

Summer 2017

When We Were Monsters: Ethnogenesis in Medieval Ireland 800-1366

Dawn A. Seymour Klos

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WHEN WE WERE MONSTERS: ETHNOGENESIS IN MEDIEVAL IRELAND 800-

1366

by

Dawn Adelaide Seymour Klos

A Thesis
Submitted to the Graduate School,
the College of Arts and Letters,
and the Department of Anthropology and Sociology
at The University of Southern Mississippi
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts

August 2017

WHEN WE WERE MONSTERS: ETHNOGENESIS IN MEDIEVAL IRELAND 800-

1366

by Dawn Adelaide Seymour Klos

August 2017

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Published by the Graduate School



ABSTRACT

WHEN WE WERE MONSTERS: ETHNOGENESIS IN MEDIEVAL IRELAND 800-

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Ethnogenesis, or the process of identity construction occurred in medieval Ireland as a reaction to laws passed by the first centralized government on the island. This thesis tracks ethnogenesis through documents relating to change in language, custom, and law. This argument provides insight into how a new political identity was rendered necessary by the Anglo-Irish. Victor Turner's model of *Communitas* structures the argument as each stage of liminality represents a turning point in the process of ethnogenesis.

1169 marked a watershed moment as it began the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland. English nobles brought with them ideas of centralized power. In an effort to control his magnates living abroad, Henry II, King of England, instituted an aggressive government. Unlike the earlier Viking age, English government began the systemic criminalization of the Irish political identity by banning the Irish language, intermarriage, and other customary practices. This period exemplifies Anthony Wallace's "revitalization movement" as the English Crown destroyed the existing political system. *Communitas* and the revitalization movement provide the "how" to an argument of ethnogenesis in medieval Ireland. This thesis blends anthropology and history in order to examine the process of political identity construction holistically.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Dr. Follett, thank you for your unbelievable enthusiasm, patience, and kindness throughout this process. This would not have been possible without you. Thank you for you for always believing in me. Dr. Luckhardt, thank you for introducing me to Julia Smith and for your support throughout this process. As much as it pains me, Braudel proved helpful. Dr. Hayden, thank you for your warmth and assistance throughout the planning and writing process. I have truly enjoyed your company.

DEDICATION

Jerry, you are the moment time stopped. Thank you for running head first into the unknown with me. So now I have one question, “All of time and space, where do you want to start?”

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CHAPTER I – INTRODUCTION

But although they are fully endowed with natural gifts, their external characteristics of beard and dress, and internal cultivation of the mind, are so barbarous that they cannot be said to have any culture. -Giraldus Cambrensis¹

The work of Giraldus Cambrensis, a Welsh churchman who served as tutor to Prince John of England in 1188, colored nearly 1000 years of Irish history. His interpretation of Irish language, custom, and law within the pages of his *History and Topography of Ireland*, composed during a campaign throughout Ireland the previous year, painted the Irish as a wild, pagan people in need of English structure. The work of Giraldus Cambrensis serves as a lens through which political ethnogenesis in Ireland can be observed throughout the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman conquest.

Both the work of Giraldus Cambrensis and the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland in 1169 are well established discourses within the larger field of Irish medieval studies. The conquest is most often interpreted through the lens of Giraldus without taking into consideration his complicated relationship with Anglo-Norman colonialism. Unlike past studies of the period, this thesis rejects the existence of a physical or symbolic frontier. This thesis argues for the political ethnogenesis of the Anglo-Irish without need for a political or physical frontier. This rejection allows the work to move past a homogenized view of both the invaders and natives by focusing on the concept of symbolic ethnicity, or the ability to choose one ethnic identity over another for a specific purpose.² Symbolic

¹ Giraldus Cambrensis, *The History and Topography of Ireland*, trans. John J. O'Meara (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1982), 101.

² Mary Waters, "Optional Ethnicities: For Whites Only?" in *Origins and Destinies: Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in America*, ed. Sylvia Pedraza and Ruben Rumbaut (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Press, 1996), 444.

ethnicity should not be confused with ethnogenesis. The term ethnogenesis is a synthesis of a people's cultural and political struggles to exist as well as their historical consciousness of these struggles.³ The fluidity in which medieval people moved between ethnicities, served as an energy to ethnogenesis.

This research examines the colonial period of Ireland in two parts; the Viking (800-1169) and Anglo-Norman (1169-1366). This research ends the Anglo-Norman period in 1366, the year of the "Statutes of Kilkenny" which reveal the English Crown's reaction to the self-declaration of the Anglo-Irish in 1317. This thesis is guided by Regino of Prüm, a German abbot who defined *natio* in 900 as those who share a language, custom, and law.⁴ Each of the following chapters examine the process of ethnogenesis by systematically scrutinizing evidence of language, custom, and law within surviving historical documents. In addition to Regino of Prüm, each chapter contains a subheading to situate the reader with the appropriate anthropological theory. Each chapter follows the models of Victor Turner's *Communitas* and Anthony Wallace's revitalization movements to understand the process of ethnogenesis.

This thesis blends the disciplines of history and anthropology. The most blatant use of this blend lies in theoretical framework. To understand the process of ethnogenesis, two models underscore each argument. These underpinnings borrowed from cultural anthropology reveal the "how" to the process of ethnogenesis. Victor

³ Jonathan David Hill, *History, Power, and Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1492-1992* (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 1996), 2.

⁴ Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon cum Continuatione Treverensi*, ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG 50: (Hanover, 1890), 20. "Diversae nationum popularum inter se discrepant genere moribus lingua legibus." The behavior of the tongue, of the genus of the laws, of the different nations of peoples who are different to each other.

Turner (1920-1983) developed the concept of *Communitas* by building upon the established study of rites of passage. *Communitas* refers to the period of statuslessness in which an individual is granted legitimacy into a group of equals.⁵ Turner theorized status was earned through three distinct phases: separation, liminality, and aggregation.⁶ This thesis explores each phase of Turner's model.

Victor Turner's model of *Communitas* provides a broad stroke understanding of the ethnogenesis process. By pairing Turner with Anthony Wallace's five stage methodology, a clear line of action emerges to explain not only "how" but "why" ethnogenesis occurred at a specific time. Cultural anthropologist Anthony Wallace (1923-2015) defined a revitalization movement as a "deliberate, organized, and conscious effort by members of a group to create a new culture."⁷ Wallace determined the five steps towards a revitalization movement to be, first, the steady state or a time when the needs of society vary within tolerable limits.⁸ Second, the period of individual stress, a time when society experiences change which challenges the tolerable limit. Third, the period of cultural distortion, a time hallmarked by prolonged exposure to stress allows the culture to become internally distorted due to a lack of harmony between the needs of society and the tolerable limits.⁹ Fourth, the mazeway reformulation, or a time when the

⁵Victor Turner, "Liminality and Communitas" in *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1969), 97.

⁶ Victor Turner, "Liminality and Communitas" in *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1969), 94.

⁷ Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movement," *American Anthropologist* 58, no. 2 (April 1956), 265.

⁸ Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movement," *American Anthropologist* 58, no. 2 (April 1956), 266.

⁹ Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movement," *American Anthropologist* 58, no. 2 (April 1956), 269.

perspective of an individual no longer correlates with the central ideas of society.¹⁰ The mazeway leads to the ultimate goal of revitalization, or the invention of a new culture which utilized the image of a real or imagined past.¹¹ Each of these steps guide the reader through the process of political ethnogenesis in medieval Ireland.

Chapter two examines Irish politics before and throughout the Viking age. The arrival of Scandinavians into Irish society marked the first major settlement by outsiders. Incoming Viking populations understood themselves as a separate collective from the populations they encountered. Both Vikings and the Irish utilized kinship based societies. This type of social structure fostered ideas of local particularism, or the favoring of local methods of government over a centralizing power.¹² Although Vikings challenged Irish language and custom, they did not establish a centralized government. Scandinavian arrival marked the first impactful settlement of an outside group, yet it did not provide the proper climate for full ethnogenesis. Chapter two fully discusses the establishment and transformation of the steady state.

Chapter three describes the coming of the Anglo-Normans in 1169 at the request of Diarmait MacMurchada, the deposed King of Leinster (1110-1171). Arrival of the Anglo-Normans marked a turning point in the formation of Irish political identity. This chapter discusses the processes of cultural distortion and mazeway as they relate to the

¹⁰ Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movement," *American Anthropologist* 58, no. 2 (April 1956), 266.

¹¹ Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movement," *American Anthropologist* 58, no. 2 (April 1956), 275.

¹² Ann K. S. Lambton, *Local Particularism and the Common People in Pre-Modern Iran* (Durham, UK: University of Durham Institute for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, 2002), 7.

acknowledgement of the Anglo-Irish. The term Anglo-Irish scarcely appears in the first half of the thesis as it is a modern term used to explain a medieval group of people. Each chapter highlights the proper terminology used within the historical documents utilized.

Chapter four details the English Crown's reaction to assimilated Anglo-Norman magnates such as Hugh de Lacy (1135-1186). This chapter outlines "how" the revitalization movement functioned, leading to official declaration of the Anglo-Irish as a "middle nation" in the "Remonstrance of the Irish Princes" of 1317. Chapter four argues the political identity of the Anglo-Irish emerged as a reaction to the implementation of the English Crown's centralized government. Chapter four pays special attention to terms used to describe those of mixed parentage as well as the classification of "degenerate."

Settlement by Vikings and, eventually, Normans provided the necessary catalyst to complete the process of political ethnogenesis in medieval Ireland. This process began with Vikings who achieved aggregation with the Irish creating a new, steady state. The Anglo-Norman conquest brought the first centralized governing power to the island which enacted harsh laws onto the Irish. These laws prevented aggregation, thus allowing the process of ethnogenesis to complete. Irish political classification operated not as a fixed identity but rather a symbolic ethnicity which could be gained or shed when advantageous for the individual.¹³

¹³ Mary C. Waters, "Optional Ethnicities: For Whites Only?" in *Origins and Destinies: Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in America*, ed. Sylvia Pedraza and Ruben Rumbaut (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Press, 1996), 445.

Review of the Literature

Scholars specializing in medieval Ireland typically cite the *Cogad Gáedel re Gallaibh*, The war of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, or, The invasions of Ireland by the Danes and other Norsemen, (between 1103-1111) as a beginning point for understanding medieval Irish identity. These sources cannot and do not represent a common Irish voice. Furthermore, J.F. Byrne argues these are not reliable starting positions as they are transparent twelfth-century propaganda.¹⁴ Due to a lack of sources produced during Viking age Ireland, the twelfth century comment on past centuries, *Cogad Gáedel re Gallaibh* provides the most intricate view into political identity in Viking age Ireland.

Clare Downham examined Viking age Ireland for evidence of Viking influence. Downham's work presents an eighth and ninth century devoid of political and cultural frontiers in areas such as Dublin. She concluded a hybrid identity of Hiberno-Norse, although not termed as such, evolved as early as the 850s with the introduction of the *Gall-goídil* or foreigner Gaels into the annals.¹⁵ This hybrid identity holds two meanings. First, those of mixed parentage belong to the *Gall-goídil* but also the classification created a new form of political expression. For the first time in Ireland, a person could belong to an outsider group. Downham's findings support extreme assimilation and acculturation by both Vikings and the Irish. She further concludes free use of foreign language continued without penalty as seen in material findings such as Hiberno-

¹⁴ F. J. Byrne, "The Trembling Sod: Ireland in 1169," in *A New History of Ireland*, ed. Art Cosgrove, 1st ed., vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 6.

¹⁵ Clare Downham, "Coastal Communities and Diaspora Identities in Viking Age Ireland" in *Maritime Societies of the Viking and Medieval World*, ed. James H. Barrett, Sarah Jane Gibson, (New York: Routledge, 2016), 370.

Scandinavian coins which reflect a pidgin language.¹⁶ Further evidence of this hybridity appears with the custom of intermarriage. Downham calls attention to the 883 marriage of Muirgel, a Gaelic princess and daughter of Mael Sechnail an Uí Néill king and Óttar, son of Iarnkné, a Viking leader.¹⁷ Downham's work solidifies the Viking presence in Dublin and the surrounding area as one of mutual benefit. Vikings built economic infrastructure yet did not change any existing laws or customs native to the island. This stands in stark contrast to the Anglo-Norman period.

Ireland's localized political system before Norman arrival has been examined by accomplished scholars such as Robin Frame and Marie Therese Flanagan. Both argued for a highly respected and coveted High Kingship of Ireland, specifically in the study of High King Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair (1116-1198) by Donnchadh Ó Corráin. Ó Corráin's benchmark "Nationality and Kingship in Pre-Norman Ireland" described Ireland's political system which thrived on local particularism. In his study, Ó Corráin asserts Ireland thrived with 185 politically separate tribes. Local tribal leaders reported to a provincial king, one king for each province (Leinster, Ulster, Munster, and Connacht), who yielded to a High King of Ireland.¹⁸ While the office of High King of Ireland existed in part, it cannot be used as an argument for a homogeneous Irish political identity. The office of High King of Ireland, a title won either in battle or by public opinion, did not

¹⁶ Clare Downham, "Coastal Communities and Diaspora Identities in Viking Age Ireland" in *Maritime Societies of the Viking and Medieval World*, ed. James H. Barrett, Sarah Jane Gibson, (New York: Routledge, 2016), 375.

¹⁷ Clare Downham, "Religious and Cultural Boundaries Between Vikings and Irish: The Evidence of Conversion," in *The March in the Islands of the Medieval West*, ed. Jennifer Ní Ghrádaigh and Emmett O'Byrne (Leiden, NL: Brill, 2012), 22.

¹⁸ Donnchadh O' Corráin, "Nationality and Kingship in Pre-Norman Ireland." *Historical Studies XI* (Appletree Press: 1975), 1.

grant the individual any authority to alter or change law.¹⁹ This lordship bared a misleading title as it never produced a leader who unified Ireland under one political distinction. Ó Corráin concluded the Irish felt a sense of “other” as early as the seventh century yet did not produce a common political identity until the twelfth century.²⁰ In essence, the existence of the Irish monarchy affirmed the political feeling of “otherness” by the Irish who felt the need to publicly express authority in the Viking age and beyond.

Viking age Ireland did not produce a political or cultural frontier as demonstrated. Although cultural and linguistic differences occurred, Viking Dublin boasted a blended and thriving community as demonstrated by suburbs such as Ostmantown.²¹ Seán Duffy and Julia M.H. Smith argue against the existence of frontiers. Smith noted neither the Carolingians or Merovingians ruled a homogenous society.²² Pre-Norman Irish, although largely composed of native Irish speakers, did not view themselves as having a common identity. Early law codes demonstrate the use of various terms to denote an outsider. This individual need not be from another land such as Norway but could be from another farming area. As seen within Smith’s study of Carolingian Brittany, no form of *natio* existed in the pre-Norman period as local language, custom, and law determined an individual’s identity.

¹⁹ Donnchadh O' Corráin, “Nationality and Kingship in Pre-Norman Ireland.” *Historical Studies XI* (Appletree Press: 1975), 3.

²⁰ Donnchadh O' Corráin, “Nationality and Kingship in Pre-Norman Ireland.” *Historical Studies XI* (Appletree Press: 1975), 15.

²¹ Seán Duffy, "Ostmen, Irish and Welsh in the Eleventh Century," *Peritia* vol. 9 (1995), 380.

²² Julia M.H. Smith, *Province and Empire: Brittany and the Carolingians*, 1st ed., vol. 18, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: Fourth Series (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 33.

Regino's three-part definition for political identity has long been acknowledged by scholars of medieval frontiers. Robert Bartlett's *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350* argued culture evolves and is created through language, custom, and law as malleable pieces to a larger puzzle.²³ Bartlett's acceptance of a frontier in Ireland does not undermine his contribution to this research. Although his monograph traces various frontier societies, each are examined by Regino's measure of language, custom, and law. Bartlett accepts the labels of frontier and gaelicization when considering medieval Ireland.²⁴ His study blends historical and anthropological approaches while remaining true to a medieval definition of identity.

In this way, Robert Bartlett's work stands as the methodological bedrock on which this research stands. Bartlett wrote: "the world of the early Middle Ages was one of a diversity of rich local cultures and societies. The story of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries is of how that diversity was, in many ways, superseded by a uniformity."²⁵ Each cog, language, custom, and law, operates independently of one another yet also converge to form a larger imagined community.²⁶

In addition to outlining a definition of identity, Regino of Prüm also stands as an excellent study of power in the medieval marches. Julia Smith's *Province and Empire: Brittany and the Carolingians* details a commonality between the British Isles and

²³ Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350*, 1st ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 197.

²⁴ For a full discussion on Gaelicization see K. W. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages*, 1st ed. (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2002).

²⁵ Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350*, 1st ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993). 311

²⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 1991). 6

Continental Europe regarding the use of ecclesiastic houses with royal favor as authorities within the march areas.²⁷ Marches consisted of areas beyond reach of the hegemonic power. These areas mark the boundaries of domination or conquest and relied upon a magnate class to uphold laws of the hegemony as much as possible. These areas typically reflect a mixing of native and new language, law, and custom.²⁸ Marches created a physical space where the breakdown of power can be observed. Within these areas, magnates consciously choose whether to uphold law codes from their native lands or to assimilate into a new culture. In the case of medieval Ireland, these marches did not create distinct political barriers. Julia Smith stands in opposition to most scholarship as she argues against the notion of frontier. While Smith's argument is centralized on conflict between the Bretons and the Carolingian Empire, her assessment applies to the Irish and the Anglo-Normans. Smith asserts the Breton frontier was in fact a complete Carolingian fabrication to retain control over the Bretons and Carolingian magnates.²⁹

Scholars debate the existence of frontier but often do not examine the distinction of the term itself. James Muldoon argued frontier was not a properly defined term within the discipline of history. He asserted that borders referred to political boundaries, whereas frontiers were areas of cultural contact.³⁰ Muldoon's distinctions complicate the existing

²⁷ Julia M. H. Smith, *Province and Empire: Brittany and the Carolingians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). 57-8

²⁸ Robin Frame, "Lordship and Liberties in Ireland, and Wales c. 1170-c. 1360" in *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 127-8.

