A List of Freeholders of Kilfenora Diocese in 1601

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents a list of freeholders of Kilfenora Diocese in County Clare from 1601. The fortuitous survival of this list shows a snapshot of Gaelic social hierarchies and landholding in an area almost wholly unaffected by anglicizing changes. The value of the list is its survey of land denominations and proprietorship and its focus on the church lands of the Corcomroe division of the diocese. It is speculated here that the list was compiled by a cleric at the cathedral chapter of Kilfenora and that its purpose was to ascertain church lands and property in order to put the administration of the diocese—including its revenues from the diocesan temporalities—on a more sure footing.

Printed here for the first time is a list of chief freeholders in the northwest County Clare diocese of Kilfenora. The list was compiled possibly by a member of the cathedral chapter, in the year 1601, making it one of the earliest of its kind for County Clare. The list provides a rare glimpse of landholding among Gaelic freeholders in Kilfenora Diocese for a period beset by ecclesiastical and administrative change. It shows a diocese that had yet felt the full effect of the reformation and the encroaching anglicizing policies of the English Crown and its local supporter, Donough O’Brien, fourth earl of Thomond, and principal Gaelic loyalist of north Munster. Kilfenora diocese comprises eighteen parishes, and the greater part of it encompasses the ancient territorial division of Corcomroe and the Burren. The list is important because it shows a snap-shot of Gaelic landholding in an area that had not experienced colonization, displacement, or plantation, unlike other Gaelic lordships from the late-sixteenth century.

The list transcribed here aids in understanding the ecclesiastical economy and landholding in one of Ireland’s most westerly and smallest dioceses. County Clare is an interesting and instructive area of focus because it was ruled by a loyalist Gaelic family, the Thomond O’Briens. Anglicization came about not because of a military conquest

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1 The parishes of the diocese are: Kilfenora; Killaspuglonane; Killilagh; Kiltoraght; Kilmacrehy; Kilshanny; Killilagh; Clooney; Killeany; Kilcorney; Kilmoon; Killonaghan; Drumcreighy; Gleninagh; Noughaval; Rathborney; Oughtmama; and Carran. On the ancient territorial boundaries see: Seán hÓgáin, Connaí an Chláir: a triocha agus a tuatha (Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig an tSolathair, 1938).
but rather by the co-operation of the O’Briens [Uí Bhriain], who sought English title to lands and administrative reform that favored their seigniorial position as members of the Irish peerage. Military service on the side of the Crown during the Nine Year’s War and the holding of high office, such as Donough O’Brien’s appointment as President of Munster (1615–1624), enabled the main branch of the Thomond O’Briens to continue to wield authority west of the Shannon in the family’s traditional sphere of influence.

The anglicization process in County Clare may be traced to the establishment of English administration after Sir Henry Sidney, the Lord Deputy, progressed through Thomond in February 1576. On his circuit, he abolished the ancient customs of “coigny, kernetty and bonaght” and forced Conor O’Brien, the third Earl of Thomond, to acquiesce authority of the earldom to the New-English administration. This anglicization included the introduction of new forms of governance through the cooperation of the third, and later the fourth, earls of Thomond. Many of these new anglicizing reforms are articulated in the *Munster Council Book*, which charts those changes in law and tenurial conditions that were to have such a lasting and important effect on the economic, religious, and cultural practices in a region where, only several decades earlier, the Gaelic “fighting and feasting” culture prevailed.

Another trend favoring anglicization was the introduction of the Established Protestant Church. Although its roots were to remain shallow in County Clare, by the 1620s, thanks largely to the efforts of John Rider, Bishop of Killaloe (1612–1632), Protestant parishes were operating, and the outward signs of a functioning Church began to take shape. The rebuilding of Bunratty parish church by its lay patron, the earl of Thomond, helped promote the cause of Protestantism in the county and gave it powerful lay backing. From around this time, the Protestant clergy increasingly were New-English benefice-holders rather than Gaelic clerics, and the episcopacy at both Killaloe and

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Kilfenora was held by English incumbents. The conversion of the main branches of the O’Briens to Protestantism in the late-sixteenth century went some way in enabling anglicized change to proceed and not undermine the religious or secular interests of the family, while also expanding their potential marriage unions with Protestant noble families.

As a result of these changes in the administration of law and church governance, Donough O’Brien, fourth earl of Thomond, buttressed his authority by securing English title to lands, and did so by exploiting his extensive kin and clientage network. The earl’s hand was greatly strengthened in Thomond as a result of the introduction of Common Law and the expanding writ of Crown authority; such changes gave him freedom to consolidate his estates and privileged position without wholly abandoning his Gaelic role of head of the Úi Bhriain lineage. The earl was also responsible for the introduction of New-English and Dutch settlers in the early seventeenth century to spur mercantile growth in the newly-founded market towns of Sixmilebridge, Ennis, and Kilrush. His actions, which amounted to local colonization and commercialization, not previously experienced in Thomond, dispossessed many of his Gaelic followers.

Commensurate with the anglicizing processes in County Clare, landholding and ownership was changing as Gaelic society was being modified by the consolidation toward powerful landholding magnates. These magnates had extensive mensal estates, control of which made them absolute owners of the soil, and their status was enhanced by a large train of followers, tenants, and dependent freeholders. Such a trend can be identified in County Clare where, from the mid-sixteenth century, the Úi Bhriain extended their landholding and sought to hold it under English title. This was achieved through the creation of the earldom of Thomond and the development of a system of manors and baronial courts on the Úi Bhriain [later O’Brien] estates. Following their ennoblement by King Henry VIII, the Úi Bhriain/O’Briens concluded

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9 On the political and religious changes of the Úi Bhriain (O’Briens) after receiving the grant of the earldom of Thomond in 1543, see: Brian Ó Dálaigh, “From Gaelic Warlords to English Country Gentlemen: The O’Briens of Thomond 1543–1741,” *The Other Clare* 25 (2001): 40–2.
a number of agreements with lesser Gaelic lords that cemented their position as paramount overlords.\textsuperscript{10} The Thomond O’Briens were unique in that they were of Gaelic noble stock and received an English-titled grant of an earldom, while continuing to maintain a Gaelic retinue. Reminiscent of that, the will of the fourth earl instructs his heir not only to nurture his English tenants but also to nurture the “gentlemen and inhabitants of Thomond,” a clear reference to the dependents and traditional followers of the O’Briens.\textsuperscript{11}

**Kilfenora and the 1601 List**

Historically, the diocese of Kilfenora was concomitant with the territorial polity of the *Corcu Modruad* [Corcomroe]. This kin-grouping pre-dated the expansion of the *Dál gCais* into that part of the county, with the latter usurping the independent kingship of the *Corcu Modruad* and establishing their own royal fortress called *Cathair Findabrach*. This event was recorded in the annals under year 1055 when the *Dál gCais*, led by the Uí Bhriain, attacked Corcomroe and burnt their stone church of Kilfenora (*Cill Findabrac*).\textsuperscript{12} *Dál gCais* incursions into Corcomroe were not new, and the burning of Kilfenora was the culmination of three hundred years of incursions to subject the Corcomroe kings to the overlordship of the *Dál gCais* kings.\textsuperscript{13}

From the mid-eleventh century, the ruling dynasties of the *Corcu Modruad* became vassal-tributaries of the Uí Bhriain, and their former kingship was transformed and downgraded into two lordships held by the leading dynastic lineages, the Uí Lochlainn [O’Loughlins] and the


\textsuperscript{13} Annals of Tigernach, sub anno 744. Also see: Donnchadh Ó Corráin, *Ireland before the Normans* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1972), 7–8, 30–1.
The Uí Chonchobhair [O’Connors]. The Uí Lochlainn were seated in the northern half of Corcomroe (i.e. the Burren), and the Uí Chonchobhair were seated in the southern territory of the ancient kingdom, from whence the old tribal name Corcu Modruad came to describe some of the lordship and lands that were contiguous with the boundaries of Kilfenora Diocese, and later formed part of the Corcomroe division of the diocese. The present boundaries of Kilfenora Diocese were assigned in the twelfth century following a series of church synods. Its creation ensured that territorial remnants of the old Corcu Modruad kingdom survived unadulterated into an ecclesiastical division with its own cathedral church at Kilfenora, independent of the Dál gCais diocesan centre at Killaloe.

The following list of freeholders, which in many respects ought to be regarded as a survey of lands and their quantity rather than a simple list, concerns six parishes in Kilfenora Diocese: Clooney, Kilfenora, Kilmanaheen, Kilshanny, Kilmacrehy and Killilagh. These parishes formed the barony of Corcomroe, excepting the omissions of the parishes of Killaspuglonane and Kiltoraght. The list is contemporaneously dated 1601, and appears to survive in only a single manuscript in the Inchiquin Manuscripts collection. The reference in the list to rent having been paid on “Easter gale,” which fell on 22 April, 1601, suggests that it was written after this date, but before the close of that year. The list does not appear to be referred to by any other authority, nor does it contain clear authorship aside from somebody with a knowledge of English and Latin and, we may surmise from the phonetic renderings of personal names, Irish.

