The Diocese of Killaloe in the 13th Century.

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The 13th century marks an epoch in the history of the Church in Ireland as well as in the history of the nation. A period of peculiar interest, it has somehow to a large extent escaped the attention of the general historians in so far as the Church history is concerned. In particular does this interest arise in those parts of the country less amenable to the Norman influence or in which there was a natural contest waging between the new dispensation and the old. Of these areas few can afford better illustration of the inner play of Norman and Gaelic ideas in Church and State than the Diocese of Killaloe, stretching as it does from the remote and inaccessible parts of Iniscathaigh St. Senan and Corca Bascinn to Ballagh Mor Osraige within reach of the Norman Manors of Theobald Walter Butler.

In 1194 died Donal Mór, the last real “King of Limerick.” After his death, although his successor and son, Donogh Cairbreach, is occasionally described in both Papal and English documents by the same title, the control of Limerick and of those parts of the ancient Thomond kingdom which lay east of the Shannon passed in great part into Norman hands. (1) “Murch” O’Brien, indeed, gave much trouble for a time in Ormond and Ely O’Carroll, but Donogh Cairbreach left Limerick for his house at Cluain Rambfadha, near Ennis, and “Limerick no longer served the O’Briens for a capital.” (2) Thereafter Donogh ruled only Clare until his death in 1242. In the affairs of the Church also the end of the 12th century provided a period of transition and fixation. The Cumiac movement of the tenth century on the Continent, with its far-reaching results in Church reform and discipline, did not then extend to Ireland. But by the beginning of the twelfth century its ideals had penetrated through the agency of great Churchmen like St. Malachy and St. Bernard, and at the Synod of Rathbreasail about A.D. 1111, a new episcopal and diocesan system was consolidated; and finally the Synod of Kells held in 1162 by the Papal Legate Paparo left us diocesan divisions which substantially have endured to the present day. (3)

One other general point will be of interest to us before embarking on our study of contemporary Killaloe history. In 1198, just as the 12th century came to an end, a great Pope, Innocent III, came to the throne of Peter. He was a young man—only thirty-seven years of age—and in him was crystallised the whole force of the reform movement. He attacked at once with complete success the powers claimed and wielded in many countries over the Church by the temporal rulers. In particular this struggle raged around the appointments to episcopal Sees. Innocent came into conflict with great

1. See O'Donoughue, Cap. VIII., Curtis pp. 95, 105, 119, and Orpen II. Cap. XVIII. passim.
2. Curtis, p. 93.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

C.D.L. Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland. (Sweetman).
P.C.Reg. Calendar of the Papal Registers. (Hist. MSS. Commission, 12 Vols.).
I.E.R. Irish Ecclesiastical Record.
Ware. Ware's Entire Works, edited by Harris. (2 Vols.).
Moyna. The Diocesan Journal of Killaloe.
Kenney. The Sources for the Early History of Ireland (J. F. Kenney).
Orpen. Ireland Under the Normans. (G. H. Orpen).
national Kings, like Philip of France and John of England—in the former case over the King's marriage contract, and in the latter over the appointment to the See of Canterbury. (4) In both cases he was completely successful and the principles he fought for and established were upheld by his successors when, as we shall see, a similar fight was waged in Ireland around the attempt to "intrude" two Norman Bishops into Killaloe and Ardfert. The repercussions of all these great events may be studied in the main outlines of Killaloe history hereafter set out, as well as the temporary rise of the Norman power and domination which in Ireland followed the accession of King John to the English throne in 1199.

The two Synods of Rathbreasail and Kells had left Killaloe Diocese as one of the very largest in all Ireland, stretching from Loop Head to Slieve Bloom, and including the ancient "Churches" of Roscrea and Iniscathairgh St. Senan. (5) Most writers have contended themselves with the statement that by the end of the 12th century these "dioceses" had become absorbed in Killaloe. In respect of the latter, indeed, quite a controversy has raged as to whether the island of Scattery itself with many of the possessions of its ancient "Church" were not more properly now located in the Diocese of Limerick. We may, therefore, properly commence our study of 13th century Killaloe diocesan history with an examination of the extent of the diocesan bounds, with particular reference to these territories. Concerning Roscrea, little material is available and little has been written. It would appear to be beyond doubt that the "Church of St. Cronan" and its possessions were placed under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Killaloe at the Synod of Rathbreasail and that this was confirmed at the Synod of Kells. There is also general agreement that its ambit comprised the Ely O'Carroll country (i.e., the baronies of Clonlikin and Ballybrit in Offaly), together with Ikerrin. (8) There was certainly a "Co-arb of Cronan" as late as 1181 in the person of Isaac O Cuanain, and in 1185 Maolpatriac Ua Callada appears to be the last mentioned in that capacity. For the rest it is quite clear from papers hereafter to be quoted that the Bishop of Killaloe was in complete control and possession of Roscrea and the Ely and Ikerrin country in the very first decade of the 13th century as part of his diocesan charge. With that we must leave the consideration of this "Church of Cronan" to another occasion when the writer hopes to have completed some further investigation into its history. At the other end of the Diocese in the mouth of the Shannon estuary is the island of Scattery with its round tower, its monastic remains, and much more detailed history. The very early story of this foundation has been to some large extent covered by the papers of the late Revd. Sylvester Malone, P.P., by Thomas J. Westropp, and by Archdeacon Begley, and many references to it will be found in other authorities. (8) To collect and collate all these references would require an extensive paper in itself, and, therefore, the reader must be content here with some source indications and the quotation of some papers not heretofore referred to as far as can be discovered. (9) Confusion has centered in the first place about the nature of this "Church of St. Senan"; secondly, about its property in lands and to whose jurisdiction it passed when the Diocese ceased to have a separate existence, and thirdly as to when the Bishopric of Scattery ceased to exist. The writer hopes to later set on paper a full investigation into these matters. Here it may be said that it seems clear from documents in the Calendar of the Papal Registers (which were apparently not fully available to either Father Malone or Westropp) that to speak of Scattery as a "Diocese" is a misnomer. In 1400 from St. Peters, Rome, there was issued "for future memory" a "Confirmation, at the petition of prior John Ohogani and the Chapter and perpetual Canons of the secular and collegiate Church major of Iniskathi St. Senan in the Diocese of Killaloe, of the immortal foundation of the said Church by certain devout nobles of these parts in honour of God, St. Mary the

4. Tout, "The Empire and the Papacy."

5. The bounds are given by Keating as follows:—"From Sliige Dale to Leim Conna Culainn, from Eoghan to Sliehe Udhe an Riegh, and from Sliehe Udhe an Riegh to Sliehe Cein or Glenn Cein." (Foras Feasa—Ir. Texts ed. II. p. 382), i.e., from Bearnaghs, Offaly, to Loop Head, from the Peake Hills to Cratloe Hills, and from there to Glenkeen, Borrisoleigh.


9. Archdeacon Begley (see n supra) has set out almost all of them. There is some additional matter in the later Cal. Papal Registers, which had not appeared when his Vol. I. was published.
Virgin, and the said Saint, of its subsequent erection by them into a collegiate Church and of its endowment for a Prior and 24 perpetual chaplains with lands, glebes, meadows, pastures, fisheries and other goods.” (10) In 1141 the Prioryship of “Iniscathay” is described as having cure and being “a principal dignity of that Church” (i.e., Killaloe). (11) It is true that as late as 1414 there is mention of a Bishop “who has lately been provided to the above See” (Katalensis) (12) on its avoidance by the suspension of the Prior O’Hogan. He is the last mentioned Bishop, but we are told that he was an Englishman and that he “could not reside in that Church owing to the fact that the Irish are notoriously against King Henry and adversaries of all Englishmen” (13). But by this time the lands, etc., granted to the monastic foundation—for such it was from time immemorial—had been divided up between the Sees of Killaloe, Limerick, Ardfern and Cloyne (14) and there are many mentions of “the canonry and prebend of Iniscathay in the Diocese of Killaloe.” Such Bishops as there were after the Synod of Rathbreassail (or, indeed, before it at any time) were Bishops without a Diocese. By 1200 and at all times since, the island of Scattery and the former possessions of the ancient “collegiate church” which lay on the Clare side of the Shannon estuary, were and still are part and parcel of the Diocese and under the effective jurisdiction of the Bishops of Killaloe. Iniscathaigh was never at any time a Cathedral Church, nor, indeed, was Roscrea—both in so far as they existed at all after the beginning of the 12th century were interesting survivals of a system of ecclesiastical economy which really ended in 1111.

