bruces in Ireland, 1315-18," *Irish Historical Studies* 19, no. 73 (1974): 3-37.
[737] Colm McNamee, *The Wars of the Bruces* (New York: Birlinn, 2012).

Before the revaluations can be properly analysed, the events of 1315-18 must be discussed to identify hotspots of conflict and factors of destruction, as well as areas where values were preserved. After landing, Edward quickly routed the local Anglo-Irish lords (the Mandeville, Bisset, Savage, and Logan families) before establishing himself at Carrickfergus.[738] While the town quickly capitulated and served as Edward's *ad hoc* court, the castle would hold out until September 1316.[739] The Scots quickly occupied much of the Earldom of Ulster and requisition the wealth it possessed. Chapter Six has illustrated that the Earldom exhibited signs of wealth, commercialisation, and intensive agriculture. These resources undoubtedly contributed to the longevity of Bruce's campaign. Outside of this, eastern Ulster can only be approached by a few routes from a southerly direction, meaning that the Scots had a defensive position to which they could retreat and from which it would be very hard to dislodge them.

The Scots, riding off their momentum, brutally pillaged and took Dundalk on June 29th. Additionally, they burned a church in Ardee filled with civilians. These atrocities contributed to an atmosphere of fear, and the Scots' ability to penetrate into these areas so rapidly and successfully created an image of invincibility.[740] A royal army was raised with Gaelic and Anglo-Irish soldiers; however, the Red Earl wished to combat Bruce himself out of fear that the joint army would ransack his holdings.[741] This was a major error. The Scots retreated into Ulster, using the terrain and the Bann to keep the Earl at bay.[742] While a pitched battle was delayed, Ruaidri O Conchobair seized the opportunity to grasp Connacht for himself.[743] This forced Feidlim O Conchobair, loyal bannerman of the Earl, to travel back westward to reclaim his kingdom.[744] The journey was disastrous,

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[738] James Lydon, "The Impact of the Bruce Invasion: 1315-27," in *A New History Ireland: Volume II*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 286.
[739] G. O. Sayles, "The Siege of Carrickfergus Castle, 1315-16," *Irish Historical Studies* 10, no. 37 (1956): 94-100.
[740] Lydon, "Bruce Invasion,"286.
[741] *Annals of Connacht*, 1315, Entry 3**: "**When Richard Burke, Earl of Ulster, heard that Edward was approaching to attack him he brought together a great army from all sides to Roscommon at first, marching thence to Athlone and obliquely through Meath and Mag Breg, having with him Feidlim O Conchobair, king of Connacht, their numbers being about twenty battalions; and this time the Galls spared not saint or shrine, however sacred, nor churchman or layman or sanctuary, but went wasting and ravaging across Ireland from the Shannon in the south to Coleraine and Inishowen in the north. And when this mighty column of a single host came marching together into Bregia they saw coming to meet them Edmund Butler, Justiciar of Ireland, with thirty tight battalions; but the Earl would not let him join his assembled force, for he trusted to himself and his own men to expel the Scots from Ireland."
[742] *Annals of Connacht*, 1315, Entry 4.
[743] *Annals of Connacht*, 1315, Entry 7.
[744] *Annals of Connacht*, 1315, Entry 8.

and his army was decimated by attacks from other Gaelic forces. Thus, the Earl was left with a much weaker force to combat the Scots with. It should be noted that Edward may have convinced Feidlim to abandon the Anglo-Irish.[745] Although he also met with Ruaidri, the *Annals of Connacht* state that he told Ruaidri not to betray Feidlim but strike the Anglo-Irish.[746] Whether Edward genuinely tried to ally with Feidlim or played off intra-dynastic feuds to his advantage remains a mystery. Frame writes on the matter: "Bruce had done little more than give a fresh stimulus to these dynastic squabbles which then followed their own, almost traditional, course. There is little sign of any real sympathy with the Scots and their aims; if there was, the inherent stresses of native political life were more compelling."[747]

When the Earl and the Scots met at Connor in Antrim on September 10th, 1315, the Earl was heavily defeated, thereby leaving most of Ulster securely in Scottish possession and one of the colony's strongest magnates powerless.[748] Indeed, the *Annals of Connacht* note that he roamed Ireland as a wanderer.[749] Edward then proceeded to defeat Roger Mortimer of Trim before ravaging Meath, prompting the de Lacy family to join the Scots to preserve their lands.[750] With their assistance, Bruce navigated around the Midland Gaelic Irish to raid Tethmoy and Kildare.[751] Additionally, he targeted the important frontier settlements of Granard, Finnea, and Loughswedy.

As the Scottish army caused havoc wherever it went, the rest of Ireland was also in an uproar. Connacht was engulfed in civil war between Feidlim and Ruaidri, in which Feidlim finally prevailed and retook his throne.[752] A major Scottish victory at Skerries (near Ardscull) against a larger and fresher Anglo-Irish army inspired the Gaelic Irish of Desmond to rebel.[753] Maurice fitz Maurice moved quickly to secure Limerick and Kerry, from which colonial settlers were fleeing.[754] Another Desmond lord, Maurice fitz Thomas

[745] *Annals of Connacht*, 1315, Entry 5.
[746] *Annals of Connacht*, 1315, Entry 6.
[747] Frame, "Bruces," 19.
[748] Lydon, "Bruce Invasion," 287.
[749] *Annals of Connacht*, 1315, Entry 18: "Richard Burke, Earl of Ulster, was a wanderer up and down Ireland all this year, with no power or lordship."
[750] Lydon, "Bruce Invasion," 288.
[751] Ibid.
[752] The final entries of 1315 and the initial entries of 1316 for the *Annals of Connacht* are particularly detailed accounts of this conflict.
[753] Lydon, "Bruce Invasion," 288-9.
[754] Lydon, "Bruce Invasion," 289.

(later the first earl of Desmond), treated with the Gaelic Irish within and surrounding his domain to stave off violence.[755] Additionally, he seized crops at Rathkeale (allegedly) to further shore up his power.[756] In Leinster, the Gaelic Irish were also emboldened, going so far as to raid into Dublin city.[757] This highlighted the sorry state of the city's defences and the colonial administration's measures.[758]

7.3.2 The Great European Famine

The Great European Famine will now be discussed, separately, to help provide an environmental context to the events of the Bruce Invasion and the circumstances influencing the actors. During the high medieval period (c. 1050 - c. 1300) much of Europe had benefitted from the Medieval Warm Period or Medieval Climatic Optimum (c. 900 -c. 1300[759]). Environmental conditions were ideal for agriculture, human health, and trade; thus, contributing to the considerable demographic growth, as well as economic and cultural development, that constituted this period. However, as the fourteenth century dawned, this environmental boon was giving way to the Little Ice Age. This climatic shift brought with it more severe or even extreme weather events (e.g. heavy and prolonged rainfall), as well as a colder and damper climate. Not only was this disruptive to agriculture and trade, but also impacted human[760] and animal health (e.g. cattle pestilences[761]).

Concerning an Irish context, in "Medieval Irish chronicles reveal persistent volcanic forcing of severe winter cold events, 431–1649 CE" Ludlow *et alia* demonstrate a spike in cold weather events during the second half of the thirteenth century, followed by sustained cold weather events during the first half of the following century.[762] The events,

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[755] Frame, "Bruces," 22.
[756] Ibid.
[757] Lydon, "Bruce Invasion," 290
[758] Ibid.
[759] The most comprehensive coverage of this phenomenon can be found in *Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change* reports.
[760] A more inhospitable climate and limited foodstuffs not only caused direct mortality but weakened immune systems. As such, these conditions would later abet the Black Death.
[761] Philip Slavin, "The Great Bovine Pestilence and Its Economic and Environmental Consequences in England and Wales, 1318—50," *The Economic History Review* 65, no. 4 (2012): 1239-266.
[762] Francis Ludlow, Alexander R Stine, Paul Leahy, Enda Murphy, Paul A Mayewski, David Taylor, James Killen, Michael G L Baillie, Mark Hennessy and Gerard Kiely, "Medieval Irish chronicles reveal persistent volcanic forcing of severe winter cold events, 431 - 1649 CE," *Environmental Research Letters*, 8 (2013): 4.

however, appear to cluster between 1280-1340.[763] It is interesting that this cluster corresponds with upsurges in Gaelic raiding and colonial faltering, and an unlikely coincidence. As was noted in Chapter Two, Gaelic attacks generally revolved around seasonal cycles as rulers in marginal terrain needed to capture sustenance and wealth. These cold shifts likely made this need more dire and served as a catalyst for conflict. For the purposes of this research, however, the focus, in terms of climate change, is centred upon the Great European Famine. However, it is still important to highlight the climatic milieu in which the valuations were made and highlight further investigative routes.

Between 1314-16, Ireland experienced drastic and destructive rainfalls that inhibited food production.[764] This marked the beginning of the Great European Famine, a phenomenon that affected most of Europe. Slavin writes: "Though local food shortages seem to have been commonplace throughout the middle ages, none is comparable in its scale and implications to the infamous Great European Famine of 1314/15-22, arguably the single worst agrarian and food crisis in northern and central Europe in the last two millennia."[765] There is some debate over whether the Famine ended in 1317/18 or 1322 (as there were reoccurring outbreaks of destructive weather and hunger). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to debate this. What is important, rather, is to note that the Famine was occurring during the Bruce Invasion and influenced the 1319-20 revaluations. In terms of human impact, Slavin notes that "Although much remains to be studied about the demographic aspects of this catastrophe, there is a scholarly consensus that about 10-15 per cent of the European population died of hunger and hunger-related disease in these fatal years."[766] His arguments are substantiated by the works of Jordan[767] and Campbell.[768]

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[763] Ludlow et al., "Volcanic Forcing," 5.
[764] The almost biblical flooding of 1314-16 depressed not only human food resources, but also animal fodder" (Slavin, "Great Bovine Pestilence," 1263).
[765] Slavin, "Great Bovine Pestience," 1239.
[766] Ibid.
[767] William Chester Jordan, T*he Great Famine: Northern Europe in the Early Fourteenth Century*, (Princeton University Press, 1996)
[768] Bruce M.S. Campbell, "Four famines and a pestilence: harvest, price, and wage variations in England, 13th to 19th centuries," in *Agrarhistoria på många sätt; 28 studier om manniskan och jorden. Festskrift till Janken Myrdal på hans 60-årsdag (Agrarian history many ways: 28 studies on humans and the land, Festschrift to Janke Myrdal 2009),* ed. B. Liljewall, I. A. Flygare, U. Lange, L. Ljunggren, & J. Söderberg (Stockholm: KSLAB, 2009), 23-56.

Gaelic Ireland was not spared by the Famine,[769] and sickness took root.[770] Severe storms were later accompanied by harsh snowfalls.[771] These poor conditions would help catalyse the "The Great Bovine Pestilence" that affected much of Europe until the mid-fourteenth century. Separate, but also interconnected, to the Great European Famine, this sickness appears to have begun in Bohemia in 1315 and reached Ireland by 1321.[772] Annalistic records attest to abnormal cattle plagues from 1321[773] until c. 1335.[774] Again, while this occurred after the revaluations, it's important to note that the "groundwork" or enabling conditions for these diseases was laid between 1314-18. As crop yields declined, there was less fodder for cattle[775] while colder conditions inhibited winter grazing; neither of which was hospitable for animal well-being.

From this overview, a few points must be made. For the Scottish army, the Pan-European nature of the Famine limited supplies from their homeland while pushing them to extract precious resources from both friend and foe alike (although foraging and pillaging, to a degree, was generally an aspect of medieval armies[776]). It also likely pushed their lighting strikes across Ireland and helps explain the relatively few sieges that they conducted. The coincidence of the Famine with the Bruce Invasion also contextualises the near universal acclaim that occurred when Edward was killed in 1318 as his invasion only made a disastrous crisis more dire.

While the Famine exacerbated the conflict and pillaging, it was also a destructive force on its own. Herds perished, agricultural infrastructure was damaged, productivity declined, and human lives were lost. Considering this, even areas that were spared the brunt of military conflict can still be expected to exhibit devaluations.

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[769] *Annals of Connacht*, 1317, Entry 11: "Great famine this year throughout Ireland."
[770] *Annals of Connacht*, 1315, Entry 19: "Many afflictions in all parts of Ireland: very many deaths, famine and many strange diseases, murders, and intolerable storms as well."
[771] *Annals of Connacht*, 1318, Entry 11: "Snow the like of which had not been seen for many a long year."
[772] Timothy Newfield, "A Cattle Panzootic in Early Fourteenth-century Europe," *The Agricultural History Review* 57, no. 2 (2009): 189.
[773] Newfield, "Cattle Panzootic," 170.
[774] Newfield, "Cattle Panzootic," 175.
[775] "As we have seen, there seems to be a pronounced negative correlation between crop yields in 1315-16 and bovine mortality rates in 1319-20" (Slavin, "Great Bovine Pestilence," 1263).
[776] Medieval armies were often irregular, composed of levies or mercenaries that lacked discipline. Additionally, Chapter Three has illustrated that medieval lords had very limited resources and surplus income. Foraging, therefore, helped to reduce the burden on logistical and supply networks. Aside from this, pillaging was simply a way to quickly gain resources for both individuals and larger armed parties.

7.3.3 Continued Conflict and the Munster Campaign

Returning to the Bruce Invasion, Edward returned to Ulster (mid-February 1316) after destroying Lea (an important Geraldine castle).[777] This may have been partly due to low supplies, as well as to recuperate from the Battle of Skerries (although victorious, Frame argues that Edward's forces were still put into a state of disarray).[778] There, Lydon notes that he would shore up his control of the Province by taking Greencastle, North Burgh, and, finally, Carrickfergus (castle) while further establishing his administration.[779] These actions support the argument that Edward was trying to establish a permanent kingdom in Ireland, rather than simply weaken the English war effort. While some Ulster Anglo-Irish lords submitted to Edward, depictions of largescale Anglo-Irish defection to the Scottish cause may be dramatized.[780] Indeed, there appears to have been a somewhat successful Anglo-Irish resistance and guerrilla campaign in Ulster led by William Savage.[781]

It would be remiss not to discuss the fateful Second Battle of Athenry. After securing his kingship and devastating the supporters of Ruaidri O Conchobair[782] (both Gaelic and Anglo-Irish alike), Fedlim Ó Conchobair rallied a large force of Gaelic soldiers from Connacht, the Midlands, Ulster, and Thomond, with the express purpose of driving William de Burgh from Connacht.[783] With the momentum from his victory in his dynastic dispute and the opportunities afforded by Edward's presence in Ireland, Fedlim likely saw this as the only realistic chance of ending the colonial presence in Connacht. However, de Burgh and his Gaelic allies decisively defeated the army. Fedlim and Tadgh Ó Ceallaigh's heads were mounted on the city's walls, something which would then be featured on the town's crest. The *Annals of Connacht* paint a particularly grim picture of numerous Gaelic aristocrats being slain, especially among the Ó Conchubhair and the Ó Ceallaigh, as well

[777] Lydon, "Bruce Invasion," 289.
[778] Frame, "Bruces," 32.
[779] Lydon, "Bruce Invasion," 289-90.
[780] Lydon, "Bruce Invasion," pg. 289.
[781] Frame, "Bruces," 29-30.
[782] *Annals of Connacht*, 1316, Entry 4.
[783] *Annals of Connacht*, 1316, Entry 5: "But on hearing that William Bu.rke had come into Connacht from Scotland, Feidlim called upon his subjects to assemble an army to expel him; and the army was assembled from all the region between Assaroe and Aughty. Moreover Donnchad O Briain, king of Thomond, came with his assembled host, and O Maelsechlainn, king of Meath, O Ruairc, king of Brefne, O Fergail, king of the Conmaicne, Tadc O Cellaig, king of Ui Maine, and many more of the kings' and chieftains' sons of Ireland assembled to him. And they all marched to Athenry to oppose William Burke, Mac Feorais, and the other Connacht Galls, and joined battle with them in front of the town."

as a great many soldiers.[784] This battle, and the blow to aristocratic population, would end any chance of a *de facto* (rather than purely *de jure*) Ó Conchubhair over-kingship. Rather, the de Burghs gained further control of the province while independent Gaelic lordships benefited from further autonomy (distancing themselves from the Ó Conchubhair while gaining more bargaining power with the de Burghs).

