The kings of England from Henry II to Henry III. Henry II, Richard I and John were also dukes of Normandy, dukes of Aquitaine and counts of Anjou and Maine. Henry III still claimed those continental titles as his, as will his successors. (Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, BL Royal MS 14 C VII, f. 9r, 1250s)
This Special Subject investigates the constitution, development and eventual demise of the aggregate of lands brought together by King Henry II of England, son of the count of Anjou (hence the use of ‘Angevin’) and grandson of King Henry I. The starting point will be 1154 when Henry, already count of Anjou and of Maine, duke of Normandy and by marriage duke of Aquitaine, became king of England and put an end to two decades of civil war. Until 1204 and the loss of Normandy and Anjou, the Angevin kings - who are also called Plantagenet after the nickname of Geoffrey of Anjou, Henry II’s father - controlled over half the French kingdom. Old-fashioned maps used to show this cross-Channel ‘empire’ as one red entity, which is deeply misleading as there was no political or administrative unity. The course will finish in the early 1230s, just after Henry’s grandson, Henry III, tried and failed to reconquer Poitou and the rest of the ‘empire with no name’, as John Gillingham called it. The phrase ‘Angevin Empire’ has been discussed ever since Kate Norgate first used it in 1887; its descriptive and analytical value is indeed problematic, and will be questioned during the classes.

Students will encounter three of the most famous English kings: the authoritarian lawmaker Henry II and his sons, Richard, the knightly crusader, and John, the classic embodiment of bad kingship. Some received opinions about those kings will be challenged, particularly because, although they were English kings, they were possibly even more French princes. Among their titles the English crown was by far the most prestigious, but in many ways the centre of gravity of their activities and of their identities was on the Continent.

The emphasis will be on the ‘Empire’ itself, its parts and its local and structural developments. Not all aspects of English political, social and cultural history will be expected to be covered, although many will be touched on. Primary sources will be at the core of the classes. There is a striking imbalance in volume and diversity between the sources produced in England and their continental counterparts; the discrepancy deepened over the period as the enrolment of administrative documents underwent a spectacular growth on this side of the Channel. However, it will be possible to present to the students with continental sources, notably from cartularies, French historians and chroniclers and letter collections, which will provide a welcome counterpoint. Many of these sources will be translated in English for the first time.

Over Michaelmas, Lent and the beginning of Easter Term teaching is organised in 19 two-hour classes, with an added three one-hour methodology classes in Lent. Most classes are structured around student presentations and discussion of primary sources. The first few classes will include lectures intended to give a general introduction to the course. There will be, for instance an outline the past and present historiographies of the Angevin Empire on both sides of the Channel; particular attention will be given to French historians whose work has not been translated into English.

The structure will be partly chronological and partly thematic. Important issues will be, for instance, how diverse the Angevins’ rule in England and in their continental dominions was, their expansionist ambitions in Wales and Ireland, and the roles of aristocracies and the Church in that political assemblage. Key figures such as Eleanor of Aquitaine (duchess of Aquitaine and political player in her own right as well as wife of Henry and mother of Richard and John), Thomas Becket and William Marshal will be assessed. The course will also explore relationships with the Capetian kings of France, the nature and status of borders, the development of common law and
of royal administration in England (and the existence or not of similar changes in the French dominions), castles and warfare, and queenship. Rebellions and power shifts will be also looked at, from the rebellion of Henry II’s sons in 1173 to the great baronial revolt that led to Magna Carta in 1215. The Plantagenet continued presence in Western France after the debacles of 1203-04 and 1214 will be examined afresh; recent scholarship based on ongoing archaeological campaigns suggests that there is more to tell than a tale of unavoidable decline and eventual failure.

At the core of the course will be the nature of the control exercised by the Angevin kings over what Henry II described as ‘our kingdom and everything subject to our rule wherever it may be’. The scale of their lands had one particularly interesting consequence - absentee kingship. The issue of the legacy - particularly legal and administrative - left by those kings once their ‘empire’ had crumbled will be at the core of this course, as well as the question of national identities, and more generally of the cultural and linguistic diversity of those assembled territories and the social and political consequences of that diversity.