14 On their genealogical origins, see: Ó hÓgáin, Conntae an Chláir, 134, 136 [see: Dublin, RIA MS 23/H/25, on p. 92].
18 The lands of Killaspuglonane are recorded under Kilmacrehy in the list.
19 The lands of Kiltoraght are recorded under Kilfenora in the list.
Survey lists of this kind are not unknown in early seventeenth-century County Clare. A number have survived, including a rent-roll of chief tenants in the barony of Ibrickan in 1615\(^{21}\) and a survey of the estate of the fifth earl of Thomond in 1626.\(^{22}\) Few, if any, other rentals or estate surveys exist for the lesser lords and landowning families in County Clare during this period, such as the McMahons, McNamaras,\(^{23}\) or O’Loghlens, or even the cadet branches of the O’Briens at Ennistymon or Inchiquin. The difference with the earl of Thomond’s surveys of 1615 or 1626, compared to the 1601 list, is that they are not concerned with church lands and only list the title-lands of the earl and his chief tenants.

Following the impact of the Protestant Reformation in the latter half of the sixteenth century in Thomond, the efforts of the early Protestant bishops of Kilfenora and Killaloe to put the administration of their dioceses on surer footing has left us with visitation and clergy lists. In particular, the 1615 and 1622 visitation lists contain valuable information about ecclesiastical appointments and benefices of the Established Church at this early period.\(^{24}\) The list that most resembles the 1601 list discussed here is Bishop John Rider’s list of detained church lands of Killaloe Diocese from 1622.\(^{25}\) From these ecclesiastical lists, it is possible to reconstruct the upper-tier of landholding—both secular and ecclesiastical—for early-seventeenth century County Clare. Similar lists survive for other dioceses, including Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, which have been published.\(^{26}\) Later lists survive for Kilfenora, such as a list of lands of Kilfenora Diocese from c. 1667.\(^{27}\) Additional sources can be pressed into service to identify names and places recorded in the 1601 list. These include the unpublished 1618 Great Office Inquisition,\(^{28}\) which is the most comprehensive source


\(^{24}\) Dwyer, *Diocese*, 98–100, 133–8.

\(^{25}\) Dwyer, *Diocese*, 133–8.


\(^{28}\) Chichester, West Sussex Records Office, Petworth House Archive MS 16/B/D/2 [Great Office of Corcomroe, 5 September 1618] [hereafter “PHA Ms 16/B/D/2”].
of landholding for early-seventeenth century County Clare, and the legal and estate papers of the *Inchiquin Manuscripts*. The 1641 *Books of Survey and Distribution* can be used, to a limited extent, to reconstruct retrospectively the landholding patterns that prevailed earlier in the century.

The 1601 list appears to be one of the oldest survivals of any such list for County Clare. What makes it of interest to historians is its inclusion of “freeholders,” all of whom are Gaelic-Irish. It also provides miscellanea which may be used to glimpse life in what was one of the most Gaelic areas of Thomond, almost wholly unaffected by the anglicizing policies of the earls of Thomond and the extension of English Crown authority. In 1601, Kilfenora Diocese was still an unreformed diocese, Protestant in name only. The dissolution of the monastic orders and other changes associated with the reformation up to that point had only a limited local impact. The diocese only began to display signs of manifest change from 1605 when a Protestant bishop was appointed from outside the mould of the first generation of Gaelic-Irish bishops of the Established Church. When the list was compiled, the anglicizing influences of the reformation were yet to be fully felt and Gaelic-Irish clergy—for there were no New-English beneficed clergy in the diocese at that time—were susceptible to recusancy and were often members of long-standing clerical families. Kilfenora lay at some distance from the centers of English power and administration, and even the Crown’s attempts of anglicization and reform under the auspices of the Established Church was slow and, in large part, reliant on the earls of Thomond.

In terms of recusancy in Kilfenora, consider the conversions of “Patrick Lissaght of Ballynora” the Chancellor of Kilfenora, “John Love of Cragga,” the Treasurer of Kilfenora, “Owen Nellane” clerk of Killaspuglonane, and “Killecully ô Hicky”, the vicar of Gleninagh, in 1641. See the 1641 Deposition of John Twenbrock in Dublin, Trinity College Dublin MS 829, fols 41r–42v.
Provenance

The provenance of the list, insofar as it may be ascertained, is almost entirely gathered from internal evidence. There are no other manuscript witnesses from which to draw conclusions or divine its purpose; the single manuscript version in the *Inchiquin Manuscripts* is frustratingly short on detail. In the absence of an introductory note, we must assume that the document, as preserved, was an exclusive document drawn up for a singular purpose.

Little may be gathered with certainty in respect to the purpose of the 1601 list. Judging from its slender introduction, it is ostensibly an enumeration of lands held by the chief freeholders. That much is clear from the record. The fact that only certain lands in Kilfenora Diocese were recorded, many of which were ecclesiastical lands that paid a “chiefry” to the bishopric, suggests that the list had an administrative purpose relating to the Corcomroe division of the diocese. The list is more than an assessment of secular lands, however. Given that Sir Turlough O’Brien, who was granted the entire barony of Corcomroe, is absent from the list and his estates are not surveyed, it is likely that the list’s focus was not secular landholding *per se*, but those lands claimed by the Established Church for tithing or paying dues, including the temporal lands of the diocese.

The recording of clerics and other ecclesiastical office-holders gives credence to its purpose as a survey of lands—mainly ecclesiastical—in the Corcomroe division of Kilfenora Diocese. Other evidence also points to this conclusion. For instance, the fact that the list was written in English makes it likely to have been compiled either by a New-English official, or a member of the Established Church. Some Gaelic clerics were literate in English from the mid-sixteenth century, as an interesting commentary preserved in the hand of the Killaloe cleric, John O’Neylon, testifies.33 Prior to 1600, most documents in English in County Clare were either connected to the Thomond estate or to the Crown administration, including legal agreements, deeds, and church affairs.34 It is doubtful that the document came from outside these sources. Being a list of lands, it is drawn up in a manner like the list of church lands compiled by the Protestant Bishop of Killaloe, John Rider,

in 1622. The purpose of Rider’s list was to identify church lands that had passed into secular hands. Such lists were the undertaking of the cathedral chapter who were tasked with reforming the temporalities of the diocese which had been depleted by the Protestant Reformation.

One particular piece of evidence points to a possible origin for the list. On the third page, it notes that part of the land assessments in the list was from a copy of the Composition Book that was held by “Hugh Clancy.” This is the only explicit indication about the list’s provenance. While not identifying its authorship, this note provides some indication about the source of its land assessments. It is feasible that the list derived from an earlier one authored by Clancy and was augmented with information from the 1585 Composition Book, in which the Clancys were listed as important beneficiaries. The fact that the list also records “landes gyven ffree” but held by freeholders alludes to its secondary purpose. That is, a record of lands claimed by the church but detained by freeholders. The list reveals certain lands that were the property of the church and are distinguished by a cross-mark, seemingly to differentiate them from non-church lands.

The list may be compared against the 1585 Composition Agreement that divides Corcomroe into its ancient territorial units, or *tuatha*, and sets out the secular quarters and church lands. Thus, the 1585 agreement states: in “Toawonynter Flahirtye” [Kilfenora and Kiltoraght] 40 quarters, of which two quarters belonged to the bishopric and one quarter to the dean; in “Toawonynter Thoe” [Kilshanny, Kilmanaheen and Clooney] 45 quarters, of which seven quarters belonged to the bishopric; in “Toa Ranye” [Kilmacrehy and Kilaspuglonane] 30 quarters, of which seven quarters belonged to the bishopric; in “Toacleae” [Killilagh] 26 quarters, of which one quarter belonged to the bishopric. Altogether, the Church claimed 18 quarters of land in Corcomroe, and these quarters, including the tally of total quarters in 1585 Composition Agreement, broadly corresponds with the 1601 list. In total, 141 quarters were listed for Corcomroe in the 1585 agreement.

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36 Bishop John Rider of Killaloe, writing in 1622, noted that the clergy of the Established Church had the common complaint that glebe lands were withheld from them by the “chief lords of theyr severall parishes in part or in whole.” See: Dwyer, *Diocese*, 145.
38 The modern forms of those marked are: Fanta Glebe, Cridergan, Carrowkeel, and Ballyalla.
39 For superior transcriptions of the *tuatha* names, see: Ó hÓgáin, *Comtae an Chláir*, 110–11. Transcriptions given in Freeman, ed., *Compossicion Booke*, are misleading.
including a substantial grant to the largest beneficiary of the agreement, Sir Turlough O’Brien, who had 14 quarters in free demesne and the right to levy an annual rent-charge of five shillings on 100 quarters of land in Corcomroe. The similar computation of quarters in the 1601 list, when compared to the 1585 agreement, suggests that the latter was used as the basis for the land assessments in the 1601 list. Little more can be said about the list’s provenance as the document itself records few definite clues.