While the Scots regrouped, the colonial government rallied itself (with some guidance from Edward II). With its financial resources in a precarious state, Frame notes that the government found other means to regain loyalty and end discordance:

> "John fitz Thomas was made earl of Kildare; Richard de Clare and Maurice fitz Thomas were each pardoned 1,000 marks of debt, and Richard was given custody of the liberty of Kilkenny ' at pleasure and during the continuance of the disturbance by the Scots, in aid of his maintenance in the king's service'; grants and pardons were also awarded to John and Arnold le Poer, John de Wellesley, Maurice de Rochefort and John Sandal."[785]

The colony benefited greatly from this breathing room, for the Scots would launch another major offensive. Yet even with preparation and regrouping, the colony was still in a precarious position. Scottish admiral Thomas Dun, along with Irish Sea pirates, limited traffic between Ireland and England while securing supply routes for Scotland.[786] Edward was also joined by Robert in Ulster, and the two sallied forth from Ulster in February 1317. The political weight and authority that Robert carried was enormous, and his presence in Ireland signified Scottish commitment to the war effort.

The Scots moved on Dublin, striking fear in the population. However, the city's population was resourceful and resilient, tearing down existing buildings and churches to build a new wall facing the Liffey River.[787] Additionally, they set fire to Dublin's suburbs to deprive the Scots of resources and shelter, something which led to massive destruction of parts of the city and four-fifths of the western suburbs.[788] This deterred the Bruces, who probably did not have the resources for a prolonged siege or were not expecting Dublin to prove so defiant. The Scottish army then proceeded to raid Leixlip, Naas, Castledermot, Gowran, and Callan (which was reached on March 12th, 1317).[789]

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[784] Ibid.
[785] Frame, "Bruces," 34.
[786] Lydon, "Bruce Invasion," 291.
[787] Ibid.
[788] Orpen, *Normans*, 190, and Lydon, "Bruce Invasion," 291-2.
[789] Orpen, *Normans*, 190-1.

Frame has done considerable work analysing and editing colonial documents on the payment and mustering of soldiers during this period of the conflict.[790] These documents help to track the exact location of Edmund Butler's forces (who was justiciar of Ireland at the time), and the nature of the colonial response. Butler appears to have been successful in drawing support from Cork[791] and other parts of Munster (including shire levies from Waterford[792]), uniting the army at Kilkenny.[793] Support from Cork seems to have been bartered through a series of pardons and nominal fines.[794]

Between the city's walls, the colonial army, and the River Nore, the Bruces spared the city. Instead, they marched from Callan to Cashel and then Nenagh, where Butler's lands were ravaged.[795] As they marched, the Anglo-Irish and their Gaelic allies followed in close pursuit; never engaging the Scots directly but instead harassing them and creating an atmosphere of tension.

The Bruces then marched towards Limerick city, hoping to join up with their ally, Donnchad Ó Briain. When they reached Castleconnel,[796] they instead found his rival Murtough Ó Briain at the head of the dynasty (as well as allied to Richard de Clare).[797] To complicate matters further, Roger Mortimer landed at Youghal with fresh forces[798] and there were rumours of Genoese crossbowmen *en route* to Ireland.[799] Butler also seems to have secured particularly ferocious Gaelic auxiliaries from Ulster.[800] Altogether, the battle-weary and famine-stricken Scots decided to retreat to Ulster, ravaging Kildare and Meath (including a week long rest outside of Trim) on their return journey.[801] The Anglo-Irish lords and Mortimer appear to have stopped harassing the Scots after Naas, instead

[790] Robin Frame, "Select Documents XXXVII: The Campaign against the Scots in Munster, 1317," *Irish Historical Studies* 24, no. 95 (1985): 361-72.
[791] Lydon, "Bruce Invasion," 292.
[792] Frame, "Bruces," 35.
[793] Orpen, *Normans*, 191.
[794] Frame, "Bruces," 34-5.
[795] Orpen, *Normans*, 191.
[796] Lydon, "Bruce Invasion," 292.
[797] Orepn, *Normans*, 193.
[798] Orpen, *Normans*, 192.
[799] Lydon, "Bruce Invasion," 292-3.
[800] Orpen, *Normans*, 192.
[801] Orpen, Normans, 193.

letting them escape back north (which they reached by May 1st).[802] Robert would return to Scotland on May 22nd, bringing with him the Earl of Moray.[803]

Edward was left to rule over Ulster. Although safe there, Orpen notes that Edward failed to take an important town or strategic point outside of the province. Neither was he able to rally the Gaelic Irish under his flag or inspire a truly successful uprising.[804] Instead, he had engendered enmity across all cultures and weakened his prestige. His position became even more precarious as Thomas Dun[805] was captured on July 2nd while Mortimer succeeded in restoring some order to the colony's lands and borders.[806]

7.3.4 Epilogue

Edward marched southwards one last time in October 1318, meeting his fate at the Battle of Faughart (October 14th, 1318). His reputation of invincibility shattered, he was confronted by local forces under John de Bermingham and Edmund Butler. Not far from where he was crowned as High King, he was slain as his army was decisively routed; thus ended the Bruce Invasion of Ireland. The Scots made few friends in Ireland; rather, they had invoked the enmity of many. This is perhaps best reflected in a passage from the *Annals of Connacht*:

> "Edward Bruce, he who was the common ruin of the Galls and Gaels of Ireland, was by the Galls of Ireland killed at Dundalk by dint of fierce fighting. Mac Ruaidri, king of the Hebrides, and Mac Domnaill, king of Argyle, and their Scots were killed with him; and never was there a better deed done for the Irish than this, since the beginning of the world and the banishing of the Fomorians from Ireland. For in this Bruce's time, for three years and a half, falsehood and famine and homicide filled the country, and undoubtedly men ate each other in Ireland."[807]

Robert the Bruce landed in Ireland once again in 1327, near Larne. His arrival was also preceded by another wave of Scottish propaganda that emphasized the cultural and

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[802] Ibid.
[803] Orpen, *Normans*, 194.
[804] Ibid.
[805] Thomas Dun was a Scottish pirate and admiral aligned with the Scottish independence movement. He was successful in keeping the Irish Sea open to the Scots before his death and wreaking havoc on English vessels.
[806] Orpen, *Normans*, 195-6.
[807] *Annals of Connacht*, 1318, Entry 8.

racial links between Ireland and Scotland.[808] Bruce may have been testing the waters for another Pan-Celtic alliance; however, he was more likely trying to secure launching points for a naval landing in Wales and supplies.[809] Although he failed to secure the former, he humiliated the local Anglo-Irish aristocracy into providing a tribute (or bribe) of foodstuffs. It was also indicative of declining English royal power in Ulster,[810] while illustrating that Bruce still posed a threat to the English crown on another front.

Bruce followed-up this landing in 1328, not long before his death. Nicholson writes on the matter: "Bruce's trip to Ulster in 1328 doubtless helped William de Burgh to install himself in his heritage, but it also gave Bruce a chance to put forth his power and enhance Scottish prestige."[811] William[812] was Bruce's nephew, and by backing his claim with Scottish power, Bruce was ingratiating himself to a potential ally or at least help ensure that the Earldom of Ulster remained neutral during future conflict.

7.4 Analysis

The Bruce Invasion, coupled with the Great European Famine, is sometimes viewed as a death blow to the colony (or at least a force that greatly catalysed its decline). The papal valuations will now be utilised to evaluate and better quantify the damage caused by these events. From the preceding discussion and tracking of conflict, however, a framework and some predictions can be generated.

By the very nature of the Great European Famine, as well as the natural phenomena that precipitated it, it can be expected that every revaluated area will exhibit signs of depreciation. Neither intensive agriculture nor pastoral production would have been spared from the heavy rainfall, animal diseases, and decreased productivity (resulting from human suffering, loss, illness, and hunger). It should be noted, however, that some of these losses might be obscured as production began to normalise between

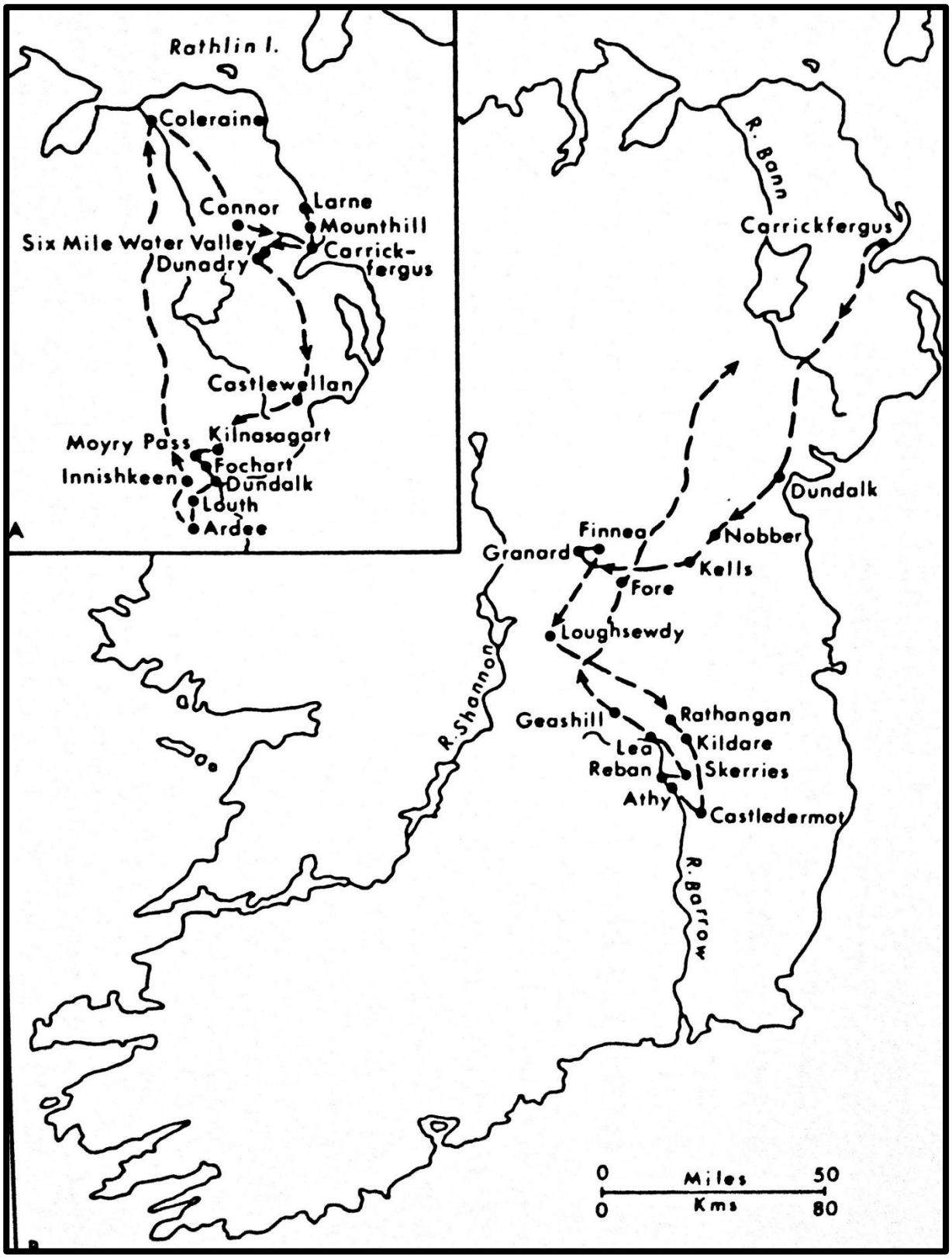
[808] Ranald Nicholson, "A Sequel to Edward Bruce's Invasion of Ireland," *The Scottish Historical Review* 42, no. 133 (1963): 31.
[809] Nicholson, "Sequel," 32-33.
[810] Nicholson, "Sequel," 33.
[811] Nicholson, "Sequel," 37.
[812] This was a younger de Burgh, and not the victor of Athenry.

1319-20. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that a 10-15 percent decline in population (from the Famine alone) would not be accompanied by short to medium term repercussions.

Concerning the impact of martial destruction, several insights can be gleaned as well. As with the Famine, it is unlikely that any area would have been spared from conflict. It is the degree and intensity of destruction that would have varied, though. Cork, for example, while largely spared from the Scottish army, experienced high levels of homicides.[813] Why this occurred is open to interpretation. The looming threat of the Scottish forces possibly caused panic and upheaval. Rebels, outlaws, and Gaelic forces also may have taken advantage of distracted Anglo-Irish leaders, whose forces would have been called away or were occupied with duties. All areas of Ireland were touched, some areas much worse than others though.

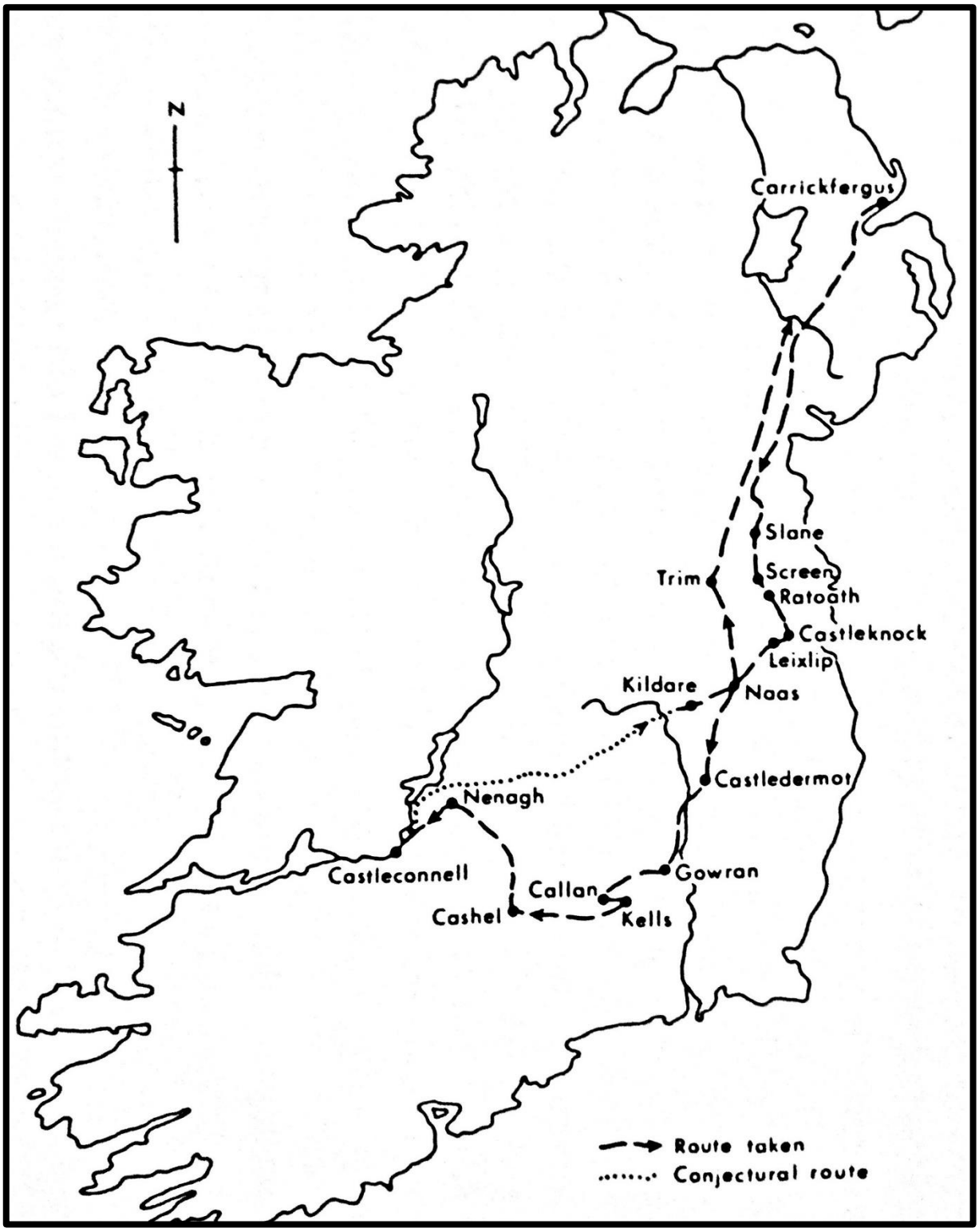
Lydon's maps of the Bruce Invasion, contained within *An Historical Atlas of Scotland, c. 400-c. 1600* and the second volume of *A New History of Ireland*,[814] are featured below. Combined with the chapter's narrative, it can be said that the crux of Scottish activity in 1315 and 1316 occurred in eastern Ulster, Louth, northern Meath Longford, Westmeath, and Kildare. The joint campaign between Edward and Robert, however, saw movements through (Counties) Louth, Meath, Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, and Kilkenny before a lighting march to across central Tipperary to Castleconnel. Finally, there was a retreat across the Midlands to Kildare and through Meath. Edward's final push was localised to Eastern Ulster and Louth. In tandem with the Scots' movements, accounts illustrate that the Leinster Gaelic Irish also pushed into Southern Dublin and from their mountain territories.

