

## Select document: a charter of Hugh II de Lacy, earl of Ulster, to Hugh Hose (2 March 1207)

In 1206, the year after he was created earl of Ulster by King John, the forces of Hugh II de Lacy (d. 1242) devastated the ecclesiastical *civitas* of Armagh for ten successive days and nights. Then, turning southwest into Monaghan, de Lacy laid waste ‘Teach Damhnata’ (Tydavnet), ‘Ceall Muragáin’ (Kilmore), and Clones, before striking northwards into Tír Eógain.<sup>1</sup> There, he attacked Tullaghoge, seat of the king of Cenél nEógain, Áed Méith Ua Néill (d. 1230), reaching as far north as Ciannachta (bar. Keenaght, County Londonderry).<sup>2</sup> This campaign, undertaken with the ‘Foreigners of Meath and of Leinster’, was followed up in the beginning of 1207 with another assault on Armagh around St Brigid’s day (1 February), which was severe enough to prompt Eugenius (Echdonn mac Gilla Uidir), archbishop of Armagh (d. 1217), to cross to the court of King John in order to ‘succour the churches of Ireland and to accuse the Foreigners’.<sup>3</sup>

The ferocity of de Lacy’s attacks might be partly explained by their targets. Archbishop Eugenius had been closely aligned with Hugh’s precursor in Ulster, John de Courcy, and in 1205 had excommunicated de Lacy and his partisans for their role in expelling de Courcy from his lordship, to the protection of Cenél nEógain and Aed Méith Ua Néill.<sup>4</sup> The charter evidence, meanwhile, might imply that Hugh’s raids were concerned with more than mere posturing, connected to an (ultimately unsuccessful) attempt to impose settlement on the native Irish polities beyond the frontiers of his nascent earldom. If the chronology provided by the Irish annals can be relied upon, de Lacy’s latest

<sup>1</sup> *Misc. Ir. annals*, 1206.3, 1206.6. De Lacy was belted earl of Ulster on 29 May 1205, at Winchester: *Rot. chart.*, p. 151a.

<sup>2</sup> *A.U.*, 1207.8, 1207.9 [recte, 1206]; *A.F.M.*, 1206.14, 1206.15.

<sup>3</sup> *A.U.*, 1207.10; see also, *A.L.C.*, 1206.7; *A.F.M.*, 1206.5. For the attack on Armagh, see *Misc. Ir. annals*, 1207.1. Eugenius had arrived in England by 19 July 1207, when the king sent him to execute episcopal office in the vacant see of Exeter, and in Worcester: *Rot. litt. claus.*, 1204–24, p. 88a; *Cal. doc. Ire., 1171–1251*, no. 331; Frank Barlow (ed.), *English episcopal acts XI: Exeter, 1046–1184* (Oxford, 1996), xlvi. There is no mention of Eugenius in the Worcester records.

<sup>4</sup> *A.U.*, 1205.3; *Pontificia Hibernica*, i, no. 64. For John de Courcy’s replacement by Hugh de Lacy in Ulster, see my recent Ph.D. thesis, ‘Fortune’s wheel: the rise, fall and restoration of Hugh II de Lacy, earl of Ulster, 1190–1242’ (Queen’s University, Belfast, 2012), ch. 1. For de Courcy’s relationship with the church in Ulster, see M. T. Flanagan, ‘John de Courcy, the first Ulster plantation and Irish church men’ in Brendan Smith (ed.), *Britain and Ireland, 900–1300: insular responses to medieval European change* (Cambridge, 1999), pp 154–78.

descent on Armagh, in February 1207, was bracketed by the drafting of two comital charters.<sup>5</sup> The first, issued on 13 January, granted the Ulster cantred of Dufferin (County Down) to Hugh's brother-in-law, Roger Pipard.<sup>6</sup> The second charter, issued on 2 March to the Meath and Staffordshire tenant, Hugh Hose, appears to have granted territory in the parts of Monaghan and Tyrone ravaged by de Lacy's army in 1206–7.

The following seeks to shed light on some aspects of Hugh de Lacy's charter to Hugh Hose, unpublished until now and surviving in a seventeenth-century transcript.<sup>7</sup> Documents of this type were first and foremost records of conveyance, and a prerequisite task is to reconstruct the location and extent of the earl's grant. This is made all the more difficult by certain ambiguities in the Irish place-names, no doubt rendered phonetically by Hugh's Anglo-Norman clerk, and further compromised by their sole transmission in a seventeenth-century transcript. The written record had other practical uses. The true value of Hugh's earldom was bound up in the exclusivity of the comital title, and de Lacy's charter had an important supplementary function as an emblem of rank and prestige, advertising the earl's comital status to an audience of his peers. Stylistic choices and the construction of formulae imply clear direction by the grantor, with the imitation of royal protocol, in particular, serving to underline Hugh's elevation to the first stratum of nobility.

If promotion to comital rank transformed the language used to frame de Lacy's charters, it also brought a different kind of person within the orbit of Hugh's patronage. Until 1205, those favoured in de Lacy's *acta* were, like him, ambitious cadets with limited political clout: the sons or brothers of important men. With the title of *comes* came an expectation and ability to attract higher-profile tenants. Hugh Hose is an example of the new class of vassal being courted by the earl. A significant landholder in his own right, and one of the coterie surrounding successive lords of Meath, Hose was both lord of Deece, in the de Lacy lordship of Meath, and of Penkridge, in Staffordshire. An appraisal of the beneficiary's status and landholdings highlights some intriguing links to the charter's witnesses, and illustrates well how Hugh de Lacy took full advantage of family connections on both sides of the Irish Sea in order to attract supporters appropriate to his newly acquired dignity.

<sup>5</sup> The fifteenth-century annals known as *Mac Carthaigh's book* are at times chronologically suspect (attributing de Lacy's comital promotion to the year 1204, for example), but the reference to a specific feast day (St Brigid) inspires greater confidence in this detail: see *Misc. Ir. annals*, 1204.2. The entry is repeated in the Dublin annals of Inisfallen, an eighteenth-century compilation which probably used a corrupt version of the *Mac Carthaigh's book* MS as its source: see Tomás Ó Fiaich, 'The contents of "Mac Carthaigh's book"' in *I.E.R.*, 5th ser., lxxiv (1950), pp 30–9, at p. 37; Meibhbhín Ní Úrdail, 'Some observations on the "Dublin annals of Inisfallen"' in *Ériu*, lvii (2007), pp 133–53.

<sup>6</sup> *Ormond deeds, 1172–1350*, no. 863 (2), p. 365; Paul MacCotter, *Medieval Ireland: territorial, political and economic divisions* (Dublin, 2008), p. 232.

<sup>7</sup> B.L., Add. MS 4797, f. 43. I am indebted to Dr Colin Veach for making me aware of the charter's existence, and to the British Library for granting permission to publish it here. The charter-text is provided in an appendix.

## I

The charter-text owes its survival to the industry of the seventeenth-century antiquary, and one of the ‘real founders of Irish history in modern times’, Sir James Ware (1594–1666).<sup>8</sup> Ware’s primary interest was Irish ecclesiastical history, in advancement of which he transcribed Hugh de Lacy’s charter (c.1237) to the Cistercian abbey of Newry, confirming donations made to it ‘before the advent of the English in Ireland’.<sup>9</sup> As testament to a seemingly inexhaustible enthusiasm for Irish antiquities, among Ware’s *collectanea* are transcriptions of three grants issued by de Lacy to secular beneficiaries. The first, from 1191×1205, is a gift of *Lochogoure* (Lagore, County Meath?) to Galfridus Fabius *de Rattouedh* (Ratoath, County Meath).<sup>10</sup> Another, issued as earl of Ulster, 1205×33, gave to Walter Hose, on the occasion of his marriage to Hugh’s daughter, Avice, a marshalship and one cantred of de Lacy’s land in Connacht, ‘as soon as he may acquire it’.<sup>11</sup> The third example, copied in the same manuscript as the second, favoured Walter’s presumed relative, Hugh Hose.

The transcripts of de Lacy’s grants to Hugh and Walter Hose are preserved in a Ware manuscript donated to the British Museum by Jeremiah Milles, dean of Exeter, in 1765. The copy-book was apparently complete by 1648, when Ware’s own *Catalogus* made note of its assorted contents, including sixteenth-century poetry; obits of the Fitz Gerald family, earls of Desmond; English and Anglo-Saxon regnal lists; a portion of the fourteenth-century register of the hospital of St John the Baptist, Dublin; an English vernacular treatise on herbs; and various other items of Irish interest.<sup>12</sup> Documents forged by Ware’s son, Robert – judged by one commentator to have been perhaps ‘the most audacious fabricator of historical documents who ever lived’ – were added c.1678.<sup>13</sup>

In is unclear whether Ware was working from original deeds, now lost, or versions already in copy-form. Regrettably, there is no internal allusion to a

<sup>8</sup> Robin Flower, ‘Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British Museum’ in *Anal. Hib.*, ii (1931), pp 292–340, at p. 300.

