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Abstracts

Artis Aboltins

Military gear of the Scandinavian military elite during the Vendel period and possible ways of using it on the battlefield

Much has been said about the weapon and armour finds in princely burials in Vendel and Valsgarde, but little has been published about the actual use of the weapons and armour in question. These include statements that they were intended strictly for ceremonial usage and not actual warfare. However, there is a body of evidence that suggests possible methods of use of those weapons and armour for combat~both the archaeological finds themselves, as well as indirect evidence. Additionally, recreation of accurate replicas of the gear allows for experimentation with its actual usage, dispelling persistent myths about the equipment from this time period. Recent finds in Estonia, also, have offered valuable insights into this matter, as they represent burials of men, who, apparently, have fallen in battle. This research is an attempt to bring the various sources together and present the results in a condensed format.

Elise Alonzi

To sample the Salmon of Knowledge: historical and archaeological evidence for the impact of dietary practices on the biogeochemistry of medieval Irish populations

Farming, fishing, cooking, and cuisine are just some of the cultural pathways that isotopes follow as they move from ecosystems to humans. To properly interpret diet and mobility through biogeochemical data, it is imperative to understand cultural provisioning practices and how isotopes arrive in the body. Historical, archaeological, and baseline isotopic evidence, including law tracts, saints' lives, and studies of archaeological flora and fauna, will be contextualized with information about chemical processes, such as fractionation and isotopic mixing, to understand how cultural practices impact biogeochemical values of medieval Irish populations. The isotopic portion of this study will include results from ecological sampling on the island of Inishark to address the impact of the little-understood Seaspray Effect on terrestrial resources near the coast. This study will address the chemical implications of cultural provisioning practices to aid future interpretations of biogeochemical data from medieval Irish populations.

Emma Anderson

The musical landcsape: audience, sound and boundary in early Irish literature

While scholarship has frequently focused on the processes and imperatives behind the writing down of early Irish tales, interest in audience responses and social reflections is growing. This paper will examine how texts use musical references to help the audience locate action both within the landscape and within their society. Musicians or their audiences sometimes undertake a transformation of physical form or mental state at a point in text where musical activity encounters a significant boundary. Boundaries may be physical aspects of the landscape, such as standing stones, or may reflect a boundary between the 'heroic' and 'other' worlds. Drawing on texts including *Táin Bó Cúailnge, Táin Bó Fraích* and *Acallam na Senórach,* this paper will explore the concept of boundary, examine the deployment of music at such points and consider how contemporary witnesses, both scribe and audience may have interpreted the role of music within the world around them.

Sharon Arbuthnot

Revisiting and repurposing eDIL

In 2007, the *Dictionary of the Irish Language* (*DIL*) was digitised and published online. Since then, AHRC-funded projects have been working to improve the robustness and integrity of the Dictionary contents by harvesting additions and corrections from journal articles and textual editions. By the end of the present project in 2019, it is expected that over 10,000 emendations will have been made, resulting in a substantially revised new electronic edition. This paper will examine the methodology employed in the revision of *eDIL*, exploring the tensions which have arisen as the project attempts to serve the original canonical text on the one hand and the fluid new digital edition on the other. Editorial policies which have been adopted to deal with issues such as new lexemes, ghostwords, modified definitions and translations, and the restructuring of historical entries will also be discussed, and illustrative examples given.

Siobhán Barrett

Keening in the poems of Bláthmac

The Poems of Blathmac son of Cú Brettan are two Old Irish religious poems preserved in a seventheenth-century manuscript, which were first edited and translated by James Carney in 1964. The author, Blathmac, whose father and brother have been historically identified, probably lived in the middle of the eighth century. The language of the poems is believed to be of that time and is of value because there are many unique words in these poems. In addition to analysing the language of these poems there are many themes which have potential for exploration and keening is one of these. In the first poem the poet invites Mary to join him to keen Jesus' death. Comparison with other keens from Early Irish to twentieth-century texts is made in order to identify similarities and also possible differences in the purpose and performance of the keen.

Jamie Blake Knox

James Henderson Todd and the origins of the early Irish Church

Abtract to follow.

Gill Boazman

The Conaille Muirthemne kings and Faughart, Co. Louth: the material culture of image projection

Ireland in the early medieval period was a society without centralised authority. Power was dispersed and perennially contested and consequently polities pursued multiple stratagems to project a presence beyond their political capacity. One of these was the genealogical connection between saint and kingroup which legitimised land possession. The vehicle of this for the Conaille Muirthemne kings was their major ecclesiastical site at Faughart Upper founded by Moninne. Although devotion there was centred on a somewhat tenuous link to Brighid it was underpinned by associations with the mythic past of Cú Chulainn. This perceived antiquity was materialised in the burial ground of Faughart Lower whose excavation evidences burial from the fifth to the tenth century. The paper proposes that this site was utilised by the Conaille Muirthemne kings to lend ancestral and Christian validation to the ritual landscape of Faughart whose promotion was integral to their retention of territorial identity.

Rebecca Boyd

New questions for old buildings: exploring 'home' in Viking Ireland

The houses of Viking Dublin are one of Ireland's Viking treasures; superbly preserved but overshadowed by sexier finds such as dead Viking warriors or Irish ships scuttled in eleventh-century Denmark. These houses were where Viking Age 'urbanites' lived: mothers, fathers and children, workers, merchants and slaves, immigrants, natives and exiles, side by side in the crowded streets of Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Limerick and Wexford. The potential of these wooden houses has been undervalued. While they provide information on building methods, technological abilities, and the location and expansion of settlements, they can tell us a much fuller story. These houses were places of work, socialization and rest: in a word – Homes. Boyd's work pioneers how to explore these exceptionally well preserved structures as the locations people lived their lives. This paper outlines her approach to this rich dataset, revealing a complex world of household relationships and identities in Ireland's first towns.

Mariamne Briggs

What's in a tale title: Togail na Tebe *as an editorial construction*

Rev. George Calder's 1922 edition and English translation of the Middle Irish *Thebaid* bears the title *Togail na Tebe*. This title was Calder's own creation as no title rubric is found in the manuscripts. I will explore the development of this titular construction and how it has informed scholarly responses to the narrative since. What are the implications for scholarly presumptions (Ralph O'Connor, 2013; Proinsias Mac Cana, 1980), linking *Togail na Tebe* with the tale-title *Togail Larisa*? This latter lost narrative is named on the tenth-century Tale-List B alongside *Togail Troí*, the Irish adaptation of the Late Antique *De Excidio Troiae Historia*, attributed to Dares Phrygius, and the vernacular medieval Irish narrative, *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*. How should the apparent relationships between these titles in tale-lists and extant texts be approached? How might modern scholars reconsider their approaches to Calder's title and its associations with vernacular tale categories?

Bernard Browne

Old Ross~the town that never was

The surviving Motte of Old Ross represented the early earthwork castle that is attributed to Richard de Clare (Strongbow). The extent of the Manor was outlined in a charter of Richard Marshall in the 1230s. It marked the manorial centre of the demesne manor and the rural borough. The earthwork fortification was replaced by a thirteenth-century stone castle. The castle was one of six early thirteenth-century castles in County Wexford. The 1284 Bigod manorial accounts contain details of repairs to the castle. In 2012 a research project using Lidar and geophysics identified the bailey and the site of the thirteenth-century castle within the bailey. This paper will consider this finding to date.

