

## The Crusades to 1291 in the annals of medieval Ireland

Since the late 1980s crusade historiography has shown increasing interest in the periphery of Europe and the less ‘traditional’ crusading areas of Scotland, Wales, Poland and Scandinavia. Consideration of Ireland has formed part of this spread of interest, but, like many other areas, it remains comparatively unstudied.<sup>1</sup> In part, the paucity of Irish texts relating to all kinds of crusading discourages research, as does the comparatively low number of known Irish *crucesignati*.<sup>2</sup> There are, however, some sources that can shed light on the relationships between Ireland and the pan-European crusading movement before the fall of Acre in 1291: the annals produced in Ireland, for example, through an analysis of the references contained therein, might provide a glimpse into the spread in Ireland of knowledge relating to the Crusades, and the interest in the affairs of the areas of crusading conflict among certain sections of Irish society. It should be noted, however, that the level of interest in the annals in crusading, whether to the Holy Land, North Africa or within Europe, does not necessarily reflect the range of connections between Ireland and crusading theatres, as external evidence suggests that there were links beyond those identified by chroniclers. Furthermore, interest in the Holy Land in particular did not mean an interest in crusading per se, as the religious importance of the area made it of interest in Ireland, as elsewhere, even before the time of the Crusades.

The entries relating to the Crusades in the Irish annals up to 1291 are somewhat limited in number – a reflection, in part, of how ‘the ideological and aesthetic focus of the majority culture of the Irish-speaking population was centred on

<sup>1</sup> Darius von Guetner, ‘Crusading in medieval Europe: its idea, reception, and the experience in Poland (1102–1194)’ (Ph.D. thesis, University of Melbourne, 2007); Kathryn Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades, c. 1095–c. 1291* (Cardiff, forthcoming); Kurt Villads Jensen, ‘Denmark and the crusading movement: the integration of the Baltic region into medieval Europe’ in Allan I. MacInnes, F. Pedersen and Thomas Riis (eds), *Ships, guns and Bibles in the North Sea and Baltic States, c. 1350–1700* (East Linton, 2000), pp 188–205; Alan Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades, 1095–1560* (Edinburgh, 1985; reprinted 1997).

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth Matthew, ‘Henry V and the proposal for an Irish Crusade’ in Brendan Smith (ed.), *Ireland and the English world in the late Middle Ages: essays in honour of Robin Frame* (Basingstoke, 2009), pp 161–75; Conor Kostick, ‘Ireland and the First Crusade’ in *History Ireland*, xi, no. 1 (2003), pp 12–13; Helen Nicholson, ‘Serving king and Crusade: the military orders in royal service in Ireland, 1220–1400’ in Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (eds), *The experience of crusading, vol. 1: Western approaches* (Cambridge, 2003), pp 233–52; Con Costello, ‘Ireland and the Crusades’ in *Ir. Sword*, ix (1970), pp 263–77.

the island itself'.<sup>3</sup> References to a world beyond the Irish Sea are few, and tend to indicate the particular interests of an annals scribe or redactor. This need not suggest, however, a lack of interest in crusading, as the fact that information on events in Spain, England and the Holy Land were included in works so focussed on Ireland in itself indicates that certain events may have had a particular interest or resonance for the Irish or Anglo-Irish writers. Where entries do occur, this was not necessarily a reflection of Irish connections to crusading activity, as several crusades are referred to in the annals for which there is no recorded Irish participation; conversely, some crusades are not discussed though Irish participation has been recorded elsewhere. Information relating to the Crusades may have arrived in Ireland through non-crusade-linked channels, such as via pilgrims, traders and travellers returning from Europe.<sup>4</sup> Thus, where references to crusading or papally motivated warfare do occur, it is worth considering how and why they were included in the annals, and, thus, in what ways the crusading movement was known about in medieval Ireland. This article will therefore survey the entries in the Irish works, both native and Anglo-Irish in origin, during the first two centuries of the Crusades, comparing the level of information, the accuracy of the record, and how holy wars in Europe and the Holy Land were recorded in Ireland. In addition to the main crusading expeditions to the Holy Land, those to France and Spain will be considered, together with political crusades in England, preaching and the collection of crusade taxation. The article will conclude with an analysis of the entries, considering how dating, location, origins, religious networks and possible crusade activity may have influenced the references to crusading in the Irish annals.

## I

The earliest surviving Gaelic-Irish annals are the Annals of Inisfallen, written between the late twelfth and fifteenth centuries. The section predating the Crusades was probably written by Diarmait Ua Flainn Chua, bishop and abbot of Emly. After 1119 it was continued at the early Irish monastery of Lismore, and then from between 1130 and 1159 at the monastery of Inisfallen, an early Irish foundation that adopted the Augustinian rule after 1197.<sup>5</sup> The Annals of Inisfallen share a common origin with several other works that appear to draw on one another, and which, due to their interest in the area around the cathedral church of Clonmacnoise, have been termed the Clonmacnoise group of texts:<sup>6</sup> the late fourteenth-century Annals

<sup>3</sup> Marc Caball, 'The literature of later medieval Ireland, 1200–1600: from the Normans to the Tudors' in Margaret Kelleher and Philip O'Leary (eds), *The Cambridge history of Irish literature, volume 1: to 1890* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 74.

<sup>4</sup> Pdraig Ó Néill, 'The impact of the Norman invasion on Irish literature' in *Anglo-Norman Studies*, xx (1997), pp 172, 175.

<sup>5</sup> D. P. Mc Carthy, *The Irish annals: their genesis, evolution and history* (Dublin, 2008), p. 10; Gearóid Mac Niocaill, *The medieval Irish annals* (Dublin, 1975), p. 25; Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Annals of Inisfallen' in John Koch (ed.), *Celtic culture* (Oxford, 2006), p. 71; Aubrey Gwynn and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses, Ireland* (London, 1970), p. 180.

<sup>6</sup> T. M. Charles-Edwards (ed.), *The chronicle of Ireland* (2 vols, Liverpool, 2006), i, 1. Clonmacnoise was an early Irish monastery, but became a cathedral church in the early twelfth century: Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses, Ire.*, p. 64.

of Tigernach (ends 1178), the Annals of Roscrea and the seventeenth-century Chronicon Scotorum (ends 1150),<sup>7</sup> written by Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh for Dr John Lynch. The late fifteenth-century Annals of Ulster, commissioned by Cathal Mac Maghunusa (d. 1498), probably used the same source as the aforementioned works for the years up to 911, after which the material appears to come from a work of Armagh, and then, from 1189 to 1220, from a work from Derry.<sup>8</sup> They, too, were used by other annals, as the entries from 1014 to the 1220s share a common source with the late sixteenth-century Annals of Loch Cé.<sup>9</sup> The last of this related group is the Annals of Clonmacnoise (ends 1408), which survive in a late seventeenth-century manuscript, the original Irish work having been lost; as the original has disappeared, it is hard to determine which entries were the work of its later copyist, Conall Mageoghegan.<sup>10</sup> The Clonmacnoise work is similar in its beginning to the Annals of Tigernach, but draws on other works, such as the Annals of Connacht (written by a member of the Ó Mael Chonaire family),<sup>11</sup> for the later medieval period.<sup>12</sup> The Annals of Connacht themselves draw on other sources, including annals written at the Cistercian monastery of Boyle, which are extant up to 1202.<sup>13</sup>

One of the most widely known of the Irish annals are the seventeenth-century Annals of the Four Masters, written by the exiled Franciscan community of Bundrowes at Leuven in Belgium. They were written in the 1630s under the supervision of the widely travelled Franciscan friar, Mícheál Tadhg Ó Cléirigh, an Irishman from the Irish college in Leuven.<sup>14</sup> Although this Franciscan work was written much later than the events it describes, it is largely based on earlier annals from the early Irish monasteries – with the exception of the Annals of Inisfallen and the Anglo-Irish works<sup>15</sup> – and therefore still serves to indicate the degree of

<sup>7</sup> See Robert Welch and Bruce Stewart (eds), *Oxford companion to Irish literature* (Oxford, 1996), pp 15–17.