Ware (15) commences his list of Killaloe Bishops with St. Flannan and, after giving a list of five other Bishops of which there is a record between that date and 1179, and giving some account of Constantine O’Brien of the royal house of Thomond, who was present at the Lateran Council, and Dermot O Coning, who was deprived in 1195 and died a little later, comes on to the two Bishops Charles and Cornelius O’Heney (Mod. Hynes), of whom he says “he is suspicious that they are one and the same person.” The contemporary records do not help us very much as to this problem since both their Christian names have the same initial letter. There certainly was a “C. Laonensis” between the dates 1195 and 1215, and it would appear probable that Ware’s suspicions are correct and he was really at all times the same person (Cornelius or Connor). Crockford (16) indeed mentions yet another O’Heney (Hugh) between “Carroll” and “Connor,” but I have been unable to find his name in any record. In the Black Book of Limerick in a record dated approximately at 1200/5 appears as a witness “E. Laonensis, episcopus,” but this is most probably a mistranscription by the original scribe and not the only one he made in connection with Killaloe Bishopsric. Indeed, in this case in what is really an identical Deed of even date the name appears as “C. Laonensis,” (17) who would be our Carroll or Connor O’Heney.

Connor O’Heney went to the Lateran Council in 1215 and died on his way home. (18) The most important events of his episcopate in the Diocese concerned the erection of the Castles of Roscrea and Killaloe by the Normans. By 1200 the Norman power in Northern Munster was being consolidated by the building of Castles. Originally these were of wood but by this time donjons of stone began to be erected as centres of Norman domination. Theobald Walter had come to Nonagh and commenced building his great Castle there. (19) In the immediate neighbourhood had settled one branch of the Marisco family at Weyperous (Ballinaclough), and Latteragh; in Lower Ormond William the

11. C. P. Reg. VI., p. 318. In this document the “Church of St. Senan” itself as distinct from the prebend of Iniscathaigh is placed in the Diocese of Killaloe.
13. Ibid.
14. Ware I. pp. 592, 590.
16. Clerical Directory of the Church of Ireland—the list of Bishops revised by Dr. H. J. Lawlor. Cormac makes the curious error of making a Bishop of Geoffrey de Marisco (Godfrey March) and advancing him to Killaloe in 1213. (See the note of Clare, p. 158). See also Eubel and Brady.
17. B.R.L., pp. 27, 28. At p. 48, as the Editor notes, “M” Laonensis should be “T (Senac).” In 1212 Flood (op. cit) also makes De Marisco the Justiciar “Bishop of Killaloe.”
18. Ware, i. p. 591.
Marshal had a Castle built about this time at Tiraglas (Terryglass), and within the first two decades of the 13th century there were Castles at Lorha, and Kinitty. Killaloe was a point of great strategic importance, guarding as it did the ford over the Shannon, from the Irish dominion of Donagh Cairbreach O'Brien into the Cantred of Aradh Thire, or Duherra, recently granted to William de Braose with all of the present North Tipperary, and held of him in capite by Theobald Walter, the Cup Bearer, nephew of St. Thomas à Becket, and first founder of the great house of Ormond. An attempt, therefore was made to build a Castle there in the first instance in 1207. "The English of Meath and Leinster with their forces went to Killaloe to build a Castle there, near the Borowe, and were frustrated of their purpose, did neither Castle or other thing worthy of memory, but lost some men and horses in their journey, and so returned to their houses back again." This expedition was doubtless organised by Geoffrey de Marisco, and William the Marshal, for the Four Masters tell us that about this time "Leinster and Munster suffered severely from them." Mortogh, or as the English called him, "Murgh" O'Brien, son of Brian of Slieve Bloom, and of the royal house of Thomond, now took a hand in the war, with considerable effect. He burned Lorha, where the Marshal had a Castle in 1207, and also the Castles of Kinitty and Bhir, then recently erected, and became a grave danger to the new colony. Roscrea was a place of great strategic importance and it was determined to put up a fortress there to resist him. The Four Masters give the date as 1212 and this must at least be approximately correct. The site chosen was on Church property of the ancient See of Roscrea and now in the hands of the Bishop of Killaloe. The Bishop and his King, Donough Cairbreach, were not then in enmity with the English—indeed "Murgh O'Brien" was an enemy of their branch of the royal house—but the Bishop, naturally, strongly objected to the erection of a royal fortress on his mensal lands, even by the new Justiciar Henri de Londois, Archbishop of Dublin. What happened is told in an Inquisition taken some thirty years later in the episcopate of Donaldus O'Kennedy at his (the Bishop's) request. It was taken at Roscrea in 1245, and the jury returned that "in time past Murchachtach O'Brien ravaged the land of Hermon and Hely O'Kerrill and levelled five Castles there, whereupon the King's force and council in Ireland assembled at Roscrea to expel Murchachtach. The lands were then in the hands of Cornelius O'Heney, Bishop of Killaloe." They go on to say that the King's Council commenced fortifying but that the Bishop came and prohibited them but that later he consented to the erection of a mote and a wooden tower until the termination of the war. In this manner the lands became alienated from the Bishopric. They were found to be worth 35 marks of silver, and the custodian of Roscrea received the marches as his fee. Later, in 1280, an Edwardian Castle was erected on the site and an account was submitted for "works at Roscrea Castle constructed anew." It will be convenient here to trace the further history of the lands. Bishop Donaldus O'Kennedy apparently claimed compensation as a result of the jury's findings above. There is no record that he got it, but the matter was not lost sight of. On 2nd June, 1280, when Matthew O'Hogan was Bishop, there was a formal grant of the Manor of Roscrea, with the consent of the Dean and Chapter, together with the advowson of the Church there, to the King, and the Bishop released to the King all his right in fee. It is recited that "the King had for some time possessed" the Manor (i.e., since 1212). In return for this conveyance the King granted to the Bishop in exchange three carrucates (ploughlands) and 84½ acres of land in the royal Manor of Newcastle Lyons in County Dublin—the townlands being Ballymacmolyn, Gyroth, Clonelan and Stathedan. The Bishops release was delivered to the Abbot of Westminster,

24. C.D.I. (I. p. 41), and see Orpen II. pp. 301-2. In B.B.L. 38, is a prohibition of King John against the building of Castles on the lands of the Bishop of Limerick.
27. Ware. I. p. 592. In A.D. 1280/7 the Bishop of the day accounted for 36s. 6d. rent of Clonelan, per C.D.I., IV., p. 172.
the King's Treasurer, sealed with the Seal of the Bishop and Chapter of Killaloe, "to be preserved in the King's Treasure," where doubtless it still remains. The formal grant of Newcastle Lyons is on the Charter Rolls of 8th of Edward I., dated June 5th (1280), three days after the Release, and was signed at Westminster. It was "to hold of the King by the Bishop and his successors in frankalmoin for ever."(28) The King granted Roscrea Manor in 1281 to Edmund Butler, Earl of Carrick, and so Roscrea remained in that family until our own times.(29) These arrangements of 1280 of Roscrea were confirmed by a further Deed of December 1st, 1280.(30) In 1304 the Justiciar, John Wogan, had seized the Bishop's tenement in Newcastle Lyons, and Bishop David McMahon appealed to Edward I. about the matter, and claimed them by virtue of the grant of 1280 to Matthew O'Hogan. Wogan returned that the intervening Bishop between Matthew and David (Maurice O'Hogan) had alienated the lands without the King's Licence and without the consent of his Chapter to Thomas, son of James O'Hogan, and that Robert Dundonald, as guardian of Thomas, had received the issues for three years. Therefore, the Council of Ireland had ordered the Escheator to take the lands into the King's hands. The King on this return directed that "as it does not appear that Thomas was present at the caption of the lands to show his right," the Justiciar was now to summon him, and if he should find no reason to the contrary he should hand the lands back to the Bishop.(31) This apparently was done and Newcastle Lyons remained part of the monastic land of the Killaloe Bishops until 1428, when Bishop Donough MacCragh—finding them far away from him, no doubt—exchanged them with William Fionn Fitz Reubh, for the lands of Hamonstown, alias Lisbrecas, in Co. Limerick.(32) It may finally be noted in this connection that in 1280 when Bishop Matthew O'Hogan was exchanging Roscrea for Newcastle with the King he obtained from him a special royal command to the Justiciar "of special favour," "to protect and maintain James O'Hogan and the sons of Ogan O'Hogan, with all their descendants now or hereafter to be begotten in the rights and liberties granted to them long ago by the King's Letters Patent ere he assumed the reins of government, with grant of amends in case of infringement of the Letters Patent according to the laws and customs whereby the English are governed in Ireland."(33) No doubt James was the father of Thomas who got Newcastle Lyons from Bishop Maurice O'Hogan, and also a brother of the Bishop himself. The reference to "Ogan O'Hogan" and the fact that contemporarily the Bishop had an episcopal manor at Ardcrony, near Nenagh, with a demesne and a conjoined chapel and castle of exactly the same type as that still found on the demesne of Newcastle Lyons in Dublin, will enable us to identify with certainty these O'Hogans as the ancient family of Ardcrony, where they were envoys from time immemorial until Cromwell's day. (34) The "rights and liberties" granted to them, were, no doubt, the possession of their ancient patronymic in Ardcrony, where they will be found at the dawn of history as the Museraige "Ui Forrgo" or "Forgivale."(35)