²⁹ Julia M. H. Smith, *Province and Empire: Brittany and the Carolingians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 104a

³⁰ James Muldoon, *Identity on the Medieval Irish Frontier: Degenerate Englishmen, Wild Irishmen, Middle Nations* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 6.

debate. Rather than openly accept Ireland as a frontier society, he asks whether it should be considered a frontier or a border area. Rees Davies stands in opposition to Julia Smith as he firmly asserts both Ireland and Wales were frontier societies. Davies argued frontiers demonstrated cultures encountering one another, often in confrontation produced profoundly different economic configurations, political assumptions, ecclesiastical norms, social customs, and literary and artistic traditions.³¹ This rather long definition of qualifiers for a frontier society directly mirrors Regino's distinctions of language, custom, and law. Scholars remain divided on the question of frontier as a useful tool in understanding political and cultural contact in the Middle Ages. Within this research, the term frontier refers directly to a fabrication by the English Crown and Dublin government to control Anglo-Norman magnates residing in Ireland.

Ongoing debate concerning the existence and effectiveness of a political frontier in Ireland gives rise to further questions of nationality as a form of personal identity. Donnchadh Ó Corráin continues to influence the argument of political Irish identity. His writing argued against any notion of an Irish national identity prior to Anglo-Norman invasion. Ó Corráin's work stands on the shoulders of long established G.H. Orpen who stated,

Until the coming of the Normans, Ireland never felt the direct influence of a race more advanced than herself. She never experienced the stern discipline of Roman domination nor acquired from the law-givers of modern Europe a concept of the essential condition of a progressive society, the formation of a strong state able to make and above all enforce the laws.³²

³¹ Rees Davies, "Frontier Arrangements in Fragmented Societies: Ireland and Wales", in *Medieval Frontier Societies* ed. Robert Bartlett, Angus MacKay (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). 77

³² Goddard Henry, Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans: 1169-1333* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911). 105

While classic, Orpen's work serves as an excellent commentary on revisionist Irish history rather than a balanced view into the Middle Ages. Ó Corráin challenges Orpen's vision of an insular Ireland. Without identifying Regino of Prüm within his text as a guide, Ó Corráin follows breadcrumbs left by examination of language, custom, and law to locate a sense of Irishness prior to Norman arrival. Ó Corráin locates within source material of Pre-Norman Ireland a sense of uniformity in identity within the church. "Above all, the levelling effect of a church, which, in its earliest forms at least, transcended local identities, must have deepened the Irish sense of otherness"³³ Ó Corráin also surfaces linguistic changes within Irish annals which provide exceptional examples of change felt within the unifying power on the island, the church. The phrase *fir Érenn*, "men of Ireland" emerged in the eleventh and twelfth centuries marking alliances of lesser kings to greater kings to form more sophisticated alliances.³⁴

Political identity varied throughout the island. As with most other medieval society, the first unit of measurement was not the *natio* but individual kin groups. Christianity served as a larger imagined community for the Irish to belong to and forge connections with the continent and beyond. Sources relating to identity in Pre-Norman Ireland remain limited. Ó Corráin offered comment on Viking Ireland as well as the composition of the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaib* as propaganda instrumental in creating fictitious lines between the Irish and the Norse in earlier centuries at the request of the Uí

³³ Donnchadh Ó Corráin, "Nationality and Kingship in Pre-Norman Ireland," in *Historical Studies XI: Nationality and the Pursuit of National Independence*, ed. T.W. Moody (Belfast: Appletree Press, 1978), 3.

³⁴ Donnchadh Ó Corráin, "Nationality and Kingship in Pre-Norman Ireland," in *Historical Studies XI: Nationality and the Pursuit of National Independence*, ed. T.W. Moody (Belfast: Appletree Press, 1978), 4.

Neill.³⁵ Although annalistic sources derived from an origin placing value on uniformity and the *Cogadh* emerged from a group valuing separation, each source directly contributed and commented on cultural exchange occurring daily among the populations of medieval Ireland.

Anglo-Norman magnates, influential and often wealthy or titled individuals, followed Richard de Clare (1130-1176) to Ireland in search of new beginnings outside the reach of the English crown.³⁶ Henry II (1133-1189), King of England, mandated all Englishmen observe English Common Law whether within or outside the physical borders of England. The enforcement of English Common Law to the magnates and English settlers in Ireland caused modern scholars to consider a possibility other than acculturation or assimilation in the Anglo-Norman period: gaelicization. Gaelicization, or extreme acculturation by the Anglo-Normans to Irish language, custom, and law, remains hotly debated in the field of Irish medieval studies. Scholars such as Seán Duffy and Kenneth W. Nicholls argue gaelicization is a false, modern construct easily debunked by the frequency of intermarriage and harsh laws for Anglo-Norman magnates seeking aggregation by the Irish population.³⁷ This research does not rely on the modern construct of gaelicization to demonstrate political ethnogenesis.

³⁵ Donnchadh Ó Corráin, "Nationality and Kingship in Pre-Norman Ireland," in *Historical Studies XI: Nationality and the Pursuit of National Independence*, ed. T.W. Moody (Belfast: Appletree Press, 1978), 13.

³⁶ Alastair Dunn, *The Politics of Magnate Power: England and Wales 1389-1413* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2003), 26.

³⁷ Kenneth W. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2003), 17.

Gaelicization, a process, requires a consciousness of political status. James Muldoon argued identity is a process, not a form of stasis which requires definition by others, not the self.³⁸ While this work rejects the concept of gaelicization, scholarship concerning identity in the Anglo-Norman period remains peppered with reference to the concept. This concept links directly to the work of James Lydon who proclaimed a process similar to gaelicization yielded the political identity of the Anglo-Irish.³⁹ James Lydon's "middle nation" argument replaces the need for the concept of gaelicization. Lydon argued the outlawing of intermarriage and Brehon Law (native Irish law) served as reactions to a thriving "middle nation" of Anglo-Irish.⁴⁰ The English Crown established a centralized government in Ireland, the Dublin Parliament, in which only English citizens could participate. The term "middle nation" derives from the "Remonstrance of the Irish Princes" of 1317, a letter crafted by a royal Irish dynasty to Pope John XXII.

The "middle nation" as described by James Lydon relied upon law for measurability. Lydon stated, "law was a badge of identity" in the Anglo-Norman period.⁴¹ Both Brehon Law and English Common Law thrived within Dublin in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. An individual could choose which "identity," meaning

³⁸ James Muldoon, *Identity on the Medieval Irish Frontier: Degenerate Englishmen, Wild Irishmen, Middle Nations* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2003), x-xi.

³⁹ James F. Lydon, "Nation and Race in Medieval Ireland," in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Alan V. Murray, Simon Forde, and Lesley Johnson (Leeds, UK: University of Leeds Press, 1995), 103.

⁴⁰ James F. Lydon, *The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), 148.

⁴¹ James F. Lydon, "Nation and Race in Medieval Ireland," in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Alan V. Murray, Simon Forde, and Lesley Johnson (Leeds, UK: University of Leeds Press, 1995), 107.

law tradition, to abide by when advantageous such as when an Englishmen threatened to become Irish.⁴² This act of symbolic ethnicity was interpreted by the English Crown as an act of degeneracy.

The term degenerate within the context of medieval Dublin implies the choice by an Englishman to adopt the Irish hairstyle, the *cúlán*, dressing in an Irish manner, speaking the Irish language, or utilizing Brehon law.⁴³ Seán Duffy argued degeneracy, like gaelicization is a process. One could become degenerate by choice of language, custom, law, and intermarriage. Crown government did not outlaw intermarriage until the “Parliament of 1297,” allowing over one hundred years of intermarriage and acculturation uninterrupted. Englishmen who degenerated into Irishmen lost their status in the eyes of the English Crown. William de Lacy, an Anglo-Irishman, achieved status among the Irish as his obituary appeared in the “Annals of Clonmacnoise” in 1233 marking his aggregation into Irish society rather than English.⁴⁴

Sparky Booker examined the fifteenth century within the Pale for evidence of intermarriage “These activities were forbidden by statute and frowned upon by some members of the colonial community. However, the earls and their relatives deftly used marriage to garner allies in both Irish and English spheres, and it was in part this

⁴² James F. Lydon, "Nation and Race in Medieval Ireland," in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Alan V. Murray, Simon Forde, and Lesley Johnson (Leeds, UK: University of Leeds Press, 1995), 113.

⁴³ Seán Duffy, "The Problem of Degeneracy," in *Law and Disorder in Thirteenth-Century Ireland, the Dublin Parliament of 1297*, ed. James Lydon (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997), 88.

⁴⁴ Seán Duffy, "The Problem of Degeneracy," in *Law and Disorder in Thirteenth-Century Ireland, the Dublin Parliament of 1297*, ed. James Lydon (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997), 91.

versatility which enabled them to exert so much power over Irish affairs.”⁴⁵ Booker's article challenges the perception of a cultural frontier between the Irish and Anglo-Normans by exposing intermarriage frequencies. She highlighted the blatant disregard for English Common Law within the Pale regarding intermarriage practices. Magnates and later, common settlers from England married the Irish despite laws against the practice. Booker's study of intermarriage within the Pale, the seat of Crown government, demonstrates the lack of frontier. The people of the Pale married and assimilated without fear of enforcement of Crown laws. The frontier of medieval Ireland was no more than a fantasy of English Crown law. Had intermarriage not been perceived as detrimental to the English Crown, it would not have been mentioned in law codes at all.

Booker, in a later article, asks the question: was there cultural exchange in the form of gaelicization in medieval Dublin? She suggests the *Chain Book of Dublin*; a fourteenth century law book kept chained in the Dublin guildhall, offers insight to such an exchange: "The late medieval guild of St. George and the elaborate festival of England's patron saint described in the Chain Book of the city also shows this yearning to be English.”⁴⁶ Booker questioned the authorship of the Chain Book as all documents relating to operations or legal proceedings of the city were written by representatives of the English Crown. This inherent bias in surviving primary sources reflects the loss of control by the Crown government of English citizens in Ireland. Legal proceedings of the

⁴⁵ Sparky Booker, “Intermarriage in Fifteenth-Century Ireland: The English and Irish in the ‘Four Obedient Shires,’” *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, (December 5, 2012), 6.

⁴⁶ Sparky Booker, “An English City? Gaelicization and Cultural Exchange in Late Medieval Dublin,” *Medieval Dublin X* (Dublin: Four Courts Press: 2008), 288.

same years provide evidence contrary to a desire for political Englishness by the people living in Ireland.

Lydon, contrary to Booker, never accepted the concept of gaelicization or acculturation in the case of the Anglo-Irish, “They might have been in Ireland for generation, have adopted the language and names of Gaelic Ireland, but nothing could alter the fact of their foreignness.”⁴⁷ Lydon relied upon the frontier construction to justify the need for a new political category for the Anglo-Irish. Without the absolute acceptance of two distinct “nations,” Lydon’s self-view of his model crumbles. Lydon’s “middle nation” did not account for the ease in which Anglo-Normans would assimilate due to earlier Viking aggregation. Once more, the struggle demonstrated within English Common Law or any legal document passing through Dublin Parliament did not reflect the views of the people of Ireland so much as it did the English king in England seeking to maintain control.

Marie Therese Flanagan equated political identity with the presence of a centralized government. She wrote the Irish did not possess a political identity prior to 1169.⁴⁸ Flanagan’s contribution to this research lies in her incredibly detailed account of swearing fealty and homage between the representatives of Henry II and the Irish kings. Flanagan wrote that the “Treaty of Windsor” gave the Irish high kingship to Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair, meaning the English Crown through its self-declared authority in Ireland

⁴⁷ James F. Lydon, “Nation and Race in Medieval Ireland,” in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Simon Forde, 1st ed. (Leeds: University of Leeds, 1995), 105.

⁴⁸ Marie Therese Flanagan, *Irish Society, Anglo-Norman Settlers, Angevin Kingship: Interactions in Ireland in the Late 12th Century*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 193.

granted the highest office to an ally.⁴⁹ This exchange of power gleaned from the “Treaty of Windsor” in 1175 provides a fixed point of power exchange. Flanagan’s examination of the meetings of 1175 detail the political change from local particularism to a centralized government. Flanagan’s work bridges the pre and post Norman twelfth century.

Robin Frame questioned practices of custom such as intermarriage. He stated the English Crown viewed anyone outside the English cultural mainstream as inferior.⁵⁰ Frame questioned if Englishness equated to solely political identity or if a cultural or ethnic element could be found in thirteenth century material. Frame cited English Common Law as the catalyst for boundaries between the free and unfree, which lead to a larger English political consciousness.⁵¹ The connection of Anglo-Norman magnates to the English Crown provided the necessary link for the establishment of the first centralized government of Ireland. Frame asserts any political consciousness emerging in this period came from the English in some fashion. Frame agreed with Lydon in using law as a badge of identity in Ireland, yet they differed on the subject of frontier. Frame did not believe the English and Irish could be neatly distinguished simply by any one factor, meaning a functional political or cultural frontier did not exist.⁵²

Scholarship concerning medieval Ireland overwhelmingly supports the construction of a political and cultural frontier. Rees Davies characterized Ireland and

⁴⁹ Marie Therese Flanagan, *Irish Society, Anglo-Norman Settlers, Angevin Kingship: Interactions in Ireland in the Late 12th Century*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 247.

⁵⁰ Robin Frame, *Britain and Ireland, 1170-1450*, (London: Hambledon Press, 1998), 134.

⁵¹ Robin Frame, *Britain and Ireland, 1170-1450*, (London: Hambledon Press, 1998), 139.

⁵² Robin Frame, *Britain and Ireland, 1170-1450*, (London: Hambledon Press, 1998), 147.

Wales as “fragmented but with more fluid and localized frontiers.”⁵³ Davies accepted the construct of a frontier yet recognized the need for symbolic ethnicity as he noted fluidity. Davies commented frontier in Ireland and Wales did not become apparent until the institutionalizing of separation between the conquering power, (English) and the native people.⁵⁴ Davies agrees the frontier was a reactionary government construct. He commented there was no single area in Ireland under only English Common Law or Brehon Law, yet Crown government distinguished areas of large native populations as “lands of war.”⁵⁵ A frontier implies a distinct separation between two or more parties. If this line constantly moves, a frontier does not remain a viable explanation for the situation in medieval Ireland.

Conclusion

Scholarship remains divided on the existence of a frontier in medieval Ireland. This thesis draws upon work from both sides of the argument. Drawing upon the historiographical conversation, this thesis rejects the construction of a political or cultural frontier in both the Viking age and the Anglo-Norman period of Ireland. Many scholars such as Marie Therese Flanagan and James Lydon accept the presence of a frontier in medieval Ireland while others, such as Robin Frame remain unconvinced. The process of

⁵³ Rees Davies, "Frontier Arrangements in Fragmented Societies: Ireland and Wales," in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay, 2nd ed. (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1992), 79.

⁵⁴ Rees Davies, "Frontier Arrangements in Fragmented Societies: Ireland and Wales," in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay, 2nd ed. (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1992), 79.

⁵⁵ Rees Davies, "Frontier Arrangements in Fragmented Societies: Ireland and Wales," in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay, 2nd ed. (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1992), 82.

degeneracy as outlined by Seán Duffy provides a process constructed by the words of the Crown government upon Anglo-Norman magnates and their families to quantify and control customary practices such as the use of the Irish language, intermarriage, dress, and hairstyle.

Blending theory borrowed from cultural anthropology with a historical question produced a livelier discussion of evidence. Victor Turner's *Communitas* allowed logical divisions within the following argument. By examining the question of political ethnogenesis of the Anglo-Irish not grounded solely in chronology but by theoretical process provided a strong and structured examination of the research question. Anthony Wallace's revitalization movement applies the "how" to an otherwise "why" question. The rigid process of a revitalization movement in five parts breaks open the broad strokes *Communitas* movements of separation, liminality, and aggregation. To separate the anthropological tradition from this research would leave the question of political ethnogenesis half-answered.

The following chapters explore the process of the political ethnogenesis of the Anglo-Irish. Although the Anglo-Irish do not appear in primary source material until the later twelfth century, the groundwork for this process began in the earlier Viking age. Each chapter scrutinizes examples drawn from Regino of Prüm's definition of a nation, language, custom, and law. The title of the thesis, as well as each chapter title, are derived from an element of the writing of Giraldus Cambrensis. Giraldus acts as a steady voice throughout the argument as he commented on each issue presented. All in text quotes are presented in English unless otherwise necessary for the linguistic argument,

for the original language, please consult the footnotes. All translations are my own unless otherwise specified.

CHAPTER II - BEFORE US, WE WERE MANY

This chapter argues the process of political ethnogenesis in Ireland began in the Viking Age. Although the process did not yield a politically distinctive Irish group or “nation,” the process of hybridity appeared within primary sources to indicate Victor Turner’s liminal state of separation. Viking involvement in Ireland differed heavily from Anglo-Norman involvement in that Vikings did not legislate political uniformity. The Viking age in Ireland represented a time of immense acculturation and assimilation on both sides, leaving no need for a political frontier. This chapter argues a steady state existed prior to Viking arrival in Ireland and remained largely unaffected throughout the assimilation process. Despite barriers in language and custom, no laws passed during this era reflected a need for uniformity by either the Irish or Scandinavians. The steady state explored within this chapter did not waver until the arrival of Anglo-Normans in 1169 who sought a distinct, politically defined “Anglo-Irish nation.” The term “nation” used within this thesis refers to Regino of Prüm’s ninth century definition, which considers those of the same language, custom, and law to be a nation.⁵⁶

Vikings, according to historiography and existing primary source material were masters of assimilation. Their presence on the island marked the first known appearance of a non-Irish or outsider force in a large capacity. Viking founded Dublin became the first established town in Ireland. Although native Irish or Brehon Law extended throughout the island, Dublin as the first established city or *wic* did not adhere to a

⁵⁶ Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon cum Continuatione Treverensi*, ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG 50 (Hanover, 1890), 20. “Diversae nationum popularum inter se discrepant genere moribus lingua legibus.” The behavior of the tongue, of the genus of the laws, of the different nations of peoples who are different to each other.

written law code. Brehon Law functioned largely as an oral tradition which reflected local customs and varied greatly throughout the island.⁵⁷ Various Scandinavians settled and traded throughout this early *wic*. No distinctive boundaries have been discovered of a predominantly Scandinavian section of town juxtaposed to an Irish area within greater Dublin. Ideas of separation due to an unfamiliar ethnic background is a modern criticism. All evidence points toward a deeply integrated trading area. Prior to the establishment of Dublin, there was no need for a unified concept of political Irish identity.