Cathedral Chapter of Kilfenora

It is likely that the list’s provenance can be traced to the cathedral chapter of Kilfenora. The involvement of the bishop of Kilfenora is unknown because the historical record is not clear as to whether Kilfenora had a Protestant bishop elected at that point, if only a titular one. Evidence suggests that the author was a member of the chapter such as the archdeacon, and events at the beginning of the seventeenth century lends credence to this theory. Little is known about Kilfenora’s cathedral chapter before 1615, but what is known provides a possible explanation for the list’s authorship. The episcopal succession following the death of Bishop Seán Óg Ó Nialláin in 1572 is uncertain, but one *fasti ecclesiae* shows the episcopacy vacant for much of the late-sixteenth century until the installation of Bernard Adams, Bishop of Limerick, to Kilfenora in 1605. In fact, other records show that the episcopacy was held for a number of years by Bishop Mauritius O’Brien [son of Sir Donnell O’Brien], whose letters concerning his appointment in 1573 are extant and whose episcopal successor, Daniel [surname unknown], witnessed the 1585 Composition Agreement.

One important factor may be responsible for the list. In December 1602, a new archdeacon, Donald O’Nellan, was presented to Kilfenora on the death of the previous office holder. Allowing for some time between the incumbent’s death and the new appointment, it is possible

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40 In 1615, it consisted of a dean, a chantor, a chancellor, a treasurer, an archdeacon, and six prebendaries.
43 Freeman, *Composicion Booke*, 11.
that the list was compiled following the death of the former archdeacon by a member of the same cathedral chapter. The post of archdeacon was an important one; the incumbent was responsible for the buildings of the church, and at Kilfenora, clerics from the Ó Nialláin family [the O’Neylons] held the archdeaconry and church land of Kilcarragh for generations. If this was the case, the list may have been used to petition the Crown to make grants to restore revenues for the benefit of the diocesan see.

Another important position at the cathedral was the dean. From c. 1600 to 1615, the deanery was held by a local cleric named variously as “Daniel Shennagh” and “Donat O’Shanny” [Donnchadh Ó Seanaigh]. The Uí Sheanaigh had a connection to Kilfenora from the mid-sixteenth century, featuring in legal deeds as canons of the cathedral. In 1615, Donnchadh Ó Seanaigh was recorded as “a weak old man, lately lapsed into Popery,” suggesting that recusancy among the higher clergy was a problem. This is borne out in another reference to the Dean of Kilfenora in 1615, this time to Dean Donnellon, who had “revoluted to Popery.” The confusion of overlapping dates and appointments suggests that the chapter of Kilfenora was beset by problems like staffing, recusancy, and sufficiency of income. Funding and recruitment of the Established Church at this period was difficult. Secularization of church lands was a problem, and many had been alienated to laymen on long leases and low rents, a situation that only encouraged clerical malversation through extracting entry fines in return for favorable leases by higher clergy.

In Gaelic areas, the payment of tithes to the Established Church was uncertain, and clergy depended on leasing lands and the payment of dues for marriages, christenings, and burials for income. As a result, recruitment and staffing parishes was difficult (even more so in a remote diocese like Kilfenora), and sinecure benefices were common, not least because Protestant clergy sought safety in towns away from their country parishes. In his study, Aidan Clarke suggests that in

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45 The Uí Sheanaigh were a local lineage whose hereditary lands were situated at Ballyshanny (Baile Uí Sheanaigh) near Kilfenora.
47 Cotton, Fasti, 506.
48 Dwyer, Diocese, 98.
49 Bishop John Rider complained, in 1622, that the ordinary population resorted to burials in abbeys and old monastic sites and, as a result, burial dues were not paid to clergy of the Established Church, further reducing their income. Dwyer, Diocese, 145–6.
50 Bishop Rider noted that incumbent clergy “have no house nor place to build a house, but either must live in some poore hired cabin in danger of theyr lives, or in a victualling house not answerable to theyr calling or be non-resident in repairing to
more than half of the parishes across Ireland, church assets had been appropriated by laymen who paid the incumbent clergy whatever salary they chose.\textsuperscript{51} The lack of manpower and funding ultimately resulted in a general lack of missionary effort by the Established Church, and this meant that in Gaelic areas which had not undergone plantation or colonization, the Church lacked a formal presence in many parishes. Reforming changes came slowly to Kilfenora, and it was not until 1617 that an English cleric, Higatus Love, was appointed Dean of Kilfenora.\textsuperscript{52} Over the ensuing decades, only New-English bishops were appointed to Kilfenora and New-English clergy, who dominated appointments in neighboring Killaloe diocese, held many of the parish benefices in Kilfenora.

Judging from the problematic state of many parish churches in the diocese and the sinecure benefices recorded in 1615,\textsuperscript{53} the Established Church in Kilfenora was beset with problems of funding and recruitment.\textsuperscript{54} An example of the problem of sinecure benefices can be observed in the collation of Daniel, the son of Bishop Seán Óg Ó Nialláin of Kilfenora [d. 1572],\textsuperscript{55} to Carran parish in 1598, despite Daniel being the Bishop of Kildare.\textsuperscript{56} A large proportion of Kilfenora’s churches were recorded as “ruinated” in 1615, including Kiltoraght, Clooney, Gleninagh, Killilagh, Kilmoon, Kilmanaheen, Kilmacrehy, and Kilaspuglonane.\textsuperscript{57} The solution was to annex Kilfenora to wealthier bishoprics, and in 1605, Kilfenora was joined to Limerick on account of its inability to support a bishop.\textsuperscript{58} Despite this, ensuring the payment of rent from church lands remained problematic. In 1615, the Bishop of Limerick claimed the Aran Islands as part of his temporal see but complained that it was impossible to get any income from the islands. Kilfenora was a small diocese, and the bishop reckoned it was worth no more than £32 4s. per year, meaning that it was one of the poorest in Ireland.\textsuperscript{59}


\textsuperscript{52} Dwyer, Diocese, 179.

\textsuperscript{53} Dwyer, Diocese, 98–9.

\textsuperscript{54} As late as 1640, the revenues of Kilfenora were regarded as being insufficient. See: Dwyer, Diocese, 188–9.

\textsuperscript{55} AFM, sub anno 1572.

\textsuperscript{56} See: Nicholls and O Cannan, Fiants, no. 6250.

\textsuperscript{57} Dwyer, Diocese, 98.


\textsuperscript{59} Dwyer, Diocese, 100. On the poverty of Kilfenora Diocese, see: Nugent, Gaelic Clans, 106.
The need to put the income of the diocese on surer footing was certainly a contributing factor in compiling the 1601 list. The list likely is an account of lands, held by the freeholders for the purpose of payment of tithes and other dues, and it includes church lands that had been detained by the freeholders outright or held at unfavourable fee-farm grants that yielded little income to the diocese. The list was, therefore, produced as a document of administration, in this case, of ecclesiastical administration. It is one of the earliest such documents to be compiled for the lordship of Thomond and is comparable to the mid-sixteenth-century inventory of lands attached to Clare Abbey, which almost certainly was compiled by an official with links to the earl of Thomond given its focus on dissolved monastic lands that had passed to the earl.60 It is not surprising that similar lists were produced as the administration of lands and ecclesiastical estates necessitated the compilation of rentals, ledgers, and lists of landed property. The accurate reckoning of land quarters presented in the list published here shows that its author resorted to the 1585 Composition Book as the primary basis for its land assessments, reminding us of that agreement’s key importance in matters of local governance.

Gaelic Learned Class

Two important points may be gleaned from the list. The first concerns the Gaelic learned class and the second relates to Gaelic freeholders who populate the list. The Gaelic learned class comprised professional lineages, known in Irish as the Aos Dána [people of art], who held a special status in Gaelic society. While their status was beginning to decline by the late-sixteenth century, and while they were not immune to pressures on their landholding,61 they remained important office-bearers and contributed to local administration such as assizes and manor courts.

Two members of the Clann Chruitín [McCurtins]62 chronicler-poets, “Salamon Mc Cruttyn” and “Sanagh oge Mc Cruttyn,” are recorded in the list, as are members of the brehon Meic Fhlannchadha [McClancys]

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family.\(^63\) The Clann Chruitín had a long pedigree as a learned family in Corcomroe; their earliest recorded member was “Eagd Mac Crutyn” [Aodh Mac Cruitín] in 1354, followed by a succession of kinsmen to the ollamhnacht of seanchas [history] and seinm [music].\(^64\) In the early-seventeenth century, their hereditary lands were situated in Kilmacrehy parish.\(^65\) Indeed, “Sanagh oge Mc Cruttyn” of the list was probably “Shanagh McCruttin” who held Carrowduff in Kilmacrehy in 1618.\(^66\) The landholding of the Clann Chruitín indicates that their proprietorship, like other learned families, was collective and subject to periodic division.\(^67\)

A revealing reference is given in the list when it says that its computation of lands derived from a copy of the Book of Composition, which Hugh Clancy possessed. The Clancys (Meic Fhlannchadha) were a brehon-jurist family who held tribute-free lands in Killilagh parish from the fifteenth century.\(^68\) Hugh Clancy was of this family and related to Baothghalach [Boetius] Clanchy [d. 1598], a brehon who received a favorable grant of land under the 1585 Composition Agreement.\(^69\) Members of the Meic Fhlannchadha served as higher clergy at Killaloe in the sixteenth century,\(^70\) so it is feasible that Hugh Clancy performed a similar role at Kilfenora. His affiliation with a brehon lineage suggests he was literate, and it is well-known that learned families kept administrative records such as rentals.\(^71\) It is likely that the Meic Fhlannchadha had access to a copy of the Book of Composition, and they might have had some involvement in the collection of the Queen’s rent in Corcomroe as set out in the original 1585 agreement.\(^72\)

Another brehon-jurist family of Corcomroe were the Uí Dhubhdábhóireann. They are first mentioned in the mid-fourteenth century obituary of Giolla na Naomh Ó Duibhdábhóireann, an


\(^{65}\) PHA MS 16/B/D/2.