The bibliography on this topic is considerable; it has been thoroughly renewed over the last two decades, as British historians are increasingly interested in the French side of things and collaboration with French academics has grown. A strong emphasis will be put on the wealth of available translated sources, from plenty of chronicles, letters and charters (and Magna Carta) to legal treatises, saints’ lives, satires, and governmental memoranda, such as a list of aristocratic widows and orphans. The spectacular growth of English administration, itself a fundamental issue, explains why there are more sources about England than about the continental lands. As much as possible will be made of French sources, some of them translated by the course convenor. Many manuscripts kept in Cambridge libraries and at the British Library are highly relevant for this course and visits will be organised.

The ‘Angevin Empire’ is a very distinctive moment of English history, different in essence from the Anglo-Norman period that preceded it and from the more Anglo-centred kingdom that followed. The overarching question will be whether it was doomed to fail, as the idea of French and English national kingdoms would have us take for granted.

Students will NOT be expected to have taken Paper 3 in Part I.
CLASS PROGRAMME

Michaelmas Term: The setting up of a cross-Channel political conglomerate

1. Welcome, general presentation of the course and allocation of presentations
   Introductory lecture: The ‘Angevin Empire’ as seen by historians on both sides of the Channel

2. Introductory lecture: twelfth-century England and Normandy until 1154
3. Introductory lecture: twelfth-century Anjou and Aquitaine until 1154
4. Accession of Henry II and constitution of the ‘Empire’
5. Social elites and politics in England
6. Social elites and politics on the continent
7. Women and matrimonial strategies across the Channel; Eleanor of Aquitaine
8. The ‘war without love’ of 1173-1174 – the ‘Empire’ put to the test

Lent Term: Rebellions, consolidation, dismantlement

In weeks 1 and 3 of LT, extra one-hour classes will focus on gobbet work.
In week 5 of LT, an extra one-hour class will be devoted to a Long Essay Q&A session.

1. The Angevin ‘Empire’ from a Capetian perspective (plus gobbet class)
2. Legal and administrative reforms – also on the continent?
3. Henry II, John and the British Isles – the other side of Angevin expansionism (plus gobbet class)
4. Richard as duke of Aquitaine – a case study in Angevin rule
5. Absentee kingship - Philip Augustus and Richard (plus Long Essay Q&A)
6. The struggle for Normandy
7. Towards an acceptation of the continental losses?
8. Henry III and the continent

Easter Term

1. A reassessment of the ‘empire with no name’
2. Gobbet work
3. Gobbet work

Total: 19 two-hour classes and 3 one-hour classes.
Can historians overcome the imbalance in the quantity and nature of sources between the English and overseas parts of the ‘Angevin Empire’ in their assessment of the way these different dominions were ruled?

What were the consequences for the aristocracy of Aquitaine and Anjou of living under the rule of the king of England?

Did rebellion become meaningless when it was endemic?

Why was the second half of the twelfth century the second golden age of castle building in Western France (the first one being the first half of the 11th century)?

Did Normandy have for the Angevin kings the role and importance it had between 1066 and 1154?

Did Henry II endeavour to reform the government of his continental dominions as he did that of England?

What can be learned from a study of the continental borders of the ‘Angevin Empire’?

How French were the Angevin kings?

How English were the Angevin kings?

The Angevin Empire: a land of new opportunities or a place of constant dilemma for clerics?

What were the main influences on Henry II's style of kingship?

Did the invasion of Ireland strengthen or weaken the ‘Empire’ as a whole?

Henry the Young King, Richard the Lionheart: assess the importance of the figure of the ‘knight king’ between 1154 and 1216.

Did Eleanor of Aquitaine have realistic political ambitions?

Absentee kingship: strength or weakness?

What role did the Crusades play in English politics between 1154 and 1216?

Was Richard I's matrimonial strategy any better than John's?

'The king's wrath is like a lion's roar': what can historians do with Henry II's notorious fits of anger?

