The Collegiate Church of Iniscathaigh.

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(Note—The numbered references in the notes are to the corresponding documents in Part 2 of the Bibliography and Appendix).

The island of Iniscathaigh, now called or miscalled Scattery, situated in the tide-way at the mouth of the Shannon estuary and within a “long mile” of the town of Kilrush, has long been a centre of interest to the historian. In the monastic age, and in later times, up to the reign of Elizabeth, it was one of the most notable of the religious shrines of Munster, while its name, or that of its patron, St. Senan, in one guise or another, will be found in the Index of almost every printed Irish historical text or calendar dealing with these periods.

It is not surprising, therefore, that its story should have been the subject of monographs by more than one historian of note or that it should have in some of its details provoked controversy. But the points of controversy at issue concerning Iniscathaigh are unusually interesting and this writer at least has found their investigation unusually difficult. Moreover, there are now available some new sources in the more recently accessible Vatican documents which were not open in their entirety to those who have hitherto examined the historical sources of the story of St. Senan’s island. What follows is an attempt to collate all such sources with all the material already made use of and to endeavour to clear up one or two points which have hitherto been obscure.

The history of Iniscathaigh naturally falls into two periods—the monastic period preceding the twelfth century, and the period which initiated by the diocesan division of Ireland at the Synod of Rathbreasail in or about A.D. 1111, became the genesis of the ecclesiastical administrative and executive system which, with minor modifications, still endures. With the earlier period this paper is not concerned. The main sources and a bibliography for the entire history of Iniscathaigh, so far as it is known to the writer, will be found set out as an appendix. Here it will be sufficient to say that from the 7th century, when St. Senan made the first Christian foundation on Iniscathaigh as St. Patrick had foretold, until A.D. 1111, the island was one of the great religious centres of the Dal gCais, the Uí Fidgenta, the Corcu Baiscinn, and the other races who peopled both sides of the estuary of the great river. That the successors of Senan were Bishops or numbered a Bishop in their community there can be no doubt. But to speak of Iniscathaigh as a “See” or a “Diocese” in the presently accepted sense, is a misnomer. The lives of St. Senan describe several foundations made by him in widely scattered areas over the present dioceses of Killaloe, Limerick, Ardéart and Cloyne. Gifts of lands and endowments of various kinds were doubtless made to him and his coarbs and successors by pious persons and families from time to time, over which the Abbot or Bishop of Iniscathaigh exercised a monastic or termon jurisdiction. Some of these may be still identified—the areas comprised in the present parishes of Kilrush and Killimer, for instance, are described in more than one paper as “Termon Senain” : “Tarmon” in Knock parish owes its name to the same historical sequence : while Westropp thought that the “diocese” of Iniscathaigh extended northwards from the Shannon to Doolough, into which the “Lives” tell us Senan chased the monster who guarded the island by way of a street in Kilrush, still known as “the Glen,” but anciently as “Gleann na Peiste.” On the other side of the Shannon, in Limerick and Ardéart, the same is true: while there is some ground at least for thinking that part of the Termon of Iniscathaigh lay as far

1. For this diocesan division see Keating’s Foras Feasa (Tr. Texts, ed. II., pp. 556 ff.). For a print and commentary see Mac Erlean in Archivium Hibernicum III., pp. 1-33. This author is quite in error in stating (p. 23) that after the Synod the diocese of Limerick extended to the possessions of the monastic See of Iniscathaigh in Southern Clare as well as in West Limerick.

2. For some general comment on these subjects, see Seymour The Co-arb in the Medieval Irish Church (Proc. R.I.A., 1923, pp. 219ff) and Costello in Introduction to De Annatis Hiberniae I. For an account of the Coarb of Iniscathaigh, see No. 4 (a), p. 280 and No. 4 (b).

3. Others will be found later in the Text and Appendices: and see No. 7, p. 242, for the Termons in Ardéart.

south as the present diocese of Cloyne. (5) There was, however, no homogeneous unit in these Terrons or no large tract of country comprised in them in any one area. The Synod of Rathbreasail in making up the diocesan division had regard, as its main consideration, to the ancient divisions of territory of the ruling families so as to form as large a unit as possible consistent therewith. In this way the Diocese of Killaloe came to comprise not only the ancient kingdom of Thomond but also that of Ormond, the rulers of which were also of the Dal gCais, and Eli Ua Cearbhaill, which, along of the Cianachta, was vassal and tributary to the Uí Briain. When in the territory covered by this new ecclesiastical unit no place could be found for the separate existence as a See, of Roscrea, ruled in the monastic age by the Coarbs of St. Cronan, whose area was certainly small but remarkably compact, it is not surprising that the scattered terrons of Iniscathaigh were also found quite unsuitable for a diocesan administration. Accordingly, we find no mention of Iniscathaigh in the list of Rathbreasail dioceses left to us by Keating. (6) Neither is it found in the list of Benedict of Peterborough. (7) But ancient rights and customs are not easily abolished in Ireland, and it needed the Synod of Kells in 1154 to complete the work commenced at Rathbreasail half a century before. This latter Synod, held by the Papal Legate Paparo, finally constituted the dioceses of Ireland and determined their boundaries. It is apparent that some of the smaller monastic houses which up to 1111 had had bishops in their houses and exercised episcopal jurisdiction over their terrons or parochiae, had held on and refused to give up what they conceived to be their rights. They had their Bishops still in 1154 and, doubtless, some were at the Synod. Paparo met this situation by ordaining that as the Bishops of the weaker Sees died off they were not to be replaced and their dioceses—if such they could be called—were to be converted into rural deaneries. (8) Ware had a list of dioceses as determined by the Kells Synod, while in or about 1922 Dr. E. J. Gwynn discovered another in the Library of the School of Medicine at Montpellier, in France, which, apparently, found its way there by reason of the great friendship which existed between St. Malachy of Armagh and St. Bernard of Clairvaux. (9) In both these lists in Cashel Province, is to be found mention both of Roscrea and of “de insula gathai,” showing that both these ancient places of jurisdiction had managed to preserve an independent existence in the half century that had intervened since Rathbreasail. But it is clear that by the end of the century they had ceased to exist as such and that they were some of those “dioceses” which came under Paparo’s ordinance respecting weaker Sees. Roscrea had been absorbed entirely into Killaloe by the beginning of the 13th century, and the Bishop of Killaloe successfully resisted an attempt by the King to encroach upon its mensal lands. (10) The last Bishop of Iniscathaigh mentioned by the Annalists at this period was Aodh Ua Beacain, whose obit is recorded in 1188. (11) After that Ware tells us that the jurisdiction over the ancient terrons of St. Senan was divided between the Sees of Killaloe, Limerick and Ardfeart, in accordance, no doubt, with the topographical situation and the ruling rights of the various tuatha in which they were to be found. (12) After that time it is true that we will have later to consider the apparent phenomenon of the appearance of two “Bishops of Cathay” in the middle fourteenth and the early fifteenth century respectively, but it is hoped then that to show their provision was due to errors at the Papal Curia and is not significant of either the revival or the continued existence of the ancient See of St. Senan. The death of Aodh Ua Beacain may be said to have terminated the existence of the monastic Bishopric established by St. Senan and enjoyed by his successive Coarbs, of whom Aodh was the last.

But Iniscathaigh was to take a new lease of life as a centre of religion and one which, if by no means unique, certainly enabled it to preserve its ancient individuality.

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5. For references to the terrons of St Senan, see Colgan Acta SS. 512 (602) — 27 : and see No. 1, p. 117, for the connection of Iniscorra in diocese of Cloyne with Iniscathaigh.
6. In Foras Fessi ut supra.
7. See Lawlor (H. J.), St. Bernard’s Life of St. Malachy, p. xxviii (n).
8. Wilkins’ Concilia, i. 547.
10. See my Diocese of Killaloe in 13th Century in last issue of this Journal.
12. Ussher Primordia, p. 873, says the island went to Limerick diocese, but this is an error. The makes no detailed allocation.
in a manner which can have few parallels in Ireland. Those who have written on the island, including historians of the distinction Dr. Begley, Very Revd. Sylvester Malone and Thomas J. Westropp, do not appear to have seen the significance of this development in its entirety and it is this which forms the main excuse for this further paper. In the Calendar of the Papal Registers under date 1400, there was issued from St. Peter's at Rome "futuram rei memoriam" a "Confirmation at the petition of Prior John Ohogani and the Chapter and perpetual Canons of the Collegiate Church major of Iniskathi St. Senan in the Diocese of Killaloe, of the inmemorial foundation of the said Church by certain devout nobles of these parts in honour of God, St. Mary the Virgin, and the said Saint, of its subsequent erection by them into a Collegiate Church major and of its endowment for a Prior and twenty-four perpetual chaplains (capellani), with lands, glebes, meadows, pastures, fisheries and other goods."(13) This document may be regarded as an inspeximus of the foundation charter of Iniscathaigh for its existence after it had ceased to be a monastic See. For I think it is in the highest degree probable that the date of its "subsequent erection by them into a Collegiate Church major" was at the time when it became evident that its continued existence as a separate unit of jurisdiction was no longer possible—that is between the date of the Synod of Kells in 1154 and the end of the century, or in or about the time of the death of Ua Beacain in 1158. It is quite obvious from the wording of the document that this erection took place long before 1400. Now the Collegiate Church is an institution very well known to the mediæval Church historian, although it was of more importance on the Continent than in Ireland. Indeed, it survives with some modifications to the present day. Nor was it by any means unknown either here or in England in this mediæval period. In the diocese of Limerick there was such a Church at Kilmallock, to which reference will be found in White’s Mss.(14) In Clonmacnoise Diocese the establishment of one and its endowment is described in A.D. 1459 in a Papal Indult(15); while some considerable description of the working and administration of one at Westbury in England will be found contemporaneously in the Calendar of the Papal Registers.(16) To understand the position in Iniscathaigh in the mediæval period we are now discussing it will be necessary to give some general description. In the first place, therefore, the Collegiate Church had a chapter the canons of which are usually described as "capellani." Chapters are divided canonically into:

