

The clerical lineages of Inis Cathaigh¹

*'S d' á n-uimhir oileán Inse Cathaigh
Air ar' chuir an Naomh ba glórnhar beatha
Seanán aén cheann déag de Theampluibh
A's Clogás alainn, árd 'na dteannta.*

[Of the number is the isle of Inis Cathaigh
On which a Saint of glorious life,
Seanán, placed eleven Churches,
And a beautiful high Clogaus beside them]²

Michael O'Brannan [1794]

The late medieval Church in Gaelic territories was accustomed to a level and form of organisation that differed to that which prevailed in the Anglo-Norman areas of Ireland. A distinguishing feature of ecclesiastical organisation in Gaelic territories was the presence of clerical kindreds who possessed a hereditary right or prerogative to certain Church functions. Often this was in the form of holding the offices of *erenagh* (*airchinneach*) or *coarb* (*comharba*). In many cases these kindreds were settled on termon lands and they retained ecclesiastical functions over successive generations. They were regarded important dignitaries in the ecclesiastical economy and notable office holders in the Gaelic system more generally.

Recent investigation has brought to attention the role of clerical kindreds in the late medieval period in County Clare.³ This paper continues that investigation and takes as its chief focus the clerical kindreds of the great monastic site of Inis Cathaigh in the southwest of the county.⁴

Inis Cathaigh Church & Monastic Termon

The monastic church of Inis Cathaigh (*anglicé* Scattery Island) has origins that date back to at least the eighth century.⁵ As an important ecclesiastical site with links to the activity of the sixth century saint Seanán mac Geirregeann of Corkavaskin,⁶ Inis Cathaigh became a leading monastic centre in the centuries preceding the reform of the Irish Church in the twelfth century. While the physical remains of the monastic Church and round tower survive, the literary tradition of Inis Cathaigh is preserved in the several hagiographical works which date from the twelfth century.⁷

Inis Cathaigh developed from a native monastic settlement founded from the eremitical movement of the early medieval period, to a monastic site under the authority of coarbs, to an independent diocesan see and, finally, to a collegiate church served by a prior and secular canons by the early fourteenth century.⁸ The strategic position of Inis Cathaigh in the mouth of the Shannon, and its large endowment of termon lands, made it conducive to the founding of clerical kindreds in the medieval period, several of whom we touch upon below.

The earliest record of Inis Cathaigh appears in an annalistic entry in 792 which refers to the death of the *erenagh* of Inis Cathaigh.⁹ From this date to 1188 there are numerous references in the annals to abbots, coarbs and bishops of Inis Cathaigh, indicating that Inis Cathaigh served as an important ecclesiastical and political centre during the period.¹⁰ For example, in 914 Flaithbheartach

Luke McNerney

mac Ionmhainéin, abbot of Inis Cathaigh, later succeeded as king of Munster,¹¹ while several decades later Inis Cathaigh was used as a base for plundering operations by the Norsemen until Brian mac Cennétig (i.e. Brian Ború) defeated them, slaying Imhar, the Norse king, and his two sons Amhlaeibh and Duibhchenn.¹² Gaelic-Norse hostility at Inis Cathaigh continued until 990 when the annalistic record notes a succession of abbots, suggesting that half a century of relative stability returned until the sacking of the island in 1057.¹³ Subsequent other annalistic entries refer to attacks and military incursions at Inis Cathaigh for the years 1101 and 1127.¹⁴

Inis Cathaigh's pre-eminence as a monastic site and claim as a diocesan centre was halted at the time of the reform of the Irish Church in the twelfth century. The result of decrees at Church synods which aimed to erect a diocesan and parish hierarchical structure out of monastic termons and small episcopal sees was that some of the monastic houses which, up to the Synod of Rathbreasil in 1111 retained bishops and exercised episcopal jurisdiction over their termons or *paruchia*,¹⁵ refused to yield control to diocesan bishops.

The Papal Legate at the Synod of Kells in 1152 met this situation by ordaining that as the bishops of the weaker episcopal sees died off they were not to be replaced. Rather, their dioceses were to be converted into rural deaneries which meant a downgrading in status.¹⁶ In the case of Inis Cathaigh a list of dioceses dated to the mid twelfth-century and lodged in the Library of the School of Medicine at Montpellier in France, shows that it managed to remain independent up to that date.¹⁷ The death of Bishop Aodh Ua Beacháin in 1188¹⁸ was probably the catalyst for Inis Cathaigh being downgraded in status and devoid of its episcopal claim; it must also have been the impetus behind the establishment of a secular collegiate church there and for its termons to be absorbed into the sees of Killaloe, Limerick and Ardfert.¹⁹ While some opposition remained as to the status of Inis Cathaigh as a dissolved episcopal see, and the Papal Registers record that in 1363 a cleric named Thomas McMahon supplicated to be installed as bishop of 'Iniscattery' by Pope Innocent VI,²⁰ Inis Cathaigh remained an important ecclesiastical centre in County Clare.

The foundation of collegiate churches²¹ from monasteries formed part of the reform of the Church in the twelfth-century. As part of the reform continental religious orders were introduced into Ireland. Among the latter category of religious orders, the Augustinians and Cistercians were the most numerous, the former of which were especially active in re-founding their rule on native monastic houses. Foundation grants to Augustinian houses often included the termon land of existing monastic sites. This occurred along with the impropriation of rectories on the former monastic termons and which were transferred to the Augustinian houses to augment their revenues. It is possible that the

reference to 'Inisketty' in the 1461 copy of the Clare Abbey foundation charter of c.1189 may refer to Inis Cathaigh being incorporated among the possessions of Clare Abbey.²² A papal *bull*a issued to Clare Abbey in 1555, and now among the papers at Petworth House, refers to 'Inishathe' among the rectories and vicarages that appear to be possessed by Clare Abbey.²³

The twelfth-century reform saw the demise of secular learning in monastic schools which had, up to that time, specialised in the study of customary law (*féineachas*), history (*seanchas*) and poetry (*filidheacht*). The development of parishes and demotion of many monastic sites into parish churches, along with a renewed Gregorian emphasis on the study of canon law and Latin, relegated native learning from the old monasteries.²⁴ The impact of these changes resulted in native learning breaking away from its original bailiwick of monastic schools. From around the fourteenth century native learning was pursued in schools established by a caste of hereditary professional lineages whose interest in scholarship was chiefly secular.²⁵ Alongside these learned secular lineages were clerical kindreds, some of whom had retained close association with the native monasteries and who shared the pedagogic ethos of the former native monastic schools.²⁶

These clerical kindreds were often monastic tenants and learned administrators who constituted the *erenagh* and *coarb* class of the later medieval period.²⁷ In respect to Inis Cathaigh, sources from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries can be used to identify clerical kindreds, some of whose origins were ecclesiastical and probably reached back to the time of the twelfth century reform.

Tearmann Seanáin

The termon of Inis Cathaigh, otherwise known as *Tearmann Seanáin*, is one of the best documented of the termon lands of County Clare. It included land denominations in and around Kilrush, including the entire four quarters of that parish and several proprietary churches historically accredited with association to Seanán, including *Ceall na gCailleach* ('church of the nuns'), which appears in his mid-fifteenth century vernacular life, *Míorbhuile Senáin* ('The Miracles of Senan').²⁸

In 1585 extensive areas of southwest County Clare paid a chiefry to Killaloe, much of which belonged to *Tearmann Seanán*.²⁹ Clearly, certain lands of the termon were attached to particular benefices and church offices. For example, the parcel of land recorded in 1622 as 'Kilteelin alias Termonaferah alias Termonapriora' consisted of three ploughlands.³⁰ Termonapriora must represent *Tearmann an Phríóra* and, as the name implies, was a parcel of land attached to the position of prior of Inis Cathaigh. It is located in Killimer parish and is represented in the modern townland of Tarmon.