<sup>9</sup> B.L., Add. MS 4821, f. 145; M. T. Flanagan, *Irish royal charters: texts and contexts* (London, 2005), pp 388–9.

<sup>10</sup> B.L., Add. MS 4792, f. 188.

<sup>11</sup> B.L., Add. MS 4797, f. 45v [*quamcito eam perquisieret*]. My thanks to Professor Nicholas Vincent, University of East Anglia, for knowledge of this (unpublished) charter-text. Between 1189 and 1206, de Lacy had been the beneficiary of generous (but ultimately inoperative) grants of land in modern Sligo and Roscommon from the Lord John and William de Burgh, lord of Connacht: *Rot. chart.*, p. 139b; *Gormanston reg.*, pp 143–4; *Cal. doc. Ire., 1171–1251*, no. 241. The principal witness to the earl’s grant in favour of Walter Hose, William de Lacy – Hugh’s half-brother – died in 1233: *A.L.C.*, 1233.8. The charter to Walter Hose must therefore have been made before Hugh II’s participation in the Anglo-Norman reconquest of Connacht, in 1235, after which de Lacy was granted a significant stake in the province by Richard, son of William de Burgh: *Gormanston reg.*, pp 143, 191.

<sup>12</sup> Flower, ‘Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British Museum’, pp 292–340; William O’Sullivan, ‘A finding list of Sir James Ware’s Manuscripts’ in *R.I.A. Proc.*, xcvi, C, no. 2 (1997), pp 69–99.

<sup>13</sup> See Philip Wilson, ‘The writings of Sir James Ware and the forgeries of Robert Ware’ in *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, xv (1917–19), pp 83–94, at p. 83.

repository or private collection from which Ware might have obtained either form of source.<sup>14</sup> Just such a record, with the precise date of transcription (2 December 1634), accompanies the transcript of de Lacy's charter to the abbey of Newry. A note in the manuscript states Ware's source to have been a document defined as 'with Mr Bagnall', presumably a descendant of Nicholas Bagenal, who, in 1552, had been granted the site and precinct of the former abbey of Newry, then a collegiate church.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, a hint as to the provenance of the Hose charter-texts is provided by another of Ware's transcriptions in the same notebook, of an undated charter of Walter de Lacy (lord of Meath, d. 1241) to Hugh Hose, granting 'Dervach' (probably Durrow, County Offaly) with three knights' fees and one carucate of land next to 'Kenel' (probably Kells, County Meath).<sup>16</sup> A marginal note reveals the copy to have been made on 9 December 1634, *ex orig. charta*. We might wonder if Ware also had access to the original deed of Walter de Lacy's brother, Hugh II, to the same beneficiary, though the separation of the brothers' charter-texts in two different notebooks might argue against a coeval date of transcription.

## II

One of the problems confronting Hugh de Lacy upon assuming lordship in Ulster, in 1205, was how to present a more appealing brand of power than that exercised by his precursor, John de Courcy, who still claimed the sympathies of some Ulster tenants and churchmen.<sup>17</sup> Hugh could hardly mythologise his conquest, for de Courcy had already done so after 1177, embracing the local cult of St Patrick and casting himself as hero of the supposed prophecy of Merlin Silvester of Celidon, which held that 'a white knight, astride a white horse, and bearing a device of birds on his shield, will be the first to enter Ulaid and overrun it with hostile intent'.<sup>18</sup> This is not to say that Hugh de Lacy was ignorant of, or eschewed, the usefulness of tradition. Around 1180, his father, Hugh I de Lacy (d. 1186), had taken a daughter of the king of Connacht, Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair

<sup>14</sup> The original charters may have been kept by the Hose family (later Hussey), still lords of Galtrim in 1598: Edmund Hogan (ed.), *The description of Ireland and the state thereof as it is at this present anno in 1598* (Dublin, 1910), p. 95.

<sup>15</sup> B.L., Add. MS 4821, f. 145; Flanagan, *Irish royal charters*, p. 107.

<sup>16</sup> B.L., Add. MS 4821, f. 142. This notebook, in use between 1627 and 1636, was bought by Jeremiah Milles but bequeathed by Edward Pococke, bishop of Meath (d. 1765): O'Sullivan, 'A finding list of Sir James Ware's Manuscripts', pp 71, 80. Kells and Durrow were de Lacy demesne manors, which makes their award to Hugh Hose an even greater mark of favour.

<sup>17</sup> Only the intervention of Hugh's brother, Walter, lord of Meath, prevented John de Courcy and his Manx confederates from recovering Ulster in late 1205: George Broderick and Brian Stowell (eds), *Chronicle of the kings of Mann and the Isles* (Edinburgh, 1973), p. 26. For de Courcy's ingratiating piety, contributing to the archbishop of Armagh's excommunication of Hugh de Lacy in 1205, see Flanagan, 'De Courcy', pp 154–78.

<sup>18</sup> *Expugnatio Hib.*, pp 175–6 ['For in colour John's hair was a lighter shade of fair, tending in fact towards white, and he chanced at that time to be riding a white horse, and he displayed painted eagles on his shield']. For the incorporation of the Welsh tradition surrounding Merlin Silvester into the works of Giraldus Cambrensis, see *ibid.*, pp 161–2. For de Courcy's use of the Patrician cult, see Flanagan, 'De Courcy', pp 163–9.

(d. 1198), as his second wife.<sup>19</sup> In light of this family connection, it is curious to note that Hugh II's hostings through central Ulster, in 1206–7, imitated the route followed by Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair forty years previously, in 1166, during the latter's circuit to extract hostages from the northern Irish kings, sealing his inauguration as high-king of Ireland.<sup>20</sup> By echoing Ua Conchobair's earlier itinerary, de Lacy announced his own arrival as a major power in the north of Ireland, appealing to any residuum still associated with the defunct Irish office of high-king. An awareness of the power of symbolism can be seen in Hugh's abortive attempt in 1206 to take hostages from Áed Méith Ua Néill at Tullaghoge, the inauguration site for kings of Cenél nEógain.<sup>21</sup> Parallels might also be drawn between the earl's campaigns of 1206–7 and the *crech rí*g, or 'royal prey', undertaken by recently incumbent Irish kings to demonstrate their military prowess and suitability for regal office.<sup>22</sup>

Hugh de Lacy's difficulties with indigenous polities encircling Anglo-Norman Ulster led him to conduct warfare in ways which appealed to Irish sensibilities of power. But legitimacy could also be conveyed in ways which might impress an Anglo-Norman audience. What set de Lacy apart from John de Courcy was his rank. If the description of de Courcy as *princeps Ulidia*e had no solid basis beyond the perception of the hagiographer, Jocelin of Furness,<sup>23</sup> Hugh de Lacy could (at least initially) legitimately claim membership to one of the most exclusive tiers of Anglo-Norman society.<sup>24</sup> It was not only the 'Foreigners' who recognised the achievement: the Irish author of the northern chronicle incorporated into *Mac Carthaigh's book* had seen fit to record de Lacy's creation as 'an earl and justiciar from the king of England in Ireland'.<sup>25</sup> One way in which Hugh's new standing could be transmitted was through the written word. While, for the most part, the internal structure of de Lacy's charter to Hugh Hose exemplifies the archetypal Anglo-Norman land-grant, as it had evolved by the early years of the thirteenth century,<sup>26</sup> the text appears crafted in such a way so as to provide an indelible display of aristocratic status.

<sup>19</sup> T.C.D., MS 1281 (Dublin annals of Inisfallen, 1180); William Stubbs (ed.), *Gesta Henrici secundi Benedicti abbatis* (2 vols, London, 1867), i, 170. The union was unlicensed by Henry II.

<sup>20</sup> *Misc. Ir. annals*, 1166.1; Seosamh Ó Dufaigh, 'Medieval Monaghan: the evidence of place-names' in *Clogher Record*, xvi, no. 3 (1999), pp 7–28, at p. 14.

<sup>21</sup> *A.U.*, 1207.8 [*recte* 1206]; *A.F.M.*, 1206.14; Elizabeth Fitzpatrick, *Royal inauguration in Gaelic Ireland, c.1100–1600: a cultural landscape study* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp 139–56.

<sup>22</sup> See Pádraig Ó Riain, 'The "crech rí" or "royal prey"' in *Éigse*, xv (1973), pp 24–30.

<sup>23</sup> John Colgan, *Trias thaumaturga vitae* (Louvain, 1647), p. 64.

<sup>24</sup> It seems that, quite soon after de Lacy's promotion, King John deliberately suppressed references to de Lacy's title in the royal chancery records: see Brown, 'Fortune's wheel', pp 98–100.

<sup>25</sup> *Misc. Ir. annals*, 1204 [*recte* 1205]. The error in identifying Hugh as justiciar is understandable, given that de Lacy's brief from King John following his comital promotion had been to act as co-adjutor to the justiciar, Meiler fitz Henry: *Rot. litt. claus.*, 1204–24, p. 40a; *Cal. doc. Ire.*, 1171–1251, no. 268.