Ann Buckley

Varieties of song in medieval Ireland

This paper explores the different types of song used in medieval Ireland, the cultural impulses they represent, and the nature of the surviving sources. Research tends to be divided between specialists according to linguistic (Irish, Latin, English, French) or disciplinary (literature, musicology) criteria. Of these, musicology is the least represented, for a variety of historical reasons, including the lack of music notation for all but the Latin liturgical sources. However, many materials still commonly classified as 'poems' were in all likelihood songs whose melodies were not written down since they were well known in their own time. The main focus of discussion will be on the repertories themselves, including pre-12th-century Latin and medieval Irish liturgical repertories, post-12th-century developments such as late medieval offices for Irish saints, and secular repertories such as are found in BL MS Harley 913 (the 'Kildare poems', *c.* 1330) and the late 14th-century Red Book of Ossory.

Maeve B. Callan

The secret of Ledrede's success: how Richard de Ledrede, Bishop of Ossory, overcame months of resistance to effect the British Isles' first execution at the stake (*Kilkenny, 1324*)

On November 3, 1324, Petronilla de Midia was burned at the stake after Richard de Ledrede had convicted her of heresy. This paper explores two key but underappreciated factors that enabled Ledrede to achieve this goal after prolonged resistance to his prosecution: William de Rodyerd's need for Ledrede's support in resolving ethnic tensions within Ledrede's order, the Franciscans, and Rodyerd's interest in pursuing heresy prosecutions against native Irish threats to the colony. Five years later, Rodyerd (Dean of St. Patrick's and the archbishop of Dublin's vicar) convicted Adducc Dubh O'Toole of heresy following an O'Toole military defeat by colonists. Rodyerd had him executed then collaborated with Ledrede's only other known supporters in the 1324 case in a request to the papacy that a crusade be called against the native Irish and certain Anglo-Irish who had adopted their ways. Scholars have previously neglected how Rodyerd was the secret of Ledrede's success.

Álvaro Carvajal Castro

Modelling local political communities in early medieval Ireland: a comparative perspective from NW Iberia

The political landscape of early medieval Ireland has traditionally been defined by the original existence of a multitude of small kingdoms. The history of these minimal kingdoms, as that of the emergence of larger polities, namely major dynastic groups, is heavily based on socio-evolutionary theories that depict an historical shift in the location of the political sphere, from the small-scale, local kingdoms, to regional over-kingdoms. This, however, precludes analysis of how local politics might have conditioned or contributed to shaping more complex levels of political articulation. In order to address this problem, this paper reconsiders the role of the dynamics and identities of local political communities over time. Focusing on an Irish case study, the kingdom of Brega, it will also explore a comparison with NW Iberia, where similar processes, though portrayed in the sources with different names, seem to have occurred.

Mairead Carew

Adolf Mahr: a Celtic archaeologist in 1930s Ireland

The Celtic archaeologist, Adolf Mahr, was promoted to the position of Director of the National Museum by De Valera in 1934. Mahr was responsible for implementing recommendations contained in the 1927 Lithberg Report, which began the process of the nationalization of Irish archaeology, prioritizing the display of the 'Celtic' and Christian collections. This also had an effect on the choice of sites chosen by the Harvard University Mission to Ireland which began the first scientific excavations in this country between the years 1932 and 1936. This archaeological strand was part of a wider anthropological and eugenic programme to study the Celtic race. Mahr was central to the success of the Harvard Mission in Ireland. He was also involved in the selection of sites for excavation under the Unemployment Schemes, instigated in 1934. He played a key role in the shaping of Irish national identity through the medium of archaeology and established the National Museum of Ireland as a key cultural institution of the Irish Free State.

Rhiannon Carey Bates

The Anglicisation of the Irish episcopate: the first English bishops of Irish diocese

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, election was the normal procedure for episcopal appointments across Latin Christendom. What is yet to be examined, however, is why Irish cathedral chapters were electing Englishmen to these powerful positions. During this period, papal provisions were relatively unheard of and the Crown supposedly had no role in the appointment of bishops. However, this paper argues that long before the ethnically biased policies of the fourteenth-century, there was an effort on the part of the Crown to ensure that Englishmen held episcopal offices in Ireland. It is further argued that prior to their election to Irish sees, loyal English servants were infiltrated into Irish capitular bodies with the aim of securing promotion to episcopal seats

Denis Casey

Angry saints: (un)sympathetic readings of Irish hagiography

'Woe to the man who has as neighbour an angry saint', opens a poem in the long Irish *Life of Máedóc of Ferns*, and readers of Irish hagiography in general would be

forgiven for thinking that proximity to any saint is undesirable. Critics since the high middle ages onwards have highlighted the disagreeable characteristics of Irish saints (as expressed in their hagiographies), but due allowance has not been given to why Irish saints appear so angry. This paper will take as its starting point some notable comments on the disposition of Irish saints, from the twelfth to the twentieth centuries, and will suggest that differing expectations of sainthood have coloured readings of Irish hagiography throughout that period. It will be suggested that a sympathetic reading of these texts, attuned to the needs of their immediate audiences, cast the saint in a more sympathetic light.

Michael Clarke
The Irish Liber Hymnorum *and its affinities*
The *Liber Hymnorum* is a para-liturgical collection of hymn texts in Irish and Latin, mostly of Irish authorship, decked out with a scholarly *accessus* and scholia of Middle Irish date written in a seemingly chaotic mixture of the two languages. It is preserved in two eleventh-century display manuscripts, which seen to be largely based on a common exemplar. Although many of the individual texts are familiar and well-studied, the edition of Bernard and Atkinson (1898) remains the only study of the compilation as a whole apart from strictly palaeographical art-historical treatments by Bieler and Henry & Marsh-Micheli respectively. This paper will consider the nature and affinities of the *Liber Hymnorum* in terms of its relationships to earlier Insular manuscripts, to poetic anthologies in Latin and other languages dating from the same period, and to the much better-known manuscript compilations of Irish-language texts that survive from the twelfth century.

Catherine Coffey
Medieval spin doctors: an analysis of the interplay between political and salvation history in the Annolied
The medieval German *Annolied* embodies that which Norbert Ott describes as 'die Problematik einer eindeutigen Gattungszuweisung chronistischer Werke' in which 'Weltgeschichte und Vita verschränken sich' and 'die Vita selbst verschmelzt Geschichtsschreibung mit Legendendichtung' (the problematic of a distinct leaning within the genre of chronicle works [in which] world history and saint's life cross over - *my translation*) . It is an example of those early medieval works which Walter Haug asserts 'make a bold attempt to combine secular history with salvation history'. This paper explores this intriguing mix, discovering its potential political motivations and thereby comparing it with similar methods in contemporary, politically-charged pieces of writing.

Brian Coleman
The gentry of English Ireland and 'self-government at the kings's command'
The importance of the gentry as a class has long been recognized by historians of English regional societies. The failure of attempts to identify a 'gentry' outside England have tended to suggest that the English gentry was unique among the minor nobility of medieval Europe. This paper extends the ideas of English gentry studies to that of the hitherto much-neglected land-holding families of English Ireland in the fifteenth century. These families shared the knightly origins of the leading English gentry, and held a similar position in a society that was, in its beginnings at least, modelled exactly on that of England. This paper will investigate the minor nobility of English Ireland to trace how and to what extent the specific circumstances of the lordship of Ireland led to a divergent class unique to that lordship, and whether this class merits the title of a 'gentry'.

Claire Collins
Saint Patrick vs. Cenn Cruaich in the Patrician Lives: elements of narrative
The narrative between the legendary Saint Patrick and his opponent, the idol Cenn Cruaich, appears from the initial mention of the location Magh Slecht in Tírechán's *Collectanea* (*c*. 688-693AD), through the *Vitae Tertia* (*c*. 775AD), *Quarta* (*c*. 8th ~*c*. 11th *c*. AD) and *Tripartita* (*c*. 9th ~*c*. 10th AD), to its appearance in Jocelin's *Vita Patricii* (*c*. 1185 AD). As the story of the confrontation grew, various elements were added~both to strengthen the tale and for symbolic reasons. At its height in the *Vita Tripartita*, the narrative contains nine distinct elements. The breadth of these elements proves the careful construction that went into crafting this

particular aspect of the Patrician Lives. Thus, while this tale may be ultimately aetiological in origin, treating it only as such would be an oversimplification.