[813] A. O'Brien, "Politics, Economy and Society: The Development of Cork and the Irish South-Coast Region c. 1170 to c. 1583," in *Cork: History and Society,* ed. P. O'Flanagan & C. Buttimer (Dublin: Geography Publications, 1993).
[814] Lydon, "Bruce Invasion," 281.



Map 7.1: 1315 and 1316 Campaigns (by James Lydon)[815]

[815] Ibid.



Map 7.2: 1317 Joint Campaign (by James Lydon)[816]

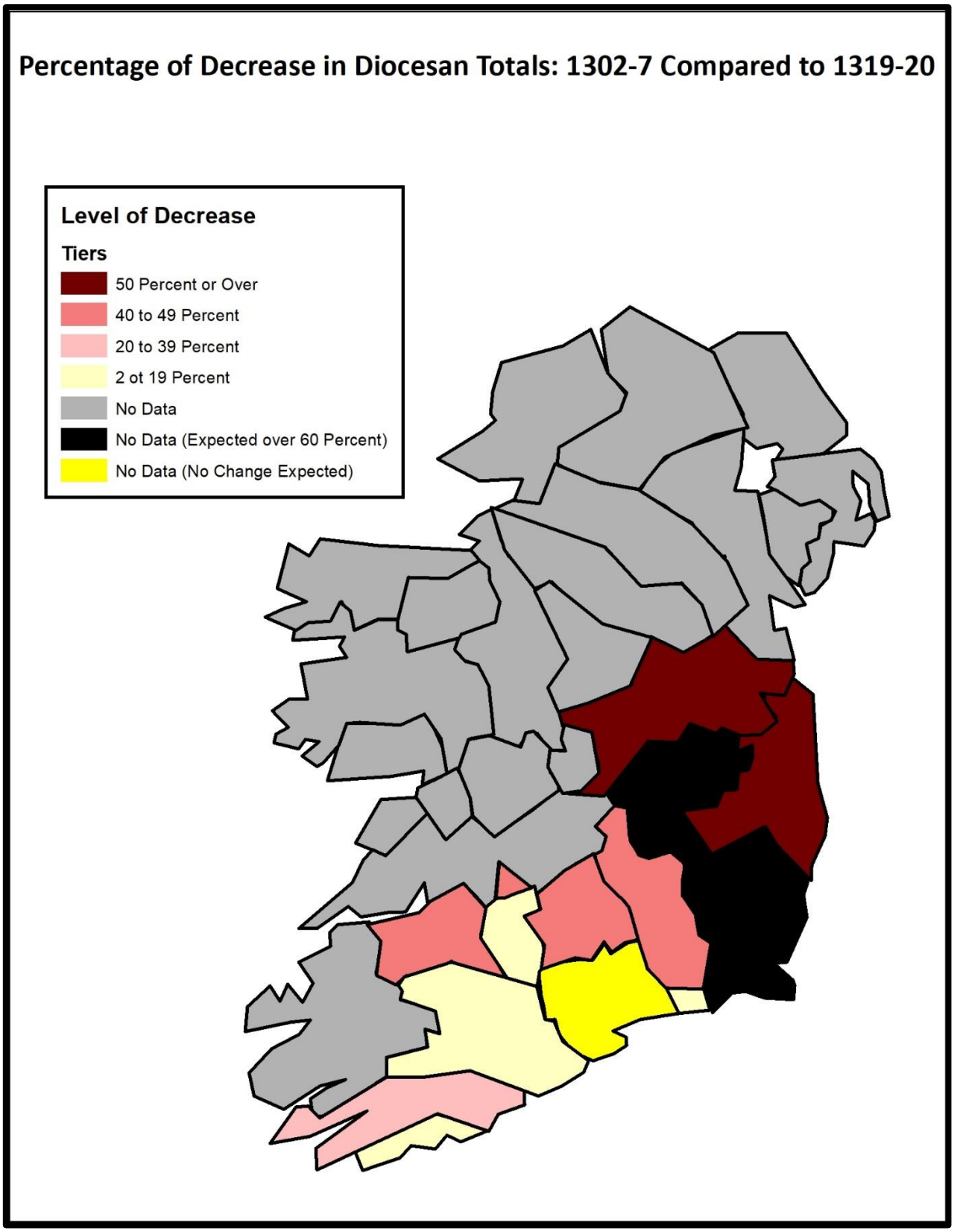
[816] Ibid.

Considering these movements and conflicts, it's expected that Leinster and northern Munster were the most impacted. Southern Munster (namely Waterford, Lismore, Cork, and Ross), however, should exhibit only (comparatively) low to moderate depreciations. Concerning the areas that were not revalued, I suggest that this was either due to devastation being so high that these dioceses were granted immunity or that conditions were too unsafe to conduct the assessments. However, there is also the simple explanation that these records were misplaced.

How do the results conform to the framework and predictions? While some of the predictions are illustrated by the maps, there are also surprising deviations and unexpectedly high levels of destruction. Below is a tabulation of diocesan totals (including all benefices and incomes) that compares the pre-war and post-war valuations, whereas Map 7.3 helps to visualise this information.

Diocese	Percent Decrease
Dublin	-58
Meath	-c. 50
Ossory	-44
Waterford	-2
Cashel	-49
Emly	-14
Cork	-29
Ross	-16
Cloyne	-18
Limerick	-40

Table 7.1: Decrease in Total Diocesan Wealth


Percentage of Decrease in Diocesan Totals: 1302-7 Compared to 1319-20
Level of Decrease
Tiers
50 Percent or Over
40 to 49 Percent
20 to 39 Percent
2 ot 19 Percent
No Data
No Data (Expected over 60 Percent)
No Data (No Change Expected)

Map 7.3

From this, Dublin was the most devastated diocese, followed by Cashel, Ossory, and Limerick. Cork, Cloyne, Emly and Ross, however, were moderately depreciated. These values are in concordance with the predictions. Northern Munster was marched through by the Scots, whereas southern Munster was spared. Additionally, it should be noted that a fifty percent devaluation for Meath doesn't seem out of place when compared to Dublin and Ossory. Thus, while the individual Meath parish values can't be used for precision, the general figure of fifty percent is likely a strong reflection of the actual conditions.

The fates of Meath and Dublin help to explain the absence of Kildare, while the low depreciations in County Cork and Waterford support a theory as to why Lismore wasn't revalued. Kildare was not only impacted during Edward's initial strikes, but during the large 1317 raid with Robert as well. In addition to this, it was juxtaposed between the Midland and Leinster Gaelic Irish. While it is possible that rolls were misplaced, it is also arguable that the region was so devastated that it received a temporary immunity from papal taxation or was impractical to tax. For Lismore, the opposite might explain the absence. The region, as discussed in Chapter Six, benefited from some natural barriers, as well as possessed a high level of wealth that was indicative of stability. Considering this, as well as Lismore's relative isolation from conflict, there is a strong argument that the diocese was only nominally impacted (perhaps less than ten percent like Ross).

Although these diocesan totals are useful and telling, the thesis will now discuss the analysis of parish by parish revaluations to understand intra-diocesan and local changes. It was rather surprising to find that a number of parish values actually increased between c. 1302 and 1319-20, with the majority of these increases found in County Limerick and southern Tipperary (both in northern Munster). These are a testament to the veracity of the revaluations, illustrating that blanket or haphazard adjustments were not made (outside of Meath). Indeed, when looking at percentage changes for parishes it is rare to find a clear-cut fractional change (e.g. one-fourth or one-third).

Diocese	**Overall Average Parish Change**	**Average Parish Change (Decreases Only)**
Dublin	-68	N/A

Meath	-c. 50	N/A
Ossory	-47	-53
Waterford	-20	-26
Emly	-24	N/A
Limerick	+23	-44
Cashel	+28	-10
Cloyne	-1	-16
Ross	-10	-27
Cork	-30	-34

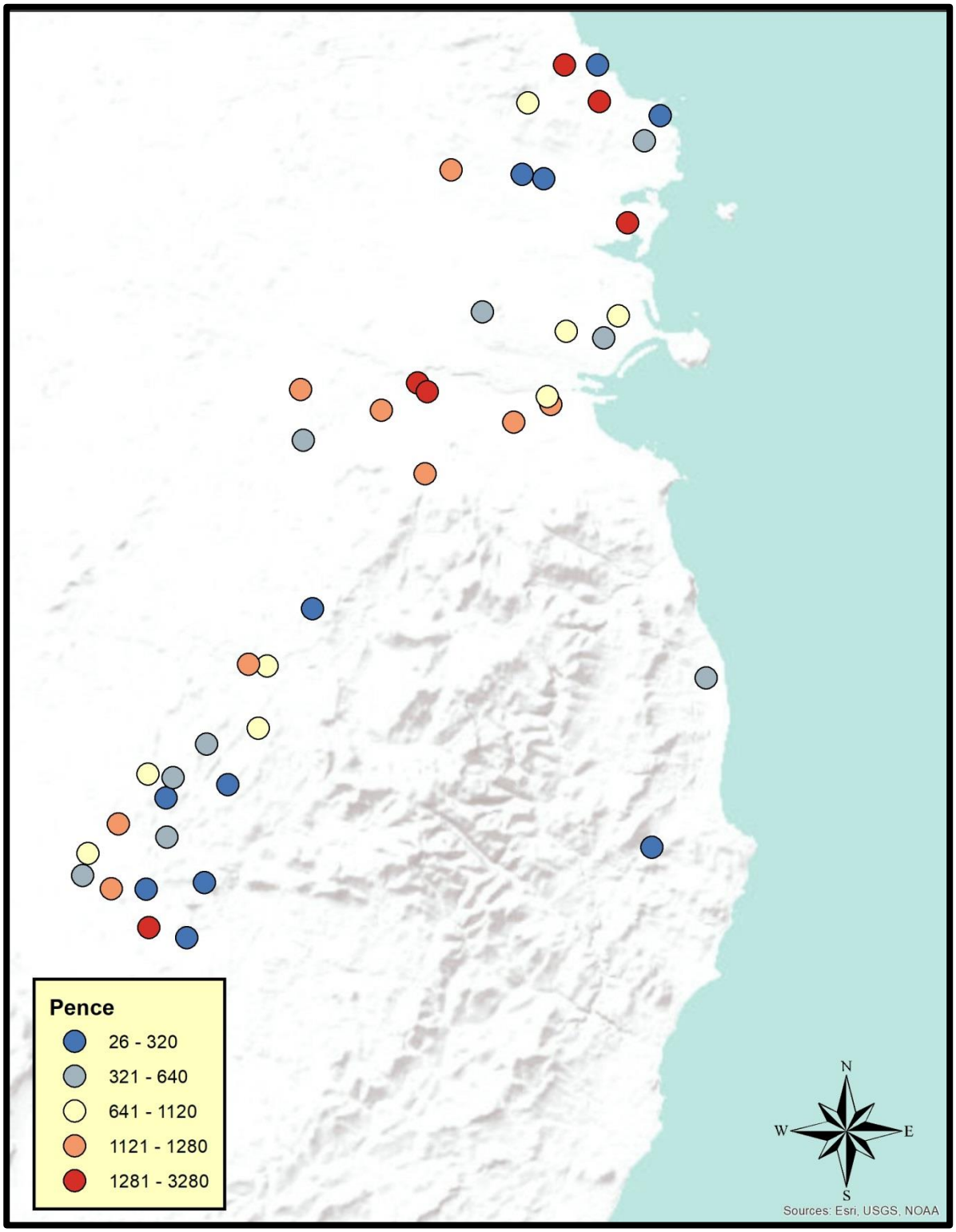
Table 7.2: Overall Changes in Parish Values

The average parish change per dioceses has been tabulated above. The first column (of percentages) represents overall diocesan change, while second represents diocesan change while excluding any parishes that increased in wealth. This was done to help better illustrate the damage done to affected parishes.

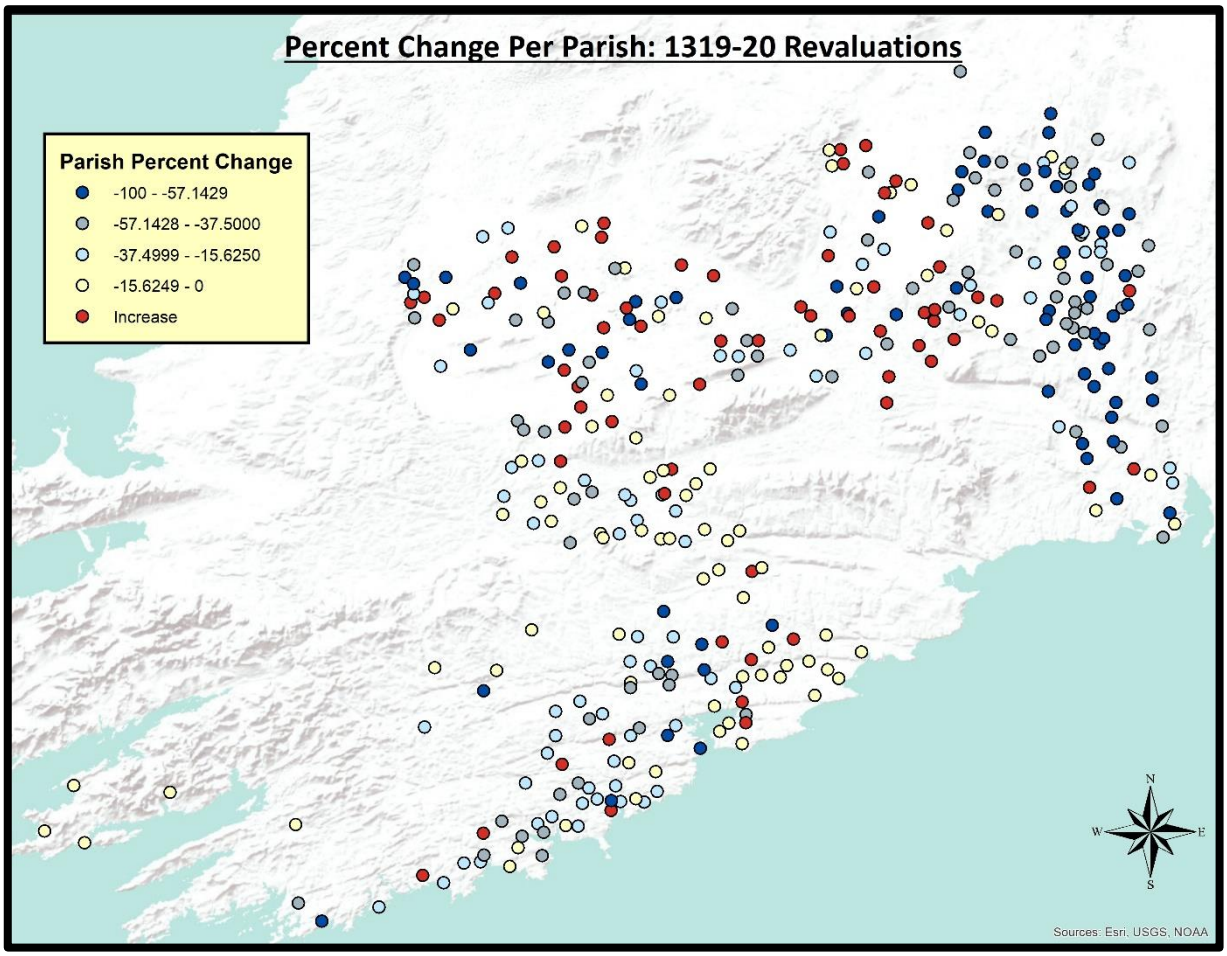
Building off Table 7.2, Map 7.5 illustrates these percent changes. Meath has been excluded, due to the nature of its revaluation and limited use for local analysis. Dublin, too has been excluded from this map. The rationale behind this is that nearly fifty percent of the parishes within the revalued deaneries were destroyed or too poor to be taxed. Additionally, the deaneries of Arklow and Wicklow weren't even revalued.[817] This creates difficulties in comparing the pre-war and post-war valuations visually, as the sample sizes are radically different. Those parishes that do survive are also not necessarily reflective of local destruction (i.e. a parish with a halved value surrounded by parishes completely wasted by conflict or not revalued that do not provide any data). The exclusion of Arklow and Wicklow are telling, however. The pre-war data and analysis in Chapter Six already illustrated that these areas were under siege by Gaelic forces. The Bruce Invasion likely provided a catalyst to further attack and overrun these areas. As such, this supports the assertion that areas escaping revaluations were likely too chaotic to be assessed. Nevertheless, Map 7.4 reflects Dublin in its post-war state. The density of valued parishes has decreased enormously, as have parish values. It is also evident that the burning of the

[817] Hand points this out in *The Dating of Early Fourteenth-Century Ecclesiastical Valuations of Ireland*.