In the 1661 Account Book of Bishop Worth, the lands of Inis Cathaigh were described as consisting of sixteen quarters, 'called Terman Shinan, i.e. lands given by ye said Shinan to ye church, which lands ye aforesaid Shinan gave to a fraternity and society of 33 canons and their successors at Inniskahae ut in perpetuum service'.³¹ We read in an acquisition taken in 1604 that *Tearmann Seanán* consisted of three quarters of Killtylline (*recte* Kilteelin),³² three quarters of Beallantallinge;³³ four quarters of Kilrush, four quarters of Kilnagalliagh and Moyasta,³⁴ and two quarters of Kilcredaun.³⁵

We read of other church lands that formed part of *Tearmann Seanáin*. Lands in Kilmihil parish formed part of the termon as a deed from 1624 refers to the quartermire of land called Termon Roe³⁶ which was part of the lands of

Termon Effriory.³⁷ Termon Effriory contained three quarters in 1621 and situated further south at Killimer parish, showing that the possessions of the termon of Inis Cathaigh were parcelled in several parishes.³⁸ The Meic Catháin held various benefices at Inis Cathaigh during the fifteenth-century and their coarbship is recorded in the Irish annals in 1581.³⁹ Several of their number possessed parcels of termon land in 1622 at Ballyonan and Lisdeen in Kilfearagh parish, and their coarbship was remembered locally down to the mid seventeenth-century as lands around Kilrush were known as 'Termon Mac Cahan' at the time of the Confederate Wars in the 1640s.⁴⁰

Clerical Lineages of Inis Cathaigh

Before we discuss the clerical kindreds of Inis Cathaigh it is necessary to first turn to the nature of the ecclesiastical dignities which they possessed and which persisted down to the early seventeenth century.

The role of the coarbs and *erenaghs* changed over the course of the medieval period. Their functions reflected local arrangements and compromises reached between bishops, cathedral chapters and landholding families. For example, the now lost Book of Clonenagh stated that at the Synod of Rathbreasil held in 1111 it was decided that 'the revenues of Clergy and Church lands be confirmed to the Bishops'.⁴¹ The process of placing church lands held by coarbs and *erenaghs* under episcopal control continued, and in 1210 it was decreed at a synod held at Tuam that the termon and coarb lands were to be annexed to the bishoprics in which they lay.⁴²

The result of this process was that the coarbs and *erenaghs* were reconstituted as tenants to the bishops, and the lands which they previously had custodianship over were incorporated into the temporal lands of the diocese. The appointment to the office of coarb and *erenagh* was usually made with the consent of the bishop and chapter. Rare among ecclesiastical sources for late medieval County Clare is evidence showing the manner of appointment of the coarb of Inis Cathaigh. We are told that he was inducted by the archdeacon of Killaloe who acted under episcopal authority, the grant being confirmed by the seal of the Bishop of Killaloe.⁴³

Examples exist of charters issued to coarbs and *erenaghs*, enchartering them on episcopal lands and granting them certain privileges and tenurial conditions.⁴⁴ The custom in many parts of Ireland was that an *erenaghship* was granted to an eligible man from a senior branch of the lineage deemed most 'capable and more suitable...than others of his progeny'.⁴⁵

Recent scholarship has sought to define the role of coarbs and *erenaghs* and their position in the Irish Church. Marie Therèse Flanagan writes:

What was most distinctive about the Irish Church was the development of a separation of functions, whereby the temporal lordship, or landlordly responsibilities, for a church and its estates might be vested in the hands of an individual who was neither a bishop nor an abbot and not necessarily in major ordained orders, but who was nonetheless accorded the legal privileges of a high-ranking ecclesiastic by virtue of his control of the economic assets of an important church ... The separation of management of the material resources of a church from the abbatial or episcopal functions was not necessarily the outcome of a process of degeneracy or secularisation ... but perhaps a strategy which may have been in part devised to protect episcopal office from secular concerns. The bishops and the *princeps/airchinneach* and the functions they represented were not treated as alternative or rival but as complementary sources of authority.⁴⁶

According to the mid-fifteenth century text, *Míorbhuile Senáin* ('The Miracles of Senan'), the coarb of Inis Cathaigh appears as an active defender of the rights and privileges of Inis Cathaigh. In that text, the unidentified coarb possessed 'noble guest houses at Kilrush' ('*thighe oireghdha aoidhedh i c-Cill Rois*') while elsewhere in the text a request attributed to Seanán stated that coarbs were required to maintain Seanán's hospitality.⁴⁷ These references indicate that, like at other ecclesiastical sites, the coarbs at Inis Cathaigh functioned as hospitallers and they likely kept several guest houses. The text is equally descriptive about other ecclesiastical offices that existed such as a bell-keeper described as 'Mac Sida, the steward of the bell' ('*Mac Sioda an chluicc*'), and elsewhere we are informed that the coarb and clerics had in their possession 'bells and hand-bells and bachalls' (i.e. crosiers) which were used to admonish the incursions and exactions of local dynasts over Inis Cathaigh.⁴⁸

Meic Catháin, coarbs of Inis Cathaigh

The Meic Catháin (*anglicé* Keane) are the most recognisable clerical kindred at Inis Cathaigh, and they first appear in a papal document in 1418. The reference was to Philip Maickeheachayn (Philip Mac Catháin) holding the 'wardanship' of Inis Cathaigh. The position was described by papal officials as 'a non-elective office without cure' possibly indicating that the Meic Catháin held the coarbship on that occasion.⁴⁹ Meic Catháin clerics are recorded in the Papal Registers on numerous occasions supplicating for appointments at Inis Cathaigh and nearby parishes during the fifteenth century.

Sixteenth-century documents show that Inis Cathaigh's termon lands were under the coarbship of the Meic Catháin. The Meic Catháin had proprietorial interests in the parishes of Kilfearagh and Moyarta where parts of the termon were located.⁵⁰ The later history of Inis Cathaigh refers to the Meic Catháin as the coarbs of St Seanán where they held the coarbship until the death of Calbhach, son of Siacais Mac Catháin in 1581.⁵¹ This Calbhach was likely the 'Charles Cahane' recorded in the 1574 castle list which noted, 'this man by inheritance is called a Courboe'.⁵² Cahane held the castle of 'Inyshkathyn' (Inis Cathaigh) at this time, while Ballykett castle was held by his kinsman James Cahane.⁵³

Siacais appears in an inquisition in 1542 as 'Siekus O'Cahaine of Keilrush' and, it was alleged, he 'did take of every ship that cometh to that citye...6s. 6d. by extortion'.⁵⁴ The position of coarb of Inis Cathaigh conferred certain privileges, including the right to levy a tax on shipping cargo.⁵⁵ This was levied by the Meic Catháin coarbs who must have controlled the maritime trade around Kilrush. In 1582 Nicholas Cahan was inducted to the coarbship by the archdeacon of Killaloe following the death of Calbhach in 1581.⁵⁶