With these diversions we may return to our tale of the Killaloe Bishops. Connor O'Heyney died in the year 1215 on his way home from the Lateran Council,(36) and his death precipitated a crisis in the affairs of the Diocese which lasted for fifteen years and had repercussions far outside it. King John had claimed the right of appointing or at least of vetoing the appointment of Bishops in England, and had been excommunicated by Innocent III. in connection with the making of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury. He submitted to the power of the Pontiff, and henceforth the Kings of England claimed only the power over the temporalities of the See which "were taken into the King's hand" by his Escheator when the See became vacant. The King—in Ireland, at all events—claimed also that when a See was vacant, petition should be made to him, by the Dean and Chapter, before they proceeded to election, and also, when provision had been made

29. Ware, I., p. 592. (And see O'Donovan O.S. Letters, Tipperary—Parish, Roscrea).
32. Ware, I., p. 558.
34. See my "Manor of Ardcrony" in Muscorial of 1937.
35. For "Ui Forrgo" references see Hogan's "Onomasticon," A.F.M. Index, Vol., and Magrath's Cathrain (Sr. Tests ed.), II., p. 36.
36. A.F.M. sub. an.
by the Pope to the vacant See, that he should give a formal approval. These rights claimed by the Crown were not admitted at all by the Papacy, save in so far as they concerned the temporalities, and, indeed, in Ireland, after the crisis we have now to deal with, little arbitrary attempt was made, by the monarchy, to exercise them. In 1215, however, in Ireland these matters had not been definitely settled or precedent established. The agreement between John and Innocent III. had but just been completed; the Irish Chapters—where they were then existing—had only just come into being; and the Norman power was being extended and consolidated over a large part of the country, and, therefore, the appointment in an area like the Diocese of Killaloe of an English Bishop, was a matter of peculiar importance to the King and newly appointed Irish Justiciars. For the Irish, then as ever, were peculiarly loyal to the Church and amenable to its influence.

In the Diocese of Killaloe the Chapter had been established before the death of O’Heney. The precise date we do not know. The Synod of Kells in 1252 directed the provision of Chapters, but documents with Irish Church history do not become numerous before the last years of the century. The earliest Chapter mentioned is that of Ross in 1199. Limerick had its Chapter certainly about 1205, although Dr. MacCaffrey’s reasoning on the point is not entirely conclusive that it may not have been in existence earlier. The same careful authority is, however, in error in giving the first mention of Killaloe Chapter as 1253, on the death of Donaldus O’Kennedy. It was certainly in existence on the death of O’Heney in 1215 and at once, without royal license, proceeded to the election of a successor. Now at this time, while the portion of the Diocese west of the Shannon was free from the Norman invaders, they had settled down at Nenagh and Roscrea; had endeavoured in vain, as we have seen, to build an outpost at Killaloe, and had been engaged in a fierce struggle with Morrogh an t-Sleibhe around Birr. The Justiciar—recently appointed—was the strong handed and unscrupulous Geoffrey de Mariisco or Marrays, some of whose immediate relations had settled down near Nenagh with Theobald Walter Butler and were holding newly acquired Manors at Ballinaclough, Cloughjordan, Lattershe, and around Borrisokane. At Ballinaclough were a family of Travers, one of whom had married a sister of the Justiciar and to whom we owe the place name “Traverstown,” still preserved in the district. On the death of Connor Heney the Justiciar proceeded at once to select his own nephew, Robert Travers, a Norman cleric, as his successor in the Diocese of Killaloe. The Chapter selected David the Archdeacon, and thus two claimants came into existence. David apparently decided to await Papal sanction, as he was bound to do before consecration, but Travers and his powerful uncle had no such scruples. The Archbishop of Cashel, the Metropolitan, was absent abroad and had left his See in charge of a “certain cleric” who was a sub-deacon, whose name does not appear. Apparently, he was a Norman, although the Archbishop was an Irishman (O’Leran). At all events he (the cleric) appears to have assented on behalf of the Archbishop to the consecration of Robert Travers, and he was forthwith consecrated by the Bishops of Waterford, Emly and Limerick. Of these Waterford was Robert, an Englishman, who was later excommunicated after threatening the power of the King of England against his unfortunate neighbour, the Bishop of Lismore; the Bishop of Emly was Henry, an English Cistercian; while the contemporary occupant of the See of Limerick is uncertain; he appears also to have been Geoffrey, another

37. For some general account of the position see Dr. MacCaffrey’s illuminating Chapter (IV.) in B.B.L.

38. Some attempts were, however, made, and will be found in C.D.I. and Theiner. In one of them the English King threatened the Papal Mandatories (one of whom was Bishop O’Kennedy of Killaloe) if they thwarted his wishes regarding an appointment to the See of Meath. (C.D.I., II., p. 37, ex Close Rolls 38, Hen. III.). And see a paper by Father MacInerney, O.P., in J.E.B. (1953) pp. 30, et seq. on Primate Reginald.

39. But see MacCaffrey in B.B.L., Cap. VIII. on this subject. Flood (op. cit.) mentions the Killaloe Chapter in 1193, but gives no authority, nor can I find one.

40. B.B.L. xii. (n).

41. For pedigrees and account of the connection of the De Mariisco and Travers family with Ormond see Brooks “The Family of Mariisco” in J.R.S.A.L., 1892. Robert Travers is said by Ware to have been born in Drogheda, but from the pedigree he appears to have been one of the Traverstown family.

42. Theiner pp. 5, 11. King John had previously granted the vacant See to the Bishop of Ferns for his maintenance (C.D.I., I. p. 110), but as Ware says “he did not enjoy it long.” The approval of the King (then a Minor) to the “canonical election” of Travers and his prayer to the Archbishop of Cashel to consecrate him will be found in C.D.I., I., p. 112 (ex Patl. I. Hen. III.). See also idem, pp. 115, 116.

43. Ware, I., pp. 528-9.
Englishman, or one Edmund, of whom nothing certain is known. The Archdeacon David at once proceeded to the Pope with his complaint, which is set out in detail in two Papal mandates consequent thereon, issued in 1218 and 1219 by Pope Honorius III. to the Archbishop of Tuam and the Archbishop of Dublin, respectively, to inquire into it.\(^{44}\) It will be of interest to note here that this complaint of the Archdeacon David to the Pope set out inter alia that "ipsum capitulum eundem (Laon) in episcopum suum canonicum ac concorditer elegerunt super quo etiam exhibit decretum ejusdem capituli singulorum subscriptionibus roboratum." This notice of the existence of Killaloe Chapter antedates Dr. MacCaffrey's first mention of it by nearly half a century. It was almost certainly established in or about the same time as Limerick in the first years of the century. It must also be noted that at this particular time and in almost identical terms one G., a Canon of Ardfeart, had also preferred his complaint to the Pope that Geoffrey de Marisco had violently intruded a certain cleric (John, an English Benedictine) into the See of Ardfeart, and that in this case also the intruder was consecrated by the same three Bishops who had consecrated Travers.\(^{45}\) Thus the issue as to presentations to Irish Sees was now around the two Sees of Killaloe and Ardfeart, both Dioceses where the Norman power had not been established with any degree of security.