Marion Deane

Buile Suibhne (The Frenzy of Sweeney). *Symptom as desire: an appraisal of Sweeney's madness*

Drawing from Old Irish laws on mental illness and its management and from early social and kingship theories, I offer the proposal that loss of face was the principle catalyst for the onset of Sweeney's madness. I suggest that his symptoms were embodied manifestations of repressed desires, and that these desires remained unconscious because they were at variance with his consciously accepted self-image.

Karen Dempsey

Chamber-towers and their 'private' spaces: indentifying and understanding the 'living-room'

The interpretation of the thirteenth-century castles described as 'hall-houses' has recently been a contentious topic in Irish castle-studies. Current research, using evidence from England especially, has indicated that these structures were in fact chamber-towers~the residences of lords~that were once accompanied by lost ground-floor halls. During the thirteenth century, the hall and chamber were typically separate structures within castle-complexes. This demarcation between the 'public' and 'private' sides of medieval life appears to have been mirrored within the chambers also, although these spaces were more fluid in terms of function than the medieval halls. Careful examination of the architecture of chamber-towers in Ireland has revealed that the first-floor spaces of these buildings were likely to have been divided into 'rooms'. This paper demonstrates how these 'rooms' may have acted and raises questions about how public and private spaces are understood in these buildings. It reminds us that chamber-towers were ultimately occupied by *people* who made choices about how to use and live in them.

Karen Dempsey

Lea Castle, Co. Laois: some initial observations....

Lea Castle, situated on the northern border of the medieval Lordship of Leinster, is one of Ireland's largest Anglo-Norman castle-complexes. The impressive architectural design of this baronial caput indicates that its story was interlinked with the realm of high ranking magnates. Indeed for much of its life Lea was intertwined with the fortunes of the Geraldines. Despite its importance Lea Castle is relatively neglected, and surprisingly, has escaped detailed study. The start and end date for the construction of this castle is uncertain, although it is likely that the earthwork dates to the late twelfth century and the remainder of the castle was part of a cumulative building process during the thirteenth-century. In this paper I will explore the castle's architecture and its architectural-historical context ~especially its inclusion in the tenuous 'towered-keep' category~in order to deepen our understanding of the significance of this understudied building.

Gavin Dillon

'Claiming ground'~a response to the rise of monastic empires

Much has been written regarding the rise of more prominent monastic institutions, but what of those less well-known neighbours? Often subsumed into the rolling wave of advancement, what evidence exists to show a backlash from the supposed minority? This talk will focus on the pressures exerted on a small midlands church community, Lann mhic Luacháin, and the literary response which ensued.

Charles Doherty

The 'life' of St Abbán: an alternative reading

Professor Pádraig Ó Riain proposed that the 'life' of St Abbán, of Ross / Kilabban was composed by Albinus (Ailbhe Ua Maelmhuaidh), bishop of Ferns, 'at a date in or before 1218'. Albinus's purpose was to support property claims against William Marshall before an ecclesiastical court in Dublin in 1218. His argument is persuasive but there are elements of it that give cause for further reflection. I

think it is possible to present another reading of the 'life' that differs from that of Professor Ó Riain.

Linda Doran
Medieval New Ross
The town of Ross was founded by William Marshal, sometime before 1208, when a plot of land beside the new bridge was granted to the Cistercian abbey of Tintern ~itself established by Marshal. The Northern section of the town where the new settlement was focused is the area in which the early monastery of St Abbán was located. This section is served by two major early routeways, one of which was the *Slighe Culann*. This is paper will examine the extent to which the existence of the infrastructure of the early monastery influenced the development of Marshal's commercial enterprise. In particular how it impacted on the layout and structure of the street pattern.

Linda Doran
Vikings in the Carlow Corridor
In 848 the Annals of Ulster record a *battle against the heathens at Sciath Nechtain, in which fell the Jarl Tomrair, tanist of the king of Lochlann and two hundred about him.* While the location of this battle is not securely established it is likely to have been close to early monastic settlement of Castledermot on the route of the *Slighe Cullann*. Castledermot is the location of the only hogback stone know from Ireland and this battle may represent an attempt by the Dublin Norse to expand into this region. This paper will examine the evidence, both archaeological and documentary, for the nature and extent of a Viking presence along the Carlow Corridor.

Catherine Emerson
Who were the Irish readers of medieval French early printed books?
This paper explores the medieval French holdings of Irish libraries and asks how did medieval French books reach Ireland? Looking at the evidence of readers' annotations, erasures and occasional violence to the text, we discover that the readers of these books are a singularly careless group, unusually obsessed with figures, dates and particular individuals. In many cases, they seem to have read only the beginning of the text and in some instances they appear to have regarded themselves as jealous rivals of past readers, whose marks they sought to erase. Most of them were not, however, Irish, but expatriates who brought their books with them or earlier readers who never set foot in Ireland. Whether Irish or European, though, they were overwhelmingly consumers of late medieval history, with very few other genres receiving any attention.

Jennifer Farrell
Women and the supernatural: reflections of patronage and social identity in Romance and History?
Focusing primarily on the examples of Marie de France's *Lanval* and Gervase of Tilbury's *Otia Imperialia*, this paper will explore the dynamic which existed between 'fairy-ladies' and their male lovers or companions. In doing so, it will consider the extent to which twelfth and thirteenth-century literary and historical representations of female supernatural beings can tell us something about perceptions of the relationship between patronage and issues of social and sexual identity. In particular, it will also address the issue of hidden or obscured identity and its bearing on the patron/client relationship.

Lenore Fischer
Brian Boraimhe, his evolving legend
The transmission of the Cogadh's vision of Brian has been superbly documented by Meibhín Ní Úrdail. Reaction against Brian however fuelled the synthetic historians; it informed a poetic dialogue during the Gaelic Resurgence and surfaced in the Contention of the Bards. This view of Brian as a usurper, transmitted via Charles O'Conor to Thomas Moore, long bedevilled studies of the nature of Irish kingship. The source of Icelandic legendry surrounding Brian remains controversial. Oral folklore, some recorded as late as the nineteenth century, shows how the legend of Brian, his court and his battle continued to serve the differing needs and tastes of audiences in Gaelic Ireland, Norman Dublin and Scandinavian England. The geographic spread, the multiple branching and the

continued vitality of Brian's legend bear witness to Brian's enormous impact on Ireland's history.

Roy Flechner
Converting the Isles: some preliminary conclusions from an international research network
This paper will discuss some preliminary findings of the Leverhulme International Research Network Converting the Isles. The network is devoted to the study of conversion to Christianity in North West Europe and over the past three years it has hosted five conferences a number of workshops and invited lectures, with over 100 participants overall. In the course of the Network's activities social and economic aspects of conversion were given special attention, thereby offsetting the strongly political focus of most previous studies of conversion in the region.

G. Angharad Fychan
The University of Wales Dictionary of the Welsh Language
On 26 June 2014 the University of Wales launched a freely available online version of *The Dictionary of the Welsh Language* (*Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*), the standard historical dictionary of the Welsh language, established in 1921. This was a significant milestone in the project's long history, and shows the Dictionary's ability to remain relevant in an ever-changing techological world. In this paper I shall examine the Dictionary's evolution since its formation nearly a hundred years ago, and discuss how the lexicographical methods employed in its compilation have developed. I shall also analyse the importance of the Dictionary to those studying the Celtic languages and cultures of these isles, and explore possible future developments that could allow more detailed investigations of the Dictionary's wealth of content, including over half a million citations.