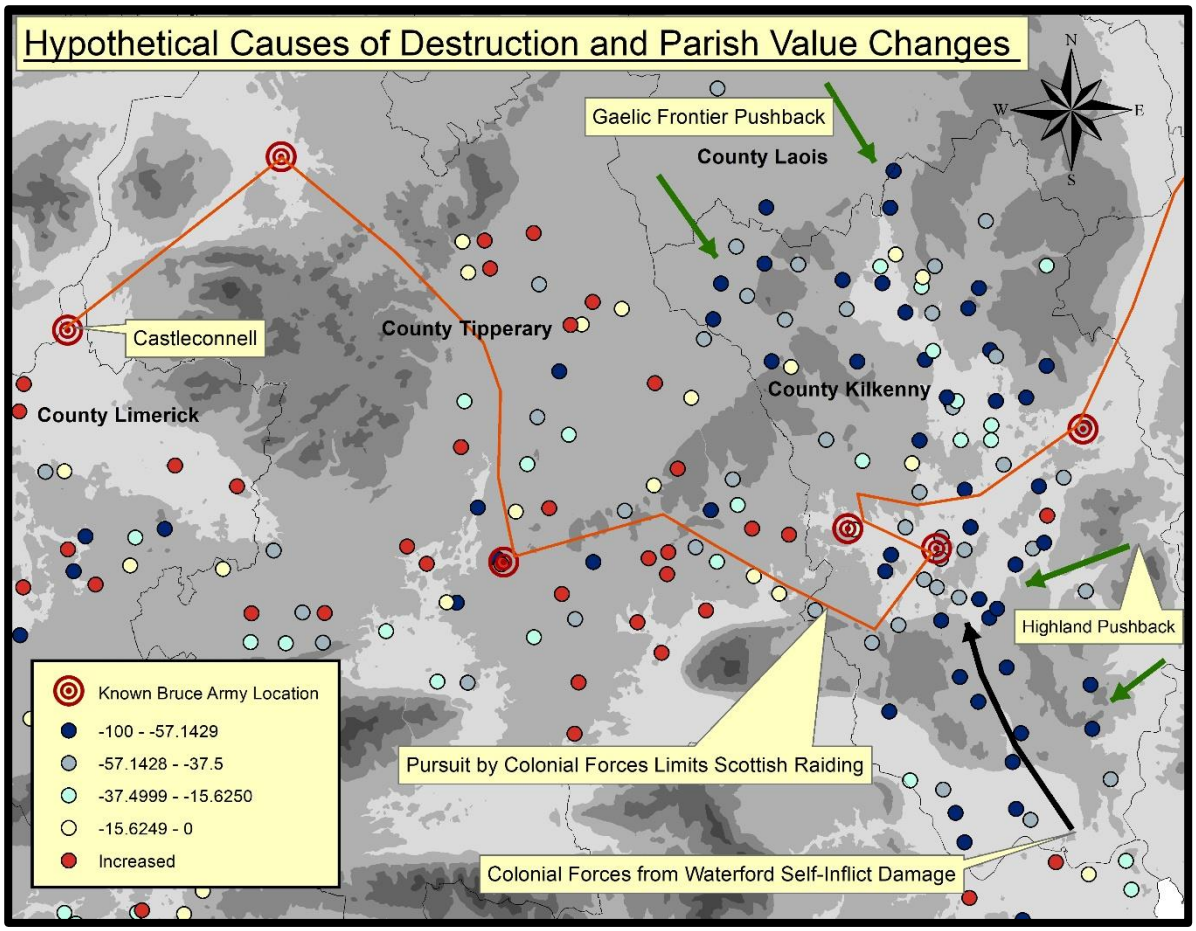
suburbs and raids by the Gaelic Irish on Dublin's southern hinterland took an immense toll.



Map 7.4: Post-Invasion Dublin


Percent Change Per Parish: 1319-20 Revaluations
Parish Percent Change
-100 - -57.1429
-57.1428 - -37.5000
-37.4999 - -15.6250
-15.6249 - 0
Increase
N
W
E
S
Sources: Esri, USGS, NOAA

Map 7.5



Map 7.6

With the remaining dioceses, however, comparisons can be made with nearly every single parish. Map 7.5 helps to remedy the seeming disconnect between Table 7.1 and Table 7.2, as well as help to identify hotspots of devaluation. Destruction in Limerick, Emly, and Cashel was not wholly widespread but localised to certain parishes. These parishes are not random, but largely coincide with the 1317 Bruce advance and subsequent retreat. Because the Scots were harried by colonial forces, the forced-pace limited the extent that Scottish forces could fan out or fully extract resources from an area. It also likely prevented foraging and skirmishing parties from branching away from the main army to scout targets. Map 7.6 has been provided to visualise potential impacts on the parishes, as well as pinpoint the exact marching path of the Bruce army by analysing both the values and terrain.

How these dioceses simultaneously gained and lost substantial wealth can be explained through where the decreases occurred. For one, the Scots struck Cashel, around which the bishop and his officers held valuable lands. Thus, there is a notable decrease in the temporalities for this diocese. Thurles, another important economic site,

was also targeted on the way to Nenagh. Areas of increase, too, are not random. Southeast of Cashel, away from fighting, leading towards Clonmel, Kiltinan Castle, and Lismore, there is a cluster of parishes that increased in wealth. Another cluster exists northeast of Thurles, adjacent to the marching route towards Nenagh. The lack of valuations surrounding Nenagh and northern Tipperary is likely explained by this destructive, as well as further deterioration of the frontier with the Midland Gaels. This area was already showing signs of incomplete control and conflict c. 1302.

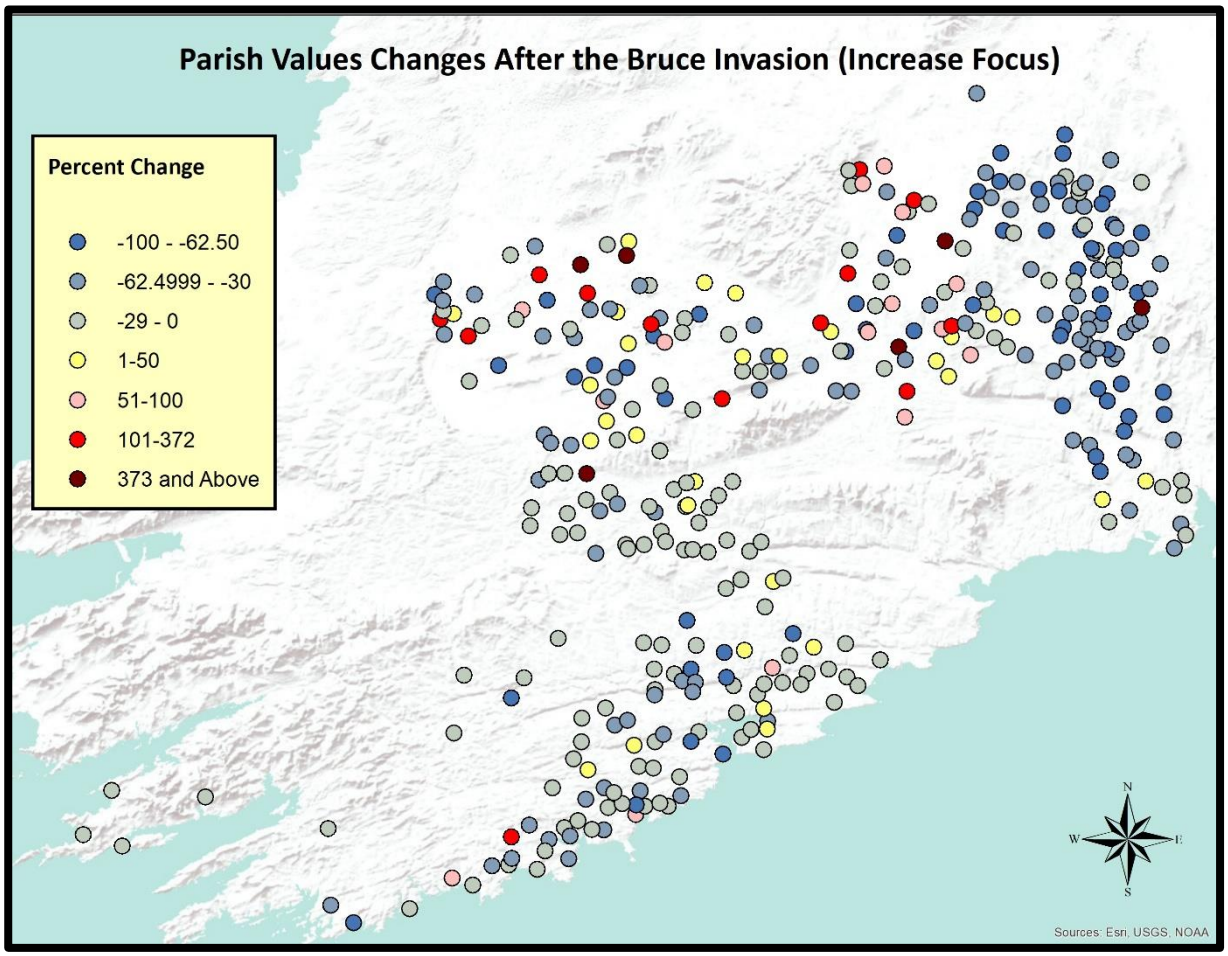
Concerning Limerick, the city itself and its southern hinterland were spared from the Scots. Rather, the wealth here increased. It is likely, though, that temporalities between the city and Castleconnel to the north were ransacked (unfortunately, this area escaped revaluation). Indeed, Limerick city itself also experienced a significant decrease in temporalities, whereas there is a cluster of increased parish valuations surrounding Bruree and Kilbreedy south of the city (i.e. on the other side of Limerick and away from the Bruces). Again, it must be emphasised that there are rarely isolated increases in parish values.

Nevertheless, there are significant depreciations at the border of the dioceses of Limerick and Ardfert. Near the area of Shanid, for example, there is a cluster of destruction. It is, perhaps, not a coincidence that this cluster was in proximity to Thomond and a semi-independent region of Gaelic Irish north of Listowel. As Maurice fitz Maurice testified, colonial lands from Kerry up to the gates of Limerick were at risk during the Bruce Invasion from Gaelic uprisings.[818] While, again, some of the devastation can be attributed to the Famine, these decreases at the border can also largely be explained by small-scale and local Gaelic uprisings. This, by extension, clarifies why there is a lack of Ardfert revaluations: parts of colonial Kerry could have been too devastated or precarious to merit revaluation.

How parts of Cashel, Emly, and Limerick (largely under Geraldine and Butler sway) were able to grow (in terms of parish valuations) can be attributed to a few possible factors. For one, it is possible that c. 1302 some parishes were damaged from warfare or temporary crises. As such, by 1319 a recovery may have occurred that outstripped any destruction caused between 1315-18. A more straightforward possibility, however, is

[818] Lydon, "Bruce Invasion," 288.

simply that these regions grew between c. 1302 and 1319. While this would stand in opposition to perceptions of colonial decline during the fourteenth century, the data provides strong evidence that an increase in valuations occurred. I am, however, in favour of the first theory. Map 7.7 helps to better reflect the increases in wealth, illustrating that some were quite substantial (over 100 percent). It is doubtful that such growth could have occurred within a decade or so, especially when considering the frontier nature of these lordships. Rather, it is more feasible that these parishes represent the culmination of being spared from violence, normalization from conflict c. 1300, and slight growth.



Map 7.7

Moving to areas where the devastation was more uniform, Ossory was perhaps the most distressed (of these mapped regions). This can be attributed to three factors. Foremost, the 1317 campaign involved raids against Gowran, Callan, and Kells, as well as foraging north of Kilkenny city. From the south, Butler assembled colonial forces from Cork and Waterford to muster at Kilkenny. These forces, as aforementioned, were criticised for their lack of discipline (in terms of pillaging and foraging on allied lands) and

negative impact on the population that they were meant to protect. Indeed, there is a string of high-tier devaluations along the route between Waterford and Kilkenny. Outside of this, conflicts with the Leinster Irish and the declining state of Carlow must have also been drains of the economy, not to mention the impact of the Famine and climatic shift on a predominantly intensive agricultural region. Considering these factors, the valuations are fitting.

The region south of Waterford city seems to have been relatively spared. There was even a slight increase in wealth within the city itself. Where destruction occurred, again, was along the route to Kilkenny and on the borders of Carlow. Considering this, and the clusters of wealth south of Cashel, my theory on Lismore is also substantiated. Lismore was not marched through and was surrounded by clusters of either low-impacted parishes or wealth increases. As such, the maps strongly suggest that the diocese was largely spared from the conflict and famine.

The final region to discuss is County Cork, which offers a great deal of variety. Connecting to the discussion of Lismore, the eastern part of the county experienced either little devaluation or achieved some growth. Some well-fortified areas surrounding Fermoy, Buttevant, and Mallow also were relatively unscathed (although the less fortified area between these sites (e.g. Castletownroche) appears to have been more greatly impacted).

The immediate hinterland of Cork, however, was less fortunate, showing signs of heavy devaluation. Why this occurred, outside of the Famine and low-level violence, can be attributed to two other factors. For one, the movement of Anglo-Irish and relief forces from England (i.e. Mortimer's arrival during Robert and Edward's march towards Limerick) in the area entailed Cork being used as a mustering point. Indeed, the colonial force under Butler stayed near the city for a week.[819] The second factor is revealed when comparing the pre-war and post-war maps of Cork. The area surrounding Grenagh, which is between Mallow and Cork city, was largely unvalued for both sets despite the presence of three Anglo-Irish castles. When considering that this area was bordering Mac Cárthaigh territory, it can be classified as a march or conflict zone. As in Elphin, it is possible that

[819] Frame, "Scots in Munster," 364.

colonial control was more limited to castles here. Nevertheless, border conflict could have contributed to the devaluation of Cork city.

Outside of these areas, the valuations become more random. The southern coast between Kinsale and westward into Mac Cárthaigh territory demonstrates a wide array of changes, from dramatic increases and decreases to more moderate changes. Admittedly, though, this border zone is largely characterised by destruction. The fact that some parishes were relatively spared or grew may suggest complex local arrangements between the Gaelic Irish and the colonists, similarly to Maurice fitz Thomas' dealings with Gaelic polities. However, this is something that would need to be substantiated with local sources. I would be hesitant to attribute the more marginal nature of the environment here to the decreases (i.e. the famine disproportionately impacted this area) as the Beara Peninsula (which was more isolated from trade and rural in nature) seems to have been relatively unscathed.

It is difficult to separate the devastation of the Bruce Invasion and the local conflicts it catalysed from that of the Great European Famine, in addition to the issue of some parishes rising in valuation due recovery from conflicts c. 1306. There are two areas, however, that might shed some insight into the Famine's impact: the parishes on the Beara Peninsula and the parishes along the border of the Diocese of Lismore and County Cork. Both areas were untouched by major army movements and generally exhibit the same level of depreciation (c. 0 to c. 15 percent). I contend that this is not a coincidence, rather the Famine likely caused at least c. 10 percent in lingering economic effects after 1318. However, these effects could have been higher in different areas and were more drastic during the Famine itself (before the agricultural economy normalised).