How easily could people understand each other across the territories under Plantagenet rule?
SET TEXTS AND OTHER PRIMARY SOURCES

Set texts are marked with an asterisk

*English Historical Documents, vol. 2, 1042-1189, ed. D. C. Douglas & G. Greenaway, 1953 (2nd ed. 1981) [a list of the – many – set texts from this will be provided; students will be encouraged to read all documents relevant to the period covered by the course]

*English Historical Documents, vol. 3, 1189-1307, ed. H. Rothwell, 1976 [a list of the – many – set texts from this will be provided; students will be encouraged to read all documents relevant to the period covered by the course]

English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I, ed. R.C. van Caenegem, Selden Society, vols 106 and 107, 1990-1 (translations of key documents will be provided).


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Suger, The Deeds of Louis the Fat, ed. Cusimano and Moorhead, 1992


Grand cartulaire de la Sauve Majeure, ed. C. and A. Higounet, Bordeaux, 1996


Infuedationes militum, ed. in The Red Book of the Exchequer, ed H Hall London 1896, vol. 2 pp. 624-645 (will be translated)


Registres de Philippe Auguste ed. J. Baldwin 1992

Rotuli litterarum patentium in turri Londinensi asservati, tempore regis Johannis, ed. T D Hardy, London, 1837


The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux, ed. F. Barlow, 1939 [in Latin; a handful of letters may be translated]


*John of Salisbury, Historia Pontificalis, ed. M. Chibnall, Oxford 1986


*Dialogus de Scaccario and Constitutio Domus Regis, ed. E. Amt and S. D. Church, Oxford 2007


‘The Barnwell Chronicle’, in Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria, 2 vols, ed. W. Stubbs, RS LVII, 1872-3, vol 2, pp. 196-279. [extremely valuable for John’s reign for which it is independent of all other sources; a translation of important passages will be provided]


[a translation of extracts will be provided]


*Magna Carta*, best translation and edition with extensive commentary in J.C. Holt, *Magna Carta*, Cambridge 2nd ed., 1992. See also the ongoing work by the Magna Carta Project, which provides among other things a clause-by-clause commentary:
http://magnacarta cmp.uea.ac.uk/

* Roger of Wendover's Flowers of history, Comprising the history of England from the descent of the Saxons to A.D. 1235; formerly ascribed to Matthew Paris*, trans. J.A. Giles, London 1849. The two volumes are accessible online:
https://archive.org/stream/rogerofwendovers01rogemiss#page/n7/mode/2up;
https://archive.org/stream/rogerwendoversf01rogegoog#page/n6/mode/2up

Two Medieval Outlaws: The Romances of Eustace the Monk and Foulke fitz Waryn, trans G.S. Burgess, Woodbridge 1997

Appendix of eleven documents attached at pp. 443-452 to N. Vincent, ‘The Plantagenets and the Agenais’, in Les seigneuries dans l'espace Plantagenêt (c.1150-c.1250), Bordeaux 2009, pp. 417-56 [translations will be provided].

**Visual material.**

Will be included: pictures and maps of buildings (castles mostly, but also churches), Plantagenet tomb effigies in Fontevraud, manuscript illustrations, other artefacts such as coins. The fullest use possible will be made during classes of visual online resources that will allow students to get a direct sense of original sources.
Where the ‘Angevin Empire’ was born:
Norgate, K, England under the Angevin Kings, 2 vol., London, 1887
See also E.A. Freeman’s review of Norgate’s book and his scathing comments on the phrase ‘Angevin Empire’ in EHR, 2:8, 1887, pp. 774-780

Essential Reading

Clanchy, M. T., From Memory to Written Record, London, 2nd edn, 1993
Gillingham, J. Richard I, New Haven 2000


*King John: New Interpretations*, ed. S. D. Church, Woodbridge, 1999


Poole, AL, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta*, Oxford 1955


*The Cambridge Medieval History*,


Online resources:

*Bibliography of British and Irish History (BBIH)*

*ODNB*

*IHR*

*EHR*
Studies of specific sources or source types

Chronicles

First of all, see the introductions to the standard editions of each source. They are the best place to start your work.


Barlow, F., ‘Roger of Howden’, EHR 65, 1950

Bartlett, R, Gerald of Wales 1146-1223, Oxford 1982

Carpenter, DA, ‘Abbot Ralph of Coggeshall’s account of the last years of King Richard and the first years of King John’, EHR 113 (1998), 1210-1230


Davis, HWC, ‘The chronicle of Battle abbey’, EHR 29, 1914, 426-34


Gillingham, J, ‘Historians without hindsight: Coggeshall, Diceto and Howden on the early years of John’s reign’, in King John: New Interpretations, ed. S. D. Church, Woodbridge, 1999


Levine, R., ‘How to read Walter Map’, Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch 23, 1988, 91-105

Luard, HR, ‘Giralduis Cambrensis’, DNB.