<sup>8</sup> Katharine Simms, *Medieval Gaelic sources* (Dublin, 2009), p. 22; Ó Corráin, ‘Annals of Inisfallen’ in Koch (ed.), *Celtic culture*, p. 21.

<sup>9</sup> Simms, *Med. Gaelic sources*, p. 21; Ó Corráin, ‘Annals of Loch Cé’ in Koch (ed.), *Celtic culture*, p. 73.

<sup>10</sup> Simms, *Med. Gaelic sources*, p. 26.

<sup>11</sup> The Ó Mael Chonaire family were ‘poets and historians’ at the court of the Ua Conchobair kings of Connacht. They appear to have fulfilled this role from the beginning of the thirteenth century: Katharine Simms, ‘Bardic schools, learned families’ in Seán Duffy, Ailbhe MacShamhráin and James Moynes (eds), *Medieval Ireland: an encyclopaedia* (London, 2004), p. 36; Simms, *Med. Gaelic sources*, p. 25.

<sup>12</sup> Donnchadh Ó Corráin, ‘Chronicon Scotorum’ in Koch (ed.), *Celtic culture*, p. 72; Nicholas Evans, ‘Annals & chronicles’ in Duffy, MacShamhráin & Moynes (eds), *Med. Ire.: an encyclopaedia*, p. 21.

<sup>13</sup> Evans, ‘Annales & chronicles’ in Duffy, MacShamhráin & Moynes (eds), *Med. Ire.: an encyclopaedia*, p. 21; A. Martin Freeman (ed.), *Annála Connacht/The annals of Connacht (A.D. 1224–1544)* (Dublin, 1983), p. xx; Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses, Ire.*, p. 128; A. Martin Freeman (ed.), ‘The annals in Cotton MS Titus A. xxv’ in *Rev. Celt.*, xli (1924)–xliv (1927) [Annals of Boyle]; MacCarthaigh’s book, which uses the Annals of Inisfallen and other works as a source, contains no references to crusades; Séamus Ó hInnse (ed.), *Miscellaneous Irish annals* (Dublin, 1947).

<sup>14</sup> Simms, *Med. Gaelic sources*, p. 24; Colmán N. Ó Clabaigh, ‘Annals of the Four Masters’ in Duffy, MacShamhráin & Moynes (eds), *Med. Ire.: an encyclopaedia*, p. 23.

<sup>15</sup> Duffy, MacShamhráin & Moynes (eds), *Med. Ire.: an encyclopaedia*, p. 24.

information relating to crusading available in Ireland during the early centuries of crusading.

A second group of annals was produced in Ireland under the auspices of the Anglo-Irish incomers. When Ireland was invaded and partially settled after 1169, the Anglo-Normans founded monastic communities that were Anglo-Norman in outlook, language and personnel.<sup>16</sup> Due to the very nature of their authors and audience, these annals contain more references to England and the Continent than the Gaelic-Irish works; Mac Niocaill remarked that they 'take vastly more interest in events in England than do the Irish annals, and draw heavily on annals of English origin.'<sup>17</sup> Like the strictly native works, they were based on an original chronicle written, it is thought, in the early thirteenth century in the Cistercian monastery of St Mary's, Dublin (possibly drawn from a chronicle brought to Ireland from Gloucestershire).<sup>18</sup> From this Cistercian original stemmed the following: the Annals of Multyfarnham, written in the 1270s by Stephen d'Exeter at the Multyfarnham Franciscan house;<sup>19</sup> the fourteenth-century Annals of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin, the Cistercian daughter house of Buildwas in Shropshire;<sup>20</sup> and Pembridge's Annals, written by the Dominican John Pembridge between 1331 and 1343, and continued by a Dominican at Trim down to 1370.<sup>21</sup> Another work, covering the period 1162 to 1370 and known as Grace's Annals, largely corresponds with the Annals of St Mary's.<sup>22</sup> The work from St Mary's is missing its leaves for the years 1221 and 1308, and contains elements from the works of Gerald of Wales and Roger of Howden, as well as drawing on the Annals of Christ Church.<sup>23</sup> Pembridge's Annals appear to copy a British chronicle for the reign of Edward I.<sup>24</sup> John Clyn's (Franciscan, d. c. 1349) Annals of Ireland may also be a continuation of the Christ Church text. Although Clyn's account for the years prior to 1264 is brief, the level of detail and depth for the entries increases for the years after 1264,<sup>25</sup> and he provides more information on events affecting the native Irish than the other works produced by the Anglo-Irish. Clyn wrote his annals at the Franciscan house in Kilkenny. The last work in this group is

<sup>16</sup> Ó Néill, 'Impact of the Norman invasion', p. 179.

<sup>17</sup> Mac Niocaill, *Med. Irish annals*, p. 37.

<sup>18</sup> A. B. Scott, 'Latin learning and literature in Ireland, 1169-1500', in Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, i: prehistoric and early Ireland* (Oxford, 2005), p. 988; Aubrey Gwynn, 'Some unpublished texts in the Black Book of Christ Church' in *Anal. Hib.*, xvi (1946), p. 313; Mac Niocaill, *Med. Ir. annals*, p. 38.

<sup>19</sup> Evans, 'Annals & chronicles' in Duffy, MacShamhráin & Moynes (eds), *Med. Ire.: an encyclopaedia*, p. 22.

<sup>20</sup> Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses, Ire.*, p. 130.

<sup>21</sup> Mac Niocaill, *Med. Ir. annals*, p. 38.

<sup>22</sup> Jacobi Grace, *Kilkenniensis, Annales Hiberniae*, ed. Richard Butler (Dublin, 1842).

<sup>23</sup> Mac Niocaill, *Med. Ir. annals*, p. 38.

<sup>24</sup> Scott, 'Latin learning', pp 991-2.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 989; Clyn's interest in recording crusade-related events continued into the fourteenth century. He noted that in 1335 fervent crusaders were 'marked on the naked flesh with the sign of the cross, with a red hot iron, that they might go to the Holy Land': Bernadette Williams, *The annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn* (Dublin, 2007), p. 217. No other sources discuss this event, but Clyn may have included it because it occurred at the time of the erection of a cross in the centre of the town; the reference was included in the context of municipal rather than crusading history: John G. A. Prim, 'The market cross of Kilkenny' in *Trans. Kilkenny Arch. Soc.*, ii (1852-3), p. 220.

the fourteenth-century Kilkenny Chronicle (so-called by Robin Flower in 1931), probably written at a Franciscan house in Dublin,<sup>26</sup> and which draws heavily on other works: a Franciscan chronicle from the friary at Castledermot, the Annals of Multyfarnham, and the work of John Clyn.<sup>27</sup>

There are, naturally, problems with the annals when searching for crusade references. Several of the works are incomplete, often missing entries for periods where we would expect to find some reference to crusade activity. The Annals of Inisfallen, in particular, have leaves missing for the years 1181–9 – crucial years for the organisation of the Third Crusade<sup>28</sup> – and lacunae for the years 1130–59, 1214–16 and 1285–95. The Annals of Tigernach and Chronicon Scotorum end in 1178 and 1150 respectively, so cover only the early crusading period. The tone and interests of the annals also vary widely. Some are insular and interested only in their own local histories, whilst others have a good understanding of events beyond the shores of Ireland. Some monasteries were more open to external influences than others – notably in Leinster and the middle of Ireland.<sup>29</sup> The personnel of Irish monasteries often studied abroad;<sup>30</sup> by the early fourteenth century, the Irish Dominicans sent abroad five students each year: one to Paris, two to Cambridge and two to Oxford.<sup>31</sup> The routes by which Continental information might reach Ireland, and the periods for which it might be recorded, is thus varied in terms of chronology, geography and depth.

