The church lands of the diocese of Limerick:
reconstruction and history

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This paper comes in three sections. Firstly, the church lands or cross-lands of the diocese of Limerick are reconstructed as they must have existed during the Anglo-Norman period. Secondly, the question of the origins of the diocese and how it acquired these lands is examined. Thirdly, the earlier history of these ecclesiastical lands is discussed.¹

Sources and Methodology
The bulk of the Limerick sources derive from a single manuscript, the so-called Black Book of Limerick. This contains an eclectic collection of material, among which are grants of lands to the Church from an early period (c.1194-1216), a detailed list of churches and properties from c.1201, a series of transcripts of pleadings concerning the cross-lands, mostly from the second half of the 13th century, and a rental of the cross-lands from 1336, with some later additions.

There are, however, difficulties with these sources. The rental contains many obsolete and lost place-names, and appears to be incomplete in regard to lands located in the more distant parts of the diocese. Names of tenants are given only on occasion, and some lands in the rental thus simply cannot be identified. As an example we may take the surnames Roche and Brown, which occur in the rental in association with lost place-names located generally in the area south of Limerick City. It is tempting to identify these holdings with the later Roche holdings in Caheravally and Knocknagaul, while the Browns gave their name to a castle and the obsolete Ballinbrowney now located in Drombanny in Cahernarry. Yet in the absence of further confirmation such identifications must remain in the realm of speculation.² Again, the 1201 list (in two closely related copies) is a strange document, which sets out to list ‘the church lands and tenements’ of the church of Limerick, but is mostly a long list of place-names cum pertinentiis, (‘with appurtenances’) most of which are in fact churches.³ The majority of the churches of the diocese are listed. It seems clear that all churches mentioned possessed some lands but many of these merely possess what appears to be the vill or townland in which the church stands. Others, such as Mungret, clearly possess large estates about which nothing more is said, while, in the case of that great block of cross-land later found in the manor of Loghill, it appears to be represented in the list by five churches listed consecutively (Loghill, Ardanee, Morgans, Shanagolden and Tomdeely). Therefore, this list is of limited value and needs careful usage. Where there is no additional evidence of the existence of cross-land around these church sites I have simply allocated the townland in which each church

¹ This paper was researched as part of my Irish Research Council (IRCHSS) post-doctoral fellowship. It does not seek to deal with the issues of parish origins or pastoral care within the diocese, which have been addressed in a separate paper
² Parish, pastoral care and tuath in the diocese of Limerick, c.1201 (forthcoming).
³ This document is further discussed in my forthcoming paper ‘Parish, pastoral care and tuath’.
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is located as cross-land. That this is the correct procedure is suggested by the several churches which occur in the list and which are subsequently found, in later records, to possess only the immediate townland or quarter upon which they stand. In two places this list includes groups of what are clearly estate-lands (with names in baile), but these are mostly obsolete names and these lands cannot be fully identified.

There are a number of later sources which complement those above. Both published and unpublished plea roll material contains some references to the subject, while we possess two lists of the manors of the diocese from the Anglo-Norman period. The Peyton Survey of 1586 contains some useful references to church-lands while there is an inquisition post mortem of 1626 into the lands of the see taken upon the death of Bishop Bernard Adams. Again, the surviving copy is incomplete. Of most use in this context is the extensive rental made by Bishop Webb in 1641 which, in addition to reciting the existing church-lands, contains extensive notes of property lost to the see or which the bishop was attempting to recover. To this source may be added the record of church property contained in the contemporary Down and Civil Surveys and, finally, in the first Ecclesiastical Commissioners Report of 1833. Where available I have used the Down Survey barony and parish maps of the 1650s as well as the modern Ordnance Survey historical first series maps. Where the earlier maps show different boundaries to the OS series I have followed the earlier cartography. Finally, the comments of Begley and especially Westropp are of some use in the present context.

Main Sources and Abbreviations

1336 rental: Ibid., pp 154-64.


1626 inq Inquisition post mortem of Bishop Adams, NAI RC 9-12, 486-91.


Bar. map Down Survey barony maps, NAI.
Par. map Down Survey parish maps, NLI MS 718.

Begley, i J. Begley, The Diocese of Limerick Ancient and Medieval (Dublin, 1906).


NAI RC NAI Record Commissioners calendars of Plea (RC 7-* ) and Memoranda (RC 8-*) rolls.

The episcopal manors are listed in 1302 and again in 1312, in each case in exchequer pipe Rolls. The 1336 rental also arranges lands under manorial headings. These manors generally show correlation with cantred boundaries, but this is not always the case.

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5 For the cantreds of Co. Limerick see F. MacCotter, Medieval Ireland: territorial, political and economic divisions (Dublin, 2008) pp 184-91.
manor of Mungrist contained lands in the cantreds of Limerick, Escon and Ocarby Otharach; while all the Loghill lands lay in the cantred of Shanid. The manor of Ardagh lay within the cantred of the same name. Most of the lands of the manor of Clonshire lay in the cantreds of Bruree and Askewan, but here Dysert lay in the cantred of Ocarby Otharach and Clonelty in that of Ardagh. In extending the following lands I have used acres rather than hectares as these are the historical unit of measurement.

The manor of Mungrist

The demesne of the manor of Mungrist is first extended in a deed of 1185–1189 ('the land of Mungrist'), but its bounds are too vague to be of much use, apart from naming two territories, one of which was Mungrist itself. Subsequent records allow us to include Mungrist (a borough), Cloghealoka, Ballyduane, Ballymacashill, Clogheating, Islanduane, Ballykeeffe, Dooradoyle and Ballycummin in Mungrist, all of which lie in its parish, which thus appears to represent the demesne.⁶

There is, however, one exception. This involves the townlands of Barnakyle in Mungrist and Ballybrown in Kilkeedy. This latter adjoins Mungrist and is represented by the two ploughlands of Clarina held of the bishop in 1641. One suspects these lands to be the two ploughlands in Escon granted to the Church by William de Burgh in 1190–1204, for Escon is Kilkeedy. That some kind of exchange typical of neighbouring manors is at play here is suggested by the chief rent due from Barnakyle to the manor of Carrigogunnell (the earlier Escon) in 1641, when it lay in Pobblebrien barony, unlike the remainder of Mungrist. There is, however, more going on here than this. The 1201 list mentions five places in Escon, three with names in baile and two in raith, which clearly represent a significant expansion of the episcopal estate into southern Kilkeedy. Of these places only Rahina can be identified today, but it is likely that Ballybrown represents a portion of these lands as well. These lands are perhaps those of the 'land of Ivannacham' of the Mungrist grant. In any case, these references allow us to suggest that the Mungrist estate here originally extended into Kilkeedy, and included at a minimum the townlands of Ballybrown, Rahina and Elmpark (for which see Killnacally below).⁷ Acreage here 6,100 approx.

The estate of Knocknagaul can be traced to a grant of lands made to the church by the citizens of Limerick upon royal command, in 1216. This was of 'the ten ploughlands of Omayl' and the grant was in exchange for an earlier royal appropriation of the fisheries of Limerick. The estate was subsequently known as Crewymaille or Crenathymaille, which also occurs as an alias for the parish of Knocknagaul. It would appear that the area of this estate is that of the 17th century parish of Knocknagaul, i.e. the present parish and Rootagh and Ashfort in Crecona,⁸ acreage 2,665.

The Donaghmore estate is well attested in various records, usually simply as Donaghmore. However, one early record mentions Kylychan in connection with Donaghmore, and this is to be identified with the 17th century Kilprichane, now Routagh, while Bishop Webb was claiming, as part of Donaghmore, the lands of Drombanny and 'Gortedenecie', clearly the 17th century Garredene in modern Drombanny (Donaghmore). From this it is clear that the estate is the same as the parish, with the addition of Ballybrennan in Cahernary, still church-land in 1656,⁹ acreage 1,017.

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⁶ BBL. pp 34, 162; 1336 rental, pp 154–5; Webb, p. 405; CS, p. 526; Par. map; ECR.
⁷ BBL. pp 110–11; Webb, pp 418, 420; CS, p. 393.
⁸ BBL. pp 57, 89, 99, 109, 103–4, 126, 146, 165; 1336 rental, p. 156; Par. map.
The Rathurd estate, like Donaghmore, does not appear in the 1336 rental, probably because it is under an obsolete name there. Begley identifies it with the Munimdartha of the 1201 list, probably without foundation. It would appear to correspond with the rectory of Rathysward, and is the five ploughlands claimed by Bishop Webb in 1641. In 1311 we note one ‘Robert Syward of Sywards Rath in the suburbs of Limerick’.10 (The Sywards were an important early burgess family of Limerick, while the efforts of Westropp, Begley and O’Donovan to identify this place with the Raith Arda Suird of the Book of Rights are erroneous.) From the information given by Webb it appears that these lands correspond to the modern Rathurd, Banemore and both Rathbanes, all in St Nicholas’ parish, acreage 780.11 Rathgrellane occurs in a deed of c.1205 as a piece of church-land and in the 1336 rental paying a substantial rent of one mark. It survived into the 17th century and occupied the eastern third of Crossagalla in St. Nicholas’ parish,12 acreage approx. 80.