The Pope acted promptly and with thoroughness—it is quite apparent that he was determined that the Papal rights which his predecessor Innocent III. had wrenched from King John in England in the dispute about Canterbury, were not going to be compromised in Ireland. He ordered in 1218 that inquiry be made into the Archdeacon's allegations, and if they were substantiated that the Mandatories (the Archbishop of Tuam and the Bishops of Enachduan and Clonfert) should confirm the election of David, remove and suspend Robert Travers, and send not only him but the Bishops who had consecrated him to explain their conduct at Rome "pro tante temerariatis excessu." The Mandatories found that the facts set out by David were true, and the Mandate of 1219 issued this time to the Archbishop of Dublin, Henry de Londres, the King's Justiciar, to finally deal with the matter, apparently because he was more likely to be in a position to do so than the Archbishop of Tuam. Thus Henry was faced with two conflicting loyalties, to the Church and the State. He was ordered to see that Robert was removed and that David was consecrated by the Archbishop of Cashel or otherwise. Robert, however, was able to hold on by asserting that he had appealed to the Pope against the findings of the Mandatories. Backed by the Norman power, he was able to reside at Killaloe, where he "built a house by force" in 1218, at the same time as his uncle Geoffrey de Marisco was building a Castle there.\(^{46}\) The position between 1219 and 1226 becomes a little complicated. It is quite clear that Robert remained on in spite of the Papal Mandates, and reasonably clear that David the Archdeacon was consecrated Bishop of Killaloe but died probably in 1223, and certainly before 1226, when the Chapter again appealed to the Pope. During this time Robert was apparently able to exercise some at least of his jurisdiction. He appears as witness to the Bond of the Canons Regular of Tyone, near Nenagh, with Theobald Walter (1221-31),\(^{47}\) to a Release of the Monks of Owney to Theobald,\(^{48}\) and to grants to Tyone circa (1220).\(^{49}\) More surprising is it to find him granting lands at Dunarra to the Church of Holy Cross in A.D. 1217-21.\(^{50}\) The grant being expressed to be made "with the consent of the Chapter." He also appears as granter in an undated Deed which deals with lands in the Manor of Roscrea (Inchbeg) "of the Church of Cronan," one of the witnesses being Geoffrey de Marisco.\(^{51}\) We now come to another Mandate from the Pope dated at the Lateran the 7th May, 1226, to the Archbishop of Cashel and the Bishops of Limerick and Cloyne.\(^{52}\) This sets

44. Theiner pp. 5, 11.
45. Theiner p. 5.
46. See A.F.M. and Ann. Clonmacnoise. Some authorities have thought the reference to the "English Bishop" in A.F.M. was to Henri de Londres, but it was clearly to Travers.
52. Theiner, pp. 25/6 (not indexed). Flood (op. cit.) interprets this document as a Papal approval of the election of Donal O'Kennedy, Archdeacon of Killaloe, to the See. In fact, he has confused David the Archdeacon with Donal, who is not mentioned in the document at all. I have been unable to find the Papal provision of Donal, but it did not take place until after 1226. Donal O'Kennedy was almost certainly the "fit person" selected, to whose care the Diocese was committed by the Mandatories, and there may have been no formal election.
out the petition of the Killaloa Chapter, again reciting the intrusion of Robert Travers and referring to the Chapters election of "the late David" (bone memorie), also recites that Robert had "falsely" asserted that he had appealed to Rome. It further recites that the case was committed to J., Papal Legate and Penitentiary, who had confirmed the findings and sentence of the previous inquiry, imposed silence on Robert Travers and "caused another priest to be consecrated to that Church." Robert then (per the Mandate) obtained Papal Letters to the Bishop of Bath, but these were revoked and Robert was cited to Rome, but did not come, although the Pope awaited him for a year and a half. He was then excommunicated for his contumacy. The Mandatories are, therefore, ordered to remove Robert from the Diocesan administration, to commit it to a fit and proper person, and if they cannot finish the cause remit it to Rome and also to revoke any alienations made by Robert to the injury of the Diocese, and to pay the expenses of T. Abbot of Fergio (SS. Peter & Paul’s of Clare Abbey) "who has laboured in Rome in the business of the said Church" (i.e., Diocese). Contemporaneously we find on the Patent Roll of Henry III., under date 7 Jan., 1221, a Royal command to Henry de Londres, Archbishop of Dublin and Justiciar, to take into the King's hands the Bishoprics of Killaloa and Ardfer "whose Bishops had been deposed and sent to the Court of Rome by J., the Pope's Penitentiary and Legate" and also to take over the Castles of Killaloa and Lother (Lorrrha), which were apparently part of the mensal property of Killaloa. The custody of all was to go to Thomas FitzAnthony "and if the Bishop be loth to take them, Thomas shall take them." (53) This was followed by a King's letter to Geoffrey de Marisco directing him to deliver the Castles to the Archbishop. (54) Next comes a further Royal Mandate to the Archbishop of Dublin of July 15, 1222, "to restore to J. Bishop, of Killaloa, when he shall have departed for the Court of Rome, the See of Killaloa, with its issues from the time it was taken into the King's hands, and the Castles of Killaloa and Lother." (55) This reference to "J. Bishop of Killaloa" rather complicates an already confused situation. It so reads both in Sweetman and in the Cal. of the Patt. Rolls of Hen. III. In the latter, however (p. 336), it appears that the Diocese and Castles were taken into the King's hands "ad petitionem venerabilis patris J. Laconensis episcopi." As I read all the documents, therefore, Robert was formally deprived by the Papal Legate in 1221. David the Capitular choice of 1216 had been consecrated after the findings of the Mandatories in 1219 but was dead before 1221. "J." was then consecrated and is the other priest consecrated to that Church at the direction of the Papal Legate as mentioned in the Papal Mandate of 1226, already quoted. But, apparently, he, too, had died by 1226, whence the Capitular petition and consequent Mandate to commit the administration of the Diocese to "some fit, faithful and powerful person" (fidelis personae, potenti ac idoneo). At the same time as the Mandate of 1226 the Pope addressed a letter directly to the King of England requesting him to assist in the execution of the Mandate and in the removal of Robert Travers from the See of Killaloa "into which See he has been intruded." (56) Thus between 1219 and 1226 we have no less than three Bishops of Killaloa if my reading of the documents be correct. The correct succession would read "David the Archdeacon, 1219-21," "J., 1221 circa 1225," while Robert Travers remained defiantly claiming the See through the whole period. The Mandate of 1226 seems to have terminated Robert's activities in the Diocese. He had been able to carry on so long entirely owing to the power of his uncle, de Marisco, of Theobald Walter Butler, and the other Normans of the neighbourhood. He had probably lived at Killaloa, which was the place of residence (oftentimes described in mediaeval papers as "the city of Killaloa") of the Killaloa Bishops all through the middle ages. (56) He may have spent some time amongst his relations near Nenagh, at Ballinaclough, or with the Canons of Tyone, which was a purely Norman house, whose rules forbade admission to an Irishman. But after 1226 he "lived in England without a Bishoprie," (57) as did also his fellow-intruder, the Benedictine of Ardfer, who was also deprived by the Papal

55. Dean Lawlor in Crockford gives "Robert Travers, 1217. David, 1218/23."
56. Here, anyway, was the "Bishop's House" built by force by Travers, and the Castle of Killaloa always restored to the contemporary Bishops with the temporalities. The Ormond and Ardfih areas were quiet throughout the 13th centuries in contradiction to Clare, where the O'Brien—De Claren wars raged. The O'Hogan Bishops, however, probably lived at Ardmore. The only contemporary paper which helps in this regard is dated at Canons Island in the Shannon estuary in 1366 by Bishop David MacMahon. (C.D.I., p. 188).
57. Ware, I., p. 591.
Legate at the same time. He was there, living at Teuxbury, in Gloucestershire, as early as 1224, when he dedicated two large bells.\(^{58}\) I have found no record of his death. It remains to be said in concluding this somewhat involved piece of diocesan history that the Annals of Inisfallen, under date 1222, record the obit of “Edmund, Bishop of Killaloe.” Ware says he thinks this was Edmund of Limerick, but it is just possibly David the Archdeacon. It will be clear, therefore, that in this matter of the Killaloe and Ardfern Bishops at this time the Papacy successfully upheld the rights claimed for the universal Church by Innocent III. and, so far as Ireland was concerned, won a notable victory for the Church over the growing temporal power of the Norman invaders and established precedents which were to last until the Reformation.\(^{59}\)

Meanwhile, after 1223, we may presume that Killaloe was administered by some fit and proper person as Vicar, and that he was almost certainly Donald O’Kennedy, the next Bishop. In 1227 the Diocese was specially excepted with others—eleven in all—from a royal mandate allowing the Justiciar of Ireland “to give power to the proper persons to elect in place of the King on account of the poverty of the Clergy.” In regard to the others, including Killaloe, the King retained power “to grant license to elect and give the Royal Assent to the election.”\(^{60}\) In fact, thereafter, while this license and assent was formally sought, it was always granted as a matter of course, for no other person could be appointed to a See except a person properly elected with Papal authority. But in 1231, when the next Bishop, O’Kennedy, is first mentioned, no royal license to elect had been sought. The Archdeacon Donatus, or Donal O’Kennedy, was chosen—an Irishman of Ormond and probably a brother-in-law of the reigning King of Thomond, Donough Cairbreach. The King, however, having regard to previous experience, did not consider it wise to do more than protest. In giving his assent to an appointment already made without his knowledge, he directed “that the Dean and Chapter shall issue Letters Patent protesting that no prejudice shall accrue to the King at future vacancies from Donatus having been promoted without the King’s License. License to elect shall henceforth be demanded of the King.” And further, “Ere the Castle of Kildelo be delivered to Donatus he shall give sureties and good securities by Letters Patent that he shall not commit it to the King’s enemies, who would destroy it, whereby loss would come to the King and danger to Ireland.” The Justiciary was commanded when he had received the securities to give seisin to Donatus of all lands, rents and possessions of the See.\(^{61}\) This interesting paper will illustrate the importance of Killaloe Diocese and Castle as an outpost of the Norman power in Ireland at the time.