7.5 Conclusions and the Impact Upon the Colony

After reviewing the impact of the Bruce Invasion region by region, several insights can be made about its immediate and long-term impacts (and that of the Great European Famine). An important observation can be made from the revalued areas themselves. These dioceses largely conform to areas that would remain part of, or strongly affiliated with, the colony until the Tudor Reconquest. Frame, in *a Military History of Ireland*,

presents three maps that track colonial military excursions and royal services.[820] In the decades following the Bruce Invasion and the de Burgh Civil War, the colonial military presence would also conform to these revalued areas. Connacht and the de Burgh nobility there largely severed ties with the Dublin administration, which became too weak to intervene.[821] Kerry, too, was largely unmolested by the colonial administration as the century progressed, as discussed in Chapter Six. The de Clares were essentially eliminated from Thomond in 1318, whereas colonial control receded from Ulster and the Midlands as the century progressed. Thus, the evaluated and conjectural dioceses of Map 7.3, are essentially the colony (except for Louth) for the remainder of the medieval period. This ties into the conclusion of Chapters Two and Six: the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were defined more by transformation rather than wholesale territorial decline of colonial control.

Returning to the more immediate destruction of the invasion, Leinster was extremely and uniformly devastated while devaluation in Munster was less severe and highly variable. The Munster valuations also help illustrate that Anglo-Irish forces (with their Gaelic allies) self-inflicted some of the damage. While Orpen notes that the Gaelic Irish did not make major land gains during the Bruce Invasion,[822] Smith argues that areas under colonial domain in northern Munster and southern Leinster would become Gaelic frontiers and marches.[823] The Bruce Invasion, therefore, must be evaluated not just in its immediacy, but also by the seeds that it sowed. It helped dislodge Anglo-Irish power from the frontier and tilt the equilibrium at some borders towards the Gaelic Irish. Even the greatly weakened Ó Conchubhair were able to retake Sligo from Anglo-Irish

[820] Robin Frame, "The defence of the English Lordship: 1250-1450," in *A Military History of Ireland*, ed. Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffrey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 78, 79, and 81.
[821] "In Connacht and Ulster, officials of the successors to the great Burgh lordship succeeded in collecting small amounts of rent from settler tenants into the late fourteenth century, but from the 1340s onwards routine government contact with these provinces virtually ceased" (Brendan Smith, "Disaster and Opportunity: 1320–1450," in *The Cambridge History of Ireland*, edited by Brendan Smith and Thomas Bartlett, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 261.
[822] "Though the Scottish invasion marks the commencement of the ebb of English influence in mediaeval Ireland, its immediate effect, even in Ulster, was moral and economical rather than invasion, political. Sword, famine, and pestilence had brought in their train a general impoverishment which affected both races and all classes alike. The bonds of society were relaxed, and a new spirit of turbulence gradually appeared among the English settlers. But there was no considerable recovery of their lands by the Irish." (Orpen, *Normans*, 207)
[823] Smith, "Disaster."

magnates.[824] Indeed, the Red Earl's domains were weakened, as was his prestige. The *Annals of Connacht* make numerous references to William de Burgh (the victor of Athenry) filling the void in Connacht, making raids and seizing regional power for himself. This would all help set the stage for the aforementioned de Burgh Civil war, after which Ulster would largely fall into Gaelic hands (as discussed in Chapter Six).

Yet while the colony would be sorely impacted, Lydon notes that there was also a sense of optimism in parts of the colony:

> "Some facts gave the impression of a recovery. For example, the enormous quantities of grain shipped to Scotland for the campaign of 1322 suggest that tillage was again flourishing in some parts at least. The building of new stone bridges across the Liffey at Kilcullen in 1319 and across the Barrow at Leighlin in 1320 implies that traffic was once more heavy on the highway from Dublin to Carlow and Kilkenny. The general mood of optimism that prevailed is indicated by the foundation of a university in Dublin in 1320…"[825]

However, these signs of recovery should be tempered. Diseases, famine, and the impacts of climatic change would continue into the 1320s.[826] [827] [828] [829] Recovery also coincided with increased accommodation and localisation. Smith notes: "Increasingly, towns such as Waterford and Limerick were permitted to make local truces with neighbouring Irish lordships, and were allowed to retain for the purposes of their own defence payments that would previously have been made to the Irish exchequer."[830]

Analysis of the Bruce Invasion has revealed the cores of the colony (i.e. the areas that were resilient, resourceful, and stable). However, medieval Ireland was a land of regional histories and variations. The Bruce Invasion helped to increase fracturing and regionalisation (or localisation) among the Anglo-Irish. It was for the Anglo-Irish what 1169 was for the Gaelic Irish: essentially, movement towards a national over-lordship (or government) was disrupted as aristocrats entrenched themselves and focused on

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[824] "In 1338 O'Connor [Ó Conchobair] took advantage of fighting among the Burghs [Burkes] of Connacht to conquer land in Sligo. As a result, the territories 'were emptied and devastated and their lordship was assumed by their native Gaels, after their Galls [settlers] had been expelled'". Smith, "Disaster," 263.
[825] Lydon, "Bruce Invasion," 297.
[826] *Annals of Connacht*, 1321, Entry 5: "Great cattle-plague throughout Ireland, the like of which had never been known before."
[827] *Annals of Connacht*, 1325, Entry 7: "The cattle plague throughout Ireland still."
[828] *Annals of Connacht*, 1328, Entry 4: "A general visitation of the sickness called slaedan, throughout Ireland. It lasted three or four days with each person whom it attacked, and it was next to death for him."
[829] *Annals of Connacht*, 1328, Entry 10: "A great intolerable wind this summer, with scarcity of food and clothing."
[830] Smith, "Disaster," 261.

maintaining their immediate territory. Smith writes: “The impression gleaned from the written sources relating to Ireland from the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries is that commentators and officials yearned for a simplicity and stability that was not to be found in the fast changing country about which they wrote.”[831] The Anglo-Irish, due to a multiplicity of factors, had lost the upper-hand. The equilibrium was shifting again and in some areas the colony would be put on the defensive. When examining colonial documents from this century, we must consider the impact that these changes had on their authors and how their trepidation towards and resentment of this new cultural and political order would have seeped into their works.

[831] Smith, “Disaster,” 267.

Chapter Eight: Conclusions and Paths Forward

8.1 Conclusions on the 1302-20 Valuations

The 1302-20 Irish valuations are part of a vast European heritage resulting from papal politics, diplomacy, finance, culture, and theocracy. The research has illustrated that Ireland was not an isolated backwater, rather it was well-integrated within a papal financial network. Indeed, even parishes on the coast of Mayo contributed significant sums to the tenth. Yet while the tenths were Pan-European, these documents offer something unique for Ireland: the sole means of exploring the island's medieval economy in a fine-grained and systematic manner. For Ireland, it is a source comparable to England's Domesday book, and from it a baseline for the Irish economy c. 1300 and Anglo-Irish colonial expansion has been produced.

The research has also taken steps forward in addressing unanswered questions about the 1302-20, as well as gauging the reliability of papal tenth records more generally for geographical analysis. Concerning the former, we now have a firmer understanding of the documents' history, completeness, ordering, context, and dating. Additionally, analysis has illustrated that where valuations were not fully completed, or data is missing, is not random. Rather, the gaps correspond directly to areas where conflict was raging, the Gaelic frontier was growing, and localisation taking hold. Concerning the reliability of papal tenth valuations, it can be said with conviction that by 1302, papal tenth valuations were made in systematic, uniform, and detailed manner that incorporated a variety of incomes. The assessments were not made in a fractional manner or consist of token values. This not only adds to the strength of this thesis but highlights the vast potential for comparable research in other nations with the same type of source.

8.2 Ireland c. 1300

What can be said of Ireland at the advent of the late medieval period?

Ireland was a land of regions, with economic, political, and cultural features that existed on spectrums. The research has helped to better illustrate this, as well as demarcate the boundaries of said regions though fine-grained maps and quantitative analysis. It has also reinforced Robin Frame's regional conceptualisation of medieval

Ireland and his description of Anglo-Irish colony as a patchwork of lordships. The data and maps synchronise with contemporary accounts of frontier regions and marchlands, with lands of war and frontier being only a few miles from wealthy and stable lands of peace.

There is economic variety not only between regions, but within them. The analysis has demonstrated that there were considerable fluctuations in wealth within the Anglo-Irish colony alone. These areas can be divided into three zones: the Colonial Heartland, the Second Pale, and the frontier. The Colonial Heartland composed most of Leinster and was perhaps the furthest towards the English pole of the cultural spectrum, as well as exhibited a well-developed commercial economic network and high-population density. Serving as the base of the colonial administration, it was also the zone most connected to the English crown. Although there was strong economic performance reaching out to Mullingar and into the Carlow Corridor, the frontier was growing on its Ulster border, the bases of the Wicklow Mountains, and at the edges of Midland Gaelic lordships. This is reflected not only by hotspots of weakening values, but by patches of data that are missing in these neighbouring areas.

The Second Pale shared similar features (in terms of wealth and density) with the Colonial Heartland, but in a less uniform and more patchy manner. Rather, it was cultural hybrid zone ruled by increasingly Gaelicized Anglo-Irish magnates that progressively accommodated Gaelic culture and peoples to both survive and increase their power. While associated with the colonial administration, the lordships in this zone became increasingly independent and self-sufficient, mixing Gaelic economic and political practices with strong economic and commercial bases. Within this region, Kilkenny, the south-eastern hinterland of Limerick, and Lismore stand out as hotspots of wealth. Comparatively smooth gradients in northern Tipperary, southwest Limerick, and the southern coast of Cork reflect frontier regions with Gaelic lordships.

In the frontier, economic cores and nodes were strongly developing in the Earldom of Ulster. The Earldom benefited from strong de Burgh leadership, concentrated bases of power (i.e. towns such as Carrickfergus), and trade coastal trade routes. In the Midlands, however, the lack of valuations when coupled with primary and secondary sources suggests that the colonial presence was under pressure by independent Gaelic lordships. In Connacht, the de Burghs (MacWilliam and Clanricard) relied on integration and diplomacy with the Gaelic Irish while building strong economic strongholds at

Athenry, Galway, and Loughrea. By not heavily displacing the Gaelic peoples (i.e. pushing them into environmentally marginal lands or forcefully incorporating them into manorial systems) in the region while also becoming Gaelicized themselves, the de Burghs offered a viable alternative to a chaotic and violent Ó Conchubhair lordship. Because of this, however, the level of colonial economic impact was somewhat confined and limited in Connacht. A similar phenomenon occurred in Geraldine Kerry. While the Anglo-Irish lords there also had a limited economic impact, through limited displacement of the local Gaelic Irish they achieved longevity (even at the edges of the colony and with limited support from the colonial administration).

Within these Anglo-Irish domains, a multitude of factors contributed to wealth. Foremost, colonial domains and Anglo-Irish lordships largely entrenched themselves in fertile lowlands well-suited for intensive agriculture. Limited slope and physical barriers also facilitated trading networks and enabled greater population density to occur, especially in Leinster and southeast Ireland. Wealth was more consistently high-tier for parishes within fifty miles of the five major urban ports (in terms of customs paying) of Dublin, Cork, Waterford, New Ross, and Drogheda, with smaller ports having a less dramatic and more localised impact on valuations.

There was also diversity within Gaelic domains. While Gaelic Desmond and western Ulster were more defined by isolated parishes shoehorned into viable patches of mountainous terrain, Ó Conchubhair lands in Elphin, the Ó Néill in central Ulster, and the Ó Briain in Thomond all held sway over some pockets of middling population density (something that likely contributed to their power and longevity). Nevertheless, except for Thomond and select outliers, Gaelic lordships were largely defined by low-surplus parishes. Environmentally, most Gaelic domains consisted of highlands and hilly, forested, or boggy terrain more suited to pastoralism. These environmental constraints, while a hindrance to economic growth, helped forestall the colonial advance while giving Gaelic forces a military edge.

Ireland was a land of opportunity, conflict, and cooperation. Even after the quick gains of the rapid Anglo-Irish expansion between 1169 and c. 1250 expired, Ireland's various frontiers, borders, conflicts and cultural intersections provided opportunities for

profit, power, and glory. Moving away from inalienable ancestral claims and into an arena of *realpolitik* caused by the Anglo-Irish presence, Gaelic aristocrats and sub-branches of dynasties fought for power and prestige (e.g. the Ó Súilleabháin of Tipperary pushing into Cork and Kerry under the tutelage of the Mac Cárthaigh). Anglo-Irish lords brought Gaelic families into their service as cronies, allowing them to gain status as lieutenants, entertainers, poets, Brehons, and trusted allies. Within Anglo-Irish families, outlawry and kleptocracy allowed lesser branches of Anglo-Irish families to gain riches and localised power. As for more powerful Anglo-Irish magnates and branches, the declining position of the colonial administration and distracted English crown meant that there was an opportunity to gain *de facto* independence and become regional "kings" or overlords. Indeed, the first Earl of Desmond would be accused, in 1332 and 1347, of attempting to make himself King of Ireland.[832] This was reflective of the realities and fears the colonial administration faced; as English culture "degenerated," their control and claim over Anglo-Irish magnates dwindled. The fourteenth century should not be viewed as an age of collapse, anarchy, or wholesale decline. Rather, the transformations it bore created more opportunities for cross-cultural collaboration and those with ambition. As Frame writes: "The scene is not as dark as fourteenth century king's servants and twentieth-century historians have combined to make it appear."[833]

***Ireland was a land of marginalization*.** While there was cooperation, integration, and intermarriage between the Gaelic Irish and Anglo-Irish, the colonial nature of the English colony and the Anglo-Irish lordships cannot be forgotten or ameliorated. Rather, this relationship is key to understanding and interpreting the landscape of medieval Ireland. Independent Gaelic lordship were often bounded and persistently infringed upon by colonial agents, magnates, and intrigue. Within and outside of colonial borders, Gaelic peoples that wished to practice their lifestyles were often relegated to highlands, forests, and bogs, or terrain broken up by mountains. While Gaelic peoples in Ulster or Connacht might not have necessarily viewed themselves as marginalised, for those within the colony or confined to the Wicklow Mountains it must have been infuriating to be denied

[832] Brendan Smith, "Disaster and Opportunity: 1320–1450," in *The Cambridge History of Ireland*, edited by Brendan Smith and Thomas Bartlett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 262.
[833] Robin Frame, "Power and Society in the Lordship of Ireland 1272-1377," *Past & Present*, no. 76 (1977): 33.

access to a variety of terrain (especially during winters). Regardless, across Ireland many Gaelic lords and people were displaced from their ancestral lands or had their claim to them challenged. From 1169 onwards, there was often an abject lack of respect for Gaelic culture and land rights. This rendered the Gaelic Irish minorities in their own land.

Outside of physical and political geography, there were also elements of legal disenfranchisement, segregation, and racism. As the *Remonstrance* states:

> "For not only their laymen and secular clergy but some also of their regular clergy dogmatically assert the heresy that it is no more sin to kill an Irishman than a dog or any other brute. And in maintaining this heretical position some monks of theirs affirm boldly that if it should happen to them, as it does often happen, to kill an Irishman, they would not on that account refrain from saying mass, not even for a day."[834]

While parts of the *Remonstrance* may have been hyperbolic to elicit support from the papacy, it would be remiss not to acknowledge the potential in the colonial landscape for violence, the threat of violence, and abuse.[835] There was great variety in the way that the Gaelic Irish were treated by the Anglo-Irish, their second-class status in parts of Ireland could be weaponised. This was part of reason why Anglo-Irish magnates protested Gaelic enfranchisement of common law: their lack of legal rights and protections could be used to keep them in-line or reliant upon local Anglo-Irish leaders. Considering the everyday implications of such a power imbalance, the atmosphere would likely have been humiliating and terrifying in cases where magnates were savage or felt no need to cooperate with their subjects.

Marginalization also applied to the Anglo-Irish, in a sense. Under Edward, Ireland increasingly became a cash-cow; with resources, money, and soldiers extracted to bolster warfront in Scotland, Wales, and France. The result of this extractionist policy, during a period when the colony's frontiers were beginning to enter dire straits, would irrevocably damage Anglo-Irish control over Ireland. As such, as the fourteenth century progressed, Ireland would increasingly transform from an asset to the crown into a liability that required resources.

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[834] Page 43 of the *Corpus of Electronic Texts* Edition: T310000-001, translated by Edmund Curtis.
[835] "The Remonstrance was undoubtedly a piece of propaganda designed to justify Irish support for the Scottish invasion of Ireland, but the misdeeds listed within it were not fabrications" (Hartland, 2018, pg. 235).

Medieval Ireland was not a dichotomy of Anglo-Irish versus Gaelic Irish. It was a complex land, with a variety of identities, allegiances, and livelihoods. Not only did each region and locale have unique characteristics, each individual person would likely have had a different experience, self-identification, and worldview. Although the spectre of colonialism loomed over Ireland c. 1300, Gaelic culture and peoples were resilient. There was a refusal to be erased or overrun. Rather, they became a force to be accommodated and reckoned with as the fourteenth century progressed.