Alban Gautier
Vita *or* res gestae? *Asser's* Life of Alfred *between hagiography and historiography*
Asser's work on the life and deeds of King Alfred of Wessex (late ninth century) has been described since the sixteenth century either as *res gestae* or as a *vita*.

Titles given to a work whose only manuscript (now lost) did not have any are not only a question of words: they entail a whole perception of the way Asser evokes the figure of the king. The *Deeds* or *Life* of King Alfred have often been read anachronistically as an informative royal biography, telling the reader about the king's wars and accomplishments. Within such a frame, some passages such as the notorious chapter 74 on the king's illnesses could not be understood: indeed, some historians decided that they must be interpolations. In recent years, historians have rediscovered the necessarily hagiographical dimension of the biography of a ninth-century ruler. Still, Asser's work is not a hagiography. So, what should we call it?

Patrick Gleeson
Framing scales of community and civil society in the Atlantic Arc: perspectives from early medieval Ireland
The Atlantic Arc often plays a peripheral, marginal role in discourses pertaining to early medieval European society, and particularly so for early medieval Ireland. Often perceived as idiosyncratic, the multiplicity of petty kingdoms that characterize early Irish political landscapes have encouraged an impression of power and authority being exercised on small scales, by contrast with larger, more centralized structures of rulership and governance in British and Continental polities. Yet, a growing concern for the interplay between locally constituted community and regional practices of polity building, suggests that Europe's Atlantic Arc describes pertinent evidence, albeit hitherto under-appreciated. This paper explores the nature of political communities in early medieval Ireland, assessing how different scales of polity and identity were constructed and negotiated. Utilizing the material evidence for how royal landscapes functioned within particular kingdoms, it examines how the articulation of different scales of community constructed civil society and framed practices of rulership.

Patrick J. Goode
The O'Dempseys of Clanmalier and Lea Castle

Anglo-Norman Lea was to become the most imposing fortification of the Clanmalier district, sited near the border of the lordships of Offalia and Leix. Its establishment and permanence benefitted from a split within the Gaelic O'Dempseys, their chief siding with the colonists and his son in permanent rebellion. A powerful yet alien structure, situated in what was originally O'Kelly territory, the O'Dempseys soon came to regard it as an infringement of their inheritance and whenever strength and circumstance allowed, saw to it that the inside was gutted and the village surrounding laid waste. In spite of later marriage alliances with the FitzGerald proprietors, the O'Dempseys rarely held the castle uncontested. Lea was seldom left in peace - a garrison on the edge of the borderland, the outermost bastion of the Pale, surrounded by an unfriendly populace from its early foundation in the thirteenth century.

Grigoriy G. Grigoryev

The symbolic meaning of St Patrick's Crozier ('Staff of Jesus') and its role in St Patrick's hagiography

This paper explores the symbolic meaning of St. Patrick's Crozier ('Staff of Jesus' or 'Bachall Ísu') and its role in St. Patrick's hagiography. Why did this important object appear only in late Lives of St. Patrick? Where did the idea of a powerful staff come from and what are the similarities and differences between this object and magical staffs of the Old Testament, Classical Antiquity and Ancient Near East? Has the symbolism of St. Patrick's staff changed over time? Relying on early Christian iconographic tradition, Irish hagiography and commentaries of Early Church Fathers, this paper will show that the 'Staff of Jesus' in the Lives of St. Patrick was meant to establish St. Patrick's connection to Jesus and Moses and prove his legitimacy as the first apostle of Ireland.

Stephen H. Harrison

Between tide and text: a new approach to the Battle of Clontarf

2014 saw a new surge of interest in the Battle of Clontarf, its context, and its aftermath. There was, however, surprisingly little interest in the battle itself, with most commentators content either to repeat older interpretations of key texts, or to argue that those same texts are essentially literary creations, with limited historical value, at least where the battle itself is concerned. The present paper seeks to balance these two approaches, using interdisciplinary evidence to re-examine the battle site, arguing that local topography may have inspired some key events described in later sources, notably the *Cogad Gáedel re Gallaib*, but that these events were then woven into a broader literary framework which had specific socio-political objectives.

Thomas Herron

Centering Spenser: a digital resource for Kilcolman Castle: *reception and new directions in research*

Centering Spenser: A Digital Resource for Kilcolman Castle is an interdisciplinary website that highlights the poet and polemicist Edmund Spenser's role as a colonist in a late-medieval tower house in north Co. Cork, at the "center" of the Munster Plantation. It offers samples and surveys in essay-format of literary, biographical, geographical and archaeological data, including historic maps and illustrations, as well as an interactive 3-D computerized reconstruction with modeled objects and fly-throughs of the tower house. Objects and places are linked to literary passages, and vice-versa, in accompanying analyses. No other such medieval Irish castle reconstruction exists on the web. This paper by the website's author presents detailed aspects of it and summarizes its scholarly reception so far, as a means of ascertaining and promoting future directions for the site within the larger field of digital humanities. http://core.ecu.edu/umc/Munster/index.html

Stephen Hewer

The free Gaelic man in English Ireland, 1252-1327

The current historiography of high medieval Ireland (after the advent of the English) depicts an ethnicity-based dichotomy between the English settlers and the Gaelic peoples, which increased after 1250 into a legal disability for all Gaelic men in the English courts in Ireland. This, in fact, is oversimplification of reality. An examination of the surviving English royal court records has shown that the

free Gaelic men were allowed to plead civil actions in the royal courts until well into the fourteenth century, if not later. Not only were these free Gaelic men tolerated, but some were given positions of power in the courts and on the manors. They also maintained some degree of their Gaelic identity through their names which did not affect their tenurial or legal status.

Gregory Hulsman
The evolution of a Lollard book of instruction: a case study
Lollard instructional anthologies are generally considered to be random collections of interchangeable tracts and sermons, with little thought given to the compilation of individual manuscripts. For the past 150 years editors have cherry-picked texts from different manuscripts for themed volumes, thus removing these texts from their original context. This paper, based upon my recently completed doctoral thesis, will seek to reassess the nature of such anthologies by analysing one such manuscript as a case study, TCD MS 245, as a book in and of itself, looking at its history, structure, contents, and context. Special attention is paid to the book's evolution over time, as a quire was added at a later date, significantly altering the thrust of the anthology, while the critical focus is on vernacular theology, the assertion of lay authority, Church corruption, proposed radical social reforms, Lollard pedagogical practice, and re-education of the faithful.

Kathryn Hurlock
The use and abuse of the crusading ideal by England's kings
Although several English kings took the crusading vow, and often did so more than once, only one ruling English king went on crusade. This paper will look the ways in which successive kings of England used and abused their crusading vows and the ideals of crusading, either utilising the protections afforded to crusaders to fend off attacks at home, using the ideals of the crusade in their dealings with their neighbours, or trying to divert crusading resources to further their own political ambitions. It will look at the responses to their crusading plans in contemporary chronicles and consider the justification for the criticism directed at them, as well as their own attitudes to crusading.

