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May 1927

THE DIOCESES OF
TUAM, KILLALA, AND ACHONRY

Hubert G. Knox

NOTES ON THE EARLY HISTORY
OF THE DIOCESES OF TUAM
KILLALA AND ACHONRY

BY

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PREFACE

No history of these Dioceses has yet been published, except Mr. O. J. Burke's "History of the Catholic Archbishops of Tuam," which is limited in accordance with its title. These notes are intended to show how they assumed their present form, and who worked in them in early days, and to be an assistance and foundation for whoever may undertake to write their history. In that respect their utility is limited, but as far as they go I hope that they will prove trustworthy. They are published in their present form because they would probably never be published if they were held back to be completely recast, and are even so better than no history at all. They extend over the three Dioceses because the information was collected during the study of the early history of the Co. of Mayo, and not with the object of writing their history.

General remarks are made in the section on Tuam Diocese, in which is included also the period of St. Patrick and his companions. The sections on the other Dioceses contain what is peculiar to them. The Monastic Houses are taken together according to their orders as they were not a part of the ordinary Diocesan organisation, and are most conveniently dealt with as a whole. It has been impossible for me to compare all my copies with the original documents relating to their possessions, but I have done so as far as I could, in order to get the most satisfactory reading of place-names.

Chapters which are but strings of places, and the lists of possessions of abbeys, unless indexed elsewhere, are omitted from the Index, which they would swell to a great size without equivalent advantage. Names of Bishops and other items appearing in the Table of Contents are omitted unless mentioned elsewhere.

The notes close when the general reorganisation in the reign of James I. ended the old order.

My thanks are due to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury for leave to publish parts of the "Division of Connaught and Thomond," a MS. in the Lambeth Library.

To his Grace the Archbishop of Tuam for leave to use extracts from the "Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum."

To the Librarian of Trinity College Dublin for leave to publish MSS. in that Library.

To the Council of the Royal Irish Academy for leave to use extracts from the Proceedings and Transactions.

To the Council of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland for leave to make extracts from the Journal and from the "Annals of Clonmacnoise."

To the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for leave to use extracts from the "Life of St. Mochua," in Dr. Whitley Stokes's translation of the "Book of Lismore" in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*.

To the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office for leave to use extracts from the Rolls Edition of the "Tripartite Life of St. Patrick," and of the "Irish Annals," and from the "Calendars of State Papers."

To the Director of the Pontifical Press for leave to use extracts from Theiner's "Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum."

To the Rev. C. H. H. Wright, D.D., for leave to use his translation of the "Writings of St. Patrick."

To Madame Bouillon the proprietress, and to Dr. Whitby Stokes, for leave to use extracts from his translation of the "Annals of Tigernach" published in the *Revue Celtique*.

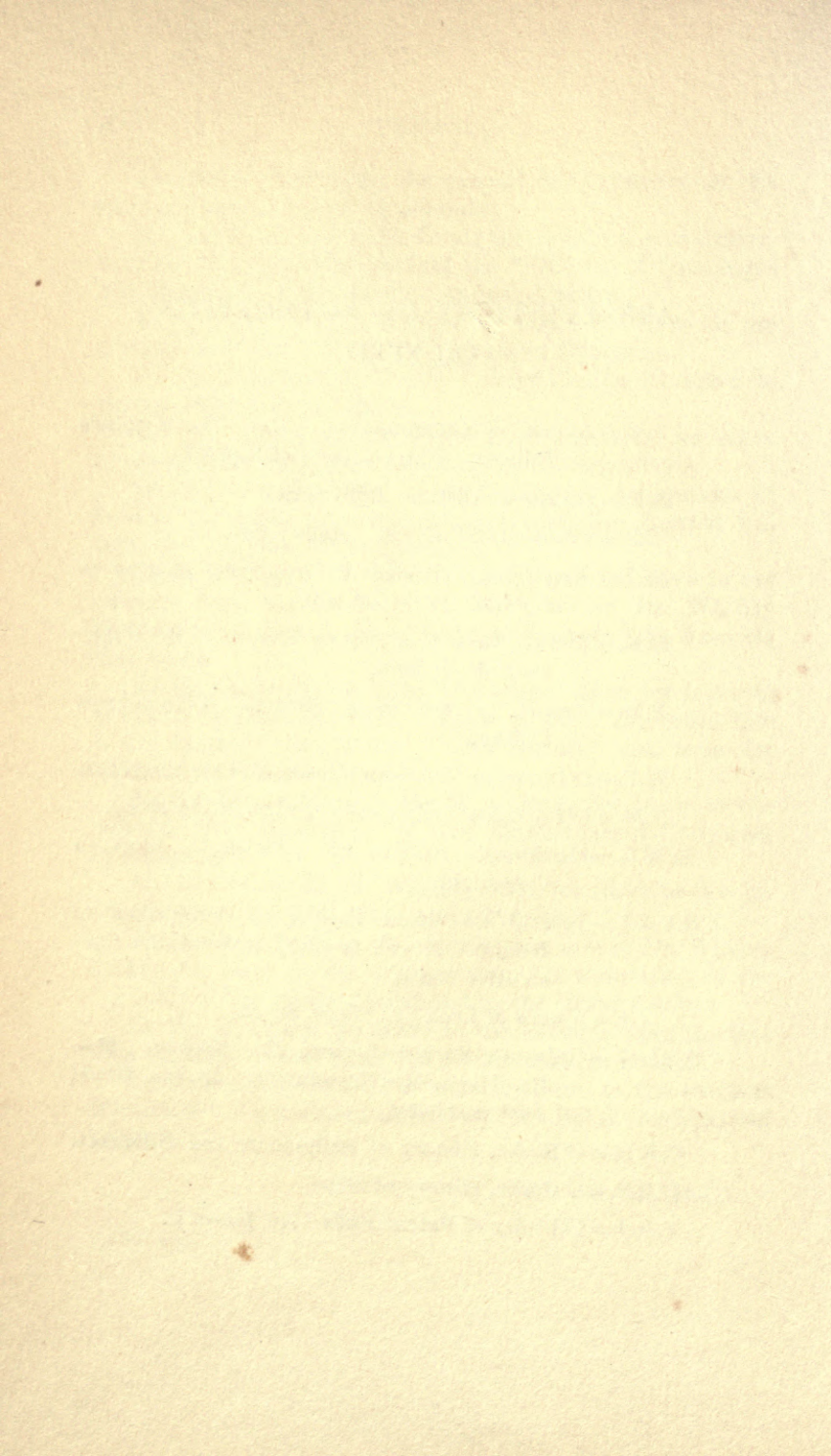
To Mr. H. Stokes for leave to use extracts from the late Miss Stokes's "Early Christian Architecture in Ireland."

To Messrs. George Bell & Sons for leave to use extracts from Bede's "Ecclesiastical History" in Bohn's Antiquarian Library.

H. T. KNOX.

ABBREVIATIONS OF AUTHORITIES QUOTED

- A.C. = Annals of Clonmacnoise. Rev. D. Murphy's Edition. Extra volume of R.S.A.I.
- A.U. = Annals of Ulster. Rolls Series.
- C.S. = Chronicon Scotorum. Rolls Series.
- D.I. = Sweetman, Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, 1172-1307, vol.
- D.K. = Annual Report of Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, Ireland.
- F.M. = Annals of the Four Masters. O'Donovan's Edition.
- H.F. = O'Donovan, Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach.
- H.M. = O'Donovan, Tribes and Customs of Hy Many.
- H.W.C. = Hardiman's Edition of O'Flaherty's West of Connaught.
- Jl. R.S.A.I. = Journal of Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. If vol. is given it is of the Consecutive Series.
- L.C. = Annals of Loch Cé. Rolls Series.
- O.S.L.G. = Ordnance Survey Letters, Co. Galway. M = Co. Mayo, R = Roscommon. In the Royal Irish Academy.
- O.R.B. = O'Rorke, History of Ballysadare and Kilvarnet.
- O.R.S. = O'Rorke, History of Sligo.
- P.R.J. = Calendar of Patent Rolls 1-16 James I.



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DIOCESE OF TUAM

CHAPTER I

THE CHRONOLOGY OF ST. PATRICK

SEVERAL circumstances indicate the existence of Christians in Ireland before St. Patrick's time. The common account of St. Patrick begins his mission in Ireland with his consecration as bishop in Gaul in A.D. 432 and his arrival in Ireland soon after. This is inconsistent with traditions not open to objection except on the ground that the events occurred before A.D. 432. The chronology of St. Patrick and of some of his contemporaries has been upset by the erroneous belief that he then came to Ireland for the first time as a missionary, and the consequent necessity of arranging events to agree with that date. Dr. Whitley Stokes has pointed out how his life should run in the Tripartite Life, Introduction, p. cxli. The synchronisms, as I understand them, which he has not fully dealt with, and the Annals show three occasions of his "Coming to Ireland" after his first return as a missionary priest.

My examination of impossible and inconsistent entries and traditions results in a chronology which shows how the impossible dates have been worked out, and how the confusion has arisen, and how some probably record exact truth. The confusion has arisen from two facts being used as standards of time and applied to wrong dates, namely, that he worked in Ireland as a missionary for 60 years and that he was 60 years of age when he was made a bishop. "The Coming of Patrick" gave a wrong measure for synchronism when it was supposed to apply to only one coming.

The following facts seem well fixed within a small error. Death of Niall King of Ireland about 405 and accession of Dathi. Dathi's death about 427 and accession of Laegaire. Laegaire's death about 463 and accession of Ailill Molt. Ailill's death in the battle of Ucha about 483. Battle of Segais and death of Duach Tenguma about 500. The Annals of Clonmacnoise give the Coming of Patrick in the year 425, a unique date, but give also 432 as the correct date. This date explains the entries of the death of Dathi in the years 445 and 446 in the Annals of Ulster and of Innisfallen. If the authority on which these compilers relied referred the death of Dathi to 20 years after the Coming of Patrick, meaning his coming about 405, then their date 445 would be correct if they supposed the reference to be to the coming in 425. Nennius gives 405 as the date of Patrick's Coming to the Scots. The death of Dathi was in truth 22 years or so after that date. The Annals of Ulster and Innisfallen refer the arrival of St. Patrick to the fourteenth year of King Laegaire which is 443, the year fixed by Dr. Todd for his coming to Tara. The entries in the Annals of Ulster under 441 and 443 point to important events in his mission, which explain the entries of the death of King Amalgaid, correctly in 449 by the Four Masters, incorrectly in 440 in the *Chronicon Scotorum*. In either case it was a year or two before some important event at Tara. In 451 King Laegaire held the Feis of Tara according to the Annals of Clonmacnoise. Patrick's visit to Tirawley was a consequence of the death of Amalgaid, whose sons came to Tara to settle a dispute about their inheritance, therefore soon after their father's death.

Dr. Todd quotes indications that the "Coming of Patrick" was in 439 to 442 according to various data.¹ The relations between St. Patrick and Laegaire were such that Patrick may have attended any Feis or ceremony at Tara in his reign.

The sequence and dates of the kings of Connaught can be made out with fair certainty. O'Curry quotes a tract for their names and length of reign from the coming of Patrick as follows²—Amalgaid 20 years, Oilioll Molt 11 years,

¹ *Life of St. Patrick*, pp. 394-6.

² *MS. Mat. of Anc. Irish Hist.*, p. 499.

Duach Galach 20 years, &c. The list is not in order of succession. O'Curry quotes O'Duinn's poem in connection with this list for the statement that 79 years elapsed from the death of Duach Galach to the battle of Segais, which at O'Duinn's date 504 places the death of Duach in 425. Taking these notes with the entries in the Annals the dates are I think fairly established as follows—Dathi was King of Connaught until he became King of Ireland after Niall's death, that is about 406; Duach Galach was King of Connaught from about 407 to 427; Amalgaid was King of Connaught from about 428 to 449; Ailill Molt was King of Connaught from about 450 to 463, when he became King of Ireland.

The traditions regarding Patrick and Duach Galach throw a good deal of light on the period of Patrick's mission. Duach has always been regarded as a Christian and supporter of Patrick. His death is placed after Patrick's coming in 432. The true date of his death and the traditions cannot be reconciled with that date of coming, but fall in with the first coming about 402 and the second coming about 425.

Hardiman gives one of these traditions.¹ Patrick approached Brian's sons. Led by Echean the eldest, all but Duach the youngest mounted their horses and rode away refusing to countenance him. Duach awaited him and received him respectfully. Patrick deprived Echean and his brethren of royalty for ever, but blessed Duach saying "You and your posterity shall be kings over your brethren." Though the fact is not to be taken as proved by the legend, the legend has a value as evidence that it was thought that St. Patrick made acquaintance with Duach before Duach became king.

O'Donovan quotes another legend.² Duach Galach being king gave St. Grellan a piece of land for a church, after Grellan had baptized Duach's son Eogan Sriab. In token of possession Duach and Patrick gave Grellan a branch, whence the place is called Craebh Grellain³ ever since. The account of Sachell in the Book of Armagh shows that he must have been put under St. Patrick before 425.⁴

¹ *H. W. C.* p. 147.

² *Tribes and Customs of Hy Many*, p. 8.

³ Creeve near Elphin.

⁴ See p. 14.

Benen Abbot of Armagh in 455 is said to have been given over to Patrick when Patrick came to Ireland, being then 7 years old. He is said to have been 17 years Abbot of Drumlease. On the basis of the coming in 432 he must have been placed there when only 12 years old and in Armagh when only 29. He must have joined Patrick on an earlier occasion. As to Drumlease he has been confused with Benen son of Lugni.

When it was believed that Patrick came for the first time after Palladius's failure, all events had to fit into the subsequent period or be rejected. Nennius took the dates relating to Irish church history as he found them, without framing theories or harmonising. His date of A.D. 405 for the first coming seems correct within a trifle. The confession of St. Patrick supports this view. His own chronology runs thus—Taken captive when nearly 16 years old. Six years in captivity. Again, not many years afterwards, taken prisoner but released after 60 days. Again, after a few years, he was in Britain with his kinsfolk, who besought him that now after his many hardships he should never leave them again. There he saw the vision and heard the call from the Wood of Foclut. "After very many years the Lord granted to them according to their cry." This visit to Britain seems to have been that from which he returned in 425. Then his friend Duach was King of Connaught, and the heathen Amalgaid was King of Carra and Tirawley into which he could not enter to work. Their families were rivals for the chief sovereignty of Connaught. During Patrick's time the Hy Fiachrach were the more powerful, providing the King of Ireland when Duach was King of Connaught, and after him providing Amalgaid and Ailill Molt. The friendship of Duach would tend to keep Patrick out of Carra and Tirawley. The call from the Wood of Foclut is not intelligible if Patrick was in Gaul and Britain between his escape in 394 and 432, but is natural if Patrick had been working among the Hy Briuin, Hy Aillelo, Ciarraige and Conmaicne and Partraige, and knew that he could do good work in those countries also if permitted by the ruling family. The acceptance of Christianity by so many of Amalgaid's sons as soon as he died showed that the country generally was ready to receive

him. Tirawley was the inheritance of Amalgaid, Carra was that of Ailill Molt, and accordingly Patrick did not enter Carra at any time.

It may be more than a coincidence that a few years after Dathi's death Patrick was in Gaul when a bishop was sent to Ireland. Laegaire's accession made an opportunity for organisation of a church under the chief king's protection, whether Christian himself or not. The substitution of Amalgaid for Duach in Connaught about the same time had an opposite effect, and may have given rise to the persecution which we infer from the discovery of the chalices in a cave in Tirerrill. The persecution must have been temporary or local for Patrick certainly worked freely in Connaught during Amalgaid's reign, but not in Amalgaid's own kingdom.

Muirchu Maccumatheni's Life notes an important era in Patrick's life at his thirtieth year when he visited the Apostolic See. This coincides with Tirechan's note that he was seven years travelling through Gaul and Italy and in the Islands of the Tyrrhene Sea. An obscure period follows. Muirchu sends him to Germanus for 30 or 40 years. This doubt must be due to uncertainty caused by "comings" of 432 and 442. That he worked 60 years in Ireland is correct. His ordination as bishop divides his missionary life into two equal parts of 30 years each. When the first period of work as a priest was forgotten and his ordination as bishop taken for the starting point of his work in Ireland the true chronology was upset, and it was worked out as follows—

As he worked 60 years in Ireland he must have died in 493. As his birth was in 372 and he was 60 years old when he was made a bishop, he must have been 30 years with Germanus, or somewhere, after the seven years in Gaul and Italy which he himself mentioned.

The 30 years before 432 and the 30 years after 463 are devoid of events in the ordinary history. In truth the seven years would end about 402 with his ordination as a priest and his coming to Ireland. Thus he had time to make Duach's acquaintance before Duach became king and to raise so many congregations and gain so much support among the kings that he could urge the Pope to send a bishop to organise the church in 432.

Tigernach notes Patrick's birth in the time of Muredach Tirech, and his captivity in the beginning of Eochy Moyvane's reign. 342 is 60 years before his coming in 402. Tigernach and the compiler of the Annals of Clonmacnoise used the same materials as Nennius for the date of the Coming, or one is based on the other, as Clonmacnoise gives the reign of Eochy Moyvane as the date of the captivity.

Flann's Synchronisms date the battle of Ocha, which was in 483, as 43 years after the Coming of Patrick, correctly if the coming about 440 is meant.

Nennius's references to St. Patrick give further evidence as they are obviously taken from various tracts. He mentions that Patrick taught the Gospel in foreign nations for 40 years, pointing to Muirchu's period of 30 or 40 years, and says that he was 85 years the Apostle of the Irish. Counting from Nennius's A.D. 405 this puts his death in 490.

For the interval of 30 years after the seven years which Patrick mentioned Tirechan had no written authority, only Ultan's statement that they were spent in an island called Aralanensis. The Irish called monasteries islands, and Ultan here perhaps meant only a monastery at Arles.

The Black Book of the Cathedral of Holy Trinity Dublin of about 1290 contains these entries.¹

“CCCCXXIII. Obiit Augustinus et Celestinus pape et paladius ad Scotos mittitur id est ad hyberniam.

CCCCXXXII. Patricius venit in hiberniam.”

The value of these entries is that they show that there was a record of Patrick's arrival 9 years after Palladius's mission. That is certainly antedated, but one of the certain facts of St. Patrick's life is that he was made bishop in succession to Palladius and went to Ireland within a year or so of Palladius's departure, unless indeed he was himself Palladius as is suggested by some.

It may be taken as certain that Patrick after his captivity returned to Ireland in A.D. 402, 425, 432, 442, or within a year or two of each of those dates.

¹ Gilbert, *Nat. MSS. of Ireland*, Part II.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL AND TRIBAL DIVISIONS

As the area open to Patrick followed tribal divisions they must be kept in mind; they are still to some extent reproduced in the boundaries of dioceses.

The kingdom of Meath covered the counties of Meath, West Meath, Louth, Dublin north of the Liffey, Cavan as far north and west as Ballyconnell, Longford and the southern part of Leitrim, and perhaps a little more to the south of West Meath.

The kingdom of Connaught comprised all west of the Shannon except the county of Clare, the county of Sligo and the northern part of Leitrim inhabited by the Calry. But the barony of Carbury and north Leitrim in St. Patrick's time or soon after fell under Ulster.

Meath was the kingdom of Tuathal Techtmar whose descendants according to the Irish genealogists and historians acquired the chief sovereignty of Connaught and Ulster in the time of Muredach Tirech in the first half of the 4th century. Muredach's son Eochy Moyvane was father of Brian, Fiachra, Ailill, Niall and Fergus. Niall became King of Ireland in 379. Brian was chief King of Connaught. A partition or assignment of hereditary estates was now made among them. Niall got Meath and Ulster. Connaught was divided among the other sons, except Fergus who left no descendants. This partition is fictitious. The kings of the two great divisions of Connaught were adopted into the Milesian family as sons of Eochy, and the ancient Hy Many were turned into Milesian Hy Many by a fictitious conquest. As I understand the legends Brian was King of the Connachta in the restricted sense of the Conmaicne of Mayo and Galway and their closely allied tribes the Ciarraige, just as O'Conor afterwards was especially the King of the Silmurray, a group of tribes sprung from Brian's

descendants in Moy Ai, chiefly from Muredach Mullethan. His sons settled in the country between the Ciarraige and Conmaicne and the Shannon. Others are said to have settled in the barony of Clare and in Umall, but I believe that O'Flaherty and O'Malley really descended from the ancient Clann Umoir royal families of those parts and were worked into the Hy Briuin genealogy in later days. But this artificial genealogy in a way fairly represents the tribal relations. Hy Briuin or Connachta did spring from the Clann Umoir. My views on this subject are expressed in detail in an article on the Early Tribes of Connaught published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. xxx. p. 343.

The Rath of Cruachan was the possession of the high King of Connaught for the time being, and he had another on Inishowen or Inishmaine in Lough Mask.

These Hy Briuin and the Hy Fiachrach of Aidhne were of common origin in a remote past. The territory of the latter was the diocese of Kilmacduagh. They were of the race of the Fiachra from whom Thomond was taken by the ancestors of the Dalcais, the O'Briens. By a false identification the Fiachra ancestor of the Hy Fiachrach of Aidhne has been united with the Fiachra father of King Dathi from whom the Hy Fiachrach of the north take their name.

These northern Hy Fiachrach came from the very ancient Gamanraige and Clann Morna kings of Irosdomnann and had Carra, which went south to the Robe, and Tirawley and Erris as their immediate possession. The Calraige of Coolcarney and of Murrisk and of Lough Gill and the Dart-raige were directly under them. I cannot ascertain anything about the Corcu Teimne except that they were in the north of Carra. These tribes were the ancient Ferdomnann.

The Hy Aillelo had the barony of Tirerrill and the part of the barony of Boyle north of Lough Key and perhaps the south-east corner of Corran.

The families called descendants of Eochy Moyvane were few in number at this time, only the royal families of their territories in which the ancient tribes remained as chiefs and landowners more or less closely related to them.

The Calry known as of Coolcarney or of Innse Nisc had

the barony of Tireragh as far north as Easkey and the parishes of Kilgarvan and Attymas. From Easkey eastwards that barony belonged to the Calry of Murrisk. A small tribe, probably then very much larger than in later times, was in Moyheleog in Tirawley. Other clans of Calry called of Lough Gill occupied the barony of Carbury. Rossclagher in Leitrim was occupied by Calry called Dartraige. Calry "of Three Plains" were in Dromahaire and Calry of Aelmagh were to east of them, apparently in the northern part of the barony of Dromahaire. Calry were in a subordinate position in Moylurg and a small clan was in Corran, probably in the part under the Hy Aillelo. The Calry must have been a very powerful race formerly, but in historical times were in decay.

These and their neighbours the Gregraike seem to have been ancient subdivisions of the kingdom of Irrosdomnann.

The Gregry occupied the rest of Corran, Leyny, Gallen except Coolcarney, Coolavin, Costello north of Knock and Aghamore except some country about Castlemore and Kilcolman held by the Ciarraige of Artech. They are mentioned in connection with St. Patrick at Killaraght and at the Strand of Ballysadare. I infer that they were the dominant clan there, but they were soon after this time superseded by the Luighne and Gaileanga. Then we find the Luighne in possession of the barony of Leyny, the Gaileanga in possession of North Costello and Gallen except Toomore and Kilgarvan and Attymas.

The Corcofirtri were in Corran. Next south of the Gregraike came the Ciarraige or Kerry who had Artech comprising the parish of Kilnamanagh and the north and west of that of Tibohine and those of Kilcolman and Castlemore, the parishes of Aghamore, and Knock, and Bekan, and Annagh, and the barony of Clanmorris except the parish of Balla which was in Cera, and the barony of Castlereagh. They were in four great divisions—

1. Ciarraige Airtech, those of Artech.
2. Ciarraige Muigh Ai, those of the barony of Castlereagh.
3. Ciarraige Locha na n Airneadh, called from their chief residence on Mannin Lake, in the eastern and southern parts of Aghamore and in Bekan and Annagh parishes.

4. Ciarraige Uachtar, in the rest of Aghamore, in Knock, and in the barony of Clanmorris.

The Conmaicne were in three divisions—

1. Conmaicne of Cuil Toladh had the barony of Kilmaine south of the Robe and the barony of Ross.
2. Conmaicne Mara had that of Ballynahinch.
3. Conmaicne Cinel Dubhain or of Dunmore had the barony of Dunmore and the parishes of Templetogether and Boyounagh and part of Clonbern and the parts of Dunmore and Tuam which are in other baronies, and the parish of Belclare.

Though for convenience sake I have described them in their divisions it is not certain that they were yet defined thus. The whole of these territories were occupied by the Conmaicne, and the inhabitants of the northern part of the barony of Clare in which St. Patrick worked may have been of the same race, probably were, which was in fact the Clann Umoir.

The Corcamogha, in part of Clonbern and Kilkerrin in later days, were allied in race, but very little is known about them except that they were once a very great race. They and Ciarraige and Conmaicne and Gregraiage claimed a common descent from Fergus MacRoigh and Queen Meadbh but were really descended from the ancient kings of Connaught.

The Partraige were to later days an important tribe under their own kings. They certainly occupied Ballyovey and I think the parishes of Ballintubber and Ballyheane; thus I account for St. Patrick's having access to that country. They were more nearly related to the Clann Umoir than to their Hy Fiachrach neighbours. At this time, or earlier, they had the part of Umall from Croagh Patrick to Lough Mask and the barony of Ross and the part of Kilmaine about Cong. But little is known about them.

Umall, consisting of the baronies of Burrishoole and Murrisk, was occupied by families of the Clann Umoir.

The Delbhna of Sid Nenta or Delbhna Nuadat had the country between Suck and Shannon from Fairymount, Sid Nenta, to the south of the parish of Taghboy.

The Delbhna of Tir Da Loch and of Cuil Fabhair had the barony of Moycullen and most of that of Galway.

Clann Umoir families were in the barony of Clare.

The rest of the northern part of Galway was occupied by the Sencheneoil or Old Tribes from whom came the Sodans and the mysterious Corca, or Corca Mogha, of later days.

The rest of the south of Galway, outside Aidhne, and of Roscommon was occupied by Corca and descendants of ancient Cathraige, and Hy Many. The latter as the ruling tribe gave their name to the territories forming their great kingdom.

These tribal relationships must be kept in mind because the organisation and politics of the Irish were wholly tribal, and dioceses were eventually based on them as they stood in the 12th century, subject only to slight modifications arising from ecclesiastical connection of earlier times.

St. Patrick's first 30 years of work must be remembered, of which at least a considerable part was spent in Connaught, most likely nearly all the seven years, for the accounts we have of his episcopal work therein relate to tours. A tradition that a church was founded by St. Patrick, if it is in a territory which was open to him, should not be rejected because the early lives do not mention it.

CHAPTER III

ST. PATRICK'S WORK IN CONNAUGHT

AFTER seven years preparation on the continent St. Patrick returned to Ireland as a missionary about the year 402 and must have made his friendship with Duach and begun his work in Connaught in the beginning of the century. To this early period must be ascribed the incident of Sachell being handed over to him, in order to allow Sachell to be 30 years with Patrick before he was made one of the bishops in Moy Ai. He left Ireland and returned about the year 425. Soon afterwards his patron Duach died, about the same time as King Dathi was killed by lightning at Sliabh Alp, which I believe to be the hill of that name in Erris. The heathen Amalgaid, hostile to the Christians, became chief King of Connaught. The discovery of vessels hidden in a cave in the Hill of the Hy Aillelo indicates a persecution, not unlikely to have been a consequence of the turbulence attending the succession. Patrick perhaps hid them himself. During this early period Patrick worked in those parts of Connaught and formed congregations and founded churches and formed connections with the chieftains where he afterwards came as bishop to organise a proper ecclesiastical system.

In Meath the change was for the better. Laegaire countenanced Christianity. Soon after his accession we find Patrick in Gaul where he is consecrated as bishop, somewhat against his will, in succession to Palladius. It seems to me most likely that Patrick found circumstances favourable to organisation of the church under the High King's protection, and went to Gaul and Rome to urge the appointment of a bishop. His account of himself suggests why he should prefer not to be the bishop. He was not learned, had for years led a rough missionary life, had little intercourse with organised churches, and must have felt that

the most fitting bishop would be one familiar with church discipline and working methods. Moreover he was 60 years old. He did not accompany Palladius. This seems odd but it is easy to understand that it was better for him to stand out of Palladius's way. Appeal would have been incessant to him against the new system. Palladius's failure forced his appointment. His personal influence was indispensable to carry out the changes. In time he brought to help him many foreign priests and bishops, Franks, Gauls, Lombards, Britons, Romans. Here Roman may mean only Roman citizens.

The appointment of a foreigner and stranger as head of the church of Ireland failed. The experiment was not repeated. Clan feeling was too strong. Until the middle of the 12th century and the Anglo-Norman Conquest no foreigner was made a bishop of the church of Ireland. The bishops of the Danish towns did not belong to that church. The Pope had agents in Ireland who exercised influence, and not independent authority over the church.

Some great events of his mission occurred in 441 and 443. According to the Annals of Clonmacnoise and of Ulster the former was an "approval" of his mission by Pope Leo. The latter seems to have been a great event at Tara. In 439, his nephews Secundinus and Auxilius, and Isserninus were sent to help him as bishops. The presence of Secundinus at Mucna's Well, and the number of bishops in attendance date this part of the Connaught tour as after 439 and before 446 when Secundinus died.

Tirechan's Collections purport to record the remarkable events of the fifth year of King Laegaire, but it is evident that events of very much later date are included, such as the visit to Tirawley. It seems to me that the whole has been worked round the record of a tour in Connaught in or immediately after 443, with a large train of priests and bishops, an organising tour. It looks much as if it was based on some itinerary or diary of places visited. Thus I account for omission of reference to the foundation of Donaghpatrick for Bishop Failart, which seems to be certainly a Patrician church. The foundation of Kilbennan is given in a detached list, showing that the places mentioned in the tour are not exhaustive of his work in Connaught. The

account of the tour itself shows that churches were there already. Professor Bury has shown grounds for taking it to be a tour made by Tirechan himself into which he has worked the traditions relating to Patrician churches in the form of an Itinerary of Patrick.¹ There are grounds for either view, and perhaps both apply in parts.

Tirechan's Collections are the best authority for Connaught. In several instances he says that he has seen things in Connaught. His work, written in the middle of the 7th century, was copied into the Book of Armagh in 807 or 808.

That book is of higher authority than the Tripartite Life, which is based on the same authorities but is a work of the 10th or 11th century according to Dr. W. Stokes. It follows Tirechan with exactness in many parts of the Connaught tour, and seems to have been copied from the Book of Armagh when that Book was already partly illegible. It omits the fragments relating to Medbu, to "the sons of En . . .," and to Senmeda, and sums up those relating to the Conmaicne in "Arduiscon, &c." Still it is of great authority being founded on such early materials, makes parts of the Book of Armagh more intelligible, and gives additional information.

I begin with the Book of Armagh and follow with further information from the Tripartite Life, using Stokes's translation of the latter. Tirechan's names written partly in Latin as Campus Ai I put in the Irish equivalent if it is well known or is in the Tripartite Life.

The following note is between Muirchu Maccu Machtheni's Life and the Dicta Patricii.

"Patrick came from the country of Arthicc to Drummut² Cerigi and to Nairniu Toisciurt [and] to Ailich Esrachtae.³ And [when] the heathen saw him with eight or nine men with tablets in their hands written in the Mosaic fashion, they cried out against them that they should kill the saints, and said: 'They have swords in their hands to kill men. By day they look like wood with them, but we think them iron swords for shedding blood.' The great crowd wanted

¹ *English Hist. Review*, April 1902.

² About Kilroddan in Tibohine.

³ Unknown, but must have been in Aghamore parish.

to do harm to the saints. But a merciful man was among them, Hercaith by name, of the race of Nothi, father of Feradach. He believed in the God of Patrick, and Patrick baptized him and his son Feradach, and he offered his son to Patrick. And he went with Patrick to study for thirty years, and [Patrick] ordained him in the city of Rome, and gave him a new name Sachell, and wrote for him a book of psalms which I have seen, and [Sachell] bore away from him a portion of the relics of Peter and Paul, Laurence and Stephen which are in Machi. Caetiach and Sachell ordained bishops, priests, deacons, clergy without Patrick's advice in Mag Afi. And Patrick found fault with them and sending letters to them Patrick's two willing youths being drawn to penitence went to Arddmache to Patrick, and performed the penance of monks. And he said to them: 'Your churches will not be great.'"

Sachell seems to have been a Mayo man. Baslick was his church. It was founded for some of Patrick's foreign missionaries, hence perhaps the name Basilica, uncommon in Ireland. He was bishop of the Ciarraige of Moy Ai. Another version of the name is Irish, Bas Leac, Death Stone. A stone in the river bed is said to be referred to.

Tirechan first notes that Patrick landed in Mag Breg with a host of bishops and clergy, mentions incidents, gives a list of Patrick's bishops priests and deacons and Franks, and of churches founded in Mag Breg. Then follow proceedings at Teltown. "And Patrick went again to the city of Tara to Loiguire son of Niall, because he had made an engagement with him that he should not be killed in his kingdom." Other churches are founded in the neighbourhood, and he enters the king's house. The incident which leads to Patrick's visit to Tirawley comes in here, but the account of the work in Tirawley comes in later. I reserve this for its proper place after the tour in Roscommon and Mayo.

Tirechan shortly names churches founded as Patrick goes to Ushnagh and round about, whence he goes into Teffa and Moy Rein and sends Methbrain to Rath Slecht, which should be in Magh Slecht, and comes to the shore of the Shannon at Cuil Boidmail, which is not now known. Tirechan observes that all the things written from the be-

ginning are well known to "you" (the Hy Neill) because they were done in your countries except a few matters, complains that so much has been withdrawn from the jurisdiction of Patrick to which it belonged, and says he will deal more concisely with the rest, as in fact he does.

"St. Patrick therefore came by the channel of the river Shannon by Two Birds' Ford¹ to Mag Aii. But Mael and Caplait, druids of Loiguire son of Niall, two brothers who had fostered Loiguire's two daughters Ethne the Fair, Fedelm the Ruddy, hearing all that had been done, fearing lest they should adopt the practices of the saint, were very angry and made darkness like night and thick fogs over all Mag Ai, we know not by whose power this was; but we know that the night lasted three days and as many nights. And the saint set to fast for three days and three nights, besought God the King of Kings with hundreds of prayers and constant genuflections, and all the magic weight of darkness passed away from Mag Ai, and he said 'Thanks be to God.' And they came by the channel of the river Shannon, which is called Bandea to Duma Graid.² In which plain he ordained St. Ailbe a priest; whom he informed of a wonderful stone altar in the Mount of the Hy Aillello, because he³ was among the Hy Aillello. And he baptized St. Mane whom Bishop Bron, son of Icne, servant of God companion of Patrick ordained. They came to Mag Glais, and he placed in it the great church which is called thus, Kilmore,⁴ and left in it two barbarians⁵ Conleng and Ercleng, his monks.

"Thence he came to Assic and Bitte and to the brothers Hono and Ith, druids, who were of the race of Corcu-Chonlúain. The former of them received Patrick and his saints with joy, and offered to him his house. And [Patrick] went to Imbliuch Hornon. And Patrick said to him: 'Thy seed shall be blessed, and of thy seed shall be priests of the Lord and worthy princes in my endowment and thy inheritance.' And he placed there Assic and Bethe, son of Assic's brother, and Cipia, mother of Bishop Bethe.

¹ Snam Da En between Clonmacnoise and Cloonburren.

² Unknown, should be in parish of Clooncruff or Kilmore.

³ Or "it."

⁴ Kilmore, in Kilmore parish.

⁵ Meaning probably foreigners who were not Roman citizens.

“Bishop St. Assic was Patrick’s coppersmith, and made altars and square book cases. Besides he made our saint’s patens in honor of Bishop Patrick, and of them I have seen three square patens, that is a paten in the church of Patrick in Ardd-Machae and another in the church of Alo-find¹ and a third in the great church² of Saeoli upon the altar of Bishop St. Félarl.” Here follows a story about Assic.

“Patrick indeed went from the well of Elphin to Dumicha³ of the Hy Aillelo and founded in that place the church which is called thus, Senella Cella Dumiche⁴ to this day. In which he left the Saints Macet and Cetgen and priest Rodan.

“And there came with him in his journey a happy daughter by name Mathona, sister of Benen successor of Patrick, who carried the pall with Patrick and Rodan and was their nun. And she went by Sliab maccn Aillelo and planted a free church in Tamnuch,⁵ and was honoured by God and by men, and she herself made friendship with the relics of St. Rodan, and their successors feasted together.

“But after this they established bishops, *i.e.* Cairell [and . . .], by the holy church in Tamnuch, whom Patrick’s bishops, that is Bron and Biethe, ordained. They did not demand anything but friendship from the convent of the Dumas, but the convent of Clono⁶ demands [something], because since the last mortalities⁷ they hold many of Patrick’s places by force.”

Next comes the very curious account of St. Patrick and King Laegaire’s daughters, in which, in my opinion, several stories and traditions are combined, relating to incidents of very different dates. The story thus has an air of unreality and an appearance of the girls having been suddenly converted and having then died or been killed and buried. The stories relating to them and Mael and Caplit are mixed up. They seem to be compounded of a story of Patrick’s first meeting with them, and of their conversion, which offers an opportunity for bringing in a confession of faith and a cate-

¹ Elphin.

² Donaghpatrick in barony of Clare.

³ Corradooey in Aghanagh.

⁴ Probably the Nunnery in Aghanagh as Dr. O’Rorke suggests ; certainly in that country.

⁵ A church in Tawnagh parish in Tirerrill.

⁶ Clonmacnoise.

⁷ Probably the plague of A.D. 666.

chism, an account of their taking the veil, and an account of their death and burial and the building of a memorial church. The sudden death as the story stands is difficult to explain, but if the whole be taken to be an abstract of all that Tirechan heard about them, as I suggest, it comes only to this, that two sisters died at the same time and were buried together.

St. Patrick and his party went from the Dumas to the well called Clebach¹ in the skirts of Crochan to the east, which they reached before sunrise, and they were sitting there when Ethne and Fedelm came to wash as women's custom is. The girls asked who they were and whence they came, which introduces the confession of faith and the catechism. They are baptized and a white garment is put on their heads. They beg to see the face of Christ and are told that they must first taste of death and receive the sacrifice. They ask to be given the sacrifice.

"And they received the Eucharist of God and they slept in death. And they placed them in a bed covered with one mantle, and their friends made a wailing and a great lamentation.

"[And then came]² Caplit who had fostered one of them and .² And Patrick preached to him, and he believed and the hairs of his head were removed.³ And his brother M[ael] came and said 'My brother has believed in Patrick and it shall not be so, and I will bring him back to heathenism,' and he said hard things to Mathonus⁴ and to Patrick. And Patrick spoke to him and preached and turned him to the repentance of God, and the hairs of his head were removed, that is the druidical fashion [which] was seen on his head, airbacc as it is called giunnae.⁵ Hence the proverb which is best known of all Scottish proverbs: He is like Calvus against Caplit. And they believed in God.

"And the days of lamentation for the King's daughters

¹ Probably the well to west of Shankill near Elphin.

² Text obliterated, only partly legible.

³ Tonsured.

⁴ Professor Bury's rendering, suggesting Mathonum for Mathoum and that Mathonus was a brother of Mathona.—*Eng. Hist. Review*, Ap. 1902.

⁵ Dr. Joyce translates Airbacc giunnae as literally "fence of hair."—*Social Hist. Ireland*, I. p. 234.

ended, and they buried them by the Well of Clebach and made a round ditch like a ferta, because the Scots and Gentiles did so. But among us it is called Relic, that is, the Remains and feurt. And it was offered with the bones of the holy women to God and to Patrick and to his successors after him for ever. And he made an earthen church¹ in that place.

“But thence Patrick came to Caire [tha] that is into Mag Cairetha, and they founded [a church] in Ardlicce, which is called thus, Sendomnach,² and he settled in it St. Coeman a deacon his monk dear to Christ Patrick's youth.

“And Patrick came to Ardd Senlis,³ and put aloc, and obtained a place in Mag Nento.⁴ And they went away with Bishop St. [Ce]thiac to his own country, for his father was of the race of Ailill, and his mother was of the race of Sai of the countries of the Cianachta (by them) deacon St. Jostus being only a little boy and he obtained Fidard.⁵ And he [St. Patrick] gave him books of baptism, and he baptized the Hy (Maine), and in his good old age baptized Ciaran son of the Carpenter when he was old and full of years. But there intervined between the death of Patrick and the birth of Ciaran one hundred and forty years⁶ as those most skilled in numbers calculate, and Ciaran was baptized out of Patrick's book, by deacon Justus in view of the people.⁷

“But Patrick's Franks left Patrick, 15 brothers and one sister. Also I cannot tell the names of the men except two, the principal Bernicius and Hernicius and the name of Nitria sister of bishop. And many places were given to them, and I know none, except that one is Basilica⁸ of the saints, because St. Patrick pointed out to them the nature of the place and pointed it out to them with his finger from the Mound of Garad, when they came to him that he might choose for them out of the places they

¹ Shankill near Elphin.

² Kilkeevin.

³ Near Strokestown.

⁴ About Fairymount, Sid Nento.

⁵ Fuerty.

⁶ 147 years intervined between the birth of Patrick, A.D. 372, and that of Ciaran, A.D. 519.

⁷ Dr. Gwynne's reading.

⁸ Baslick.

had found. And Cethec founded the church of Brergrad.¹ A certain lad who came through the river Suck and his feet were dry and his boots were of a ditch.²

“But Patrick came to Selca³ in which the (Sons) of Brian with a multitude of holy bishops encamped among the mounds of Selca, and they made him a bed and a seat between the stones on which they wrote with his hand letters which we have seen to-day with our own eyes. And with him were—

Bron bishop,	qui tenuit (cel)
Sache(II),	lolam Benign ⁴ (i . . .)
Bronach priest,	anorto a Pat
Rodan,	ricio ac (. . .)
Cassan,	Felartus Episcopus (de)
Brocid,	genere (Aillelo)
Lomman his brother,	. . . sorores, ii.
Benignus successor of Patrick	. . . . .
and Benignus brother of Ceth-	. . . . .
(eci)	. ⁵
of the race of Ailill	. . . in mar (i Con- maicne)

“It is called thus Croch Cuile.⁶ And he planted a church above Loch Selca inscae,⁷ and baptized the sons of Bron.

“And he went to the way of the Gregirgi, and founded a church in Drummae⁸ and dug a well [beside it: it has no stream] into or out of it, but is always full.

“A paten and a chalice are in the Cell⁹ of Adrochta daughter of Talain, and she received the veil from Patrick’s hand. And he went to the Sons of Heric, and was in that

¹ Orangarad, now Oran.

² “Et aridi (pe)des eius ac ficones erunt saulae.” Dr. Stokes reads sudae for saulae. The passage seems to be both corrupt and mutilated.

³ The country about Carnfree, Duma Selca, S.E. of Tusk. The mounds there seem to be designated by Cacumina Selca. Shad Lough a little to S. I take to be the Loch Selca mentioned below.—See *Jl. R.S.A.I.*, vol. xi. p. 250.

⁴ Kilbennan.

⁵ Dr. Gwynne reads “fuit (in insola) in mari (conmaicne) quae sic vocat (ur C)roch.”

⁶ Perhaps Inchanguill.

⁷ Some contraction.

⁸ Near Killaraght. See *post*, p. 48.

⁹ Killaraght.

place ¹ in which women are by the ford of the Sons of Heric. And his horses were stolen, and he cursed them saying: 'Your seed shall serve the seed of your brothers;' which has proved to be the case.

"And he turned back to Mag Airthic, and put the church of Senes ² in that plain, and blessed a place in Taulich Lapidum.³

"And he went to Drummüt ⁴ Cerrigi, and found two men, sons of one man, fighting together after the death of their father, who was a coppersmith of the race of Cerrigi . . . en they wished to divide the inheritance, and the wood of contention which is called caam among the heathen had been placed, and they drew their two edged swords their hands raised and feet apart one brother ready to strike the other, all which was done in due form on the ground after the usage of the duel. But when Patrick had come to them seeing them from a distance about the breadth of an acre he opened his mouth and said: 'Lord Father, I pray you, hold the hands of the brothers that they hurt not each other.' And they could not put out or draw back a hand, but were standing like wooden statues. And he blessed them and taught them and said: 'Make friends, as you are brothers, and do what I tell you: sit down.' They sat down as Patrick said and offered the land and goods of their father to Patrick and to the God of heaven, and he founded a church there, and in that place is the artisan Coona brother of the bishop of Basilica.

"He went through the wastes of the Cerrigi into the northern plain, that is Nairniu, and found St. Iarnasc under an elm tree ⁵ with his son Locharnach, and wrote elements for him. And he was a week or more with him, with 8 or 12 men. And he founded a church ⁶ and

¹ The Nunnery above Easmaicn Eirc, now Assylin, on River Boyle to West of Boyle. The Ford should be near the Nunnery, a Snám, or Swimming Ford, *i.e.* Ferry.

² Castlemore old church.

³ Tulach na Cloch, now represented by Tullaghanrock near Edmondstown. The tradition perhaps survives in townlands of Banada and Keelbanada, Blessing, and Church or Wood of Blessing.

⁴ This survives in Drummud townland a little west of L. Glynn. Killoddan close by is the church founded there.

⁵ Or under shade. ⁶ Annaghernaic, *i.e.* Kilcronan in Aghamore Parish.

made him¹ abbot. And there was a certain man full of the Holy Spirit, from the north, by name Medbu . . . came with Patrick from Irlochir, and read in Ardd Machae, and was ordained in the same place, (and) was (deacon) to Patrick of the race of Machi . . . good (man) and founded a free church² in Imgoe Mair Cerrigi (a monk) in Ardd Machae.

“And Patrick went on to the well³ which is called Mucna, and made the Cella Senes⁴ which is so called. And Secundinus was apart under a leafy elm. And the sign of the cross is in that place even to this day.⁵ And he came by the wastes of the sons of En . . . in which omman Turesc⁶ After many days there came () Senmeda a daughter of En () son of Br(),⁷ and received the veil from Patrick’s hand, and gave him her ornaments from neck and hands and feet and arms, (this) is called aros in Irish.

“And he went to the country of the Conmaicne in Cuil Tolat and put in it foursided churches air Uiscon . . . the little middle cell⁸ in which (he left) the sisters of Faila(rti, bishop, of the race of Ailill) another Cell of Fish in which the holy woman . . . (The rest of the column is illegible.)

“And he came into Mag Caeri⁹ and they encamped in Cuilcore,⁹ and he placed a church in that place, and baptized many.

“And thence he went to Mag Foimsen¹⁰ and found in that place two brothers sons of a man named Cúlaid, that is Luchtí son of Cúlaid and Derclam,¹¹ who sent his slave to kill Patrick. But Luchtí saved him. To whom Patrick said: ‘Bishops and priests shall be of your race, but your

¹ Iarnasc.

² Kiltullagh in Roscommon.

³ Patrick’s Well near Ballyhaunis.

⁴ Kilmullen in Grallagh Townland, the Old Church.

⁵ A cross is at the well.

⁶ This refers I think to Kilcommon near Hollymount.

⁷ I suggest “from or to Cell Senmeda (Kilshanvy) a daughter of Enna son of Brug,” who was an ancestor of the Conmaicne of Cuil Tolat.

⁸ Kilmainebeg.

⁹ The places are unknown but seem to be in the south of Clanmorris.

¹⁰ About Keltamagh.

¹¹ These names are involved. This is Dr. Stokes’s rendering.

brother's race shall be accursed, and they shall soon die out.' And he left the priest Conan in that place.¹

And he went to the Well of Stringill² in the Wastes, and he was at it two Sundays. And he went to Mag Raithin.³ And he went to the border of Umal of Achud Fobuir⁴ in which there are bishops. And there came to him the holy daughter who bore the pall with Patrick, and he ordained Senach the son of her father, and gave him a new name, that is Lamb of God, and made him a bishop. And he demanded three demands of Patrick: that he should not sin while in orders, and that his name should not be given to the place, and that what was wanting of his age should be added to the age of his son, Oingus by name. For whom Patrick wrote an abgitorium, on the day on which Senach was ordained. Patrick established a church in that place near the daughter by name Mathona, and said to them: 'Good bishops shall be here, and of their seed shall be blessed men for ever in this see.' The same is Ached-Fobuir, and they received Patrick's Mass.

"And Patrick went to Mount Egli⁵ to fast in it forty days and forty nights, keeping the discipline of Moses and Elias and Christ. And his charioteer died in Muiressc Aigli,⁶ that is the plain between the sea and Aigill.⁷ And he buried that charioteer All Bald, that is Totmael, and piled stones as a sepulchre, and said: 'So be it for ever, and it shall be visited by me in the last days.'

"And Patrick went to the heights of the mountain over Crochan⁸ Aigli, and stayed there 40 days and 40 nights. And heavy birds were towards him, and he could not see the face of heaven and earth and sea, because God said to all the saints of Ireland, past, present, future: 'O Saints, Go up on the mountain which overhangs and is higher than all the mountains which are to the setting of the sun, to bless the peoples of Ireland,' that Patrick might see the

¹ Patrick's Well in Ballinamore Demesne.

² Well at Ballintubber.

³ About Ballyheane.

⁴ Aghagower.

⁵ "Hill of Aigill," Croaghpatrick.

⁶ Country about Murrisk.

⁷ Aigill or Aicill is old name of mountain and bog between Clew Bay and Killeries.

⁸ At or near Oughaval.

fruit of his labour, because the choir of all the Irish saints came to him to visit their father. And he established a church¹ in Mag Humail.

“And he came to the countries of the Corcu-Temne to the Well of Sín,² in which he baptized many thousands of men, and he founded three churches.

“And he came to the Well³ of Findmag,⁴ which is called Slan, because he was informed that the druids honoured the well and made offerings to it as a god. The well indeed was square, and a square stone was in the mouth of the well, and the water came against the stone, that is through the joints like a royal footmark.⁵ And the unbelievers said that a certain dead prophet made himself a coffin in the water under the stone that it might always wash his bones, because he feared the burning of fire, because they worshipped the well as a god. And Patrick was informed of the reason of worship, and he had jealousy for God from the living God, and said: ‘It is not true what you say that the well was the King of Waters,’ because they had given it the name of ‘King of Waters.’ And the druids and heathen of that country and a very great crowd were gathered at the well, and Patrick said to them: ‘Raise the stone, that we may see what is underneath, whether bones or not, for I tell you a man’s bones are not under it, but I think something of gold and silver through the jointings of the stones, not at all from your unrighteous offerings.’ And they could not raise the stone. And Patrick and his servants blessed the stone, and Patrick said to the crowd: ‘Draw back a little, that you may see the power of my God who dwells in the heavens.’ And with outstretched hands he raised the stone from the mouth of the well, and laid it aside from its place over the edges of the well, and it is always (there). And they found nothing but water in the well, and they believed in the most High God. And a certain man, Caeta or Cata by name, sat apart by the stone which a certain man set up, whom Patrick blessed, and

¹ Kilmeena.

² At Turlough.

³ Adam’s Well at Manulla.

⁴ Country about Manulla, Magfiondealbha.

⁵ “Id est per glutinationes quasi vestigium regale.” Stokes suggests “rigale,” intended to mean “like a leaky roof.”

he baptized him and said to him : ' Thy seed shall be blessed for ever.'

" Cellola Tog¹ in the countries of the Corcuteimne was Patrick's. Bishop Cainnech, Patrick's monk, founded it.

" And St. Patrick went through the plains in the countries of the Maicc Hercae to Dichuil² and Aurchuil."²

In Dichuil he raised from the dead the man who was buried in a giant's grave 120 feet long, to let his disciples see him. The giant gave his name, believed, was baptized, confessed, and was put back into his grave. And he came into the White Plain in the countries of the Hy Maine, that is to Magh Finn, the parish of Taghmaconnell near Athlone. Here he finds two new graves. A cross has been put over that of a heathen by mistake. St. Patrick corrects the mistake and puts the cross over the Christian's grave.

All this tour from Clonmacnoise through Roscommon and Sligo and Mayo up to the departure from Mayo impresses me as founded upon a real record, into which unconnected incidents have been worked, such as some of the dealings with Laegaire's daughters and with Mael and Caplait, and some traditions and miracles. Having thus brought St. Patrick back nearly to Athlone, Tirechan suddenly takes up the story of the journey to Tirawley as if after the journey straight across Ireland. That incident occurred really nearly ten years later. I now therefore take up Tirechan's story at the point where he entered the king's house, p. 15.

" And they came to the well, Loigles in Irish, with us ' Calf of Cities.' And when he had opened his book and had baptized the man Erc he heard men behind his back laughing together in discussing that business, because they did not understand what he had done, and he baptized so many thousands of men on that day : and he heard among the different acts of baptism. For behold two noblemen were talking behind his back, and one said to the other : ' It is true what you said last year that you would come thither or hither in these days. Please tell me your name, and that of your father, of your land and country, and where your house is.' He answered : ' I am Enda son of

¹ The old church probably of Breaghwy.

² Not identified, but in Moylurg.

Amolngid, son of Fechra, son of Echu, from the western shores of Mag Domnon and from Fochloth's Wood.' And when Patrick had heard the name of Fochloth's Wood, he rejoiced much, and said to Enda son of Amolngid: 'I also will go with you, if I am alive, because the Lord has told me to go.' And Enda said: 'You shall not go with me lest we be killed together.' The Saint said also: 'Nevertheless even you shall never reach your country alive, unless I come with you, and you shall not have eternal life: because you have come hither on my account, like Joseph before the sons of Israel.' But Enda said to Patrick: 'Do you give baptism to my son, because he is young. But I and my brothers cannot believe you until we reach our own people, lest they laugh at us.' But Conall was baptized, and Patrick gave him his blessing, and took his hand, and gave him to Bishop Cethiac. And Cethiac and Bishop Cethiac's brother Mucne, whose relics are in the Great Church¹ of Patrick in Fochlith's Wood, brought him up and taught him. On this account Cethiac gave his island² to Conall, and it belongs to his race to the present day, because he was a layman after the death of St. Cethiac.

"But six sons of Amolngid came for judgment before the face of Loiguire, and Enda alone and his young son against them and Patrick before them, and they investigated the case of their inheritance. And Loiguire and Patrick gave them judgment that they should divide the inheritance between them in seven shares. And Enda said: 'I offer up to the God of Patrick and to Patrick my son and share of the inheritance.' Some say it is on this account we are servants of Patrick to the present day.

"Patrick and the sons of Amolngid with an army of laymen and holy bishops made an engagement by the hands of Loiguire son of Niall, and went on their way to Mount Egli, and Patrick spent also the price of fifteen souls of men, as he says in his writings, that none of the wicked men might stay them in their straight road across all Ireland; because it was necessary for them to reach Fochlith's Wood

¹ Donaghmore near Killala. It has disappeared but was in Tawnagh or Donaghmore Townland near Killala. Fochluth's Wood was a large tract about Foghill near Lacken.

² Meaning his monastery was under protection of Conall's clan.

before the head of the year the second Easter, on account of the sons crying with a great cry, [whose] voices he heard in their mother's womb saying: 'Come, holy Patrick, to save us.'" I now take the story again where it starts from Magh Finn apparently—

"He came indeed across the Moy, and behold the druids of the sons of Amolngid heard that the saint had come upon them in their own countries. A very great crowd of druids gathered around the chief druid, Recrad by name, who wished to kill St. Patrick. And he came to them with nine druids dressed in white clothes with the druidical enemy. And Patrick and Enda son of Amolngid and Conall son of Enda saw him afar off, when Patrick was baptizing a great multitude. And when Enda saw them, he got up and seized his weapons to keep off the druids, because the druids were about 1000 paces from them across a rill of water. But Patrick sent Conall son of Enda to meet the druids that he might know him, and not kill any one else, and the son stood beside the druid as a mark. And behold St. Patrick stood up, and raised his left hand to the God of heaven, and cursed the druid. And he fell dead in the midst of his druids, and the mob scattered over all Mag Domnon, and he was burnt up before the face of all as a mark of judgment, when all men saw this miracle. And he baptized many on that day and ordained St. Mucne brother of Cethach, and gave him seven books of the law which he left after him to Macc Cerce son of Mac Dregin. And he founded a church¹ above Fochluth's Wood, in which are the holy bones of bishop Mucnói, because God told him that he should leave the law and ordain there bishops, and priests and deacons in that country. And he blessed the son of Amolngid, Fergus brother of Enda, because he did a miracle in his land.

"And behold a certain man by name Mac Dregin came to them with seven heathen sons, and begged of Patrick the baptism of God. And he blessed him with his sons, and chose one son out of them, whose name was Macc Ercae, and wrote the elements, and blessed him with a father's blessing. And the son's father said: 'I shall be sorry if my son go away with you.' And Patrick said: 'It

¹ Donaghmore, on this side of Fochluth's Wood.

shall not be so, but I will entrust him to Bron son of Icni and to Olcan.' He stretched out his hand and pointed out to him the place¹ far off in which his bones are, and marked the place with the sign of the cross with his finger, and put a cross there. And behold two girls came to Patrick and received the veil from his hand, and he blessed a place² for them above Fochlith's Wood.

"And behold Patrick proceeded to the field which is called Foirrgea³ of the sons of Amolngid for the partition between the sons of Amolngid, and made there a four-cornered earthen church of mud because a wood was not near. And they brought to him a sick pregnant woman, and he baptized the son in the mother's womb. The water of the son's baptism is the water of the woman's communion. And they buried her in the mounds above the church, and the seat of the Saint himself is beside the church to the present day. And he built a church⁴ among a certain family in a bay of the sea, that is Ros Mac Caitni.

"And he turned back to the river Moy out of Vertrige into Bertriga,⁵ and raised there a stone as a sign of the cross of Christ, and said: 'Behold water shall be found here in the last days and it shall be inhabited by me.' And he founded a church⁶ by Rath Rigbairt and came into Muirisca to Bron son of Icni, and blessed a son, who is bishop Macc Rime, and they wrote elements for him and bishop Muirethach, who was over the river Bratho.⁷

"And Patrick and Broon and with them Mac Ercae son of Dregin came across Traigh Authuili⁸ to the borders of Irae, to the plain, that is Ros Dregnige, in which place is Broon's little hut. And sitting there Patrick's tooth fell

¹ Kilroe near Killala.

² Cill Forclann, whose site is in Killybrone Townland.

³ Forrach seems to have been name of a large tract about Mullafarry in which the Forrach was. Killogunra is likely to be the church founded in it.

⁴ Probably the church on the rock in the sea at Downpatrick Head. But O'Donovan took it to be the church on Ross Point near Killala.

⁵ From Bartragh near Killala to the Bartragh on Sligo shore near Scurmore.

⁶ Probably in Coolerra to south of Knocknarea. Rath Rigbairt must have been on Knocknarea. Muirisca is the sea marsh in which Killaspugbrone is now covered by sand.

⁷ Unknown.

⁸ Strand of Ballysadare.

out, and he gave the tooth to his Broon as a relic, and said : ' Behold the sea shall cast us out of this place in the last days, and ye shall go to the river of Slicichae ¹ to the wood.'

" And he went out across the Mount of the sons of Ailill, and founded a church there, that is Tamnach ² and Echenach ² and Cell Angle ² and Cell Senchuae.² And he went out to the countries of the Callrigi Tre Maige and made a church by Druim Leas ³ and baptized many. And turned to the plain of Ailmaige and founded a church there, that is, Domnach Ailmaige,⁴ because Patrick stayed there three days and three nights.

" And he proceeded to Mag Aine ⁵ and placed a church there. And he turned to Evoi ⁶ and into Mag Cetni ⁷ and cursed the river which is called Black, because he asked [the fishermen for fish] and they gave none of their fish to the Saint. But he blessed the Drobhaise, in which great fishes live, or the race of fishes is made. The river Drobhaise had no fishes before, but ever since it gives fruit to fishermen. And he cursed other rivers, that is the river Oingae ⁸ and Saele,⁹ because two of Patrick's lads were drowned in Saeli, on which account this was done as a memorial of an act of power."

Thence St. Patrick passed away into Ulster and stayed in Mag Tochuir, now Inishowen. " In which place also there came to him a certain bishop of the race of the Corcu-theimne from Cellola Toch in the countries of the Temenrigi ¹⁰ in Carra towards the setting of the sun, a bishop with one sister of Patrick's monk, and their place is now under the convent of Clono,¹¹ and the men of that place deplore it."

" Patrick crossed the Shannon three times and spent seven years in the western land."

In Ardstraw he ordained Mac Erca as bishop. The bishop who came to Inishowen seems to be bishop Cainnech, founder of Cellola Tog.

¹ Sligo.

² Tawnagh. Aghanagh. Not identified. Shancough.

³ Drumlease.

⁴ In Cloonclare parish in north of Dromahaire barony.

⁵ Perhaps about Killenna near Manorhamilton.

⁶ Mag Eabha, about Drumcliff.

⁷ Between R. Duff and Drowes.

⁸ Not identified.

⁹ Blackwater which joins Boyne.

¹⁰ Means same as Corcutheimne.

¹¹ Clonmacnoise.

After Tirechan's Collections the Book of Armagh contains various notes among which are the following—

“Bishop Colman gave by a votive offering for ever to bishop Patrick his church,¹ that is Cluáin Cáin in Achud , and himself entrusted it to saints, that is to priest Medb and to priest Sadb.

“Item, the sons of Fiechra offered to Patrick for ever the Plain of the North between Gleoir and Ferni with the slaves that served them in it.

“Item, the seven sons of Doath faithfully offered to God and to St. Patrick Cluain Findglais and Imsruth Cul[e] Cais and Deruth Már Cule Cais and Cenn Locho.

“Item, the sons of Conlaid offered for ever to God and to Patrick eight weights of the plain, that is eight cows of the plain in their inheritance, that is every indlea from Two Cairns to the Mount of a Cairn.

“All these offerings the Upper Ciarrichi and their kings offered for ever to Patrick.

“St. Patrick, foreseeing by the Holy Spirit that his family in the country of the Ciarrichi would be everywhere broken up, that is bishop Sachell and Brocid and Loarn and priest Medb and Ernasc, joined (them) together unanimously under his blessing into unity of eternal peace with one rite of the faith under the power of one heir of his apostolic See of Armagh.

“Bineán, son of Lugni, writer and priest and anchorite, was son of the daughter of Lugaíth Maicc Nétach, to whom his mother's race gave an inheritance in which he founded a church² consecrated to God and dedicated to Patrick.

“And Patrick marked the place for himself with his staff, and himself first offered the body and blood of Christ after Binean had received orders from him. And he blessed him and left him after him in his place.”

Another note says that St. Patrick left his pupil Benignus, Benen, in Drumlease where he was for seventeen years. This I take to be the Benen of Kilbennan, but the note above designates Benen son of Lugni as the successor of St. Patrick; the son of Sescnen really was the successor at Armagh. The confusion therefore is of long standing.

The note regarding the endowments of the Upper Kerry

¹ Tagheen.

² Kilbennan.

is fairly intelligible. The church founded by bishop Colman in Cluain Cain must be Tagheen, Teach Caoin, which is close to the townland of Cloonkeen, the western part of Hollybrook. This Colman is likely to be the Colman of Kilcolman in the same district.

As to the next item, the river Gleoir is known, and there is a Ballyfarnagh townland N.W. of Derry Lake which seems to embody Ferni. Thus the district would be the northern part of the parish of Knock.

The third item gives five denominations. Derrykinlough is a townland in the east of Killedan parish which Cuilgar and Cuiltrasna adjoin on N.E. and N.W. Cluain Findglais points to a bright clear rivulet. Imsruth seems to be a compound of Sruth with Im and also denotes a stream. Im appears in Imlec, Imgo, Imbertrach. Dr. Douglas Hyde says it is an intensitive particle. Cenn Locho, Head of Lake, also denotes a lake. No lake or stream is at Derrykinlough now, but one may have been filled up by bog. There is another Cenn Locho in the Lake called Derrykinlough in the N.W. of Began parish. Derry in these names may represent the Deruth. The five denominations appear to be close together, being so connected with water. Either Derrykinlough would do, but I prefer that of Killedan.

The fourth item seems to be the inheritance of the sons of Culaid. Conlaid is the same name with an oblique form of Cu. The country therefore is Mag Foimsen, which would adjoin the country of the sons of Doath.

The note on the breaking up of St. Patrick's family seems to refer to the influence of the establishments of later saints which withdrew much of the country from the jurisdiction of Armagh. The churches of Sachell, Broccid, Loarn, Medb and Ernasc cover all the country of the Ciarraige of Moy Ai, and of the Ciarraige of Loch na n Airneadh, Baslick, Emlagh near Castlereagh, Aghamore, Kiltullagh, Kilcronan in Aghamore.

CHAPTER IV

INFORMATION FROM THE TRIPARTITE LIFE

WHEN St. Patrick was at Ushnagh Enda son of Niall was baptized and Enda gave his son born the night before to be brought up by St. Patrick and placed his land under St. Patrick.

“Patrick received the son, and gave him to be reared unto four of his household, to wit, bishop Domnall, Coimid Maccu-Baird, and Da Bonne Maccu-Baird, and another. He shall have said Loegaire son of Niall, because of Enda his brother, the land that Enda had from Loegaire, to wit, fifteen senclithe of Enda Artech in Connaught to the north of Cruachan. These are Patrick’s to-day.

“Then they reared the son in the territory of Enda Artech, that is to say, bishop Domnall in Ailech Mor,¹ which the community of Clonmacnoise took away, bishop Coimid in Cluain Senmail,² bishop Do-Bonne in Cluain na Manach.³ their pupil on All Saints’ day veneration for his fosterer (St. Patrick) when he should come, a cow from each man to him. That servitude clave to the churches until Nuada abbot of Armagh released them. Cormac Snithene was the son’s name.”

Here there is a confusion between Niall’s son Enda and the Enda of Artech mentioned in another story, p. 40. The sons of Niall had no property in Connaught. Cormac may have been fostered by the Maccu Bairds who were St. Patrick’s relations. The two stories seem to be here rolled into one.

The stone altar of which St. Patrick informs Ailbe at Duma Graid had four glass chalices at its angles. Ailbe’s relics were at Shancough.

¹ Castlemore.

² Clonshanville.

³ Kilnamanagh.

The earthen church at Clebach or Cliabach was called Sen Domnach Maige Ai. The relics are said to have been transferred to Armagh, which would account for the disappearance of the site even. But Dr. O'Donovan with good reasons believed Shankill near Elphin to be this Church.¹ A well now not holy is near it.

St. Patrick went into the land of the Hy Many and left there Deacon Just, and founded Fidarta, Fuerty.

"Patrick founded Cell Garad, where are Cethech and Cethech's tomb together. There Patrick made the well named Uaran Garad, and he loved that water greatly."

"Thereafter Patrick went to Mag Selce, that is to Duma Selce, and biding there were Brian's six sons, namely, Bolc the Red, Derthacht, Eichen, Cremthann, Coelcharna, Echaid. And Patrick wrote three names in that place, on three stones, to wit, JESUS, SOTER, SALVATOR. Patrick blessed the Húi Briuin from Duma Selce, and Patrick's seat is there among the three stones on which he inscribed the letters. And the names of the bishops who were there along with him, [are] Bron the bishop, Bite of Cassel Irre, Sachell of Baslec Mor in Ciarraige, Brochaid of Imlech Ech, brother of Lomman of Ath Truim, Bronach the Priest, Rodán, Cassán, Benén Patrick's successor, and Benén brother of Cethech, bishop Felart, and a nun a sister of him, and another sister who is in an island in the sea of Conmaicne, namely, Croch of Cuil Conmaicne. And he founded a church on Loch Selce, namely, Domnach Maige Selce,² in which he baptized the Húi Briuin."

"Patrick went into Grecaide of Loch Techet.³ He founded a church there,⁴ to wit in Druimne; ⁴ and by it he dug a well, and it hath no stream (flowing) into it or out of it; but it is full for ever; and this is its name, Bith-lán ('ever full').

"After that he founded Cell Atrachta⁵ in Grecaide, and placed in it Talan's daughter, who took the veil from Patrick's hand; and he left a paten and a chalice with her, Atracht, daughter of Talan, son of Cathbad, of the Grecaide of Loch Techet, a sister of Coemán of Airtne Coemáin.

¹ *O.S.L. Roscommon*, ii. p. 64.

² Probably in old graveyard between Aghclare and Carnfree.

³ Lough Gara.

⁴ Annagh, see p. 48.

⁵ Killaraght.

Patrick sained the veil on her head. Drummana was the name of the place in which they were bidding. It is (called) Machare to-day."

"Patrick went into Mag Airtig and blessed a place, namely Ailech Airtig in Telach na Cloch."

Bibar and Lochru sons of Tamanchenn are named as the brothers who were found fighting at Drummot Ciarraige Artig.

Bishop Cainnech helped St. Patrick to lift the stone off the well Slan.

Like Tirechan the Tripartite Life takes St. Patrick into Tirawley after he has set the crosses right, but differing from Tirechan gives an account of what passed at Tara, making it a separate journey, but referring particularly to the Book of Armagh regarding the sons of Amalgaid who came to judgment.

"Patrick went across the Moy to the Húi Amalgada. There came to meet him twelve sons of Amalgaid, son of Fiachra, son of Echaid, [namely] Oengus, Fergus, Fedilmid, Endae the Bent, Endae Bare-poll, Corbmac, Coirpre, Echaid the Spotless, Echaid One-ear, Eogan the Just, Dubchonall, Ailill Kettle-face. The sons of Amalgaid were contending about the kingship. There were twenty-four tribes (*i.e.* old tribes) in the land. They refused to take over them as king a man with a nickname. Then Oengus gave nicknames to his brothers. The haughtiest of Amalgaid's sons was this Oengus. Loegaire, son of Niall, son of Echaid, King of Tara, and his brother Eogan, son of Niall, adjudged [the dispute].

"The sons of Amalgaid went to Tara in twelve chariots; but in the books of Patrick it is found that only seven brothers of them submitted to the judgment. They found welcome with the king at Tara. Oengus was a foster-son of Loegaire's." Oengus tries to keep Enda's son Conall out of the palace, but by Patrick's help the intrigue is defeated. These matters are told in a curious unintelligible way and the final decision is not clearly expressed. The story goes on—

"They went thence and Patrick with them, and Patrick bestowed his chariot on Conall so that it was the thirteenth chariot. Then they went their way, and Oengus had no affection for them (that is), for Conall his brother's son and

for Patrick. He left it to his two brothers, namely, Fergus and Fedilmid, to kill Patrick and Conall; and they (Fergus and Fedilmid) parted from (?) him (Oengus) and Loegaire, that is after he had received his injunction from Loegaire. They went northwards to visit their land. The place in which Oengus had intended to commit the fratricide was in Corann. Fergus simulated sleep. 'True,' saith Oengus, 'Fergus'. His brothers refuse [to do] what they said. 'We will not kill the innocent (namely, Patrick): we will not, moreover, commit fratricide on our brother.' Oengus went with two bands against them to kill them, and he had two wizards, namely, Reon and Recred, of the tribe of Foelan the Warrior. It was not more than a mile between the place out of which Patrick saw the enemies,—the cross to the west of Patrick's cross,—and Cell Forcland.¹ Reon said that at the place in which he should see Patrick the earth would swallow him (Patrick) up. That was told to Patrick. 'Truly,' said Patrick, 'it is I that shall first see him.' As soon as Patrick saw him the earth swallowed him down. 'I will believe,' saith he, 'if I am saved.' The earth flings him up, so that he was above the winds and he fell down half alive. He believed and was baptized. Then Roechred was lifted (?) up (into the air) and was cast down from above so that his head brake against the stone; and fire from heaven burnt (him). There stands the wizard's stone. There is a church there. Cross Patraic ('Patrick's Cross') is its name, to the east of the wood of Fochlad. Telach inna n Druad ('The Wizards' Hill') is the name of the place wherein was the troop of the heathen to the west of Cross Patraic. Glais Conaig is between them. Oengus said: 'I will believe if my sister is brought back to life,' to wit, Fedlem, daughter of Amalgaid, who had died long ago. Once a blind man came to meet Patrick. Urgently he went, through desire of the cure. A man of Patrick's household laughed at him. 'My God's doom!' saith Patrick, 'it were meet that thou shouldst be the blind man.' So the blind became hale and the hale became blind. Mignae is the name of him who was blinded there. He is one of the two men of Patrick's household who remained in the empty Disert Pátraic, quod est near

In Killybrone near Mullaghorne.

the well¹ at Cross Pátraic, and Domnall was the other, though their senior was angry with them. It was Rúan, son of Cú-cnáma, Amalgaid's charioteer, that was healed there. Roi Rúain² is the name of the place wherein the blind man was healed, and it belongs to Patrick afterwards.

"Two lame men came to him in Óchtar Cáerthin.³ They complained to him that they were (virtually) disinherited because of their defects, and it was difficult for them to travel between their heritages in mountain and level land. Why should I say more. They were heard.

"Then he went to Domnach Mor, ubi est Bishop Mucnae. Then he went to Cross Pátraic, where there came to him Aed the Tall, son of Echaid, son of Oengus, and he healed him of lameness at the well to the west of Cross Pátraic. And Aed offered to him two oxgangs (?) of land whereon the place was founded. And he left there two of his household, namely, Teloc and Nemnall.

"Enda saw wizards seeking to slay Patrick, and he said to his son: 'Go and take care of Patrick, that the wizards may not slay him.' Patrick himself perceived them, and fire from heaven consumed them, to the number of nine.

"Patrick founded Cell Alaid, and left therein an aged man of his household, namely, Bishop Muredaig.

"Patrick baptized the women, namely, Crebriu and Lesru, the two daughters of Gléru, son of Cumméne. It is they that called to Patrick out of their mother's womb, when he was in the isles of the Tyrrhene Sea. It is they that are patronesses of Cell Forglan in Húi Amalgada, west of (the river) Moy.

"He went into Forrach Macc n Amalgodo; and Amalgaid's seven sons believed in him together with Ende and the king. Therein it is that he baptized the pregnant woman and her child, and raised another woman to life.

"Then Patrick and Conall went to the grave wherein the dead pregnant woman (namely, Fedilm) was biding, along the lower path to Cell Alaid. Oengus, however, went along the upper path. They reach the grave. Patrick raised

¹ Patrick's Well is a quarter of a mile W. of Crosspatrick. A small cross is at Cross Patrick.—*O.S.L. Mayo*, i. p. 152.

² Ruan's Land or Field. Perhaps about Rathrooeen, NW. of Ballina.

³ Upper Caerthin should be near Caerthan, now Castlehill.

the woman to life, and the boy in her womb. And both were baptized in the well of Oen-adarc¹ ('One horn'). From the steep little hillock of earth that is near it the well was so named. And when she was brought to life she preached to the multitudes of the pains of hell and the rewards of heaven, and with tears she besought her brother to believe in God through Patrick. Quod factum est, and he was baptized. And in that day twelve thousand were baptized in the well of Oen-adarc, ut dicitur :

“ In one day are baptized
Twice six great thousands,
Together with Amalgaid's seven sons :
That was well.

“ Verily twelve thousand believed in Patrick in Húi-Amalgada and from the Wood of Fochlad : and he left with them Maucen² the Master.

“ He went south to the Ferta of Loch-Daela.³ The land belonged to Oengus. Patrick thought that he would take it to himself there. Oengus came to him in drunkenness . . . to him, for it was not from the heart that he believed, even when he was baptized and confessed (his) belief. 'My God's doom !' saith Patrick, 'it were right that thy dwellings and thy children after thee should not be exalted. Thy successors will be ale-bibbers, and they will be parricides through thee.'

“ Patrick went eastward to Lecc Finn,⁴ where he made a cross in the stone over Cell Mór Óchtair Muaide⁵ ('the great church of the Upper Moy') to the west ; but Lia na Manach (The Monks' stone) is its name to-day, that is, Saint Crumther Monach's (or) Cell Olcain : but there was no church there at that time. And he baptized Echaid, son of Nathi, son of Fiachra, and raised to life his wife Echtra at Áth Echtra over the little stream right in front of Cell Mór. And Echtra's grave mound is on the edge of the ford. It is a . . . of knowledge with them in their country, the story which commemorates this miracle.

“ Bishop Olcan went from him to reside in the place

¹ Not identified. Probably Tobair na Craoibe in Foghill Townland.

² Mancen.

³ Lough Dalla.

⁴ League, in graveyard at Ballina.

⁵ Kilmoremy Church.

wherein Cell Mór stands to-day. Thus he went, axe on back. And Patrick said to him that where his axe should fall from his back, there should his residence be. Which thing came to pass where Cell Mór Uachtair Muaide (now) stands.

“And he went northwards to Lecc Balbeni, where he found the sons of Amalgaid, and blessed them. And he went out of the country from Bertlacha¹ in the west into Bertlacha¹ in the east, in the estuary of the Moy, over against the sea. A girl is drowned before him there; and he blessed that port (?) and said that no one should be drowned there in sempiternum. Patrick prophesied that the eastern Bertlacha would belong to him. It stands in one of their histories that in the day of war the king of the land shall call on Patrick (to protect) that country, and he shall be victorious.

“There at the stream² the Gre craige flung stones at Patrick and his household. ‘My God’s doom!’ saith Patrick, ‘in every contest in which ye shall be ye shall be routed, and ye shall abide under spittles and wisps and mockery in every assembly at which ye shall be present.’

“‘Arise, O Conall!’ said Patrick: ‘thou must take the Crozier.’ Conall said, ‘If it is pleasing to God I will do it for thee.’ ‘That shall not be so,’ saith Patrick, ‘Thou shalt be under arms for sake of thy tribe’s heritage, and thou shalt be Conall Crozier-shield. Dignity of laymen and clerics shall be from thee, and every one of thy descendants in whose shield shall be the sign of my crozier, the warriors with him shall not be turned (to flight).’ Which thing Patrick did for him.

“Patrick went eastward into the territory of the Húi Fiachrach by the sea.³ A water opposed him, that is, (there was) a great unnatural flood therein, and he cursed it. On the water is a stead, Buale Patraic⁴ (‘Patrick’s Byre’) is its name, to wit, a small mound with a cross thereon.

¹ Bartragh near Killala and the Bartragh opposite at Scurmore. There was a ferry here in 18th century.

² Probably a stream in Coillte Luighne or the river at Ballysadare.

³ Probably Tíreragh.

⁴ Boulyfadrick on high ground over the Moy, east of a Killeen half way between Ardnarea and Breaghwy.—See Bald’s Map of Mayo.

That detained him a little while. Then the holy bishop Bron of Caisel Irre came to him, and the holy Macc-Ríme of Cell Corcu-Roide,¹ and there he wrote an alphabet for them. And I have heard from a certain person that in that place he gave a tooth out of his mouth to Bishop Brón, because he was dear to him.

“Just as he was coming from the west over the Moy into Grecreige, three poison-giving wizards overtook him at Raith Rigbard.² They could do nothing to him, and he said that to that race there would never be wanting a man of that magical skill.

“(As to) Macc Erce, son of Draigen, who is in Cell Roe Móre in the territory of Amalgad; there were seven sons of Draigen, whom Patrick baptized, and of them he chose Macc Erce, and he gave him to Bishop Bron to be fostered, for it was not easy to take him away to a distance, because of his father’s affection (for him).”

“Bishop Rodan, Patrick’s herdsman, Patrick left in Muireasc Aigle in Cell Epscoip Rodan³ (‘Bishop Rodan’s Church’). His calves used only to do what was permitted them.”

“The Callraigi of Cúle-Cernadán were in a secret place ahead of Patrick, and they struck spears against shields to terrify Patrick with his household. ‘My God’s doom!’ saith Patrick, ‘not good is what they have done. Every battle and every conflict that ye and your children after you shall deliver, ye shall be routed therein.’ Straightway all (of them), save five men, knelt to Patrick. Patrick said: ‘Every battle in which ye shall be routed, though all Connaught should be after you, there shall fall no greater number of you than five men,’ as is fulfilled.”

These last two incidents are inserted among events in other regions, and the next two are brought in among St. Patrick’s doings in the north of Ulster, as if inserted as soon as omission from the proper place was noticed, or when the record came to hand.

“While Patrick was abiding in Ailech Airtich⁴ in Con-

¹ Tribe of barony of Corcaree in Westmeath.

² In Coolerra.

³ Probably Glaspatrik old church, near Murrisk.

⁴ At Castlemore Costello.

naught in Cenél-Éndai, Éndae came to him. 'Give me this place,' saith Patrick. 'As if we had not clerics (already)!' saith Énda. On the morrow came Éndae having with him his son Echu the One-eyed of Inber. Patrick (was) in an assembly apart, his household baptizing and conferring orders and sowing the faith. Two sons of Cairthenn were there at that time, one of whom is in Clochar¹ and one in Domnach Mór Maige Tóchair.² 'Confer ye the rank of a bishop on my son!' saith Éndae. 'Ask it of Patrick,' said Patrick's champion, Macc Cairthinn of Clochar. 'This is our duty,' saith (the) other. The rank is conferred. Patrick perceives it. 'Indeed,' saith he, 'to confer rank in my absence on the son of the wolf!³ There shall always be contention in the church of one of the twain of you. There shall be poverty in the dwelling of the other.' Which thing is fulfilled. Contention (there is) in Domnach Mór Maige Tóchair: poverty in the latter (Clochar). [And Patrick further said,] 'The son on whom the rank hath come, two after manslaughter shall see him . . . and . . . me one hundred and twenty years unto the son who shall be born in the southern parts; and it shall revert to me again,' whereof the whole was fulfilled. The first place in which Echu's relics were, was a lofty delightful place. He was carried past it in a little while (?), and into a very low place. The first place in which he was, is waste, and robbers and manslayers are wont to dwell there, through Patrick's curse; and his church was granted (?) to Ciarán the Wright's son, and it fell to Patrick again. That Echu son of Éndae is to-day (called) bishop Ecán.

"Patrick, then, was bidding in Tír Éndai Artich in Tulach Liacc⁴ in Lether.⁴ He sets therein (wattles for) a church, which afterwards became a bush. Then he ordained the three Domnalls in the grade of bishop, namely, Domnall son of Cremthann in Ailech Airtig, which thing we have mentioned above, Domnall son of Coilcne in Telach Liacc, (and thirdly,) Domnall of Cúil Conalto.⁵

¹ Clogher.

² Mag Tochair is now Inishowen.

³ Son of Cu Allaid.

⁴ Tulach Liacc was about Lung Townland. See Petty's Map in Brit. Mus. Letter is the country NW. of Castlemore and Ballagherreen.

⁵ Unknown, means "Corner of Wolf."

“In ‘a little catalogue (?) of Patrick’s Miracles’ appears ‘The sailing out of Bertlach into Bertlach of Calrige Cule Cernadan.’

“He crossed the Shannon three times into Connaught and spent seven years in that province.”

CHAPTER V

REMARKS ON THE RECORD

THOUGH he worked all round it St. Patrick is not said to have gone to Croghan. The heathen kings Amalgaid and Ailill Molt were in possession during the period covered by these tours.

Several complaints are made that the community of Clonmacnoise possesses places which first belonged to Armagh. In one case the transfer seems to have been in consequence of the plague. I apprehend these transfers to have arisen partly from such partial decay of Christianity and relapse into heathenism as is likely to have occurred here and there until the general triumph of Christianity after the 6th century, and consequent abandonment of churches, and partly from the establishment by later Saints of churches in their neighbourhood which superseded the Patrician churches in the favour of the inhabitants.

The seat of Patrick among the inscribed stones at Duma Selce appears to have a special meaning, or to have been preserved and venerated, for we find his seat beside the church in the Forrach mentioned as still to be seen.

The Well of Slan is of particular interest because such a well exists and is to this day an object of veneration. Tobernalthora in Kilgeever parish is covered by the remains of a long dolmen, answering to the description of Slan save that the Slan dolmen may have been square. Supposing Tobernalthora to be complete we can see how St. Patrick exposed the well to view by removing a top slab or a side slab. This altar was built for pagan worship, was probably consecrated for Christian worship at a remote period, and is in use to this day, unaltered save to a small extent by ruin of time or perhaps by some deliberate mischief. The Well of Slan is not now venerated. It is called Adam's Well, and is under a rock near the old church

of Manulla. I was told that a strong stream flowed from it which is now drawn off by the deepening of the small river close by. There is no sign of any building or covering. The old castle and the neighbouring village account for the disappearance of good flat building stones such as would be used for a dolmen.

The Tripartite Life arranges the Tirawley tour better in some respects than Tirechan's notes.

Enda and his brothers who came to Tara were evidently ready to become Christians as soon as they could arrange for adoption of the faith in their tribal assembly. The twenty-four old tribes I take to be clans connected with Fiachra and his descendants as the Silmurray with the O'Conors.

The Tripartite Life names 12 brothers against 7 not all named by Tirechan. Seven sons of Amalgaid left descendants in Tirawley and Erris ; namely ¹—

Enda Crom } in Moyheleog, Crossmolina.
Oengus Finn }

Conall in Moyheleog.

Oengus in the Lagan, Kilbride, Doonfeeny, Rathreagh.

Eochaid in Killarduff.

Fergus in Caille Conaill, Bac, Glen Nephin, Bredach.

Fedelmid in Erris.

The parishes of Ballysakeary and Killala were the estates of the descendants of Laegaire son of Eochaid Breac son of Dathi.