## II

The only annals produced in Ireland to cover the start of the crusading movement and its first century of activity, even if only lightly, are the thirteenth-century Franciscan Annals of Multyfarnham. They note that in 1096 ‘Pope Urban proclaims a journey to Jerusalem’, and that three years later ‘Jerusalem is captured by the Christians’.<sup>32</sup> The death in 1100 (though it is listed under 1101) of Godfrey, the king of Jerusalem, the succession of Baldwin (1101), and then Baldwin’s own death (1118) is also recorded. Towards the end of the twelfth century, the information on crusading and the Holy Land increases in the annals produced in Anglo-Irish Ireland. Stephen d’Exeter’s work demonstrates awareness of events in the Latin east, as he records the 1167 incident during which King Almaric of Jerusalem took

<sup>26</sup> Mac Niocaill, *Med. Ir. annals*, p. 38; the association with Kilkenny was attributed by Robin Flower in 1931: Robin Flower, ‘Manuscripts of Irish interest in British Museum’ in *Anal. Hib.*, ii (1931), pp 292–340; Bernadette Williams, ‘The Kilkenny Chronicle’ in Terry Barry, Robin Frame and Katharine Simms (eds), *Colony and frontier in medieval Ireland: essays presented to J. F. Lydon* (London, 1995), pp 75–96.

<sup>27</sup> Scott, ‘Latin learning’, p. 990.

<sup>28</sup> Seán Mac Airt (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Inisfallen (MS Rawlinson B.503)* (Dublin, 1951), p. xxviii. It is possible that the folios for these years were removed: Simms, *Med. Gaelic sources*, p. 29.

<sup>29</sup> Ó Néill, ‘Impact of the Norman invasion’, p. 172.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>31</sup> Scott, ‘Latin learning’, pp 938–9.

<sup>32</sup> Aquilla Smith (ed.), *Annales de Monte Fernandi [Annals of Multyfarnham]* (Dublin, 1843), p. 6; Gwynn, ‘Black Book of Christ Church’, p. 328.

control of Alexandria;<sup>33</sup> the only other work produced in Ireland to note this is the fourteenth-century Pembridge's Annals.<sup>34</sup> Both works, as well as the Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn, also cover the bare outlines of the origins and course of the Third Crusade: in 1186 Saladin captured Jerusalem (though this should be dated to 1187);<sup>35</sup> in the following year the Saracens are said to have captured Jerusalem and the Cross of the Lord;<sup>36</sup> in 1190 (erroneously recorded under 1189 in the Multyfarnham work) Richard, king of England, and Philip, king of France, went to Jerusalem.<sup>37</sup> The late thirteenth-century Annals of Multyfarnham record also that in 1193 Richard was captured in Austria, but they give no more detail.<sup>38</sup> Pembridge's Annals and the annals of John Clyn both include the information that Richard was ransomed; Pembridge's Annals claim this was for 100,000 marks, and notes that the chalices of England were 'redeemed' in order to raise the money. Clyn's work appears to give the much lower figure of £900, which could refer to Ireland's contribution, but the Latin of the entry, 'C. M.', could perhaps be read as £100,000, the total sum of the ransom due.<sup>39</sup> It is entirely possible that the Gaelic-Irish annals did not include this information as the ransom was not raised from native Irish lands; on the other hand, Richard's Anglo-Irish subjects, both lay and ecclesiastical, would have been expected to contribute. However, the works that record the ransom were written long after the reign of Richard I, and it is likely that the resentment caused by further taxation in the 1190s had been forgotten by the time these works were written. The scribe of the Annals of Multyfarnham also records the death in 1190 of Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury,<sup>40</sup> though the work does not relate that his death occurred whilst on crusade.

The Gaelic-Irish works, on the other hand, are more limited in their coverage of crusading events, and are sometimes confused about the people involved in conflict in the Holy Land. The First Crusade itself is wholly ignored, perhaps because a devastating plague and famine that touched Ireland in these years was of more importance to the scribes.<sup>41</sup> It is clear, however, that the native Irish *did* participate at this time, as Ekkehard of Aura recorded their involvement in his *Chronicon Universale*.<sup>42</sup> The effects of crusading are, however, referred to in several works, whether their authors make it explicit or not. The earliest reference appears in the Annals of Inisfallen, the oldest surviving manuscript for our purposes, when it is recorded that in 1105 'a camel, an animal of remarkable size, was brought from

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>34</sup> *Pembridge's Annals*, ed. J. T. Gilbert (London, 1884), p. 303. The annals written by James Grace between 1537 and 1539, which largely copy Pembridge's work for the period 1162–70, also include the capture of 'Babylon': Grace, *Kilkenniensis, Annales Hiberniae*, pp. v, 11.

<sup>35</sup> Smith (ed.), *Annales de Monte Fernandi*, p. 10; Gilbert (ed.), *Pembridge's Annals*, p. 305.

<sup>36</sup> Smith (ed.), *Annales de Monte Fernandi*, p. 10.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*; Gilbert (ed.), *Pembridge's Annals*, p. 306; Williams, *Annals of Ire.*, p. 137.

<sup>38</sup> Smith (ed.), *Annales de Monte Fernandi*, pp 10–11.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 306; Williams, *Annals of Ire.*, pp 136–7; J. Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven & London, 1999), p. 248.

<sup>40</sup> Smith (ed.), *Annales de Monte Fernandi*, p. 10.

<sup>41</sup> Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill (eds), *Annals of Ulster* (Dublin, 1983), pp 527, 529; *A.F.M.*, ii, 949–51.

<sup>42</sup> James Harvey Robinson (ed.), *Readings in European history* (2 vols, Boston, 1904), i, 316–18; Costick, 'Ireland & the First Crusade', p. 12.

the king of Alba to Muirchertach Ua Briain'.<sup>43</sup> The gift of a camel by King Edgar of Scotland was a reflection of Ua Briain's international standing, but the gift itself may have originated in crusade activity as Edgar's uncle, Edgar Æthling, went on crusade in 1102 with Robert Curthose.<sup>44</sup>

In 1123 part of the True Cross was brought to Ireland, enshrined in Roscommon by Turlough O'Connor, king of Connacht, and known later as the Cross of Cong.<sup>45</sup> Its arrival is recorded in the fourteenth-century *Annals of Tigernach*, and repeated three hundred years later in the manuscript of the *Chronicon Scotorum*. It was sent 'as a means', suggests Marie Therese Flanagan, 'of promoting Irish participation in the papally fostered crusading movement',<sup>46</sup> though it is possible that the gift was sent as part of a papal effort to reform the Irish Church.<sup>47</sup> If it did aim to promote the Crusades, its impact was not seen in the annals from Ireland. However, the annals of the Irish abbey at Ratisbon claimed that Connor O'Brien (r. 1127–42) sent crusaders to the Holy Land, suggesting that there was enthusiasm for crusading at the time that went unrecorded in the domestic records.<sup>48</sup>

The last two references to twelfth-century crusade activity in the Gaelic-Irish annals appear in 1147 and 1183. Under the entry for 1147, where the expedition to Jerusalem is described, the *Annals of Tigernach* (and later the *Chronicon Scotorum*) relate that 'the might of the Jews was abated by the Christians'.<sup>49</sup> Although there were pogroms against the Jews in Europe at this time, this quote refers directly to the Second Crusade (1147–9), which was prompted by the loss of the crusader state of Edessa to the Muslims, and was thus aimed at Muslims. The reference to Jews is thus somewhat misleading, and is perhaps a reflection of the attitude to Jews within Europe at the time of the Crusades. It was in the wake of the preaching of the Second Crusade, for example, that pogroms were launched against Jews in the Rhineland, and attacks on Jews were linked with increased crusading fervour from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries.<sup>50</sup> The *Annals of Tigernach* were not the only work to refer to assailing the Jews when the Muslims were the real enemy: in his *Life of St David*, the Welshman Rhigyfarch, writing on the eve of the First Crusade, lamented that 'the power of the Jews against the Christians is on the increase',<sup>51</sup> and it is likely that he, too, was influenced by the anti-Semitism that came to be increasingly linked to the struggle to recover the Holy Land for Christians.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Mac Airt (ed.), *Annals of Inisfallen*, p. 263.