<sup>26</sup> For comparison with an orthodox charter-form, I have used the structure outlined in H. A. Cronne and R. H. C. Davies (eds), *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066–1115* (4 vols, Oxford, 1913–69), iv, 9; modified for an Irish context in Flanagan, *Irish royal charters*, pp 27–33.

Initial protocol begins with the *intitulatio*, identifying the grantor and his title (*comes Ultonie*), followed by a general address or *inscriptio* (*omnibus hominibus presentibus et futuris*) and the *salutatio*, or greeting (*salutem*).<sup>27</sup> In light of the parsimonious policy of the Angevin kings towards comital creations,<sup>28</sup> it is no surprise that de Lacy's rank is ever-present in those of his charters issued after 1205.<sup>29</sup> Hugh's title was also important for those closest to him. Around 1270, almost three decades after the earl's death, c.1242, his second wife, Emelina, was still using the style *comitissa Ulton[ie]* on deeds patronising her chantry chapel of St Katherine at Wanborough, in Wiltshire.<sup>30</sup>

Next, a notification clause alerts the charter's audience to the prior public conveyance of land, or livery of seisin, without which a grant may not have been considered operative.<sup>31</sup> In consideration of scribal convention, the inclusion of *dedisse* in the dispositive formula (*nos dedisse et concessisse et hac presenti charta nostra confirmasse*) would seem to indicate a novel grant, rather than confirmation of an earlier transaction.<sup>32</sup> The use of *nos* and *nostra* imitates the majesterial plural, an innovation of Richard I's chancellor, William Longchamp, and provides a noticeable break from the style employed in those of de Lacy's charters surviving from the period before his comital promotion in 1205, which invariably use the singular personal pronoun.<sup>33</sup> The donative clause identifies the charter's beneficiary (Hugh Hose) and provides an inventory of the awarded

<sup>27</sup> Flanagan, *Irish royal charters*, pp 28, 335.

<sup>28</sup> Just three other earldoms were created, or re-created, by King John: Hereford, for Henry de Bohun (1199); Winchester, for Saer de Quincy (1207); and Pembroke, re-created for William Marshal (1199): Richard Mortimer, *Angevin England, 1154–1258* (Oxford, 1994), p. 79 (the earldoms of Ulster and Pembroke are omitted from Mortimer's assessment).

<sup>29</sup> Hugh's rank must also have been replicated on the seals attached to his *acta*, of which none have survived. A note in Ware's transcript of Hugh's charter to Galfridus Fabius, issued before his comital promotion, states that the original deed was attached with a *sigillum Hugoni de Laci cum effigie arinati*, the equestrian seal featuring the mounted figure: B.L., Add. MS 4792, f. 188.

<sup>30</sup> For knowledge of these deeds I am greatly indebted to Prof. David Crouch, University of Hull. For Emelina's charters, see Oxford, Magdalen College, MSS Wanborough, 6a, 19, 20a, 22–25, 31a, 33, 36a, 48a, 56a, 57a, 58a, 59a, 66. The fourteenth-century *Book of Lacock*, which traced the lineage of the Longespée family, patrons of Lacock abbey (Wiltshire), described Emelina's second husband, Stephen Longespée, as *Com[es] Ulton[ie]*: W. L. Bowles and J. G. Nichols (eds), *Annals and antiquities of Lacock abbey, in the county of Wiltshire* (London, 1835), appendix 1, ii. For examples of other widowed countesses maintaining their titles after remarriage to a non-comital magnate, see David Crouch, *The image of aristocracy in Britain, 1000–1300* (London, 1992), p. 77.

<sup>31</sup> F. M. Stenton (ed.), *Transcripts of charters relating to Gilbertine houses* (Lincoln Record Society, xviii, Horncastle, 1922), p. xvi; Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and vassals: the medieval evidence reinterpreted* (Oxford, 1994; repr. 2001), pp 371–2; F. L. Ganshof, *Feudalism* (2nd English ed., New York, 1961), pp 125–6.

<sup>32</sup> Stenton (ed.), *Transcripts of charters relating to Gilbertine houses*, p. xviii.

<sup>33</sup> For William Longchamp, see Ralph Turner, 'Longchamp, William de (d. 1197)' in *Oxford D.N.B.* Some of de Lacy's charters after 1205 employ both plural and singular personal pronouns, a disjunction which might imply confusion on the part of the drafter. See, for example, Hugh's grant of the church of Dundalk to the abbey of St Thomas, Dublin (12 May 1206×12 May 1210): *Reg. St Thomas, Dublin*, p. 9.

territory or territories (*in Omcht Maygas et Schagh Clogh cum quatuor feodis militum pertinenciis in circuitu*). As appropriate for a charter favouring a secular grantee, the donative clause professes the grantor's motive to be the receipt of homage and service, as opposed to the commemorative or pious motives that might characterise donations to religious houses. Homage, the symbolic act of self-surrender, consisted of the *immixtio manuum*, the rite by which the kneeling and unarmed vassal placed his clasped hands between those of his lord; and the *volo*, or statement of intention.<sup>34</sup> These rituals might be sealed by the ceremonial kiss (*osculum*), but were certainly accompanied by an oath of fealty.<sup>35</sup> As the terms for specific military service are outlined elsewhere in the present text, the *servicium* of the donative clause is most probably connected to the grantee's act of fealty, which brought with it the responsibilities of fidelity and the provision of counsel, as well as abstention from any act which might be injurious to the lord's security or dignity.<sup>36</sup>

A holding clause, beginning with *tenendam et habendam*, states the form of tenure – by hereditary right – and the accompanying obligation of military service, by half-a-knight. An injunctive clause, repeating the grantee's name and the terms of tenure, prescribes that the grant should be upheld in recognition of the grantor's wish and firm order. By 1200, some of the formulae used in royal charters began to be excluded from the land grants of lesser tenants and subjects.<sup>37</sup> One of these features was the specific injunctive formula, *quare volumus et firmiter precipimus*, commonly found in the deeds of earls and greater barons until the latter decades of the twelfth century.<sup>38</sup> Its occurrence in Hugh de Lacy's charter to Hugh Hose would seem to constitute an example of deliberate anachronism, conveying a sense of importance once associated with the formula, rather than the unconscious inclusion of an out-dated convention.

It remains unclear whether the succeeding list of rights and geographical features appurtenant to the property being conveyed, inhabited by 'stock adverbial phrases' (*bene et in pace* etc.),<sup>39</sup> are anything more than a diplomatic flourish. In light of a general trend towards scribal precision by the thirteenth century, it seems unlikely that any kind of jurisdiction or proprietary right would be carelessly included in land-grants without direction by the donor. The appurtenance clauses from Hugh's post-1205 charters, concerning property where he enjoyed the rights appropriate to chief tenancy, are noticeably more extensive than those which granted property in Meath, where Hugh held as a sub-tenant from his brother, Walter.<sup>40</sup> Although sometimes omitted by editors, these

<sup>34</sup> Reynolds, *Fiefs and vassals*, pp 18–21, 370–3; Ganshof, *Feudalism*, pp 72–3.

<sup>35</sup> Commonly, the ritual of investiture followed immediately from the acts of homage and fealty: Reynolds, *Fiefs and vassals*, pp 18–21; Ganshof, *Feudalism*, p. 125.

<sup>36</sup> Reynolds, *Fiefs and vassals*, pp 18–21; Ganshof, *Feudalism*, pp 78, 84–8.

<sup>37</sup> Stenton (ed.), *Transcripts of charters relating to Gilbertine houses*, p. xxxiii.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> Flanagan, *Irish royal charters*, p. 30.