Colin Ireland
What constitutes the learning of a sapiens*? The case of Cenn Fáelad*
Of the earliest known *sapientes*, the *oeuvre* of Cenn Fáelad mac Ailello (d.679) is the most difficult to define. The aetiological legend that describes his career is well known. He participated in the Battle of Mag Roth (637) and went to Tuaim Drecain to recuperate from his wounds, where three schools, one each of *léigenn*, *filidecht*, and *féinechas*, provided him with broad learning opportunities. The ecclesiastical training in the background of most *sapientes* is easily identified. Compared to other early *sapientes*, however, Cenn Fáelad's ecclesiastical background is obliquely suggested. Many of the works attributed to him deal with secular topics. This paper will examine works attributed to Cenn Fáelad and attempt to discern the nature of the learning of a *sapiens* as expressed in his aetiological legend

Santa Jansone
Dress in Scandinavia in the 7th~8th century: a possible reconstruction
The role of dress is very important for what it tells about its wearer. There is not a lot of information concerning early period Scandinavian dress, despite the famous Vendel and Valsgarde graves. The aim of this paper, using the available knowledge from graves, literature and, especially, images (including the so-called Goldgubbers), is to examine the dress of the well-to-do Scandinavian man and woman in the seventh and eighth centuries. Unfortunately, mainly cremation burials are used for women during this period, making reconstruction hard, even almost impossible. It is easier with men's costume, as there is some evidence in the graves, although scarce. It is very important to examine the influence from continental Europe and even further afield. Some later evidence from Sweden and Denmark will also be used, although with limitations. It must be noted that this is only a hypothetical reconstruction, lacking definitive proof in the form of actual archaeological finds, although it is backed by strong supporting evidence.

Tara Kelly
Purchasing the past: consumers of Irish facsimile jewellery and metalwork

This paper will investigate the distribution of facsimiles among individual consumers to analyse their associated value, meaning and usage as fashionable ornaments, gifts and prizes and as emblems of personal, collective and national identities. It will consider the purchase of facsimiles in Ireland and Britain, primarily copies of the 'Tara' brooch and the Ardagh chalice, by individuals of different political, economic and social groups. As sales records from the major Dublin retailers and manufacturers do not survive, documentation of individual facsimile purchases was found in contemporary photographs, newspaper coverage of weddings, presentations, prizes, sports trophies and advertisements for lost property. This represents an attempt to examine the purchase of facsimiles by everyday consumers from the upper and middle classes and it will be demonstrated that there was a much wider distribution and a more complex set of personal values associated with these facsimiles than has been previously understood.

Ksenia Kudenko
The survival of áer *'satire' in Irish Saints' Lives*

In Ancient Ireland satire used to be an important social phenomenon, which regulated relations between a poet, *fili*, and his patron. However, after the Christianisation of the country, satire still played a crucial role, satirising poets being replaced by cursing saints. The present paper discusses the parallels between curses of saints (Old Irish *mallacht*) and *aér* 'satire' of professional poets and highlights the continuity of the rite of *mallacht* compared to the heathen ritual of *glam dicenn* (manipulation with stones, fasting etc.). The Old Irish satire's imagery and lexicon also survived in texts of saints' curses (e.g. the curse of St. Ronán against Suibhne in *Buile Shuibhne*, "The Frenzy of Suibhne"), while motifs related to the *aér* were eventually reinterpreted in the accounts of the Saints' Lives (e.g. the episode with thorn-tree in *Betha Beraigh*, "Life of Berach").

Máirín Mac Carron
Bede's Anno Mundi *chronology and Irish* computistica

Bede's world chronicles presented a shorter span of universal time than the mainstream chronicle tradition, because Bede based his *Anno Mundi* chronology on Jerome's Vulgate translation of the Bible rather than the Septuagint. Bede's decision has generally been explained by reference to his concerns about contemporary apocalypticism, but such a view reads the evidence backwards: his earliest overt attack on apocalypticism was in the Letter to Plegwin (c. AD 708), which he wrote after he used Vulgate chronology for the world chronicle in *De temporibus* (AD 703). Although Bede was undeniably opposed to apocalyptic speculation, his choice of *Annus Mundi* was greatly informed by other concerns, including chronographic traditions surrounding the life of Christ. It is well known that Bede's understanding of computus was indebted to the Irish; however, this paper will argue that his *Anno Mundi* chronology was intended to refute the chronological framework of his Irish computus sources.

Laura McCloskey
Celtic Stylistic influence in early medieval Irish illuminated manuscripts: reflections of the Roman Empire

This paper will explore the visual links between Celtic and early Medieval art at the dawn of Christianity in Ireland. Irish metalwork and manuscript illumination that reached a peak during the early Middle Ages show a unique and masterful treatment of medium and form, taking common Celtic symbolology and style and redefining pagan meaning with Christian narrative. In order to fully understand the early Christian period in Ireland, it is necessary to delve deeper into the archaeological evidence present in Ireland from the Celtic past. I will trace the evidence of a vibrant trade route between Ireland and the southern Celtic world, creating a foundation for the visual arts in Medieval Ireland that could not have existed without a distinct pre-Christian Celtic presence. My work intertwines Roman, Latin, and Irish primary sources, Mediterranean pottery shards, Irish Celtic torcs, and the pages of the *Book of Durrow* and *Book of Kells*.

Neil McGuigan
Columba and the Scotification of Cuthbert

Columba and Cuthbert (along with St Alban) begin the early eleventh-century list of English saints and their resting places known as Secgan be þam Godes sanctum. They are the most northerly saints in the list. At this time each cult was intertwined with the identity of northern Britain's two most important polities: Alba, and the Northern English realm ruled by the Eadwulfings of Bamburgh. By 1200, Columba's people had expanded at the expense of the latter, as the descendants of a Dunkeld abbot reduced much of the former Northumbrian kingdom to Scottish rule. By this time too, a Gaelicized Cuthbert had acquired Irish parentage and an education with 'Columba first bishop of Dunkeld'. This paper will explore the politics of these cults during this era, and suggest that Scottish understanding of both Columba and Cuthbert mirrored changing political fortunes.

Nathan Millin
The hammer of God: an early Irish exposition on Pontius Pilate
Medieval Irish writers were often fascinated with the intrinsic significance behind individual names in the scriptures. To them, names were not merely labels; rather, they signified personal merits or qualities which could simultaneously point to the individual's place within God's plan. One intriguing example of this appears in the earliest Irish commentary on the Gospel of Mark composed in the seventh century. The present paper will consider the anonymous author's interpretation of the name Pontius Pilate, an undoubtedly enigmatic figure from the Gospel narratives who here receives a surprisingly positive treatment. The Markan commentator suggests that Pilate's name indicated that he was a fundamental instrument in the establishment of God's rule. This view will be examined in comparison with contemporary Irish exegetical texts which similarly suggest to their readers that acts which might be perceived as evil may in fact be viewed as essential operations of God's plan of salvation.

Caren Mulcahy
The Husseys, Barons of Galtrim, a county gentry family of Meath, 1170-1540

This paper will trace the de Hose/Hussey family, barons of Galtrim and county gentry in late medieval Meath, from Hugh de Lacy's grant of 'a fine territory to Baron Hugh de Hussey' in his sub-infeudation of Meath c. 1172, through conflict with the church, the effect of war and pestilence on mortality and fertility in the family, particularly at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries, to the family's ultimate survival into the sixteenth century. Historical and archaeological evidence suggests the baron of Galtrim's territory – the Barony of Deece, Co. Meath – with manorial centres at Galtrim, where an earth and timber castle was built about 1176, and Mulhussey, where a later tower house was erected, was essentially a landscape of rural settlement.

Lynda Mulvin
Form follows function: change in plans of Irish medieval friary architecture
Changes to architectural plans in later Irish medieval architecture point to a perceptible shift of function towards more administrative and domestic functions. The evolving friary plan is at the core of this paper as the introduction of the feature of the corridor represents a move to a more compact, more accessible arrangement. Quin Co. Clare acts as a valuable control, situated on earlier fortification walls into which a new building was constructed with a view to perfoming early modern functions. In this connection domestication of ecclesiastical buildings is considered. The spread to Ireland in the late medieval period of customs and rituals from England, Wales and Scotland leads to the further assimilation of domestication and purpose, with private and public spatial differentiations to the fore. With this in mind certain commonalities are explored in late medieval building types as to their urban setting and spatial organization, and the role of domestic and secular architecture with new interpretations proposed. Comparison of monuments such as Rosserk Co. Mayo, Rosserily, Co. Galway, St Mary's Cathedral, Limerick, Ardfert, Co. Kerry and Bective Co Meath offer new departures when considered in the light of these rising trends.