Having made his bargain for escort to Tirawley St. Patrick set out with his retinue. When his accomplices withdrew from the murder plot Oengus went ahead to organise opposition. This may be the incident referred to in the confession.

"I travelled for your sake, amid many perils, and even to remote places, where there was no one beyond, and where no one else had ever penetrated—to baptize or ordain clergy, or to confirm the people. The Lord granting it, I diligently and most cheerfully, for your salvation, defrayed all things. During this time I gave presents to the kings ; besides which I gave pay to their sons who escorted me ; and nevertheless they seized me together with my companions, and on

¹ See *H. F.*

that day they eagerly desired to kill me ; but the time had not yet come. And they seized everything that was with us, and they also bound myself with iron. And on the fourteenth day the Lord set me free from their power, and whatever was ours was restored to us, for God's sake, and the attached friends whom we had before provided." ¹

Tirechan ignores the conspiracy altogether. He mixes up two journeys. The journey to Tirawley was a journey there and back to Ulster. It was independent of the journey to Mount Egli. The occasion on which he was made a prisoner may have been on some other of his many journeys.

The Tirawley transactions are given in a confused jumble in both records, which are but notes of records and traditions which came piecemeal to the compilers and were by them put together almost anyhow.

There was but one attack by the druids, and that was not at St. Patrick's entry into Tirawley. The first business was the partition of the estate and the inauguration of Enda as chief in the tribal assembly. The attack was made while he was in the Forrach and after Christianity had been adopted.

The "Druidical Enemy" seems to be something like the mysterious "Erbe Druad" of the battle of Cuilidremne. Was it a "Cathach" which in the later instances known to us was an object of a Christian character ? ²

The Tripartite omits the church in the Forrach but mentions Killala as founded for Muredach. Dr. O'Rorke has identified the Muredach of Killala whose day is the 12th August as St. Molaise of Inismurray. It was a very common name. Bishop Muredach is mentioned by Tirechan as over the river Bratho, *i.e.* his relics are in a church over it. If the river could be identified it would help to ascertain Muredach, unless as is probable they were different men.

Though Tirechan mentions but three churches and the Tripartite but one as founded by St. Patrick, it is not conclusive that no more were founded by him.

Mancen the Master, so called from his learning and

¹ Wright, *Writings of St. Patrick*, p. 69, 3rd. ed.

² "Erbe Druad" means "Druid's Fence" literally. Joyce, *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, i. pp. 227, 234.

eminence, became Abbot of Rosnat, St. David's in Wales, and was connected with Bangor in Wales, Whitherne in Galloway, and Glastonbury in Somersetshire. His real name was Nainnid or Ninnid.¹

He taught Enda of Ara.

The relics of Crebriu and Lesru were in Cell Forcland, but they came from Foclad's Wood. If Cumméne the name of their grandfather is but an older form of Cuimin it is a further connection of Foclad's Wood with the neighbourhood of Foghill. For the Tripartite identifies them as those who called to St. Patrick from Foclad's Wood, whose voices he heard while he was in the isles of the Tyrrhene Sea.

This is the miracle made out of St. Patrick's words in his confession—"And while I was reading aloud the beginning of the letter, I myself thought indeed in my mind that I heard the voice of those who were near the wood of Foclut, which is close by the Western Sea: and they cried out thus as if with one voice, 'We entreat thee, holy youth, that thou come, and henceforth walk among us.' And I was deeply moved in heart, and could read no further; and so I awoke. Thanks be to God, that after very many years the Lord granted to them according to their cry."²

Foghill has been identified as a modern form of Foclut or Foclad, or as Fochuil, the uninflected form of the word. The position meets all conditions, but the term Foclad's Wood was applied to a large tract called later Conall's Wood, Caille Conaill, extending from Lacken Bay to Rathfran. The expression "Twelve thousand believed in Patrick in Húi Amalgada and from the Wood of Fochlad" seems to be intended to denote the whole of Tirawley in which St. Patrick worked.

Tirechan tells us that a sick woman was brought to St. Patrick, to whom he administered the communion and whose child was baptized, and who was buried in the mound above the church. The Tripartite develops this and makes two stories of it, or confuses two traditions. The whole of the part relating to these women is mixed up in a very curious way. First Oengus says he will believe if his sister Fedelm, who had died long ago, is brought to life. The subject drops

¹ Shearman, *Loca Patriciana*, p. 62. *Jl. R.S.A.I.*, vol. xiv.

² Wright, *Writings of St. Patrick*, p. 57, 3rd. ed.

there. After a time we are told that in the Forrach he baptized the pregnant woman and her child and raised another woman to life. Then it goes on to say how Patrick and Conall went by one road and Oengus by another to the grave of the dead pregnant woman whom he raised to life. They are both baptized in the well called Oen Adarc, in which on the same day 12,000 men are baptized. The Tripartite Life is a most untrustworthy guide among these traditions, but it shows their existence and the development of a miracle from an ordinary incident. We may however take it as evidence that there was a tradition that the king and his brothers were baptized together with a large number of their people in a certain well.

The local tradition says that St. Patrick baptized Awley and his sons and 900 persons in the well called Tobair na Craoibe in Foghill Townland, near which is a standing stone.¹ In this case I see no reason why the local tradition should be disregarded which names this well as the scene of the great baptism when Christianity was formally adopted by the Chieftain's family.

Downpatrick Head is another place which is closely connected by tradition with St. Patrick, and which remained a place of unusual veneration. The 15th August is the chief day at Downpatrick Head. At several places associated with St. Patrick, this day or Crom Duff's, is the day of chief celebration. Certain it is that there are churches there of great age, one being on the rock in the sea. This, which must have been connected then with the mainland, I take to be the Ros of Caitni's sons'. It was the site of a fort, for the detached rock is called Dunbriste, the Broken Dun. And in later times a strong rampart wall was drawn across the neck of a peninsula. Several old churches are close by. These facts all point to the place having been a great chieftain's dwelling, the place near which St. Patrick would found a church on his first coming.

On the whole it may be taken that St. Patrick founded a church called Donaghmore, which has disappeared, close to Killala in the Tawnagh Townland, another in the Forrach district which is probably Killogunra, another at Downpatrick Head, and perhaps that of Killala, and that the

¹ *O.S.L. Mayo*, i. pp. 181, 196.

Tobernacreeva in Foghill is that in which he baptized the king and his brothers. He left in Tirawley a considerable body of clergy with a bishop to organise the church which spread rapidly.

Yet Christianity did not win all at once. Though Dathi's son Eochaidh was baptized, his brother Fiachra Elgach ancestor of the kings of the Hy Fiachrach must have been a pagan, as was certainly his son Amalgaid who built Carnamalgada, now Mullaghorne near Killala, as an inauguration place for himself and his successors, and was buried there, a heathen burial. Ailill Molt and Eogan Bel were also pagans.

St. Patrick seems to have been in danger of drowning in passing from Bartragh to the opposite point in Tireragh. This seems to be the Scurmore ferry which was in use in the 18th century.¹ He had difficulty in crossing the river at Ballysadare owing to floods and was there attacked by the Gregry. His dangers from floods of the Moy and Unshin rivers are told in a confused way and the incidents are jumbled and divided. Tirechan summarises them in one, but it is clear that three events are referred to, the crossing at Bartragh, the crossing of the Unshin near Ballysadare, the crossing of the Moy above Ballina. Buale Patraic marks the last, and distinguishes it. It is most improbable that there was another place of the same name.

¹ Pocock's Tour in 1752.

CHAPTER VI

TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Tamnuch.—Mathona's free church in Tawnagh parish might be a different church from that which St. Patrick founded, which is called Tamnach. But it is more likely that Tirechan used two legends relating to these churches.

Mag Cairetha is indicated by Kilkeevin as the country about Castlereagh. Kilkeevin embodies the name of Coeman.

Ard Sen Lis.—Laloc daughter of Darerca is connected with this place in the Tripartite Life, and in the Book of Leinster where she is described as of Iarmbadgna. Iarmbadgna suggests a country near Sliabbadgna. At Strokes-town is the townland of Kildallog which belonged to the Archbishop of Tuam, marking Kildallog as a reputed Patrician church. It answers all the conditions of the place of "aloc." The "d" in the name is an obstacle to positive identification, but it is not an impossible coincidence that the place where Laloc was put bears a name like hers all but one letter.

Croch Cuile.—See notes on Kilmaine churches.

Drummae, Druimne, Drummana.—These names are in substance the same and denote a tract of country which was large enough to be afterwards called Machare, the Plain. The Tripartite Life distinguishes clearly, Tirechan less clearly, Killaraght from the church in Druimne. On the point of Killaraght parish which projects to the SW. into the lake in the townland of Annagh are the site of an old church and a Patrick's well near it. The well is a hole at the head of the swampy part of a slope. It is not a spring but a dug well where water might stand always at much the same level. The altar and swearing stones are described hereafter.

The taxation of 1306 places a rectory of Tuamany and Mochrath next Killaraght in the list, and the churches seem to be near Killaraght. I do not even guess at Tuamany,

but Mochrath might be intended to represent Machare. This is I think likely to be St. Patrick's church.

Ford of the Sons of Heric.—From this point to the departure of Patrick from the countries of the Corcu Temne and arrival in Maghfinn the reasons for identification of places named by Tirechan have been fully set out in a paper published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* for 1901, vol. xxxi, p. 24. But I have some further remarks to make regarding the

Kilmaine Churches.—Tir Enna is not the country of the Cinel Enna branch of the Conmaicne, but of a section of the Ciarraige in the south and south-west of the barony of Clanmorris. But this does not affect the view that the "sons of En" are the Cinel Enna of the Conmaicne, living to south of Tireнна.

I now think that the entries regarding churches founded in Cuil Tolat do not refer to Kilmainemore but to other churches in that territory. Kilmainemore however is certainly one of Patrick's churches, probably founded before this tour. "Air" is the end of a word which may be Sruthair or Cellcuair. Sruthair meant not only Shrúle but the country near, and the church may be that of Shrúle or in one of the old graveyards near. Kilquire is an old church near Kilmaine, spelt in the 16th century Kilchowyre. The name would be Cillcuair or something equivalent in sound ending in "air." The name St. Patrick's Hill near Shrúle given in the Rental of Cong Abbey favours Sruthair.

The fragment "Uiscon" does not suggest anything.

The little middle cell may be identified as Kilmainebeg with certainty.

As Croch means a Cross the place meant might be Cross in east of Cong Parish, where was an important church. Cross of Cuil (Toladh) describes its position.

Mag Foimsen.—Regarding Patrick's Well, see under "Wells."

Cellola Tog.—Is likely to be the old church of Breaghwy as Kilkenny is a townland in that parish a little to the west of it, and townland names are liable to drift away from the original spot. It might be the old church at Ballynew in Aghlish parish which is not much farther away.

CHAPTER VII

THE COMPANIONS OF ST. PATRICK

HIS sister Darerca, "Daughter of the Sun," is said to have been taken prisoner with him. If so she was free soon enough to marry Gollit a Briton, and to be the mother of Lomman of Trim, Mel of Ardagh, Broccad of Imleach Each, Rioc of Inisbofin in Lough Ree and of Lalloch of Senlis; but they may have been born before her captivity.

Another sister Liamain or Liamania married Restitutus a Lombard, but not of those of Italy who were not yet settled there. She was the mother of Sechnall or Secundinus, of Auxilius, of Lugnad and of others.

Lugnad was called Patrick's Navigator or Pilot. He was placed at the Ferta of Tir Feic on Lough Mask and was given by Duach Tenguma, King of Connaught from 493 to 499, the country extending from the part of Lough Mask called Snamh Tire Feig to Sail Dea for himself and his fellows.¹ These points are not known. Snam is a ford or passage crossed by swimming, a ferry. If Duach Tenguma gave him an endowment it must have been when he was a very old man, and probably when Duach was king of his own tribe only. The relationship is not quite certain but he probably was a relation of St. Patrick. The Ferta of Tir Feic is the country on the S.E. shore of Lough Mask. It is not unlikely, if this tradition be true, that Killower, the old church at Ballinchalla, is his place. It is on the land opposite Inishmaine where the Kings of Connaught had a fort. Duach Tenguma son of Eogan Sreb said to have been baptized by St. Patrick would be a Christian.

The old church at Tubberloona in the deer-park of Cornfield, north of Ballinrobe, and the old church of Loona on the shore of Welshpool lake in the parish of Drum are the only churches which bear his name in these parts, and they

¹ *Book of Lecan*, quoted by Sir W. Wilde, Lough Corrib, p. 138.

are in ancient Cera. They may take their name from another Lugna, but it is most likely that they are in some way connected with him.

Dr. Petrie believed that the pillar-stone in front of Templepatrick on Inchangoill bore his name in the inscription "Stone of Lugnaedon son of Lmenueh." Ferguson and Stokes now read it "Lie Luguaedon Macci Menuch," meaning "Stone of Lugad son of Menuch." Menuch is a unique name. If Menuch is a form of Liamain this may well be a memorial of Lugna, but if not it is a memorial of some other person. If Lugna used the island as a retreat he may have been buried there as well as anywhere else, and have given the island its name—Inis an Guill Craebhthaich, Island of the Devout Foreigner. He was certainly a foreigner.

Some hold that these were St. Patrick's sisters only in religion. The first order of saints admitted the consortia and administration of women. Consortia expressed the living together of monk and nun at one place, which gave rise to scandal and was suppressed. It was a general church custom. Children and young men placed under sisters of the church for instruction being called their sons it is inferred that the sons of Patrick's sisters were the pupils of his nuns only. On the other hand no solid ground appears for rejecting the plain meaning of the words and the names of the fathers. St. Patrick may have had sisters like many other men, and those sisters may have married and had children. There is no reason why Darerca should not marry a Briton and Liamain a Lombard or an O'Baird, which is apparently a variation of Lombard, or why his sisters and nephews should not follow him to Ireland. His was a distinctly clerical family.

According to the *Chronicum Scotorum* Sechnall's mother's name was Culmana which looks like a variation of Liamain, and suggests that Menuch is not unlikely to be another Irish form of the same British name. He died in 446 in the seventy-fifth year of his age, being then about the same age as St. Patrick.

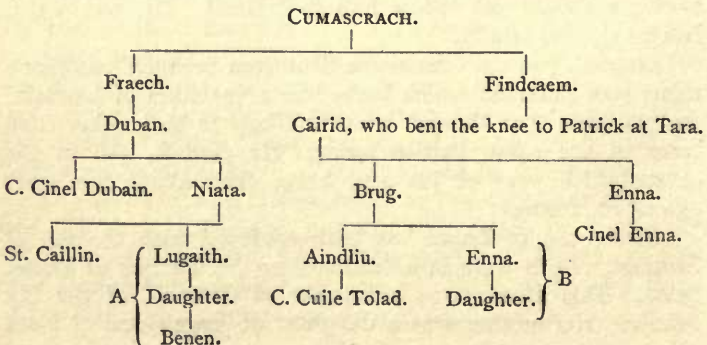
Benen son of Lugni has been confused with the son of Sescnen. Both were in attendance on St. Patrick at Duma Selca. This Benen was a brother of Cethech, of the Hy Ailello. His mother was a daughter of Lugaid son of Neta

or Niata. Lugaid and his four brothers and their father were baptized by St. Patrick and Benen in Dun Lugaid, which Lugaid gave up for the church which was there laid out by St. Patrick and is now called Kilbennan. It was the first mission station among the Conmaicne Cinel Dubain and the mother church of Tuam, as St. Iarlath was educated for the priesthood by Benen in the training-school of this place, which was for long of great importance and apparently greater than Tuam because here and not at Tuam was built a Round Tower, which Miss Stokes assigns to the second period about A.D. 1000. The Round Towers in these countries mark the principal monastery of the territory of a sub-king or great chieftain. Tuam rose above it when the Kings of Connaught adopted Tuam as their chief residence in the 11th century. From Kilbennan and from Tuam the countries of the Sodhans and of the Hy Briuin along L. Corrib were christianised. Missionaries were trained and sent out, and some established monasteries of importance.

Templebenen in Aran is attributed to him.

Taking into account the confusion between these Benens, it is probable that Mathona of Tawnagh was a sister of this Benen, who was 17 years abbot of Drumlease before he came to Kilbennan. In absence of clear evidence to contrary Benen son of Lugni should be credited with work in Connaught ascribed to Benen.

The Book of Fenagh gives descents of the Conmaicne which throw some not very clear light on this period. St. Patrick's contemporaries may be doubtfully added, as groups A and B.



St. Caillin is quite out of his place which really was three or four generations after Benen.

This is all that is known of St. Patrick's companions and relations in these dioceses. There is a gap void of names and incidents until the rise of the great saints Enda and Iarlaithe who were trained in their youth under the Patrician missionaries.

CHAPTER VIII

ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH

THE church order and discipline established and intended by St. Patrick must have been that of the church in Gaul, where he was educated for his mission, whence he drew Bishops and Priests who helped him to organise the Irish Christians. He was a monk trained in the monasteries of Gaul where monasticism had taken strong root, hence the Irish church was monastic from the first in the eastern type of monasticism. Mr. Stokes has observed that to this day monasteries exist in the east in the shape of small separate houses for the monks inside an enclosure, in substance on the model of the ruined monastery on Inishmurray off the coast of Sligo, the best example of the ancient Irish monastery. As discipline was maintained by the bishops on the continent we may safely infer that they maintained it in Ireland as long as St. Patrick and his companions ruled the church. The division of the saints into three orders corresponds with real periods in the growth of the church until in the 7th century it attained the full and final organisation which lasted, latterly in decay, until the 12th century.

St. Patrick gave the church a fair start but much work was still to be done. The ruling families had generally accepted Christianity, but in great tracts of country such as those of the Gregry and Hy Maine in Connaught they still stood out, and all over the country the mass of the people had to be taught the new faith and induced to drop the most objectionable features of the old, and allow their customs to be christianised, or at least to be venerated with Christianity. Missionaries had to be trained for the work. Because the missionaries already in Ireland did not accept reinforcement from abroad, or because the break up of the Roman Empire in the close of the 5th century checked the former free intercourse between Ireland and the continent,

or for both reasons, the flow of missionaries from Gaul ceased and the church developed upon its own lines.

According to the classification of the Irish writers the first order of saints consisted of 450 bishops of the time of Patrick, who were all under one rule and all under Patrick. They admitted the services of women. The order ended with the reign of Tuathal Maelgarb, A.D. 543.

The second order came down to the reign of Aedh Mac Ainmirech, A.D. 598. They were many priests and few bishops, used various rites, and excluded women entirely from their monasteries. Of this order were Finan, Enda, Colman, Ciaran, Columba, the Brendans, Iarlaithe of Tuam, Lasre.

The third order came to an end with the plague in 666. They were a few bishops and many priests, hermits, and used various rites and lived under various rules. Of them were Bishop Colman, Priests Feichin, Colman, Cronan.

This classification is not very satisfactory. Such men as Enda and Iarlaithe of Tuam should I think be associated rather with the first order, which should be sub-divided into the companions and pupils of St. Patrick, and the saints who were in their youth brought up under them; or the first order should close in A.D. 500.

Apart from the fixed dates the distinction between the first and second orders is accurate enough. The first order should comprise those who carried on the Patrician system of church order introduced from abroad.

The second order practically completed the conversion of Ireland and at the same time modified the continental or Roman order into the Celtic order.

The third order is marked by a great growth of ascetic feeling in a church which was ascetic and monastic. Its work was the final organisation of the country.

After the death of St. Patrick and his contemporaries fully trained by him and his foreigners, who themselves had been bred in the centralised system of the Roman Empire, the government of the church at the close of the 5th century came to a generation born usually of Christian parents. Celts born and bred in Ireland naturally developed the church upon familiar lines when they had the choice of proceeding upon the episcopal or upon the monastic lines.

Free intercourse with the Continent would have modified the tribal feeling. Its absence gave Celtic feelings free play which brought out an organisation on a monastic tribal basis, a thoroughly national church. The abbot and convent of monks were the ecclesiastical equivalent of the chief and tribe, and the government of the church was in the hands of the abbots the successors and heirs of the founders of the monasteries. Clan feeling was fully represented in the church because it was a rule that the abbot should be chosen from the family or tribe of the founder. Thus when the church fell into decay one family held the abbacy of Armagh for 200 years and some abbots were even laymen. The same thing must have occurred in many minor abbeys.

The abbatial jurisdiction was personal, not local and territorial. The abbot of the head monastery of each rule had a certain authority over the monasteries founded by its founder or placed under it wherever situated. Bishops as monks were subordinate to their abbots. They alone could perform acts reserved to the episcopal order, but as bishops they had little or no power. The abbots maintained the discipline of the church, but many abbots were also bishops. Only in the Columban monasteries it was a rule that the abbot should be a priest. In church synods abbots bishops and priests assembled together with the laity. Bishops were made freely, having often only their own parish churches, merely because they deserved the advancement. As the bishop had not an office of defined jurisdiction and administration there was no reason for restricting their numbers. The bishop was an officer of the larger monasteries ranking third, the Ferlegind or Rector of the College being next to the abbot. Until the 12th century Episcopal Succession, as understood with reference to English and Continental Sees, did not exist in Ireland. There were always plenty of bishops, but they were not office-bearers in succession to each other, except accidentally, if the abbot happened to be habitually a bishop. The succession to the founder was kept up by the abbot.

The evidence of existence of a large body of Christians in Ireland before St. Patrick's time has been well set out by Zimmer in *The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland*, showing that the Church, as we find it in the 6th century

was a natural development of the tribal society of Ireland and of the monastic Christianity of the 4th and 5th centuries, which had spread from Britain. His view is in substance that which I have expressed above, that St. Patrick was sent as a bishop to organise the church on the continental model, but he gives him very little credit for work done, denies his pre-episcopal work in Ireland, and says that he was rejected by the Irish and effected no change. I say that he was accepted by the Irish of northern Ireland, and that he effected no permanent change because intercourse with the continental church ceased and the continental priests and bishops brought in by him were succeeded by Irishmen bred in the country.

That Palladius is Sucat, Good Warrior, Latinised by a derivative of Pallas is not improbable. Zimmer does not say that Palladius was an uncommon name on the Continent. If very uncommon it would give much force to his view that Palladius and St. Patrick are the same. In that case Palladius did not die soon in Scotland. This controversy need never end unless conclusive evidence turns up. That Cothrige is the British form of Patricius adopted into Irish seems true, but seeing that Patricius had been before St. Patrick's time adopted and so corrupted by the Britons I doubt that Cothrige was used by the Britons precisely as the Romans used the title Patricius, and think it much more likely that they used it with a difference. Sovereign may mean the King of England or the chief officer of a little town. We should not suppose that Sucat showed arrogance in calling himself Cothrige and in using its original Patricius in Latin. Zimmer's exposition of the two meanings of Relic in Irish should have warned him against assuming that Cothrige was used by the British precisely as Patricius was used by the Romans.

Whether St. Patrick was narrow-minded or not is a matter of opinion. His eccentricity seems to consist of a belief that certain dreams were visions sent by God to lead him into the right path, and that he could further the Christian faith in Ireland. It is certain that he was not learned, and that he did not show a fine style in the arrangement of the matter of his writings. Zimmer seems to think that these were the characteristics which procured him his

mission. We may feel confident that Pope Celestine or the bishops in Gaul did not unwisely and weakly, to stop pestering, send a man who was only arrogant and narrow-minded and eccentric and illiterate to impose a new organisation upon a country which was already Christian in great part. If he was all that, he must have been a great deal more, a man of commanding powers in other respects.

The argument ignores the great mark made by St. Patrick in nearly all the north of Ireland. When we consider the strength of the Irish monastic system based on and bound up with the native tribalism, it is impossible to believe that the Abbot of Armagh acquired churches and lands in Connaught and other remote countries after the false legend in glorification of Patrick had taken root amongst the clergy, and that the false history sank so deeply amongst the illiterate population that his work is stamped everywhere on the face of the country in which he is said to have worked, not because he did work there but because he is said to have worked there. That his history has been falsified is not to be denied, in early times I should say by mistake and confusion, in later times of set purpose. Something already existed which was worth falsifying, a very great reputation, the authority of a great name that might be used to forward the falsifier's views.

The Irish bishops and priests had no occasion to refer to St. Patrick at the conference of Whitby, they were all under the successor of Columcille in Hi. It is not to be inferred from their silence that Patrick was unknown to them. I take it that they knew him for what he was, a great missionary and great organiser who introduced no novelties in doctrine or rite. Their faith and practices were those handed down to them by their forefathers and Columcille. The idea that Patrick first converted the Irish had not yet grown up. Nor did the idea of metropolitan jurisdiction exist to suggest that the successor of Columcille owed obedience to the successor of Patrick.

Zimmer's views on these points have been thus discussed because they bear directly upon Patrick's work in these dioceses, and because his book is so informing upon the origin and position of the church in these islands, and upon the manner in which the real Patrick has been dealt

with by writers of lives to suit their own purposes in late times, though it fails, as I think, to do Patrick full justice in some respects.

The church history of these dioceses cannot be detached from that of the rest of the church until territorial dioceses were formed. Only events in their territories can be noted—and an account given of the eminent saints whose lives have come down to us who worked in them.

CHAPTER IX

ENDA OF ARAN—HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE ISLES OF ARAN, AND OF THE ABBOTS—IARLAI THE OF TUAM

EINNE was a son of Conall Derg, King of Oriel whom he succeeded and was a distinguished warrior. His sister S. Fanchea a nun who lived on the shore of Lough Erne near Lisgoole turned him to religious life. He studied under Manchen the Master at Whitherne in Galloway. After a time he got from another sister's husband, Aengus son of Natfraich King of Munster, a gift of the Isles of Aran, said to be inhabited by infidels from Corcumroe. Aengus is said to have died in A.D. 484. Thus he settled on Aranmor, as famous for Christian as for pagan antiquities, and is said to have been there for 58 years until he died about A.D. 542.

Here and in many other cases where large gifts of land are mentioned I think the meaning is not a gift of property in the land but a grant of the right to found churches and form an ecclesiastical district.

His first monastery was at Killeany where he had 150 religious persons under him. He was the senior of the great saints of the second order, and was visited by almost all those of note according to Archbishop Healy, who observes that the great centres of religion had each its especial advantage. Clonard was a great college where men qualified for orders. Aran under Enda was a great mission and monastic school. Iarlath's school was great in the study of the Scriptures. The great saints found something to learn from each other, irrespective of their relative ages.

"Aran, under St. Enda, may be called the novitiate of the Irish saints of the Second Order, as Clonard may be considered their College."

"Aran Mor, the largest and most westerly of the three Islands of Aran, is called in Irish Aran-na-naomh—Aran of the Saints, for it is the holiest spot on Irish soil. In days

past it was the chosen home of the Saints of God where they loved to live, and where they longed to die. One hundred and twenty-seven saints sleep in the little graveyard around Killeany Church." ¹

Archbishop Healy gives a full account of the remains pagan and Christian. Killeany takes its name from Eine, otherwise Enna and Enda.

Here came the two Finnians, Brendan, and at last Columcille, who wrote a hymn to Aran. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise was there with him. Here came Iarlath of Tuam, Carthach of Lismore, the two Kevins, and others past counting.

Benen son of Luighne may have founded Tempull Benain in Enda's time.

Enda's oratory called Telagh Enda and his gravestone are still to be seen.

For holiness and as a place of retreat Aran kept its importance. A Round Tower was built of the period about A.D. 1000. Owing to the character of the establishment and its remoteness Aran is mentioned only in connection with its abbots in the Annals. It was a part of Thomond and was in the diocese of Kilfenora until recent times. The islands do not appear in the Taxation of 1306, because nothing could be got from them I suppose. In the Regal Visitation of 1615 the bishop of Killaloe, who held Kilfenora in commendam, reported that they were worth 5 marks rent by valuation, that the prebends of Disarte Breckan and Killurley were in them, that during almost ten years he had held the See he could never get anything out of them.

In the latter half of the 16th century the O'Flaherties drove out the Clann Taidhg OBriain, and thus brought the islands politically into the Co. Galway. The ecclesiastical relation had always been with the Galway coast rather than with that of Clare, and so the ecclesiastical connection at last came formally into accord with the natural one. But ecclesiastically they were in a position of isolation as they were by nature, for missionaries were sent out from them who founded churches and abbeys which were independent of the Abbot of Aran.

¹ Healy, *Insula Sanctorum*, pp. 164-169.

The Annals mention them thus :—

FM.

654. St. Nem Mac Ua Birn, successor of Enne of Ara, died on the 14th June.

755. Gaimdibhla, Abbot of Ara, died.

916. Egnech, successor of Enda of Ara, bishop and anchorite, died.

1167. Ua Dubhacan, *i.e.* Gillagori, successor of Enda of Ara, died.

AU.

886. Maeltuile, Abbot of Ara-irhir, rested.

1114. Maelcoluim Ua Cormacain, successor of Eine of Ara, died.

Archdall gives the following notes :—

703. Colman Mac Comain died.

1010. Flann Hua Donnchadha, comarb of St. Endeus, died (C.S. 1009).

1020. Abbey destroyed by fire.

1081. Robbed by Danes.

1334. Arran and Boffin were plundered and burnt and hostages taken by Sir John Darcy, Justiciary, who surrounded the islands with a fleet of 56 ships.

This last entry is a mistake. He operated against Arran and Bute, Isles of Scotland.

In Duaid Mac Firbis's list of Bishops whose sees no longer exist as independent sees is the following curious note :—

"Aelchu, who was named the Pope of Ara, the son of Faolchar, son of Edalach; the said Faolchar was King of Ossory. The reason why he was called Pupa (Pope) was because he obtained the Abbacy of Rome after Gregory; and he vacated the abbacy, and went in search of his master (*i.e.* Gregory), across to the west of Europe, and to Ara of the Saints; so that the third angelical cemetery of Ara is the cemetery of Pupa, son of Faolchar, son of Edalach."¹

Hennessey quotes Colgan's Life of St. Endeus that three holy men went from Ireland, that when the Pope died the clergy and people wanted to make St. Pupeus, one of them, Pope. He refused and Hilary was made Pope. They returned to Ireland and to Aran.

¹ *Royal Irish Academy. Irish MSS. Series, vol. i, Part I. p. 87.*

IARLAI THE OF TUAM

Iarlaithe son of Loga was of the Conmaicne amongst whom he worked and lived. His mother was Mongfinn daughter of Ciarduban of the family of Ceneann a clan of the Conmaicne. It is supposed that his father lived near Tuam. Benen son of Lugni educated and ordained him. Like other great missionary saints he was under Enda for a time. His first establishment was at Cloonfush near Tuam, where he formed a monastery about A.D. 500. His removal to Tuaim Da Gualann is said to have been made by Brendan's advice. Exposition of the Scriptures was the strong point of his school. He seems to have dealt especially with the countries of the Sodans and the Corcamoga which lay close to Tuam. Clergy came from all parts to work under him. Considering that the great work of Brendan's life was the establishment of monasteries at Annaghdown and at Clonfert, and that these seem to have been the earliest and were certainly the most important ecclesiastical centres in early times, it may be said that those parts of the county of Galway were evangelised and taught from St. Iarlath's school.

He died in his 81st year, on the 26th December or 11th February, the year unknown; Colgan thought it was not long before A.D. 540. The 6th June his festival day must have been the date of the translation of his relics, when long after his death his bones were taken up and enshrined. They were kept in the Church of the Shrine at Tuam, adjoining the Cathedral Church. It has now disappeared, but in the 16th century the Tempull na Scrine was the parish church for the eastern part of the present parish of Tuam. The western part was the parish of Tuam, having Tempull Iarlaithe as its church.

The countries of the Conmaicne Cinel Dubain and of the Sodhans and of the Corcamogha may be taken as the foundation of the diocese of Tuam, to which the Deanery of Athenry was added in later times, with many other tracts. The names of Benen and Iarlaithe alone stand out in this tract of country. Those of their fellow-workers have not survived, nor are any events of importance recorded regarding the period subsequent to them for a couple of hundred years, and then only a few names.

CHAPTER X

THE CHURCH UNDER THE ABBOTS

THE first two orders of saints lived in the period of conflict with heathenism. The convention of Drumket in 574 is held to mark the formal admission of the Christian Church into alliance with the temporal kingdoms, and the recognition of its political importance. The battle of Moira in 636 is held to be the last effort and the final defeat of heathenism as a political force.

The third order completed the victory of Christianity and organised the church all over Ireland. Mission work having come to an end at home, the Irish monasteries became training schools of missionaries who converted the barbarian conquerors of the Roman Empire in north-east Britain, northern France, Germany, Switzerland, and even in Italy. The Irish monasteries were the great centres of religious and literary life in the west of Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire, until the incursions of the Northmen broke them up and threw all Ireland into confusion. Hitherto the Irish chieftains respected the churches, the Danes did not, but were rather most bitter against churches and monks in revenge for Charlemagne's persecution of their religion and attempts to convert the inhabitants of northern Europe by the sword. The wealth of the churches in gold and silver ornaments did not make them less attractive objects for plunder.

The abbots of the monasteries now governed the church, every cleric being a monk under an abbot's jurisdiction. The rules of the Irish monks did not compel the common life, and allowed them to serve the parish churches and to live in very large and in very small communities. If we seek we can find all over the country traces of the small conventual buildings in a small enclosure round a small church. The improvement in the architecture and increase

of size of churches was continuous during the whole of the purely Celtic period. I find it most convenient to deal with this subject separately hereafter.

The churches acquired a considerable endowment which was to a great extent lost in the period of the Danish wars. So it is said, but a great deal also survived them. The abbots in the period of confusion and decay were often laymen, and they and the Erenaghs, the secular managers or trustees of the church lands, are said to have kept much of the lands for their own use. The church never had very wealthy prelates priests or monasteries. What came from the people was spent on the people in education and the like purposes. The collections of cabins which formed the cells of monks have disappeared, and the ruins of the early churches show that the clergy did not aim at magnificence: the few surviving clochans show the simplicity and hardship of their lives.

Nothing is known of the modes of discipline in dealing with parish priests of churches at a distance from the monastery. It must be supposed to have been based on the monastic rule.

Abbots bishops priests and laity held synods from time to time, but exercised in synod only moral influence. The great kingdoms adopted Roman practices in keeping Easter and the like only by degrees in the absence of any arrangement to enforce common rites and practices. Yet in substance the church was one, allowing the use of different rites and liturgies but holding one faith. The Church of Ireland was not charged by Roman writers with heresies, but with irregularities of rites and practices and want of metropolitan jurisdiction. It was in fact a counterpart of the Irish nation, a collection of independent clans connected by common descent but not under common government.

The Connaught monasteries were mostly under the Rules of Brendan of Clonfert, Ciaran of Clonmacnoise, Columcille, Coman of Roscommon, Fechin of Fore, and St. Patrick, whose successor held many churches. Each chief abbot made periodical visitations, recorded in the Annals under the title of the "Law of Brendan" &c.

Dr. Reeves writes that the term "Law" meant that the abbot made a visitation or circuit of the monasteries and

districts particularly under his influence, carrying about the relics, and collecting contributions and offerings. The Law of Patrick is first quoted by Tigernach under the year 734. In 738 it was established all over Ireland at a conference held between Aedh Allan King of Ireland and Cathal King of Munster. The Annals of Ulster record its establishment over Connaught in 782. It is evident that the king's authority was needed to make the Laws effective.

From the beginning of the 9th century the Law of Patrick by degrees superseded the others. Those of Brendan Ciaran and Coman are no longer mentioned. This marks the course by which the superior dignity of Armagh became a supremacy.

The following entries are in the Annals.

ANNALS OF CLONMACNOISE

A.D.

740. The Laws and Rules of good life ordained by St. Ciaran and St. Brendan were caused to be put in execution in Connaught by Fergus, son of Cellach, King of Connaught.
765. The Rules of St. Ciaran and St. Aidan were practised in the three thirds of Connaught.
785. The Rules of St. Ciaran were practised in Connaught.
790. The Rules of St. Coman were practised and put in execution in the three parts of Connaught.
822. Artri, son of Conor, King of Connaught caused to be established the Laws of St. Patrick in and throughout the thirds of Connaught.

ANNALS OF ULSTER

742. The Law of O'Suanaigh.
743. The Law of Ciaran son of the Carpenter and the Law of Brendan at the same time by Fergus son of Cellach.
747. The Law of O'Suanaigh over Leth-Chuinn.
771. The Law of Coman and of Aedan a second time over the three divisions of Connaught.
782. The promulgation of Patrick's Law in Cruachna, by Dubhdaleithi and by Tipraiti son of Tadhg. (Dubhdaleithi was Abbot of Armagh, Tipraiti King of Connaught).

A.D.

787. The Law of Ciaran over the Connaughtmen.
 792. The Law of Coman by Aildobur and Muirghis over the three divisions of Connaught. (Aildobur was Abbot of Roscommon, Muirghis King of Connaught).
 798. The Law of Patrick over Connaught, by Gormgal, son of Dindatach (Abbot of Armagh).
 805. The Law of Patrick by Aedh son of Niall (Abbot of Armagh).
 810. Nuadha, Abbot of Ard-Macha, went to Connaught with the Law of Patrick and his shrine.
 811. The Law of Dari over Connaught.
 813. The Law of Ciaran was proclaimed over Cruachan by Muirghis.
 817. Artri, superior of Ardmacha, went to Connaught with the shrine of Patrick.
 824. The Law of Patrick [was promulgated] to the Connaughtmen again.
 825. The Law of Dari [proclaimed] to the Connaughtmen again.
 835. Dermait went to Connaught with the Law and "ensigns" of Patrick.

The Law of Coman and of Aedan is the same. Aedan was a saint of Roscommon, Coman's monastery.

The Law of O'Suanaigh seems to have been but little used. There were three O'Suanaighs, of Rahan, Glascarrick near Gorey, and Kinsale. Triallach O'Suanaigh was of repute in Tirawley and Tireragh, and Aodan in Cloonoghil. They are much confused. The Law of O'Suanaigh which prevailed in Connaught should be that of one of the Connaught saints of that name. But so very little is known about them that there is no certainty in this matter.

The Law of Dari has been taken to be that of Derry, which would mean the Law of Columcille. Dr. Hennessey points out that it is really "the rule of Darii the Nun, viz., not to kill cows," one of the four great "Rules" of Ireland.

The Annalists now cease to note the succession of Laws. This is more likely to be due to cessation of the Laws owing to the Danish wars than to neglect of the Annalists. Turgesius now dominated all Ireland and nearly established a Govern-

ment. Miss Stokes regarded these invasions as the cause of building Round Towers ; and wrote that there are " three distinct periods to which these towers may be assigned : first, from A.D. 890 to 927 ; secondly, from 973 to 1013 ; thirdly, from 1170 to 1238 ; and of these three periods the first two were marked by a cessation of hostilities with the Northmen, while the Irish made energetic efforts to repair the mischief caused by the invasion of the heathen."¹

To the first period Miss Stokes assigns the tower of Turlough, but doubts the true character of that tower.

To the second, those of Aranmor, Kilbennan, Aghagower, Meelick.

To the third those of Balla, Killala, Annaghdown.

They were places of refuge for the clergy, of security for the treasures and relics of the churches, and belfries.

The Abbot of Armagh had an exceptional position in the church all over Ireland. Besides dues he had rights arising from foundation of churches by St. Patrick, which survived many changes. Thus he held nine churches at least in the Bishopricks of Tuam and Mayo down to the 13th century.

The Danish wars broke up church organisation and discipline and gave free play to the natural tendency of the nation to local independence. Development according to the tribal system allowed the head abbots to control monasteries and churches under their rule wherever they might be. A further development on the same lines made the minor foundations at a distance independent communities, just as the minor members of royal clans set up fresh clans practically independent, owing slight allegiance to their king according to their pleasure but always maintaining a tribal connection. The result of all causes from the 8th to the 12th century was a dissolution of the old order in the 11th century. During the early period of greatest vigour of the Celtic Church it was materially affected by the Roman Church from time to time, and was always coming up into line with it in matters of faith and rites, but always late and with conflict as to rites.

The battle of Clontarf in 1014 ended Danish invasions and confined the Danes to their cities, where they maintained themselves as separate civil societies to the Anglo-Norman

¹ *Early Christian Architecture in Ireland*, p. 109.

conquest. The connection between the kingdoms of Dublin and Northumbria led to the early establishment of the Roman order in the Danish settlements.

Of the working of the church in the 11th century we know little, and almost nothing of the parochial system; only occasionally we meet with such a remark as that which occurs in Adamnan's Second Vision, which shows that every church ought to have two priests attached to it.¹ The old constitution and government were in decay. Much endowment had been seized by laity. Abbots were often laymen. In the beginning of the 10th century the abbacy of Armagh fell into the possession of one family which kept it as of right for 200 years. The lands of other abbeys and churches were likewise usurped by laymen who employed clergy as their deputies to perform ecclesiastical duties. This corruption and disorder must have materially aided the bishop to assert jurisdiction superior to that of the abbot. Relief from outside interference gave the churchmen an opportunity of reform which resulted in the establishment of diocesan episcopacy in the 12th century. As abbots were sometimes bishops the change was not always very violent or apparent. The proceedings seem to have been directed mainly to reduce the number of bishops, not to transfer jurisdiction from abbot to bishop.

As I read the facts the course of change was somewhat as follows. Intercourse with the Roman church inspired the reformers and more learned men with Roman ideas as the basis of reformation. Hence the bishop rose in importance as a governing officer and took up the power which slipped from the hands of abbots. Where abbots were bishops the two ideas were reconciled. Loss of control by the great abbots allowed each tribe to set up a bishop of its own. As long as the abbots held the reins the number of bishops was immaterial. When jurisdiction was associated with the order of bishop it was necessary to settle what bishops should exercise it. Every petty tribe and important family would want a bishop. Hence from the beginning of the 12th century the most striking and important efforts of the Synods were directed to the reduction of the number of bishops and the regulation of the sees, so as to bring the government of

¹ *Revue Celtique*, xii. p. 429.

the Church of Ireland into harmony with that of the Church of Rome.

Accordingly it is in the latter half of the 10th century that a Bishop of Connaught is first mentioned. By the close of the 11th century he is called Archbishop of Connaught, but the term did not at first denote jurisdiction over other bishops. It may by this time have acquired the modern meaning as the process of amalgamation of sees began early in the 12th century. The Bishop of Tuam became the Archbishop of Connaught because the kings of Connaught made Tuam their principal residence.

It is convenient to close the period of abbatial government and to begin that of episcopal government with the Synod of Rathbresail in 1118. That is the point at which the new order was fully recognised and organised, but it had evidently been in existence for some time.

The bishops at first had jurisdiction over churches widely separated because their jurisdiction depended on the foundation and dedication of the church and not on locality, being personal not territorial. The dispute of 1216 between Armagh and Tuam illustrates the course of the change.

When bishops first acquired power they were not attached to particular churches in orderly succession, the chief bishop of a tribe being sometimes at one place and sometimes at another. Thus the Bishops of Ardcarne and of Roscommon seem to have been at different times chief bishops of the Hy Briuin families of Roscommon, until the see at last was settled in Elphin. The authority seems to have been personal at first, but by degrees certain churches, because they were at kings' residences or because of the eminence of their founder and the importance of the monastery, held a continuous pre-eminence.

Thus established by tribal divisions the bishoprics were too small and too poor to meet the views of the Roman Church. During the first half of the 12th century the contest was between the tribal distinctions and the reformers. The Synod of Kells marks the victory of the latter.

In the 12th century the old Irish monastic rules of Patrick, Brigit, Brendan, Columcille, Ciaran, &c., were by common consent abandoned and the Rule of St. Augustine was adopted, being in important particulars in harmony

with the monastic organisation of the churches, as Dr. Lanigan says of it—"The characteristic feature of the Canons Regular, which distinguishes them from monks emphatically so called, is, that, although they make vows and are bound to observe certain laws similar to those of the monks, they are capable of practising the functions which usually belong to the secular clergy." The community retained the churches under its jurisdiction and the connection between the monastery and the parochial churches was not of necessity broken. The monks who heretofore lived in separate cells near the church were now brought into the cenobitic life in one building.

This long period is blank as to local ecclesiastical affairs save for the following few notes in the Annals of Ulster regarding the church and abbey of Tuam.

A.D.

780. Nuada Ua Bolcain, abbot died.

781. Ferdornach died on 10th Jan. (D. MacFirbis calls him son of Caomhan, bishop.)

881. Cormac, son of Ciaran, vice-abbot of Cluainferta-Brenainn, and abbot of Tuaim-da-ghualann, died.

948. Aedhan of Tuaim-da-Ghualann, died.

969. Eoghan, son of Clerech, Bishop of Connaught, died.

1033. Murchad O'Nioc, Comarb of St. Iarlath, died.

1085. Aedh O'Hoisin, Archbishop of Connaught, died.

1086. Erchadh Ua Maelfhoghamair, Archbishop of Connaught, died.

1092. Connmac Ua Cairill, Archbishop of Connaught, died.

1117. Cathusach Ua Cnaill, Archbishop of Connaught, died.

1128. Muirghis Ua Nioic, herenagh of Tuaim-da-ghualann for [a long] space, died in Inis-an-Ghaill.

CHAPTER XI

ESTABLISHMENT OF DIOCESES

THE reforming spirit which arose after the Danish wars brought about a desire for closer union with the Church of Rome and for a like organisation. By the close of the 11th century this desire was so far satisfied that the bishops were the controlling power. From the manner in which they are mentioned in the Annals we may infer that they were more powerful as well as more conspicuous. But they were too many. The next step was to reduce numbers and to form territorial dioceses with a bishop occupying a certain seat in each. This was the work of the first half of the 12th century. At the beginning Gilbert Bishop of Limerick was the Pope's Legate in Ireland, working with the Irish reformers to bring the Church of Ireland under the control of that of Rome.

In 1111 a synod was held at Fiadh-Mic-Aenghusa by authority of Murtough O'Brien King of Munster and King of Ireland. Fifty-eight bishops, 317 priests, 160 deacons are said to have attended; authorities differ a little about the numbers. According to the *Chronicum Scotorum* it passed regulations not mentioned in detail. Later in the year another synod was held at Ushnagh in which Meath was divided between the Bishops of Meath and Clonmacnoise. Fiadh-Mic-Aenghusa was near Ushnagh, and these synods have sometimes been considered to have been the same. The second seems to have been held to carry out the local division arranged in principle at the first. There is no doubt that the main business of these Synods was the regulation of territorial episcopacy.

In 1118 the Synod of Rathbresail, which seems to have been near Cloonenagh in Westmeath, was held for the regulation of the number of bishoprics. It is by some held to have been a continuation of that of Fiadh-Mic-Aenghusa;

it certainly continued and carried a stage further the framing of the new organisation.

The Danish bishoprics in Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford were not affected by these synods; they were under the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The synod allowed for Ulster 5 sees, for Meath 2 sees, for Connaught 5 sees, besides the Primatial See of Armagh over them; for Leinster and Munster 5 sees each, besides the Primatial See of Cashel over them.

The sees assigned to Connaught were Tuam, Clonfert, Cong, Killala, Ardcarne or Ardagh, but only tentatively as the synod authorised the clergy of Connaught to alter the distribution of the province provided they made no more than 5 bishoprics. Keating gives the following boundaries, which are only 4 extreme points:—

Clonfert of Brendan from the Shannon to Burren, and from Slieve Aughty to the Suck.

Tuam from the Suck to Ardcarne, and from Ath-an-termainn to the Shannon.

Cong from Amhain O mBroin in the north to Nephin, and from Ath-an-termainn to the sea.

Killala from Nephin to Esruaidh, and from Killardbile (properly Kildarvila) to Srath an Ferainn.

Ard-Carna, which is also called Ard-acadh, from Ard-Carna to Sliabh an Iarainn, and from Keshcorran to Urcoillti.

These boundaries are so vague that it can only be said that Clonfert was intended to include Kilmacduagh, and that Killala was intended to cover the traditional kingdom of the O'Dowdas. The important kingdoms of the O'Flaherties and of the Luighne and Gailenga are not clearly provided for, but the former seems to fall under Tuam.

Amhain O mBroin, the River of the Ui Broin, in the north, may be the Blackwater which divides the territory of the Ui Briuin from that of the Conmaicne. But Ui Broin and Ui Briuin are not the same, and it must remain uncertain what river is really meant. Srath an Ferainn is now Shramore in the part of Ballysadare parish which is in Tirerrill barony.¹

Urcoillti is, I think, a name of woods on the slopes of

¹ O'Rorke, *Hist. Sligo*, ii. p. 244

Slieve Daene in Sligo, where is now Lough Arquila, close to the boundary of the parish of Killerry in Kilmore diocese. I suppose Ardcarne was intended to comprise the diocese of Achonry. I take the kingdom of Brefne to have been at this time a sub-kingdom of Meath, so that Kilmore and Ardagh would be within the Meath dioceses. Urcoillti is said to be a boundary of Clonard in Meath which was intended to be the western half of that kingdom, Duleek being the title of the eastern half. The arrangement said to have been made after the Synod of Fiadh Mic Aenghusa was thus set aside, or new names were given to the divisions if any effective partition had been made.

This arrangement involved too much suppression of ecclesiastical independence of very powerful tribes and was never carried out, nor was a fresh distribution made by the provincial clergy. The great tribes kept up their bishoprics, but the minor bishoprics seem to have been suppressed by degrees.

It does not appear that there ever was a bishop bearing the title of Cong. The land of the Conmaicne of Cuil Tolad and Conmaicne Mara formed the Deanery of Struthir in 1306, from which it is to be inferred that there was a bishop of Struthir up to the Synod of Kells in 1152. He was in fact the Bishop of Cong. As Umall and Carra are not separate deaneries their bishoprics must have been suppressed before 1152. But I find no record of bishops of these tribes.

King Torlogh Mor supported the primatial authority of the Archbishop of Armagh. Archbishop Gilla MacLiag made the first primatial visitation of Connaught in 1140 and the second in 1151. The reform went on steadily in the same direction. In 1148 a synod was held on Holmpatrick which sent Maelmaedhoig Ua Morgair the comarb of Patrick to confer with the Pope, but he died on the way.

The Church of Ireland being now ready to conform completely with that of Rome and to submit to the jurisdiction of the Pope, he sent Cardinal John Paparo to Ireland with 4 palls for archbishops, namely, of Armagh, Cashel, Tuam and Dublin. The acceptance of the palls by the 4 archbishops marks the end of the Church of Ireland, which became a portion of the Church of Rome. But the Pope's authority

thus formally accepted was practically disregarded. The Bull of Adrian IV. and the proceedings of the Synod of Cashel show that the Irish clergy maintained a disorderly independence. There was no central authority in the church any more than there was in the nation to render the law effective.

The province of Tuam was now appointed to consist of the sees of Tuam, Clonfert, Kilmacduagh, Mayo, Killala, Achonry, Roscommon afterwards Elphin, and Clonmacnoise, which in later times after long contention was transferred to that of Armagh. In 1209 Mayo was amalgamated with Tuam. Annaghdown was not suppressed for centuries, and thus kept up the number of sees allotted to the province. Kilfenora was transferred to this province in 1660 and held in commendam with Tuam until 1742, when it was united with Clonfert until 1753, when it was united with Killaloe. These dioceses are all well ascertained.

During this transition period the Annals make more mention of the archbishops and comarbs.

“Donnell O’Duffy, Archbishop of Connaught and Comarb of St. Ciaran immediately after celebrating mass by himself died and was buried on St. Patrick’s day at Clonfert, where he died and celebrated the said mass.”¹ He was also comarb of St. Coman as appears from the inscription on the Cross of Cong, which was made under his supervision to hold a piece of the Cross sent from Rome to King Torlogh Mor in 1123. It remained in use at Cong until 1839 when Professor M’Cullagh bought it and presented it to the Royal Irish Academy.

The Annals of Loch Cé call him Bishop of Elphin. He was certainly Bishop of Tuam. In as much as he was Abbot of Roscommon he was practically Bishop of Elphin, that is bishop of the Silmurray. The Synod of Rathbresail did not recognise both Roscommon and Elphin. The date of his death is not quite certain, varying according to the Annals.

Muredach O’Duffy succeeded him at a period of great contention owing to King Torlogh’s wars and his quarrels with his sons. In 1139 Torlogh took his son Ruaidhri prisoner in breach of an agreement for which O’Duffy and the clergy and laity of Connaught, Tadhg O’Brien, King of

¹ *Ann. Clon.* 1136.

Thomond, Tigernan O'Rourk, King of Brefne, Murrough O'Farrell Chief of the Annaly were securities. In accordance with ancient custom O'Duffy and the clergy and laity fasted against Torlogh at Rathbrenan near Roscommon, but Torlogh held out against them. The securities had previously effected the release of his son Murrough who had been arrested at the same time.

In 1143 O'Duffy called a synod of 12 bishops and 500 priests to arrange for Ruaidhri's ransom and procured his release the following May. These affairs seem to have been one transaction. The family quarrels arose from Torlogh's seizure of the kingdom of Meath and his placing his son Conor over it.

Tigernach's continuation gives the following notes at this period, to which I annex dates ascertained in other Annals.

"Peace was made by Mugh's Half with Connaught, at the demand of Muiredach Hua Dubthaig, Archbishop of Ireland, and of a son of Virginity, a successor of S. Iarlaithe, to wit, Aed Hua h'Oisin."

"The Cathach of S. Iarlaithe was desecrated by the Dalcassians (and) Thomond was laid waste in the same quarter of the year through S. Iarlaithe's miracles." (L.C. 1134.)

"Ruaidri Hua Conchobair and Uada Hua Concennainn were taken prisoners by Toirdelbach Hua Conchobair while they were under the safeguard of S. Iarlaithe's successor and Hua Dubthaig, and the Yellow Crozier, and Hua Donnallain. On this day illness attacked Toirdelbach, so that he was long in his bed." (L.C. 1136.)

Two years later "Uada Hua Conchenainn was blinded by Toirdelbach Hua Conchobair. For his own misdeeds he was blinded." (L.C. 1138.)

"A great assembly (held) by the clerics of Ireland and Connaught, including Muredach Hua Dubthaig—500 priests and twelve bishops their complement—demanded from his father the liberation of Ruaidri, son of Toirdelbach Hua Conchobair, who had been illegally taken prisoner by Tigernan Hua Ruairc and by Conchobar, his own brother, as Toirdelbach's deputies. So Toirdelbach promised that he would deliver him at the next beltane." (F.M. 1143.)

Muredach O'Duffy was a man of high standing and is

called the Chief Senior of Ireland. In his time Torlogh was King of Ireland. He died in his 75th year on the 16th May, 1150 and was buried at Cong. "A prayer for Muredach O'Dubtaig the senior of Erin" is inscribed on the Cross of Cong.

About 1141 Torlogh founded the Priory of St. John at Tuam, probably for Augustinian Canons. In his time or in that of his predecessor Torlogh built a great cathedral for Tuam of which only the chancel arch made into a doorway and the east window remain. Dr. Petrie believed the stone crosses of Tuam to have been memorials of completion. The crosses mark their date as not later than 1150 because the name U Ossin abbot appears on one and the name Aed u Ossin comarb of Iarlath on the other. Aed is the same as Aedan who succeeded Muredach as bishop. The Annals at this period carefully distinguish the bishop from the abbot or comarb.

The case of Donnell O'Duffy shows how episcopal and abbatial authority were sometimes combined so as to confer very great power. Aedan O h'Oisin combined the abbacy and bishopric of Tuam so that it was not necessary to separate them again. The comarb of Iarlaithe is not mentioned again. In L.C. 1243 "Finnachta O'Lughadha, comarb of Benen, and great dean of Tuaim died." This suggests that the ancient offices may have been absorbed by the new offices from time to time, not only in bishops but in other officials. When the comarb lands were transferred to the bishops the monastic offices were useless if an abbey did not survive.

The church of St. Iarlaithe, now represented by St. Mary's Cathedral Church, is the foundation of the diocese, which originated with the territory of the Conmaicne Cinel Dubain and drew other tracts to itself. Aedh O'Conor King of Connaught adopted Tuam as his chief residence in the west after he defeated Amalgaid O'Flaherty King of West Connaught in 1049. It was a suitable place for watching the O'Flaherties. The continued residence of the chief King of Connaught at Tuam as his principal fortress added much to the importance of the abbot and bishop and at last secured for Tuam the archiepiscopal dignity.

From the existence of a 10th century Round Tower at

Kilbennan it is to be inferred that Kilbennan was then the principal monastery of the Conmaicne, and it would naturally have provided the bishop. That it did not provide him is I think due to the fact that Kilbennan was a Patrician foundation and belonged to Armagh down to the 13th century, and so was less independent than St. Iarlaithe's monastery, whose successor seems to have had no superior abbot. Thus the Bishop of Tuam was by the King's influence raised above the other bishops so that he was called the Archbishop of Connaught, or Chief Bishop. In the first provisional arrangement for Connaught dioceses Tuam seems to have been intended to take in almost all, if not all, the lands of the Silmurray of that period. But the Silmurray chieftains would not give up their own bishops.

These new bishoprics were made up of old small bishoprics in some cases, in other cases were existing great tribal divisions which had been dioceses perhaps from the beginning of diocesan episcopacy, such as Achonry and Annaghdown. The Synod of Fiadh-Mic-Aenghusa provided for an extensive measure of suppression. Suppression was I think then carried out as far as tribal independence and power permitted, but it is not very clearly seen what actually occurred. The Synod of Kells effectively suppressed certain sees, and directed that they should be made rural deaneries. The deaneries mentioned in the Taxation of 1306 do certainly define some of the suppressed sees, and I am inclined to think that they do so in all cases. It must be remembered that diocesan episcopacy was in a transition state from the beginning of the 12th century when the principle was formally adopted, and the organisation must have been very irregular and uncertain from want of a central force able to exert a pressure in all parts of the country. Many petty bishoprics which naturally came into existence with the new idea must have disappeared as naturally with the growth of that idea and the desire to form larger dioceses. It seems to me that those which disappeared before 1152 left no trace in the subsequent distribution of territory, but may have left some in the constitution of the capitular bodies and their emoluments.

CHAPTER XII

THE OLD ORGANISATION AND THE NEW

THE reorganisation is so mixed up with the old frame of the church that it is most convenient here to deal with the whole subject of the old organisation and the new. The new grew out of the old, it was not suddenly and violently imposed. The Anglo-Norman conquest made more effective the ideas which had been adopted in form, but were hampered by conservatism and local independence.

Information is scanty regarding the distribution of parish churches among the great abbeys. Most of those of the Conmaicne of Dunmore were under the Abbots of Kilbennan and Tuam. Kilbennan was a Patrician church and should have been under the Rule of Patrick. It does not appear whose Rule was used in the Abbey of Tuam.

Most of those of Conmaicne Cuile Tolad and Conmaicne Mara were under the Abbey of Cong, and therefore under the Rule of Fechin, and so would be the Abbey of Ballysadare and other churches founded by him in Achonry diocese or deriving from his successors.

St. Brendan's Rule would naturally prevail in Annaghdown, but isolated churches, such as Ross on Lough Mask and those of Inisglora and others whose names suggest connection with him, perhaps passed under other Rules in the next 100 years or so when great monasteries arose in their neighbourhood.

Inisboffin, Mayo, Oughaval Abbey, the church in Illancolumbkille in Lough Mask, that of Cloghmore in the south of Killannin Parish, Emlaghfad, Skreen, are known as Columban churches. The church on Inishrobe and those bearing St. Columba's name on Inishturk and Inishkea were probably also founded by his monks and under his Rule. But the churches whose rectories belonged to Mayo Abbey are not likely to be foundations under Mayo except a few,

as that abbey was established so late and was for a long time manned by English monks. It is more likely that they came under it by degrees as its reputation rose.

The Abbey of Clonmacnoise certainly held many churches in Connaught but I cannot ascertain anything definite about them except what appears in the Tract on the Hy Many. Tirechan complains that this abbey has seized some of Patrick's churches. The name of Kilkeeran most likely often represents subjection to his Rule and dedication to him. Churches founded by men of less note and not having an important abbey of their own order close by would naturally come by degrees under the local abbot or be superseded by his foundations.

The many Kilbrides mark the extent of St. Bride's influence. Most must have been dedicated to her as she is known to have had many churches in Connaught but is not known to have worked much there.

Carra churches should have been chiefly under Balla, and there is evidence that the abbot had rights in Tireragh (p. 137).

The Patrician churches remained under Armagh for the most part and must have been under the Armagh Rule.

The Tirawley churches should have been under the Abbots of Killala and Errew, but I have no information about them. St. Patrick's foundations there lost all connection with Armagh.

The organisation of the diocese of Achonry is equally obscure in this matter.

The ancient abbeys which survived were St. Mary's Abbey and St. Brendan's College at Annaghdown—Cong—Mayo—Aughris—Ballysadare. Tuam and Kilbennan seem to be carried on by the Archbishop, Dean, Provost and Vicars choral of Tuam.

The Abbey of St. John Baptist of Tuam was founded in 1140, all other abbeys after the Synod of Kells.

Until then Cong was a bishopric, and Mayo was one until 1209, and Annaghdown still longer. The Bishopric of Cong is the Deanery of Struthir; Cong is the name of the see, Struthir is a name of the most important part of the territory. It is I think a fair inference that those old abbeys which became bishops' sees retained their rectories. In most other cases the abbey was abandoned and the incumbents

of parish churches became rectors. Though it is to be inferred from provisions in the *Senchus Mor* that tithes were paid, at least in some cases, in early times, it is also clear that they were not paid regularly if at all in and before the 12th century, as it is particularly noted that in King Cathal Crobderg's time tithes were first legally paid in Ireland (L.C., A.U.), and the payment of tithes was dealt with by the Synod of Cashel. Without tithes the foreign abbots like the Comarbs of Patrick and Columcille would draw but small profit from their Connaught churches, except from their endowments in lands. It is most probable that there was no practical distinction between Rector and Vicar until the Roman discipline came in and made the former an office whereby parochial incomes were diverted to other purposes. Then the distinction was important and the abbeys which held rectories would appoint vicars. But I take it that the great Comarbs had not been in the habit of drawing their incomes in that fashion, and that when the custom arose only the existing local and vigorous abbeys were able to take advantage of it. It was but a modification of an old, probably existing, practice. Adamnan's *Second Vision*, a tract in the *Lebar Breac* ascribed to the year 1096, informs us that it was thought proper for every church to have two priests.¹

When King Torlogh founded the Abbey of St. John at Tuam he was able to endow it with the rectories of three Patrician Churches, and Cathal Crobderg was able to endow Knockmoy and Ballintubber. The endowment of St. John must I think be ascribed to Torlogh. It shows that in 1140 there was a distinction between a rector's and a vicar's dues. The lands did not go with the churches. They remained in the Comarb's hands until later times.

The Bishop required a Chapter, which in these dioceses consisted of a Dean, a Precentor or Provost, an Archdeacon, and other officers, and Canons. The earliest particulars regarding the constitution of the Chapter, which is mentioned in 1201, is in a bull of Pope Nicholas IV. of 1289 which mentions John Major and Concors Magoneum, Archdeacons. John de Alatro, Praeceptor. Nicholas de Hyndeberg, Treasurer. Thomas de Watford, Chancellor. Allan de Wells

¹ *Revue Celtique*, xii. p. 420, 429.

and Nicholas de Garcin, Canons. One of the Archdeacons may have been of Mayo, or of Annaghdown then held by the Archbishop. These names are not exhaustive of the Chapter.

In the 16th century the Chapter consisted of Dean, Provost, Archdeacon, 5 Vicars Choral, and 8 prebendaries. The prebendaries seem to represent Officers and Canons whose duties had fallen into disuse.

The ancient monasteries had the Abbot first in rank, second the Ferlegind or Rector of the College, third the Bishop, and the body of monks. The 12th century Chapter seems to be the old staff under new names, the Bishop first in rank, the Abbot and Ferlegind transformed into Dean and Provost, the monks into Vicars Choral in Tuam and Annaghdown, or into Canons, with the new dignities of Archdeacon and Chancellor and other offices added.

The distribution of the rectories in each of the territories comprising the dioceses shows fairly the extent to which ancient monasteries survived to the middle of the 12th century, and the manner in which the new Chapters were formed and provided with emoluments. I have drawn up a statement showing these points for which the authorities are the Taxation of 1306, Bodkin's Visitation, the *Valor Beneficiorum* of 1585-6, the Regal Visitation of 1615, helped by grants of possessions of suppressed monasteries and by the Report of the Commission on Benefices in 1833-4.

The parishes which have come down from 1306 are almost all composite, formed of aggregations of small parishes. It is most convenient to use the parishes marked on the Ordnance Survey Map as the components cannot be marked off.

Before the Synod of Kells the diocese of Tuam consisted of 4 contiguous territories and one detached, called the Deanery of Tuam later. 1. Conmaicne of Dunmore. 2. Corcamogha. 3. Sodhan. 4. Ciarraige Uachtar and of Lough Narney. 5. Clancarnan, detached.

That Synod added 1, the Deanery of Athenry; 2, that of Shrule.

In 1209 the diocese of Mayo was added as the Deanery of Mayo.

Annaghdown diocese was finally united with Tuam at the close of the 15th century.

There is no evidence to show how Clancarnan came under Tuam. The tenure of rectories by St. Peter's Abbey in Athlone and by the Dean of Clonfert point to some original connection with Clonfert diocese. The Archbishop sold his lands in the Faes to the king in 1285,¹ which must have been the Comarb lands of Moore and Drum. Clonmacnoise was once in the province of Tuam. These parishes may possibly once have been under it and have been transferred to Tuam when Clonmacnoise was confined to the kingdom of Meath.

The parishes of the Conmaicne of Dunmore are the nucleus of the diocese to which it must be assumed that the new organisation was first applied, and the division of their rectories is evidence that it was so in fact. The Dean and Provost shared all the rectories except Dunmore in which they held but a small part, and Kilbennan and Kilconla which were held by the Vicars Choral with a small part of Tuam. Thus the Dean and Provost seem to take the place of Abbot and Ferlegind of Tuam and the Vicars to take that of the monks of Kilbennan. The Dean had also the rectory of Belclare. The Archdeacon was a new officer; he has no part in the churches of the Conmaicne. His emolument was the rectory of Knock, which appears to have been his when King Torlogh endowed St. John's Abbey with those of Aghamore, Began and Annagh. Kiltullagh is the fifth church in the land of the Ciarraige. It was a Patrician church like the others given to St. John's, but the parish was the property of the O'Flynnns, a strong tribe of the Silmurray. It seems that the chiefs kept the advowson of the church of their chief residence, as we find rectories at Dunmore, Athenry, Roba, Burrishoole, which we know or have reason to believe to have been near residences of important lords. It is to be noted that there is but one prebendal church in the Deanery of Tuam, that of Kilmoylan in the country of the Sodhans. With that exception all the rectories of the Sodhans were held by incumbents until Abbey Knockmoy was founded. Though Cummer was originally in Sodhan country it was in the 13th century

¹ *D.I.*, iii. p. 67.

occupied by the Hy Briuin, and so came into the hands of Walter de Ridelesford who assigned the rectory.

Thus we may take the earliest Chapter of Tuam to have been composed of Dean, Provost, Archdeacon, 5 Vicars Choral or Rectors, and the officer who held the prebend of Kilmoylan, and some other officers and canons.

It is not certain what tribe occupied the Deanery of Athenry, but I believe it to have been a division of the Sodhans. The Sodhans were under O'Mannin a Sub-King under O'Kelly. If Athenry had been occupied by Hy Maine tribes it would have been under Clonfert, whose Deaneries show exactly the four great divisions of the Hy Maine. Whoever they were they must have kept their bishop up to 1152. The Deanery consisted of the parishes of Athenry and Taghsaxon and Kilmien in 1306. Taghsaxon seems to be Monivea or Abbert. Kilmien is Kilmeen, a detached parish. Taghsaxon alias Templegaile is a Prebend, and so is Kilmeen. Thus the tithes of this small territory are distributed between one rectory and two prebends.

In the Deanery of Shrule all rectories except those which formed emoluments of Prebendaries were held by the Abbey of Cong. The Rectory of Kilmaine was one Prebend. The Prebendary called of Maynkylle in Bodkin's Visitation, of Kealebegg in the *Valor Beneficiorum*, later of Moynechilly and of Magherakelly, and finally called of Killabegs, held parcels of tithe in the parishes of Ballinchalla and Cong. In Ballinchalla he had two-thirds of the tithe of the townland of Killimor. It is not now known that there ever was a church in Killimor, but I think that we may rely on this fact and on the name for the existence of a church in early times. He had a share of the tithes of certain townlands in Cong. Some of these are in Cong and close by, where there were of old several churches which have disappeared. Other townlands are those in which were the ancient churches of Killarsa and Gortacurra and Kilfrauchan. The rest of the townlands are in the neighbourhood of these churches. Moreover a considerable number of these townlands were the property of the Archbishop, which must have come into his hands at the general transfer of Comarb lands. This prebend therefore was made up of small churches all but one in the parish of Cong, and would have been called the

Prebend of Cong if it had come into view before the diocese of Mayo was absorbed.

Thus we find that the Synod of Kells effected an addition of 4 officers to the Chapter, two in respect of each new Deanery or diocese.

Killabegs, Small Churches, is a good name for a prebend made of tithes from 11 parishes, representing more than 11 ancient parish churches and 4 prebends.

The earlier name is Maigin Caoile or Machaire Caoile, taken from the Carra portion of the prebend consisting of two-thirds of the tithes of the lands of the See of Tuam in the parish of Ballyovey which lay, except a little, in a compact block about the old parish churches of Ballyovey and the old church of Kilkeeran. An old church called Tempul an Machaire is on the shore of Lough Mask and close to Tobair Caoile. The well is in the parish of Ballyovey but the church is in that part of Ballinrobe which was by ancient tribal connection a part of the country called Odba Cera. Machaire applied particularly to the western part and Maigin to the eastern part, or they were equivalents, meaning Caoile's country, where she was venerated.

The diocese of Mayo absorbed in that of Tuam in 1209 added 6 prebends, whereof three were merged in those of existing officers. It was composed of three distinct territories—1. The lands of the Ciarraige called Tir Nechtain and Tir Enda in the barony of Clanmorris. 2. Cera. 3. Umall. Each affords evidence of having been an independent diocese.

Mayo Abbey stands in its country as the Abbey of Cong in the Deanery of Struthir—the bishop has disappeared and two prebends are left, called by Bodkin of Balenigarray and of Cloonmore, the old church of Kilcurnan and that of Cloonmore in the parish of Crossboyne. The former has been annexed to the Deanery and the latter to the prebend of Killabegs or Moynekilly.

Carra had the prebend of Moynekilly and the prebend of Balla. Balla was the only abbey of great repute therein. Turlough was important but was under Armagh.

Umall had three prebends, the Archdeacon's and Killabegs and Faldown. The Archdeacon and the Prebendary

of Killabegs shared tithes in Aghagower, Oughaval, and Kilgeever. The Prebendaries of Killabegs and Faldown shared others in Burrishoole, Kilmeena, and Kilmaclasser. The arrangement in Kilmeena was peculiar. The Prebendaries had a fixed charge on certain townlands payable by the incumbent who took surplus and made good deficiency, and a proportion of other tithes. Faldown probably was in Kilmeena where that Prebendary had so much the larger interest, £31 to £8, in the specified townlands. Those townlands included Kilmeena itself and Innisdaff in which there is an old church. An old church is reported to have been on Clynish. Faldown should be Kilmeena or Innisdaff. Even in Bodkin's time the Usmall part of the Killabegs prebend was merged in that of Moynekilly. The proper name seems to be lost beyond recovery.

There must be some reason why two prebends are usually found in each territory. As in each case there was an ancient abbey, I am inclined to see in them the Dean and Provost, transformed from Abbot and Ferlegind, of an inchoate suppressed Chapter. The Bishop of Mayo became the bishop with an income derived from the Episcopal fourths. The Dean and Provost would remain in possession of their churches, and those churches would afterwards be the emoluments of new officials or canons, or be annexed to emoluments of existing members of the absorbing chapter. At Aghagower alone a third prebend is found. Aghagower, "in which there are bishops," is likely to have been early organised on the episcopal system, and the third prebend most likely was its original Archdeacon's prebend and provided for an Archdeacon of Mayo. These early imperfectly organised bishoprics naturally have left but slight traces as they existed but a short time in the transition period before the new arrangements were stereotyped. A similar inference may be drawn from Annaghdown Chapter consisting of Dean, Archdeacon, 4 Vicars and the Prebendary of Lackagh, who may be taken almost with certainty to have been the Provost.

Except in the cases noted the prebendal parcels of tithes taken from various parishes cannot be assigned to particular townlands; Prebendaries and Incumbents divided the tithe in bulk in fixed proportions according to immemorial custom.

This was the case universally in Killala and Achonry. All the information that has survived is in the Tithe Applotment Books.

In Killala and Achonry the Chapters were very much decayed but still give some facts for consideration. At the election of a Bishop of Killala in 1344, 14 canons are said to have voted for 2 candidates who were canons, and who may not have voted for themselves, so that there may have been 16 canons. The Chapter comprised Dean, Provost, Archdeacon and 9 prebendaries when details first appear in the 17th century. But in fact only 5 prebendaries were acknowledged, and of these Killanley was a bare name. Dean or Provost or Archdeacon had tithes or land in all the parishes of Erris and Tirawley excepting Ballynahaglish and Kilbelfad, which I infer to have arisen from assignment of mensal churches, which are identified in all their parishes except in Kilmoremoy and Rathreagh, for which three mensal churches are available. The term "Bishop's table" in Pope Innocent's Epistle must denote that the churches belonged to the Chapter, for whom I suppose the Bishop provided in theory up to that time as the Abbot did before. The Bishop had no separate interest in those churches, and had not yet acquired the Comarb lands. The Chapter must have taken them over as the churches of the Abbot and Convent of Killala. Mensal churches are most numerous round Killala and in Erris, fewest in the south about Lough Con where the great abbey of Errew may be supposed to have been most influential, that is in O'Lachtna's great lordship.

Of the early prebends Drinaghan and Kilroe were mensal churches. Rosserkbeg is not known as a church and the prebend was rent of land. It may have been the old church at Ballysakeery as Rosserk is in that parish. The Lackan prebend also was only land. The Tireragh prebends were bare names.

The Achonry Chapter is mentioned in the *Valor Beneficiorum* as Dean, Provost, Archdeacon and 5 Prebendaries. In 1615, 13 prebends are mentioned of which 5 are noted as reputed to belong to the Cathedral Church. This suggests that there were Vicars as at Tuam and Annaghdown. The other 8 were held by the bishop, these by Edward Crofton.

So that they had all been diverted from their proper uses. In the Visitation of 1633 Kilbeagh is omitted and Killaraght and Kilfree and Kinaff are added, making 15 in all. These lists illustrate the very great uncertainty and confusion of affairs in these dioceses. Achonry in particular had been for years deserted by the bishops. From the state of their prebends it may be inferred that the only members of the Chapter who kept up an independent existence were those who held benefices without cure or who held an office and did some duties. In other cases the prebendary was the incumbent and the empty title lapsed.

These two Deans held the rectories of their Cathedral parish, as did the Prebendary of Balla whose parish was the ancient Termon of Balla. Thus more particularly they seem all to be successors of the abbots.

Prebends I suppose to be the remains of the other officers and canons of the cathedrals. When the Pope by his Provisions deprived the Chapters of the right of election and the frame of the church was corrupt and decayed in the 15th and 16th centuries the canons dropped out of use—but the benefices remained. When the Reformation transferred the appointment of bishops to the King there was no occasion to revive them.

The surrender of the Comarb lands to the bishops in 1210 abolished the Abbatial system of church government.

THE CHAPTER OF TUAM—THEIR EMOLUMENTS

It is first mentioned in 1201 but must have been formed when the church was reorganised in the Roman fashion. The Archdeacons of Tuam and of Mayo are mentioned in the time of Felix O'Ruadain.

“Finnachta O'Lughadha, comarb of Benen, and great dean of Tuaim, died about the festival of Martin” in 1243 according to the Annals of Loch Cé. It is the first mention of the Dean by name. The little that is known about the Chapter is given in the remarks on the old and the new organisation. I now give a list of the Chapter as it survived to the 16th century with a note of the parishes from which the members drew their emoluments.

- The Dean.*—The Rectory of Belclare. Parts of the rectorial tithes of the parishes of Tuam, Clonbern, Templetogether, Boyounagh, Dunmore, Addergoole, Liskeevy, Belclare, Crossboyne. Some lands in Tuam and Dunmore parishes. Half the profits of certain other lands held with the Provost. No cure.
- The Archdeacon.*—Parts of tithes of Aghagower, Oughaval, Kilgeever. Rectory of Knock.
- The Provost.*—Parts of tithes of Tuam, Clonbern, Templetogether, Boyounagh, Dunmore, Addergoole, Liskeevy. Half profits of lands held with the Dean. No cure.
- The Vicars Choral.*—The tithes of Kilbennan and Kilconla. Some land.
- Prebendary of Kilmoylan.*—Rectory and Vicarage of Kilmoylan. No cure.
- Prebendary of Taghsaxon.*—Tithes of that Townland in parish of Athenry.
- Prebendary of Kilmeen.*—Rectory and Vicarage of Kilmeen. Part of rectory of Fahy in Clonfert diocese. With cure.
- Prebendary of Lackagh.*—Rectory of Lackagh. Part of rectory of Killoscobe. No cure.
- Prebendary of Kilmainemore.*—Rectory of Kilmainemore. Cure.
- Prebendary of Balla.*—Rectory of Balla. Cure.
- Prebendary of Faldown.*—Parts of rectories of Burrishoole, Kilmaclasser, Kilmeena. No cure.
- Prebendary of Killabegs.*—Parts of rectories of Aghagower, Oughaval, Kilgeever, Kilmeena, Kilmaclasser, Burrishoole, Ballyovey, Crossboyne, Kilmainebeg, Cong, Ballinchalla. No cure.

In 1835 the revenues of Kilmeen were transferred to the ecclesiastical commissioners. In 1839 those of Faldown were annexed to the Vicarage of Achill.

The 5 Vicars Choral were called in the 16th century "Rectors and Vicars of the Cathedral Church of Tuam."

In 1662 two places were sequestrated for Cathedral repairs.

In 1719 two were consolidated into one place.

In 1770 two more were consolidated into one.

In 1840 the revenues of one were transferred to the ecclesiastical commissioners.

The only corporate estate of the chapter was the Economy Fund consisting of the tithes of Dubh Dawla, Ballyglass and Ardacong, which seem to have been the original estate. They had also certain plots in Tuam and tithes in Claddagh and Clonbern held from the Archbishop immemorially, for which they paid a rent of £10, 13s. 3d.

CHAPTER OF ANNAGHDOWN

Even less is known of this Chapter than of that of Tuam. It is known to have comprised Dean, Archdeacon, Canons and Official or Chancellor; 4 Vicars Choral are found in the 16th century. The Dean held the rectory of Annaghdown and the Archdeacon that of Cargin.

The Vicars Choral were the monks of the Abbey or College of St. Brendan. As their emoluments were the estate of the abbey they ceased to exist when their true character was understood in 1585.

CHAPTER XIII

THE DEANERY OF SHRULE

As the Deanery of Shrule has now merged into the diocese of Tuam its earlier history is most conveniently taken up here. As already observed it was once a bishopric and seems to be the diocese called Cong, which was intended to comprise that of Mayo. Struthair is a territorial name I think as well as a place name. It may well be that the episcopal jurisdiction over the Conmaicne Cuile Toladh and Conmaicne Mara was exercised by a bishop of the very large and important church of Shrule, who may have been really the bishop of Cong Abbey, who left the Abbey to take up a more independent position. No name of bishop of Cong or of Shrule has come down to us.

St. Patrick founded churches among the people of the plain, but St. Fechin of Fore was the great evangelist of those of the mountains, and I suppose the great restorer of the faith and reformer of the rest. Cong was his great foundation here, the crowning of his work, which held a very high place among the institutions of Connaught, and was a resort of the Kings of Connaught who had a house in the neighbourhood.

FECHIN OF FORE

Fechin was born at Bile near Ballysadare. If he was educated by St. Nathi of Achonry, as is said, it must have been in early youth. His education was finished under St. Fintan Maeldubh who was Abbot of Clonenagh from 603 to 626. It is most probable that he was educated in Nathi's school under Nathi's successor. He returned to his native country and did some mission work, but soon went to a more dangerous field of labour, settling in Omey to convert the last pagans left in Ireland. This is not quite

the case. Connemara may have been the last considerable pagan tract, but pagans were far from extinct elsewhere, and were still powerful. On Omev and on the neighbouring Ardilaun he founded monasteries. The latter had a considerable reputation and provided Colgan with a life of St. Fechin in the seventeenth century. These monasteries were small mission stations for the mainland like MacDara's.

He had to endure hostility at first but worked over and brought within the faith the country of the Conmaicne Mara and the western part of the barony of Ross, which abound in memorials of him. He procured the foundation of Cong Abbey, which from him was called Cunga Feichin, by Donnell MacAedh MacAinmirech four years before he became King of Ireland. This dates the foundation in 623. Donnell can have given only money and help as he had no connection with the country. Feichin soon afterwards left these parts and founded his greatest monastery at Fore about 630. He died of the plague in 664.

I find but two entries in the Annals regarding his islands—
A.U. 1018. Gormghal of Ard-oilen, chief soul friend of Ireland, died.

1316. The Vicar of Imaidh, namely, O'Fearghusa, died.

"Soul friend" is properly anchorite according to Hennessey's note C.S. 1016. Here we have clochans in use in the 11th century.

CEANNFIONNACH, KENNANACH

He is patron of Ballinakill. Hardiman records a tradition that he was one of the earliest preachers, and that a pagan chief beheaded him on a spot marked by a heap of stones at the east end of Cleggan village. The ancient parish church called after him is 2 miles north of Cleggan. Tempull Ceannanach on the Middle Isle of Aran bears his name. Ceannfionnach means White-headed. His real name is supposed to have been Gregory, by which he is known.

FLANNAN

He is patron of Ballindoon parish. His church in Irruslannan is said to have been formerly the parish church. He

must have worked with and in succession to Feichin, for he was consecrated by the Pope in 640 as first bishop of Killaloe. These men earned their reputation by hard mission work, and retired to organise monasteries in which they trained young men.

MACDARA

His real name was Sinnach, "Fox." He is patron of Moyrus parish. His ruined stone-roofed oratory on the island Cruach of MacDara is of very early date. The remains about it show an important settlement, probably MacDara's chief Mission Station, whence he and his companions christianised the people of the mainland. He is supposed to have lived in the sixth century and is commemorated on the 16th July. His wooden image was kept in the church until the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam Malachy O'Queely buried it.

To MacDara, Kennanach, Flannan and Feichin the Conmaicne Mara owed their Christianity. The adjoining country between L. Corrib and the sea must have been converted from Aran and Annaghdown, but I cannot find any particular events connected with it.

COLMAN AND LEO

Inisbofin and Inishark belonged to the Conmaicne in early times. Colman settled on Inisbofin, but he belongs properly to Mayo diocese.

St. Leo was on Inishark. His bell was extant at the close of the seventeenth century. Nothing is known about him.

The references to Inisbofin are few, and probably relate to the place of that name in Lough Ree.

F.M. 711. Baetan, Bishop of Inisbofin, died.

A.J. 742. Maelficraich, Abbot of Inisbofin, died.

F.M. 898. Caencomhrac, of the caves of Inisbofin, died.

916. Feradhach, Abbot of Inisbofin, died.

The remains of the early monastery are considerable.

CONG ABBEY

St. Molagga alias St. Loichen, Abbot of Cong, is in the Martyrology of Donegal on the 17th April. There were 13 Molaggas—Loichen is a diminutive of Lagga or Lacca. The Martyrology of Gorman mentions Abbot Ermedach on the 8th June.

The Annals of Clonmacnoise mention the death of Lambert of Killmayne in 936. He may have been a cleric of Kilmainemore or Cong.

From the Rental of Cong (see Cong Abbey) I infer that the ancient Abbey was rebuilt by Cathal Crobhderg in the first year of his reign, which would be 1189. It is however possible that the monks may have dated Cathal's reign from the death of Ruaidhri O'Conor in 1198. In that case the reconstruction began in 1199 or so, and the removal of Ruaidhri's body may have been due to the rebuilding of the church in 1207. For the rebuilding can have only begun in 1199. The architecture suits this date.

The family of O'Duffy was closely connected with Cong. They were the Roscommon family whose name is in Lissonuffy, Lios Ua nDubhthaigh. They are said to have come from Leinster.

The Cross of Cong was made under the superintendence of Bishop Donnell O'Duffy, and claims a prayer for Muredach O'Duffy the Senior of Erin. The names of Abbots Nicol and Gilbert O'Duffy are on the base of the great stone cross of Cong. This inscription in black letters is attributed by Dr. Petrie to the 14th century.

1168. Flanagan O'Duffy Bishop [of Elphin] and chief doctor of the Irish in literature history and poetry, and of every kind of science known to man in his time died in the bed of Muredach O'Duffy at Cong. (F.M.)

In 1174 Abbot Gregory witnessed a charter to the Abbey of St. Finbarr of Cork.

1223. Dubhthach O'Dubhthaigh, Abbot of Cunga, [quievit] in hoc anno. (L.C.)

1224. Maurice the Canon, son of Roderick O'Conor, the most illustrious of the Irish for learning psalm-singing and poetical compositions died and was buried at Cong. (F.M.)