An inquisition from 1604 is revealing as to the induction of the coarb of Inis Cathaigh. According to an inquisition in 1604, Mauricius of Killaloe (Muircheartach Ó Briain, Bishop of Killaloe, 1570-1612) confirmed to Nicholas Cahan and his heirs the four quarters of Kilrush, and that Cahan and his ancestors were called *Corubbue de Tearrymond Shinan* which denoted 'Overseer', or 'Keeper'.⁵⁷ The inquisition further stated that the term coarb shared the same meaning as the ancient *Chorepiscopus* who acted like an archdeacon but exercised episcopal functions over a rural jurisdiction. In 1583 Queen Elizabeth I granted an estate in fee-farm that included the abbey of Quin and the 'converbship of Innyschattie' to Terlagh O'Brien of Ennistymon, which presumably extinguished the coarbial title of the

Meic Catháin.⁵⁸ Nicholas Cahan was active in local administration, being listed among the witnesses to the Composition of Connacht in 1585.⁵⁹ He also held the office of Coroner for County Clare when Spanish Armada ships anchored near Inis Cathaigh in September 1588.⁶⁰

The origins of the Meic Catháin of Corkavaskin are obscure. They do not appear in the Gaelic genealogies associated with Corkavaskin. Gaelic scribe and poet John Lloyd, in his eighteenth-century guide to County Clare, said of Kilrush and Scattery that it was an 'extensive Tract in this Country, was an ancient estate of that gallant, ultonian, old, family, the O'Keans of the west'.⁶¹ A possible Ulster origin for the Meic Catháin should not be dismissed. A genealogical tract links the Uí Chatháin of Corcomroe to the Ulster branch of the family (*anglicé* O'Keane) who settled in north Clare in 1398 where they were granted the monastic farm of Corcomroe by the abbot.⁶² This genealogy identifies their ancestor Philip receiving land in Corcomroe. Philip is a forename that, as we showed earlier, also occurs at Inis Cathaigh in 1418.⁶³ It remains a possibility that the Meic Catháin of Inis Cathaigh were also of Ulster origin, perhaps settling at Inis Cathaigh approximately the same time as they received stewardship of Corcomroe Abbey's estate, although the retention of the prefix Mac rather than Ó may indicate an alternative origin.

Clerical kindreds often had custody of relic shrines such as bells and crosiers as symbols of their ecclesiastical status and legitimacy. These ecclesiastical relics remained the hereditary possessions of such families over generations. The bell shrine of St Seanán which had remained in the custody of the Meic Catháin of Kilrush until the 1850s⁶⁴ is one such example of the survival of an ecclesiastical relic into modern times and symbolically denoted their claim to the coarbship.

Uí Ghiolla Sheanáin, priors of Inis Cathaigh

The priorship of the Collegiate Church of Inis Cathaigh was held in the fifteenth and sixteenth-centuries by the Uí Ghiolla Sheanáin (*anglicé* Shannon) lineage. The Uí Ghiolla Sheanáin appeared to also have had a coarbial connection with the termon of Inis Cathaigh. Their clerical status is demonstrated by the cognomen they took, presumably from either an association with St Seanán, or with his church and lands in southwest County Clare.⁶⁵ It may be that the Uí Ghiolla Sheanáin were initially a collateral sept of a local ruling family, though their early origin is obscure. The Uí Ghiolla Sheanáin served as hereditary clergy and this is borne out in the example from 1482 when the priorship of Inis Cathaigh was transferred between father and son.⁶⁶

In 1599 Teige McGillahannagh was granted three quarters of 'Killtillyne' (*recte* Killeelin) by Bishop Muircheartach Ó Briain to hold for 101 years.⁶⁷ Teige was referred to in the deed as having the designation of 'Prior of Inis Cathaigh' and it appears that his daughter was living in 1661.⁶⁸ In 1611 his son, Seán mac Tadhg Uí Ghiolla Sheanáin, was recorded in a deed leasing *Magh Lacha*⁶⁹ (Molougha near Kilrush) and his residence was given in a corrupt form as *Cill Tilang* (Killeelin).⁷⁰ From this it may be deduced that Killeelin, also known as Termonapriora,⁷¹ comprised the hereditary lands of the Uí Ghiolla Sheanáin. Killeelin appears in a 1618 inquisition of Clonderalaw which recites various lands including 'Tarmonprior cont [aining] 3 qrts and one cartron as land held by the Earl of Thomond'.⁷² Killeelin can be equated with the modern townland of Tarmon in Killimer parish and which situates close to Molougha in the adjoining parish of Kilrush.

Killeelin appears separately as a portion of Inis Cathaigh

in a papal mandate from 1507. The mandate recorded that Thady Ogyllahanayn (Tadhg Ó Giolla Sheanáin) held the portion of Inis Cathaigh called Kylytyelynd (*recte* Kilteelin) and was to yield it to a kinsman, possibly even his son, Donat Ygyllahanayn, who was the son of a priest.⁷³ The appointment is confirmed in the Papal Annates where it says that Donatus Ygyllahanayn was to be collated to the benefices of Killimer vicarage, 'de Kylytyelynd' and 'de Nadunayn ecclesiarum de Inhyshahy' all of which were portions of the Collegiate Church of Inis Cathaigh.⁷⁴

Out of the three benefices mentioned the two sought by the Uí Ghiolla Sheanáin were Kylymnyr (*recte* Killimer) and Kylytyelynd (*recte* Kilteelin), which Donat Ygyllahanayn had petitioned to be united. We may submit this as proof that Killimer and Kilteelin lay in close proximity to each other, and that Kilteelin was both the endowment of the priorship and the hereditary lands of the Uí Ghiolla Sheanáin. The mandate goes on to state that Kilteelin was of lay patronage and had cure of souls, the former point perhaps inferring that the Meic Mhathghamhna, lords of Corkavaskin, held the right of presentation (i.e. advowson), a fact that possibly reflects an earlier grant to Inis Cathaigh of this land.⁷⁵

While it is difficult to document the relationship between the Uí Ghiolla Sheanáin and Meic Catháin, certain facts may be gleaned from a papal mandate of 1486.⁷⁶ In that year the benefice of Kilrush parish church was collated to Dermot Mokahan (Diarmuid Mac Catháin) who replaced cleric Dermot Macmahuna. In 1489 the vicarage was regarded as being detained by Dermot Makahyn but was to be received by supplicant John Ogillaioran (*sic*) (Ó Giolla Sheanáin) who held a benefice at Inis Cathaigh.⁷⁷ It would appear that the Meic Catháin intrusion into Kilrush was short-lived and, despite them supplicating against a cleric of Clann Mhathghamhna, they were unsuccessful in holding the benefice against an Ó Giolla Seanáin cleric.

Further light is cast on the Uí Ghiolla Sheanáin from a statement made by the friar Micheál Ó Cléirigh in 1635 when he visited Quin Friary. There, Ó Cléirigh copied parts of the book *Amhra Seanáin* ('Eulogy of Seanán') belonging to the coarb of Seanán of Inis Cathaigh. This book was deposited at Quin Friary under the guardianship of Donnchadh Mac Giolla Seanáin.⁷⁸ A book belonging to the coarb of Inis Cathaigh, held at Quin and under the guardianship of a Mac Giolla Seanáin, may suggest that the family were at one time coarbs at Inis Cathaigh. The keeping of saints' lives and traditional manuscripts has all the hallmarks one would expect of a coarbial lineage.