8.3 A Setting Sun?

On June 6th, 1333, Earl William de Burgh was ambushed and brutally murdered by insurgent Anglo-Irish and their Gaelic Irish allies at Le Ford, near present-day Belfast. The insurgents were the Earl's own subjects. This forced his wife, Countess Maud of Lancaster, and their young daughter to flee to England. As William had been lord over both Ulster and Connaught, his death left large swathes of the English colony in Ireland without a singular overseer that could balance Gaelic and Anglo-Irish aristocrats while combatting growing outlawry.

Justiciar John Darcy would lead an army into the Earldom of Ulster to punish the insurgent colonists and, with the help of loyalists such as John de Mandeville, was able to prevail with ease. Despite this, William's murder is often seen as the end of the so-called Anglo-Norman period of Ireland. The de Burgh's of Connaught seized colonial domains in the Province for themselves and become largely independent, whereas William's successor in Ulster (Edmund de Burgh) was also treacherously killed. Countess Maud faced difficulties in recovering her lands in Ulster after Edmund's death. Additionally, they were weakened by de Burgh infighting that enabled Gaelic Irish aristocrats to advance with greater ease into colonial domains.

The importance of William's death lies, partly, in that it was emblematic of and crowned a series of long-term phenomena that precipitated the contraction of the English crown's authority in Ireland; namely, growing regionalism/localisation, lawlessness, and the breakdown of feudal structure. In conjunction with these issues, Gaelic culture would reclaim its pre-eminence in Ireland and Gaelic polities would expand, prompting the years from 1333 (or 1350) until the Tudor Reconquest to be termed the Gaelic Resurgence.

As the fourteenth century progressed, the Black Death decimated Anglo-Irish settlements (which were more grounded in urban and commercial networks), while the more rural Gaelic population was less impacted. Deteriorating climatic conditions that cast a malaise across Europe also impacted Ireland. At the beginning of this century, the English colony in Ireland is portrayed as dominating nearly two-thirds of the island and was at its greatest extent. By the end of it, English authority is often discussed in terms of the Pale and select urban enclaves. While there was undoubtedly a contraction of centralized English power and authority, the fourteenth century should not be viewed as wholesale destruction or collapse. It was, as Frame has noted, a century defined by accommodation and compromise. It was a crystallisation of processes that began at the end of the thirteenth century; namely, localisation, acculturation, and hybridization. It was, essentially, an era of transformation.

Mapping and analysing the 1302-20 valuations have illustrated that the economic and political strongpoints of the colony lay around Dublin and southeast Ireland. Essentially, these areas would persist until the Tudor Reconquest. Analysis on the Bruce Invasion has emphasised the importance and resilience of these areas. However, while the Anglo-Irish lordships outside of Dublin would maintain some connection to the English crown, they would also become increasingly independent. With a resilient economic base, the Earldoms of Ormond, Kildare, and Desmond also transformed to accommodate Gaelic culture, allowing them to incorporate Gaelic peoples, billet soldiers, and entrench themselves within the Gaelic political landscape. These lordships were a force to be reckoned with, able to transverse both the English and Gaelic worlds.

Nevertheless, where colonial settlement was not complete or did not accommodate the Gaelic Irish, these areas would falter. Northern Tipperary, northern Wexford, outposts in the Midlands, and Westmeath would buckle and be reclaimed by the Gaelic Irish. During the mid-fourteenth century, Carlow would become home to the colonial government, a measure taken partly to exert control over the region that was increasingly under Gaelic attack. The Earldom of Ulster, once a mighty lordship, would largely be reduced to urban enclaves (such as Carrickfergus) as Gaelic lords retook their ancestral lands and overran the disjointed Anglo-Irish holdings. Overall, what is witnessed is a fleshing out of the viable limits of the colony and Anglo-Irish lordships, as well as a shifting of cultural and political frontiers. It was not some apocalyptic era. As the

fourteenth century ended, prosperity would return. Carlow, for example, would recover and grow rich again while both Anglo-Irish and Gaelic Irish would invest in churches and tower houses. Chapter Six has cited evidence of Gaelic lordships participating in the Renaissance and enjoying stability. The taboo surrounding the fourteenth century needs to be overcome. Emphasis must be placed not on what was lost, but what groundwork was lain for future prosperity and horizontal relationships between different cultural groups.

8.4 Fieldwork Results: Searching for Additional Records and Comparative Documents

Research trips were made to the Vatican Secret Archives (ASV), National Archives, and the *Archives Nationales* for the purposes of searching for additional Irish tenth valuations, contextualising documents, and comparative materials. Concerning the ASV, the bulk of the medieval papacy's financial documents are held in the *Collectoriae* of the *Camera Apostolica*.[836] These documents are not limited to tenths, but also Peter's Pence, the census, profits from lands held by the papacy, annates/first fruits,[837] and tributes.[838] The contents of the *Collectoriae* have been largely sorted and organised, allowing for them to be reviewed in a more systematic fashion (Index 1036 of the ASV is a particularly useful resource in this regard). While the ASV has a plethora of tenth documents, many of the receipts and valuations deal with France, Spain, Italy, and other Continental nations.[839] There are no additional Irish tenth valuations contained in the collection. However, there are tenth receipts dated to 1331-5 attached to a volume of tenth related documents for Sweden, Norway, and England.[840] Ferns is among the recorded dioceses, indicating that it was not somehow untaxed or exempt. It may, however, been too dangerous to fully revalue after the Nicholas IV tenth. Instead, some variation of the Nicholas IV values may have been used in perpetuity. There would be a possibility of using receipts for Ferns to gauge the diocese's income. However, it was noted in Chapters Three and Four that returns can potentially be less reliable and static by their nature.

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[836] Please note that the ASV has its own citation system that must be utilised as per its rules (and is for some of the footnotes in this chapter).
[837] Annates have their own separate collection as well, which is indexed in 1043 (I-III) and 1112.
[838] Cam. Ap., Collect., 15.
[839] These are largely enumerated in Index 1036 and denoted as *decime*.
[840] Cam. Ap., Collect., 227, f. 151-155.

The *Introitus et Exitus* records were also reviewed via Index 1036. Again, there were no additional Irish tenth valuations to be found. Lunt states that there were more Irish receipts rendered to the papacy but seem to have been lost.[841]

Analysis of other tenth valuations and *solutiones* (e.g. France and Italy) demonstrates consistently similar formatting and terminology to the 1302-20 Irish rolls. There is, to emphasize again, no indication that the Irish valuations were made in a dissimilar fashion. The only true difference is that Irish dioceses were smaller and more likely to have parishes wasted by war than their Continental counterparts. On average, Continental records are also better organised. For example: unvalued parishes within a diocese being listed separately and more consistent divisions into deaneries.

These are important points to make, highlighting that papal tenth valuations have potential for comparative analysis between different nations. Although currency conversions present a problem, scholars have made headway on this issue. Prestwich, for example, has made estimations between English and various French currencies in *Early Fourteenth-Century Exchange Rates* that can help provide a framework.[842] The London School of Economics has also begun publishing data on late medieval exchange rates for a variety of European currencies.[843] A better approach forward, perhaps, is to compare relative tiers of wealth rather than attempt a one-to-one conversion that would be subject to an array of variables and issues. These tiers can then be quantitatively analysed alongside the growing number of Pan-European datasets that are being produced under European Union and cooperative initiatives, particularly regarding the environment. Such analyses, however, must be cognizant of changing papal instructions over time and cultural nuances that should be incorporated into an analytical framework.

The *Miscellanea* of the ASV were also surveyed for additional tenth documents. However, the documents within this collection are generally small folios and document fragments. Therefore, more extensive valuation documents are unlikely to be found here. There are various documents in the *Miscellanea* related to Irish tenths, however, that

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[841] 1939, 341.
[842] 1979.
[843] London School of Economics and Political Science. (2018). Late Medieval Financial Market 14th-16th Century Exchange Rates 14th-16th Century Exchange Rates 14th-16th Century Exchange Rates. Retrieved from http://www.lse.ac.uk/Economic-History/Research/Late-Medieval-Financial-Markets/Late-Medieval-Financial-Market

indicate that the collectors in Ireland were not isolated from the papacy or despondent in their duties.[844]

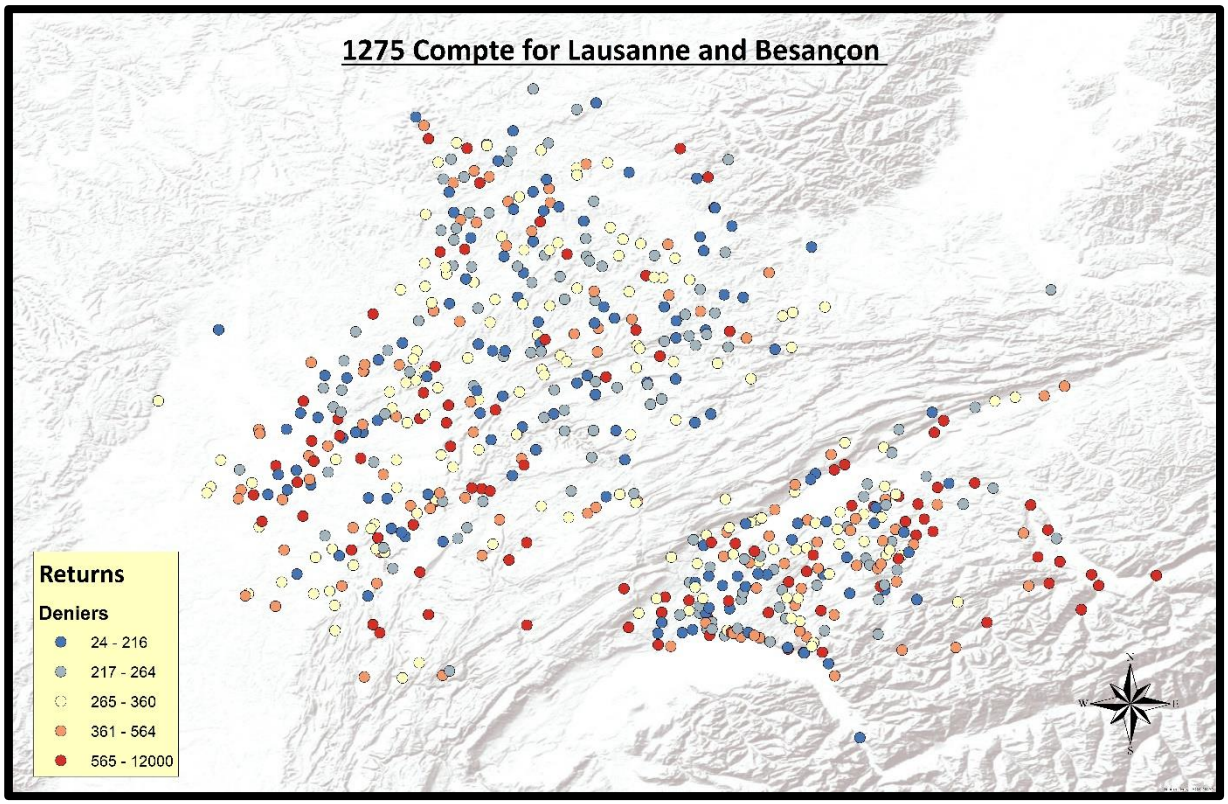
The visit to the *Archives Nationales* and research done on the *Gallica* database helped to highlight the richness of French tenth records. Transcriptions of French valuations can largely be found in the volumes of *Recueil des historiens de la France: Pouillés.*[845] These works are calendars of medieval and early modern ecclesiastical taxation records grouped by ecclesiastical provinces.[846] One can mostly find *compte* (accounts) *of solutiones* (payments) among these calendars. These *solutions* are not, however, diocesan totals. Rather, they are payments per parish and benefice (just like the additional information contained in the *Red Book of Ossory*). It is likely that these payments are full, otherwise a notation would be made, and pressure would be put on the parishes by the monarchy, papacy, and prelates. As such, multiplying these payments by ten provides the valuations. It should also be noted that there are multiple *solutiones* for some dioceses and provinces (e.g. Besançon). Thus, just as this thesis used valuations to discuss the impact of the Bruce Invasion and Great European Famine, these French *solutiones* can potentially be utilised to track the impact of both regional events (e.g. private wars between nobles) and larger Pan-European ones such as the Black Death.

The National Archives has been discussed in relation to source analysis of the 1302-20 rolls. Outside of the six rolls, and potentially eight missing rolls, there are no additional catalogued valuations. There are, however, Irish receipts for 1326 to 1327,[847] [848] as well as 1327-1331.[849] Additionally, there are additional documents for English tenths going into the fifteenth century.[850] However, English Valuations largely come in the form of the *Taxatio Ecclesiastic* (made for the Nicholas IV tenth) and the Norwich Valuations (1254). These provide the most systematic coverage.

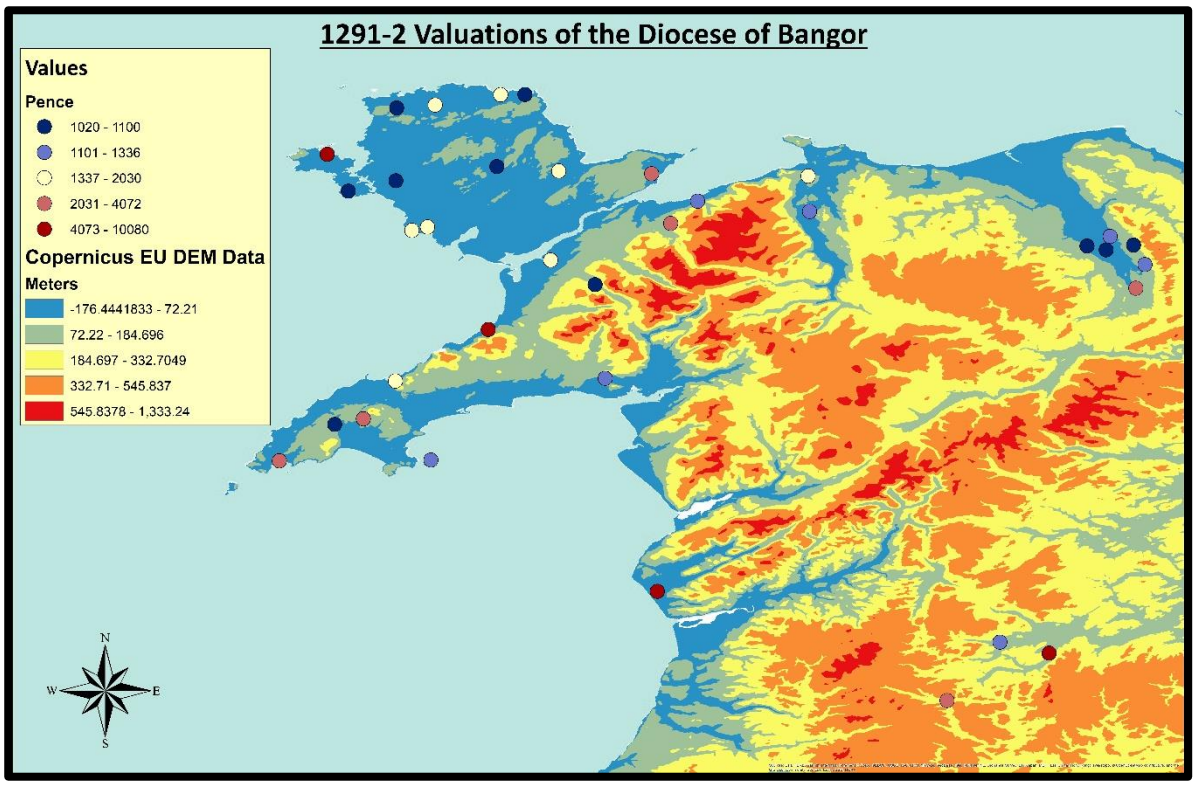
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[844] *Instr., Misc*., Entries 144, 336, 436, and 516.
[845] A *Pouillé* was a register of goods and benefices for a dicoeses or defined geographical area.
[846] Among the Recueil des historiens de la France, sous-série Pouillés, series, there are records for Lyon (1904), Rouen (1903),. Tours (1903), Sens (1904), Trêves (1915), Reims (1908), Besançon (1940), Aix, Arles, and Embrun (1923), Bourges (1961-1962), and Auch, Narbonne, and Toulouse (1972). More information on these sources can be found within Olivier Guyotjeannin's bibliography of ecclesiastical charters.
[847] E 101/ 238/30
[848] E 101/238/28
[849] E 101/239/14
[850] E 179 / 363