1226. Nuala, daughter of Roderick O'Connor, and Queen of Ulidia, died at Cong, and was buried in the church of the Canons at Cong (F.M.). She was wife of MacDonslevy.

Donnsleibhe O'Sochlachan, Airchinnech of Cunga, a professor of singing, and of harp-making — who made, besides, an instrument for himself, the like of which had never been made before, and who was distinguished in every art, both in poetry and engraving, and writing, and every science that a man could exercise—died in this year. (L.C.)

1245. Donnell O'Flanagan, Abbot of Cong, died. (L.C.)

Oengus, or Æneas, MacDonnell was Abbot at the Suppression and surrendered large possessions.

It was the chief Abbey of Mayo and the north of Galway. Its importance must have been largely due to the fact that much of the land near it was in the hands of the Kings of Connaught and afterwards of the MacWilliams. Each dynasty had a dwelling near it.

It had a great collection of literature known as the Book of the Shred, which most likely was destroyed among other manuscripts of the Revd. Mr. Prendergast, the last who held the title of Abbot of Cong, which were cut up by a tailor during his absence in the beginning of the 19th century.

INISHMAINE ABBEY AND INISHROBE

The abbey church is of the same age as that of Cong. The first church is supposed to have been founded on the site of Eogan Bel's Dun in accordance with St. Cormac's prophecy. The building called the Penitentiary is as likely to have been connected with the royal dwelling as with the monastery. It is close to what was the water's edge in former times. In neither case can any guess even be made as to its use.

Maelisa, son of Torlogh O'Connor, Prior of Inishmaine, died in 1223. At some later date this institution became a cell of the convent of nuns of Kilcreevanty, to whom it belonged at the dissolution. Inishmaine was a parish church in 1306.

The ruined church of Ballinchalla on the mainland

whose name seems to have been Killower, is of older date, altered, and shows fine work in the windows.

On Inishrobe are traces of an early small monastery about the ruined church which was of early date. It seems from the local name to have been a Columban community. The old church in Cuslough replaced it. Inishrobe was a parish in the 14th century.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ARCHBISHOPS OF TUAM

AEDAN OHOISIN (Hession) received the Pall as Archbishop of Tuam in the Synod of Kells in 1152, the first Archbishop under the Roman Church. He held a synod at Roscommon. In 1158 he set out with the bishops of Connaught to attend the synod of Bri Mic Taidg near Trim. At the wooden or wicker bridge on the Shannon near Clonmacnoise called Corr Cluana they were met by the rebel Carpreach the Swift and his kerne, who killed the laymen and robbed the clergy and did not let them go nearer the synod. (Ann. Cl.) He was an O'Melaghlin quarrelling with his family about the chieftainship. Aedan died about 1161 and was buried in his own cathedral.

CADHLA O'DUBHTHAIGH,

called Catholicus O'Duffy in Latin, a learned man, succeeded. He attended a council called by King Ruaidhri O'Conor at Athboy in 1168 to acknowledge Ruaidhri as King of Ireland, and to prepare to resist the invasion then being organised on behalf of Dermot MacMurrough. Ruaidhri held an assembly in 1171 at Tuam, where O'Duffy consecrated three churches.¹

In 1172 he and his suffragans attended the Synod of Cashel held under the Papal Legate when the church submitted to the claims of King Henry II. It was henceforth truly Anglo-Norman for the most part. As the King and the Pope got control the policy of concentration of endowments in a few prelates and in monasteries was rapidly carried out.

¹ *Camb. Ev.* ii. 75.

O'Duffy and C. Abbot of Clonfert and Master Lawrence Chancellor of the King of Connaught went to England and made on behalf of Ruaidhri O'Conor the treaty of Windsor of 1175, whereby Ruaidhri held his kingdom under Henry upon conditions. St. Lawrence O'Toole Archbishop of Dublin was a witness.

In 1179 he attended the Lateran Council.

In 1184 "The great church of Tuaim-da-ghualann fell in one day, both roof and stone." (L.C.) It is probable that it was not rebuilt; and that Wolfe's statement that it had been used as a fortress for 300 years until Bodkin took possession of it is correct. The chancel survived to the 19th century when it was rebuilt.

In 1201 a synod of the clergy and nobility of Connaught was convened at Tuam under a Roman cardinal. The Archbishop then retired to the Abbey of Cong, where he died in the summer.

FELIX O'RUADAIN,

a Cistercian monk, succeeded him in 1201. This family gave many ecclesiastics of high rank to Connaught. He is said to have been an uncle of King Ruaidhri, but this is not possible as Felix lived to 1238 and Torlogh Mor's mother cannot have had a son who lived so long. But he may have been uncle of a Ruaidhri who was confused with Torlogh's son. His seal is extant, attached to the record of the testimony of Felix and his suffragans made in 1214 as to the arrangements formerly made for uniting the see of Glendalough with that of Dublin, showing a bishop standing, his right hand raised, giving benediction, and the inscription "SIG·FAEL·ORUADAN·ARCHIEP·TUAM."

In 1202 John, Cardinal Priest and Legate, held a synod for all Ireland in Dublin, and a fortnight later one for Connaught at Athlone.

In 1209 on the death of Bishop Cele O'Duffy Felix obtained a union of the diocese of Mayo with that of Tuam, and the reduction of the church of Mayo to the rank of a parish church. Objection was made that the Pope's order

was obtained by deceit, and litigation was pending in 1217,¹ but the union was permanent. Though the Pope appointed Bishops of Mayo again it does not appear that any ever had possession and jurisdiction.

The ancient monastic system of Ireland now came to an end by the transfer to the bishops of the endowments of the abbots and monks of the ancient establishment. The bishops got first the jurisdiction and then the property. In 1210 "There was a great convocation of the clergie of Connaught before the bushopp of Twayme, to make constitutions, for the taking away the Termine lands or Cowarb lands, and annexing them to the bushopricks of the diocess where they lay, where the cowarb of St. Patrick, the cowarb of St. Brandon, the cowarb of St. Queran, and the cowarb of St. Fechine with many others appeared." (A. Cl.) The change of course gave rise to disputes. The Archbishop of Tuam seems to have claimed more than his due. He complained that the Archbishop of Armagh had despoiled him of the bishoprics of Ardagh and Kilmore (Kevan or Cavan), and of the churches of Kilmaine, Kilbennan, Kiltullagh, Kilcronan in Aghamore, Kilmeena, Oughaval, Aghagower, Ballyheane and Turlough, built and consecrated by his predecessors. It was found that Tuam had not been despoiled of the bishoprics, and as to the churches it was declared that the Archbishop of Tuam had only episcopal rights in them and must not usurp any others. The synods had placed the two bishoprics in the province of Armagh. The Tuam claim seems to have been based on the extent of the ancient kingdom of Connaught. Ardagh was transferred to Tuam after 1218.² Disputes dragged on. In 1241 "Peace was made by the Comarb of Patrick with the Archbishop of Connacht, and with the other bishops likewise, on account of Patrick's land in Connacht." (L.C.) The difficulties were not yet over. In 1351 arrangements were made for an exchange of lands whereby the rival claims were satisfied and the contest ceased.

The Pope authorised the Archbishop of Armagh to ex-

¹ Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta, Ep.*, 27 Nov. 1217.

² *Ibid.*, *Ep. Honorii III.*, 11 Aug. 1216, p. 2. Bliss, *Calendar of Papal Registers, Papal Letters*, vol. i. p. 40. *Jl. Royal Soc. of Antiq. of Ireland*, 1901, vol. xxxi. p. 24, for identification of churches.

change for other lands more useful to him 2 carucates in Armagh, 1 carucate called le Nerny, the lands of Lenobyr, Lek and Kyllmor, the lands of Ynesken with those adjacent, the lands of Turlacha, Slanpatrick, Kilmuduny, Killibenoyne, Kellakyr, Kellegaweyl, Enghbride, Killibyr, rents at Truyn and in Westmeath, in the dioceses of Armagh, Clogher, Tuam, Elphin, Annaghdown and Clonfert. The items from Turlacha downwards concern Connaught. Kellakyr may be meant for Cill Leabair, Killower, in Annaghdown. Kellegaweyl and Killibyr and Truyn I do not identify. Killibyr appears as Killibyn in Theiner. Enaghbride is a church in Kilmeen Parish.

Having settled with the Archbishop of Armagh the Archbishop of Tuam came into litigation with his new tenants of Slanpatrick, Kilbennan, Kilmeena, Odeyn and Turlach.

Nevertheless the Archbishop of Armagh revived his claim in the 16th century when it is alleged that he gave Henry Turnor a lease of the Manor of Turlough and the Territory of Tuath Truimm. Nevertheless Walter Bourke of Turlough was holding them in 1635 as his inheritance.¹ The Archbishop of Tuam to whom the Archbishop of Armagh's rights had passed had by the close of the 16th century parted with all his rights in Turlough.

The levy of tithe rendered possible the great transfer of lands to the bishops. It seems to have been part of the reorganisation which brought Ireland into line with the rest of Europe. From his time we must date the Episcopal Fourths as a part of a bishop's income in these dioceses.

THE EPISCOPAL FOURTHS.

In early times offerings taken in churches were divided into four parts—one for the bishop, one for the priest, one for the poor, one for the buildings. Sometimes the division was into three parts—one for the bishop and the poor, one for the priest, one for the buildings. In course of time another distribution was made. The bishop got one fourth, a rector got the two fourths for the poor and for the buildings, and the

¹ *Cal. St. P. Ireland, 1633-1647*, p. 109.

priest's fourth, unless he was an absentee, when his substitute called a vicar got the priest's fourth.

This was in practice a device for taking money out of the parish. Rectories were suitable endowments for monasteries because all monks were "poor," and so kept for themselves one fourth, and it did not matter to the parish who repaired the buildings. The next step was to arrange that the rector should repair the chancel only and the parishioners the rest.

Tithes naturally followed this distribution. If paid at all generally in early times, which does not appear, though there is a reference to tithes, the practice ceased, and they were imposed regularly upon Connaught in the time of King Cathal Crobderg. The division into fourths was not at first universal in Ireland.

In 1257 the Pope confirmed to the Bishop of Aghadoc one fourth of the tithes of his diocese according to the custom in the province of Tuam. The general policy of the church had been to take the fourth from the bishop and give it to the incumbent when the bishop had sufficient endowment without it. The Irish bishops usually had not such an endowment as a bishop ought to have according to the views then held. Hence the bishops got the fourth.

It is said that the Church of Ireland lost much of its early endowments in the disorders arising from the Danish wars. It was poor as the people generally were poor owing to the incessant plundering, which rendered the land a poor source of income as it could not be turned to good account without a fair degree of peace and order. To the Norman and other foreign clergy who came in the 12th and 13th centuries it must have seemed very poor. Yet a consideration of the quantity and distribution of the see lands, which are found in possession of the bishops in the 19th century and may be supposed to have been taken over, except a little, from the comarbs, leads to the conclusion that the parishes had a fair endowment.

The Connaught bishops must have had much the same sources of income as Bishop Reeves describes in reference to the diocese of Derry. The chief items were—1. Rectory of the mother church. 2. Episcopal third or fourth.

3. Erenagh rents. 4. Refections. The lands were let at very low rents. The Erenaghs, originally hereditary managers and tenants of church lands, came in time to be called comarbs. Though the rent was but a trifle the bishop like the lay chieftain had unlimited right of supply and service. The clergy had to support him in his visitation. Refection and coshering were his main support.

The endowments were now carried away from the parishes and given to the bishops, whose income must have been rising during the period when the power of the English settlers was rising and compelling the Irish lords to keep the peace during about 150 years. Then the ruin of the country by wars impoverished the bishops again and the fourth remained in the bishops' hands.

When Strafford recovered in 1636 much of the improperly alienated lands, the Archbishop and Bishops of Tuam, Elphin, Killala and Clonfert petitioned for inquiry and pleaded that for the fourths proposed to be given to the parochial clergy they should have an equivalent in church lands recovered, and a grant from the King to make up any deficiency. A commission was issued which recovered much property. The Bishops of Killala and Elphin resigned their fourths. The Archbishop did so, but the resignation was lost in transmission to Dublin owing to the breaking out of the rebellion. The Bishop of Clonfert did not resign his fourths, and held them until they passed to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners under the Act of 1833.

In 1678 the clergy of Tuam by petition to the Lord-Deputy and Council called attention to the fact that they paid the fourth in spite of the resignation and of the receipt of more than the equivalent by the Archbishop, and in spite of the Act of Settlement confirming Strafford's dispositions. Archbishop Vesey called a meeting of the clergy and induced them to recall their agent and drop the petition, upon terms that he should procure the Wardenship of Galway *in commendam* on death of the Warden who was very old, and should then resign the fourths. He got the Wardenship and persuaded the clergy to agree that he should keep the fourths for life.

In 1230 the Archbishop had another quarrel with Armagh whose Archbishop corruptly intruded a priest into the

vacant bishopric of Ardagh, then under Tuam, in spite of a lawful election and consecration. Though his appointment was annulled the Archbishop of Armagh forced his nominee Joseph in again. Joseph died, and the Archbishop of Tuam secured possession for his man Jocelyn in 1232 or 1233.

In 1216 "the Archbishop O'Ruanadha was cruelly and violently taken prisoner by the Connachtmen and Maelisa O'Conchobhair, and put in chains; a thing we never heard of before, viz.:—an archbishop being manacled." (L.C.)

About 1216 King Cathal Crobhderg began to build the great abbey of Ballintubber, said to have been finished in three years, roofed and shingled with oak, by the abbot whose death is recorded in 1225. (L.C.)

Can this abbey have been a penance and compensation for the arrest of the Archbishop?

In 1216 the death of Patricius Bishop of Knockmoy is recorded. (L.C.) It does not appear who he was or how he came to be a bishop.

Owing to weakness and age O'Ruadain resigned his see in 1235 and retired on a pension to the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary at Dublin, where he died in 1238. In 1718 a body in pontificals was dug up and reburied, which is supposed to have been Felix.

He reigned in the period when the reorganisation of the Church on the new scheme was completed. At his accession he saw the invasions of Connaught by William de Burgo which procured for William his Irish title of the Conqueror. When he resigned William's son Richard had completed the conquest and was lord of two-thirds of Connaught, and the King of Connaught held but a part of the remainder under the King of England.

The transfer of the Termon lands accounts for the fact that the bishops of these dioceses owned so many of the townlands in which the parish churches stand and so many other townlands which include or adjoin ancient churches. The lands of such great abbeys as Cong and Mayo and Errew passed thus; the lands they held at the suppression were later acquisitions. The possessions of the see of Tuam in the diocese of Elphin must be explained by the transactions with the Archbishop of Armagh. The disputes and these

possessions taken together suggest that the Archbishop of Armagh held an exceptional position in this matter and did not at once transfer his Connaught lands. The churches of Aghanagh and Shankill and Oran are known to be Patrician foundations. Kilmore in Moyglass was founded by him. He founded churches in the country about Strokes-town which Kildallogge adjoins. The Taghmaconnell lands of the Archbishop may have been acquired in this transaction. One of the unidentified names of churches may be the proper name of Taghmaconnell. Considering that Taghmaconnell adjoins Clancarnan it is not impossible that they came as part of that transaction.

MAELMUIRE O'LACHTNAIN,

in Latin Marianus, Dean of Tuam, succeeded and held his first synod in 1237. Next year he went to the Holy Land. This pilgrimage was probably political, to keep him out of the way of the Anglo-Norman barons who were now settling down in the country, that he might not be entangled in the turmoil of the great change. In 1241 he and the other Connaught bishops made an arrangement with the Archbishop of Armagh regarding his lands.

In 1244 "Tuam da Ghualann was burned, including four churches, and the houses of the whole town along with them. The Archdeacon of Tuaim was drowned in Glaislinn-Chluana." (L.C.)

O'Lachtnain died at Athlone before Christmas of 1249.

FLANN MACFLOINN,

in Latin Florentius, Chancellor of Tuam and Subdeacon of the Pope, was consecrated on Christmas day of 1251. Friar Cormac was consecrated as Bishop of Annaghdown at or about the same time. But Flann seized that bishopric and kept it by means of an arrangement with the King. The King and the Pope had worked together to obtain complete control of the Church of Ireland, and were now in a position to quarrel with each other.

In 1255 the Archbishop in a joint petition with the Bishop of Killala complained to the King for himself and for his

suffragans and for all the clergy of Ireland of certain grievances.

Their complaint that the King's officials held private inquisitions against and seized ecclesiastical persons and cast them into prison was settled by an agreement with the Pope that no ecclesiastical censures should issue against John FitzGeoffrey the Justiciary, Sir Richard de la Rochelle the Seneschal of Edward the King's son who was then lord of Ireland, or Sir John called Cumyn, and that they should not be prejudiced thereby. The complaint that the officials entertained ecclesiastical causes in their courts was settled by an agreement that censures should not be extended to them in regard to their office. These seem to be matters in which the clergy had grounds of complaint for which they got satisfaction in some way in the general settlement.

They further complained that the King's officers and barons prevented legacies to pious uses and prevented Crusaders from going to the Holy Land. The same agreement was made. The barons objected because if they allowed their tenants to alienate to the Church, the clergy claimed to hold the land free of the services and occasional revenues which came to the lord from the lands of laymen.

On certain other points connected with the administration of justice they got such satisfaction as could fairly be given without allowing them the exemption from the law which they seem to have aimed at: These were matters not affecting the church only, but all persons who came under the jurisdiction of the courts.

"Petition of the Archbishop of Tuam, his suffragans and their tenants, regarding certain grievances; with replies thereto. They say that they are aggrieved by being dragged from their province and counties to remote places for purposes of litigation;

"Respecting this it is provided that all pleas shall commence in their counties, and that all things belonging to justice shall be therein pleaded and determined according to law in the eyre; excepting causes which from their nature cannot be sent thereto, such as assizes of dareign presentment," &c. . . . "These pleas, though commenced without the county, shall be remitted to the justices when they come thither :

“ They likewise say that they are aggrieved because the K.’s servants issue attachments and summonses in their lands ; obliging their tenants to go out and labour until they heavily ransom that labour ;

“ This is altogether forbidden ; if henceforth [the K.’s servants] do this, or presume maliciously to aggrieve persons by these summonses without order of their superiors, or without just cause, and are thereof convicted by inquisition, they shall be removed from their bailiwicks and heavily ransomed.

“ They also say that they are aggrieved because when they are amerced in the K.’s court, they do not dare, through fear of further heavy americiament, to prosecute their rights and those of their churches ;

“ Respecting this it is provided, that if persons *bonâ fide* prosecuting their rights become subject to an americiament, they shall be more lightly dealt with than legal rigour would demand, and this according to the extent of their offence, their substance, and their tenure :

“ They further say that they are aggrieved in this, that if any one of their tenants be indicted for an offence, and wish to put himself thereupon on the country, this is denied, and certain proofs are improperly admitted against him ;

“ As to this it is provided that when persons against whom an offence is charged, wish to put themselves on the country, it shall not be denied to them to do so, unless in a case where it is not possible :

“ They likewise say that they are aggrieved because they are impleaded respecting lands which they and their ancestors have peaceably held in the time of the Lord Henry, the K.’s grandfather, from the conquest by the English, and even before the arrival of the latter in Ireland ;

“ Regarding this, it is ordained that if petitioners declare regarding the seisin of their predecessors before the time of Henry, the K.’s grandfather, and before the conquest of the English, and do not declare of the time of the K.’s grandfather, nor after the time of the said conquest, they shall lose their right ; and if a tenant puts himself on a great assize averring that time, and if the assize find that the petitioner or his ancestors never had seisin within the time of the K.’s grandfather, nor after the conquest, then the

petitioner shall lose his cause ; and the tenant shall be freed from the demand ;

“ The writ called *Utrum* shall be granted to archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and chapters holding parish churches appropriate, touching the sanctuary of the churches, which is not granted touching other fees ;

“ If a bailiff or other person be proved to have taken, in order to render aid or favour, the whole or part of lands impleaded, he shall be removed from office, and be subject to heavy ransom.”¹

After the conquest the visitations of the Archbishops were brought into conformity with the English practice and were regulated by Bulls. Disputes arose with Armagh. The Primatial Visitation of Armagh in the Tuam province was septennial for an unlimited period. The litigation regarding it was settled by Pope Alexander IV. in a Bull² which was published in 1262, deciding that the Archbishops of Armagh may call themselves Primate of the Province of Tuam, and may cause the cross to be carried before them through that province, and may hold visitations in it from five years to five years, and continue 27 days therein each time.

Flann is said to have been a man of learning and of knowledge of law. He died at Bristol in 1256.

The chapter elected James O’Lachtnain, a Franciscan, in 1256. The King confirmed the election without waiting for the Pope’s approval. The Pope set the election aside and appointed

WALTER DE SALERNO,

Dean of St. Paul’s, London, whom he consecrated.³ The King at first refused to acknowledge the appointment. On the 2nd September he made an order refusing to put Walter in possession of the temporalities until he should come in person and render fealty according to custom, but in consideration that he was an Englishman and might be useful in regard to the King’s affairs, the King allowed the Arch-

¹ *D. I.*, ii. p. 82.

² Theiner, *Ep. Alex. IV.* No. 180, 14 Oct. 1255.

³ *Ibid.*, *Ep.* 198, 29 May 1257.

bishop's bailiffs to use his house and deal with his lands, keeping the profits until the Archbishop comes and renders fealty when the King will of his grace restore the temporalities or keep them, as may be his pleasure. In November the King having taken Walter into favour ordered the temporalities to be given to him from the former date. Walter died in April 1258 in England on his way from London to Tuam, so never had actual possession. He was the first Archbishop not of Irish family.

TOMALTACH O'CONOR,

otherwise Thomas O'Conor, was elected in January 1259. He had been Dean of Achonry until 1254, and was Bishop of Elphin. In April 1259 the Pope authorised him and the Dean and Chapter to raise a loan of 2400 marks for necessary expenditure.¹ A letter of 1263 shows that Thomas had engaged to pay 1000 marks advanced to the Pope by certain merchants.

In 1265 "A conference was held by Tomaltach O'Conchobhair, Archbishop of Connacht, with David Prendergast and the MacMurchadhas; and a great number of the Archbishop's people were slain by them on that day at Cill-Medhoin." (L.C.) The conference seems to have been what is otherwise called a fight, or became one. We are not told the subject of conference. At this time the war of the De Burgos and Geraldines gave Aedh O'Conor the King of Connaught an opportunity of plundering in the De Burgo country. MacMurchadhas is probably a mistake for MacMaurices, Irish tribe name of the Prendergasts of Mayo, who held not directly from De Burgo but from FitzGerald of Offaley. So probably they met to discuss the triangular war. He died in June 1279. "Tomaltach, son of Toirdhelbach, son of Maelsechlainn O'Conchobhair, archbishop of Tuam, the most eminent man in all Erin for wisdom and knowledge, for hospitality and nobility, for munificence, and for distributing jewels and valuables to all in general, died after the triumph of penitence." His grandfather perhaps was a son of King Torlogh Mor.

¹ Theiner, *Ep.* No. 209.

VACANCY.

Disputed elections and appointments caused a long vacancy. Some canons elected Malachi, a Franciscan of Limerick, some elected Nicholas de Machin. The King assented to Malachi's election in April 1280. Neither ever held the see. In October 1283 Edward I. wrote thus to the Pope: "During a late vacancy in the Church of Tuam, Ireland, a criminal and illegitimate clerk, named Nicholas Mayglyn, who draws his origin from the race of traitors against the K., has adhered to rebels, and raised disturbances in that country, has been it is said elected to rule that church, and has obtained from the Pope an auditor in the matter of his election. By ancient and approved custom license to elect, and on election made, the royal assent ought to have been asked for, but this has not been done in prejudice and contempt of the K.'s dignity and honour. Wherefore the K. prays his Holiness to expel this man as unworthy, and to provide a worthy man who is faithful to the K., loves peace and knows how to govern the church of Tuam, both spiritually and temporally."¹

Malachi left Rome without the Pope's permission and Nicholas resigned his claim. Nicholas's surname seems to have been MacFloinn or MagFhloinn. On the 12th July 1286 the Pope appointed Stephen de Fulburn, Bishop of Waterford, brother of Walter de Fulburn Chancellor of Ireland. He had been Justiciary in 1279, was removed in 1280, reappointed after Sir Robert de Ufford in 1282.

STEPHEN DE FULBURN

was given possession of the sees of Tuam and Annaghdown on the 15th September. He was a minister of the King and probably had very little to do with Tuam. When he died in 1288 all his property was seized for his debts to the King. His public correspondence and accounts were sealed up as found in Athlone Castle. On examination in Dublin many documents were missing whereby the King lost many debts due to him. The following is the inventory

¹ *D. I.*, ii.

of what was taken at Tuam and Athlone soon after the 3rd July:¹—

‘ TUAM. In the wardrobe.

“ 1 silver ewer of the weight of 4 *l.*, 1 silver-gilt cup, with a cover of the weight of 40s., 3 cloths of gold, 12 striped cloths for Esquires, 1 cloth for men of trade, 1 cloth for grooms, 33 furs with lambskins, 4 score and 9 ells of linen for table-cloths, 10 towels, 11 pairs of silken shoes, 5 score pounds of almonds, 30 lbs. of rice, 1 frail of figs, 10 lbs. of dates, 2 pieces *de cindone*, 4 ells *de carde*; in a chest 2 cups of silver, 1 white coverlet, 2 capes, 1 large bible; in another chest 100 *l.* of silver, $\frac{1}{2}$ black cloth for the use of the archbishop; and 4 entire black cloths for knights and clerks, with fur.

“ Pantry or buttery—1 silver salt-cellar, 3 gold spoons, 12 large silver spoons and 12 smaller ones, 5 silver plates, 1 silver dish for alms, 2 large silver ewers, 9 silver pots with covers, 1 gold plate with a gold cover, 3 gilt silver cups with feet: 2 smaller silver ewers.

“ Kitchen—2 large silver dishes and 3 smaller ones, 13 smaller silver dishes, and 18 silver salt-cellars.

“ Armour—6 halberds and 2 coats of mail, 3 pairs of iron cuirasses, 3 pairs of new trappings (trappes), and 2 pairs of old.

“ Stables—1 large white palfrey, and another called Hackney; horses called Lyvet, Jordan, Feraunt of Trim, Banean, Blaunchard of London, and 2 large horses called Constable and Bendur; 2 sumpter horses for the wardrobe; horses called Scampane, Black Obin, Feraunt and Dunnyng.

“ ATHLONE. In the chapel.

“ 1 Principal vestment, 1 chasuble with a cross of pearls, 2 mitres and a crozier, 1 chalice of silver-gilt, embroidered copes, a vestment for holydays, 1 silk frontal for the altar, 1 silk cope, 4 tuallie, 1 missal, 1 noted breviary (*porteurs notatus*), 1 noted gradual, 1 book of the dedication of churches, and another book of blessings, 1 small bible, 1 silver censer, 1 silver vase to put myrrh in, 1 silver vase to put holy-water in, with a silver sprinkler, 2 silver ewers, 1 portable altar, 6 choir copes of Baudekin, and 3 of silk, 3 tunicles with a red chasuble, and 3 surplices.”

He had 50 horses elsewhere.

¹ *D. I.*, iii.

In August 1289 out of respect to the church the King wishing the church of Tuam to be decorated with the ornaments of the Archbishop's chapel orders their delivery to the Dean and Chapter. These articles appear to be the Archbishop's travelling furniture for his chapel. The remainder appears to be his private personal property.

WILLIAM DE BERMINGHAM

succeeded him and went to Rome for confirmation which was given on the 2nd May 1289. Being in subdeacon's orders he was at once made a deacon, and was empowered to receive priest's orders on the 26th May and to be consecrated on the same day. He was allowed to keep his benefices for three years; and during those three years to receive one year's revenue of every benefice vacated, he making provision for the cure of souls. These grants were necessary to provide the fees payable to the Pope and his officials upon appointment. As part of this arrangement the Pope confirmed to William rector of Tyrnachtin in the diocese of Tuam a dispensation to hold the church of Knockraffan in Cashel given him in his eleventh year, that of Moydrisce in Killaloe, which he received before he was 23, and after the Council of Lyons, those of Athnetyg and Castleconor and Tyrnachtin in the dioceses of Tuam and Killala, all with cure of souls, and held by him for many years, except the last which he held only 11 months, without papal dispensation although he was not ordained priest; and he was to be promoted to episcopal dignity, all irregularity incurred by him in respect of the above being removed.

Tyrnachtin is the parish of Kilcolman. Athnetyg is probably a scribal error for Athneryg, Athnariogh; he was certainly rector of Athenry¹ He was second son of Meiler de Bermingham lord of Carbury in Kildare and of Dunmore and Athenry where he founded the Dominican Friary in 1241, and of other great territories. From Meiler came the de Berminghams of Connaught.

After the death of Archbishop O'Conor the Dean and Chapter of Annaghdown had elected a bishop who was

¹ Bliss, *Cal. of Papal Registers, Papal Letters*, vol. i. p. 498. Theiner, *Vet. Mon., Ep. No.* 319.

confirmed by the King but not by the Pope. Stephen de Fulburn had possession of both sees. At his death they prepared to restore the independence of their church by placing the insignia in charge of the Friars of Clare Galway. William sent his Archdeacon Philip Le Blound, or Blunt, who by force entered the monastery and carried them away. Philip was indicted. The result is not known.

In 1291 the King was trying to raise money from the clergy, but in vain, as appears from the following letter of the Archbishop,¹ in abstract — “W[illiam] Archbishop of Tuam to the K. Had received the K.’s letters praying him to convoke the suffragans and clergy of his province and induce them to grant to the K. a tenth of their spiritualities, to exonerate the debts for necessary expenses contracted by the K. while he tarried in parts beyond the sea touching the liberation of Charles King of Sicily. The archbishop replies that he had convoked the suffragans and clergy of his province accordingly, and fervently prayed them not to refuse the K.’s petition. The clergy having deliberated unanimously answered for their part that on account of war and poverty, and in order to preserve the liberties of their Church unimpaired, they could by no means grant that petition; and the suffragans, alleging that on account of those reasons and an appeal made to the Apostolic See by the clergy they could not differ from that answer, and so decided with the clergy in the negative. The Archbishop convoked the remainder of his clergy and urgently prayed them not to refuse the K.’s petition, intimating to them as to the suffragans and their clergy that though they might feel somewhat aggrieved by granting the petition yet that they might thereby gain the goodwill of the K.’s ministers, and that the K. himself might be induced to abolish the grievances inflicted on the Church of Ireland and on ecclesiastical persons, and perhaps restore that Church to its state of former liberty. They answered that their benefices were so small and they themselves so impoverished by Irish vassals and war that their whole year’s supplies did not suffice for 6 months; being therefore totally unable to comply with the petition they recommended that the Apostolic See should be applied to; special license from

¹ *D. I.*, iii. No. 899.

it was according to canonical statutes necessary to obtain such a grant. . . . Athenry." [The latter portion is illegible.]

The King did apply and got a grant of the tenth which was the cause of the Ecclesiastical Taxation which has come down to us, which was actually drawn up for the years 1306 and 1307. De Bermingham was always engaged in a quarrel with some one. In 1303 the Dean of Annaghdown was in Rome making complaints of his conduct. One was that William for a bribe appointed Malachy (O'Dondobuir) to be Bishop of Elphin in spite of the Pope's decision that Marianus had been elected, and, when Marianus died before taking possession, let Malachi take possession forcibly.

In 1306 Gilbert was elected Bishop of Annaghdown and got possession in 1308, when the see became for a time independent. It does not appear how the separation came about.

William went to Rome in 1309. In that year his litigation with the Dominican Friary of Athenry ended. The monks claimed exemption from the Archbishop's visitation. He sent Archdeacon Philip Blunt to hold a visitation at Athenry. They attended and protested in such fashion that the Archbishop excommunicated them. The Friars replied in February 1298 by an application to the Chancellor who ordered the Archbishop to withdraw his proclamations instantly. The Archbishop's action must have been illegal, as he undertook to withdraw and annul everything done against them. The Archdeacon did not defend a suit which they brought against him for £1000. But it does not follow that they got much out of Philip.

William died on 1st January 1312 and was buried near his father in the Dominican church of Athenry.

The Chapter desired to elect Philip the Dean, who refused election. Thereupon they appointed Philip and Archdeacon Peter and Canon Nicholas Flammini (Fleming?) and Canon Laurence de Tuanna (Tuam?) and Canon William de Dummo (Dunmor?) to choose, who chose Maelseachlainn MacAedha, Bishop of Elphin, whom the Chapter elected. He neither accepted nor refused but referred the election to the Holy See.¹

¹ Theiner, *Vet. Mon.*, p. 185.

MAELSEACHLAINN MACAEDHA,

or Malachi, was translated by the Pope on the 19th December 1212. He began by an attack on Bishop Gilbert of Annaghdown, which caused Edward II. to complain to the Pope of his misrepresentations and of the annoyance which he caused to Gilbert. This attack failed.

When Edmund de Burgo became Provost in 1313 the emoluments were said to be worth 5 marks sterling.¹

Flann MacFloinn with consent of his Chapter exempted the nunnery of Casta Silva, Kilcreevanty, from his jurisdiction as ordinary, save for the right of holding a triennial visitation in company with the Abbot of Cong and receiving a certain procuration. Laxity having arisen in the convent the Pope restored to the Archbishop the right of visitation as ordinary.²

Acting upon a secret order of the Pope MacAedha seized the bishopric of Annaghdown when Bishop O'Mellaidh died in 1328, and held it against a Thomas who was elected. The wars in Connaught and the King's abandonment of authority there probably caused the matter to drop. The details appear under Annaghdown.

MacAedha, or Magee, was as violent and unscrupulous in his dealings with Annaghdown as any layman could have been. He seems in character and conduct to have been like his predecessor.

After Earl Richard de Burgo's death in 1324 he was made one of the Governors of Connaught during Earl William's minority. After Earl William's murder in 1333 he was again Governor or Justice of the Peace jointly with Sir Edmond de Burgo, son of Earl Richard, who had a lease of the infant countess's demesne lands. When Sir Edmond was seized at Ballinrobe in April 1338 and carried to the Earl's Island in the Keel Lough of Glentraigue by his cousin Sir Edmond Albanagh, the Archbishop came to make terms between the Edmonds. Peace was almost made when the Stauntons who guarded the prisoner murdered him.³ From this time the King's authority ended and by degrees English Law

¹ Theiner, p. 188.

² Ibid., 20 Feb. 1321.

³ Hardiman's Ed. of *O'Flaherty's West of Connaught*, p. 47.

disappeared save in the towns of Galway and Athenry, whose inhabitants kept apart from the country people.

MacAedha died of the plague in 1348.

The following entries appear in this period in Annals of Loch Cé. 1328. "Maurice O'Gibillan, high master of Erinn in new laws and old laws, in Canon and Lex; a philosopher in wisdom and true knowledge; an eminent professor of poetry, and of Ogham writing, and many other arts; a canon chorister in Tuaim-da-ghualann, and in Oilfinn, and in Achadh-Conaire, and in Cill-Alaidh, and in Enach-dúin, and in Cluainferta-Brenainn, and the official and general judge of all the Archbishopric, in Christo quievit."

Under 1287 was recorded the death of "Florence O'Gibellan, Archdeacon of Oilfinn, a philosopher in wisdom, learning, intellect and clerkship." The family seems to have been learned and clerical.

The Church had fallen so low by the corruption of prelates, and the concentration of endowments in the hands of a few, and the general misapplication of revenues, that the Archbishop of Cashel had to complain in 1344 of the lack of parsons in Ireland and to obtain permission to ordain illegitimate persons as others could not be got. The dispensations for illegitimacy show that his complaint was just.

THOMAS O'CARROLL

succeeded him. The Dean and Chapter elected their chancellor Robert de Bermingham. The Pope appointed Thomas, Archdeacon of Cashel, whom he translated to that Archbishopric in 1358. In his time lands were exchanged with the Archbishop of Armagh to quiet disputes.

JOHN O'GRADY.

Archdeacon of Cashel, was elected and consecrated in the same year. He is the clerk of Killaloe diocese, a bachelor in civil law, who got dispensation of a bar to priests' orders on account of illegitimacy, and in whose favour the Pope made a declaration in 1358 that he might even hold episcopal office, upon petition by the Archbishop and some Bishops

of Cashel province on the ground of lack of literate men in those parts. He died in 1371.

OWEN GREGORY,

Bishop of Elphin, was elected to Tuam. He was fined £100 for not attending a Parliament at Castledermot to which he was summoned. It does not appear that he paid the fine.

While he was Provost of Killala he was consecrated Bishop of Down by order of the Pope upon a report which reached Avignon that Bishop Rodolph died. But Rodolph soon afterwards appeared. When Gregory died in 1384 the King attempted to take possession of the temporalities. The escheator reported that the lands were worthless because no rents could be collected.

GREGORY O'MOCHAIN

was now appointed by the Anti-Pope Clement VII. The other Pope Urban VI. ordered his removal which Richard II. undertook to enforce. As Urban was recognised in England and Ireland Gregory had to retire. He is the Archbishop who with the Bishops of Clonfert, Kilmacduagh and Achonry is noted in the Anti-Pope's order of suspension of the Bishop of Killala as having accepted his authority.

WILLIAM O'CORMACAIN

was appointed by the Pope in 1386. In 1394, for some reason which does not appear, the Pope degraded him to the bishopric of Clonfert which he did not take up.

MUIRHEARTACH O'CEALLAIGH,

or Maurice O'Kelly, Bishop of Clonfert was translated to Tuam in exchange with O'Cormacain. In the same year the Pope made Henry Turlton, or Twellow, Bishop of Annaghdown, severing that see from Tuam. O'Kelly died at Tuam in 1407.

Some doubt arises as to the succession here. According to Wadding (vol. ix. p. 348), the Pope removed Brother John Baberla, or Baterley, because he took possession of the see, without further authority than a nomination by Pope Alex-

ander V., and did not expedite his letters of promotion, and appointed Brother Cornelius on the 14th October 1411. These appointments seem to have been practically inoperative.

JOHN BABYNG,

a Dominican, is said to have been appointed in 1410, and certainly was appointed about that time. Nothing is known about him. He died about 1427.

JOHN BATTERLEY, OR BARLAY,

a Dominican, who seems to be the man who had been appointed and removed, was appointed in 1427. He is said to have been learned and eloquent. He died in 1437 and was buried in the Dominican Friary of Athenry. He must have resigned in or before 1430.

JOHN WINGFIELD, ALIAS BERMINGHAM,

was appointed on the 8th July 1430. No more is known.

THOMAS O'KELLY,

a Dominican, was appointed in 1438 and died in 1441.

JOHN DE BURGO,

son of the Parson, son of MacSeonin, succeeded and died at Galway in 1450.

Redmond Bermingham, son of William, is said to have been appointed by the Pope and to have died before he took possession.

DONNĀD O'MURĀDA,

otherwise Donatus O'Murray, a Canon Regular of St. Augustine, became Archbishop of Tuam and Bishop of Annaghdown under a contract to pay the Pope 333 gold florins within six months from the 25th April 1451. Perhaps he did not pay in full, for in 1458 Thomas Barrett was made Bishop of Annaghdown on payment of 133 gold florins, which were worth about 2s. 10d.

The fees to the Pope on appointment at this time were—

For the Archbishopric of Canterbury	10,000 gold florins.
" " Dublin	2,000 "
" " Armagh	1,500 "
" " Cashel	400 "
" " Tuam	200 "
For the Bishopric of Clonfert	300 "
" " Annaghdown	133 "
" " Elphin	66 "
" " Kilmacduagh	50 "
" " Killala	40 "
" " Achonry	33 "
" " Mayo	33 "

The payments had been fixed in 1392 at half the revenue of the see for the first year.

The valuation of Connaught dioceses appears to follow the degree in which they have been occupied by English colonists. Clonfert which was nearly all thickly colonised is by far the richest. Annaghdown comes after Tuam, the part east of Lough Corrib being well settled and having the town of Galway within it. The great diocese of Elphin containing great tracts of fine land is worth only half as much.

In 1484 Donogh formed the Wardenship of Galway. Thomas Barrett, the absentee Bishop of Annaghdown who was Richard III.'s agent in Ireland in 1484, perhaps arranged this as it was carved out of his diocese. A similar arrangement for Athenry came to nothing. On the 5th February 1485 Innocent VIII. confirmed the order of the Archbishop of Tuam constituting the Rectory and Vicarage of Athenry to be a Collegiate Church under a Warden or keeper and eight priests as members to be called Vicars, the Warden to be appointed annually by the corporation of the town and the members to be presented by it; at the request of Thomas Berymesayn the patron and of John de Burgo the existing Rector and Vicar.¹ The patron is no doubt Thomas Bermingham, Lord Athenry.

Donogh died on 17th January 1485.

¹ Theiner, p. 493.

WILLIAM JOY

was appointed on the 17th May 1485 and was consecrated in 1487. He confirmed the acts forming the Wardenship of Galway and extended it.

As Joy and the Bishops of Ossory and Clogher alone among the Irish bishops did not recognise Lambert Simnel, Henry VII. gave them a commission to pardon Lambert's supporters on their acknowledging error and taking the oath of allegiance.

In 1496 the Pope appointed Francis a monk to be Bishop of Annaghdown. It does not appear that he ever had possession and Annaghdown never appears again as a separate diocese.

In 1501 the Pope ordered him to excommunicate the sons of iniquity who secreted the property of the Wardenship and defrauded and plundered it.

Joy died on the 28th December 1501.

PHILIP PENSON,

an English Franciscan friar, suffragan of the Cardinal Bishop of Hereford, was appointed on the 2nd December 1503, being then at Rome, but died of the plague within a week.

MAURICE O'FIEHLY DE PORTU,

a Franciscan friar, born at Baltimore, was appointed in 1506, but did not go to Ireland until after attending the Lateran Council in 1512. Having got as far as Galway he died and was buried in the Franciscan Friary. He was educated at Pisa, a learned man and a writer, much interested in the new art of printing.

THOMAS O'MULLALY,

a Franciscan, of the family of O'Mullaly of Tullanodaly near Dunmore, succeeded in 1513. The educational institutions of Connaught did not bear a high reputation in those days. A synod of the province of Dublin directed that candidates for orders from the Tuam province should be specially examined. In 1523 he held a synod at Galway. He died on 28th April 1536 and was buried in the tomb of Maurice O'Fihely.

During the period which now closed bishops were absentees, and even such a see as Tuam was vacant for years. We have no information as to the conduct of episcopal business in those cases. We may suppose that the absentee bishops let their endowments and fees to farmers as they must have got some money out of their dioceses. They would not have paid the fees on appointment for bare titles.

At the beginning of his episcopate the power of the Church of Rome in these countries was unshaken. Before it closed King Henry VIII. had broken with the Pope and the independent churches of England and Ireland were restored.

The state of the church in Ireland is described as follows in a review of the State of Ireland which is undated but was written about the year 1515.¹

“Some sayeth, that the prelates of the Churche, and clergy, is muche cause of all the mysse order of the land; for ther is no archebyssshop, ne byssshop, abbot, ne prior, parson, ne vycar, ne any other person of the Churche, high or lowe, greate or smalle, Englyshe or Iryshe, that useyth to preache the worde of Godde, saveing the poore fryers beggers; and ther wodde of Godde do cesse, ther canne be no grace, and wythoute the specyall [*grace*] of Godde, this lande maye never be reformyd; and by preacheing and techeing of prelates of the Churche, and by prayer and oryson of the devoute persons of the same, Godde useyth alwaye to graunte his aboundante grace, ergo, the Churche, not usinge the premysseis, is muche cause of all the said mysse ordre of this lande.

“Also, the Churche of this lande use not to lerne any other scyence, but the Lawe of Canon, for covetyse of lucre traunsytory; all other scyence, whereof growe none suche lucre, the parsons of the churche doth despyce. They cowde more by the ploughe rustycall, then by lucre of the ploughe celestiyall, to whiche they hathe stretcheyd ther handes, and loke alwayes backwarde. They tende muche more to lucre of that ploughe, wherof groweth sclaunder and rebuke, then to lucre of the sowles, that is the ploughe of Cryste. And to the traunsytorye lucre of that rustycall ploughe they tendre so muche, that lytill or nought ther chargeyth to

¹ *Record Commn. State Papers Henry VIII. Correspondence relating to Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 15.

lucre to Cryste, the sowles of ther subgetes, of whom they bere the cure, by preacheing and teacheing of the worde of Godde, and by ther good insample gyveing; which is the ploughe of worshipp, and of honour, and the ploughe of grace of that ever shall indure."

The appointment of his successor may be taken as the beginning of the new movement and order in this province.

CHRISTOPHER BODKIN

was appointed by the King on the 15th February 1537, being then Bishop of Kilmacduagh which he continued to hold. On the 7th October the Pope appointed Arthur O'Frizil, Canon of Raphoe, who never got possession of the see. Bodkin belonged to the Galway family of Bodkin. Immediately after his appointment the monasteries were dissolved and the estates were let on lease or granted to laymen, in the county of Galway chiefly to the Earl of Clanricard, from time to time. By favour of the grantees the monks often continued to live in the buildings. Though at this time the King had no real power in Connaught outside the towns of Galway and Athenry and the castle garrisoned by his forces at Athlone, the dissolution was effective. No resistance was made. It could not have been done so easily if the Church had not lost its hold on the people. The great lords through whom everything was done had no regard for the monks, nor had their people whose feelings were reflected in the actions of their tribal chieftains. They took the lands but left the monks the use of the houses which were not defensible for lay lords' occupation.

In the beginning of the 16th century the Church had fallen to its greatest degradation. Apart from the direct evidence as to the state of cathedral and parish churches, even in Meath, decay might be inferred from the fact that bishops were absent from their sees for years, and from the policy since the 12th century of aggrandising bishops and monasteries at the expense of the parochial organisation. Buildings were in ruins, priests as ignorant as the laity and exceedingly poor. Of parochial incomes the bishop had a quarter or a third, the rector a half or a third, the vicar a quarter or a third. The rectory was almost always held by

an absentee dignitary or by a convent. Even the vicarage was alienated in some cases. Bodkin's account shows how laymen had seized endowments by force, apparently without a shadow of right. Though he evidently treats the benefices which had been the property of abbeys and which were in lay hands as usurped, yet there are benefices, such as the prebends and vicarages, which were not monastic property at any time, which were held so.

Preaching had now been abandoned to the mendicant orders, who were outside the parochial system. Though parish churches belonged to convents under the old Irish organisation, no evil followed therefrom because their rules allowed the monks to serve as parish priests and the revenues were not withdrawn for the benefit of the central abbey, so far as we can judge. Hence we find ruins of small churches all over the country, every village almost or group of families having its church. Many of the parish churches of the 12th and early 13th century were large and fine buildings. These were let fall into decay and the parish churches of subsequent dates were relatively small buildings. But monastic churches were commonly magnificent in comparison. And then the desire for reform arose among the laity and the spiritually minded clergy in England and on the Continent, but not among the Irish. Thus the Reformation came on Ireland generally from without and not from within. And so the monasteries disappeared easily and the new clergy were appointed by the King without difficulty, until political feelings became associated with religion.

It is not to be supposed that the monasteries were useless. In their way they did good, but their activity was limited and they ruined the parochial and educational system of old times, leaving the people without religious or secular teaching.

In 1541 Bodkin was put on a commission to settle disputes in Connaught. In 1543 at a provincial synod at Galway he confirmed the grants to the Wardenship. About 40 houses in the dioceses of Tuam and Annaghdown were suppressed. The Augustinian convent of Dunmore was spared upon Lord Athenry's application, because it had no lands, was in a wild country, and was founded by his ancestors.

Bodkin was evidently trusted by the Government as long as he lived. He had been educated at Oxford, which accounts for the fact that so many of his incumbents were studying there when he drew up his account of the diocese after the death of Queen Mary.

When that Queen restored Papal authority in 1555 Cardinal Pole held an inquiry at Lambeth to ascertain who was Archbishop of Tuam. O'Frizil did not appear. The Archdeacon of Kilmacduagh deposed that the Cathedral Church of Tuam was properly furnished, but its belfry was in ruins; that it had a dean, an archdeacon, a provost and ten or twelve canons; that the town of Tuam was in ruins and almost deserted; that Bodkin had taken possession of the see after the death of Archbishop O'Mullaly; that he was a defender of orthodoxy and more through fear than depravity of intention contracted the sin of schism. Thus he delicately explained that Bodkin could conform to the requirements of King or Pope as might be necessary for the retention of his office. It is not known if a formal decision was pronounced. Bodkin was certainly recognised by the Pope. It was said that by agreement O'Frizil resigned and Bodkin was appointed. It is certain that Bodkin always was Archbishop and it is quite certain that his appointment was by the King. In Queen Mary's time he was firmly established in his place. It is by no means certain that Queen Mary could have ejected him, seeing that she had no real authority over the Connaught lords and that he evidently was cordially supported by them.

In the same year it was reported that the Cathedral at Annaghdown was abandoned, that only one mass was offered on festivals, that it had one chalice and vestment, that the dean, archdeacon and some canons attached to it did not reside.

Bodkin took the oath of allegiance to Queen Elizabeth and held the same position under her. The account or visitation of his dioceses appears to have been drawn up at her accession, and shows the disorderly condition of the church at this time.

In 1561 David Wolfe the Pope's Legate in Ireland reported that Bodkin had great influence with the gentry; that he had forcibly and at personal risk taken possession

of the Cathedral of Tuam which was for 300 years used as a fortress where no divine service was held, that Mass was celebrated and that he himself was usually in the choir every day; that there were not more than 20 or 30 houses in Tuam; that he had submitted to the Queen and held his see (as did the bishop of Clonfert) by force of arms (as against the Pope), but that he pleaded a composition made by Cardinal Pole between him and O'Frizil who had resigned with the Pope's sanction; that he further alleged that Mayo which he also held had been long united with Tuam. This last sentence may refer to the matter of Duall MacFirbis's entry that William Burke the Blind Abbot expelled Mac An Brehon Bishop of Mayo, whom Ussher calls last Bishop of Mayo. Mac An Brehon was most likely in the same position as O'Frizil, appointed by the Pope in opposition to Bodkin. William Burke appears in Bodkin's account as holding by force benefices in the diocese of Mayo.

The Mass was not prohibited until 1559. It continued in Connaught unaffected by prohibition until Queen Elizabeth sent governors to enforce the law strictly in the last quarter of the century, when monks and priests were agents of the Pope and the King of Spain.

Bodkin seems to have been a man of great abilities and religious feeling, who bore a very high character and who conformed to the small demands of the Kings and Queens on the western clergy in the matter of doctrine and practice. When he was appointed by the King he accepted the Royal Supremacy and in all other respects followed the Church of Rome. The one point on which he seems to have been firm as against the Pope was that he was Archbishop of Tuam, and so he remained to the end of his days. The Reformation had not yet spread far into Ireland. But he no doubt had acquired in Oxford views of the Reformers as to conduct of the clergy which made him a very good Archbishop. Reformation had begun now in the Church of Rome also in respect of conduct. The clergy were beginning to be a different class from those of the early years of the century. In Bodkin's time no attempt was made to interfere with Roman doctrines and practices in Connaught. The Connaught lords were now suffering so much from incessant warfare that those of Anglo-

Norman descent at least were ready to accept royal authority to put an end to the fighting and enable them to enjoy their own in peace. But they had not yet learnt that royal authority meant that they too must obey the law, that even their own subjects would have rights against them. So they had no feeling against the King and no feeling for or against reform in the Church. It seems to have been a matter of indifference to them so long as they were not interfered with. When the Queen's governors and soldiers came among them and they felt the pressure of government, the priests and monks of the Church of Rome became political agents offering them help from the King of Spain in their rebellions. This did not come about in his time which may be said to cover the period when Henry VIII. and his successors were preparing to assert authority in Connaught. That began with Bodkin's appointment and the suppression of monasteries. Then followed the period of interference with the great lords by obtaining their submissions and by granting peerages, and securing the succession to the chieftainship for the peers or the chieftain in favour. It was after Bodkin's time that governors were appointed for Connaught and sheriffs sent into the new counties. He was in Connaught the first of the new order of bishops who tried earnestly to restore religion. Under his predecessors decay had been continuous for 300 years. His immediate successors could do nothing owing to the incessant wars of the next 30 years.

He died in 1572 and was buried in the tomb of O'Fihely and O'Mullaly. From his death begins the double succession of Archbishops of the Church of Ireland and of the Church of Rome.

Henry VIII. does not appear to have meddled in the minor appointments. In Queen Elizabeth's time I find that William Lally had in 1560 her confirmation of the deanery of Tuam, of the rectories of Bolomy or Ballony, perhaps Ballyovey, and Ahascragh and Kilosolan, and of the prebend of Lackagh, which he had obtained by Papal provision. Hilary O'Dounlay was appointed to the rectory of Dunmore in 1562.¹

¹ 11 *D.K. App. Fiant*, No. 287. *Morrin, Cal. Pat. and Close Rolls*, i. pp. 444, 474.

WILLIAM LALLY,

or Mullaly, the Dean was appointed on the 14th April 1573. He held the see in the trying period of the establishment of the Queen's authority in Connaught, when the Church and Churchmen played but a small part. The contest between the Queen and the Burkes and O'Neills and O'Donnells kept all Connaught in a turmoil which ended only with the defeat of all the Queen's enemies and their submission after the battle of Kinsale. Before he died in 1595 he became too old for work and was relieved by the appointment as coadjutor of his successor.

NEHEMIAH DONELAN

was appointed on the 17th August 1595, resigned in 1609, and soon died and was buried at Tuam. He had taken great pains before his appointment in translating and putting to press the New Testament and the Book of Common Prayer in Irish.

WILLIAM O'DONNELL,

or Daniel, Treasurer of St. Patrick's Dublin was consecrated in August 1609 and was made a Privy Councillor in that year. He had been employed as Commissioner with the Lord Chancellor in visiting the dioceses of Cashel, Emly, Waterford and Lismore, and had been sole Commissioner afterwards to reform their abuses. He was a learned man and knew Hebrew. He finished the translation of the New Testament and of the Book of Common Prayer into Irish. The former was printed in 1602, the latter in 1608.

He succeeded as the country was being reorganised after the incessant wars which ended the Celtic system for ever. His predecessor was appointed as one system was ending and lived until the other began. In his time the early period of church history may be considered as closed. Everything was in ruins, both churches and clergy, scarcely organised fragments, from which the new order of the Church of Ireland was evolved side by side with the new order of the State.

CHAPTER XV

THE DIOCESE OF MAYO

MISSIONARIES from Columcille's monastery on Iona converted the English from the north southwards and established the Bishopric for Northumbria on Lindisfarne under Aidan in 635. Meanwhile the Roman mission under St. Augustine converted the Saxons in the south. In the middle of the 7th century Celtic and Roman churches met in the Midlands, and the Paschal controversy arose in Northumbria. Colman, third bishop of Lindisfarne, who succeeded Finan in 660, was head of the Celtic Church, and Agilbert, bishop of the West Saxons, was head of the Roman Church with St. Wilfrid as spokesman, who had been educated at Lindisfarne for some time after he was 14 years old, at the Council of Whitby held in 664 under Oswy King of Northumbria, who decided for the Roman practice. St. Colman kept to his own practice, resigned the bishopric and left the kingdom. Venerable Bede writes thus of him:—

“ The place which he governed showed how frugal he and his predecessors were, for there were very few houses besides the church found at their departure ; indeed, no more than were barely sufficient for their daily residence ; they had also no money, but cattle ; for if they received any money from rich persons, they immediately gave it to the poor ; there being no need to gather money, or provide houses for the entertainment of the great men of the world ; for such never resorted to the church, except to pray or hear the word of God. The King himself, when opportunity offered, came only with 5 or 6 servants, and having performed his devotions in the church, departed. But if they happened to take a repast there, they were satisfied with only the plain and daily food of the brethren, and required no more ; for the whole care of these teachers

was to serve God, not the world—to feed the soul and not the belly.”

After some remarks on the veneration and respect in which the people held the clergy and the attention paid to their preaching, he adds—“and they were so free from worldly avarice, that none of them received lands and possessions for building monasteries, unless they were compelled to do so by the temporal authorities; which custom was for some time after observed in all the churches of the Northumbrians.” Such was the opinion of the Saxons regarding the Columban monks. Bede says further—“In the meantime, Colman, the Scottish bishop, departing from Britain, took along with him all the Scots he had assembled in the isle of Lindisfarne, and also about 30 of the English nation, who had been all instructed in the monastic life; and leaving some brothers in his church, he repaired first to the isle of Hii, whence he had been sent to preach the word of God to the English nation. Afterwards he retired to a small island, which is to the west of Ireland, and at some distance from its coast, called in the language of the Scots, Inisbofinde, the Island of the White Heifer.

“Arriving there he built a monastery, and placed in it the monks he had brought of both nations; who, not agreeing among themselves, by reason that the Scots, in the summer season, when the harvest was to be brought in, leaving the monastery, wandered about through places with which they were acquainted; but returned again the next winter, and would have what the English had provided to be in common; Colman sought to put an end to this dissension, and travelling about far and near, he found a place in the island of Ireland fit to build a monastery, which, in the language of the Scots, is called Mageo, and bought a small part of it of the Earl to whom it belonged, to build his monastery thereon; upon condition, that the monks residing there should pray to our Lord for him who let them have the place. Then building a monastery with the assistance of the Earl and all the neighbours, he placed the English there, leaving the Scots in the aforesaid island. This monastery is to this day possessed by English inhabitants; being the same that, grown up from a small beginning to be very large, is generally called Mageo; and as all things have long since

been brought under a better method, it contains an exemplary society of monks, who are gathered there from the province of the English, and live by the labour of their hands, after the example of the venerable fathers, under a rule and a canonical abbot, in much continency and singleness of life.”¹

As Bede places Colman's departure to Ireland in 665 the foundation of Mayo was probably in 668, the date assigned by Tigernach.

Colman died on the 8th August 674. Very little is known of him. Lanigan says that he seems to have been living in Ireland when made bishop of Lindisfarne.² Colgan thought he was a Connaughtman, and that fact may have caused his choice of Inisbofin. This Boffin monastery is never heard of again. The Inisbofin of the Annals is the island in Lough Ree. The ruins are slight. Similar small ruins are on Inishark, Inisturk and Caher Island. A St. Leo lived on Inishark, where his bell was extant in the 17th century. O'Flaherty says that Inisbofin and Inishark belonged to Connemara until the 14th century when the men of Umall acquired them.

The next reference to Mayo is in the death of Gerald Bishop of Mayo of the Saxons in 732. Nothing is known about him except that to him is attributed the church called Tempull Garailt and Cill na n Alither or Pilgrim's Church, perhaps because founded by the Pilgrim or Stranger Monks, which became the parish church, and which has quite disappeared. It is the "Daimhliag" or stone church, to be distinguished from the great Abbey Church. He is said to have founded a nunnery for his sister Segretia, but nothing is known of her or of it. He cannot have been the first abbot or even Colman's immediate successor. It is certain that he was not a Bishop of Winchester as has sometimes been alleged.

Ussher quotes from the Book of Ballymote a statement that 100 Saxon monks were at Mayo at the end of the 7th century.

It certainly was an important abbey. The oldest ruin there is a piece of the cashel wall to S.E. of the church in

¹ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History* in Bohn's Antiquarian Library.

² *Eccles. Hist. Ireland*, ii, p. 59.

the fields. To this early period may be assigned the origin of the name Tagh Saxon, when English Columban monks came to Ireland and scattered themselves over the country to live under the form of church government in which they were brought up. Balan is given as the name of the leader of the Tagh Saxon party. The Litany of Oengus invokes the 50 saints of Leyny who are buried at Mayo.

Mayo attained great eminence as a school but is rarely mentioned in history. Oswald and Alfred of Northumbria are said to have studied here, according to the custom of Englishmen of rank to send their sons to Irish Schools. Alfred became King of Northumbria in 685.

Aedhan Bishop of Mayo died in 768. (A.U.)

Conna of Mayo is named in the Martyrology on the 27th March.

Mayo and Armagh were burnt by lightning on the night of Saturday, 2nd August 783. "That night was terrible with thunder lightning and windstorms." (F.M. 783.) Other places were damaged by this storm which seems to have passed over the northern half of Ireland.

It suffered from the Danes. Dr. Lynch writes "We read that Turgesius . . . destroyed by fire the temple of the church of Mayo which was roofed with sheets of lead." ¹ This must have been between 831 and 845.

In 905 the Deartheach was burnt. Dr. Petrie says that these buildings were originally of wood as their name "oak-house" expresses, in later times of stone, but even down to the 12th century sometimes of wood. They were very small, about 15 x 10 feet inside, having a single doorway in the west wall and a single window in the east wall, and sometimes had a loft as a dwelling, being built exclusively for the private devotions of the founder.

Regarding a Duleek Dr. Petrie quotes a MS. as follows—"The Saxons of Mayo granted the tythes of their city to God and St. Michael, and they made a damhliag in it for the pilgrims of God for ever. And the family of Mailfinneoin proceeded to destroy it, and that damliag fell on the people and killed men and cattle. After this came the senior, *i.e.* Cathasach, and he renewed that tempul in the reign of Ruaidhri and his son, *i.e.* Toirdelbhach, and it was

¹ *Camb. Ev.*, ii. p. 191.

reconfirmed from that out for pilgrims for ever; and the guarantee of the Bishop O'Dunan, and of the family of Killaloe, and of the senior, *i.e.* Cathasach, and of Toirdelbhach, King of Connaught, and of the Bishop O'Cnaill, and of the Bishop O'Dubhthaigh, was given for its possession for ever."¹ Cathasach and O'Cnaill may be different persons as appears here, but seem to be the Bishop of Tuam Cathasach O'Cnaill. O'Dunan was Bishop of Cashel. O'Duffy seems to be the Bishop of Tuam who died in 1136, but then he was Abbot of Tuam, unless some other bishop is meant. The names fix the date as between 1097 and 1117. I cannot make out who are the family of Mailfinneoin. They cannot be the Muintir Mailfinnain of Hy Many.

The Kerry had been everywhere Christianised in St. Patrick's time. By the 12th century this great tribe had been in a great part overpowered by Silmurray clans, and the rest seems to have been broken up into independent sections. The tracts called of Upper Kerry and of Lower Kerry or Kerry of Lochnarney passed into the diocese of Tuam. The countries called Tir Nechtain and Tir Enna seem to have been held by families of the Upper Kerry but I have not been able to ascertain their relations accurately. These two territories I take to have formed the diocese of the Bishop of Mayo when territorial episcopacy first came in.

Cera and Clann Cuain were probably one diocese under a Bishop of Balla, and Umall must have been another under Aghagower. As they are not broken up into deaneries in the Taxation of 1306 it is to be inferred that their bishoprics were suppressed at Rath Bresail.

The whole diocese is thus distributed in modern parishes—

Tir Nechtain and Tir Enna.—Mayo, Kilcolman, Kilvine, Crossboyne, Tagheen.

Cera.—Balla, Manulla, Roslee, Robeen, Ballinrobe north of River Robe, Touaghty, Burriscarra, Drum, Ballyheane, Ballintubber, Ballyovey.

Clann Cuain.—Aglis, Islandeady, Turlough, Kildacomoge, Breaghwy.

Umall.—Aghagower, Oughaval, Kilgeever, Kilmeena, Kilmaclasser, Burrishoole, Achill.

The men of Cera and Clann Cuain were branches of the

¹ *Transactions R.I.A.X.X.*, p. 143.

Hy Fiachrach who had for their chief King a descendant of Dathi who was King of Ireland from 406 to 428, known as O'Dowda in later times. The men of Cera had a sub-king taken from the families of O'Murray, O'Tierney, MacNeill, and O'Gormley in later days, but he was never of much importance. Clann Cuain's chief was O'Cuinn, who quarrelled with O'Dowda in the first half of the 12th century and transferred his allegiance to MacDermot of Moylurg. These two tribes had been so long separated that O'Dowda had little power over them, and the King of Connaught a good deal, as only a large united tribe could hold its own against the Silmurray.

The records show no mention of bishops in these territories.

The Round Towers of Balla and Turlough mark the ecclesiastical centres. Miss Stokes assigns that of Turlough to the very earliest period about A.D. 900, and that of Balla to the early part of the last period, 1170 to 1238.

Umall was the kingdom of the Clann Maille, under O'Maille as King, descended from Conall Orbsen son of Brian King of Connaught according to the genealogies. Aghagower was their ecclesiastical centre. It is said that there were bishops in Aghagower and it is likely that Aghagower was always under a bishop as St. Patrick is said to have left one there. But Aghagower does not come into the Annals. The Hy Briuin of Umall must have had their own bishop as soon as diocesan episcopacy came in. Miss Stokes assigns the Round Tower to the period about 1000 A.D.

These countries being under petty kings without the cohesion of the Hy Fiachrach Muaide and Hy Amalgada or of the Luighne and Gailenga were easily distributed at the formation of dioceses, and the whole bishopric at last was suppressed.

The Bishopric is rarely mentioned in history.

A.D. 1169. Mayo with its church was burnt.

„ 1184. Gilla Isu O'Mailin Bishop of Mayo died. (A.U.)

„ 1209. Cele O'Duffy bishop died. The see was then suppressed and merged in that of Tuam.

In 1240 Master Christin, proctor of the church of Mayo, revived a former controversy in which it had been decided that Mayo was a parish church. It was so decided again. I suppose the question now was whether the see had been

united with that of Tuam or had been wholly suppressed and abolished. In 1303 it was part of the Dean of Annaghdown's complaint against the Archbishop that he had seized this bishopric with all its goods. This is not intelligible in face of the undoubted suppression for nearly 100 years, but may have been based on a dispute regarding ecclesiastical property which the Archbishop seized as see property.

In 1231 Stephen O'Braoin Erenagh of Mayo died. The family were chiefs of Loch Gealgosa supposed to have been Urlare lake by O'Donovan. But it is more likely to have been some lake within this territory of the Ciarraige as an O'Braoin was Erenagh.

The Pope seems to have revived the bishopric in the 15th century as the following appointments are noted by Ware—

William Prendergast, a Franciscan Friar, on 16th July 1428. He was deprived in 1430 for not expediting his provisional letters. This revival seems to have followed Archbishop Babyng's death.

Nicholas Wogomai (?) a Franciscan in 1430.

O'Higgin died in 1478. (F.M.)

Odo or Hugh (Aed) died in 1493.

John Bell a Franciscan was appointed in 1493. He was a suffragan of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The bishopric seems to have been conferred as a source of income. At this period bishops of Achonry and Annaghdown are found to have been absentees doing work in England. They account for the Legate Wolfe's remark that the churches of Achonry and Tuam had been in lay hands and that the former was still waste. The bishops must have let the see estates to laymen. In these wild parts of Ireland the monks were getting possession of the churches and the bishops were becoming of small account as in former times, with the difference that the monks were collected in fine buildings and the country churches and people neglected. The Reformation altered this and brought in a new class of Roman Catholic clergy.

The bishopric seems to have been annexed to Tuam after Bell's time.

In 1547 Thomas O'Fihel abbot of the Augustinian convent of Mayo was appointed by the Pope to be Bishop of Achonry with permission to retain the abbacy.

MacFirbis's list of bishops has the following entry—
 “Mac An Brehon, Bishop of Magh-Eo; MacWilliam Burke,
i.e. the Blind Abbot, expelled him.

“Patrick O’Helidhe, Bishop of Magh-Eo, who was put to death in Cill-Mochellog, 1579, for the Catholic faith.” O’Healey was hanged for taking part in the rebellion in Munster. These two bishops were not acknowledged by the Government and had no real possession. I suspect that since 1209 the bishops had no connection with Mayo beyond their title and an income drawn from it in some cases. This note is all that is known of Mac An Brehon’s expulsion. The Blind Abbot is recorded in Bodkin’s Visitation to have been in possession of much church endowment. This I suspect to mean that William held much of the parochial endowments which had belonged to the suppressed abbeys and that he refused to surrender them. He was a son of David Burke who had been MacWilliam Eighter, of the Carra branch of the Bourkes.

The abbey does not appear in the mediæval records except for one mention in a Papal Letter dated 23rd April 1462.¹

From the Pope to the abbots of the monastery of the Holy Trinity and of St. John the Evangelist of Tuam and to Dermot Macassarlay Canon of Tuam. Appoint John Ornurchu, priest of Tuam diocese, to be abbot of the Monastery of St. Michael of Mayo of Order of St. Augustine, its abbot Malachias Ovinlanail being expelled for his faults.

For Ornurchu and Ovinlanail read O’Murrough and O’Mullavil.

BALLA

Next to nothing is known of the progress of Christianity in Carra from St. Patrick’s time to the 7th century. It had been accepted then by the Partry in the south and west and by the Corcutemne in the north. A St. Finan had founded a church on Church Island in L. Carra, and St. Cormac wanted to work in Carra in the time of King Eogan Bel.

¹ Theiner, *Vet. Mon.*, p. 454.

It appears again when St. Mochua effected the final organisation of the church. His proper name was Cronan.

Another Cronan of Balla died in A.D. 694 of whom no more is recorded. But his doings are mixed up with those of his more eminent predecessor in the Life of St. Mochua in the Book of Lismore translated in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*. Mochua could not have met Cellach King of Connaught at his first arrival in Connaught, but Cronan of Balla might have met him as Cellach died soon after A.D. 700. Though the Life is full of miracles which do not increase its credit it seems to contain facts in his life mixed with those of the other Cronan's. His name was Cronan, his father was Becan of the Uí Luigdech, his mother Cuimne of the Dál Búain, Ulster tribes. St. Comgall took him, a little lame boy, from his father's house and educated him at Bangor. He quarrelled with Comgall and left Ulster. The quarrel seems unlikely as he would have been but 21 years old when St. Comgall died in 602, and does not seem to have been long in Gael and Telle. He went under his foster-brother or co-disciple, Bishop Gavrín from Britain, in Gael, a monastery among the Feara Rois of Louth and Monaghan. Thence he went to Fore and to Telle near Durrow. In 616 he went to Connaught, passed through Hy Many and spent the forty days of Easter in Sodhan, where a Queen named Ballgel received him with honour. Thence he went to Loch Cime, now Lough Hacket, and met Cellach son of Raghallach King of Connaught out hunting. Thence he went through Odba into Carra where he settled at a place called Ross Dairbrech "Oak Wood." The Life here gives an old poem—

"Ross Dairbrech, Mochua's monastery,
Which is called ever-new Balla,
Dear the bush (?) angelic, pure,
Ross Dairbrech of the holy yew trees.

Balla with sainted men to-day
(Is) the common name with loveable renown ;
'Ross Dairbrech,' this was its name
In the time of Tuathal Rough-foot.

From the district of Bangor of the cold fords,
To the plain of Cera of the fair hosts,
Into the land of Fir Domnann of the bushes,
Comgall sent (Mochua) to fair Ross."

“ He stays a night in that place. Now on the morrow, when the comrades looked up, they did not see the fountain. Mochua told them to seek it. Then said a farmer to them : ‘ The fountain Ball-aluinn is below.’ ‘ From that place let it be named,’ said Mochua. As he himself said :

‘ Let Balla be the name of the place,
For it hath come under my heed :
Let this be its name from henceforward
Till the last age shall come.’

He entreated God to manifest to him the place of his church. Five-and-thirty years, then, Mochua had completed at that time, and one-and-twenty years was he serving God at that place when he went to heaven.

‘ One-and-twenty years without exception
Was Mochua in the province of Connaught.
A wall of mould marking out his side
Was the hardship of his slender-skinned devotion.’

Then came Eochaid Minncach, prince of the clans of Fiachrach, to gainsay the cleric. Now angels were manifested to him over the wood wherein Mochua dwelt, and when he saw the cleric he humbled himself to him at once. Now thus was Mochua at that time, in a prison of stone. Eochaid came to the cleric, having along with him a hundred of the nobles of his family, to wit, Maine with his seven sons, and Domnall and Feradach and Maelcethaig and Ronan and Suibne and Finntan the Fair and the nobles of Clann-Fiachrach. And though they attempted to kill the cleric, they did his will, for the spiritual radiancies and the divine service shone out of his countenance. Then they offered him the stead, with its district and land, Cellach, son of Ragallach, consenting. Wherefore of founding that the historian sang the staves :

‘ From Clad Cuirre of hard Calgach
To Mon, to the north of Adrad ;
From Mag Moethla, with its bog,
To great staked Crot Cualachta.

Thus they gave their land,
The clans of Ross, with great virtue,
Without tempest in their minds,
With vast service.

With a circuit every third strong year,
Both man and woman and boy,
To Mochua, of the narrow prison,
At prayer, at waiting.

A cow for every landholder,
Both king and nobleman ;
To my Chua the hundreded in his company
A garment for every ollave.

A great pig for every house in the north,
From the strand of Eothuile to Muad ;
A scruple for every fire without thirst
To the chapel of the province of Connaught.

This Mochua had without sorrow
From Odba of the loyal throngs ;
Strong was his flood
To the stormy strand of Eothuile.'

Thus he founded his church and his monastery, and he gave three bishops to consecrate his graveyards and his great churches, and to allot the land to his monks." . . .

"It was one of Mochua's miracles, to wit, the Sil Muredaig was suffering from the Yellow Plague, and the clerics of the Province of Connaught sought to banish it from them, and they succeeded not. So they came to the place where Mochua was dwelling, and he healed them, and put the colour which was on them upon his crozier, and then they gave their service to him. . . ."

"Another time Mochua sent his servant to commune with Faelán. When he came to Alt in Cleib [Cliff of the Basket] there came to him two female warriors, who dwelt in the land, namely, Bec, daughter of Conchorach, and Lithben, daughter of Aithrebthach. And this is the unreasonable game they used to play. Whoever passed by them, they would put him into a basket with two ropes out of it, and swing him over the awful precipice. It was revealed to Mochua that his gillie was put into the basket. Mochua went till he reached the place. Lithben, daughter of Aitrebthach, obeyed him at once ; but Bec would not let the gillie go until the cleric gave her his cowl. It blazed up in her hands and then she obeyed the cleric. And the girls communed with both their fathers, and brought them to

Mochua, and Mochua afterwards baptized them." This curious story seems to be made out of a tale of some fort on a detached rock.

Mochua died on the 30th March 637.

Dates show that Comgall did not send Mochua into Connaught. According to Colgan's Life, quoted by Petrie, Mochua was an architect and built the mill at Fore, and surrounded the well at Balla with a wall, whence the place was called Balla, a wall in Irish, because the well had never before been walled in. This Life adopts the old name Ball Aluinn, Beautiful Place. The little chapel over the well may be the successor of Mochua's enclosure.

For Mochua's glorification the Life shows that Eochy was miraculously turned from an intention of killing Mochua, but it seems to me that Mochua really came with the support of the King and nobles of Hy Fiachrach to reorganise the church. I cannot identify this Eochy. Owing to the imperfection of the O'Dowda pedigree about this period there is room for him there, or he may have been a King of the race of Ailill Molt.

The places named in the first stanza may possibly be the bounds of the territory attached to Balla known afterwards as the Termon. But I cannot identify any of them unless Ara to north of Balla be a corruption of Adrad. The places named in the last stanza show that the jurisdiction of Mochua's successor extended over all Carra and Coolcarney and Tireragh. The endowment seems to be a statement of the dues claimed by the abbot when the church was in its best condition. It is a very old poem inserted in a more recent prose Life.

As usual the author does not explain the appointment of three bishops by Mochua. It is an allusion to some facts about three subordinate bishops in Mochua's successor's territory, the meaning of which is now lost, apparently to explain why they came to exist in that country.

The miracle accounting for the name of the Yellow Crozier is an anachronism. There were no Silmurray until long after Mochua's time.

From the scanty information of the Life and the existing information relating to Tireragh I infer that Mochua organised and established the church in its final form. The claims of the Abbot of Balla on Coolcarney and Tireragh would last

long because O'Caomain, descended from Caoman elder brother of Dubhda from whom O'Dubhda came, had the country of Rosslee and Touaghty parishes in Carra and the country from Toomour on the Moy to the Leaffony as his Lordship. Carra and Clann Cuain were the inheritance of the descendants of Erc, except what O'Caomain held and Odba held by the Partry. Coolcarney and Tireragh were that of the descendants of Fiachrach Elgach son of King Dathi. When Carra and Clann Cuain set up sub-kings of their own, and Tireragh and Tirawley remained directly under O'Dubhda, ecclesiastical authority naturally took a like course and Tireragh passed under the Bishop of Killala. This should have come about formally in the 12th century reformation and is indicated as somewhat late by the differences pointed out in the Bull of Pope Innocent.

Ecclesiastically very little is known of Balla.

It was burnt in 779 and on many other occasions. But it seems to me that the memoranda of burning of Balla and such places do not usually mean that the church and the monks' houses were burnt, but only that the town which grew up near the abbey was burnt, except in the cases where the burning of the church is expressly noted.

In 1246 "The son of the Successor of Mochua took [possession of] the bishopric of Sil-Muireadhaigh and not [even] a little of his time was left him to govern [it]." (A.U.) This was John O hUghroin the Archdeacon of Elphin who had been elected Bishop of Elphin in 1244. It is most likely that he was son of an Erenagh who was called Comarb because he was in possession of old abbey lands. The old endowments of Balla seem to have passed in early times into lay hands as the Archbishop seems to have taken up no lands about Balla, and very little in the barony of Carra, and there is no reason to suppose a monastery and convent of monks survived into the thirteenth century.

TURLOUGH

Turlough whose ancient importance is shown by its Round Tower makes no show in ecclesiastical history, but the connection with Armagh lasted from St. Patrick's time well into the Anglo-Norman period.

THE TOCHAR PHATRAIC

is a very ancient road which seems to be the ancient pilgrims' road from the east to Croagh Patrick. It can be very well traced from Croagh Patrick back to Drum ; it passed from church to church, thus, Balla to Loona Church, where it is well marked, and thence by Gweeshadan Church to Drum Church, where it is well marked. Thence it is well ascertained to Ballintubber and from thence to Aghagower, passing in the way a small church marked on the map as Temple Shanegawna near Bellaburke. From Aghagower it went by Lankill and Cloghpatrick to Patrick's Chair and so up the hill.

I have not been able to trace the course east of Balla, but feel sure it must have passed by Kiltamagh and Cloonpatrick and Patrick's Well to Balla. The latter Well, a Bullaun in the earth, was once a place of some importance, where stations were held at an old fort called Lis na Grus close to it. The heap of stones about it seems to be the remnant of such a cairn and alcove as is about the Bullaun called Patrick's Well at Tully in the parish of Kilcorkey in Co. Roscommon.

UMALL

Of Aghagower I find but one mention—

“Donncahy, Erenagh of Aughagower, settler of every dispute and covenant, a man of esteem and honour, died on the 15th December.” (1231 F.M.)

It must have been the bishopric of the O'Malleys but did not survive the synod of Rathbresail.

The large ruined church near the Tower was certainly the old abbey church originally. The Tempul na Bhfiacal, of which but a bit of wall remains, is said to, and no doubt does, represent St. Patrick's church. The Archbishop of Tuam had very large possessions in Umall mainly round Aghagower. It does not appear whether he got them by transfer from an independent Abbot of Aghagower or from the Abbot of Armagh or Archbishop. Nor is there any record of the order of the monks of Aghagower.

OUGHAVAL

“ O'Malley was slain by the son of Donnell O'Dowda in the stone church of Nuachongbhail. His own spear killed him, through the miracle of Columcille, in the same quarter (of the year).” (1131 F.M.) This is the only mention of the abbey which was a Columban foundation, but was not founded by himself. It is to be distinguished from Cloonpatrick across the road, in which was the parish church founded by St. Patrick.

CHAPTER XVI

DIOCESE OF ANNAGHDOWN

ST. BRENDAN OF CLONFERT THE NAVIGATOR

BRENANN was son of Finloga of the Hy Alta or Altraige family of Munster and is supposed to have been born at Barra on the Bay of Tralee. As a child he was put in charge of St. Ita of Killeely in the Co. Limerick, and later under bishop Erc who lived near Ardfert. In accordance with the practice of the time he went to study in the great schools when grown up, and so came under Iarlaithe of Tuam and afterwards under Enda of Aran. It is said that by his advice Iarlaithe moved his school from Cloonfush to Tuam. From Tuam he returned to bishop Erc to be ordained, therefore before 512 or 513 when Erc died. After some time he made his great voyage in the Atlantic Ocean in search of the Blessed Islands with St. Enda's approval. Some believe that he made a great voyage of discovery and may have reached North America. It is also suggested that the "Voyage" originated in a real voyage in which he was blown out of his course, visited various islands and reached the Faroe Islands and Iceland where he saw Mount Hecla. This much solid fact we know, that he devoted himself to mission work among the islands of the west coast of Scotland where he has left his name, and among those of Mayo where he founded a monastery on Inishglora. He visited Gildas in Wales.

In the middle of the century he worked in the barony of Clare where he founded a nunnery at Annaghdown under his sister Briga on land given by Aedh son of Eochaidh Tirmcharna who was King of Connaught from 557 to 574. A church at Annaghdown founded by or dedicated to him became the cathedral church of the diocese. He built a church on Inchiquin, probably as a retreat for himself after the

custom of the early saints. Archbishop Healy thinks that it was founded about 550 or 552.

The church of Ross on the shore of Lough Mask is attributed to him.

His greatest foundation was the monastery and school of Clonfert, called from him Cluain Ferta Brenainn, which became one of the greatest colleges of Ireland. He is said to have had under him 3000 monks, which must be an exaggeration or mean that he educated so many in course of time, as he cannot have had so many working under him at one time. It was founded in 556 or 557. He placed over it his nephew Bishop Moenenn who came to Inchiquin with him and helped to build his church and cell. The Abbots of Clonfert were called Successors of Brendan. From the abbey came the Bishop of Clonfert.

Brendan's jurisdiction from this period seems to have been over the territories of the Hy Many and the Hy Briuin of Galway for the most part, but of course was no more exclusive of other orders of monks in those countries than was the jurisdiction of other great abbots in the countries where they were principal abbots.

His church on Inchiquin became a monastery of which St. Meldan O'Cuinn was abbot in 580, teacher of St. Fursa who carried his relics to Peronne. From him the island takes its name Inis Ui Chuinn, or as formerly Inis Maic Ui Chuinn.

He founded churches and monasteries in his native land also and on the opposite side of the Shannon on Coney Island.

Brendan went with St. Ruadhan of Lorrha to curse King Diarmaid MacCerbail and Tara in 563, or thereabouts. Diarmaid had taken forcibly from Ruadhan's protection Ruadhan's nephew Aedh Guaire of Hy Many. Diarmaid was killed next year and Tara was deserted for ever by the Kings of Ireland. Brendan died on the 16th May 577 at his sister's nunnery at Annaghdown.

The last record of building a Round Tower is by the Four Masters who note that a Bellhouse was built at Annaghdown in 1238. There is no trace of a Round Tower at Annaghdown, but there is a butt of a late Round Tower at Kilcoona. It has been suggested that this is what was meant. It seems to me unlikely that so peculiarly Irish work should be undertaken in the turmoil of the conquest of Connaught

by Richard de Burgh, when the Norman barons were settling themselves in this country from which O'Flaherty had just been expelled. It seems to me more likely that an early square church tower, such as is still to be seen attached to the churches of Kinlough and Illaunnaglashy, is meant by this expression. The name Tempul Clogas is applied to a church on Iniscloran with such a square tower.¹ Such a tower might well have been built or repaired at Annaghdown at that time.

ST. FURSA

Fursa was a son of Fintan son of Finloga. Fintan was a nephew of Brendan of Clonfert, but whether on the father's or on the mother's side is uncertain. He is described as son of a King of West Munster who went to North Connaught to serve with Brendan son of Fergna, ancestor of O'Rourks and O'Reillys, whose nephew Aedh gave Brendan the site at Annaghdown.

Fintan married Gelgeis daughter of Aedh Finn son of Fergna secretly and against her father's wishes. This Aedh Finn has been identified with another person, but from the course of the story it appears that Aedh Finn of Brefne is meant. So Fintan had to leave Brefne and went to his uncle Brendan at Inchiquin where Fursa was born. Fintan was a pagan but became a Christian when he married Gelgeis. He settled in that country, at Ardrintan near Headford where Ultan and Foilan were born. While Brendan lived Fursa was educated under him, afterwards under Meldan. When he grew up he became a priest and built churches at Killarsa in Ballymacgibbon and afterwards at Killursa near Headford. Killarsa is a modern form of Killursa (Cill Fursa). He founded a monastery in Rathmagh near Lough Corrib which is the land about Killursa. The name Rathmagh is now obsolete but it appears in the 13th century as Radmoy, one of the townlands of Walter de Ridelesford's manor of Admekin or Headford. Here he made a reputation as a teacher but felt drawn to mission life. With his brothers Ultan and Foilan and eleven missionaries he went first to Burgh

¹ *J. R.S.A.I.*, 1900, vol. xxx. p. 81.

in Suffolk where he settled and worked for a time, and earned great respect. Some of his party went to North-Eastern France whither he followed them. They worked there and in Flanders. He founded the great churches of Peronne and Lagny. He died in 650. Foilan was murdered in 654. Ultan died about 680. If Ultan was older than Fursa, Fursa cannot have been educated under Brendan, in any case he cannot have been under him for more than a short time in his infancy.