(a) Cathedral or Collegiate Chapters, according as they are attached to a Cathedral, or a Collegiate Church (which by definition is not a Cathedral).

(b) Secular or Regular according as the Canons belong to the secular or regular clergy.

(c) Clausa or non-Clausa, according as the number of Canons are fixed or not.

(d) Exempt or non-exempt, according as they are subject to the Pope only or to the local Bishop.

(e) Insignia or non insinia, according as they are recognised by Rome as worthy of special distinction or because the historical connections of the Church, etc., are regarded universally as worthy of such distinction. Otherwise they rank as Capitula non insignia.(17)

Applying these tests to Iniscathaigh, in the light of the document just quoted, we find that it is a Collegiate Church and, therefore, not a Cathedral See; it is described as secular, and for this reason alone, if for no other, must not be confused, as it so often has been, with the Augustinian Priory of Inisgdad, or Canons’ Island, a little further up the river, where the Canons were regulars; the use of the term “Capellani,” as distinct from “Canonic,” is also significant in this connection—on Iniscathaigh the Capellani were not religious and not bound by the law of poverty, and thus could enjoy, as it will be shown they did, their several incomes. Continuing our examination, we find that the Collegiate Chapter here was clausum, for its number was fixed at 25, including the Prior;

13. No. 14. The name in the print is "Chogani" but appears elsewhere as "Oheogonani" or "Honan."
15. No. 47.
16. No. 43.
that it was *non exempt* will be clear from papers hereafter to be quoted: that it was *insigne* the natural distinction of the historic site and the use and description of "Collegiate Church Major" will place beyond doubt.

The government of a Collegiate Church of this type also varied with time and locality. In France, where there were many Collegiate Churches, some of which, like Iniscathaigh, had their origin in an ancient monastery, the head of the Chapter was for this reason called the "Abbot." This term will be occasionally found in papers referring to Iniscathaigh, but more usually he is called Prior. In the famous Collegiate Church of St. Martin of Tours, in France, the King was the head, and he was followed by a dean, treasurer, preacher, headmaster of the school, a subdean, cellarer, chamberlain, almoner, the Abbot of Comery, and the Prior of Saint Come. There followed 15 provosts, 56 canons, 28 honorary canons, some of whom were laymen, and priests and chaplains up to 250 in number. On Iniscathaigh, besides the prior, the only other dignity of which the present writer can find mention in the large number of curial papers available, is the sacrist. There are, however, some mentions in other papers of an official called a "custos" in connection with Iniscathaigh which seem to have been misunderstood. Thus in the important document quoted from the Black Book of Limerick and dated in 1418, the learned author of the history of the Diocese of Limerick translates the passage "et facit custodem super conventum ibidem ad nutum suum recipiendo ecleisiastica feode," etc.: he appoints the Guardian of the Convent there for the purpose of receiving the ecclesiastical dues," and suggests at least (at p. 400, Vol. I) that this custos was an official or superior of the Collegiate Church of equal or even greater importance than the prior. In fact, it is clear from the documents that there was more than one custos in the Collegiate Church and that the office was a minor one, mainly concerned with the temporalities of the particular house or termen to which it was attached—a position which would correspond to that of provost in one of the Continental Collegiate Churches. It is described in the Papal Registers regarding Iniscathaigh as a non-elective office without cure, and was usually, if not invariably, held by one of the portionary canons or capellani. The documents quoted contain references to two custodies at least, though there may have been others. Those mentioned are: first, the custody of the church of Alto Angelorum, which is situated on the island, and there known as Ard na nAingeal; and, secondly, the custody of "Belycotard," which may possibly be identical with the modern Beldard, in Corcu Bascin, though of this it is not possible to be certain. The cure of these churches was exercised by vicars, but apparently the temporalities were administered in trust for those entitled to them, by the custos, who is sometimes called the warden. There may have been a third custos for the Collegiate Church itself—sometimes miscalled "the Cathedral" by the commentators.\(^{18}\)

Coming now to the constitution of the Collegiate Church at Iniscathaigh, we know from the Papal document already quoted that the community numbered 25—a prior, and 24 canons. Each of these canons had a "portion" of the common fund and was provided thereto in much the same manner as a parochus—that is primarily by the Ordinary, but in the circumstances which so often arose in the 14th and 15th centuries, directly by the Apostolic See. Each of the portions "had cure," that is, they imposed the obligation on the person provided to undertake the care of souls in some one or other of the termen lands of the Church from which the revenue of the Church was derived. The prior and canons were obliged, however, to live in community on the island itself, and the cure of the various termens was, therefore, exercised by vicars or curates as they are now called, who resided amongst the people of the termen, ministered to their spiritual wants, and were maintained by a special portion of the tithes set apart for them. It is not too clear who presented the Vicars—that is, whether each Canon of the Collegiate Church presented his own Vicar or whether the appointment lay in the hands of the Ordinaries of the various dioceses in which the termen lands lay, or with officials of the Chapter. The latter would seem to have been the case. At all events, the writer can find no notice of a Vicar's appointment made by a Canon of the Collegiate Church, or even by the Prior, although it is not unlikely that the Prior had some power in this respect in regard to the Termens immediately adjoining the island. On the other hand,

\(^{18}\) Thus Westropp in Nos. 4 (a) and 5.
the expression in the 1418 document quoted "et presentat apud Iniscathaigh Vicarium" would imply that the Precentor of Limerick presented the Vicar to one of the termens of Iniscathaigh, though, for some reasons hereafter to be given, the writer does not find himself otherwise in agreement with the translation or construction which has been placed on this document.

As to the presentation to the Canons’ portions, some confusion has existed in the minds of those who have already written on this subject which it is hoped to clear up. There are available a large number of Curial papers connected with provisions to these portions, and as they are not previously printed, I have set them out in order of date as an Appendix. They deal with the period up to 1470 in the Calendar of the Papal Registers—all which are now available, and with the period up to the Reformation in Father Costello’s transcript of the Irish Annates or First Fruits. A reading of these entries will demonstrate quite clearly, firstly, that the island of Iniscathaigh itself lay within the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Killaloe, a fact which will be abundantly shown otherwise; secondly, that all the provisions in the papers quoted except three, had pertained primarily to that Diocese and were made by the Apostolic See by reason of some canonical irregularity at the local curia of Killaloe of a type with which all students of mediaval Church documents in Ireland will be familiar; thirdly, that there pertained to the Bishop of Limerick (though not necessarily to his Diocesan jurisdiction) a property known as the Custody “de Alto Angelorum,” called in the Vita S. Senani “Teampull Ard na nAingel,” which is quite obviously the identical property referred to in the Black Book entry of 1418. We must now deal with some of the documents from other sources in relation to these papers. In the Black Book under the year 1201, appear two Inquisitions taken as to the property of the Church of Limerick. It is found that “dimidia pars de Inisyscatidh cum pertinenciis” belonged to Limerick. This has been construed as proving that the whole island was then in Limerick Diocese. In fact, what it proves is literally what it says that “half of Iniscathaigh and its appurtenances” belong to Limerick. Now we know aliunde that the Church of Limerick claimed the right to appoint to twelve (that is half) of the Canons’ portions of the Collegiate Church of Iniscathaigh, “ex parte australi,” and that the appointment of the custodian of the church “de Alto Angelorum” on the island, and the property in that church itself, “cum pertinenciis” lay also in Limerick. I suggest that it is to these rights that the “dimidia pars” refers. Certainly it is quite clear (i) that this is a lay inquisition and has no relation to any claimed Diocesan jurisdiction but solely to temporal rights (ii) that it claims on the best construction of “dimidia,” half only and not the whole island. The apparent phenomenon of a Diocese or a Bishop of a Diocese having rights of temporal property in another diocese is no phenomenon at all. It is a commonplace in contemporary Irish church history. Thus, the Bishop of Killaloe in these times had temporal rights in Kilfenora pertaining to his episcopal mena., while his claim to the temporalities of the Church of Donaghmor in Limerick Diocese, “cum pertinenciis,” was the subject of a lay inquiry in the time of Bishop Gerald of Limerick (1272-1301). It is very important that this distinction of temporal from spiritual claims should be recognised in construing the papers relating to Iniscathaigh, for it would seem that it is the confusion of thought on this point which has resulted in the misunderstanding shown by many writers as to the alleged claims of Limerick to spiritual jurisdiction in Iniscathaigh. There is no doubt that the Church of Limerick, or some of its diocesans, had temporal rights in Iniscathaigh. Neither can there be doubt that the right to appoint a guardian over Teampull Ard na nAingel, one of the island’s many churches, was claimed and exercised from Limerick. There remains the document of 1418 from the Procurations. In respect of this, it must be set out that the text is very obscure. Dr. MacCaffrey presents it in a different form and with different punctuation to Dr. Begley. Archdeacon Malone gives us a third reading and translation.