Around 1260 the abbot of Monasternenagh exchanged ‘the land around the white stone cross on the southern side of the city of Limerick’ with the prebendary of Dysert for the lands of Balsysdon, otherwise unknown. The former appears to be the name-giving cross of Crossagalla (Cros Gealla) and the lands in question must be the 17th century Farrenamangan, now in central Crossagalla, perhaps 40 acres.13

Much of Caheravally parish seems to have been an episcopal estate. Kyltarogi occurs in the 1336 rental (immediately north of Lickadoon) and the two quarters of Kylltorog occur in Peyton, when they are among the seven quarters of the ‘togh’ of Orylly, three of which were at Lickadoon. Kyltarogi is associated with Lickadoon in the rental, even though this section is damaged, and on one occasion is given as an alias for Lickadoon. From these references Kyltarogi would appear to correspond to part of modern Lickadoon, if not to Drombany to its north. The ‘togh’ of Orylly in Peyton is a corruption of the more usual ‘Tuoghcreyn’, which seems to correspond to much if not all of Caheravally parish. It is the fca of Orethan held by the Butlers of Aherlow from the first settlement, the second of whom, John fitz Henry Pincerna, held Orethan in capite in 1238. Around the same time this John granted to the see of Limerick his ‘mother-church’ of Caheravally ‘with all of its appurtenances, namely all ecclesiastical benefices of the tenement of Oortheryn’. The Butler castle here was at Lickadoon. As for Caheravally itself (now Raheen in which is Caheravally church), Westropp identifies the Rathendessy of the 1336 rental with this Raheen, which has a towerhouse ruin within a rath, and this identification is supported by the granting of Lickadoon, Boherload and Toberyquin to the see of Limerick upon the Restoration, at a time when the see recovered various lands upon which it had a claim but no possession in 1641. While it is tempting to follow Westropp and, more tentatively, Begley in identifying these lands with the Cathirdubdulig of the 1201 list we must note, a few years later, reference to the parish of ‘Catherbathelach’, which throws some doubt on this. From all of this it would seem that much of this parish was claimed by the Church.14 The acreage of these townlands is 1,680.

Kilrush is recorded in the 1201 list and as ‘beyond the Shannon’ in 1336; still church-

10 Calendar of the justiciary rolls of Ireland, ed. J. Mills et al., (3 vols, Dublin, 1905–56), iii, p. 214.
11 BBL, pp 93, 109, 146; Webb, p. 418; Begley, i, p. 124.
12 BBL, p. 116; 1336 rental, p. 155; CS, pp 483–4; Par. map.
13 BBL, p. 40; CS, p. 484; Par. map.
land in 1641, 140 acres.15 Kileley occurs in 1201 and again, with its lands, around 1248. These must have been limited to the vill of the church but memory of this is now lost and all that can be attributed to Kileley is the townlands of Glebe (alias Farranykilly) and Prior’s Land, total acreage 81.16 Kilquane in St. Patrick’s parish occurs in 1201, 48 acres.

Ballycahan is the Bally Mulcatha of the 1201 list, as suggested by its location, and its occurrence (‘Balcathcan’) in 1336. There is no evidence that its estate comprised more than its immediate vill, which bore the alias Kildonnell after its church, and this vill comprised the modern Ballycahan Upper (where the church of Kildonnell lies), Maryville and Kildonnell, with acreage of 684.17

Records concerning the churches of Killonahan and Killenoughty are difficult to disentangle due to the similarity of name forms, but we are assisted by the Ui Briain genealogies, which name them respectively as Cill Onchon and Cill Finnshneachta. Cill Onchon occurs as Kellonochon in 1201 and Cill Finnshneachta as Kyllinatan, showing that both were originally cross-land, while the ‘lands’ of Killonethon also occur as episcopal property in the period 1223-35. Only one of these occurs in 1336, as ‘Killynatan’, surely Cill Finnshneachta, and no further record of church ownership occurs in either case. In both instances the scarcity of evidence suggests that only the church vill was cross-land. Cill Onchon occurs as Killeonaghann or Killollochon in the Civil Survey, and its lands correspond to the modern townland of Killonahan and a portion of that of Killanahan (an example of ‘name-creep’), approximately 360 acres. Cill Finnshneachta is Killinaghten or Killonghin in the Civil Survey, the present Killeenoughty (200 acres).18

Kildimo occurs in 1201 and again, ‘with its lands’, in 1205. The 1656 townland of Kildimo appears to comprises the modern Kildimo, Ballyrune and Monanooag, acreage 647.19 Kildacolum is linked to Kildimo in both references above. It survived as a townland until at least 1656 (‘Kilacollum’), now part of southern Court, approximate acreage, 200.20 Kilcurley and Kil(mac)gobbin occur in the 1201 list, while their ‘lands’ are noted in a grant of Bishop Hubert (1223-1250) to the communia. These townlands lie adjacent in Adare parish, total acreage, 773. The otherwise unidentified lands of Tomagoe and Cappapaeacon in Adare claimed by Bishop Webb may have lain in these townlands.21

The ‘Inriase’ of the 1201 list appears to be a corruption of Iveruss, the church of which lies in Beagh, acreage 256. Anhid again occurs in 1201 and not later. The acreage of both townlands is 497. A similar example is Kellallathan. This has been identified with Killulta church in Glennnameade townland in Kildimo, the 15th century church of Gleande. Acreage 483.22

Another such is Kilcornan, whose church site lies in Moig East Glebe, acreage 77.23 Yet another is the church of Kellnachalichi. This is etymology to the 1656 townland of Killnakallye, now the western one-third of Elm Park Demesne in Kilkeedy, approx. acreage 100.24

15 1336 rental, p. 156; Webb, p. 417.
16 BBL, pp 61, 114; Westropp, pp 364–5; J.C. Erck, Ecclesiastical Register (Dublin, 1830) p. 162.
17 1336 rental, p. 156; CS, p. 374; Bar. map.
18 BBL, p. 29; 1336 rental, p. 156; CS, pp 374, 379–80; Bar. map; T. Ó Donnchadha, An Leabhar Mainnbeach (Dublin, [1940]), p. 349.
19 BBL, pp 116, 121; CS, pp 347–9; Bar. map.
20 CS, p. 349; Bar. map.
21 BBL, p. 58; Webb, p. 422.
22 Westropp, pp 386–7.
23 Westropp (pp 387–8) is in error in relation to the church of Kilcurnan which occurs on p. 141 of BBL, this is clearly the original name for the church of Colmaneswell.
24 CS, p. 383; Bar. map; Westropp, p. 370.
Ardcanny occurs in the 1201 list, and this rent is taken from the 17th century Mellon, about two-thirds of the modern townland, which includes the 17th century glebe and church of Ardcanny, acreage 350 approx.\textsuperscript{25} Finally we might note the Balihichoreram or Balichorchorchram of the 1201 list. This occurs as the prebend of Balicoriceran in 1205, and must be the later prebend of Kilbekayn alias Balymaccocainor of 1418.\textsuperscript{26} This is now Kilpeacon parish, whose townland contains 450 acres. As this is first recorded as a baile name it may be that the entire parish was cross-land, but this is unclear.

The lands of Limerick and Singland
The Singland estate was granted to the church of Limerick by Prince John in 1185, where its bounds are given though it is not explicitly named.\textsuperscript{27} Three of these bounds can be identified (Killaloe, the Groody river, and Reboge Meadows) while the fourth was an unidentified ford on the Shannon.\textsuperscript{28} This estate certainly included the modern townlands of Singland, Reboge Meadows and Killaloe, still church-land in 1656, but clearly ran further north-west to include the land and fisheries of Drummanolube, which we know from another source to have been included in the grant of 1185.\textsuperscript{29} Note that the grant of 1185 mentions four ploughlands while the later Singland lands are usually extended as only one ploughland. In 1215 the king repossessed the lands and fishery of Drummanolube (the Laxweir) and the mill of Limerick (the King’s Mills), and arranged for the bishop to have the large estate of Omayl (Knocknagaul: see above) in exchange, which suggests that what was repossessed was significant. As early as 1205 the treasurer’s prebend consisted of the lands of Singland and Drommanolube, and these must represent the subsequent parish of St. Patrick south of the Shannon, which formed part of the corps of the treasurership. Accordingly I would concur with Moloney’s conclusions here, which identifies the land and fishery of Drommanolube with the remainder of St. Patrick’s parish, including the Corbally peninsula with its fisheries. It is probable that what remained with the see after 1215 is represented by the church-land of 1656 here.\textsuperscript{30}

The important question remains, however, of what were the original church-lands of Limerick itself. In the modern era the Church possessed very little in Limerick City apart from the site of the cathedral, bishop’s palace, deanery, college of Vicars Choral, and St. Nicholas’ church, all lying in proximity in St. Mary’s parish. Admittedly, all of Limerick’s churches are listed in 1201, but only in the case of St. Munchin’s is there land attached, and this cannot be identified. (Another indigenous dedication in this list is to Brigid, also unidentified). The genealogies of Dál Cais associate Inis Sibbonn (the island upon which Limerick is built) with Mainchin,\textsuperscript{31} the eponym of St. Munchin’s parish, and I think it is probable that in the Ostman era much of the area of Limerick and its hinterland was church-land, and that this was subsequently taken by John as royal demesne, for which he duly compensated the Church with Singland and Drommanolube, but this is speculation.