Fursa was one of the great Irish missionaries who converted continental heathen and was evidently a man of very remarkable abilities. Miss Stokes's "Three Months in the Forests of France" gives all that is known about him and his celebrated Vision, from which she deduces by descent Dante's *Divina Commedia*.

ST. CUANNA

Cuanna was born on the shore of Lough Corrib. His mother Findmaith was mother of St. Carthach who was born at Tralee. She seems to have married Fintan afterwards as according to tradition St. Fursa and St. Einne were brothers of Cuanna. Killeaney in that case owes its name to this Einne and not to Einne of Aran. He was a relation of St. Brendan, as his father was of the same Kerry family. These early saints are much confused in traditions, but this is likely to be true in substance that Cuanna and his brothers worked in this corner of Lough Corrib. St. Brendan's relations naturally followed him.

About 590 Cuanna went to Carthach's school and worked under him for many years. He came to Connaught and founded Kilcoona after 620. His place in the church was so high that 1746 saints and monks are said to have assembled in conference with him, most likely a great assembly of the clergy of Connaught. The Round Tower shows that his monastery was of lasting importance.

St. Carthach died soon after the Meathmen expelled him from Rahan in 635. Cuanna was called to succeed as abbot of his new and afterwards so famous monastery of Lismore. It is not certain that he was abbot, but he was for a time at Lismore. He is thought to have been author

of the Book of Cuanu, the first book of Annals, or at least a very early one, quoted in the Annals of Ulster. He died in 650.

The Annals seldom refer to ecclesiastical matters in this country before the 12th century. It had no abbeys of the first rank.

778 A.U. "Forbasach, son of Maeltola, Abbot of Ros-caimm, dies."

807 C.S. "Burning of Inis-Muiredhaigh by Gentiles, and devastation of Ros-cam."

835 A.U. "The battle of Drung among the Connaughtmen themselves, in which were slain Cellach, son of Forbasach, Abbot of Ros-cam, and Adomnan, son of Aldaileth; and Conmhach Mor was victor." This Conmhach Mor was King of Hy Briuin Seola.

Mac Firbis mentions "Cill-Cuana" among the ancient bishops' sees in connection with Fethmech, Bishop of Cill-cuana, who was Bishop of Cill-Tuama. It is not certain that this Cill-cuana is meant.

Annaghdown was burnt in 1141.

The Round Tower of Roscam marks the site of an important monastery at the time it was built about the year 1000, to which period Miss Stokes assigns it. It was therefore the religious capital of Clanfergaile, the tribe of which O'Halloran was chief, who occupied the southern country about Galway. They claimed descent from a son of Brian.

Down to the period of diocesan episcopacy the abbots of Annaghdown and Roscam should have been the principal ecclesiastics of this diocese.

The following extracts from an Irish Tract give some information regarding landowners and their relations with the church at the close of the 11th century.¹

"Mac Ginnain is the comharba of Kilcoona . . . O'Cleircin of Rathbuidh,² O'Laebacain and O'Maoilin are the erenachs of Cill-cillbile.³ . . . Mac Beolan of Killower is the keeper of the black bell of St. Patrick, with his bally. O'Doigins and O'Dubhains are the erenachs of Killursa with

¹ Hardiman, *O'Flaherty's West of Connaught*, p. 368.

² Rafwee in Killeaney.

³ Kilkilvery.

their bally (and St. Fursa cursed O'Dubhain). . . . O'Leathcargais is the erenach of Rathhindile, and he has the tithes of O'Flaherty." The bell afterwards came into possession of the family of Mageraghty in Mayo, and is now in possession of the Royal Irish Academy, in the National Museum.

The only ancient Irish monasteries which survived were those at Annaghdown.

THE EPISCOPAL PERIOD

Annaghdown was probably a bishop's see from the first establishment of territorial dioceses, comprising the whole kingdom of O'Flaherty, which included the land of the Delbhna Tire da Loch, the barony of Moycullen. Roderick O'Flaherty in 1684 considered Ballynahinch to have been part of the O'Flaherty lordship and therefore in Annaghdown. This view was I think based on the O'Flahertys' possession of Ballynahinch since they were driven west of the lake and on the fact that the parishes were in the Wardenship of Galway. The tribal relationship was with the Conmaicne of Cuil Toladh and the ecclesiastical relationship was really the same, the convent of Cong holding the rectories of all the parishes in that barony. The diocese comprised the following parishes—

Annaghdown, Cargin, Killursa, Kilkilvery, Killeaney, Donaghpatrick, Killower, Kilcoona, Lackagh, Claregalway, Galway, Oranmore, Ballynacourty, Rahoon, Moycullen, Killannin, Kilcummin.

The synods of Rathbresail and Kells arranged that Annaghdown should be merged in Tuam diocese, but the O'Flahertys were too powerful and such arrangements could not be carried out over their heads. So the see continued and was not absorbed by Tuam for a long time, and may be said to have been only united with Tuam as the Dean and Archdeacon and a small cathedral staff survived.

Tuathal O'Connachtaigh Bishop of Tirbriuin who died in 1179 is sometimes taken as a bishop of the Hy Briuin Seola, but Tirbriuin at that period meant the country of the Hy Briuin Brefne, the diocese of Kilmore.

Cormac, in Latin Concors, Bishop of Annaghdown was present in 1189 at the coronation of King Richard I.

H. Bishop of Annaghdown is witness to a grant by O'Flaherty of the rectory of Lismacuan, the parish in which Galway is, to the abbey of Knockmoy. The name of C. Archbishop of Tuam shows it was before 1201.

Conor O'Mellaigh died in 1201 and therefore must have come after H.

In 1241 Muircheartach O'Flaherty died. He must have been succeeded before 1247 by Thomas O'Mellaigh who died in 1250, regarding whom the following letter from Pope Innocent IV. to the Archbishop of Tuam dated 28th May 1247, makes certain orders which seem to have resulted in no action against Thomas, if he is the same as the Thomas who died in 1250. I have abstracted it a little—

“ Id. Dean, R. Archdeacon, A. Chancellor and the Chapter of the church of Enechdun reported that some time ago when the church was vacant, Thomas, formerly Abbot of the Little Cell of the Premonstratensian order, got himself intruded as pastor against their will, not without the vice of simony, by bringing forward false letters to the effect that he might be advanced to the episcopate in spite of his disqualification by birth, and set himself to waste the goods of the church. Being brought before you he confessed in your presence the defect of birth and falsity and simony, binding himself to you to go within a certain time to the Holy See to procure a dispensation if he could. Though he has appeared he has brought forward only the defect of birth. As it is a grave offence before God and an abomination before men that so notorious a man should be set up in an office of such dignity, we refer the cause to you to carry into effect what you decree canonically by our authority.”¹

On the 8th May 1251 the King assented to the election of Concors, *i.e.* Cormac, Canon of Annaghdown, as bishop. The election was confirmed by the Pope on the 12th January and the Archbishop was ordered to institute him.² Cormac was consecrated but the Pope seems to have had some doubt whether the Archbishop would obey or not, for in February he authorised the Archbishop of Cashel and the Bishops of Cork and Kilfenora to institute him if the Archbishop of Tuam should fail to do so within two months from the date

¹ Theiner, *Vet. Mon. Hib. et. Scot.*, p. 47, *Ep.* cxxiii.

² *Ibid.*, *Ep.* No. 130.

of the prior letter.¹ The doubt was justified. Archbishop Flann immediately seized the bishopric of Annaghdown. Cormac appealed to the King. Flann pleaded that Annaghdown had been a parish church under Tuam, that the King had made it a bishopric by presenting two bishops, and that he had a bull from the Pope to reduce it to a parish church. Henry III. allowed the reduction on condition that the Archbishop should give him in exchange for land of equal value elsewhere a piece of land in the town whereon to build a castle. The Archbishop gave the King the vill of Annaghdown in 1253, and Cormac lost his bishopric. Neither King nor Archbishop cared much for the Pope's orders except to take their own profit from them. It may be that their arrangement eventually broke down. I cannot make out that any castle was built, and the King issued a license to elect on the death of Thomas Bishop of Annaghdown in 1263. It does not appear who this Thomas was but he must have been bishop after 1253. On the other hand it does not appear that any election was held, and the sees remained thus united until the death of Archbishop Tomaltach O'Conor in 1279.

The Dean and Chapter then elected the Archdeacon John de Ufford, brother of Sir Robert de Ufford the Justiciary. The King assented to the election in March 1282-3. The Pope did not confirm it. Stephen de Fulburn the new Archbishop prevailed as John could not produce the Pope's bull. Owing to disputes the archbishopric was vacant until Stephen was appointed in July 1286, and was put in possession of the temporalities of both sees on the 15th September.

At Stephen's death the Dean and Chapter prepared to assert their independence anew by placing the bishop's insignia in charge of the Franciscan friars of Clare Galway. Archbishop William de Bermingham sent his Archdeacon Philip le Blound, or Blunt, who made a forcible entry and carried them off. Philip was indicted but the result does not appear.

In 1303 the Dean of Annaghdown was in Rome complaining of the Archbishop's conduct. The following abstract of a letter from Pope Boniface VIII. dated 20th July 1303, shows the grounds of complaint.² "Appoints as judges the Bishops of Limerick, Emly ('Lacimensi') and Kilfenora.

¹ Theiner, *Ep.* No. 131.

² *Ibid.*, *Vet. Mon.*, p. 171, No. 373.

Dionysius Dean of Annaghdown has complained that Archbishop William, in spite of the confirmation of the election of John de Ufford Archdeacon of Annaghdown, seized the bishopric by force and detains it and endeavours by every means to prevent the filling of the church; he conferred on the Elect the Archdeaconry of Tuam to induce him to withdraw from prosecution of his claim and the Elect withdrew; he made the officers and canons of Annaghdown to resign their offices and benefices into his hands, and robbed the said Dean who is also a Canon, of his Deanery, Canonry and Prebend, converting their income to his own use. He joined the Archdeaconry of Annaghdown with that of Tuam in fact, as he could not do it lawfully. He forcibly seized the insignia of the church deposited with the Friars of Clare, and broke some and burnt others. He has seized and retains the Bishopric of Mayo. He simoniacally forced Malachias, then Abbot of Boyle into the Bishopric of Elphin, when he had refused to confirm the election of Marianus who appealed to the Holy See. He associates with slayers of clergy and men under the greater excommunication. He oppresses his own subjects. Because a regular canon of a certain Priory would not allow the Archbishop's horse to be sent into the Priory's sacristy where the Eucharist and priestly ornaments were kept, he seized and imprisoned the canon, tortured him and made him swear to keep the fact secret. Judges to enquire and report their proceedings." Because these complaints or some of them were true, or as the only way to stop the quarrelling, the Pope agreed to separate the sees. In 1306 Gilbert, a Franciscan, was elected bishop; who was given possession of the temporalities in 1308 after paying the King £300, equal to more than £6000 now, for himself and for the Dean and Chapter, because he had been elected without the King's license and had not procured the King's subsequent assent. The Dean and Chapter had to give security that they would not again hold an election without license, and would after election procure assent. The King confirmed the election on these conditions on the 15th July 1308. Gilbert had been consecrated by the Archbishop of Armagh as primate, the election having been brought into his court by appeal. Gilbert after election served in England as a suffragan for some time. On election

he got protection for two years while remaining in England. This seems to have been until the election was finally approved and he was given possession.

Archbishop Magee nevertheless attacked Gilbert. Edward II. wrote to the Pope on the 26th September 1321 that Annaghdown always was and is a cathedral, that the Dean and Chapter elected Gilbert the present bishop on a vacancy. The Archbishop refused to confirm the election upon the pretence that the church was parochial and not cathedral and was annexed as mensal to his archbishopric, and was brought in appeal to the court of the primate who confirmed the election as canonically made and consecrated Gilbert. "We restored to him the temporalities and he subsequently went there and has been working there for several years. But the present Archbishop Malachy, of whom a certain predecessor usurped it is said that cathedral for a certain time without lawful authority out of avarice, succeeding obtained, by concealing truth and suggesting falsehood, apostolic letters to certain judges of his relations or friends, who are working to worry the bishop, alter the status of the church, and apply its goods to the Archbishop's use by erroneous and unjust processes." He calls upon the Pope to see that nothing be done to injury of the rights of King, Bishop, or Church by surreptitious processes.

Gilbert died while prosecuting his cause before the Pope as recited in the appointment of Robert Petit.¹

James O'Kearney succeeded Gilbert by the Pope's provision; the date is uncertain. He was translated to Connor in 1324.

Robert Petit, a Franciscan, who had lately been deprived of the see of Clonfert, succeeded. License to elect on his death was issued on 9th June 1328.

Thomas O'Mellaigh, or O'Mellaidh, succeeded but died in 1328 at the Pope's court at Avignon. The O'Mellaidhs were a family who lived at Kilnamanagh in Donaghpatrick parish, mentioned often as churchmen.

The Archbishop seized the bishopric but one Thomas was elected. In 1330 Edward III. refers to Thomas Bishop of Annaghdown as in danger of having to beg his bread owing to the Archbishop's action under colour of a surreptitious

¹ Theiner, *Vel. Mon.*, p. 231.

order of the Pope for the union of Annaghdown with Tuam. The King's complaint was just.

In 1324 the King sent Philip of Slane, Bishop of Cork, to confer with the Pope on the state of the church. The Pope sent him back with a commission to himself and the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin for reformation of the church. They held a kind of council and passed resolutions—

1. That it is necessary to annex to the larger sees the small sees of £20 to £60 a year, "which are ruled by pure Irishmen who are known by themselves or by their relations to have sown contention and discord in the land."

2. That the Irish Abbots and Priors should admit Englishmen to their monasteries as lay brethren as the English admitted the Irish.

The King expressed his approval of these proposals on the 28th May 1328. But in spite of this arrangement, in hope of carrying out by secret intrigue what could not be done openly, the Pope made a secret order that Annaghdown and Kilmacduagh and Achonry should be annexed to Tuam at the next vacancy. Achonry was the only one which came under the terms of the agreement. This order was made in 1327 and purported to be made with the King's consent, though in fact he knew nothing about it until it was produced.¹

The King objected to the union on the ground that Annaghdown was in a purely English district and Tuam in a purely Irish district. The whole of Annaghdown diocese east of the lake was occupied by English lords and largely colonised, whereas the country about Tuam to south and east had been left in the hands of Irish chieftains, and the barony of Dunmore only was actually inhabited by an English lord. The King's objection probably prevailed, but no more is heard of it. In a Papal letter of 22nd March 1359² it is recited that on the death of Bishop Thomas while in attendance at the Holy See the Chapter, not knowing that the provision to Annaghdown was reserved, elected Dionysius Abbot of Boyle, praying that if provision had been reserved

¹ Theiner, *Vet. Mon.*, p. 239, and *Cal. Papal Register. Papal Letters*, vol. i.

² *Ibid.*, p. 315.

he might be appointed. Archbishop Thomas objected that Annaghdown was united with his see. The Pope now refers the case for report. This Bishop Thomas seems to be the man referred to in the King's letter. The King's authority was gone in Connaught and was not worth much elsewhere, so the Archbishop and the Pope now had their own way, and the see was united with Tuam until the translation of Archbishop O'Cormacain in 1394.

The Pope then appointed Henry Turlton or Thrillowe to Annaghdown. He is called Henry Thrillowe in the letter of Pope Boniface IX. appointing him, dated 25th October 1394,¹ and it is recited that the present Pope reserved the provision of the see in the lifetime of Bishop John. Boniface became Pope in 1389. It seems therefore that a John had been made bishop, of whom there is no other record. Wadding gives Henry Trillouve in succession to John deceased,² and John Brit in succession to H. Trillowe deceased. A John Twillow is also named as a successor of Henry Thrillowe. Henry's surname is also written Turlton. There is some confusion here. These bishops were absentees, suffragans of the Bishop of Exeter. Henry died in 1402. The following names now occur. The date is that of appointment, if known. 1402 John Brit. 1408 John Winne. Mathew. 1421 John Connere, Franciscan. Thomas.

Bishops Turlton, Connere, and Thomas mentioned in 1450 and 1458, were suffragans of the Bishop of Exeter. In 1450 Donogh O'Murray was made Archbishop of Tuam and Bishop of Annaghdown. It is likely that he failed to pay his 133 gold florins for Annaghdown, as Thomas Barrett was appointed in 1458 on payment thereof. He seems to have had nothing to do with his see for many years. As he paid so much he must have expected some profit.

In 1484 Richard III. sent Bishop Thomas, called a clerk of Somersetshire, to Ireland as his confidential agent to deal with Lord Kildare and other great lords for the recovery of Ulster for the King, and to bring the great Anglo-Irish lords to submission and loyalty. He had letters to the greater lords individually, to Lords Staunton, D'Exeter, Nangle, Bermingham, and Barrett in Connaught. In

¹ *Cal. Pap. Reg. Pap. Letters*, iv. p. 479.

² *Annales Minorum*, ix. p. 125.

pursuance of the endeavour to keep the English from being further Celticised, he gave the town of Galway a new charter, relieving it altogether from dependence on Mac William of Clanricard and forbidding that lord to interfere in any way. The burgesses also procured the formation of the Wardenship of Galway, which must have been formed with the Bishop's consent and probably by his advice. The College of Athenry, which did not thrive, was a measure in the same direction.

In 1496 Francis, a monk, is made bishop on payment of 133 gold florins. The diocese is never mentioned again as an independent see, except that John Moore, Bishop of Annaghdown, was presented to the prebend and vicarage of Lackagh in 1551,¹ and that he is called suffragan Bishop of Annaghdown in a Letter Patent of Queen Mary, 26th November 1553.

The Wardenship of Galway by degrees represented it to a certain extent and became the nucleus of the Roman Catholic diocese of Galway.

THE WARDENSHIP OF GALWAY

On the 28th February 1484 the Archbishop of Tuam issued letters constituting St. Nicholas's parish church of Galway a collegiate church under a Warden and eight Vicars to be elected annually by the Mayor Bailiffs and Council of the town. A Papal bull of 8th February 1485 embodied and confirmed these letters.

To this was annexed the half quarter which the convent of Knockmoy used to give to the Vicar of Galway; and the church of St. James of Clare Galway to the extent of six marks yearly, the patronage being vested in the Mayor and Bailiffs who were to present to the Warden. The Warden exercised all jurisdiction, except as to what regards the order of bishops.

The citizens of Galway retained English habits and refused to intermarry with the Irish: thus they kept up their civilisation and wealth while the Burkes and other colonists who adopted Irish customs were fighting and plundering and restoring the barbarism in which they found the country.

¹ *Eighth Rept. of D. K. of the P. R. Ireland, Append. Fiant, No. 808.*

The towns had little in common with their neighbours and the breach widened every day. Ecclesiastical government by a bishop whose diocese save in Galway and Athenry was purely Irish in custom and who was at this time generally Irish by birth or habit was not likely to be satisfactory to them.

William Joy, O'Murray's successor, confirmed this disposition in 1486, and in 1485 added the rectory and vicarage of Oranmore and the vicarage of Meary or Ballynacourty, and in 1488 the rectory of Ragoon.

On the 8th June 1489 Theobald de Burgo, chief of his nation, with the papal sanction, added his rights of patronage of those rectories for ever, provided prayers were said for him. He was Mac William Eighter, then the senior Mac William, but Mac William Oughter had to be conciliated. In 1488 he agreed with the Mayor of Galway not to impede but to further the union of Oranmore and Meary with the college, on condition that the Mayor procured for his son Richard the canonry of Tuam and prebend of Kilmoylan and the rectory and vicarage of Athenry, or for his son Theobald in the event of Richard's death.

The college acquired also—

In 1487 the rectory of Gnobeg, or Moycullen parish.

In 1488 the vicarages of Moycullen, Kilcummin and Kilrowan.

In 1492 the vicarages of Skreen and of Moycullen, together worth not more than 14 marks. This Skreen is apparently some ancient church in Moycullen, not the Skreen at Tuam. The vicarage of Moycullen here means most likely the vicarage of some church in Moycullen. Kilrowan is a church near Oughterard. They had also the old church of Ross near it. Thus they had the whole barony of Moycullen, and in course of time acquired all the vicarages of Ballynahinch except that of Inishboffin.

In 1501 the vicarages of Shrulle and Kinlough were added.

The Wardenship was thus endowed at the expense of the parishes. Not only rectory but vicarage is carried off. The superior clergy are enriched and the people's religious interests sufficiently cared for by a cheap curate.

Litigation arose between the college and existing rectors and vicars.

The Reformation soon came. The Mayor and corporation

prepared a petition to Henry VIII., which owing to his death was addressed to Edward VI., surrendering the possessions of the college and asking for a fresh grant, and for a grant of the rectory of St. Nicholas, which was claimed by the abbey of Knockmoy, whereby much dispute arose. The abbey held, under a grant by O'Flaherty with consent of Cathal Crobhderg King of Connaught, the rectory of Lismacuan in Clann Fergaile in which the town of Galway was.

They got a new charter. At their request the title of the College was changed in 1551 to "The Royal College of Galway."

Edward's charter effected a material change. The Mayor and Burgesses were to control the College which was exempt from ecclesiastical control. There had been, and were in future, constant disputes between the College and the Archbishops.

In 1551 the Warden and Vicars admitted that they had no right to complain to Archbishop or Bishop as they had done, and engaged in future to complain only to the Mayor and Council who alone had jurisdiction over them.

The College was not otherwise affected by the Reformation until Queen Elizabeth's time when the members were Protestants. In 1578 she gave them the dissolved monasteries of Annaghdown and Ballintubber in Mayo for a time.

Hereafter the Roman Catholics maintained, when necessary secretly, a duplicate College under the old constitution, by meeting in secret to elect Mayor and Council who appointed Warden and Vicars. It was thus kept up until 1831 when the last Roman Catholic Warden Dr. French died, and the Roman Catholic diocese of Galway was formed under Dr. Brown as Bishop. It represents the Wardenship in extent comprising the Roman Catholic parishes of St. Nicholas, Castlegar, Claregalway, Oranmore and Ballynacourty, Rahoon, Killannin, Moycullen, Kilcummin, Spiddal, Rusmuck and Lettermore, Shrulle in Mayo.

Hardiman gives a jury's finding of 1607 of the rights of the College in Galway, showing that they had dues from trades, artisans, manufactures, customs, tonnage dues, and rights to labour for repair of the church.

At the Regal Visitation of 1615 it was found that improvident leases had reduced the revenues from £80 a year

to £40 a year. As the College could not lease for more than one year, the commissioners recovered at once and placed the revenues in charge of trustworthy men.

In 1643 the Roman Catholics took possession of the church and held it until the town surrendered to the Parliamentary army.

At the Restoration Dr. James Vaughan was made Warden for life by letters patent overriding the charter. After his death in 1684 Archbishop Vesey got letters patent uniting the Wardenship for ever with the Archbishopric. The Vicars were given their parishes with the episcopal fourths. In King James II.'s time the Roman Catholic Corporation was allowed to appoint the Warden and Vicars. Dr. Vesey protested. The church was given up to them but the surrender to Ginkell restored it.

The Wardenship was separated from the Archbishopric in 1734 and Samuel Simcox was elected. The benefice was worth £500 a year.

The last Warden was James Daly elected in 1820. Two resident Vicars were elected annually under charter, with £75 a year each, ranking as King's Chaplains.

The Revenues of the College were—

I. Tithes and emoluments of the parish of St. Nicholas.

II. Three-fourths of the tithes of Ballynacourty, Claregalway, Oranmore, Ragoon, Moycullen, Kilcummin, Shrule.

III. Lands worth about £254 a year.

IV. The College House. In all about £1000 yearly.

In 1834 the privileges of the corporation and Wardenship were abolished, and St. Nicholas became an ordinary parish church. Thus the Wardenship ended on both sides at about the same time.

CHAPTER XVII

CHURCH ARCHITECTURE

CHURCHES AND CASHELS

IN these dioceses are ruins of almost every style of ecclesiastical architecture except that of the Gallerus oratory, which may be called a development of the clochan, of which there are specimens in the Western Isles. The purely Irish churches are classified thus by Miss M. Stokes :—

1st Type. Oratories in dry stone, showing no cement or cut stones, of 5th to 7th centuries.

2nd Type. Small churches built in cement and showing cut and picked stones. They date from the 7th and 8th centuries, after heathenism had disappeared as a political force. The true radiating arch dates from the 9th and 10th centuries. To some of these chancels were added in later times.

3rd Type. The Irish Romanesque, an Enriched Round Arch Style, the Decorated Romanesque, introduced in the 10th century. The capitals of columns in the doorways are always cushion or bell-shaped and a single entablature unites all. They are not true separate capitals. The Irish period closes about the year 1168 with the erection of the Nun's church at Clonmacnoise by Queen Dervorgilla.

To these must be added—

4th Type. The Gothic Style introduced in the 12th century marked by the Pointed Arch.

Of the 1st Type is St. Brendan's Oratory in Inisglora, 12' x 8' 6" inside, which was probably built in his time if not by him, and MacDara's Church on Cruagh MacDara,

which is apparently of very much later date, being very finely built. These had roofs of overlapping stones.

Remains of the 2nd Type are not scarce but are fast disappearing. The finest specimens are on Aranmore; Tempul Benen, which lies from N. to S. having its door in the N. wall and its E. window close to the S. wall, measuring 10' 9" x 7'; Kill Cananach, 13' x 8' 6"; Kill Enda 19' 6" x 9' 8". Glaspatrick near Murrisk of which but little is left is of this class, 17' 6" x 9' 10". These very small churches are considered to have been oratories for the use of the priest, or for the monks of a monastery only. A much larger class of church must I think have been intended for congregational use. Such are Kilfrauchan 18' x 14' at one end, 13' at the other end. Killarsa 24' x 16' 6". Kilmainebeg 29' 6" x 9' 6". Church Island in Lough Carra 28' x 13' 6". Inishrobe 28' 6" x 10' 2". All are inside measurements. Kilfrauchan has gone to ruin since Sir W. Wilde described it.¹ It had a loft supported on beams.

From the small churches an advance was made to the larger churches and to the use of the true arch.

The early church was often surrounded by a cashel, a high dry-stone wall enclosing the monastic buildings, differing from the cashel fortress by a generally weaker construction and by irregularity of shape being designed to enclose buildings. Moreover, it was commonly larger than the fortress cashel would be, which was intended to be held against an enemy. The cashel may be taken as evidence of a monastic community about the church. The best existing example is that of Inismurray off the coast of Sligo in the parish of Ahamlish. In these dioceses traces of cashels are not uncommon, but as might be expected they are best seen in the Western Islands.

The Isles of Aran are full of ecclesiastical remains.

On Ard Illaun is St. Fechin's church 11' 10" x 10', with two clochans and others ruined, and four crosses, in a cashel. Part of the cashel remains on Inisglora. The churches and various remains of the early monasteries are on Cruagh Mac Dara, Omey Island, Inishturk, Inishark, Inisboffin, Iniskea.

Caher Island shows a singularly interesting group of

¹ *Lough Corrib*, p. 155.

ruins, of which Mr. R. Cochrane writes that its history may be described thus—

- “(1) A pagan or pre-Christian religious settlement, which remained until long after the introduction of Christianity in the mainland, perhaps, for several centuries.
- “(2) A primitive monastic settlement for several centuries.
- “(3) A sort of revival after the introduction of the ‘new’ monastery, or religious foundation, on Clare Island, at which period Caher Island and the new church were dedicated to St. Patrick.
- “(4) The reconstruction later of the present church, and the erection of a two-roomed clergyhouse beside it, the latter now in ruins, and the foundations alone are visible.”¹

The church is 17' × 14'. The east window is flat-headed. The west door has a very rude pointed arch outside and a flat lintel inside. About it are crosses and other remains of antiquity in a cashel.

On the mainland are to be seen part of the cashel about Kilmainebeg and a large extent of foundations of buildings, showing that the cashel was at least in part a large well-built wall, such as the cashels of Moyne and Ross, and that there was a large establishment about the church. The enclosure seems to have been enlarged to take in more buildings.

Illancolumbkille and Inishrobe in Lough Mask show traces of a wall making a large enclosure about the church and buildings.

These cashels were all of irregular shape, and the walls, except what appears to have been the original part of that of Kilmainebeg, were small walls.

The cashel of Moyne in the parish of Shrule is a very fine specimen of a different kind of cashel. It was 8 feet thick and is in good condition round nearly all the circuit, and can be traced clearly in the rest. It is very large about 380' E. to W. and 330' N. to S. in diameter, and seems to be symmetrically oval. A part of the cashel of Ross on Lough Mask remains near an iron gate on the hill above the church, and almost all can be traced in the existing fence, showing it to have resembled in area and style that of Moyne.

¹ *R.S.A.I.*, 1900, xxx. p. 363.

The cashel of Drum in Carra was nearly rectangular. The Tochar Phatraic passed straight across it. Cashels large and small no doubt were in many more places but have been cleared away except where the stones were not wanted. A similar cashel can be traced around the old church of Loona, and the Tochar Phatraic passing diagonally through it.

Some of these may have been originally fortresses of kings, but I should say that they were built for the monastery, as such very large enclosures would require a very large force of men for an effective defence, being much larger than any of the surviving military cashels. Whether originally military or monastic, it is to be remembered that they were only fences for the monks' own quarters. According to the importance of the monastery or wealth of the founder they were large or small. Inishrobe and Illancolumbkille were enclosed by what seem from their foundations to have been ordinary good walls. Moyne and Ross and Drum had walls that involved a great deal of labour and that must have been somewhat imposing in their way. Such a great cashel was about the abbey at Mayo.

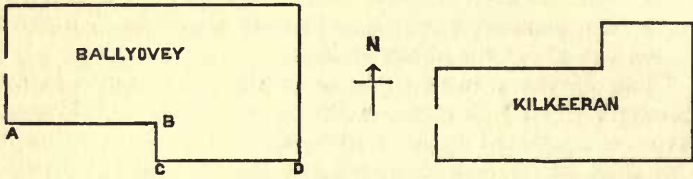
This Moyne is most likely to be the place named in the Martyrologies which mention Muicin and Eodusa of Maigen. At an early period chancels were added to some churches of this class, or naves were added and the old church taken as a chancel. They have sometimes been very much altered by enlargement, so that the original plan cannot be ascertained. Thus Kildarvila is now a Romanesque period church measuring 42' x 17' 6", but it seems to have been converted from a church of this period by lengthening to the E.

Kilmaclasser is now 66' 6" x 13'. At the W. end is a piece of walling apparently of this period with part of the N.E. angle showing in the N. wall. Farther to the E. is another N.E. angle embedded in the wall. These have sandstone quoins. The church has been lengthened again and now has limestone quoins at the N.E. and S.E. angles. For want of door and window frames it is not possible to assign certain dates, but it may be inferred that the original church was of this period, that it was enlarged in the Romanesque revival, and finally enlarged in the Anglo-Norman period when the cut limestone was used. The church of Ross on Lough Mask seems to have been similarly

enlarged with original width of 15' 3" to a length of 62' 6" inside.

The church of Kilcummin in Tirawley is a well-preserved example of the first adoption of the true arch. The W. door is a very primitive-looking form of the radiating round arch, and the two windows in E. and S. walls are quite of this period.¹

Two ancient churches are anomalous. In a field 200 yards N.E. of Ballyovey old parish church is the S. wall, forming part of a field wall, of what was probably the parish church before Ballyovey Church was built. It was about 48' x 16', and shows a remarkable projection to the S. at the W. end. C D is of much larger stones irregularly laid than A B, and is of the style of the fragment at Kilkeeran and of Killarsa. A B is of much smaller stones in courses. A kind of plinth carries the line of C D towards A B. The door had inclined jambs.



About half a mile to the S. at Kilkeeran on the shore of Lough Carra is a church of similar curious plan, of which only a part of the S. wall of very large stones remains, and the foundations of the others. These seem to have been of 2nd Type altered to 3rd Type, and may be the churches of Liba and Fortchern of Odba Cera who met St. Columba at Ballysadare. Exact measurements are given by Mr. G. Kinahan.²

With the adoption of the true arch an advance was made to larger churches and to churches with a high pitched stone roof over a barrel vault making a chamber over the church. This form is clearly to be traced in Kilmainemore and in the old church at Ballyheane, and I think that it can be seen in the fragment of Kilkelly. Kilmainemore is remarkable because it was originally a church 18 feet wide lying N.

¹ *Jl. R.S.A.I.*, 1898, xxviii. p. 297.

² *Jl. of Hist. and Arch. Assn. of Ireland*, 1869, p. 139.

and S. with barrel vault and a chamber above. The northern part and the W. wall were removed, and it was made into an E. and W. church 52' 6" × 21' 3". The change was made in the early Gothic period and there was another change in the later Gothic period.

The roof of Mayo Abbey Church was of lead sheets in the beginning of the 9th century.¹ This may have been a peculiarity due to the connection of Mayo with England.

In the latter half of the 10th century a further advance was made to the 3rd Type, the Irish Romanesque, which lasted to the close of the 12th century, when the larger style introduced for the Cistercian abbeys superseded it. These churches were much larger and seem to have been often roofed with thatch or shingles.

At Mayo and Killedan are seen small stone-roofed chambers near the church, which seem to have been chapels for family vaults or family burials.

Very few examples of this type remain in an unaltered condition. Such are the Saints' Church on Inchangoill, with a nave 21' 10" × 12' 9" inside, and a chancel 11' 6" outside, and Inishmaine which is probably about the last of the type as Norman mouldings are found about the E. window. Inishmaine and Ballysadare, which is of this class, were both abbey churches and are much the same size, 62' × 21' 6" inside including the chancel and 70' × 33' outside respectively. Inishmaine is nearly the prescribed size of a Daimliag or Tempul Mor, 60' × 24' inside.² Ballysadare is peculiar, but resembles the Aghanagh Church and Killaspugbrone. Mr. Wakeman says that they show an original doorway with flat lintel and inclined jambs high in the western gable, for which the doorways in the S. and N. walls were substituted. He looks upon the arrangement as defensive. But it seems to me most likely that the N. and S. doors were also original and that the high doorway gave access to the loft from the outside instead of from the inside as usually is the case. This high doorway is no longer apparent at Aghanagh.

Cong Abbey Church may be said to be chiefly of this period in which it was built, but it shows plainly the transition to the Gothic. The Abbey Church of Annaghdown

¹ See p. 130.

² *Jl. R.S.A.I.*, vol. xvi. p. 75.

is to be referred to this type on account of its E. window and door jambs. The nave was 91' x 21' and the chancel 17' x 14'. But it was the church of an important abbey and was a cathedral. Being evidently from its size built for an abbey on the new pattern it must have been built in the 12th century.

Tuam Cathedral built by Torlogh Mor in the middle of the 12th century must have been a beautiful example of the type, judging from the chancel arch and the E. window which are all that remain of it.

Certain churches seem to have been altered very slightly from this type, as Donaghpatrick where very little change has been made except by putting a curious door in the eastern end of the N. wall, and Ballinchalla where I am inclined to think that new Gothic window frames have been put to the old splays; but in absence of the whole E. wall of Donaghpatrick and of the door of Ballinchalla it is not safe to be positive.

Kildarvila is an earlier church altered to this type.

THE CHURCH TOWERS

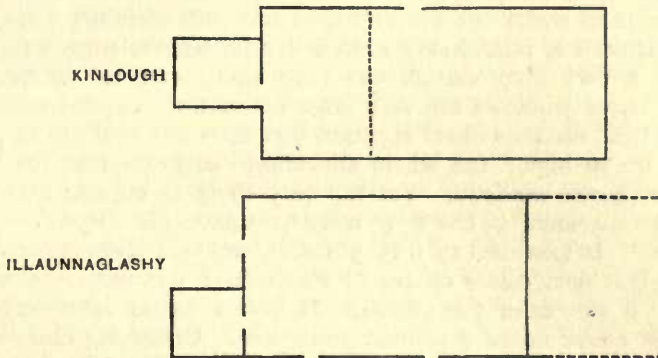
The Round Towers or Detached Belfries have been mentioned. There is another type to be dealt with, that of the rectangular towers attached to churches.

A room or loft over the church supposed to have been used as a dwelling for the priest was a common feature. In larger churches such as Donaghpatrick the loft is confined to the western part of the church and the space below was also part of the dwelling, sometimes cut off by a wall. This arrangement is seen in very good condition in the church on Church Island in Lough Gill, but in these dioceses I have seen it only in fragments.

It developed in one direction into the plan of the church at Attyrickard, in which the western part of the church is a small castle of three stories. The belfry of the priory of Aughris, which was described as like a castle, was probably such a tower. In another direction it obtained security by adding a square tower to the western gable. The Attyrickard tower has a door leading from the church, and access to the upper stories by holes in the floors. The Illaunnaglashy

tower has a door leading from the upper room of the church to the upper room of the tower, and access to its lower room must have been by a hole in the floor as there is no opening in the ground floor of the tower save a very small narrow pointed window in its N. wall. The Kinlough tower has doors communicating with the church rooms in ground floor and upper floor.

The Tempul Clogas or Belfry Church on Iniscloran has the same arrangement. It is a Romanesque church much altered and the tower is considered to be an addition, and to be not earlier than the 12th century or even to be post-Norman.¹ In the three Mayo churches I take the tower to be a part of the original plan. They all show Gothic work and I take Attyrickard to be the earliest, and Kinlough to be probably later than Illaunnaglashy. The ground plans of the western parts of these two differ—

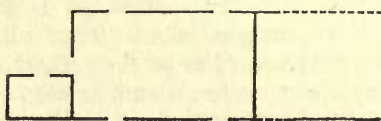


Illaunnaglashy presents the very unusual feature of two very small narrow windows in S. wall, one similar window in the W. wall, one similar window in the N. wall near the W. wall, and a ruinous opening, of either a door or a window in the N. wall of the ground floor room, which was cut off from the church by a cross wall which reduced the length of the church to the E. to 29' 6". But I am not quite sure that this cross wall is original. The church walls to E. of it are only about 3 ft. high and covered with

¹ *R.S.A.J.*, 1900, xxx. pp. 81, 168, 257.

rubbish. Nor am I sure that the gap in the N. wall is a doorway and not a broken-down window.

Above the joist holes in the S. wall are the openings of two windows, of which the western is over the western window of the ground floor and the eastern more to the E. than the eastern ground floor window. The heads of those windows are gone, but what remains assures me that they were lancet windows, and certainly much wider and higher than the lower windows which were flat headed $26'' \times 4''$. The western window in the upper room is arched and is not over that of the lower room but more to the N.



In the absence of the eastern part of the walls it is impossible to make out the arrangements with certainty—but the church is remarkably narrow for its length, suggesting that a very early church has been lengthened to the W. The upper windows are very large for such an upper room, and their distance apart suggests that the cross wall did not run up so high; the whole appearance suggests that they were church windows. Yet the only thing to explain such an arrangement is the very early St. Columcille's House at Kells.¹ It measures $19' \times 15' 5''$ inside, and had three stories. The first floor was a chapel to which there was access by a door 8 feet from the ground. It had a barrel vault and a loft above under a pointed stone roof. Under the chapel was a crypt, without door or window, accessible by a hole in the chapel floor.

This does look as if the upper room might have been the church with a crypt under it.

The Ullard church had a crypt under the chancel, lighted by a narrow slit.²

These three churches measured inside—

Attyrickard, $40' \times 19'$ church, $16' \times 19'$ tower.

Illaunnaglashy, $58' 6'' \times 14' 6''$.

Kinlough, $65' \times 22' 4''$.

¹ Dunraven, *Notes on Irish Architecture*, ii. p. 50.

² *Ibid.*, ii. pp. 86, 87.

These churches certainly belong to the Gothic period, but are treated here on account of their towers.

A small square tower is sometimes attached to the side of the church as in Cormac's Chapel at Cashel and at Mungret, which seem to have grown out of the round tower springing from a square base.¹

The church of Inishmaine has a square building on each side. The larger on the N. side has good windows and is plainly intended for ceremonial or domestic uses. That of the S. side at junction of nave and chancel has no opening on the ground floor. It seems to be the butt of a tower.

The churches of the 4th Type, the Gothic, are divided sharply into the abbey and the parish churches.

The former are on a quite different scale, and after the death of Cathal Crobderg and the conquest of Connaught lost all distinctive Romanesque characteristics, preserving only reminiscence of the past in the mason's methods of making small windows and the like, but developing certain peculiarities of their own. Sometimes a very archaic little window has been utilised as in the Errew Abbey.

Some of the large parish churches may be classed rather with the abbey churches, but on the whole it may be said I think that the parish churches of the 13th and 14th centuries are on the plan of Romanesque churches with door and window frames of the new fashion, which was materially modified from the English style. This modification was very much in the direction of using very narrow slits as windows, I suppose to keep out rain and wind in the absence of glass, and very few windows indeed.

The Abbey Church of Errew is not dated but I class it as probably the earliest. It may I think be taken as certain that it is earlier than the year 1210 when the comarb lands were transferred to the bishops in this province. At the suppression it owned only the land given it by Robert Barrett in 1413. The extensive see lands about it I take to have been its endowment transferred to the bishop. The architecture is very coarse and rough. Though the windows generally are pointed they are very few and very small for a church of this class. In the N. wall close to E. end is

¹ Stokes, *Early Christian Archi. in Ireland*, pp. 62, 63, 71.

a small window with a round top hollowed out of a stone, looking very early, as if it might have been taken from an earlier church. A similar narrow slit is opposite in the S. wall but with a pointed top. The cloisters were very low and very dark, lighted only by a few narrow slits, and might more properly be called vaults. I suppose it to have been built by the O'Dowdas or O'Lachtnas sometime in the 12th century for the old abbot and convent transformed into canons of St. Augustine with a house suited for the new practices and ideas, built by Irish architects not yet familiar with the style.

Knockmoy Abbey founded in 1189 is entirely Gothic, but at that time Gothic architects were abundant and it was a Cistercian house.

Ballintubber Abbey founded in 1216 is somewhat composite. The windows of the E. end have a decidedly Norman aspect, but all the rest of the church is Gothic. Norman influence appears also in the conventual buildings.

I know of no other abbey in these dioceses that can be dated earlier than the Anglo-Norman occupation in 1237. They are all distinctively Gothic, are unmistakable, and are dated within at least a few years.

What may be called the great parish churches are a small group, only three known to me, which from identity of plan and size seem to have been built at the same time. They are—

Shrule, 91' 10" × 24' 4". Burriscarra, 91' × 23' 10". Holyrood at Ballinrobe, the ancient Roba in Carra, 102' 6" × 24' 6", which has certainly been lengthened towards the W., and seems to have been the same as the other two. Allowing for my measurements taken with a tape being not absolutely exact I think it may be taken that they were laid out to be identical in area. They have two or three lofty narrow pointed windows in the east end, a few similar windows in the side walls, two doors opposite each other in the N. and S. walls near the W. end, and at Shrule and Holyrood a small door in the S. wall near the E. end, probably for the use of the clergy.

Anaghdown Abbey nave is the same length.

They are certainly of about the same date as Kinlough, but this last has a Romanesque connection in the western

dwelling ; the others seem to have been intended for something more than the ordinary parish uses, and made provision for priests' dwellings elsewhere. It is I think safe to take them to be the earliest of the Gothic parish churches and to assign them to the 13th century, and to attribute them to the Irish lords of the time of Cathal Crodberg rather than to the first Anglo-Norman lords, who set up monasteries and used parish church rectories to aggrandise them.

The rest of the parish churches usually show the later ogival ornament and mouldings where any are left. But on the other hand they show rather the proportions and the arrangements of the Romanesque churches, as if there was a reversion to Celtic uses and requirements in parish church practices concurrently with the adoption of Irish social customs and laws. I infer that as the Anglo-Norman families threw out branches those branches rebuilt or reconstructed ancient parish churches. Of course the plan would remain the same when the "restoration" consisted of insertion of more fashionable door and window frames in existing walls, which is a very common case. But there are instances where the new church was built on a new site, and the architect was free to design what was thought best. A very good example of this is Tempul na Lecca at Cuslough. The old parish church is in ruins on Inishrobe. The new one showing ogival ornament is on the mainland.

This church needs only to be stripped of ivy and shrubs, to be roofed, and to be plastered all over to restore it to its original condition. It is in plan typical of most of the parish churches of its period, whether restored Romanesque or original. They differ a little in proportion of length and breadth but the arrangements of door and windows are in substance the same. There is an E. window generally very narrow, but sometimes larger and even double as in Islandeady. In the S. wall is another narrow splayed window close to the E. wall in order to light the altar. In Tempul na Lecca it is so close to the E. wall that there is but 4" of splay on that side. This is sometimes larger, as in Kilmolara where there is a mullion. A door is in the S. wall near the W. end. If the church is long a small

slit may be found between the door and the W. wall, or even two, as in Islandeady. The E. window and the window in S. wall near the E. wall are sometimes mere slits, as in Easky.

The following list shows the general run of dimensions—

A B Moyne . . .	52' 2" × 20' 9"	C Tempul na Lecca .	41' × 18' 6"
A C Ballinchalla .	42' 3" × 17'	C Tempul an Machaire	37' × 17' 6"
A C Aghagower		C Kilmolara . . .	57' 4" × 18' 6"
A B C Kilmainemore	52' 6" × 21' 3"	C Islandeady . . .	52' × 18' 6"
Killedan . . .	48' × 20'	Ballyovey . . .	45' × 19'
Kilkinure . . .	53' 6" × 18'		

A denotes Romanesque original altered to B or C. B early Gothic. C Later Gothic showing ogival forms.


Tempul Som at Knockatample in Kildacommoge parish is an exceptional church. It measures 26' 6" × 14' and had a western loft. The walls are remarkably high for the size, in order to allow such a loft. None of the openings have been left in their original state, but the church seems to be early Romanesque, or even earlier, judging from these indications. Into these walls an E. window has been fitted consisting of a wide rectangular limestone frame with a mullion; a similarly wide rectangular window in the W. gable over the pointed door; another in the S. wall near the W. wall. It seems to be the latest mediæval restoration of all, applied to the earliest existing altered structure.

ANGLO-NORMAN ABBEY CHURCHES


They are in two divisions. The first shows a long rectangle with a chapel at the W. end opening into the nave N. or S. wall, and conventual buildings on the opposite side, such as Ballinrobe, Burriscarra, Ballyhaunis, Urlare. This may be called the 13th century type.

The second comprises churches which are divided into choir and nave by two arches supporting a nearly square central tower, with sometimes transept and aisle. The tower is less than the full width of the church and is therefore elegant and slender in appearance. In one case, Bur-rishoole, the tower is the full width of the church. The

choir is sometimes less than the full width of the nave. Such are Claregalway, Rosserrilly, Rosserk, Court Abbey.

The date of foundation is known or the style indicates the period of most of the abbey churches. But that of Kilnamanagh is exceptionally difficult to date. It is mentioned in an ancient tract on the Muintir Murcada.¹ It is the church of the parish of Struthir in Muntercuda (Muintir [Mur]cada) of the Taxation. The parish merged in that of Donaghpatrick and the rectory of the whole belonged to this monastery at the suppression. The Four Masters record the death of the Abbot of Kilnamanagh in 1438, who seems to have been a Connaught abbot. A Franciscan house has no abbot, but I suppose the term was used laxly. It may be assumed that this small house was not founded before the great house of Claregalway, reputed to be the first Franciscan house in Connaught. The Hackets were then in possession of this country, and were probably the founders. It measures 94' 10" × 19' 9". Part of E. wall and a great part of S. wall are gone. The E. wall stands save a part of the S.E. angle. A small flat-headed splayed window is not in the middle of it but nearer the N. wall, the middle of the window being only 6' 8" from it. A small window in the N. wall about 30 ft. from E. end has an uneven splay  nearly straight on the E. side. Elsewhere I have seen an uneven splay only when a window in a S. wall is so close to the E. wall as not to allow a splay. A part of the N. wall to E. of this window is gone, so that it cannot be said that there was or was not another window there. The S. wall is down except at the W. end.

At the W. end are joist holes and a small flat-headed window just above them in the S. wall, which I guess to measure in the opening about 15" × 6". In the S.W. angle

is a small window  on ground floor.

Near the middle of the N. wall is a bit of much better masonry like the W. jamb of a door, apparent inside. Outside, about opposite, seems to be a joint as if the church had been lengthened, and some appearance as if part of the

¹ *H.W.C.*, p. 368.

E. side of a doorway was carried on to the W. Mounds adjoining in the graveyard to the S. seem to be ruins of buildings in connection with the church.

It seems that a Romanesque church with a loft has been lengthened to the E. to fit it for a monastic church. The work is done in a very rough way. I class it on the whole as a late reconstruction.

Killeenbrenan or Murgagagh Abbey also presents the feature of a mediæval monastic church constructed on the site of an earlier Irish church. In the E. wall is a small piece of very fine walling of pick-dressed stones with very fine joints, which seems to be a fragment of the E. end of a very much older church. Unfortunately the upper part of the E. wall is gone. The character of the rest of the building agrees with the date of foundation, 1428, given in Archdall's *Monasticon*. The S. wall began to fall out and was reinforced by a thickening outside which went so high as to block a considerable amount of the square windows high up in the wall. A huge buttress supports this wall at the eastern end.

Murgagach is Irish for cracked, having a crack or chink, and is a descriptive name. But it might have been applied to the far older church close by, called the Killeen, as in that case the chancel was built simply against the E. wall of an older church. It is impossible to fix its date, but the dimensions 61' x 19' whereof 19' 6" is length of chancel marks it as a comparatively late reconstruction. It suggests to me that this Killeenbrenan is the old parish church, and that the abbey was formed on another disused ancient church. The Killeen is in Moorgagagh Townland, the abbey in that of Kill. The Killeen was once a very important establishment; the land N. and W. and S. of it is covered with foundations of walls and buildings marking a large settlement.

CHAPTER XVIII

VARIOUS ANTIQUITIES

HOLY WELLS, BULLAUNS, LONG STONES

CLOSELY associated with the ancient churches are Holy Wells, Bullauns, and Long Stones.

Wells were objects of worship by the Irish and by the other nations of western Europe. But how they were worshipped and for what reason is now obscure. People went to them to pray for what they wanted and to leave offerings as they do to this day. Of the views held about them we have an indication in one direction in Tirechan's account of St. Patrick's proceedings at the well called Slan, from which we learn that the well was honoured and that offerings were made to it as a god, and that the people believed that a dead prophet had been placed in a coffin in the well under the stone cover. This suggests a belief that burial in such a holy place would give a good start in the next life. The well worship was made tolerable in Irish Christianity by dedication of the well to a saint because it could not be eradicated, but it seems to have gained no more than toleration and so has retained its pagan features. In only a few cases have chapels been built at or over wells. Such a chapel is seen at the Holy Well near the Round Tower and old church of Balla.

The mysterious bullauns are intimately connected with the holy wells, and in some instances are themselves used as holy wells. The bullauns seem to be a pagan survival. They are found not only as wells or bowls for water but on upright and sloping stones where they could not hold water. Those which are used as wells are on a stone sunk in the ground. In the parish of Killedan there are three. One called Gloonpatrick is at Oxford by the side of a stream where a large bullaun is in a stone sunk in the earth with

a few stones built round to keep out rubbish. One called Patrick's Well is in the demesne of Ballinamore which is a similar bullaun in a stone sunk in a low mound of stones and grass, by the side of which are the foundations of a small rectangular building. The third is a little east of Ballinamore House, and is but a small hollow which may be natural, but it is accepted as a bullaun. Local tradition says that St. Patrick knelt in prayer at these three places, the hollows being worn by his knees, and there is an old saying that the part between these three stones will always be safe from wars and destruction. The first two are under old ash trees.

Patrick's Well is most likely the place in Mag Foimsen where St. Patrick left Conan. The church has disappeared but in the circumstances it is I think fairly certain that there once was a church in Lisnacrus, or at least a chapel at the well. The mound and the foundations show clearly such an arrangement as exists at Patrick's Well in Kilcorkey parish of Co. Roscommon. This well is not a spring but a large stone with a large and small bullaun sunk in the ground. A sort of alcove has been built over it, and the alcove is approached by a narrow passage about 9 ft. long, sloping downwards so that at the opening of the alcove it is below the level of the bullauns. The passage is open above. Stones are piled all round so that the alcove is in the middle of a small cairn about 3 ft. high.

Adjoining the cairn on the north are remains of a small rectangular building, of which enough of the west end remains to show that it was built with very large stones. It is like the cell or house sometimes seen in similar close relation with a holy well. Stations are still made here.

The high road separates the cairn from the foundations of a small church.¹

A little to the south of the Ballinamore Patrick's Well are the remains of a rath, and the country people say that stations used to be held, marked by little wooden crosses, starting from the well and round the rath back to the well. It is still called Lisnacrus.

These may be taken to represent a class of artificial wells. Bullauns are commonly found in large stones and

¹ *Jl. R.S.A.I.*, xxxii. p. 189.

rocks near churches in conditions which afford no ground for supposing that they had been built over like those two wells. But they are very frequently used as holy wells.¹ In some cases a holy well which is a natural spring is found near the church as well as a bullaun stone. It cannot be said that the bullaun was a substitute for a natural well, but it is evident that it was such in some cases, and that it was used in some religious fashion in other cases. The connection of bullauns with churches and holy wells needs careful investigation.

The ash and the thorn tree are intimately connected with the holy wells and bullaun wells. One or other is almost always beside a holy well. The Sacred Trees of antiquity were called Bile.

Lough Keeraun is a small bog lake, now nearly filled with water-weeds and the growth of bog, about 400 yards west of Temple Som or Temple na Lickeen and north of the road from Bohola to Bellavari in the detached part of the parish of Kildacommoge, and is remarkable as an object of unusual reverence like a holy well. Even now a great concourse of people make stations about it on Garland Sunday. Its reputation was still greater formerly. There is some doubt as to the meaning of the name which might be either Ciaran's Lake or Mountain Ash Lake. It is probably the former as these objects of pagan worship were usually Christianised by affixing a Saint's name. It is the Loughharrow of Wood-Martin's "Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland," ii. 99, with which he mentions a small tarn in the Co. Cork which is similarly revered, which seems to be also the Loughadrine of pp. 89 and 112.

At a lake called Loch Cill Eascrach half a mile S.W. of Moylough, there was on Garland Sunday a great assemblage of people who used to swim horses in the lake to keep disease from them.¹

Garland Sunday is Crom Duff's Day, and where we find these patterns at lakes and wells on that day we may safely assume that the annual ceremony has been taken over from the worship of Crom Duff. Garland Sunday is so commonly

¹ See also *R.S.A.I.*, xiii. p. 466, xxxii. p. 190. *Ulster Jl. of Archaeology*, iv. p. 272, and Wilde's *Lough Corrib*, p. 294, for a few more instances.

² *O.S.L.G.*, i. p. 232.

the festival day of wells and churches associated with St. Patrick in these countries that I am inclined to suspect that he may have often been given for churches the places where Crom Duff was worshipped. It may be said that the temples of Crom Duff were given him for churches, for these objects of reverence were open air objects of nature and would no more need buildings than the festivals held at them to-day. By building a church at such a place he would divert the worship to Christian lines without too great a break in the associations of the common people and half-hearted converts.

LONG STONES AND CROSSES

The Long Stone is often found at churches and then usually bears an inscribed cross. They seem to have been a pre-Christian form of monument in Ireland and elsewhere, and it is not unlikely that the church was put near the stone in some cases because it was a place where the people were already used to worship as at the wells. In the Doonfeeny churchyard is a very long and slender stone 21 ft. high, the longest in Ireland, bearing ancient inscribed crosses.

Groups of three long stones are found in several places in Ireland. Two only are known to me in these dioceses. South of the old castle of Moneycrower are two very large long stones, one north and one south of the high road. Near the latter lies a third which seems to have been quarried but not set up. A short way to the east are the remains of a small ancient church and enclosure called Killeen-naskeagh.

Killocraun a little west of Ballinrobe has some 200 yards west of it three small pillar stones. St. Patrick's seat at Duma Selce was among the three inscribed stones. They are likely to have had some religious significance.

Ogham stones are found in these dioceses at Breastagh near Rathfran, at Bracklaghboy and at Tullaghan near Ballyhaunis, and at Ross on Lough Mask where remain but a few scores. Though the writing cannot be fixed as pre-Christian they are certainly a very early form of monument and have in some cases been Christianised by the addition of a cross.

HIGH CROSSES

We have of ancient High Crosses only that of Tuam and the remains of that of Cong. These appear to have been put up as memorials and not over graves. The practice of putting up a memorial cross survived into the 17th century. By the roadside near Donamona Castle is the pedestal of a small high cross bearing this inscription—"This cross was made in anno 1633 by David Kelly and Cate Bourke his wife for the soule of his [father?] Moyler Kelly who died 8 October 1627. For whom let all men pray"—and other Latin inscriptions and the instruments of the passion. The stones fell some years ago and some have been reset upside down. A family of O'Kellys occupied Donamona Castle.

INSCRIBED CROSSES

Small crosses are incised in various forms on standing stones and slabs and are to be found in very many places, so common as to need no particular notice. But a singular combination of crosses and other ornament incised on a stone in the old burying ground called the Killeen in Knap-paghmanagh near Westport calls for description. The graveyard is within a cashel or round enclosure of which part remains and most can be traced. On a roughly triangular slab of local greenish grey rock have been incised two concentric circles and a cross within the inner circle. The ends of the cross expand slightly. A very small round hollow is within each quarter of the cross. Above the outer circle is a full face the chin just touching the circle. On each side at about the level of the junction of the chin and circle is a much larger round hollow. These hollows are about 12 in. apart. From below the circle three lines extend to the edge of the stone. In the lower left-hand corner are two crosses in a rectangle, like a union jack.

The stone is 2 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 6 in. The outer circle is 9 in. wide and the inner circle 7 in. The head is 5 in. by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in.

No particular piece of ornament is in itself very remarkable. The combination is so. The cross in a circle is

common, as are hollows in the arms. The large outer hollows are unusual. The face is a common ornament of Irish architecture in the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries. The face represented by incised lines, and the combination with the circle are new to me. The three lines from the circle to the edge of the stone are on stones in the churchyards of Rathmichael and Killegar near Dublin.¹ As in the latter case these lines radiate a little. The union jack cross is inscribed on the "altar table" at Toomour.

This stone may have been a gravestone. It would suit as well as the slab so used in the Toomour churchyard, where Dr. O'Rorke has identified the tomb of the chieftains who fell in the battle of Kesh in 971. The remains are such as would be left by one of the old family tombs or chapels in Mayo Abbey graveyard. The "altar table" stone rests on a little altar in this enclosure. At its foot is a slab marked with two hollows and six small crosses, under which bones were found. A third hollow is ignored by Dr. O'Rorke and looks natural.²

SWEARING, CURSING, AND PRAYING STONES

These curious relics whose use has come down from pagan days are common in Ireland, and are known to be in several places in these dioceses. The commonest are smooth, round, or egg-shaped, or oval and flat-sided, such stones as may be picked up on any shingle beach of the sea or large lake. Differing in size and shape they are alike in being smooth and more or less rounded. Some are adorned with crosses, as on an altar in Inismurray. They are used to keep count of prayers or curses and are taken in the hand or turned round. Turning seems to be an essential part of the formula in most cases in which stones are used. Some sanctity or power inheres as no one thrives who takes one away. A set lying on the wall of the tomb of the chieftains round the altar at Toomour, and another set lying on the wall round St. Araght's Well near Coolavin have been figured by Dr. O'Rorke.³

¹ *R.S.A.I.*, xxxi. pp. 136-146.

² *Hist. Sligo*, ii. p. 212.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 212, 382.

In the burial ground of the old church of Annaghvick-anara¹ is a small altar on which is a slab about 3 ft. 6 in. long, raised about 18 in. above the ground. On the slab and about it are several such stones. In one, larger and thicker than the rest, a deep round hollow or bullaun has been worked. A natural channel runs out of the bullaun. It may be taken as part of the design because a bullaun could have been made as easily in a stone free from defect. The water which collects in the bullaun is reputed to be holy.

St. Feichin's Stone, called also Casey's Sword,² formerly kept at his holy well near Castlekirke on Lough Corrib, was an oval flat stone used for swearing and cursing, of very great reputation.

On the shore of Lough Cahasy near Louisburgh is a place where a few stones are piled together. Some are dumb-bell shape, two rounded stones joined by another kind of stone, a piece of conglomerate. The dumb-bell form is found in other places. Here people pray for recovery of sick friends and animals and sometimes bring sick beasts. Some fifty years ago a number of stones "like swords with handles" were piled on the heap. When a person had a spite against some one he used to turn these stones and say a prayer, and there came from this practice murders and bad storms. A parish priest threw them into the lake. According to an account given to Mr. Kelly these were bronze swords.³ A standing stone with an incised cross is in the sandhills close by.

It is remarkable that these things which were like swords lay on the shore of Lough Cahasy, and that Feichin's stone, used for the same purpose, bore the name of Cahasy's Sword. It suggests that Christian Feichin took over the business of Heathen Cathasach.

¹ See p. 48.

² Otway, *Tour in Connaught*, p. 247.

³ *R.S.A.I.*, xxxi. p. 186.

CHAPTER XIX

SEE LANDS

THE earliest list I find of See Lands is in an Inquisition taken regarding the ownership of lands in the county of Mayo on the 4th January 1617,¹ in which the Archbishop appears as holding the following lands—

Lickin, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr. Knocktample, 1 qr. Carrownecroissa, $\frac{1}{8}$ qr. Dowaghmore, 3 qrs.	} About Temple na Lickin in Kildacommoge Parish. } Doomore (in Tallavbaun Tl.) in Kilgeever P. included 4 qrs. whereof 1 qr. was in Inis- turk and Iniscaher, accord- ing to Strafford's Survey.
Febrione, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr. Trianankile, $\frac{1}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	Fahburren Tl. in Aghagower P. Lackakeely Tl. ? in Kilgeever Parish.
Killinancoffy, $\frac{2}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$ qr. Kilgeyovare, qr. Bellanclare, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr. Knockstivan, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr. Oghevale, qr. Ballivirrowe, 4 qrs. Balledrom—, 4 qrs. Ballyowen, 4 qrs. Carrowb ney, qr. Lecarrowvalleononlowe, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	Killeencoff in Oughaval. Kilgeever. Belclare. Oughaval. Ballydonnellan = Baile O nDomnallain.
Aghgower, qr. Kiell, qr. Loughnagrohy, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr. Cornecarte, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr. Gortconessayn, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	Aghagower. Gortacussane ; old name of land adjoining Ballydon- nellan.

¹ *Dublin Pub. Rec. Off. Rolls Inqn.*
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Knockprechare, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	
Dromgouloyne, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	
Tawnagh cartron.	
Leckan, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	Lackan in Aghagower.
Ardogomane, qr.	Ardogommon.
Knockvullanmory, qr.	
Gorten Anny cartron.	
Killin, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	
Deriragh, qr.	
Mohastan, qr.	Moyhastin in Aghagower.
Crosse cartron	Cross in Kilmeena.
Moygowerbeg, moiety of qr. .	Moyour in Kilmeena.
Knockbalcan, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	
Inishduff, qr.	Island in Kilmeena.
Dromaghgarve, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	
Kilmaclassy and	Kilmaclasser.
Portinlane, qr.	
Coilshane, qr.	
Cagally, qr.	
Kilmaine, 2 qrs.	
Levally partry, 2 qrs.	Probably the Partry estate at Portroyal.
Killellinan, 2 qrs.	Killernan in Kilmaine.
Kilcower, 2 qrs.	Kilquire in Kilmaine.
Cashelgergedan, 4 qrs.	
Doray, 2 qrs.	Doorath in Kilmainemore.
Kilkeeran, 2 qrs.	Kilkeeran in Kilmainebeg.
Killemaddere, 2 qrs.	Houndswood in Cong.
Killassoragh.	
Kilpraghan	Kilfrauchan, <i>i.e.</i> near Dowagh in Cong.
Cahirduff	Cahirduff in Cong.
Killin, 4 qrs.	Lecarrow Killeen, <i>i.e.</i> near Neale church.
Dromkelly, 2 qrs.	
Nealle, 2 qrs.	Neale, land near it.
Kilvolarra, qr.	Kilmolara.
Carownay, qr.	
Carrowogergedan, qr.	Ballyargadaun Tl.
Killosheine, 2 qrs.	Killosheheen in Ballinrobe.
Coolmin, 2 qrs.	Coolmeen in Mayo P. in Curry Tl.
Moorgagagh, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	Moorgagagh.
Knock I Doroughy, qr.	Knockadoraghy in Mayo P.
Cloghileyn, qr.	In Mayo P.
Ballimagellan, qr.	

Carrowmaddoge, qr.	
Carrowkilbridy, qr.	Kilbride in Mayo.
Ballimallavulla na crossy, qr. .	Ballymullavil ? in Mayo.
Ballimallavulla nasiganagh, qr.	Shinganagh in Mayo.
Ballinageran, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	
Lehanagh, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	Lehanagh in Mayo.
Ballinester, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	Ballinaster in Mayo.
Crosbohin, qr.	Crossboyne.

The names are sometimes illegible, obscure, or doubtful. Latitude is allowed in identifying. The present denominations are not always the same in extent as the old ones and are usually applied to only a part. The names in these lists are to be read rather as names of estates or farms than as names of parcels of land. Because a name appears in this list it does not follow that the Archbishop ever owned a townland which now goes by that name. The old name shows only that he had land in a tract known generally by that name. In some cases where land is good and denominations were small the old and modern names may mean precisely the same. The term quarter is used as a measure of value not of extent, meaning that the lands comprised in the denomination were equal in value to so many quarters of good land.

To identify all or nearly all the lands of this list and the next would be a very laborious task, taking more time in search than I can give.

These were held before the Archbishop received land in compensation for the Episcopal Fourths, which I have not been able to trace.

The following table is a list of denominations of lands owned by the Archbishop of Tuam taken from the Schedules to the First Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Revenues and Patronage, 1833. The return is of the tenants of See Lands and their holdings arranged according to tenure and not according to locality, giving the names of at least the principal denominations in each holding. Many names vary from those of the Ordnance Survey which came some years later, but enough agree to show the distribution of the lands with regard to old churches and abbeys.

TUAM PARISH

LANDS.	ACRES.	NOTES.
Various Town Plots—		
Gortnacraney, &c	15	
Killaloonty	336	Close to Tuam on W.
Garrinaclune	72	Garracloon ? adjoins Blackacre on W. of Demesne.
Carragh Skreene	35	Curraghgreen, close to Tuam on E.
Killalane	} 757	
Rabbit Island or Carrancoony Clonburn		
Tobbereila	38	
Lisgormakan	32	
Tobbereala	47	
Goranè Cluane	} 400	{ Garracloon ? next Blackacre.
Lisadyragh		
Strawmore		
Blackacre		
Orawnore		
Tobbererla, pt.		
Gorteraud, being part of old demesne and mensal lands		
		{ Adjoins Demesne on W. Oranmore ?

TUAM AND KILLOWER PARISHES

Cagallahalias Ardrum-kelly	} 675	{ Adjoins Killower Tl. on W.
Stramore		
Cowpark		

TUAM AND KILBENNAN PARISHES

Kilbannan	} 2024	{ Probably Pollacorrage in which is Kilbennan, and some more. Cloonfush in Tuam.
Cloonfush		

TUAM AND BOYOUNAGH

Cloonashcragh	} 3934	{ Clonascragh in Tuam. Boyounagh in Boyounagh. This probably includes Cashel Tl. in which is Boyounagh Ch.
Boyounagh		

BELCLARE TUAM AND KILKERRIN PARISHES

LANDS.	ACRES.	NOTES.
Belclare Tuam	1566	Claretuam Tl. about Belclare P.C. Next S. of Claretuam. Kilkerrin Tl. in which is Kilkerrin.
Glanafosha		
Toogony and Kilkerrin		

CLONBERN PARISH

Knockroe, Brackloon, } Gortagarrane	1134	{ Knockroe, Brackloon, and Gortagarran Tl. Cloghmakeeran Ch. is in Brackloon.
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LISKEEVY PARISH

4 qrs. of Knockrefaghy called Finane, Car- rowbeg, Aultore 2 qrs.	1898

DUNMORE PARISH

West of Kilmacnelly	369
East of Kilmacnelly	448
Carrowthomas	207

KILCONLA PARISH

Cloonsheen	588	Gortnabishaun C. is in it.
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KILMEEN PARISH

Kilmeen	673
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KILLOSCOBE PARISH

Kilfilgy	30	Kilfelligy Ch. is in it.
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ANNAGHDOWN PARISH

Reneharney	158	Tl. a little S. of Annaghdown.
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KILTULLAGH PARISH

Kiltullagh and Atty- shane	661	Includes Kiltullagh Ch.

BALLINDOON PARISH

LANDS.	ACRES.	NOTES.
Killothenoiscre	} 579	{ Kilflannan is in Kill Tl. which adjoins Keerhaun Tl. They are in the Peninsula of Irrus- lannan. Derry Eighter ?
Errislannen		
Keerane		
Carrownough		
Deralighter		

MOYRUS PARISH

Moyrus	} 1004	{ Moyrus Tl. contains Moyrus Ch.
Ennispigot		

ROSS AND MOORGAGAGH PARISHES

Russina	122	Rusheen Tls. are next to S. of Rosshill.
Moorgoger	288	Moorgagagh Tl.

CONG AND MOORGAGAGH PARISHES

Kiltramadra	} 1121	{ Houndswood in Cong P. Moorgagagh Tl. in which is Killeenbrenan.
Moorgoger		

CONG PARISH

Cong	} 561	{ Cong Tl. Caherduff Tl. Ballymacgibbon Tl. lying about Killarsa.
Terreneve		
Tullyhane		
Cahirdaff		
Ballymacgibbon		
Killing	} 622	{
Gortaholemaine		
Gensduff		
Gortnahiske		
Ballymacgibbon		
Killopneshane	} 622	{
Killosaroh		
Drimilly	255	Next to N.E. of Dowagh.

CONG AND BALLINCHALLA AND KILMOLARA PARISHES

LANDS.	ACRES.	NOTES.
Cahernicole	509	Cahernicole and Loughanaganky in Ballinchalla P. which adjoin and include an old church in Cahernicole. In Cong. It includes the Neale Ch., where is a fragment of an ancient church. Surrounds Kilmolara Ch.
Leganaganky		
Lecarrowkilleen		
Carrunakilla		

BALLINCHALLA AND BALLINROBE PARISHES

Ballynai	679	Tl. in Ballinchalla, next E. of old Glebe house of Neale. Killosheheen Tl. including old church near Ballinrobe.
Ballyargadane		
Killashien		

KILMAINE PARISH

Castleardigan	1364	Kilgowre seems to be Kilquire about Kilquire Ch. Killelinane is Killernan in which is Killernan B.G.
Kilgowre		
Killelinane Dowry, called Knock Dowry		
Duoroy	627	Dowry and Duoroy seem to be Doorath a Tl. adjoining Killernan to the E.
Kilmaine, with the fairs and markets		

KILMAINEBEG PARISH

Kilkeeran	304	Tl. about Kilmainebeg.
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KILCOMMON PARISH

Kilcommon, other- wise Gortglass and Church Quarter	98	Tl. about the church.
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MAYO AND ROBEEN PARISHES

LANDS.	ACRES.	NOTES.
3 houses and gardens in Mayo Town . . .	2956	Mayo Parks and Knockauna- brona Tl. are Mayo Town.
Clegline		
Knockderaghy . . .		Knockadoraghy Tl., a little W. of Mayo Town.
Ballinagillan . . .		Shinganagh Tl. next E. of Mayo Parks and Portagh.
Shangan		
Lyaneagh		Lehanagh Tl. adjoins Mayo Parks.
Ballymacgourine . . .		Ballymullavil ? close to E. of Shingan Tl.
Knockecassine . . .		
Ballinlavit		S.E. of Knockadoraghy.
Ballynaster		Old name Ballymullavil de Cross.
De Cross		Cloonbaul Tl., a little E. of Mayo Parks.
Cloonbal		Curry Tl.
Knockobeg		
Coolimeen		
Ballymurry		

CROSSBOYNE PARISH

Crossboyne 92 Tl. in which church is.

DRUM PARISH

Loonamore	489	Loonamore and beg lie on E. and S.E. of Walshpool and in- clude old parish ch. of Loona.
Loonabeg		
Old Village		
New Village		
Knockananean		

KILDACOMMOGE PARISH

Drumbrick	1359	In Knockatemple Tl. is Tempul Som or Tempul na Lickeen. In Ara are two old churches.
Carrowlickin		
Knockatampal		
Carronacrossy-Ara		

DIOCESE OF TUAM

BALLYOVEY PARISH

LANDS.	ACRES.	NOTES.
Ballyovey	5835	In Kilkeeran Tl. is old church. In Portroyal Tl. are old P.C. and an older church. These de- nominations comprise a large tract round about these old churches of Ballyovey divided into smaller denominations in the tithe applotment books as follows, which are represented in modern townlands except those in italics. Kilkeeran, <i>Clydagh</i> , Demesne (Portroyal), <i>Cliff Park</i> , <i>Limekiln Park</i> , Gallagher, <i>Kilcloon</i> , <i>Windmill</i> , Kilfaul, Newtown, <i>Derrynacar-</i> <i>row Upper</i> , <i>Clooncah</i> , <i>Anagh-</i> <i>ardree</i> , Cloonee, Derrue, Sraigh, Furnace, <i>Townevode</i> , Derrassa. A few of these are detached, as Derrassa.
Kilkeeran		

AGHAGOWER PARISH

Ballendonellan (Bally- donnellan)	855	All these except Gortacas- sane are identified as round about Aghagower and Mount Browne Demesne. Gortacus- sane adjoins Ballydonnellan on S., but name is disused.
Sunagh (Shanagh)		
Gortacassane		
Garue (Garrow)		
Crowhill (Crowhill)		
Lahertane (Lahardane)		
Carrakeel (Carrowkeel) Aghagower (Aghagower)		

OUGHAVAL, AGHAGOWER AND KILMEENA PARISHES

Agavill	5788	Church field in which is Ough- val Ch. Close W. of Oughaval. These two adjoin and include Glaspatrick Ch. Lackan in Aghagower. Kilmeena Ch. is in it. Islands of Kilmeena P.
Belclare		
Mermihill		
Glaspatrick		
Leckane		
Kilmeen		
Innisduff		
Innisleague Innisturk		

KILMEENA AND BURRISHOOLE PARISHES

LANDS.	ACRES.	NOTES.
Mayour	1664	} Mayour in Kilmeena P.
Mayourbeg		
Leganillaga		} Raigh in Burrishoole, a little S.E. of St. Brendan's Well and B.G.
Roigh		
Drenard	}	} Drumard and Cross adjoin Kilmeena.
Cross Shralieve		

KILGEEVER PARISH

Kilgeever	2917	} These 3 are about Kilgeever P.C.
Falduff		
Ballyhip		
Crigganroe		} Next S. of Foorgill in Oughaval, in which is Milla B.G.

IN BARONIES OF MURRISK AND BURRISHOOLE

Drumacphilbin	12,570	} I do not make out these names, unless the last two are Temple Doomore in Tallavbaun Tl. and Lackakeely Tl. in Kilgeever P.
Kilforan		
Gortnaclog		
Doughmore		
Keely		

The composition for the barony of Costello or Ballyhaunis in 1587 notes that the Archbishop of Tuam owns—

In Kilmolmney, 1 qr.	} Kilmolmney does not appear in the names of places in the Tuam part of Costello barony. None of these lands were in possession of the see in the 19th century.
In Annagh, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	
In the Knock, 1 qr.	

Strafford's Survey gives in Barony of Costello—Clownegawnagh and Kilbragan, two small quarters. In Aghamore P. See List of Churches and Graveyards.

The Archbishop owned also the following lands in the dioceses of Elphin and Clonfert—

AGHANAGH PARISH IN BARONY OF TIRERRILL, CO. SLIGO

Aghanagh	1876	Aghanagh includes the old P.C. but more townlands are included in this denomination.
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DIOCESE OF TUAM

KILMORE PARISH IN BARONY OF BALLINTUBBER
NORTH, CO. ROSCOMMON

LANDS.	ACRES.	NOTES.
Kilcock	} 487	{ All except Kiltinneel are town-lands. I have not identified Kiltinneel. The others form a contiguous group a little to the south of Kilmore old church and townland.
Kiltinneel		
Ballycummin		
Anagh.		
Rushport.		

SHANKILL PARISH IN BARONY OF ROSCOMMON

Shankill 366 About Shankill.

KILTRUSTAN PARISH

Kildalloge 202 An old church is in the adjoining Vesnoy Tl. in Strokestown demesne.

TAGHMACONNELL PARISH IN BARONY OF ATHLONE

Taghmaconnell. } 2680 { With the tithes. The old church of Taghmaconnell is included. In the 16th century the Archbishop owned the four quarters of Oran. In 1285 he sold to the King his lands in the Faes of Athlone for £20.¹ These must have been lands in the parishes of Drum and Moore.

¹ *D.I.*, iii. No. 169.

CHAPTER XX

THE PARISHES

THE parish is the unit of ecclesiastical organisation from which the deaneries and dioceses have been built up, and is the tract of country which is served by a church and the priest or priests attached thereto. It must have existed in a fashion since the first church was built, and as churches increased in numbers and the whole population became Christian, exact boundaries must have been fixed. The territorial area of the parish is naturally the extent of the lands of the family or set of families who made use of the church. In early times families set up churches as they pleased. We can infer this from the multiplicity of small churches often close together. A family gave a monk a piece of land for his church and cell. While organisation was still loose and shifting, one church or another would get the mastery when they were too close together, and would be improved and enlarged while the others decayed. In later times the parishes came to be grouped to form larger bodies at the will of the clergy, though the grouping was much affected by the influence of the richer families. The formation of larger dioceses and of larger parishes went together. We have the evidence of this amalgamation of parishes in the ruined churches all over the country. We have direct evidence that the great amalgamation took place in the 12th century or early 13th, in the Epistle of Pope Innocent III. which is given under the diocese of Killala. The prebends tell the same tale. Almost every graveyard or Killeen was about an old church. Sometimes the church's foundations can be traced, sometimes the name of the place shows there was a Kill. This is so commonly the case that I doubt if many really pagan cemeteries still exist. I suspect that a church was put to make a pagan cemetery

Christian and avoid a breach of custom to which the people would not willingly submit.

The transfer of the comarb lands to the bishops rendered considerable amalgamation necessary as a church which supported a priest with its endowment land might not do so without it. Thus churches would fall naturally into groups served by one man, and as naturally the outlying churches would fall to ruin. The regular levy of tithe made the transfer of the comarb lands possible, but the tithe was by no means the equivalent of the ownership and enjoyment of the land on which the priest could live.

O'Donovan gives an interesting instance of survival among the people of the parish of Lackagh in Annaghdown diocese of the memory of the ancient parishes, which had been amalgamated before the year 1306. They told him that it was once five parishes—1. Lackagh. 2. Kiltroge (St. Tróg's). 3. Grange dedicated to St. Suibhne whose holy well is near it. 4. Kilsgeach. 5. Derrymaclaughney.¹

The earliest list of parishes of the dioceses of Tuam and Annaghdown is in the Ecclesiastical Taxation of 1306. In Reeves's "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor and Dromore" it is described as originally a tax of one tenth of movables and annual income of all men in aid of the crusades, which soon became a tax on the clergy only, without much pretence of crusading. It was granted by the Pope to the King or levied by the Pope for himself. Pope and King naturally quarrelled over it. It had been repeatedly granted and levied in Ireland. In 1306 King Edward I. got from Pope Clement V. a grant for two years, afterwards extended to seven years, of the Ecclesiastical Tenths of his dominions, for which was made a new valuation which we have here. The only exemptions were in favour of Cardinals, and the Templars and the Hospitallers.

Being a revenue survey and not an ecclesiastical survey of churches and houses it is in some respects defective. The barony of Moycullen is wholly omitted from the Taxation of Annaghdown. This may be because the churches therein were so poor as to have no taxable income; though the churches close to Galway should have been fairly prosperous at this time;

¹ *O.S.L. Galway*, i. p. 288.

if each parish was very small the income might be so cut up as to be not worth assessing in any case.

So too Clare Island and the other Western Isles are omitted unless included in Kilgeever.

The Isles of Aran were in the diocese of Kilfenora, but were not taxed as nothing could be got from them. For the same reason the parish churches of Ardagh and Kilmore dioceses are omitted. These were purely Irish countries and the ecclesiastical collectors could not have got anything out of them, and the clergy must have been miserably poor there. In the diocese of Elphin certain churches are marked as waste or worth nothing on account of war.

The assessment was made by two sub-collectors, who got returns for each deanery from the rural deans, who had the assessments made by jurors on oath. Being made for taxation it may be taken to be well within the average income. Many monasteries having no taxable income do not appear. The mendicant orders are in that condition.

The ancient monasteries had lost their lands, so do not appear unless they had acquired lands later or had other property. Their income from rectories was taxed under the parish church.

The country was so much impoverished by Bruce's war that a new taxation was ordered at the close of Edward II.'s reign, and benefices not exceeding 6 marks in value were exempted unless the holders were beneficed elsewhere. The order was repeated in the first year of Edward III., and again in 1330 when he had a grant of the tenth for four years.

These lists are taken from Sweetman's "Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland," vol. v. The reading of the names is sometimes guesswork, but they can almost always be made out somehow with certainty as a corruption of some known Irish name. It will be noticed how these parishes have for the most part subsisted as separate parishes from 1306 until the Ordnance Survey came 500 years later. I have altered the spelling of the Irish names when necessary after collation with the originals. Sweetman seems to have sometimes put what he supposed was intended. In assessing a parish church the formula is the church of is assessed at so much for the Rector who had half the income, so much for the Vicar who had one fourth, so much for the

Archbishop or Bishop who had one fourth. For conciseness' sake I ignore this distribution and give only the whole assessment, except in cases in which it is not distributed in the usual way. The name of the church or beneficiary and the assessment are taken from the Taxation. The other columns are my additions. In the column of identifications C. means that it is that church, P. that it is a church in that parish. The assessment is made in £ and s. and *d.*, and in marks and subdivisions of marks, the mark being 13s. 4*d.* or 16*d.*, very convenient for subdivision. I reduce all to terms of £ s. *d.*

TAXATION OF DIOCESE OF TUAM

DEANERY OF TUAM

NAME OF CHURCH.	VALUE.	IDENTIFICATION.
	£ s. d.	
1 Taxation of all the goods, as well Temporal as Spiritual, of the Lord Archbishop of Tuam, except the fourths of churches, one fourth of which he received as below, made by jurors worthy of credit	115 6 11	
2 Rents and revenues, both temporal and spiritual, of the Chapter of Tuam, excepting eight churches belonging to the Dean and Chapter, in which they have three parts and the vicars the fourth part, the names of which are contained below	1 17 2	
3 Goods of the Monastery de Colle Victoriæ, in the first year when the church of Anagdun was united to the see, in which church the abbot and convent of the monastery aforesaid had the rectory and vicarage of Galway, and the chapel of Foranbeg, excepting these, and also excepting the rectory of Erdermada, in the diocese of Tuam; taxed by jurors worthy of credit	42 13 6	Knockmoy Abbey.