Margaret Murphy
Medieval Carlow: origins, growth and decline

This paper traces the origins of the medieval town that grew up in the thirteenth century at the confluence of the Rivers Barrow and Burren. It explores the evidence for pre-Anglo-Norman settlement in the area before outlining the building of the castle and formation of the borough by William Marshal. The town enjoyed two periods of economic and political significance in the medieval period. In the late thirteenth century it was the centre from which the Earls of Norfolk administered their Leinster lands. In the late fourteenth century it played host to the offices of the Irish exchequer. Lack of resident lordship coupled with the active Gaelic revival in the surrounding areas brought Carlow into a period of decline and decay in the fifteenth century. The settlement survived, however, ending the medieval period with a reduced and ethnically mixed population.

Léan Ní Chléirigh

'For devotion alone, and not to obtain money or honours': evidence for disqualification of crusaders from spiritual benefits of crusading in the early narratives of the crusades

From the outset of the crusading movement, conditions were placed on the spiritual rewards which crusaders could expect for their endeavours. The surviving canon of the Council of Clermont offers full penance for those who set out on crusade 'for devotion alone, not to obtain honour or money'. Guibert of Nogent commented that some crusaders believed that any atrocities which they committed after returning from crusade were rendered absolved by their crusade indulgence. This paper will examine if the early sources for the crusade movement had a clear idea of what behaviour or actions disqualified a crusader from reaping the spiritual benefits of the expedition. It will consider arguments for the presence of a clear notion of exemplary behaviours for crusaders from evidence that some actions in fact negated the divine rewards offered to crusaders. Adding to the scholarship on early development of codes of behaviour for crusaders and the indulgences which they were offered, it will reexamine the notion that these ideals developed in the late 12th century crusades and were absent from First Crusade narratives.

Niamh NicGhabhann

Medieval Ireland and the Shannon Hydro-Electric Scheme: reconstructing the past in independent Ireland

This paper explores the uses of early Christian and medieval buildings by the Roman Catholic Church in the early twentieth century. It focuses on the removal of the church of St. Lua from Friar's Island to the grounds of Killaloe Roman Catholic Church in 1930 due to the rising water level necessitated by the Shannon Hydro-electric Scheme. In many ways, this action reflects the different social and cultural forces in early twentieth-century Ireland, and the tension that existed between the past and the present in defining the identity of the new state. This paper explores the relationship between the image of the early Irish church and medieval culture, national identity and the increasing power of the Roman Catholic Church within independent Ireland. The relocation of the church will be considered in the contexts of antiquarian culture and developing policies and strategies for the protection of built heritage, as well as the relationship between public space, confessional identity and parade and procession within religious culture from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century.

Emmett O'Byrne

Cormac Ua Maelsechlainn (d. 1239)~warrior of the Irish resurgence

This short paper will examine the pivotal career of Cormac Ua Maelsechlainn (*fl.* 1180-1239) whose resistance in Meath and the midlands between 1205 and 1215 was to dramatically slow the expansion of English royal authority under King John towards the Shannon. His emergence as a significant threat to the colony brought about a period of unparalleled conflict between the Irish and the colonist that had not been witnessed since the first decade of the Conquest. Indeed, the deeds of Cormac's career stand in sharp contrast to the more compliant policies practiced by the Irish kings who served against him. To his banner flocked dispossessed insurgents determined to halt the advance of the juggernaut of English royal authority into the midlands, allowing him to forge a powerful confederation of opposition. In a sense, he can be viewed as a progenitor of those subsequent Irish protagonists who dominated the later period that has been characterised as the

Age of the Irish Resurgence. This paper will attempt to set him both in the context of his time and in that of the later Irish Resurgence of the late thirteen century.

Kieran O'Conor

New research at Rindoon Castle, Co. Roscommon

The Anglo-Norman complex at Rindoon, Co. Roscommon is one of the finest examples of a deserted medieval town in these islands. Despite this, relatively little detailed research has been carried out on the site until recent years. This paper will analyse the development of Rindoon Castle, from its construction in the early thirteenth century until its desertion in the early seventeenth century. It will be argued that the castle was built on a pre-Norman fortification and that the defences of the thirteenth-century royal castle were more defensive than has been suggested. However, it is also clear that the whole north-western façade of the castle was deliberately designed to give a message of great power to those arriving to the town or living in it. Furthermore, this message of power was reinforced by the fact that the castle was framed by what could be termed, an elite landscape.

Dáibhí Ó Cróinin

Some new letters of Whitley Stokes in Leipzig

In 2007 I announced the discovery, in the University Library (Albertina) at the University of Leipzig, of the entire manuscript notebook collection of Whitley Stokes (see *Whitley Stokes (1830-1909): the lost Celtic notebooks rediscoverd* [Dublin 2011]). A recent research trip to Leipzig uncovered a collection of 21 previously unkown letters from Stokes to Ernst Windisch, Professor of German Philology there. As well as discussing problems in Celtic philology, the letters also reveal aspects of the personal side of Stokes's life. This talk will present some of the details from those letters.

Cóilín Ó Drisceoil

William and Isabella Marshal in Ireland

William Marshal, earl of Pembroke and lord of Leinster is fast becoming one of the most famous people of the Middle Ages. This is thanks to an epic life, the details of which survive in a biography written shortly after his death in 1219. From lowly beginnings Marshal became a hero of the tournament, crusader, rock of loyalty for Angevin monarchs, architect of Magna Carta and at the end of his days, regent of England. What is much less known however is his Irish career. Marshal invested an enormous amount of his time and resources into his Irish lordship, a fief he had gained through his marriage to Isabella de Clare, the daughter of Richard de Clare (Strongbow) and Aoife MacMurrough. This paper examines how the Marshals transformed their lordship of Leinster and focuses on the role played by Isabella in the development of her ancestral lands.

Alexander O'Hara

Columbanus ad locum: *the establishment of the monastic foundations*

Columbanus established a number of important monastic foundations in Merovingian Gaul, Alamannia, and Lombard Italy between 591 and his death in Bobbio in 615. But what were the factors that lay behind his choice of these sites? Did he play an active role in the foundation process or was he at the whim of his royal patrons who gave him these lands on which to establish his monasteries? This paper proposes that a more complex and dynamic process underlay the choice of these sites in which Columbanus and his royal patrons acted in concert to appropriate ancient healing cult sites where rituals deemed to be pagan were still practised. The commonalities shared by these sites are studied which reveal a pastoral element in Columbanus's establishment of his monasteries. This has important implications for how these sites are interpreted and indeed for understanding Columbanus's vocation as a *peregrinus* on the Continent.

Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh

DASG, Faclair na Gàidhlig, *and their relevance to the study of medieval Gaelic*

This paper will describe (a) the *Digital Archive of Scottish Gaelic / Dachaigh airson Stòras na Gàidhlig* (DASG) project, set up at the University of Glasgow in 2006 and formally launched online (www.dasg.ac.uk) in late 2014; and (b) the inter-university historical dictionary project, *Faclair na Gàidhlig*, with which DASG is closely related. The paper will also consider briefly two case studies, which show

how synchronic variation in the modern Gaelic languages can shed important new light on variation in the older medieval language and its historical development.