<sup>40</sup> Contrast the liberal jurisdictions listed in Hugh's charter granting land in Uriel to the abbey of Mellifont (1194×1205), with the more limited rights given in a grant of lesser Ballybin (bar. Ratoath, County Meath) to Llanthony Prima (1191×1205): Fr Colmcille, 'Three unpublished Cistercian documents' in *Co. Louth Arch. Soc. Jn.*, xiii, no. 3 (1955), pp 254–5; *Ir. chartul. Llanthony*, p. 81; Arlene Hogan, *The priory of Llanthony Prima and Secunda in Ireland, 1172–1541: lands, patronage and politics* (Dublin, 2008), pp 247–8.

formulae conveyed the right to exploit or construct important sources of revenue. Structures like deer parks, fisheries, or rabbit warrens, were visible reminders of power and coveted adjuncts to lordship.<sup>41</sup> De Lacy's charter to Hugh Hose granted rights to fisheries (*piscatoria*), an award not found in any of the earl's charters concerning land in Meath. It is not that the conditions of de Lacy's subtenancy in Meath were especially constricting. Hugh's own charter from his brother, Walter (c.1191), had included rights to *piscaria*, along with other liberal jurisdictions.<sup>42</sup> Perhaps it was only after his comital promotion that Hugh felt secure enough to part with lucrative franchises.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, when, as earl of Ulster, de Lacy awarded Roger Pipard the cantred of Dufferin, in January 1207, he still took care to exempt 'the pleas belonging to our sword' – that is, criminal jurisdictions, with the profits of justice – as well as revenue from the cantred's rabbit warrens.<sup>44</sup>

Charters often included a warranty clause, representing a commitment by the grantor to prove his right to property in the event of legal challenge, or to provide an exchange for property lost in default of that duty.<sup>45</sup> There might be an explicit expression, as in de Lacy's grant of the manor of Nobber (bar. Morgallion, County Meath) to Albert Suerbeer, archbishop of Armagh (November 1241), which Hugh warranted before all in perpetuity;<sup>46</sup> or a more general commitment, evidenced in Hugh's confirmation of grants made by his father and brother to Llanthony priory (1190×05), in which he pledged to protect and take the canons and their possessions under his hand.<sup>47</sup> As royal or greater baronial grantors of the twelfth century had seldom pledged warranty, believing it unbecoming for men of self-evident status, the exclusion of a warranty clause in the present charter may itself be an insinuation of power, and another instance of conscious anachronism.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>41</sup> See Margaret Murphy and Kieran O'Connor, 'Castles and deer parks in Anglo-Norman Ireland' in *Eolas: Journal of the American Society of Irish Medieval Studies*, i, (2006), pp 53–70.

<sup>42</sup> *Gormanston reg.*, pp 142, 190.

<sup>43</sup> In the charters of David, earl of Huntingdon (d. 1219), the phrases *in vivariis* or *in piscariis* feature only rarely, implying a precise application: K. J. Stringer, 'The charters of David, earl of Huntingdon and lord of Garioch: a study of Anglo-Scottish diplomatic' in *idem* (ed.), *Essays on the nobility of medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1985), pp 72–101, at p. 77.

<sup>44</sup> *Ormond deeds, 1172–1350*, no. 863 (2), p. 365 [*placitis ad nostrum gladium pertinentibus*]. The Anglo-Normans are thought to have introduced rabbit-farming to Ireland: see Murphy & O'Connor, 'Castles and deer parks', p. 58; citing Fergus Kelly, *Early Irish Farming* (Dublin, 1997), p. 13. In 1211–12, as seneschal of Ulster, Roger Pipard accounted for £10 from the sale of 2,000 rabbit skins: *Pipe roll Ire., 1211–12*, pp 54–5.

<sup>45</sup> Stenton (ed.), *Transcripts of charters relating to Gilbertine houses*, p. xxix.

<sup>46</sup> Brendan Smith (ed.), *The register of Nicholas Fleming, archbishop of Armagh, 1404–16* (Dublin, 2003), pp 201–2 [*contra omnes warentizabimus in perpetuum*].

<sup>47</sup> *Ir. chartul. Llanthony*, pp 82–3; Hogan, *Llanthony Prima & Secunda*, p. 248. Hugh had perhaps defaulted on his responsibility when, as earl of Ulster, and *in excambium*, he released to Llanthony all the land that Mulko held of him at *Nova Villa* (Newtown Trim, County Meath?): *Ir. chartul. Llanthony*, pp 81–2; Hogan, *Llanthony Prima & Secunda*, p. 260.

<sup>48</sup> Stenton (ed.), *Transcripts of charters relating to Gilbertine houses*, p. xxxiii.



The final protocol includes a record of witnesses to the charter's creation and insigillation, or to the anterior public conveyance of property. These persons, connected to grantor and grantee by bonds of locality and tenure, were to provide living testimony to the charter's provisions.<sup>49</sup> A sense of self-importance is writ large in the concluding place-date clause, with its quasi-regal declaration of creation 'by our own hand at Galtrim (*caput* of the Hose barony of Deece, County Meath), on the second day of March in the second year of our earldom'.<sup>50</sup> Another innovation of the English chancery under William Longchamp, place-date clauses were extremely rare in private charters before the latter part of the thirteenth century. Of two hundred deeds examined by Stenton relating to Gilbertine religious houses, just three, 'and those among the latest', provide an exact chronology.<sup>51</sup> Contrary to this wider trend, five acts issued by Hugh de Lacy between 1205 and 1210 are precisely dated to a particular day.<sup>52</sup> The fact that all five clauses reference de Lacy's earldom, in preference to the year of Incarnation or a regnal year, strongly implies that the concluding diplomatic owed less to meticulous record-keeping than to the assertion of rank.<sup>53</sup>

### III

An inventory of territories being conveyed in a charter might represent a list of place-names, or define a grant in reference to certain features in the landscape.<sup>54</sup> In this instance, the words outlining Hugh de Lacy's grant appear to be phonetic versions of Irish place-names, probably inscribed in their established form by the deed's drafter, William the clerk. Some of the words can be reconstructed to reveal simple meanings, if not exact geographical locations: 'Schagh' resembles sceagh, or *skeagh*, meaning 'the hawthorns'; 'Clogh' is close to *cloch*, the Irish for 'stone' or 'rock', sometimes denoting a monument or fortification.<sup>55</sup> The ordering of words in the donative clause may indicate a general region, 'Omcht', in which 'Maygas' and 'Schagh Clogh', with four knights' fees, were situated. Alternatively, the placement of the conjunction allows that 'Maygas' was geographically distinct from 'Schagh Clogh', and that the knights' fees were pertinent only to the latter.

<sup>49</sup> Flanagan, *Irish royal charters*, p. 28; Dauvit Broun, 'The presence of witnesses and the writing of charters' in Dauvit Broun (ed.), *The reality behind charter diplomatic in the Anglo-Norman era* (Glasgow, 2010), pp 235–85, at p. 238.

<sup>50</sup> *Per manum nostrum propriam apud Galletrum secundo die martii comitatis nostri anno secundo.*

<sup>51</sup> Stenton (ed.), *Transcripts of charters relating to Gilbertine houses*, p. xxxii (Sixle, no. 26; Catley, no. 26; Bullington, no. 2).

<sup>52</sup> *Reg. St Thomas, Dublin*, pp 9, 49; *Ormond deeds, 1172–1350*, no. 863 (2), p. 365; K. W. Nicholls, 'Abstracts of Mandeville deeds' in *Anal. Hib.*, xxxii (1985), p. 14, no. 28.

<sup>53</sup> Just one of de Lacy's charters issued subsequent to his expulsion from Ulster, in 1210, features a dating clause, that for Albert Suerbeer (papal appointee to the archbishopric of Armagh), with reference to a pontificate ['act of the year of grace 1241 in the month of November in the fifteenth year of the pontificate of Lord Gregory IX'] and doubtless drafted by a clerk of the archbishop: *The register of Nicholas Fleming*, pp 201–2.

<sup>54</sup> Flanagan, *Irish royal charters*, p. 30.

<sup>55</sup> Patrick McKay (ed.), *A dictionary of Ulster place-names* (Antrim, 1999), pp 150, 154–5.

The charter's issue at Galtrim, *caput* of Hugh Hose's barony of Deece, might initially point towards a location in Meath, as does the presence of other Meath tenants in the witness list. However, whereas into the thirteenth century it was common for parties to the physical act of conveyance to meet close to the piece of land being granted, the charter testifying to the terms of that grant could be issued anywhere.<sup>56</sup> This has a double implication: firstly, a place-date clause, recording only where the written instrument was created, cannot itself reveal the location of the intended gift; secondly, witnesses may have had a connection to the district in which a charter was issued, but not to the lands outlined in its donative clause.

The point is illustrated by Hugh de Lacy's charter to Roger Pipard (13 January 1207), drafted at Rathbegan, in de Lacy's barony of Ratoath, in Meath, but granting the cantred of Dufferin, in Ulster.<sup>57</sup> The witness list in that charter features the same group of barons – Walter, Robert and William de Lacy, Richard de Tuit and William Parvus – who appear in the earl's grant to Hugh Hose, drafted just two months later, on 2 March.

If the charter's place of issue is ultimately unhelpful, the date of its creation might be significant, implying a connection between its contents and Hugh de Lacy's expeditions into central Ulster in 1206–7. As we have seen, one of the earl's campaigns in 1206 targeted Tullaghogue (Tullyhogue, County Tyrone), the fortified inauguration site and seat of the kings of Cenél nEógain.<sup>58</sup> Situated just a few miles south of Tullaghogue, on the outskirts of Dungannon (County Tyrone), the village and townland of Moygashel (deriving from *maigh gcaisil* – 'the plain of the stone ring-fort') provides an intriguing linguistic parallel to the 'Maygas' of Hugh de Lacy's charter.<sup>59</sup> Unable to extract pledges or hostages from Áed Ua Néill at Tullaghogue, had the earl of Ulster intended to strike a blow to the influence of the king of Tír Eógain by enfeoffing an Anglo-Norman vassal on his very doorstep?<sup>60</sup>

If we are to equate 'Maygas' with Moygashel, a plausible interpretation of 'Omcht' is that it represents a corruption of Uí Méith (Macha), a territory in Airgialla (Uriel) which, in the early twelfth century, spanned most of the modern baronies of Monaghan, Trough and Cremorne (County Monaghan), but whose influence had once extended north of the River Blackwater into Tyrone, possibly even as far as Moygashel.<sup>61</sup> Following this identification, a possible site for 'Schagh' is the townland of Skeagh, in the barony of Monaghan and parish of Drumsnat (Druim Sneachta), centrally placed between the parishes of Clones, Kilmore and Tydavnet laid waste by the forces of Hugh de Lacy in

<sup>56</sup> Stenton (ed.), *Transcripts of charters relating to Gilbertine houses*, p. xvii.