Dublin in the Viking Age produced politically hybrid children. The standing law code of Ireland, the *Senchus Mór*, relied upon local particularism, a system in use by Scandinavian newcomers. Viking arrival to Ireland did not create the concept of “outsider” for the first time, as seen in previous scholarship. Examining the *Senchus Mór* for evidence of local particularism specifically targeted at Scandinavians reveals the flexibility of the legal document and the people to accept Vikings into the social fabric of Ireland. Vikings did not produce any form of colonial law while in Ireland, allowing more peaceful hybridity. Unions of Scandinavians and Irish marked two groups creating a new generation of children bound by language, custom, and law traditions which thrived on local particularism. Any separation or beginning liminality felt by the Hiberno-Norse remains a purely political issue.

⁵⁷ Laurence Ginnell, *The Brehon Laws: A Legal Handbook*, (London, T.F. Unwin: 1894), 4.

Theory

The term ethnogenesis was broadly defined by historian Guy Halsall as “The process of forming ethnic units-peoples.”⁵⁸ Creating elements of a new group identity dictates context and provides the structure for any construction of ethnic identity⁵⁹.

Within the context of this chapter, the process of ethnogenesis began with the separation of the Hiberno-Norse from both the Irish and Scandinavians. The concept of separation, as examined by anthropologist Victor Turner, dictates that liminality occurs before creation or the joining of an existing identity. The liminal state of separation is the first stage in a three-part process in which an individual realizes they are not a fully accepted member of a group.⁶⁰

Forming a new identity requires the use of many moving parts over an extended period. To assess the validity of James Lydon’s “middle nation” argument, his theoretical process for ethnogenesis is applied to the earlier Viking age of Ireland. While Lydon’s initial analysis limited the scope to the Anglo-Norman period beginning in 1169, his work is easily applied to the earlier Viking age. Using Victor Turner’s theoretical model of *Communitas*, James Lydon’s middle nation argument will be applied to the Hiberno-Norse/Hiberno-Scandinavians known in primary sources as the “Ostmen.”⁶¹

⁵⁸ Guy Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West: 376-568* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2007), 15.

⁵⁹ Eugene Roosen, *Creating Ethnicity: The Process of Ethnogenesis*, vol. 5, *Frontiers in Anthropology* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1989), 13.

⁶⁰ Victor Turner, “Liminality and Communitas,” in *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1969), 94.

⁶¹ Seán Duffy, “Ostmen, Irish and Welsh in the Eleventh Century,” *Peritia* vol. 9 (1995), 380.

Anthony Wallace's revitalization movement requires a stable environment, known as the steady state, before any form of social stress or trauma can be measured."⁶²

This chapter examines the steady state before and after Viking arrival in Ireland.

Although Vikings brought new language, custom, and law, they subscribed to a kinship based system recognizable to the Irish. Vikings began the process of ethnogenesis and serve as an example of a false start. Viking groups obtained aggregation into Irish society, rendering the process of ethnogenesis unnecessary. Similarities in Viking and Irish custom prevented a revitalization movement from gaining momentum.

Beginning in this chapter the following headings of law, language, and custom appear to guide the reader through each segment of Regino of Prüm's definition. This chapter begins with a discussion on law due to the chronology of events discussed. While theory appears within a heading in the following chapters, it interacts with primary source evidence in all subheadings. All textual evidence will be presented in English unless the original language is specifically valuable to the argument at hand. Please consult footnotes for all passages in their original language.

Law

Law, by nature, is reactionary. Brehon Law, while an ancient staple in Irish culture, was never rigidly defined or observed. Katharine Simms re-evaluated the scope and scale of Brehon Law's reach "The Old Irish texts which enumerate and describe the legal customs of society c. 700 A.D. rapidly became established as an authoritative and immutable "canon" of Irish law, to be copied and recopied, to be expounded by means of

⁶² Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements" in *American Anthropologist* 58, (1956), 266.

glosses and commentaries, but not subject to change or adaptation.”⁶³ Simms highlighted inconsistencies within the law codes themselves. Brehon law, much like canon law, represented an ever-changing, reactionary set of writings. No specific text of Brehon law remains intact and untouched throughout the centuries in question. These law codes were fluid in nature. Law codes varied from region to region and from provincial kings depending on political affiliation. In this politically undefined environment, law began in Ireland without cause to address foreign involvement in island affairs.

The earliest law codes of Ireland, the *Senchus Mór*, do not directly mention the coming of the Scandinavians. Irish law, often only defined as Brehon law existed in many varying forms. The *Senchus Mór* is the most complete section of medieval Irish law to be studied in the modern period. Brehon, simply meaning judge, is most often used as a blanket term for a form of “common law” throughout the island. Brehon laws within the *Senchus Mór* reflect the politically varied nature of Irish identity throughout the Viking age. As previously discussed, the concept of “outsider” in a large-scale sense, did not become necessary until Viking arrival in the eighth century. The *Senchus Mór* differentiated between foreigners of good intent and those without within the text. “Outsider” meant an individual from another settlement within Ireland itself.

The terms outsider and foreigner were used interchangeably throughout the law code. Foreigner applied to a variety of situations as seen within the *Senchus Mór*, such as, “whatever sensible adult has incited a fool, whether he be a sensible native freeman, a sensible stranger, a sensible foreigner, or a sensible daer-man, the compensation due of

⁶³ Katharine Simms, "The Legal Position of Irishwomen in the Later Middle Ages," *Irish Jurist* 10 (1975), 96.

the fool is alike diminished.”⁶⁴ While this excerpt specifically speaks to the care and honor price of a mentally handicapped individual, linguistic evidence can be discerned. The use of the term “sensible foreigner,” meaning an outsider who is not recognized as having a mental disability, held a place within the native law code. Had Ireland not functioned under varying principalities, Viking involvement on the island would not have drastically reshaped the concept of Irishness. Within this segment of law, the foreigner is not to be treated differently than any other free native involved in an incident. It is noteworthy the concept of a foreigner was not viewed within the context of Brehon law as a badge of dishonor or suspicion. In no segment of the surviving law codes is an outsider described as inherently different or substandard due to their location of birth or ethnic background. This lack of distinction within the source demonstrates a logical beginning for the understanding of the process of ethnogenesis. Ireland, at this point, experienced a state of stability, or a time when separation or resistance was not necessary. A clearly defined steady state according to the model of Anthony Wallace, is crucial in understanding the process of ethnogenesis.

In the ninth century, Scandinavians entered the land, brought new customs, language, ideas, and economic foundations. Prior to Viking involvement in Ireland, a sense of hierarchy and wealth was established. D.A. Binchy explored early Irish society regularly in his examination of Brehon Law or the *Senchus Mor*. Binchy stated early Irish law relied on three pillars: familiarity, tribalism, and hierarchy. Binchy’s model of

⁶⁴ Thaddeus O'Mahoney and Alexander George Richey, eds., *Senchus Mor Corus Bescna; Customary Law and the Book of Aicill*, 1st ed., vol. 3, Ancient Laws of Ireland (London, UK: Longman's, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1873), 165.

tribalism originally described the tribe as a *túath*, a family or kinship based community⁶⁵. The establishment of a tribal system rather than a centralized government further supports an argument for a steady state prior to Viking involvement. Wallace mandates the steady state change occurs naturally within the given population due to a general agreement with the status quo.⁶⁶ The Irish and incoming Scandinavians recognized a system built upon a tribal system. This acknowledgement of kinship based government rendered any laws of uniformity unnecessary, meaning the deliberate outlawing of the rival group's language, custom, or law.

Mary Valante commented on Binchy's assessment "by familiar he referred to the kin-based nature of Irish society. By tribal he meant that the political system was highly fragmented, and certainly Irish society in the seventh and eighth centuries was hierarchical with regards to lordship, client ship, and individual status. And by rural Binchy meant that pre-Viking Irish society was entirely non-urban"⁶⁷ Wealth was not measured in money or material wealth in pre-Viking Ireland but by cattle. Farmers carried out business by trading and selling these cattle to maintain their homes and families rather than to grow excess wealth. It is due to this smaller and more kinship-based social norms a monetary system never developed until outside influence. Lydon commented on Binchy's model, "before the end of the ninth century the custodians of the law in Ireland found that under the stress of the Norse incursions, the traditional structure

⁶⁵ D.A. Binchy, "Secular Institutions" in *Early Irish Society*, ed. Myles Dillon (Cultural Relations Committee, Dublin: 1954), 53.

⁶⁶ Anthony F.C. Wallace, *Religion: An Anthropological View* (New York: Random House, 1966), 158.

⁶⁷ Mary A. Valante, *The Vikings in Ireland: Settlement, Trade, and Urbanization* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), 18.

of Irish society was already collapsing about their ears.”⁶⁸ Lydon acknowledged Binchy’s admission of the Norse settlement of Dublin as an active process rather than an immediate decision to create a permanent trading base.

Language

Dublin, a city founded by Vikings ca. 841 according to the *Annals of Ulster*, provided a new backdrop in which the Norse could live and work within their known traditions.⁶⁹ Previously, the Dublin site served as a *longphort* or a temporary campsite used for overwintering Vikings in 838.⁷⁰ The city functioned as a trading center or *wic*. The *wic* and eventual city of Dublin thrived as a multicultural city populated by Irish and Scandinavians seeking trade. By the tenth century, Dublin served as the urban epicenter of Ireland.⁷¹ Within this cosmopolitan *wic*, a society characterized by trade and bilingualism emerged. Surviving texts reveal a sense of alienation of the individual from a larger political identity.⁷² This section examines the use of multiple languages within

⁶⁸ James F. Lydon, *The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), 14.

⁶⁹ Donnchadh Ó Corráin and Mavis Cournane, eds., *The Annals of Ulster*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Cork, Ireland: CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts: a project of University College Cork, 2008), folio & column H40va, line 841.4. “Longport oc Duiblinn as-rorta Laigin & Oi Neill etir tuatha.” “There was a naval camp at Dublin from which the Laigin and the Uí Néill were plundered.”

⁷⁰ *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, ed. and trans. Clare Downham, (Cork, Ireland: CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts: a project of University College Cork, 2008) 838.1.

⁷¹ Clare Downham, "Coastal Communities and Diaspora Identities in Viking Age Ireland," in *Maritime Societies of the Viking and Medieval World*, ed. James H. Barrett and Sarah Jane Gibbon, 2nd ed., vol. 37, Society for Medieval Archaeology (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), 371.

⁷² Clare Downham, "Coastal Communities and Diaspora Identities in Viking Age Ireland," in *Maritime Societies of the Viking and Medieval World*, ed. James H. Barrett and Sarah Jane Gibbon, 2nd ed., vol. 37, Society for Medieval Archaeology (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), 375.

Dublin society as well as specific terms used within the Irish language to acknowledge difference between themselves and other Scandinavians.

Bilingualism within new cities such as Dublin presents the first opportunity for the measurement of Victor Turner's model of *Communitas*. For liminality to begin, a separation is required. The use of multiple languages within the city gave way to many individuals switching between a Scandinavian language and Irish. In some cases, Dubliners within the first generation developed a pidgin or hybridized language between Norse and Irish.⁷³ The use of a pidgin serves as the first marker of mutual acceptance. No surviving texts demonstrate linguistic tension or separation between the Irish and Scandinavian settlers prior to rise of the *Gall-goídil* (foreigner Gaels) modernly known as the Hiberno-Norse. The term appeared for the first time in the 850s as a group of mixed Scandinavian and Gaelic culture or ethnicity.⁷⁴ The *Gall-goídil* obtained this title due to their pidgin accent called *gigoc*.⁷⁵ The term *Gall-goídil* occurs more regularly in sources relating to Scotland.⁷⁶ The term Hiberno-Norse used within this chapter is a modern construction. At no point throughout the Middle Ages would a child of mixed parentage identified themselves as Hiberno-Norse.

⁷³ Ruth Johnson, *Viking Age Dublin* (Dublin: Townhouse, 2004), 85.

⁷⁴ David Dumville, *The Churches of North Britain in the First Viking-Age*, vol. 5, The Whithorn Lecture (Friends of the Whithorn Trust, 1997), 27.

⁷⁵ Clare Downham, "Coastal Communities and Diaspora Identities in Viking Age Ireland," in *Maritime Societies of the Viking and Medieval World*, ed. James H. Barrett and Sarah Jane Gibbon, 2nd ed., vol. 37, Society for Medieval Archaeology (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), 375.

⁷⁶ A.P. Smyth, "The *Black* Foreigners of York and the *White* Foreigners of Dublin", in *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* vol. 19 (1975), 7.

Local leaders of Dublin throughout the Viking period did not have to be native to Ireland. Native Irish provincial rulers such as the Uí Néill formed alliances with Scandinavian traders. These economic ties grew to larger political aspirations as the Uí Néill and Scandinavians began the practice of intermarriage to build royal dynasties. *The Annals of Ulster* documented, “A battle won by the heathens at Inber na mBárc against Uí Néill from the Sinand to the sea, in which there was a slaughter which has not been reckoned, but the principal kings escaped.”⁷⁷ This 837 passage began a long running relationship between the Scandinavian rulers of Dublin and the Uí Néill kings.

Dublin appears in the annalistic records as early as 838. “The Danes continued...they had another fort at Dublin, from whence they did alsoe destroy the lands of Leinster and of the o’Neales of the South to the mount of Sliue Bloome.”⁷⁸ Once again the tumultuous relationship between the Uí Néill and a foreign force resurfaced in the annals. The atypical example of a specific kinship group having ties to an outside force over the course of multiple generations allows the scope of study to remain within Leinster and more specifically Dublin based. While this chapter directly remains concerned with the Viking period rather than the overall subject of this thesis, the same methods and expectations are raised of the sources. The first documentation of the Uí

⁷⁷*Annals of Ulster*, ed. and trans. Donnchadh Ó Corráin and Mavis Cournane (Cork, Ireland: CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts: a project of University College Cork), Year U837, folio and column H41va. “Bellum re genntibh oc Inbiur na m-Barc for h-U Neill o Shinaind co muir dú i r-roladh ar nad-ráirmedh, acht primi reges euasserunt.”

⁷⁸ Rev Denis Murphy, *The Annals of Clonmacnoise, Being Annals of Ireland from the Earliest Period to A.D. 1408* (Printed at the University Press for the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 1896), 138.

Néill contact with Vikings recorded in the *Annals of Ulster* in 837 only called them foreigners.

The use of the term *genntibh* has many translations: most commonly it means foreigner, although scholars such as Mary Valante argue the correct translation of this term to be “heathen.”⁷⁹ Scholars remain divided on the proper use of the term within the annals. The term, while divisive, is not an adequate marker of separation. Monks generating the annals would have declared anyone in opposition to their religious order a heathen regardless of point of origin or observed religion.

Scholars remain divided concerning the labels of *Finn* (white or fair) and *Dub* (black or dark) when applied to groups of medieval people. The terms are most often found within the ninth century *Annals of Ulster* and the twelfth century *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* or *The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*. While the literal translation of *Finn* and *Dub* are accepted, their application to the Danes as the “dark heathens” and the Norse as “light heathens” is problematic.⁸⁰ The *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* states, “the black gentiles of Dubhlinn” in reference to the followers of King Turgeis, a Scandinavian ruler in 839.⁸¹ Ascribing a point of origin to the heathen or foreigner reflects modern notions of

⁷⁹ Mary A. Valante, "Vikings, The Slave Trade, and the Value of Eunuchs," in *Castration and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Larissa Tracy, 1st ed. (Suffolk, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2013), 180.

⁸⁰ David Dumville, "Old Dubliners and New Dubliners in Ireland and Britain: a Viking Age Story," in *Medieval Dublin VI*, ed. Sean Duffy (Dublin, Ireland: Four Courts Press, 2005), 79.

⁸¹ James Henthorn Todd, ed., *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh: The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, or The Invasions of Ireland by the Danes and other Norsemen*, Cambridge Library Collection Rolls Series (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 11. “Du Dubhgenntib Duiblinni”

nationalism rather than conclusions informed by surviving ninth-century evidence.⁸² The annals do not demonstrate political separation between the two groups.

Any indication of conscious nationalism within the sources stems from the use of blanket terms such as “Danar” to not only reflect those of Danish origin but all Scandinavians by Irish authors.⁸³ The *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* also reported of 851, “black gentile Danars and they spread themselves over Erinn, and they endeavored to drive the fair gentiles out of Erinn.”⁸⁴ The rare appearances of the prefixes *Finn* and *Dub* support no meaningful separation based on political identity occurred between the Norwegians, Danes, or Irish. No ninth or tenth century manuscripts detail any national identifications of Danes or Norwegians.⁸⁵

Tides changed in 851 as the *Annals of Ulster* called upon distinct terminology concerning a division between the Scandinavians. “The Dark heathens came to Áth Cliath, and inflicted a great slaughter on the Fair foreigners, and they pillaged the longphorts, both people and possessions. An attack by the Dark heathens on Linn Duachaill, and a great slaughter of them.”⁸⁶ As of 851, Vikings were no longer recorded

⁸² Clare Downham, "Viking Identities in Ireland: It's Not All Black and White," ed. Sean Duffy, in *Medieval Dublin XI* (Dublin, Ireland: Four Courts Press, 2011), 186.

⁸³ Clare Downham, “Hiberno-Norwegians and Anglo-Danes: Anachronistic Ethnicities and Viking-Age England” in *Mediaeval Scandinavia 19* (2009), 139-140.