Bishop Donal O’Kennedy ruled the See of St. Flannan for some twenty years.\(^{62}\) His relations with the Normans seem to have been excellent, while his connection with the ruling house of the O’Briens, no doubt, lent weight to his authority amongst his own people. In 1237 the Archbishopric of Cashel was vacant and it was proposed to translate Bishop O’Kennedy there. He was chosen by the Chapter, but once again the King intervened because license to elect had not been asked from him. The Pope directed his Legate to inquire into the matter since the Dean and Chapter of Cashel did not admit any right in the King to license “de jure nec de consuetudine.” The Legate was to preserve the Papal rights over episcopal appointments, and if he thought Donaldus was suitable, he was to remove him from Killaloe to Cashel.\(^{63}\) There is nothing further bearing on the matter, but apparently a compromise was arrived at by translating the Bishop of Cloyne, MacKelly. The compromise seems to have been the cause of a little coolness between Bishop O’Kennedy and his Metropolitan. He had later to petition the Pope, asking him to restrain the Archbishop from bringing accusations of simony against him, which were quite unfounded. This arose, according to Donaldus, in his petition to Pope Innocent IV. in 1244, because when he had been canonically elected and consecrated by Marian O’Brien, the former Archbishop of Cashel, the Justiciar De Burgo refused to hand over the Regalia of the Diocese, which were in the King’s hands during the vacancy, unless he was paid a

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59. The documents in connection with Ardfern are in Theiner. See also Ware, I. p. 319.
60. C.D.I., I., p. 223.
61. C.D.I., I., No. 1308 (Aug. 20, 1231). This antedates Ware’s date of Bishop O’Kennedy’s accession by a year. Notably here the Castle is called “The Castle of Kildelo,” which helps to identify Killaloe as part of the grant to Theobald Walter—a point on which Curtis (p. 92, n.) and also Orpen and O’Donovan were all in some doubt.
62. Ware, I. p. 391.
63. Theiner p. 57.
sum of money (accordingly, apparently to the Norman custom). The Bishop says he refused to pay, and forbade anyone else from paying this imposition, notwithstanding which, Donough Cairbreach, the King of Thomond, did pay a sum to the Justiciar and recovered and restored the Regalia. Then the Archbishop "ex alia causa rancore concepto" accused his suffragan of simony. The Pope directed the Bishops of Clonfert and Enachdune to inquire into the matter, and if they thought fit to admonish the Archbishop, and no doubt they found a suitable solution.  

In other respects the episcopacy of Bishop Donal O'Kennedy was notable. In it the Friars Minor first came to the Diocese of Killaloe and initiated their Convents at Ennis and Nenagh. Elsewhere, I have attempted to show that the latter foundation was in the main due to the Bishop himself and his relatives, the O'Kennedy chiefs of Ormond.  

The Bishop acted as Papal Mandatory on more than one occasion in the adjoining Dioceses. To him was addressed an interesting Royal Letter from Henry III. on November 7, 1244, in which the King prayed him to have the newly established Feasts of the Nativity and Translation of St. Edward the Confessor "solemnly observed in all the Churches of his Diocese." The matter of his dealings with the King in regard to the Manor of Roscrea and their later result has already been dealt with. He died in the summer commonly called the "hot summer," and was buried in the Dominican Convent at Limerick, where his contemporary, Hubert de Burgh, of Limerick, and one of his successors, Matthew O'Hogan, besides three Bishops of Kilfenora, also found sepulture. Ware records that before the Reformation an Inscription "in Monkish Rhyme, which was a singular specimen of the Choice Poetry of that age," was fixed over them. He gives it and a very free translation, in which latter he makes it tell us that anyone who "belles three Aves and a Pater Noster for their souls will have 100 days' Indulgence. He concludes:  

"Whether you're greater, equal, less, you must  
As well as these be crumbled into dust.  
(Si Minor his fueris, scu Major, ejeusve sodalis,  
Tandem pulvis eris, non fallit regula talis)."  

The next Bishop of Killaloe was Isaac O'Cormacain, whose episcopate occupied the years 1253 to 1267, in which latter year he resigned voluntarily and entered the Cistercian Abbey of Holy Cross as a monk. The name Isaac has a strange sound in our modern times, but was by no means uncommon at the time. Indeed, instances of the survival of unusual Christian names to the present day are still to be found in Munster, where "Darius," "Aeneas," "Alexander," and such like are by no means uncommon for historical reasons. Isaac had been Dean of the Diocese and journeyed to the Papal Court at Assisi to seek Confirmation directly from Pope Innocent IV. of the Chapters selection. Previously the royal license to elect and a Patent confirming the election, had been obtained from the King. The Pope confirmed the election and had Isaac consecrated by the Bishop of Ostia and sent him back to his Diocese with the Papal commendation, first to the Chapter and people of Killaloe, and next to the King of England, whom the Pope requested to hand over to Isaac without difficulty or delay the temporalities of the See, "quorum custodia, ecclesia ipsa vacante, de antiqua consuetudine ad dicturn petines." The use of the word "dicturn" will be noted, and the document in no way admits any interference whatever from the King in the selection or approval of the Bishop. He was, in fact, restored to the temporalities at once and even before the Papal Letters arrived. I have been able to find but few notices of his episcopate, amongst them the interesting one that he granted Indulgences of eight days to those who would contribute to the building of St. Paul's Cathedral in London. There is also a Papal Dispensation to him from Alexander IV. in 1255, which indicates that he had some turbulent subjects, both clerical and lay. Apparently there had been trouble in the Diocese during

64. Theiner p. 43.  
65. See my "Franciscan Convent at Nenagh" in Mhlas, 1938.  
66. See C.R.L. and Theiner passim.  
68. Ware, I, p. 591. That the correct date of the decease is 1252 is apparent from the date of the papers dealing with his successor.  
69. Ware, I, p. 683-4.  
70. C.D.I., II, pp. 17, 26. (Pat. 37, Hen. III). The latter included "Letters to the Pope to do what depended on His Holiness in the matter." Flood (op. cit.) calls this Bishop "O'Gorman."  
71. Theiner, pp. 57-8.  
72. Ware, I, p. 591.
the election, which had resulted in violence, and Isaac when he journeyed to the Pope had been scrupulous about the matter and applied to His Holiness for power to dispense certain cases which were reserved to the Holy See. The document is too long to quote, though very interesting. The first recital will indicate the rest—"Ex parte tua fuit propitium coram nobis, quod nonnulli clericicii laici tue civitatis et dioecesis, per violentem injectionem manuum in viros religiosos et clericos seculares earundem civilissim et dioecesis, in canonem inciderunt sententiae promulgate, quorum clericorum quidam divina celebrarunt officia et susciperunt ordines sic legati, et ministrarunt temere in eisdem." The Pope goes on to say somewhat surprisingly that some of the offenders were unable to journey for absolution to the Holy See "propter senectutem et debilitatem corporum." He, therefore, allows the Bishop to absolve forthwith such of them as had continued to officiate after incurring suspension where this was done "per simplicitatem vel ignorantiam." Where, however, it was done "scire non tamen in contemptum clavium" the offender was to be suspended for two years from his office and then, if he continued to be of good conversation, might be dispensed. In all cases, however, where the Bishop made use of the dispensation, the person dispensed was to forward to Rome towards the expenses of the Crusade in the Holy Land a sum of money equal to that which he would have expended on his journey if he had taken it. The whole is a most interesting paper giving us a deep insight into the close relations which existed between the Roman Curia and the remote Irish Diocese of Killaloe at this early date, besides an illustration of the scrupulous manner in which Bishop O'Cormacain surmounted what must have been a cause of considerable difficulty to him.