Bishop Worth's enquiry into the lands of *Tearmann Seanáin* casts additional light on the clerical status of the Uí Ghiolla Sheanáin. In 1661 Worth wrote:

John McGillahane the grandchild of Teige McGillahane who was y^e B[ishop's] tenant for y^e 3 ploughlands of Killballhyne⁷⁹ [*recte* Kilteelin], lives at Tullagherine in parish of Kilmurry, and told me that he is able to prove by diverse ancient witnesses that his father and grandfather were in possession of 3 ploughlands of Termon Shinane⁸⁰ and his mother had her joynture on by virtue of a lease till turned out by force by y^e Earl of Thomond...Any Mahonne alias Gillinane being the daughter of Teige Mc Gillahanane who was prior of Iniskahae liveth at Ballinatrinah in Moyfarta and parish of Killicur [*recte* Killimer?] a widow upwards of 80 years [of] age [spelling modernised].⁸¹

From this it may be gathered that the chief clerical kindreds at Inis Cathaigh in the late medieval period were the Uí Ghiolla Sheanáin and the Meic Catháin, both kindreds being settled on portions of *Tearmann Seanáin*.

Other Lineages

Another important lineage that had a connection with Inis Cathaigh were the Meic Mhathghamhna (*anglicé* McMahon) who held the lordship of Corkavaskin. In a deed dated 1593 one 'Muircheartach cam Comharba Seanain' was appointed an arbitrator concerning rents on lands due to the earl of Thomond and bishop of Killaloe.⁸² He can be identified as Muircheartach Cam Mac Mathghamhna who died in 1598.⁸³ The appellation 'Comharba Seanain' probably represented a nominal title, for as we have seen, the coarbs of Inis Cathaigh were the Meic Catháin. The title may have been used to indicate that the Meic Mhathghamhna were patrons of Inis Cathaigh. The genealogies show that Muircheartach Cam was a descendent of a leading branch of the family that can be traced to Tadhg Mór Mac Mathghamhna (died 1432) who granted lands to Inis Cathaigh.⁸⁴

Another clerical kindred of note were the Uí Cheallaigh (*anglicé* Kelly). We are informed in a note by Bishop Worth in 1661 that the Uí Cheallaigh of Killimer in Clonderalaw barony served as officials for the bishops of Killaloe, and they had retained some form of hereditary tenancy in that parish down to the seventeenth-century:

That the Kellys were serjeants to ye Bishops of Killaloe and tenants for these lands until turned out by force by Turloe roe mc Mahonne with many particulars clearing ye Bishop's title thereto...⁸⁵

It is likely that the Uí Cheallaigh were erenaghs and they also supplied clerics to local benefices during the fifteenth century. The fact they controlled the rectory and vicarage of Killard, as well as holding canonries at Inis Cathaigh in the fifteenth-century, points to the type of benefice-holding characteristic of a clerical kindred. In 1460 Uí Cheallaigh clerics violently clashed with a Mac Catháin over the holding of Killard vicarage, however the Meic Catháin attempt at deprivation was unsuccessful.⁸⁶ This case shows that the Uí Cheallaigh regarded Killard as their hereditary prerogative. Other evidence shows that they were of long-standing in Ibrickan barony where Killard situated, and they were recalled as a lineage of some note in the fourteenth century topographical poem of Ó Huidhrin.⁸⁷

There were other erenagh lineages associated with Inis Cathaigh. The annals record that the Uí Scula held the erenaghs of Inis Cathaigh in 1050.⁸⁸ It is significant that this lineage were erenaghs in the period prior to the reform of the Church. While little is known about the Uí Scula and their genealogical origins are obscure,⁸⁹ a reference to 'Maurice Oscula' in a papal document in 1405 for Killard rectory⁹⁰ suggests that the Uí Scula were a long-standing clerical kindred who probably pre-dated the Uí Cheallaigh at Killard.

Concluding remarks

As an important ecclesiastical site with extensive termon lands, Inis Cathaigh naturally became the focus of clerical kindreds. Documentary sources show that clerical kindreds such as the Uí Ghiolla Sheanáin and Meic Catháin came to dominate many of the appointments at Inis Cathaigh during the fifteenth and into the sixteenth centuries. As clerical kindreds these families typically held Church dignities, such as the coarbs and priorship and they transmitted these offices by hereditary means.

Various other clerical kindreds may be identified for late medieval County Clare, and much research remains to properly document their genealogy and history. Investigation so far has revealed the ecclesiastical status of the Uí Mhaoir

coarbs at Drumcliff and the Uí Chiaróg coarbs at Rathbláthmaic, as well as the Meic Bhruaideadha chronicler-poets who were settled on termon land at Lettermoylan on Slieve Callan, and at Moynoe where they were keepers of the eleventh century manuscript *Saltair Chaimín* in the 1630s.⁹¹

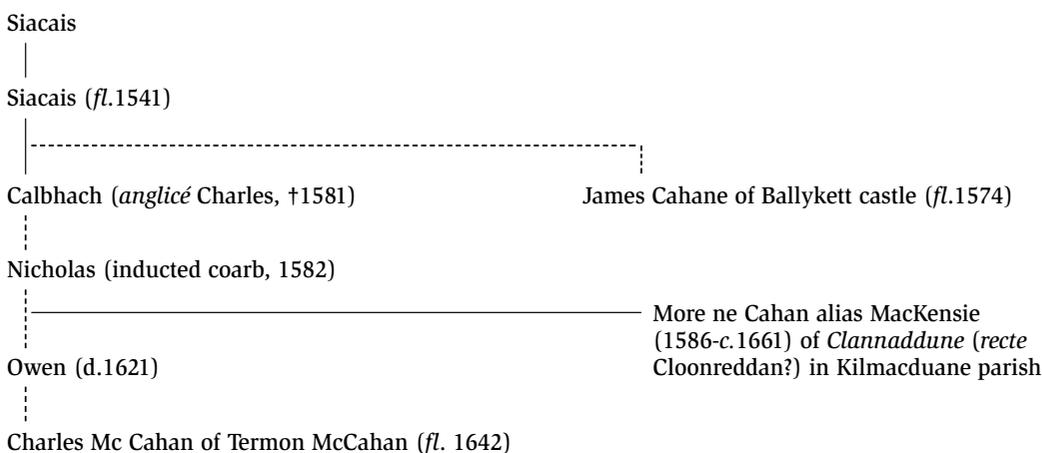
In addition to these we may submit other lineages who served as clerical kindreds. The existence of these lineages may be detected in the Papal Registers. These include the Meic Craith abbots at Clare Abbey,⁹² Uí Chormacáin erenaghs at Moynoe,⁹³ Uí Ghráda coarbs at Tuamgraney and Inchicronan,⁹⁴ Uí Mhaoir coarbs at Drumcliff,⁹⁵ Uí Urthaile coarbs at Inishcaltra,⁹⁶ Uí Fhlannabhra erenaghs at Clonrush,⁹⁷ Uí Dheaghaidh coarbs at Dysert,⁹⁸ Uí Chuinn coarbs at Killinaboy⁹⁹ and the Meic Consaidín erenaghs who, in 1585, held the four quarters of ‘Clan-

consodine’¹⁰⁰ on the lands of Killone Abbey. Gaelic sources reveal other clerical kindreds such as the Uí Chiaróg of Rathbláthmaic,¹⁰¹ Uí Cheallaigh (or Muintir Mhaoil Cheallaigh) of Tulla,¹⁰² the Uí Allmharáin erenaghs at Fahy in Feakle,¹⁰³ and the Meic an Oirchinnigh of Kilnasoolagh who claim to be descended from a twelfth century Mac Conmara progenitor, Donnchadh, ‘*an oirchinneach*’, who was the erenagh of ‘*Chill Dá Luadh*’.¹⁰⁴