\(^{66}\) PHA MS 16/B/D/2.

\(^{67}\) See: McInerney, “Clann Chruitín,” 19–30.

\(^{68}\) Hardiman, “Deeds,” 36–43.

\(^{69}\) Freeman, *Compossicion Booke*, 24, 29.

\(^{70}\) Boetius Clanchy (d. 1559), Dean of Killaloe, and Daniel Clanchy, Treasurer of Killaloe in c.1612. See: Dwyer, *Diocese*, 31, 466.


\(^{72}\) See the reference to the collection of “her ma[es] rent” under Kilmacrehy in the 1601 list.
While their residence was further north at Cahermacnaughten in Rathborny parish, a “Hugh O Davorin” appears in Kilfenora parish in the list. The Uí Dhuibhdábhóireann had a long association with the church lands of Kilfenora. A papal mandate from 1455 explains that members of the lineage were laymen holding episcopal land at Noughaval:

...certain lands and possessions commonly called “de nuoua,” partly cultivated and partly uncultivated, belonging to the episcopal mensa of Kilfenora and situated in the said diocese, were wont to be granted for a certain yearly cess or rent (censu sive canone) in fee or perpetual lease alike to clerks and laymen, possession thereof is at present held by Dermit Oduauoreid and Malachy Otyernayd and certain other powerful laymen.

The name of the layman, “Dermit Oduauoreid,” is almost certainly a scribal corruption for Diarmaid Ó Duibhdábhóireann, and de Nuova may be identified as Noughaval, which was episcopal land. The Irish form, Nuachabháil, means “new foundation,” with Nua having its cognate in the Latin Nuova. This suggests that the Uí Dhuibhdábhóireann served as “clerks and laymen” (i.e. erenaghs) at Noughaval, a role not incompatible with their profession as brehons. Many examples exist of Gaelic learned families exercising commensurate functions in the Church that required literacy, and sometimes the conferring of minor orders. This was the case for those who held an erenaghship or coarbship, but also for other types of clerical tenants. Such families often supplied clergy to local benefices and, in the case of the Uí Dhuibhdábhóireann, their involvement in the Church appears to date from the later medieval period. As the Uí Dhuibhdábhóireann were responsible for writing manuscripts and operating a school of brehon law, they were well equipped as a literary family in having links with the Church. We know from contemporary accounts that brehons were literate in Latin and Edmund Campion, upon visiting Ireland in 1571, observed that the Irish “speak Latin like a vulgar

73 AFM, sub anno 1364.
75 “Lateran Regesta 500: 1455,” 206.
76 McInerney, Clerical and Learned Lineages, 165. The family had a long association with Noughaval that went beyond the medieval period. A chapel for the family stands in Noughaval churchyard, and in 1699, Noughaval was leased to Mortagh and Dermot O'Davoren by the Archbishop of Tuam and Bishop of Kilfenora. See: Ainsworth, Inchiquin, 405.
language, learned in their common schools of leach-craft and law.”

The Úi Dhuibhdáhoireann of Noughaval were noted in later times for supplying generations of Protestant clergy, and they stand as an example of a learned family who converted, and remained, Protestant.

Another learned family with links to Kilfenora were the Úi Nialláin. This family served as hereditary physicians to the Úi Bhriain, and, according to one genealogy, they descended from a fourteenth-century progenitor called “Maolshechlainn the physician of Leamaneh.”

Leamaneh was a stronghold of the Inchiquin Úi Bhriain to the east of Kilfenora. The Úi Nialláin are best known for Seán Óg Ó Nialláin, who was Bishop of Kilfenora from 1542 until his death in 1572. His tenure was long, and it encompassed the beginning of the reformation of the diocese and the English Crown’s assertion over clerical and episcopal appointments.

Little detail is known about his tenure or any reforming changes in Kilfenora. Judging from the continuation of Gaelic clergy in local benefices and instances of recusancy among members of the cathedral chapter, the adoption of Protestant reforms in Kilfenora was likely to have been moderate, if at all, during this period. More is known about Bishop Ó Nialláin’s secular affairs, and he served as an arbitrator in an award made in 1568 between the Bishop of Kilmacduagh and the O’Dea lineage of Dysert in Inchiquin. Included among the other arbitrators were two members of the McClancy, or Meic Fhlannchadha brehon family from Corcomroe, and a Mac Bruaidheadha [McBrody].

Bishop Seán Óg’s son, Daniel (d. 1603), also had an ecclesiastical career and became the Protestant Bishop of Kildare. The family’s links to the church land of Kilfenora was strong. In 1618, several kinsmen held church land in Killaspuglonane parish, which belonged to the archdeaconry.

William Neland, who was the Deacon of Kilfenora, held the vicarages of Kiltoraght and Killeany in 1615.

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80 i.e. Maolshechlainn i.e. an liaigh Léimeannach. See: Dublin, RIA MS 24/P/ 41 (scribe: Tadhg Ó Neachtáin), and Dublin, RIA MS 23/M/17.

81 AFM, sub anno 1572.

82 On a discussion about the reformation of the Irish church, see: H. A. Jefferies, *The Irish Church and the Tudor Reformations* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2010).

83 Dwyer, *Diocese*, 98.

84 Ainsworth, *Inchiquin*, 274.


86 PHA MS 16/B/D/2.

87 Dwyer, *Diocese*, 99.
held Kilcarragh, church land associated with the archdeaconry. The landholding of the Úi Nialláin suggests that they had links to many church lands in Corcomroe, particularly those that endowed the archdeaconry. This was the case with Killaspuglonane and Kilcarragh—the latter according to an Irish deed from 1600—that was erenagh land and reserved for the archdeacon. It may be concluded that the Úi Nialláin were a learned lineage settled on church land, their possession of which is explained by their clerical members holding high office at Kilfenora and, later, Kildare.

Learned families often held land under privileged tenurial conditions. The number of free lands computed in the list for certain parishes exceed those free lands of the Church given in the 1585 Composition Agreement. This situation would seem to reflect the fact that a number of the free lands included those settled by learned families who, in right of their profession, held tribute-free lands. This may not always be clear-cut as some church lands were held by learned families but counted as episcopal land. Examples here include Killilagh in which, according to the list, eight quarters were free compared to just one in the 1585 Composition Agreement. These eight quarters may include three granted “in free demain” to Boetius Clancy, but the remainder probably included the free or professional lands (fearann ollamhantachta) of the Meic Fhlannchadha brehons, referred to in a late-sixteenth century tract preserved in An Leabhar Muimhneach. The free lands of the Meic Fhlannchadha in Killilagh were first recorded in the fifteenth century rental, Suim Cíos Ua Bhriain [O’Brien rental]. Free lands were exempt from tribute or other obligations such as rendering food and military billeting and, in theory, also the burdensome levy known as cuide oidhche [a night’s portion of food, drink, and entertainment].

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88 PHA MS 16/B/D/2. He appears in the 1601 list in relation to Kilcarragh.
89 In 1641, a parcel of land in Kilmacrehy parish called Cloghamedoyne contained, “pasture being hospital land belonging to y hospital of Kilcarragh in y town and parish of Kilfenora” [spelling modernized]. It was held by an Ó Niallάín at that time. See: Simington, Books, 245.
90 On Kilcarragh, see: Gearóid Mac Niocaill, “Seven Irish Documents in the Inchiquin Archives,” Analecta Hibernica 26 (1970): 54–5. The Uí Nialláin also held church land further afield such as in Oughtmama see: Simington, Books, 447–8.
91 In particular, Noughaval, which was episcopal land, was held by the Úi Dhuibhdábhóireann brehons.
92 Freeman, Compossicion, 24, 29.
93 Tadhg Ó Donnchadha, An Leabhar Muimhneach: Maraon Le Suim Aguisúiní (Baile Átha Cliath: Irish Manuscript Commission, 1940), 246.
95 See: K. W. Nicholls, Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2003), 37–8.
An analogous situation must have occurred in Kilmacrehy parish where some of the land was held by the Clann Chruitín. According to the 1601 list, eight quarters out of thirty are recorded free in Kilmacrehy, only four of which were designated church land. The list makes no distinction between the free lands of the learned class and the free lands of the Church. In some instances, learned families were settled on church land and, therefore, were free from secular burdens like tax and had legal immunities. Learned families, especially those who were clerical tenants such as erenaghs, provided a recruitment ground for the clergy because of their learning and ability to speak Latin “like a vulgar language.” This situation transpired elsewhere in Ireland where erenagh families provided many of the parish clergy and higher appointments to cathedral chapters. A recent survey of Church appointments in fifteen century Thomond broadly corresponds to this situation and shows that, in many cases, clerics were drawn from the ranks of the clerical or learned families who dominated the professions in Gaelic society. It appears that a significant number of free quarters returned in the 1601 list were church lands. As church lands, they belonged to the mensal estates of bishops and to other functionaries of the cathedral chapter such as archdeacons.