⁸⁴ James Henthorn Todd, ed., *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh: The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, or The Invasions of Ireland by the Danes and other Norsemen*, Cambridge Library Collection Rolls Series (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 18. “Dubgennti Danarda, ocus ro laeset fo Erind, ocus dha badar ic diucur na Findgenti a hErind.”

⁸⁵ Clare Downham, "Viking Identities in Ireland: It's Not All Black and White," ed. Sean Duffy, in *Medieval Dublin XI* (Dublin, Ireland: Four Courts Press, 2011), 188.

⁸⁶ *Annals of Ulster*, ed. and trans. Donnchadh Ó Corráin and Mavis Cournane (Cork, Ireland: CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts: a project of University College Cork), Year

as one homogenous group of Scandinavians, for now a distinction between fair and dark foreigner appears throughout the source material. Mary Valante concluded, “The 850s record numerous conflicts between the already established Norwegians in Ireland, the so-called fair foreigners, and the newcomers called dark foreigners.”⁸⁷ Valante is not alone in her equation of the fair foreigner to the Norwegians. This idea persists throughout the historiography despite the rare use of *Finn* and *Dub* in primary sources.

Although Ireland was devoid of towns, it was predominantly Christianized. On the surface, it appears “fair foreigner” and “dark foreigner” imply a difference in public reception, however the term used within the annals which is most often translated as “dark foreigner”, “Dubgennti” is not the same term often translated as foreigner. This term specifically translates to “dark heathen” not to be confused with any further implications than a religious disdain. This term appeared regularly in the early entries of the annals yet is consistently viewed as foreigner rather than heathen. *Dubgennti* does not remain the prominent term in later primary sources such as the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*. This linguistic and perhaps deliberate use of a higher context word must have distinguished an intentional divide in public perception of these foreigners from the initial invasion until the time of composition of the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*.

Custom

Sources concerning the early period of Dublin were largely propaganda pieces for local provincial kings who hoped to gain alliances with the economically savvy

U837 “Tetact Dubgennti du Ath Cliath co ralsat ár mór du Fhinngallaibh & coro shlatsat in longport eitir doine & moine. Slat do Dubhgenntib oc Lind Duachail & ar mor diib.”

⁸⁷ Mary A. Valante, *The Vikings in Ireland: Settlement, Trade, and Urbanization* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), 66-67.

Scandinavians.⁸⁸ The *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* demonstrates twelfth century rhetoric for several Irish provincial kings controlling land in and around Leinster. Twelfth century Irish leaders desired alliances with wealthy Anglo-Norman magnates. While the outcome of the Anglo-Norman “invasion” would stand in stark comparison to the Viking “invasion”, both events remain linked within this text commissioned by the Uí Neill clan. Designed to propagate the importance of an Irish alliance with the Anglo-Norman adventurers, the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* documented the earlier encounter with new Scandinavian power as demonstrated in the *Annals of Ulster*. While the text reports on the ninth century, its political goals were rooted in twelfth century alliances between the Irish and incoming Anglo-Normans.

This mutually beneficial relationship between the Uí Néill kings and the Vikings provided the native Irish with weapons, wealth, and other material goods needed to ensure their continued success and claim to their regional kingship. A ninth century Viking chief appeared within the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*. This king did not receive any negative treatment within the text. His mention is limited to the claiming of all foreigners within Ireland. The text does not indicate which foreigners fall under his authority. The *Cogadh* reports, “There came after that a great royal fleet into the north of Erin, with Turgeis, who assumed the sovereignty of the foreigners of Erin; and the

⁸⁸ Donnchadh Ó Corráin, “Nationality and Kingship in Medieval Ireland”, *Historical Studies XI: Nationality and the pursuit of national independence*, papers read before the Conference held at Trinity College, Dublin, 26–31 May 1975 (Belfast: Appletree Press 1978),4-5.

north of Erin was plundered by them and they spread themselves over Leth Chuinn.”⁸⁹ As previously discussed, the term foreigner could apply to any person not of a specific kin group or area therefore, the use of the term “duibgeinti” within the text cannot absolutely become synonymous with nationality.

The earlier Viking age was not politically divisive enough to create a moment of cultural distortion. This interaction did bring an end to the existing steady state for both Scandinavians in their home countries, and the Irish. Although these steady states ended, the choice of the Vikings to assimilate rather than conquer the existing Irish culture naturally fostered a new steady state of heterogeneity. The *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* also reports on intermarriage at the highest levels indicating no meaningful division of the native and the newcomer “Sitriuc, king of the foreigners, son of Imár.”⁹⁰ Sitriuc, marked the beginning of the dynasty of Imár, a Scandinavian chieftain who married an Irish woman. Sitriuc was the first Hiberno-Norse leader.⁹¹ Sitriuc’s ability to obtain power within Dublin and continue a dynastic claim further demonstrates the steady state preserved throughout the Viking age.

⁸⁹ James Henthorn Todd, ed., *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh: The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill or, the Invasions of Ireland by the Danes and Other Norsemen*, 2nd ed., Cambridge Library Collection (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 9.

⁹⁰ James Henthorn Todd, ed., *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh: The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill or, the Invasions of Ireland by the Danes and Other Norsemen*, 2nd ed., Cambridge Library Collection (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 29. “Sitriuc rí Gall, Sitriuc mac Imar.”

⁹¹ Clare Downham, “Hiberno-Norwegians and Anglo-Danes: Anachronistic Ethnicities and Viking-Age England” in *Mediaeval Scandinavia 19* (2009), 167.

Conclusion

The Irish identity may never have developed a strong need for a national concept without the invasion displayed throughout the period. Unlike in other lands, Vikings did not simply raid and trade in Ireland, they took wives and settled. Dublin area settlements such as Ostmantown prove a strong sense of community in an area where native Irish not only lived and thrived but continued to build communities with the incoming Scandinavians. Ostmantown freely remained a Norse speaking suburb until English Common Law took effect in Dublin in the twelfth century.⁹² Migrant Vikings did not see fit to obliterate native custom. Incoming Scandinavians experienced acculturation as did the native Irish.

Viking age Dublin presented the first stage in which Lydon's argument for a Middle Nation can be tested; the steady state which experienced separation. Both the Irish and Scandinavians experienced a steady state within Ireland prior to and throughout Viking assimilation. While differences in language, custom, and law occurred, at no point were the differences severe enough to insight a large scale political awakening. Both groups remained firmly planted in kinship based politics. In this steady state, Lydon acknowledged remnants of old Norse settlements in certain areas of Dublin in his initial analysis of the struggle for a middle nation.⁹³ These strongholds are described as distinctly Norse (not distinctly a person of Norwegian descent but rather any

⁹² Seán Duffy, "Town and Crown: The Kings of England and Their City of Dublin," in *Thirteenth Century England X*, ed. Michael Prestwich, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), 96.

⁹³ James F. Lydon, *The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), 31.

Scandinavian within Ireland), rather than assimilated Vikings as the primary source material would lead the reader to believe.

This use of divided identity may be traced through the primary source material. “Ímar, king of the Norsemen of all Ireland and Britain, ended his life.”⁹⁴ In this short statement, the annalist acknowledged the need to separate the Norsemen from the Irish. This is not an artificial boundary placed by the historian. “Ímar and Amlaíb inflicted a rout on Caitil the Fair and his Norse-Irish in the lands of Munster.”⁹⁵ This entry from the *Annals of Ulster* demonstrate the use of distinction from the Norse, Irish, and blended ethnic group as early as 857. Between 837 and 857, the Hiberno-Norse emerged as an individual identity. In this case, the Hiberno-Norse experienced aggregation into the larger Irish identity. Victor Turner’s model of *Communitas* states aggregation is the necessary step for an individual or group to gain acceptance.⁹⁶ The act of aggregation paused the process of ethnogenesis. The false start of ethnogenesis due to aggregation of the Hiberno-Norse demonstrates the presence of a steady state as defined by Anthony Wallace’s model.

The Viking choice of assimilation out of necessity remains the only factor which could have created the restructuring of the steady state. The Hiberno-Norse never gained

⁹⁴ *Annals of Ulster*, ed. and trans. Donnchadh Ó Corráin and Mavis Cournane (Cork, Ireland: CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts: a project of University College Cork), Year U873.3. “Imhar, rex Nordmannorum totius Hibernie & Brittanie, uitam finiuit.”

⁹⁵ *Annals of Ulster*, ed. and trans. Donnchadh Ó Corráin and Mavis Cournane (Cork, Ireland: CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts: a project of University College Cork), Year U857.1. “Roiniudh re n-Imar & re n-Amlaiph for Caittil Find cona Gall-Gaedelaibh h-i tiriibh Muman.”

⁹⁶ Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (New York: Aldine, 1969), 94-95.

legal distinction in any law codes as another who must be treated differently as was the case for the Anglo-Irish. As we shall see in the following chapters, this stands in stark contrast to the Anglo-Irish, who were marked by the *Statutes of Kilkenny (1366)* as degenerates. A full discussion of degeneration as a concept and in relation to the Anglo-Irish follows in chapter four. Assimilation of the Norse and Irish occurred on both sides as it did in the Anglo-Norman invasion.

Viking-age Dublin cannot be ignored in the conversation political ethnogenesis in Ireland. While cultural distortion, as defined by Wallace, or extreme action did not occur during this time, the Viking age presented the first documented emergence of a political identity in Ireland.⁹⁷ The process began during this period. Prior to Viking arrival, there was no need for a unified Irish political identity. The concept of “outsider” often referred to people from other settlements. This open interpretation of “outsider” meant the introduction of someone from another linguistic tradition or custom did not radically change any existing customs. The arrival of the Scandinavians in Ireland marked the first time the Irish had to consider what made them different from outsiders who spoke another language, worshipped other gods, and practiced new methods of economics.

Viking-age Dublin is viewed as a failed frontier, according to James Lydon’s original argument. Unlike Lydon’s model, this thesis does not rely on the existence of a frontier to craft an argument for ethnogenesis. The Hiberno-Norse may not have experienced the same feelings of ethnic inferiority as the Anglo-Irish would in the same

⁹⁷ Anthony F.C. Wallace, “Revitalization Movements” in *American Anthropologist* 58, (1956), 269.

town just a few hundred years later, but they did inspire the Irish to consider what it meant to be politically defined as “Irish” in the presence of a foreigner from another land, speaking another language.

The active choice on the part of the Scandinavians to assimilate rather than decimate the population directly influenced social outcomes. Prior to their arrival, Ireland functioned as a pastoral society free from the trappings of large concepts of government. Viking Dublin became the first multi-cultural trading post on the island, introduced new technology, but most importantly it introduced new problems. These experiences remained etched in the minds of those who constructed and commissioned pieces of writing elevating the provincial and High kings of Ireland. Until and because of this moment, the Irish had no need to see themselves as a unified people.

CHAPTER III - I MONSTER, YOU SAVIOR

The English Crown, in conjunction with the Dublin government, solidified political identity and firmly defined Englishness in language, custom, and law. These rigid distinctions disrupted ongoing assimilation and acculturation by Anglo-Norman magnates. Many previous scholars determined medieval Dublin a frontier between native Irish and incoming Anglo-Norman magnates. This chapter rejects the assumption of a frontier. Anglo-Normans served as a catalyst to the creation of an Irish identity in terms of Regino of Prüm's definition. This construction of a politically defined Irish identity did not come to fruition due to a geographical frontier but through reactions to a fictitious frontier created by the Crown's primacy of English language, custom, and law against the Irish and the "degenerate" Anglo-Norman magnates.

Regino of Prüm considered the use of national identity as a form of classification in the wake of Carolingian decline in the twelfth-century. As a German abbot, Regino's position carried much responsibility. Rather than wait for signs within the church environment, Regino wrote on his fears and experiences. In approximately 900, he composed *epistula ad Hathonem episcopum missa* in which he identified three pillars of identity: "The behavior of the tongue of the genus of the laws of the different nations of peoples to each other are different".⁹⁸ Regino's outline of language, custom, and law inspired a reconsideration of primary sources for examples of ethnogenesis throughout the Viking age into the Anglo-Norman period. This research utilizes Regino's three

⁹⁸ Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon cum Continuatione Treverensi*, ed. Friedrich Kurze, MGH SRG 50 (Hanover, 1890) p. 20. "Diversae nationes popularum interse discrepant genere moribus lingua legibus."

considerations to argue for the political ethnogenesis of the Anglo-Irish in medieval Ireland as a reaction to harsh laws placed by the English Crown.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Dublin operated as a multicultural society prior to Anglo-Norman arrival in the twelfth-century. The Viking Age in Ireland boasted minted coins reflecting both Scandinavian and Irish language and imagery demonstrating a functioning blend of culture. Accepting medieval Dublin as a tapestry of cultures reflecting native Irish kinship groups as well as varied Norse and Danish customs, a defined cultural border between Irish and Anglo-Norman cannot surface. Dublin does not lend itself to a grand narrative. The medieval story of this city is one of assimilation, acculturation, and change, not of rise and fall. Throughout Viking Age Dublin, assimilation occurred regularly. Place names throughout the city reflect Norse influence as seen in the suburb of Ostmantown, named after the Ostman of Dublin.⁹⁹ In accepting the diversity of early medieval Dublin, there can be no defined frontier between arriving Anglo-Norman magnates and the native Irish as these distinctions are artificial. Magnates, like Vikings, did not create definite barriers between themselves and the Irish. Until discussions of a unified polity occurred, these classifications of “native” or “outsider” appeared largely irrelevant. Brehon law acknowledged an outsider as anyone separate from the localized kin group entering the society.¹⁰⁰ No mention of *natio* appears until post 1317, in the “Remonstrance of the Irish Princes.”

⁹⁹ Seán Duffy, "Ostmen, Irish and Welsh in the Eleventh Century," *Peritia* 9 (1995). 380

¹⁰⁰ Seán Duffy, Ailbhe MacShamhráin, and James Moynes, eds., *Medieval Ireland: An Encyclopedia*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2005), 42-3.

While most modern scholarship upholds the traditional grand narrative of conquest and frontier, the primary sources present a more complicated relationship between the individual and nationality. An early thirteenth century poem, “The Song of Dermot and the Earl,” problematizes boundaries placed upon individuals based on their point of origin. The poem, composed in an Anglo-Norman dialect of Old French for the benefit of a French-speaking monarch of England, tells the story of Strongbow’s, (Richard de Clare 1130-1176) partnership with Leinster king Diarmait MacMurchada prior to Henry II’s 1171 arrival in Ireland. Strongbow arrived in Ireland at the request of Diarmait Mac Murchada to retrieve Mac Murchada’s throne. Though a vassal of the king of England, Strongbow obtained no permission from Henry II to participate in these actions. Diarmait Mac Murchada was the first Irish monarch to obtain assistance from wealthy leaders in another country. The poem appears to report a dichotomy between the English and the Irish resulting in a frontier. Lines 1504-1508 demonstrate the robust multicultural society residing in Dublin as the author acknowledges the presence of two men with Scandinavian names: “the earl landed on the eve of the feast of St. Bartholomew. The most powerful men in the city were called Ragnall and Sitric.”¹⁰¹ While it cannot be determined whether Ragnall and Sitric were Hiberno-Scandinavian, their status within the city as the most powerful men deserves notice. A frontier determines two groups be in competition with one another for authority. Ragnall and

¹⁰¹ Evelyn Mullally, *The Deeds of the Normans in Ireland, La Geste des Engleis en Yrlande: A New Edition of the Chronicle Formerly Known as "The Song of Dermot and the Earl"* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), 91. “La v[e]ile Seint Bartholomee Esteit li quens arivé. Regenald e Sidroc erent clamé Les plus pöanz de la cité.” Translation by Evelyn Mullally.

Sitric stand in opposition to a frontier setting. Long after Viking arrival, two men with distinctly Scandinavian names are the most powerful among what the French call the “Irish race”.

The first Anglo-Norman to arrive in Ireland, Richard de Clare came at the behest of King Diarmait MacMurchada, a dispossessed King of Leinster. In exchange for assistance in the recapturing of his title and people, Richard de Clare, nicknamed Strongbow, was promised Diarmait’s daughter, Aoife, as well as the right to succeed Diarmait upon his death as King of Leinster.¹⁰² “The Song of Dermot and the Earl,” crafted for French literate audiences, demonstrates that the “Anglo-Norman Invasion” of Ireland was predicated on agreement between an Irish king and an Anglo-Norman noble. The beginning of Anglo-Norman-Irish relations was a situation of balanced reciprocity. Strongbow invited other Anglo-Norman lords, whom I have previously referred to as magnates, to assist in reclaiming Diarmait’s title as King of Leinster. These magnates retained a loose connection to the English Crown as personal loyalties and self-interests often dictated their actions. Many magnates, Strongbow included, required more financial income to maintain their homes in England. To escape royal taxation and for other individual reasons, these lords left their homes to seek adventure and land in Ireland. Many of these lords did not seek power over Irish people so much as ownership of land and resources to generate financial gain. Like Vikings who came before them, these magnates assimilated with local Irish upon arrival.

¹⁰² Evelyn Mullally, *The Deeds of the Normans in Ireland, La Geste des Engleis en Yrlande: A New Edition of the Chronicle Formerly Known as "The Song of Dermot and the Earl"* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), 62.

Theory

Assimilation into a new culture is a process. While this thesis argues for ethnogenesis rather than simply assimilation, the processes bear striking resemblances. Anthropologist Victor Turner (1920-1983) expanded upon liminal phases or *rites de passage* with his concept of *communitas*. Turner explains liminality is a three-part process of separation, liminality, and reunification with the group.¹⁰³ Turner explains individuals experiencing liminality are “neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial.”¹⁰⁴ Turner’s definition of liminality applies to the Anglo-Norman magnates in Ireland as they did not retain strong ties to the English Crown. Strongbow himself, exemplifies Turner’s definition. He journeyed to Ireland unsure of his status within a local group, faced difficulty through language, custom, and law, to eventually gain acceptance by performing a large rite of passage. In Strongbow’s case, his marriage to Aoife and provision of his resources and fighting ability to assist Diarmait MacMurchada served as his rite of passage. The work of Victor Turner and Regino of Prüm converge to help us understand medieval Ireland as a place with no frontier.