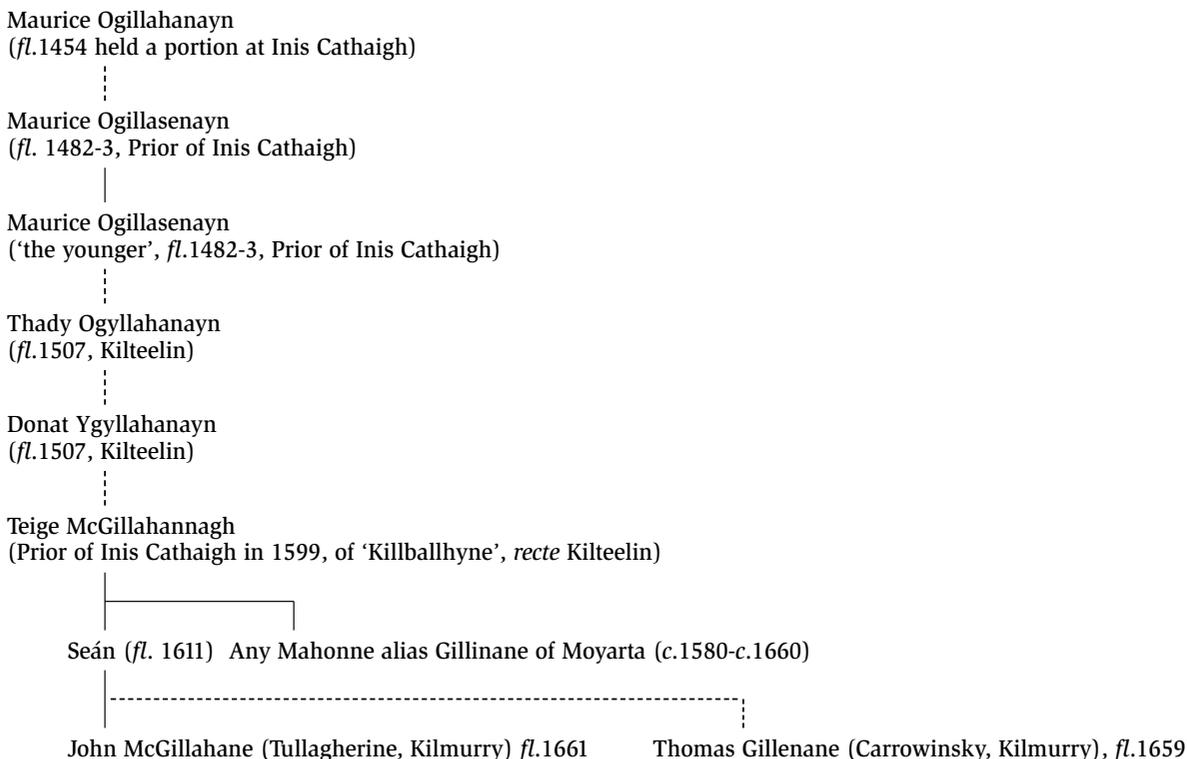
Many of these clerical kindreds emerged around the time of the twelfth-century reform of the Irish Church. For others their origin lay as either church tenants or members of the Gaelic learned class. The history of medieval Clare is incomplete without attention paid to the role of the clerical and learned kindreds who are recorded in an array of medieval papal and Gaelic sources.

Appendix 1

Genealogy of the Meic Catháin, coarbs of Inis Cathaigh¹⁰⁵



Genealogy of the Uí Ghiolla Sheanáin, priors of Inis Cathaigh¹⁰⁶



fl = flourished; broken line = conjectural descent

Appendix 2

Selected appointments in the fifteenth century Papal Registers of clerical kindreds at Inis Cathaigh & nearby benefices

Inis Cathaigh

1418: Philip Maickeheachayn [wardenship]
 1425: Thomas Okaellaygy [perpetual portion with cure]
 1425: Laurence Okaellaygy [perpetual portion with cure]
 1426: Robert Okaellaygy [canonry & prebend]
 1426: Nemeas Okaellaygy [canonry & prebend]
 1429: Donatus Okeyt [sacristship of the church]
 1429: Donald Ogillasenayn [sacristship of the church]
 1443: Matthew Okellayd
 1446: John McKehecayn
 1454: Maurice Ogillahanayn [perpetual portion of collegiate church]
 1455: William Ogillaschannan [perpetual portion of collegiate church]
 1472-3: Thady Ogyllaseuayn [portion of the collegiate church]
 1472-3: Denis Okaelli [portion of the collegiate church called Raykcasgyn]
 1475-76: Gilasius Okaelly
 1479: Dermit Mackahan [sacristship of the church of Scatterry]
 1482-3: Maurice Ogillasenayn [prior, 'the elder']
 1482-3: Maurice Ogillasenayn [prior, 'the younger' & son of Maurice]
 1486: Dermit Makahari [recte Makahan] [wardenship]
 1486: John Ogillaioran [portion]
 1495: Thady Ogyllayanan [prior]
 1495: Rory Ogilleghanan [prior]
 1501: Cornelius Machayn
 1504: Theodoric Maca[h]ayn
 1507: Thady Ogyllahanayn [portion called Kiltelín]
 1507: Donat Ygyllahanayn [portion called Kiltelín]

Kilfearagh vicarage

1414: Roderick Ogillaseanayn
 1424: Laurence Okaellaygy
 1424: Nemeas Okaellaygy
 1428: Donatus Machayn
 1460: Robert Marhathayn [recte] Machathayn

1470-1: Donatus Macmothona
 1479: Dermit Mackahan
 1501: Cornelius Machayn

Killard vicarage

1475-76: Matthew Okaelly
 1475-76: Gilasius Okaelly

Killard rectory

1405: Maurice Oscula
 1424: Nemeas Okaellaygy
 1424: Cearbhall [Cearwallus] Okaellaygy
 1428: Ricardo Okaellayety
 1443: Philip Okellayd
 1443: Matthew Okellayd
 1460: Maurice Macatayn
 1481: Gilasius Okaelly

Killimer vicarage

1470-71: Philip Ohynayn
 1472-3: Thady Ogyllaseuayn
 1472-3: Denis Okaelli
 1472-3: Rory Okaelly
 1507: Donatus Ygyllahanayn

Kilrush vicarage

1417: Robert Mackachan
 1429: Donatus Mackahayn
 1429: Donald Ogillasenayn
 1467: Rory Okaellyd
 1477-8: Dermit Mackayn
 1486: John Ogillaioran
 1504: Theodoric Maca[h]ayn



Inis Cathaigh, the monastic church of St Seanán

The termon land of Seanán's church of Inis Cathaigh was held by the Meic Catháin and Uí Ghiolla Sheanáin in the later middle-ages