Erenaghs often served as archdeacons and, according to a deed in Irish from 1600, the erenaship of Kilfenora was endowed with lands at Gortnaboul and Kilcarragh. Kilcarragh appears to have formed part of the ecclesiastical property of the cathedral, and it is variously recorded as a “hospital” or “monastery” when it was dissolved in the late-sixteenth century. The provision of hospitality was another duty of the erenaghs, whose origin can be traced to the native monastic church, but, by the later medieval period, they had come to be functionaries.

96 The presence of high crosses, such as those at Kilfenora and the twelfth-century tau cross in Killinaboy, may signify the limits of the sanctus, the sanctior, and sanctissimus; varying grades of sanctuary within the tearman precinct, which may have had a legal function such as immunity from secular law. See: John Sheehan, “The Early Historic Church-sites of north Clare,” North Munster Antiquarian Journal 24 (1982): 29–47.
97 Campion, A Historie of Ireland, 25. On erenaghs and other clerical tenants who commonly spoke Latin in the early seventeenth century, see: Jefferies, “Erenaghs and termonlands,” 17.
100 See: McInerney, Clerical and Learned Lineages, 56–7; and Mac Niocaill, “Seven Irish documents,” 55.
101 Mervyn Archdall, Monasticum Hibericum (London: John Hogg, 1786), 52.
within the diocesan church and linked to the archdeaconry.\textsuperscript{102} In 1600, Kilcarragh and other church lands were possessed by Donnchadh Ó Nialláin,\textsuperscript{103} who appears to have been made archdeacon in 1602.\textsuperscript{104} It is quite possible that the authorship of the 1601 list lay with this Donald, the archdeacon of Kilfenora. Indeed, the list records that Kilcarragh was held of the archdeacon and that it was possessed by a relative named “Will Nealon” who appears as late as 1610 in connection with Kilcarragh.\textsuperscript{105} By holding the archdeaconry and Kilcarragh, the clerical members of the Uí Nialláin held the erenaghship of Kilfenora. Part of the duty of the erenagh was to ensure that revenue and lands were in order, and the family’s membership of the higher diocesan clergy means that they were well-placed to have authored the list.

\textbf{Freeholders and Gaelic law}

\textit{Chief Occupants}

Ostensibly, the list is divided into separate parts. The first part appears to be a valuation of lands and the names of the chief occupants. In the manner of other surveys, it records only the chief freeholders and not the cultivator class who constituted a social layer underneath the middle and upper echelons. Gaelic society did not possess a peasantry in the same way as in the feudalized systems of Europe. Those at the lower social strata were share-cropping laborers and herders who had little in terms of personal possessions, being very dependent on their overlords for stock and work.\textsuperscript{106} By contrast, the landholders who are recorded in the foregoing list were generally collateral members of leading or dynastic lineages. The enumeration of the chief landholders, while not representative of the total population, accounted for a sizeable portion of the proprietorial class. Lesser freeholders and others lower on the social rungs, including husbandmen and share-croppers who formed the lowly cultivator class in Gaelic society, rarely feature in such documents.

Gaelic society was hierarchical, and by the late medieval period, the prevailing trend was larger lineages displacing lesser ones, as branches

\textsuperscript{102} Nicholls, \textit{Gaelicised Ireland}, 224.

\textsuperscript{103} Frost, \textit{History}, 316. Of the eight lands held by him, five were church lands: Kilcarragh, Ballycohy, Lickeen, Carrowbloagh, and Killnaspluglonane.

\textsuperscript{104} Nicholls and O Cannan, \textit{Fiants}, no. 6729. Kilcarragh appears in connection with the Neylons as late as 1696. See: Ainsworth, \textit{Inchiquin}, 639.

\textsuperscript{105} Ainsworth, \textit{Inchiquin}, 308.

of overlord families proliferated across the lordship. This trend was observed by the seventeenth-century antiquarian Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh, and was concurrent with overlord families wielding greater authority over distant kin by absorbing all of the subject territory and making it demesne land. Such processes can be observed through the use of pledge and mortgage, commonly used instruments to acquire an interest in freehold land. In circumstances when lordship exactions imposed on freeholders proved too onerous, they sometimes were forced to surrender their lands to an overlord, often with little prospect of regaining them. In this way, freeholders were reduced to tenants at will, along with an attendant reduction in status.

In County Clare, numerous instances of this process exist from the sixteenth century, but its operation was complicated by the series of grants which the earls of Thomond received that made them landowners with English title to their estates. Following the “Surrender and Regrant” policy under Henry VIII, native lordship was fundamentally changed, and new feudalized structures and landholding created inroads for anglicization. By the early-seventeenth century, anglicization policies that followed the Elizabethan conquest took a more radical twist than elsewhere in the British Isles. Aside from plantation and colonization, the official aim to reproduce in Ireland the hierarchy of English courts made Ireland different from Scotland, which had its own body of laws and trained advocates versed in Scots law. Landholding was radically recast and, consequently, the standing of the Gaelic aristocracy changed vis-à-vis their tenants and the population at large, with such changes filtering through to the level of proprietorship and land tenure.

In response to these changes, Gaelic land law—where it survived into the early-seventeenth century—began to incorporate English Common Law designations of “freeholder” and “fee-simple title.” Traditional patron-client relationships between the noble class in Gaelic areas and their dependents began to be recast simply as “landowner”

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and “tenant,” regulated under a system of manor courts.\textsuperscript{112} The process of the O’Briens reducing freeholders to the status of tenants can be seen in the case of the McGilleraghs [Meic Giolla Riabhaigh]. This lineage held the role of *aoín-fher gradha* [servant of trust] to the O’Briens in the 1560s.\textsuperscript{113} The head of the family was designated chief of his name in 1585,\textsuperscript{114} but by 1589, their hereditary land and castle at Cragbrien in Clondagad parish had been transferred to Donough O’Brien, fourth earl of Thomond.\textsuperscript{115} The transfer reduced them to tenants on the earl’s estate, relinquishing their position as freeholders in any meaningful sense.

In Corcomroe, a similar process can be observed in relation to the O’Connors [Uí Chonchobhair], illustrating that the expansion of dominant groups like the O’Briens could displace even old dynastic lineages. The conferring of English titles on O’Brien family branches did not slow this process down, but it allowed different legal mechanisms to facilitate the expansion of O’Brien landholding. A deed in Latin from 1582, made between the O’Connors and Sir Turlough O’Brien of Ennistymon, shows that the O’Connor lordship was subsumed under the O’Briens who were, in essence, “lords of the soil.”\textsuperscript{116} This process had been happening for decades, and a list of castles in 1574 shows just how far it had gone; in Corcomroe, only one castle was in the hands of the O’Connors at that time, and by the time of the Composition Agreement in 1585, none of the family were signatories to the indenture.\textsuperscript{117} By 1618, few O’Connors were listed as landholders of any note with O’Brien branches occupying most land, including the O’Connor castle at Dough which had passed to them in 1585 on the death of its O’Connor owner.\textsuperscript{118} Dough castle remained an O’Brien possession and was transferred from Donough O’Brien, fourth earl of Thomond, to his cousin, Sir Turlough O’Brien, along with the

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\textsuperscript{112} On the manor courts of the earl of Thomond, albeit at a later date than the focus of this paper, see: S. C. O’Mahony, “The Manor Courts of the Earl of Thomond, 1666–1686,” *Analecta Hibernica* 38 (2004): 135–220.

\textsuperscript{113} AFM, *sub anno*, 1562.

\textsuperscript{114} Freeman, *Compissicion Booke*, 11.


\textsuperscript{116} Dwyer, *Diocese*, 555. The deed specified that the Uí Chonchobhair give up to the O’Briens all their rights, titles, and claims, which they had over certain lands, estates, and inherited possessions in Corcomroe. It gave legal form to the claims of the O’Briens, which dated from decades earlier. Also see: AFM, *sub anno* 1564.


\textsuperscript{118} On the 1618 landholding, see: PHA MS 16/B/D/2; and on Dough see: Frost, *History*, 281. On the expansion of the O’Briens, see: Gibson, *Chiefdom*, 221–37.
seigniorial rights of Corcomroe in 1605. No mention was made of the lordship rights once exercised by the O’Connors, these having been long extinguished and transferred to the O’Briens.

The Free Lands

The second part of the list has a different purpose to that of the first. The intention of the second part appears to be a record of the free lands—mainly church lands—which were occupied or unlawfully detained by freeholders and were claimed by the Established Church. The second part repeats the parishes and gives a brief account of the occupants’ names and land. This follows a note stating: “landes gyven ffree but dyvers of the ffreeholders viz. wch are inhabyted.” It is likely, although not certain, that those lands immediately below the note refer to those detained by freeholders. These were lands in Kilfenora and Kiltoraghta parishes. The parishes are repeated following this, but the exact reason is unclear; for Kilmacrehy, its second recording gives a different computation of the free lands (eight quarters rather than five recorded earlier). The difference might be explained by those lands confirmed to the Church in the 1585 Composition Agreement compared to those actually in possession in 1601.