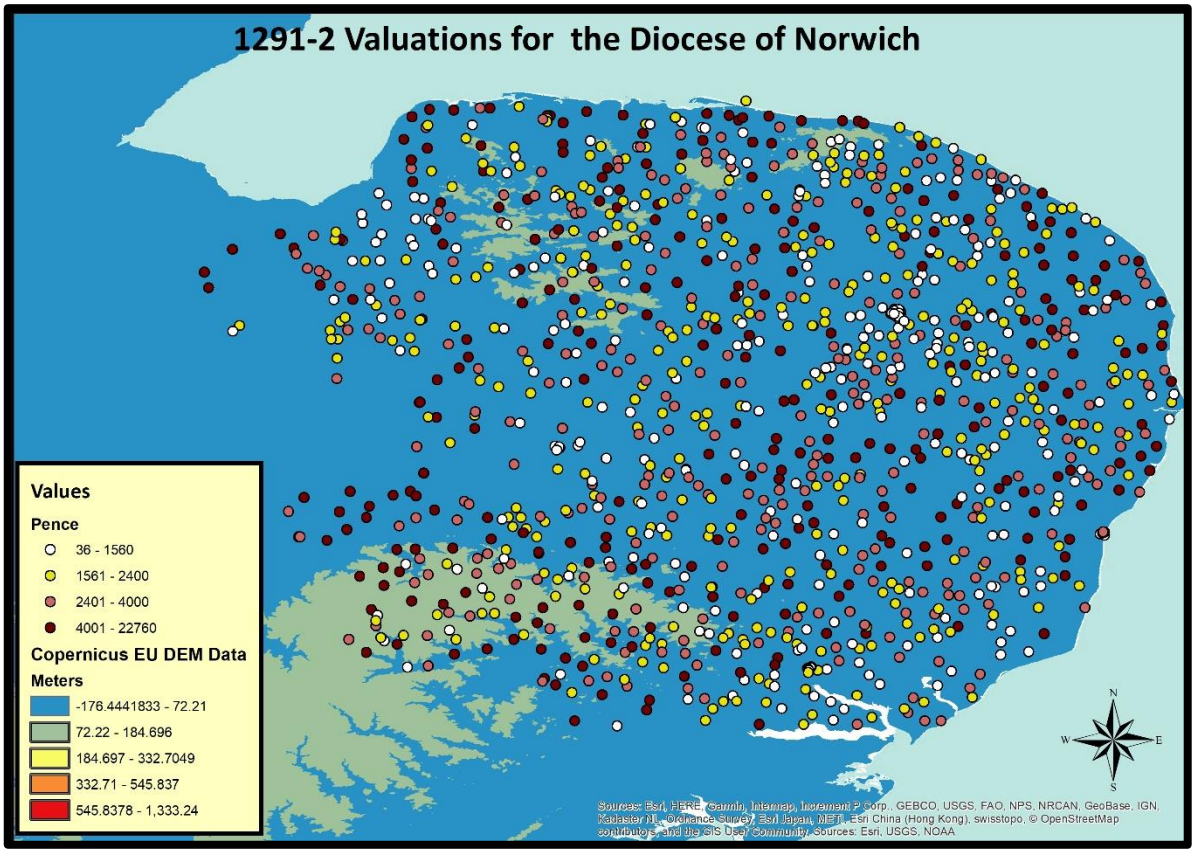
8.5 British and Continental Maps



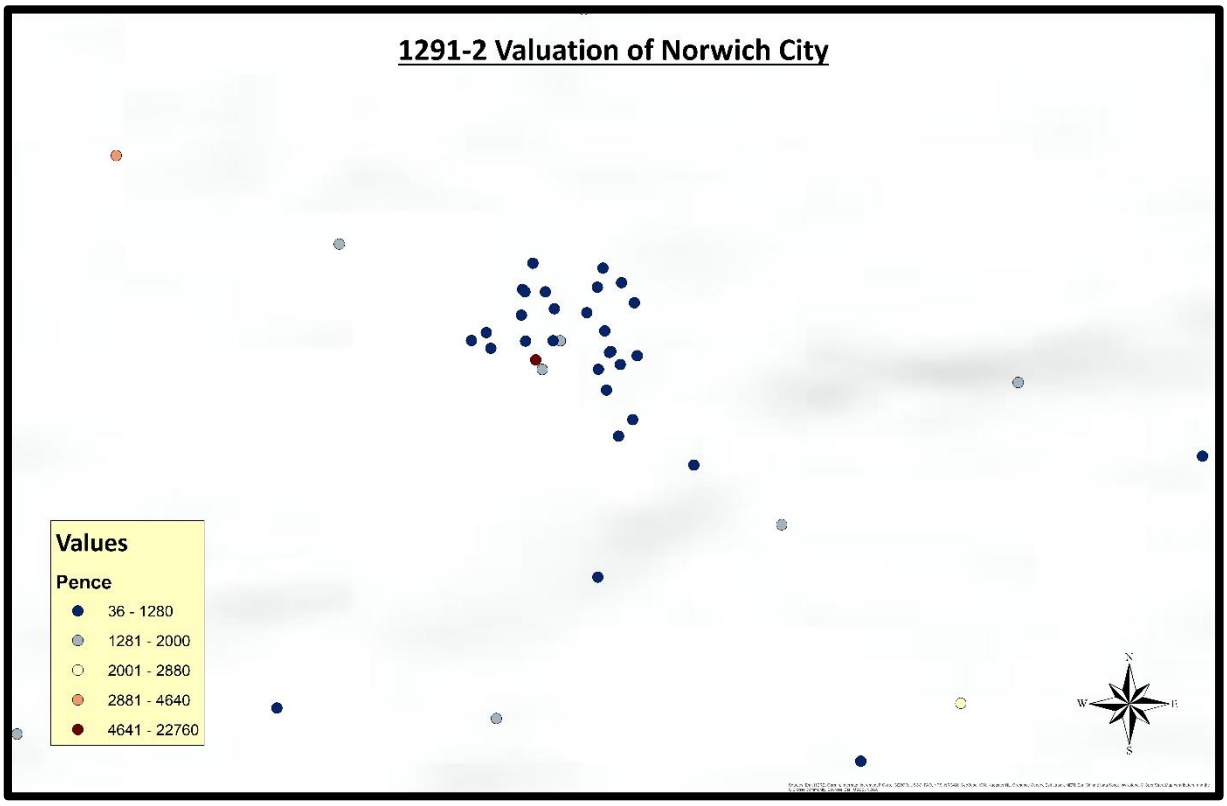
Map 8.1



Map 8.2



Map 8.3



Map 8.4

8.6 Future Uses of Papal Taxation Records

These maps have been presented to highlight the opportunities for further geographical studies based on *decime* records. Just as these records have offered invaluable insight into medieval Ireland, there is opportunity to replicate the methods of this thesis elsewhere. Ireland is not unique in terms of hosting wide political, economic, and cultural gradients. Thus, papal taxation records can serve to align and synchronize regional histories across Europe. At the very least, they offer an opportunity to delve into parish distribution and economics at a local and diocesan level.

The maps of Great Britain are based on the *Taxatio* database hosted by the University of Sheffield, a project that owes a deal to the late Jeffrey Denton. [851] The database provides coordinates to the modern locations of the medieval churches. These coordinates were adapted to ArcGIS, and the valuations were converted into pence, so that they could be analysed in a similar manner to the Irish valuations. The maps of the Franco-Swiss border are based on data from *Recueil des Historiens de la France, Pouillés - Tome VII: Besançon, Tarentaise et Vienne*.[852] These volumes, fortuitously, provide modern equivalents of the medieval placenames. The sites of these churches were then located, something which is abetted by a strong continuity in names and settlements from medieval times until the present.[853] The returns, rather than values, for these dioceses were then converted into deniers (or pence). As these payments appear to have been complete, there is a possibility to multiple the values by ten to ascertain their true value. There are 1224 parishes for Norwich, 38 for Bangor, and 603 for Besançon and Lausanne combined.

It must be noted that as with Irish valuations, there was no evidence of "cookie-cutter" assessments. In other words, they do not appear blanket assessments or clean incremental values. There are wide gradients, within dioceses and even between

[851] "Taxatio," Taxatio Database, University of Sheffield, last modified 2014, https://www.dhi.ac.uk/taxatio/ .
[852] J. Calmette & E. Clouzot, *Recueil des Historiens de la France, Pouillés - Tome VII : Besançon, Tarentaise et Vienne* (Paris: IMPRIMERIE NATIONALE, 1940).
[853] When church sites were not easily located, the centroid of the town was calculated within ArcGIS or "*Rue de l'eglise*" was used as a proxy to estimate where the church stood within the landscape. While these methods were not as accurate as those employed to find Irish and British churches, the settlements are still represented.

neighbouring parishes. Therefore, it must be further emphasised that these valuations were individually and earnestly made. While work needs to be done on issues of fraud and on comparing these valuations with secular accounts (e.g. *Inquisitions Post-Mortem* and manorial extents) to fully assess their accuracy for gauging local wealth, it is a safe assumption that papal income taxations can be used as reliable economic proxies.

Map 8.2 provides insight into north-western Wales, much of the former Kingdom of Gwynedd, before Norman and English incursions. The visualised parishes represent approximately forty percent of the diocese's parishes. The remainder, according to Denton, could not be identified or were too impoverished to be counted (as this was before Boniface VIII's decision to include poorer benefices for papal income taxes).[854] However, where valuations were not made is telling. Plottable parishes largely exist upon lowlands and along the coast. Thus, they are more situated in areas beneficial to intensive agriculture, trade, communication, and martial reinforcement. Where valuations are largely absent are the highlands and mountains of Snowdonia. This terrain is more suitable to pastoral agriculture and dispersed settlement patterns, something that would not be as conducive to commercialisation and surpluses. Additionally, the terrain was more suitable to Welsh resistance. Thus, there may have been comparable issues of access and safety that existed in Ireland. Altogether, we have another illustration of the interplay of environment and wealth distribution, as well as of the utility of the data to explore colonial expansion and the marginalisation of peoples.

Concerning the maps of Norwich, Denton estimates that only c. 13.7 percent of parishes for Circuit A (Norwich and Norfolk) and c. 7.1 percent of parishes for Circuit B (Suffolk and Sudbury) were not included.[855] However, some of these would not have been excluded due to poverty, but small size or attachment to a hospital or religious house instead. He also argues that the information for both circuits is largely reliable and notes the fullness of the details.[856]

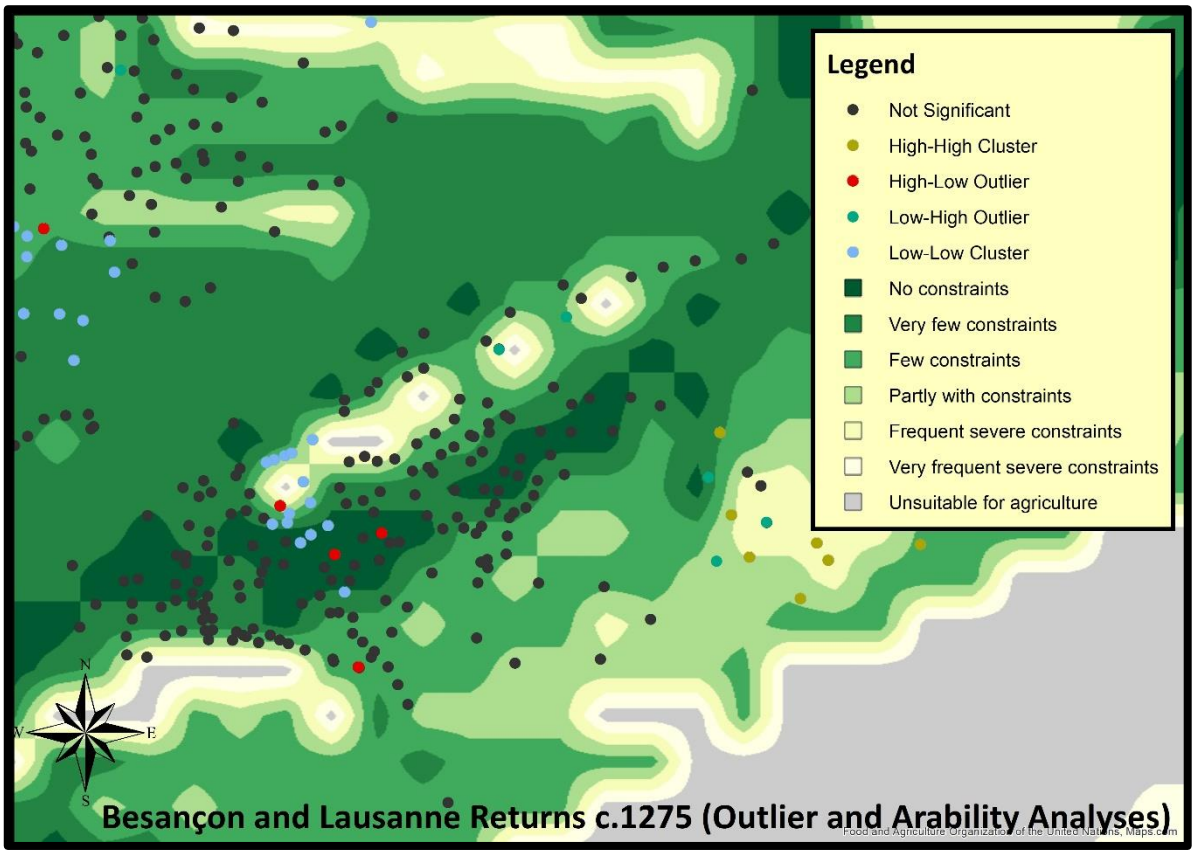
This diocese alone, with 1224 parishes plotted, is nearly as wealthy as the totality of valued Ireland. There is a myriad of factors that can account for this and can be explored. In an environmental sense, this diocese benefits from ideal elevation, soil (e.g.

[854] "Taxatio," University of Sheffield.
[855] Ibid.
[856] Ibid.

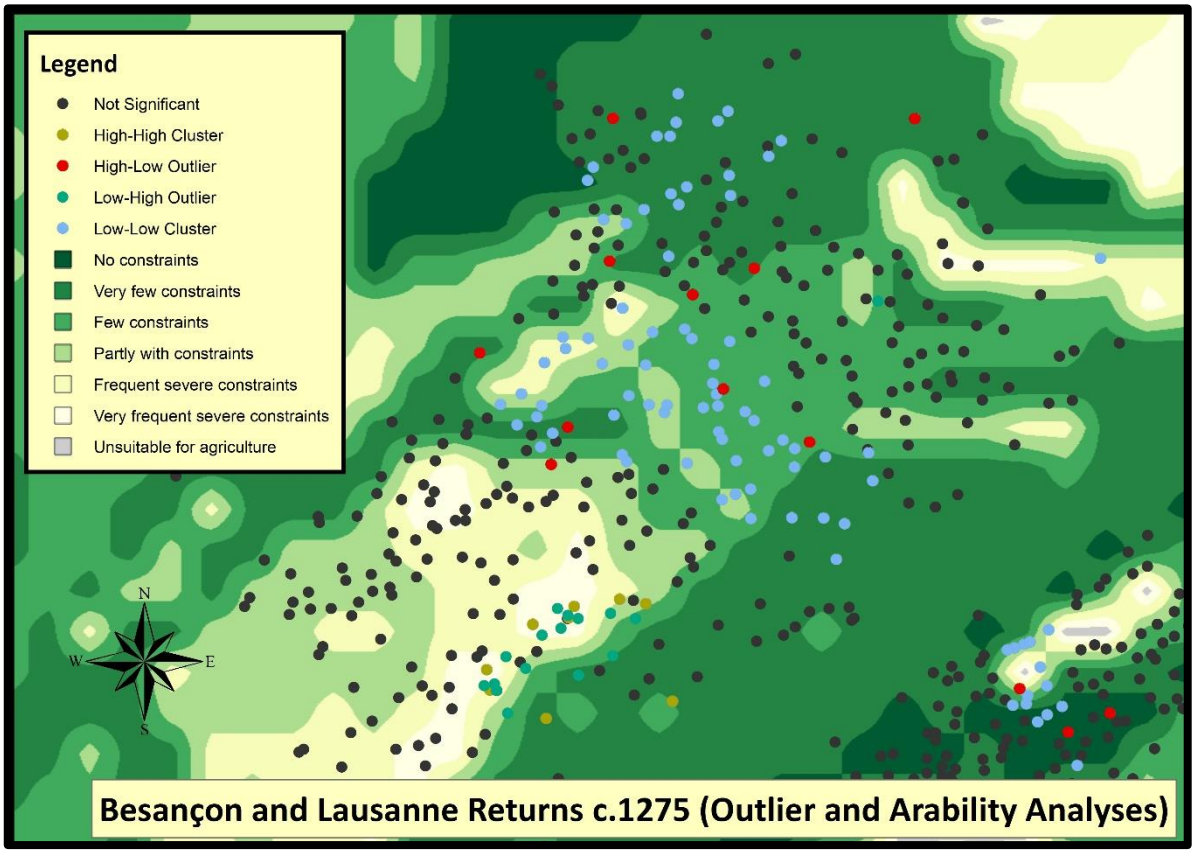
expanses of luvisols and cambisols), and terrain. There are few constraints to agriculture, internal trade, density, and the development of networks. Thus, there are strong physical parallels to the Dublin region and southeast Ireland (where the island's wealth largely lay). Outside of this, Norwich was ideally situated to tap into international trade routes, with easy access to the wealth markets of northern France and Flanders. However, unlike Anglo-Ireland, Norwich was relatively spared from chronic warfare. Although medieval England would face civil conflicts and feuds between noble families, this was more intermittent compared to the frontier disputes that plagued Ireland c. 1300.