Language

Language offers the best evidence for a frontier claim in medieval Ireland. Although a linguistic frontier could be postulated, it would not adequately account for those who could code-switch. That is, consciously or unconsciously switching between

¹⁰³ Victor Turner, “Liminality and Communitas,” in *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1969), 95.

¹⁰⁴ Victor Turner, “Liminality and Communitas,” in *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1969), 95.

two languages or accents when advantageous for the speaker.¹⁰⁵ Code-switching within Ireland serves as a component of assimilation as language operated as a marker of symbolic ethnicity. Mary Waters defined symbolic ethnicity as a social, not biological phenomenon which gives the individual a choice in what ethnic group they wish to identify.¹⁰⁶ Symbolic ethnicity is not limited to issues of language. This concept reappears in discussions of custom at a later point in the chapter. Code-switching serves as a moment when symbolic ethnicity can be seen within documents. As we shall see below, magnates such as Hugh de Lacy mastered the Irish language to assimilate. His conscious decision to speak Irish labelled him disloyal to the English Crown. Every linguistic decision brought unequal benefit and consequence.

Code-switching is not the only linguistic marker found within areas of conquest. Language itself is used as a marker of power among opposing groups. The most common argument in favor of a frontier lies in linguistic evidence. Linguist W.P. Robinson demonstrated language as a viable method of control. He stated norms were linguistic constructions and therefore active choices made by the speaker to obey or disobey.¹⁰⁷ Disobedience can then be assessed within the context of choice of language. Sources written in English or Old French have a higher likelihood of appearing in households loyal to the English Crown and Dublin government, whereas documents composed in

¹⁰⁵ Penelope Gardner-Chloros, *Code-Switching* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 12.

¹⁰⁶ Mary C. Waters, "Optional Ethnicities: For Whites Only?" in *Origins and Destinies: Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in America*, ed. Sylvia Pedraza and Ruben Rumbaut (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Press, 1996), 444.

¹⁰⁷ W.P. Robinson, *Language and Social Behavior*, ed. B.M. Foss, 1st ed., vol. 3, Penguin Science of Behavior (Middlesex, UK: Penguin Education, 1972), 71.

Irish or English with a mixture of Irish have higher frequency in homes of magnates such as Hugh de Lacy or Strongbow who held strong ties to the ruling Irish class. These linguistic decisions were often used out of necessity for day to day operations and long term strategy. Many Anglo-Norman magnates such as Strongbow, Hugh de Lacy, and Henry Biset had no intention of returning home to England and therefore did not require strong ties to English Common Law or the Crown.

The Treaty of Windsor (1175), an agreement between Henry II (1133-1189) and Ruaidhrí Ó Conchobhair (1116-1198) provides an excellent example of the English Crown's arrogance and attempt to assert control over an Irish king in his own land. The treaty required Ruaidhrí Ó Conchobhair to swear fealty to Henry II, in exchange Ó Conchobhair could maintain a royal title. Henry II visited Ireland in 1171 following the fall of Dublin at the hands of Strongbow in the name of Diarmait Mac Murchada. Henry's Christmas visit was not to obtain an alliance with Irish kings, but to assert authority over his Anglo-Norman magnates. The Treaty of Windsor served as the first assertion of central royal authority over the existing Irish political system. Ultimately, the treaty proved unsuccessful as no English sovereignty over Ireland resulted from this agreement. Ó Conchobhair, the High King of Ireland, is described within the document as Roderic, king of Connaught.¹⁰⁸ Henry II and the Crown government were unwilling to address Ruaidhrí by his proper name or title. At no point in the document is the Irish language acknowledge or legitimized. Henry II allowed Ruaidhrí to keep the title of King of Connaught but with the price of swearing fealty as Henry II's "man" and by paying

¹⁰⁸ Edmund Curtis and Robert Brendan McDowell, *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, 2nd ed., Methuen Library Reprints (London: Methuen, 1968), 22.

tribute. The once High King along with the Irish became political subjects of the King of England and were immediately thrust into the English economic system inasmuch as they were forced to pay taxes to the Crown for their own lands.¹⁰⁹

A system of lordship is effectively established according to the Treaty of Windsor but only in the eyes of the Crown. The call for taxation and fealty effectively had no teeth. Henry II was unable to ensure the Anglo-Norman magnates living in Ireland would enforce these terms and conditions. Henry failed to gain a meaningful connection with the magnates in Ireland as they travelled of their own will or peril to a new land where English Common Law, the law of Anglo-Norman magnates, did not extend. The view of a frontier created between Henry II and Ruaidhrí Ó Conchobair remains only a construction of language written by the English Crown, not a geographical or political fact. Despite the Treaty of Windsor, life carried on as normal within Dublin as the Irish High Kingship faced more threatening challenges from within rather than from without. Henry II's control over the magnates and the High King remained a linguistic farce rather than a reality.

Magnates also used language to assert control. This need not be limited to control over another person or group of people but also control of the self. Hugh de Lacy composed a now lost manuscript entitled *Acta* whilst living in Ireland. Although the manuscript does not exist in a complete form, several fragments have been reconstructed and scrutinized by scholars for marks of identity and agency in colonial Ireland. De Lacy's writings allude not to a desire to control the Irish population around his new

¹⁰⁹ Edmund Curtis and Robert Brendan McDowell, *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, 2nd ed., Methuen Library Reprints (London: Methuen, 1968), 23.

settlement, but rather to assert his autonomy as a proper lord free from the control of another, a desire to escape his vassalage.¹¹⁰ Hugh de Lacy, the chief justicier of Ireland and one of the most powerful men within the English government, desired to be seen as an individual with agency rather than a subject. This rare glimpse of a desire for individuality provides a humanized view of the magnates. Hugh de Lacy did not enter Ireland for the sake of conquest. He did not use his written language to assert control over others but rather to gain control for himself. He sought independent agency of himself, a place where he lived free from the authority and influence of others. Magnates, like the native population, were heterogeneous in desires. Hugh de Lacy, along with likeminded magnates, experienced separation from both the English Crown and their newfound Irish neighbors throughout the colonial period. The writings of Hugh de Lacy demonstrate Victor Turner's state of separation with danger as de Lacy resided in a new cultural area, separate from any personal customs. Hugh de Lacy was at no point guaranteed aggregation into Irish society.

Magnates such as Hugh de Lacy were not always in control of their own destiny. According to a de Lacy family history, Hugh experienced the separation state of liminality with both the English Crown and the Irish chieftains. The Anglo-Norman magnate learned the Irish language at the request of King Henry II in order to communicate with Irish chieftains.¹¹¹ Henry II required a strong-willed magnate to communicate with local representatives of authority effectively, explicitly in their native

¹¹⁰ Daniel Brown, *Hugh de Lacy, First Earl of Ulster: Rising and Falling in Angevin Ireland* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), 206.

¹¹¹ Gerard Lacey, *The Legacy of the de Lacy, Lacey, Lacy family, 1066-1994*, 1st ed. (Midland, MI: Mashue Printing, 1994), 34.

language. Hugh de Lacy, a magnate living among the Irish and therefore enveloped by the language, served as an excellent choice for a mutual point of communication. Henry II, however, failed to realize the element of control present within language itself. Although Henry's goal was to acquire fealty and submission from the Irish chieftains, he gave power to Hugh de Lacy as Henry II's de facto representative who could speak and write with the authority of a monarch. This meant Irish chieftains understood de Lacy as a king in all but name. Hugh de Lacy experienced physical separation from his own culture, Anglo-Normans living in England as well as physical and linguistic separation from the Irish. His state of liminality was predicated on his learning and use of the Irish language. Hugh de Lacy gained acceptance from both parties, the English Crown and the Irish chieftains.

The Irish did not view language as a form of control. Their earlier cultural contact with Scandinavians shows that while language offered distinction, it did not define citizenship or political identity. Previous cultural contact with Scandinavians likewise revealed language provided distinctions but did not define citizenship or political identity. A Scandinavian living in Ireland or married to an Irishman or woman could still be a welcome member of the community rather than an outsider. The Irish language in Ireland marked the individuality of Ireland, unlike Latin which signified acceptance into a larger Christian community throughout the world.¹¹² Irish ecclesiastics trained in Latin

¹¹² Diane Peters Auslander, "'The Walling of New Ross', 1265: Multilingualism, Ethnicity, and Urban Politics in Post-Invasion Ireland," in *Multilingualism in the Early Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Communication and Miscommunication in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Claussen, 1st ed., vol. 18, Fundamentals of Early Medieval Culture (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter Inc., 2016), 86.

understood the importance of universality, however, the average Irish chieftain valued individualism as it reflected the social and physical landscape of the island. The Irish language, survival of Brehon law, and intermarriage with Anglo-Norman settlers despite harsh marriage laws demonstrates the presence of local particularism in the face of the English Crown's uniformity.

Outside the church and the newly formed royal government center in Dublin, individuals did not require a universal language. Dublin Parliament, an institution synonymous with the English Crown, designated the Irish language to be unfit for any area affected by English Common Law. Documents relating to language within Ireland prior to 1366 relate primarily to issues of custom and law. Universality and dominion are observable within *The Constitutions of the Synod of Cashel, 1172*, in which Hugh de Lacy served in place of the king. The document reads, "For it is right and just that, as by divine Providence Ireland has received her lord and king from England, she should also submit to a reformation from the same source."¹¹³ Ireland, personified within the text, is told to accept English rule as the will of God. The will of the English Crown succeeds at universality on two fronts; first in asserting dominion over a people and land due to connections with religion. Secondly, the *Synod* demonstrates the intention of the Crown to incorporate the Irish into a larger English political identity by demanding they utilize the same language, custom, and law.

¹¹³ "The Constitutions of the Synod of Cashel, 1172," in *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, ed. Edmund Curtis and R.B. McDowell, 2nd ed. (London, UK: Methuen & Co, 1968), 19.

Determining political identity lies not only in a firm reading of law, but also in understanding linguistic distinctions between the Irish, Anglo-Norman magnates, and Dublin government. The “The Synod of Cashel” (1172) only addressed the Irish prelates (high ecclesiastical office-holders such as bishops). The Irish people from conquest until 1317 were not acknowledged by the English Crown in writing until “Remonstrance of the Irish Princes.” The silence within the sources supports the hypothesis of a fictitious frontier. As previously demonstrated by Hugh de Lacy, Anglo-Norman magnates were highly motivated to learn the Irish language for personal gain as well as acceptance into a new social group. Language found within legal documents demonstrate a strong social control of the Irish and Anglo-Norman magnates by the English Crown. This control existed only within written documents, as customs such as intermarriage defied law.

Multilingualism dispels frontier. Magnates communicating with native Irish while maintaining their cradle tongue gives rise to a more accepting and culturally diverse society.¹¹⁴ Dublin and the surrounding Pale were the center for English control yet boasted the most diverse and multilingual population in Ireland. This constant contact between Irish, Scandinavian, Latin, French, and English languages created a diverse population who utilized code-switching rather than create political identities based on language.

¹¹⁴ Ken Mondeschein, “Victor Victus: Bilingualism, Biculturalism, and the Medieval Frontier” in *Multilingualism in the Early Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Communication and Miscommunication in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Claussen, 1st ed., vol. 18, Fundamentals of Early Medieval Culture (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter Inc., 2016), 47-64.

Custom

Sparky Booker argued that Dublin throughout the colonial period operated as an English city rather than an Irish polity.¹¹⁵ Booker expands upon the Irish living on the “frontier” stating, “if they had fully assimilated into English culture, and become, in effect, Englishmen with Irish ancestors, their presence in Dublin would not be cause for comment as their ancestry would be largely irrelevant.”¹¹⁶ Her sources inform a substantially later period within Dublin’s history as her focus is primarily the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, this article demonstrates how modern scholars assert frontier. Booker’s argument for a frontier centralized in Dublin within the later Middle Ages is logical yet it does not extend backwards in time. The frontier of the later Middle Ages remains a construction by the English Crown in the field of law, not in cultural practice. All sources eluding to the frontier itself are legal documents. Evidence to the contrary exists within patronymics.

Examining the names of powerful magnates in the fifteenth century allows intermarriage and the question of language to shine. Surnames denoted ethnic origin as well as kinship ties. In the case of medieval Ireland, surnames were often the only way to tell whether a person was “English” or “Irish”.¹¹⁷ English surnames were highly desirable

¹¹⁵ Sparky Booker, “An English City? Gaelicization and Cultural Exchange in Late Medieval Dublin” in *Medieval Dublin X: Proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium, 2008*, ed. Seán Duffy, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), 287-298.

¹¹⁶ Sparky Booker, “An English City? Gaelicization and Cultural Exchange in Late Medieval Dublin” in *Medieval Dublin X: Proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium, 2008*, ed. Seán Duffy, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010), 289.

¹¹⁷ Sparky Booker, “Intermarriage in Fifteenth-Century Ireland: the English and Irish in the ‘Four Obedient Shires’”, in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Section C, Vol. 113, (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 2012), 225.

in the later Middle Ages as they allowed more access to Dublin government and ecclesiastical offices from which native Irish were banned. Although a precedent for systemic racism is present within the study of patronymics, it is not sufficient to confirm the existence of a frontier. Restrictions on vocations and trade rights represent the desires of the English Crown, not the magnates living in Ireland. Furthermore, the study of patronymics itself within this time and place correlates the amount of intermarriage occurring within areas subject to Crown government.

In addition to language, separation and assimilation are found by examining customs. While variation existed amongst the magnates and the Irish, enough overlap of custom existed to once again reject the hypothesis of a frontier in medieval Ireland. The illusion of a frontier was created by reactionary English law. It does not adequately represent the experience of the Anglo-Norman magnate. Certain practices such as the naming of a child demonstrate how fluid cultural customs were between the Anglo-Normans living within Ireland and the Irish. Children born to Anglo-Norman fathers and Irish mothers chose which world to claim.¹¹⁸ This choice afforded to children of both ethnicities speaks to the similarity of custom. The child has no linguistic, religious, or political requirements prior to choosing a political identity. A mother could feasibly claim Anglo-Norman paternity for her child to provide him/her more opportunity for wealth or marriage prospects. This choice reflects social stratification within Dublin and the Pale. This use of symbolic ethnicity does not suggest a frontier but rather a blended population. Only in legal matters was it advantageous to have an English surname.

¹¹⁸ K.W. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2002), 16.

Therefore, many examples of children of mixed parentage choosing to confront their Anglo-Norman fathers later in life occur throughout court records. Surname origin appears only to have mattered in cases where Irish-born children sought lands or ecclesiastical office. There is no evidence of social stigma attached to Irish or Scandinavian surnames within Ireland. This example stands true in the case of Strongbow, an Anglo-Norman magnate who married Aoife, an Irish princess. Their children held noble status in both Ireland and England due to Strongbow's status.¹¹⁹

When Henry II demanded submission of the Irish Kings from 1171-1172, despite linguistic differences, many customs remained the same. As an example, a continuity existed among the Irish and Anglo-Norman process of swearing fealty. These similarities, such as the seating arrangements and decorations found at a Christmas feast, are found in pre-Norman Irish sources demonstrating these similarities predate conquest.¹²⁰ As another example, the "Easter Houses" were temporary banquet halls constructed by the Irish kings to conduct feasts and other business related to their principality.¹²¹ Anglo-Norman magnates recognized this structure as it mirrored their own practices. Despite obvious linguistic divisions, Irish kings and Anglo-Norman magnates understood an overlapping custom. The term *tuarastal* developed within the colonial period to notate a

¹¹⁹ Marie Therese Flanagan, "Strongbow, Henry II and Anglo-Norman Intervention in Ireland," in *The North Atlantic Frontier of Medieval Europe*, ed. James Muldoon, 2nd ed., vol. 3, Vikings and Celts, The Expansion of Latin Europe 1000-1500 (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), 203.

¹²⁰ Marie Therese Flanagan, *Irish Society, Anglo-Norman Settlers, Angevin Kingship: Interactions in Ireland in the Late Twelfth Century*, 2nd ed. (London: Sandpiper Books Ltd., 1998). 202-3

¹²¹ Marie Therese Flanagan, *The Transformation of the Irish Church in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2010), 76.

political submission. This Irish word prior to Anglo-Norman involvement meant “ceremonial gift.”¹²² This term is often found within annals in reference to another mutual act, the taking of hostages. The taking of hostages was an established practice with little variation between both the Irish and the Anglo-Normans. Hugh de Lacy’s taking of Irish and English hostages within the same year demonstrates the fluidity of this process.¹²³ In addition to similarities between the process, both groups utilized hostages to form bonds between kinship groups. These bonds extended beyond boundaries outlined by law.

In addition to swearing fealty and hostage exchange as markers for cultural cohesion, evidence for assimilation of Anglo-Norman magnates also resides within legal documents. Dermot O’Dwyer, a man residing within the Pale, was informed in 1333 if he wished to remain English, he must cut the hair of his *cúlán*.¹²⁴ The *cúlán*, a popular hairstyle among Irishmen, served as a mark of Irishness to the English government. The English Crown could not afford an Irish uprising and required the submission or at least cooperation of the Irish for the government to survive. By criminalizing the *cúlán*, the Dublin government created an artificial frontier out of normal assimilation practices. A custom, the *cúlán* worn by Irishmen was adopted and worn by Anglo-Normans. Law, by nature, is reactionary. No social friction is observable from this mark of acculturation.

¹²² Marie Therese. Flanagan, *Irish Society, Anglo-Norman Settlers, Angevin Kingship: Interactions in Ireland in the Late Twelfth Century*, 2nd ed. (London: Sandpiper Books Ltd., 1998), 183.

¹²³ James Lydon, “The Expansion and Consolidation of the Colony 1215-54” in *A New History of Ireland Volume II: Medieval Ireland 1169-1534*, ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 160.

¹²⁴ Robin Frame, *Ireland and Britain, 1170-1450*, 1st ed. (London: The Hambledon Press, 1998), 142.