THE PARISHES

	NAME OF CHURCH.	VALUE.			IDENTIFICATION.
		£	s.	d.	
4	Goods of the house of St. John, in the suburbs of Tuam, excepting their churches as appears below.	2	0		Cong Abbey.
5	Goods of the house of St. Mary of Cunga, excepting 17 churches, of which they are rectors	5	18	8	
6	Goods of the house of the fountain of St. Patrick, excepting their churches . .	9	10	5	Ballintubber Abbey.
7	Goods of the community of St. Michael of Magio, excepting their churches . .	1	0	0	Mayo Abbey.
8	Goods of the monastery of Casta Silva, excepting the Chapel of Killegil . . .	13	18	4	Kilcreevanty Nunnery. Kilgill in Annaghdown P.
9	Goods of the monastery de Portu Patrum of Anagdon, excepting the churches of Adchudrignigi and others of which they are rectors . .	2	8	0	St. Mary's Abbey at Annaghdown. See Annaghdown Taxation.
10	Goods of the abbot and convent of the little cell of Anagdon, excepting their churches	10	0		
11	Parish church of Tuam, for portion of the dean and chapter, who have 3 parts. Portion of the vicar in the same	5	0	0	
12	Church of Kilbenon	1	13	4	
13	Church of Kilconlagh with the chapel of Kelsenbota .	2	0	0	Kilbennan C.P. Kilconla C.P.
14	Bukdennach	1	10	0	Kilshanvy C.
15	Bukeran	13	4		Boyounagh C.P.
16	Eadargull	10	0		CloghmakeeranC? in Clonbern P.
17	Kelmachamlyd	2	0	0	Addergoole C.P.
18	Talfeto	1	0	0	
19	Auner', for the portion of the Rector who has three parts	6	0	0	Dunmore P.
	Vicar	2	0	0	

	NAME OF CHURCH.	VALUE.			IDENTIFICATION.
		£	s.	d.	
20	Kelcorin	1	13	0	Kilkerrin C.
21	Edermoda	2	13	0	Northern parts of Kilkerrin P.
22	Kellmoylan	1	6	8	Kilmoylan C.P.
23	Kilmacrigan (Hospital) . .	2	0	0	Cummer C.P.
24	Dubloch, Rector	13	4		Killereerin P.
	Vicar	6	8		
25	Kilstoich, for the rector who has four portions	1	13	0	Killoscobe C.P.
26	Dissertbebar, for the rector who has three portions . .	1	0	0	In Aghamore P.
	Vicar	10	0		The rector really has only $\frac{2}{3}$
27	Enagharuck, Rector	15	0		Kilcronan C. in Aghamore P.
	Vicar	5	0		
28	Harcudemore	1	6	8	Aghamore C.
29	Keldara, Rector	15	0		Kildara C. in Annagh P.
	Vicar	5	0		
30	Rathcurnan	2	13	4	Bekan C. or in Bekan P.
31	Druggulragi	1	6	8	Drumcalry <i>i.e.</i> Knock C.P.
32	Kealtarnan	1	0	0	
33	Keallaricravyd	1	6	8	Annagh C. in Annagh P.
34	Keltulach	2	0	0	Kiltullagh C.P.
35	Clancarnan	2	0	0	Moore P. and Drum P.
Sum of Taxation of Deanery of Tuam		240	14	1	
	The Tenth	24	1	5	

DEANERY OF ATHENRY

1	The church of Athenry with the chapel	£	s.	d.	
		26	13	4	
2	Theascastan		13	4	Taghsaxon C. <i>i.e.</i> Abbert or Mon- ivea P.
3	Kilmeyn	4	0	0	Kilmeen C.P. in Leitrimbarony.
Sum of the Taxation		31	6	8	
	The Tenth	3	2	8	

THE PARISHES

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DEANERY OF STRUTHIR

NAME OF CHURCH.	VALUE.	IDENTIFICATION.
	£ s. d.	
1 Struthir	2 0 0	Shrule C.
2 Kenlacha	13 4	Kinlough C.
3 Magenculi	1 0 0	Moyne C.
4 Killyngmylrorynd	1 0 0	Neale Old C. Cong P.
5 Cunga	2 0 0	Cong P.C. un- known.
6 Inismedon	2 0 0	Inishmaine C.
7 Rodba	1 6 8	Ballinrobe C.
8 Kilmorosegir	1 0 0	Killosheheen C.
9 Kellnygiglara	2 0 0	Kilmolara C.
10 Ros'	1 6 8	Ross C.
11 St. Patrick of Kilmedon	4 0 0	Kilmainemore C.
12 The Apostles of Kilmedon	2 0 0	Kilmainebeg C.
13 Kilcolman	4 0 0	Attyrickard C. in Cong P.
14 Loghmescan	2 0 0	Ballinchalla C.
15 Inysredba	1 6 8	Templenalecka in Ballinrobe P.
16 Margos	1 0 0	Moorgagagh C.P.
17 Kelkemantuyn	1 6 8	Kilcommon C.P.
18 Rossclaran	13 4	Moyrus C. ?
19 Innidsclin	16 0	Omeysteheen C.
Taxation of Deanery	31 9 4	
The Tenth	3 2 11½	

DEANERY OF MAYO

NAME OF CHURCH.	VALUE.	IDENTIFICATION.
	£ s. d.	
1 St. Gerald	4 0 0	Mayo P.
2 Balla	4 0 0	Balla C.P.
3 Tyrnehathyn	4 0 0	Kilcolman C.P.
4 Crosbithin	2 0 0	Crossboyne C.P.
5 Theachuyny, Rector	1 10 0	Tagheen C.P.
Vicar	10 0	
6 Rodbini with the Vicarage	16 4	Robeen C.
7 Rodbad in Kera	1 10 0	Holyrood, Ballin- robe.
8 Enagh	1 6 8	Annagh C. in Robeen P.
9 Kilfyna, Rector	1 0 0	Kilvine C.P.
Vicar	6 8	
10 Thauaghta	1 6 8	Touaghty C.P.

NAME OF CHURCH.	VALUE.			IDENTIFICATION.
	£	s.	d.	
11 Nova Villa of Kera	2	0	0	Burriscarra C.P.
12 Odeyn	2	0	0	Ballyheane C.P.
13 Fayte	2	0	0	Ballyovey C.P. ?
14 Drum	1	13	4	Drum C.
15 Cagal	2	13	4	Cagala C. <i>i.e.</i> Ballintubber P.
16 Rosselowe	1	6	8	Rosslee C.P.
17 Luyné, Rector	15	0		Loona C. in Drum P.
Vicar	5	0		
18 Berethnagh [or Berechnagh]	1	13	4	Breaghwy C.P.
19 Sclanpatrick	13	4		Manulla C.P.
20 Tirlagh	2	0	0	Turlough C.P.
21 Turaunt	2	0	0	Kildacommoge C.P.
22 Clancuan	1	10	0	Aglish P.
23 Clanedre (re is doubtful)	1	0	0	Islandeady C.P.
24 Achedaver	4	0	0	Tempunabhfiacal at Aghagower.
25 Noucongall, Rector	6	8		Cloonpatrick C.
Vicar				Oughaval P.
Archbishop				
26 Kilgovir	1	0	0	Kilgeever C.P.
27 Kilmayn	2	13	4	Kilmeena C.P.
28 Latharis	4	0	0	Burrishoole C.P. with Achill P.
29 Kilmalasser	13	4		Kilmaclasser C.P.
Taxation of Deanery of Mayo	56	16	4	
Diocese of Tuam	360	6	5	
The Tenth	36	0	7 $\frac{3}{4}$	

DIOCESE OF ANNAGHDOWN

Taxation of benefices, rents, and revenues of this Diocese made by jurors worthy of credit, in the second year of the tenth being current, after the final separation of this diocese from that of Tuam.

DEANERY OF MOYDRIG, MEARY, MEDRAIGE

	£	s.	d.
1 Goods, rents and revenues of the Bishop of Enagdun, saving fourths of churches, which he received as below	28	0	0

	NAME OF CHURCH.	VALUE.			IDENTIFICATION.
		£	s.	d.	
2	Goods of the Monastery de Portu Patrum of Anagdun, excepting the church of Athdreny and other churches in which they have rectories .	2	8	0	
3	Goods of the Abbot and convent of the Little Cell of Anagdun of the Premonstratensian order, excepting their churches	10	0		
4	Mecheri	6	13	4	Ballinacourty C.P.
5	Foranmore	6	0	0	Oranmore C.
6	Foranbeg (not distributed to Rector, Vicar, or Bishop) .	1	0	0	Oranbeg, church site not found.
7	Roscam, Rector.	10	0		Roscam C.
	Vicar	10	0		
	Bishop	10	0		
8	Galway, the Rector and Vicar Bishop	5	0	0	St. Nicholas C.P.
	Bishop	1	13	4	
9	Clardun dūwl hospital ¹ . .	6	0	0	Claregalway C.P.
10	Audreny (not distributed) .	14	4		
11	Anaghdown	2	13	4	Annaghdown Cathedral ? P.
12	Chapel of Delgill, Rector and Vicar	15	0		Kilgill C. in Annaghdown P.
	Bishop	5	0		
13	Kellthomas or Kellthama (hospital) for the portion of the rector in the sanctuary	2	0		Kilcoona C.
	Portion of the same in lay fee	8	0		
	Bishop	5	0		
14	Leatragh	1	6	8	Lackagh C.P.
15	Killeeny (hospital)	13	4		Killeany C.P.
16	Kellfynfy, for the rector in the sanctuary (hospital) .	3	0		Killursa C.P.
	Portion of the same in lay fee	12	0		
	Vicar	7	6		
	Bishop	7	6		
17	Donnaghpatrick for portion of the rector in the sanctuary (hospital)	3	4		Donnaghpatrick C.
	Portion of the rector in lay fee	10	0		

¹ "Hospital" is in left-hand margin in original.

	NAME OF CHURCH.	VALUE.			IDENTIFICATION.
		£	s.	d.	
18	Killawyr in the sanctuary (hospital)		2	0	Killower C.P.
	Portion of the rector in lay fee		8	0	
	Vicar		5	0	Cargin C.P.
	Bishop		5	0	
19.	Rathmyalid, Rector and Vicar	1	0	0	Cargin C.P.
	Bishop		6	8	
20	Struthir in Muntircuda Rector and Vicar . .	3	0	0	Kilnamanagh Abbey C.
	Bishop	1	0	0	
21	Kilkelwyll	1	0	0	Kilkilvery C.P.
Taxation of the diocese of Annadown		72	19	8	besides hospitals.
	The Tenth	7	5	11½	

And be it known that procurations and perquisites of the visitation and chapters of the Archdeaconry of Annadown are not taxed because they appear above at the end of the taxation of the diocese of Tuam.

Note.—They are not given there.

NOTES ON THE TAXATION

- 1 Temple Iarlaithe a little N.E. of the cathedral was the parish church, said to have been the church of Tuam proper, the western part of the parish. The church of the Shrine, also close to the cathedral was looked upon as the parish church of the eastern part.
- 2 The Archbishop had no fourth in the churches of the Dean and Chapter, Nos. 11 to 18 inclusive.
- 3 The Abbey of Knockmoy must have been taxed for the parish church, or else the parish is concealed under some other name. The parish church was called in the 16th century the church of the Great Door, in Irish Teampoll-andorusmoir.¹
- 5 From later lists the 17 churches seem to be all in this list except Kilmainemore which was a prebend and Roba which was a rectory.

¹ Bodkin's *Visitation and Regal Visitation of 1615*.

- 15 Bukeran. Probably Both Ciarain in the graveyard at Cloghmakeeran. It is the parish of Clonbern.
- 17 Kelmachamlyd. }
 18 Talfeto. } Templetogether and Liskeevy and Belclare are not accounted for. Belclare is likely to have been taxed as part of Tuam parish as the rectory was part of the Deanery, or under the Chapter rents and revenues. So these should represent the others. But I cannot make out what the words are meant for. The former looks like such a word as Kilmachanely. Cill MachAinlighe.
- 19 Auner' is the parish of Dunmore, the only parish of the Conmaicne of Dunmore which was held by a rector. It may be a contraction for Aunery, for Athnariogh, but no such name is in use.
- 20 Kilkerrin parish would be the southern part of the parish of that name.
- 21 Edermoda is the northern part of Kilkerrin. The church should be Kiltullagh, where O'Concennain, chief of Ui Diarmada lived.
- 24 Probably Killererin parish.
- 25 Kilstoich. This must be meant for Killoscoba.
- 26 to 35¹ Abbeyknockmoy and Moylough and Ballynakill Aghyart cannot be identified in this list. The Abbey of Knockmoy held the rectory and vicarage of that parish and the rectories of Moylough and of Kilfelligy in Killoscobe, and it is possible that the abbey was taxed for those churches, departing from the usual practice. It is to be observed that the only items said to be excepted from their taxation are their rectories in Annaghdown diocese and that of Edermoda.

Ballynakill Aghyart is noted in the Regal Visitation of 1615 to have been parcel of the rectory of Killererin. It may have been so held and taxed at this time.

DEANERY OF SHRULE

- 4 Killyngmylrorrynd (Cillin Maelroraind). The Townland of Lecarrowkilleen includes the site of the ancient church of the Neale. It belonged to the Archbishop. I suspect the ancient church to be this Killeen which owing to its position in the list is likely to have been near Cong.
- 7 From Petty's map I gather that the present church is on the site of the old church.

¹ For reasons for identification see *R.S.A.I.*, xxxi. p. 27.

- 8 Kilmorosegir (Cill mor O'Segin). Segin is a man's name. Killoshheen is in a townland of that name which belonged to the Archbishop, close to Ballinrobe.¹
- 9 Kellnygiglara. This is Kilmolara which would mean church of My Lara or Labhra, but no such name is known.² I do not know what "gig" represents, but the old and modern names seem to be variations of one idea, church of Lara or of Lara's —.
- 13 Kilcolman cannot be identified with certainty but is most likely to be the church of Attyrickard near Cross. The remains show it to have been an important church and the taxation also marks importance.
- 14 Loghmescan. The old church at Ballinchalla. We may infer its proper name to be Killower from the adjoining townland.
- 17 Kilkemantuyn. I take this to be Kilcommon which is not otherwise noticed.³
- 18 Rossclaran. } These two must cover the barony of Bally-
Innidsclin. } nahinch. The former should be the name from which we take Moyrus and the latter a corruption of Imad Fhechin, Fechin's Isle. The barony is not likely to have been omitted as Cong Abbey held all its rectories. The Deanery has 19 churches named in this list. Roba and Kilmainemore rectories did not belong to the abbey. As it is most unlikely that any of the 17 churches escaped taxation I think that these two covered Ballynahinch barony, Conmaicnemara.

DEANERY OF MAYO

- 1 St. Gerald. Templegerald has disappeared. We may take it to have been close to Mayo Abbey.
- 3 Tyrnehathyn = Tirnechtain. Kilcolman is probably the church meant. In 13th century William de Bermingham held this rectory before he became Archbishop. In the 16th century Mayo Abbey owned it.
- 5 Theachuyny = Teachcaoin. It might be read Teachnyny, but the modern form Tagheen points to the former reading.
- 7 Rodbad in Kera. The parish is the part of Ballinrobe parish which lies north of the river Robe.
- 10 Thaughta. The parish church was where Towerhill House stands.

¹ See Cong Abbey, p. 256. ² O'Donovan, *O.S.L.M.*, ii. p. 219.

³ See *R.S.A.I.*, xxxi. p. 30.

- 13 Fayte. This may be the Irish Faithche, Fahy, a lawn. It must be Ballyovey parish, and probably that old church whose ruins show its importance.
- 18 Berethnagh or Berechnagh. This is Breaghwy church and parish. The name may be Brecmagh from which comes Breaghwy, but it is more likely to be Brethnach, the Irish for Welsh. A family named Brethnach, now Walsh, was, and still is, in that neighbourhood and has given its name to Walshpool in Drum parish. Breaghwy was included in the territory of Clanncuain which belonged first to the De Barrys and next to the De Cogans, both Welsh families.
- 22 Clancuan. The church was probably in the old graveyard at Castlebar. In later times the parish is called Aglish-cowane and Dromrany.
- 23 Clanedre. A mistake for Olanedin = Oilen Eidin. Eidin is said to be the name of the founder of Islandeady Church who was buried in it.¹
- 28 Latharis. I take this to be Leath Fhearghuis, Fergus's Half or Share. O'Fergus was name of one of the three chief families of Umall. The old parish church of Burrishoole is close to the Abbey.²

DIOCESE OF ANNAGHDOWN

- 2 Athdreny. } These and Adchudrignigi (p. 195), seem to be
 10 Audreny. } the Irish Achadh Draighneach or Thornfield.
 It should be some church in Lackagh or Annaghdown.
- 4 Mecheri. A form of Medhraighe or Meary.
- 9 Clardun dū wl. This seems to be meant for Clar an Diabhail, the Devil's Plank, the name used in the 16th century for Claregalway, taken from a plank bridge there.
- 13 Kellthomas or Kellthama. This may be certainly taken for Kilcoona because it belonged to the Hospital of St. John at Castledermot, as did Kilcoona. Taking it so all the parishes belonging to that house are accounted for.
- 16 Kellfynfyf. I take this curious name to be a copyist's corruption of Cell Fursa, Killursa.
- 17 Donnaghpatrick. This church seems to have been given up by the Hospital in return for Kilkilvery, which belonged to the Hospital in the 16th century, when Donaghpatrick belonged to Kilnamanagh Abbey.

¹ *O.S.L.M.*, ii. p. 480.

² For particulars regarding Patrician churches, see *Journal of R.S.A.I.*, 1901, pp. 26-39, and p. 432.

- 19 Rathmyalid. Probably the church of Cargin which is in an old Rath, and which was the corps of the Archdeaconry.
- 20 Struthir in Muntircuda. This should be in full Struthir in Muntir Murcada, which exactly describes the country about the old church of Kilnamanagh, which was in the part of Struthir (Shrule) which was under O'Flaherty. This parish church was afterwards made an abbey church. See notes on Architecture.
- 21 Kilkelwyll (Cill Cilbile). Kilkilverly was on the site of Ross Lodge.¹

¹ O'Donovan, *O.S.L. Galway*, i. p. 201.

CHAPTER XXI

BODKIN'S VISITATION

THE next list of parishes is contained in Bodkin's "Visitation," which was made at the close of 1558 or early in 1559, or thereabouts. Lally was dean and Richard Bourke of the Kilmaine family was MacWilliam Eighter who succeeded David of Carra who died at the close of 1558. The names are very difficult to make out owing to contractions. It is in the usual contracted Latin with marginal notes. I give a translation. The MS. is in the Library of T.C.D. marked Class E., Table 3, No. 13, Primate Hampton's Collection. Marked No. 582 in the new Catalogue of Manuscripts.

These are the names of the Dignities of the Church of the Blessed Mary in the city of Tuam and of its prelates—

THE LORD CHRISTOPHER ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM

Master William Lolay has the Deanery of Tuam and the Rectory of Athnary and the prebends of Lecach. And his farmers are troubled contrary to the letters of the Lord Deputy and the Council often addressed to him by John de Burgo the Sheriff in the Deanery, and Dumb Thomas de Burgo in the Rectory and in the prebends of Lecach. Pluralist benefices had rescript time of C. Mary, la letters p

John Eque is Provost of Tuam and Rector of Balenaley, but Thadeus O'Mallay detains part of the Provostship and Thomas de Burgo son of John of the Termon the whole Rectory. John Eque pluralist rescript of Mary he did n

The Archdeaconry is vacant, but the fruits are usurped by Blind William de Burgo as follows below. Vacant.

Five Vicars of the Church of the Blessed Mary of Tuam, viz.—Thomas O'Donayll who is troubled by Lord Bermingham, John Cosgray who is troubled by John de Burgo the Sheriff, Admitted Ordinary

John Duyn is at Dublin, Conla O'Kennay is at Oxford, Thomas Magleyn is at Dublin, students.

Collative, *i.e.*
as I think.

John son of William Vicar of Scryn but Sheriff John de Burgo holds part of the profits, and because he cannot live in his country on account of want of living he has gone away to Dublin.

Collatives.

Names of prebendaries and prebends of the Cathedral Church of Tuam.

John M'Seonath possesses the prebend of Kyllmyn and studies in Dublin.

Voide by
reason it is
usurped.

Robert O'Keayllay has the prebend of Kyllmeayn mor but Remund M'Coonyn detains half.

William son of John de Burgo forcibly usurps the prebend of Maynkylle.

Blind William de Burgo forcibly usurps the prebend of Balla and the prebend of Falduyn.

John Pindrogos usurps the prebend of Balenigarray and the prebend of Cluynmor.

And William O'Mulvihil the prebend of Templegalle and Taghsaxen.

Collative.

Malachy son of William holds the Rectory of Kyllcaryn and Swarthy Donatus and Thadeus O'Kellay by usurpation detain half the profits.

Collative.

Thomas O'Kernay Vicar of Kyllconla.

Collative.

John Bermingham Vicar of Lyskyvay Kyllbenean and Kyllclune and is troubled by Walter son of John de Burgo in regard to the profits.

Presentative
p enim petora
tempe Ma.

Cornelius O'Hyfernayn Rector and Vicar of Dunmor, but is troubled in regard to the profits by Sheriff John de Burgo.

Coll.

Remund M'Coste Vicar of Adruguyll and James Bermingham holds half the profits.

Coll.

Donald M'Cagayn Vicar of Templetocayr and M'Davy holds half the profits.

Coll.

Donatus M'Gryvay Vicar of Kylltulach but the Rectory is by usurpation detained by O'Conwyrduinn.

Coll.

Ruricus M'Gryvay Vicar of Kyllmeyn.

Coll.

Ruricus M'Crystech Rector of Maio and Vicar of Crosboynn and John M'Murys usurps the profits of the Vicarage.

Coll.

William Plemen Vicar of Tecayn.

Odo Omurchun Vicar of Maio and Walter M'Murys usurps the profits.

Vicarage of Kylldacomog

Vicarage of Corrayn

Vicarage of Torlach

Vicarage of Oleaynedayn

Rectory and Vicarage of Clacny
are vacant and deserted

} These are voided
by reason of
waste. Coll.

Thomas O'Hubayn in Burgeskora and Belahen and if there were anything in Belahen it is usurped by Myler M'Mi^o. Colla. Pluralist.

Taltoc Vicar of Baleove but if there were anything it is usurped by Cryna M'Myle. Coll.

These are benefices possessed by Blind William de Burgo a lay man (?) by usurpation, though certain persons have been given title in them. Coll.

Archdeaconry of Tuam

Rectory of Moyinalam

Vicarage and prebend of Balla

Vicarage of Kyllmyna

Vicarage of Burges Wyll

Prebend of Faldown

} All these livings are
usurped by Wyllyam
Keighe and although
there are others unto
whome the same are
granted.

Rectory of Vuallymalle is possessed by Captain O'Malle and by the sons of Thomas Ymalle. Coll.

Vicarage of Innysbofyne is usurped by Red Thadeus O'Malle. All those are usurped without title or right.

Vicarage of Vayll is usurped by the sons of Thomas Ymalle.

Vicarage of Acagovayr is usurped by Risterd de Burgo.

Vicarage of Kyllgayvayr is usurped by Eugenius O'Malle.

John O'Donayll Vicar of Kyllm'clacer studies at Oxford and Ranald M'Conoyll usurps the profits of the Vicarage. Coll.

Rectory of Roba is usurped by Lord M'William Burcke. Coll.

Vicarage of Anay is usurped by the same.

Vicarage of Lech is usurped by Thomas de Burgo, and the Archiepiscopal fourth of that Vicarage and of the Vicarage of Nahany are usurped by the same. Coll.

Vicarage of Robyn is usurped by Blind Thomas de Burgo. Its Rectory belongs to monastery of Maio. Coll.

John O'Kayllay Vicar of Roba and Baynkalay but the profits are usurped by Lord M'William Burcke and his brother David. Coll.

Conla O'Kennayn Vicar of Kyllcomayn studies at Oxford and the profits of the whole Vicarage are usurped by the sons of Risterd and William de Burgo.

Rectory of it belongs to the monastery of Conga.

Vicarage of Humoheyn

Vicarage of Balenakylle

Vicarage of Balencony

Vicarage of Moyrus

But the Rectories belong to the
Monastery of Conga.

} Vacant because they
are deserted.

Kervall (Cerball) O'Kayllay Vicar of Kyllmolara.

Richard M'Mylere usurps half of the profits.

Rectory of the same Vicarage belongs to the Monastery of Conga.

Do (Odo ?) Onell Vicar of Conga. Edmund de Burgo usurps the whole profits. Its Rectory belongs to the Monastery of Conga.

Robert O'Kayllay Vicar of Kyllmeaynmor and Prebendary. Half of the Vicarage is usurped by Walter son of John de Burgo. Half of the prebend is usurped by Reimund M'Ceonyn (Mac Seonin ?). The Rectory belongs to Monastery of Conga.

Cairbre O'Kennayn Vicar of Kyllmeayn, student at Oxford, and the profits of the Vicarage are wholly usurped by Edmund de Burgo and Risterd Guerre of Duray. The Rectory belongs to the Monastery of Conga.

John O'Konayll Vicar of Kyllynbrenayn. The Rectory belongs to the Monastery of Conga.

Dermot O'Ruain (?) Vicar of Scruyr. The profits are usurped by William son of John de Burgo. Rectory is of Conga Monastery.

John Og O'Dorcay Vicar of Kynlacha. The profits are usurped by William son of John de Burgo. Rectory is of Monastery of Conga.

Myler O'Hugyn Vicar of Belclayr but the profits are usurped by Myler de Burgo.

Cornelius Og O'Metay (O'Melay ?) has the Rectory of Kylleryran, and Malachy O'Kellay and Thadeus O'Kellay divide between themselves. Also that Cornelius has the

Coll.
The personage
of these Vicar-
age belongs
to the Abbey
of Conge.

Coll.
The person-
age hereof
perteyneth to
the Abbey of
Conge.

Coll.
This personage
perteyneth to
Conge.

Coll.
The person-
age hereof
dothe perteyne
to Conge.

Coll.
The Rectorie
hereof per-
teyneth to the
Abbey of
Conge.

Coll.
Rectorie per-
teyneth to the
Abbey of
Conge.

Coll.
Rectorie hereof
perteyneth to
Conge.

Coll.
Rect. per-
teyneth to
Conge.

Coll.

Rectorie per-
sentative.

Vicarage of Great Gate, and Malachy O'Kellay has the profits, and the Vicarage of Kylostoba troubled by Swarthy Donatus O'Kellay. Coll. The Rectorie of this Vicaridge perteyns to the Abbey of Knockmoy.

Thomas O'Kennayn Vicar of Mylacha but the profits are divided between Thadeus son of William Y Kellay and Swarthy Donatus O'Kellay and Thadeus son of William. The Rectory belongs to the Monastery of the Hill of Victory. Coll. The Rectorie perteyneth to the Abbey of Knockmoy.

The Rectory of Galway belongs to the Monastery of Cnokmoy.

Thomas O'Huryn Vicar of Kylleryeran and half the profits are detained by usurpation by Thadeus O'Kellay and Swarthy Donatus O'Kellay. Coll.

Thomas O'Hyryle Vicar of Kylcaryn and half of the profits are detained by usurpation by Malachy O'Kellay. And also that Thomas has the Vicarage of Cluynbernd. Odo Og son of Odo son of Edmund holds by usurpation half of the profits. Coll.

David O'Cosgray Vicar of Kyllvicriayn. Coll.

Stephen Kyrrnayn Archdeacon of Enachdun and Rector of Kyllvicriayn studies continuously at Oxford. Coll.

Four Vicars of the Church of Enachdun. Colla.

Keeper for two of them Clement Skeret.

The other two are Thadeus and John M'Nile (or Uile or Vile) but they are troubled by Sheriff John de Burgo and his brother William and Dumb Thomas de Burgo.

Patrick Black Dean of Enachdun. Waste. Coll.

The Warden and Vicars of Galvia. }
 Vicarage of Kyllcomyn. }
 Vicarage and Rectory of Mycollen. }
 Vicarage of Ranuch (Rahoon ?). }
 Vicarage of Clar. }
 Rectory and Vicarage of Uranmor. }
 Vicarage of Balena rthe }
 (Ballynacourty). }

These are the livings united to the Colledge.

Vicarage of Kyllkyllyvyre is vacant.

Coll. Voide.

John son of Jonatus Prebendary of Kyllmyna who studies at Dublin about to go to Oxford. And Edmund de Burgo brother of the Earl of Clanricard usurps the profits of the prebend contrary to the Archbishop's collation and the royal letters.

Lodovicus O'Grada Vicar of Kyllmyna.

Coll.

- Coll. Clement Skeret Prebendary of Kyllmylayn and Sheriff John de Burgo holds half the profits.
- Coll. Myach M'Myltoly Rector and Vicar of Mycarnayn.
- Coll. Maurice Onuy (?) Vicar of Kyllmylayn. Sheriff John de Burgo holds half the profits.
- Coll. Clement Skeret Vicar of Lecach and Dumb Thomas de Burgo holds half.
- Coll. Dermot M'Cray Vicar of Balenakylle Achiard and Cornelius Og retains a part of the profits.

The above is rather a list of clergy than of parishes and so numbers of parishes are not mentioned. Thus Aghamore and Knock and Bekan and Annagh are ignored, but I suppose that they were all held by one incumbent, the Archdeacon, who had the parish of Knock as corps. Thus several parishes round Headford are also ignored. Also Monivea or Abbett.

The chief interest is the view of the state of the church some 20 years before the Government was able to exercise real power in Connaught, showing great decay and corruption and the new growth of a national spirit of purification and improvement. As yet the Reformation had not extended appreciably into Connaught as an external influence. Abbeys had been suppressed but they were still occupied by the monks in these dioceses except a very few. Henry VIII. had appointed Bodkin to be Archbishop, and he held possession but was not acceptable to the Pope. Laymen are found to have seized the endowments of the church to a very great extent and without any show of right. For many rectories vicarages and prebends are recorded as held wholly or in part by force. This must mean that they collected or kept for themselves the tithes. These laymen are the great men of the country, the Sheriff of Galway, William Bourke, brother of Richard an Iarainn, commonly called the Blind Abbot, MacWilliam and his brothers Thomas and David, and O'Malleys and O'Kellys and others. On the other hand the spirit of improvement is shown by the notes that certain incumbents are studying in Dublin and Oxford. This spirit no doubt was fostered by Bodkin, but he was himself a man of education and the desire for improvement must have been present.

Notes on Places and Names in Bodkin's List

The reading of names is somewhat uncertain owing to contractions and want of distinction between some letters and illegibility. Thus Kyrrnayn may be Kyrruayn and may mean Kirwan. The Irish Christian names have been Latinised. I now give them together :—

Carbricus	= Cairbre.	Cornelius	= Conor.
Donatus	= Donnchadh.	Eugenius	= Eoghan.
Malachias	= Maelseachlainn.	Jonatus	= Johnock.
Ruricus	= Ruaidhri.	Odo	= Aedh.
Thadeus	= Tadhg.	Seonath	= Johnock.

Johnock is a form of John used in Ireland, like Robuc and Daboc and Willeog from Robert, David, William.

Descriptive Nicknames

Cecus	= Caoch	= Blind.
Fuscus	= Riabhach	= Swarthy or Striped.
Guerre	=	
Juvenis	= Og	= Young, or Junior.
Mutus	= Balbh	= Dumb, or Stammering.
Rufus	= Ruadh	= Red.

Dumb Thomas.—A Thomas Balbh was uncle of the Earl of Clanricard, but this may be another man.

Eque.—This name is read Egne in the Blake Family Records, p. 10.

Balenaleg.—This should be in the barony of Kilmaine as it is held by Thomas, son of John of the Termon. Perhaps it is Ballymally. See Cong Abbey, p. 256.

O'Keayllay.—This is probably the name O'Caeillaide which was, I believe, an old Irish name about Kilmaine.

M'Coonyn = MacSeoin ?

Pindrogos = Prendergast.

Kyllcaryn = Kilkerrin.

Kyllchune = Kilcloony, in Liskeevy P.

M'Cagayn = MacEgan = MacAedhagain ?

Kyllmeyn = Kilvine = Cill Mhidheain.

M'Crystech. This family held land in Clanmorris.

Plemen = Fleming.

Tecayn = Tagheen.

Corrayn.—The northern part of Kildacommoge parish, taking its name from Corran MacStephen where dwelt MacStephen de Exeter, whose clan held a large tract around Bellavary. Temple na Lickin or Temple Som seems to have been the church in use for this part of the parish.

Oleaynedayn = Oilen Eidin = Islandeady.

Clacny.—This must be a name for Ballintubber parish which is omitted by Bodkin and by the list in the Division of Connaught, in which Clakny appears. The list of 1591 names Villa Fontis, *i.e.* Ballintubber, and omits Clacny. I do not know what Clacny represents.

Taltoc.—May be meant for Tomaltach, abbreviated and corrupted.

Moyinalam.—The last letter might be *w* possibly. Manulla is the name.

Vuallymalle = Umhall ui Mhaille = parish of Oughaval.

V nayll represents the same.

M'Conoyll.—A form of MacDomhnaill. A clan of MacDonnells lived in the parish.

Anay.—Annagh, the part of Robeen parish next L. Carra.

Lech.—Temple na Lecka in Cuslough demesne, the old parish of Inishrobe in the Taxation.

Nahany.—The parish of Touaghty.

Baynkalay.—This is the Beankellee of the Division of Connaught. The first part I suspect to be meant for Baighin, a waggon, or for Beann, a peak. The whole would be Cellach's Waggon or Cellach's Peak. Beann means a bone or the arms of a cross.¹ This would connect it in meaning with Holyrood. Rathkelly is an old stone fort in Rathkelly Townland adjoining Templemore, or Holyrood, on the South. It is the old parish of Roba in Carra.

Humoheyn = Imadh Fheichin = Feichin's Isle, Omey.

Balencony.—Ballynconay in the Division of Connaught. It is Ballindoon parish but I do not understand this name.

M'Mylere.—The MacMeylers were an important family owning a good deal of land thereabouts, freeholders descended from Philip, brother of Sir William Liath de Burgo.

Richard Guerre.—The family of Duray were MacSeonins.

Scruyr = Shrule.

Great Gate.—Tempul an Dorusmoir in Irish. The name of the parish in which is Abbey of Knockmoy. It does not appear what Great Gate gave the name.

Kyllostoba.—Killoscoba, which appears in the Taxation as Kilstoich. *c* and *t* were written much alike and so were

¹ Supplement to O'Reilly's Dictionary.

liable to confusion. In this case *c* or *t* has been again written over.

Mylacha.—Moylough is now called Mount Bellew Parish.

Kyllvicriayn.—Cill mhic Riagain. Cummer Church.

Kyllkylvyre.—Kilkilvery here seems to include the surrounding parishes of Muinter Murchadha.

Kyllmyna.—This is Kilmeen, Cill mBian or Cill Mian.¹

¹ *H. M.*, p. 78.

CHAPTER XXII

THE DIVISION OF CONNAUGHT AND THOMOND AND NOTES THEREON

THIS paper was drawn up in 1574 to show the division of those countries into counties and baronies. The part relating to Galway has been published in the *Journal of the Galway Archæological and Historical Society*, vol. i. p. 109. The parish churches are shown as they lie within the baronies of the county of Galway, but as the county of Mayo had not yet been divided into ploughlands the churches and benefices were given in one list in a very irregular fashion. The parishes in the Dioceses of Killala and Achonry are ignored. Of the county of Sligo it is noted that the parishes are unknown. The Archbishopric of Tuam is not named among those of the county of Galway, but Mr. Lally is named as Bishop of Annaghdown. The Archbishopric of Tuam and the Bishoprics of Mayo and Killala are said to be in the county Mayo. Lists of the Abbeys show how they were held, whereof I give so many as lie in these dioceses. These lists differ from Bodkin's List in that they are lists of separate benefices. They are defective. The county Galway parishes are all called Vicarages.

BARONY.	PARISHES.
Donkellyn	Owranmore, Ballencourte.
Mwikullen	Rahone, Killanen, Galway, Mwikullen, Kylcomayne, Kellinkelogh.
Beallamoe	Cloynebirne, Boyonaghe, Templetogher.
Donmore	Donmore, Kilclone, Kilconnla, Kilcrevonagh, Liskevay, Adrugill, Killereran.
Clare	Clare, Kilmillayn, Lekagh, Kilmicrian, Bealclarhome.

BARONY.	PARISHES.
Kyllihane	Killihane, Ballenekille.
Kingestowne	Athenry.
Teagwyn	Moyllagh, Apbert, Clurkone ? Kilgosna ? Kilererin ? Killoscobe, Knockmoy.

Note.—Some of these names are not identified and I mark them thus (?) for they may be misspelt and may not be of Tuam diocese. Kilererin here is a repetition.

ABBAYES WITHIN THE COUNTY OF GALWAY

- Thabbay of Athenry.
- Thabbay of Galway possessed by the Commons of the Towne.
- The Hill Abbaye by Galway by the Commons of the same.
- Thabbay of Clare by Therle. [The Earl of Clanricard.]
- „ Kilnamanagh.
- „ Rosriell by the gray freers.
- „ Anaghcoyne by Therle.
- „ Teagsaxon.
- „ Monaster leve. [Monaster Liath, Abbey grey ?]
- The Celle of Holyroode.
- The Abbaye of Knockmoy by Nicholas fitz Symons of Dublin.
- The Celle of Crewan [Crevaghbane].
- Thabbaye of Kilmore ne toher. [Monaster Liath, Abbey grey?]
- „ St. Johns in Toam.
- „ Monester ne Skryne.
- The Trynitie Abbaye.
- Thabbaye of Dunmore by John Burke fitz Thomas.
- The Nonnerey of Kilcrewnaght by Therle.
- Thabbaye of Eney.
- The Abbaye of St. Mary by West Galway by the towne.

Note.—This list is by no means complete. Monaster leve or Monaster lene I take to be Monaster Liath, Abbey Grey, or Abbey of Sleushancough. If that is so Kilmore ne togher is different, or it may be a repetition, the compiler of the list not knowing that they were alternative names of the same house.

CERTEIN SPIRITUALL DIGNYTIES AND OTHER LIVING BOTH
PERSONAGES AND VICARAGES AND PARISH CHURCHES
WITHIN THE COUNTY OF MAYO

[*Note.*—P. = Prebend. R. = Rector. V. = Vicar. R. or V. after a name means that the Rector or Vicar is mentioned elsewhere in the list.]

Deane of Toame.	R. Mycarnan V.
Archdeacon of Toame.	R. Ballycally.
P. Maynkill.	P. Kilmeamore.
P. Cluynmore.	P. Ballynghary.
V. Lyskyvvay.	P. Teagsaxon.
V. Crosbyhyn.	R. Mayo.
V. Corayn.	V. Kildacamagh.
R. Clackny.	V. Oellandedde.
V. Bellahen.	V. Burescara.
V. Balla.	R. Moynallau.
R. Owle Imale.	V. Buresowle.
V. Acagovyre.	V. Vocavayll.
R. Ballynrobba V.	V. Kilmaclacer.
V. Robyne R.	V. Anay.
V. Kilmolare.	V. Homoheny.
V. Kilmellayn.	V. Sruer R.
V. Kilcomayn R.	P. Kylmenayn.
V. Killinbrenan R.	R. Mayrus V.
P. Killmellayn.	V. Portimaghie.
P. Lekagh V.	V. Nahany.
V. Skryn.	V. Ballinroba R.
P. Falduyn.	R. Kilcomayn V.
P. Templegale.	V. Ballinconay.
R. Kiltullagh.	V. Kilmoclare.
V. Mayo.	R. Conge V.
V. Turlagh.	V. Kilmedibeg.
V. Clakny.	R. Killinbrenan V.
V. Balleove.	V. Kynlagha R.
V. Kylmyna.	V. Kilcaryn.
V. Inysboffyn.	V. Kilmenayn.
V. Kylgavyr.	V. Mycarnayn R.
V. Lechee.	V. Leakeagh P.
V. Beankellee.	V. Mayrus R.
V. Kilmeynanmore.	R. Kynlagee V.
V. Ranugh.	R. Robyne V.
V. Ballenekille.	V. Conge R.
R. Sruer V.	V. Ballenecarte.

ABBAYES AND RELIGIOUS HOUSES WITHIN THE COUNTY
OF MAYO

Thabbay of Rahrany	
„ Killinbreanyn	
„ Cong by Domynicke French for Capten Collyer	
„ Ballaghmeaske	} All this Abbayes are possessed eyther by Freeres or Rebels so as Her Majestie hath no com- moditie by the same.
„ Ballinrobba	
„ Mayo	
„ Moyriske	
„ Clyera	
„ Inishturke	
„ Buresowle	
„ Crosmolynne	
„ Moyne	
„ Rosserke	
„ Ballintubber	
„ Burescara	
„ Teaghboyhyn	
„ Stradin Ballahane	
„ the Owrelare	
„ Banyde	
„ Beallahawnes	

Summa of Thabbayes within this county of Mayo
xxi.

Note.—Ballaghmeaske is Inishmaine. Inishturke seems to have come into the list by its ancient reputation. It does not appear that any monastic house was there in the 16th century. Teaghboyhyn may perhaps be a name of Ballinsmalla Abbey, which ought not to be omitted. Bowfinan and Errew in Tirawley are certainly omitted, and Annagh unless it is the Eney of the Co. Galway list, which is not likely. The officers of the Government had difficulty in getting accurate information. On the other hand Tibohine may mean Clonshanville which is not entered under Roscommon, but here erroneously like Banada.

Notes on Names in these Lists

Kellinkelogh is the church of Inismacaw in the country called Killin.¹

Kilclone, Kilcloony, should be the eastern part of Liskeevy.

Kilcrevonagh, Kilcreevanty, seems to be an alternative name for the parish of Kilbennan.

Apbert, Abbert, is Monivea Parish, an old church.

Clurkone.

Kilgosna.

¹ *H.W.C.*, 7, 64.

The churches and parishes of the north of the barony of Clare are omitted except Belclarhome, Belclare of Tuam, which may be taken to represent all. But the list is so irregular and imperfect that they may have been accidentally omitted.

CO. MAYO

The Dean and Archdeacon are brought into this list which contains much more than the Co. Mayo churches, including several of the county Galway. Liskeevy is repeated in it and so is Abbey Knockmoy, if Porti Maghie is meant for Porta Magna as I suppose. The Provost of Tuam and the Dean and Archdeacon of Annaghdown are ignored, but that may be because their emoluments came from parish churches.

Corayn. } See Bodkin's List, p. 212.
Clackny. }

Balla.—The Prebend or Rectory is ignored.

Owle Imale.—The Vicarage appears as *Vocavayll*, Oughaval.

Skryn.—This may be meant for Tuam P.

Lechee.—See Bodkin's List, *Lech*, p. 212.

Beankellee.—This is the Baynkalay of Bodkin's List. See p. 212.

Ranugh.

Ballenekille.—Ballynakill in Ballynahinch barony probably.

Ballycally.—Ballinchalla.

Homoheny.—Imaidh Fheichin, Feichin's Island, Omev.

Kylmenayn.—These must be Kilmeen which is Kyllmyna in Bodkin's List.

Portimaghie.—I take this to be meant for Porta Magna, and so to be a repetition of Abbey Knockmoy P. already named in Galway.

Kilmoclare.—This seems to be properly Kilmoelare and to be the same as Kilmolara. In that case one should be a rectory. If not I do not make this out.

Kilmedibeg.—Kilmainebeg.

Kilcaryn.—Kilkerrin in Galway.

Ballenecarte.—This may be an *alias* of some place, probably of Drum P. in which is Ballycarra or Ballycar, in the 16th century Ballenecare.

As in Bodkin's List the parishes of Aghamore Knock Began and Annagh are ignored. So are the important

parishes of Kilcolman in Clanmorris barony and of Ross in Ross barony. These may have been treated as parts of Mayo and Cong in both cases. There are several names above which I have not been able to assign definitely which may cover some apparent omissions.

Co. ROSCOMMON

The Vicarages of Dromalgagh and Moore in barony of Moycarnan.

CHAPTER XXIII

VALOR BENEFICIORUM, AND NOTES THEREON

THIS is a taxation of Benefices for the First Fruits made in 1584-5. It was made in Irish money and in sterling which I give. The First Fruits were the 20th part.

DIOCESE OF TUAM

DENOMINATION OF LIVING.	TAXED AT			
	£	s.	d.	
Archbishopric of Tuam	50	0	0	
Deanery	6	0	0	
Archdeaconry	2	0	0	
Provostship	2	0	0	
Prebend of Lecagh	6	0	0	
„ Killmeanmore	13	4		
„ Kealebegg	13	4		
„ Taxesaxen <i>alias</i>				
Templegaille	1	0	0	
„ Killveylane	2	0	0	Kilmoylan.
„ Killweyne	2	13	4	Kilmeen.
„ Fayledoone . . . . .	..		
„ Balla	1	0	0	
Five Stipendiaries under the church of Tuam	3	6	8	Vicars Choral.
Rectory of Athenry	12	0	0	
Vicarage of Athenry	5	2	0	
Rectory of Dunmore	8	0	0	
Vicarage of Dunmore	4	0	0	
„ Millagh	2	13	4	Moylough.
„ Killescoba	1	0	0	
„ Ballakilly	1	0	0	Ballynakill Aghiart.
„ Killareyrane	2	0	0	
„ Kilweylane	1	6	8	Kilmoylan.
„ Lackagh	1	6	8	
„ Kilmareane	1	0	0	Kilmacrian.
„ Belletlare	10	0		Belclare.
„ Killowre	5	0		

VALOR BENEFICIORUM

DENOMINATION OF LIVING.	TAXED AT			
	£	s.	d.	
Four Stipendiaries of Annacoyme	2	13	4	Vicars Choral.
Rest of the same College . . . . .		..
Deanery of Annacoyme	1	15	0	
Archdeaconry . . . . .		..
Vicarage of Ballintogher	1	0	0	Templetogher.
„ Kiltullagh		15	0	
Rectory of Kiltullagh	1	10	0	
Vicarage of Kilbrenan		5	0	Clonbern. See Abbeys. No. 39.
„ Kildarra . . . . .		..
„ Annagh . . . . .		..		Probably Agha- more, Annagh- ernaisc.
„ Bettagh . . . . .		..		Bekan ?
„ Kilwyen		13	4	Kilvine.
„ Crossboyne		10	0	
„ Taghekyunny		6	8	Tagheen.
Rectory of Mayo	2	0	0	
Vicarage of „	1	0	0	
„ Killemeamore	1	0	0	
„ Killmeanbegg		13	4	
„ Kilcolman		10	0	
„ Conga		5	0	
„ Ballenecalla		5	0	Ballinchalla.
Rectory of Ballinrobe	2	0	0	
Vicarage of „	1	0	0	
„ Inghbofin		10	0	Inishboffin — Kil- geever ?
„ Knockevale		6	8	Oughaval.
„ Kilmyne		10	0	Kilmeena.
Rectory of Aghboyer part in Archd. of Tuam	2	0	0	Aghagower.
Vicarage of Aghgoyer		10	0	
„ Borrishowle	2	0	0	Probably this should be Rec- tory, and Rec- tory of Owle below should be Vicarage.
Rectory of Clancuane	2	0	0	Aglish.
Vicarage of „	1	0	0	
Rectory of Toytruem . . . . .		..		Turlough and Breaghwy Ps.
Vicarage of Coran		10	0	Kildacommoge P.]

DIOCESE OF TUAM

DENOMINATION OF LIVING.	TAXED AT			
	£	s.	d.	
Vicarage of Bellagheyne		10	0	Ballyheane.
„ Borowskera		10	0	
Rectory of Moynula	4	0	0	Manulla.
„ Ballynegarry	1	6	8	Ballyovey P.
„ Kelleyreyran	6	0	0	
„ Corkemore	2	0	0	
„ Ballencalla	1	0	0	Ballinchalla.
Vicarage of Kilkeryne	1	0	0	
Rectory of Cryfortyer	1	6	8	Kilvine.
Vicarage of Rosse		6	8	
„ Ballendowne		6	8	
„ Inighyn		6	8	Imghyn, Imaidh Feichin, Omey.
„ Merriske		6	8	Moyrus.
Rectory of Owle	1	0	0	
	164	18	8	

The College of Galway is ignored altogether. As the valuation is not found in the Record Office it may be taken to have been lost. In comparing this valuation with that of 1306 it is to be noted that this is drawn up by benefices, and that the vicarages named herein may include one or more other parishes.

No amount is entered against some items. This may be that they were included in some benefice or be accidental.

Toytruem.—Tuath Truim is the territorial name of these parishes.

Coran.—See Bodkin's List, p. 212.

Ballynegarry.—Ballygarry is a townland of Ballyovey on the shore of Lough Mask opposite Illancolumbkille on which was an ancient monastery. I take it to be a name used for the whole parish for some reason. The church of Ballyovey itself seems to have been prebendal.

Corkemore.—I cannot guess at this, unless that it might be meant for Portamore, intended for Porta Magna but corrupted by copyists and half translation of original.

Cryfortyer.—For identification see *Journal R.S.A.I.*, 1902, p. 404.

CHAPTER XXIV

BENEFICES AND INCUMBENTS IN 1591

THE full parochial organisation is best shown in an undated list of Incumbents of the diocese of Tuam and Annaghdown, which is bound up with other documents regarding ecclesiastical affairs in a volume numbered 566 in the Catalogue of MSS. in the Library of T.C.D. It is in Latin, very clearly written. Similar lists of other dioceses are dated 1591, and this may be taken to be of the same date. No lists exist for Killala and Achonry. As in Bodkin's time the parochial clergy bear Irish surnames for the most part. This is the most complete list because since the appointment of Sir Richard Bingham as Governor of Connaught in 1585 the Queen's Government had been made effective everywhere in spite of occasional rebellions. Nevertheless these men were nearly all Roman Catholics.

NAMES OF INCUMBENTS OF TUAM DIOCESE

Dean of Tuam :	Edward Brown.
„ Mayo :	The same Edward.
Archdeacon of Tuam :	Conhur O'Konovan.
„ Anachdun :	
Provost of Tuam :	Donatus O'Hourain.
Rectory of Gallvey :	Rector, The Queen.
„ Athenry :	„ Edward Brown.
„ Dunmor :	„ Cornelius Hiffernan.
„ Kilicrean :	„ The Queen.
„ Moillagh :	„ „
„ Moicharnain :	„ Keady (?) Tully.
„ Killoscoba :	„ The Queen.
„ Kilirierin :	„ Thomas Boorke.
„ Balynacourty : (1)	„ The Queen.
„ Roscam :	„ The College of Gall.
„ Owransmore :	„ The same College.
„ Kilchirin :	„ Marcus Dudley.

Rectory of Kiltully Silmarun :	Rector,	Thateus O'Vagrio (?).
„ Kildara :	„	The Queen.
„ Anach :	„	„
„ Roba, viz. Templ- ruain :	„	„
„ Holy Cross of Roba :	„	Thomas Nolain.
„ Kilmeainmor and beg :	„	The Queen.
„ Sruhir :	„	The College of Gall.
„ Killinabrianin :	„	The Queen.
„ Conga :	„	„
„ Kinlach :	„	„
„ Kilcomayn :	„	„
„ Balinchalla :	„	Conley O'Kearavain.
„ Kilvolara :	„	The Queen.
„ Anny :	„	„
„ Robin :	„	„
„ Ross :	„	„
„ Kilcomyn :	„	„
„ Moculin :	„	The College of Gallvey.
„ Moyrus :	„	The Queen.
„ Ballindun :	„	„
„ Inishmean : (2)	belongs to the	Archdeaconry.
„ Ballinikilly :	Rector,	The Queen.
„ Inishbuffin :	„	„
„ Kilgevur :	belongs to the	Rectory of Owill.
„ Owill Yvaly : (3)	Rector,	Christopher Garvey.
„ Vuochivale :	„	The same.
„ Buriesowle :	„	Hubert Og.
„ Kilmyrn :	„	The Queen.
„ Kilvicclassir :	„	Thomas O'Hubain.
„ Aglisclinicuain :	„	Hubert Og.
„ Elan Edin :	„	The same Hubert.
„ Turlach :	„	The Queen.
„ Belahen :	„	„
„ Villafontis :	„	„
„ Dromnaneanighain :	„	„
„ Moinulla :	„	Thomas Ballach.
„ Balingarry : (4)	„	Thomas O'Hogirty.

THE NAMES OF THE PREBENDARIES FOLLOW

Prebendary of Small Churches: (4)	John Linch.
„ Kilmeanmor :	Robert O'Keally.
„ Teachsaxon and Templgall :	Thomas Nolain.
„ Kilmelain :	Maurice O'Nune.

Prebendary of Kilmyrn :	Richard Pwer.
„ Faldun :	William O'Mulavle.
„ Balla :	John son of William.
„ Crossbuhin :	David son of Maurice.
„ Kilcornain :	„ „
„ Cluoinmor :	„ „
„ Lacach :	The Dean of Tuam.
„ Moynchilly : (4)	John Linch.

THE NAMES OF THE VICARS

Vicarage of Gallvey :	Vicar, The College,
„ Athenry :	„ Mathew Ward.
„ Skrin at Tuam :	„ The College of Gallvey.
„ Dunmor :	„ Hilary O'Donolain.
„ Kilcheliny : (5)	„ Thomas O'Fieghain.
„ Kilicreain :	„ John O'Cosgove.
„ Belclar :	„ John O'Tevnain.
„ Moillach :	„ Thomas O'Keanavain.
„ Kilchuna :	„ Eugene O'Tevnain.
„ Balinchlar :	„ The College of Gall.
„ Moycharnain :	„ Eugene M'Ea.
„ Kiloscoba :	„ Hugo son of Maurice.
„ Ballinikilly Achiart :	„ Hugo son of Cornelius.
„ Owranmor :	„ The College of Gall.
„ Killovir :	„ Thateus M'Shane.
„ Kilconly :	„ Miler O'Higin.
„ Kilirierin :	„ William son of Maurice.
„ Kilbenan :	„ John Bremigham.
„ Kilcluony :	„ „ „
„ Lisskievu :	„ „ „
„ Adurguill Vicosti : (6)	„ Fallius (?) O'Donolain.
„ Teampltochir :	„ Fainulus (?) Niger Vaglyn.
„ Cluonbirn :	„ Donatus Vacegain.
„ Kiltullach :	„ Bernard Vagiwir.
„ Kildara :	„ John M'Brien.
„ Anach :	„ „ „
„ Becan :	„ Walter M'Ygilliduff.
„ Achivor :	„ John M'Henry.
„ Breachvy : (7)	„ Vacant.
„ Lune : (7)	„ „
„ Burieskearha :	„ Eneas O'Higin.
„ Balove : (4)	„ John son of William.
„ Kilmein :	„ Eugene O'Hilily.
„ Crossbuihin :	„ John O'Henichain.

Vicarage of Teachin :	Vicar, William Fleming.
„ Tyrenaghtin :	„ The Queen.
„ Kilcornain :	„ Maurice O'Ceally.
„ Roba :	„ John Og O'Ceally.
„ Kilmolara :	„ Kervall O'Ceally.
„ Kilmeanmor :	„ Robert O'Ceally.
„ Kilmeanbeg :	„ Cairbre O'Keanavain.
„ Sruhir :	„ The College of Gall.
„ Kinlach :	„ „ „
„ Killinabrianin :	„ Dermot O'Myn.
„ Conga :	„ Thateus O'Donill.
„ Ballinchalla :	„ Kervall O'Ceally.
„ Kilmyn in Clanri- card :	„ Lawrence O'Grady.
„ Anay :	„ Thateus Ruffus.
„ Ross :	„ Thomas O'Ceally.
„ Kilcomyn :	„ The College of Gall.
„ Moculin :	„ „ „
„ Kilanyn :	„ Donald M'Obichin.
„ Moirus :	„ David Ochunyffe.
„ Balindun :	„ David Oghunyffe.
„ Umofehin :	„ Thomas O'Monighun.
„ Ballinikilly :	„ Donald M'Obbichin.
„ Inishbuffin :	„ Thomas O'Monighun.
„ Kilgevur :	„ William O'Mulavile.
„ Vuochival :	„ Richard Ballach.
„ Buriesowll :	„ David O'Hubain.
„ Kylvina :	„ Donatus O'Hubain.
„ Kylviclassy :	„ Thateus O'Hubain.
„ Turlach :	„ Thomas O'Higin.
„ Kilachamog :	„ Vacant.
„ Kylvy : (8)	„ „
„ Kilursa :	„ Thomas O'Fiechain.
„ Eselanpadrig : (9)	„ Robert O'Ceally.
„ Elan Edin :	„ John O'Hubain.
„ Church of Clancuain :	„ Richard O'Hubain.
„ Curranstievny :	„ John O'Hary.
„ Belahen :	„ Thomas O'Hubain.
„ Dromenichain :	„ Roger O'Donill.
„ Breachvy :	„ Vacant.
„ Lune :	„ „
„ Mayo :	„ Thomas Ballach.
„ Anachduyn :	
„ Lacach :	„ William O'Calmain.
„ Kilmellain :	„ Maurice O'Nune.
„ Balla :	„ William Fleming.

(¹) *Ballinacourty*.—The vicarage is not specified, though the rectory is inappropriate. The vicarage was held by the College of Galway together with the rectory. The assignment to the Queen seems erroneous. Similar omissions of what might be expected will be found in this list. Such parishes as Donaghpatrick and Killeany are omitted. In all these cases we must assume they were held with another parish and treated as part of it.

(²) This seems to have been a temporary arrangement.

(³) *Owll Yvaly*.—O'Malley's Umhall usually means Oughaval, but here a part of Oughaval, or Aghagower, for which no vicarage is entered.

(⁴) *Ballingarry* is used for the rectory of the greater part of Ballyovey, the rest being the Prebend of Moynkilly which is held by John Linch with that of Small Churches. The Vicar of Balove may possibly have been vicar for the prebendary only, and incumbent of the old church at Ballyovey. Temple OMohery would then be the parish church of Ballingarry. These are the only two churches of 14th to 16th century date in the parish.

(⁵) *Kilcheliny* is perhaps Kilkilvery, being held by the same person as Kilursa.

(⁶) *Adurguill Vicosti* = Addergool of MacHosty, a family of some standing in that locality.

(⁷) *Breachvy* and *Lune* are repeated.

(⁸) *Kylvy*.—The name is unknown to me. It may be in Touaghty parish, which is otherwise ignored.

(⁹) *Eselanpadrig* (Slanpatrick).—The name now survives in the Vicarage and the rectory has taken the territorial name.

CHAPTER XXV

LIST OF OLD CHURCHES AND GRAVEYARDS— TUAM, ANNAGHDOWN

THE following table is compiled from the Ordnance Survey Maps, supplemented in a few cases by evidence in the Ordnance Survey Letters and other sources. When Kill or Killeen appears as part of the Townland name it may be taken as almost certain that a church was in the graveyard. The only cause for doubt is that Kill sometimes represents Coill, a wood, in place names.

The abbreviations are—O.S. = Ordnance Survey Map, 6 inches to a mile. P. = Parish. C. = Church. G. = Graveyard.

DIOCESE OF TUAM

TUAM PARISH

O.S.	NAME OR PLACE.	TOWNLAND.
29	Various churches in Tuam .	Tuam Town.
	Temple Iarlath	Cloonfush.
	G. near it	Cloonfush.
	G. at Gardenfield	Gardenfield.
	G. at Carnaun	Carnaun.
	Lissavally C. G.	Lissavally. In large fort.
	Killeen W. of Queensfort .	Killeen.
	G.	Lenamore. In fort.
	Killeedaun	Killeedaun.
30	G.	Ryehill.
	G. at Esker	Ginnaun.
43	G. Cloonmore	Cloonmore. In a fort.
	G., N.E. of Rinkippeen .	Ballymoat.
	Nunnery	Rusheens S.
	Ahgloragh C.	Ahgloragh.

BELCLARE (TUAM) PARISH

42	Kilteesk	Carheens.
43	Claretuam C.	Claretuam.
	Templenambraher	Carrowntemple.

KILBENNAN PARISH

O.S.	NAME OR PLACE.	TOWNLAND.
29	Kilbennan	Pollacorragune.
	Kilcreevanty	Kilcreevanty.
15	G.	Lissananny.

KILCONLA PARISH

15	Kilconla	Beagh. On edge next the following.
	G.	Ballynagittagh. In a fort close to and N.W. of Kilconla.
28	Kilshanvy	Kilshanvy.
	Gortnabishaun C. G.	Cloonsheen.
	Lisheen near Derryglashell	Cloonteen.
	Lisgaun G.	Cloonaglasha.
15	Knockaunpastia G.	Rathbaun or Urracly.

LISKEEVY PARISH

4	Lisdowlagh G.	Curraghaderry, but on edge adjoining Killerneen.
16	Liskeevy C.	Liskeevy. Kilgevrin adjoins on E.
	Kilcloony	Kilcloony.
	G. near it to S.	Kilphrasoge.
15	G.	Bellmount. In large fort.

ADDERGOOLE PARISH

4	Addergoole C. and G.	Kinnakinelly.
16	Abbey. Stone Cross. G.	Carrowntomush, adjoining Ardcloon.

DUNMORE PARISH

4	C. G.	Clondergan.
5	C. G., St. Patrick's Stone	Carrownaseer. Next S. of Shrule Tl.
	Kiltivna	Kiltivna.
	G.	Castle. Near Lackavaleahaubar Bridge.
17	Dunmore C.	Abbeylands.
	G., W. of Carrowntryla	Carrowpadeen. In a fort.
	G. more to W.	Not marked in Tl. sheet, but in Index.
30	G.	Birmingham Demesne.

TEMPLETOGHER PARISH

O.S.	NAME OR PLACE.	TOWNLAND.
1	C. G., near Moneenally	Moneenally.
	G., E. of Loughnamucka	Kilbeg.
6	Kildaree	Kildaree.
	Castletogher C.	Straide.

BOYOUNAGH PARISH

6	Boyounagh C.	Cashel, next W. of Boyounagh- more.
18	G. near Glenamaddy	Scotland.

CLONBERN PARISH

17	Cloghmakeeran C.	Brackloon.
	Kilmurry	Kilmurry. Killavoher next to E.
18	G., W. of Polleighter	Cloonacat.
31	Clonbern Ch.	Clonbern.

KILKERRIN PARISH

18	Kiltullagh	Kiltullagh.
19	G., S. of Timacat	Cuilsallagh.
31	Kilkerrin	Kilkerrin.
	Kilcornan	Kilcornan. Next S. of Kilkerrin.
	G.	Curraghmore.

BALLYNAKILL AGHIART

46	Ballynakill C.	} Carrownagannive.
	Aghyart G.	
	Ch. G.	Castlegar.
2	G.	Mount Bellew Demesne.

MOYLOUGH PARISH

45	Esker Stephen G.	Templemoyle.
	G.	Brierfield.
	Moylough C.	Moylough. Shankill is Tl. S.W. of Mt. Bellew Demesne, but no church in it.
59	G., S.E. of Abbett Bridge	Skeagh.
	Curraghaun G.	Windfield Demesne.
72	G., E. of Killaclogher Bridge	Doonaun.

KILLOSCOBE PARISH

O.S.	NAME OR PLACE.	TOWNLAND.
59	Killoscobe	Killoscobe.
	Kilfelligy	Kilfelligy.
	G., N.W. of Vermont . . .	Menlough Eighter.

KILLERERIN PARISH

44	G. near Gobban Saer's House	Shantallow.
	Grange C.	Grange.
	Creevaghbaun C.	Creevaghbaun, between Grange and Kilmore Tls.
	Killererin	Carrowmanagh.
	G.	Hillsbrook Demesne.
45	G.	Brierfield.

CUMMER PARISH

43	Cummer C.	Glebe, between Cummer and Clogh N.
	Ballinderry G.	Ballinderry.
	Rathnagall C. G.	Kilcurrivard.

KILMOYLAN PARISH

57	Kilmoylan	Annagh.
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ABBEYKNOCKMOY PARISH

58	G., E. of Brook Lodge . . .	Ballynakilla.
	G. near Farm Hill	Lindsay's Farm.
	G., S.W. of Farm Hill . . .	Liss.
	Abbey, G., N. of River . . .	Abbey.
	Abbey, S. of River	Culliagh N.
	G.	Parklaur. N.E. corner of parish.
71	G.	Carrowreagh E.

MONIVEA PARISH

58	Abbert C.	Abbert.
71	Killaclogher	Killaclogher.
	G. near Ardagheena	Glenaboy or Knockatober.
	Templevally	On boundary between Tisaxon N. and W. and Templemoyle S. and E.
84	Templemoyle	Templemoyle.
	Graigue Abbey	Graigue.

ATHENRY PARISH

O.S.	NAME OR PLACE.	TOWNLAND.
70	Derrymaclaghtna C.	Derrymaclaghtna.
	Grange at Tober Suivne	Coolaran.
83	Moor Abbey	Moor.
84	Athenry C. and Abbeys	Athenry Town.
	C.	Ballydavid.
95	Templegal	Derrydonnellmore. In a large ring.
96	Templekilmona	Castle Turvin.

IN MOYCARN BARONY—MOORE PARISH

54	Moore C.	Moore.
54	Kilbegley	Kilbegley.
56	Drumalagagh C.	Drumalagagh.
56	G., N.W. of Cloonburren Moat	Cloonburren.

DRUM PARISH

54	Thomastown C.	Thomastown Denesne.
51	Drum C.	Curryroe, adjoining Drum.

ROSCOMMON CO.—KILTULLAGH PARISH

26	C., N.E. of Cashlieve House	Church quarter.
32	C., N.E. of Moanbane Fort	Milltown.
	C. by R.C. Chapel	Garraunlahaunmore.
	Kiltullagh	Kiltullagh.

CO. MAYO—AGHAMORE PARISH

81	Aghamore C.	Aghamore.
	G., E. of Loughnaspadda	Tawnagh.
82	G., E. of Aghamore, Cal- dragh	Boleyboy.
	Kilvrogan or Kilbragan	Cloongawnagh.
92	Kilcronan	Cartron or Carrownedin.
	G. at Tobereenaun	Coogue S.

KNOCK PARISH

92	Knock C.	Churchfield. Drum on N.
	Tobercaolain (G. ?)	Caldragh.

BEKAN PARISH

O.S.	NAME OR PLACE.	TOWNLAND.
92	Bekan C.	Bekan.
	Kilmannin	Kilmannin.

ANNAGH PARISH

102	Kildara, <i>alias</i> Tulrohaun C.	Kildara.
103	Annagh C.	Church Park.
	Kilmullan	Grallagh.
	C. at Toberarneve . . .	Coolnafarna.

THE ANCIENT DEANERY OF SHRULE—IN CO. GALWAY,
INISHBOFIN PARISH

Inishbofin Map 114 of Co. Mayo.
Inishark.

BALLYNAKILL PARISH

9	Rinvyle C. or Church of the Seven Daughters .	Cashleen.
	Ch. on Crump Island .	Crump Island.
10	Salrock C.	Foher. Salrock Tl. adjoins across river on W.
11	G., E. of Bunowen River.	
22	Ballynakill C.	Cartron.
	G., W. of it	Ballynew.
23	G., S. of Kylemore Lake .	Mweelin. Tobermweelin close by.
24	Cannaclossaun G.	Kylemore.

OMEY PARISH

21	Omey C.	Omey Island.
	High Island, Ardilaun C. .	High Island.
22	Templederg	Streamstown <i>alias</i> Barratrough.
	Ch. by shore	Kill.
	G.	Clifden Castle Demesne.

BALLINDOON PARISH

35	Kilflannan and G.	Kill.
48	St. Caillin's C.	Duck Island.
49	Doon C.	Bunowenmore.
	G. on shore	Ballyconneely.

MOYRUS PARISH

O.S.	NAME OR PLACE.	TOWNLAND.
35	G. near Ardbear	Ardbear. Near Toberbeggan.
36	Killeen at Killeen Lake .	Killeen.
37	G.	Ballinafad.
50	St. Brendan's and St. Mathias's C.	Inishnee.
51	Toberconnell G.	Cashel.
63	G.	Errisbeg W., between Gurteen and Dog's Bay.
	Moyrus C.	Moyrus.
76	Caelann's C.	Croaghnaekeela.
	MacDara's C.	MacDara's Island.
	C. On Mason Island.	
	C. On Mweenish Island.	
77	G. on Finish Island.	
	Kilkieran	Kilkieran.

ROSS PARISH

12	Ultagbeg G.	Calliaghbeg.
13	Kilmore	Kilmore. Next E. of Finney.
	Kilbride	Kilbride.
25	G., N. of Cur	Breenaun.
	Billew G.	Cammanagh.
26	Knockaunnabasty G. . .	Cloghbrack Middle.
27	Ross C.	Rosshill.

CONG PARISH

26	Gortnakilla G.	Dooghta.
38	Derreenabreena G. . . .	Teernakill N.
40	Churches on Inchagoil .	Inchagoil.

IN CO. MAYO

120	Cong Churches and Abbey	Cong.
121	Killarsa	Ballymacgibbon N.
	Kilfrauchan	Dowagh E.
	Cross or Attyrickard C. .	Cross.
	Neale C.	Lecarrowkilleen.
	Gortacurra	Gortacurra.
123	Billypark C.	Carheens.

MOORGAGAGH PARISH

121	Killeenbrenan	Moorgagagh.
	Abbey (and old church) .	Kill.

BALLINROBE PARISH, SOUTH OF THE RIVER ROBE

O.S.	NAME OR PLACE.	TOWNLAND.
118	Ballinrobe C.	Glebe in Cornaroya.
	Abbey and St. John's House	Friar's Quarter W. and E.
	Killosheheen	Killosheheen.
	Kilkeeran	Kilkeeran (<i>O.S.L.M.</i> , ii. 203).
117	Inishrobe C.	Cuslough Demesne.
	Temple na Lacka	" "
3	Temple OMohery	Churchfield, Co. Galway, W. of Lake.

KILCOMMON PARISH

111	Kilrush	Kilrush (<i>O.S.L.M.</i> , ii. 218).
	Kilcommon	Kilcommon.
119	Kilglassan	Kilglassan.
	Killeenrevagh	Killeenrevagh (<i>O.S.L.M.</i> , ii. 218).

KILMOLARA PARISH

118	Kilmolara	Carrownakilly.
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BALLINCHALLA PARISH

117	Ballinchalla C.	Ballinchalla. Killower adjoins to S.E.
	Inishmaine C.	Inishmaine.
118	C.	Cahernicole W.
120	Killimor	Killimor (Church to be inferred from Prebend and name).

KILMAINEMORE PARISH

118	Killeennaskeagh	Carrowreagh.
	Kilquire	On boundary of Kilquire N. and Ellistronbeg.
119	G.	Oultauns.
121	Kilmainemore	Kilmaine.
122	Killernan	Killernan.
	G. of Ballymally	Frenchbrook. Close to Turlough- agurkal.

KILMAINEBEG PARISH

121	Kilmainebeg	Kilkeeran.
	Kilmacduagh	Kilmacduagh.

DIOCESE OF TUAM

		SHRULE PARISH	
O.S.	NAME OR PLACE.		TOWNLAND.
122	Shrule C.	Shrule.	
	Abbey, "Clogvanaha" .	Church Park.	
	G., N. of Dalgin House .	Carrowmore.	
123	Moyne C.	Moyne.	
	Kinlough C.	Kinlough.	

ANCIENT DIOCESE OF MAYO—ACHILL PARISH

42	Templecolman	Slievemore.
65	Kildavnet	Carrickkildavnet.

BURRISHOOLE PARISH

67	G. and St. Brendans Well	Roskeenmore.
	Burrishoole C. and Abbey	Aghadooey Glebe.
	St. Birroge's Bed and	
	Killeen	" "
	St. Dominic's Well . .	Kiltarnaght.
68	Kilbride	Kilbride.
76	Templemarcan	Rosclave.

KILMEENA PARISH

76	Inishdaff C.	
	Clynish C.	(<i>O.S.L.M.</i> , i. 488.)
77	Kilmeena	Kilmeena.

KILMACLASSER PARISH

77	Kilmaclasser	Rushbrook.
	Killeen at Tobercoyne .	Gortnacclasach (<i>O.S.L.M.</i> i. 493).

AGHAGOWER PARISH

88	Aghagower, C. and R. T. .	} Aghagower.
	Tempulnabhfiacal	
97	Killeen at Patrick's Chair	Boheh.
	G., SSE. of Moher Lake	Carrowreagh.
98	Cloghpatrick G.	Lanmore.
	Toberbrendan, C. G. and	
	Well	Lankill.
	Killeennimhe	Cordarragh.
	G.	Knappaghmanagh.

OUGHAVAL PARISH

O.S.	NAME OR PLACE.	TOWNLAND.
87	Cloonpatrick and Oughaval Abbey	Churchfield.
	Lisheenaneeve	Killadangan.
	Glaspatrick C.	Glaspatrick.
96	Milla G. Cloonpatrick	Foorgill.
97	Killeen, Kilvickrane	Oughty.

KILGEEVER PARISH

85	Kilbride	Askillau.
86	Kilgeever	Kilgeever.
94	Clare Island	} All containing churches.
	Inisturk	
	Caher Island	
95	G., N.E. of Aillemore	Cloonlaur.
	Killadoon	Killadoon.
105	Templedoomore	Tallavbaun.

ISLANDEADY PARISH

78	Islandeady C.	Islandeady.
	C. on Castlebar Lake	Annagh.

AGLISH PARISH

78	G. near Jail in Castlebar	Castlebar Town.
	C. at Ballynew	Ballynew.

TURLOUGH PARISH

70	Turlough C. Round Tower	Turlough.
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KILDACOMMOGE PARISH

70	G. and C. near Corraun	Corraun.
	Tempul Som or Tempul na Leicin	Knockatemple.
79	Kildacommoge	Moyhenna.
	2 Churches	Ara.

BREAGHWY PARISH

79	Breaghwy C.	Breaghwy Demesne.
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MANULLA PARISH

O.S.	NAME OR PLACE.	TOWNLAND.
79	Tempul a Scinneen, <i>i.e.</i>	
	Manulla	Rinnahulty.
	G. C.	Criaghanboy.

BALLINTUBBER PARISH

88	Kilbride	Kilbree Upper.
89	Temple Shane na Glasha	Bellabourke.
	Cagaula C.	Cagaula.
	Tubberpatrick C. Abbey .	Ballintubber.
98	Kilfinan, on Church Island	Carn.

BALLYOVEY PARISH

99	Ballyovey Ch.	} Portroyal.
	C. near it	
109	Kilkeeran	Kilkeeran.
	Illauncolumbkille C. . . .	Adjoins Ballygarry in which is Tobercolumbkille.
	Aghinish C.	Aghinish.

BALLYHEANE PARISH

89	Ballyheane C.	Cunaker.
	Buncam C. G.	C. in Lugaphuill. G. in Buncam E. Killeenbihan ?

DRUM PARISH

90	Drum C.	Drumknockatemple.
	Ballycarra C.	Elmhall.
	Loona C.	Loonamore.
	Gweeshadan C., Kilbrenan	Gweeshadan.
	G. and Tobermacduagh .	Killeen.

BURRISCARRA PARISH

100	Burriscarra C.	Burriscarra.
	Kiltoom	Ballycally.

TOUAGHTY PARISH

St. Patrick's Parish Church	Tower Hill Demesne.	Tower
of Touaghty	Hill House is on its site.	

ROSSLEE PARISH

O.S.	NAME OR PLACE.	TOWNLAND.
90	Rosslee C., Kilcadain . . .	Rathnacreeva.
	„ Chapel	Peenoge, at junction with Rathnacreeva.

BALLA PARISH

90	Balla	Balla.
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ROBEEN PARISH

100	Annagh C. Abbey . . .	Annies.
	Carrowkilleen C. G. . .	Carrowkillen (<i>O.S.L.M.</i> , ii. 211).
	Kiltagharaun	Kiltagharaun „ „
110	Toberloona C.	Cornfield.
	Robeen C.	Robeen.

BALLINROBE PARISH, NORTH OF R. ROBE,
ANCIENT ROBA IN CARRA

110	C. at Rocksborough . .	Rocksborough S.
118	Holyrood, or Templemore	Glebe in Carrownalecka.
	Killeenacrava	Rathkelly.

MAYO PARISH

91	Mayo Abbey	Mayo Parks.
	Kilbride	Kilbride.

KILCOLMAN PARISH

91	Kilcolman	Kilcolman.
92	G. near Rockfield House .	Rockfield.
102	Sruffakilleen	Garryredmond.

TAGHEEN PARISH

111	Tagheen C.	Tagheen.
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KILVINE PARISH

112	Kilvine	Kilvine.
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DIOCESE OF TUAM

CROSSBOYNE PARISH

O.S.	NAME OR PLACE.	TOWNLAND.
101	Knocknacaltragh G.	} Caltragh (<i>O.S.L.M.</i> , ii. 452).
	Killeenfelim	
	Killeenishel	
111	Crossboyne	Crossboyne.
	G., S.E. of Crossboyne	Esker N.
112	Kilcurnan	Garryduff.
	Cloonmore C.	Cloonmore.

DIOCESE OF ANNAGHDOWN

KILLOWER PARISH

29	Killower	Killower.
42	G.	Ballintleva.

DONAGHPATRICK PARISH

28	Killeen	Tonacoolen.
42	Donaghpatrik	Donaghpatrik.
	G., W. of Castlehacket	Caherlustraun. Kildrum Tl. is divided from G. only by the road.
	Killamanagh	Killamanagh.

KILKILVERY PARISH

42	Kilkilvery	Kilkilvery.
	G., W. of Rectory	Pollacullaire.
	G., N. of „	Bunnaconeen.
	G., E. of Dalysfort	Gortarica.

KILLURSA PARISH

41	Inchiquin C.	Inchiquin.
	Lynagh G. near Doonaun.	Carrownakib.
	C., E. of it on border	Carrownacroagh.
	Killursa	Ower.
	Kildaree	Kildaree.
55	Kilcronan.	Annaghkeen.

CARGIN PARISH

55	Cargin C.	Cargin.
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KILLEANY PARISH

O.S.	NAME OR PLACE.	TOWNLAND.
	Caheradane G.	Mount Ross.
56	Milla Fort G.	Keekill.
	Killeany	Cloghanower.
	Lisheenlee	Keernaun.

KILCOONA PARISH

56	Kilcoona	Kilcoona.
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ANNAGHDOWN PARISH

56	Killiam	Grange.
	2 Gs., S. of Cahermorris	Glenrevagh.
	G.	Aucloggeen.
57	Kilcahill	Kilcahill.
70	Kilgill	Slievefin, adjoining Kilgill.
69	Annaghdown Abbey Cs.	Annaghdown.
70	G.	Barravilla.

LACKAGH PARISH

71	Lackagh C.	Lackaghmore.
	Kilskeagh	Rathfee. Kilskeagh Tl. ad- joins in Athenry parish.

CLAREGALWAY PARISH

70	G. at Waterdale House	Waterdale.
	Claregalway C.	Claregalway.
	An Abbey	Cahergower or Summerfield.
	Kiltroge	Kiltroge.

ORANMORE PARISH

82	G. Menlough	Menlough.
	G. Carrowbrowne (Kil- roghter ?)	Carrowbrowne.
94	Roscam C.	Roscam.
95	Oranmore C.	Oranmore. No church is marked in Oranbeg which was the name of an old parish.

BALLYNACOURTY PARISH

95	Kilcaimin	Kilcaimin.
	G. near Cahergal	Ballynamanagh E.
103	Ballynacourty C.	Ballynacourty.

DIOCESE OF TUAM

GALWAY PARISH

O.S.	NAME OR PLACE.	TOWNLAND.
82	G. near Castlegar . . .	Castlegar.
94	G. near Ballybrit . . .	Ballybrit.
	C. near Belmont . . .	Rinmore.
	Galway Church . . .	Galway Town.

RAHOON PARISH

81	G.	Corcullen.
82	St. James's Chapel . . .	Newcastle. (<i>H.W.C.</i> , p. 56.)
93	Rahoon C.	Rahoon.

KILCUMMIN PARISH

39	G. near Coppermines . .	Curraghduff.
40	Faughnakilla	Curraghrevagh.
54	Kilcummin	Lemonfield Demesne.
55	G. Tobercoonagh . . .	Callownamuck.
65	Killower	Turlough.
	Kilbrickan	Kilbrickan.
89	St. Duiggall's G. . . .	Lettermullen.

KILLANNIN PARISH

55	Killaroon	Laghtgannon.
67	Killageemoge	Killaguile.
68	Killannin	} Killannin.
	Templebegnaneeve . . .	
	Templebreacan . . . .		Rosscahill E.
	Lisheencaltragh G. . .	Coolagh.
91	St. Columbkille's C. . .	Cloghmore.
90	Temple Inishmacaw . .	Barraderry.

MOYCULLEN PARISH

68	Kilcallin	Dovepark.
	Lisheennabasty G. . . .	Kilcloggaun.
81	Moycullen C.	Moycullen. Killarainy is next to W.
	Templebeg	Clooniff.
	Temple Eany	Killagoola.
	St. Enna's C. at Spiddal .	Spiddal.

CHAPTER XXVI

DISTRIBUTION OF RECTORIES IN 16TH CENTURY— TUAM, ANNAGHDOWN

ASCERTAINED from Bodkin's Visitation and Regal Visitation of 1615, *Valor Beneficiorum*, Grants of Possessions of Suppressed Monasteries and other sources.

DIOCESE OF TUAM

DEANERY OF TUAM

	CHURCH.	RECTOR.
Corcamogha. Conmaicne of Dunmore.	Tuam	Dean, Provost, Vicars Choral.
	Kilbennan	Vicars Choral.
	Kilconla	" "
	Liskeevy	Dean, Provost.
	Addergoole	" "
	Boyounagh	" "
	Templetogher	" "
	Dunmore	Rector, Dean, Provost.
	Belclare ¹	Dean.
	Clonbern Pt.	Dean, Provost.
{	Clonbern Pt.	Rector.
	Kilkerrin	"
Sodhans.	Kilmoylan	Prebendary.
	Killererin	Rector.
	Cummer	Hospital of St. John, Castle Dermot.
	Abbeyknockmoy	Abbey of Knockmoy.
	Killoscobe	" "
	Moylough	" "
	Ballynakill Aghiart	Rector.

¹ Belclare was in later times in country of Hy Briuin, but must in very early times have been under the Conmaicne.

DIOCESE OF TUAM

DEANERY OF TUAM—*continued*

	CHURCH.	RECTOR.
Ciarraige.	Knock	Archdeacon.
	Aghamore	Monast. St. John Baptist, Tuam.
	Bekan	" " "
	Annagh	" " "
	Kiltullagh (but latterly occupied by Sil Maelruain) . .	Rector.
Clancarnan.	Moore	Part held by Kilcreevanty Nunnery.
	Drum	Part held by Dean of Clonfert.

DEANERY OF ATHENRY

Sodhan ?	Athenry	Rector.
	Abbert or Monivea . .	"
Ui Maine.	Tagh Saxon <i>alias</i> Templegaile . .	Prebendary.
	Kilmeen	"

DEANERY OF SHRULE

Conmaicne Cuile Toladh.	Ballinrobe	Rector. Includes Roba in Carra.
	Kilmainemore	Prebendary.
	Shrulle	Cong Abbey.
	Kilcommon	" "
	Kilmainebeg	" "
	Cong	Cong Abbey and Preb. Killabegs.
	Ballinchalla	" " "
	Kilmolara	Cong Abbey.
	Moorgagagh	" "
Ross	" "	
Conmaicne Mara.	Ballynakill	Cong Abbey.
	Omey	" "
	Ballindoon	" "
	Moyrus	" "

MAYO DEANERY.—BISHOPRIC UP TO 1209

	CHURCH.	RECTOR.
Ciarraige.	Mayo or Templegerald	Rector.
	Kilvine	"
	Crossboyne	Rector. Prebendary of Ballin- garry. Prebendary of Clon- more.
	Tagheen	Mayo Abbey.
	Kilcolman	" "
	Kilticollo in Mayo Parish	" "
Ceara.	Touaghty	" "
	Kilcadayn, or Rosslee	" "
	Rosslee Chapel	" "
	Robeen	" "
	Balla	Prebendary.
	Manulla	Rector.
	Aglish	"
	Islandeady	"
	Turlough	Franciscan House at Buttevant
	Breaghwy	" " "
	Kildacommoge	" " "
	Ballyovey	Rector and Prebendary of Kil- labegs.
	Ballintubber	Ballintubber Abbey.
Ballyheane	" "	
Drum	" "	
Burriscarra	" "	
Umhall.	Aghagower	Archdeacon, Prebendary of Kil- labegs.
	Oughaval	" " "
	Kilgeever, including Inishbofin	" " "
	Burrishoole	Rector, Prebendaries of Killabegs and Faldown.
	Kilmaclasser	" " "
	Kilmeena	Prebendaries of Killabegs and Faldown.

DIOCESE OF ANNAGHDOWN

	CHURCH.	RECTOR.
Ui Briuin Seola.	Annaghdown	Dean.
	Cargin	Archdeacon.
	Lackagh	Prebendary.
	Killeany	Hospital of St. John, Castle- dermot.
	Killursa	" " " "
	Kilkilvery	" " " "
	Killower	" " " "
	Kilcoona	" " " "
	Donaghpatrick . . .	Kilnamanagh Abbey.
	Galway	Knockmoy Abbey.
	Ballynacourty . . .	Annaghdown Abbey.
	Roscarn	Galway College.
	Oranmore	" "
	Claregalway	" "
	Rahun	" "
Moycullen	" "	
Kilcummin	Galway College and Annagh- down Abbey.	
Killannin	Annaghdown Abbey.	

Note.—In many of these parishes portions of rectorial tithes were held by monastic houses and in other ways.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE ABBEYS

WHEN the monastic system of Ireland attained its greatest development on national lines it was a reproduction of the tribal system, the greater and lesser abbots and their convents were the kings and sub-kings and their tribes with a difference. Constant fighting and dissension and absence of administration broke tribes into fragments under separate chiefs. The bond of the Christian Church kept the lesser monasteries in distant tribes under the control of their head monastery to some extent. Tribalism tended to separation, Christian monasticism to union.

Some abbey in each tribe naturally acquired a greater reputation and greater favour from the ruling tribe than the others, and got greater endowments and had more parish churches in connection with it. However great it became as an ecclesiastical centre and college and school it was but a collection of huts, in which the monks lived separately round a church of no great size however well built and decorated, and all these were surrounded by a high strong wall, the cashel which remains now only in lesser abbeys, but seems to have been general. After all the changes of centuries a fragment of the cashel wall is to be seen near Mayo Abbey. The students and laymen in connection with a great establishment must have lived outside this enclosure.

They collected about them considerable endowments in land, which may be recognised now in the possessions of the Sees of Tuam and Killala and Achonry close around Tuam and Cong and Mayo and Aghagower and Killala and Errew and Achonry and Ballysadare. The great monastery sent out monks to the parish churches under its rule and these churches seem to have had also their separate endowments in land usually surrounding or adjoining. The frag-

ments remaining in episcopal possessions show that such endowments were general. The lands and altarages and casual offerings must have made a good provision for the parish priests. In 1210 all these comarb or termon lands were swept into the hands of the bishops, and the parochial clergy were left dependent on altarages and the newly imposed tithes. In only a few cases do we find glebe lands held by clergy in these dioceses, which seem to have been excepted from the general transfer for some reason, such as the glebe lands adjoining the old church of Roba at Ballinrobe and the old church of Roba in Carra. The parochial clergy might have got on well enough if they had been left to enjoy their own, but that was not to be.