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- 3 See, for example, Luke McInerney, 'A Note on the Uí Mhaoir of Drumcliffe, Co. Clare', *The Other Clare*, Vol.35, 2011, pp.26-29; Luke McInerney, 'A note on the Uí Chiaróg clerical lineage of Rathbláthmaic', *The Other Clare*, Vol.36, 2012, pp.55-59; and Luke McInerney, 'Clerics and Clansmen: The Vicarages and Rectories of *Tradraige* in the Fifteenth Century', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, Vol.48, 2008, pp.1-21.
- 4 On Inis Cathaigh see Daniel Mescal, *The Story of Inis Cathaigh*, Dublin, 1902.
- 5 *Annals of the Four Masters*, sub anno 792.
- 6 On Seanán see Senan Hedderman, *Life of St. Senan: Bishop, patron saint of West Clare*, Ennis 1974; see also Cian O'Carroll, 'Iniscathaigh/Scattery island: myth, miracle and legend', *The Other Clare*, Vol.12, 1988, pp. 18-20; and Pádraig Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints*, Dublin 2012, pp.557-560.
- 7 Pádraig Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p.558.
- 8 The reference to 'the prior, and the sacrist, and the convent of Scattery in general' in the mid-fifteenth century text *Míorbúile Senáin* ('The Miracles of Senan') which narrates events at Inis Cathaigh from the late thirteenth to early fourteenth centuries, suggests the collegiate church was established by that time. See Charles Plummer, *The Miracles of Senan in Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*. Vol. 10, Halle/Saale, Max Niemeyer, 1914, pp.1-35. The *custos* or guardian of Inis Cathaigh is mentioned from the late thirteenth century which may in fact indicate that the establishment of the collegiate church and portionary clergy occurred before this date. John Begley, *The History of Limerick, Ancient and Medieval*, p.400.
- 9 *Annals of the Four Masters*, sub anno 792.
- 10 *Annals of the Four Masters*, sub anno 792, 861, 940, 963, 972, 975, 994, 1050, 1081, 1119, 1188. Also see *Annals of Inisfallen*, sub anno 901, 958, 974, 977, 990, 992, 994, 995, 1024, 1057, 1070, 1095, 1101, 1119, 1127, 1130. Also see the reference to Colla, 'airchinnech Innsi Cathaigh' in *Annals of Ulster*, sub anno 995.
- 11 David Comyn, Patrick S. Dinneen (ed), *The History of Ireland by Geoffrey Keating, D.D.*, First edition, *Irish Texts Society*, London 1912-14, p.213. *Annals of Inisfallen*, sub anno 914. Also see John Begley, *The History of Limerick, Ancient and Medieval*, Dublin 1906, p.43.
- 12 *Annals of the Four Masters*, sub anno 975; *Annals of Inisfallen*, sub anno 977. It may not be a coincidence that the County Clare surname Uí Iomhair (anglicé Howard) derived from the Norse forename Imhar (Ivar) and was a lineage associated with west County Clare. Rev. Patrick Woulfe, *Sloinne Gaedheal is Gall: Irish Names and Surnames*, (reprint), Baltimore 1969, p.570.
- 13 *Annals of Inisfallen*, sub anno 1057.
- 14 *Ibid.*, sub anno 1101 and 1127.
- 15 The *paruchia* in medieval Ireland is understood as a confederation of monasteries which transcended political boundaries. Dependent churches of the mother monastery might have individual abbots, but the abbot of the mother house was usually the recognized coarb of the *paruchia*. Michael Richter, *Medieval Ireland: The Enduring Tradition*, 1996, p.60.
- 16 In County Clare the rural deaneries were: Kilfenora (*Cill Fhionnúrach*), Ogormuck (*Uí Chormaic*), Ogashin (*Uí Chaisin*), Omulled (*Uí Bhlóid*), Tradry (*Tradraige*) and Corcovaskin (*Corca Bhaiscin*). The rural deaneries are thought to have been more important administratively in the early diocesan period but by the seventeenth-century their presence only denoted parish groupings. See Ciarán Ó Murchadha, *The Diocese of Killaloe: An Illustrated History*, Slovenia 2008, p.17.
- 17 See Dermot F. Gleeson, 'The Collegiate Church of Inis Cathaigh', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, Vol.2, 1940-41, pp.14-30. Also see Dermot F. Gleeson, *A History of the Diocese of Killaloe*, Dublin 1962, p.130.
- 18 *Annals of the Four Masters*, sub anno 1188.
- 19 In an inquisition in 1201 it was stated that half of the Inis Cathaigh and its appurtenances belonged to the diocese of Limerick. John Begley, *The History of Limerick, Ancient and Medieval*, p.389.
- 20 By 1366 Thomas had confessed his guilt of falsely procuring a papal bull of provision for Inis Cathaigh and was doing penance. 'Regesta 252: 1362-1363', *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland, Volume 4: 1362-1404* (1902), p.35. See Patrick Conlon OFM, *Franciscan Ennis*, 1984, p.13. Also see Dermot F. Gleeson, *A History of the Diocese of Killaloe*, pp.371-373.
- 21 Dermot F. Gleeson, 'The Collegiate Church of Inis Cathaigh', p.15. A collegiate church is a non-monastic community organised as a self-governing corporate body with a prior and canons. The canons were members of the chapter and each canon was supported by an endowment or prebend. In some circumstances the prebendal income was shared in common and apportioned among the canons who held 'portions'.
- 22 Marie Therèse Flanagan, *Irish Royal Charters: Texts and Contexts*, Oxford 2006, p.326. Gleeson doubted the reading of this and Flanagan proposes that it might in fact refer to Inisgad, an Augustinian house situated in the Fergus. See Dermot F. Gleeson, *A History of the Diocese of Killaloe*, p.203.
- 23 Ms B.26.T.16 [1555] West Sussex Records Office, Chichester.