The acreage of the later Singland church-lands is 592 and that of the Drommanolube section approximately 865, suggesting a total for the area of the 1185 grant of approx-

\textsuperscript{25} BBL, p. 156; 1626 inq: Webb, pp 410, 419; Bar. map.
\textsuperscript{26} BBL, pp 116, 146.
\textsuperscript{27} BBL, p. 103.
\textsuperscript{29} CS, p. 527; Par. map; CDL, i, p. 92.
\textsuperscript{30} BBL, pp 53–4, 109, 116, 121, 124.
\textsuperscript{31} As quoted by Moloney, ‘parish of St. Patrick’, p. 104.
imately 1,500 acres. The place, Inchicoman, which occurs near Singland in the 1201 list, is probably to be identified with Reboge Island, which was still a commonage in 1656. Total acreage for this manor: 17,738 including all known church-land from 13th century records. To get an idea of the probable area of church-land at the Invasion we must deduct the Knocknagaul grant at a minimum, which gives a revised figure of 15,223.

The manor of Kilmallock
The demesne and borough of Kilmallock is well attested in various sources, and Kilmallock itself first occurs in the 1201 list, and is subsequently listed as a manorial seat. From its plentiful records we know that its demesne is represented by the ‘Liberties of Kilmallock’ of 1656, the modern barony of Kilmallock, acreage 4,074.

The parcel of Balymalynnan occurs in several early sources, when associated with Kilmallock. In 1290 Bishop Gerald sued its tenants for rent from its two ploughlands, but it does not occur after 1336. It is probably to be identified with the rectory of Balymolruain of 1418, and must have lain in the barony of Kilmallock. Its earliest mention is among the lands of Monasterenagh and, significantly, it does not occur in the 1201 list.

Ardpatrick occurs in the 1201 list but is not recognizable in the 1336 rental. Yet in 1290 86 acres here were in dispute between the Church and Walter and John le Gos and Richard Malenfant, tenants of John de Cogan and Maurice de Rochfort. We know Ardpatrick to have been a ‘coroby’ in the 16th century, held by the O Longan family, descendants of its earlier comharbai. An inquisition of 1586 found that Ardpatrick was a religious house ruled by its cocarb, Maurice O Longan, and it possessed the lands of Ballingowsie, Ballincoweing, Ballynanya and Ballygertane, forty acres of great measure, and that furthermore it owed a chief rent of half a mark to the bishop of Limerick and that it should escheat to the Queen as its lands had originally been given to it by one Maurice the White Knight after the statute of mortmain. The latter is a nonsense, as illustrated by the pleading of 1290 above, whose Gos family were the eponyms of the Ballingowsie of 1586, and it is clear that Ardpatrick had been church land since at least 1201. In 1656 Ballingowsie can be shown to have consisted of the modern Bohernagore, Baunmore and Baunatlea in Ballingaddy, while ‘Ballygirtaun Well’ lies in Baunmore. Ballynanya is possibly to be identified with the church-lands of Ballinasima in Killfinnan, but this is some distance away, and is associated with Emlygrennan rather than Ardpatrick. Accordingly, we can say with confidence that the lands of Ardpatrick consisted of these three above townlands in addition to Ardpatrick itself, an acreage of 1,336.

Arddaewelan occurs in 1201 but not in 1336, probably because it was then returned under Kilmallock itself, which it adjoins. It is the rectory of Arddaewelailane attached to the bishop's mensa in 1418, the Ardevolane of the Civil Survey (where it needs to be distinguished from neighbouring Ardvollin, now Millmount). Its precise area is delineated by the northern section of Ardpatrick parish: the townlands of Mountcoote and Riversfield, acreage 469.

Emlygrennan is listed in 1201 but omitted from the clearly defective Kilmallock section of the 1336 rental. This must have been a large estate originally, to judge from the

32 Par. map.
33 BBL, pp 73–82, 166–8, and passim; 1336 rental, p. 156; 1626 inc; Webb, pp 407–9; CS, pp 155–221; Bar. Map; ECR.
34 Begley, i, p. 341; NAI RC 7–2, 214; DKRI, 38, p. 83; DKRI, 39, p. 43; 1336 rental, p. 156.
35 NAI RC 7–2, 167.
36 RIA MS 14–E–10, 145, 149, 189; Peyton, p. 192; Westropp, p. 426.
37 CS, pp 239–41; Bar. map; Webb, p. 423.
38 BBL, p. 147; CS, pp 135, 238, 240, 246.
remnants remaining in episcopal ownership in the later period. In 1641 Bishop Webb had possession of Kilmurray in Emlygrennan and was claiming both Ballynanima’s in Kilfinnane, all of which his predecessor had died seized of. He also had the small townland of Bishopsfield, which is entirely surrounded by Darranstown, and a few acres around Emlygrennan church itself (in modern Balline). There was also a large area of glebe almost linking Emlygrennan and Bishopsfield. It would seem from all of this that the Emlygrennan estate must originally have contained Balline, Darranstown, Bishopsfield, Kilmurray and both Ballynanima’s, acreage 2,016.39

The Kilcomgam of the 1201 list must be the present Kilquane, and church-land here is mentioned in a settlement of 1240. Yet nothing more is heard of this until 1833, when the lands of Kilquane church itself and a neighbouring glebe in Jamestown are extended at 18 acres in total. The particle of ‘Ballyag alias Ardpatrick’ occurs in 1418, and this may refer to these lands, for Kilquane church lies in Ballyhaght townland. Any church lands here are unlikely to have extended beyond the original townland, whose area is now lost.40

The lands of Cloncouth (Colman’s Well) were evenly divided between the dioceses of Cloyne and Limerick. It occurs in the list of 1201 and again a few years later but no further references occur, although the Cloyne portion is mentioned in 1364. Acreage 1,406.41 Bruee is mentioned in 1201 and again in 1641. This ploughland can be identified with the modern townlands of Bruree, Ballynoe, Fortyacres, Knockmore, Knockfenora, and both Lotteragh’s, acreage 1,304.42 Total acreage for this manor: 10,623.

The manor of Tullabracky
This occurs in the 1201 list and as a distinct manor in the manor lists, and is described as an episcopal demesne and manor in the 15th century. By 1641 only the townland itself remained in church possession and Bishop Webb says ‘there is much land lost from this manour’. Must equal the parish of Tullabracky, acreage 3,207.43

The manor of Clonshire
This occurs in 1201 and is subsequently one of the chief manors of the cross. Its demesne equalled the parish of the name, two-thirds of which still remained in Church possession in 1833. Acreage 1,517.44 Cappagh occurs under its alias of Kellmaulagna in 1201, and is described as ‘the [sub] manor of Keappagh Kyllmaulagoy’ in 1541. Is well attested and comprised the entire parish of Cappagh, acreage 1,267.45

Kilsennon occurs in 1201 and in most later sources. Peyton makes it clear that the ‘church toghe’ of Kilsennon was limited to the ½ quarters of Kilsennon itself and did not include the remainder of its parish. This is now represented by Kilsennon itself. In addition to Kilsennon the 1336 rental also records a rent from Rathandayn. This is the Rathmacandon held by members of the Dunonald family, eponyms of the parish of Doondonnell just north of Kilsennon, in 1307, and which Peyton locates in Kilsennon.

39 1626 inq; Webb, pp 407, 419; CS, p. 524; Bar. map.
40 BBL, p. 111; ECR.
42 1626 inq; Webb, pp 410, 419; CS, p. 279; Bar. map.
43 BBL, pp 100, 138, 161; Webb, p. 407; 1626 inq; CS, p. 528; ECR.
44 BBL, pp 21–2; 1336 rental, p 157–8; 1626 inq; Webb, pp 405, 415, 422; CS, pp 293–4, 517; ECR.
45 1336 rental, p. 157; BBL, p. 163; Peyton, pp 113, 130–1; Webb, p. 419; CS, p. 518.
From the latter reference Rathmacandon appears to be the modern Reens townlands. Total acreage 953.46

Kilfinny is the Kellnaftinaig of 1201, Peyton's 'church toghe' of Pobblenaskagh. Peyton says that Finniterstown and its castle lay in Pobblenaskagh but this is in Adare today and I have not included it in the extent. While this is quite possible one would require further evidence before including these lands in Kilfinny; but this example does indicate that some parish borders have certainly changed significantly since the medieval period. A relevant example is shown by Bishop Webb's claim to the lands of Lisduff (in Ballingarry parish) and Ballyrobin (now in eastern Kilmacow in Ballingarry). These lands adjoin Kilfinny to the south, and must originally have formed part of it. Therefore this well-attested estate, at minimum, is represented by the parish of Kilfinny and these additional lands in Ballingarry, acreage approx. 2,650.47