Powicke, FM, ‘Roger of Wendover and the Coggeshall chronicle’, EHR 21 (1906)

Stenton, DM, ‘Roger of Howden and Benedict’, EHR 68, 1953
Tout, T. F., 'The Fair of Lincoln and the "Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal"', EHR, 28 (1903), 240-65.

**Documents and Letters**

*Many of the introductions to the publications of the pipe rolls are very good, especially those of King John by D.M. Stenton and P.M. Barnes.*

Bishop, TAM, *Scriptores Regis*, Oxford 1961


, *English Diplomatic Practice in the Middle Ages*, 2003


Church, SD, ‘The 1210 campaign in Ireland: evidence for a military revolution?’, *ANS* 20, 1998 - discusses the prestita rolls of John’s reign.


Flower, CT, *Introduction to the Curia Regis Rolls*, Seldon Society 62, 1943


Hall, H, *Studies in English Official Historical Documents*, Cambridge 1908 - deals with royal archives, their history (part 1) and forms (part 2)


Kemp, B, ‘Exchequer and bench in the later twelfth century - separate or identical tribunals?’, *EHR* 88 (1973)

Morey, A, and Brooke, CNL, *Gilbert Foliot and his Letters* (1965)


Tout, TF, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England: the Wardrobe, the Chamber and the Small Seals*, 6 vols. (Manchester, 1920-33). This really is the place to go for information on the record sources.


**Kingship**

Barlow, F, ‘The king’s evil’, *EHR* 95 (1980), 3-27

Bouman, CA, *Sacring and Crowning: The Development of the Latin Ritual for the Anointing of Kings and the Coronation of an Emperor before the eleventh century*, 1957

*The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought*, ed. JH Burns, Cambridge 1988 esp. chapters 9, 10, 12, 15, 16

Campbell, J, ‘Observations on English government from the tenth to the twelfth centuries’, *TRHS* (5) 25 (1975), 39-54


Hallam, E, ‘Royal burial and the cult of kingship in France and England, 1066-1330’, *JMH* 8 (1982), 359-80


Kantorowicz, E, *The King's Two Bodies*, Princeton 1957


Richardson, HG and Sayles, GO, *The Governance of Medieval England from the Conquest to Magna Carta*, 1963


Turner, RV, ‘Henry II’s legal reforms: feudal or royalist?’, *Sewanee Medieval Studies* 3 (1990)
, ‘King John’s concept of royal authority’, *History of Political Thought* 17 (1996), 157-78.


, ‘This realm of England is an empire’, *JEH* 30 (1979), 175-203

, ‘Arthur’s homage to King John’, *EHR* 94 (1979), 356-64


**Studies on specific kings and queens**


, *John, King of England*, 1959


Owen, DDR, *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Queen and Legend*, Oxford 1993

Painter, S, *The Reign of King John*, 1949


**Queenship (see also Women)**

Cazel, FA and Painter, S, ‘The marriage of Isabelle of Angouleme’, *EHR* 63, 1948 and *EHR* 67, 1952
Hunneycutt, L, ‘Female succession and the language of power in the writings of twelfth-century churchmen’, in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. JC Parsons, Stroud, Glos, 1994,
Richardson, HG, ‘The marriage and coronation of Isabella of Angouleme’, *EHR* 61, 1946
, ‘King John and Isabelle of Angouleme’, *EHR* 65, 1950

**Succession**

Beckerman, JS, ‘Succession in Normandy 1087 and in England 1066: the role of testamentary custom’, *Speculum* 47 (1972), 258-60
Lack, K., ‘The *De Obitu Willelmi*: propaganda for the Anglo-Norman succession, 1087-88?’*, *EHR* 123 (2008), 1417-56
Searle, E., ‘Women and the legitimisation of succession at the Norman Conquest’, *ANS*, 3 (1981), 159-70
Tabuteau, EZ, ‘The role of law in the succession to Normandy and England, 1087’, *HSJ*, 3 (1991), 141-69

**The royal household and the king’s men**


Lally, J. E., 'Secular patronage at the court of King Henry II', BIHR, 49 (1976), pp. 159-84.