16. Mes. in Maynooth College awaiting publication by Catholic Record Society.
22. No. 8, pp. 39f.
23. Nos. 54 and 55. And see text of Procuration Roll infra.
24. No. 8, pp. 151f. No. 9, pp. 302f., No. 1, p. 298. The latter actually reads “Regles” for “Regius Montin” and translates “Regular Canons.” This is certainly an error. And see No. 9, p. 392 (n).
readable, and what we have now is a copy made partly by Dr. Adams, partly by Dr. Reeves, and partly by Dr. Jaspar White. It is not at all clear that their readings are full or complete, and, though I have not seen the original Mss., it is clear that there are gaps. A reading of the varying versions given by Dr. McCaffrey and Dr. Begley strongly suggests that these gaps may be of importance. At all events, it is difficult to translate either version in a manner which will make good sense. Dr. McCaffrey's version, which is obviously the more complete, is still, apparently, wanting something either in text or punctuation. It is suggested, however, that "et facit custodem super conventum ibidem" refers to Teampull Ard na nÁingil when read with the last two Annat references given in the Appendix. The passage, "And I, Cornelius O'Dea, by the Grace of God and the Apostolic See, have enfeoffed Mr. Gilbert O'Cahill, once Vicar there, with lands belonging to the Church of Limerick, in the island of Iniskathi, which I have recovered by Inquisition made by me," etc., makes it quite clear that Bishop O'Dea (who was a Killaloe diocesan both before his appointment and after his resignation) claimed and recovered temporal rights only in Iniscathais in this paper, and that there was a Vicar in the church "de Alto Angelorum" on the Island, whose appointment was inappropriate to the church of Limerick. The difficulty, however, is in the beginning of the document, which reads (in MacCaffrey) "Ecclesia de Kilmurrull cuivis rectoria in feodo laico communitatis, in feodo ecclesiastico Preconsentis, et presentat vicarium Ecclesia de Iniscathais, cuivis rector Preconsentor et communitatis Egalas Montin, et presentat apud Iniscathais vicarium et facit custodem super conventum ibidem ad natum suum recipiendo ecclesiastica feoda, et conferit xii porciones ex parte australi, et corrigit excessus presbiterorum porcionarium, licet sunt de facto residentes in diocesi Ardferensi, qui de jure debent residere personaliter in ecclesia conventuali in diocesi Limericensi." This differs materially from Dr. Begley's reading, and I suggest the translation should go:—The Church of Kilmurry, the rectory of which in lay fee pertains to the Chapter and in ecclesiastical fee to the Preconsentor, and it presents a vicar to the Church of Iniscathais, and the rector of which (i.e., of Kilmurry) is the Preconsentor and the Chapter of Egalas Montin, and he (i.e., the Preconsentor) presents a Vicar to the Church of Iniscathais and nominates the warden (custodian) over the conventual building there for the purpose of receiving the ecclesiastical dues, and he confesses twelve of the portions on the southern side of the Shannon, and corrects any excesses of these twelve portionary priests, who are allowed, in fact, to reside in the diocese of Ardferd, although they ought properly to reside in the Conventual Church in the diocese Limerick." Now Dr. Begley writes again: "I have got the following from the Mss. copy of the Black Book: "Sunt duodecim (porciones) ... conventus in ecc. de Iniskathy quos confer unt Dominus Lymer. Ep(iscopus) tun ... de quibus quatuor portiones custos obtinet et octo alios porciones confer unt ad sui beneplacetas ... quorum nomina sunt (here follow the names)." If this reading be approximatey correct, it somewhat clears up the situation. It means that of the twenty-four portions, each of which had its own parochia, from which it derived revenue, twelve lay on the south side of the Shannon (ex parte australi). To these the Bishop of Limerick had the right of collating the portionary priests or Canons who ought properly to reside on the island in the Collegiate Church there. The Preconsentor of Limerick had or claimed to have the right to nominate the warden or custos of the Collegiate Church, the Prior and Sacrist of which were collated by the Ordinary of Killaloe diocese. But by custom or gift this custos had obtained as part of his office the right to collate or nominate to four of the twelve Limerick portions. It is apparent also that the Diocese of Limerick had peculiar rights in the church on the island known as "de Alto Angelorum," or otherwise "Ard na nÁingil," or "Knockaunanaingil," and that this particular church and its appurtenances may possibly have been, as suggested by the Annat references, actually within the diocesan jurisdiction of Limerick (28) although the whole island or the Collegiate Church itself certainly was not. Now, what was the significance of this

25. None of the authorities quoted have given any satisfactory explanation of the reference to the "Community of Egalas Montin." I suggest that it may be the Cappellani 'ex parte australi,' living here with their own Warden, but the text is obviously corrupt and incomplete.

23. No. 7, p. 242 (n).

27. The names are "Karowgaro Gorty n tegell et Alyntagyr Corbalyn." This is obviously a difficult or corrupt text.

28. See Nos. 54/55.
Church of the Angels? It will be remembered that the Limerick custodian or wardenship is called "of the church de Alto Angelorum." This makes the fascinating though unprovable suggestion that the twelve Limerick Canons or Capellani occupied this Church on the island and the Killaloe Canons lived at Teampull Senain, or at "the Cathedral." Such an arrangement would have been natural, and the more so if the diocesan jurisdiction on the island were divided. In 1418, however, the Custos and the twelve Limerick Canons were found to be residing in the diocese of Ardfert, although it is said they should have been by right on the island. Incidentally, and in the same year, we find that an Ardfert priest (O’Kennedy), who was the custos, resigned his portion in Iniscathaigh while remaining custos, in order that he might be collated to the rectory of Kilnaghten in Ardfert, which is the very church in which Dr. Begley believes that these twelve Limerick chaplains assembled for their services. (28) That these documents are interrelated there can be no doubt whatever. I suggest that, due to some dispute on the island, the twelve Limerick portionaries, led by O’Kennedy, the custos, or one of his predecessors, retired to Kilnaghten, in Ardfert, across the estuary from Iniscathaigh, and were living there in community rather than in their Church on the island (de Alto Angelorum), from which they had, perhaps, been ejected.