The decay of the Irish system in the 11th century under the influence of the Roman ideas, the introduction of Roman monastic orders, and the adoption by the surviving ancient monasteries of the Augustinian Rule substituted a wholly different church order in effects as well as in organisation. The ancient Irish system seems to have been a natural growth from the period of missionary effort, when the monastery was a mission centre which formed congregations and regulated the dependent mission stations. It covered the country with parish churches, and after a long and flourishing existence fell into decay as regards its peculiar monastic features, and adopted the prevailing Roman system and ideals of church organisation.

As regards the secular clergy the new ideal was a powerful bishop at their head who should wield in addition to spiritual authority temporal possessions enough to maintain the dignity of a governor of the church among the lords of the land. Another ideal of the 12th and 13th centuries was that of working upon the world by communities of monks and friars, who were an additional agency beside the parochial clergy and diocesan system. With these ideas came the desire for magnificent churches and buildings worthy of the purposes to which they were dedicated. These views in practice worked to the neglect and depression of the parochial clergy.

The bishop took a quarter of the tithes. Rectories were given to monasteries which took half the tithe and a share of the altarages. The vicar was left with a quarter

of the tithe and the fees and altarages. Even vicarages were occasionally taken away. If land was given to a monastery the tithe went with it. The new orders were allowed the valuable privileges of hearing confessions and serving masses. Thus the parochial clergy were depressed and endowments and fees intended for their support were by degrees diverted to the new organisations. Moreover, the popularity and reputation of the new orders in their early days secured to them all endowments for pious uses which laymen made, and practically nothing was dedicated to parochial and diocesan purposes. The patronage of the rectories was generally in the hands of the lay lords, who assigned them to the abbeys which they or their ancestors had founded or desired to help.

The Archbishop of Cashel applied to the Pope in the middle of the 15th century for permission to ordain men of illegitimate birth because of the lack of parsons. There was no difficulty in filling monasteries.

The Houses of Regular Canons of St. Augustine, in these dioceses, excepting those of Tuam and Ballintubber, seem to be all surviving ancient foundations of importance which were not transformed into cathedral chapters. Minor abbeys disappeared when their lands were taken away even if they survived in form. In some cases the lands seem to have passed away from them even before the 12th century, as in the cases of Balla and Meelick and Roscam. We know that an important abbey existed at Balla, and we may infer such an abbey from the towers at Meelick and Roscam, but no ecclesiastical or abbeyland can be traced about them commensurate with their importance. They must have fallen into lay hands.

The Cistercian order was introduced by the establishment of Mellifont in the early part of the 12th century. After the Anglo-Norman conquest other orders followed. In Connaught this period of new foundations began after the de Burgo partition in 1237.

The new houses did not neglect education, but their means in this respect were limited. The old establishments were ruined before the new were set up and endowed. With the 14th century a period of general lawlessness and violence again set in over nearly all Ireland. The new monastic

orders were better fitted for a fairly orderly region. The old Irish orders which grew up in the midst of tribal war and disorder contrived to carry on their work under the conditions of their origin. They were but slightly organised as a whole, but they held together and did their work well.

Of the abbeys in the following list some houses were but huts which have disappeared and left no trace behind. There is much uncertainty as to endowments at the suppression. In some cases the abbot made a complete surrender, in others the lands remained partly in possession of monks or friars, partly in lay hands, and became the subject of inquisitions as they were discovered. Many inquisitions have been lost.

My identifications of old denominations show position, not extent. The ascertainment of areas would require a lengthy examination which could only be carried out by the owners whose title-deeds and old leases may afford evidence.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE MONASTIC ORDERS IN THESE DIOCESES AND THEIR HOUSES

I. THE AUGUSTINIANS

- (1) Regular Canons.—1. Aran, p. 252 ; 2. Errew, p. 252 ; 3. Annaghdown, p. 252 ; 4. Aughros, *alias* Kilmalton Priory, p. 255 ; 5. Ballysadare, or Easdara, p. 255 ; 6. Cong, p. 256 ; 7. Mayo, p. 263 ; 8. Inishmaine, p. 263 ; 9. Tuam, p. 264 ; 10. Ballintubber, p. 265 ; 11. Cross, p. 272 ; 12. Annagh, p. 272. Canonesses of St. Augustine.—13. Killaraght, p. 273 ; 14. Killecrau or Killeenacrava, p. 273.
- (2) Arroasian Canonesses, a reformation of the Regular Canonesses.—15. Annaghdown, p. 273.
- (3) Premonstre Canons, or Premonstratensians.—16. Tuam, p. 274 ; 17. Annaghdown, p. 274 ; 18. Killetrynode or Killeennatrinody, p. 274 ; 19. Killeen, p. 274.
- (4) Eremites of St. Augustine, called Austin Friars.—20. Ballinrobe, p. 275 ; 21. Burriscarra, p. 275 ; 22. Ballyhaunis, p. 275 ; 23. Banada, p. 276 ; 24. Ardnarea, p. 276 ; 25. Dunmore, p. 276 ; 26. Murrisk, p. 276 ; 27. Galway, p. 276. Notes on names of lands of Ballintubber, p. 276.

II. BENEDICTINES

- (1) Benedictine Nunneries.—28. Kilcreevanty, p. 280.
- (2) Cistercians or Bernardines, a Reformation of Benedictines.—29. Knockmoy, p. 285 ; 30. Clare Island, p. 289. Possessions of Boyle Abbey, p. 289. Notes on names of lands of Kilcreevanty, p. 291.

III. THE DOMINICANS (the Order of Preachers, called the Black Friars, the first of the Mendicant Orders).

31. Athenry, p. 292 ; 32. Strade, p. 294 ; 33. Rathfran, p. 295 ; 34. Knockmore, p. 295 ; 35. Toombeola, p. 295 ; 36. Urlare, p. 295 ; 37. Burishoole, p. 296 ; 38. Cloonimeaghan, p. 296 ; 39. Kilmurry, *alias* Kilbrenan, p. 296.

IV. THE FRANCISCANS (the Friars Minors, called Grey Friars).

- (1) Conventuals.—40. Claregalway, or Ballenclare, p. 297 ; 41. Galway, p. 297 ; 41a. Athenry, p. 297 ; 42. Bofeenau, *alias* Boghmoynan, p. 297 ; 43. Kilnamanagh, p. 298.
- (2) Observantins, or of the Strict Observance.—44. Rosserilly, p. 298 ; 45. Moynes, p. 298 ; 46. Cloonyvornoge, or Cowlevernoge, p. 298.

- (3) The Third Order of St. Francis.—47. Crossmolina, p. 299; 48. Rosserk, p. 299; 49. Killeenbrenan, *alias* Kilbrenan, p. 299; 50. Templemoyle, p. 299; 51. Templegaile, *alias* Taghsaxon, p. 299; 52. Beagh, p. 299; 53. Kiltullagh, p. 300; 54. Court, p. 300; 55. Ballymote, p. 300.

V. THE CARMELITES (called White Friars).

56. Ballinsmala, p. 300; 57. Creevaghbane, p. 300; 58. Ballynahinch, p. 301.

VI. KNIGHTS OF THE TEMPLE (Succeeded by the Knights of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem).

59. Taghtemple, p. 301; 60. Ballinrobe, St. John's House, p. 301.

DOUBTFUL HOUSES

- Killedan, p. 301; Kylkeny, p. 302; Ballentully, p. 302.

HOUSES IN THESE DIOCESES

I. THE AUGUSTINIANS—(I) REGULAR CANONS

1. *Aran*.—St. Enda's Monastery founded in the 5th century disappeared unless it survived in possessions which belonged to the Abbey of Annaghdown in the 16th century.

2. *Errew*.—Abbey of St. Tigernan founded in the beginning of the 6th century. At the suppression it held only 1 qr. of land, the Barrett endowment of 1413. For particulars see "Church Architecture" p. 167. According to the Strafford Survey (in R.I.A.) it owned 2 qrs. of Kilmurry and Ballynemraher. Temple na galliaghdoo close to it looks like an old church replaced by the great abbey church, but the name points to its having been a nunnery. It may have become one in later days.

3. *Annaghdown*.—The College of St. Brendan. This seems to be the establishment called the Abbey of Annaghdown. Its property consisted of the lands and tithes hereafter described and some indefinite property in the Isles of Arran. The College seems to have been considered as part of the cathedral establishment, and to have provided the four vicars who are referred to in Bodkin's List and who were assessed in the *Valor Beneficiorum* in 1584. In 1585 the Government seems to have become aware that the College was a monastery, not really a part of the cathedral establishment,

and an inquisition was held to ascertain their property. From the names of Clement Skerrett and Thadeus M'Inylly which appear in Bodkin's List and in the inquisition, and from the fact that after this date the abbey disappears and the vicars are not mentioned in the Regal Visitation of 1615, it is to be inferred that the vicars of the church were the monks of the abbey.

The inquisition was taken on the 1st February 1585 at Galway and found that four priests or vicars as they called them were maintained in the College of St. Brandan, which had been concealed and had remained in the occupation of Clement Skyrret and Thadeus M'Inylly, by what title the jurors knew not, that it owned a ruinous church with a small graveyard, half an acre of land in which are cottages with their curtilages and gardens now waste and uninhabited, all of which on account of the devastation of the country are worth nothing, a wet pasture containing 20 acres in which the College tenants grazed their cattle with the other inhabitants of the town, the following 23 quarters of tithes—

In Anaghcoyn, 2 qrs. . . .	Annaghdown.
„ Cahirmorish, 4 qrs. . . .	Cahirmorris.
„ Ballyrobug, 4 qrs. . . .	Balrobug.
„ Kylcayle, 4 qrs.	
„ Ballyne Owley, 1 qr.	
„ Dromgriss, 4 qrs. . . .	Drumgriffin.
„ Clonlowe, 4 qrs.	

which were worth £3, 16s. Irish money yearly.

A lease of 1594 to John Rawson and Henry Deane¹ shows that the abbey held also—Seven quarters of stony land called Carrowelewchell, Knockincahiloge and Inishbarkan, Carrowekillaneleirhie, Carroweternia in Garrinnae, Carrowletermoyn Edirtrahanna, Lettermackoe and Muckenaghe Edardauhalie, and Carrowe Naganannaghe in Killinkelly in the barony of Moycullen.

Of these names some survive. Laughil and Teeranea are the southern and northern parts of Gorumna. Lettermuckoo and Muckanaghederdauhaulia are townlands of Kilcummin parish on the S.E. coast of Camus Bay. Killinkelly is an old name for the western part of Kilcummin,

¹ 16 *D.K.*, Nos. 5865, 6016.

taken from the Killin or old church of Inismacaw¹ which gave the name of Killin to the land between Cashla Bay and Greatman's Bay. Kilbrickan is found near these townlands.

From a grant to Lord Clanricard of 19 July, 8 James I.,² the following additional items are taken—

In Shanghill and Muckeris, 12 acres arable, 19 a. pasture.

A ruinous chapel in the isle of Aren with 12 a. of pasture there, and 6s. 8d. rent out of Laspidell.

The churches, rectories, or chapels, tithes, presentations, &c., of Ballenecourt in Clanricard, Kilcomen in O'Flahertie's country, Kargin in Moyntermurchoe, and Lisdich otherwise Lisduffe.

The town and lands of Lisduffe in Gnomore, containing 2 cottages, 40 a. arable, 24 a. pasture, 12 a. wood.

Kilclonlough otherwise Kilclyonlough, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.

The following rents all in English money,

Out of Keilroa	3s. 4d.
„ Carrownagananagh in Killin	3s. 4d.
„ Lettermuckerooe	3s. 4d.
„ Lecarrowe	3s. 4d.

Three quarters of the tithes of Trienconaght, and the moiety of the tithes of Killroa, Carrownagananagh and Lettermuckrooe. Rent £6, 11s. 3d.

The names Spiddle and Killroe, in Killannin to west of Spiddle, are still in use. Lisduff is some church in Kilcummin parish.

Annaghdown diocese is singular in that no see lands are found therein except a trifle in Killower and in Annaghdown. The comarb lands in the country east of L. Corrib must have been generally lost, as in the case of Balla, before the great transfer from the comarbs to the bishops. The abbey held more lands to the west of the lake. Lisduff and its lands appear to be the old lands around that church, comarb lands. Those of Gorumna seem to be in connection with an old church. More lands should be identified to justify positive assertion, but the evidence points to the view that the comarb lands which were in possession of this abbey were not transferred to the Bishop, and that this monastery was not transformed into a cathedral

¹ Island of MacAdhaimh, *H.W.C.* 7, 64.

² *Cal. Pat. Rolls, Chancery Ireland, 1-16 James I.*, p. 2173, No. ii.

chapter, but survived in close connection with the cathedral church, its own abbey church, for which it provided four priests.

The nunnery of St. Mary Annaghdown also held a small portion of ancient endowment which was absorbed with it eventually in Kilcreevanty. Both of these houses seem to have been remodelled on the Roman System in time to save the remnant of their property.

As far as I can make out there were at Annaghdown the following houses—

(1) The Abbey or College of St. Brendan, dealt with above, whose church was used as the Cathedral Church.

(2) St. Mary's Abbey called de Portu Patrum, Briga's Nunnery, which passed under Kilcreevanty Nunnery.

(3) The Little Cell of Premonstratensian Canons.

Mention is made of a Franciscan House but I cannot find evidence that one ever existed there.

4. *Aughros*, alias *Kilmalton Priory*.—Founded by St. Molaise in the 6th century. It is described in the 16th century as having a steeple like a castle, but the whole has now disappeared. Of its history I know nothing. At the suppression it owned one quarter of land adjoining, the vicarages of Dromard and Corkagh and Kilmacshalgan in Tireragh and the vicarage of Ahamlish in Carbury, with one quarter of land as the vicar's glebe, and Inishmurray which were worth 15s. yearly beyond the curate's pay, and the 4 quarters of Benan in Carbury, and the Grange of Magherakilterny in the barony of Lorg in the Co. Fermanagh. The vicarage of Kilmacshalgan was worth 3s. 6d. beyond the curate's pay.

5. *Ballysadare* or *Easdara*.—Founded by St. Feichin in the beginning of the 7th century. Templemore was the old abbey church which became the parish church when the monks moved into the 14th or 15th century building of which a little remains. It owned the rectory and vicarage of Templemore being 3 parts of the tithes in the Termon lands, worth 13s. 4d. beyond the curate's pay, the vicarages of Enagh in Tirerrill, now part of Ballysadare parish, of Drumrat in Corran and of Kilgarvan in Gallen, which were worth nothing beyond the curate's pay; a little land near the abbey; 3 small quarters in the townland of Asdara estimated at 40 acres of arable and 60 acres of mountain

land, and another parcel of land containing 30 acres of arable and pasture called Trinebally.

The Pope made the following order regarding its abbot on the 30th July 1463¹—

“Seeing that Thomas Obeathuachan, Prior of the Monastery of B. Maria de Insula Macnere of order of St. Augustine of Diocese of Elphin, which is ruled by a Prior, resigned; that William Marscarrayd abbot of the monastery of the same B. Maria de Casdara of diocese of Achonry of said order is reported to be a public fornicator and to have divided the revenues of the monastery of Casdara with Cornelius formerly abbot of the monastery by a simoniacal pact; you are to try him upon these charges made by Maurice Macdomichayd, Canon of the Monastery of B. Maria de Insula Macnere. If guilty he is to be deprived and Maurice is to be made Abbot of Casdara and Prior of Insula Macnere said to be worth 24 marks sterling yearly, with cure of souls.

“To the Dean and Provost and to Canon Thomas Macabrechan of church of Achonry.”

Considering this case with those of the abbeys of St. John the Baptist of Tuam and of Ballintubber it appears that the Papal practice at this time was to entrust prosecutions to intended successors. We do not know what happened in any of these cases.

6. *Cong (Abbey of the B.V.M.)*.—Founded by St. Fechin in 623. Its possessions were very great in early times, if, as is most probable, a large portion of the lands attached to the See of Tuam were comarb lands of churches belonging to this abbey.

The earliest account of the possessions of the abbey is the following, which purports to be an extract from an old manuscript of the abbey. It is in the British Museum, Additional MSS. No. 4787, f. 1. I translate it, but it is mutilated in parts and in one or two places is not quite intelligible, as if the copyist had omitted something or failed to decipher correctly, in some places blanks show that the original was torn or illegible.

“In the name of God Amen—Let all men know by the present [letters] that these are the true undoubted and authentic Rentals of Cong in fees [*i.e.* lands] tithes and

¹ Theiner, *Vet. Mon.*, p. 450.

other commodities and emoluments from the first day of dedication of the church up to this day, vizt.—

“The First and most illustrious Man the King of Hibernia *alias* Iernia Donnell son of Aedh¹ McAinmyreach being very devout and obedient to almighty God dedicated and gave to God and to the said church the piece of land which is called Inys nastryndroma and all other pieces of land near the lake² and Dubrus. The same land and soil in which the monastery itself has been founded in the first year of his Reign and the Monastery itself dedicated and had rebuilt . . . cccc and Duvhach O’Duvhay was the first Lord Abbot of the monastery.³

“Item. The said [torn] gave the town of Crois with its appurtenances [torn] to the said monastery.

“Item. The said Dermot M’Fergusa King of Ireland gave the town of Creevagh⁴ with its appurtenances to the said monastery.

“Item. Torlogh Mor O’Conor gave the town of Oylnim⁵ with its appurtenances to the aforesaid monastery.

“Item. Edmund of the Scots son of William de Burgo knight gave to the said monastery the quarter of land which is called Ardnagross and the half town of Lioslachane.⁶

“Item. Thomas de Burgo son of the above-named gave the half town of Dromsilmoir and the half quarter of Dromsilbeg to the aforesaid monastery.

“Item. Ristard Equi⁷ son of Fiesucoba leader of the horse of the Lord de Burgo gave the half quarter of . . . ay to the aforesaid monastery.

¹ Hugo in original. I give the Irish form when a Latin equivalent is used.

² Something has been obliterated, of which “Dich^{ars}” with dots underneath for obliteration is legible. Dubrus seems to be the Doorus mentioned in the composition as in Kilmaine barony.

³ This paragraph is corrupt.

⁴ De Croibhis in original. The only Dermot Mac Fergusa who was King of Ireland reigned in the 6th century. This must be some local king or chief.

⁵ Oylnim seems to be the full name of the Neale. The abbey had property near it.

⁶ Probably Lisloughrey, Liosluachra.

⁷ This must be Richard O’Cuairsci son of Edmond na Fiesoge, unless there is a mistake in the father’s name. “Of a Horse,” and “Leader of the Horse” are terms not elsewhere applied to him.

“Item. The Clansmen de Burgo gave Segerin¹ of the Canons in the town of Robbo to the aforesaid monastery.

“Item. The aforesaid Clansmen gave of the Canons by Rathmoling² in the town of Sruthair to the aforesaid monastery.

“And thus belongs to the aforesaid monastery Temple Colmain³ in the aforesaid town and the Wall of the same, and Killin Coemain³ on the opposite side of the river, and the half quarter of land of the Hill³ which is called St. Patrick’s there.

“Item. Gibbun son of the Rector gave the half quarter of Tamhnachliahain⁴ to the said monastery.

“Item. Donnell, son of Aedh⁵ who is called Great, O’Flaghertach gave the piece of land which is called Oiler da Chruinne⁶ in the sea of Conomara to the said [monastery].

“Item. Thomas Sh [torn]⁷ who is called Red gave the quarter of land which is called Cearhonanguigineach and the half quarter which is called Seanmhaegharraightain⁸ and the quarter of Killindubhachta⁹ to the aforesaid monastery.

“Item. Torlogh Mor O’Conor gave the [town] of Lioson-duibh¹⁰ on the Mount of Sliabhban in his territory to the aforesaid monastery.

“Item. Ruaidhri King of Ireland son of the above-named gave the town and land of Cell moir Muaidhe to the said

¹ Segerin suggests a connection with Kilmorosegir of the Taxation. That reading may be correct. In any case that church is the present Killo-sheheen. Mr. Blake points out to me that Seges is used in No. 79 of the Blake Family records as equivalent of the Irish word Gort. Segerin is probably a copyist’s mistake for Segetem.

² The name remains in Ramolin Tl. adjoining Shrule church.

³ Templecolmain is probably what is marked on the map as “Abbey,” close to Shrule church. Killeen Coemain being on the other side of the river is perhaps the Killeen of Killeen Fort, a little east of Shrule. I do not know St. Patrick’s Hill. Cong Abbey does not appear in the 16th century grants and surveys as having any property in Donaghpatrick Parish or in barony of Clare.

⁴ Tonaleeaun Tl. in Cong P.

⁵ Aedh Mor O’Flaherty’s son Donnell died in 1410.

⁶ Crump Island off Rinvyle.

⁷ Thomas Ruadh Joy lived in the 13th century according to Joyce pedigree.

⁸ Shanafaraghaun Tl. in Ross P.

⁹ Dooghta Tl. in Cong P.

¹⁰ Lissonuffy in Co. Roscommon.

monastery, and the tithes of fishes of the whole river Muaidhe aforesaid, and a bell rope from every ship touching at the said port for the purpose of fishing and trading, to the aforesaid monastery.

“Item. Cormac M’Carty, Lord of his nation gave for ever a piece of the land of Birra¹ which is called Inisconge to the above-mentioned monastery, and a bell rope when ships touch at the port of Dimboith.¹

“Item. Walter [son] of William de Burgo gave the half quarter of land which is called Killinratha to the aforesaid monastery.

“All these above mentioned and named are the fees of the aforesaid monastery. The farm and parsonage and mixed tithes are now to be dealt with.

“Of the Tithes.

“The church of the V. Mary of Conge, a half town in the half town of Acheleahard,² a half town in the town of Athcuirce³ &c.

“Item. Church of Ruan⁴ in the town of Robo &c. : a half town in the town of Ballinrobo &c.

“The church of Comman has 28 quarters, viz., the half town of Scethelochain⁵ &c.

“Item. That no layman can raise anything in the city of Co gie⁶ except by leave of the ordinary and of the Lord Abbot of Conga. And on the day on which he is appointed and made the Abbot of Conga is bound to render to the Abbot of Conga sixteen ccetas or half marks of gold for gilding the chalices of the monastery of Conga. And he is bound to render to the treasury of Conga all the vestments of the new Abbot of Cork on that day. But the above-mentioned Cormac M’Carty gave to the monastery of Conga a bell rope from every ship touching at the port of Cork.

¹ Beara and Dunboy in Co. Cork.

² Aghalahard near Cong.

³ Castletown Tl. in Cong P. takes its name from the Castle of Athcuirce. The tithes probably are those of the old church at Billypark in Carheens Tl.

⁴ Probably the old P.C. of Ballinrobe where the present church stands.

⁵ Skealaghan Tl. in Kilcommon P.

⁶ Corcaigie, *i. e.*, Cork.

“ Thus are happily finished in the name of the Most High the Rentals of Conga both in fees and in tithes and by me Tadhg O’Duffy are written down and arranged *et*¹ *relinquens p’quam in Curia verbatim Romana* the Reverend father in Christ William Boy O’Duffy Abbot of Conga left [them] in the form of a Register with Joseph Pull on the 10th March in the year of Christ 1501.”

It is unfortunate that this record is corrupt and unintelligible at the most interesting part. The paragraph relating to Donnell MacAedh MacAinmirech deals with the site and, if not corrupt down to Dubrus, with a small neighbouring endowment. Then we find words which recount the rebuilding upon the original site by some one in the first year of his reign, and a note that Duffagh O’Duffy was the first Lord Abbot. The Annals of Loch Ce record the death of an Abbot Duffagh O’Duffy in 1223. If he is meant, the rebuilding may be ascribed with fair probability to King Cathal Crobderg. The Architecture suits the date. The next item records a donation by “ the said ” person, and the next after that mentions “ the said Dermot MacFergusa ” who has not been mentioned. A good deal has been omitted here.

Cormac MacCarty King of Munster who died in 1138 invaded Connaught with O’Brien in 1133. The Archbishop of Tuam, Dr. Healy, suggests that Cong’s endowments and rights in Munster were given by way of reparation for or in connection with this invasion. They had been compromised or lost before the dissolution. Some other items of this list had also been lost or sold, or were successfully concealed when surveys were made in Queen Elizabeth’s time.

Except the site and perhaps Dubrus there is not an item of earlier date than the time of Torlogh Mor O’Conor. We may infer that in the arrangements of 1210 a distinction was made between the endowments given in early times to the Comarb of Fechin and those which were given to the Abbot and Convent of Augustinian Canons.

The best list of possessions is in a grant to John Bingley and John King, 17th June, 6 James I. (*P.R.J.*, p. 125, No. LI.) The names are reduced to modern spelling when known—

¹ This paragraph is corrupt here.

The site &c. of the abbey. The town liberties and lands of Cong; one ruinous house or castle called the Old Court in Cong, belonging to the Archbishop of Tuam, excepted.

In Drumsheelmore, 2 qrs.; Drumsheelbeg, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.; Lis-loughry, 2 qrs.; Creevagh, 4 qrs.; Tonaleeaun, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.; Clonin,¹ $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.; Kilgoin,² 4 qrs.; Cross, 2 qrs.; Killogaragh,³ 2 qrs.; Clogher, 1 qr.; Nunnery,⁴ 2 qrs. With all the tithes great and small of the premises.

The islands of Dowresse⁵ and Inchaguill, and all the smaller islands adjoining.

The 4 qrs. of the town of Kilmore, with all the tithes great and small thereof, and of 6 other quarters in the baronies of Tireragh and Tirawly within the parish of Kilmore.

All rivers and streams passing near the town and Abbey of Cong, with all fishweirs and mills.

One moiety of the tithes great and small of the rectories, churches, chapels or parishes of Kilmainemore, Kilmolara, Shrule, Kinlough, Kilnebrenin, Templeroan,⁶ St. Mary's of Cong,⁷ Ballinchalla, Ross, Kilmainebeg, and Kilcommon.

The vicarages of St. Mary in Cong and Kilmainebeg, with all the tithes and profits thereof.

Ardnagross,⁸ 1 qr.; Killickra⁹ near Ballyloughmask, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.

The church, chapel or rectory, tithes, &c., of Templecolman in the town of Shrule. A small parcel of land called Ramelin in Shrule.

¹ Clooneen and Knockekerrine appear as $\frac{1}{2}$ in the Strafford Survey No. 137 of Kilmaine among the other Cong abbeylands.

² Kilgoin appears in the same list as Kilguyne, 4 qrs.

³ Killogaragh is in the same list as Killogorrvy, 2 qrs. May be another form of Kiltogorra, Tl. near the Neale.

⁴ The Nunnery's 2 quarters may be those which are described in the composition as belonging to the nunnery of Inishmaine and Ballinchalla, which belonged to Kilcreevanty. But probably they are different. The Clanricard grant of Kilcreevanty shows 2 qrs. in Cong and an eelweir on the Cong River. These lands are likely to be near Ballinchalla and to take their name from it.

⁵ Dowresse seems to be the Dubrus of O'Duffy's List and to be the Doorus in Kilmaine barony.

⁶ The old parish church of Ballinrobe.

⁷ This should be the old parish church of Cong.

⁸ Ardnagross. Not identified.

⁹ Killickra—Killochrau or Killeennacrava.

In Ross Barony.

The Island called Dooros and Inishdoorus.—Carrownegroginagh,¹ 1 qr.; Shanafaraghaun, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.; Killindought,² 1 qr. The town and lands of Kilmoremoy.³ All the tithes whatever, great and small, of all the said premises in Mayo Co.

In Tirawley Barony.

The tithes of fishing of the whole river, bay, or creek called Moy.

A certain custom of one bell rope from and out of every ship entering either to fish or to trade within the said river Moy.

In Kilmaine Barony.

The rectory, tithes, &c., of Ballymally.⁴ Any,⁵ 1 qr.

In Roscommon Co.

The town and lands of Lisduff in Sleighbane, containing 4 qrs., with the tithes thereof. The tithes of 12 qrs. in Sleighbane.

In Sligo Co.

The moiety of all the tithes, great and small, belonging to the rectory or parish of Carrowreogh.⁶

In Galway Co. (Ballynahinch Barony).

The rectory of Conomarra with all the tithes great and small of all the lands, &c., of Upper and Lower Conomarra.

¹ Carrownegroginagh is now called Griggins, between Maam and Leenane.

² Dooghta Tl., Cong P., in Ross B.

³ Kilmoremoy here is a mistake for Kilmoronny, the form which appears in another document which I understand to be Kilmore of Finney—which is close to the Finney River in Ross P. It is the Kilmore of O'Flaherty's country.

⁴ Ballymally is an old name for land lying N.E. of Turloughagurkall, now included in Ballymartin Tl. An old burying ground is close to it, within the border of Frenchbrook Tl. Therefore this church was once a parish in the S.W. corner of Kilmainemore.

⁵ Any. Not identified.

⁶ Carrowreogh. Not identified, but in barony of Tireragh.

A lease of 15th September 1578 (13 *D.K.* 3463) mentions the lands of Creevagh, Cross, Kilmoghoiné,¹ with their tithes; the rectories of "Ballekhalle, Templeloran,² Kilmore in Tyreawle, Kilmore in the country of O'Flaerty."

7. *Mayo (Abbey of St. Michael)*.—Founded by St. Colman A.D. 668. It became the cathedral church. Templegerald the parish church has disappeared and the site is unknown. The present ruins are part of the conventual buildings. The high road seems to pass over the site of the church. Pieces of carved mullions and mouldings lying about the graveyard show it was a fine building. A bit of the cashel wall stands near the high road to the south-east.

The Archbishop's possessions in its neighbourhood show that it was well endowed in early times. It held the rectories of Mayo, Kilvine, Tagheen, Kilcolman, Rosslee, Touaghty, Robeen.

The possessions held in the 16th century appear thus in Strafford's Survey of Co. Mayo (MS. in *R.I.A.*).—2 qrs. in Killecolla; 2 qrs. in Ardcorkey; 1 qr. in Portagh; 1 qr. in Freeheen; 2 qrs. in Garrynabba; $\frac{1}{2}$ qr. in Cloonshanbo; $\frac{1}{2}$ qr. and $\frac{1}{2}$ cartron in Gowel. The acres of Mayo; 1 qr. comprising certain denominations which include Gortnagusetaul; 1 cartron of Kiltrony or Kiltyony. Killecolla is now better known as Brownehall. All the other names are those of townlands in Mayo P. excepting Garrynabba in Kilcolman P. and Kiltrony, which I cannot identify unless it be Kiltrone in Robeen. Gortnagusetaul is associated with Gortegarry and Gortenure as containing one quarter in Kellynan *alias* Rahinecruagh.

8. *Inishmaine*.—The architecture points to the church having been built in the 12th century. It seems to have been then a monastery under the new Rules. If not it would have lost the lands about its site which would be early endowments. Some time in the 13th century it must have been transferred to Kilcreevanty, when it became a nunnery and cell of that abbey. For early history see under Shrule.

The property is thus described in a lease of 1588 (16 *D.K.* No. 5255).—"The site of the house of nuns of Innishmean . . .

¹ Kilmoghoiné.—Possibly Moyne church or the lands of Ballymally, and in that case may be meant for Kilmaine.

² Templeloran. Not identified.

and $4\frac{1}{2}$ quarters of land with their tithes in Joyes country on the west side of the water of Lough Meske, viz :—

(In a later Inqn. Chief Rememb.)

Dromselling, 1 qr.	Dromselyny.
Ferneighe, 1 cartron	Farnigh.
Downrice, 1 cartron	Downeryse.
In Grogill, 1 cartron	Crogill.
Saneneharron, 1 cartron . . .	Savoneharran.
Tonemsony, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	Tonemsony.
Letterlageighe, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	Letterlagygh.
Bean, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	Bean.
Dristan, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	Drystan.
Ballenebo [], $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	Ballinboy.

A later Inquisition relating to Kilcreevanty shows that 2 qrs. called Ballinechallae lying near the island on the east side belonged to the abbey. These must have been part of the original estate.

An Inquisition of 1609¹ shows that Lord Clanricard held, in right of the nunnery of Kilcreevanty, 1 qr. of Inishmayne, Inishowe, and Inishoane, and 1 qr. of Derryclowndauff, Shraghnelong, and Owen Barraglanne. Shranalong, still in use, shows the position of these lands. I cannot identify the rest of the names. See also Kilcreevanty, p. 280.

9. *Tuam (Abbey of St. John the Baptist)*.—Founded by King Torlogh Mor O'Conor about 1140. It is called of St. John the Evangelist in the Pope's Letter of 26th September 1461² to the Archbishop of Tuam and John de Burgo and Thomas Oconualta, Canons of Tuam.—“William, Abbot of the monastery of St. John the Evangelist at Tuam, has represented that Malachias Odurruhia, representing himself to be Vicar of the Parish Church of the Strin [Scrin] or of the Relics of St. Iedalhey [Iarlaithe] at Tuam, wastes the revenue of the church and lives with a concubine by whom he has children. That the revenues of his Abbey being only 20 marks sterling a year are insufficient to support his dignity and that his canons live in great poverty, and that they will live more comfortably if the Vicarage be annexed to the Abbey. Therefore you are to summon Malachy and

¹ *Pub. Rec. Off. Rolls Inq.* 4 Ap. 1609, Mayo.

² Theiner, *Vel. Monum.*, p. 431.

deprive him if the facts be proved. In case of vacancy by his deprivation or by other cause, the Vicarage, worth 6 marks sterling a year, is annexed for ever to the Abbey."

From the grant to Lord Clanricard in 1570¹ it appears that the abbey owned its site and some land and tithes in Tuam, and 10s. chief rent out of Eagan in MacCostello's country, and the vicarages of Kylleare, Began, and Annagh. Here vicarage means rectory as appears from the Regal Visitation of 1615 which notes that these rectories belonged to the abbey. Kylleare is the first part of Keallaricrauyd of the Taxation and is the present parish of Annagh. Annagh is Annaghernaic and means Aghamore parish.

It owned also the tithes of 9½ qrs. following—Lighballymagherymore, 2 qrs.; Kilsoughe, 1 qr.; Killynereoghe, 1 qr.; Siffin, 1 qr.; Ballyhanken, 1 qr.; Barryse [or Barrine], ½ qr.; Cranaghe, 2 qrs.; Skehan, 1 qr.; which Lord Clanricard held according to a survey of 1562.²

The names Kilscohagh, Killeenrevagh, Seefin, Ballyhankin, Carrownskehaun are still in use for townlands, which form a group to the west of Ballindine in Crossboyne Parish. Barryse is perhaps Burris, a townland close to Crossboyne. These tithes seem to be the tithes of the parish of an old church in the burial ground in Esker Townland.

10. *Ballintubber or Tubber Patrick (Abbey of the Holy Trinity)*.—Founded by King Cathal Crobhderg in 1216. It is said that in three years it was built, roofed, and shingled with oak by the abbot whose death is recorded in 1225 by the Four Masters—"Maelbrigde O'Maigin Abbot of Toberpatrick a son of chastity and wisdom died. By him the church of Toberpatrick together with its sanctuary and crosses had been with great exertions begun and finished in honour of St. Patrick, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. John and the Apostles."

A thorn-bush on a small mound near the N.W. corner of the nave is said to be on the site of the ancient church.

In 1265 it was burnt (L.C.).

1416. Thomas O'Ronain was abbot, Owen O'Donnell was prior.

On the 19th June 1462 the Pope sent the following order³—

¹ 11 D.K. 1581.

² *Rolls. Inqn.*, 4 Ap. 1609, Mayo.

³ Theiner, *Vet. Mon.*, p. 440.

“To the Abbot of the Monastery of St. John the Evangelist of Tuam and to Canons Roricus O’Conreth and Odo Ornih of the church of Tuam—John de Stanton a cleric of Tuam diocese reported that Thomas Oronayn, abbot of the Monastery of Villafontis s. Patricii, has wasted its goods and turned them to bad use, and has been guilty of simony. John Stanton desires to be a canon of the Monastery. He is to be professed there. Thomas is to be tried on his accusation and if found guilty is to be removed. Thereafter John is to be made abbot. John is described as of noble birth on both sides, and a dispensation is granted in respect of relationship between his parents.” According to tradition only men of noble birth were admissible as Canons.

Henricus Niccolinus and Cornelius Miccadagayn are mentioned as former abbots. Walter Stanton, *alias* MacEvilly, was abbot at the suppression.

F.M. 1505.—“John the son of Richard Burke, the choice of the English youths of Ireland, was treacherously slain by the sons of Ulick Burke, in the monastery of Toberpatrick.” Richard was a son of Sir Thomas. It cannot be ascertained who the Ulick was as several Ulicks or Williams lived about that time. The tradition of this murder seems to survive, as only a few years ago an old man at the abbey told me how Tibbot na Long was murdered near the abbey as he was coming there from Castlebourke. John has been long forgotten so the well-known Tibbot has been substituted.

ITS POSSESSIONS

It is very difficult to make out all the lands and places named. I therefore give the various lists as they supplement each other and help in identifications. The earliest Inquisition is given in full as a specimen of the form of an Inquisition relating to an abbey.

The earliest statement of its possessions is found in a MS. in the British Museum, Additional MSS. No. 4787 f. 82, described as an extract from a Codex of Ballintubber Abbey. It purports to have been written by the notary O’Riogain by order of Abbot O’Ronain from an old but still legible record. It is evident that it gives a very imperfect account of the abbey’s possessions. Mr. M. J. Blake dates it as between

1450 and 1462 or thereabouts in view of the names of the abbot and archbishop.

It mentions that the Abbot of Ballintubber founded the Priory of Cross and reserved a rent. The following are named as benefactors—"Baelaigh : Brennaith : Seigheigh : Clan Ed. : Butleragh : Baiedaigh : Merwickeigh : Clan David." Of these Brennaith or Walsh, Seigheigh or Joy, Butler and Merwick, if it be the same as Merrick, are known as Mayo settlers.

On the application of Abbot Lawrence O'Maykin the Parishes of the Well, Drummonechain and Tobarta were united with the abbey. Archbishop John gave the episcopal fourths of those churches which his successor D. O'Murray confirmed. Tobarta means Well Place, and is still in use as the name of the townland on which Tower Hill House stands, formerly called Touaghty. The well is very deep and never runs dry.

A. *An Inquisition in the Public Record Office.*

"Inquisition taken at the town of Clonecashell in the county of Mayo on the 14th April 1595 before Richard Boyle, Gentleman, deputy of Nicholas Kennedy, Esquire, general Escheator and Feodary of the said Lady the Queen in her realm of Ireland both within and without the liberties by virtue of his office by the oaths of trustworthy and lawful men of the county of Mayo aforesaid whose names follow.—Renald Fryer of Ellescron, Gent. Dermot Moran of Tought, Yeoman. Richard Foyll of Newcastle, Yeoman. Richard M'Edmondboy of Cregmore, Gent. Richard Oge M'Johnyn of Cam, Gent. Dough M'Hugan of Ballemartin, Gent. John Og M'William Crone of Newtown, Gent. Ulick Bowrk of Lowarton, Gent. Dermot M'Cormick of Enesmain, Yeoman. John M'Morris of Kils . . . , Gent. Tumultagh oge of Ballintaff. Hubert Cane of Killellenan, Gent. Phines Collenan of Clogh, Yeoman. Moyllre M'Edmondduff of Balleloghmask, Gent.

"Who having been sworn say upon their oath that the Abbot and Convent of the late dissolved Monastery or Priory of Canons of Ballentobber in the aforesaid County of Mayo before and at the time of dissolution or surrender of the

same late Monastery or Priory of Canons were seised in their demesne as in fee in right of the monastery or priory of Canons of and in the town of Gagall with four small quarters of land. And of and in all the tithes of corn and of and in all other tithes whatsoever issuing from returning from or belonging to the aforesaid four quarters of land in the Town and Fields of Gagall aforesaid in the county aforesaid which are worth yearly beyond reprises 27s. 8d. current money of Ireland. The before named jurors also say upon their oath that the aforesaid late Abbot and Convent of the said Monastery or priory of Canons of Ballentobber aforesaid were seised in their demesne as in fee in right of the said Monastery or priory before and at the time of dissolution suppression or surrender of the same late Monastery or priory of Canons of Ballentobber aforesaid Also of and in six other quarters of land with and appurtenances in the Barony of Owles in the County of Mayo aforesaid whose names follow viz.—one quarter of land with appurtenances called Kellewallye, one quarter of land with appurtenances called le Grange, one quarter of land with appurtenances called le Mothe, a half quarter of land called Ballebarde, a half quarter of land called Perrymore, a half quarter of land called Kynwrye, a half quarter of land called Dromyn, And two quarters of land called Kylvryn, And of and in all the tithes of corn and of and in all other tithes whatsoever or belonging beyond it to the aforesaid six quarters of land to Which all and singular lands tenements and tithes aforesaid with all their appurtenances belong and appertain to our Lady the Queen to her heirs and successors in right of the Crown of this Kingdom of Ireland aforesaid by reason and virtue of divers statutes and acts of Parliament made published and confirmed within this Kingdom of Ireland, and that each of the aforesaid six quarters of land with and appurtenances is worth yearly beyond reprises £5 of current money of Ireland aforesaid. In witness of all and singular the premisses the said deputy Escheator and the before named jurors have affixed their seals in turn to the presents given on the day year and place above written.

“This Inquisition was taken at the instance of Robert Napper of the Exchequer of the Lady the Queen of her King-

dom of Ireland and upon the application of Anthony Sentleger Knight made to me the before mentioned Deputy Escheator before the taking of this Inquisition."

A few words here are not deciphered.

The six quarters are really seven, and are put as seven in other places. The valuation of £5 each ought to be 5s. each.

B. *From a Grant dated 17 June, 6 James I.¹*

"The site &c. of Ballintubber Abbey—the town and lands of Ballintubber—4 qrs. of land in or near the Abbey—the town or village and lands of Cagall, 4 qrs.—Dromgawe, 1 qr.—Towagh, 1 qr.—six quarters near Belaboorke, lying betwixt the countries called Owles and Carra—a certain parcel called Kilpeslan, containing 2 acres—a moiety of Farrengalegort—a small parcel in Gortnemanagh—Clonark, 2 qrs.

"In Irris Barony—Kilteynie otherwise Kiltayne, 2 qrs., with the fishing of salmon in the bay, creek, or river of Kilteynie, lately held with the said quarter. Kilwire, 2 qrs. in the Owles; with all the tithes of all the premises—the the island of Clynishe—a moiety of all the tithes, great and small, belonging to the rectories of Ballyhene and Burrishcarra—all the tithes, great and small, of the towns of Ballyhemicke, Ballyni-Inry, Ballintawishe, Ballycreevie, Ballilehartane, Ballibohan, Ballindum, and Ballykilmonan."

The grantees were charged with payment of the Vicars' stipends.

C. *A Grant dated 27 Jan, 13 James I.,¹ is a re-grant of the same with the following variations—*

"Near Belaboorke, 6 qrs. Near the same, 6 qrs. more, between the countries called Owles and Carra."

The fishery of Kilteynie is omitted.

Kilwire is given the *alias* "Killiory."

Ballyhemick is given the *alias* "Ballyhemin."

"Ballybogh" instead of Ballibohan.

¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls. Chancery, Ireland, 1-16 James I.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 287.

D.

A summary of an Inquisition is preserved in the National Library in Harris and King's *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, vol. xiii. p. 196. The original was mutilated or partly illegible when this summary was made. The original is not found in the Public Record Office. It is the most detailed statement of the property, but owing to its condition the meaning is not always clear.

“*Ballintobber in Co. Mayo, 1 Sept 1614.*—The Abbot of the Monastery of Ballintobber in C. Mayo was seised of the site and 4 quarters adjoining the same monastery, and of and in the towns of Downinagh Clowyard Shythanagh Keilerchoyly Coureagthgrath Carnoghteragh . . . *alias* Brerene in which the shrine of St. Finen is revered . . . Dromianigheo *alias* . . . Clonkillagh Killenleath Lisnemoyre . . . Gortenfort and a quarter of land called Kiltarsaghtlane Dromynerall Kyltyfaile inclusive . . . Gortnekilly . . . Killiagh Lowghertan owghter Lowghertan Litragh Dowannagh Tavnaaghtertagart Tavnagherlassy Shanilowghhowter . . . Derrenetory banny Derrenecoraghac . . . Goranhielulochy Gortana . . . 1 quarter of land called Carrowandavderge Clownyarde Corryanvayre . . .

“And also of 4 quarters of land of . . . Dromynmore Dromynbeg Lurga and Sagharde, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter of Knockerraghir and of Kilwonyn, 1 quarter of land called Carrow . . . and of 7 quarters of land of Gransaghtliab . . . which of the said Abbacy both in temporals and in spirituals . . . and of the town of Liskally . . . Ruattybeggy 4 quarters of Kilterry Carrorynaduose Rathskiltane Acline-slobine and of the half [Sedis in original] quarter called Cloyntes and of the half [Sedis in original] Island called Illane Arde ei . . . quarter called Towaght where the church of St. Patrick has been dedicated still existing in the Cell or Chapel or Parish Church belonging to the same Monastery of Ballintubber . . . Dromhavan . . . in the territory of Urlagh with the rivulet fishery and water course with appurtenances . . .

“And of the Islands called Ilanmassy and Ilanedachinny and of a moiety of the half quarter of Farrenegolgort in the Parish of Borriscarra with their appurtenances called Kilcowny and a parcel of land of Kilpeshine by Castlebarre with the Rivulet and fishery of the same and of Gortnemanagh and of another parcel of land near the Church of Towight a parcel of land of Gortnehelinsy near the Church of Drome a parcel of land of Killindromenroe.

“And there is also a certain Cell Church Chapel or Monastery or Religious House of Crosse or of the Holy Cross in the territory of with its appurtenances belonging to the Monastery of Ballintubber. And the Prior of Ballintubber used to appoint a sub-prior out of his Convent to the Monastery of the Holy Cross who rendered to the Prior out of the profits of the Monastery of the Holy Cross the Sum of 40 oures of Silver which amount to the Sum of 33s. 4*d.* sterling. And also the Sum of 3 oures of Silver, *i.e.* 5s. sterling to the Prior and the Convent for the name of Chiefry and the remaining part of the profits of the Monastery Church of the Holy Cross the sub-prior for the time being used to spend for his own support and that of his Fellows or brothers serving God in the said Cell or Church or Monastery of Crosse or of the Holy Cross and for the repair of the same.”

“Ballintobber of St. Patrick. And all the tithes Greater and Lesser of the above named lands belonging to the Monastery of Ballintubber.

“And the land &c. of Clownarke in the Barony of Kilmayne in the territory of Robuine with all fisheries mills and watercourses in Clownard belonging. And 4 quarters of land of Ballihemon in both spiritualities and temporalities.

“And of all the Tithes of the Parish of Ballintobber and of the lands of Kilwoonin Corriagh Luhurtane Koheragh B. Boghe Ballendromy B. cagaly the Mountain quarter of B. beaghane Gortbane Cro . . . Gortenbrabastowne Shrahynlogha from the Bounds and Metes of Detriffe to the land of Gransali inclusive.

“And of all the Tithes &c. of the following lands, viz : Ballenyng, Tormane, Lisituvanie, Ballentavysie, B. cryvy, Ballendromyn, Gisseden, Clownedowane, Clownyduff. And

of Six quarters beyond the rivulet of Cassellreyes and Moynkane, the town of Dromneneachane, Levallyclohytwodagh, Ballyblichane, Belabourky, and Cloweyn.

“And all the Tithes &c. of the Rectory or Chapel of Belahane and Burneyscarra are parcel, &c.

“And the Abbot and Convent, &c., have free power to cut and carry away trees and timber from the woods of Kiltarseyghtane for building and rebuilding the Monastery etc.”

II. *Cross*.—Priory of the Holy Cross under Ballintubber. It is on the west coast of the Mullet and seems to be a development for the old church of Crosrechig mentioned in Pope Innocent's Epistle, or at least to have taken its name therefrom. See under Ballintubber for its estates and its subjection to that abbey.

According to O'Riogain's Memorandum it must have been founded in the 14th century or in beginning of 15th.

12. *Annagh*.—This small house was founded by Mac William Eighter, Walter, son of Sir Thomas Bourke, who died in it in 1440, as a cell of Cong, on condition of maintaining any woman of his descendants who should make a vow of chastity. It owned at the suppression two half quarters of land called the Annagh and Cloondaver (Leghkearrow Inany and Leighkearrow Clondowre.)¹ It is called a cell of the order of St. Francis in the 16th century. It is situated in the parish of Robeen on the shore of L. Carra, close to the ancient parish church of Annagh. The church was 51 ft. by 21 ft. inside. The east gable remains, of well-dressed and squared stones. Clondaver Tl. lies next S. of Annies in which the old church called Labbananeave and the abbey lie.

The only way of reconciling the tradition of foundation with the Inquisition is to suppose that it was given up by Cong and became an independent Franciscan House. The Cong records show no connection with it. There is however a connection between the old parish church of Annagh and the Nunnery of Kilcreevanty. It is ignored in the O'Duffy Rental of Cong made in 1501 in which the other de Burgo benefactions are mentioned. The quarter of Any named in the Clanricard grant is probably some other Annagh.

¹ 16 D.K. No. 5255.

CANONESSES OF ST. AUGUSTINE

13. *Killaraght*.—This house was founded by Athracht in the 5th century in St. Patrick's time. For particulars see diocese of Achonry. It owned 6 quarters of land at the suppression. Of them—"3 quarters of land by the water called Lorgbella, viz., two carucates beyond the water towards the north, and another quarter on this side the water towards the west."¹

14. *Killecrau* or *Killeenacrava*.—The name seems to be "Church of the Devout." It is a west gable inside the gate of Creagh demesne and close to the river Robe near Ballinrobe. The church was 12' 6" wide inside, and seems to have had a loft. I should say it was of 11th or 12th century. In the 14th century it was called Cillin na mBuidhean, Little Church of the Companies.² It owned at suppression $\frac{1}{2}$ a quarter of land and its tithes valued at 6s. yearly.

(2) ARROASIAN CANONESSES

15. *Annaghdown*.—The Abbey of the B.V.M. called de Portu Patrum. This seems to be the nunnery founded by St. Brendan for his sister Briga. It came before 1195 under the Nunnery of Clonard as the Pope's confirmation of the possessions of that Abbey dated 26 Feb. 1196 includes "the church of St. Mary of Enachdun with the townland of Kilgel."³ It is assessed at £2, 8s. in the Taxation and is said to have owned Adchudrignigi and other churches, taxed otherwise. I cannot make out that it was in existence at the suppression. I suspect that it was abandoned and absorbed in the Nunnery of Kilcreevanty, which had lands in Annaghdown.

On the other hand Florence Lord Abbot de Portu Patrum was witness to Documents Nos. 133, 137, 138 in the Blake Family Records, dated in 1559, 1562, 1563. At that time ecclesiastical offices which had in fact ceased to exist were sometimes revived by the Pope as Titles. So this again is not conclusive.

Again it is possible that the Abbey de Portu Patrum is

¹ 16 *D.K.* 5826.

² Hy Fiachrach, p. 59 and p. 203.

³ Archdall, p. 527, quoting *Monast. Angl.*, ii. p. 1043.

the same as the College of St. Brendan, but I think that the ruins show that there was a monastery attached to the cathedral church, another monastery of some importance, and a nunnery.

(3) PREMONSTRE CANONS, OR PREMONSTRATIENSIS

16. *Tuam*.—Abbey of the Holy Trinity. Said to have been founded by a de Burgo in the reign of King John or in the beginning of that of Henry III., if so probably by Richard de Burgo. It owned $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre of land and a moiety of 2 qrs. containing 80 acres of arable and 20 of pasture.¹

It founded as a Premonstratensian Nunnery the Chapel of St. Mary of the Hill on the west side of the river at Galway. The nuns abandoned it and it fell into the hands of seculars. The Convent of Tuam made it over to the Dominicans of Athenry in 1488, and they transferred it to the Conventual Franciscans of Galway in 1494.

17. *Annaghdown*.—The Little Cell. It was assessed at 10s. in the Taxation. Date of foundation is unknown. In 1391 the Pope ordered its Abbot to appoint Matthew Ohynneri to the vacant church of Fuaranmor.² The taxation excepts its churches. I cannot find mention of any. As it does not appear to have been in existence at the suppression I suppose it was abandoned by the monks and the possessions transferred to another house. Annaghdown does not show any ruins attributed to it.

18. *Killetrynode* or *Killeennatrinody*.—A cell founded by and belonging to the Canons of the Holy Trinity in L. Key. It is the church called Temple na calliaghdoon in Killeen Tl. in Kilbride P. in Tirawley. It owned a small quarter of land adjoining.³

19. *Killeen*.—This was also a cell of the Trinity of L. Key. It is, or took its name from, the Killeen graveyard in Glendaduff Tl. in Attymas P. It owned the rectory of Attymas, the townland of Carrownecargy now called Carrick, and Drumsowlog which is not identified.

¹ *P.R.J.*, 5 Dec. 8 James I.

² *Cal. Pap. Registers, Letters*, vol. iv. 414.

³ 16 *D.K.* 5877.

(4) THE EREMITES OF ST. AUGUSTINE, CALLED
AUSTIN FRIARS

20. *Ballinrobe*.—This Abbey is mentioned in the Register of the Dominican House of Athenry as in existence in 1337. Sir Edmund Albanagh and his brother Reymond took their cousin Sir Edmund de Burgo prisoner in this house in 1338. This is the first mention of it. It was a very large and handsome church. It may be assigned with most probability to Maurice FitzGerald of Offaley, who by grant from Richard de Burgo and by purchase from other grantees held the whole territory of the Conmaicne Cuile Toladh. The style of architecture suits that date. It owned according to an Inquisition of the 27th Q. Elizabeth, 1584, one quarter of land and its tithes worth 13s. 4d. a year, and a piece of land called St. John's in Ballinrobe containing 2 acres, with a mill and watercourse, worth 1s. 6d. yearly. The land is now called Friars Quarter. According to a power of attorney of 1529 this house of St. John belonged to the Priory of Kilmainham. It may have been transferred after that date. It is called Murone in Strafford's Survey.

21. *Burriscarra*.—It was founded for Carmelites and was transferred to this order in 1412 by order of Pope John XXIII. The date of foundation is not recorded. It is in the same style as Ballinrobe Abbey and may safely be given about the same date. The Staunton Lord of Carra must have been the founder.

It owned one quarter of land.

It was called Burgo Flore, by way of translation of Burris-carra. Flower is one of the meanings of Cera.

22. *Ballyhaunis*.—Abbey of B.V.M. Tradition alive in 1685 said that it was founded by the Sliocht Jordan Duff MacCostello. As Jordan Duff was killed in 1367 (F.M.) the foundation cannot have been earlier than the close of the 14th century. The architecture suits such a date.¹

The community of monks never ceased to exist. When they left the conventual buildings a few friars always lived in houses close by. The church is still used by them, but the side chapel is roofless. It owned 12 acres of land, and half

¹ Downing, *Description of Co. Mayo*, MS. T.C.D.

a quarter,¹ but I cannot find any account of their denominations.

23. *Banada*.—Founded in 1423 by a friar named Charles. It was a fine house and church. It owned only half the quarter of Knockglas.

The ancestor of MacWilliam "constructed the seven towers in Benn-fhada of Leyny, where the Gaoidhel made a monastery of those towers."² No traces of the towers remain and only a fragment of the abbey. The site is over the river Moy and is suitable for a castle.

24. *Ardnarea*.—Founded before 1402 when an O'Dowda is recorded to have been buried in Ardnariadh (L.C.). The ruins show that it was a considerable establishment. It owned $\frac{1}{2}$ a quarter adjoining and one quarter in Scurmore.

25. *Dunmore*.—Founded in 1425 by Walter, Lord Athenry. In 1541 it was exempted from dissolution at Lord Athenry's request, but the prior and 4 friars were to adopt secular dress. In 1570 it was let for a rent of 31s. 8d. and maintaining one horseman,³ so it appears to have held some property. The chancel was made a parish church.

26. *Murrisk*.—Said to have been founded in 14th century by O'Malley. Only chancel of church and part of central tower is left. It was a considerable building.

It owned only one quarter of land.

27. *Galway*.—An abbey was founded in 1508 by Stephen and his wife Margaret. It must have been very small, and has entirely disappeared.

Notes on the Names of Lands and Places.

A.

Gagall = Cagaula Tl. *Kellewallye* = Killavally Tl.

The Grange—Gransaghliab—and Gransali in D. The town of Bellabourke has an *alias* Liaboge in Strafford's Survey. This is in full the Grange of Liaboge.

The Mothe = Moat Tl. next Bellabourke Tl. and including Hazelrock.

Ballibarde—Perhaps an error for Bellabourke. The Abbey

¹ 13 D.K. 18 July 1578.

² *Hist. et. Gen. Fam. de Burgo*, MS. in T.C.D.

³ 12 D.K. 1630.

owned half the town of Bellabourke, and certain MacPhilbins owned the other half. But this may be some minor denomination.

Perrymore or *Ferrymore* = Fearaghmore in Drummin Tl. next north of Hazelrock.

Kynwrye = Kinnewry Tl. lying on parish boundary to West of Loughnacorralea.

Dromyn = Drummin Tl. lying N. and W. of Moat Tl. The Northern part includes Fearaghmore.

Kylwryn—This should be read *Kylwryu*. It is meant for Kilbree, Cill Bruigh, the detached part of Ballintubber parish. Also appears as *Kilwire* *alias* Killiory in C. Killyvirre *alias* Killvry in Strafford's Survey.

The 6 quarters of Kellewallye are really 7 quarters. The mistake is repeated in B and C showing that they were copied from A. They formed a fairly compact block running north from Kinnewry along the parish boundary, and the detached farms of Kilbree. In Bellabourke Tl. is an old church called Templeshanenaglasha, which in Strafford's Survey is called Killyndiryh. That church and its lands seem to have been the nucleus of the Grange estate. An old church is in Kilbree.

B.

Dromgawe.

Towagh—The land about Tower Hill house.

Kilpeslan—Kilpeshine in D. The former seems to be the correct form. As a church with a river and a fishery near Castlebar it may be the old church at Ballynew.

Farrengalegort = Gallgort Tl. close to Burriscarra.

Gortnemanagh.

Clonark = Cloonark Tl. lying along the river Robe near Cloonagashell Castle.

Kilteynie = Kilteany, Church and Tl. in Kilcommon Erris.

Kilwire = See above, *Kilwryn*.

Clynishe = Clynish, an island of Kilmeena P. in which was a church.

Ballyhemicke—*Alias* Ballyhem in C. See Ballyhemon in D.

Ballyni-Inry—Ballyniny and Ballenyng in C. and D. Ballyniny is probably the correct form.

Ballintawishe—Ballentavysie in D. The composition notes the 8 quarters of Levallynetavese.

Ballycreevie—An *alias* of Ballintubber (H.F. 155) which survives in Creevagh Tl. close to the Abbey.

Ballilehurtane = Luffertaun.

Ballibohan = Bohaun Tl.

Ballindum = Ballinduin ?

Ballykilmonan—See Kilwoonin in D.

C.

Ballybogh appears instead of Ballybohan in B. There is a Bollyboghe in D. as well as a Ballybeaghan. Pelty's map gives a Ballibogh on E. of Bellabourke.

D.

Downinagh—This might be read Drominagh I think.

Clowyard—Perhaps Clownyard.

Shythanagh = Skehanagh Tl. adjoining Ballintubber and Carns Tls.

Keilerchoyly.

Coureagthgrath. } These are Carn Eighteragh and Carn Oughter-
Carnoghteragh. } agh = Carns Tl., in which is Church Island,
ancient Shrine Island, in which is St. Finan's Church.

Dromianigheo to *Gortenfort*.—Drommoneguagh had the *aliases* of Ballygavage or Ballygavock, and Lageneighduff. Strafford's Survey shows that the cartron of Killeenliath was included in the quarter of Dromenegoath. This was an estate belonging to O'Kellys of Donamona. The townland of Killeen includes an old graveyard which gave the name. This was an estate lying south of Donamona Castle. Fortlawn seems to translate Gortenfort.

Kiltarsaghtlane = Kiltarsaghaun.

Dromynerall.

Kyltyfaile.—Fal was the northern boundary of Partry (H.F. 153), and survives in Kilfaul Tl. This word seems to be a variation of Kilfaul, Coilltefail, meaning Woods of Fence; the lands seem to lie between Kiltarsaghaun and the Partry boundary.

Gortnekilly to *Gortana*.—Of these names the Luffertauns survive as a Townland name.

Carrowandavderge. }

Clownyarde. }

Corryanvayre. }

Derrindaffderg Townland indicates the situation.

Dromynmore and *Beg*, *Lurga* and *Sagharde*.—These Dromyns are two of the quarters of Cagaula. For Sagharde read Gagharde. Lurgan and Guffard are S.W. and S.E. of Cagaula church.

I cannot make out any of the following denominations until Towaght. The House of Towerhill is said to have been built on an old graveyard which must be the site of this church.

Ilanmassy and *Ilanedachinny* being described with *Farrenegolgart* as in *Burriscarra P.*, must be islands in *L. Carra*.

Kilcouny.—Sir Theobald Bourke's grant names "Killcony otherwise Orlare." *Carrownurlare* in *Breaghwy P.* seems to represent it.

Killindromenroe.—This was probably a small field near *Drumminroe* in *Ballintubber P.* All the small fields have been brought together in one place.

The Priory of the Cross is then dealt with. According to the first computation the aures were worth 10*d.* each, but 20*d.* each according to the second, *i.e.* ounces, one-twelfth of a pound. According to the composition its estate comprised 3 quarters called the Cross and 1 quarter in *Termon Kilmore*.

Ballyhemon was in the South of *Touaghty Parish* and comprised the Townlands of *Kilskeagh* and *Cloonnagoppoge* and others.

The tithes of other lands not owned by the Abbey are next set out. The words "all the tithes of the Parish of *Ballintubber*" were not considered enough to cover them, but the names of lands were given; the same remark applies to *Drum*. But it is sufficient for *Burriscarra* and *Ballyheane*. Those parishes had been long consolidated, and there could be no doubt. But in *Ballintubber* and *Drum* the churches of *Cagaula* and *Loona* were still well known as parish churches, and such others as those of *Belcarra* and *Gweeshadan* and *Bellabourke* may have survived in monastic record and local tradition. It is clear that the Abbey held all the tithes of these four parishes of *Ballintubber*, *Ballyheane*, *Burriscarra* and *Drum*. In *Touaghty* it held only the tithes of its lands.

The following names of lands are identified—

B. Boghe lay to east of *Bellabourke*.

Gortenbrabastowne is a part of town of *Bellabourke*.

Gortbane is now a Tl. next *Bellabourke*. *Gortbanebeg* was a cartron in the quarter of *Killyndiryh* in town of *Bellabourke*.

Shrahynlogha lay to west of *Kinnewry*.

Detrife seems to be *Diotruibh* which gave the name of *Bealach an Diotruibhe* to the *Togherpatrick* (F.M. 1589 note), and should be some place through which the *Togher* passes. The name *Derrew* occurs on the north boundary of *Ballyovey* parish. This seems to be a form which *Diothruibh* might take. If so this *Diothruibh* would suit better than any *Diothruibh* on the line of the *Togherpatrick* unless there was one on the eastern border of the parish. *Diotruib* or *Diothreamh* means desert or wilderness, a term applicable to many parts of *Ballintubber* and *Ballyovey* parishes in old times. *Stringill's Well* was in the *Wastes* (See p. 23). *Gransali* seems to be a part

of Gransaliabog. These points would cover the whole parish as this list seems to intend.

The next paragraph comprises the tithes of Drum parish. Belabourky may be a name for some place therein and not the Belabourke of Ballintubber. Many of these names are not identified.

Tormane = Lisrobert Tl. in extreme south of Drum.

Gisseden = Gweeshadan Tl.

Clownedowrane.—I think this should be Clownedowane. A tract of that name lay to west of Belcarra on the parish boundary.

Clownyduff may be the Cloonaghduff Tl.

Cassellreyes and *Moynkane*.—This is most likely the Manulla river, and the lands meant those attached to the old church of Loona as part of its parish. Cashell, or Castle, Reis, was part of the estate of the Brannaghs or Walshes of Rosslahan. But I do not know the site of this Cashell.

The Abbey estate seems to have comprised 35 quarters, a very large property. In time of peace the tithes must have been a valuable addition.

II. THE BENEDICTINES

(I) BENEDICTINE NUNNERIES

28. *Kilcreevanty*.—Cill Craebhnata. Called de Casta Silva. Founded about A.D. 1200 by King Cathal Crobhderg. The name shows that it took the place of an old church, or was perhaps a revived and enlarged ancient Nunnery. For Craebhnat is a woman's name. The endowment was made of considerable transfers of small Connaught houses which had been held by the Abbey of Nuns of Clonard and by absorption of other small houses which decayed. Very little of the house or church remains.

On 26 Feb. 1196 Pope Celestine III. confirmed to Clonard "The Church of St. Mary of Clonmacnoise to the east, with the townland of Kellogainechain, the church of St. Mary to the west, with the townland of Drumalgach, and the church of St. Mary of Enachdun, with the townland of Kilgel." ¹ It held also Inishmaine in Mayo, Ardcarne and Termonkeelan in Roscommon, and what apparently was once a small nunnery at Drumcliff in Sligo, and many rectories and a large extent

¹ Archdall, *Monast. Hib.*, 527.

of land scattered widely over Connaught, when the Abbess Dervaille ny Conor surrendered its possessions on the 10th April 34 Henry VIII.

The details of this surrender are taken from Archdall, showing the valuation of lands and tithes between 1540 and 1550, but the grant to Lord Clanricard gives the best and most detailed account. The known names are reduced to modern spelling. The old spelling is used in unknown names and the Parish is inserted in square brackets, with other names.

The Abbey containing a church and belfry, dormitory, hall, 3 chambers, a kitchen, garden, and other closes, containing 2 acres of land within the precincts, and 12 messuages, 120 acres arable, 4 meadow, 20 pasture, with their appurtenances in Kilcreevanty

	£	s.	d.
	1	6	8
30 acres arable in Tenmoyle [Tuam P.]		6	8
30 " " Lehid [Kilbennan P.]		6	8
60 " " 10 pasture in Ardower [Kilconla P.]		13	4
60 " " 10 " " Urraclay " "		13	4
30 " " in Airgloony [Tuam P.]		3	4
60 " " 30 pasture in Congan		10	0
40 " " 12 " " Kilgill [Annaghdown P.]		6	8
60 " " 20 " " Drumsullyn		13	4
20 " " in Sede Enatuanen [in See of Annaghdown]		5	0
60 " " 20 pasture in Listagartbeg and Listagartmore		6	8
60 " " 20 pasture in Anaghe of the Nuns		10	0
30 " " in Abbeytown		6	8
60 " " 20 pasture in Drumalagagh [Moore P.]		13	4

All within the Co. of Galway.

The following rectories—Ballyncossen [Ballycusheen Tl. in Kilmainemore P.], Glune, Kiltullagh, Monivea, Galbooly [in Killimordaly P.], Killaan, Gleangeadan, Creagh [P. in Moycarn barony]. Beagh [Tl. in Creagh P., or Parish in Kiltartan, probably former] Culary, the chapel of St. Patrick in Bullaan, the Chapel in , the Chapel in Oghil Beg [in Clonfert P.], together with the tithes of Airgloony, Congan, Ballymacgibbon, Ballynekellayne [Town of Killaan] and Kilgill, worth yearly, £10, 7s.

The rectories of Coliscorne, Ardcarne, Mohym, Drumalagh, the Chapel in Clonmacnoise, Drumcliff, Benivollen, and the Abbeytown; also the tithes of Kilcreevanty, Tenmoyle, Lehid, Ardower, Urraclly, Listagartmore, and Anaghe of the Nuns, worth yearly, £16, 11s. 4d.

The whole estate therefore was taken at £34 yearly. As usual in these early lists we cannot tell how much is meant by the names. For instance Drumsullyn seems to mean the Inishmaine Abbey estate. Rectory seems in some cases, as in Ballycusheen townland, to mean only the rectorial tithe.

A grant to Lord Clanricard in 1570 is even vaguer, but gives to some items different names.¹

The description of this estate in Lord Clanricard's grant of all his possessions dated 19 July, 8 James I.² is as follows, omitting alternative spellings, using modern spelling generally, and rearranging items so as to bring those of each county together:—

POSSESSIONS OF THE LATE MONASTERY OF KILCREVANTA

In Co. Galway.

The Monastery with site, church, churchyard, 6 cottages and 4 quarters, containing by estimation 100 acres arable and 40 acres pasture, wood and moor in Kilcrevanta.

2 quarters, containing 60 acres arable, 24 acres pasture and moor, a watermill and watercourse in Ardower. 2 quarters containing 60 acres arable, 20 acres pasture in Urraclly.

Lehid lands containing 24 acres arable, 40 acres mountain pasture.

In Tenmoyle, 12 acres arable, 8 acres pasture and moor. Airgloony, 20 acres arable, 18 acres pasture.

Kilgill in Maghireogh, 24 acres arable, 30 acres mountain pasture.

In Bannabagh in Omany, 30 acres arable, 8 acres pasture wood and bog (Ballynabanaba Tl. in Fohanagh Parish?).

A messuage and 1 quarter of land, containing 30 acres arable, 24 acres pasture in Oghilbeg in Shillannighy [Sil Anmchadha].

¹ 11 *D.K.* 1581.

² *P.R.J.*, 173, ii.

The following chief rents, all in English money—

	<i>s. d.</i>
Out of Lehpannaghs [Lehanaghs, Tl.'s in Moyrus ?]	11
„ Killing near Ballynahinch [Killeen Tl.] . . .	1 10
„ Umgoyth [Ungwee Tl. Ballynakill P.] . . .	1 10
„ Doorus and Inishdoorus [Cong P.] . . .	11
„ Farnaght and Glenlusk [in Cong P.] . . .	11
„ Bearnaylly [Barnahallia Tl. in Omev P. ?] . . .	11
„ Dromanasculin	
„ Knockanaganyne and Islandmore [Big Island in L. Mask] with an old stone house near Ballynonagh [Petersburgh in Ross P.] . . .	11
„ Kilmeelickin [in Ross P.]	
„ Seanowharragany [Shanafaraghaun Tl.] being part of Kilbride	1 10
„ Slievepartry, called Owenvarraglena	1 10
„ the Derry [Derry in Ballinchalla P. Ross Barony]	11
„ Shrahnalong [in Ballinchalla P. Ross Barony]	11

All the tithes of the half quarter of Seanowhurragany.

In Cos. Galway, Sligo, Roscommon, and Westmeath.

The rectories advowsons tithes &c., of Kilcreevanty, Creagh, Taghmaconnell, Killaan, Killeomer in Omanie [Killimordaly], Kiltullagh in Clanrickard, Drumcliff in Co. Sligo, Ardcarra Co. Roscommon, and Clonmacnoise in O'Melaghlin's country.

In Co. Mayo.

In Cowlesturnie in MacWilliam Eightery's country, 2 quarters containing 60 acres arable, 20 acres pasture and bog.

In Cong 2 quarters, and an eel weir on the river Cong.

In the Island of Inishdorus, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter.

Gortenehaglish, 2 acres.

A ruinous church in Ballinchalla.

The waste castle chapel and quarter of land called Annie, with the tithes thereof and of Renenyell [the old castle on Hag Island in L. Carra and the church and Tl. of Annagh on shore of L. Carra and Rinnaneel Tl. close by].

The ruinous chapel or house called Teaghfin near the Abbey of Cong, and a garden near Cong Castle on the north.

The tithes of the 2 quarters of Ballenecowshnagh [Ballycusheen Tl.] in Kilmaine Barony.

The Island of Inishmaine, with all the lands and islands in Loughmask.

In Inishmaine, Inishdowe [Inishcoog ?] and Inishowen, 1 quarter.

In Derryclowndan, Shrahnalong, and Oenberreglenna, 1 quarter.

The town and lands of Ballinchalla on the western [eastern really] part of the island, containing 2 quarters with the tithes.

A castle and bawn in the said island.

In Co. Roscommon.

In Termonkeelan 2 quarters, containing 40 acres arable, 16 acres pasture and moor.

In Drumalagagh, 2 quarters containing 60 acres arable, 24 acres pasture wood and bog.

The 2 rectories or churches of Temple-Efarson [Roscommon Church] and Kilkeevin, with half the tithes of the 36 quarters of land within the said parishes.

Ballibokie, 4 quarters.

All the tithes of 4 quarters of land in O'Conor Don's country.

The 2 quarters of the cell of Termonkeelan in the same.

The moiety of the tithes of the following lands, viz.—

In Cloonkoose, 2 quarters. In Cloondacara, 2 quarters. In Arm, 1 quarter. In Clansallagh, 1 quarter. In Longfordmagherie, 1 quarter. In Carrowmore, 1 quarter. In Cloonavindin, 1 quarter. In Beagh, 1 quarter. In Emlagh, 1 quarter. In Lisboy, 1 quarter—being parcels of Termonkeelan rectory.

Three parcels called Boeltisier commonly called Glaneawf, Ballebrickney, and Bollecolman, containing 5 acres and belonging to the Cell of Ardcarne.

The late cell of Nuns of Ardcarne, with 1½ quarter of land and divers gardens in Ardcarne and Eastersnow, thereto belonging.

The rectory and tithes of Ardcarne, except in the 3 towns of Loughport, extended to 3 couples yearly.

In Co. Sligo.

Ballynagalliagh, 1½ quarter.

A small piece of land in Drumcliff in Carbury Barony. The church and a house thereto adjoining on the west, late belonging to the rectory of Drumcliff.

The said rectory and a vaulted stone house called Tagh Iconneile, late belonging to the said rectory.

Dowchorne, 6 quarters.

Dromentample, 1 quarter.

Bellanafenogie [Ballyara Tl.], ½ quarter. Kilmalovir, 1 quarter. Killegallagh otherwise Killnegallagh, 1 quarter. Sessie M'Ellarhie, 1 quarter. Monynecranghie, 2 quarters. The rents reserved were £36, 10s. 8d. Irish.

(2) CISTERCIANS, OR BERNARDINES, A REFORMATION
OF BENEDICTINES

29. *Knockmoy*, called de Colle Victoriae, of the Hill of Victory, a translation of the Irish Cnoc Muaidhe, but incorrect. Muaidh is a woman's name. Her Hill has been treated as if the name was Cnoc mBuaidh. It was built in 1189 or 1190 by King Cathal Crobhderg, who was buried therein. The name having been translated Hill of Victory, a victory of King Cathal over Almeric St. Lawrence and a force of English was imagined to account for the name. There is no evidence of any such battle.

It was dedicated to the B.V.M. and was a daughter of Boyle which was a daughter of Mellifont. The ruins are of interest. A very full amount of the history is given in the *Jl. of the Galway Arch. and Hist. Society*, i. p. 68.

In 1542 Abbot Hugh O'Kelly, who appears to have been a layman holding the abbey in commendam, surrendered it and its possessions and renounced the supremacy of the Pope. He received the abbey back for life, to furnish for the King's service 60 horse, a battle of gallowglasses (80 men each having an armour-bearer and a boy to carry provisions), and 60 kerne when the Lord Deputy comes into Connaught, and for service out of Connaught 12 horse and 24 kerne.

Clare Island Abbey was under it at the Suppression.

The possessions were let in 1566 to Andrew Brereton for 21 years at £49, 10s.¹ In 1584 they were valued at £78 a year.

The lands were chiefly in the parishes of Abbey Knockmoy and Killererin and Kilmoylan and Athenry.

An Inquisition of 1 April 27 Eliz. *i.e.* 1584 gives a list of some of their possessions :—

12 quarters in town of Knockmoy,		
the demesne.		
2	„	of Knocknemanaghe.
2	„	Dulyse Close to Galway Town in Murrough Tl.
4	„	Uraniebegge Oranbeg in Oranmore P.
6	„	Aghrem <i>alias</i> Monksgrange About Castletambert? <i>Galway A.H.S., i. 40.</i>
4	„	Grange Magherly Reogh Grange Tl. Annaghdown P. or Lackagh P.
4	„	Corbally In Kilmoylan P. ?
2	„	Tawnagh. Tawnagh in Kilmoylan P.
2	„	Grange Cowlreagh Grange and Coolrevagh Tl.'s Killererin P.
2	„	Ardnesadle.
1	„	Coolortan Cooloorta Tl. Abbeyknockmoy P.

All in the barony of Tiaquin.

1 „ Dryssaghan.

With their tithes, Coolortin and Dryssaghan excepted. These in fact are not all in Tiaquin barony. An Inquisition of 1 Sept. in same year gives “town and castle of Tawnagh.”

The tithes of the rectories of Killoscobe and Moylough and three half quarters of the tithes, glebe, fisheries, altarges, oblations, &c., of the rectory of the town of Galway, both within the town and without ; and in the towns of—

Clogh-Lynch	} Terryland and Ballybrit are close to Galway. These seem to be the lands called Dulyse.
Tyrellia	
Ballenebritt, and	
Corgaddere	

The Dulyse estate near Galway and the rectory of Galway appear to be what passed by the grant of Lismacuan.

¹ 11 *D.K.* 969.

The abbey owned the rectory of Hy Diarmada, the northern part of Kilkerrin P.

Archdall gives also a list of the possessions of this abbey as held by Valentine Blake on 22 March 1620, which expresses them in more detail and adds much.

Within the site were the monastic buildings and 3 houses or cottages, and 12 tofts and 12 gardens. And attached to the Abbey were 12 quarters of land which were the demesne, viz. :—

Carrownemanestrach	The Monastery Quarter, now Abbey Tl.
Town and village of Coulagh and the 4 qrs. of Coulagh	Culliagh Tl.
2 qrs. of Fewenemannagh	Feagh Tl.
Quarter of Moyne	Moyne Tl.
„ Belacheren.	
„ Kilgarrowe	Kilgarve.
Carrowlynnenaghlowe.	
Carrownemaddagh.	
And a watermill at the abbey.	

The names identified are all in Abbeyknockmoy P.

The rectory of Killoscobe— $\frac{1}{2}$ the tithes, altarages, &c., due out of the 4 quarters of tithes in Killaskarla and Ballinagrossin, $\frac{1}{2}$ the tithes, &c., of Drumnadda and Ballinesowragh; 4 quarters of tithes, &c., out of the 4 quarters of land of Menlough Crossoughter.

Of these denominations Killaskarla seems to be a mistake for Killoscoba, and of the other names Ballagnagrosheen and Ballynesooragh and Menlough and Cross Oughter are still used as names of townlands in Killoscobe.

The rectory of Moylagh and half the tithes of the town and lands of Moylagh.

$\frac{1}{2}$ the tithes in Trosnagh and Annaghmore	Trasternagh Tl. in Moylough P. Annaghmore	„
$\frac{1}{2}$ the quarter of the tithes in Cooloue	Cooloo	„
$\frac{1}{2}$ the tithes of the town and lands in Mullaghmore	Mullaghmore	„
Annaghlyne.		
Cargarue and Boveyneon	Bovinion	„

$\frac{1}{2}$ the tithes of the town and lands in Clonoran and . . .	Cloonoran in Moylough P.
Cloncalgy	Clooncallaga "
Tonleggy and	Windfield ? "
Ballyrouane	Ballinrooau "
Corvally.	
Clonerrurin	Clooncurréen "
Caldragh and	Skeagh ? "
Cilkagh	Gilkagh "
The tithes of Coolereogh . . .	Coolrevagh Tl. in Killererin P.
Togher and	Togher "
the Grange	Grange "
$\frac{1}{2}$ the tithes of Coolewortagh and Drisseghan.	
$\frac{1}{4}$ the tithes, &c., of Tacenagh .	Tawnagh in Kilmoylan P.
Corbally	Corbally "
$\frac{1}{4}$ of the tithes of Corbally . . .	These seem to be an estate held with Aughrim or Castle-lambert in Athenry P. Curanbeg is perhaps Caraun.
Curanbeg	
Grange with the lands of Agherim	
$\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$ of all tithes in Ardnes-hadda, with the altarages, &c., out of the lands of Grange, Curanbeg, Aghenan and Ardnes-hadda	Seems to be part of above group.

All in the county of Galway, worth in all £25, 10s. Irish yearly.

To be certain of the identity of existing townland names with these ancient denominations it would be necessary to trace the title of present holders. But so many recur that they may be taken to represent fairly the localities. They are so often repeated in different parishes that uncertainty arises again in that way. Grange of Maghery Reagh may be Grange in Annaghdown P. which certainly was in Machaire Riabhach, but Lackagh P. was I think also in that district, and in this case Grange in Lackagh is probably meant. There seems to be some mistake in the last list in which the lands paying tithes seem to be repeated. As I have not been able to collate Archdall's rendering with the original I can only suggest that some important words have been omitted.

There is an Inquisition 29 Jan., 27 Eliz., finding that John de Burgh held the Castle of Carnan and the 2 quarters

of Knocknemanagh for life, worth 20s. Irish yearly, belonging to the abbey. There was a Castle called Carnan in the barony of Clare according to the Division of Connaught and Thomond in 1574. That castle is not identified. The baronies were afterwards somewhat altered. So this may be a castle at Castle Ellen in Athenry P., which is not far from a townland called Carnan. But Carnan is a common name.

In other counties the Abbey held—

	£	s.	d.
Co. of Mayo. In Clare Island, 1 qr. worth		13	4
The Grange of Tirawley, 1 small qr.	2	13	4
Ballymurry, 4 small qrs.	2	13	4

These are Grange Tl. and probably land near Kilmurry Tl. in Crossmolina P.

Alternan Chapel and 1 qr. in Tireragh 13 4

This is Alternan Park in Easky P. in which is an old graveyard and St. Ernan's Well.

In the Co. Roscommon it held according to the composition—2 qrs. in Knockneshie in barony of Ballintubber; 1 qr. in Clanartie in barony of Roscommon.

The Lismacuan grant is earlier than 1201, and was given by Conor O'Flaherty.

Archbishop O'Lachtan gave it the rectory of Kilfelligy *alias* Killoscobe.

Archbishop O'Conor gave it the rectory of Hy Diarmada in 1275.

Owing to the absence of a complete list of possessions it is not clear how much the abbey really held. After the dissolution much monastic land was held quietly by the occupants. It comes into the Inquisitions and grants according as it was discovered. Enough is known to mark it as the richest abbey of the diocese.

30. *Clare Island*.—House of the B.V.M. said to have been founded in 1224 for Carmelites. It was a cell of Knockmoy at the suppression. The O'Malleys must have founded it. It was a very small house. It owned one quarter of land.

The great Cistercian Abbey of Boyle owned a good estate

in these dioceses. An Inquisition of 1569¹ gives the extent of profitable land thus—

9 cottages, 60 acres arable, 120 pasture and moor with their tithes in the Grange of Moenmoy, which is probably Grange P. in Loughrea Barony; 6 cottages 110 acres arable, 40 acres pasture wood and moor and a piece of land called Carrevenalta in Grangemanagh and Templenamanagh in Corran; 6 cottages, 60 acres arable, 160 pasture and moor in the Great and Little Granges in Tireragh.

The denominations are given in more detail in the grant to John Bingle and John Kinge, 17 June 6 James I.²

In Corran—"Four quarters of land adjoining to the chapel of Templeavany, viz. Carrowreagh, Carrowentreyly, Carrowvickrowrie, and Carrowentemple. The town of the Grange containing four quarters, viz. Logeviny, Lognescary, Gargah, and the Graunge, lying near Ballymote. Clonemannagh, 1 quarter. Trinemore, 1 quarter."

In Tireragh—"The grange of Graungemore, containing 4 quarters. The Grange of Graungebeg containing 4 quarters." All the tithes great and small of the above.

Of the Templevanny portion the names Carrowreagh and Carrowicrorie are still attached to townlands, adjoining each other and lying close by Templevanny. Carrowentemple is Templevanny Tl.

For the Ballymote Grange the composition gives two names still used for townlands, Portinch 3 quarters and Emlaghnaghtan 1 quarter. Cloonamanagh is still applied to a townland. These are all in Emlaghfad P. Treanmore is a Tl. in Toomour. The name of the land is in full the Trian of Cloncagh, or Battlefield. It is so close to Templevanny that it must be part of that estate.

The Great and Little Granges are still represented by Tls. in Templeboy P. In Grangemore are the ruins of a good church with a small tower only a few yards from its west end. The church originally had the usual door in the south wall. That was closed and a new door was put in the west end, opposite the door of the tower.

It owned also the 1 quarter of Alternan according to the composition, but this appears to be a mistake, as that belonged to Knockmoy.

¹ *Chief Rememb.* 13 Nov. 1569.

² *P.R.J.*, p. 125 li.

Notes on the Names of Lands and Places.

Congan.—Probably a mistake for Conga.

Drumsullyn.—May represent the whole estate of Inishmaine Abbey in the part of Ballinchalla P. which lies to the west of L. Mask.

In Sede Enatuanen.—This seems to mean “in the See of Annaghdown” and should refer to the site of St. Mary’s Abbey and lands near it.

Listagart.

Anagh of Nuns.—The name suits the chapel and land of Annagh on L. Carra, which are mentioned in the Clanricard grant.

The Abbeytown.—See Bannabagh below.