Our good Bishop, as stated, became a monk of Holy Cross in 1267 and resigned his See. Nicholas de Lisle (who must have been a Norman), Canon of the Diocese, was sent to the King to announce the resignation and he obtained the royal license to the Dean and Chapter to elect a new Bishop. The choice again fell on the Dean, who was now Matthew O'Hogan, and who remained Bishop until his death in 1281. I do not find a Papal Confirmation in Theiner, but, no doubt, it was obtained. I have already dealt with Bishop O'Hogan's interchange with the King of the Manor of Roscrea for land in Newcastle Lyons, in Co. Dublin, and indicated that he was probably of the well known family of Arderconey, near Nenagh. There the Bishop of Killaloe had a Manor and conjoined Castle and Chapel, of which I have already ventured to give some account elsewhere. That it was in Matthew's possession we know from the fact that it was taken into the Escheator's hands on his death. The other mensal possessions of the See during the century I will deal with later. The King formally consented to the election of Matthew, and directed the Escheator to restore to him the temporalities by two Patents dated at Westminster circa March 29, 1267. This Bishop was on excellent terms with Henry III. and his successor, Edward I. Quite apart from the royal favour of Henry III. to the Bishop's family already mentioned, the Bishop apparently went personally to the Court of Edward I. and spent a considerable time there, for he obtained from this King license to sell or let or exchange the lands given him in Dublin in exchange for Roscrea—a power later exercised, as noted, by one of his successors. A Royal Letter of November 7, 1280, addressed to "Our Bailiffs and Lieges in Ireland" notified that Matthew, Bishop of Killaloe, remained in England by Royal License and might appear and appear in all pleas in the King's Courts in Ireland through his attorneys, David de Mora and David, son of David of Emily, until the Michaelmas term next ensuing (i.e., for 12 months) "when the Bishop should meanwhile return to Ireland." The formal appointment of the Attorneys by the Bishop is also on record reciting that he be not imprisoned with any new writs "while awaiting on the King's Grace." Here again is further confirmation that he was from the Ormond portion of the Diocese then under Norman control. Matthew died in August, 1281, and was buried in the Dominican Friary at Limerick under the tomb which has been already described.

73. At large in Theiner, p. 70.
74. C.D.I., II., p. 134. (Nov. 1267.)
75. See n. 34 ante.
77. C.D.I., II., p. 435. (Pat. 52 Hon. III.)
78. C.D.I., II., p. 386. (Pat. 9, Edw. I.)
79. C.D.I., II., p. 367. He also accounts for 100 marks for false claim at the Grand Assize in the Sherriff's Accts. of Tipperary, 1275-6 (ed. Curtis), p. 23 (see n. 20, supra).
80. C.D.I., II., p. 387 (ex Chancery Files).
81. Ware, I., p. 332.
To Matthew O'Hogan before the close of 1281 the Precentor of the Diocese, Maurice O'Hogan, succeeded as Bishop. The election was announced to the King by the Archbishop of Cashel, who prayed the restitution of the temporalities and notified that the election was unanimous and canonical, and that he (the Archbishop) had confirmed it.\(^{32}\) The King notified his assent to the Archbishop by Patent of February 4th, 1281/2, dated at Cirencester, and by a further Patent of the 16th of the same month accepted the Confirmation, took fealty of the Elect and restored the temporalities; he also commanded the “Knights, free and other tenants of the See of Killaloe” to be intentionante and responsive to Maurice as their Lord.\(^{33}\) The original Congé d’élire for Maurice and the resultant presentation of Maurice to the King by the Chapter sent by the hand of their Clerk, Odo, will also be found in Sweetman.\(^{34}\) In the latter Maurice is generously described as “a man provident and honest and useful to their Church both in spiritual and temporal matters.” The King’s assent is sought “according to the custom of the Kingdom.” Bishop Maurice, as previously mentioned, disposed of the mensal lands in Newcastle Lyons to Thomas, son of James O'Hogan, by reason of which they were seized later by the King’s Escheator, who alleged that there was no Royal License, apparently in ignorance of the general license given to Bishop Matthew O'Hogan already quoted. They were recovered by the next Bishop. Bishop Maurice O'Hogan ruled Killaloe for sixteen years and, according to the Annals of Lough Cé he died in 1298\(^{35}\) “and was buried in his own Church.” This suggests the cathedral at Killaloe, where Ware tells us, in recording the burial of Bishop Thomas O'Cormacain just a century later, there was “a common burial place for Bishops.”\(^{36}\) It is, however, just possible that the Bishop was buried at the Manor of Ardmore, where the conjoined Castle and Chapel—the only one in the Diocese—might well be described as “his own Church.”

The next Bishop, and the last with whom we are now concerned, was David MacMahon, Dean of the Diocese, who succeeded in 1298 and died in 1316. There was some curious confusion about his election, or else some sharp practice by the King’s lawyers. On the death of Maurice O'Hogan, David, the Dean, and Chapter, sent to the King, William and Richard, Canons of the Diocese, notifying the death of Maurice and seeking license to elect a successor. The date is October 15, 1298, showing that the Lough Cé Annals post dated Maurice’s decease by twelve months.\(^{37}\) The King, under his Privity Seal, directed Letters Patent under the Great Seal to issue, giving the Chapter license as sought, on the 29th March, 1299.\(^{38}\) It may be that the Chapter proceeded to election without awaiting for the Privity Seal to issue, for in the following month (April 22) the King notified his assent to the selection by the Chapter of David to the Archbishop of Cashel, Stephen Brogan, and also to John Wogan, the Justiciar. To the latter the King wrote in addition that “now, wishing to spare labour and expense to the elect, he commands the Justiciary that if the election be confirmed by the Archbishop, he may take in lieu of the King the fealty due to the latter and restore the temporalities, having first received Letters Patent under the Seal of the Elect and that of the Chapter that this grace shall not tend to the prejudice or dishonor of the King and his heirs, nor hereafter be drawn into a precedent.”\(^{39}\) On 17th May Wogan, sitting at Dublin as a Justice of the Common Pleas, directed the temporalities to be restored to the Bishop, but fined him and the Chapter the enormous sum of £200 for proceeding to election without leave of the King.\(^{40}\) The royal license had, as we have seen, been issued, and the only explanation of the fine is that the Chapter must have acted before it arrived. The pledges for the fine were the Prior of St. John at Nenagh, and a number of Normans who had land at that time about Nenagh.\(^{41}\) The only two Irish pledges were Murchad O'Hogan and Master Thomas O'Cormacain, who afterwards became Archdeacon, and

32. C.D.I., II., p. 376.
33. C.D.I., II., No. 1894 (p. 411).
34. C.D.I., II., pp. 405, 498.
35. Recte, 1298.
36. Ware, I., p. 383.
38. C.D.I., IV., p. 286 (and see No. 601).
41. These were De Bilbourn, Berningham, Cuntwell, Walter de Marisco, etc, all of whom appear in contemporary papers about Nenagh.
later succeeded to the See. Four years later the Bishop (still described as the Elect) accounted for £93 on the Pipe Roll for trespass of his pledges, which is probably referable to this matter. He also owed 100s in 1300 for false detention, and paid a fine of 60s. in 1301, levied for transgression of an unstated nature. David was consecrated by Archbishop Brogan (per Ware), ruled the See until 1316, when he died, and there is no record of his burial. In 1363 he was the choice of the minority, when Maurice MacCarwill was elected Archbishop of Cashel.

This brings us to the end of the 13th century Bishops who ruled the See of St. Flannan, and we may conclude our study with some examination of the extent of the temporalities and one or two incidental matters of general Diocesan interest. Of the mensal lands outside Clare, the most extensive was that portion of the royal Manor of Newcastle Lyons, in Co. Dublin, which was given to the Diocese in exchange for Roscrea. The general history of this valuable property has already been dealt with. The Escheator accounted for one year’s receipts from this in 1302 as £54 3s. 6d. —and the actual tenement was described in 1283 by the then Escheator as the lands of Inishmoor. The receipts of Ardcollum, when added to this in 1283, brought in a total sum of £70. Besides Newcastle Lyons (als. “Kyle Lucan”) and Ardcollum, the Escheator in 1283 notes that the Bishopric had “lands in Thothmon” but that they were “waste on account of the wars of the Irish.” Where these Clare lands lay I have not been able to discover, but that they were waste was due to the wars of Brian Ruadh and Brian Bane and against the Normans under De Clare of Bunratty, which were then at their height. But the See of Killaloe had other property in this century of an extensive nature. In the Calendar of the Ormond Deeds under date circa 1310, we find Bishop David MacMahon, with the consent of his Chapter, granting the Manor of Lowthkyn (Lockeens, in Lower Ormond) to Edmund Walter, Butler of Ireland, reserving to the Bishop and his successors “100s. of rent yearly and four pounds of wax for the illumination of the Church of Killaloe, and doing suit at the Bishop’s (Manor) Court at Ardcollum”(ey) four times yearly.” This Manor of Lockeens remained in Butler hands almost to our own time, though, no doubt, the rights reserved to the Bishop were then long discontinued, for it appears from a Deed in the Red Book that these lands were in the Bishop’s possession by virtue of his jurisdiction over Minors, and were not strictly a mensal property. There is a further Deed of the same Bishop, of the date 1314, by which he granted five carrucates of land in Kinney to Sir Edmund Butler “saving to the said Church (of Killaloe) 5 marks yearly and 10 lbs. of wax yearly and suit of Court at Ardcollum.” These lands are recited to have been recovered by the Bishop “in right of the Church of Killaloe” and were possibly part of the lands of the ancient “Church of Cronan.” I have found two further contemporary notices of diocesan property. In an Inquisition taken at Cashel, September 1st, 1284, of the property of William de Marisco, of Ballinacloge (Weyperous), in Ormond, it was found that he held inter alia of the Bishop of Killaloe in demesne at Latteragh Otheran (Upper Ormond), 11 carrucates of land worth 104s. and 5d. a year, for which he paid annually to the Bishop 20s. The holding at Latteragh is undoubtedly that upon which the monastic foundation of St. Odhar had stood. In an extent of the Manor of Dunkerrin of date 1505, it is returned that the Bishop of Killaloe had a mark thereout annually; this also was almost certainly in right of the Church of Cronan. Later on in the Dissolution Inquisitions of the Reformation period there are many notices of episcopal dues from various religious institutions such as the Priory of Tyone and the Priory of Toomevara. In Limerick Diocese there was a dispute between one of the O’Hogan Bishops (since they were both “M” it is difficult to know which) and Bishop Gerald, of Lime-