Leaving these interesting possibilities, but keeping them in mind, let us now turn to the subject which has agitated such keen investigators of local history as Malone, Westropp and Begley—that is the vexed question as to which diocesan jurisdiction—Killaloe or Limerick—the island belongs. The case made by the protagonists of each side will be found in the papers which are quoted in the annexed bibliography under their respective names. Let it be said at once that none of them had before them all the material now available. None of them, for instance, appreciated the significance of the reference to the Collegiate Church—indeed, Malone, writing in 1874 with only the Theiner references to guide him, seemed to think that the institution on the island was at least related to an Augustinian house. (30) He reasoned boldly that the document of Bishop O’Dea was a forgery and gave many weighty arguments in that behalf. One cannot and, indeed, need not go so far now, but again one must insist that even yet we have no authoritative and complete reading of the Mss. Malone differs radically from either MacCaffrey or Begley, who, as we have said, differ from one another. To the present writer it seems that the only point of importance in it with regard to the issue of diocesan jurisdiction, is the statement that the portionary priests were then (1418) living in Ardfert "whereas they ought to reside in the conventual church in the diocese of Limerick." The rights claimed elsewhere in the document as pertaining to Bishop O’Dea on the island are temporalities only, and are in no way inconsistent with a diocesan jurisdiction in the Bishop of Killaloe. It may, indeed, be argued that the "conventual church" referred to was not necessarily on Iniscathaigh, but, taking it with the previous context and with the Annat references, it seems clear that the church referred to is the Church on the island known as "de Alto Angelorum." Now, apart from this document, there are four assertions in documents of the Roman Curia that portion at least of Iniscathaigh was in the diocese of Limerick. Firstly, Westropp says that it is found in the Taxation of 1302/6 in the Deanery of Rathkeale. It does not so appear in the print of this Taxation by Dr. Begley, nor can I find it otherwise. Westropp himself does not mention it as part of his proofs when he writes in 1904. (31) Then we find at least three entries in the Annates—two in the Limerick Annates under dates in 1446 and 1505, and one in Ardfert under 1505. (32) All three are identical in their description of the benefice involved, i.e., "Custodia Ecclesiae de Inyskagay de Alto Angelorum, Limericensis Diocesis." In all of them the provided cleriwas were of Ardfert Diocese. There is one further reference to Alan (Amhlaobh) Linsi (Lynch) as warden "ecclesiae collegiatae de Iniscathai, Limericien dioc." (33) This one may warrantably conclude is also a reference to the wardenship of the church "de Alto Angelorum." Lynch only occurs in the paper in a subordinate capacity of surety for the Bishop Elect of Ardfert, whence, no doubt, his full description is not given. The other documents which have been made the basis for the claim of Limerick Diocese to the spiritual juris-

28. There are suggestive ruins there to support this theory.
30. No. I, p. 239 (n).
32. Nos. 54/56.
33. Brady Episcopal Succession. II. 53.
diction over the whole of the island, are all from secular sources and are all concerned with temporal rights of the Bishop of Limerick, or the custodian, and in no way with the spiritualities. It has already been pointed out that there is nothing inconsistent in the Bishop or Chapter of Limerick, or his or their nominees, having such temporal rights while the spiritual jurisdiction lay with Killaloe.

The claim of Killaloe Diocese, on the other hand, is supported by a large mass of Curial papers of the most varied kind. These have been set out in the Appendix in detail and they seem to the writer to furnish the most conclusive proof that at all times the Bishop of Killaloe had and exercised jurisdiction over all the island, with the possible, though unlikely, exception of the church "de Alto Angelorum." Attention may be specially directed to some of these papers. In December, 1418—of equal date with the Limerick Procuration Roll—the Pope ordered the collation to Donal O'Kennedy, a clerk of Ardfort, of "the wardenship of the Church of St. Senan, Inyskathyg, in the diocese of Killaloe, a non-selective office without cure." (34) In 1420 Maurice O'Kett, clerk of Killaloe, was collated to "the Priorship of the secular and Collegiate Church of Iniscahagh, in the diocese of Killaloe, a principal and elective dignity of the said Church, void per obitum John O'Homan." (35) In 1424 it appears that Maurice O'Kelly had been appointed to one of the portions "by collation of the Ordinary," (36) while another collation of the Ordinary, to Laurence O'Kelly, priest of Killaloe, appears in 1425. (37) At 1446 appears a Mandate collating the John Mackehecaun of the Annat reference supra to the vicarage of Shanagolden in the diocese of Limerick—the reference to the fact that he was warden of Iniscahagh in the document does not help, for it not clear to which diocese the expression "of the said diocese" applies, both Killaloe and Limerick being mentioned earlier. (38)

In the same year appears a Mandate from which it appears that the office of Sacrist of the Church "was wont to be held by portionaries," and that the confirmation of it belonged by custom to the Prior. (39) There is a further provision of an Iniscahagh portionary priest to Shanagolden vicarage in 1455, and it would seem clear that Shanagolden was one of the terms of St. Senan. At 1460 is a very significant paper. (40) It recites that David Kett had resigned a portion in the secular and Collegiate Church of St. Senan "in the diocese of Killaloe"; it adds that the Sacrist, Cornelius Honan, has died, and proceeds to say that the Prior and Chapter made provision of both benefices to Donal Honan by their Ordinary authority in virtue of which "and their approbation by the Ordinary of the place" he held possession. He was now, in addition, fortified by a Papal provision. It seems impossible to contend in the light of this Curial document that the Bishop of Killaloe had no spiritual rule in Iniscahagh. Finally, attention is directed to the interesting entry of 1466 whereby Edmund MacElligott, a canon of Ardfort, is ordered by the Pope to be collated and provided to "the wardenship (custodia) of Ballycotard, in the Collegiate Church of St. Senan, Ynyskathyg, in the diocese of Killaloe." This paper demonstrates, as has already been said, that there was more than one wardenship or custodia in Iniscahagh, and, if so, it would help the thesis already suggested that the warden or wardens did not reside in the College itself but in one of the outlying churches. Amongst the Augustinian Canons this was commonplace. In Killaloe Diocese, for instance, the Priory of Mona Incha, near Roscrea, was governed by the Prior, while the subordinate house at Thom Donyn (Toomeveera) had its Warden and is described as a "custodia." (41)

Apart from these documents, there are the very weighty arguments advanced by Malone in general terms for the Killaloe diocesan claims. He points out, for instance, that the diocese of Limerick comes nowhere within many miles of Iniscahagh. There is also the fact-apparent from the Inquisition of 1604 quoted by Begley (42) that, after the Reformation the temporalities of Iniscahagh were extensively dealt with by Morier-

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34. No. 19.
35. No. 21.
36. No. 22.
37. No. 23.
38. No. 38.
40. No. 49.
41. No. 52.
42. No. 9, pp. 397ff.
tagh Mac Uil Brien Aradh, the Protestant Bishop of Killaloe. Finally, as helping the suggestion that the Prior and the twelve Canons lived separately from their Limerick brethren, it is well to quote a fragment from a Brehon Law Judgment of the 15/16th century given by Hardiman. This deals with lands in Corcu Bascan named Knockahouna and testifies that "Teige Mor MacMahouna gave them to God and St. Senan and that the witnesses of that are the Prior of Killihanen and twelve priests of the Societe of Iniskatry."(43)

To sum up, therefore, I adventure the following conclusions:—

(i). The Community of the Collegiate Church consisted of a Prior and twenty-four Cappellani. From the Cappellani were chosen the Sacrist and one or more Wardens or Custodians of the temporalities of the subordinate houses.

(ii). The Prior and twelve of the Cappellani and the warden or wardens of any subordinate chapels, except that of "de Alto Angelorum" were collated and provided primarily by the Ordinary of Killaloe Diocese, while the Sacrist, elected by the Community, was approved by him.

(iii). The remaining twelve Cappellani and the custos or warden of the church "de Alto Angelorum" were collated by the Bishop of Limerick for those termons which lay "ex parte australi" of the estuary, though, by custom or gift, the nomination of four of these lay in the hands of the custos "de Alto Angelorum" for the time being.

(iv). The Killaloe and Limerick nominees lived separately—the latter in the Church "de Alto Angelorum" on the island, from which they appear to have departed voluntarily or have been driven into Ardferg.

(v). The Bishop of Limerick up to the Reformation had temporal rights over that portion of the island (dimidia pars?) in which lay the Church of the Angels. These rights Dr. Ryan, S.J., has suggested to me arose out of the original occupation by the Limerick Norsemen, a point which had not occurred to me or to anyone who has yet written on the subject. Further, it is possible, though very unlikely, that he did enjoy some spiritual jurisdiction over this Church as well, though of this there is no substantial proof.

(vi). Subject to the foregoing, the island lay at all times since 1188, in the diocese of Killaloe.