This attempt to create a fictitious frontier failed in the early years of conquest but serves as an important precursor to the “Statutes of Kilkenny” in 1366.

Law

New laws emerged to create a divide among the processes of assimilation and acculturation between the Irish and Anglo-Norman magnates. In reference to Victor Turner’s model of *Communitas*, both the Anglo-Normans and the Irish experienced liminality. Both groups entered the liminal state of separation and danger of rejection simultaneously. Both the Anglo-Normans and Irish required a certain level of acceptance from the other for society to function without war. Anglo-Norman magnates needed acceptance from local Irish to build trade relationships and future kin ties. Irish required acceptance by the new Anglo-Normans to enter the first unified political structure of the island. The fiction of a frontier within this state of liminality stems from one source: law.

James Lydon argued both the Anglo-Normans and the Irish wore their native law as a badge of identity.¹²⁵ In his essay, “Nation and Race in Medieval Ireland,” He proclaimed the existence of two nations: the Irish and the English of Ireland. Within this dichotomy Lydon also argued for the emergence of a third or “middle nation” composed of Anglo-Irish.¹²⁶ Lydon’s claim stems directly from a reading of law documents without consideration of cultural exchange or intermarriage frequencies within Dublin and the surrounding Pale. The notion of a middle nation or separate political identity for the

¹²⁵ James Lydon, “Nation and Race in Medieval Ireland” in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Simon Ford, Lesley Johnson, and Alan V. Murray, (Leeds: University of Leeds Press, 1995), 103-29.

¹²⁶ James Lydon, “Nation and Race in Medieval Ireland” in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Simon Ford, Lesley Johnson, and Alan V. Murray, (Leeds: University of Leeds Press, 1995), 114.

Anglo-Irish only partially addresses the question of political identity. Lydon's argument for two nations assumes a frontier was present. In this case, the existence of a middle nation is not only logical but necessary to account for the growing number of Anglo-Irish who are barred from English vocations and ecclesiastical offices on the issue of parentage. Divisions between the English and the Irish appear after the reign of King Henry II to become painfully defined under the rule of Prince John (1177-1216). Middle nation, while a step in the right direction, does not account for the absence of a frontier in medieval Ireland.

Under the lordship of Prince John, the Irish experienced extreme alienation as they were stripped of their lands to make way for English nobles. In 1185, Prince John gifted unconquered Irish lands to English lords. These lands were occupied and farmed by native Irish who were not granted right to speak to the Prince to keep their lands.¹²⁷ The Irish were granted no opportunity to appeal decisions or gain an audience with a representative of Dublin Parliament. Changing the status of the Irish from participants with minor agency in law to non-existent within the law documents denoted a choice within the Crown government to systematically enact prejudice over the Irish and force English political identity upon them. To gain English political identity one must swear fealty, pay taxes or tithes, speak English, dress in an English fashion, recognize and obey the authority of the King, and participate in the English faith. This legislation reduced the Irish to a extralegal status unworthy of representation. The lack of Irish voice or

¹²⁷ "Grant of Prince John to Theobald Walter of Lands in Ireland, 1185" in *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, ed. Edmund Curtis and R.B. McDowell, 2nd ed. (London, UK: Methuen & Co, 1968), 24.

participation under Prince John in 1185 demonstrates how one group, the English, enforced the second phase of liminality upon the Irish.

Prince John failed in his attempt to maintain Englishness within the new colony of Ireland. In 1192, with the “Grant of Civic Liberties to Dublin,” he radically changed the language of the law to be more inclusive. The document begins, “John, Lord of Ireland and Earl of Mortain, to all his men and friends, French, English, Irish and Welsh, present and to come, greeting.”¹²⁸ John recognized the Irish as a people within the opening of his decree. This small acknowledgment suggests his acceptance of defeat. Dublin operated as a multicultural society prior to John’s involvement. His early laws were not strong enough to break those pre-existing bonds. John addressed his lineage first, the French and English before acknowledging the conquered societies under his dominion. The document outlines fines and rules for conducting business within the walls of Dublin city. This document is the first from the English Crown to address intermarriage within the city of Dublin. “And that they [my citizens] may marry, both themselves, their sons, daughters, and widows without leave of their lords.”¹²⁹ While the document does not specify who is considered a citizen, other law texts insinuate that anyone regardless of birth who accepts and lives under English Common Law is considered an English subject. In this context, intermarriage was legal in the city of Dublin in 1192.

¹²⁸ “Grant of Civic Liberties to Dublin, By Prince John, 1192” in *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, ed. Edmund Curtis and R.B. McDowell, 2nd ed. (London, UK: Methuen & Co, 1968), 24.

¹²⁹ “Grant of Civic Liberties to Dublin, By Prince John, 1192” in *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, ed. Edmund Curtis and R.B. McDowell, 2nd ed. (London, UK: Methuen & Co, 1968), 26.

Intermarriage could not be stopped. John's administrators attempted to create a frontier within rhetoric found in legal documents.

One hundred years later, the "Parliament of Ireland of 1297" attempted to find solutions to intermarriage. Edward I witnessed more intermarriage and acculturation among his magnates within Ireland. Fearing the power of the magnates and of a politically unified Ireland, Edward demanded a law code for Ireland that threatened severe punishment. "Parliament of Ireland of 1297" reinforced prejudice and of division between the Irish and English with such entries as section vii which states, "Frequently also Irish felons are better enabled to perpetrate crimes."¹³⁰ Previously, felons or enemies were not ethnically distinguished. Edward's document further equated Irish identity with criminality. Section xi states, "Englishmen, also, who have become degenerate in recent times, dress themselves in Irish garments and having their heads half shaven, grow the hair from the back of the head, which they call the 'culan', conforming themselves in Irish garb."¹³¹ Irish manner of dress and hairstyle at this point become illegal and punishable. Edward claims these measures are to establish a peace, yet no other sources address any ethnic tensions between the Irish and the Anglo-Normans residing in Ireland. Only texts of law imply to an unstable frontier. It stands to reason acculturation occurred frequently on both sides. Englishness itself became threatened, leading the Crown to attack. The criminalization of Irish identity created a notable reaction from powerful Irish leaders in response to English law.

¹³⁰ "Parliament of Ireland, 1297" in *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, ed. Edmund Curtis and R.B. McDowell, 2nd ed. (London, UK: Methuen & Co, 1968), 35.

¹³¹ "Parliament of Ireland, 1297" in *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, ed. Edmund Curtis and R.B. McDowell, 2nd ed. (London, UK: Methuen & Co, 1968), 37.

Domnall Uí Néill, the King of Ulster in 1317, wrote to Pope John XXII (reigned 1316-1334) for assistance. While his letter asserts his claim to high kingship of Ireland, the “Remonstrance of the Irish Princes,” as it is known, also echoes tensions felt between the elite classes of Ireland at the time. The Uí Néill chieftain gives a detailed origin story of the Irish, claiming the English have no right to assert control over the island. In an effort to appeal to the Pope, the author calls upon issues of morality. Domnall writes the English have deprived Ireland of her written laws which governed it according to moral standards and claims the English sought to “exterminate our race.”¹³² Genocide, while perhaps an extreme term, does illustrate how the elite Irish viewed the new laws under Edward I: as an embodiment of political and physical extermination. Domnall also claims the English are a mixed race, not the Irish demonstrating the value placed on pure ethnicity by the hegemonic power, the English. Pope John XXII was an Englishman. Appealing to an English Pope concerning issues with an English king had risks. Ultimately, the Irish Princes who met to compose the document constantly addressed the same issue within the subtext, the English created process of degeneracy.

Seán Duffy explored the concept of degeneracy by addressing the use of the term within law codes. The term “degenerate” within this research refers only to a legal distinction and is not to be confused with any specific set of characteristics used to mark biological inferiority. Degeneracy served as an invaluable piece of propaganda employed by the English Crown to assert control over Anglo-Norman magnates. Duffy proposed

¹³² “Remonstrance of the Irish Prince, 1317” in *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, ed. Edmund Curtis and R.B. McDowell, 2nd ed. (London, UK: Methuen & Co, 1968), 41.

accusations of Irish degeneracy became popular with the king of England in response to political factions of Anglo-Norman magnates within Ireland. The factioning and feuding within Ireland, while not unique to the island, does demonstrate the sense of separation felt by the magnates from the English Crown.¹³³ Degeneracy, like ethnogenesis and liminality, is a process. Degeneracy occurred for centuries prior to the drafting of the “Remonstrance or Dublin Parliament of 1297.” Duffy’s piece remains firmly in favor of a frontier. However, James Muldoon approached the problem of degeneracy and middle nation when he proposed that the “middle nation” did not appear until the “Remonstrance.”¹³⁴ Muldoon also asserts the middle nation only referred to the “gaelicized English” or to those who never advanced due to biological inferiority.¹³⁵ Muldoon did not imply the Irish were biologically inferior, but this notion was present in legal documents crafted by the English Crown against the Irish for centuries. The English Crown required the Irish to need the assistance of a nation sanctioned by the Pope to modernize them. If the English become the Irish and vice versa, there remains no monster and no savior.

Conclusion

Creating a political identity is a process. Anglo-Norman magnates did not obtain control over lands in Ireland without assistance from both the English Crown and their

¹³³ Seán Duffy, “The Problem of Degeneracy” in *Law and Disorder in Thirteenth-Century Ireland: The Dublin Parliament of 1297*, ed. James Lydon (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997), 87-9.

¹³⁴ James Muldoon, *Identity on the Medieval Irish Frontier: Degenerate Englishmen, Wild Irishmen, Middle Nations*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 17.

¹³⁵ James Muldoon, *Identity on the Medieval Irish Frontier: Degenerate Englishmen, Wild Irishmen, Middle Nations*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 19-24.

ties to Irish chieftains. This process can be traced in law created by the English Crown. These laws, written to assert control over the magnates more so than the Irish, demonstrate the reaction to an absent authoritative figure through the processes of acculturation and assimilation. Anglo-Norman magnates living in Ireland intermarried, learned the Irish language, and traded customs with the native peoples, eventually creating a richly diverse and multilingual population. Political identity as defined by Regino of Prüm means a correlation in language, custom, and law. Political Irish identity emerged as a reaction to English law. Law codes depict the ideal operation of the land, not the reality. The content of English law reaffirms the acculturation, assimilation, and eventually ethnogenesis of the Irish people in response to oppression. The reaction of Anglo-Normans in the form of control of language, custom, and law radically altered the natural process of assimilation and acculturation. The implementation of Anglo-Norman law in controlled areas created the illusion of a defined cultural frontier. This is a modern projection onto a medieval situation.

Political Irish identity emerged as a reaction to Anglo-Norman law. By rendering the Irishman subhuman, the need to create and assert a distinct political identity in 1317 to the highest authority, Pope John XXII, demonstrates the second step in Victor Turner's three-part system of liminality. The Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland until the "Remonstrance of the Irish Princes of 1317" represents a liminal state of separation with danger. The Uí Néill prince, and the Irish chieftains who agreed with his stance, faced shunning from the larger group for their actions. "Remonstrance" served as the Irish plea for aggregation into the newly formed politics of Ireland. Aggregation did not occur in either direction, for the English Crown refused to accept the Irish as human, and the Irish

chieftains did not accept the English Crown as an authority figure. The Irish people, including the English who were considered degenerate, faced separation and ultimately rejection from the English Crown.

Chapter two discussed the separation of the subject from the group as step one in Turner's system. This chapter demonstrated step two, the danger of separation. It is in this state of danger and separation that the individual experiences uncertainty concerning their status within a larger group. The Irish, between 1169 and 1317 were politically defined as "other" within their own country. Due to the new authority of the English Crown in Ireland, Irish chieftains crafted the "Remonstrance of the Irish Princes" in an effort to gain aggregation into the forming Irish political system. By the time "Remonstrance" reached Pope John XXII, nearly one hundred and fifty years had passed since the first Anglo-Norman magnate entered Ireland. No true Anglo-Normans remained on the island at this time, due to acculturation and intermarriage. Step three of Turner's model calls for aggregation to the group. Chapter four discusses reactions to the assertion of the Irish as a separate political identity and the attempt of the Irish to aggregate into the newly established centralized government.

CHAPTER IV – LIES GIRALDUS TOLD ME

*Why do we not look to our own people for succor? We are now constrained in our actions by this circumstance, that just as we are English as far as the Irish are concerned, likewise to the English we are Irish, and the inhabitants of this island and the other assail us with an equal degree of hatred.*¹³⁶ – Giraldus Cambrensis, 1189

Previous chapters demonstrated the space in which a new, “middle nation” emerged. Regino of Prüm’s guiding definition of identity in the Middle Ages served as the effective measure for when a group can be designated an identity. Victor Turner’s model of *communitas* revealed the necessity to view identity not as a product but as a constantly evolving process. This process cannot be completed without Turner’s third and final step, aggregation, or reintroduction to the group to face either acceptance or rejection. This chapter explores how the process of aggregation fostered political ethnogenesis. The twelfth century work of Giraldus Cambrensis, along with *The Song of Dermot and the Earl* (thirteenth century) serve as literary groundings for reactions to this aggregation.

This chapter argues that Anglo-Irish political ethnogenesis occurred as a reaction to the Crown’s definition of “Irish” in respect to language, custom, and law. Within these rigid legal distinctions, a new, “hybrid”, middle nation rose. Hybrid, defined within a political context, simply means “he who is the same but different”; this difference need not be conscious nor does it strictly relate to ethnicity.¹³⁷ This chapter does not argue for

¹³⁶ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978), 80-1. “Numquid enim ad nostre gentis solacium aspiramus? Ea iam lege tenemur, ut sicut Hibernicis Angli, sic et Anglis Hibernici simus. Nec enim minore nos odio illa quam ista persequitur insula.”

¹³⁷ Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, “Hybrids, Monsters, Borderlands: The Bodies of Gerald of Wales,” in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 1st ed., vol. VII, *The New Middle Ages* (London, UK: Palgrave, 2000), 85.

the creation of new cultural traits of Anglo-Irish, but rather for their political ethnogenesis. It propels James Lydon's concept of middle nation, the Anglo-Irish, by providing a detailed analysis of "how" and "why" a separate political identity required recognition. The chapter traces the conscious movement of the Anglo-Irish as they separated from both political identities represented in Ireland, the English and the Irish. Ethnogenesis explored within the chapter remains limited to political identity rather than cultural, due to limited availability of sources. This work broadens the scope of Lydon's original argument as it does not rely on the structure of frontier. The political ethnogenesis of the Anglo-Irish also marks a larger moment in Irish history as the island moved from local particularism (local kings, kinship based societies, etc.) to a centralized government.

James Lydon produced a viable theory for understanding ethnogenesis in *The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages*. His concept of middle nation applied both to the children of mixed parentage and those English living in Ireland who had become "degenerate" in the eyes of the Crown.¹³⁸ The term "degenerate" referred to any Anglo-Norman magnate or subject of English Common Law who utilized any aspect of Irish culture such as language or dress as found in "Parliament of Ireland of 1297."¹³⁹ Lydon's terminology "middle nation" originates from the "Remonstrance of the Irish Princes", a 1317 document which petitioned Pope John XXII to assist in blockading the rule of Ireland by English-born magnates. The "Remonstrance" questioned the conscious efforts

¹³⁸ James Lydon, *The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), 2nd ed, 130.

¹³⁹ Edmund Curtis and Robert Brendan McDowell, *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, 2nd ed., Methuen Library Reprints (London: Methuen, 1968), 37.

by the Anglo-Normans to promote mixed parentage children in the hopes of generating a new ruling class.¹⁴⁰ In this context, middle nation is the most inclusive term possible for the situation of medieval Ireland.

Although this research does not rely upon the popular term “race” when discussing political identity, many prominent scholars did or have continued to subscribe to this term. James Lydon’s later work defined nation as, “having some sense of race, a common unity of some sort, a common language, and a common territory.”¹⁴¹ The concept of nation as examined by James Lydon does not carry modern ideas. His use of nation refers to a group having some sort of biological connection, a shared language, and a shared physical space. This departure from Regino of Prüm’s definition reflects political change which occurred between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries regarding the idea of race.¹⁴² Within the scholarship and sources, race becomes synonymous with nation. In essence, the letter of the law becomes the framework for who and what makes a community. All relevant political power within this period rested with the English Crown.

¹⁴⁰ James Lydon, *The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages*, (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), 2nd ed, 143.

¹⁴¹ James F. Lydon, "Nation and Race in Medieval Ireland," in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Alan V. Murray (Leeds, UK: University of Leeds Press, 1995), 115.

¹⁴² Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350*, 1st ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 237-8.

Theory

Communitas emerges where social structure is lacking.¹⁴³ In order to create a community, real or imagined, members must complete the process of liminality. Victor Turner's states of liminality dictate the third and final phase of *communitas* is aggregation, or reintroduction into the community. Reunification with the group does not ensure acceptance. Turner further asserts, "communitas breaks in through the interstices of structure, in liminality; at the edges of structure, in marginality; and from beneath structure, in inferiority."¹⁴⁴ The dialectic set into motion by Turner's model is such that any community splintering from, around, within, or below the hegemonic group passes through liminality before self-defining. Turner's three states of liminality offer a glimpse into *how* the process of ethnogenesis occurs. His period of "statelessness" remains a reaction to a larger problem: violence.

Communitas provides an overall narrative of alienation and aggregation yet it cannot fully explain how or why a group or individual consciously elects for ethnogenesis. Anthony Wallace (1923-2015), an anthropologist specializing in religion, developed a five-step process which assists in understanding the final stage of Turner's model. Wallace defined a revitalization movement as "deliberate, conscious, organized efforts by members of a society to create a more satisfying culture."¹⁴⁵ Wallace's view of culture is structural in background, meaning he viewed each aspect of culture as a part of

¹⁴³ Victor Turner, "Liminality and Communitas" in *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1969), 371.

¹⁴⁴ Victor Turner, "Liminality and Communitas" in *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1969), 372.