Nollaig Ó Muraíle
Items of correspondence of John O Donovan preserved in the Royal Irish Academy
This paper will treat of a collection of nearly thirty letters by the great pioneering scholar John O Donovan (1806-61) which have been acquired by the Royal Irish Academy over the past dozen years. It is also proposed to make some remarks (necessarily brief, given time-constraints) on the contents of the invaluable body of letters between O Donovan and a wide range of correspondents, in Ireland and abroad, which is preserved in the Academy's 'Graves Collection'.

Pamela O'Neill
Adomnán of Iona: lawmaker or lawyer?
This paper takes as its point of departure the title of the 2004 conference celebrating Adomnán's 13th centenary. It suggests that, more than a mere lawmaker, an epithet presumably earned by his authorship of *Cáin Adomnáin*, Adomnán was a highly accomplished lawyer. A close reading of certain sections of *Vita Columbae* will explore the extent to which Adomnán is revealed as a mere lawmaker, who imposes *a* law, or as a lawyer, who practises, understands and participates in *the* law. The paper will consider early Irish legal and wisdom texts to assess the sophistication of Adomnán's understanding of law and its application to the situations he describes in the *vita*. I will argue that Adomnán emphasised Columba's role as an upholder of the law in both ecclesiastical and secular spheres, and that he did this successfully because of his own intimate knowledge of the law and its workings.

Russell Ó Ríagáin
Kings in a contact zone: the shifting configurations of social power in the early medieval North Channel

This paper focusses on the exercise and maintenance of royal power in a region where various wider—and dynamic—political, ethnic and cultural configurations come into contact: the landscape and seascape centring on the passage of water separating modern Northern Ireland and Scotland. It is intended here to move beyond issues such as colonialism to examine how the control over various ideological, military, economic and political power resources relates to the operation of the various polities set within the shifting political geography characteristic of the region in this period, looking at class, stände and party on the one hand, and the interplay between coercion and persuasion on the other, drawing on textual, archaeological and onomastic evidence to do so.

Russell Ó Ríagáin
(Post)Colonial Columba
There has been much discussion/dispute regarding the colonial nature of the Dál Riata polity. Much of it has been based on a naïve approach to the written evidence or outdated, essentialist culture-historical archaeological thinking, utilising far too narrow a conception of the nature of colonialism, culture and ethnicity. The deceptively shaky datasets associated with the problem have not helped matters. This paper will seek to build on the revisionist scholarship of the past decade, gain some new insights into Columba, his milieu and his later use as a political prop by introducing, evaluating and applying some concepts from diverse theoretical paradigms, including Bhabha's third space concept and the notion of a contact zone from postcolonial theory on the one hand and a discussion of the related concepts of reification and legitimation from twentieth-century Western Marxism and post-Marxism on the other, not to mention the requisite level of source criticism.

Elaine Pereira Farrell
The recycling of the Penitential of Cummean *in the* Excarpsus Cummeani
The text known as *Excarpsus Cummeani* was thought to be the penitential written by Cummean, a seventh-century Irish *sapiens,* until 1902 when J. *Zettinger* identified the original one. However, it is in fact a continental text that arguably

emanated from Corbie in the ninth century. Scholars have already identified the sources of this text. It is heavily dependent on the Irish *Penitential of Cummean,* (therefore the confusion), on the eighth century Anglo-Saxon penitential tradition as transmitted by a disciple of Theodore of Canterbury in the so-called *Paenitentiale Umbrense*, and on the eighth-century Frankish *Paenitentiale Burgundense*. Nonetheless the compiler of the *Excarpus* mingled all these sources together carefully choosing canons from them and building an original text format. This paper aims to further analyse the composition of the *Excarpsus*, particularly focusing on the borrowings from Cummean's canons in order to understand the choices made by the compiler.

Cherie N. Peters
Who wore the trousers in early medieval Ireland?
Early medieval Ireland was a hierarchical society divided into a number of different social classes, including slaves, peasants, commoners and nobles. In a number of literary texts, such as *Táin Bó Cúailgne*, various signifiers were used to communicate a person's social identity and thereby act as an index of this hierarchy, some of the most powerful signifiers being clothing and its decoration. Often ragged garments of subfusc colours were linked to peasants and commoners while nobles were described in illustrious, brightly-coloured clothes. Recently, modern scholars have tended to include trews (trousers) amongst the common apparel of lower-status individuals. This paper will explore the historical and visual sources for trews in early medieval Ireland and investigate the extent to which they were (or were not) worn by members of the lower classes.

Jean-Michel Picard
Hagiography and historiography: Columbanus saviour of European civilisation
The 1400 anniversary of the birth of Columbanus, celebrated in Luxeuil in 1950, firmly established the reputation of the saint as the saviour of European civilisation in the times of the Dark Ages. While still prominent, this concept has been challenged by modern historians over the past twenty years. This paper will explore how this concept developed in the historiography of the 19th century. A key factor in this development was the uncritical reading of the seventh-century *Life of Columbanus*, written by Jonas of Bobbio.

Rosemary Power
Iona~crosses and shadows
It has been noted recently by an artist-photographer colleague and the current writer that the high cross in situ on Iona, known as Saint Martin's cross, unexpectedly casts a shadow at certain times of the year which falls in apparently significant places. This has led to a consideration of the ways shadows might have fallen from other high crosses set in the bases on the central site, whether this effect influenced their placing, whether there was any practical usage in the manner of sundials, such as the marking of the liturgical Office. The paper will also consider whether this research helps to determine where the original monastic buildings might lie. The findings are to date as exploratory, with a view to discussion regarding other similar sites.

Jake Ryan
The Auchinlech Manuscript: a how-to guide for medieval manliness
This paper will discuss representations of masculine identities in the Auchinleck MS (NLS Adv MS 19.2.1), with particular reference to the romance texts. RW Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity will be applied to specific narratives. It will be argued that this manuscript bears witness to a transference of the 'most honoured male identity' title from the feudal warrior to the more circumspect and bookish man. This hegemonic shift, from knight to cleric, as exemplified by the affective piety movement, may be seen in 'Otuel A Knight', 'Sir Orfeo', Floris and Blancheflour' and the Auchinleck version of 'Sir Tristrem', a delicious parody of both chivalric ideals and the genre of romance.

Margaret Smith
Kinship and kingship: identity and authority in the Book of Lismore
Hereditary codices like the Book of Lismore have been written off by many scholars (including their own cataloguers) as random compilations whose

contents are shaped largely by convenience. More recent scholarship has begun to seek out alternate explanations for the composition of such manuscripts, suggesting that patrons' aspirations or ideologies might play a role in determining the choice of texts. While this genre of codices spans several centuries, the fifteenth century codices like the Book of Lismore differ in the inclusion of Continental texts like the *Conquests of Charlemagne* and the *Travels of Sir Marco Polo*. The proliferation of these newly diversified codices in the fifteenth century marks a clear a shift in literary culture which perhaps reflects a change in politics and perceived identity on the part of their patrons.

Duncan Sneddon

Would you Adam and Eve it? Women as givers of advice in Vita Sancti Columbae

This paper will consider the role of women as givers of advice, both good and bad, in early Gaelic thought. Taking narratives from Adomnán of Iona's *Vita Sancti Columbae* as case studies, and setting them within the legal, religious and literary contexts of early medieval Ireland, it aims to contribute to discussions about gender both within this important text (and, relatedly, how Adomnán as a writer and thinker approached gender) and in the wider society in which it was produced.

Paul Stevens

Archaeology, Marxism, and the early Irish Church: a preliminary review of the evidence for production on early Irish 'monasteries'

This paper discusses current doctoral research into the role of the Church in the expansion of the early Irish economy, AD 400-1100. Taking a Marxist perspective, the archaeological evidence for production, distribution and consumption by the Church in early medieval Ireland is critiqued. What does this tell us of the mechanics of the early Irish economy, particularly in regards to the Church? Is there a chronological or regional pattern emerging? What are the implications for the old and still-espoused notion of an Irish agricultural subsistence economy, or the more-recent and hotly debated challenges to that model? Are there alternatives apparent from the archaeological evidence? This work further

strengthens the argument that there needs to be a fundamental rethink of the nature of early Irish society and potentially a new economic paradigm for the early medieval period in Ireland.