The estate of Dysert is that of Disertengusa of 1201. What remained in Church possession in 1641 was the parish of Dysert, but it is clear that this estate originally contained Caherass as well, acreage 1,177.48

Clonagh occurs in 1201 and also in 1336, when mis-written Cloncath. There were rectories in ecclesiastical and lay fee here in 1418, the former representing the cross-lands, again not the whole parish, just the lands of the church vill: the modern townlands of Clonagh and Ballykenry. Bishop Webb lists the lands of Rathnega and Drum Turke in Kilbradran as former cross-lands, and these are to be identified with Drumturk and Ballinvulla, which combine to make a detached portion of Kilbradran entirely within Clonagh parish, as well as Rathnagore in the main section of Kilbradran, nearby. Another parcel of church land here must be Carrowbeg Rydal, claimed by Bishop Webb, which now forms the southern one-quarter of Riddlestown in Doonconnell, and thus adjoins the Clonagh lands. I place all of these lands with this estate, approx. acreage 945.49

Clonelty occurs in 1201 but is not immediately recognizable in the 1336 rental, though well-attested in other sources. This is because it is probably represented by the Cowlbaan of Clonshire manor of the rental. Coolbane occurs in or near Ballynoe in Clonelty in 1656. Again there were lay and ecclesiastical fees here: Kiltanna alias Magranny and Clonelty respectively. This is the familiar pattern of cross-land confined to the church vill, in this case Ballynoe, acreage 666.50

Drehidtarshna occurs in 1201 and in 1336, in the latter case with a modest acreage given which suggests that this 'manor' was quite small, probably following the usual pattern of consisting of no more than the church vill. Drehidtarshna townland in 1656 consisted of the modern townland as well as Glebe, and that part of Beabus north of the road. Acreage 350 approx.51 Cloncrew occurs in 1201 (Cluencrema) and is well-attested thereafter. In 1280 its parish had one ploughland and 80 acres in free alms there, and it is one of Peyton's 'church toges', said to contain one quarter. From Webb's description it seems to have consisted of the modern Cloncrew and Highmount (in Cloncrew), acreage 450.52

47 1336 rental, p. 157; Peyton, pp 113, 117, 125; 1625 inq; Webb, pp 410, 414, 418, 422; CS, p. 286; ECR.
48 BBL, pp 45–6, 55, 142–3; 1336 rental, p. 157; 1626 inq; Webb, pp 406, 415; Begley, i, p. 141; CS, p. 522; ECR.
49 BBL, pp 19–20, 22–3, 150; 1336 rental, p. 157; 1626 inq; Webb, pp 407, 421; CS, p. 313; ECR.
50 BBL, pp 21–2, 101; NAI RC 8–1, 46; 1336 rental, p. 157; Peyton, p. 136; Webb, pp 417, 422; CS, p. 255; Erck, Ecc. Reg., p. 162.
51 1336 rental, pp 157–8; CS, p. 149; Bar. map.
52 NAI RC 7–2, 210; 1336 rental, p. 158; Peyton, p. 113; 1626 inq; Webb, pp 410, 416; CS, pp 274–5; Bar. map.
In 1288 bishop Gerald recovered certain lands against Hugh Purcell in Moycro (Croagh). These are probably to be identified with Kiltenan North in Croagh, recovered by Bishop Adams in 1618, acreage 219, although Bishop Webb was later claiming burgages in the town of Croagh. Cloncah occurs in 1201 and again in 1336. Later references to this church are disguised under its alias, Ballycolman. In 1641 Bishop Webb was claiming Ballycolman (Cloncah), Gurteen[acaheagh], Teervena, and Kilnamona. Both Ballykennedy’s are also likely to have been cross-land as these link the above parcels. Acreage 1,422. Rathnaseer in Nantinan parish occurs in 1201 and in 1336. During the very early 1200s its parson exchanged lands in Rathnaseer ‘lying between Rathkeal and the great water of Decl’ with others at Balicolman and Balimolochun, which may account for part of the large estate of Cloncah alias Ballycolman (above). Ironically, while Rathnaseer itself was lost to the Church Bishop Webb was still claiming that part of Enniscouch in Nantinan in 1641. Therefore, the original Church estate here must have consisted, at a minimum, of Rathnaseer, all of Enniscouch, and the linking townland of Graigue, acreage 1,000 approx. Deanstown, today forming a detached portion of Cappagh parish, occurs in 1336 (Villa Decani) and in Bishop Webb’s rental (Ballideganah), acreage 116. Total acreage for this manor: 12,732.

The manor of Loghill

The 1336 rental, as well as our later sources, are very full for this manor, and many of the placenames can be identified. These may be listed as follows: In Loghill parish, Knocknabooly, Mounttrenchard (Cappagh), Loghill, Lisready, Kiltreery, Carrowbane, Curra, Kilfergus. In Co. Kerry, Kilmurrily. In Robertstown parish, Knockpatrick, Dysert. In Killmoylan parish, Tinnakilla (Kylsynykyl). In Shanagolden, Shanagolden with its borough, Ballynash, Ardaneer, Sroolane.

In addition we know that the nunnery of St. Catherine of Oconyl was built on crossland. Its lands certainly included the convent site at Oldabbey, as well as Auginish Island, but were certainly more extensive, and the convent possessed the tithes of the entire parish of Robertstown. A second major holding here was Peyton’s ‘church toghe of Cragmacteig’, which included the townlands of Dysert and Craggs, but was certainly more extensive, while Robertstown itself is recorded as cross-land in 1626. Ballyhoolahan, now represented by a detached portion of Loghill within Kilfergus, was more extensive in the 1580s, when an inquisition described it as a termon of Scattery and gave its extent as running west to the Kilmurrily river. Therefore it contained or held rents from Ballyhoolahan, Farranmiller, Court, and Ballydonohoe. These lands are probably to be identified with the rectory of Kilfergus in ecclesiastical fee. It would seem therefore that Loghill contained all of the parishes of Loghill, Shanagolden and Robertstown, as well as the other small parcels noted above, acreage 16,700. Note that Kilfergus,
Kilmurryl, Loghill, Ardaneer, and Shanagolden all occur in the 1201 list, which suggests that this manor is at least as old as this.

**Rathronan and Athea**
These church lands lay in the cantred of Shanid and so probably in the ecclesiastical manor of Loghill. Bishop Webb laid claim to the quarter of Rathronan and Carrowbloy in the parish of Rathronan in 1641. Rathronan is now Glenville while ‘Carraeboaghe’ of 1656 seems to lie in the southern half of modern Ballyvoghan. These lands adjoin those of Ardagh. Acreage approx. 465.\(^60\)

Athea lies in the western portion of Rathronan parish, and is the Magmor of the 1201 rental. Bishop Webb laid claim to the two quarters of ‘Athe and Maymore’ in 1641. The church of Temple Atha is that meant in this record, and these two quarters would seem to be represented by the entire western section of Rathronan parish, variously described as containing two or three quarters in Peyton and Desmond (much of which is mountain). Acreage 11,470.\(^61\)

**The manor of Tomdeely**
Both chief churches of this manor, Tomdeely and Disert (Morgans), occur in 1201, and again in 1336 (Drumdeely and Dissert Matgreoin), when strangely included as part of Ardagh manor. This manor is Peyton’s church tughe of Tomegyle, and is now represented by the parishes of Tomdeely and Morgans, as illustrated by many references.\(^62\) Acreage 2,551.

**The manor of Ardagh**
Ardagh occurs in 1201, again as a manor in 1336, and as a church tughe in Peyton. The latter sources list its members but in both cases many place-names cannot be identified. The parish of Ardagh is divided into four discrete sections, two large and two small. The few places that can be identified in the above sources lay in the eastern sections, the section containing Ardagh itself and the detached portion of Killaghteen, which the Church stubbornly retained into the 19th century. The large, western section of the parish is shown as part of the secular fee of Obathyn in the manor of Newcastle in the extents of 1298 and 1452, and appears not to have been cross-land. Acreage 3,000.\(^63\)

The Cluencaibech of the 1201 list has long—and I think correctly—been located in Mahoonagh parish. Begley goes beyond Reeves and Westropp in this instance by identifying this place with a church ruin in Ballydoorty in Mahoonagh (not recorded on OS), rather than with Mahoonagh itself.\(^64\) Here his speculations, for once, are sound. In 1641 Bishop Webb laid claim to Lyshin, Gortiskeagh, Gortineagh, Ballinckilly, Clonedine, Confort and Ballyworlagh in Mahoonagh parish.\(^65\) Gorteskagh and Ballynakill More and Beg lie adjacent to Ballydoorty today. Of the other places, all are unidentified apart from

\(^{60}\) Webb, p. 421; CS, pp 319-20.


\(^{62}\) BBV, pp 23, 41, 162; 1336 rental, p. 158; Peyton, p. 113; Webb, pp 410, 415.