- 24 Hermann Moisl, 'The Church and the native tradition of learning in early medieval Ireland', *Irland und die Christenheit: Ireland and Christendom*, Proinsias Ní Chatháin & Michael Richter (eds), Klett-Cotta 1987, pp.258-271, p.261.
- 25 On traditional native learning see Seán Duffy (ed) *et. al.*, *Medieval Ireland: An Encyclopedia*, New York & London 2005, pp.150-153.
- 26 Proinsias Mac Cana, 'The Rise of the later school of *Filidheacht*', *Eriu*, Vol.XXV, 1974, pp.126-146, pp.131, 146.
- 27 Fergal McGrath S.J., *Education in Ancient and Medieval Ireland*, Dublin 1979, p.145.
- 28 Pádraig Ó Riain, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints*, p.558 and Charles Plummer, *The Miracles of Senan in Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, p.15. *Ceall na gCailleach* (Killnagalliach) was referred to as the favourite church of Seanán, with the exception of Inis Cathaigh. *Míorbúile Senáin* was copied by Mícheál Ó Cléirigh in 1629 at Limerick from a copy held by a member of the Uí Mhaoilchonaire chronicler-poet family. See Nollaig Ó Muraíle (ed.) *Mícheál Ó Cléirigh, His Associates and St Anthony's College, Louvain*, Dublin 2008, p.66.
- 29 A. Martin Freeman, (ed.), *The Compositio Booke of Conought*, Dublin, 1936, p.9.
- 30 Rev. Philip Dwyer, *Diocese of Killaloe from the reformation to the eighteenth century*, Dublin, 1878, p.134.
- 31 Ms 1777, *Typescript copy of a survey of lands in the diocese of Killaloe made for Bishop Worth*, 1661, transcribed by (Rev) James B. Leslie, National Library of Ireland 1936, pp.57-58.
- 32 Now Tarmon in Killimer parish. I wish to thank Kenneth Nicholls for his advice on this point.
- 33 This seems to be in Kilfearagh parish and in 1622 it was known as 'Bealantain alias Termontenan Galrista'. Rev. Philip Dwyer, *Diocese of Killaloe from the reformation to the eighteenth century*, p.133.
- 34 Both of these denominations are in Kilfearagh parish and the four quarters must have also included the townlands of Termon East and Termon West.
- 35 This is in Moyarta parish.
- 36 See R. Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution, Being Abstracts of Various Surveys and Instruments of Title, 1636-1703*, [Co. of Clare], p.354, where it is recorded as 'Tirmanroe and Lissenegan'.
- 37 Petworth House Archives, West Sussex Record Office, Chichester: Ms B/17/CC [1624], [viz. 'The quartermire of land called Termon Roe part of the land of Termon Effriory in the County of Clare, exchanged by Donough Earl of Thomond in 1624 with Teige na Brooly McNamara for other land'].
- 38 *Irish Patent Rolls of James I: 1603-1625*, Dublin 1966, p.493, [patent 18]. I thank Kenneth Nicholls for his advice on this point.
- 39 *Annals of the Four Masters*, sub anno 1581.
- 40 In the 1642 Protestant deposition of Maximillian Graneere of Kilrush we read that his property was attacked by one Charles Mc Cahan of Termon McCahan, gentleman. T.C.D, MS 829, fols. 009r-009v, fol.9r, Deposition of Maximillian Graneere [5/11/ 1642].
- 41 Cited in Michael Glancy, 'The Church Lands of Armagh: No 2, The Precincts of Cosway, Coscallen and Toaghy', *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*, Vol. 3, No.2, 1959, p.352.
- 42 Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J. (ed), *Annals of Clonmacnois*, Dublin 1896, sub anno 1210.
- 43 Henry Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, Vol.V, Dublin 1860, pp.66-67.
- 44 On the enchartering of erenaghs in medieval Ulster see Ciarán Ó Scea, 'Erenachs, erenachships and church landholding in Gaelic Fermanagh, 1270-1609', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. 112, C, 2011, pp. 271-300, p.281.
- 45 Anne P. Fuller, *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Part One: 1492-1498*, Stationery Office, Dublin 1986, pp.308-9. This refers to a dispute over the conferring of a coarship to a member of the Uí Dhonnagáin on the church lands of 'Kyllmesa' (recte Kilnamanagh in Beara) in County Cork in 1495.
- 46 Marie Therèse Flanagan, *The Transformation of the Irish Church in the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries*, Cambridge, 2010, pp.36-37.
- 47 Charles Plummer, *The Miracles of Senan*, p.7.
- 48 *Ibid.*, p.19.
- 49 'Lateran Regesta 198: 1417-1418', *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Volume 7: 1417-1431 (1906), p.100.
- 50 R. Simington, *Books of Survey and Distribution, Being Abstracts of Various Surveys and Instruments of Title, 1636-1703*, [Co. of Clare], pp.385-398.
- 51 *Annals of the Four Masters*, sub anno, 1581. Records indicate that Nicholas Cahane took over the coarship in c.1582. Henry Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, pp.66-67.
- 52 R.W. Twigge, 'Edward White's Description of Thomond in 1574', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, Vol. 1, No.2. 1910, pp.75-85. p.80.
- 53 *Ibid.*
- 54 Maurice Lenihan, *Limerick: Its History and Antiquities, Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military*, (reprint) 1991, p.91.
- 55 Also see the inquisition taken in 1576 and which relates in detail certain dues paid to the coarb. These included a custom from every boatload of oysters going to Limerick once every year, 1,000 oysters, and from every boat of herrings, 500 herrings annually, and that the coarb had possession of a new castle at Inis Cathaigh, a stone house and three cottages. One of