To create a local vested interest in the Protestant Reformation in the west of Ireland, many church lands and tithes were granted by royal decree to secular patrons. A document from 1629 by the Bishop of Clonfert explains that a similar situation transpired in his diocese where “potent men” earlier in that century had taken the lands “as their owne inheritance.” The granting of church lands to important patrons was a device used by the English crown to secure support for the Protestant Reformation, but it had the consequence of leaving the Established Church with insufficient funds. Over this period, sufficiency of income remained an issue at Kilfenora, and a letter by Bishop John Bramhall of Derry in 1640 notes that Kilfenora’s revenues were so slender and the diocese so poor that it could not adequately support a bishop. A similar situation occurred all over Ireland in the aftermath of the reformation, whereby church land suffered lay encroachment and, as a result, diocesan income was seriously diminished.

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119 See: Ainsworth, Inchiquin, 303.
120 For Kilmacrehy (which included Killaspuglonane), this was seven quarters. See: Freeman, Compossession, 14.
123 Dwyer, Diocese, 188–9.
The difficult situation that the Established Church faced at the beginning of the seventeenth century was that many of the lands that had been taken over by lay patrons were previously held of the cathedral chapters. Some of these lands are detailed in a list of “chief rents” of Corcomroe in 1615. It explains that certain parishes supported the following cathedral livings—the archdeaconry in Kilmacrehy, Killaspuglonane, and Kilmanaheen; the deanery in Clooney, Kiltoraght, and Gleninagh; the treasurership in Drumcreehy; the chancellorship in Killeamy, Oughtmama, and Kilcorney; the bishop and cathedral chapter in Kilfenora and Clooney. Due to problems with lay impropiations and sufficiency of income, some parishes were united to support the cathedral livings and other livings, like the chauntership, were no longer supported. An inquisition of 1629 returned a list of lands claimed by Kilfenora, noting that the claims of the dean included three quarters of land in Kilmacrehy, a quarter in Liscannor, two quarters in Clooney, and the quarter of Lickeen in Kilfenora, which was recorded as “anciently belonging to the bishopric.” Evidentially, it was necessary to continue to assert the claims of the dioce, even at this late stage, as livings were relatively meagre.

The sources of Church revenues in Kilfenora in the early-seventeenth century probably reflected similar-type arrangements at Killaloe. In a deed concerning lands that were part of Tearmann Seanáin near Kilrush in southwest Clare, one quarter was charged with the dues of the Bishop of Killaloe, with the other three quarters paying a rent to the earl of Thomond. But this reflected the situation for temporalities of the Church. For the spiritualities, where a tithe was levied on the secular lands to support local clerics, usually a third of the tithe from each townland in a parish went to the parish vicar, and the remainder was allocated to the rector. We may assume that similar arrangements operated in Kilfenora, including levies on its temporal lands, such as the bishop’s mensal lands of Noughaval and Kilmacrehy.

The Freeholders

The 1601 list makes mention of another notable, even ubiquitous, class in Gaelic society: freeholders affiliated with the dominant lineages of Corcomroe. This is the real value of the list for historians because it expressly focuses on the freeholders who comprised an important

124 Dwyer, Diocese, 100.
125 Dwyer, Diocese, 98–100.
126 Ainsworth, Inchiquin, 338.
element in Gaelic society. This stratum of landholders were usually large freeholders with hereditary tenures. They formed the chief lineages of their own “clans” or “septs,” and they may be traced to a sliocht, or branch, of the ruling families. One particular example is the McGyllisaghta [Meic Giolla Iasachta] family who originally were collaterals of the Uí Bhriain. They produced a number of ecclesiastics (both pre- and post- Reformation clerics including the first generation of Protestant ministers), and a deed from 1600 explains that their estate at Cahereamore in Kilshanny parish paid a rent to the bishop. Their main patrimony, however, was Ballybreen in Kilfenora, which paid £1 3s. 4d. to Kilfenora. This indicates that the Meic Giolla Iasachta were important ecclesiastical tenants and freeholders.

Other examples of families that can be identified include the O’Tyns [Uí Theimhin] of Kilshanny and the O’Cahills [Uí Chathail] of Kilmacrehy, minor freeholding lineages that held land collectively amongst themselves. These septs portioned hereditary land out in varying ways including by gavelkind inheritance. Gavelkind was practiced in County Clare, but its application differed not only by region, but by lineage group depending, as it were, on “the custom of the country.” The family structures of these septs resembled a “corporate lineage,” whereby responsibility was legally vested in the patrilineal group or fine. These freeholders formed part of a hierarchical structure whereby the chief lineage—the Uí Bhriain in


130 Dwyer, Diocese, 92, 99, 112–3, 179, 222 (alias “Lysaght”).


132 Ainsworth, Inchiquin, 338.

133 Their original patrimony appears to have been Ballyclancahill (Baile Chlainne Chathail) in Kilfenora parish.

134 See: PHA MS 16/B/D/2.

135 See the chancery pleading regarding the Meic Fhlanachadh brehons in: Dublin, National Archives of Ireland, Chancery Bills: Survivals from pre-1922 Collection, J, No. 55. i.e. a family with legal responsibilities for its collective action and property. It was similar to the medieval Welsh gwely. The gwely was formed of males who shared a great-grandfather, and land held jointly was partitioned by the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of the common ancestor. See: Thomas Peter Ellis, Welsh Tribal Law and Custom in the Middle Ages (Oxford: Oxford Clarendon Press 1926), 1:225.
Freeholders of Kilfenora Diocese 1601

Thomond—had overlordship of the territory.\textsuperscript{137} Freeholders were obliged to pay a tribute or cíos (cíos denotes “rent” but its historical meaning of tribute or tax is more appropriate) on their land on account of the fact that they were subject to the overlordship of the Uí Bhriain. Strictly speaking their “freehold title”\textsuperscript{138} was not equivalent to alodial title whereby no tax or tribute was owed to a superior lord; indeed, one of the characteristics of Gaelic freeholders in the late medieval period was that they were burdened by heavy exactions from overlords.\textsuperscript{139} In circumstances where they could not hold out against such fiscal impositions, freeholders sometimes pledged their land into the hands of overlords and worked it as tenants.\textsuperscript{140} Great lords consolidated their lands and undertook direct cultivation. This led to a situation whereby chief families like the Uí Bhriain controlled large estates on which they settled followers and tenants.

Due to the proliferation of collateral branches from the dominant families, freeholders were under constant pressure from expanding lineages of the dominant families. This led to a situation wherein successful patrilineages replaced lesser families who were often squeezed out of landholding at the expense of more powerful ones. Centrifugal tendencies among landholding lineages due to the spawning of cadet branches led to the fragmentation of landholding as junior branches sought new lands away from the dominant lineage. This, in turn, put pressure on the division of family estates and affected the permanency and nature of land tenure. Other pressures, including the dislocation of freeholders due to war, strife, factionalism, and debts, contributed to the divisions of estates. But probably more significant is that overlord families consolidated their mensal lands and attracted their former freeholders as tenants. Overlord families sought to wield greater political authority over kin and putative freeholder-vassals.

\textsuperscript{137} On the political make-up and landholding hierarchy of Thomond, see: Nugent, Gaelic Clans.
\textsuperscript{138} Freehold title did not exist in Gaelic law, but an analogous term used in brehon deeds to describe land owned in absolute was bithdilsi an fearáin (“fee-simple of the land”). This had the meaning that all claims and rights of the former owner were extinguished. The term appears in eleventh century church grants and implied absolute ownership. See: Donnchadh Ó Corráin, “Nationality and Kingship in Pre-Norman Ireland,” Historical Studies [Irish Conference of Historians] 11 (1978): 24.
\textsuperscript{140} Nicholls, “Land, Law and Society,” 15.
Obligations for rent and levies imposed by overlord families, along with the trend toward consolidated lordship whereby the dominant family tried to absorb all of the subject territory and make it demesne land, reduced the independence of freeholders and complicated the operation of land law.\(^\text{141}\)

There is an example of this process of dislocation of lesser freeholders in Kilfenora where the Uí Chaothair were entirely displaced by the seventeenth century. The Uí Chaothair probably started their downward descent after the Uí Chonchobhair displaced them at Kilshanny Abbey in a violent attack upon their clerics in 1468.\(^\text{142}\) The power of overlord families was significant and it appears that the Uí Bhriain also had the power to nominate leading men among these freeholders to be chiefs of their “surnames,” a practice only extinguished by the adoption of English Common Law in the 1570s.\(^\text{143}\) Inauguration of the ceannfine, or headship, of these families was carefully ordained by the consent of the overlord as an opportunity to foster clientage among the free-holding septs of the lordship.\(^\text{144}\) One mitigating factor to the great power of the overlord families was their need for tenants to work their lands and provide food-rents. Tenants came in varying sizes and importance, some large and of high status, controlling many landless followers who cultivated the land. Other tenants were small family groups who directly cultivated the mensal land of their overlords, rendering food and labor services.

By the second half of the sixteenth century, Gaelic law was under pressure, and its practitioners, the brehon-jurists, adopted legal innovations that reflected aspects of feudal law. Early Irish law texts were being re-interpreted by glossators to retrofit modern ideas upon arcane concepts, and brehon families like Uí Dhuibhhdáhoireann were in the vanguard of this revision.\(^\text{145}\) Aspects of Gaelic law continued unabated into the early-seventeenth century.\(^\text{146}\) It continued even when

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\(^{143}\) Brewer and Bullen, *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts*, 115–7.