\(^{63}\) BBV, pp 11-12, 14-15, 60-1; 1336 rental, p. 158; Calendar of Documents Ireland, iv, p. 256 (identifying Rooskagh and Ballynabearna); Begley, i, pp 327-8; Peyton, pp 112-4, 119, 130, 139, 171, 179, 1625 inq; Webb, pp 406, 410, 421-3, 421-2; CS, p. 515; ECR.

\(^{64}\) Westropp, pp 414-5; Begley, i, p. 102.

\(^{65}\) Webb, p. 421.
Cloncdine, which can be identified with the present Curragh. Therefore we can identify a parcel of church-land here comprising approximately 1,800 acres, lying adjacent to that of Clonelty.

The Kellite of the 1201 list is usually identified with Killeedy, but its place on the list suggests the alternative identification with Kilmeedy, as the forms Cell Íte and Cell Molte are interchangeable. Íte or Íta was the patroness here. Given that many parishes containing cross-land are found to be prebends, and that Killeedy is one such, one should favour Killeedy as the correct identification here. No subsequent mention of this place as cross-land appears. While it may appear, given the importance of the site in the early period, that the cross-lands here originally comprised much more than the mere townlands of Killeedy, an entry in the Latin life of Saint Íta suggests otherwise. In this the local king, upon hearing of her arrival at Cluain Credail (alias Cell Íte), offers her a large tract of land around her church, which the saint refuses, accepting only four acres to serve as a food garden for her followers. This suggests that, when the life was being written, only Killeedy itself and not its hinterland formed the monastery lands. The townlands of Killeedy contain 1,090 acres.

**Killagholehane and Dromcolliher**

Finally we must consider Killagholehane and Dromcolliher, both of which occur in the 1201 list. Tullylease also occurs on this list, but is later found to lie in Cloyne diocese, and the grouping together of these three on this list is not mere coincidence. I suggest elsewhere that Tullylease may have been a major ecclesiastical foundation and adduce evidence which suggests that it may have possessed significant lands in County Cork as well as in Killagholehane and Dromcolliher, and that these lands were subsequently divided between the dioceses of Cloyne and Limerick. Support for this is found in the possession of Tullylease, Killagholehane and Dromcolliher by the FitzGriffin family early in the 13th century. They subsequently granted Tullylease and Killagholehane to Kells priory, Co. Kilkenny, and sold Dromcolliher to the lords of neighbouring Corcomohide, after which it has no further ecclesiastical connections. Incidentally, the sale of Dromcolliher, which occurred c.1250, must account for its later status as a detached portion of Corcomohide parish and that of Dromcolliher church as a chapel-of-ease, and furthermore indicates that parish formation was still in progress here at that time.

Killagholehane is later included among Peyton’s church toghes in Connello, where its five quarters are certainly equal to the area of the present parish. It is, of course, unclear whether the original church-lands here merely surrounded the church or whether they comprised the entire parish, but the Kells grant, along with the long association of Killagholehane with the O Noonans of Tullylease, suggests the latter. In the case of Dromcolliher, while I again believe that it was probably all originally cross-land in 1205, it is perhaps better, for want of absolute proof, merely to include under that category here its immediate lands. Acreage for Killagholehane and Dromcolliher church, approx. 5,000. Total acreage for this manor: 25,376.

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66 Begley, i, p. 330; Peyton, p. 57; CS, pp 259–60. Care must be taken to distinguish between the two, now obsolete, Clonferns in Limerick. The other lay near Bruree and is well attested elsewhere in Peyton and in the Limerick inquisitions.
68 See my forthcoming work on the medieval diocese of Cloyne.
69 PRC, 203–5.
70 Peyton, p. 113.
When all these figures are added we get a total acreage for the cross-lands of the diocese of Limerick of a little over 80,000 acres. It should be born in mind that this figure is certainly an underestimate, given the number of unidentified toponyms in the principal sources, although many of these are probably alternative names for lands otherwise identifiable. As an example of this, and indeed of the general rate of change in place-names here, we might take the example of a pleading of 1256, where agreement was reached between the bishop and his tenant for lands at Cormoran and Falsky, otherwise unidentified. The former place occurs in a later pleading, of 1552, where Edmond Lofte recovered the lands of Loftstown, Bellezey and Currymoran, all in Mungrat, against his episcopal overlord. These lands can be identified with the modern Ballykeeffe and Dooradoyle.71

The diocese of Limerick and its lands: acquisition
This diocese was created around 1106 and confirmed at Ráith Bressail in 1111, where boundaries were set out for it which are almost those of the modern diocese, apart from the loss of some territory running along the north bank of the Shannon downstream as far as Bunratty. Its first five bishops appear to have been Ostmen from the city, which may explain the antipathy towards their efforts to acquire the church-lands of the diocese.72

The obvious rival to Limerick as an episcopal see here was the ancient church of Mungrat, the chief church of the Uí Fhígente, the ruling line of most of the diocese until the 12th century. The few facts we have do not present a clear picture. Although the diocese was established early in the 12th century it only received a grant of Mungrat from king Domhnall Ua Briain as late as 1186-90 (dates based on the floruit of the witnesses). Similarly, the grant of the lands of Singland to the diocese by Prince John in 1185 is difficult to explain as this was one of the Dalcassian churches which one would have thought would have been obtained by the diocese long before, given the clear support for the diocese by the Uí Briain kings, who had made Limerick their residence and capital since late in the 11th century. It may be, however, that these grants were merely confirmations of earlier grants, at least in the case of Singland.73

We may find assistance here in an examination of the political background. The long period of Uí Briain rulership of Munster came to an end in 1118, when Toirdelbach Ua Conchobair divided Munster into northern and southern halves, Thomond or Limerick and Desmond or Cork. The MacCarthyg kingdom of Desmond was dominant in this situation between 1118 and 1142 and again established its independence from Thomond after 1151. Throughout this period County Limerick was a battle-ground between both sides, as the borders of the respective kingdoms ebbed and flowed. The eastern section of Uí Fhígente, Uí Chairpre, was a territory which stretched from the Shannon in the north, down through Adare and Croom, southwards through Athlacca to Kilmallock. The rival regnal lines of this kingdom were typically divided, with the Uí Chleirchín (O Clerkins)


72 For the diocese of Limerick see A. Gwynn, 'The diocese of Limerick in the twelfth century', NMAJ, 5 (1946) pp 35–48, and J. Fleming, 'The formation of the medieval church in Limerick', in L. Irwin et al. Limerick: History and Society (Dublin, 2009) pp 1–15. (Fleming's work, while useful, needs to be treated with caution: some of the references are incorrect while some of his conclusions go beyond the evidence. For the lost sections of the early diocese of Killaloe see M. Moloney, 'Limerick and Killaloe', NMAJ 8 (1961), 203).

73 The fifth bishop, Bricetus, however, may have borne a Latin name.

74 BBL, pp 34, 103.
supporting the O Briens and the Ui Donnubhain (O Donovans) the MacCarthys. The O Donovan territory was located in the northern half of Ui Chairpre, around Croom and Adare, from which they would eventually be pushed southwards by O Brian pressure at some time between the foundation of Monasterenagh in 1148 (by the O Briens, on conquered Ui Chairpre territory) and 1176.

It is likely that this political divide was reflected in the ecclesiastical resistance of Mungrit to the overlordship of the bishops of Limerick. Mungrit antipathy to the O Briens is shown as early as 1107, when Muirchertach Ua Briain ‘plundered’ Mungrit, and it is clear that Mungrit had lobbied unsuccessfully at the synod of Kells-Mellifont (1152) for diocesan status, a claim that was still being made as late as 1164-7. Tomás Ó Carragáin’s speculation that St. Nessan’s church at Mungrit was built c.1100 as a cathedral should be viewed in light of the above. The raid of 1107 may in fact have come after diplomatic efforts had failed. In Cogad Gaedhil re Gallib Mathgamhan, brother of Brian Boraime, is made to place himself under the protection of Nessan of Mungrit before going in to battle. This was written a few years before the 1107 raid. That Mungrit may have been an episcopal see is suggested by the obituary of Ciarmanac Ua Máel Chaisil, ‘bishop of Tuadmumu’, in 1018. This title occurs several times after 927, and seems to indicate a metropolitan bishop of the northern half of Munster. At the period of this obituary Tuadmumu or Thomond would certainly have included Uí Fhídgente, and it may be that bishop Ciarmanac began his episcopal career as bishop of Mungrit or Uí Fhídgente, for Uí Máel Chaisil were a Mungrit family (see below; but note, however, that this fore-name also occurs once in the published Dál Cais genealogies).

From all of this it would appear that Mungrit was long a barrier to the acquisition by the see of Limerick of the church-lands within its boundaries, and it would seem that some of these, at least, had in fact become the property of Mungrit before ultimately going to Limerick along with Mungrit itself at a late period. Significant sections of Co. Limerick were still part of Desmond as late as 1177, and this suggests that the diocese only finally began to acquire all of the church-lands within its boundaries after this date, a chronology which agrees with all of the dating of the grants of Mungrit and perhaps Singland above.

**Earlier history of these lands**

**The lands of Mungrit**

Mungrit was already a substantial church c.632 when Cumman’s letter on the Easter controversy was written, in which he mentions the (unnamed) successor to Nessan at Mungrit. Much later, *Bethu Phátraic* would credit Patrick with founding Mungrit for

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78 AI, 927.3, 953.3, 1018.2; A.Tig., 1161.1.