<sup>57</sup> *Ormond deeds, 1172–1350*, no. 863 (2), p. 365.

<sup>58</sup> Above, n. 21.

<sup>59</sup> McKay (ed.), *Dictionary of Ulster place-names*, p. 113 ('there is now no trace or record of a stone ring-fort in the townland'). For another Moycashel, in County Westmeath, see Hogan, *Onomasticon*, p. 514.

<sup>60</sup> Hugh's strategy may have had precedent. As early as c. 1078, Toirdeblach Ua Briain, as high-king, installed members of his own kin in the kingship of Telach Óc in order to assert his authority in the North: see James Hogan, 'The Ui Brian kingship in Telach Óc' in John Ryan (ed.), *Feilsgribhinn Eoin Mhic Neill: essays and studies presented to Professor Eoin Mac Neill* (Dublin, 1940), pp 406–44.

<sup>61</sup> Ó Dufaigh, 'Medieval Monaghan', pp 7–28.

1206.<sup>62</sup> The townland boasts two sites of interest, bisected by the main arterial route from Monaghan town to Clones. The first is a ‘possible earthwork’, found north of Clones, of which nothing now remains.<sup>63</sup> The second is an elevated site at the southern extremity of the townland; ‘Thorn Hill’ is unclassified as an historical monument, but does appear somewhat incongruous in the context of the surrounding topography.<sup>64</sup> Just southeast of Skeagh is the townland of Mullanacross, where, in the sixth century, St Molua reportedly founded the monastery associated with the early literary codex, *Cín Dromma Snechta* (*The Book of Drumsnat*).<sup>65</sup> In the derivation Mullanacross, from *mullach na croise*, perhaps meaning ‘the hilltop of the cross’,<sup>66</sup> we have an allusion to a potentially stone-built monument, or its relic, to which the ‘Clogh’ of our charter-text – seemingly appended to ‘Schagh’ – might refer.<sup>67</sup> An alternative but less convincing origin for ‘Schagh’ may be found in the townlands of North and South Tirnaskea (Tír na Sceach), close to Tydavnet, most certainly one of the constituent churches of Uí Méith Macha. The townland lacks an obvious connection to the ‘Clogh’ of de Lacy’s charter, but Tydavnet was also of some early importance as the monastic site associated with the sixth-century virgin saint, Damnat (Dympna),<sup>68</sup> and was visited by Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair in 1166 as part of his northern campaign.<sup>69</sup>

The use of native polities as geographical indicators was not unusual in contemporary Anglo-Norman land-grants,<sup>70</sup> but annalistic references to Uí Méith Macha disappear from the 1180s, reflecting the absorption of the kingdom by the ascendant Mic Mhathghamhna. Even contemporaries struggled to keep up with the shifting political landscape, however. In 1184, the king of Airgialla, Murchad Ua

<sup>62</sup> The parishes of Drumsnat and Kilmore had been united since at least the beginning of the fourteenth century, and perhaps at a much earlier date: see Bearnárd Ó Dubhthaigh, ‘A contribution to the history of Drumsnat’ in *Clogher Record*, vi, no. 1 (1966), pp 71–103, at p. 72. Late-twelfth century scholastic notes to the *Féilire Óengusso* place Drumsnat in Farney (*Fernmaig*), just beyond the western boundary of Uí Méith as it had been at its height in the early part of the ninth century: *Féil Oeng.*, p. 180; cited in Ó Dufaigh, ‘Medieval Monaghan’, p. 13.

<sup>63</sup> A. L. Brindley (ed.), *Archaeological inventory of county Monaghan* (Dublin, 1986), p. 31. The inspection of 1983 described the site as a ‘circular area surrounded by earthen bank, now adjoining [a] modern dwelling and used as [a] garden.’ The present owners of the site informed me that, before its levelling, the monument had been remembered locally as both a ‘fairy fort’ and an orchard.

<sup>64</sup> Thorn Hill gives its name to a townland adjoining Skeagh to the southwest: see Samuel Lewis, *A topographical dictionary of Ireland, etc.* (2 vols, London, 1837), i, 521.

<sup>65</sup> Brindley (ed.), *Archaeological inventory of county Monaghan*, p. 86; Ó Dubhthaigh, ‘A contribution to the history of Drumsnat’, pp 71–103.

<sup>66</sup> eDIL (Electronic dictionary of the Irish Language), letters M, col. 201; C, col. 548 (<http://www.dil.ie>) (7 July 2012).

<sup>67</sup> A cross noted by the National sites and monuments database as having stood on the edge of the ancient cemetery site at Mullanacross, is not included in the *Archaeological inventory*: SMR, no. MO013-002001- (<http://www.archaeology.ie/smrmapviewer/mapviewer.aspx>) (2 Feb. 2011).

<sup>68</sup> Pádraig Ó Riain, *A dictionary of Irish saints* (Dublin, 2011), pp 256–7.

<sup>69</sup> Ó Dufaigh, ‘Medieval Monaghan’, p. 14.

<sup>70</sup> Brendan Smith, *Colonisation and conquest in medieval Ireland: the English in Louth, 1170–1330* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 34.

Cerbaill (d. 1189), with his Anglo-Norman ally, Hugh I de Lacy, attacked what the annals describe as north Farney ('tuaisceart Fearnmuighi'), a rather vague allusion to the Mic Mhathghamhna acquisition in what had been Uí Méith Macha.<sup>71</sup> Indeed, by the beginning of the thirteenth century, the assimilation of Uí Méith Macha may still have been incomplete. At least in Trough barony, shown by Seosamh Ó Dufaigh to be the ancestral home of the Uí Méith, neither the Uí Néill in Tír Eógain nor the Mic Mhathghamhna based in Farney were able to make significant inroads.<sup>72</sup> That said, even if Uí Néill influence did not extend south of the Blackwater by the thirteenth century, it seems scarcely possible that Moygashel, situated in such close proximity to Tullaghogue, had not been subsumed by Cénel nEógain.<sup>73</sup> A subsequent reference to Moygashel constituting part of Uí Méith Macha would seem to be hopelessly anachronistic, but Anglo-Norman charters were little concerned with giving due deference to the achievements of Irish polities, especially those whose accomplishments impinged upon the ambitions of the incomers.

As a caveat to the candidacy of Uí Méith Macha, it could be argued that northern Monaghan was not Hugh de Lacy's to grant. Around 1189, the Lord John, as count of Mortain, had confirmed his curial favourite, Peter Pipard, with lands in Uriel. These included two-and-a-half cantreds of 'deferrors' (Fir Rois, now the barony of Ardee in Louth); the half-cantred of 'Mudorne' (Mugdorna Maigen, now the baronies of Farney and Cremorne); a half-cantred of 'Ethir' (Ind Airthir, now the baronies of Orior); another half-cantred of 'Clochkerin' (Clogher); and one half-cantred of 'Clonoys' (rural deanery of Clones, spanning the baronies of Monaghan and Dartree in County Monaghan, and Clankelly and Coole in Fermanagh). This grant was supplemented in 1193 with the gift of 'the three cantreds of the land of Uhegeni' (Uí Éignig, ruling dynasty of Fir Manach) in exchange for 'nearer land of Uriel', possibly in south County Armagh.<sup>74</sup>

The Pipard settlement seems to have been confined to Fir Rois; the barony of Ardee, in Louth; and the half-cantred of Mudorne, corresponding to the barony of Farney, in Monaghan.<sup>75</sup> Soon after the construction of a castle at Donaghmoyné in 1193 – probably delineating the northern limit of this colonised portion – the Pipard stakes in Ireland passed to Peter's brother, Roger, related to Hugh II and Walter de Lacy through Roger's marriage to Alice, a daughter of Hugh I de Lacy.<sup>76</sup> This marital union, and an aspiration to secure territory beyond the Donaghmoyné Pass – a strategically significant access point into the north of Ireland – may help to explain Hugh de Lacy's itinerary in 1206/7, which took the earl and his men through several constituent parts of the original Pipard grant: namely, Armagh,

<sup>71</sup> *Misc. Ir. annals*, 1184.2; Ó Dufaigh, 'Medieval Monaghan', p. 17.