\(^{144}\) On Gaelic inauguration, see: Elizabeth FitzPatrick, *Royal Inauguration in Gaelic Ireland, c.1100–1600: A Cultural Landscape Study* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004).


Gaelic law was officially extinguished by the English courts following the law cases on gavelkind (1606) and tanistry (1608) which proscribed Gaelic practices of succession and inheritance. In the Burren, the tradition of native jurisprudence continued and Gaelic law survived in mitigated form up until the late seventeenth century. Traces of this may be found in the foregoing list such as the recording of “Hugh O Davorin,” who belonged to a brehon family from the Burren that had links to the episcopal lands at Noughaval.

The reference to Hugh Clancy in the list highlights the presence of brehons specifically, and the Gaelic learned class, more generally. The operation of the Established Church and its administrative functions in many dioceses would not have been possible without support from Gaelic families, and it was often learned families who provided the first generation of Protestant clerics in the western dioceses of Ireland. Indeed, it was the poet Maoilín Óg Mac Bruaideadha who assisted with the Protestant project to translate the New Testament into Irish in the 1590s. Moreover, it appears that one of the sons of the poet and apologist for the Protestant fourth earl of Thomond, Tadhg mac Dáire Mhic Bhruaideadha, was Daniel McBrodin, a former schoolmaster-turned-minister of the Established Church. McBrodin served as the minister for Kilfarboy and Killard parishes in Ibrickan in 1633, and his career in the Established Church was likely an extension of his father’s earlier service to the fourth earl of Thomond, in that it was about demonstrating loyalty and maintaining links to the family’s O’Brien patrons. Other members of his family became Protestant clergy in the early seventeenth century, showing that, in some instances, the Gaelic literary class attempted to initially conform to the Established Church in order to preserve their privileged status.

In Kilfenora, some of these Gaelic learned families continued to supply Protestant clergy into the eighteenth century. The abolishment of Gaelic law and promulgation of English legal institutions, see: AFM, sub anno 1570 (i.e. for Thomond). On the cases of gavelkind and tanistry, see: Edmund Curtis and R.B. McDowell, eds., Irish Historical Documents 1172–1922 (London: Methuen, 1943, reprint 1977), 126–8.  


Dwyer, Killaloe, 171.  


See: George U. Macnamara, “The O’Davorens of Cahermacnaughten, Burren, Co.
continuation of dynastic benefice-holding by Gaelic families following
the reformation is more obvious at Kilfenora than in the neighboring
diocese of Killaloe. In Killaloe from around the 1630s, the number of
Gaelic-Irish clerics serving in the Established Church had dwindled to
but a handful, many of whom drew livings from the remote and poorer
parishes. A different situation obtained in Kilfenora, which had a
higher proportion of Gaelic clerics, the parish benefices there being of
lower value and the livings less attractive to outside interests.

Notes on the Transcription

The list presented here furthers the understanding both of the
ecclesiastical economy and also of the hierarchies and landholding in
a Gaelic area that had seen little of the anglicizing changes then being
wrought elsewhere. The listing of Gaelic freeholders shows just how
unaffected Kilfenora diocese was by landholding changes such as the
introduction of New-English settlers, and it emphasizes the persistence
of traditional hierarchies and the role of hereditary office bearers in
Gaelic areas into the seventeenth century.

Written in a rather untidy chancery hand prone to abbreviation
and obscurities, the condition of the list makes poor reading. The
transcription should be regarded as tentative since some of the writing
is illegible. Part of the original document has suffered creasing and
other damage, rendering sentences indecipherable. On some occasions,
names have suffered ink blotting and effacing. For comparative
purposes, freeholders and placenames have been contrasted with
details from the 1618 Great Office Inquisition for Corcomroe, wherever
possible. Abbreviations are used throughout the list, including
truncated name forms and acronyms, some of which are obscure. Land
denominations are recorded as qrt—a shortened form of “quarter”—
and the abbreviation “d” denotes the Latin term *dimidium*, or “half.”

The author of the list truncates many names, in some cases to an
almost unrecognizable degree. The Irish forename Muircheartach is
anglicized under a shortened form, Murrīrh, which appears elsewhere
as “Murryrtagh.” The use of superscript stroke marks indicates
truncating, and the author also employs occasional Latin words such
as *eodem* (i.e. *eodem*, “of the same”).


152 See: Dwyer, *Diocese*, 160–177. By the time of the 1695 Visitation of Killaloe, almost all
of the benefices were held by English or Anglo-Irish clerics. See: Dwyer, *Diocese*, 428–35


154 I am indebted to Brian Ó Dálaigh for his helpful advice on this point.
The scribe’s anglicization of Irish names displays familiarity with Irish. Just as the Church historian Rev. Philip Dwyer commented on the Irish-speaking clerk who rendered the Clare placename, *Tuaim Fhionnlocha* (modern Tomfinlough), as “Tomenlough” in 1633,\(^{155}\) in this list, names like “Theɾ O Brien” (*Toirdhealbhach Ó Briain*) and “Thomolton” (*Tomaltach*) retain the palatalized “th,” which is sometimes expressed in the Irish of County Clare. While the list may be regarded as written in the same hand, a secondary, less cursive hand, may also be detected. The best example of this hand is found on the third page in the name “Bryen Boy,” which may have been a later interpolation. This is by no means certain and owing to the general character of the style and consistency of abbreviated forms, it may be taken that the list is predominantly in the same hand throughout.

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Ms 45,640/1

[page 1]

All the wrytings do
concerne Kyllfinora
Kilfinora
1601
All the writings do concern
Kilfinora
Connor McDonele O Brien
Ballincarrow 1\(^{qr}\)
Connor Mc Donnele O Brien
Inchiviagh\(^{156}\)

\(^{155}\)Dwyer, *Diocese*, 163.
\(^{156}\)Probably ‘Connor McDonnell O Brien of Incheveaghe’ recorded in a pardon from 1585. This placename located in the townland of Toormore in Kiltoraght parish. The castle was held by the O’Briens in 1570. See: Nicholls and O Cannan, *Fiants*, no. 4753; and Martin Breen, “A 1570 List of Castles in County Clare,” *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* 36 (1995): 134, 138.
Parysh of Kilfinora

\[\begin{align*}
40.q \text{ whereof} \\
4.q.d. \text{ ffree}
\end{align*}\]

+ Ffannta en Decan

Ballyshuná

Donel O Nealan

M. O Flañ. Ballychasine

Rorie O Cño. Carmananbeg

Murriř preyst d. eode

Hugh O Davorin

Carowekeile. Theř O Briě. of Carmenan

157 Parish of Kilfenora. In 1641, Fanta was held of the Deanery, and two quarters of Kilfenora and one quarter of Lickin was bishop’s land. See: Simington, Books, 195, 200. In the 1585 Composition Book, Kilfenora was part of “Toawoynter Flahirtye” (Tuath Mhuinntire Flaithbheartaigh) and comprised 40 qrs, of which 2½ qrs held by the Bishop of Kilfenora, 1 qr held by the Dean, 1 qr in right of the Queen. See: Ó hÓgáin, Conntae an Chláir, 110.

158 Modern Fanta Glebe in Kilfenora parish. In 1641, it was the property of the Deanry of Kilfenora. See: Simington, Books, 195.

159 Modern Ballyshanny in Kilfenora parish.

160 i.e. de eodem, “of the same.”

161 This is Ballycasheen, which situates in Killinaboy parish. The occupier in 1618 was “Cahir O Flannegan of Ballicashin.” See: PHA MS 16/B/D/2.

162 Modern Caherminnaun in Kilfenora parish. “Rowry O Conner of Cahirmenanbeg” held it in 1618. In 1641, it was “Carnmanbegg” and still had an O’Connor interest. See: PHA MS 16/B/D/2; and Simington, Books, 191.

163 Appears to be an abbreviation for “Murryrtagh” (i.e. Muircheartach) a name found later in the list.

164 i.e. de eodem, “of the same.”

165 Possibly the “Hugh O Davourren of Cahirwicknaghty,” pardoned in 1601. This placename was Cahermacnaughten in Rathbourney, the residence of the Úi Dhuibhdábhóireann brehons. See: Nicholls and O Cannan, Fiants, no. 6562.

166 Probably the modern Caherminnaun in Kilfenora parish. Last two words are superscript in the original. In 1618, “Thurlaogh McMorogh O Brien of Cahermanan,” held “Carowkeill.” See: PHA MS 16/B/D/2.
Freeholders of Kilfenora Diocese 1601

Hugh m’donel Tirelehin\textsuperscript{167} & Loghbullgen\textsuperscript{168} 1. q\textsuperscript{tr} r

Morrir. Duf Loghbulgen\textsuperscript{169} d.

Cño. m’donell O Bryen, b.— Ballyincarrow one q\textsuperscript{tr}

on him Oghtra\textsuperscript{170} one q\textsuperscript{tr}

Muř Offlanygan, Tullogh\textsuperscript{171} d.

Kylcarragh. The archd.\textsuperscript{172} one q\textsuperscript{tr}

Will Nealon \textit{eode}\textsuperscript{173} one q\textsuperscript{tr}

The archd.\textsuperscript{174} Ballychohie\textsuperscript{175} 3 q\textsuperscript{ters}

of him Ballybryn\textsuperscript{176} d.