93. Ibid.
94. C.D.I., IV, p. 375.
97. C.O.D.I., p. 175.
102. e.g., in my paper on “The Priory of St. John at Nenagh,” in J.R.S.A.I., 1928.
rick, both claiming lands at Donathmore. They agreed to leave it, curiously, to a jury of twenty Englishmen, who found for the Bishop of Limerick, and the Bishop of Killaloe accordingly released his claim.  

The close relations between the Irish Church and the Roman Curia have already been noted. Many instances will be found in the century both in Theimer, Sweetman, and the Black Book where the Bishop of Killaloe acted as a Papal Mandatory. As between him and his Metropolitan the dispute over the allegation of simony against Donaldus O'Kennedy has already been noted. The contemporary Bishop of the See attended the meeting of the Bishops of the Province at Limerick in 1255, when the relations between the Metropolitan and his Suffragans were clarified. As for episcopal relations with the clergy at the time, a most interesting paper is found in the Ormond Deeds in the form of an exeat or testimonium given by one of the 13th century Bishops of Killaloe to a priest of his Diocese proceeding abroad.

We may close a necessarily abbreviated account of the Diocese in these interesting years with some reference to the Chapter and the parochial arrangements. The institution of the Chapter has already been mentioned. There is mention in contemporary papers of a Dean, Chantor, Chancellor, Treasurer and Archdeacon, and there appear to have been seven prebends—Clondagad, Tuamgraney, Rathnavogue, Iniseathay, Loughkeene, Doysett and Tulla. There were religious houses at Inchicronan, Clare, Ennis, Killone, and Canons Island, in Clare, besides the Collegiate Church of Inisaltra, which was, of course, a secular foundation. In Tipperary were the Augustinian Canons of St. Hugh at Tyone, Toomeveara (Thome), and Insula Viventium (Mona Incha), a Friary at Nenagh, and the Dominicans at Lorrha. The earliest account of the Diocesan parochial arrangement is to be found in the Ecclesiastical Taxation of 1303/6 at large in Sweetman (p. 299 et seq). The membranes are noted by the Editor as injured, and this will excuse what is clearly a very imperfect reading; some of the names are quite impossible to identify, and some of the editors identifications are incorrect. There are 110 entries, of which three are religious houses. Fifty of these appear to be east of the Shannon. These latter can be further checked with the parochial arrangements shown three hundred and fifty years later in the Civil Survey of Tipperary in 1553. Parochial entries do not become common in the Calendar of the Papal Registers until the next century when there are relatively an enormous number dealing with Killaloe up to the Reformation period, which it will take a great deal of time and trouble to collate. Attention is also to be directed to the almost unknown Annates, or First Fruits, which are available for all the Irish Dioceses.

For an account of the parochial arrangements and patronage readers are referred to the very valuable general observations on the subject in Archdeacon Begley's first volume of the history of Limerick Diocese. In Killaloe before 1300 there is not nearly as much material to work on as in Limerick. It is quite clear, however, that the patronage of some of the parishes was in lay hands, and there are many instances of this to be found in the Papal Registers after 1300. In this century attention may be directed to a provision made directly by King Edward I in 1280 of “the person named by John de Kenley, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Dublin, to benefices in the cantred of Occasan and the half cantred of Brochkedoby (?) in the Diocese of Killaloe, vacant and in the King’s gift.” The occurrence of the names of many Norman Canons of Killaloe in the 13th century will make it clear that the Norman knights, like the Butlers and De Clare, had acquired the rights of parochial presentation in many places.

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103. B.R.L., pp. 33, 41 (Col.), (all.)
106. Ware, I., p. 589 (and see the 1615 Visitations in Dwyer).
107. Ware, I., p. 590 says that the Diocese “contained about 115 parish Churches besides Chapells.” In 3rd Rep. Record Commissioners, p. 303, it is returned that it was believed that a good deal of the diocesan records were destroyed by the Cromwellians. The 18th cent. records of the Protestant Diocese are mostly amongst the Lismore Man. in the British Museum.
109. For an account of these see Begley, I., p. 267.
110. C.D.I., II., p. 327, and see also p. 357.
To conclude, it will be clear from the foregoing that in the Diocese of Killaloe in this 13th century, while the Norman power was paramount over a great part of it, the Church largely preserved its independence and the influence of the Roman Curia was at all times the paramount one. The Bishops and Chapter were in close touch with, and in some large extent in temporal affairs dominated by, the royal power and authority. Nevertheless, they were able to successfully resist the interference of that power in the spiritual domain. The fight which raged round the attempted intrusion of Robert Travers preserved the independence of the Diocese in its own affairs and, during all this century of Norman domination and the greatness of the Norman power, none but an Irishman lawfully held the staff of St. Flannan.(111) Perhaps more than anything else the bowed but unbroken power of the Ui Briain west of the Shannon, and the Ui Cinneide and Ui Ceargaill Eli east of it, was responsible for this situation. For the thirteenth century had not long passed by when jointly and severally they rid the entire of the Diocese from Slieve Bladhma to the Leap of Cuchulain of the English invader.

111. For some general account of the Irish Bishops relations with the English Crown at the end of this century, see M. V. Clark, “14th Century Studies.” She mentions (p. 19) that Killaloe and Ardfert, being situated amongst the “Irishrie,” their Bishops were not summoned to the first Irish Parliament in 1267.

APPENDIX.

TAXATION OF DIocese OF KILLALOE, A.D. 1303/6, ex Sweetman’s Calendar of Documents (Ireland), (1302/1307), pp. 289 et seq., from the Exchequer Rolls.

N.B.—Membranes of the original noted to have been injured. Sweetman’s identifications in round brackets. My notes in square brackets. The parish lists should be compared with those set out in the Visitations of 1613, 1622, and 1633, at large in Canon O'Dwyer’s “History of Killaloe Diocese,” and also with (for the part of the Diocese east of the Shannon) with the parish arrangements shown in the Civil Survey of which the Tipperary portion has been printed in the Irish Miss. Commission in Vol. 2 of Tipperary (edited by R. Simington). See also Westropp (T. J.) on “The Churches of Co. Clare” in R. Irish Academy Proc. (June 25th, 1900).