Ballyncossen.—I take this to be Ballycusheen Tl. because the abbey held in Kilmaine barony the tithes of 2 quarters called Ballenecowshnagh, which seems to be but a variation of Ballycusheen.

Glune.

Glengeadan.

Culary.

Coliscorne.—Also as Cowlsturny and Cowlesturnie in the Clanricard grants, probably the true form. But the name does not occur again and there is no indication of position.

Mohym.

Benivollen.

The 1570 grant gives some other names of rectories, Taghmaconnell, Kyleomer in Omany instead of Galbuell, Dromlagh in the country of O’Conor Sligo, identified by Dr. O’Rorke as the Tl. of Ballynagalliagh in Drumcliff. This rectory means only the nuns’ chapel and the tithes of their lands. “Ardekerane and Clonmaknoye”—Ardekerane may be meant for the tithes of Kellogainechain mentioned in Pope Celestine’s letter. Taghmaconnell does not appear by that name in the other documents and must be an alternative name of some item.

Bannabagh is in both Clanricard grants but not in the surrender, in which it might be the Abbeytown, the only item containing 30 acres arable. Ballynabanaba Tls. in extreme south of Fohanagh P. may be the place.

Gortenehaglish.

Teaghfin.

Oenberraglena.—The association of this land with Derry and Shrahnalong marks its position as about the river of Shrahnalong or perhaps on the Owenbrinn.

Ballybokie.

Cloonkoose to Lisboy.—These names are in use except Clan-

sallagh, and are the lands about Kilkeevin and Emlaghbroc. Kilkeevin is in Arm Tl.

Ardcarne and *Eastersnow* lands. I cannot identify any of these names.

Tagh Iconneile is likely to be at Ballyconnell to west of Drumcliff where there is an old graveyard. The four items seem to be the estate of the old house of Nuns of Dromcliff.

The remaining items are in the barony of Leyny, and may be described as the Doughorne and Ballyara estates.

Dowchorne.—This is the name of an ancient prebend, whose church was probably in the graveyard at Chimney Parks in Moylough Tl. south-east of Tobercurry. These lands seem to be the comarb lands of that old church.

Dromentample.

Bellanafenogie, now Balliara, where is an old church.

Killegallagh, or *Killnegallagh*.

Sessie M'Ellarhie = Sessuegilroy Tl. ?

Mony ne cranghie = Bunnacranagh Tl. Original initial M in such names is often changed to B. It adjoins Montiagh Tl. in which is an old church, and is perhaps the endowment of that church.

In these lists the quarter is used as a name, and not as a measure of value.

III. THE DOMINICANS, THE ORDER OF PREACHERS CALLED BLACK FRIARS

31. *Athenry*.—The House of St. Peter and St. Paul was founded by Meyler de Bermingham, first Anglo-Norman Lord of Athenry in 1241. It was well supported and became a very great house. A copy of the Register in the British Museum¹ gives very complete information regarding the foundation and endowments of the house and the principal benefactors and their donations. These have been given by De Burgo in the *Hibernia Dominicana* and by Archdall in the *Monasticon Hibernicum*, and lately by Mr. Blake in the *Journal of the Galway Archæological and Historical Society*, vol. ii. p. 65. The founder's family is followed as to its heads but not as to the minor branches. It may be that not many were buried there besides the heads of the family. Mr. Blake's article gives all that is of much interest in the

¹ *Sloane and Add. MSS.* No. 4784.

Register. The endowments in land were not large, estimated by O'Heyne at about 1500 acres in his work lately edited by the Rev. A. Coleman, O.P., with a translation, "O'Heyne's Irish Dominicans." The Dominicans did not accumulate great endowments. They were "Begging Friars," and lived by casual offerings and gifts and fees for services. But they were very well maintained in these ways. The establishment consisted of about 30 friars.

The Register tells how the monastery was founded and how other great men helped by building parts and how additions were made. In such cooperative fashion we may suppose that many other monasteries were built regarding which we have but a founder's name.

Meyler de Bermingham bought the site for 160 marks from a knight named Robert Branagh, or Welsh, and we may suppose that he built at least the greater part of the church.

King Felim O'Conor built the Refectory; Archbishop Flann O'Flynn built the Scholar House; Owen O'Heine built the Dormitory; Cornelius O'Kelly (Conor) the Chapter House; Dermot O'Treasy and his wife Margaret O'Lorchan the great Guest Chamber; and Art Macgallyly the Infirmary.

Sir William Liath and his wife gave one hundred marks for building the front and for glass, and enlarged the choir by 20 feet. This enlargement can be seen clearly in the ruins, and seems to have been made with a view to the adoption of the church as a family burying place so as not to interfere with the founder's rights of De Bermingham.

Mac a Wallayd de Bermingham began the chapel of the B.V.M. which was completed by William Wallys who built part of the belfry. I cannot make out who this "Mac a Wallayd" was. Walter Huskard and his wife Joan built the cloisters. Others built altars and various minor works and made contributions in money and in small pieces of land, and so that great establishment was finished.

The convent held various cottages and plots of land in and about the town. Their larger holdings of land were—

$\frac{1}{2}$ qr. of Ballyglass in Tulubane which adjoined 1 qr. of Carrowardahrah.

1 cartron called An Muir and Tempul Tulubane.

1 cartron called Lisoylalayn and Gortorahiky and Gortnavadog.

1 qr. in Carnan.

$\frac{1}{2}$ qr. of Tempul an Brahir.

$\frac{1}{2}$ townland called Cathayr mic Grayneoid.

The Cell of Kilcorban and a good farm.

At the dissolution the Earl of Clanricard saved it from suppression on condition that the monks wore secular dress. It was suppressed in 1574 when it was given to the town of Athenry.

The Register gives a list of dates of deaths of eminent persons, which differ, by omission of some particulars, in the lists published in *Hibernia Dominicana* and in the copy in the British Museum, and mentions many persons buried in the abbey. Part of this is a note describing the exact position in which were buried Sir William de Burgo and some of his sons and their descendants, and members of certain other families, with such indications that the places could be made out even now with fair accuracy. In face of this Register it must be taken as certain that Sir William was buried here and not in the Franciscan House at Galway. The tomb shown there has been made up from a tomb of one of the Bourkes of Mayo mistaken for Sir William, probably Ulick, son of Edmond son of Richard O'Cuairsci, who died in 1534, MacWilliam Eighter.

32. *Strade*.—The House of the Holy Cross, founded by Jordan de Exeter for Franciscans but made over to this order in 1252 or 1253 at the instance of his wife Basilia, a daughter of Meyler de Bermingham, according to the Register of the Dominican House of Athenry. It was burnt in 1254. It was burnt again or became ruinous by 1434, when the Pope gave indulgences for repair and for rebuilding. The ruins show it to have been a very fine church and a considerable establishment. To this period is to be ascribed the 15th century work which it shows. It was the only large monastery in the De Exeter lordship of Gallen. The Irish called it Athlethan Abbey, after the Castle of Athlethan, the stronghold of the De Exeters about two miles away overlooking the Broad Ford of the Moy.

The Annals called "of Multifarnham" were probably written by brother Stephen de Exeter of this house.

It owned 4 quarters of land.

33. *Rathfran*.—House of the Holy Cross. Founded by a De Exeter, probably Sir Richard, in 1274. A family of De Exeters was living at Rathfran in the 16th century. Edmond Bourke MacWilliam was murdered here by his brother Walter's sons in 1513.

It owned 2 quarters of land—Clonboy, Cloynemoyler *alias* Clonemoylen, Acknoyke *alias* Naglanye *alias* Nanglanty, and Mora *alias* Nahaltoraë. Of these Clonboy survives as a townland name. Naglanye had the *alias* Rathfran.

34. *Knockmore*.—In parish of Kilfree, founded by O'Gara in the 14th century. It had only a trifle of land. It is in Mount Irvine townland.

35. *Toombeola*.—This house is said to have been founded in 1427, by an O'Flaherty. It had 8 monks, but from the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth was abandoned and has since disappeared.

36. *Urlare*.—House of St. Thomas. Founded by Mac Costello in 1434 under brother William de Angulo. The friars had been for 2 years at a place in the diocese of Tuam; according to Ware, quoted by Stevens, this abbey was called Vivariensis, but I cannot find any such statement by Ware. The convent had not received papal sanction at that time. I suspect it to have been called Vivariensis before it was placed at Urlare, and to have taken that name from the Disertbibar of the Taxation. The church and a good deal of conventual buildings remain. Novices were sent here because it was so lonely. It owned the rectories of Kilcolman, Templemore, Templemurry, Kilbeagh, Kilmovee, Meelick, Bohola, Killedan.¹

It owned one quarter of land in 1585.

It is not easy to understand how this MacCostello foundation of 15th century came to be endowed with so many rectories in Gallen, MacJordan's country. I cannot but suspect that it absorbed some pre-existing ancient abbey of the O'Garas of which no note has survived, possibly an old convent of monks of Meelick who may have continued to

¹ *Inqn.* 28 Sept. 1 Ch. I., quoted in *O.S.L. Mayo*, ii. 373.

exist in obscurity, or the monastery of Killedan which is known by only one reference.

37. *Burrishoole*.—House of B.V.M. Founded by Richard Bourke MacWilliam, in 1469 at a place called “Carta Gracilis” in Latin. He retired to it until his death. The monks under Ruriacus Ymearan (Ruaidri O’Moran ?) accepted it with the Archbishop’s approval but without papal sanction and settled down in a wooden house. It was probably founded in a hurry to accommodate MacWilliam. After Ruriacus’s death brother Donnell Ymearan got the Pope’s Bull for foundation in 1486, from which it dates officially.

The church remains. The tower is peculiar among abbey churches of this period in being the full width of the church, but dividing nave and choir as usual.

It owned a half-quarter of land called Rosnabraher and one quarter called Carrowkeel, and the royalty of the fishery of Burrishoole.¹

38. *Cloonimeaghan* in Cloonoghil P.—Founded in 1488 by brother Bernard MacDonogh on land given by Owen MacDonogh. In course of time the friars left it, and it came under the management of the Abbey of Sligo.

It owned one quarter of land called Rinnaroge.

39. *Kilmurphy*, alias *Kilbrenan*, at Kilmurphy in Clonbern P. was a house of Mendicant Friars under a Warden. It owned a cemetery adjoining containing $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, 2 cottages and gardens in Kilmurphy, 20 acres in Kilmurphy, 4 acres arable and 3 acres pasture and bog in Lisronbeg.² It is in Tuath MacWalter and may be taken to have been founded by that family of Burkes.

Kilbrenan and Kilmurphy are mentioned in 1574 and 1589³ as owning 6 cottages in the first case and as owning land in Kilmurphy in the other case. It is possible however that Kilbrenan in that case may be an *alias* of Killeenbrenan.

In the *Valor Beneficiorum* the Vicarage of Kilbrenan is mentioned, but no Clonbern. It may be taken that Kilbrenan is the proper name of the parish church of Clonbern.

¹ *Chief Rememb. Inqn. James I., Co. Mayo, No. 28, and P.R.J.*, p. 263, iv.

² *P.R.J.*, p. 259, x.

³ 12 *D.K.* 2374. 16 *D.K.* 5306.

IV. THE FRANCISCANS, OR FRIARS MINORS, CALLED
GREY FRIARS

(I) THE CONVENTUALS

40. *Claregalway*.—Founded about 1290 by John de Cogan, lord of the surrounding country. The church and buildings are still in good order. In 1368 Thomas Lord Athenry gave it a piece of land close by called Cloonmoylan. At the suppression it owned 6 cottages and gardens, 24 acres arable, common of pasture for 24 cows on the commons yearly, and a watermill.¹

41. *Galway*.—Founded by Sir William de Burgo about 1296 on St. Mary's Isle. In 1494 the Dominicans of Galway made over to it the small Premonstratensian Nunnery which the convent of the Holy Trinity of Tuam had given to them. This house seems to have been adopted by the Clann William Burke of Mayo as a burying place for their chieftains. But the matter is very obscure, some indications exist pointing that way, but not much.

It owned 12 gardens containing 3 acres of ground, $\frac{2}{3}$ of a watermill upon the river of Galway near St. Francis's Abbey, the ninth part of the tithes of 2 acres called Gortkellie near Galway—the customary fish following, viz. a salmon every Wednesday out of the great river, a salmon every Saturday out of the high weir, a salmon every Friday out of the haul net, and as many eels as should be taken in one day every week out of 20 eelweirs on the river, at the discretion of the corporation of Galway.² It seems to have taken over from the Dominicans the quarter of the Jurdane near Galway and its tithes, 6 acres. A Friday salmon out of Rice's place near Galway bridge, and the tithes of that fishery.³

41a. *Athenry*.—Thomas Earl of Kildare founded it in 1464, dedicated to St. Michael. The ruins are large. The choir is now a parish church.

42. *Bofeenaun*, alias *Boghmoynan*, in Addergoole P. in Tirawley. The church is not large. The east window is of late date. It owned 4 quarters of land. I cannot ascertain anything more about it.

¹ *P.R.J.*, p. 173, ii.² *Ibid.*, p. 4, xviii.³ *Ibid.*, p. 259, x.

43. *Kilnamanagh*.—A Franciscan House. The order is uncertain. It was formed out of the old Parish Church of Shrule in Muintir Murcada. It was probably founded by the Hackets, as it was within their estate. The death of its abbot is recorded in 1438 (F.M.). Its possessions as granted to Lord Clanricard were 46 acres arable, 22 acres pasture in Kilnamanagh, with common of pasture and 60 acres of pasture near Kilnamanagh, and the rectory of Kilnamanagh, *i.e.* Donaghpatrick P. A rent of 15s. 2d. was reserved for the land, and of £3, 10s. for the rectory, from which were excepted the altarages and two couples of corn for the curate's stipend.¹

The name "Church of the Monks" found in a tract supposed to have been compiled in the 11th century² points to its having been the seat of an early monastery which dissolved itself.

(2) OBSERVANTINS, OR OF THE STRICT OBSERVANCE

44. *Rosserilly*.—Founded in 1351, probably by Sir Raymond de Burgo who seems to have acquired the Manor of Admekin, now called Headford, where his descendants were settled in the 16th century in large numbers, whereof but few now remain. The Friars occupied this house for a very long time after the suppression. The buildings are still in very good condition. Wadding says that it was reformed in 1470.

It owned the quarter of Cordarragh and a watermill.³

45. *Moyne*.—Founded by Thomas Og, MacWilliam Eighter, only two years before his death in 1360. He was called also Thomas of Moyne. It had only an orchard and four acres of land.

It was a very important house, having usually a staff of about 50 religious. The friars were left in it for many years after the suppression.

The ruins are in good condition and are very fine work.

46. *Cloonyvornoge* or *Cowlevernoge*.—Founded about 1441, for this order, or for the 3rd order. It owned $\frac{1}{2}$ a quarter of

¹ *P.R.J.*, p. 173, ii.

² *H.W.C.*, p. 368.

³ *P.R.J.*, p. 80, viii., and p. 173, ii.

land and is described as a cell or chapel. I take it to have been but a small house or cabin in the townland of Cloonnarnoge in Kilkilvery parish, near Lissacromlech.

(3) THE THIRD ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS

47. *Crossmolina*.—This house was in existence in 1306 when John son of William de Rathcogan, Walter de Usser, and Walter de Cogan, were indicted for robbing the Abbot of the B.V.M. near Crossmolina. Rathcogan is a name of Charleville, which was in the Cogan estate in the Co. of Cork. There was a Rathcogyn in Tirawley also. There is reason to suspect that De Barry owned land about Crossmolina which passed to De Cogan as did the De Barry estate about Castlebar, for we find that the Augustinian House at Ballybeg near Buttevant, founded by a De Barry, owned the rectory of Crossmolina. So this house is likely to have been founded by a De Barry or De Cogan.

Its estate was 4 quarters of land. The quarter of Towrenymore, Ballaghomuck and Behagh was part of its possessions (Strafford's Survey). Ballaghomuck and Behy and Tooreen are existing townlands. The latter may be the places meant.

48. *Rosserk*.—This fine house is said to have been founded by a Joy in 1400. Its property was very small, 2 quarters of arable land containing 120 acres.¹

49. *Killeenbrenan*, alias *Kilbrenan*.—Founded in 1428. For a description see p. 171. It owned, besides the site, 6 cottages, an orchard adjoining, 30 acres arable, 15 acres pasture.²

50. *Templemoyle* is said to have been founded by a Burke about 1441. It is in the south of the parish of Monivea and is just south of Taghsaxon, which is named Templevally in the map. It owned two parcels of land called Farrenbridden and Gortnagiresagarde.³

51. *Templegaile*, alias *Taghsaxon*, is said to have been founded in Henry VII.'s time by a Burke. It owned $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre of site and 6 acres arable near it.

52. *Beagh*.—Founded after 1441. An Inquisition of 1585 calls it the ruined cell or chapel of Beagh in the barony of

¹ *P.R.J.*, p. 291, xviii.

² *Ibid.*, p. 183, lx.

³ 16 *D.K.* No. 5935.

Clare, having $\frac{1}{2}$ a quarter of land. I do not know what Beagh is meant.

53. *Kiltullagh* in Roscommon was founded after 1441, probably by an O'Flynn. I cannot make out anything about it.

54. *Court*.—In 1454 John O'Hara, Lord of Luighne, gave Andrew O'Cluman, a priest of this order, two quarters of land and a place called Cuirt Willeag on which to build a house of his order. The quarters were called Carrowanardower and Carrowantawny. The ruins are considerable still.

55. *Ballymote*.—Probably founded by a MacDonogh in the 15th century. A good deal of the church remains with a curious head of a Pope with a very high triple crown over the west door. It owned some gardens, orchards, and buildings and Carrownesagard, 1 quarter; and Leighcarrow-Igaly or Ichaly, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter, with their tithes.¹ Carrowcauly *alias* Earlsfield is close to the abbey.

Annaghdown.—A Franciscan House here is said to have been head of a custody including the monasteries of Connaught and Ulster. There is some mistake in my opinion. I cannot find any evidence of existence of such a house, and there are no ruins at Annaghdown which could be attributed to it.

V. THE CARMELITES, CALLED WHITE FRIARS

56. *Ballinsmala*.—House of St. Mary. The date of foundation is unknown and the ruins afford no definite indication. It is likely to have been founded by the Prendergasts, who were in possession of the barony of Clanmorris immediately after the conquest, and soon after they settled there. It owned 1 quarter of land in Ballinsmala called Lisardkisken (?) with a mill.

The quarter is also called Carrowdromin.

57. *Creevaghbane*, in parish of Killererin, is said to have been founded by a Burke in the 14th century. It was but a small place and had but a trifle of land, 1 qr. and 16 acres arable, and 12 pasture in townlands of Creevaghbane.

¹ *P.R.J.*, p. 109, xxiii.

58. *Ballinahinch*.—O'Flaherty founded a small house here in 1356. I cannot ascertain any particulars.

VI. THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS, SUCCEEDED BY THE KNIGHTS OF THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN

59. *Taghtemple or Templehouse* in Co. Sligo.—The Priory of St. John of Randown held 16 quarters of land here and the rectory and tithes of Taghtemple, which was Kil in Kilvarnet P., the Killecath of the Taxation.

Though it does not appear that a community was established, it may be inferred from mention of a castle of Tech Templa in 1270 in the Annals of Loch Cé that the Priory of Randown had built at least a fortified house or castle to hold their property. Three names are recorded of 3 towns of 4 quarters each, Ballymorrey, Ballyhannagh, and Ballinacarra. Annagh, Ballymurray and Ballynacarrow survive as names of townlands forming a group to the north of Templehouse.

60. *St. John's House* at Ballinrobe.—It is treated as a possession of the Priory of Kilmainham in 1529,¹ owning one carucate or quarter and a mill. After the suppression it was treated as part of the possessions of the Austin Friar's House. It was a little outside the town in the fields to the south of the road to Claremorris. If the Friars' Quarter belonged originally to this house those Friars had no property beyond their monastery.

DOUBTFUL HOUSES

Killedan.—In Harris and King's *Collectanea*, vol. xiii. p. 136, this house is described as by the Gweestion River which identifies it as the Killedan in Gallen Barony, and as having 4 quarters of land. There is no sign of any other church near that Killedan, which was an old parish church. The description as by the river is a result of identification by name only. I am of opinion that this is an alternative name of some house, and that its existence depends only on a vague Inquisition such as that which relates to Kylkeny. It is called a Franciscan House.

¹ *Blake Family Records*, No. 8.

Kylkeny.—The only authority for the existence of this house is an Inquisition dated 11 Sept. 27 Queen Elizabeth, taken at Donamona in Co. Mayo, which finds only that Clare Island contained one quarter of land belonging to the Abbey of Knockmoy; that the House of Friars of Errew contains 1 quarter of land; that the Monastery of Crossmolina owns 4 quarters; that the House of Friars of Kylkeny contains 1 quarter; that the Monastery of Ballentully contains 8 quarters.

Kilkenny occurs as name of a townland near Fisherhill in Breaghwy P. and may be the proper name of the old church of Breaghwy. But there is no ground for supposing that any monastery was ever there. It is most likely that this is an *alias* of some house. But it is possible that there may have been a cabin with a couple of friars living there, as at Beagh and Cloonnavarnoge in the Barony of Clare.

Ballentully.—There is no evidence of the existence of this house beyond the Inquisition of 11 Sept. 27 Queen Elizabeth. I think the name should be Ballintubber, and that the 8 quarters of land are those which belonged to Ballintubber in the Barony of Carra according to the composition. This Inquisition was taken at a time when the government had very little information about the estates of the abbeys.

DIOCESE OF KILLALA

CHAPTER XXIX

THE EARLY PERIOD

ST. PATRICK left Tirawley in charge of an organised clergy working from several mission stations under one or more bishops. We do not know who was the Alad who left his name to Killala. Nothing is known of the Bishop Muredach who was left there beyond the fact that he was an old man of Patrick's household. He is not the Muredach of the Martyrologies who descended from King Laegaire MacNeill. No name or fact connected with the diocese comes to light for the space of more than 50 years.

Tigernan of Errew was the most eminent of the local saints. We have no particulars of his life. His paten became the chief relic of his monastery, known as the "Mias Tigernain." Mr. Knox of Rappa Castle bought it from an O'Flynn, whose family formerly held the erenaghship of the abbey, being the chief landowners near Crossmolina. The original paten was a small round copper dish. He is commemorated on the 6th of August. His monastery became the principal establishment of the Ui Amalgada and was of great importance in the 12th century, as its extensive ruins show. From his pedigree it can be taken that he lived during the first half of the 6th century. He may be called the saint of Ui Amalgada as distinguished from the Ui Eachach of the Moy, among whom was the establishment for which was built the Round Tower, which developed the Bishop and Chapter of Killala.

In the townland of Breastagh near Rathfran stands the Breastagh Ogham stone. Until the discovery in 1898 of the

Bracklaghboy stone near Ballyhaunis it was the only known Ogham inscription in the Co. Mayo. The writing on one edge is damaged and illegible. That of the other edge has been read as "maqcorrbrimaqammll(ngi)tt," meaning "[Stone] of Corrbri son of Ammlongitt." It may apply to one of two or three Cairbres who were sons of Amalguids and relations of Tigernan.

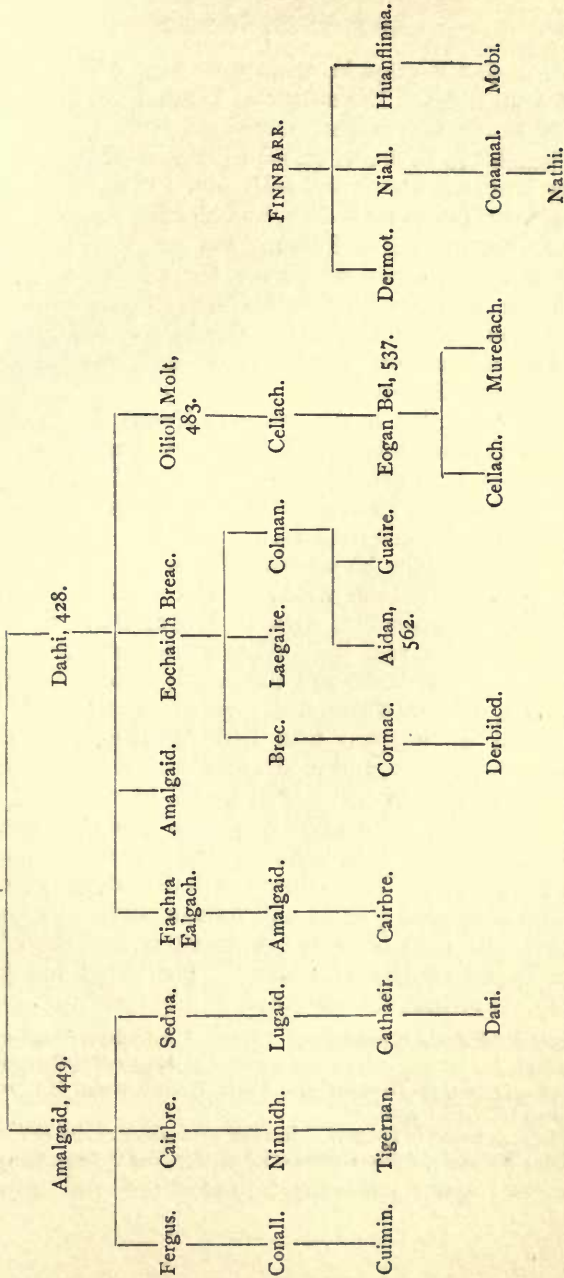
It is not recorded that Dathi's son Amalgaid had a son Cairbre. Such a man is not likely to have been in Tirawley because that Amalgaid's descendants settled in east Meath. It is almost certainly the monument of Tigernan's father or uncle, or Fiachra Elgach's great-grandson. Rathfran was one of the King's forts.

Errew is the only very ancient monastery in Tirawley which survived as a monastery to recent times, and the only one which acquired much reputation. Killala must have been an important abbey, but appears only as a bishop and chapter. Errew is only once mentioned, and that after it had lost its endowments and greatness; in 1413 "Henry Barrett was taken prisoner in the church of Airech Locha Con by MacWattin (*i.e.* Robert) who carried him away by force, after profaning the place. MacWattin passed not a night in which the saint of the place (Tighearnan of Airech) did not appear to him in a vision, demanding the prisoner, until he obtained his request at last; and MacWattin granted a quarter of land to Tighearnan Airich for ever, as an eric for having violated him." (FM)

Serc, daughter of Cairbre, so most likely an aunt or cousin of Tigernan, left her name to Rosserk. D. MacFirbis wrote in the 17th century as if her church and *duirtech* existed in his time.

A Cormac worked in Tirawley in the early part of the 6th century. His date is not definitely fixed, but may be inferred from the places in the family genealogy of those persons whom he met according to these traditions, to whom definite dates can sometimes be affixed. He is taken to be St. Cormac O'Liathain, but I am inclined to think that he may be two men rolled into one. The following is a translation of Colgan's Life taken from the Book of Lecan. But I have omitted parts and abbreviated parts.

FIACHRA FOLTSNATHACH.



Dari. For Lugaid's Pedigree see *O.S.L.M.*, i. p. 273.
 Eochaidh Breac to Guaire. See *Galway Ar. and Hist. Soc.*, ii. p. 34.
 O Suanagh and O Triallaigh probably should come in as brothers of Aidan and Guaire.

LIFE OF ST. CORMAC

Cormac and his five brothers were sons of Eogan of the race of Ailill Olum. The eldest St. Dermot left Munster and went to North Connaught, where he built the church of Rosredheadh¹ in Carbury, called Kill-macn-Eoguin from him and his brothers who lived with him for a time. It was endowed with farms by a dynast of the Hy Fiachrach called Flann Dubh or Dubh Fhlann, son of Muredach son of Lugaid son of Aengus, who gave the whole tract of land which lies between Droighedmartra² and Brugh-cinnslebhe³ to the west, and from Murbhach⁴ of Ros-birn to Aill-choidhin.⁵

Cormac also set out for the north and was followed by the fifth brother Boedan.

Cormac came first to the palace of Eogan Bel called from him Dun Eogain on Inis-Medhoin in Loch-Mesga. The saint was not received with due honour and kindness. He prophesied that the fortress should not be the seat of kings in future, but an abode of monks.

Proceeding thence he crossed the Rodhba and came to a place called Fertlothair where he met Ailill Inbandha and Aedh called Flaithemdhá, sons of Eogan Bel. Being well received by them and by twelve other magnates of the country, he blessed them and the people of Cera. He made up his mind to stay there and preach; but another saint, Finan abbot of Rathen, who had already established a monastery in that country, disliked the saint's intrusion, fearing the bounds of his church would be narrowed by so near a neighbour. The saint becoming aware of this gave up and went away, but knowing what was to come first said to St. Finan: "That church of yours, about which you are troubled in your jealous and narrow mind how to keep up its bounds, shall be deserted hereafter and shall be inhabited by no servant of Christ." The event has proved the truth. For that church called Kill-Finain,⁶ in Cera, was

¹ Ros na Reidh, now Knocknarea.

² Ballydrehid Bridge.

³ Seafield.

⁴ Marsh of Kellystown.

⁵ Mearing stone at Barnasrahy. These bounds make the parish of Kilmacowen (*O.R.S.*, i. 432).

⁶ On Church Island in L. Carra. Inis Scrine to which St. Patrick banished nine goblins (*O'Grady, Silva Gadelica*, ii., p. 247, and *Irische Texte*, iv. 1, p. 253).

never after a dwelling of Christ's servants but is seen to be always waste.

Thence he went on to the country afterwards called Maggawnach where he met Daire, a Virgin devoted to God, and the mother of that monastery,¹ who was a daughter of Cathair of the race of Lugaid, a prince of that country. She received him well and he blessed the Holy Virgin and her place.

Thence he went to the mouth of the Moy where he met the 16 sons of Amalgaid in their public assembly.

Here follows a detailed account of the discussion between Amalgaid's sons regarding the saint's application for a site for a church. The sons named are the sons of the Amalgaid of St. Patrick's time. The Life goes on—

He was given a site and chose a very pleasant place on the bank of the Moy where it falls into the sea. It was well endowed, as the places inhabited by the sons of Drogin and Bishop Muredach were given to Cormac.

Dermot son of Finnarr, King of Luigne and Galenga and Corco-thid, received him well, as did his brother Niall from whom came St. Nathi son of Niall's son Conamal. Of this family were also St. Luathrenn daughter of Failbe, St. Fechin, St. Mobi son of Huanflinna daughter of Finnarr (or Huanfinna).

St. Aidan son of Colman who was over a monastery in adjoining territory hearing in what honour Cormac was held in Luighne feared that he intended to acquire property to the detriment of his own church, and remonstrated against his intrusion into another man's field of work to acquire property. Dermot to appease the controversy promised to satisfy both. Cormac blessed him and turning to Aidan said to him that by the decree of the divine judgment it would turn out that the church for which he so contended would be a place of contention and a habitation of robbers and loose women.

The saint returned to his beloved sons of Amalgaid, and desiring to join them and the race of Cian in a bond of perpetual concord and friendship, brought them together in one place thereafter called Tulacha-chadaich, that is Hill of Friendship or Brotherhood, where the matter was arranged

¹ Was in graveyard of old Parish Church of Moygawnagh, (*H.F.*, p. 231).

by St. Cormac and St. Froech the Abbot, and St. Attracta the Abbess. The same pact was renewed by Moel Conaill between the same parties in the same place, in which three celebrated meetings of saints are said to have been held.

For his piety he gave a special blessing to Daius son of Enda Ardchenn from whom came many bishops and abbots, namely from Moelfogmair and Aengus sons of Conall son of Finan son of Daius.

The grandees and people held S. Cormac in the highest respect and reverence. But one of the native clergy jealous of his position went complaining among the sons of Laegaire, urging that it was intolerable that such power and influence should be given to a stranger in contempt of their own people. They took up the idea and sent Lonius son of Conall son of Fergus to tell the saint to leave that country and go to his own or elsewhere. The unhappy young man returning in the evening lay down to sleep in Sliab-botha¹ near Ros-airgid, where wolves devoured him. He left no descendants and there was no memorial of him but a heap of stones which was built over his bones and remained an indelible memorial of his sacrilege.

Cathusach was then sent by the sons of Laegaire, but he begged the saint's pardon as he acted only under compulsion. So he was pardoned and his family lived in Killarduff.

Dericus son of Armedach, sent against his will, also procured a blessing.

S. Cormac stayed in spite of jealousy and opposition, and in spite of the defection of Armedach's son Donennach, one of his first supporters.

He cured Aengus son of Conall son of Finan son of Conall.

Aengus's wife Saba brought her son Muredach to be cured of disease caused by a pestilential exhalation from the hill called Sith-badha. Hence his descendants believe that if any of them bathes in Cormac's consecrated font called Dabhach Corbmaic he will not die a violent death, and that if a virgin bathe in it before her marriage it will be a happy one and she will not die in childbirth.

Thus far went the fragment in the Book of Lecan.

Fertlothair was one of the King of Carra's forts. It has

¹ Knockboha in Lacken Parish?

not been identified. There is but one place-name embodying "Fert" in the barony of Carra, the townland of Clonfert in the parish of Ballyheane, but there is no reason for connecting it with Fertlochair besides the name. Ailill and Aedh were according to other and more trustworthy accounts the brothers of Eogan Bel. The Finan of Rathen who had already established a monastery in Carra has been identified with the Abbot of Rahan in Tirconnell, but there seems to me to be no real ground for this identification. Finan is not an exceptional name, and it is certain that the country about Ballyheane was called the Plain of Raithin. We may therefore take Finan to have been a local man.

That Cormac met the sons of Amalgaid who met St. Patrick is not to be credited. The original tradition was no doubt that he met the sons of Amalgaid son of Fiachra. On this has been developed a kind of parliamentary report with names and speeches. If it was the sons of Amalgaid son of Fiachra Ealgach whom he met, they would match in point of time for Cormac. Kilcormac near Killala is the place near the Moy. From the statement that Killala and Kilroe were given to Cormac we may infer that Killala had lost connection with Armagh in a very remote period before this Life was compiled.

Aidan son of Colman must, I think, be St. Aidan to whom are attributed the churches of Cloonoghil in Corran and Monasteredan in Kilcolman in the barony of Costello. He seems to have succeeded in keeping St. Cormac out of his diocese.

From the subsequent matters it appears that the sons of Laegaire, in whose territory his churches were, turned against him, but failed to get rid of him and that the quarrel was ecclesiastical, not between Christians and Pagans.

The Life unfortunately is but a fragment, and leaves off in the middle of the saint's achievements. Kilcormac and Killeencormac in Kilbelfad parish on the shore of L. Con may bear his name and have been founded by him, but there is no evidence to connect him with them. He seems to have been a saint of North Tirawley and to have had no connection with South Tirawley. Enda Ardchenn was most probably a son of Laegaire as the O'Maolfaghmhairs and their descendants the MacCeles were Erenaghs of Killala and often abbots

and bishops. Hence we may suspect that St. Cormac was the founder of the Monastery of Killala, distinguished from the parish church founded by St. Patrick, and that the abbots were Comarbs of Cormac. But it is only a suspicion.

Though the intrigue against Cormac arose among the sons of Laegaire the messengers sent by them seem to have been descendants of Amalgaid and not of Dathi. Cathusach, ancestor of the Ui Cathusaigh of Killarduff or of Cill Achaidh Duibh (which O'Donovan says is Killarduff, but there was a Cill Achaidh in parish of Lackan which is probably the place meant).¹ The Ui Derg, a branch of the Ui Airmeadaigh of the same neighbourhood, seem to be the descendants of Dericus.

The Ui Muireadhaigh of the Lagan descended from Muredach son of Aongus son of that Amalgaid are the objects of a peculiar blessing of St. Cormac, and are connected with a Sith Budha.² Sith Budha is perhaps only a variation of Sliab Botha. The Life seems to embody the current traditions regarding a set of families of the Ui Amalgada who occupied the country north-west of Killala. The Carn in Sliab Botha may be the Carn of the townland of Carn in the parish of Lacken, in which are two old graveyards, and a small stone cross near the Carn which is in one of the graveyards. Carnekilly-haghy was an *alias* of this townland.³

CUIMIN, AIDAN, O'SUANAIGH, O'TRIALLAIGH

If MacFirbis gives his pedigree correctly, and there is no reason to doubt it, the Cuimin who founded Kilcummin was Tigernan's second cousin. If he was called Long Cuimin he certainly was not St. Cuimin Fada of the 7th century. Contemporary with them were Aidan of Cloonoghil and O'Suanaigh and O'Triallaigh who are described as three brothers, who were also their third cousins, if I am right in identifying Aidan son of Colman with Aidan of Cloonoghil, which is I think fairly apparent. They are described as sons of Fearamhla and are made brothers of the three O'Suanaighs who lived in the 8th century (A.U. 756, 762). The latter are given a pedigree which suits their period. Cuimin, son of

¹ *H.F.*, pp. 9, 222, 223.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 7, 9.

³ *O.S.L.M.*, i. p. 265.

Dioma ancestor of the O'Cuimins, could not have been buried at the feet of an O'Suanaigh who died in the 8th century. O'Suanaigh and O'Triallaigh seem to have been used of these Tirawley men as names and not as surnames, but it is possible that all three had different fathers, as only the mother's name is mentioned. There is much uncertainty about them, but on the whole the tradition may be accepted which represents them as brothers or half-brothers and as descendants of Eochaidh Breac. O'Suanaigh left his name to the churches of Ardagh and Corkagh, and O'Triallaigh left his to those called the Uluid of O'Triallaigh and Baile Scrine of O'Triallaigh.¹ These cannot be identified with any old churches or graveyards and may have been only family chapels or small churches at Kilcummin kept up by separate endowments. This may be the Uluidh Mor where Cuimin was buried at the feet of O'Suanaigh, who therefore was also buried there.

ST. CELLACH OF KILMOREMOY

He belongs to the middle of the 6th century. The legend of his murder has been dealt with at length in the *Journal of the Galway Arch. and Hist. Society*, ii. p. 34. Very little of fact can be made out of it, only the following sketch. Cellach and his cousins were students under Ciaran, Cellach intending to be a priest. Even this is not certain as regards Ciaran who did not set up his monastery before 537, but the battle of Sligo may have been later than that. Cellach took up the chieftainship after Eogan Bel's death, but was driven out of it by Guaire and became a priest, and his younger brother Muredach became head of Eogan Bel's clan. Cellach was politically active and hostile to Guaire. Mac Deoraid supported by Guaire murdered Cellach and drove Muredach out of the country, and assumed the chieftainship of at least the lands of the Calry of Murrisk, but was resisted by his subjects. Muredach returned and killed MacDeoraid and his friends and assumed the chieftainship, but he was at war with Guaire for the possession of Durlas Guaire near Ardnarea and the lands of Tireragh along the Moy. In this war Muredach desolated the churches though

¹ See *Pope Innocent's Epistle*, p. 336.

he was placable towards Guaire's people. From this I infer that the war took also a religious aspect. Eochaidh Breac was baptized by St. Patrick, and we may take his grandson Guaire to have been a Christian like other descendants of Eochaidh Breac. There is no evidence that Ailill Molt was a Christian, and the mode of Eogan Bel's burial denotes paganism, though he was willing that his son Cellach should be a Christian, not a surprising circumstance at that transition period.

Cellach is said to have fled from Kilmoremy to Oilen Etgair, now Illaunnaglashy, in Lough Con, where his murderers caught him. We may conclude that he was a bishop and that he lived at Kilmoremy.

The contest ended by a treacherous murder of Muredach by Guaire, whereby the race of Eogan Bel became extinct. This is all that we can infer from this curiously worked up legend.

ST. BRENDAN

St. Brendan of Clonfert entered upon mission work in Erris about the same time as the saints of Tirawley were at work in that country. He founded on Inisglora a monastery which presents an example of the very early monastic cashel and the rudest buildings. Remote and wild as it is the ruins show it to have been of ecclesiastical importance. Here a band of missionaries had a convenient and safe refuge in connection with their work on the mainland. Brendan's Church is of the earliest type, 12' x 8' with 3' walls of thin stones without mortar. It must be ascribed to the first half of the 6th century. Two other churches of early but later date are cemented. Three clochans remain.

ST. DERBILED AND ST. GEGH OR GEDH

These two nuns must have come after St. Brendan as they are said to have met St. Columba at Ballysadare, and probably did. Derbiled's pedigree suits such a date. She founded Kildarvila, now called Falmore Church, on the extreme south-west of the Mullet. The church is in part of much later date, but a part may have been built for her. Of St. Gegh no more is known. Her name is supposed to

remain in Inishkea. Her church should be on South Inishkea as the church on North Inishkea is called Columcille's church.

This is all that is known of the establishment of Christianity in Erris. We can infer that the Columban monks, most likely starting from and in connection with their monastery at Oughaval, worked over this country where we find the names of Columcille, and of Adamnan in Temple Eunan in Ballycroy. But this would be many years later.

In the middle of the 6th century the church in Tirawley was under the management generally of a group of men of high rank belonging to the ruling family, the Ui Fiachrach, with some help from outside. We may take it to have been in practice governed by the ruling family.

TIRERAGH

The Calry of Murrisk and of Coolcarney held all Tireragh and Coolcarney in St. Patrick's time. They and the Gregory and Luighne refused to receive him. These lands of the Calry ultimately became the proper inheritance of the descendants of Fiachra Ealgach from whom the barony takes its name. As may be inferred from what has been noted regarding St. Cellach it remained under pagan kings until nearly the middle of the 6th century. Then Christianity was planted in it too under Muredach of Inismurray, Farannan, Cuanu, Garbhan, Grellan. Muredach seems to have been the senior and to have left the greatest mark.

Dr. O'Rorke has satisfactorily identified Muredach of Killala, Muredach of Inismurray, and Molaise of Inismurray as the same person.¹ Having two names like other great saints, he has been confused with others and divided. He was a son of Eochaidh son of Ailill son of Lugaid, son of Laegaire, son of Niall of Nine Hostages. Farannan, Cuanu and Garvan also descended from King Niall. The Tireragh Mission therefore was a family party. We can understand that the family of Fiachra Elgach would prefer not to increase the influence of the branches of the Ui Fiachrach who were settled in Tirawley by drawing missionaries from those families to start their church.

Muredach appears to have first founded the monastery at

¹ *O.R.S.*, ii. p. 45.

Aughros, which survived to later times, and was then known also as Kilmalton. From this station he founded that of Inismurray, where are the remains of the cashel monastery the most perfect of the kind in Ireland. Thence he or his successors seem to have worked in Carbury as the parish church of Ahamlish was a vicarage of Aughros. From Aughros he converted the neighbouring country in Tireragh, Templeboy, Kilglass, Kilmacshalgan, Dromard. Molaise of Inismurray is said to have advised St. Columba to leave Ireland after the battle of Cuilidremne in 561. This tradition points to his having been older than St. Columba though a generation lower in the genealogy, for Columba was son of Fedlim son of Fergus son of Conall Gulban son of Niall of Nine Hostages.

Cuanu was honoured in the parish of Skreen, Farannan in that of Easky.

Baithin, Cuanu, Garvan, Farannan, and Colman were sent to invite Columba to the convention of Druimcetta. That this very local band should be sent is not likely. The fact probably is that they were sent to Druimcetta to ask him to come on to Ballysadare. As Muredach is mentioned in these affairs he must have died after 574.

From Druimcetta St. Columba came to Ballysadare, where he met a great assembly of the clergy of Connaught. Among them were Muredach of Killala, Liban and Fortchern of Odha Ceara, Grellan of Creeve, Gede of Inishkea, Deirbiled of Erris. Of Liban and Fortchern only their names are known. The Grellan of the list cannot have been he of Creeve who met St. Patrick, he must have been the Tireragh Grellan. MacFirbis mentions in his list of extinct bishops' sees that there are two Cill Greallains in Tireragh. The list given to us of this assembly is quite untrustworthy, but we may be sure that nearly all the clergy then working in Connaught were present.

It was no doubt held for purposes connected with the organisation of the Connaught churches which must have given rise to many questions. St. Columba was then by far the greatest figure in the Irish church, and could do much to settle matters by his influence with the chieftains and clergy. Tipraide chief of the Ui Fiachrach, is said to have given him land about Cnoc na Maoile, now the Red Hill of Skreen, on which is the cairn of Ruadha, wife of King Dathi,

and at Altfarannain, now Alternan, in the parish of Easky, where it adjoins Templeboy. Skreen was most likely founded on this Cnoc na Maoile grant, and may be taken to be the church which Cuanu is said to have founded on it.

Adamnan, Abbot of Iona, who died in 704, lodged in it a great collection of relics whence it took the name Scrin Adamnain, Adamnan's Shrine. Dr. Reeves gives a list of them in the "Life of St. Columba." They were "26 articles consisting of Manuscripts of Gospels, hymns and poems, articles of apparel belonging to the Saints of Ireland; and a few relics of St. Paul and the Virgin Mary; the aggregate of which must have filled a large box, and been rather a heavy load to carry about." St. Adamnan was a good deal in Connaught, and is said to have spent a winter at the Abbey of Mayo. His own relics were afterwards also in a shrine in this church, or in a church built for them.

Skreen is mentioned several times in the Annals.

C.S. 976. Scrin of Adamnan was plundered by Domnall O'Neill.

F.M. 1022. Mailcobha Ua Gallchubhair, comharba of Scrin Adhamnain died.

F.M. 1030. Donnchadh, lord of Cairbre, was killed by the Ui Fiachrach Muirisc, in the doorway of the house of Scrin Adhamhnain.

F.M. 1395. O'Flannelly, Vicar of Skreen Adamnan, died.

Certain families of the neighbourhood were called the Pillars of Skreen. They were in the 12th and 13th centuries, according to the Tract on the Hy Fiachrach, MacConcathrach, O hOilmec, MagRodan, O'Sneadharna, O'Rabhartaigh, as given in one place, and O'Rabhartaigh, O'Flannghaile, MacCarraoin, O'Tarpaigh, as given in another. In the first half of the 17th century D. MacFirbis found MacCarraoin and MacGiolla na n-Each and a remnant of the O'Rabhartaighs at Skreen.

Mac Firbis's List of Bishops whose sees were not acknowledged contains—

Tobar-Birin, in Tir-Fiachrach of the Moy, behind Iaskagh. Birin, bishop, December 3.

Cill-Greallain. Greallan, bishop (there are two Cill-Greallains in Tir-Fiachrach of the Moy), Sept. 7.

Cill-Insi. Ailtin, bishop, and the virgin (or the young maiden) of Cill-Insi, Nov. 1.

Note.—Ailtin's church is in Inis-Sgreobhuinn, in Tir-Fiachrach of the Moy. The walls of that church are still in existence.

There is reason to suppose that St. Mochua was the final organiser of the church in this country in the 7th century, and acquired considerable influence in Tireragh. Iniscoe is said to take its name from him.

Of the period between the 6th century and the establishment of territorial episcopacy we have no record of events in this diocese. The Bishop of Killala was probably always a chief ecclesiastical authority in Tirawley, and naturally extended his jurisdiction over Tireragh and the rest of O'Dowda's kingdom.

CHAPTER XXX

EXTENT AND FORMATION OF THE DIOCESE

KEATING gives the boundaries settled by the Synod of Rathbreasail—From Neimthin to Es-ruadh, and from Killardbili to Srath an Ferainn. The first three points are Nephin and Ballyshannon and Kildarvila in Erris. Dr. O'Rorke has identified Srath an Ferainn with Shramore, close to Ballysadare in that part of Ballysadare parish which was the old Enagh in Tirerrill.¹ These are the bounds claimed by O'Dowda to the east. I cannot make out that he ever had a supremacy over Carbury in historical times. Carbury and Tireragh churches may at this time have been somewhat closely connected ecclesiastically, as the early saints of Tireragh were connected so much with the Cinel Conaill, and the arrangement may have appeared convenient ecclesiastically, though it was upset by the occupation of Carbury by King Turlogh Mor and his sons, which brought that country into the diocese of Elphin.

The Hy Fiachrach under O'Caomain occupied the parishes of Toomore Attymas, and Kilgarvan over the heads of the Calry, who must have been Christianised and organised by the saints of the Luighne, as these parishes are in the diocese of Achonry.

Excepting those three parishes the diocese comprised exactly the kingdom which was directly under O'Dowda, consisting from the first of the following parishes:—

IN TIRAWLEY, 16

Killala, Ballysakeery, Kilmoremoy west of the Moy, Ballynahaglish, Kilbelfad, Ardagh, Crossmolina, Addergoole, Moy-

¹ *O.R.S.*, ii. p. 245.

gawnagh, Kilfian, Rathreagh, Templemurry, Kilcummin, Lackan, Kilbride, Doonfeeny.

IN ERRIS, 2

Kilcommon, Kilmore.

IN TIRERAGH, 8

Kilmoremoy east of the Moy (formerly Cellnagarvan or Ardnairea), Castleconor, Kilglass, Easky, Kilmacshalgan, Templeboy, Skreen, Dromard.

That Killala's bishop got supremacy over Errew seems to be due to the situation of Killala near O'Dowda's Fort at Rathfran, and the tribal meeting place and inauguration place, the centre of the kingdom, and in the territory of descendants of Dathi O'Dowda's ancestor. Errew was among the Hy Amalgada families. The Round Tower assigned by Miss Stokes to the period 1170 to 1238 marks its importance in the 12th century. It is the only evidence of importance apart from the large amount of See lands near Killala. The Hy Eachach of the Moy, who were the landowners of Killala and Ballysakeery parishes, descended from Eochaidh Breac, who was a brother of Fiachra Elgach, O'Dowda's ancestor. Their chief was O'Maolfagmair or O'Mullover, anglicised Milford. His family held the Erenaghship of the Abbey and supplied comarbs and many bishops. Their descendants took the name of MacCele,¹ which is supposed to be now represented by MacHale. D. MacFirbis gives a list of 7 bishops of Killala of this name.—1. MoCele from whom came MacCele. 2. Muiredach. 3. Aongus, died 1234 (F.M.). 4. Aodh. 5. Maolan. 6. Ainmtheach. 7. Flann the Lecturer.

One of the name died in 1151. Two are mentioned later. The other four must have lived earlier, unless as is possible their names have not been recorded. The succession is very uncertain even after the 12th century. As the family does not appear after the middle of the 13th century it may be

¹ O'Donovan, *O.S.L.M.*, i. p. 36.

taken that they lost all importance in the Anglo-Norman Conquest and that the bishops were of the earlier period. After the De Burgo rebellion revived Irish customs the O'Dowda family frequently provided the bishop, they being the only Irish family of importance in the diocese, holding nearly all Tireragh. The other Irish bishops were of families of no great importance politically.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS

OUT of the bishops up to the 12th century but 3 names survive. Two Muredachs who have usually been rolled into one, viz. Muredach of St. Patrick's time ; Muredach of the 6th century.

Cellach of Kilmoremy is recognised, but it does not appear that he had anything to do with Killala.

Four O'Mullovers probably preceded at intervals.

1. O'Mullover who died in 1151.

2. O'Moylefomer is named in the Ann. Cl. as a bishop who attended the Synod at Clonfert in 1170, and may be taken to have been of Killala.

3. Imar O'Ruadan died in 1177. This family of the Luighne gave the church many bishops.

4. Mailisa MacMailin is named in the Book of Lecan as a contemporary of Taichleach Mor O'Dowda who was killed in 1197.

5. Donat, or Donncaid, O'Becca, died in 1206 (L.C.). Pope Innocent III. on 30 March 1198 confirmed to him and to his successors the parishes constituting the diocese. The transaction seems to have been like that of a royal grant in the 16th century to a landowner or chieftain who surrendered his Irish estate and received it again from the King. Thus the Bishop derived his title and diocese from the Pope and had a jurisdiction to be recognised by the Papal lawyers.

In the list of churches embodied in this epistle a marked difference appears between the parishes of Tirawley and Erris and those of Tireragh. The parishes of Tirawley and Erris are 47 reduced to 20 in the Taxation, but Erris, which is there treated as one parish appears later as two parishes. Tireragh has the same parishes as appear in the Taxation, but some bear other names. For this there must be a

reason as Tireragh has some other ancient churches, exclusive of monastic granges, and if organised in the same way should have more than 8 parishes. It may be suspected that Tireragh came under the Bishop of Killala after the old organisation connecting its churches with Balla, and perhaps Carbury, had decayed, and that there was consequently no difficulty in carrying out an amalgamation of parishes to make better livings. The bishops being generally Tirawley men themselves were not so much inclined to upset existing arrangements and were more hampered by the surviving links of the old system. When the comarb lands were passed over to the bishops the amalgamation of parishes and abandonment of some churches became a necessity. From this list we may judge fairly of the parochial arrangements of other dioceses in the middle of the 12th century.

6. Cormac O'Tarpaid died in 1226 according to Ware. As a Connmac O'Tarpa, bishop of Luighne, died in the same year according to the Annals of Ulster, Ware may have been mistaken and these may be the same. But of course they may have been different and have died the same year.

"Maelisa, son of the Bishop O'Mulfover, parson of Hy Fiachrach and Hy Awley, and (*materies*) of a bishop for his wisdom, was killed by the son of Donough O'Dowda, a deed strange in him, for none of the O'Dowdas had ever before killed an ecclesiastic" (F.M. 1224).

7. "Elya, Aladensi Episcopi" appears among the witnesses of a grant made by Aedh King of Connaught, son of Ruaidhri, between 1226 and 1233. He must have been next before

8. Aongus O'Mullover who died in 1234 (L.C.). In the following year Isaac O'Mullover the Erenagh of Killala died (L.C.).

9. Gillaceallaigh O'Ruaidhin died in 1253 (L.C.). If he was O'Mullover's immediate successor, the conquest of Connaught and the partition by Richard de Burgo occurred in his time. Then Tirawley was broken up into various tenures. The principal tenants were two families of Barretts whose estates were in the south and seem to have comprised Bac and Glennephin and the parish of Kilmoremoy. A Cusack is said to have got Meelick. His descendants and some Carews survived into the 17th century in possession of

small estates in the parishes of Ballysakeery and Killala. The Lynotts are reputed to have been once of importance and their names occur in the Calendars of State Papers in the 13th century. In the 17th century they are found in the parish of Kilfian. The country seems to have been well occupied by settlers all over Tirawley at the first. But in the end of the 15th century a family of Burkes of the line of MacWilliam Eighter settled in Tirawley and acquired a complete ascendancy throughout the barony.

Erris was left in possession of the Clann Murtough Mweenagh O'Conor. Soon after 1270 they were turned out of it on account of their turbulence and rebellion and passed into Roscommon and Leitrim. Erris seems then to have been given to one of the Barretts. William Mor of Kilcommon seems to have been the grantee.

The eastern part of Tireragh was held by the De Berminghams, who held also some of the neighbouring territory of Leyny under the FitzGerald of Offaley, who had the great manor of Sligo. It was not effectively colonised and fell into the hands of the O'Dowdas after 1338. The Bourkes held the part of Tireragh lying along the Moy from Ennis-crone southwards for a very long time, and always occupied Ardnarea, except for a year when O'Dowda captured it. O'Dowda paid MacWilliam Eighter a small rent for protection.

For 100 years from 1238 to 1338 elections of bishops were made by the King's licence with his subsequent approval. Afterwards the Pope made the appointments as he pleased, when the King's power had disappeared.

10. John O'Laidigh, a Dominican, was elected in 1253. Pope Urban IV. gave him leave to resign on the ground of disqualification for illegitimacy for which he had not received a dispensation. John did not resign. The Pope ordered the bishops of Elphin and Clonfert and the Archdeacon of Clonfert to warn and induce him to do so, and if he did not, to cite him before the Pope.¹ John held on and died in 1275 (L.C. A.U.). He joined in Archbishop MacFlynn's complaint to the King in 1255.

Maelpatraic Mac hEli Erenagh of Killala was killed in 1257 (L.C.).

¹ *Cal. Papal Registers, Letters*, vol. i. p. 395.

11. Another John O'Laidigh, a Dominican, succeeded him, and died in 1280 (L.C. A.U.).

12. Donnchadh O'Flaithbheartaigh succeeded him in 1281 and died in 1305 on his way to Dublin, and was buried in the Abbey of the Canons of the B.V.M. at Mullingar. "The most chaste and devout bishop of his time" (L.C.). He had been Dean of Killala.

13. At an election held on the 13th June 1306 the dean and some of the chapter elected John Tankard or Tanguard, and some elected John Heyne a canon. John Heyne appealed to the Pope that John Tankard was wrongfully elected. The Archbishop confirmed Tankard. Tankard was cited to answer before the Pope. The result does not appear.

In 1308 Pope Clement V. appointed William de Indeberge to the Archdeaconry of Killala, valued at £6, and a canonry and prebend of Killala, void by the death of William Maci, with a dispensation to hold another canonry and prebend of the same church, and the rectories of Moylach and Culcuana in the dioceses of Meath and Killala, value £9, on his resigning the second canonry and prebend in Killala. Culcuana is most likely Kilcuana, and should be the church of Skreen.

No more is heard of the see or its bishops until

14. John O'Flaithimh (O'Lahiff) died in 1343 (L.C.).

15. James Bermingham, canon and priest, was elected by part of the chapter. William O'Dowda, canon and acolyte, was elected by the others. James accepted the election and was consecrated by the archbishop. William neither accepted nor refused but appealed to the Pope. While both were in attendance on the Pope, James died in 1346, so was actually bishop for about 2 years. The following appears regarding this subject in the *Calendar of the Papal Registers, Letters*, vol. iii.

"1345, 10 Kal. Feb. Clement VII.—Mandate to Bishops of Kilmacduagh and Clonfert and Dean of Elphin to cite Malachi Archbishop of Tuam to appear by proctor, and James Bishop of Killala to appear in person before the Pope by 1st October to answer concerning James's appointment. On John's death the Scrutators, Canons Luke Oraoran, Stephen Leryed, and Robert Linort, appointed for that purpose, declared that Canon William Idubda was postulated

by twelve of the canons, and that two other canons, the said Robert and William Obresseam, who was also proxy for Robert Bremegham, Peter Lahtruth, and John de Lecto, elected James de Bretochem. William appealed to the Pope, but the election of James was confirmed by the Archbishop, and William, on his way to the Apostolic See, was, at the instance of James, seized by the king's men, despoiled of his goods, and imprisoned for many days."

When James died, William, who had been ordained a deacon, resigned and was appointed by the Pope on the 26 July 1346.¹ The vicarage of Skreen, voided by his consecration, worth 10 marks, was given to Dermot O'Tarpa in 1348.

16. William O'Dubhda, son of Donnchadh Mor son of Taichleach, died in 1350 (L.C.). The F.M. call him "a founder of churches and sanctuaries, a man eminent for his piety, almsgiving, and humanity."

His son Cosnamhach was killed in battle in 1367 on the strand of Ballysadare (L.C.).

17. Robert, a native of Waterford, was appointed by the Pope in June 1351. He was fined 100 marks for not attending a parliament at Castledermot to which he was summoned in 1377, but I have seen no record of his having paid the fine. He had been elected and confirmed and consecrated as Bishop of Waterford and had acted as bishop for a year. He was then removed by the Pope, who appointed Bishop Roger on the ground that the Pope had previously reserved the provision to him, which was not known to the chapter and the Archbishop of Cashel.²

18. Thomas Lodowis, a Dominican, was appointed by the Pope on 9th Aug. 1381. The bull recited that the Pope had reserved the provision to the see during Robert's lifetime. It set aside an election of Brian son of Donogh O'Dowda made in 1380. He must have died or been removed very soon, as a Robert was bishop in 1383. There is much confusion at this time. Thomas Lodowis is said to have died in 1388. The following extracts from the *Papal Registers* show that a Robert was bishop in 1383, and that he supported Urban VI., as did the Bishop of Elphin. The archbishop referred to as supporting Clement VII. is the

¹ Theiner, *Vet. Mon.*, p. 285.

² *Ibid.*, p. 296.

Gregory O'Mochain who was appointed by Clement VII. and held the see for a time. There is nothing to show who this Robert was. The quarrel of the Popes was taken up in Connaught at this period, but we have few details regarding it, and Clement did not gain any firm footing in Ireland.

On the 31 Dec. 1381 Clement VII. wrote to the bishops of Raphoe and Killala and the Archdeacon of Elphin directing them to support Macharius in possession of the Premonstratensian Abbey of Loch Ce, to which he had been appointed when Abbot of the Holy Trinity at Tuam, because Macharius doubted whether the adherents of Bartholomew (Urban VI.) will not hinder the same.

19. Robert is found to be Bishop of Killala in 1383 according to the following extract¹ :—

“Suspension from the administration of his diocese in spiritualities and temporalities of Robert bishop of Killala, in the following circumstances: The pestiferous man Bartholomew, formerly archbishop of Bari, having been by violence intruded into the apostolic see, and a number of prelates and other ecclesiastical persons of the parts of Ireland having adhered to him, the pope sent Thomas, prior of St. Coman's, Roscommon, in the diocese of Elphin, with letters containing the truth of the said intrusion and of his own election, and the processes against Bartholomew and his adherents, with power to convoke the clergy and people of the said parts to see the letters published; the pope, moreover, ordered the archbishop of Tuam and his suffragans to publish them in their cities and dioceses. Afterwards, when the prior summoned to Roscommon the archbishop and the bishops of Kilmacduagh and Clonfert, and Robert bishop of Killala, his suffragans, to see and hear the publication, the said Robert sent John Macoyreachtayg, archdeacon of Killala, to oppose and disobey the same, and to assert Bartholomew to be the true pope. Upon the prior publishing the letters in the presence of the archbishop, the bishops of Kilmacduagh, Clonfert, and Achonry, and other prelates, and a multitude of seculars, regulars, and lay persons, who professed themselves ready to obey, the said John, in the name of Robert, made opposition (Robert afterwards ratify-

¹ *Calendar of Papal Registers, Papal Letters*, vol. iv. 16 Kal. Feb. 1383. Clement VII. Antipope.

ing the same), asserting that Bartholomew was the true pope, naming him Urban VI. and endeavouring to bring the clergy and people of the same cities and dioceses to his obedience. When the archbishop admonished Robert, and ordered him to desist from his rebellion against the pope and the Roman church, to return to the unity of the catholic church, and to publish in his diocese the aforesaid processes, he persevered in his rebellion, and the archbishop declared that he was to be deposed from the episcopal dignity. Robert, by certain letters of the said Bartholomew, publicly declared the archbishop excommunicate, tried to induce his subjects not to obey him, and caused sums of money due to the papal *camera* to be assigned to Hugh bishop of Clonmacnoise for the said Bartholomew. The prior then cited Robert to appear before Peter cardinal priest of St. Mark's, at Avignon, to whom, and to Nicholas cardinal priest of St. Mary's in Trastevere, the pope gave a verbal commission to examine the case against Robert, and to report to the pope. The cardinals, inasmuch as Robert had not answered to his citation, cited him again, and on his again not appearing, proceeded to the inquisition of the case. On their report, and after diligent deliberation with them, the pope suspends the bishop."

On the same date the Pope committed the administration of his diocese to Cornelius Oconeyl, canon of Tuam.

"Suspension, in like manner as above, of Thomas bishop of Elphin, who acknowledged (as above) Bartholomew as the true pope, and, on pretext of his letters, admitted Malachi Ochynnerigi to the deanery, refused to obey the monitions and mandates of the archbishop of Tuam (as above), declared him excommunicate (as above) in the church of Kingstown (Villa Regum) in the diocese of Tuam, and caused sums of money to be assigned (as above). Having been twice cited to appear (as above), he remains contumacious."

Administration of his diocese was committed to John Omochan, canon of Elphin.

These orders must have been wholly inoperative as Clement had no effective support.

20. Thomas Orwell or Horewelle, a Franciscan, was appointed by the Pope on 31 Jan. 1389, in succession to

Robert,¹ and was translated in 1400. In 1396 he is mentioned as suffragan of the Bishop of Norwich. The adherents of Clement VII. seem to have been made to suffer from time to time when it was convenient to bring their misdeeds up against them as appears from the following :—

“4 Kal. Jan. 1391. Boniface IX. To Dean of Killala. —To summon John Oceandunan, some time rector of Cayslanconcubir, said to have been in time of Urban VI. an adherent of the Antipope Clement VII. and therefore *ipso jure* deprived. If fact be so to declare him deprived and to remove him.”

21. Thomas Archdeacon of Killala was appointed by the Pope. On 14 March 1400 King Henry IV. issued a writ to Sir Thomas Bourke, his Justice or Governor in Connaught, to restore to him the temporalities. Sir Thomas was then MacWilliam Eighter and the Senior of the two MacWilliams. He had made a formal submission to Richard II. in 1394, and so was made Justice, and was a faithful subject of the King who had no power to meddle with him. Thomas must have died or been removed soon as Muirheartach Clerch O'Dowda bishop elect of Killala died in 1403 (L.C.). The succession now becomes more uncertain, some names appearing in the records, but not enough to make out a succession.

22. O'Haneki, dean of Killala, became bishop in 1416.

23. Conor O'Connell died in 1423.

24. Martin died in 1431.

Manus O'Dowda the Archdeacon died in 1436. Thady MacCreagh had been appointed by the Pope, and was pardoned by the King for accepting the appointment, but it is not clear that he was bishop, and he is not acknowledged in the succession.

On the 3rd May 1460 Pope Pius II. directed the Bishop of Killala to allow brothers Nehemiah and Richard of the Order of Friars Minor of the Observance four places of the Conventuals in the province of Ireland, in which they should carry out the Rules of the Observantines.² At this time Nehemiah procured the foundation of Moyne by MacWilliam Eighter. A later letter of the Pope shows that some of the Conventuals opposed the reformation as might be expected.

¹ Wadding, *Ann. Min.*, p. 97.

² Theiner, *Vet. Mon.*, p. 425.

25. Conor O'Connell was slain in 1461 by Manus O'Dowda's son.

26. Donogh O'Conor, a Dominican, was appointed in 1461.

27. John, or Donogh, O'Cashin resigned in 1490.

28. Thomas attended a provincial synod at Tuam, and died in 1497.

29. Thomas Clerk, or Cleragh, Archdeacon of Sodor, was appointed by the Pope in June 1498 and resigned in 1505. He was rector of Chedsey in Somersetshire until he died in 1508.

30. Malachi O'Cluan appointed by the Pope in Feb. 1505 was consecrated in 1508.

31. Richard Barrett's proctor attended a provincial council at Galway in 1523. He was alive in 1536, or another Barrett was bishop, as we read in the Annals of L. Cé that O'Conor Sligo and O'Dowda's sons "went against the descendants of Richard Burk at the instigation of the Bishop Barrett. And the herds of the country went before them to the termon of Oiremh; and the bishop followed upon the termon, and brought the herds to the army; and restitution was not given by them in honour of saint or sanctuary." O'Donnell now came down on O'Conor Sligo and plundered all Tireragh, where he halted for 8 or 9 days and sent a detachment of horsemen over the Moy to help the Burks against Bishop Barrett. It came over in pursuit of some of O'Dowda's herds which it captured, and did much damage about the monastery of Moyne. The Burks and the Barretts then made peace.

32. Redmond O'Gallagher was bishop in 1549.

33. Owen O'Gallagher was bishop by the Pope's bull in 1574. Up to his time the government had made no attempt to interfere in these appointments. Killala was beyond their influence. After Owen O'Gallagher's death begins the double succession of bishops of the Church of Ireland and of the Church of Rome.

34. Owen O'Conor, brother of Sir Donnell O'Conor Sligo, was elected about 1583. He had been a Queen's Exhibitioner at Oxford. As bishop elect he was a party to the Indenture of Composition in 1585. He had before been dean of Achonry. Like his brother, he adhered to the Queen. In Dec. 1591

she confirmed his election as a reward for his good conduct. At his death this bishopric was reported to be worth £20 a year, and Achonry to be of the same value. Owen held two parsonages worth £20 more. He died in 1607.

35. Miler Magrath Bishop of Achonry was appointed in 1607 and continued to hold Achonry, which has been held with Killala by the bishops of the Church of Ireland ever since. He took up his residence at Killala where there was a castle, which was partly embodied in the Palace which is now the Poor House. The cathedral churches of Killala and Achonry were now and had long been in ruins. His appointment marks the close of the Celtic Period, and the general and effective introduction of English Law.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE CHAPTER OF KILLALA

THE Dean is mentioned only thrice down to the appointment of William Flanagan in 1613, namely, Donogh O'Flaherty who became bishop in 1281, and O'Haneki who became bishop in 1416, and the son of William Barrett who died in 1442 (F.M.).

The Provost is first mentioned in 1356 when Gregory was made Bishop of Elphin, who was afterwards Archbishop of Tuam. In the 17th century the title of Precentor was used instead of Provost. In 1842 the office was suspended, and the emoluments were transferred to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. In 1845 Samuel Stock was elected to the dignity without the emoluments.

Pope Clement's letter of 1345 names 10 canons and says that the canons were divided 12 for O'Dowda and 2 for Birmingham. As the candidates were canons there were 16 in all. The dean, provost and archdeacon are not mentioned, but must be taken to be included among the canons.

In the Visitation of 1633 the following prebends are named—1 Killanley; 2 Errew; 3 Ardagh; 4 Lackan; 5 Rosserkbeg; 6 Kilroe; 7 Killabeg *alias* Drinahan; 8 Farrinharpie; 9 Skreen. Afterwards only the first five were acknowledged.

Drinahan appears in Pope Innocent's epistle as a mensal church and is a name of Kilfian parish or of one of the churches in it.

Farrinharpie is the name of the townland Farranyharpy, in the parish of Skreen. The prebend appears also under the names of Killuchanpy and Kilneharpie. These names are in Irish Fearann Ui Tharpaigh and Cill Ui Tharpaigh, meaning O'Tarpy's Land and O'Tarpy's Church. From the latter form it may be inferred that there was once a church

in Farranyharpy or close to it, other than that of Skreen, in accordance with the local tradition.

Killanley is the old church near Castleconor. This prebend was but a name, having neither cure nor emolument.

THE EMOLUMENTS OF THE CHAPTER IN 1833

BENEFICE.	EMOLUMENTS.
Deanery	Rectory and Vicarage of Killala. Parts of the Rectories of Templemurry, Kilcummin, Kilbride, Lacken, Doonfeeny, Ballysakeery. Rent of a small quantity of land near Killala. £772.
Archdeaconry	Rectorial Tithes on townland of Ardnaquire in parishes of Ballysakeery and Rathreagh. £2, 10s.
Precentorship	Parts of Rectories of Addergoole, Ardagh, Moygawnagh, Kilfian, Templemurry, Kilcummin, Kilbride, Doonfeeny, Kilmoremoy. Rectories of Kilcommon and Kilmore Erris. The townland of Kilgobban in parish of Killala. £417.
Prebend of Killanley .	None.
„ Errew . . .	£18. Part of Rectory of Crossmolina.
„ Ardagh . . .	£16. Part of Rectory of Ardagh.
„ Lackan . . .	£4 from land in Lackan.
„ Rosserkbeg.	£3, 2s. from 7 acres of land.

No cure was attached to the Archdeaconry or Precentorship or Prebends. I have not been able to ascertain the names of the prebendal lands of Lackan and Rosserkbeg.

The parishes of Templemurry and Kilcummin and Lackan with cure were united with the Prebend of Lackan in later times, and those of Ballysakeery and Rathreagh with that of Rosserkbeg.

CHAPTER XXXIII

SEE LANDS OF KILLALA

THE Bishop owned the following Glebes which were let to Incumbents :—

NAME.	ACRES.	NOTES.
Ballysakeary	32	.. ..
Crossmolina	58	.. ..
Lackan	32	.. ..
Doonfeeny	32	.. ..
Kilmore Erris	64	.. ..
Kilmoremoy	35	.. ..
Skreen	34	.. ..
Dromard	24	.. ..
Kilglass	27	.. ..
Killanley	37	.. ..

KILLALA PARISH

(Italics show that it is a townland name in use).

Plots in and near Killala. In and about the town, houses or fields—

Knockbullogh	48	Between Rathowen and Killybrone Tls.
Rathlagh	45	.. ..
<i>Croghan</i> , $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	152	Includes Mullaghorne.
<i>Crosspatrick</i> , $\frac{1}{2}$ qr. . . .	147	About the church.
<i>Rathcash</i> , qr.	292	.. ..
<i>Rathowen</i> , E. and W. . .	458	.. ..
<i>Donaghmore</i> alias <i>Taunaghmore</i> , 2 qr. . .	113	Next S. of Killala Town, including old church.
Lower, do., and Burns	250	.. ..
<i>Killogurry</i> , $\frac{1}{2}$ qr. . . .	96	Killogunra includes Church.

IN KILMOREMOY

NAME.	ACRES.	NOTES.
<i>Belleek</i> , $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	} 954	About the church.
<i>Kilmore</i> , cart.		
<i>Loghlevana</i> , cart.		
<i>Culleans</i> , Mills and Fishery	} 1167	In Tireragh barony.
<i>Cloonslane</i> , qr., alias <i>Ardnarea</i>		

IN ARDAGH

<i>Ranageara</i> , $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	} 195	About church.
<i>Ranane</i> , $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.		
<i>Cultore</i> , $\frac{1}{2}$ qr. being the $\frac{1}{2}$ qr. of Ardagh		
<i>Knockaniel</i>		
<i>Cranagh</i>	153	W. of the church in Gortatogher and next Clooneagh.
<i>Clooneagh</i>	62	Near Ardagh Ch. on N.W.

IN CROSSMOLINA

<i>Errew</i> , 2 qr.	497	Whole peninsula.
<i>Cabragh</i> , 2 qr.	246	Between Errew and Inishcoe adjoining Errew.
<i>Killenebragh</i> , 2 qr.	305	Killeen Tl. next them to W.
<i>Shraylow</i>	102

IN MOYGAWNAGH

<i>Moygawnagh</i> , 5 qr.		About Moygawnagh old church.
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IN KILFIAN

<i>Drinaghan</i> , $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	92	Close to E. of Belladowan Bridge and Village.
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IN RATHREAGH

<i>Ballybeg</i>	195	Next Farmhill House Tl. in which is old graveyard.
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IN KILCUMMIN		
NAME.	ACRES.	NOTES.
Parts of Kilcummin and of Ballygarry .	} 660	{ These are about the old church of Kilcummin.

IN LACKAN		
<i>Killogarry</i> , 3½ qr. . . .	174	Killogeary old Ch. therein.
<i>Kilmoglass</i> and <i>Lecarrowntemple</i>	368	<i>Alias</i> Conaghrea which it ad- joins. These are near Killo- geary.

IN KILBRIDE		
<i>Kilbride</i> , 2 qrs.	802	Church therein.

IN DOONFEENY		
<i>Doonfeeny</i> , 2 qrs.	588	About the church.
<i>Ganubra</i>	2090	Conaghra Tl. ? and more.
<i>Killerduff</i>	172	Church therein.

IN KILMORE ERRIS		
<i>Tarmoncarra</i>	653	Church therein.

IN KILCOMMON ERRIS		
<i>Kilcommon</i> , ½ qr.	2,397	About the church.
<i>Knocks</i> , ½ qr.	11,897	.. ..
<i>Tarmon</i> , West, ½ qr.	1,645	.. ..
<i>Duncarton</i> , ½ qr.	835	N. of Kilcommon Ch.

IN CASTLECONOR		
<i>Killanley</i> , pt. of ½ qr.	—	About Killanly Ch.

IN KILGLASS		
<i>Kilglass</i> , 1 qr.	278	About Kilglass Ch.

IN DROMARD		
<i>Dromard</i> , ½ qr.	—	About Dromard Ch.

IN SKREEN

NAME.	ACRES	NOTES.
Carrowmacwilliammore	574	Farraniharpy adjoins Skreenmore Tl. These seem to be together near Skreen Church.
<i>Farranyharpy</i> , $\frac{1}{4}$ of $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.		
Baug, pt. of 1 qr.		
Carrowmacarine, pt.		
Carrowlush	371	.. ..
<i>Masreagh</i> , pt.	111	Adjoins Skreenmore and beg. On sea-shore E. of Corkagh.
<i>Dunmorán</i>		

Strafford's Survey gives the possessions thus for the baronies of Erris and Killala—

In Erris.—Knockmoyntermoyler *alias* Knockbenecaslane, 1 qr.; Glasse, 1 cartron; Kilmore, 1 cartron; Kilbeg, 1 cartron; Cloneconnellane, 1 cartron.

In Tirawley.—Killalla, 4 qrs.; Killroe *alias* Carron-cashell, and Knockane *alias* the Hill, 2 qrs.; Melick, 1 qr.; Crosspatrick, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.; Bennans, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.; Killagowrie, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.; Donnoghmore, 1 qr.; Rathone, 2 qrs.; Racash, 1 qr.; Ballyharpie, 1 qr.; Dunneeny, 2 qrs.; Killerduffe, 1 qr.; Kilbridy, 1 qr.; Killgorilackan, 1 qr.; Killmoglasse, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.; Ballyleane and Ballingarre, 2 qrs.; Kilcomyn, 1 qr.; Ballybeg, 1 qr.; Drennaghan, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.; Dromangle, 1 qr.; Carrin, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.; Arlick, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.; Gortroan, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.; Lissney, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.; Clontorrow, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.; Maddy, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.; Furrew, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.; Cloney, Gortin-edon and Cranagh, 3 half-quarters; Gortogher, 3 half-quarters; Gortroan, $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.; Killmonemoy, 1 cartron; Faranow, 1 cartron; Laghtavannagh, 1 cartron; Ardnarea, 2 qrs.; Derramanine, 1 cartron.

From the Escheator's account in the Pipe Roll of 11 Ed I. it appears that he had receipts from the island called Oleyhan M'Classy, *i.e.* Illaunnaglashy, as part of the temporalities of the See of Killala after the death of Bishop John who died in A.D. 1280. This property seems to have been lost by the 17th century.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE PARISHES

THE earliest list of churches is in the epistle of Pope Innocent III. confirming the diocese to the Bishop of Killala, Donnchadh O'Becca, which I now give exactly as it has been printed by Baluzius.¹

“Donato Aladen. Episcopo, ejusque successoribus canonicè substituendis in perpetuum.

“In eminenti apostolicae sedis specula, licet immeriti, disponente Deo, constituti, &c., *usque ad verbum* vocabulis. Locum ipsum in quo praefata Aladen. Ecclesia sita est, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis. Insulam Gedig. Corbali, Cellarloch, Senhcui, cum insula Dori, Glenngallrigi, Glenech, Cellardub. Achad, Gunnig, Drognechan, Carnamalgaid, Raith, Coeman, Cassel, Bernach cum suis pertinentiis: Dumaaiss, Imbertrach, Cillialid, Munirvadoig, Rathneogid et Rathcerna quae omnia ad mensam episcopalem pertinent. Drumart, Scrinadanmani, cum pertinentiis suis. Cellbroccada, Cellcorechach, Lassariani cum Vsvavio cum pertinentiis suis. Cellmagsalgam, Ceslglassi, Cellanli, and Cellnagarvan, cum pertinentiis suis. Reseric. cum pertinentiis suis. Arrdachad Vsvanig cum pertinentiis suis. Innislaig, Dorimenniainni cum suis pert. Olenaclasi, Orvidlachacon cum pertinentiis suis. & Dargavillachon cum pertinentiis suis. Maggarnach cum pertinentiis suis. Drumnanagel cum suis pert. Cellerannan, cum pertinentiis suis. Keldariuled. cum suis pert. Crosrechig. cum suis pert. Innisgluaribrandam cum pertinentiis suis. Cathir cum pert. Cellchoman cum pertinentiis suis. Dunfini cum pertinentiis suis. Cellbrigdi, cum pertinentiis suis. Lecu cum suis pertinentiis. Olechutrialacha cum pertinentiis suis. Balischriniutrialacha, Balischrini, Magneplan, Cellcumin cum pertinentiis suis. Cell-

¹ *Miscellanea*, vol. i. p. 342, Mansi's Edition.

goban cum pertinentiis suis. Cellalad cum pertinentiis suis. Cellcormich cum pertinentiis suis. Cellro cum pertinentiis suis. Crospatrai cum pertinentiis suis & Domnachinor. Prohibemus insuper ne interdictos &c. Libertates praeterea &c. Decernimus ergo &c. Salva in omnibus apostolicae sedis auctoritate, & Tuamen. Archiepiscopi debita reverentia. Si qua igitur &c.”—*Lateran III. Kal. Ap. MCXCVIII.*

The names have been but little altered by copying and deciphering from the original Irish forms. The churches are distributed among the modern parishes in the following list, so far as they are identified. The names are taken as I suppose that they should run, ignoring Baluzius’s commas, and grouping the strokes of m, n, u, v, i, as seems best.

List of the churches named in Pope Innocent’s Letter distributed according to the modern parishes; m. stands for mensal. Those not identified are by themselves at the end—

PARISH.	CHURCH.	IDENTIFICATION.	
Killala . . .	{	Killala Cathedral, m. . .	The Cathedral Church.
		Carnamalgaid ⁽¹⁾ m. . .	Killforland in Killybrone Tl.
		Imbertrach ⁽²⁾ m.	Rinnaun C. in Ross Tl.
		Cellalad, m.	Killala, the parish church.
		Cellgoban	Kilgobban in Kilgobban Tl.
		Cellcormich ⁽³⁾	Kilcormick near Killala.
		Cellro	Kilroe near Killala.
		Crospatrai	Crosspatrick near Killala.
	{	Domnachmor	In Tawnaghmore Tl.
Kilmore Erris	{	Insula Gedig ⁽⁴⁾ m. . .	Ch. on Inishkea.
		Corbali ⁽⁵⁾ m.	Kilmore ?
		Cellarloch ⁽⁶⁾ m.	Ch. in G. to E. of Cross Lake ? in Cross Tl.
		Keldarviled	Kildarvila in Fallmore Tl.
		Crosrechig ⁽⁶⁾	Cross Abbey.
		Innisgluaribrandain	St. Brandan’s on Inisglora.
		Cathir ⁽⁷⁾	Kilbeg in Termon.
Kilcommon . . .	{	Senhcui ⁽⁸⁾ cum . . .	Glencoe, S.E. part of Kilcommon.
		Insula Dori, m. . . . .	....
		Cellchoman	Kilcommon.

PARISH.	CHURCH.	IDENTIFICATION.
Doonfeeny . . .	{	Glengallrigi, m. G. in Glencalry Tl.
		Glenech, m. Glenagh Tl. next Glencalry.
		Cellardub, m. Killarduff.
		Dunfini Doonfeeny Ch.
	{	Cassel (9) m. G. at Ballycastle.
Kilbride . . .	{	Bernach (9) m. Ch. on Doonbristia, or on Downpatrick Head.
		Cellbrigdi Kilbride.
Kilfian . . .		Drognechan (10) m. Drinaghan Kilfian parish.
Lackan . . .	{	Dumaaiss (11) m. Lisheen in Carrowcuilleen Tl.
		Achad Gunig (12) m. G. in Carn Tl. Cilla-chaidh.
		Lecu Killogeary.
Kilcummin . . .	{	Cellcummin Kilcummin.
		Olechutrialacha (13)
		Balischriniutrialacha (13)
Templemurry		Magneflan (14) Templemurry in Rathfran Tl.
Ballysakeery.		Reseric Rosserk Ch. near Abbey.
Ardagh . . .		Arrdachad Usuanig Ardagh Ch.
Crossmolina . . .	{	Rathneogid (15) m. Northern part of Crossmolina, Ballybrinoge Tl.
		Oruidlachachon (16) Errew old Ch. near the Abbey.
Moygawnagh {	{	Maggamnach Moygawnagh C. . . .
		Drumnanagel Killeennashask, adjoining Drumnanagel Tl.
Addergoole . . .		Dargavillachon (17) Addergoole Ch.
Kilbelfad . . .	{	Cillialid (18) m. Cloghans Ch. <i>i.e.</i> Kilbelfad.
		Innislaig (19) Ch. on Inishlee.
		Olenaclassi Illaunnaglashy Ch.

PARISH.	CHURCH.	IDENTIFICATION.
Ballynahaglish	Munirudoig ⁽²⁰⁾ m.	Ballynahaglish Ch.
	Dorimeumainin ⁽²¹⁾	G. in Toneybaun Tl. S. of Mount Falcon Demesne.

Not identified ⁽²²⁾—

Raith Coeman, m.
Rathcerna, m.
Cellerannan.

In Tireragh ⁽²³⁾—

Drumart	Dromard Ch.
Scrinadamnani	Skreen Ch.
Cellbroccada	Easky Ch.
Cellcorechach	} Kilcorkagh in Temple- boy P.
Lassariani cum	
Usonianio	
Cellmagsalgam	Kilmacshalgan.
Cesglassi	Kilglass.
Cellanli	Killanly.
Cellnagarvan	Ardnarea Ch.

IDENTIFICATION OF CHURCHES

(1) Carnamalgaid.—The ancient church in Killybrone Townland is near to Carnamalgaid, now called Mullaghorne, and therefore may be taken to be the place meant. It is the Cill Forcland.¹

(2) Imbertrach.—Im is an intensitive particle,² and as applied here to Bertrach, a low sandy island or oyster bed, describes the situation of Rinnaun Church which is now in the sands of the shore.

(3) Cellcormich.—It was at Tobair Cormaic, a well $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from Killala on road to Crosspatrick.³

(4) Insula Gedig.—There are old churches on both North and South Inishkea.