- the jurors to the inquisition was Diermod O'Gillesynan. *John Begley, The History of Limerick, Ancient and Medieval*, pp.395-397.
- 56 Henry Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, pp.66-67.
- 57 *Ibid.*
- 58 James Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland*, Vol II, London 1862, p.46.
- 59 A. Martin Freeman, (ed.), *The Compossicion Booke of Conought*, p.7.
- 60 The State Papers record that Boetius Clanchy of Liscannor was forwarding reports from Nicholas Cahan to Sir Richard Bingham about seven Spanish ships sighted in the vicinity of 'Carrick ne Cowly' (or 'Caryge-colle') on 5-8 September, 1588. Reports show that Nicholas Cahan and Owen McSweeney had a parley with some of the Spaniards. Hans Claude Hamilton (ed.), *Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Ireland, of the Reign of Elizabeth*, 1588, August-1592 September, vol. 4, London 1885, pp 29-31.
- 61 See John Lloyd, *A Short Tour; or, an Impartial and Accurate Description of the County of Clare with Some Particular and Historical Observations*, Ennis 1780.
- 62 John O'Donovan, *Ordnance Survey Letters*, p.33.
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- 64 Marcus Keane & T.J. Westropp, 'The Clog an Oir, or Bell Shrine of Scatterry', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Fifth Series, Vol. 10, No. 3, 1900, pp.237-244.
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- 66 'Lateran Regesta 831: 1482-1483', *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Volume 13: 1471-1484 (1955), p.842.
- 67 Henry Cotton, *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, p.67. Also see Ms 1777, *Typescript copy of a survey of lands in the diocese of Killaloe made for Bishop Worth*, 1661, transcribed by (Rev.) James B. Leslie, National Library of Ireland, 1936, p. 58.
- 68 Ms 1777, *Typescript copy of a survey of lands in the diocese of Killaloe made for Bishop Worth*, 1661, transcribed by (Rev.) James B. Leslie, National Library of Ireland, 1936, p.60.
- 69 It is interesting to note that some authorities regard *Magh Lacha* as the birthplace of Seanán. In the vicinity also located a ruined oratory church dedicated to Seanán. Daniel Mescal, *The Story of Inis Cathaigh*, pp.11, 17.
- 70 John O'Donovan, *Ordnance Survey Letters*, pp.127-129. I thank Kenneth Nicholls for pointing this out and identifying it as Kiltelín (now Tarmon) in Killimer parish.
- 71 Rev. Philip Dwyer, *Diocese of Killaloe from the reformation to the eighteenth century*, p.134.
- 72 Petworth House Archive, Ms 16.B.D.1, Inquisition of freeholders of Clonderalaw Barrony, [5 September, 1618], West Sussex Records Office, Chichester.
- 73 Michael J. Haren (ed.), *Calendar of Papal Letters relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. XVIII, Pius III and Julius II, Dublin, 1989, p.521.
- 74 Dermot F. Gleeson, 'Obligaciones Pro Annatis Diocesis Laoniensis: 1421-1535', *Archivium Hibernicum*, Vol. 10, 1943, pp.1-103, p.93.
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- 76 'Lateran Regesta 848, fos. 168-171: 1486, *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Volume 15: 1484-1492 (1978), pp.54-55.
- 77 'Lateran Regesta 877, fos. 121-122: 1489, *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Volume 15: 1484-1492 (1978), pp.198-199.
- 78 Nollaig Ó Muraíle (ed.) *Micheál Ó Cléirigh, His Associates and St Anthony's College, Louvain*, 2008, pp.98-99. It would appear that the prefix Ó and Mac were used interchangeably.
- 79 A different transcription writes it as 'Killtilyne'. See Ms 1777, *Typescript copy of a survey of lands in the diocese of Killaloe made for Bishop Worth*, 1661, transcribed by (Rev.) James B. Leslie, National Library of Ireland, 1936, p.58.
- 80 The three ploughlands correlates to the three ploughlands of 'Kiltelín alias Termonafeerah alias Termonapriora' recorded in 1622 and discussed earlier in the main text. Rev. Philip Dwyer, *Diocese of Killaloe from the reformation to the eighteenth century*, p.134.
- 81 Ms 1777, *Typescript copy of a survey of lands in the diocese of Killaloe made for Bishop Worth*, 1661, transcribed by (Rev.) James B. Leslie, National Library of Ireland 1936, p.60.
- 82 See Hardiman (ed.), 'Ancient Irish Deeds' pp.81-82.
- 83 *Annals of the Four Masters, sub anno 1598*. According to an inquisition held in 1626 he died in 1593. James Frost, *The History and Topography of the County of Clare*, Dublin 1893, p.309.
- 84 James Hardiman (ed.), 'Ancient Irish Deeds', p.26 and *Annals of the Four Masters, sub anno*, 1432. On his genealogy see James Frost, *The History and Topography of the County of Clare*, p.75 and Seán Ó hÓgáin, *Conntae an Chláir: A Triocha Agus A Tuatha*, Baile Átha Cliath, 1938, pp.127-129.
- 85 See Ms 1777, *Typescript copy of a survey of lands in the diocese of Killaloe made for Bishop Worth*, 1661, transcribed by (Rev.) James B. Leslie, National Library of Ireland, 1936, p.48.
- 86 'Lateran Regesta 555: 1459-1460', *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Volume 12: 1458-1471 (1933), p.73.
- 87 John O'Donovan, (ed), *The Topographical Poems of John O'Dubhagáin and Giolla Na Naomh O'Huidhrin*, Dublin 1862, pp.112-113.
- 88 *Annals of the Four Masters, sub anno 1050*.
- 89 They do not appear in the collection of genealogies of *An Leabhar Muimhneach* or among the collection of printed genealogical manuscripts in *Conntae an Chláir*. See Tadhg Ó Donnchadha, *An Leabhar Muimhneach: Maraon Le Suim Agusíní*, Baile Átha Cliath 1940; and Seán Ó hÓgáin, *Conntae an Chláir: A Triocha Agus A Tuatha*, Baile Átha Cliath 1938.
- 90 'Lateran Regesta 122: 1404-1405', *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Volume 6: 1404-1415 (1904), p. 41. Read 'Remelarga' as Killard.
- 91 Luke McNerney, 'Lettermoylan of Clann Bhruaideadha', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, Vol.52, 2012, pp.81-113; and Cuthbert McGrath, 'Materials for a History of Clann Bhruaideadha' *Éigse*, Vol. iv, part 4, 1943-44, pp.48-66, p.51.
- 92 See for example, 'Lateran Regesta 736: 1473-1474', *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Volume 13: 1471-1484 (1955), p.376; 'Lateran Regesta 829: 1482-1483', *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Volume 13: 1471-1484 (1955), p.835.
- 93 'Lateran Regesta 1003, fos. 327-330: 1497, *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Volume 16: 1492-1498 (1986), pp. 517-518.
- 94 *Annals of the Four Masters, sub anno 1184*. For Inchicronan see 'Lateran Regesta 213: 1420-1421', *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Volume 7: 1417-1431 (1906), p.181.
- 95 On the Uí Mhaoir of Drumcliffe see Luke McNerney, 'A Note on the Uí Mhaoir of Drumcliffe, Co. Clare', *The Other Clare*, Vol.35, 2011, pp.26-29.
- 96 See 'Lateran Regesta 232: 1422-1423', *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Volume 7: 1417-1431 (1906), p.265.
- 97 Anne P. Fuller, (ed), *Calendar of Papal Letters Volume XVII: Part II: 1492-1503: Alexander VI Vatican*, Irish Manuscripts Commission, Dublin 1998, p.127.
- 98 See National Library of Ireland, *Inchiquin Manuscripts*, Ms 45,639/1. The word *Converbiatim* has been inaccurately transcribed as 'Connerbeat' in John Ainsworth (ed), *The Inchiquin Manuscripts*, Dublin 1961, p.272. On the original spelling see the aforementioned Ms 45,639/1, inspected by the author. Also see Ms 1777, *Typescript copy of a survey of lands in the diocese of Killaloe made for Bishop Worth*, 1661, transcribed by (Rev.) James B. Leslie, National Library of Ireland 1936, p.35.
- 99 While specifically referring to nearby Kilnamona this papal mandate demonstrates the strong local position of the Uí Chuinn who were referred to as 'powerful in those parts'. Incidentally, the mandate was addressed to the 'prior of the secular and collegiate church of St Seanan Inyskayg'. 'Lateran Regesta, 393: 1442', *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Volume 9: 1431-1447 (1912), p.290.
- 100 A. Martin Freeman (ed.), *The Compossicion Booke of Conought*, pp.8, 13.
- 101 *Leabhar Bhaile an Mhóta*, f.185 cited in Seán Ó hÓgáin, *Conntae an Chláir*, p.235. Also see Tadhg Ó Donnchadha, *An Leabhar Muimhneach*, p.311.
- 102 Tadhg Ó Donnchadha, *An Leabhar Muimhneach*, p.312; and Nollaig Ó Muraíle, *The Great Book of Irish Genealogies [Leabhar na nGenealach]*, *Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhísh*, edited with translation and indices by Nollaig Ó Muraíle, five volumes, Dublin 2004-2005, p.601.
- 103 They may be identified in the 1615 visitation of Kilmacduagh. See P.K. Egan, 'The Royal Visitation of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, 1615', *Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol, 35, 1976, pp. 67-76, p.75.
- 104 See RIA Ms 23.H.22 and RIA Ms D.i.3, f.74v. Also see Luke McNerney, 'Land and Lineage: The McEnerhyns of Ballysallagh in the Sixteenth Century', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, Vol. 49, 2009, pp. 1-26. Also see RIA MS 24 M 40 96i.
- 105 See *Annals of the Four Masters, sub anno 1581*. Also see T.C.D, MS 829, fols. 009r-009v, fol. 9r, Deposition of Maximillian Graneere [5/11/1642]; and R.W. Twigge, 'Edward White's Description of Thomond in 1574', p.80.
- 106 Ms 1777, *Typescript copy of a survey of lands in the diocese of Killaloe made for Bishop Worth*, 1661, transcribed by (Rev.) James B. Leslie, National Library of Ireland 1936, p.60. Also see Séamus Pender (ed), *A Census of Ireland, Circa 1659: With Supplementary Material from the Poll Money Ordinances (1660-1661)*, Stationery Office, Dublin 1939, p.181; 'Lateran Regesta 831: 1482-1483', *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Volume 13: 1471-1484 (1955), p.842; and Michael J. Haren (ed), *Calendar of Papal Letters relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. XVIII, Pius III and Julius II, Dublin 1989, p.521.