Robert D. Stevick

Morphogenesis of Macregol Gospels evangelist pages: what the eye doesn't see

The Macregol Gospels evangelist pages are like the corresponding pages in other Insular gospels books from the same period, but not the same as any of them. As a set they are also alike~each with an evangelist 'flanked by vertical panels of ornament and surrounded by a heavy frame decorated with interlace, steps, frets and zoomorphic patterns'~but with the ornament different in each one. So also with the shapes of the frames. They look alike, because the eye does not differentiate accurately the varied ratios of width to height in their pirmary dimensions, the very elements that had to be laid down first in creating a portrait page. Morphgenesis of these pages concerns what the mind has conceived and the hand as modeled on the parchment as underdrawing before portrait and ornamentation could be undertaken. In this respect, too, these pages are like the corresponding pages in other Insular gospel books, while forming a distinctive, early set.

Catherine Swift

Paddy le Carpenter and surname formation in the mid-West

Irish surname history is in the news currently; in part because of recent advances in DNA research and in part because of the popularity of genealogical research, especially among the Irish diaspora. Most work to date has focussed on Gaelic eponyms and the date at which they were first adopted as well as on the various Anglicisations of such name-forms through time. This paper takes a different approach and uses the online resources compiled by Brian Hodkinson of Limerick City Museum to investigate the adoption of surnames in a multilingual and frontier context as well as seeking to contextualise this particular case-study within a national and international framework.

Colleen M. Thomas

The 'Irish' crosses of Earley & Powell in the 1860s

The business of church decorators Earley & Powell flourished in the latter half of the 1800s. Based in Dublin, the firm had been established as the Irish representation for Hardman & Co., the favoured manufacturer of specialized building components and ornaments for architect and medieval enthusiast A.W.N. Pugin. The archive of Earley & Powell's business presents a unique perspective on the reuse of medieval forms in the mid-nineteenth century. It also provides a lens on the views of elite patrons of the time which can be interpreted through their aesthetic choices. Multiple commissions were made to Earley & Powell for crosses in the 'Irish' style. These were intended to imitate the wheel-headed high crosses of the early medieval Ireland. Such monuments were to become the fashion for grave markers in the decades to come. In the 1860s, however, aristocratic Catholic patrons had them made as gifts for newly consecrated churches, as public memorials and in one fascinating case, as a devotional ornament for the garden of a fine estate. In this post-famine era as Ireland rebuilt and renewed itself and before the nationalist impulses of the Celtic Revival were in full flight, this medieval form negotiated the boundaries of place and privilege in Victorian Ireland to affirm the complex identities of its patrons.

Gabor Thomas

Places of power and economic intensification in Anglo-Saxon England: new archaeological perspectives from Lyminge, Kent

Archaeological research is increasingly pointing towards the 7th-9th centuries AD as a key period of innovation and intensification in the Anglo-Saxon countryside, a dating which challenges us to reconsider models of long-term economic change and causation. This paper will take a regional perspective on this topic by exploiting the archaeological results generated by major excavations by the University of Reading at Lyminge in Kent. Encompassing the investigation of a 7th century 'palace complex' and the outer precinct of a documented double monastery which flourished between the 8th and 9th centuries AD, this research has produced unrivalled body of evidence for exploring economic change in relation to the life of an Anglo-Saxon royal centre. Discussion will reflect upon these results and consider their wider implications for early medieval studies: What role did these economic activities play in the creation and expression of power? When did the key economic innovations occur? And to what extent can economic change be linked to the process of monastic foundation/Christianisation?

Freya Verstraten Veach

How Irish was the Earl of Ulster? An excursion into the genealogies of the de Burghs and Uí Chonchobhair

It has long been recognized that the de Burghs were among those families who became 'more Irish than the Irish themselves'. A number of historians have gone so far as to claim that the de Burgh earls of Ulster had Ó Conchobhair blood running through their veins. Early intermarriages between prominent Irish families and powerful colonists were common, and such a bond between the Uí Chonchobhair and de Burghs seems very plausible. But did a marriage really take place? In spite of the eminence of both families involved, a degree of uncertainty remains surrounding a link between the two. This paper hopes to disentangle some of the mystery.

Paolo Virtuani

Two alleged Hospitaller murders: a comparative analysis

This paper will analyze the involvement of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem (the Knights Hospitaller) in two (unrelated) controversial circumstances: the murders of Art and Murchertach MacMurrough in Ireland (1282) and of Amalric de Lusignan in Cyprus (1310). After providing the historical background in each case to help understand the potential motives, the paper will compare the two events, attempt to find common traits and shed light on the Hospitallers' attitude to power and royal service.

Nicole Volmering

The adaptation of the Visio Sancti Pauli *in the West: the evidence of Redaction VI*

The *Visio Sancti Pauli*, describing a revelation concerning the fate of the soul in the afterlife, may very well be considered an eschatological best-seller in the early Middle Ages. Yet while one may recognise its influence in medieval vision literature, sermons, body-and-soul dialogues, and of course the many medieval Redactions which derive from it, little is as yet known concerning its earliest adaptation. The earliest extant 'Redaction', a much abbreviated adaptation of Paul's journey, is known as *Redaction VI.* A complete copy of the text survives in a ninth-century German manuscript; while two fragments may be dated to the eighth and tenth century respectively. In this paper, I investigate the early adaptation of the *Visio Sancti Pauli* through a re-examination of the textual evidence and manuscript context of *Redaction VI*, and seek to illuminate the *milieu* in which this text was transmitted.

Christina Wade

Power in death: an examination of Viking grave goods in Dublin

In the context of the Viking settlements of early medieval Ireland, the divergent nature of each culture's systems of power saw gender being deployed as a method to express domination and to define the competing ethnic group as 'Other'. This paper will argue that gender was used as a medium to negotiate power as evidenced in Viking furnished funerary practice throughout medieval Dublin, such as Kilmainham. It will contend that the Vikings used the hypermasculinization of burial, or the increased emphasis on items hegemonically tied to masculinity and violence, particularly swords, as a way to navigate the elite discourse of power. By examining gendered responses to conquest and settlement, this paper will problematize the preconceived conceptions of the man/woman binary and contribute to greater knowledge of the ways in which elite power negotiations came to influence representations of masculinities and femininities.

Victoria Whitworth

Adoring lions and glamorous bosses: a sculptural hint at the cult of St Columba in tenth-century York

This paper is a contextualising case-study of a fragmentary tenth-century cross-head from York with complex iconography which signals both awareness of the elite styles of conversion-period Denmark and the aesthetic modes of the Iona School crosses, in particular the Kildalton cross on Islay. It makes a case for setting the York cross within the devotional practices of the hybrid Insular-Scandinavian elites, arguing that the cult of St Columba is likely to have played an important part.

David Woods

An unpublished follis of Tiberius Apsimar: a siege-issue from Tyana c. 708?

A unique follis (40 nummi) coin of Tiberius Apsimar (698-705) bearing the name of the town of Christoupolis on the reverse appeared on the market in 2013. This Christoupolis has been identified with the Christoupolis in Macedonia, the ancient Neapolis and modern Kavala. It is argued here that it should be identified with the Christoupolis in Cappadocia, the ancient Tyana and modern Kemerhisar. It is best explained as a siege-piece issued during the Arab siege of that city, and ought to be compared to the folles issued at Jerusalem in 614.