80 It is significant that Donnchadh Ó Corráin’s detailed paper on the dominating ecclesiastical aggrandisement of the Dál Cais at this period (‘Dál Cais – church and dynasty’, *Éiriú*, 24 (1973) pp 52-63) has no mention whatsoever of Mungrit, which was clearly well up to the task of resisting such pressure. (See also M.T. Flanagan (ed.), *Irish Royal Charters: texts and contexts* (Oxford, 2005) pp 315-7.)


Nessan ‘the deacon’, and in a context which shows that Mungret was then (10th century?) the chief church of Úi Fhidgente, the kingdom whose area comprised most of the later diocese of Limerick.83 The Annals of Inisfallen record the death of ‘Nistan the leper’ in 556, which the Four Masters took to be a reference to Nessan of Mungret. While there is no surviving genealogy of Nessan we know that, in an account written in the early 9th century, he is made one of the Corcu Óche, that is, the people who seem to have ruled much of Limerick before the rise of Úi Fhidgente (see below under ‘Ardagh’).84 As the annals suggest that Corcu Óche were in the ascendant during the 6th century, it may well be that Nessan’s obituary is broadly correct.

The subsequent importance of Mungret is illustrated by its regular mention in the annals, beginning in 742, when the death of Molua ‘from Mungret’ is recorded. In 752 its abbot, Bodbgal, was powerful enough to engage the king of Úi Fhidgente in battle.85 These annalistic references mention airchinnig, comarbaí and abbots of Mungret, but I believe the absence of any bishops from this list is merely the result of the random nature of such recording, for Mungret must certainly have been an episcopal seat from an early period, given its importance:86 as much is suggested by its later claims to such a status at the synod of Kells-Mellifont. By the 11th century Mungret had come to be surrounded by the territory of the Déis Tuascirt/Dál Caís here, but must originally have lain on the border of Úi Fhidgente, probably with Éoganacht Aine, who seem to have lost much ground here as a result of the subsequent northwards expansion of the Déis. This once again indicates the antiquity of the Mungret estate. Its important archaeological remains, and records of its burning or plundering in 834, 851, 1081, 1088, and 110787 indicate its continued importance, as well as the obits of its church personnel, clearly academics and brehons of considerable importance.

There are some indications that Mungret was extending its control over other churches in the later period. Conn mac Máel Pátraic is variously described as its airchinnicnacht or comarba upon his death in 1032, when also airchinnacht of Díserth Óengusa. The death occurred of airchinnacht Rebachán mac Dunchaíd in 994 who appears to be the father to the Úi Dúchna who plundered the church of Kilmallock in 1015, one of whom must be the Art Ua Dúchna who died as abbot of Mungret in 1028. A later member of this group may have been ‘the brehon Ua Rebecháin’ who died as airchinnacht of Mungret in 1106. Yet another Mungret church family of interest were the O Molcassells, recorded as betaghs in 1336, and eponyms to Ballymacashel in Mungret. These would appear to descend from abbot Máel Caísil mac Cínáed of Mungret, who died in 913. Of this family, perhaps, was Ciarmachán Ua Máel Chaisil, bishop of Tuadmum, who died in 1018, as noted above. This fore-name appears to be unique to this family. Therefore, Mungret appears to have pursued a sometimes violent campaign to establish control over at least some of the churches of Úi Fhidgente.

The lands of Díserth Óengusa

Mention of Díserth Óengusa recalls this significant establishment, whose round-tower and early ruins remain, part of which can be dated to the early 11th century.88 Its founder was

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85 AI, 752.2; A.Tig., 757.5.
86 AI, 742.3, 764.1, 788.3, 913.3, 967.3, 993.3, 1007.9, 1028.8, 1032.4, 1070.6, 1106.4; AFM, 994.2, 1014.6, 1100.2.
87 AI, 1081.4, 1088.4, AFM, 834.7, 1107.1; Todd, Cogadh, p. 19.
88 Ó Curragaín, Churches, pp 162, 388.
none other than Óengus mac Óengobann ("Óengus the Culdee"), author of the famous Félire Óengussa and other works, and annmchara (confessor) to the leader of the Céli Dé movement, Máel Ruain of Tallaught. As Máel Ruain died in 792, the reference to Óengus going to Tallaught to visit Máel Ruain from Disert Óengusa (the Limerick one, there is another in Leix also founded by Óengus: Dysert Enos) must predate this. As this was a disert it is likely that it was a new foundation on bog-land made by Óengus, who was a bishop and a prominent leader in the Céli Dé ‘movement’ and died in c.830.89

Given the obvious importance of Disert Óengusa it seems likely that several of the small parcels of cross-land lying nearby were originally part of its estate, perhaps founded as satellite eremitical cells. I would include in these Killeenoughty, Killonahan, probably Ballycahane, Anhid and Drehidarsna, which include three saints’ names in cill (Finsneachta, Onchú and Domhnall). This supposition is certainly correct in the case of Killonahan, which occurs as Cell Onchon with its ‘seven holy bishops’ in the Irish Litanies, a source which has been dated to the 9th century.90 Onchú is given a Connacht origin in the martyrologies, and is associated with Mo-Aedóc of the Uí Dúnlainge in Leinster.91 A somewhat larger parcel is that of Kilfinny, which borders Dysert parish. The 1201 form Kelfnaffinnaigí gives Cill na Fiodhnaighe: ‘church in the woods’ (not from O’Donovan’s imagined St Finneach), again perhaps linking the site with eremitical practices. The present church ruin here is of late-eleventh-century date.92 Killonahan bears a dedication to Senan and Kilfinny to Kieran, and it may be that Killonahan originated as a client church of Inis Chathaig.93

The remaining western lands of the manor of Mungret
The 1201 form Kellnachaliichi for Killnacally (in Elm Park) and its dedication to Eithne suggests the original form Cill na Chaillaigh: ‘the church of the nuns’, perhaps of Mungret.94 Several churches with small parcels attached are found in cill in this area: Kildimo, Kildacollum, Kilcurley, Kilmacgobbin, Killulta(n) and Kilcornan. All are dedicated to saints, mostly anonymous apart from Dimma (‘son of Cas’), a Dál Cais saint, and Cuarnán Bec, who both occur in the martyrologies, and whose churches are thus probably at least of 9th century date.95 We may speculate that one of the Columns of Kildacollum is the bishop Colum of Úi Fhidhgente recorded in the Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum of the 10th century or earlier, but this does not get us very far.96 The silent witness of archaeology gives impressive testament to the former, albeit modest status of Killulta, whose small though well-built stone church is probably of 11th century date.97

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89 Ibid., p. 308; W. Stokes, Félire Óengusso celi Dé, the martyrology of Óengus the culdee, HBS 29 (London, 1905) p. 8; P. Ó Riain, Feasts days of the saints: a history of Irish martyrologies (Brussels, 2006), xvi-xix and passim.
91 Mart.O, February 8 and glosses.
93 Westropp, pp 380, 411.
94 Ibid., p. 370.
96 P. Ó Riain (ed), Corpus genealogiarum sanctorum Hiberniae (Dublin, 1985) p. 141.
97 Ó Carragáin, Churches, pp 137, 312.
Little is also known of the remaining parcels here, Ardecanny and Beagh, yet once again a pre-Invasion origin is indicated as Ardecanny bears a dedication to Brigid while Beagh (Iveruss) was originally named from a tuath, Uí(bh) Rosa.  

The lands of the manor of Clonshire  
Clonshire itself and its neighbouring parish, Cappagh, together form a large block of cross-land, and both places occur in the 1201 list (as Clunesiebra and Kellinaclugna). The erstwhile presence of cross shafts in Clonshire indicate a church of some importance, given the rarity of such crosses, and must also date the church to perhaps 850 to 1000 or so. While the documentary sources are silent, yet its position as the head of an episcopal manor again argues for its former importance. It may well be that much of the lands of its manor were subsidiary to this church in the pre-Invasion period, but we cannot be sure. What is remarkable about this group of lands is the preponderance of toponyms in cluain: Clonshire, Clonagh, Clonelty, Cloncrew and Cloncaigh. Here this toponym is to be understood in its original meaning of an early ecclesiastical enclosure built on a bog-island and, notwithstanding modern drainage works, it is clear that all these sites were originally located on such islands. Again, Clonshire, Cloncaigh, and Clonelty churches demonstrate early features, while patterns of improprion also indicate antiquity here (íte, Clonelty; Ciarán of Clonmacnoise, Clonagh; Mo-Aedóc, Cloncaigh). I have elsewhere suggested that Cloncrew formed part of the termann of Tullylease. Three other churches here have names in cill: Kiltenan, Kilskeenell and Kilsnaclugna (Cappagh). The former may derive from Cill t-Senáin, from Senan of Scattery. The only site in the group without an ecclesiastical toponym is Rathnaseer.