<sup>44</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: the history of the English kings*, ed. R. M. Thomson (2 vols, Oxford, 1999), ii, 310.

<sup>45</sup> Marie Thérèse Flanagan, 'High-kings with opposition' in Ó Cróinín (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, i: prehistoric and early Ireland*, p. 918.

<sup>46</sup> Flanagan, 'High-kings with opposition', p. 917; William M. Hennessey (ed. and trans.), *Chronicon Scotorum: a chronicle of Irish affairs* (London, 1866), p. 275; Whitley Stokes (trans.), *Annals of Tigernach* (2 vols, Llanerch, 1993), i, 43.

<sup>47</sup> George Petrie, 'On the Cross of Cong' in *R.I.A. Proc.*, iv (1850), p. 579.

<sup>48</sup> Con Costello, *Ireland and the Holy Land: an account of Irish links with the Levant from the earliest times* (Dublin, 1974), p. 33.

<sup>49</sup> Stokes (trans.), *Annals of Tigernach*, p. 169; Hennessey (ed.), *Chron. Scot.*, p. 345.

<sup>50</sup> R. I. Moore, *The formation of a persecuting society: power and deviance in Western Europe, 950–1250* (Oxford, 1988), p. 29.

<sup>51</sup> Rhigyfarch, *Life of St. David*, trans. J. W. James (Cardiff, 1967), p. 43.

<sup>52</sup> Hurlock, *Wales & the Crusades* (forthcoming), pp 16–17.

The final reference to twelfth-century crusade-related activity concerns the military orders. Under the entry for 1183, the *Annals of Ulster* record that ‘The Order of Templars and Hospitallers is confirmed’.<sup>53</sup> It is an entry repeated in the *Annales Hiberniae* (‘the Order of the Templars is confirmed’),<sup>54</sup> *Pembridge’s Annals*,<sup>55</sup> the *Annals of Multyfarnham*<sup>56</sup> and the *Annals of Ireland* by Friar John Clyn.<sup>57</sup> The *Annals of Inisfallen* record this under the entry for 1173.<sup>58</sup> The *Kilkenny Chronicle* dates this event to 1118.<sup>59</sup> The Templars, however, were founded in c.1119, and confirmed by the Pope in 1129 at the Council of Troyes.<sup>60</sup> It is possible that the majority of entries relate to the arrival of the military orders in Ireland, and to their confirmation of landholdings there. Clyn’s work, written in the first half of the fourteenth century, contained references to the Templars at the time of their suppression and trial, and he also made mistakes here, citing the end of the order in 1311 though it was not disbanded until the Council of Vienne the following year.<sup>61</sup> The Templars were in Ireland by 1177, when one Templar, Matthew, appears as a witness on a charter; it is possible that Henry II of England had in fact given the order lands in Waterford harbour as early as 1172.<sup>62</sup> The Hospitallers appeared in 1174, when Richard de Clare gave the order lands at Kilmainham on the south bank of the River Liffey.<sup>63</sup> The date referred to in the *Annals of Ulster* and the various Anglo-Irish annals, 1183, does not appear to have any significance for the Hospitallers, though there were grants made in the following two years to the Templars at Newcastle, Clontarf and Crook.<sup>64</sup>

### III

Crusading information increased significantly in annal entries covering the thirteenth century, particularly in those produced in Gaelic Ireland. ‘At last’, as Donald Matthew points out, ‘the [Gaelic] Irish annals noticed the crusading activity.’<sup>65</sup> Was this a reflection of the conquest and settlement of parts of Ireland by the Anglo-Irish, or of wider trends in the dissemination of crusading information?

<sup>53</sup> W. M. Hennessy and Bartholomew MacCarthy (eds), *Annals of Ulster, otherwise Annals of Senat, a chronicle of Irish affairs, 432–1131, 1155–1541* (4 vols, Dublin, 1887–1901), ii, 201.

<sup>54</sup> Grace, *Kilkenniensis, Annales Hiberniae*, p. 17.

<sup>55</sup> Gilbert (ed.), *Pembridge’s Annals*, p. 305.

<sup>56</sup> Smith (ed.), *Annales de Monte Fernandi*, p. 10.

<sup>57</sup> Williams, *Annals of Ire.*, p. 137.

<sup>58</sup> Mac Airt (ed.), *Annals of Inisfallen*, p. 307.

<sup>59</sup> Flower, ‘Manuscripts’, p. 331.

<sup>60</sup> Malcolm Barber, *The new knighthood: a history of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), pp 8–9.

<sup>61</sup> Williams, *Annals of Ire.*, p. 193; Barber, *The new knighthood*, p. 280.

<sup>62</sup> Matthew the Templar appears as a witness on a deed of Henry II together with Archbishop Laurence O’Toole (d. 1180). M. J. McEnery and Raymond Refaussé (eds), *Christ Church deeds* (Dublin, 2001), no. 468; Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses, Ire.*, p. 327.

<sup>63</sup> G. Lennox Barrow, ‘The Knights Hospitaller of St John of Jerusalem at Kilmainham’ in *Dublin Hist. Rec.*, xxxviii (1984–5), p. 109.

<sup>64</sup> Evelyn Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain* (Harlow, 2001), p. 138; Tom Nolan, ‘The Knights Templar and the houses of South East Ireland’ in *Decies*, xiv (1980), p. 52; Gwynn & Hadcock, *Med. relig. houses, Ire.*, p. 330.

<sup>65</sup> Donald Matthew, *Britain and the Continent, 1000–1300* (London, 2005), p. 204.

The late fifteenth-century Annals of Ulster are unique among the Irish works for referring to Irish crusaders by name in this period. They recount that in 1227 ‘Dionysius Ua Mordha (d. 1231) was crossed as a crusader from being bishop of Oil-finn [Elphin]’, and that ‘Cumara Ua Domnallain was killed in captivity by Ruaidhri Mac Duinnsleibhe, in revenge of his father, he Cumara being crossed as a crusader’.<sup>66</sup> Dionysius Ua Mordha (Denis O’Morda or O’Moore) resigned his see in 1229,<sup>67</sup> presumably after he returned from his ‘crusade’. The alternative interpretation is that the dating of the chronicle is incorrect, and he instead resigned his see in order to undertake a crusade. The second individual, Cumara, does not appear to have gone on crusade, although he was ‘crossed as a crusader’ at the time of his murder. Presumably, the inclusion of their names was a reflection of their particular circumstances rather than the fact that they were crusaders – the first because he was a bishop, and the second because he was under the protection conferred by the crusading vow when he was killed. The identification of these Irish crusaders in the Annals of Ulster coincided with an increasing number of references to pilgrimage activity to the Holy Land, too: the scribe of the Annals of the Four Masters, writing in the 1630s, recorded that Connor Moimmoir O’Connor ‘died on his return journey from Jerusalem and the river Jordan’ in 1224,<sup>68</sup> and in 1231, according to the Annals of Connacht, Ualgarc Ó Ruairc, king of Breifne, ‘died on pilgrimage on the journey to the Jordan’.<sup>69</sup>

The increase in information on both crusaders and those who undertook journeys to the Holy Land in the 1220s coincides with the increased information on crusading itself, which was the result of the Fifth Crusade to Damietta (c. 1219–21). Ireland is not unique in this respect, as the increased levels of participation and interest among men in the British Isles, and especially in England, in the 1220s was also reflected in the chronicles produced in Wales at the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>70</sup> However, this fuller information occurs, without exception, in the Anglo-Irish works rather than in those produced by Gaelic writers. Pembridge’s Annals records that in September 1219 Damietta was occupied by the Christians.<sup>71</sup> The Annals of Multyfarnham (and its source material, the Annals of St Mary’s, Dublin)<sup>72</sup> note the capture of Damietta in 1219, its return in 1221 to the Saracens, together with the Holy Cross, and the return of Jerusalem to the Christians in 1228 after it was ceded by the Ayyubids.<sup>73</sup> John Clyn also recorded this last point.<sup>74</sup> The Anglo-Irish Annals of Multyfarnham is also the only work to refer to the crusade of Richard, earl of Cornwall, in 1240.<sup>75</sup>

However, the Gaelic annals do show particular interest in the crusade of Louis IX

<sup>66</sup> *A.U.*, ii, 279; despite sharing a common core, the Annals of Loch Cé does not include this information.