Leaving that aspect of the subject, we may come to consider the history of the Collegiate Church and make a start by attempting to ascertain its Termon lands and portions, or parochia, as they are called. This is a difficult matter, and it is not possible to be as definite as one would wish. On the Clare side, besides the island itself, the papers quoted show that Kilkish parish, Killimer, and Knock were all Termons of St. Senan.(44) Then there is the reference to Knocknahouna in the Brehon Judgment which has been given. Westropp thought the Termons went up to Doolough.(45) He gives the following ancient Churches in the area as founded by St. Senan, and presumably, therefore, in his Termon jurisdiction(46):—Kilmihil, Molyough, Iniscaragh, or Mutton Island; Inisloe, in the estuary; Feenish, Inismore, Ross. He also mentions Doonass, opposite Castletown (Kiltenanlea, now in Clonlara), but it seems doubtful if this was the same Saint as he of Iniscathaigh. There are wells dedicated to St. Senan at Iniscathaigh itself, Kildalgher, Carrow, Kilmacduane (in Killydane), Killaneena, near Clonlea; Corracadrane, Drum, and Kilcredan. Some of these places are far from Iniscathaigh, and were not in the monastic Termon but as is shown by footnote, many of the Churches are mentioned in the Vita S. Senani as his foundations.(47) From the Annates we gather some more information of the Termon churches. In 1427 there is a bond for Rory Lynch for a perpetual portion in Iniscathaigh, together with the vicarages of Killimer in Killaloe and "Dunmyin," in Limerick. Of these, Killimer was certainly in the Termon, and so pro-

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44. See No. 4 (a), p. 278.
46. No. 5 p. 111.
47. e.g. Kilmacduane (*Acta SS. 512*).
bably also was Dunmyley. Moynmore is mentioned as a “portion” of Iniscathaigh in an Annat of 1501. In 1507 is a curious Annat reference, in which the vicaries of “Kylyty-
dyn” and “Nadunayn” in Killaloe Diocese are described as pertaining to the church of Iniscathaigh. Of these, the first is the “Kylltylline in the Barony of Clonderlaw,” mentioned in the dissolution Inquisition of 1694. The latter is quite possibly identical with the curious parish church of “Eaglaysandenoyp,” described as in Killaloe diocese, of which Maurice Ogylahanan was Vicar in 1460. This, I think is really “Eaglay’s an Donnaigh,” or the Church of Sunday, or of “The King of Sunday”—a not unusual title in medieval times in Ireland when there was sometimes difficulty about the Sunday observance. At all events, there is still in Kilmihil parish a well of this dedication “Tobar Ri an Donnáigh,” and Kilmihil is one of St. Senan’s foundations. Father Costelloe thought it was Stradbally (Castleconnell), sometimes called “Idumyn,” but there is nothing else to identify this Church with St. Senan. Other references suggesting connections with Iniscathaigh will be found in the Papal Registers and Annates amongst the Clare Churches, but Westropp’s list of Senan’s foundations given supra will be found to cover most, if not all, of them. There was also, of course, and still is in Killaloe Diocese, a titular canonry and prebend of Iniscathaigh to which there are many provisions in the Annates. The origin of this dates back, no doubt, to the foundation of the Chapter circa 1200 and to the provision of the Synod of Kells that when monastic Bishoprics became extinct they should become rural deaneries. This canonry seems to have been always distinct from and disconnected with the Collegiate Church.

For the Termons on the Limerick side the reader is referred to a scholarly paper by Dr. Begley on “The Termons of St. Patrick” in the Irish Ecclesiastical Record of 1915 (June). Of these, the principal were Knockpatrick, between Shanagolden and Foynes; Shanoway, Kilmurry, Ballyhoolahan, and Doonaha, all on the southern shore of the Shannon estuary in the diocese of Ardéfert and Limerick. There was also Kilnaughten referred to supra (now in Tarbert), in respect of which it is well to quote from the Papal registers, Vol. VII (pp. 110/11), the description “the parish Church of Killnachtyn in the Diocese of Ardéfert, commonly called the Church of Duncacha and Dryseach and Tarmyyscanyn.” Here Dr. Begley believes that the Limerick portionary clergy lived and held their services in the time of Bishop O’Dea as mentioned in the Procurations.

We may now come to deal shortly with the historical references to Iniscathaigh and its Collegiate Church after the Kells period. Apart from the Black Book Inquisition regarding the temporal claims of Limerick already given, there is a paper in Harris from which we learn that Thomas, one of the Canons of Iniscathaigh, who was custos, brought a suit to recover 48 acres of land in Ballyhoolahan from Jo. Bretnagh, which he claimed in right of the said church. This was in the late thirteenth century. Donal O’Molony was the previous custos. Dr. Begley’s deduction from this record that “Richard de London was guardian,” hardly seems justified. Westropp makes it the foundation for a statement that “The English, at any rate, took possession of it (i.e., Iniscathaigh) and appointed from 1280 to 1300 a series of keepers (custodes).” This is quite misunderstanding the entry and also those in the other sources quoted by him from which he gathered the names of Donatus O’Maolmuire, Thomas de Worcester, Thomas de (sic, rectius “le”) Capellain, and Donatus O’Mulvaney. All these actually are Irish, except Thomas of Worcester, and his appointment, and those of any other of the Cappellaini who bear Norman names was due solely to the fact that the See of Limerick was contemporarily in Norman hands, and there were numerous Norman dignitaries in the diocese, unlike that of Killaloe, where, except for the De Clare clerics of Bunratty, prior to 1318, scarcely a Norman name appears on the clergy roll.

In the middle 14th century came one of the most curious complications in the tangled story of the island. Thomas, a Franciscan of Nenagh Convent, was provided to

48. No. 46.
49. No. 5, p. 164.
50. Doonaha and Tarmon lie between one and two miles south of Tarbert. ‘Dryseach’ has not been identified.
51. No. 7, p. 243, and see references to this church supra.
the See of Iniscathaigh (Cathayensis) by Pope Innocent VI. some short time before 1360. The provision took place at Avignon, and Thomas was consecrated by the Bishop of Pales-
trina about the 15th May of that year. It is probable that he was Thomas O'Hogan, since that family were always prominent in the history of Nenagh convent, and of the Diocesan administration of Killaloe. How this appointment came to be made it seems impossible to say. The affairs of the Papacy at the time were in confusion, the Curial records probably inaccessible, and the native genius of Thomas probably was sufficient to overcome any other difficulty that may have arisen. It is, however, worth noting that the Diocese of “de Insula Gathai” appears in a list of Irish Dioceses about this time as suffragan to Cashel in the Vatican records, although it was not in other lists after 1200, and is missing from Theiner’s list of 1377. It may have been confused with “de Insula,” an alias for Kilfenora, although this also (as “Finabore”) appears in the source quoted. However, that may be, Thomas departed for his non-existent See. He was met with the most violent opposition from the Bishops of Killaloe, Limerick, Ardferg, and Cloyne, all of whom had interests in Iniscathaigh. He accordingly petitioned the Pope, who appointed the Archbishop of Cashel “ut de statu ecclesiæ Cathayensis, an Cathedralis unquam fuerit, et episcopos habuerit, se informat et referet.” The other Bishops had complained that Iniscathaigh was “non Cathedralem sed parochalem,” and Thomas made his plaint “quominus ipse Thomas ecclesiæ ipsum et eius episcopatum pacifice regere et gubernare possit, eisque fructus, redditis et proventus, jurisdictiones et iura innumerabiliter occurrebit.” and further that they falsely accused Thomas of many crimes and misdemeanours. The Archbishop, however, died shortly after, and a further Mandate in similar terms issued to the Bishop of Lismore in 1338 from Pope Urban V. In the Annals of Nenagh (Thomas’s convent) appears an entry in the following year that the Bishop of Lismore summoned all the parties to meet at Senguela (Shanagolden), which was in the temon of the Collegiate Church, to inquire into the matter. Most unfortunately, no further record of this inquiry is forthcoming, but it is clear that Thomas lost his cause, for we hear no further of him or his “See” except that he later obtained Indults from the Pope for Indulgences, Licence to create Notaries, plenary remission “in articulo mortis,” and faculties to absolve in the hour of death for four months “during the epidemic.” But the “See” of Iniscathaigh was not forgotten. In 1400, as we have seen, on the petition of the Prior, John O’Honan, the nature of the Collegiate Church was confirmed by the Pope in “futuram rei memoriam.” But in 1411 Robert O’Kelly, Canon of Killaloe, was appointed by the Pope to inquire into grave moral charges preferred against Prior O’Honan, and, if he found them true, to deprive him, and collate the Priorship to Cornelius O’Lynch, Vicar of Kilrush. Three years later we discover that Richard, an Englishman, had been appointed “Bishop of Cathay” by the Pope. How this came to be done is again a mystery. It may be that as a result of the report of Canon O’Kelly, the Pope determined to revive the ancient See and send over Richard from the Curia to govern it. Or it may be that Richard, seeking preferment at the Papal Court, referred to the appointment of Thomas in 1363, and petitioned that the See was vacant. However, Richard was no more successful than Thomas, the Nenagh man, in getting possession of the See of St. Senan. He was unable to get to Iniscathaigh at all. From Bologna, in July, 1414, the Pope issued a dispensation to him in which he is described as “Richard of Katadensis,” a Dominican, and an Englishman. In this it is recited that provision had “lately” been made to him of the above See “on its voidance,” and that he had recently been consecrated “but owing to the fact that the Irish are notoriously rebels against King Henry and adversaries of all Englishmen, he cannot reside in the said Church and can get nothing from its goods.” He is, therefore, allowed to hold any benefice, with or without cure, “wherever he can get it.” On the whole, it seems as if Prior O’Honan was deprived and his deprivation construed as a vacation of a Diocese and not of the

56. The document in extenso at No. 3, p. 113 f.

57. Arch. Hibercicum VI, p. 145 (“De Insula Gathai”), ex Vatican Ms. The actual date is uncertain. MacFirbis includes Iniscathaigh in his account of extinct Sees (R.I.A. Ms. 24.I.32, ex Rawlinson, 480). It is not named by Dunicock in 1599 or in the Hoveden Annals list. Camden gives it “from an old Roman Provincial” (For these see Tracts Relating to Ireland—Arch. Soc., 1846, No. 2). Bingham and others, including even Dean Lawlor (op. cit. supra) confuse it with Kilfenora, sometimes called “de Insula” (e.g. No. 42).