<sup>72</sup> Ó Dufaigh, 'Medieval Monaghan', pp 17–26.

<sup>73</sup> Pressure on Uí Méith in the eleventh century led to the establishment of another branch, Uí Méith Mara, in what is now Omeath in the Cooley peninsula (County Louth): Laurence Murray, 'Omeath' in *Co. Louth Arch. Soc. Jn.*, iii, no. 3 (1914), pp 213–31. This region was referred to as 'Meth' in a charter of the earl of Ulster, Richard de Burgh, c. 1305: *Gormanston reg.*, p. 149.

<sup>74</sup> *Ormond deeds, 1172–1350*, no. 863 (1), (4), pp 364–6; A. J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The partition of the de Verdon lands in Ireland in 1332', in *R.I.A. Proc.*, lxvi, C, (1967–8), pp 402–3; MacCotter, *Medieval Ireland*, pp 235–45. The areas in brackets refer to whole cantreds, not the allotted portions.

<sup>75</sup> Otway-Ruthven, 'Partition', p. 403; MacCotter, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 238.

<sup>76</sup> *A.L.C.*, 1193.12; Smith, *Colonisation*, pp 37, 41, 46.

Tydavnet, Kilmore and Clones. Could Roger Pipard have transferred rights to a contested portion of north Monaghan to his brother-in-law, Hugh de Lacy, in the hope that it would help protect the settled part of the Pipard stake? If so, the grant of Dufferin in Ulster, made by the earl to Roger Pipard in January 1207, and witnessed by three members of the Hose family – James, William and Hubert – may have been a reciprocal act. In light of de Lacy's itinerary, familial affiliation, and the available charter evidence, the original Pipard claim in north Monaghan becomes more a guide than an obstacle to the placement of part of Hugh Hose's grant from Hugh de Lacy. If Roger Pipard had aimed to attract co-adjutants to the business of conquest, it made strategic sense to abdicate territorial rights beyond the frontier of his colonised lordship to an ally, north of Farney and the Pipard manor of Donaghmoynne, into the ancient heartland of the Uí Méith.

#### IV

If, as a social structure, the aristocratic community in England had begun to fragment by the thirteenth century, the Irish feudatories still embodied the ideal put forward in contemporary Anglo-Norman legal tracts, which expected the court of each lord to contain a group of his *pares* who would engage in the political life of the lordship.<sup>77</sup> One of the tenants fulfilling that role in Meath was Hugh Hose, whose barony of Deece (Déisi Breg) had been part of the kingdom of Deiscert Breg before its granting by Hugh I de Lacy c.1172.<sup>78</sup> References to Hose's career are fleeting, but what glimpses we have reveal him to have been an active member of the aristocratic community. When, before 1191, Walter de Lacy awarded the baronies of Ratoath and Morgallion to his younger brother, Hugh II, Hose was among the witnesses to the grant.<sup>79</sup> In 1200, Hose was confirmed by the king in certain lands outside Dublin, and in the same year was one of the prominent tenants of Meath to supply hostages as surety for their lord.<sup>80</sup> It may be that Walter de Lacy had this service in mind in supplementing Hose's stake with land at 'Dervach' (probably Durrow, County Offaly) and 'Kenel' (probably Kells, County Meath).<sup>81</sup>

Though coming to fruition in Meath, the relationship between the Hose and de Lacy families was forged on the other side of the Irish Sea.<sup>82</sup> As a relatively

<sup>77</sup> See David Crouch, *The birth of nobility: constructing aristocracy in England and France, 900–1300* (Harlow, 2005), pp 280–1; F. M. Stenton, *The first century of English feudalism, 1066–1166* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1961), pp 60–1.

<sup>78</sup> Orpen, *Normans*, p. 184; MacCotter, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 206; Evelyn Mullally (ed.), *The deeds of the Normans in Ireland: la geste des Engleis en Yrlande* (Dublin, 2002), II. 3160–1. The focal settlement in that earlier polity, Calatruim, would become Galtrim, *caput* of Hose's barony; the motte and bailey there was abandoned in 1176 'for fear of the Cenél nEógain', but was almost certainly reoccupied before the drafting of the earl of Ulster's charter, *apud Galletrum*, in 1207: *A.U.*, 1176.9.

<sup>79</sup> *Gormanston reg.*, pp 142, 190.

<sup>80</sup> *Rot. chart.*, p. 69a; *Cal. doc. Ire.*, 1171–1251, no. 121.

<sup>81</sup> *B.L.*, Add. MS 4821, f. 142.

<sup>82</sup> For another, Wiltshire-based, branch of the family, with connections to the Marshal earls of Pembroke and lords of Leinster, see Paul Brand, 'Uncle and niece: the disputed Huse family inheritance' (Fine of the month for Nov. 2006) at <http://www.finerollshenry3.org.uk>.

lucrative and strategically important lordship, the de Lacy manors in Shropshire have attracted considerable historical interest.<sup>83</sup> Markedly less attention has been paid to the family's much smaller set of estates in the adjacent county of Staffordshire.<sup>84</sup> Assessed at two-and-a-half hides in 1086, with an estimated value of £3, the de Lacy manor of Norbury was not hugely profitable, but its tenure provides a tantalising link to Hugh Hose.<sup>85</sup> From at least 1156 until 1172, Hugh's father, Walter Hose, held the manor of Penkrige (east Cuttlestone hundred), ten miles northwest of Norbury, from the crown.<sup>86</sup> In 1172, around the same time as Hugh Hose was granted 'a fine territory' by Hugh I de Lacy in the lordship of Meath,<sup>87</sup> Penkrige appears to have been administered as royal demesne.<sup>88</sup> It is not hard to imagine that, as the prospect of advancement in England faded in the face of royal encroachment on Penkrige, Hugh Hose might have been drawn to Ireland in the company of his Staffordshire neighbour, Hugh I de Lacy.<sup>89</sup>

In 1207, Hose gave two hundred marks and two palfreys to be restored to his familial manor of Penkrige.<sup>90</sup> The revival of Hugh's interests in Staffordshire highlights several connections to the men attesting his grant from the earl of Ulster in the same year. If, as seems likely, Hose made a fine for Penkrige in its entirety,<sup>91</sup> his tenants in Staffordshire probably included the family of de Mutton, whose toponym derived from their vill of Mitton (or Mutone) in Penkrige parish.<sup>92</sup> The brothers, Ralph and Geoffrey de Mutton, had travelled to Ireland in the retinue of the Staffordshire baron, Bertram de Verdun, in 1185. Ralph de Mutton's fee at Dromiskin (County Louth) probably comprised part of the de

<sup>83</sup> In 1086, the manor of Stanton Lacy, later subsumed by Ludlow, was the most profitable of all the de Lacy manors: W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy family in England and Normandy, 1066–1194* (Oxford, 1966), p. 135.

<sup>84</sup> See R. W. Eyton, 'The Staffordshire fief of de Lacy' in *Collections for a History of Staffordshire* [hereafter *Collections Hist. Staffs.*], 1st ser., i, (1880), pp 235–7.

<sup>85</sup> *Liber feodorum, the book of fees commonly called Testa de Nevill reformed from the earliest MSS by the deputy keeper of the records* (3 vols, London, 1920), ii, 967. In 1086, Norbury had been held by 'Reger' (probably Roger, then head of the Herefordshire de Lacys) from the Montgomery earls of Shrewsbury: *The Victoria history of the county of Stafford* [hereafter *V.C.H. Staffs.*](20 vols, London, 1908–84), iv, 156. It is found in the inventory of Hugh I de Lacy's fees taken in 1166: *Red Book of the exchequer*, i, 286. Hugh Kilpeck may have been related to John Kilpeck, defendant in a plaint of 1198 brought by William de Wudetone, an under-tenant of the de Lacys in Shropshire, in connection with a knight's fee in Norbury: *Collections Hist. Staffs.*, ii (1881), p. 74; *V.C.H. Staffs.*, iv, 156n.

<sup>86</sup> *Collections Hist. Staffs.*, i, 20, 65.

<sup>87</sup> Mullally (ed.), *Deeds of the Normans*, ll. 3160–1.

<sup>88</sup> *Collections Hist. Staffs.*, i, 69, 140; ii, 3, 137. The reason for the crown's resumption in Penkrige is not known.

<sup>89</sup> Indicative of a prior familial relationship, the Hose portion of Penkrige included the dependent vills of Cowley and Beffcote, belonging to the parish of Gnosall, in which the manor of Walton, held by Roger de Lacy in the eleventh century, was situated: *V.C.H. Staffs.*, v, 108; iv, 156.

<sup>90</sup> *Rot. oblati.*, p. 403; *Cal. doc. Ire.*, 1171–1251, no. 368.

<sup>91</sup> In September 1215, the archbishop of Dublin (and formerly archdeacon of Stafford), Henry of London, was confirmed with the manor and fair of Penkrige, with dependent vills, 'which he has of the gift of Hugh Huese (Hose)', with the advowson of the manor: *Rot. chart.*, p. 218b; *Cal. doc. Ire.*, 1171–1251, no. 652.