The lands of the manors of Loghill and Tomdeely  
Once again attempting to interpret the Anglo-Norman manorial structure of the cross-lands here in light of any pre-Invasion ecclesiastical lordship pattern is difficult. What is clear is that most of the lands of five contiguous parishes: Loghill, Shanagolden, Robertstown, Morgans and Tomdeely, formed a large single block of cross-land in 1336, and that four of these churches occur in the 1201 list and several have early histories. An additional consideration here is that of the termion-lands of Ímis Chathaig.

Loghill itself is dedicated to a Colmán, of which, of course, there were literally hundreds in the sources. It derives from Leamh Choill: elm wood, of which there are several in the sources with ecclesiastical associations. One of these was a ‘Colmán Lemchaill’, probably he of Loghill, which thus postulates a date for this church of at least the 10th century. Again, the church enclosure is oval and perhaps therefore early.

Another early site here is Morgans, from Disert Muirdebar. Gorman has ‘Great Murdebar whom I praise’ on November 3, which is glossed ‘from Disert’, while Óengus speaks of ‘Murdebar, a synod’s diadem’, which is glossed ‘from Disert Muirdebar in Úi Chonaill Gabra’. Muirdebar was a prominent national ecclesiastic who appears to have lived in the early 8th century, and had associations with Glendalough and Derrynavan in Tipperary, as well as his ‘retreat’ at Morgans. He is given two genealogical origins in the

98 Westropp, p. 387; Begley, i. p. 14.
101 Ó Carragáin, Churches, pp 137–8, 307; Begley, i. pp 103–5, 112; Westropp, pp 400, 413–4.
102 Ó Riain, Corpus, p. 143; Westropp, p. 397; Begley, i. p. 110; Archaeological Inventory Ireland, SMR no. LI009-005002.
sources, from Dál Messin Corb of Leinster and from the Sogain of Connacht, and may have been the grandfather to a later abbot of Durrow. This is thus a church originating as a hermitage or monastery, during the first years of the 8th century.\(^{103}\) Tomdeely derives from Tuaim Daili: the burial place of the river Deel. Here *tuaim* is probably to be understood in the sense of an ecclesiastical cemetery, once again indicating that this was a pre-Invasion church.

The final site of importance on these lands was offshore: Inis Chathaig or Scattery Island. The island itself was divided between the dioceses of Killaloe and Limerick, though not without rancour, and the termon-lands of this episcopal church and one-time diocese were divided between counties Clare, Kerry and Limerick.\(^{104}\) Its Limerick lands can be identified from an inquisition of 1584, when they included Knockpatrick and Ballyhoolahan, and in each of which resided a priest of the collegiate church of Scattery.\(^{105}\) The associations of these lands with Scattery must pre-date the foundation of the see of Limerick. The church on Knockpatrick Hill contained an important relic, the Mias Phádraig, and was a major pilgrimage site.\(^{106}\) Therefore we have a large block of church-land with a few small detached outliers, and in which we find three important early church sites.

**The lands of the manor of Ardagh**

Once again the chief church of an episcopal manor seems to have little pre-Invasion history, in this case Ardagh. The sole indication of its pre-Invasion existence seems to be its dedication to Molua of Clonfertmollaoe, who was of the Corcu Óche though claimed by the Uí Phidigente.\(^{107}\) Yet its large estate seems to indicate a church of importance in the pre-Invasion period. Ironically, one such church was certainly Killeedy to the south, but which seems to have possessed only a small estate. Killeedy derives from Cell Íte, the church of Íte, who was the patronal saint of the Corcu Óche people, the original rulers of much of Co. Limerick. In 553 the battle of Cuilen was said to have been won by the Corcu Óche ‘through the prayers of Íte’, whose obituary is subsequently recorded, in 570.\(^{108}\) A corrupt version of the same annal in AU, *sub anno* 552.1, states that the Corcu Óche lost the battle ‘through the prayers of Íte of Cluaín Credail’, the latter the original name for Killeedy. A later reference to this battle, from an 8th century account, again indicates that Corcu Óche were victorious here against Uí Phidigente and, given that Nessan of Mungrat was also of this people, it seems clear that, at least in the 6th century, Corcu Óche were the dominant people over much of Co. Limerick, in an area stretching from Killeedy to Mungrat.\(^{109}\) By the early 9th century, however, this situation had been reversed, and the Corcu Óche relegated to a small section of their previous patrimony, their new ‘kingdom’ now no bigger in area then that approximately of the barony of Glenquin.\(^{110}\) This reversal may help explain why Killeedy itself, within this later Corcu Óche, was a modest establishment, at least in terms of its landed wealth.


\(^{105}\) J. Begley, ‘The termons of St Patrick in the county of Limerick’, *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* (September 1915) pp 236–47.

\(^{106}\) Ibid., p. 238; Westropp, pp 395–6.


The obituaries of abbots of Killeedy are recorded in 810 and again in 833, while it was raided by the Vikings in 851, and a Latin Life of Íte survives, of 12th century date but perhaps containing some earlier material, and which indicates, as noted above, that the lands of Killeedy were then insignificant.\[10\] It may be that Killeedy had already lost lands before the period the Life was written. The original name given in these sources for Killeedy, Cluain Credail, again indicates an early foundation, and both place-name forms occur in the martyrologies in association with Íte.\[11\] The church of Killeedy had Romanesque features, while a *comarba* ("successor") of Íte is mentioned in the preface to the hymn to Cúimín Fota, dated to the 9th century, if not somewhat earlier.\[12\]

Yet another early *cluain* site here is the CluainClaiddheach of the 1201 list. See above for my identification of this place with the lands of Ballydoorty and Ballinakill in Mahooonagh parish. This appears to be the Cluain Claidheach in Uí Chonaill of the life of Mo-Aedóc of Ferns, who is said to have founded its church.\[13\] Killagholehane and Dromcollieher appear to have been part of the lands of the great church of Tullylease.

Of the remaining lands here Athea occurs in the 1201 list but Rathronan does not, while neither displays any earlier associations as church-land. As Athea formed a detached portion of Rathronan parish perhaps the Rathronan lands were among its ‘appurtenances’ in 1201.

**The lands of Kilmalloch**

The patron here is Mo-Chellóç, and he occurs in Óengus where the glossator is confused about him, suggesting that he is either Mo-Chellóç of Cell Mo-Chellóç in Uí Chairpre Mumha, or Cillín mac Tulodran.\[15\] This indicates that his cult is already old at this time, and his true origins lost. The earliest reference to this church in the annals concerns a battle fought here in 927, while in 1015 it was plundered by the men of Mungrét, as noted above. This latter reference indicates that Kilmalloch was a church of some substance at this period, and this is confirmed by the obituaries of a lector and an *airchimnech*, in 1027 and 1050 respectively.\[16\] In the former the form of the name is Cill Da-Chellóç, suggesting the archaic hypochoristic prefix *do*, indicating significant antiquity of form. The ecclesiastical remains here are also significant, with the church some distance from the round-tower site, suggesting a large complex.\[17\] It would appear that Kilmalloch was thus the senior church of Uí Chairpre, although positioned on its border with Déis Becc.\[18\]

The lands of Ardmacfaelane alias Ardevolare, while adjoining those of Kilmalloch, have a distinct post-Invasion history. This is the church of ‘Ardmacfaelae’ claimed by the bishop of Cork in the 1199 decretal letter relating to that diocese, which suggests that its

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\[111\] AFM, 810.6, 833.5; Todd, Cogadh, p. 19; Plummer, VSII, ii, pp 116–130. Mention in the *Flodo*, of the men of Ír Mumna as enemies of Uí Flidhgan (p. 128) seems to hark back to the period of Munster dominance by Eóganacht Locha Léin, and which came to an end in the early 9th century.


\[114\] Westropp, pp 414–5; Begley, i, pp 102–3.

\[115\] Mart.O, 26 March.

\[116\] AI, 927.2, 1015.9, 1027.8, 1050.7.


\[118\] In my Medieval Ireland cantred map I followed Adrian Empen in allocating Kilmalloch parish to the cantred of Fontymally, but it is clear from the above reference to the church from Óengus, and that garnered by Westropp (p. 419), that Kilmalloch in fact lay in Uí Chairpre.
distinction from Kilmallock may derive from it being a subservient church to Cork, perhaps by donation from Kilmallock.\textsuperscript{119} Its inclusion in Ardpattern parish is of modern date.

The remaining church-lands here were at Tullabracky, whose pre-Invasion history is obscure. The parish was dedicated to a saint Molana, which confirms its pre-Invasion existence as a church.\textsuperscript{120} Also located within the deanship of Kilmallock, but probably not associated with it in the pre-Invasion period, are Bruree and Colmanswell. The dedication of Bruree to Mainchín of Limerick must be of pre-Invasion date, while Colmanswell was shared with the diocese of Cloyne, and is mentioned in the annals in 845.\textsuperscript{121} All of these occur in the 1201 list.