<sup>67</sup> Henry Cotton (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae: the succession of prelates and members of the cathedral bodies in Ireland* (5 vols, Dublin, 1845–78), i, 118.

<sup>68</sup> *A.F.M.*, iii, 215.

<sup>69</sup> Freeman (ed.), *Annals of Connacht*, p. 43; *A.L.C.*, p. 309.

<sup>70</sup> Kathryn Hurlock, ‘Crusades and crusading in the Welsh annalistic chronicles’ in *Trivium Occasional Series*, no. 5 (2009), pp 14–16.

<sup>71</sup> Gilbert (ed.), *Pembridge’s Annals*, p. 312.

<sup>72</sup> Gwynn, ‘Black Book of Christ Church’, p. 331.

<sup>73</sup> Smith (ed.), *Annales de Monte Fernandi*, p. 12.

<sup>74</sup> Williams, *Annals of Ire.*, p. 141.

<sup>75</sup> Smith (ed.), *Annales de Monte Fernandi*, p. 14.

of France in 1248–54. ‘A great slaughter of the Christians in Damietta at the hands of the Saracens’ is recorded by the Annals of Inisfallen under the entry for 1245,<sup>76</sup> in response to which Louis IX travelled to Jerusalem ‘to champion Christianity’ in 1248 (Annals of Connacht). In 1254 he returned to France, ‘having made a three years’ peace between the Christians and the Saracens’,<sup>77</sup> and several works also record his death in 1270.<sup>78</sup> The number of references to Louis’s crusading activity might be a reflection of increasing participation in the thirteenth century. Christine Meek has suggested that a pilgrim recorded in documentation from the Italian city of Lucca, Rogerius de Irlanda, could have been a member of Louis IX’s army; furthermore, *crucesignati* from the bishopric of Killaloe did try to participate in 1255 but were prevented from doing so by the justiciar.<sup>79</sup> Maurice fitz Gerald, former justiciar of Ireland (1232–45), had also taken the crusading vow, but the Pope granted churchmen in Dublin the authority to dissolve it in April 1256.<sup>80</sup> Louis’s crusade, however, appears to have been well known even in areas that did not directly participate; the Welsh chronicles record his capture of Damietta, his imprisonment, his return home and his death at Tunis in 1270.<sup>81</sup>

Although the references to crusading in the annals for the years before the middle of the thirteenth century were limited, the crusade of Louis IX and the Lord Edward, setting out in 1270, prompted the later scribes who had previously ignored crusading to take an interest. The most notable of these are the seventeenth-century Annals of Clonmacnoise, which make their first reference to crusading for the year 1270, when ‘Edward prince of England, the king of England’s son, went to the Holy Land to recover it’.<sup>82</sup> The Annals of Connacht also mention it, as do the Annals of Inisfallen, but in relation to Louis of France only.<sup>83</sup> The sixteenth-century Grace’s Annals recount Geoffrey de Geneville’s return in 1273; Geoffrey participated in the retinue of Edward, and his return is presumably noted because he was appointed justiciar of Ireland in 1273.<sup>84</sup> He is recorded in this capacity in the entry in the fourteenth century Pembridge’s Annals that refer

<sup>76</sup> Mac Airt (ed.), *Annals of Inisfallen*, p. 353.

<sup>77</sup> Freeman (ed.), *Annals of Connacht*, pp 97, 111.

<sup>78</sup> Denis Murphy (ed.), *The Annals of Clonmacnoise* (Dublin, 1896), p. 249; *A.U.*, vol. ii, p. 347; Mac Airt (ed.), *Annals of Inisfallen*, p. 371 (which dates his death to 1271, but are the only annals to say, incorrectly, that he died in the Holy Land); Freeman (ed.), *Annals of Connacht*, p. 157; Gwynn, ‘Black Book of Christ Church’, p. 332.

<sup>79</sup> Christine Meek, ‘Beyond the frontier: Irish men and Irish goods in Lucca in the later Middle Ages’ in Barry, Frame & Simms (eds), *Colony & frontier in med. Ire.*, pp 229–30; Maurice P. Sheehy (ed.), *Pontificia Hibernica: medieval papal chancery documents concerning Ireland, 640–1261* (2 vols, Dublin, 1965), i, 243; Simon Lloyd, *English society and the crusade, 1216–1307* (Oxford, 1988), p. 92.

<sup>80</sup> Sheehy (ed.), *Pontificia Hib.*, ii, 253.

<sup>81</sup> John Williams ab Ithel (ed.), *Annales Cambriae* (London, 1860), p. 88; a chronicle from the Cistercian abbey of Neath, NRA E.164.1, published as ‘Chronicle of the thirteenth century’ in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 8 (1862), p. 282.

<sup>82</sup> Denis Murray (ed.), *The Annales of Clonmacnoise, being Annals of Ireland from the earliest period to A.D. 1408* (Dublin, 1896), p. 249.

<sup>83</sup> Mac Airt (ed.), *Annals of Inisfallen*, p. 371.

<sup>84</sup> Grace, *Kilkennensis, Annales Hiberniae*, p. 37; Beth Hartland, ‘Vaucouleurs, Ludlow and Trim: the role of Ireland in the career of Geoffrey de Geneville (c.1226–1314)’ in *I.H.S.*, xxxii, no. 128 (2001), pp 457–77.

to his crusade participation.<sup>85</sup> The remaining Anglo-Irish works all mention the crusade of 1270.<sup>86</sup> The increased level of interest is not surprising, since many Irish landholders travelled with Edward;<sup>87</sup> the same stimulus appears to have affected Welsh chronicles, as in both cases crusade participation was reflected in references in the historical records to large crusade enterprises, such as the Fifth Crusade and that of Edward in 1270.<sup>88</sup>

The fact that Edward's crusade was recorded in both Gaelic-Irish and Anglo-Irish chronicles is probably a reflection of the fact that, from February 1254, he was lord of Ireland. He may well have taken Irish crusaders with him from these lands, as the idea of employing Irishmen in combat was not unrealistic; Matthew Paris recorded that Edward threatened Llywelyn ap Gruffydd with Irishmen as early as 1256,<sup>89</sup> and Walter of Guisborough claimed that when Edward I led an army into Wales in 1296, it included 30,000 infantrymen from Ireland.<sup>90</sup> As Edward's absence on crusade overlapped with his accession to the English Crown, and involved many of the men who would play an important role during his reign in Ireland and elsewhere, it is conceivable that this information was included by the later annalists to provide context for men like Geoffrey de Geneville, who figured prominently in Irish affairs.