| Kilnati (Kiltinighty, near Sixmilebridge) | 4½ mks. |
| Cromleg (Clonleis, near Tulla) | 2 mks. |
| [Clonlea, near Sixmilebridge]. | 2 mks. |
| Kellsodiul (Kellsodiului, Killaloe) | 2 mks. |
| [Kilseily, Broadford]. | 3 mks. |
| Killockenney (Killockenedy). | 2 mks. |
| Kielidubhain (Kilrurin, in bar. Tulla). | 2 mks. |
| Ficheill (Feakle). | 20 shillings. |
| Thomgranay (Tongraney). | 3 mks. |
| Church de Mago. | 6 shillings. |
| [Except this be Moynoe I cannot make anything out of it]. | 10 shillings. |
| Inysgeitra (Iniscaltra). | 3 mks. |
| Clonora (Clonrush). | 10 shillings. |
| Castaraconyng (Castleconnell). | 6 mks. |
| Idumnyn (Stradbally). | 2 mks. |
| [It is “Idumnyn als Stradbally” in Visitation of 1633]. | 5 shillings. |
| Conmarkine (? Clonoghain, in Bumattty). | 10 shillings. |
| [Clon Island Church, Castleconnell]. | 10 shillings. |
| Killmacconeragut (Killeenagarry). | 2 mks. |
| Enaghymore (Enagh, Kilkishen). | 6 mks. |
| [Westropp suggests Nenagh, but this is an error]. | 4 mks. |
| Enachbeg (? Quin). | 6 mks. |
| [These two not in Westropp’s Clare list]. | 4 mks. |
| Kellquydi (Kilkeedy). | 6 mks. |
| Kellinbynut (Kilnaboy). | 11 mks. |
| Rayth (Rath). | 6 mks. |
| [Rathblamaic]. | 6 mks. |
| Disert. | 4 mks. |
| [Disert Tola]. | 3 mks. |
| Kellin’mud (Kilmurry or Kilnamona) | 3 mks. |
| [Kilnamona]. | 7 mks. |
| Drumbe (Drumleith). | 6 mks. |
| Kellmayley (Kilmayley). | 3 mks. |
| Kellargencayn. | 6 mks. |
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[I can make nothing of this. Westropp suggests Killerk.]
Abbay de Forgio
[Clare Abbey (SS. Peter & Paul's)]
For an account of which see Westropp (T. J.) in
Yo., J.E.S.A.I., 1900, pp. 118 et seq.
Abbe of St. John
(Killone)
Clondagat (Clondagad)
Disertaurthill (Kiladysert)
[See O'Dwyer, p. 52.]
Killassay (Kilfaddane)
Kellugfion
(Killoin)
Crook (Knoek)
Kelladunar (Kilkinner)
Kellroys (Kilrush)
Kilmadein (Kilmacduane)
Kilnloffegyn (Kilmurry Ibrickin)
[Westropp, Kilballyowen.]
Kellibheragh (Kilferagh)
Kellard (Killa)
Colinbunown (Kilballyowen)
[Westropp, perhaps Kilmurry Ibrickin.]
Kellyneabryagh (Kilfarboi)
Inaill (Trahg)
[Westropp, Templemoyel]
Kilrathusia (Kilraghtie)
Mukan and Kilbrakeyn (Kilbricken, near Quin)
[? Mogha].
Kellsurlagh (Kilnasloagh)
(Kiltolagh)
Inchevron (Inchecironan)
Cluony (Clooney)
Dobdery (Doora)
Church of Quin)
Dangynbreacagh (Danganbrack)
Tunagh
Kellsigea, (Kilicoe)
Thurnymloka (Tomfinlough)

Sum Total, £12 0 20d. Tenths £12 6 2

Church of Kallombeleigh (Kilnasloagh), 3 mks. Tenths 4 shillings.
Church of Kehneleery (Kilmaleyry), 5 mks. Tenths 4 shillings.
Church of Kellintereen (Kilconry), 3 mks./4 shillings.
Church of Inisheadrum. (Island in the Fergus with two hills), 10s./12d.
(Conoy Island).
Church of Clonekil ... hary (Clonhaen), lmk./16d.
Church of Dromilagh (Dromina), 3 mks./4s.
Church of Bonrath (Burratty), 6 mks./8s.
Church of Fuduach (Fenagh or Kilnaghoy), 10s./12d.
(Fenagh).
Church of Eonenaigh (Nenagh), 8 mks/10 8d.
"E.O." in, I think, "Ath," Nenagh, once the "Parish of Agha," per the Civil Survey.
Church de Vada Petroso (Ballynaclogh), 3 mks./4s.
[lit. "Stoney Ford," i.e., Balie na Clogh. For this see Brooks on the "Family of Marisco," in J.E.S.A.I. 1922/3.]
Church of Kilmore, 4 mks./5s. 4d.
[Kilmore Ardagh Thirst of the Life of St. Senan, though now in Ormond. See my paper on the Silver- mines in J.E.S.A.I. 1937. Sometimes confused with Kilmore Magdalene in Limerick Diocese. A mensal parish for the support of the Cathedral Church per Visitation of 1615.]
Church of Donluid, 3 mks./4s.
[Dolla, near Kilmore. The ruined church there called Kilboy from its colour].
Church of Donnymount (Doneama), 20s./2s.
[A "lost parish," even in the Civil Survey. Situate outside Nenagh and including Tullagheady and Bawn, per Civil Survey and C.O.D.].
Church of Burgessbogideum (Burgessbeg), 20s./2s.
Church of Rothill (Youghal?), 20s./2s.
[YoughhalARA].
Church of All Saints (Kilnaneave), 3 mks./4s.
Dere (Templederry). 20s./2s.
Lisbunnoy (Lisboney), 6m./8s.
Kildr dum (Kildromadrum), now in Dallymackey Parish. Confused by Dwyer with Inishdrum in the Shannon estuary. See p. 516.
Lethragh (Latteragh), 6 mks./8s.
Burgessynfarne (Borrisfarney), 3 mks./4s.
Drumbar (Dromineer), 20s./2s.
[The Church remains here described by O'Donovan as "very ancient" in O.S. Letters].
Arthynynehila (?), 6 mks./8s.
[Athennameadla or Aghannameadla. But see "The Church of Milo" infra.]

Armyfawyn, 20s./4s.
[They can make nothing of this in this form.]
The Church of Milo (Athannameal), 3 mks./4s.
[See supra.]

Dishetheny, 20s./2s.
["Dishetheny alias Ballygibbon," per Annatos of Killaloe Diocese.]

Magdriffyn (Meadriffy), 8 mks./10s. 8d.

Crilislaigh (Cronagh?), 5 mks./3s. 3d.
[Called "The Kroye" in C.O.D.]

Loghishlaigh (Clashapric), 20s./2s.
[This is the "Lochinclaich" or "Lothunulath" of the grant to the Tyone Canons of circa 1200 by Theobald Walter, for which see C.O.D.I. and my paper on the Priory in J.B.S.A.I., 1938 (Dec.).]

Ardconen, 3 mks./4s.
["Ardconen. A Bishop's Manor. See my paper thereon in "Molsa" 1887.]

Kilbarrackn, with vicarage, 3 mks./4s.

[Underconen.]

Gartha with vic. (Ballinarry), 3 mks./-

Ursheyn with vic. 3 mks./4s.

[Uskaneen. The adjoining parish of Boree is a remote from the monks of Ownen is missing from this list.]

Finnvach (Finne), 20s./2s.

Rathderry (Rathurles), 20s./2s.
[If this identification be correct, it is the old parish name of Kilrane].

Tirgradaglass, 3 mks./4s.

[Teraglass.]

Cloggan (Aglishelohan), 20s./2s.

Loghkyn (Lockeen), 20s./2s.

Magsethi (Monshea).
["Musea" in the Civil Survey.]

Loghtra, 3 mks./4s.

[Lorrha als Lothra. In C.S.P. described as "Lorihoe, or Living Spring."]

Dudrath, 20s./2s.

[Dorraghe.]

Bouchom, 20s./2s.

[Bonagham.]

Keskarry, 3 mks. (?,)

[Possibly Seir Kieran.]

Rob. (Rosera), 6 mks.

Cullenvaine, 20s.

[Cullenwaine.]

Castle Phillip (Castletown Ely), 20s.

Ronin (Bourne), 20s.
[See O'Dwyer, p. 124.]

Dunkerrin, 3 mks.
[There is an "Extent of Donkeryn" in the Red Book.]

Kellcomyn (Kilcommin), — mks.

Shineone, 2 mks.

Pa. . . . , ins., lmk.
[Apparently unreadable.]

Athdubytoff (Ettagh).

Aghanocan, —

Raith, lmk.


Kilecolmohan, 15 mks./8s.

[Kilcolmohan.]

Temporalties of the Lord Bishop of Killaloe, —

Spiritualities of the Same, 20 mks.

Temp. of the Dean — mks.

Temp. of the Archdeacon, 3 mks.

Temp. of the Abbey of St. John, —

[Probably Lorrha.]

Temp. of the Prior of St. John and St. Ninnian.

[Sc. in print. A misreading for "St. John at Nenagh," where the Augustinians had a house call de "Teac Ecin."

Temp. of the Prior of Monahimna, 10s.
[Als. Insula Viventiun.]

Do The Prior of Loghra, 3 mk.

[The Domincnian house dedicated to St. Peter Martyr.]

Temp. of the Custodian of Thome. — mk.

[Toomeveeara. There are references to the "Custodian" in C.O.D. and see my paper on the Nenagh Priory et al.]

Temp. of the Abbout of the Custod. de Thome in Thobton.

[I can not make nothing of this. In the early 13th cent. "Thobton" meant Clare to English officials, such as Escheators, etc. I am not aware that the Toomeveeara house had any property in Clare and I know no Clare house to which above description would apply. It may, of course, refer to the temporalties of the Abbout of the Toomeveeara house as distinct from the custodian.]

Sum Total, 1317 12s. 4d.