58. See 10 (b)—at large in No. 3, p. 114.


60. No. 18.
Priorship. At all events, with the disappearance of Bishop Richard to his indeterminate benefice, there ends in the records all reference to Iniscathaigh as a See, and with it one of the most curious episodes in Irish mediæval Church history.

Such material as there is for the history of the Collegiate Church in the 14th and 15th centuries will be found in the papers abstracted in the Appendix. These, for the most part, are records of provisions to one of the offices or portions of the College, and beyond giving us the names of the beneficiaries do not tell us much of the actual life of the community.\(^{61}\) It is clear, however, from the number of Mandates addressed from the Curia to the Prior of Iniscathaigh during these years, to inquire into various matters affecting the diocese of Killaloe and of Ardfer, that, in common with the Prior of Clarecastle (O.S.A.) and of Canons Island (do.), he was reckoned as one of the most important ecclesiastics in the area. A note may be added on the Coarbs. There is no mention of this important officer in the Curial papers, and we may presume he was generally a layman. The practice seemed to differ in different areas. Thus, in Tuamgraney, in the Termon of Saint Cronan, extending over Tuamgraney and Moynoe, we are told that the Coarb was sometimes a cleric and sometimes a layman.\(^{62}\) In Iniscathaigh the Coarb was taken from the family of MacCathain or Keane, as he was in Tuamgraney from the O'Grady's. In both places clerics of the same names are constantly found, and a similar state of affairs prevailed at Ardroney, in lower Ormond, where the O'Hogans were Coarbs or Erenachs of the episcopal Manor.\(^{63}\) The first extended account of the rights attached to the office in Iniscathaigh is to be found in the Exchequer Inquisition of Elizabeth, taken on the Dissolution in 1576 and printed at large by Dr. Begley.\(^{64}\) From this it appears that the Coarb had four acres and a castle then newly built. He also had a tax on every boatload of oysters going to Limerick once every year, and another in similar circumstances from every boat of herrings, besides tithes, altarages and other emoluments. There are two curious statements in this document. One is that "the last Bishop was Bishop Mahowne, als. the Black Bishop—since whose time for one hundred years by usurpation and the disorder of the country the said Bishoprick, both spiritualities and temporalities, has been kept away by what tithe the jurors know not." The other is that "the said island is in the County of Limerick and parcel thereof." Westropp thought that Bishop Mahon was Bishop of Iniscathaigh after Richard, of whom supra. Archdeacon Malone identifies him as one of the Bishops of Killaloe (Mahon O'Grioffa, 1463-83).\(^{65}\) As to the second statement, one must bear in mind the "rebelliousness" of the inhabitants testified to in the Dispensation to Bishop Richard. It is most unlikely that the island was formally attached to any "shire" by this time, and when we find that all but three of the Inquisition Jurors bear names intimately connected with Limerick City, and that at that very time the Corporation of Limerick were petitioning the Queen for the island, the statement need no longer cause surprise. It is quite clear that in the Irish order, Iniscathaigh was always in Thomond.\(^{66}\) A second Inquisition, taken in 1604 at Clarecastle by a Clare jury, is also printed by Dr. Begley.\(^{67}\) It gives the sixteen quarters which "vulgariter et Hibernice vocabatur tarrenmon Shinan vidz, terre primus libere donat et mortificat per prelat. shinan ecclesie ad pios usus sive ad spirituale intencione (sic)." These were "Killyline in Baronia de Clonderla, "Beallantallinge, in baronia de Moyfartia," "Kilrush," and "Killygillage et Moyhassy," also in Moyfarta. It goes on to say that "St. Senan" gave these lands to "the fraternity and society of thirty three canons." The mention of thirty-three is peculiar and seems inexplicable, having regard to the other papers quoted. This inquisition goes on to describe how Moricertagh MacUibBrien Aradh, the Protestant Bishop, "with the assent of the dean and chapter" had disposed of these lands to various Irish—afact of which his successor, John Rider, made bitter complaint.\(^{68}\) It also says that

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61. Some light can be had by comparing the contemporary description of the collegiate church at Westbury, in Worcester, in No. 43.
63. See my paper thereon in Maha, 1937.
64. No. 3, p. 396.
65. No. 3, p. 159.
66. It was formally incorporated in Clare in November, 1853, by Privy Council Order (per Lenihan).
67. No. 9, p. 307 f.
68. See his "Loyal Answer" at large in Dwyer's Diocese of Killaloe. For an account of the connection of the Keane family with Iniscathaigh, see No.4 (b).
“Nicholas Cahan” was the coarb at that time. In the Carew Ms., we find that the Earl of Thomond and the Corporation of Limerick were contending for a grant of the island from Queen Elizabeth. In 1575 the Queen wrote to Sir Henry Sidney, the Lord deputy, referring to him the petition of the Mayor and Corporation for a grant of the island. In 1577 she wrote saying that the Earl of Thomond has asked for it “in order to convert it into a fish town.” She required to be informed about it. The Corporation got the grant eventually, and as late as 1654 Lenihan records that the Mayor sailed down the Shannon in a steam boat and “exercised Admiralty rights there.”

The island is no longer a centre of religious institutions. Its ruined churches alone bear mute testimony to its importance in days gone by, back to the 6th century. Spiritual jurisdiction over it is exercised by the Bishop of Killaloe, in spite of some interesting attempts by Dr. Young, of Limerick, to recover it for his diocese in the last century, recorded by Dr. Begley and Archdeacon Malone. For if the neighbouring Bishops defeated Thomas of Nenagh, and the “rebellious Irish” bereft Richard, the English Dominican of his diocese, the stormy waves between Tarbert and Inisclaire seem to have daunted even the intrepid parish priest of Ardert, to whose care it was committed by Dr. Young. No longer do boats load of oysters and herrings leave it for Limerick, its “new castle” of Elizabeth’s time is as much in ruin as the ancient churches of Senan, and of the Height of the Angels. Last of all its relics, Senan’s bell, was sold at Christie’s by a descendant of its family of coarbs, but fortunately recovered and lodged with Ireland’s national treasures in Dublin by an Anglo-Irishman with more public spirit. Its Collegiate Church has passed beyond the memory of its present inhabitants, but the names of its Canons—Hannons, Keanes, Honans, etc., still survive amongst the clergy and laity of Killaloe. So also does devotion to its great patron and founder, whose name—corrupted to “Sinon”—is a favourite patronymic all over Clare, whose legends are still preserved by the firesides of Thomond, and whose holy wells still have their “rounds” performed on his feast day. The incidents of the life of St. Senan have to this day a most prominent place in the folklore of Clare and the “peist” which with St. Michael’s help he drove into the dark waters of Doolough, enjoys a notoriety shared only by the “Bruc Sidhe” of Rathblathmaic.

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Life 2, edited Colgan in Acta 530 (630), 7, and in Bollandists Mart. I, 769-78.

See also Lismore Lives, ed. Whitley Stokes, for extracts of Life of Senan, ex Bk. Lismore, 54-70, 201-21, 321-47. Text and notes.


(iii) Anna Senane, Brussels R. Library, 4100-200, sec. XVII, f. 266, T.C.D. 1338 (H. 3, 17). Edited
Whitley Stokes in Zeitschrift fur Celtische Philologie, vol. III (1901), 226-5 (text, trans., of preface and epilogue only). Original of this text is in Leabhar Breac f. 241, but in an obscure and inaccurate and more or less unintelligible form. Stokes used the copy of this in T.C.D. Library (supra) but expresses the hope that some scholar would use the Brussels Ms. and edit it. This so far appears to have been done.

(iv) The Miracle of Senan Mss in Brussels R. Lib., 2324-40, ff. 241-9 (a Mss. of Michael O'Clerig); a poor copy of this in R. Irish Academy Misc., Dublin, 23, L. 11, XVIII, pp. 231 et seq. Edited by Plummer in Zeitschrift, vol. X (1815), pp. 1-25 (text and trans.), and see Acts (Cogan), 537-8. This is an Irish Ms., of the 14th cent. O'Clerig made his Mss from an old vellum book from which a copy was taken in 1525 by Canaile and Mol-Canare of Limerick.