Turner, RV, Men Raised from the Dust: Administrative Service and Upward Mobility in Anjou, London, 1993


**The Anjouins and their continental dominions**


Ramsey, JH, The Anjouins Empire, London 1903


Boussard, Jacques, Le comté d'Anjou sous Henri Plantagenêt et ses fils : 1151-1204, Paris, 1938. (dated, but there is not much else about Anjou)


Everard, J., Brittany and the Angevins : province and empire, 1158-1203, Cambridge, 2000


Gillingham, J., ‘Doing homage to the King of France’, in Henry II: New Interpretations, p. XXX

between the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries, ed. M. Bull and C. Léglu, Woodbridge, 2005, p. 57-81


Les seigneuries dans l'espace Plantagenêt (c. 1150-c. 1250), ed. M. Aurell and F. Boutoule, Pessac, 2009. (particularly articles by Barton, Vincent, Damon and Billoré)


Martindale, J., Status, authority and regional power: Aquitaine and France, 9th-12th centuries, Aldeshot, 1997. (collection of articles, many of which relevant)


Thompson, K., Power and Border Lordship in Medieval France. The County of Perche 1000-1226, Woodbridge, 2002.


Aristocracy, lordship and lanholding


The King's Serjeants and Officers of State, 1911


*English Baronies*, Oxford 1960


Bisson, TN, 'The feudal revolution', *PP*, 142 (1994), 6-42


Coss, PR, 'Bastard Feudalism', *PP*, 125 (1989), 27-64


Fox, L., 'The honour and earldom of Leicester: origin and descent, 1066-1399', *EHR* 54 (1939), 385-402


, 'Rejoinder', *PP* 65 (1974), 127-35


Keefe, TK, *Feudal Assessments and the Political Community under Henry II and His Sons*, Berkeley 1983


The Church in the Twelfth Century


Lawrence, CH, *Medieval Monasticism*, 1989


**Church and politics**


Stacey, NE, 'Henry of Blois and the lordship of Glastonbury', *EHR*, 114 (1999), 1-33


**Scotland**


Dickinson, WC, Scotland from the Earliest Times to 1603, 3rd end revised by AAM Duncan, Oxford 1977


Duncan, AAM, Scotland: the Making of a Kingdom, New York 1975,


**Wales**


, Conquest, Coexistence and Change: Wales 1063-1415, Oxford 1987


Nelson, L., The Norman in South Wales, 1070-1171, Austin, Texas, 1966


Smith, JB, Llywelyn ap gruffydd, Prince of Wales, Cardiff 1998


**Ireland**


Crooks, P., “‘Divide and rule”: factionalism as royal policy in the lordship of Ireland, 1171-1265”, Peritia: Journal of the Medieval Academy of Ireland 19 (2005), pp. 263-307


, Henry II and Ireland’, in A50


**Law**

*EHD* ii nos 47-60


, *The Origins of the English Legal Profession*, 1992


Hollister, CW., ‘Royal acts of mutilation: the case against Henry I’, *Albion* 10 (4) (1978), 330-40 and in A47

  , ‘Anglo-Norman land law and the origins of property’, in

Hurnard, ND, ‘The jury of presentment and the assize of Clarendon’, *EHR* 56 (1941), 374-410

  , *Rancor and Reconciliation, 2005 – The most important work on the subject in half a century."