<sup>92</sup> See *V.C.H. Staffs.*, iv, 82, 161; v, 103–4; G.E.C. *Peerage*, xii, 246.

Verdun moiety which came to Hugh II de Lacy in marriage to Lescelina de Verdun (1194×99).<sup>93</sup> Geoffrey de Mutton was certainly one of de Lacy's retainers, and defended the earl's castle of Carrickfergus against King John in 1210.<sup>94</sup> Both Ralph and Geoffrey attested de Lacy's charter from March 1207 in favour of Hugh Hose. This, their only known appearance in one of the earl's grants, might be explained by a relationship with both grantor and grantee. If the acquisition of Penkrige fostered links between Hugh Hose and the de Muttons, the same might be said for the brothers' relative and co-witness, Henry de Audley, a tenant of Hugh de Lacy at Dunleer (County Louth), and of the Verduns at Audley, in Staffordshire.<sup>95</sup>

One of the benefits of comital rank was the capacity to attract supporters from among the greater nobility. The negative aspect was that eminent tenants were more likely to hold from other tenants-in-chief, which might prove problematic in the event of a conflict of interest between overlords. But for subsequent political tumult, the earl of Ulster's patronage of Hugh Hose might only have exemplified the kinds of tenurial relationships which bound landholders in Angevin Ireland. In light of King John's expedition to Ireland in 1210, however, the attraction of Hose as a comital vassal more aptly represents the kind of divided allegiance that had begun to erode honorial power in England, and which now threatened to undermine aristocratic ties in Ireland. Plurality of tenure presented no real difficulty for Hugh Hose so long as the interests of his overlords – king, lord of Meath, and earl of Ulster – converged; by the summer of 1210, however, they had become opposed, with incendiary consequence.

The circumstances which brought King John to Ireland in 1210 cannot be rehearsed here. Of particular relevance to the present study, however, is the response of Walter de Lacy to the threat of punitive action by the king.<sup>96</sup> On 28 June, barely a week after the arrival of the royal army at Crook, near Waterford, certain vassals of the lord of Meath presented themselves before the king at Dublin. In their extraordinary message, preserved by royal clerks, the envoys urged John to 'relax the anger' harboured against their lord, adding that Walter would consent 'to some punishment for his brother, Hugh de Lacy, through

<sup>93</sup> *Gormanston reg.*, pp 144, 192–3; Mark Hagger, *The fortunes of a Norman family: the de Verduns in England, Ireland and Wales, 1066–1316* (Dublin 2001), p. 57. For Ralph de Mutton's fee at Dromiskin, see George Wrottesley (ed.), 'The Chetwynd Chartulary, printed from the original manuscript at Ingestre: with an introduction and notes' in *Collections Hist. Staffs.*, xii, pt. 1, nos 3, 4.

<sup>94</sup> *Rot. litt. pat.*, p. 146b; *Cal. doc. Ire., 1171–1251*, no. 575.

<sup>95</sup> Adam de Audley, Henry's brother, was Hugh II de Lacy's constable before Adam's death, c.1210, and held from the earl at Audleystown (County Down) in Ulster: *Cal. chart. rolls, 1226–57*, pp 36–7; *Cal. doc. Ire., 1171–1251*, no. 1505. Adam's lands passed to his brother, from which 36s. 8d., in Ulster, was rendered in the Irish Pipe roll of 1211–12: *Pipe roll Ire., 1211–12*, pp 54–5. Henry's impressive collection of English and Irish fees, including Dunleer, was confirmed to him by Henry III in 1227: *Cal. chart. rolls, 1226–57*, pp 36–7; *Cal. doc. Ire., 1171–1251*, no. 1505. Henry de Audley's sister, Isabella, was married to a de Mutton: Hagger, *De Verduns*, p. 199.

<sup>96</sup> For a useful appraisal of, and addition to, the historiography surrounding the royal expedition of 1210, see Colin T. Veach, 'Nobility and crown: the de Lacy family in Ireland, England and Normandy, 1172–1241' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Dublin, 2010), pp 173–8.

whom Walter himself, the aforesaid ambassadors and his other vassals have suffered great injury'. The lands and castles held by Hugh from his brother, and those of Walter's vassals siding with the earl, were to be dealt with 'according to the will of the lord king'.<sup>97</sup>

Among the envoys who set their seals to the record were the beneficiary of Hugh de Lacy's charter from March 1207, Hugh Hose, and two of its witnesses, William le Petit (Parvus) and Richard de Tuit.<sup>98</sup> Faced with a conflict of allegiance, Hugh Hose had little choice but to act on behalf of one overlord to the direct detriment of another. In a legal sense, it is far from clear that he acted improperly. Convention dictated that, in the event of double vassalage, obligations of liegeancy should be owed either to the lord from whom the vassal held the largest fief, or with whom there was the earliest formal bond, criteria both fulfilled by Walter de Lacy.<sup>99</sup> Neither was Hose obliged to object to the earl of Ulster's prosecution or punishment if it was the will of the king, to whom obedience should be rendered before any other immediate overlord, and from whom Hugh held directly at Dublin and in Staffordshire.<sup>100</sup> In any case, Walter de Lacy's embassy failed to prevent either his own exile or the incarceration and distraint of his messenger.<sup>101</sup> In 1212, it was stated that the manor of Penkrige ('Pencriz') had been held by Hugh Hose by charter of the king, but was now in the hands of the treasurer, Hugh de Neville, *quia Hugo Hose est in custodia domini regis* — 'because Hugh Hose is in the custody of the lord king'.<sup>102</sup> Perhaps Hose's efforts to dissociate himself from the earl of Ulster had been undermined by the presence of Hubert Hose, a familial cadet, among the

<sup>97</sup> P.R.O. *Red Book, Exchequer, Q.R.*, f. 180b; *Cal. doc. Ire., 1171–1251*, no. 402. The translation is taken from A. C. Kerr, 'Royal documents relating to Ireland from the reign of King John (1199–1216)' (M.A. thesis, Queen's University, Belfast, 1981), pp 307–9.

<sup>98</sup> The other attestors were Richard Tyrell, Richard de Feipo, William Parvus, Peter de Meset, Martin de Mandeville and Adam Dullard.

<sup>99</sup> Reynolds, *Fiefs and vassals*, p. 371; Ganshof, *Feudalism*, pp 102–3.

<sup>100</sup> Ganshof, *Feudalism*, p. 104. Perhaps playing on Hugh's mind was his son, Maurice, who was being held as a hostage for Walter de Lacy at Windsor castle in 1207, and who may still have been in royal custody: *Rot. litt. pat.*, p. 72b; *Cal. doc. Ire., 1171–1251*, no. 309.

<sup>101</sup> For a summary of Walter and Hugh's movements after 1210, and the apocryphal stories surrounding their exile, see Orpen, *Normans*, p. 254. The charter evidence seems to point to a rift between the two brothers after this date. Of eleven charters issued by Hugh II before 1210 featuring witness-lists, including the grant to Hugh Hose, Walter de Lacy attests eight: *Reg. St Thomas, Dublin*, pp 7–8, 9, 13; *Ir. chartul. Llanthony*, pp 82–3; Thomas Thomson (ed.), *Liber cartarum prioratus Sancti Andree in Scotia* (Edinburgh, 1841), pp 118–19; Fr Colmcille, 'Three unpublished Cistercian documents', pp 254–5; *Ormond deeds, 1172–1350*, no. 863 (2), p. 365. He appears in just one (out of eleven) after 1227, a chirograph between Hugh de Lacy and Rose de Verdun, by which Hugh quitclaimed for life his claim to the moiety of the de Verdun lands in north Louth: *Gormanston reg.*, pp 161–2. Walter's appearance may not point to improved relations between the de Lacy brothers. The lord of Meath was probably called to attest the 1235 agreement because he had set his seal to Hugh's original chirograph with Thomas de Verdun: *Gormanston reg.*, pp 144, 192–3. Walter's grandson, Walter II (d. 1238×41), was probably married to a daughter of Rose de Verdun by 1235: *Reg. St Thomas, Dublin*, p. 420; Hagger, *De Verduns*, pp 72, 218–19.

<sup>102</sup> *Liber feodorum*, i, 143.



defenders of Hugh de Lacy's castle of Carrickfergus in July 1210.<sup>103</sup>

Restored to his Irish lands in June 1215, Hugh Hose would spend the years before his death, in 1226, paying off the sizeable debts incurred for his release.<sup>104</sup> Had he lived to see Hugh de Lacy's restoration to the earldom of Ulster in 1227, Hose could hardly have expected to have been restored to de Lacy's favour, or to have benefitted from the same munificence exhibited in the comital charter issued to him two decades previously.<sup>105</sup> Ultimately, the inconstancy shown by the beneficiary of that charter in 1210, and by some of its witnesses, reminds us that, while vassalage contracts of this type can provide a snapshot of baronial relations, they are not necessarily indicative of enduring affinity.