¹⁴⁵ Anthony Wallace, *Religion: An Anthropological View* (New York: Random House, 1966), 30.

a larger system (i.e. The eye is part of the human body.) In Wallace's view, revitalization movements gain traction in areas experiencing large scale trauma or rapid change.¹⁴⁶ Medieval Ireland represents a population in constant flux due to Anglo-Norman, and later, English royal involvement over political representation. Wallace's theory of revitalization movements offer the space for ethnogenesis. His five-step process operates within the larger scope of Turner's liminality. Each of the five steps work within, not against the liminal state.

Wallace states four moving parts must function together to achieve ethnogenesis. First, the population in question must have experienced a steady state. The steady state for the Irish within this research refers to Ireland before Anglo-Norman arrival. Specifically, the steady state is characterized by local particularism or a lack of centralized government. The steady state experienced by Anglo-Normans refers to their life under English Common Law which is predicated on a strong, centralized power. Both steady states experienced trauma when Anglo-Norman magnates arrived in Ireland and began to settle and assimilate. Second, a period of individual stress causes the steady state to fracture. This can be seen in English writing and law concerning Irish affairs such as the "Parliament of Ireland of 1297". Anglo-Normans faced uncertainty in a land without a centralized government. For the first time, the Irish inherited responsibility over themselves. Third, a period of cultural distortion takes hold. Cultural distortion occurs when there is a loss of identity. In this case, Anglo-Norman magnates feared

¹⁴⁶ Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 58, (1956), 265.

“degenerating” into the sub-human Irishman. Maurice’s Speech in *Expugnatio Hibernica*, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, captures a moment of cultural distortion.

Fourth, after cultural distortion is identified, a period of revitalization occurs. The period of revitalization is a harkening back to an actual or mythical time when the group (Anglo-Normans and Irish) experienced stability. Fifth, within the revitalization period other tasks such as “mazeway” or resituating of worldview occurs. This process is hallmarked by increased communication to others regarding shifted cultural norms due to stress, organization of followers, and adaption to depression and self-reproach.¹⁴⁷ The mazeway represents the mobilization of the revitalization movement which can be seen in the call to arms found within the “Remonstrance of the Irish Princes.” The mazeway followed within this thesis is that of the Anglo-Irish who assert themselves as distinctly separate from the English or Irish. Each of these individual functions pair with each other to create a larger system. Wallace’s theory of revitalization movements allows sources to be read in an anthropological light. By identifying each moving part of the revitalization movement within textual sources, a better understanding of liminality and the process of ethnogenesis emerges. The following examples demonstrate practical application of these theoretical frameworks.

Language

Giraldus Cambrensis composed *Expugnatio Hibernica* (1189) following his late twelfth century tour of Ireland as Prince John’s tutor. Giraldus, an ecclesiastic, provides an excellent study of voice in areas of conquest. Language reflects the society who

¹⁴⁷ Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 58, (1956), 269.

creates it. Giraldus Cambrensis wrote in Latin, a grand unifier of the Christian world. As discussed in chapter three, Latin served as a platform for ecclesiastics and scholars to disseminate ideas and reinforce social norms for the whole of Christendom. Giraldus' choice to compose in Latin rather than his native Welsh serves as a testament to conquest. Although the triumph of Christianity predates the Anglo-Norman arrival to Ireland, it marks the first great linguistic victory of centralized power over local particularism. Although Giraldus is known as a Welshman, his writings display a more complex system of identity than a nation of conquerors and those they overpower. Giraldus wrote of his uncle, Maurice FitzGerald (1106-1176), and his participation in the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland in 1169 alongside Strongbow. FitzGerald, a Cambro-Norman, fought to restore Diarmait Mac Murchada to the kingship of Leinster. Afterward, Maurice remained in Ireland where he settled and lived as lord of Maynooth and Naas.

Maurice's Speech from *Expugnatio Hibernica* illustrates a problem of placement. The English living within Ireland do not recognize Maurice and magnates like him as English. Likewise, the Irish do not recognize the Anglo-Norman magnates fighting for Mac Murchada as Irish. Maurice represents a new category or nation, the Anglo-Irish. Evidence of this alienation experienced by the Anglo-Norman magnates between both the English Crown and Irish is epitomized in opening passage to this chapter from *Expugnatio Hibernica*. Giraldus chose to use the term "*lege*" within his work: "*Ea iam lege tenemur.*"¹⁴⁸ *Lege* specifically relates to a law, statute, or other type of legal condition. Law took primacy over language in the original Latin composition

¹⁴⁸ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978), 80-1 "By this circumstance we are constrained"

highlighting the importance of political recognition within the context of dominion and conquest. Furthermore, a question of voice in Maurice's Speech surfaces. Scholars question whether Maurice delivered the speech. Historical fiction or not, the speech remains the product of Giraldus Cambrensis, himself a political hybrid with strong ties to the English Crown.

Maurice represented a hybrid, or a person who conjoins differences without fully assimilating to them.¹⁴⁹ Maurice's status as a hybrid is a legal issue. Maurice, due to his classification as Anglo-Irish, cannot participate in government as an Englishman nor is he classified as wholly Irish: "that just as we are English as far as the Irish are concerned, likewise to the English we are Irish, and the inhabitants of this island and the other assail us with an equal degree of hatred."¹⁵⁰ Further examination of this passage follows in the discussion of law, below. Language created the platform through which resistance and change began. Anglo-Irish is not a medieval term. Any use of a hyphenated identity remains a modern label forced upon the past for easy classification. The use of terms such as Hiberno-Norse did not occur within medieval sources. Identifying terms such as "Ostmen" noted a person either of mixed Norse and Irish parentage or one who lived or worked within Ireland yet did not fulfill all requirements to belong to one political identity. Each tenet of political identity is malleable. A person chooses which language to speak in the presence of others to gain acceptance.

¹⁴⁹ Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "Hybrids, Monsters, Borderlands: The Bodies of Gerald of Wales," in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 1st ed., vol. VII, *The New Middle Ages* (London, UK: Palgrave, 2000), 85.

¹⁵⁰ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978), 80-81. "Ea iam lege tenemur, ut sicut Hibernicis Angli, sic et Anglis Hibernici simus. Nec enim minore nos odio illa quam ista persequitur insula."

This Anglo-Irish desire for aggregation is articulated within Maurice's speech. Scholars have long debated the historical reliability of Maurice's comments on Anglo-Irish identity. Although Giraldus claimed the text to be indicative of reliable Irish sources, many scholars believe this moment within *Expugnatio Hibernica* to be more closely related to creative writing than ethnography. A more fruitful approach to this source is not to bicker over authenticity of voice in the text, but rather to acknowledge within it Wallace's second stage of revitalization movements, the period of increased individual stress. Maurice recognized his inability to belong within either legal identity, demonstrating that Wallace's steady state had passed the tolerable limits of the people.¹⁵¹ The period of increased individual stress means members of the society actively realize they are powerless within the existing system. This is typically characterized by individuals looking for personal or cultural answers to political problems. In this specific example, Anglo-Normans departed the steady state of political Englishness. The malleability and loss of this political identity demonstrates Englishness operated as symbolic ethnicity prior to the first laws of conformity imposed upon the people of Ireland including the Irish and the English born in both Ireland and England.

Wallace's third stage of revitalization, the period of cultural distortion, characterized by internal distortions when elements of society are not harmoniously related but are mutually inconsistent and interfering, is also present in the passage.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 58, (1956), 266.

¹⁵² Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 58, (1956), 269.

Maurice asks his soldiers why they do not “look to our own people (*gentis*)for succor?”¹⁵³

The use of the term *gentis* presents a slippery slope. Translators often utilize this term interchangeably with tribe, nation, race, or people leading the reader to piece together context clues of the author’s direct meaning. It is unlikely Giraldus Cambrensis understood the experience of his uncle to mean that Maurice accepted the concept of a unified political identity, as he held a title and lands in Wales due to his participation in English government.

The use of the term *gentis* stands as a linguistic marker in this case to alert the reader of a larger political shift: the move from local particularism to centralized government. Although Maurice was acquainted with English government, his speech was delivered in mixed company: an army of Irish and Anglo-Normans. The term *gentis* would have made the most sense to both groups of participants: those who operated under local particularism; the Irish, and those who recognized centralized power and the larger concept of “a people”; the Anglo-Normans. The peculiarity of the inclusion of Maurice’s speech in *Expugnatio Hibernica* stands in opposition to Giraldus Cambrensis’ interests. He, a Welshman who quickly claims loyalty and English heritage, gives attention in his text to the identity crisis felt by an Anglo-Irishman. Maurice’s statelessness, while a personal issue, is acknowledged by an outsider who actively promotes the agenda of the English Crown.

¹⁵³ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, ed. A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1978), 80-1. “Numquid enim ad nostre gentis solacium aspiramus?”

Linguistic local particularism occurred cross-culturally. Anglo-Norman, a dialect of Old French, produced many accounts of events in medieval Ireland. *The Song of Dermot and the Earl*, a thirteenth-century poem, chronicled the adventures of Strongbow following his arrival in Ireland and provides insight concerning questions of identity felt by Francophones. The French poem, unlike the work of Giraldus Cambrensis, does not praise Henry II, “But the English king of England gave Diarmait, according to tradition, nothing in truth except promises, as people say.”¹⁵⁴ The Anglo-Norman poet chose to describe Henry II as the English king rather than the Angevin king leaving the reader to wonder what caused alienation between the king and his subjects and family in Normandy? The poem also differs from *Expugnatio* as it does not seek to reduce Diarmait Mac Murchada or his cause to regain the kingship of Leinster to a trivial level. The narrative running throughout *Song* is one of cooperation between Anglo-Norman magnates and Diarmait’s Irish supporters.

The French retelling of the events that transpired between Strongbow and Diarmait Mac Murchada details Henry II as a willing participant to invasion who gives magnates such as Robert Harding blessing to make war with the Irish who had deposed the King of Leinster.¹⁵⁵ The Old French language provides a second litmus test of Giraldus’ *gentis*. In a similar situation, the French text utilized the same root word *gens* to

¹⁵⁴ Evelyn Mullally, *The Deeds of the Normans in Ireland, La Geste des Engleis en Yrlande: A New Edition of the Chronicle Formerly Known as "The Song of Dermot and the Earl"* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), 61. “Mes de Engleterre li reis engleis A Dermot, solum le[s], Ne lui fist verreiment For de pramesse, solum la gent.” Translation by Evelyn Mullally.

¹⁵⁵ Evelyn Mullally, *The Deeds of the Normans in Ireland, La Geste des Engleis en Yrlande: A New Edition of the Chronicle Formerly Known as "The Song of Dermot and the Earl"* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), 60.

describe a group of people. “But Diarmait, the noble king, did not bring back any Englishmen.”¹⁵⁶ *Gent englés* translated to “Englishmen” in this specific case. What makes this distinction significant is the need to use two words to describe the concept of a nationality. The literal translation of these terms is “people of England.” The use of two separate words to create a compound identity suggests the French language did not produce terms to separate the concept of men, or a group of people, a problem of local particularism to fit a changing world with centralized power. Variations of the term continue to be used interchangeably throughout the poem, demonstrating social norm associated with the term. *Gens* survived in both Latin and French due to its fluid, descriptive nature. Languages, such as Old French, although products of local particularism, reveal the tendency of populations, and their languages to mold to new situations without creating new words. Both *Expugnatio Hibernica* and *Song of Dermot and the Earl* are representations of a linguistic steady state as it begins to experience the second step in Wallace’s model, the period of individual stress which causes the state to fracture.¹⁵⁷

Custom

The Song of Dermot and the Earl and the “Parliament of 1297” also produced three important problems facing scholars of medieval identity: intermarriage, hybridity, and degeneration. Each of these processes also serve as a label to be imposed upon an

¹⁵⁶ Evelyn Mullally, *The Deeds of the Normans in Ireland, La Geste des Engleis en Yrlande: A New Edition of the Chronicle Formerly Known as "The Song of Dermot and the Earl"* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), 63. “Mes Dermot, li gentil reis, Od ses guerrers, gent englés.” Translation by Evelyn Mullally.

¹⁵⁷ Anthony F.C. Wallace, “Revitalization Movements,” *American Anthropologist* 58, (1956), 269.

individual regardless of parentage or place of birth. Strongbow entered Ireland with two expectations, first he would marry the King of Leinster's daughter, and second, he and his lineage would gain the kingship of Leinster for Strongbow's service. Diarmait Mac Murchada offered his daughter as a political bargaining tool within the lines of the Anglo-Norman poem, "He offered him his daughter as a wife, the person he held dearest in the world: he would give her to him as his wife and he would give him Leinster."¹⁵⁸ This exchange demonstrates two types of contracts, marriage and hostage.

The marriage of Aoife and Strongbow produced a new kind of family structure: one with hybrid children. Hybridity, although not directly named, appears throughout the work of Giraldus Cambrensis, who himself was a hybrid. The term hybrid has been used in scholarship to mean both political ties and biological ethnicity. This research uses only the political definition of hybrid. Those who identify or are identified by others as hybrids typically reside in the marches, "a border society fully allied with neither of its parents, a linguistic and ethnic métissage."¹⁵⁹ The children produced from this mixed parentage union (Anglo-Norman and Irish) resulted in the first Anglo-Irish elite. They maintained claims to both the kingship of Leinster, as long as it remained, and the Earldom of Pembroke in England. While the children were initially politically recognized by both law traditions, this did not remain true. Edward I would decree the Irish to be

¹⁵⁸ Evelyn Mullally, *The Deeds of the Normans in Ireland, La Geste des Engleis en Yrlande: A New Edition of the Chronicle Formerly Known as "The Song of Dermot and the Earl"* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), 59. "Sa fille li offri a muller, La ren del monde qu'il ust plus cher, Que cele a femme aver lui freit E Leynestere lui durreit." Translation by Evelyn Mullally.

¹⁵⁹ Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "Hybrids, Monsters, Borderlands: The Bodies of Gerald of Wales," in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 1st ed., vol. VII, *The New Middle Ages* (London, UK: Palgrave, 2000), 87.

sub-human and demand their allegiance under English Common Law, meaning existing native customs would become illegal.

“The Parliament of 1297” also addressed the issue of “degeneration” of the English living in Ireland, stating, “Englishmen also, who have become degenerate in recent time, dress themselves in Irish garments and having their heads half shaven, grow the hair from the back of the head, which they call the *cúlán*.”¹⁶⁰ Wearing hair in this fashion demonstrated an outward expression of Irish political identity. Although the adoption of such a hairstyle realistically marked the assimilation of the Anglo-Normans into Irish society, the English Crown could not allow reaggregation. “The Parliament of 1297” Englishmen degenerated at the will of the English Crown, “there is to be no further answer made to an Englishman having his head transformed in the fashion of an Irishman, than would be made to an Irishman if he could complain in the like case.”¹⁶¹ No Irishman obtained representation in the Dublin Parliament. The “Parliament of 1297” rendered the *cúlán* an adequate expression of symbolic ethnicity to disenfranchise the Anglo-Irish and Irish alike.

The aim of the “Parliament” was not to control the Irish, but to reaffirm political ties between the Anglo-Irish settlers and the English Crown.¹⁶² The Anglo-Irish practice

¹⁶⁰ “Parliament of 1297” in *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, Edmund Curtis, Robert Brendan McDowell eds., 2nd ed., Methuen Library Reprints (London: Methuen, 1968), 37.

¹⁶¹ “Parliament of 1297” in *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, Edmund Curtis, Robert Brendan McDowell eds., 2nd ed., Methuen Library Reprints (London: Methuen, 1968), 37-8.

¹⁶² Seán Duffy, “The Problem of Degeneracy” in *Law and Disorder in Thirteenth-Century Ireland: The Dublin Parliament of 1297*, James Lydon ed., (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997), 87.

of consciously adopting the hairstyle signified to the Crown government Anglo-Irish settlers and the Irish naturally began the process of reaggregation without a need for cultural distortion. The banning of the *cúlán* marked more than a new law to medieval Ireland, it marked a conscious effort by the English crown to cease the acceptance of the Irish as equals. This meant any children of mixed parentage were immediately subject to a pre-existing condition of being born degenerate. At the time of “The Parliament of 1297” Anglo-Irish, those accepted by the English crown as English enough to be considered human, had become indistinguishable from the native Irish.¹⁶³

Custom cannot be discussed purely within the context of culture, given the surviving evidence. Although the scandal of the *cúlán* appears within law codes, it illuminates a larger cultural problem: the fear and refusal of the English government to grant the Irish political equality. This example demonstrates the malleability of the concept of degeneracy: not a state but a process. Any Anglo-Irish, regardless of his or her status, could degenerate to the subhuman level of the Irish based on clothing, language choice, or marriage.

Law

Both the Anglo-Irish settlers and the Irish attempted reaggregation as demonstrated by previous sections. To hold power, English government required the Irish to remain in a continued liminal state of separation and statelessness. The ethnogenesis of the Anglo-Irish occurred due to rejection by both the Dublin government and the Irish.

¹⁶³ Seán Duffy, “The Problem of Degeneracy” in *Law and Disorder in Thirteenth-Century Ireland: The Dublin Parliament of 1297*, James Lydon ed., (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997), 89.

The rise of this “middle nation” of the Anglo-Irish can be traced through legal documents from 1317-1366. These documents provide insight into the rejection of the Anglo-Irish as well as their progression through the five stages of the revitalization movement.

Both *Communitas* and revitalization movements require reaggregation of the individual or group experiencing liminality. This reunification, such as the Anglo-Irish attempting to gain political equality with their Anglo-Norman parents, is not predicated on success. In the case of the Anglo-Irish, reaggregation did not occur which resulted in their political ethnogenesis. The process of political ethnogenesis can be traced through careful examination of “Grant of Urban Liberties to Drogheda” (1194) which represents the earliest law document referring to the steady state and acceptance of the Irish by English government. Separation and liminality of the Anglo-Irish is found within the “Parliament of 1297” in which elements of cultural distortion and alienation emerge. The “Remonstrance of the Irish Princes” (1317) represent the desire by the Anglo-Irish for reaggregation into the English political identity. The rejection of the Anglo-Irish by the English government is felt within the “Statutes of Kilkenny” (1366) which proclaimed a new race of degenerates and Irish under English law.