The last years of the crusader states and the final collapse of Tripoli (1289) and Acre (1291) received very little attention; the Kilkenny Chronicle recorded the fall of Acre, and only Pembridge's work noted the loss of both cities.<sup>91</sup> It also observed the role of Otto de Grandison, a knight of Edward I's who had land and responsibilities in Ireland and who died in 1328, only ten years or so before the bulk of the work was written. It is possible that interest in Otto led to inclusion of information relating to the Holy Land in 1291, although it is worth pointing out that he was an absentee landlord who deputised out his role in Ireland, and had little interest in estates there.<sup>92</sup>

Political crusades – those conducted against enemies of the Church within Europe – are also discussed in the Irish annals. Both examples come from the 1280s. Clyn's mid-fourteenth-century annals refer to the crusade against Peter of Aragon in 1285, when Philip III of France invaded northern Spain 'by command of the pope'.<sup>93</sup> Another work, the Kilkenny Chronicle, was also aware of the crusade, though it did not describe it in these terms.<sup>94</sup> Other annals refer to con-

<sup>85</sup> Gilbert (ed.), *Pembridge's Annals*, p. 317.

<sup>86</sup> Williams, *Annals of Ire.*, p. 207; Smith (ed.), *Annales de Monte Fernandi*, pp 15–16.

<sup>87</sup> Irish landholders who joined the crusading force of 1270–2 included Hubert de Rolly, James de Alditeleg, John de Baskerville, John de Fihide, John de Verdun, Nicholas Crok, Richard de Afton, Richard de la Rokele, Robert de Ufford, Thomas de Clare and William FitzWarin: Lloyd, *English society*, pp 262–77.

<sup>88</sup> Hurlock, 'Crusades & crusading', pp 17–18, 25.

<sup>89</sup> James Lydon, 'The years of crisis, 1254–1315' in A. Cosgrove (ed.), *A new history of Ireland, ii: medieval Ireland, 1169–1534* (Oxford, 1987), pp 181–2.

<sup>90</sup> *The chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, ed. Harry Rothwell, Camden Society, 3rd series, lxxxix (1957), pp 272, 279.

<sup>91</sup> Gilbert (ed.), *Pembridge's Annals*, pp 319–21.

<sup>92</sup> Beth Hartland, 'The household knights of Edward I in Ireland' in *Historical Research*, xxii (2004), p. 165.

<sup>93</sup> Williams, *Annals of Ire.*, pp 152–3.

<sup>94</sup> Flower, 'Manuscripts', p. 332.

licts in Europe which were, in one form or another, crusades, but do not make it clear that they were aware of these events in a crusading context. For example, Clyn's *Annals* recorded the deposition of Frederick II (1194–1250), against whom crusades were authorised, but did not note papal involvement in this conflict.<sup>95</sup> This interest in areas of crusading activity does not necessarily indicate interest in the Crusades themselves, as the religious aspects of these conflicts appear to have been ignored.

Other political crusades that were closer to home, such as those conducted under King John (c. 1215–17) and Henry III of England (c. 1263–5), are only discussed in terms of civil war in the Irish works;<sup>96</sup> at no time are the religious elements of these conflicts included in English works commented on.<sup>97</sup> Yet the Irish works can reasonably be expected to have known about the religious tenor of these wars, as several prominent Irish landholders – such as Geoffrey de Geneville and John de Verdun – took part in the wars of the 1260s, presumably in their capacity as vassals of the Lord Edward, lord of Ireland.<sup>98</sup> Moreover, Simon de Montfort had strong links to the Franciscan order of which Friar John Clyn was a member, favouring Franciscans as his spiritual advisors on several occasions.<sup>99</sup> If the same information networks existed for the Franciscans as for the Cistercians, then information relating to the religious aspects of the barons' war could have reached John Clyn or the writer of the *Multyfarnham* work. Why it did not, or why it was ignored, perhaps reflects the scepticism with which those outside England appear to have treated the crusading aspects of both the war under King John and that under Henry III.<sup>100</sup>

References to the collection of monies for crusading – a practice that appears to have caused irritation to twelfth and thirteenth-century writers elsewhere in Europe – are almost entirely absent from the Irish works; only Pembridge's *Annals* and Grace's *Annals* refer to the collection of a tenth in aid of the Holy Land in 1291, which was to be paid to King Edward of England for seven years.<sup>101</sup> This is despite the fact that there were several collections made in Ireland (often undertaken by the friars, the same religious orders that composed many of the annals in Ireland<sup>102</sup>) and despite also the great scandal caused by the embezzlement of crusading monies by the bishop of Ardagh in 1245.<sup>103</sup> Increased interest in the Fifth Crusade may have been a result of the contribution of the religious of Ireland

<sup>95</sup> Williams, *Annals of Ire.*, pp 142–3; Flower, 'Manuscripts', p. 332.

<sup>96</sup> Smith (ed.), *Annales de Monte Fernandi*, pp 11, 14; Williams, *Annals of Ire.*, pp 146–8; *A.U.*, ii, 339.

<sup>97</sup> For a discussion of the crusading nature of these wars, see Simon Lloyd, "'Political Crusades' in England, c.1215–17 and c.1263–5" in P. W. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and settlement: papers read at the first conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and presented to R.C. Smail* (Cardiff, 1985), pp 113–17.

<sup>98</sup> Robin Frame, 'Ireland and the Barons' Wars' in P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (eds), *Thirteenth-century England: I: proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne conference 1985* (Woodbridge, 1986), p. 159; H. L. Luard (ed.), *Annales Monastici* (5 vols, London, 1864–9), ii, 365.

<sup>99</sup> J. R. Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge, 1994), pp 91–3.

<sup>100</sup> For the Welsh example, see Hurlock, 'Crusades & crusading', pp 18–20.

<sup>101</sup> Grace, *Kilkenniensis, Annales Hiberniae*, p. 41; Gilbert (ed.), *Pembridge's Annals*, p. 320.

<sup>102</sup> Sheehy (ed.), *Pontificia Hib.*, ii, 52, 65.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 106, 149.

to that enterprise: in c. 1217, the Pope wrote to the ‘exempt orders’ in Ireland to request one twentieth of their revenues for the Holy Land, an expense that would have not gone unnoticed.<sup>104</sup> Money collected by Pope Boniface in 1271 for a war in Aragon was noted in the annals written by Thaddeus Dowling (d. 1628), but there is no explicit suggestion that this was a religious conflict.<sup>105</sup> The lack of references could, as in the case of the ransom money for Richard I, be a result of the passage of time, as the routine collection of taxation would, perhaps, not have been of interest to those writing in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries.

#### IV

The varying level of crusade activity recorded in each of the Irish annals, and the differences in their accounts, is first and foremost a reflection of their place of composition, whether in native-held or Anglo-Irish areas. Firstly, the Anglo-Irish annals include a greater range and depth of information on crusading, perhaps because they were composed in areas where engagement with crusading was more active.<sup>106</sup> Secondly, the detail in the annals reflects the nature of their composition, whether by a secular or religious hand, and, if the latter, the order of the house in which the work was composed. None of the entries is lengthy, but then the annals themselves are brief in their descriptions.

The Annals of Multyfarnham, based on a lost Cistercian original, are the most detailed of all the annals in relation to the Crusades, containing twenty-three entries relating to the Crusades between 1095 and 1291. Although the Annals of Multyfarnham were not written at a Cistercian house, the links between the Cistercian order and the crusading movement are well documented; in c. 1214, for example, the abbot of Mellifont was instructed to collect the Holy Land subsidy in Ireland.<sup>107</sup> Their interest in crusading matters is reflected in works produced by Cistercian houses elsewhere;<sup>108</sup> it is likely that the same interests are reflected in Stephen d’Exeter’s source material, and were repeated in this work. The frequency of entries is thus, perhaps, not surprising. The composition of this work in the 1270s – a period immediately following crusade participation from among the Anglo-Irish – may also have had a bearing on its content. Cistercian source materials may also have played a part in the contents of the Kilkenny Chronicle (which contained eleven entries), Pembridge’s Annals (nine) and Clyn’s Annals of Ireland (eight), none of them with a particularly notable level of information but still more than most of the works produced in Ireland.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., i, 201.

<sup>105</sup> Thaddeus Dowling, *Annales Breves Hiberniae (Short annals of Ireland)* (Dublin, 1849), p. 15.