DANIEL BROWN

*School of History and Anthropology, Queen's University Belfast*

<sup>103</sup> Patricia M. Barnes (ed.), *The great roll of the pipe for the fourteenth year of the reign of King John* (Pipe Roll Society, new ser., xxx, London, 1955), pp 157–8; *Cal. doc. Ire., 1171–1251*, no. 453. Hubert Hose held in Gloucestershire and Leicestershire in 1235–6: *Liber feodorum*, i, 439, 442; 520, 524.

<sup>104</sup> *Rot. litt. claus., 1204–24*, p. 186a; 1224–7, p. 161; *Cal. doc. Ire., 1171–1251*, nos 529, 1406, 1452.

<sup>105</sup> De Lacy's restoration had occurred by Apr. 1227: *Pat. rolls, 1225–32*, p. 118.

## Appendix: Charter of Hugh de Lacy, earl of Ulster, to Hugh Hose (2 March 1207)<sup>106</sup>

Hugo de Lacy com[es] Ultonie omnibus hominibus presentibus et futuris salutem. Noverit universitas vestra nos dedisse et concessisse et hac presenti charta nostra confirmasse Hugoni Hose pro homagio et servicio suo in Omcht Maygas et Schagh Clogh cum quatuor feodis militum pertin[ente] in circuitu, illi et heredibus suis, tenendum et habendum de nobis et heredibus nostris iure hereditario per servicium dimidii militis pro omni servicio. Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus [ut] idem Hug[o] Hose et heredes sui habeant et teneant de nobis et heredibus nostris iure hereditario omnes supramemoratos quatuor feod[os] milit[um] per dictum servicium bene et in pace, libere et quiete, plenarie, integre, honorifice, in ecclesiis et capellis, in bosco et plano, in pratis et pascuis, in viis et semitis, in aquis et molendinis, in stagnis et ripariis, in vivariis et piscariis, in moris et mariscis et in omnibus libertatibus ad liberam terram pertinentibus. Hiis testibus: domino Waltero de Lascy, Willelmo de Lascy, Roberto de Lascy, Ricardo de Tuyt, Willelmo Parvo, Ricardo Tirell, Rogero Pipard, Henrico de Auditleg, Henrico de Gulous, Matheo de Clere, Radulfo de Mutton, Galfrido de Mutton, Willelmo clerico. Data per manum nostram propriam apud Galletrum, secundo die Martii, comitatus nostri anno secundo.

Hugh de Lacy earl of Ulster to all men in the present and in the future, a greeting. Let it be known to all of you that we have given and granted and by this our present charter confirmed to Hugh Hose for his homage and service in Omcht Maygarb and Schagh Clogh with four knights' fees pertaining to the vicinity, to him and his heirs, to hold and to have of us and our heirs by hereditary right for the service of half-a-knight for all service. Whereby we wish and firmly order [that] the same Hugh Hose and his heirs have and hold of us and our heirs by all hereditary right for the above-mentioned four knights' fees through said service well and in peace, freely and quietly, fully, wholly, honourably, in churches and chapels, in wood and plain, in meadows and pastures, in roads and paths, in waters and mills, in pools and rivers, in fish ponds and fisheries, in moors and marshes and in all liberties pertaining to free land. Witnessing: lord Walter de Lacy,<sup>107</sup> William de Lacy,<sup>108</sup> Robert de Lacy,<sup>109</sup>

<sup>106</sup> Letters in square brackets and punctuation marks are my own.

<sup>107</sup> For an excellent study of Walter's career, see Veach, 'Nobility and crown', *passim*.

<sup>108</sup> Half-brother of the earl of Ulster through the unlicensed union of the elder Hugh de Lacy with an unnamed daughter of Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair, c.1180: see above, n. 19. Witnessed three of Hugh II de Lacy's charters before 1210, and one after 1227: *Ir. chartul. Llanthony*, pp 82–3; Thomson (ed.), *Liber cartarum prioratus Sancti Andree*, p. 118; *Ormond deeds, 1172–1350*, no. 863 (2), p. 365; *Reg. St Thomas, Dublin*, pp 9–10. For his death, see *Ann. Clon.*, 1233.

<sup>109</sup> Attested four of de Lacy's charters before 1210: *Reg. St Thomas, Dublin*, pp 7–8, 13; Fr Colmcille, 'Three unpublished Cistercian documents', pp 254–5; *Ormond deeds, 1172–1350*, no. 863 (2), p. 365. Probably Hugh's brother of that name, but see *Ann. Clon.*, 1206 ['Robert Delacie son of Hugh Delacie, died']. Alternatively the baron of Rathwire, County Westmeath, head of a cadet branch: Mullally (ed.), *Deeds of the Normans*, II, 3148–9.

Richard de Tuit,<sup>110</sup> William Parvus,<sup>111</sup> Richard Tyrell,<sup>112</sup> Roger Pipard,<sup>113</sup> Henry de Audley,<sup>114</sup> Henry de Gulous,<sup>115</sup> Matthew de Clere,<sup>116</sup> Ralph de Mutton,<sup>117</sup> Geoffrey de Mutton,<sup>118</sup> William the clerk.<sup>119</sup> Dated by our own hand at Galtrim on the second day of March in the second year of our earldom.

<sup>110</sup> Granted Granard (County Longford) by Hugh I de Lacy: Mullally (ed.), *Deeds of the Normans*, ll. 314–7. Witnessed five times before 1210: *Reg. St Thomas, Dublin*, pp 7–8, 9, 13; Thomson (ed.), *Liber cartarum prioratus Sancti Andree*, p. 118; *Ormond deeds, 1172–1350*, no. 863 (2), p. 365. For his death in 1211, crushed under the royal keep at Athlone, see *A.L.C.*, 1211; *Ann. Clon.*, 1210 [recte 1211]; *Chartul. St Mary's, Dublin*, ii, 312, *s.a.* 1211.

<sup>111</sup> Seneschal of Hugh I and Walter de Lacy and lord of Magheradernon (County Westmeath), with its *caput* at Mullingar: Mullally (ed.), *Deeds of the Normans*, ll. 3133–5; Orpen, *Normans*, p. 184. For his attestations before 1210, see *Reg. St Thomas, Dublin*, pp 9, 13; *Ir. chartul. Llanthony*, p. 81; *Ormond deeds, 1172–1350*, no. 863 (2), p. 365. Accounted for Meath following the liberty's sequestration in 1210: *Pipe roll Ire., 1211–12*, pp 21–45.

<sup>112</sup> For the Tyrell family, lords of Castleknock (County Dublin), see Eric St John Brooks, 'The grant of Castleknock to Hugh Tyrel' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, lxiii (1933), pp 206–20; *idem.*, 'The Tyrels of Castleknock' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, 86 (1946), pp 151–4; Mullally (ed.), *Deeds of the Normans*, ll. 3130–1.

<sup>113</sup> Attested in *Reg. St Thomas, Dublin*, p. 13; Fr Colmcille, 'Three unpublished Cistercian documents', pp 254–5. Accounted for Ulster and Uriel after 1210: *Pipe roll Ire., 1211–12*, pp 53–69. See above, pp 503–4.

<sup>114</sup> See above, p. 506.

<sup>115</sup> For the family of Gelous (*alias* Geylous, Geylouz) in Meath, and Ulster, see *Ir. chartul. Llanthony*, pp 88, 111–12; G. H. Orpen, 'The earldom of Ulster, pt. ii: inquisitions touching Carrickfergus and Antrim (cont.)' in *R.S.A.I. Jn.*, 6th ser., iii, no. 2 (Jun. 1913), pp 136–7. For an account of Robert Gelous, charged with repairs to the Ulster castles of Carrickfergus, Dundrum and Greencastle, in 1261, see *Reports from the commissioners appointed by His Majesty to execute the measures recommended in an address of the House of Commons respecting the public records of Ireland: with supplements and appendices* (Irish Record Commission, 1810–15), i, plate 2, no. 3.

<sup>116</sup> A tenant of Hugh de Lacy's in Blakestown (County Louth): *Rot. litt. claus., 1224–7*, p. 175b; *Cal. doc. Ire., 1171–1251*, no. 1491; Diarmuid Mac Íomhair, 'Townland survey of county Louth (cont.)' in *Co. Louth Arch. Soc. Jn.*, xii, no. 4 (1952), pp 53–63, at p. 272; *idem.*, 'Historical notes on Millockstown and Blakestown' in *Co. Louth Arch. Soc. Jn.*, xiii, no. 1 (1953), pp 68–123; attests in *Reg. St Thomas, Dublin*, pp 7–8.

<sup>117</sup> See above, pp 505–6.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>119</sup> Drafted two other pre-1210 charters: Thomson (ed.), *Liber cartarum prioratus Sancti Andree*, p. 118; *Ormond deeds, 1172–1350*, no. 863 (2), p. 365.