A phenomenon noted in Ireland can be seen in Norwich. Essentially, large urban sites are composed of multiple lower-tier parishes that represent a larger pool of wealth (Map 8.4). This, again, explains why some urban sites appear to be less wealthy than their hinterlands. This is an essential caveat that must be noted for future quantitative work, as well as an avenue of research to explore. It would be of great interest to map patterns within local wealth networks, as well as amalgamate parishes into larger proxies.

Regarding Besançon and Lausanne, these dioceses were at the western edge of the Holy Roman Empire. Besançon composes much of the Franche-Comté region or the Free County of Burgundy, while Laussanne was part of the Duchy of Zähringen. The two dioceses were technically part of the Imperial Kingdom of Arles c. 1275, but also under the influence of the French monarchy, church officials, and the Burgundians. They are partly separated by the Jura mountain chain, which defines much of the region's physical geography.

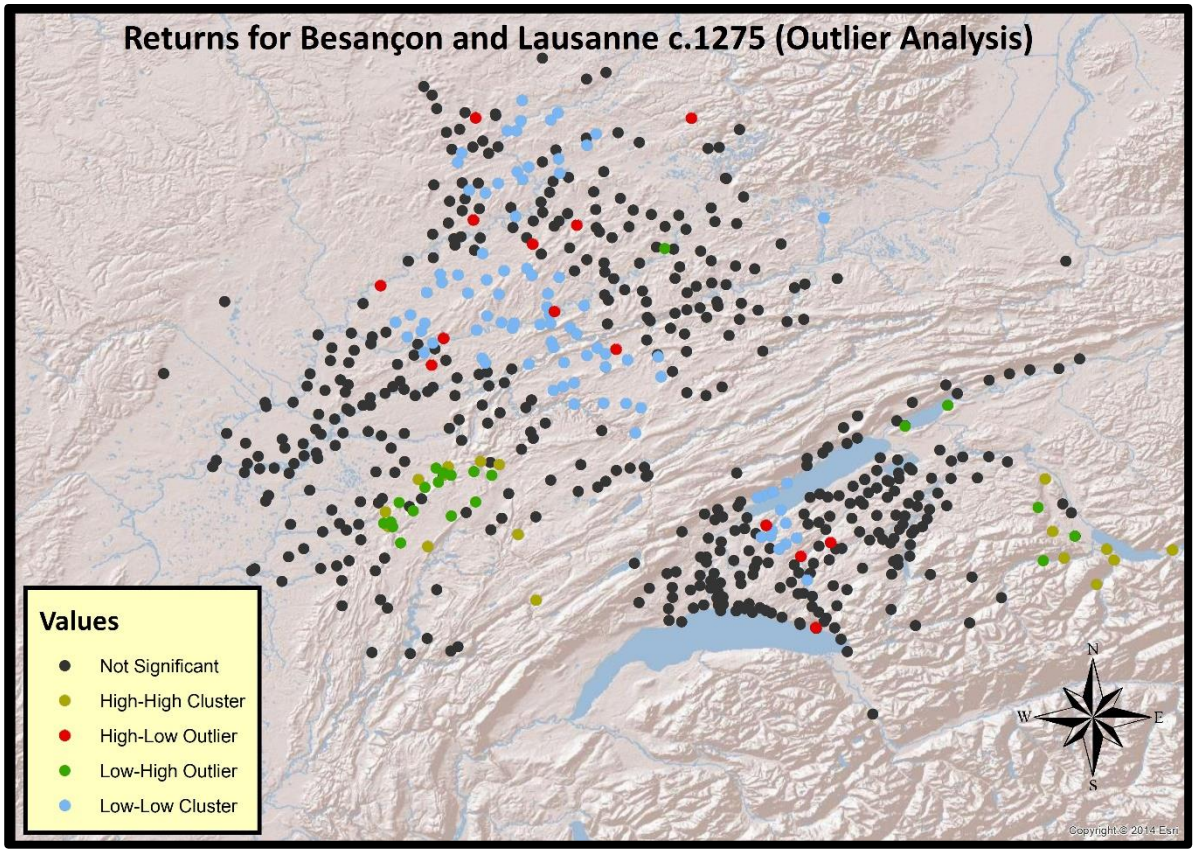


Map 8.5: Focuses on Lausanne.



Map 8.6: Focuses on Besançon.

Despite the mountainous terrain, the region appears to have been quite wealthy. After accounting for conversion, the returns for much of the two dioceses are somewhat higher than the full valuations of many parts of Ireland. Outlier analysis (Maps 8.5-8.7), illustrates that wealth distribution is much more random and evenly distributed (when compared to the outlier analysis maps of Ireland) based on the preponderance of parishes that were not significant, which is intriguing when considering the variety of terrain and soil types (featured in Map 8.5 and 8.6). The range of return figures, too, is quite wide. For the Diocese of Besançon, there is a stretch of low-low clusters extending from the city of Besançon itself. This may be another instance of a city's wealth being divided amongst its hinterland, resulting in seeming middling or low tiers of wealth (although in this instance, this phenomenon extends well outside the city's immediate areas).



Map 8.7

What can be drawn from these cursory results? It was discussed in Chapter Six, that what was important for local Anglo-Irish economies was to be within commercial trading zones. Expanding upon this, perhaps within an economy that is almost wholly commercial and based upon intensive agriculture, well-developed networks arise and

transfer resources more effectively. This results in few outliers and clusters (of either high or low wealth). These maps suggest that different medieval cultures can produce vastly diverse economic networks, ones that can better mitigate environmental constraints. This is, of course, a preliminary and superficial analysis of the data, data that would be better served by an in-depth case study. Additional dioceses would also be advantageous for contextualising the data and performing interregional analyses. Within the dioceses, the seeming randomness of the values creates an opportunity for network analysis; essentially, understanding how each of the parishes relate to one another and if there is an observable network between them (e.g. a high-tier and middling-tier parish surrounded by several lower-tier parishes). Regardless, these maps (as well as the ones of Bangor and Norwich) serve to illustrate the myriad possibilities papal taxation data offer to geographers and the both intriguing and invaluable insights that can be yielded.

With existing records in national archives, the Vatican Secret Archives, secondary literature, and databases such as the *Taxatio*, there is ample opportunity to map much of Europe with local proxies created through standard means. This is perhaps the only method of doing interregional or Pan-European analysis at a variety of scales for the medieval period.[857] Although one to one comparison of different currencies will prove problematic, broader tiers of wealth might be viable. The data, outside of economics, has enormous potential for investigating population density and settlement networks.

The validity and importance of regional and national studies, however, should not be overshadowed by possible larger studies. Within Great Britain, there is an opportunity to study the effects of colonisation on Wales, as well as the impact of environmental differences between norther and southern England. Inside Scotland, too, there are different cultural and environmental regions (i.e. highland versus lowland) that might have vastly different levels of wealth and patterns of distribution.

Italy is figured heavily within the records of the ASV. There is enormous potential to study fluctuations of Italian wealth throughout the late medieval period, perhaps examining the impacts of major phenomena such as the Black Death, climate change, and warfare. Hermínia Vasconcelos Vilarhas noted that Portugal's papal tax sources remain largely untouched, despite an opportunity to greatly advance the country's historical and

[857] N. Pounds, *An Historical Geography of Europe 450 B.C.–A.D. 1330* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973).

geographical studies. In France, Cammas mapped the Diocese of Cambrai, filling parish boundaries with different patterns to represent local wealth.[858] His work, as well as Map 8.1, show that France is another viable option for detailed local and regional works. Indeed, as noted in Chapter Four, there are multiple accounts for some French dioceses. Thus, as in Italy, there is an opportunity to study change over time in certain areas. Outside of this, the high-level of continuity in France can abet mapping, and allow for detailed choropleth parish maps. In conjunction with this, for France there are several different taxes that were raised concurrently with papal tenths to fund royal armies. The valuations can be compared to these, as well as local sources, thereby creating an opportunity to tie ecclesiastical valuations to secular ones.

Altogether, it is hoped that the methods of this thesis can be replicated by other historical geographers to help advance medieval and early modern studies. The contextual work and noting of the limitations of or issues with the data is also ideally of use to future studies. This thesis is not meant to be something conclusive, but rather an inspiration and prototype.

8.7 Future Work on the 1302-20 Irish Valuations

This research has helped unlock the potential of the 1302-20 valuations and visualise their contents. It is, however, not a terminal study. As with future studies using papal data, it is hoped that this thesis will encourage further work on medieval Ireland by providing researchers essential maps and data.

Due to the time constraints on this project, there were limits on how intensively the data could be analysed. There is immense potential for regional and local experts to use the valuations to revisit and advance understandings of Ireland, as well as incorporate localised sources. Manorial extents, the 1292 lay subsidy, and *Inquisitions Post-Mortem*, which exist for Anglo-Irish holdings, offer an opportunity to tie the data to alternative economic proxies. An approach that systematically incorporates the Annals and calendars of colonial documents should also be considered. Outside of this, it would also be

[858] N. Cammas, "La géographie paroissiale de la partie méridionale du diocèse de Cambrai à la fin du Moyen Age," *Revue Du Nord*, *91* (331): 489-513.

possible to map the data within the confines of smaller Gaelic and Anglo-Irish lordships/political units to help understand their boundaries and economic resources.

As archaeological data increases in size and scope, additional statistical analysis can be done with GIS. It would be intriguing to compare values with pollen and bio-archaeological datasets to further test the correlation between intensive agriculture and high-valuations. Climatic proxy data also provides an opportunity to further understand interactions with the environment as well as better gauge the shifting climate at the end of the medieval climatic optimum. In terms of demographics, church-size could be compared to parish density and values to add a weighted population estimate to each individual parish. Outside of this, river-ways, trade routes, and medieval roadways could offer considerable opportunities for GIS analysis.

There are aspects of this study that could also be honed and expanded upon. Baronial maps, in areas that are fully valued, present an opportunity to conduct calculations such as value per square-kilometre, the totalling of values in baronies, or average elevation for a barony compared to average valuation. Civil parishes and townlands can be used to produce even finer grained choropleth maps in areas of Ireland where civil parishes align to their medieval predecessors. Chapter Seven can also be expanded upon at a local level. For example, Frame's work on documenting the activities of the colonial forces could be used to track their movements day by day, something that would highlight areas where the damage was self-inflicted.[859]

Concerning the contents of the 1302-20 valuations themselves, religious houses, bishop and clerical incomes, and the holdings of knightly orders could also be mapped and systematically reviewed. Coordinates for religious houses were ascertained for this study; however, these valuations do not offer the same systematic and uniform proxies as parishes. Additionally, the diversity of religious orders complicates matters further. As such, this data was not used for this study but is perfectly viable for works with different research questions. As for knightly orders, since Templar and Hospitaller benefices were fully or partly exempt, they are easy to identify within the valuations and demarcated. Plotting these benefits would result in maps of these orders' land ownership and economic activity. Bishop and clerical incomes could be turned into choropleth maps

[859] Robin Frame, "Select Documents XXXVII: The Campaign against the Scots in Munster, 1317," *Irish Historical Studies* 24, no. 95 (1985): 361-72.

(with dioceses as boundaries) or attached to cathedral sites. This data can be compared with data for bishops' annates, allowing for income changes over time to be tracked. While this income might not be as precise as parish valuations, it might offer a more general sense of economic conditions.

A regret of this thesis is that there was limited time and resources for fieldwork at the National Archives in Kew. Although the fieldwork there has uncovered the strong possibility the Irish valuations for the Nicholas IV tenth were destroyed, there remains the possibility that these were transcribed by George Vanderzee. It would be of great benefit to Irish history if a systematic search were made for these additional valuations to help fill in the geographical areas where the 1302-20 valuations did not fully cover, as well as shed light on that decade.

8.8 Final Thoughts and Epilogue

When embarking on this thesis, it was hoped that substantial clusters of high wealth would be found across Gaelic domains, helping to combat colonial stereotypes and common misconceptions, as well as illustrate comparable levels of economic development to Anglo-Irish settlement. Upon reading both primary and secondary sources, I have come to realise that this was something that should not have been necessarily sought or hoped for. Although there is value in comparison, one of the great privileges of studying Gaelic Ireland is its uniqueness and the inherent beauty and value that comes with it. In a scramble to compare Gaelic Ireland to Latin Europe or find evidence that it was developing in the same direction, we lose an opportunity to acknowledge new insights and distinctiveness about a human society. A society's value is not found in the intensity of agriculture, manors built, coinage amassed, or conformity to the mainstream. While some pockets of wealth and population density were found in Gaelic domains, the 1302-20 valuations support an interpretation of a low-surplus pastoral economy supplemented by trading, raiding, fines, and gift-giving. This economy met the needs of the populace while being resilient and adaptable to warfare. It enabled Gaelic lords to field armies against the might of the colonial administration. It allowed them to patronise the arts and religious endeavours, as well as value hospitality and generosity. Most importantly, it was their culture… and they fought and died for it for

centuries. If a culture and way of life inspired such resistance, that perhaps is more of a testimony to its value and worth more any amounts of shillings.

The 1302-20 valuations are a testimony to the resilience of the Gaelic Irish. Fragmented Gaelic lordships had to contend with a colony that possessed (comparatively) immense sources, greater population density, and assistance from the English crown (one of the strongest kingdoms in medieval Europe), as well as competition from Gaelic rivals and environmental limitations. Nevertheless, the colony failed to truly dominate Ireland and the maps produced by the research have illustrated that the extent and intensity of colonial settlement have been overstated in some regions of Ireland. As F.X. Martin noted in the introduction to the *New History of Ireland* (Volume II), many of the Gaelic major dynasties that held lands prior to 1169 would still be reigning at the advent of the Tudor Reconquest.[860]

It would be remiss to end this thesis by constructing a dichotomous colonizer versus rebel narrative. One of the major findings of Chapters Six and Seven has been the wealth and self-sufficiency of the Second Pale. This is a testimony to what could be achieved through cooperation, integration, and alliance between the Anglo-Irish and the Gaelic Irish. The heritage of Ireland is diverse, even from Prehistoric, Roman Era, and Viking Age migrations alone. However, with the events and transformations beginning in 1169, there was an influx of Norman, English, Flemish, Welsh, and Scottish. Far from being isolated, a modern Irish person can trace their lineage to Norman knights at Hastings, Welsh mercenary archers, English artisans, and Scottish galloglasses. Just as there is a certain beauty in the unique nature of Gaelic Irish culture, there is also something fascinating about the melange of cultures that existed in medieval Ireland and formed part of the roots of the modern Irish people. The stories of Welsh archers in Connacht or Francophone knights in Kilkenny are equally part of the Irish experience.

The history of medieval Ireland is as varied as its human and physical geography. It's a story of resistance and collusion, segregation and intermarriage, marginalisation and triumph, evanescent victories and resounding legacies. It has been an honour to add to the understanding of Ireland and its people. There is still an immense amount of work to

[860] F.X. Martin, "Introduction," in *A New History Ireland: Volume II*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

accomplish. Hopefully, the maps and work within this thesis will be of use and interest to those carrying out further research on medieval Ireland.

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