(vi) Vide also Baring Gould and Fisher (op. cit. supra) for some account of St. Senan in Cornwall and see Macalister in R.I.A. Proceedings, XXXIV (1919), p. 346, for suggestion that Senan turned Iniscaithagh from a pagan to a Christian Shrine.

PART II—THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF INISCAITHAIG.


4. (a) Scattery or Iniscaithagh. By Thomas J. Westropp, in J. R. Soc. Antiq., Sept., 1897, pp. 276, et seq., and
(b) “The Bell Shrine of Scattery,” Ibid., Sept., 1900, p. 257.


APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS.

10. Theiner: Vetrorum Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum (Rome, 1864), (a) p. 316, Provision of Thomas to the See of Cathayensis, A.D. 1360; (b) p. 318, Mandate to the Archbishop of Cashel to inquire whether the Church of Cathayensis was Cathedral or parochial, etc., A.D. 1361; (c) p. 324, Mandate to Bishop of Lismore in similar terms, A.D. 1363.

11. Cal. Papal Letters, 1342/1419, p. 461. Anno 1363. The Bishop of Cathay, who is a conventual of Neagh, prays the Pope to revoke the scandalous appropriation of the guardianship of Neagh Franciscan Priory by Patrick Magrath, C.P.M., which said Patrick obtained by surreptitious letters to be in specialiter vocatos, si Iniscaithagh fuerit sedes Episcopatus, et si habuerit diocesim distinctam et si fuerint ibi episcopi et de nominibus episcoporum.

APPENDIX II. CALENDAR OF THE PAPAL REGISTERS.

13. V. p. 401. Mandate to the Abbot of Clare (de Porgio) and Org, to assign to Maurus O'Carmody, the canons and prebend of Inis Cathaigh in the Diocese of Killaloe void by reason of the marriage of Thomas O'Grady. Matthew MacNamara unlawfully detains it, A.D. 1567.


15. VI, p. 44 (1465). Mandate to the Bishop of Killaloe and Org. To assign to Donatus MacMahon, clerk of Killaloe, the canons and prebend of Iniscaithagh, vol. 20 mks., void per obitum Mathew MacNamar. Donatus is expecting benefice in Limerick, which he is to give up if he gets this one.

16. VI, p. 44. Further reference to Canons and prebend of Iniscaithagh in the diocese of Killaloe.

17. VI, p. 77. Mandate to Robert O'Kelly, Canon of Killaloe, to summon John O'Hanlon, Prior of the secular and college Church of St. Sanan, Iniscaithagh, in the diocese of Killaloe, and others, and if he finds that certain charges of immorality made against John are true, to remove him and to collate and assign it, which has cure and is a principal dignity in the said church, value 8 mks.; to Cornelius Lynch, Vicar of Kilrush, even if it be elective. He is to resign the Vicarage if he becomes Prior.
18. VI, p. 513 (1414). Dispensation to Richard, Bishop of Katadensis, who is a Friar Preacher and an Englishman. (At large supra in Text).

19. VII, p. 100 (1418). Mandate to the Bishop of Scessa and the Archdeacon and a Canon of Ard福特. To collate and assign to Donal O'Kennedy, clerk, and a perpetual beneficiary, called a portionary, in the Church of St. Senan, Inyskathaygh, in the diocese of Killala (disp. super defectu, etc.), the wardenship of the said Church, a non-elective office without cure, value not exceeding 7 mks., void by the death of Dermot Omulunne. Philip Maedmeheachaygh, priest of dioe. Limerick, who wrongfully detains it, is to be removed.

20. VII, p. 110 (5 Id. Dec., 1418). The same Donal O'Kennedy, described as a clerk of Ard福特 and holder of the wardenship ('custodia') of the Church of St. Senan, Iniskathaygh, in the diocese of Killala, on resigning his portion in the said church, to be collated and assigned to the Rectory of Kilmeenachygh, in the diocese of Ard福特, the cure of which is wont to be exercised by perpetual vicars, value 4 mks., and which is so long void that its collation has lapsed to the Apostolic See. He is to hold the Rectory with the wardenship.

21. VII, p. 163 (Jan., 1420). Mandate to the Bishop of Cluain Rodrigo, Fergallus O'Conroy, Canon of Killfenora, and Thomas Oghillasscurridan, Canon of Ard福特. To collate and assign to Maurice O'Keay, clerk of the dioe. of Killala (disp. super defectu, etc.), the Prioryship of the secular and Collegiate Church of Inyskathaygh, in the said dioe. a principal elective dignity with cure, value 6 mks., void by the death of John O'Horan (Horan).

22. VII, p. 358 (Nov., 1424). Mandate to collate and assign to Dermot O'Kelly, clerk of dioe. Killala, the perpetual vicarage of Knock in the said dioe. void because Maurice O'Kelly when holding it, obtained by collation of the Ordinary, a perpetual portion with cure in the Church of St. Senan, Inyskathaygh: Maurice O'Kelly, who has unduly detained possession for more than two years, and on account of whose power said Dermot has no hope of obtaining justice in the city and dioe. of Killala, is to be removed. (Mandatories are the Abbott of Concome, the Precentor of Ard福特, and a Canon of Killfenora).

23. VII, p. 401 (April, 1425). Mandate to the Abbot of Corcomroe to collate and assign to Laurence O'Keay, priest of dioe. Killala (disp., etc.), who had obtained by authority of the Ordinary, a perpetual portion with cure in the collegiate Church of Hynyskathaygh in said dioe. the perpetual vicarage of Seanguola (Shanagolden) in the dioe. of Limerick, so long void, etc., because Laurence O'Kelly, who obtained it on its voidance by the death of Philip Makekathaygh, held it for more than a year, etc. Thomas O'Kelly, priest of Killala, who unlawfully detains, is to be removed. Notwithstanding that Laurence holds the said portion (Iniskathaygh), value 6 gold ducats, which he is dispensed to hold with the vicarage, and notwithstanding that his father was his immediate predecessor in the said portion.

24. VII, p. 441 (1426). Nemias O'Kelly, Canon of Killala and Prebendary of Iniscaithagh, to hold his prebend and canony, to which he had been provided on the profession of Rory Magrath as an Augustinian Canon, even if the provision were made before the actual profession which has now taken place (val. 30 mks.). Reference to Bishop Donatus of Killala.

25. VII, p. 481 (Oct., 1426). Further mandate re foregoing entry. Robert O'Kelly, opposing Nemias in the Canony of Iniscaithagh, had been excommunicated by Richard, Archbishop of Cashel; Cornelius, sometime Bishop of Limerick, and John, Bishop of Lismore, after he had obtained possession, though not peaceably. The Pope now orders the Archdeacon of Killala, to summon Robert and hear the appeal and decide it and to grant Nemias a conditional and ad cautelam absolution enjoining penance pro modo culpa.

26. VII, p. 571 (1427, July). Rehabilitation to Rory O'Lynch, priest of dioe. Killala, on account of having formerly, when holding a perpetual portion with cure in the Church of Iniskathaygh, obtained by collation of the Ordinary, the perpetual vicarage of Dummynn, in the dioe. of Killala and Limerick: (sic), and held both together for more than a year, uncannonomically.

27. VII, p. 66 (Oct., 1428). Donal Oghillassennay, clerk of Killala, collated to the perpetual vicarage of Kilrush in said dioe. notwithstanding that he held the Sacerdotal of the Church of Inyskathaygh in the said dioe. an office with cure value 4 mks.

28. VIII, p. 90 (Oct., 1429). Collation of the same Donal: to the Sacerdotal of the Church of Inyskathaygh in the dioe. of Killala, void by the death of Gilbert O'Madigan. Donatus O'Keet, who has not cleared himself of his simoniacl entry, is to be removed.

29. VIII, p. 123 (1429). The Prior 'of the secular and collegiate Church of St. Senan, Inyskathaygh, in the dioe. of Killala,' is appointed (cum aliis) as a Papal Mandate to collate and assign the Rectory of Quin, to Cornelius Maccormak, Treasurer of Killala ('of a noble race of dukes'). The vicarage of Drumline is attached to the Tresurership.

30. VIII, p. 490 (Dec., 1429). Awdy O'Lynch, Canon of Killala, and prebendary of Iniscaithagh, has provision of a new rectory in lisu of the dissolved monastery of nuns of St. Catherine, OConnrilly, in the dioe. of Limerick. Also of the Precentorship of Limerick (vide also p. 454).

31. VIII, p. 425 (1429). Odo Magrath, clerk of Killala, provided to the Canony and prebend of Inyskathaygh, in said dioe. (30 mks.). See also IX., p. 531.