The “Grant of Urban Liberties to Drogheda” contains the opening greeting, “Walter de Lacy, Earl of Meath, to all his men and friends, French, English and Irish, greeting.”¹⁶⁴ While this document does not mark the first appearance of the Irish as present participants to major political events, it does mark the first time they gain credit

¹⁶⁴ “Grant of Urban Liberties to Drogheda by Walter de Lacy, Earl of Meath, 1194” ed. Edmund Curtis and Robert Brendan McDowell, *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, 2nd ed., Methuen Library Reprints (London: Methuen, 1968), 27.

as equals in a prepared greeting. Previous legal documents only mention Irish clerics so much as they remained instrumental for the implementation or insurance of a specific law, as seen in Prince John's "Grant of Prince John to Theobald Walter of Lands in Ireland" (1185).¹⁶⁵ Both examples demonstrate the existence of a steady state prior to Anglo-Norman arrival in Ireland. The "Grant of Urban Liberties to Drogheda" acknowledged the Irish, yet allowed them no inheritance of the land. Walter de Lacy, an Anglo-Norman magnate, accepted their presence in his document yet acknowledged them separately as he did his French and English participants. This distinction could refer to linguistic barriers, yet Hugh de Lacy, Walter's father, wrote extensively on his communication with the Irish in their native language as discussed in chapter three. The likelihood of Walter de Lacy's earlier ability to communicate effectively with French, English, and Irish language relations, the inclusion of the Irish in his decree speaks to the existing cooperation between Anglo-Norman magnates and the native Irish by way of cultural assimilation. Although Walter de Lacy's document provides an image of compatibility, his need to separate the greeting by principality (French, English, and Irish) shows a political hierarchy at work. This 1194 document marks the first separation from the steady state within a law code which does not openly reject the Irish.

The liminal state of separation felt within the "Grant of Urban Liberties to Drogheda" chronicled a clearly defined separation between the French and English, within de Lacy's lands. Victor Turner's model of *Communitas* dictates those groups who

¹⁶⁵ "Grant of Prince John to Theobald Walter of Lands in Ireland, 1185", ed. Edmund Curtis and Robert Brendan McDowell, *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, 2nd ed., Methuen Library Reprints (London: Methuen, 1968), 24.

experience liminality must be reaggregated. Anglo-Normans, eventually classified as Anglo-Irish after the first generation, consistently lived within Ireland from 1169 onward; therefore, the “Parliament of 1297” did not simply reject the Irish, it shattered the reaggregation of the Anglo-Irish. The Dublin Parliament, an English institution, decreed “some great persons and others who have divers lands in the marches near the Irish, and other lands in a land of peace,” the land of peace specifically referring to areas of English Common Law.¹⁶⁶ The acceptance of English Common Law marked the political identity of an individual or group, not their land of birth. Throughout the Anglo-Norman period, settlers came with families, intermarried, and participated in the economy. Over one hundred and twenty years of acculturation and intermarriage passed before the drafting of the “Parliament of 1297.” Every noble family who travelled to Ireland as part of the first Anglo-Norman generation in Ireland intermarried, if not themselves, then their children. The Anglo-Irish were already a firmly established group culturally before they obtained political distinction.

The “Parliament of 1297” also debuted the concept of degeneracy as a process by which an Englishman could lose his political identity based upon dress, hairstyle, language, or association.¹⁶⁷ The loss of a political identity due to a malleable practice such as clothing demonstrates Anthony Wallace’s second phase of a revitalization movement, cultural distortion. A cultural practice, not law, determines a person’s legal

¹⁶⁶ “Parliament of 1297” ed. Edmund Curtis and Robert Brendan McDowell, *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, 2nd ed., Methuen Library Reprints (London: Methuen, 1968), 33.

¹⁶⁷ “Parliament of 1297” ed. Edmund Curtis and Robert Brendan McDowell, *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, 2nd ed., Methuen Library Reprints (London: Methuen, 1968), 37.

identity. The “Parliament of 1297” as a reactionary document crafted by Edward I in response to his loss of control over the Anglo-Norman magnates of Ireland also provides evidence for Wallace’s third phase of revitalization: the maze way. Anglo-Normans and Anglo-Irish formed relationships, intermarried, and traded with the native Irish in all areas. Over one hundred years of cultural assimilation occurred prior to this decree. Edward I’s document paints the English and Irish as two separate people without a possibility of a third group: the Anglo-Irish. His choice to refuse recognition of children who inherited two law traditions; English Common Law and Brehon Law, points to a conscious decision to reject aggregation of the Anglo-Irish into a sphere of acceptance among the English. This exclusion provided the necessary space for dissent to grow amongst the Anglo-Irish. The realization of their difference resonates in literature such as the *Song of Dermot and the Earl* discussed at the opening of this chapter. The “Parliament of 1297” deepened the already existing hairline fracture between the Anglo-Irish and the Dublin government.

Rejection of the Anglo-Irish by the English Crown is also felt within the “Remonstrance of the Irish Princes” (1317). This response to the “Parliament of 1297” mirrored claims levied against the Irish by the English Crown. Domhnall Ó Néill, the King of Ulster, reminded Pope John XXII of Ireland before Anglo-Normans, of the 3,500 years of rule by 136 Irish kings without “alien blood.”¹⁶⁸ Ó Néill utilized a mythical past to belabor his point. He wrote to the pope for absolution to make war against the English

¹⁶⁸ “Remonstrance of the Irish Princes” ed. Edmund Curtis and Robert Brendan McDowell, *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, 2nd ed., Methuen Library Reprints (London: Methuen, 1968), 38.

for their invasion of Ireland. The “Remonstrance” openly rejected the Anglo-Irish as it stated, “cruel wrongs that have been wrought inhumanly on us and our forefathers by some kings of England, their evil ministers and English barons born in Ireland.”¹⁶⁹ The “Remonstrance”, a document crafted by an Irish king, refused to recognize the hybrid group of Anglo-Irish, as it complicated his cause.

Both Domhnall Ó Néill and Edward I suffer from the same syndrome: fear of complication. Neither king could completely accept an Anglo-Irishman, as it meant accepting the “other” as equal within their respective law codes. In the case of the English government, accepting the Anglo-Irish as English Crown required children of mixed parentage to be equal to English children. This retroactively gained the Irish parent legal recognition within the English system. If an Irishman is granted political equality under English Common Law then the Royal claim to conquest deteriorates. Respectively, if Domhnall Ó Néill won his war, accepting an Anglo-Irish child as Irish granted the English parent political equality into an Irish system, and once more the claim to destroy the other group crumbles. “Remonstrance” reads, “approve what we have done as regards our said lord and king, forbidding the King of England and our aforesaid adversaries henceforward to molest us, or at least be pleased to render us with fitting favor our due complement of justice in respect of them.”¹⁷⁰ Neither side could afford to accept the Anglo-Irish and maintain political dominance.

¹⁶⁹ “Remonstrance of the Irish Princes” ed. Edmund Curtis and Robert Brendan McDowell, *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, 2nd ed., Methuen Library Reprints (London: Methuen, 1968), 38.

¹⁷⁰ “Remonstrance of the Irish Princes” ed. Edmund Curtis and Robert Brendan McDowell, *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, 2nd ed., Methuen Library Reprints (London: Methuen, 1968), 46.

Outright rejection by both the Irish and English groups of the Anglo-Irish allowed the fifth phase in Wallace's model to manifest: the revitalization movement. Domhnall Ó Néill's plea to the pope mirrored English desires for a politically homogenous society yet reports a social climate divided by two, not three, traditions, "For we hold it as an established truth that there are more than 50,000 human beings of each nation."¹⁷¹ Although the Anglo-Irish were a common thread in the social fabric in 1317, the "Remonstrance", a document representing the oppressed people of Ireland, refused to accept them. The focus on the "English race" and the "Irish race" leads to the assumption the "Remonstrance" presented the Irish and English with a new problem: how were they to treat those who belonged to both traditions?

Conclusion

The "Remonstrance of the Irish Princes" marked the first outward rejection of the Anglo-Irish by both the English and Irish authorities. By the time the "Remonstrance" was drafted, political ethnogenesis of the Anglo-Irish was well under way. The desire and attempt for reaggregation into either "nation" was rejected in writing. The drafting and implementation of the "Statutes of Kilkenny" in 1366 catapulted the Anglo-Irish problem into public attention. The "Statutes of Kilkenny" targeted Anglo-Irish magnates or any other landholder within Ireland who resided under English Common Law. This decree outlawed intermarriage, Irish dress, the Irish language, and trade between the English and

¹⁷¹ "Remonstrance of the Irish Princes" ed. Edmund Curtis and Robert Brendan McDowell, *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, 2nd ed., Methuen Library Reprints (London: Methuen, 1968), 40.

“Irish enemies.”¹⁷² The term Irish enemy referred to any person who looked or lived according to local traditions rather than English Common Law. This reactionary document marked the first divisions amongst the English.

Prior to the “Statutes”, anyone accepting of English Common Law in theory, could be aggregated into the larger English group. Language used within the law code stated, “no difference of allegiance henceforth be made between the English born in Ireland and the English born in England by calling them ‘English hobbe’ or ‘Irish dog’ but they be called one name.”¹⁷³ While the law sought to end a practice of division between those subscribing to English Common Law, it inadvertently described an existing animosity amongst the English and Anglo-Irish and in a rare instance, grants the terms given to these two types of people. The “Statutes” continue to break down maze way developments such as the use of Irish language storytellers and musicians.¹⁷⁴ All developments put into place by the revitalization efforts displayed within the “Remonstrance of the Irish Princes” succeeded. “Statutes of Kilkenny” report the use of Irish minstrels, musicians, and various other Irish language traditions coming into cultural contact in English areas. This acknowledgment of Irish tradition continuing

¹⁷² “Statutes of Kilkenny” ed. Edmund Curtis and Robert Brendan McDowell, *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, 2nd ed., Methuen Library Reprints (London: Methuen, 1968), 52.

¹⁷³ “Statutes of Kilkenny” ed. Edmund Curtis and Robert Brendan McDowell, *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, 2nd ed., Methuen Library Reprints (London: Methuen, 1968), 53.

¹⁷⁴ “Statutes of Kilkenny” ed. Edmund Curtis and Robert Brendan McDowell, *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, 2nd ed., Methuen Library Reprints (London: Methuen, 1968), 55.

through rejection proves the Irish and English Crown rejection of the Anglo-Irish. Both groups choose only to recognize their own, homogenous “nation”.

Ireland grew as a heterogeneous population characterized by Irish, English, and Anglo-Irish. Intermarriage continued throughout the island despite financial penalties. Certain families who embraced both traditions and continued to intermarry regardless of harsh laws rose to extreme social heights. William de Burgh, earl of Ulster, an Anglo-Irishman was appointed Lieutenant of Ireland and considered to be the greatest noble on the Island.¹⁷⁵ De Burgh’s success demonstrates the inability of the English government to restrict the Anglo-Irish. De Burgh needed only Anglicize his surname to obtain acceptance into the group. English political identity continued to rely upon malleable facets of identity.

Following the “Statutes of Kilkenny,” intermarriage continued to rise. Noble families such as the de Lacy, de Burgh, and Bisets continued to amass power within both existing “nations”. The rise of great Anglo-Irish lords to power such as William de Burgh, Hugh de Lacy, and Gerald FitzGerald demonstrate the processes of acculturation and assimilation seen previously among Scandinavians did not suffice in the Anglo-Norman period. Radical shifts in political identification such as the fall of local particularism and rise of centralized government forced new classifications for political identity. The Anglo-Irish emerged as a powerful “middle nation” over time and as a reaction to deliberate rejection by both the Irish and English centralized government.

¹⁷⁵ H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *The Administration of Ireland, 1172-1377*, 2nd ed., vol. 61, Irish Manuscripts Commission (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 12.

CHAPTER V – CONCLUSION

Political ethnogenesis of the Anglo-Irish emerged as a reaction to new styles of language, custom, and law enforced by English Crown government. The Anglo-Irish were a culturally established group before their self-affirmation in the “Remonstrance of the Irish Princes” in 1317. This thesis placed Regino of Prüm’s definition of a nation into practice from the Viking age until the forced adoption of Common Law by the English Crown Government. Chapter by chapter, anthropological theories such as Anthony Wallace’s Revitalization Movements and Victor Turner’s model of *Communitas* assisted in the understanding of ethnogenesis as a process of liminality. Although ethnogenesis began in the Viking age with an identifiable steady state, the process did not complete until the emergence of the Anglo-Irish middle nation. This thesis provided a “how” to James Lydon’s middle nation argument.

Chapter one presented current historiography. Scholars continue to debate “frontier” as a useful category for the study of medieval Ireland. This research argued against the existence of a political, cultural, or physical frontier. Literature covered spanned both the Viking age and the Anglo-Norman period. This chapter also introduced the anthropological concept of symbolic ethnicity, or the ability to gain or shed cultural practices when advantageous to an individual.¹⁷⁶ Chapter one also defined many key terms such as ethnogenesis, or the creation of a new identity.¹⁷⁷ Additionally, this chapter

¹⁷⁶ Mary Waters, “Optional Ethnicities: For Whites Only?”, in *Origins and Destinies: Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity in America*, eds. Sylvia Pedraza and Ruben Rumbaut (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Press, 1996), 444.

¹⁷⁷ Eugene Roosens, *Creating Ethnicity: The Process of Ethnogenesis*, vol. 5, *Frontiers in Anthropology* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1989), 13.

introduced the two theoretical constructs used in the study: Anthony Wallace's revitalization movements and Victor Turner's *Communitas*.

Chapter two explored the foundations of political identity in Ireland pre-and post-Viking arrival. This time, from 800-1169, a steady state, the first stage in Anthony Wallace's model, persisted due to localized systems of government.¹⁷⁸ *Senchus Mór*, the ancient law code of Ireland, detailed local particularism. Both the Irish and Scandinavians functioned in societies hallmarked by kinship connections whether fictive or biological. Vikings successfully aggregated into existing Irish settlements due to this common custom. Bilingualism and pidgins, as found in Dublin, support a changing but intact steady state. While Vikings and the Irish recognized differences between one another, neither group created laws of conformity as seen in the later Anglo-Norman period. Viking age Ireland represented the steady state of Ireland as no laws or practices preventing the aggregation of Vikings into Irish society were implemented.

Chapter three scrutinized the Anglo-Norman period from 1169-1317 for the collapse of the steady state. The chapter rejected the academic construct of a frontier. All rhetoric which supported an argument in favor of a frontier stemmed from documents produced by the English Crown. Dublin in 1169 operated as a multicultural society with no centralized government. This chapter traced the establishment of the first unified power on the island. Anglo-Norman adventurers did not always uphold royal ideals. Magnates such as Hugh de Lacy shattered an argument in favor of frontier as his

¹⁷⁸ Anthony F.C. Wallace, "Revitalization Movements" in *American Anthropologist* 58, (1956), 266.

bilingualism allowed him to obtain powerful contacts in both the Irish and English royal setting.¹⁷⁹ Individuals such as Hugh de Lacy experienced liminality in their alienation by both the English Crown and the Irish. The chapter followed examples of separation and fear of aggregation from both the Irish and Anglo-Norman perspective. The chapter ended with a discussion of the “Remonstrance of the Irish Princes”, the document in which the Anglo-Irish were first declared. “Remonstrance” served as the Irish response to the English Crown’s harsh laws of uniformity. The desire for aggregation by the Anglo-Irish was rejected by the English Crown setting the stage for a revitalization movement, the completion of the ethnogenesis process.

Chapter four followed 1317-1366 for evidence of a revitalization movement. The chapter argued the politically hybrid “middle nation” of Anglo-Irish emerged following rejection from the English Crown, the centralized power in Ireland. The chapter explored the systematic disenfranchisement of individuals determined to be Irish or “degenerate” Englishmen. Political imagery found within the “Remonstrance of the Irish Princes” demonstrated the final stage of liminality, aggregation. In the case of the Anglo-Irish, this did not occur. This chapter followed the period of cultural distortion through the formation of a new steady state following the “Statutes of Kilkenny” in 1366.¹⁸⁰ The chapter argued the rejection of the Anglo-Irish by the English Crown stretched the steady state beyond tolerable limits.

¹⁷⁹ Gerard Lacey, *The Legacy of the de Lacy, Lacey, Lacy Family, 1066-1994*, 1st ed. (Midland, MI: Mashue Printing, 1994), 34.

¹⁸⁰ Anthony F.C. Wallace, “Revitalization Movements,” *American Anthropologist*, vol. 58, (1956), 269.

The establishment of centralized government in Ireland by a foreign power escalated to a fever pitch from 1317-1366. The political condemnation of Irish language, custom, and law as observed in “The Statutes of Kilkenny,” such as the banning of Irish storytellers, the *cúlán*, and intermarriage, demonstrate the English Crown’s reaction to acculturation and assimilation of English and Irish practices.¹⁸¹ Although legal documents such as “Statutes of Kilkenny” reflect a society divided into two parts, the presented evidence suggests the formation of a new steady state of the Anglo-Irish.

Narrative sources are not always available. In the case of medieval Ireland, the suggestion of a frontier developed from surviving legal documents such as the “Remonstrance of the Irish Princes” or the “Statutes of Kilkenny” which represent both sides of conquest respectively, the deposed Irish royalty, and the English Crown. The medieval Irish frontier existed only as a creation of rhetoric by the English Crown to gain control of its Anglo-Norman magnates. The Anglo-Irish as a political identity, emerged in 1317 in the “Remonstrance of the Irish Princes” 148 years after Strongbow arrived in Ireland. This thesis generated as much narrative as possible to guide the reader through the process of ethnogenesis from its beginnings in the Viking age until its completion in 1366. This thesis introduced the process of ethnogenesis into the study of medieval Ireland. It rejected the use of frontier as a useful category by inviting anthropology into the pursuit of Irish political history.

¹⁸¹ “Statues of Kilkenny” ed. Edmund Curtis and Robert Brendan McDowell, *Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922*, 2nd ed., Methuen Library Reprints (London: Methuen, 1968), 52-3.

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