The origins of the legal profession in England’, *The Irish Jurist* new ser 11 (1976), 126-46


Reedy, WT, ‘The origins of the general eyre in the reign of Henry I’, *Speculum* 41 (1966), 688-724

Richardson, HG and Sayles, GO, *Law and Legislation from Aethelbert to Magna Carta*, 1966


, ‘King John and the courts of justice’, *PBA* 44 (1958), 103-28


Sutherland, DW, *The Assize of Novel Disseisin*, Oxford 1973


, ‘The origins of the common pleas and king’s bench’, *American Jnl of Legal History*, 21 (1977)

, ‘The reputation of royal judges under the Angevin kings’, *Albion* 11 (1979), 301-16

, *The English Judiciary in the Age of Glanville and Bracton*, 1985

, ‘Exercise of the king’s will in inheritance of baronies: the example of King John and William Briwere’, *Albion*, 22 (1990)


, ‘Henry II’s legal reforms: feudal or royalist?’, *Sewanee Mediaeval Studies* 3 (1990)

Ullman, W, *Law and Politics in the Middle Ages*, 1975


Plunket, TFT, *Concise History of the Common Law*, 1949


**Finance**


, ‘Counting the cost: the financial implications of the loss of Normandy, in


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, ‘The Norman Exchequer rolls of King John’, in A1


Poole, RL, The Exchequer of the Twelfth Century, 1912

Richardson, HG, ‘The chamber under Henry II’, EHR 69 (1954), 596-611

, ‘William of Ely, the king’s treasurer, ?1195-1215’, TRHS (2) 15 (1932), 45-90


Administration


Bishop, T.A.M., Scriptores Regis, Oxford 1961


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Green, J.A., English Sheriffs to 1154, 1990
Guide to the Contents of the Public Record Office, London 1963
Memoranda Roll I John, ed. HG Richardson, Pipe Roll Society, new ser. 21, 1943.
Powicke, F.M., ‘The chancery during the minority of Henry III’, EHR 23 (1908), 220-35

Government


Money and Numismatics

*See the websites of the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge and the British Museum
http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/coins/emc/emc_search.php
,Mints and Money in Medieval England, Cambridge, 2012 (esp. chapter 2)
Williams, Leiden, 2006, pp. 487-524

Bolton, J.L., Money in the Medieval English Economy 973-1489, Manchester, 2012 (chapters 6 and 7)


**Armies and Warfare**


, Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: The English Experience, 1996


**Women (see also queennship)**


Meale, CM ed., *Women and Literature in Britain 1150-1500*, 1993


Smith, RM, ‘Women’s property rights under customary law: some developments in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries’, *TRHS* 5th series, 36 (1986), 165-94


Economy and towns


Bridbury, AR, *The English Economy from Bede to the Reformation*, Woodbridge 1992

Harvey, PDA, ‘The English inflation of 1180-1220’, *PP* 61 (1973), 3-30


Biddle, M, *Winchester in the Middle Ages*, Oxford 1976


Jews


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Madox, T., Chapter VII in his *The History and Antiquities of the Exchequer*, London 1711


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Rigg, J. M., his introduction to *Select Pleas, Starrs etc., of the Jewish Exchequer, 1220-1284*, Selden Society, 15, 1901


**Loss of Normandy (see also Finance and Anglo-Norman and Angevin realm)**


, ‘King John and the Norman aristocracy’, in A1


Richardson, HG, ‘The marriage and coronation of Isabella of Angouleme’, *EHR* 61, 1946
, ‘King John and Isabelle of Angouleme’, *EHR* 65, 1950

**Magna Carta and minority of Henry III**


Cam, H, *Magna Carta - Event or Document*, Selden Society 1965

Cannon, H. L., 'The Battle of Sandwich and Eustace the Monk', *EHR* xxvii (1912), 649-70.


Cerda, José Manuel ‘The parliamentary calendar of Spanish and English assemblies in the twelfth century’ *Parliaments, Estates and Representation/ Parlements, états et représentation* 26 (2006), pp. 1-17


, ‘The eve of Magna Carta’, *BJRL* 38 (1956), 311-41


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, ‘King John’s expedition to Ireland, 1210: the evidence reconsidered’, *Irish Historical Studies* 30 (1996), 1-24


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Murray, A, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (1978)
Orme, N, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (1973)
Southern, RW, ‘The changing Role of the Universities in Medieval Europe’, *Historical Research*, 1987

**Chivalry and Romance Literature**
See the various volumes of Medieval Knighthood ed Harper-Bill, Harvey and Church
Barber, R., *The Knight and Chivalry*, 1996


Hollister, CW, ‘Courtly culture and courtly style in the Anglo-Norman world’, *Albion* 20 (1988), 1-18


Keen, M, *Chivalry*, New Haven 1984


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