<sup>106</sup> Gilbert Pipard and Bertram III de Verdon died on the Third Crusade; see B. Smith, *Colonisation and conquest in medieval Ireland: the English in Louth, 1170–1330* (Cambridge, 1999), pp 30–1; M. S. Hagger, *The fortunes of a Norman family: the de Verduns in England, Ireland and Wales, 1066–1316* (Oxford, 1987), pp 56–7.

<sup>107</sup> Sheehy (ed.), *Pontificia Hib.*, i, 158–9.

<sup>108</sup> Antonia Gransden, *Historical writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1996), p. 329.

<sup>109</sup> For an attempt to reconstruct these lost annals, and a comparison of common elements in the texts that used it as a source, see Gywnn, ‘Black Book of Christ Church Dublin’, pp 329–33.

In addition to gleaning information from Cistercian sources, the authors and scribes of these three works would also have been aware of crusade-related activities through the work of their own orders. In 1234, 1235 and 1274 the Franciscans were instructed to preach the Cross in Ireland,<sup>110</sup> and they were told that they should grant partial indulgences to those who attended crusade sermons.<sup>111</sup> In June 1250 a letter from Henry III of England and a mandate from the Pope instructed the Franciscans and Dominicans to promote the Cross,<sup>112</sup> and in 1291 they were again commissioned to do so, this time by Pope Nicholas IV.<sup>113</sup> The Franciscans were also commissioned to collect crusading monies in 1256.<sup>114</sup> In England, the Franciscan chronicle of Lanercost Abbey contained information on crusading and the Holy Land, and is unique in referring to the participation of Llywelyn, Prince of Wales, in the crusade of 1240,<sup>115</sup> whilst the annals written by the Dominican Nicholas Trivet contain numerous references to the Crusades and the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>116</sup> Participation in the organisation of the Crusades would therefore logically account for information in the Annals of Multyfarnham, Pembridge's Annals and the Annals of Ireland. The friars had other links to crusaders: in the mid-1260s a new friary for the Dominicans at Trim was being built under the patronage of Geoffrey de Geneville, which might explain why his return from the crusade of 1270–2 was noted in Pembridge's Annals.<sup>117</sup>

If links to a religious movement that promoted the Crusades was enough to suggest a corresponding level of interest in the annals it produced, it would be logical to assume that the Annals of the Four Masters would contain a similar number of entries. However, they contain only two: the death of O'Connor on his return from the Holy Land in 1224, and the return of Louis IX from Jerusalem in 1254. It is conceivable that the decision as to what to include from the source material when this work was undertaken in the 1630s therefore reflected the interests of an Irish community on the Continent, as opposed to an Irish community in Ireland, although, arguably, the Irish in Belgium would have been better informed. Furthermore, the Irish mendicant works are associated with Cistercian source material, suggesting, perhaps, that this had a stronger influence on the works than anything else. The interest of the Cistercians certainly appears to account for the volume of information in the Welsh chronicles, though it is worth bearing in mind that no historical works survive from the large Cistercian houses of Ireland, which might have provided a greater depth and range of material.<sup>118</sup> None of the works

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 52, 65; E. B. FitzMaurice and A. G. Little (ed.), *Materials for the history of the Franciscan province of Ireland, A.D. 1230–1450* (Manchester, 1920), p. 39.

<sup>111</sup> Penny J. Cole, *The preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, 1991), pp 161–2.

<sup>112</sup> Sheehy (ed.), *Pontificia Hib.*, ii, 151; Christopher T. Maier, *Preaching the Crusades: mendicant friars and the Cross in the thirteenth century* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 71.

<sup>113</sup> Maier, *Preaching the Crusades*, p. 94.

<sup>114</sup> FitzMaurice & Little (eds.), *Materials for the history of the Franciscan province*, p. 23.

<sup>115</sup> Joseph Stephenson (ed.), *Chronicon de Lanercost MCCI–MCCCXLVI* (Edinburgh, 1839), p. 48; B. L. Cott. MS Claudius D VIII, f. 123v.

<sup>116</sup> Nicholas Triveti, *Annales Sex Regum Angliae*, ed. Thomas Hog (London, 1845), pp 88, 92, 103, 109, 111, 147, 176, 234, 272, 413.

<sup>117</sup> Costello, 'Ireland & the Holy Land', p. 271.

<sup>118</sup> B. W. O'Dwyer, 'The impact of the native Irish on the Cistercians in the thirteenth century' in *Jn. of Religious History*, iv (1967), pp 290–2; Ó Néill, 'Impact', p. 179.

written in Ireland, for example, refer to the Cathar heresy against which crusades were launched, or to the fighting in the Baltic that became popular after the 1147 Wendish Crusade. Nor do they look to crusading activity in Spain, with the exception of the conflict with Peter of Aragon in 1285, whereas Cistercian chronicles in England and Wales refer to both crusading in Spain and against the Cathars. In some ways, such information was more likely to be included if the work was produced in a Cistercian house, as the letter of Héribert of Périgord on the Cathars sent to the Cistercians provided the material for entries in the Cistercian Margam Annales as well as for several other Cistercian works produced in England.<sup>119</sup>

Aside from the number of entries in the Irish annals, whether produced in native-held or Anglo-Irish areas, it is worth considering in more detail the choices made as to their content. The Annals of Multyfarnham, for example, is the only work from Ireland to refer to the preaching of the First Crusade by Pope Urban II, and to the deaths of Godfrey and Baldwin of Jerusalem. Although this work shares a common source with several other annals, this information is not found there; where, then, did the Franciscan Stephen d'Exeter find his information? Was it in the Cistercian works? Aubrey Gwynn suggested that he used 'some short Anglo-Norman Chronicle' for some sections of his work, and it is probable that this was the source of his information, as references to the first crusade are comparatively common in Anglo-Norman sources.<sup>120</sup> The Kilkenny Chronicle is the only work to note that in 1118 the order of the Templars was founded, and, again, this could be a reflection of the tastes of the author, whom Williams believes was English or Anglo-Irish.<sup>121</sup> He appears to have had a particular interest in the Templars, because he discusses them in his entries for 1307, 1308 and 1310.<sup>122</sup>

The increasing information in the thirteenth century is a reflection of wider literary developments, as it is during this period that Irish poems referring to the Holy Land began to appear; the same increase is also reflected in Welsh literature.<sup>123</sup> Four poems referring to crusading and to the Holy Land written by Scoto-Irish poets survive from the beginning of the thirteenth century. They are found in the fifteenth-century manuscript British Library Additional 19,995, which in itself suggests that there was a renewed interest in crusading at this time.<sup>124</sup> Two of these were composed by Muiredach Albanach (fl. 1200–24), poet to the Ó Domhnaill kings of western Ulster. Muiredach was forced to flee to Scotland in c. 1213 after murdering his patron's steward,<sup>125</sup> and from there travelled to the Holy Land. One of the companions mentioned in his poem 'from Monto Gargano' was Áedh mac Conchobhair Máennhaighe Ó Conchobhair, heir to the kingdom

<sup>119</sup> Claire Taylor, 'The letter of Héribert of Périgord as a source for dualist heresy in the society of early eleventh-century Aquitaine' in *Jn. of Medieval History*, xxvi (2000), pp 313–49; Nicholas Vincent, 'England and the Albigensian Crusade' in B. Weiler with I. W. Rowland (eds), *England and Europe in the reign of Henry III* (Aldershot, 2002), p. 68.

<sup>120</sup> Gwynn, 'Black Book of Christ Church Dublin', p. 315.

<sup>121</sup> Williams, 'Kilkenny Chronicle', p. 81.

<sup>122</sup> Flower, 'Manuscripts', pp 334–5; Williams, 'Kilkenny Chronicle', p. 80, n. 31.

<sup>123</sup> Hurlock, 'Crusades & crusading', pp 14–16, 25–6.

<sup>124</sup> Gerard Murphy, 'Two Irish poems written from the Mediterranean in the thirteenth century' in *Éigse*, vii (1953–5), p. 71.