The lands of Ardpattern

Ardpattern was clearly an important church at one time, but seems to have suffered during the post-Invasion period due to a dispute about its ecclesiastical lordship. It is probably to be identified with the church allegedly founded by Patrick on the hill of Tulach na Féinne, as recounted in the 10th century \textit{Bethu Pátraic}.\textsuperscript{122} Its role was that of seat of the \textit{maor} or steward of Saint Patrick in Munster, responsible for collecting the Patrician tribute for Armagh, and such a role is only likely to have arisen during the later 10th century, when the rise of the Dál Cais in Munster required an ecclesiastical counterbalance to the old Eóganacht senior church of Emly. Ardpattern was certainly in existence during the lifetime of Brian Boruma, at which time major church structures appear to have been erected there.\textsuperscript{123} It is hardly surprising therefore that Ardpattern lay in the territory of the Déis Deiscirt, relatives and firm allies of the Dál Cais.\textsuperscript{124}

The church first occurs (indirectly) in the annals of 1006, with the death notice of Tuathail Ua Máelmach ‘comarba of Patrick in Munster’, an entry which indicates that the earlier practise of visitations by Armagh-based clergy has now been replaced by the residence at Ardpattern of a permanent collector. A similar notice accompanied the death of Muirendach Ua Sinnacháin, in 1052. This surname has an Armagh flavour to it, and the next holder of this office on record, Gilla Crist Ua Longáin, († 1072), may also bear a surname of Armagh origin, although this is unproven. In 1074 ‘some houses’ were burned in Ardpattern, and five years later a bishop, Ua Suairlig, died there. He was perhaps its bishop, but this is not certain. By now the Uí Longáin had secured hereditary possession of the stewardship of Patrick here, but not without opposition. In 1108 Óengus Ua Cleirchín died as \textit{maor}: his family were then rulers of Uí Fhídghente under the Uí Brian and were natives of Uí Chairpre. The death occurred on 17 March 1113 of Diarmaid Ua Longáin while on pilgrimage to Croagh Patrick mountain. He is variously described in the annals as \textit{comarba} of Ardpattern, \textit{airchinnech} of Ardpattern, or \textit{maor} of Munster. In 1127 Ardpattern was raided by Toirdealbach Ua Conchobhair, and two years later Cellach, head of the church of Armagh, died while visiting Ardpattern. Finally, the annals record the death of Áed Ua Longáin, ‘maor of Munster’, in 1141.\textsuperscript{125}

\textsuperscript{120} Westropp, pp. 433.
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid., pp 422–3.
\textsuperscript{122} Stokes, \textit{Tripartite Life}, p. 208.
\textsuperscript{124} MacCotter, ‘Rise of Meic Carthaig’, pp 68–70.
\textsuperscript{125} AFM, 1006.6, 1052.3; 1108.6, 1113.5, 1141.2; AU, 1072.2; AI, 1074.8, 1079.2, 1113.2, 1129.6; AT, 1127.3; CS, 1113.
The subsequent history of Ardpatrick is intriguing if not entirely visible. Its next ecclesiastical mentions occur in two undated deeds contained in the Black Book. In the first of these the preceptor of Cashel ‘restores’ to the bishop of Limerick possession of the church of Ardpatrick and the ‘parochial rights’ of ‘Glynhonelan and Desbeg’. In the second deed Malachy, rector of Ardpatrick, made canonical obedience to E. bishop of Limerick and to his mother-church of Limerick. The latter reference dates these related deeds to the episcopate of Edmund (1215-1222), and other witnesses’ names suggest that it was early in his episcopacy (Fleming’s dates here are erroneous.) The explanation of these deeds may be a claim upon the Patrician churches in Munster by the archbishopric of Cashel as metropolitan, and there is some evidence for the existence of such a claim from a later period. In any case, Limerick certainly claimed Ardpatrick and its satellites in 1201, so these deeds must represent the resolution of this dispute.

Of the places named in the first deed Desbeg represents the manor of Tobernea alias Decesbeg. This was the estate of ‘Ardpatrick with three knights’ fees’ granted in 1199, and it covered the area stretching eastwards from Effin nearly to Kilfinnane. The ‘castle of Ardpatrick’, built at the same time here is in fact the later Cloghanodfoy (‘Otvay’s Castle’), now Castle Oliver, in Particles. Glynhonelan occurs in the grant to Monasterenagh of 1201 as a boundary of a parcel of land which seems to have contained portions of the parishes of Emlygrennan, Kilfinnane and Darragh, and is probably to be identified with the valley of the Loobagh River (still the ‘GLEANE’ in 1656). Therefore the pastoral area of the church of Ardpatrick as indicated in this deed – at a time when the parish boundaries were clearly still evolving – consisted of the western half of the pre-Invasion kingdom of Déis Becc, if not of the entire kingdom, which stretched eastwards as far as Darragh parish. This indicates that Ardpatrick was a mother-church, and formerly the chief church of Déis Becc, subsequently dismembered as parish formation proceeded, a process certainly finalised by the period of the Papal Taxations (although even here further parochial boundary changes in the early 17th century further diminished the area of Ardpatrick parish). It is likely that the various cross-lands found here subsequently (in Ardpatrick, Emlygrennan, Kilquane and Kilfinnane) were all part of the _termann_ of Ardpatrick, but one suspects that these were a mere remnant of what had existed before the Invasion. The O Longans remained ‘coarbs’ of Ardpatrick into the 17th century.

**The church-lands of the northern Déis (Dál Cais)**

Discussion of these lands is complicated by the arrival of the Vikings in Limerick, for the territory of the northern Déis (ancestors to Dál Cais) originally centred on the island of Limerick itself (Inis Sibtonn), stretching south to Cahernarry and northwards into east Clare. The advance of this people into much of east Clare is a relatively late phenomenon, occurring from the 8th century onwards. At least three important early churches are known: Donaghmore, St. Munchin’s and Singland.
Donaghmore is certainly the oldest of these on record, and had the largest estate. It is the Domnach Mór Maige Áine of Bethu Phátraice, mentioned in a context which suggests that it was the chief church of Déis Tuascirt in the 10th century. The usage Domnach Mór + geographical qualifier is a very early formula, thought by some to pre-date AD600, and Mag Aine here refers to the plain of the goddess Áine, the titular deity of the Eóganacht Áine of the Emly area. It may well be that the original polity at Áine, that preceding Eóganacht Áine, if not Eóganacht Áine itself, stretched as far west as Donaghmore, for the first reliable references to Déis Tuascirt here occur in the late 7th century, and these people appear to have migrated northwards from the Déis Deisci turf territory around Ardpatrick. This would agree with a 6th century date for the church foundation at Donaghmore. The church remains here are of 11th century date. The lands of Donaghmore must be those later cross-lands of Donaghmore, Caheravally and Rathurd.

The church of Saingel or Singland again features in Bethu Phátraice, where Patrick is made to baptize the fictional ancestor of the Dál Cais. The parish here is subsequently dedicated to the saint, and the strong Dál Cais support for the cult of Patrick, in which they were followed by their allies, Déis Deisci of the Kilmallock/Ardpatrick area, was clearly a politically motivated feature designed to marginalize the older Eóganacht-supported cults of Ailbe of Emly and Nessan of Munget. In this context we should note the existence of an obsolete ‘Kilpatrick’ in Derrygalvin parish and a well dedicated to the saint at Kilpeacon. There appears to have been a round tower at Singland in the 17th century.

The church dedications in the greater Limerick area certainly indicate the pre-Viking lordship of Dál Cais here. Manchin ‘of Limerick’ or ‘of Inis Sibottum’ (King’s Island: the church of St. Munchin) occurs in the genealogies, as does Liadan, eponym of Killeely, both Dál Cais saints. The statement in the genealogies that Ferdomnach mac Dimma gave Inis Sibottum to Manchin has a whiff of authenticity about it. He may be ascribed a 7th century date based on his place in the genealogies, and appears to have been a king of Dál Cais. He was certainly a member of Ó Óengusso, the ruling line of Dál Cais at this time, and whose lands appear to have lain around Limerick itself. The placing of Ferdomnach in the genealogies suggests a late 7th century date for this donation. The lands of these churches were probably lost early and cannot now be traced. The small parcels of church lands at Killeely, Kilquane and Kilrush, the latter with a late 11th century church ruin, probably represent remnants of lands once held of St. Munchin’s.

Conclusion
The diocese of Limerick has several pertinent features which make it particularly suitable for scholarly study. It is one of a half dozen or so dioceses whose monuments survive in sufficient quantity to reconstruct its see lands, and something of its early history. Its

135 Ó Carragáin, Churches, pp 138, 308.
137 CS, p. 468; Parish map; Westropp, pp 364, 372.
139 O’Brien, Corpus, p. 240.
140 Ó Carragáin, Churches, p. 137.
boundaries are the earliest known of any Irish diocese, while its first bishop, Gille, was the author of a plan of church reform which played a vital role in the ecclesiastical reform movement throughout Ireland during the 12th century. Even the physical fabric of its medieval cathedral is unique in an Irish context. It is hoped therefore that the above study, using as it does the most modern methodologies, will contribute something more to our knowledge of the history of the diocese of Limerick. In this context my forthcoming paper on parish, pastoral care and tuath in the diocese c. 1201 will seek to make a further contribution.