¹ O'Donovan, *O.S.L.M.*, i. p. 40. *H.F.*, p. 464. O'Conor, *O.S.L.M.*, i. 237.

² Douglas Hyde, *Irish Texts Society*, vol. i. Glossary.

³ O'Conor, *O.S.L.M.*, ii. p. 227.

(⁵) Corbali.—It is probably the country about Corclogh which is near Kilmore. But there are graveyards of Termoncarragh and another close by. We may take Corbali for the northern part, Cathir and Cross and Cellarloch as the middle, and Kildarvila as the south of the mullet.

(⁶) Cellarloch, Crosrechig.—Cellarloch meaning Church on Lake should be a church in the graveyard near Cross Abbey and Lake, and Crossrechig should be Cross Abbey. But Cellarloch might be meant for Cellairlech, meaning Church of Slaughter, and as such take its name from Leacht Air Iorruis, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile S.W. of Binghamstown, in the same situation.

(⁷) Cathir.—A little hill S. of Bingham's Castle is called Caher.¹ As a territorial name it would include Kilbeg in Termon Tl.

(⁸) Senhcui.—Cell sen Chuaich. Sheneghy was in use in 16th century. Glencoaghe of 16th century is still used as Glenco, the S.E. part of Kilcommon parish. Insula Dori seems to be also a place name. It may be Kilteany, Cill Teine, an old church named Killeany in the maps a little west of Bangor.² So these territories would be the middle of Kilcommon parish.

(⁹) Cassel, Bernach.—I take Cassel to be the graveyard at Baile an Caisil, and Bernach to be the "Gapped" church on Downpatrick Head. But it may be that we should read Caisil Bernach or Gapped Cashel, which would apply to the old church on the rock at Downpatrick Head when the sea began to encroach on it. The church of this parish of Bernach at this time was probably the old church on the headland.

(¹⁰) Drognechan, Draighnechan.—The name remains in Drinaghan Tl. This means the parish of Kilfian in which are two old churches. Kilfian is in Sheeaghanbaun Tl. It is Cill Fhiadhain, pronounced as is Cill Aodhain.³ O'Donovan spells it Cill Phian. Cill Aodhain is a denomination of land.⁴ I take it that there were two old churches, one Kilfian, the other Killedan which is the name given to this parish in the Taxation of 1306.

(¹¹) Dumaais, Duma easa.—The position in the list suggests a church near Cassel, Bernach, and Imbertrach, which suits a church in the Lisheen near Carrickanass, Carraiganeasa. Duma easa would be Mound of the Waterfall.

(¹²) Achad Gunig.—I take these two words together. If Gunig is a separate church I cannot guess at it. Cill Achaidh is an ancient territorial name⁵ and may be taken as one of the churches of the old burying grounds in Carn Tl.,

¹ *O.S.L.M.*, i. p. 251.

² *Ibid.*, i. p. 161.

³ O'Conor, *O.S.L.M.*, i. p. 275.

⁴ *H.F.*, pp. 456, 486.

⁵ *H.F.*, p. 456.

called "Carnekilly-haghy" in Strafford's Survey.¹ Or it is Cill Achaidh Duibh as suggested before, and "Gunig" is another church; in that case the graveyard in Rathoonagh Tl. in Kilbride P. may be the place, and Gunig may be the latter part of Rathoonagh, but this is not very likely.

(¹³) Olechutrialacha, Balischriniutrialacha.—I omit the Balischrini of the list supposing it to be an accidental repetition. For Olech read Oled. I then read these as Uluid of O'Triallacha and Shrine of O'Triallacha (see p. 311). The Uluid was a tomb. There is an old graveyard in the detached part of Kilcummin parish which includes Rathlacken, but there is no reason for identifying it with either of these.

(¹⁴) Magneglan.—"Acknoyke, *alias* Nanglanye, *alias* Nae-glantymore," was a parcel of land belonging to and apparently near Rathfran Abbey. Mag na gleann, Plain of the Glens, would be Templemurry parish.²

(¹⁵) Rathneogid.—I find a quarter of land called formerly Baile an Bhruithneoguigh in the 16th century.³ Allowing for corruption by aspiration which renders silent final *g* equivalent to *d* it comes near this curious looking word. Ballybrinoge in Crossmolina parish seems to be the modern form.

(¹⁶) Oruidlachachon.—If the above is not correct this may represent the whole parish of Crossmolina.

(¹⁷) Dargavillachon, Eadargabhachon.—Between Forks of Cu. Possibly it should have been Dargavillachachon, Addergoole of Lough Con.

(¹⁸) Cillialid.—Kilbelfad appears in Irish as Cillbeilfhada, Cillbelad, Cillealad (H.F.).

(¹⁹) Innislaig.—This shows the name to have been Inislaogh. There was formerly a burying ground on it.⁴

(²⁰) Muniruadoig.—Muine Ruadhoig, or Ruadhog's Shrubbery. The Church of Baile na hEaglais is Eaglais Ruac.⁵ Colgan called it Ecclasroog in his "Life of St. Fechin of Fore." This is what Ruadog or Ruadoc would come to by aspiration of the *d*.

(²¹) Dorimeumainin.—Druim Ua Mainin, Ridge of the O'Mainins. The name of Mainin remains in Lough Derrymannin. I take the first part as Droma because the Taxation gives Keldroma as the name of this parish. This church and Muniruadoig would be the southern and northern parts of Ballynahaglish. In the Taxation it gives the parish a name.

(²²) I cannot make out anything for these churches. The

¹ *O.S.L.M.*, i. 265.

² *Morrin, Cal. Pat. and Close Rolls, Ireland*, ii. p. 364.

³ *H.F.*, p. 457.

⁴ *O.S.L.M.*, i. 27.

⁵ *H.F.* and *O.S.L.M.*, i. 20.

first two are called after forts. The third might be a corruption of Cill Adamnain, and in that case might be the Temple Eunan in Ballycroy, but there is no reason for taking it so except that it comes next before Crosrechig. Glen Nephin and Glenhest may come under Addergoole as at present.

No church has been identified in the parishes of Kilmoremy and Rathreagh; so probably Raith Coeman and Rathcerua should be found in them.

(23) The Tireragh parishes are those of the Taxation except that two names are different. There can be no doubt about the identity of the churches.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL TAXATION

In this diocese no distinction is made between the shares of bishop, rector, and vicar. It is not stated whether the bishop's fourth is included in his taxation or not. I omit the tenth. The assessment is in Marks, unless noted as in shillings.

Diocese of Killala

Taxation of all the churches of the city and diocese of Killala made by jurors on Saturday next after the feast of St. Bartholomew, 1306 [*i.e.* 27 Aug.].

NAME OF CHURCH.	VALUE. <i>Marks.</i>	IDENTIFICATION.
1 Taxation of Spiritualities of the bishop .	40	
2 <i>Communia</i> of the same	5	
3 Vicarage of the same Church	20s.	Killala.
4 Church of Esker . . .	8	Ballysakeery C.
5 " Rosserc . . .	2	Rosserk C.
6 " Kilmormoy .	3	Kilmoremy C.P.
7 " Rathberun .	3	Rathfran C. Templemurry P.
8 " Kilcomyn .	2	Kilcummin C.P.
9 " Lecor . . .	3	Lackan P.
10 " Dunfine . . .	4	Doonfeeny C.P.
11 " Uirus . . .	6	Erris barony.
12 " Crosmolyne .	8	Crossmolina C.P.
13 " Mougauenath	1	Moygawnagh C.P.
14 " Rathreth .	2	Rathreagh C.P.
15 " Arddach .	3	Ardagh C.P.

NAME OF CHURCH.		VALUE. <i>Marks.</i>	IDENTIFICATION.
16	Church of Kildeleth .	3	Kilbelfad C.P.
17	„ Killethan .	4	Killedan C. Kilfian P.
18	„ Keldroma .	3	Toneybaun C. ? Bally- nahaglish P.
19	„ Crith . . .	2	Crott. Kilbride P.
20	„ Adyrgowil .	20s.	Addergoole C.
21	„ Bothmoryn)	2	Glen Nephin.
22	„ and Glyn)		
23	„ Drumard .	2	Dromard C.P.
24	„ Skrine . .	4	Skreen C.P.
25	„ Corkachand)	4½	Kilcorkagh C. Temple- boy P.
26	„ Kilmacshal- gan . .)		
27	„ Imelachiskel	5	Easky C.P.
28	„ Killoglass .	100s.	Kilglass C.P.
29	„ Castroconhor	8	Killanley C. Castle- conor P.
30	„ Ardnereth .	4	Ardnarea C.P.
Sum of the Taxation .		£96 0 0	
The Tenth		9 12 0	

The Dean, Archdeacon, and Provost are ignored. So far as their revenues were a share of income of churches they are taxed under the churches. It is not clear what is covered by the bishop's *communio*. The churches or parishes are generally identified with certainty. But in some cases it is not certain what church in a parish is meant, as in the case of Lackan, which is probably Killogeary.

18. Keldroma is likely to be the survival of the name of the parish, as the other church at Ballynahaglish appears to have been the principal.

19. The name of the townland Crott seems to have been used for the whole parish, but Kilbride is probably the church meant.

21, 22. Bothmoryn and Glyn. Glyn is surely Glen Nephin, and a church where Bofeenaun Abbey is would do for it. Bothmoryn might be the graveyard called Annagh-boggan near L. Beltra where the river of Newport runs out of the lake. It must have been a church in use in the 13th century, as Hosty Merrick was buried there according to tradition. He was killed in 1272 (L.C.).

CHAPTER XXXV

VALOR BENEFICIORUM

THIS was made at Michaelmas of the 28th year of Queen Elizabeth, 1585, for levying the First Fruits—

LIVING.	£	s.	d.	NOTES.
Bishopric of Killala . . .	23	6	8	
Deanery of Killala . . .	4	0	0	
Archdeaconry of Killala . .	1	13	4	
Provostship of Killala . . .	6	0	0	
Rectory of Skryne . . .	5	0	0	
Vicarage of Skryne . . .	2	0	0	
Rectory of Castleconner . .	4	0	0	
Vicarage of Castleconner	..			
" Bellasegrye . . .	16	8		
" Bellanaglys . . .	13	4		
" Kilbelada . . .	13	4		
" Ardagh . . .	6	8		
" Crosmolyn . . .	13	4		
" Killyan . . .	10	0		Kilfian.
" Karogh . . .	6	8		Rathreagh.
" Ardreguyle . . .	..			Addergoole.
" Dunyne . . .	6	8		Doonfeeny.
" Kilbryde . . .	10	0		
" Lekan . . .	13	4		
" Rafrannor . . .	13	4		Rathfran or Temple- murry.
" Kilcomyne . . .	10	0		
" Imlaghishell . . .	13	4		Easky P.
" Killglasse . . .	1	0	0	
" Dromard . . .	6	8		
" Kill m'Sal- laghan . . .	3	4		
" Cortagh . . .	3	4		Corkagh, <i>i.e.</i> Temple- boy P.
Rectory of Tyrawley . . .	4	0	0	Kilmoremoy and Ard- narea.

The following are added from an Inquisition of 29th Oct. 1626.

LIVING.	£	s.	d.	NOTES.
Prebend of Kilneharpy .			4	
„ Killanley . .			1	
Vicarage of Castleconner .	2	0	0	This is probably really the rectory as the Vicarage was taxed as Imlaghishell.
„ Easkagh . .	2	0	0	

Addergoole's Taxation is omitted in original like the Vicarage of Castleconor.

CHAPTER XXXVI

OLD CHURCHES AND GRAVEYARDS

KILMORE ERRIS PARISH

O.S.	NAME OR PLACE.	TOWNLAND.
9	Kilmore	Tonamace.
	G. close to S. of it	Ardowan.
	Termoncarragh C.	Termoncarragh.
10	G. near Moyrahan	Moyrahan? not marked in 6 in. map.
16	Inishglora Churches	Inishglora.
	Cross Abbey and G.	Cross.
	G., E. of Cross Abbey	Cross.
23	St. Columbkille's C.	North Inishkea.
24	Kilbeg, north of Termon	Termon.
33	Kildarvila	Falmore.
	Ch. on S. Inishkea	South Inishkea, near St. Dar- vila's Well.
	Killeen in Devillaun	Devillaun. In it a stone with Greek Cross and Crucifixion.

KILCOMMON PARISH

4	Kilgalligan	Kilgalligan.
10	G. on shore W. of Knock- nalower	Inver.
11	Kilcommon	Kilcommon.
17	G. children, Claggan Island	Shrah.
	G. Glencastle, or Dundon- nell	Glencastle.
	C. on Corraun Point	Bunawillin.
26	Kilteany	Kilteany.
	C. G.	Cloontakilla.
34	Doona C.	Fahy.
	Temple Eunna	Bunmore.

OLD CHURCHES AND GRAVEYARDS

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O.S.	NAME OR PLACE.	TOWNLAND.
44	G. on Island. Kildun	Kildun. Flag with Cross at it.
	Kilfintan	Kildun. In peninsula N. of Teach Fiontainne.
	St. Fintan's House, G., Well	Claggan.

DOONFEENY PARISH

6	Doonfeeny C.	Doonfeeny.
7	G. close to N.E. of Bally- castle	Carrownisky.
2	Killerduff	Killerduff.
	G.	Glencalry.

KILBRIDE PARISH

7	Kilbride	Kilbride.
	Doonbristia C.	Knockan.
	Patrick's C. and Well	Knockan.
	Templenagalliaghdoon	Killeen.
	Lisheen, S. of Kilbride	Carrowmore.
4	G., W. of Heathfield House	Rathoonagh.

KILCUMMIN PARISH

7	G. at Rathlackan	Rathlackan.
8	Kilcummin	Ballinlena. Kilcummin Tl. in- cludes village and Kilcummin Head.

LACKAN PARISH

14	Killogeary	Killogeary.
	Lisheen, W. of Billoos	Carrowcuillien.
2	Gs.	Carn. A cross in one.

TEMPLEMURRY PARISH

15	Templemurry	Rathfran.
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KILLALA PARISH

15	Rinnaun C.	Ross.
	Killybrone	Killybrone.
	Kilgobban	Kilgobban.

O.S.	NAME OR PLACE.	TOWNLAND.
21	Killogunra	Killogunra.
22	Killala and Round Tower	Killala Town.
	Kilroe.	Kilroe.
	Kilcormick	Killala.
	Crosspatrick	Crosspatrick.
	Donaghmore	Tawnaghmore <i>alias</i> Donoughmore.

RATHREAGH PARISH

21	Rathreagh C.	Rathreagh.
	G. at Farmhill House	Farmhill House.

KILFIAN PARISH

14	Kilkeerglen	Keerglen.
21	Kilfian	Sheeaghanbaun.
	Drynaghan Church	Raheskin.

MOYGAWNAGH PARISH

21	Killeennashask	Killeennashask.
29	Moygawnagh	Knockaculleen.

BALLYSAKEERY PARISH

22	Ballysakeery C.	Ballysakeery.
	Rosserk C.	Rosserk.

CROSSMOLINA PARISH

29	Crossmolina C.	Crossmolina.
38	Kildavaroge, at Inishcoe	Kildavaroge.
	Kilmurry, at Rakestreet	Kilmurrymore.
	Errew C.	Errew.
	C. at Tober Tigernan	Killeen.
46	G.	Keenagh.

ARDAGH PARISH

	Ardagh C.	Ardagh.
	C. near Cranagh	Gortatogher.

KILMOREMOY PARISH

O.S.	NAME OR PLACE.	TOWNLAND.
30 ^m	Kilmoremoy	Kilmoremoy.
	League C.	Kilmoremoy.
29	(Sligo Co.) Ardnarea C. . .	Ardnarea.

BALLYNAHAGLISH PARISH

39	Ballynahaglish C.	Ballynahaglish.
	G., S. of Mount Falcon . .	Tonybaun.

KILBELFAD PARISH

39 ^m	Kilbelfad, Temple an | Cloghan	Glebe.
48	Kilcormack	Carrowgarve.
	Killeencormack	Rinnakilleen.
	Illaunaglashy C.	Illaunaglashy.

ADDERGOOLE PARISH

47	Addergoole C.	Knockmaria.
	Bowfinan Abbey	Bowfinan.
68	Annaghboggan G.	Ballyteige.

SLIGO CASTLECONOR PARISH

22	G., N. of Castletown . .	Castletown.
	Killanley	Killanley.

KILGLASS PARISH

16	Kilglass	Kilglass.
	Enniscrone C.	Carrowhubbock.

EASKY PARISH

11	Easky C.	Shannon Park.
	G. and St. Ernan's Well . .	Alternan Park.
	Black Graveyard	Killeenduff.

KILMACSHALGAN PARISH

O.S.	NAME OR PLACE.	TOWNLAND.
12	Kilmacshalgan	Dromore.

TEMPLEBOY PARISH

12	Templeboy	Corcoran's Acres, next Corkaghmore.
18	Grangemore C.	Ardgawna, next Grangemore.

SKREEN PARISH

19	Skreen C.	Skreenmore.
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DROMARD PARISH

19	Dromard C.	Dromard.
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CHAPTER XXXVII

DISTRIBUTION OF RECTORIES IN THE 16TH CENTURY

THE earliest Visitation is that of 1615. I have not been able to get information regarding holding of rectories by abbeys, except so far as is noted, and the prebendal portions. This list shows that in such parishes as are marked as held by laymen as rectors some church at least was held by an abbey. I omit the prebendal tenures giving only the list from the Visitation, in which I do not follow the order of the list, but take first the parishes of Tirawley and Erris together.

Ballysakeery	Sir Theo. Dillon.
Ballynahaglish	Capt. William Maie.
Kilbelfad	" "
Ardagh	" "
Crossmolina	Capt. William Maie (abbey of Ballybeg near Buttevant).
Addergoole	Capt. William Maie.
Rathreagh	" "
Kilfian	Precentor.
Kilbride	Sir T. Dillon.
Doonfeeny	"
Lacken	"
Rathfran	"
Kilcummin	"
Tirawley (Kilmoremoy)	Cong Abbey.
Skreen	Henry Peirse.
Castleconor	"
Easky	"
Kilglass	"
Dromard	Henry Peirse (Vicarage by abbey of Aughros).
Kilmacshalgan	Erowen M'Swinde.
Corkagh <i>alias</i> Templeboy	"

This Visitation omits Killala held by the Dean, Kilcommon and Kilmore Erris held by the Precentor, and Moygawnagh held partly by the Precentor. Ardnarea is included in Tirawley. Skreen and Castleconor from other sources appear to have been held unlawfully.

DIOCESE OF ACHONRY

CHAPTER XXXVIII

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY

ST. PATRICK certainly founded a church at Drummae when he went by the way of the Gregry, which I take to be the church on the shore of Lough Gara on a peninsula in the townland of Annagh with Patrick's Well beside it. The way of the Gregry seems to be the road from Assylin to Ballaghaderreen which passes through the small piece of territory of the Gregry which is east of Lough Gara. Kilaraght is by the side of the road. Araght received the veil from Patrick and we may therefore take her church to have been founded in his time. Certainly she was one of his missionaries. The families of the Gregry in that country would naturally be somewhat influenced by their neighbours the sons of Erc, with whom they must have had more intercourse socially than with the families across the lake and river.

Though there is no evidence that Christianity spread much from this centre, Araght is the first of all the saints of the diocese in point of time.

Her parentage is uncertain. It is commonly supposed that she was of the Ulster race of Ir. As the Gregry in later times claimed a descent from Fergus MacRoigh we may suppose in absence of evidence to the contrary that she was of the local branch. Dr. O'Rorke has given reasons for connecting her with Tireragh; but he has not noticed that the Gregry extended to Ballysadare in St. Patrick's time. Araght has acquired great fame in Coolavin and Leyny and North Costello, yet very little is known about

her. The late and uncertain accounts of her are not to be preferred to the statement in Tirechan's Notes that she was St. Patrick's contemporary. Probably she was much younger and met him during his last tour in this country. It is said that she wished to settle near her brother Conall who had a church at Drum south of Boyle, and that he persuaded her to go elsewhere, and so she settled at Killaraght where St. Patrick founded her church. Tirechan does not say that he founded it, but the fact is not improbable. A paten and a chalice were in Killaraght in Tirechan's time which should have been hers; perhaps, as is said in the Tripartite Life, St. Patrick gave them. She founded a hospital for travellers which survived until the dissolution of the monasteries. The Cross of Attracta formerly had great fame as a relic. The O'Mochains, descendants of King Dathi, were its hereditary keepers. The extensive foundations of buildings and enclosures show that a great establishment or village grew up near the church which has quite disappeared.

Araght must have been a woman of unusual force of character to make so great an impression in such times.

St. Patrick founded churches about Castlemore and Letter which at this time were possessed by the Ciarraige Airtech, but none of the clergy of those churches acquired any very great reputation.

From this time till the 6th century nothing is known of the history of the diocese. Then St. Cormac's Life which has been given under Killala shows that the families called Clann Cein were in the ascendant and that the Gregry had become insignificant, at least in history. It seems from the terms used in the Life that Dermot King of the Luighne brought in Cormac to start the church among his people, and that St. Aodhan who was working in a neighbouring territory in the kingdom had sufficient influence to procure Cormac's withdrawal. Cormac left no mark in Leyny, but his Life shows us that Aodhan was working before his arrival. It is not clear where Cormac wanted to settle, but we may take it to have been in the barony of Leyny. Cloonoghil in Corran and Monasteredan in Kilcolman parish may safely be attributed to this Aodhan.

Aodhan MacColmain O'Fiachrach therefore was working

here in the first half of the 6th century, as his death is recorded in 562 by Tigernach and the Annals of Clonmacnoise.

Contemporary with him was Bishop Lugaid, under whom St. Kevin studied and by whom he was ordained about the year 560. Dr. O'Rorke has identified the Church of Toomour as Cill Easpuig Luidhigh.¹

ST. NATHI

It is said that St. Finan of Clonard established him as a priest in a new church in a place called Acad Caoin and Acad Conaire, now Achonry. St. Finan died in 549. Nathi therefore flourished in the latter half of the 6th century if this be the fact. Such a period agrees with his pedigree. It is said that St. Fechin of Fore studied under him. This is not impossible if Nathi lived to great age and if Fechin did so too, but it is more probable that Fechin was educated in Nathi's school under Nathi's successor. He left a great reputation for holiness, and founded a school of considerable standing which survived him. His monastery developed the Bishop of the Luighne or Bishop of Achonry. The considerable possessions of land of the see near Achonry may be assumed to have been mainly the endowment of the abbey.

He is commonly called Cruimther Nathi, Priest Nathi. Nathi is the same name as Dathi.

He is the first of whom it can be said with certainty that he worked among the Luighne and founded a church. Yet it is likely on the whole that St. Aodhan educated him and started the work in that part of the country after Cormac's retirement, as it is evident that King Dermot and his family then accepted Christianity. Of that time we know no more.

His cousin St. Mobi should be of much the same period. He certainly is not the Mobi of Glasnevin who died in 545, who is much too early. This may be the Mobi who left his name to Kilmovee.

Luathrenn daughter of Failbe is said to be of the same race, that of Dermot and Niall. She has left her name to Killoran, and that is all that is known of her.

Taking all the traditions together we may believe that a

¹ *Hist. Sligo*, ii. pp. 209, 210.

small body of clergy of the race of Finnbar organised the churches round about Achonry, those of the barony of Leyny.

St. Columba visited Connaught before he went to Scotland. To this period I think should be assigned the foundation of certain churches attributed to him. It is significant that the churches ascribed to him and to his known contemporaries who were older or of at least equal age with him in this neighbourhood are all in countries on the borders of the kingdom of the Luighne or just within the borders. He placed Dachonna at Assylin, Finnbar at Drumcolumb in Tirerrill, Enna son of Nuadan at Emlaghfad on the western side of Tulachsegra. It is quite possible that Emlaghfad and Toomour were at this time under the Ui Ailello, or under the Calry of Corran.

The above churches and Kilmore in Ballintubber North and Drumcliff and the church of Cloghmore in Killannin parish are the only churches in Connaught that owe their origin to St. Columba, according to Dr. Reeves. But many more were founded by Columban monks.

None of the saints of the Luighne and Gailenga are in the list of those who met St. Columba at Ballysadare after the Convention of Drumcetta. But the list is a very late and quite inaccurate compilation including men who lived and died before it, and long after it.

Regarding the part of the diocese which lies in the baronies of Costello and Gallen we have no further information for this period.

ST. FECHIN OF FORE

He was born at Bile, called after him Bile Fechin. The exact spot is said to be the Leaba Fechin in the townland of Billa near Ballysadare; it is a large stone bearing marks as of hands, with another large stone near it; a church once stood over them of which only foundations remain.¹

He was of the race of the Luighne of Connaught or of Meath according to his pedigrees. From the place of his birth and from his original field of work it may be taken that he certainly was of the Connaught Luighne.

¹ O'Rorke, *Ballysadare and Kiltarnet*, p. 427.

If he was educated under St. Nathi it was in early youth. His education was finished under St. Fintan Maeldubh who was Abbot of Cloonenagh from 603 to 626. After he was ordained a priest he returned to his native place and worked for some time in the kingdom of the Luighne. The Abbey of Ballysadare was certainly founded by him and became a place of very great importance, and survived as an abbey when St. Nathi's Abbey at Achonry was transformed into a Bishop and Chapter. Of his work but little is known in detail. The churches of Billa, Kilnemanagh near Billa, Drumrat, Kilgarvan and Ecclasroog are attributed to him. The Church of Billa is evidently a memorial of a later period when his fame was established and his memory was revered. The other churches may well have been founded by him. Kilgarvan is called Kilnagarvan in the Taxation, which would mean the O'Garvans' Church. Locally its foundation is attributed to Ruan,¹ but this would mean that Ruan was the first priest in charge.

He seems to have been but a short time in Luighne. The field was already fairly well occupied by workers and he required more room for his energy. So he settled in Omey Island, and thence converted the people of Ballynahinch, and in course of time rose to great eminence.

From this time, the early part of the 7th century, until the establishment of diocesan episcopacy, there are but few references to church affairs. The whole country must have been Christianised, though we have no accounts of the missionaries of the south and south-west parts.

I find the following references in the Annals.

A.U. 799. Flaithgel, son of Taichlech, abbot of Drumratha, died.

1017. Cormac Ua Mailmidhe, Erenagh of Drumratha, died.

C.S. 930. The Crozier of Ciaran was drowned in Loch Teched, and twelve men along with it; but it was found immediately.

1006. (Properly 1008). Muiredhach, a sage bishop, brother's son of Ainmire Bocht, was suffocated in a cave, in Gailenga of Corann, by Ua Ruairc.

¹ *O.S.L.M.*, i. p. 108.

C.S. 1083. The battle of Conachail, *i.e.* in Corann, *was fought* by Ruaidhri Ua Conchobhair; and Cormac Ua Cillin, chief vice-abbot of the Sil-Muiredhaigh, having the staff of Ciaran in his hand, *stood* in front of the battle, whilst it was fought between the Connachtmen and the Conmaicne; and the Conmaicne were defeated; . . . Ruaidhri Ua Conchobhair was the victor.

The Conmaicne were those of Moyrein and Annaly under Ua Ruairc. Dr. O'Rorke identifies this place with Cunghill near Templehouse on the way to Tubbercurry. Cormac Ua Cillin was comarb of Ciaran and of Coman.

CHAPTER XXXIX

FORMATION AND EXTENT OF DIOCESE

THE diocese comprises almost exactly the country which was in the 12th century under the Clann Cein, who were in two branches, Luighne and Gailenga ; the former were the O'Haras and their relatives, the latter the O'Garas and their relatives. The small parish of Annagh which was in Elphin diocese and is in the barony of Tirerrill has been added to the parish of Ballysadare. The parishes of Toomore, Attymas, and Kilgarvan, which seem to have been always ecclesiastically connected with the churches of the Luighne and Gailenga, were then in the kingdom of O'Dowda, but when territorial episcopacy came in followed their ecclesiastical and not their political relationship. It is not quite clear where the boundary between the Gailenga and Cera ran, but I think that the detached part of Kildacommoge about Temple na Lickin was in Gailenga. Except for a small extension in the S.E. over Toomour, and over Castlemore and Kilcolman, the limits of the territory appear to have suffered no change since the 5th century, for the three parishes of Toomore, Attymas, and Kilgarvan were occupied by the Calry.

In the first half of the 12th century the O'Garas were the chief kings, having for their proper inheritance the sub-kingdom of Sliabh Lugha or Gaileanga, comprising the barony of Costello north of the parishes of Aghamore and Knock, and the barony of Gallen and the barony of Coolavin, then called Gregry. The O'Haras had the baronies of Leyny and Corran as their proper inheritance. They became chief kings after the O'Garas in the middle of the 12th century, and maintained their supremacy until the conquest and partition of Connaught by Richard de Burgo in 1338.

Then Richard gave the barony of Leyny in fee to Maurice Fitzgerald of Offaly, who got Carbury from Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster, who had a grant from Richard. It was then

in the possession of the descendants of Torlough Mor O'Conor called Clann Andrias. Maurice acquired Corran from Richard de Burgo's grantee. Maurice built castles at Sligo and Banada. According to the *Historia et Genealogia Familiæ de Burgo* the Abbey of Banada was built on the seven towers of that castle. Though a town grew up about Sligo Castle and it became a port of trade there was no colonisation of Carbury, which remained in the possession of the Clann Andrias from whom came O'Conor Sligo. Nor was Leyny colonised; the O'Haras were left in possession, kept under some control by the castle of Banada. Corran was in the same position. Sir Walter de Burgh built a castle at Ath Angaile, a site not now known, and his son Richard built the great castle of Ballymote when the manor of Sligo was transferred to him by John FitzThomas FitzGerald, but there was no colonisation.

Jordan de Exeter got the barony of Gallen, and Miles MacCostello the territory of Sliabh Lugha, which they colonised and settled in.

Gregry seems to have been held by a Richard Cuisin under Leyny or Sliabh Lugha, probably under the former, but the O'Garas were settled in it. The Castle of Moygara was probably built by Richard de Burgo at the conquest as a border fortress.

De Exeter and MacCostello built great castles at Athlethan, now Ballylahan, and at Castlemore and at Kilcolman. Though only the two latter were colonising lords the territory was sufficiently occupied by castles to keep the Irish lords who were not driven out generally in a state of peace.

At the break up of the De Burgo lordship in 1338 the actual resident Norman lords held their lands in Gallen and Costello, but where the land was not colonised and the Irish lords were left in immediate possession those chieftains became independent, O'Conor in Carbury, O'Hara in Leyny, O'Gara in Coolavin. Corran appears in possession of the MacDonoghs, a branch of the MacDermots of Moylurg.

The diocese consists of the following modern parishes—

In Leyny 5 parishes—Achonry, Ballysadare (part in Tirerrill), Killoran, Kilvarnet, Kilmacteige.

In Corran 7 parishes—Emlaghfad, Drumrat, Kilmorgan, Cloonoghil, Kilshalvy, Toomour, Kilturra (part in Costello).

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In Costello 4 parishes—Kilmovee, Kilbeagh, Castlemore (part in Frenchpark), Kilcolman (parts in Frenchpark and Coolavin).

In Coolavin 2 parishes—Killaraght, Kilfry.

In Gallen 9 parishes—Kilgarvan, Attymas, Toomore, Killasser, Templemore, Bohola, Killedan, Kilconduff, Meelick.

CHAPTER XL

THE SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS

THE succession is very uncertain.

1. Maelruan O'Ruadan attended the Synod of Kells and died in 1170, of reputation for wisdom and piety.

2. Gilla na Naomh O'Ruadan died in 1214. (L.C.)

3. Clement died in 1219. He is called Clement O'Sniadhaigh, and is described as a bishop in an entry of 1208. He could not have been bishop of Achonry then. (L.C. A.U.)

4. Cormac O'Tarpa died on 15th Jan. 1226 in the abbey and was buried there. He had been abbot of Mellifont.

5. Gilla Isu Ua Cleirigh died 1230. (A.U.)

Gilla-in-coimdedh Ua Duillennain, successor of Fechin, and abbot of the monastery of Esdara, died in 1230. (A.U.)

6. Thomas O'Ruadain died in 1237 and was buried in his cathedral. (A.U.)

7. Aongus O'Clumain was appointed in 1238 and resigned about 1249 owing to age and infirmity, being allowed a pension. He died in 1263 in the Abbey of Boyle where he became a monk.

8. Thomas O'Maicin (O'Meehan) was elected in 1251 and died in 1265 (A.U.). His election was in some way irregular, apparently from want of the King's license for an election, but seems to have been set right. Pope Alexander IV. confirmed to him the fourth part of the tithes of his diocese according to the custom of other bishops of the province.¹

In 1256, in course of very complicated fighting among O'Conors O'Rourks and O'Reillys, Sir Walter de Burgh brought a great army to Achonry and Keshcorran and plundered the churches around. Plundering churches seems to have meant taking out the corn and the like which the people stored there when they went fighting. He seems to have come against O'Conor and O'Rourk and their allies. It is

¹ Theiner, *Vet. Mon. Ep.* No. 195, 15 March 1257.

impossible to make out the sequence of events, but a great defeat was inflicted on the O'Reillys by the O'Conor and O'Rourk party on the 14th Sept. as they were coming by Lough Allen to meet Sir Walter's army. Then comes this entry: "The Foreigners returned home after this, and the Bishop O'Maicin was 'drowning their candles' about nones, when it was equally dark in field and wood." (L.C.)

In 1261 "MacFheorais profaned the great church of Feichin in Es-dara, where he killed five of the Luighne, together with Cathal O'hEghra. A depredation was committed by Domhnall O'hEghra on Clann Fheorais in retaliation for this, when he killed Seefin MacFheorais, and what he had on his head when he was killed was the bell-cover which he had taken from the church of Es-dara." (L.C.)

De Bermingham, or some of his family, held Coillte Luighne about Es-dara under Fitzgerald and a part of Tireragh under De Burgo.

9. Denis O'Maicin was elected in 1266 and died in Nov. 1285, and was buried in his own cathedral. At the time of his election the Bishopric was reported to be worth only 20 marks yearly.

10. Benedict O'Bragain elected in 1286 died in 1312. (L.C.)

11. David of Kilheny or Kilkeny elected in 1312 died about 1344. Murcad MacMaeltuaid O'hEghra, Abbot of Boyle, was elected but died within the year 1344. (L.C.)

12. David died in 1348. In his time the question of union with Tuam seems to have been agitated again, and an order for union to have been made. In August 1346 the Pope ordered the bishops of Ardagh and Elphin and Clonfert to decide touching the union with Tuam of Achonry, whose chapter prayed to have it dissolved, since the distance between the two churches, and the ungovernable character of the Irish, make it impossible to share in the election of the archbishop. The Archbishop and Chapter of Tuam agreed to the dissolution. In 1351 the Pope called for a report again. The Pope's orders do not appear but it is quite certain that the union never was carried into effect.

13. Nicholas O'Hedran or O'Hedram or O'Hedian, perhaps really O'hEidin, Abbot of Assaroe was appointed by papal provision in 1348 and died in 1373.

14. William Andrew, English Dominican, appointed by

the Pope in 1374 was translated to Meath in 1380. He was reputed to be most learned and wise.

The succession now becomes uncertain for a long time.

15. Simon, a monk, appears as suffragan of the Bishop of Ely in 1387.

16. Bishop O'Hara died in 1396. This bold bishop joined the forces of MacWilliam Eighter who intervened in one of the O'Conor Sligo wars. His horse was killed and he was mortally wounded by John O'Hara's son.

17. Thomas, son of Maurice MacDonogh, died in 1398. He is the first who is called "Bishop of Achonry" in the Annals. Hitherto the title was "Bishop of Luighne."

18. Brian O'Hara died in 1409.

19. Manus, a canon of Achonry, was appointed by the Pope on the 14th April 1410. He is called Magon Chradran, which may be the same as O'Hedran.

20. Lawrence Peter Jacopin or Jacopini, a Dominican, was appointed by the Pope on 6th July 1414. He must have resigned, as his death is noted in *Hibernia Dominicana* in 1442.

21. Donatus, or Donnchadh, died about 1424.

22. Richard Belmer, a Dominican, was appointed by the Pope on 12th April 1424. He appeared on the 29th May and paid his 33½ gold florins on appointment.

23. Red O'Hara died in 1435.

24. Nicholas O'Daly, a Dominican, was appointed by the Pope in 1436.

25. Thady (? Abbot of Boyle) died at Rome.

26. James Blakedon, a Dominican, was appointed by the Pope on 13th Oct. 1442; was translated to Bangor in 1452, but must have resigned sooner, because his successor was appointed on 10th Oct. 1448. He was an absentee, suffragan of the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

27. Cornelius O'Mochain Abbot of Boyle died in 1472. In July 1463 Pope Pius II. absolves Bernard O'Hara Dean of Achonry from guilt incurred in warfare though he did not kill any one himself. Bernard had a lease of a castle built by the bishop on church land. John O'Hara, then chief of his tribe, forcibly took it from the bishop and Bernard and his brothers. Bernard, in order to recover it, assembled armed men to capture Ruericus, son of the chief, strictly

charging them not to kill or wound him or any of his people. Peace was made after his capture in which two laymen were killed. Fresh wars broke out owing to R.'s endeavour to retake the castle, and more bloodshed.¹

28. Robert Wellys or Wellyl, a Franciscan, was appointed by the Pope in 1473.

29. Bernard died in 1488 or 1489.

30. John de Buclamant or Bustemant, a Spaniard, Preceptor of the Convent of St. Catherine at Toledo, of the Order of the B.V. for the Redemption of Captives, succeeded him by the Pope's appointment.

31. Richard or Thomas FitzRichard is said to have succeeded him about 1490, and to have died in 1492.

32. Thomas Fort, an Augustinian Canon of the Abbey of St. Mary and St. Petroc at Bodmin, succeeded by Papal provision on 13th Oct. 1492. He was prior of Huntingdon in 1496, so it may be taken as certain that he was an absentee.

33. Thomas O'Conghalan succeeded him and died in 1508.

34. Owen, or Eugene, O'Flanagan, a Dominican, was appointed by the Pope on the 21st Jan. 1509.

35. Cormac was bishop in 1523 when he witnessed a will in Galway. He died about 1529.

36. Owen or Eugene was appointed by the Pope in 1530, and died in 1546. He seems to have been an O'Flanagan.

In 1546 the king made an order appointing Con O'Siagall, O'Donnell's chaplain, to be Bishop of Elphin. He was Abbot of Esdara and Prior of Aughros.

37. Thomas O'Fihel or Field, Abbot of Mayo and Rector of Delgany in the diocese of Dublin, was appointed by the Pope on 15th Jan. 1547 with permission to retain those offices. In 1555 he was translated to Leighlin.

38. Cormac O'Coyn, a Franciscan, was appointed in 1556 and died in 1562.

39. Owen O'Hart who succeeded him is called his nephew. He was of the family of O'Hart of Carbury, the greatest in that barony after the O'Conors. He was appointed while in attendance at the Council of Trent, where he was sent as representative of his province, being then Prior of the

¹ Theiner, *Vet. Mon.*, p. 449.

Convent of Sligo. Father Wolfe, the Pope's Legate in Ireland, commends him thus—

“The Church of Accad is held by force, and is in the hands of the laity, and not one trace of religion is left there, but, by the influence of Eugenius and the power of his friends, the church might be recovered as Christopher recovered Tuam.”

He was appointed before Queen Elizabeth was in a position to interfere in his diocese and satisfied her as long as he lived. He may be compared with Bodkin of Tuam as regards his views, and was able to satisfy the small requirements of the Queen in the very troubled period of his episcopate, which began when MacWilliam Eighter and O'Connor Sligo were the two great and practically independent lords of his diocese, and ended when the King's power was fully established over Ireland.

He died in 1603 aged 100 years and was buried on the gospel side of the high altar in the church of Achonry. He is the last bishop acknowledged by the Church of Ireland and Church of Rome.

Owen O'Connor, brother of Sir Donnell O'Connor Sligo, was appointed Dean by Queen Elizabeth on the 24th Aug. 1582, and was given at the same time the rectories of Skreen and Castleconor in Killala, of Minevoriske *alias* “Between the Two Bridges of Drumcliff,” and the perpetual vicarage of Killinicullen in Elphin (Kilmacallan?). He was soon after elected Bishop of Killala.

40. Miler Magrath was appointed in Feb. 1603, and to Killala in 1607. He also attained the age of 100 years. This See has ever since been annexed to Killala, which became the residence of the bishop.

From the Composition for the Co. of Sligo, 1585, it seems that the bishop had a castle or house at Achonry.

The assignment to the Bishop of Achonry of the house and 4 qrs. free at Skreen must be a mistake of name of Achonry for Killala.

CHAPTER XLI

THE CHAPTER OF ACHONRY

THE Dean is mentioned in 1246 and 1442 and 1582 when the succession is known. The Archdeacon is mentioned in 1266 when O'Mochain became Bishop. The Provost or Precentor is first mentioned in 1613.

The Regal Visitation of 1615 gives the following list of Prebends—

Prebend of Kilmoroghoe	}	These prebends belonged, as is
„ Imlafaghda	}	alleged, to the Cathedral
„ Clonoghill	}	Church of Achonry, and are
„ Killoshalwey	}	held by Edward Crofton.
„ Kiltorowe	}	
„ Kilwarnad	}	Held by the Bishop.
and Killorin	}	
„ Kilm ^o tege	}	„
„ Kilveagh	}	„
and Killedan	}	
„ Kilmovee	}	„
„ Doghcarne	}	„
and Moymelagh	}	

This Visitation omits the prebends of Ballysadare and Killaraght as prebends. The parish of Ballysadare is altogether omitted, but was probably held together with some other church.

From the grouping of the first five prebends as belonging to the cathedral church it may be inferred that the cathedral had 5 vicars choral annexed to it as at Tuam and Annagh-down.

It is evident that the whole organisation of the chapter was decayed and fragmentary.

The following list of ancient prebends is taken from the Visitation of 1633 which includes a valuation—

	VALUE. Shillings.	HOLDER.	NOTES.
Doughorne	—	Robert White.	Probably in Graveyard near Moylough, S. of Tobercurry.
Killoran	—	J. Fargie.	
Killosalvie	4	Vacant.	
Clowneoghill	10	„	
Imlaghfadda	10	„	
Kilmurrough	12	„	<i>alias</i> Kilmorgan.
Killaraght	30	Campbell.	
Kilmovie	8	Campbell, seques- trator.	
Moymelagh	5	Vacant.	Probably Killasser in N. of Kilvarnet P. but taking name from Moylough in Killoran P.
Kinave	30	„	Kinaff.
Killidan	30	„	
Kilfri	5	„	
Kilvarrett	5	„	
Kilturrough	10	„	
Kilmacteige	10	„	

The prebends recognised in the 17th century were Ballysadare and Killaraght and Kilmovee.

The Chapter may be taken to have been Dean and Archdeacon and Provost with 5 vicars choral and other officers and canons.

THE EMOLUMENTS OF THE CHAPTER IN 1833

The Deanery.—The Rectories and Vicarages of Achonry and Cloonoghil were the Corps. The Rectories of Killoran and Kilvarnet without cure. £920.

The Archdeaconry.—Rent of land in Kilturra. No cure. £150.

The Precentorship.—The townland of Carnyara in Achonry P. No cure. £92.

Prebend of Ballysadare.—Vicarage of Ballysadare as Corps. £275.

Prebend of Killaraght.—Rectorial Tithe in Killaraght. £31. No cure.

Prebend of Kilmovee.—No emolument or cure.

CHAPTER XLII

SEE LANDS OF ACHONRY

THE bishop owned the following glebes, which were let to the incumbents :—

NAME.	ACRES.	NOTES.
Achonry	35	. . . . .
Kilvarnet	32	. . . . .
Ballysadare	32	. . . . .
Emlaghfad	32	. . . . .
Kilmacteige	64	. . . . .
Kilmovee	32	. . . . .

The bishop's lands are given in groups which cannot be easily sorted into parishes as a considerable number of the denominations are no longer in use as townland names. I put them as they appear grouped in the return.

NAME.	ACRES.	NOTES.
Cloonoghil, 3¼ qrs.	1546	These are all the townlands in which these old parish churches stand.
Emlaghfad, 2 qrs.	588	. . . . .
Killaraght, 4 qrs.	973	. . . . .
Kilmacteige, 2 qrs.	728	. . . . .
Kilmorgan, ¼ of qr.	188	. . . . .
Kilshalvey, 1 qr.	505	. . . . .
Achonry	811	. . . . .

IN BARONY OF LEYNY

Italics show that it is a townland name in use.

<i>Corhownagh</i>	333	Next Kilboglasy and Abbeytown. Ballysadare P.
Leclounagh	90	. . . . .
<i>Ruinbane</i>	453	Rinbaun next Templehouse Demesne and Lake. Achonry P.

NAME.	ACRES.	NOTES.
<i>Carrowregle</i>	263	Carrowreilly, next N.E. of Tullyhugh, Achonry P.
<i>Kilvarnet</i>	229	About the church.

BARONY OF CORRAN

<i>Dooclonagh</i> , qr.	} 3501	{ Daghloonagh, Drumrat P. Adjoins Knockoconor, which is next Fallougher, containing Kesh Graveyard. Maghera, near Ballymote. Emlaghfad P. Toomour P. About Drumrat Ch.
<i>Carrowreagh</i> , qr.		
<i>Mahery</i> , qr.		
<i>Knockconor</i> , qr.		
<i>Levany</i> , qr.		
<i>Drumrat</i> , <i>alias</i> <i>Knockbreagh</i> , qr.		
<i>Toneycar</i> , qr.		

BARONY OF LEYNY

<i>Tauney William</i> , $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	} 1199	{ Knoxpark. Ballysadare P. Kilboglasy Tl. (O'Rorke, Ballysad. and Kilv.) Ballysadare P. Next West of Corhawnagh, Ballysadare P. Kilnamanagh, adjoins Ard-cotton on W. Ballysadare P. Next Collooney Town. Ballysadare P. Ballysadare P. and large bog. Next N. of Achonry, adjoins Carrowreilly. Achonry P.
<i>Kilmoslug</i> , $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.		
<i>Coney</i> , $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.		
<i>Kilmaunagh</i> , 3 qrs.		
<i>Ardcotton</i> , 4 qr.		
<i>Ardcotton</i> , pt.	4	
<i>Tullyhugh</i> , $\frac{1}{2}$ qr.	244	

The following are entered in the return for Killala diocese but really belong to Achonry—

NAME.	ACRES.	NOTES.
<i>Kinaff</i> , 4 qrs.	447	About that church. Kilconduff P.
<i>Kilmovee</i> , 2 qrs.	1508	About that church.

SEE LANDS OF ACHONRY

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The following are in the Killala List, as "in the Barony of Costello"—

NAME.	ACRES.	NOTES.
<i>Russens</i> , 1 qr.	49	<i>Rusheen</i> Townlands are next Kilmovee. This and Skray and Kilmovee are called the 1 qr. of Kilmovee in the Composition for Costello or Ballyhaunis in 1587.
Skray	874	

Strafford's Survey gives as possessions of Bishop of Killala in barony of Gallen—2 qrs. of Killedan, 2 qrs. of Killnaw (Kinaff?), 1 qr. of Farrencortagh. In barony of Costello—Killmovy, 4 qrs.

CHAPTER XLIII

THE TAXATION OF 1306

DIOCESE OF ACHONRY

NAME OF CHURCH.	VALUE.	IDENTIFICATION.
1 The temporalities and spiritualities of the Bishop of Achonry are taxed in the year at . .	25 mks.	
2 The temporalities and spiritualities of the Abbot and Convent of Monks of Boyle	22s.	
3 The temporalities and spiritualities of the Abbot and Convent of Canons of Est-dara	2mks. 40d.	Abbey of Ballysadare.
4 Achagonny	2mks.	Achonry C.
The community of the Chapter in the Sanctuary . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ mk.	
Vicarage of the same	13s. 4d.	
5 Kilmactarg . .	5s. in rure.	Kilmacteige.
The same church in the Sanctuary	40d.	
Vicarage of the same	13s. 4d.	

NAME OF CHURCH.	VALUE.	IDENTIFICATION.
6 Kilcoachcrunyn in rure . . . and in the Sanctuary . . . Vicarage of the same . . .	5s. 12d. 3s.	Keshcorran C. <i>i.e.</i> Toomour.
7 Estdara . . . Vicarage of the same . . .	40d. 20d.	Ballysadare C. The vicarage when exactly $\frac{1}{2}$ will be omitted in future and added to the rectory.
8 Athlechan . . .	60s.	Athlethan. Templemore C.
9 Clonbanna . . .	15s.	
10 Milio	20s.	Meelick.
11 Keltsgnean . . .	10s.	Kilshesnan in Killasser P.
12 Kellenalasscan . .	10s.	
13 Authigynmessick .	7s. 6d.	Attymas C.
14 Kelnangarvan . . .	7s. 6d.	Kilgarvan.
15 Ratholvyn	2s. 6d.	C. near Carrowcastle in Bohola P.
16 Ardnach	1s. 6d.	Templerowuck in Carrowgallda Tl. Templemore P.
17 Bothcomla	15s.	Bohola C.
18 Thuamore	6s.	Toomore C.
19 Kelcomdilk	4s. 6d.	Kilconduff.
20 Kendoyne	10s.	Kinaff C. Kilconduff P.
21 Kelnalydan	2s. 6d.	Killedan.
22 Clonochulli	3s. 6d.	Cloonoghil C.
23 Kekellorn	3s.	Killoran.
24 Kellosenyg	2s. 6d.	
25 Imelachfada	5s.	Emlaghfad C.
26 Drumrathi	2s. 4d.	Drumrat C. This is the rectory only. The value of vicarage is omitted.
27 Rectory of the churches of Mochrath and Tuamany Vicarage of the same	 20d. 10d.	
28 Killethratha	5s.	Killaraght.
29 Culovyn	5s.	Coolavin C. in Kilcolman P.
30 Kelnafriych	3s.	Kilfree.
31 Kellcalman	7s. 6d.	Kilcolman.

NAME OF CHURCH.	VALUE.	IDENTIFICATION.
32 De Castro Magno	7s. 6d.	Castlemore C.
33 Kelmoby . . .	7s. 6d.	Kilmovee.
34 Cluanmore . .	4s. 6d.	Clonmore C. in Kilbeagh P.
35 Vicarage of Kel- leath, whose rectors are Templars . .	2s. 6d.	Kil C. in Kilvarnet P.
36 Kelmorchun . .	3s.	Kilmorgan.
Sum of the Taxation .	£35, 6s. 9d.	
The Tenth .	£3, 10s. 8d.	

Notes thereon.

6. Kilcoachcrunyn.—This must be a corruption of Cill Ceis Corainn, church of Keshcorran, which describes Toomour old church.

9. Clonbanna.—There is nothing to indicate what church is meant except that as it is in the List between Templemore and Meelick it is likely to be in that country.

12. Kellenalasscan.—Perhaps the Killeen in Glendaduff Tl. in Attymas P. which afterwards became a small monastery. Or it may be some form for Killasser such as Cill mo Laisrach.

13. Authigynmessick.—This is Aittighe an Messaig, House site of the Calendar.

15. Ratholvyn } Bald's map places Rahelvin Tl. N. of Carrow-
16. Ardnach } castle and S. of Ardacarha Tl. An Inquisition of 14 July 1607 mentions the Castle of Rathhalvyn. Rahelvin seems to be the present Carrowcastle Tl. Ardacarha is now the townland next it to the N. Templerowuck is to N. again but in Carrowgallda Tl. I take Ardnach to be part of the name Ardnacairthe, and that Ardacarha formerly covered Carrowgallda as appears from Bald's map.

20. Kendoyne.—Cenndaimh, Ox's Head.

21. Kellnalydan.—Cill Liadain according to O'Donovan (H.F.) which is the equivalent of Killedan. The older form in the Taxation would be Cell na Liadain, Church of the Liadans or O'Liadains.

23. Kekellorn.—I take the first Ke to be an accidental duplication of Kell.

24. Kellosenyg.—This should be Cell O'Senaig, Senach's Church. No such church is known. It may be the proper name

of Kilturra, in which "turra" means "yew." It is not likely to be a mistake for Cell Selbaigh, Kilshalvey. But it might be Killavil in Kilshalvey or Toomour in Kilturra.¹

27. Mochrath and Tuamany. These churches should be near Killaraght. I suspect Mochrath to be the Machare of the Tripartite Life (see p. 48). Tuamany might be another church in Killaraght.

¹ O'Rorke, *Hist. Sligo*, ii. 194, 195, for meaning of names.

CHAPTER XLIV

VALOR BENEFICIORUM, 1585

DENOMINATION OF LIVING.	VALUE.	NOTES.
	£ s. d.	
Bishopric of Achonry .	10 10 0	
Deanery of Achonry .	1 0 0	
Provostship of Achonry	6 8	
Archdeaconry of Achonry with Vicarage of Kill- rowryne	4 0 0	Probably one of the churches in Kilturra = Cill Rorain.
Vicarage of Kilvardnaha	4 0 0	
" Kilowran .	10 0	
" Killm ^e tage .	. .	
" Killessy . .	12 0	
" Attenvas . .	. .	Attymas.
" Strade . . .	4 0	<i>Alias</i> of Templemore.
" Killedan . .	5 0	
" Killconnowe .	. .	Kilconduff.
" Killveigh . .	4 0	
" Moycoula . .	. .	Boycoula (?) Bohola.
" Templemarray	5 0	Old C. in Ballintemple Tl. Meelick P. (?)
" Kilcolman .	3 0	
" Killaraght .	3 0	
" Killosalvan .	2 0	
" Imuleaddy .	3 8	Emlaghfad.
" Tuymore . .	3 0	Toomour.
" Kilmorchowe	1 8	Killmorgan.
" Clonoghill .	8 0	
Rectory of Cowlaven .	6 8	Coolavin C. is in Kilcolman P., but I think here includes parish of Kilfry as that pre- bend is nominal.
Vicarage of Cowlaven .	3 4	
Rectory of Slewloa . .	10 0	Sliabh Lughu, <i>i.e.</i> Castlemore.
Rectory of Bowcouley	2 8	Bohola. See Vic. of Moycoula.

DENOMINATION OF LIVING	VALUE.			NOTES.
	£	s.	d.	
Rectory called Inter Duos Amnes . . .	3	4		Kilmacteige.
Rectory of Killowran .	13	4		
Prebend of Killaraght .	10	8		
„ Killoran .	1	0		
„ Douoghorne .	1	0		
„ Trinemoym- leigh . .	3			Moymlough, or Killasser, in Kilvarnet P.
„ Killfry . .	1			
Vicarage of Killm ^e Teige	2	0	0	

This is taken from a paper of the 5th year of Charles I. which gives the above as an extract from the Inquisition taken before Daniel Bishop of Kildare in the 28th year of Queen Elizabeth. It differs a little from the copy of the same original given in Col. Wood Martin's *History of Sligo*, Appendix, p. 398, in spelling of the names, and the Provostship and Archdeaconry are assessed each at 4s. instead of 6s. 8d. and £4, respectively, as above. It ignores the Prebends and the entry of Vicarage of Kilmacteige below them. It is a general valuation of the Diocese of Achonry and of the parts of that of Elphin which lie within the Co. of Sligo. I prefer this list as the spelling seems to be better. The entry of the Vicarage of Killm^eTeige seems to be an addition to correct the omission of value in the original, based on present value. The Prebends of Killoran and Moymlough seem to be the same. The Parishes of Toomore and Kilgarvan are omitted, but may have been included in others. So also Ballysadare and Drumrat and Kilmovee.

What we learn best from these lists and valuations is the extreme waste and decay of the church organisation. The prebends were for the most part mere names.

CHAPTER XLV

OLD CHURCHES AND GRAVEYARDS

SLIGO

BALLYSADARE PARISH

O.S.	NAME OR PLACE.	TOWNLAND.
20	Ballysadare C.	Kilboglashy.
	Ballysadare Abbey	Abbeystown.
	Collooney C.	Collooney.
	Kildalog	Streamstown.

ACHONRY PARISH

32	Achonry C.	Achonry.
	Court Abbey	Lavagh.
31	Kilcummin	Kilcummin.
37	Ballyara C.	Ballyara or Falduff.
38	G. near Moylough	Moylough.
32	G. west of Curry	Montiagh.

KILVARNET PARISH

31	Kilvarnet	Kilvarnet.
	Killasser	Annaghbeg.

KILLORAN PARISH

32	Killoran	Killoran.
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CLOONOGHIL PARISH

32	Cloonoghil C.	Churchfield.
33	C. at Ballynaclogh	Ballynaclogh.
39	Clooneamehan Abbey	Rinnaroge.

EMLAGHFAD PARISH

33	Emlaghfad C.	Emlaghfad.
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KILMORGAN PARISH

O.S.	NAME OR PLACE,	TOWNLAND.
34	Kilmorgan	Kilmorgan.

KILMACTEIGE PARISH

36	Kilmacteige	Kilmacteige.
	G., W. of Parkmore . . .	Letterbrone (not in 6 in. Map).
37	Banada Abbey	Banada.

KILTURRA PARISH

38	Kilturra	Kilturra.
52	[Mayo] Toomour G. . . .	Doocastle or Ballindoo.

KILSHALVY PARISH

39	Kilshalvy	Kilshalvy.
	Killavil	Killavil.

DRUMRAT PARISH

39	Drumrat C.	Knockbrack.
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TOOMOUR

40	Toomour C.	Toomour.
	C., SSE. of Kesh	Fallougher.
	Templevanny	Templevanny.

KILFREE PARISH

44	Knockmore Abbey . . .	Mountirvine.
	"Abbey" S. of it	Carrowntemple.
	Kilfree	Kilfree.

KILLARAGHT PARISH

45	C. on shore N. of Boyle River	Cuppanagh.
47	Killaraght	Killaraght.
	C. on Lake shore	Annagh (vickanára).

KILCOLMAN PARISH

O.S.	NAME OR PLACE.	TOWNLAND.
46	Monasteredan	Monasteredan.

MAYO

74	Kilcolman	Ballyoughtra near Kilcolman Tl.
	G. near Edmondstown	Cregan.
64	G., N.W. of Ballaghadereen	Hawksford.

CASTLEMORE PARISH

74	Castlemore C.	Glebe.
	Kilvanloon	Kilvanloon.

KILBEAGH PARISH

63	Cloonmore G.	Tonnagh. In a fort.
	G., N. of Loughacurry	Temple.
	G.	Killeen.
	G., S. of Cloonmore	Cashelduff.
	G.	Cloonfane.

KILMOVEE PARISH

72	Kilmovee	Rusheens.
	G. due S. of Kilmovee	Magheraboy. Killaclare adjoins on N.
	Kilkelly	Kilkelly, adjoining Kilmore.

KILCONDUFF PARISH

62	Kilconduff	Rathscanlan.
71	Kinaff	Kinaff.
72	G. at Midfield	Treanlaur.

MEELICK PARISH

61	C., N.E. of Newcastle	Ballintemple.
71	Meelick C, and Round Tower	Meelick.

BOHOLA PARISH

O.S.	NAME OR PLACE.	TOWNLAND.
71	Bohola C.	Bohola.
	Carrowcastle C.	Carrowcastle, formerly Rahelvin.

KILLEDAN PARISH

71	Killedan	Killedan.
80	Kilkevna	Cartron.
	Kilkinure	Oxford.

TEMPLEMORE PARISH

70	Templemore	Knockgarran.
	Strade Abbey	Strade.
61	Templerowuck	Carrowgallda.

TOOMORE PARISH

61	Toomore C.	Toomore.
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KILLASSER PARISH

49	Killasser	Knockmullin.
	Kilsheshnan	Graffy.
	Templemoyle	Coollagagh.

ATTYMAS PARISH

48	Attymas C.	Bunnafinglass.
40	Kilgellia	Killgellia. In a large fort.
49	Killeen	Glendaduff.
40	Kildermot	Kildermot.

KILGARVAN PARISH

40	Kilgarvan	Kilgarvan.
31	Kilbride	Carrowleagh.

CHAPTER XLVI

DISTRIBUTION OF RECTORIES IN 16TH CENTURY

This information is from various sources :—

BENEFICE.	RECTORY.	VICARAGE.
Achonry . . .	Dean.	Dean.
Cloonoghil . . .	”	”
Killoran . . .	”	....
Kilvarnet . . .	”	....
Kilturra . . .	Trinity Abbey ¹ in L. Key.	....
Killaraght . . .	Trinity Abbey and Preb.	....
Ballysadare . . .	Abbey.	Abbey, Prebend.
Kilmovee . . .	Urlare Abbey.	
Kilmacteige . . .	....	....
Killasser . . .	....	....
Toomore . . .	....	....
Attymas . . .	Killeen, under Trinity of L. Key.	....
Kilgarvan. . . .	....	Ballysadare Abbey.
Enagh in Bally- sadare . . .	Trinity of L. Key.	”
Templemore . . .	Urlare Abbey.	....
Killedan . . .	”	....
Kilconduff . . .	”	....
Kilbeagh . . .	”	....
Bohola . . .	”	....
Templemoory . . .	”	....
Kilcolman . . .	”	....
Killoshalvy . . .	Trinity of L. Key.	....
Emlaghfad . . .	” ”	....
Toomour . . .	” ”	....
Kilmorgan . . .	Trinity of L. Key.	....
Drumrat . . .	” ”	....
Coolavin . . .	....	....
Castlemore . . .	....	....
Meelick . . .	Urlare Abbey.	....
Kilfree . . .	....	....

¹ According to Dr. O'Rorke.

ADDITIONAL NOTES AND CORRECTIONS

Pp. 20, 49. *Croch Cuile*.—See also *Jl. R.S.A.I.*, xxxi. p. 33. This appears as the name of a church, or place, mentioned in the last fragment of the list above, wherein, as I judge from the published decipherments, the letters “*in mar*” are clear. I incline to think that these letters are part of a name which now survives in the townland called Illaunmore in Kilmainebeg parish, which lies next west of that of Kilkeeran in which is Kilmainebeg, and near the townlands of Cong parish called Cross, in which is the Church of Cross or Attyrickard. *Mar* is a spelling of *Mor* which is used elsewhere in the Book of Armagh, as in Imgoe Mair Cerrigi and Deruth Mar Cule Cais on pp. 22 and 30 above. I suggest that Oilen Mar Conmaicne has been translated Insula Mar Conmaicne and taken to mean an Island in the sea of the Conmaicne, whereas it meant the Great Island, or Great Crannoge, of the Conmaicne. I suggest that the Crannoge gave a name to a large estate held with it, that Tirechan described some one as having been at or in some church in the Great Island of the Conmaicne, which church is now called Croch Cuile. Illaunmore includes swampy land very suitable for a crannoge before the drainage.

P. 73. *Athantermainn* (Caelainne) is some ford on the river in or near Castlereagh in Co. Roscommon. The church of Caelainn was a little to N. of Castlereagh.

P. 80. Pipe Roll entries show that in 1280 the Bishop of Clonmacnoise held lands in Ouelytrach and in Tyrnene and in Clonmaicne of Dunmore (36 *D.K.*, 60). Lower Umhall would be Burrishoole parish and perhaps Kilmeena and Kilmaclasser. Tyrnene is the southern part of Clanmorris barony.

P. 82. For the tribes and parishes comprised in the Deaneries of Tuam and Athenry, see chap. xxvi. p. 243.

P. 84, lines 17–19. This is not correctly stated. Read “Taghsaxon parish includes the small prebend of Templegaile. The tithes are distributed between two rectories and two prebends.”

P. 107. The references to “Theiner” are in all cases to Augustin Theiner’s “*Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scottorum*,” &c.

P. 114. For Flann Mac Floinn read "Felix O'Ruadain." See p. 386, Kilcreevanty.

P. 117. John Babyng was appointed in succession to M. O'Kelly by Pope Alexander V., but, in consequence of that Pope's death before his letters were made out, he assumed office by virtue of an appointment made on 24th May 1410.

P. 134, line 1. For quotation from Mac Firbis see *R.I.A.*, Irish MSS. Series, vol. i. p. 123.

P. 153. *John Brit.*—Called John Brylle, a Friar Minor in his appointment in succession to Henry Tyrlaw deceased. He was given leave to live and to exercise episcopal functions outside his diocese, and was living in England in 1403 (*Cal. Pap. Reg. Letters*, v. pp. 500, 503, 520, 532).

P. 178. *Knappaghmanagh and Toomour Stones.*—Mr. Coffey gives photographs and sketches of the ornament on the Mullaghmast stone in the *Proc. R.I.A.*, vol. xxxiv. Sect. C. Plate XXII. and p. 264, showing a panel divided by one vertical and two diagonal lines. Mr. Coffey dates the stone as "towards the end of the pre-Christian period in Ireland, or in the overlap of the Pagan and Christian periods." It seems to me possible that this very ancient pattern may have been adapted to Christian use by the addition of one horizontal line, making a panel of two crosses.

P. 189. "The composition" means the Indenture of Composition for the county of Mayo, made in 1585, preserved in the Public Record Office.

Pp. 196, 265. *Keallaricravyd.*—I incline to take this name and Kyleare to denote a church which stood in the graveyard near Toberarneve, which seems to embody the "ari" or "eare" of those names. The terminations also bear resemblance, being apparently "crabhaidh" and "naomh," religion and holy.

P. 198. *Turlough.*—The full name is Turlach O'Maicin, with the *aliases* of Crioich Fir Thire and Fir Siuire (*Cal. Pap. Reg. Letters*, vi. pp. 120, 425, and *H.F.* 161).

P. 201. *Kelmachamlyd.*—This may be meant for Cill meic Cindfaeladh, church of Mackineely. A vicarage of Meycindfilead in Tuam Diocese is mentioned in 1407, but I cannot identify it (*Cal. Pap. Reg. Letters*, vi. p. 119).

Pp. 216, 218. *Portimaghie* may be meant for Portmaine. I find a reference to the rectory of Ynis Meain *alias* Portmien (*Cal. Pap. Reg. Letters*, vi. p. 477).

Pp. 255, 273. References to the Augustinian Abbot of this house show that I was in error in supposing it to have been absorbed (*Cal. Pap. Reg. Letters*, vi. pp. 144, 429).

P. 263. *Mayo Abbey.*—Additional information is furnished

in the "Calendar of Papal Registers, Papal Letters," vol. vi. pp. 274, 277, 290.

After suppression of the Bishopric the abbey church was in the 14th century a Secular Collegiate Church with an abbot and five or six canons. Archbishop John [O'Grady] converted them into a monastery of Regular Canons. On the 8th Nov. 1411 the Pope confirmed this order, and on the 17th Dec. he granted an indulgence for completion of the newly-built church and monastery. The ruins which we see may therefore be ascribed to the 14th or early 15th century.

On the 9th Dec. 1411 the Pope made the order which is abstracted as follows in the calendar:—

"To the Augustinian Abbot and convent of St. Michael's, Mayo, in the diocese of Tuam.—Taking under protection of St. Peter and the Pope them and their monastery, the place where it is situated and their possessions, present and future, with mention of the parish churches of Robyn, Kyllynayn, Luany; the rectories of Tyrnechtayn and Techayn, Garbalach and Cluaynbaub, and of the ecclesiastical lands of Anachbrytlend, Druymbrit, Kyllbudayn, Druymony and Cluaynunderg; the perpetual vicarages of Roslaeg and Kyllcholmayn; the rights and tithes formerly assigned to the monastery by the late Charles, Lord of Connaught; the great court (*atrio magno*) [of] Clochurlog; possessions in Stamey, Caylcolla (*Kilcolla*), Ardcorkey (*Ardcorkey*), Fraychyn (*Freeheen*), Gortygary, Kyllbudan, Tulachmor, Gortinybayr, Lochbargayn, Triacra, Raythnasendrumund, Gortnaginscala (*Gortnagusetaul*), Gabulmore (*Gowel*) and Kellbrach de Kyllgabuyl; the ecclesiastical fees of Robyn and Kyllchelmayn, each with a mill, Kyllcholmayn and Kyllgabuyl, in the said diocese; with confirmation of all papal liberties and immunities, and all liberties and exemptions granted by kings, princes, and other faithful from secular exactions."

Kyllynayn.—As Gortnagusetaul lies next west of Knockauna-broona, a small townland which includes most of Mayo village, the lands of Gortnagusetaul, Gortygarry and Gortinure (Gortinybayr = Gortin Iubhair) may be taken to have been part of the parish of an ancient church at Mayo called Kyllynayn.

Luany.—Probably the old church at Toberloona, giving an alternative name of Annagh parish.

¶ *Anachbrytlend*.—Probably represents the full name of Annagh parish, Annach Drithlend, whereof the second part survives in Realin peninsula in L. Carra (*H.F.*, pp. 159, 201, 205. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, ii. pp. 375-377).

Gabulmore, &c.—Gowel Tl. is the extreme south point of Mayo parish.

The Lord Charles must be King Cathal Crobderg, the last king who could have dealt with tithes in this country.

So far as the denominations are identified they show that the Abbey acquired little endowment after the year 1400. From comparison with the list of see lands round Mayo Abbey we may infer that in this case, as in that of Cong Abbey, the endowments of the Comarb of Colman, or of Gerald, we do not know his title, passed to the Bishop, and that the Augustinian Abbot and convent acquired a new endowment.

P. 274. *The Little Cell*.—In 1400 a relaxation was given for repair of St. Mary's Chapel, Killinamanach, dependent on the Monastery of St. John Baptist, Cella Parva (*Cal. Pap. Reg. Letters*, v. p. 268).

P. 275. *Burriscarra*.—An order of confirmation, dated Jan. 1413, recites that the house had been founded for Carmelites, that Matthew Omaan friar of order of Hermits of St. Augustine with a number of friars, at instance of Edraundus Stauriton and Richard Stauriton (Edmund and R. Staunton), with consent of Archbishop Maurice and of Henry, rector of the parish church of St. Mary and Holy Cross, entered and inhabited the house, which Edmund and his predecessors and kinsmen had founded for Carmelites, which for more than thirty years no Carmelite had inhabited, which he and Richard desired to be possessed by Augustinians in future (*Cal. Pap. Reg. Letters*, vi. p. 387).

P. 280. *Kilcreevanty*.—The following facts are taken from a letter dated 1 Ap. 1400, in which the Pope, upon a petition from the convent, confirms to the Augustinian convent the conditional privileges and grants made by F., sometime Archbishop of Tuam.

By an undated letter Pope Honorius III. ordained the perpetual observance as then of the Rule of St. Augustine and the Arroasian institution, confirmed their possessions as detailed in a list, granted privileges and confirmed liberties.

Thereafter the convent obtained another bull from Honorius containing, with other things, leave to take up the Cistercian order and rule.

Thereafter controversy arose between the convent and the Archbishop, which was settled by a peace made in the church of Tuam on the 20th June 1223, by authority and counsel of D., Bishop of Killaloe, judge delegate by the Pope, the Archdeacon of Limerick, sub-delegate, and others.

The Archbishop exempted the Abbess and nuns from all jurisdiction of the Archbishops except a personal triennial visitation of the Archbishop and the Abbot of Cong, on account of which the Archbishops may take, as procuration, three capons

and a sextarius of wine. He shall not interdict the monastery nor suspend and excommunicate the nuns without special mandate of a superior.

The nuns renounced the privilege of exemption contained in Honorius's bull, and agreed to remain in the Augustinian rule.

The dating of the instrument of Pope Honorius is uncertain, as some references seem to be inaccurate as regards persons, but it may be taken that the seventh year of Honorius is right.

The list of possessions names the following churches—

St. Mary, Clonmacnoise.	St. Mary, Roscommon.
St. Mary, Doryn.	St. Mary, Ardcarne.
St. Mary, Cloonoghil.	St. Mary, Annaghdown.
St. Mary, Clonfert.	St. Mary, Kyllin.
St. Mary, Drumcliff.	St. Mary, Achonry.

Doryn, or Derrane, was a parish of Elphin in the Taxation, now included in Kilbride, and is near Roscommon. The Augustinian Priory of Blachinat *alias* St. Mary Dorean is described in 1410 as dependent on no monastery or regular place (*Cal. Pap. Reg. Letters*, vi. p. 163).

Cloonoghil should be an *alias* of Taghmaconnell, a rectory of this abbey, as Cloonoghil is a townland in that parish owned by the Archbishops of Tuam.

St. Mary of Achonry should be a church in one of the convent's estates in the barony of Leyny.

The list of lands does not add to information so far as they are identified, except that Druym Sulynd was already in its possession. No other item of the Inishmaine estate is recognisable.

Things seem to have remained so until Archbishop Mac Aedha obtained restoration of his right of visitation as ordinary. The letter given by Theiner mentions Florentius as having given the exemption. Flann Mac Flynn may have confirmed it. It is more likely that in drafting the letter the Archbishop's initial F. was wrongly expanded as Florentius.

Some controversy seems to have arisen again which resulted in an arrangement dated 10th July 1399, which seems to have been a restoration of the peace of 1223, which was confirmed by this letter (*Cal. Pap. Reg. Letters*, v. p. 335).

P. 330. *Dean*.—Several Deans are mentioned before O'Haneki.

Skreen Prebend.—It was a rectory of ecclesiastical lands (*Cal. Pap. Reg. Letters*, vi. p. 232).

Pp. 336, 342, 372. *Episcopal Mensa. Communia of Bishop of Killala. Community of the Chapter of Achonry*.—In 1414 the church of Clogher had a fixed number of canons but no separa-

tion of prebends. One of the canons was assigned a yearly pension of one mark from the episcopal mensa in place of a prebend (*Cal. Pap. Reg. Letters*, vi. p. 428). Such an arrangement may have existed in Killala in 1198. The Bishop of Killala in course of time lost these churches, perhaps by assignment as separate prebends. The case of the Vicars Choral of Achonry and Annaghdown may have been originally the same, but they kept hold of their revenues as a monastic college.

P. 354. *St. Araght's Cross and Cup*.—In 1413 complaint was made by the Vicar of Killaraght that they were taken from the church, in accordance with an ancient custom, by clerks and laymen and carried about for their own gain, without consent of the vicar and without giving him a share of the profits. The Bishop was directed to enquire and, if such an abuse existed, to order that it be stopped, and to decree that the Cross and Cup be kept only in the church (*Cal. Pap. Reg. Letters*, vi. p. 451).

P. 364. *Richard Belmer*.—He had a dispensation to hold any benefice because, being an Englishman, he cannot reside in his church, and because he can get nothing from it owing to the fact that the goods of the church are dissipated and dilapidated.

INDEXES

*The following subjects are not indexed:—*Lists of See Lands. Taxation of 1306. Valor Beneficiorum. Bodkin's Visitation. Division of Connaught and Thomond. Benefices and Incumbents in 1591. Pope Innocent's Epistle. Possessions of Abbeys.

The abbreviations used.—AB. = Archbishop. Ab. = Abbot. AD. = Archdeacon. B. = Bishop. Bar. = Barony. C. = Church. D. = Dean. Di. = Diocese. K.C. = King of Connaught. K.I. = King of Ireland. P. = Parish. Preb. = Prebend. R. = Rectory. Tl. = Townland. V. = Vicarage. C.P. = Church and Parish.

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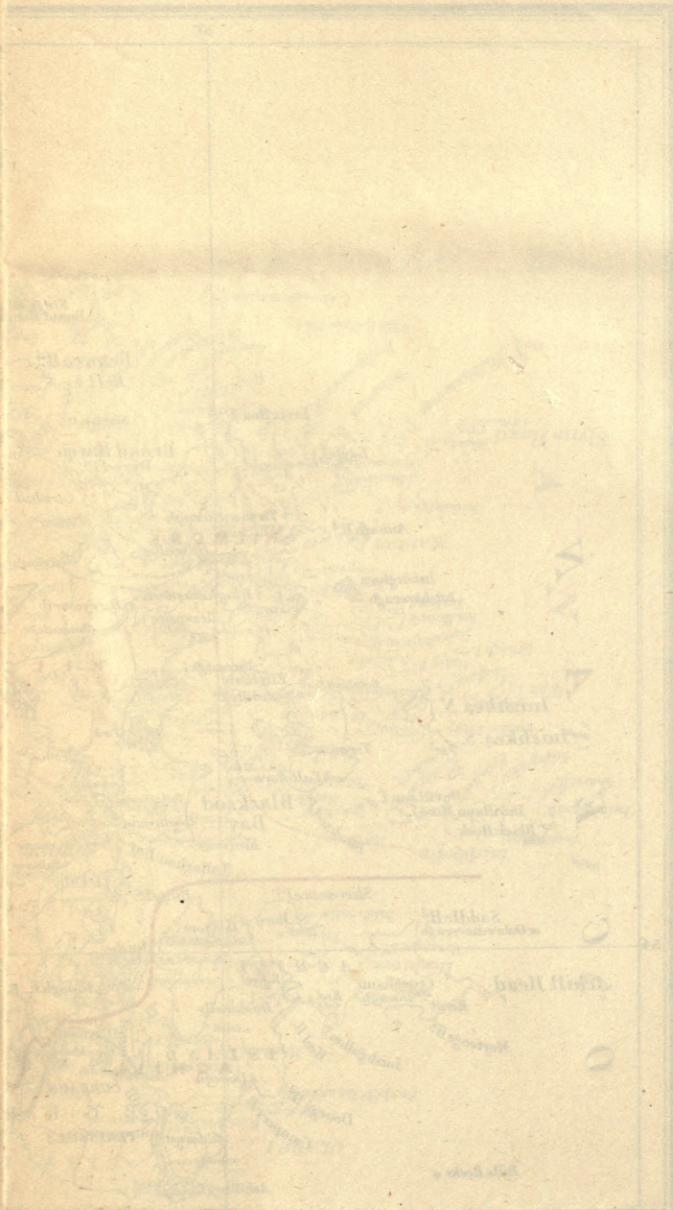
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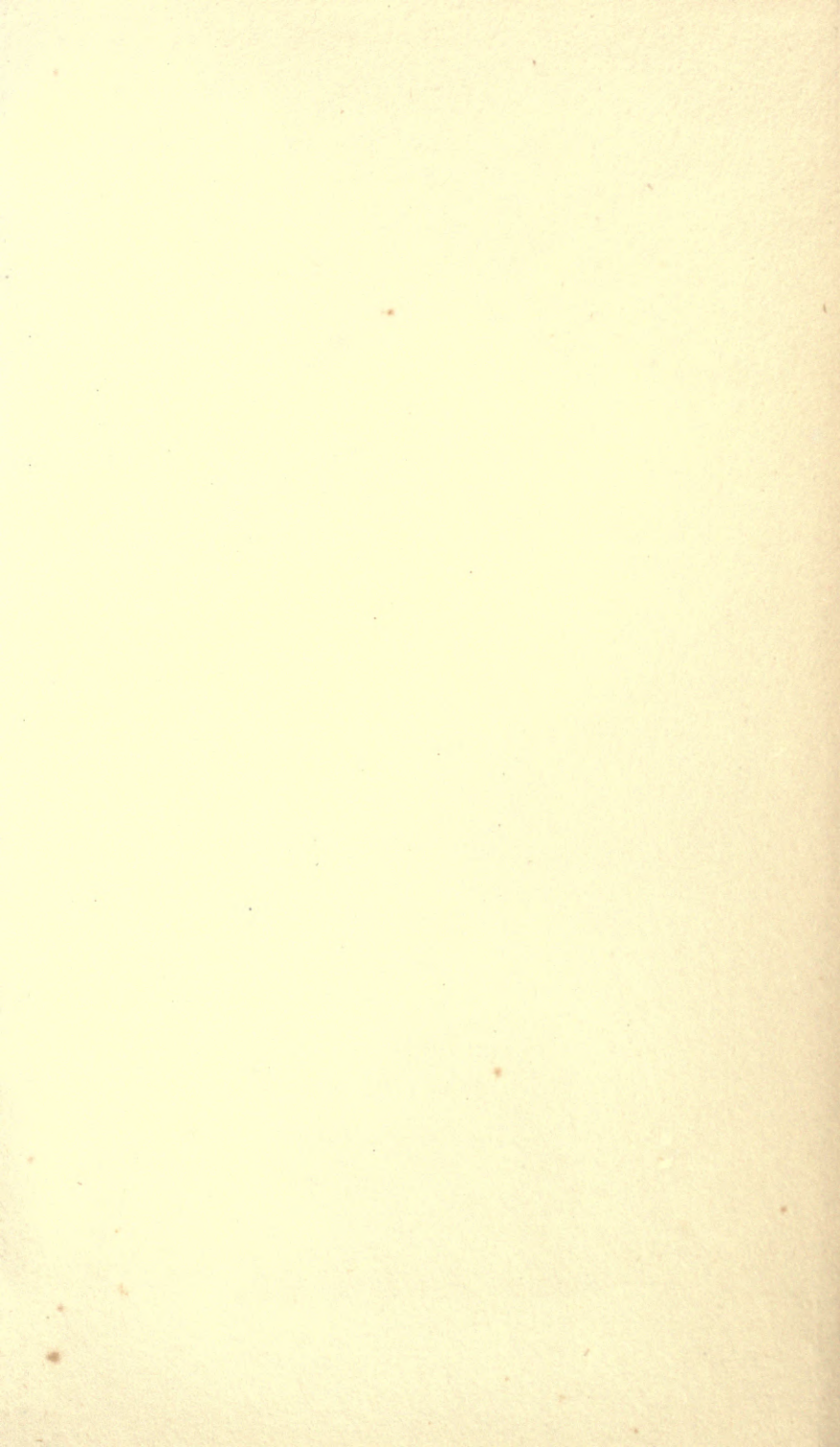
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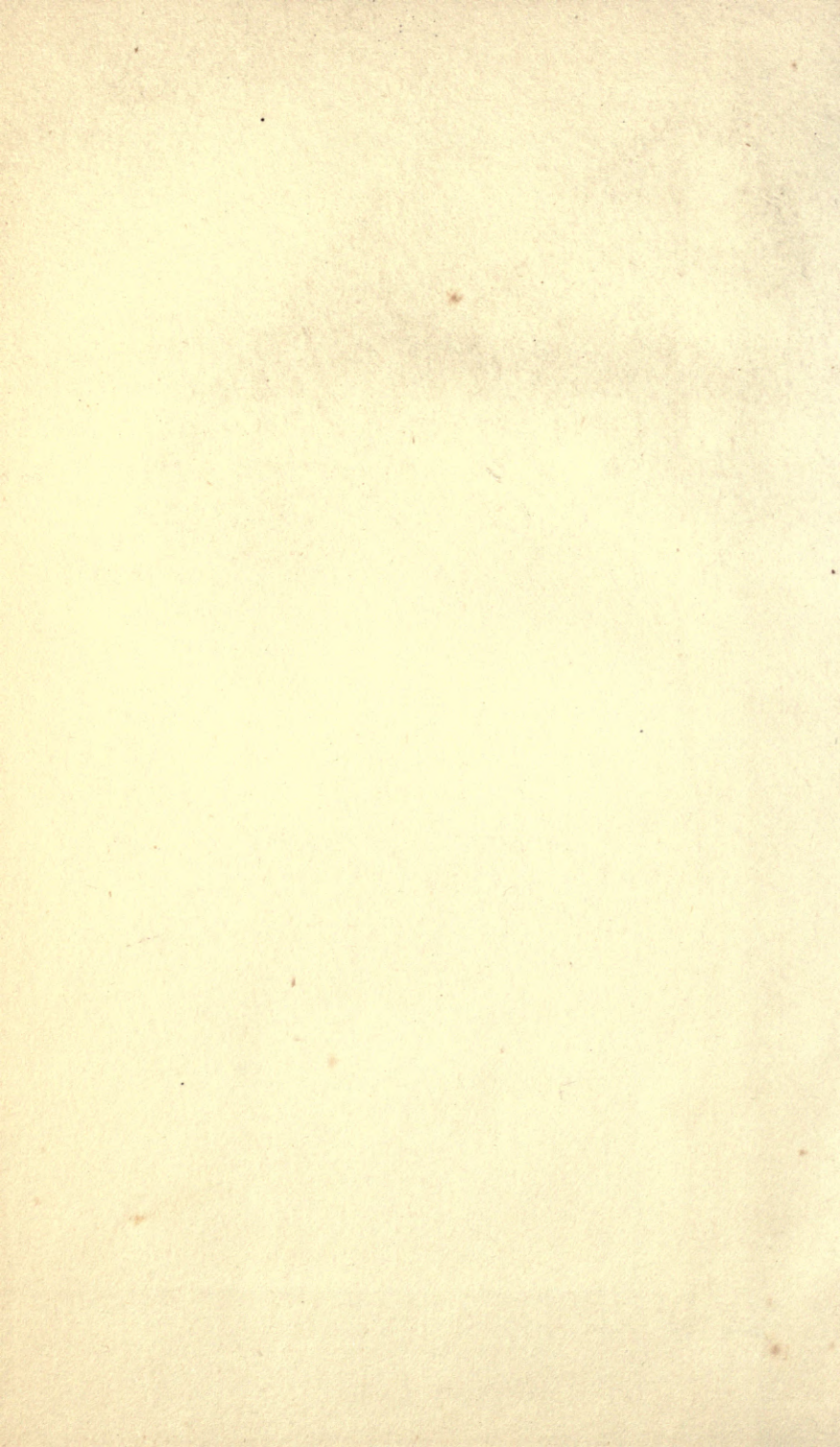
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