32. IX., p. 148 (1442). Mandate (cum aliis) to the Prior of the secular and collegiate Church of St. Senan, Inyskathaygh, in the dioe. of Kilkeale, to provide to Thady O'Griffin, the rectory of the par. church of Kyllnamona in said dioe. in rural and ecclesiastical fee, commonly called the rectory of Kenelbuyth, of the patronage of laymen.
33. IX, p. 257 (1442). Similar description of the Prior as Mandate a provision to the vicarage of Clondonagad of Thady Magrath.

34. IX, p. 296. Same description as Mandate a provision of Matthew O'Griffa to the vicarage of Dysert.

35. IX, p. 520 (1445). Same description a provision of Donald O'Quin to the rectory of St. Findchu, Kilnaboy.

36. IX, p. 544 (1446). Same description as Mandate a provision of Maurice Keane to the vicarage of Kilmacduane.


38. Idem page. Mandate to the Prior of the secular and collegiate Church of St. Senan, Inyskataygh, in the dioce of Killaloe, and Thady Maccarayth, canon of Killaloe. Mandate to investigate a complaint against Laurence O'Kelly of dilapidating the goods of the vicarage of Shanagolden, in the dioce. Limerick, preferred by John MacKeagh, clerk of Limerick dioec., and if found true, to collate the vicarage to John, notwithstanding that the Pope recently granted him the wardenship or office of the collegiate church of Inyskataygh, without cure, value 3 mks.

39. IX, p. 551 (Sept. 1446). Mandate to Thady Magrath, Canon of Killaloe. John Behan, a perpetual portionary in the collegiate Church of Iniskaygh, in the dioce of Killaloe, petitioned the Pope that, on the voidance of the Sacristy of said church by the death of Donatus O'Keel, 'the chapter, in accordance with ancient custom, elected the said John, who got the election confirmed by the Prior of the said Church, to which (sic) the confirmation belongs by like custom, and in virtue of said election and confirmation, he obtained possession (of the office) and still holds it.' He doubts if it holds good. The Mandate is now to collate and assign the office to him, val. 3 mks., which is wont to be held by portionaries, whether it be void at supra or by the resignation of Cornus O'Honan, or in any other way.


41. X, p. 718 (June, 1484). Mandate to the Dean, Archdeacon and Treasurer of Limerick. Maurice Ogilla, Presbyter of dioce. Killaloe, has made charges to the Pope against Donatus Magrath, canon of Killaloe, Maurice (diap., etc.), has been promoted to the priesthood, and has obtained 'by canonical collation, a perpetual portion in the collegiate church of the place of Inyskayhag in said dioce,' and for fear of the power of Donatus, cannot obtain justice in Killaloe dioce. If the Mandate see the charges true, they are to deprive Donatus, and in that event to collate the anomaly and prebend of Clondonagad to Maurice, notwithstanding that he holds the said portion, which is one of twenty-four perpetual portions, reputed to be with cure in the said collegiate church." Value 2 mks. The vicarage of Kilmacduane has been united to the prebend of Clondonagad by the present Pope.

42. XI, p. 181 (1458). The Bishopric of Kilkenny, described as 'de Insulam.' (Hence the occasional confusion of this See with Inyskataygh. Kilkenny once included the islands of Aran.)


44. XI, p. 350 (1458). Mandate to the Dean and Chancellor of Limerick. To collate to William 'Ogililchannan,' priest of dioce. Killaloe, who had obtained and later resigned a perpetual portion with cure in the collegiate Church of Inyskataygh in said dioce, the vicarage of Shanagolden in the dioce of Limerick, void because Laurence O'Kelly (Kelly,) obtained collation to him by the Ordinary, a perpetual portion with cure in the said church of Iniskayagh called the portion of Kilgebam," and held both it and the vicarage together contrary to the canons.

45. XI, p. 286 (1458). The prior "of the secular and collegiate church of Iniskayagh, in the dioce of Killaloe" named a Mandate in a provision to benefices in the dioce of Ardfert. (Vide also idem at P. 400 re provision to the rectory of Quin).

46. XI, p. 410 (1460). Mandate to the Abbot of Clare (castle) and Inisadagh (O.S.A.) and Canon Cornelius O'Dea of Killaloe. To reserve to their gift for collation to Maurice Ogilla, vicar of the psh. church Eglaasandeneve in dioce. Killaloe (diap., etc.), and also holder of a perpetual portion in the secular and collegiate churches of Cormasoge (Ul Cormnaic) in said dioce. Notwithstanding that he holds said vicarage and portion.

47. XII, p. 51 (1459). Record of the erection of a Collegiate Church in the dioce of Clonmacnoise, by the Bishops and Canons thereof, and the appropriation of a parish for its maintenance.

48. XII, p. 82 (1460). Mandate to the Prior of the secular and collegiate Church of Iniskayagh in the dioce of Killaloe (cum aliis) to provide Robert O'Kelly to the vicarage of the psh. church of Kilcofn, in said dioce.
canonically elected to the latter, in virtue of which collation and provision, and their approbation by the Ordinary of the place, he obtained and still holds possession, but now doubts whether said collation and provision hold good. The Mandatories are to collate and assign to him the said sacristy, which is an office elective, without cure, and the portion, which is by custom with cure, value 3s. and 20s. of the money current in those parts, which benefits can both by the custom of the said church, be canonically held together by a weekly celebrant thereof.

50. XII, p. 96 (1497). Eugene O’Homan petitions that he had made a simoniacal bargain on his collation by the Ordinary of Killala to the vicarage of Killashrah. Mandate to the Abbot of Clare to absolve him from the sentences, etc., and to collate and assign the vicarage to him when rehabilitated, notwithstanding that he was lately received by authority of the ordinary in the collegiate church of Iniskathaigh in said diocese, in accordance with the statutes and customs thereof, to a certain portion of rural lands, which lay on the west side and was about to become void and has customary cure of souls (value 20s.). He is dispensed to hold the portion and vicarage together.

51. XII, pp. 202, 200 (1463/3). Mandates (cum allia) to the Prior of the secular and collegiate church of Iniskathaigh in the diocese of Killala. Benefices in Ardfort and Clonyc.

52. XII, p. 474 (1469). Mandate to the Abbot of Inisgad (O.S.A.) and two Canons of Killala. To collate and assign to Edmund Macollyeht (MacElligott), a canon of Ardfort (lately disp., etc.), and vicar of the parish churches of Galle and Hyseltn (sic) in the dioec. of Ardfort, the wardship (custodia) of Belycortard in the collegiate church of St. Senan, Yvaskaryn (sic), in the diocese of Killala, a non-elective office without cure, value 6 mks., void because Donald Okynola has lawfully contracted marriage per verba de praesenti and consummated it, although said Donald, who is to be summoned and removed, has detained it for two years and still does so.

53. XII, p. 595 (July, 1497). Mandate to three canons of Killala, to collate and assign to Rory O’Kelly, clerk of Killala, the perpetual vicarage of the parish church of Kilrush, although Maurice O’Madigan, prient of said diocese, has detained it under pretext of a collation made by the Ordinary after its collation had lapsed to the Apostolic See, without canonical title, along with one of the portions of the collegiate church of Iniskathaigh in said diocese, which portion has cure of souls.

ANNATES LIMERICENSES.

54. 1446. xii. Nov. Johannes Mackehecayn, principalis, obligavit se Camere super annata Custodia ecc. de Innyshkagay de Altcangelorum, Limericensis dioec., culius fructus, etc., octo marcharum sterlingorum communi exti macrone non excudunt, vacature per privacionem Donaldi Okynola faciendum. Collat. eadem Rome aput S.P. anno, etc. mececlvi septimo Kal. Novembris anno xvi.

55. 1505. xxix Martii. Thaterus Okeyd, clericus Ardfortensis dioec., obligavit se Camere Apec. pro annata ecclesie, custodie nuncupate de Alto Angelorum, Limericensis dioec., vacantis certo modo, culius fructus, etc., duodecem march. ster., non excudunt. Et providet eadem Thaeus, etc. Et promisit solvere Collectori in partibus justa morem Hybernicorum.

ANNATES ARDFERTENSES.

56. 1505. D. Car. Dic (31 Juli) d. Carolus Yconcyr, clericus Ardfertensis dioec., obligavit se Camere Apostolico pro annata Karwmu et de Kylluru ac rectorie de Haeamaluyn et de Lisselton, parochialium ecclesiarum perpetuarum vicariarum ac Custodie ecclesie de Innyshkay de Alto angelorum Ardfertensis et Limericensis dioec., certo modo vacantium et quorum insimul fructus, etc., septuaginta mar. ster., etc. Et mandatur provisori, etc. Et promisit solvere, etc.


(See also extract ex annalibus, etc., quoted in No. 9 supra, and Dineley J.R.S.A.I., 1866; Lady Chatterton’s Rambles, and Dutton’s Survey, p. 394).