<sup>125</sup> Derick S. Thomson, 'The Macmhuirich bardic family' in *Trans. Gaelic Society of Inverness*, xliii (1960–3), p. 278.

of Connacht.<sup>126</sup> The poem was sent back to Cathal Crobhdherg in Ireland, thus providing a method of disseminating information about the Fifth Crusade to Ireland. Muiredach wrote another poem about his journey from Jerusalem on his return to Munster, where he sought employment with the dynasty of Munster.<sup>127</sup> Increased participation from among the English and Anglo-Irish elite in the Fifth Crusade and the crusade of the Lord Edward produces increased reference to the Crusades during these periods. Information on the crusades of Louis IX may have come to Ireland through the justiciar Geoffrey de Geneville and his circle. Geoffrey held Irish lands and died at Trim in 1314, five years after his eldest brother Jean de Joinville finished his *Life of St Louis*, which detailed the French king's crusading activities at length.<sup>128</sup>

## V

It is also worth considering here what the references in the annals say about interest in crusading in Ireland during the period in which these sources were written. Although entries relating to crusaders and crusading suggest the level of knowledge regarding these subjects in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the types of surviving source information available to later scribes, it also sheds light on what interested people in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as some areas of crusading history appear to have attracted greater attention than others. It is, perhaps, not surprising in this context that the work with the greatest number of entries relating to crusading, the work of Stephen d'Exeter, was written in the 1270s at a time when the Lord Edward had taken many nobles from England, Ireland and Wales to the Holy Land on crusade. Pembridge's Annals, which contain several references, were written at a time when Edward III of England was being pressurised to undertake a crusade of his own.<sup>129</sup> Some works show that they were interested in crusading activity from the time they were being written: John Clyn, for example, wrote about crusading activity in the 1320s. The Annals of the Four Masters and the Chronicon Scotorum manuscript of the early seventeenth century may have been stimulated by the continued interest in crusading fostered by the Ottoman threat in the early seventeenth century,<sup>130</sup> or by the attacks by Barbary pirates on the Irish coast in the 1630s.<sup>131</sup> The period in which most of these works were composed also coincided with a greater level of interest in crusade-themed literature among the nobility and gentry of medieval Ireland: in c. 1400 *The Conquest of Charlemagne* was translated into Irish for the first time,<sup>132</sup> and by 1526 the ninth earl of Kildare had copies of *The Siege of*

<sup>126</sup> Thomas Owen Clanchy (ed.), *The triumph tree: Scotland's earliest poetry, AD 550–1350* (Edinburgh, 1998), pp 268–70.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 271–4.

<sup>128</sup> Jean de Joinville, *The Life of St. Louis*, ed. Rene Hague (New York, 1958).

<sup>129</sup> Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago, 1988), pp 246–52.

<sup>130</sup> Franco Cardini, *Europe and Islam* (Oxford, 2001), pp 117–31.

<sup>131</sup> Des Ekin, *The stolen village: Baltimore and the Barbary pirates* (Dublin, 2006); J. C. Appleby, 'Settlers and pirates in early seventeenth-century Ireland: a profile of Sir William Hill' in *Studia Hib.*, xxv (1990), pp 76–104.

<sup>132</sup> Douglas Hyde (ed.), *Gabháltais Shéarluis Mhóir: the conquests of Charlemagne* (Irish Texts Society, Dublin, 1919), pp v–vi.

Jerusalem, a work on the monks of Egypt, and a study on The Siege of Rhodes among the works in his library.<sup>133</sup>

For the most part, however, works that were interested in crusading in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries paid almost no attention to the holy wars that continued from the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries. Although both the ideology of crusading and its practical mechanisms were still used across Europe in conflicts with the Church's internal and external enemies, for many writers it appears that the crusades that occurred before 1291 had already become an historical phenomenon rather than a contemporary concern, particularly after 1500; Giles Constable argued that at this time the Crusades 'tended to move into the past and be treated as part of national history'.<sup>134</sup> The *Annals of the Four Masters*, written in the same period as the first history of the Crusades in English, Thomas Fuller's *Historie of the Holy Warre*, did not see the rebellion of James FitzMaurice against Elizabeth I as a holy war, despite the fact that FitzMaurice received indulgences from the Pope for his cause. He also cited Elizabeth I's heresy as a reason for the rebellion. The *Annals of the Four Masters* saw it as a political rebellion 'against the Queen's Parliament'.<sup>135</sup> Nor were the religious overtones of the Spanish Armada in 1588 alluded to, despite the fact that the annals' patron, Fearghal Ó Gadhra, was a committed Catholic.<sup>136</sup> This is interesting in the context of the conflict between England and Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, where educated aristocrats like Conall Mageoghegan, redactor of the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, sought 'to preserve and reaffirm the glories of their heritage from the past'. Coupled with the Irish Counter-Reformation, it might be reasonable to expect a greater emphasis on militant Catholicism in Irish history, but in many works this is not the case.<sup>137</sup>

Of those Irish annals that do survive, the paucity of information on crusading activity for some periods and the lack of detail for others is part of a wider trend in which the Irish works largely ignore external activities, rather than reflecting a lack of interest in crusading per se. When considering the links between Ireland and Scotland in the annals before 1169, Seán Duffy commented that the annals 'generally refrain from detailing the activities of Irishmen abroad'.<sup>138</sup> Works produced in the Middle Ages focussed on Irish affairs because it was the role of the bardic historians to 'magnify his master's prestige by perpetuating the memory of his royal ancestors' famous deeds'.<sup>139</sup> External references still tend to be localised in terms of geographical range; the lists of deaths of Scottish leaders in the annals suggests a strong link between Ireland and Scotland (or, more particularly, Moray and the areas of Ireland where the annals were produced), but other close

<sup>133</sup> Costello, *Ireland*, p. 58; [C. W. Fitzgerald], marquis of Kildare [duke of Leinster], *The earls of Kildare and their ancestors: from 1053 to 1773* (Dublin, 1858), pp 327–30.

<sup>134</sup> Giles Constable, 'The historiography of the Crusades' in Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh, *The Crusades from the perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim world* (Washington D.C., 2001), p. 6.

<sup>135</sup> *A.F.M.*, v, 1632.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 1870–71; Alexander Boyle, 'Fearghal Ó Gadhra and the Four Masters' in *I.E.R.*, 5th series, C (July–Dec. 1963), pp 100–14.

<sup>137</sup> Simms, *Med. Gaelic sources*, p. 31.

<sup>138</sup> Seán Duffy, 'Ireland and Scotland, 1014–1169: contacts and caveats' in Alfred P. Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas: studies in early and medieval Irish archaeology, history and literature in honour of Francis J. Byrne* (Dublin, 2000), p. 348.

<sup>139</sup> Simms, *Med. Gaelic sources*, p. 32.

neighbours, such as Wales, are largely ignored; four Welsh deaths are noted for the period considered, compared to twenty-five Scottish deaths.<sup>140</sup> Michael Richter noticed the same trend in the Irish annals up to 1169, which suggested that Ireland was ‘still predominantly part of the Atlantic world of north-western Europe’.<sup>141</sup> Thus, crusading activity might only be included if it had relevance to a particular dynasty, meaning omission was not a reflection of lack of interest (or lack of Irish participation as a whole, as Irishmen did take the cross) but, rather, a question of relevance to the aims of the annalist. Where crusading *is* referred to, then, it is worth considering why it is thought to be of interest and where the author found his information. Whilst not the most prolific of sources, the annals of medieval Ireland still have something to tell us about interest in, knowledge of, and participation in crusading in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

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<sup>140</sup> Duffy, ‘Ireland & Scotland’, pp 348, 351.

<sup>141</sup> Michael Richter, ‘The European dimension in Irish history in the eleventh and twelfth centuries’ in *Peritia*, iv (1985), p. 330.