Loghlin morř Ballybrin\textsuperscript{177} d.

10. q\textsuperscript{tr} d.

\textsuperscript{167} Modern Teerleheen in Clooney parish.

\textsuperscript{168} In 1618, Loghbulgen (its sub-unit “Emlockbeg”) was held by the McEncharge family. See: PHA MS 16/B/D/2. Also see: Simington, \textit{Books}, 204.

\textsuperscript{169} Now a redundant denomination, but on the 1658–9 Down Survey Map, it was contiguous with Ballyclancahill in Kilfenora parish.

\textsuperscript{170} This is “Oughtagh,” recorded in 1659 in Kiltoraght parish. In 1629, it paid 10 shillings to Kilfenora. See: Séamus Pender, \textit{A Census of Ireland, Circa 1659} (Dublin: Irish Manuscript Commission, 1939), 182; and Ainsworth, \textit{Inchiquin}, 338.

\textsuperscript{171} Modern Tullagh in Kilfenora parish.

\textsuperscript{172} i.e. the archdeacon. This reading is uncertain and appears to be abbreviated. Kilkarragh was associated with the archdeaconry and had a particular association with the Uí Nialláin family. In 1618, it was held by “William Nellan gent.,” who was recorded deacon in 1615. In 1617, Eugenius Neland was appointed deacon. See: PHA MS 16/B/D/2, and Dwyer, \textit{Diocese}, 99, 178.

\textsuperscript{173} i.e. \textit{eodem}, “of the same.”

\textsuperscript{174} i.e. the archdeacon.

\textsuperscript{175} Ballychohie was part of Kilkarragh in 1618: “William Nellan of Kilkahragh gent: the half qr of Kilkahragh…or ¾ part of the qr of Ballicohy.” In 1629, “Ballychohy” paid 11s. 8d. to Kilfenora out of one quarter. See: PHA MS 16/B/D/2; and Ainsworth, \textit{Inchiquin}, 338.

\textsuperscript{176} Modern Ballybreen in Kilfenora parish. In 1629, “Ballyvylin” paid £1 3s. 4d. to Kilfenora out of two quarters. Ainsworth, \textit{Inchiquin}, 338.

\textsuperscript{177} Modern Ballybreen in Kilfenora parish. In 1641, it was held by “Loughlin Mergagh Hychatt” (\textit{recte} Lysaght). Simington, \textit{Books}, 198.
Parish of Cloone. In 1641, the two quarters of Clooney was held by the tenants of the dean and cathedral chapter. See: Simington, Books, 207–8. In 1629, the dean claimed two quarters out of Clooney. See: Ainsworth, Inchiquin, 338. In the 1585 Composition Book, Clooney, Kilmanaheen, and Kilshanny were part of “Toawoynter Thoe” (Tuath Mhuinntire Tuaithe) and comprised 45 qrs, of which 5 qrs were held by the Queen in right of Kilshanny Abbey, and 7 qrs to the Bishop of Kilfenora. See: Ó hÓgáin, Conntae an Chláir, 110.

Possibly “Connoghor O Connoghor alias Connor Broackagh” pardoned in 1585. See: Nicholls and O Cannan, Fiants, no. 4753.

Modern Derrymore in Clooney parish.

Possibly an abbreviated form of McGillapatrick (Mac Giolla Phádraig), a name often anglicized as Fitzpatrick.

Modern Mooghna in Clooney parish.

i.e. eodem, “of the same.”

Possibly an abbreviated form of McGillapatrick, about which see note 181 above.

Modern Feagreen in Clooney parish.

Corrupt form of the forename Tomaltach.

Freeholders of Kilfenora Diocese 1601

parish of Kylmanahyn\textsuperscript{188}

\(\text{\#}\) 13 q. whereof
6. ffree & 4 kept ffree by D.E. \[?\]\textsuperscript{T}\textsuperscript{189}

\par

parish of Kylshanny\textsuperscript{190}

17.16 q.
3. ffree

Bryan m\textsuperscript{c}Teig of Ballymccravyn\textsuperscript{191} d.

Teig m\textsuperscript{c}Mahon of Cnocdow
\textit{eodm}\textsuperscript{192} Carrycossan.\textsuperscript{193}

+ Donell O Tyn
Murryrtagh \(\set\)
Cregergan\textsuperscript{194} 1.q\textsuperscript{fr}

Pourcyon\textsuperscript{195} B. m\textsuperscript{c}gilp\textsuperscript{196} one q\textsuperscript{fr}

Gilly Duf McClancy, Cregergan one q\textsuperscript{fr}

Mahown O Hanrohan\textsuperscript{197} eode\textsuperscript{198} d.

Bryen m\textsuperscript{c}gilp\textsuperscript{199} of Caroweragh\textsuperscript{200} 13q\textsuperscript{tr}
+ Donell O Tyn Bryen mc
gilp, & other of Hon\textsuperscript{s} te\ntans
of Carowkyle\textsuperscript{201} 1q\textsuperscript{tr}

\textsuperscript{188} Parish of Kilmanaheen. In the 1615 visitation, Kilmanaheen was held as of the archdeaconry. The archdeacon’s stone house situated at Kilcornan in Kilmanaheen in 1641. See: Dwyer, \textit{Diocese}, 98; and Simington, Books 222.

\textsuperscript{189} This acronym is obscure. It possibly reads: D.E.8T.

\textsuperscript{190} Parish of Kilshanny.

\textsuperscript{191} Modern Ballymacravan in Kilshanny parish.

\textsuperscript{192} i.e. \textit{eodem}, “of the same.”

\textsuperscript{193} Modern Caherycoosaun in Kilshanny parish.

\textsuperscript{194} Donald O’Tin of Cregargen appeared in a feoffment from 1615. In 1618, Cregargen was held by ‘Morietagh Lieh O Tin’, who held its four quarters. The Uí Theimhin were a minor lineage whose estate appears to be at Cregargen in Kilshanny parish, a denomination now obsolete. The surname is anglicized Thynne, and funerary monuments to the family are found at Kilshanny church. See PHA MS 16/B/D/2 and Ainsworth, \textit{Inchiquin}, 317–18.

\textsuperscript{195} Modern Porsoon in Kilshanny parish.

\textsuperscript{196} Brian Mcgillapatrick of Smithtown, next to Porsoon, recorded in 1615. See: Ainsworth, \textit{Inchiquin}, 318–19.

\textsuperscript{197} The occupier in 1618 was “Mahowne O Hanrighan of Cridergan gent.” See: PHA MS 16/B/D/2.

\textsuperscript{198} i.e. \textit{eodem}, “of the same.”

\textsuperscript{199} Possibly Brian Mcgillapatrick. See note 196 above.

\textsuperscript{200} Modern Carroweragh in Kilshanny parish.

\textsuperscript{201} Modern Carrowkeel in Kilshanny parish. Onora O’Brien (b. 1570) married Richard
+ Upon them the east d.

[?] q’ of Ballyalla

Carfarta, Larghy [...]

One q’t

Melaghlin m c gorman & John
O Hanrohan of Gortnybey

One q’t

6q. d.

The parysh of Kylmccrehy 30 q. whereof 5.d. free.

Tho. O Cahill Ballyyerra 208
Donel O Cahill Syngana 209

2 qr. d.

Tho. O Cahill Ballymcglonan 210
Tyrrabeg 211 on him

2 qr
d.
Freeholders of Kilfenora Diocese 1601

Carycale & Fydanagh on him\(^{212}\) d.

Cnō [?] Keylline Ballyellybeg\(^{213}\)

Laghlone\(^{214}\) on him 1 qr d.

Ffynin merygagh\(^{215}\) Cloghun\(^{216}\)

Phyhell\(^{217}\) d.

Bryan m'Cahill \{ \}

Ballyhean\(^{218}\) d.

Danyell Clancy 2.q.

Th’ archd.\(^{219}\) Ballypadin\(^{220}\) d.

Danyell Nealan et Moymore\(^{221}\) d.

Carowduff\(^{222}\) on hym one q\(^{tr}\)

Sanagh oge m'C Cruttyn\(^{223}\) of the same one q\(^{tr}\)

13.q.d.

\(^{212}\) Last two words superscript in original. These denominations cannot be identified.

\(^{213}\) Modern Ballyellery in Killaspuglonane parish.

\(^{214}\) Modern Laghcloon in Kilmacrehy parish.

\(^{215}\) Probably a phonetic rendering of the personal appellation meirgeach, i.e. pock-marked.

\(^{216}\) Modern Cloghaundine in Kilmacrehy parish. In 1641, it was recorded as “pasture being hospital land belonging to yᵉ hospital of Kilcarragh in yᵉ town and parish of Kilfenora.” It was held by an Ó Nialláin just as Kilcarragh, which had links to archdeaconry, was held by clerics of that family.

\(^{217}\) The transcription of this placename is uncertain.

\(^{218}\) Modern Ballyhean in Kilmacrehy parish.

\(^{219}\) i.e. the archdeacon. In the 1615 visitation, Kilmacrehy was held as of the archdeaconry. See: Dwyer, Diocese, 98, 100.

\(^{220}\) Modern Ballyfaudeen in Killaspuglonane parish. In 1618, it was held by William Nellan of “Kilcarragh” (recte Kilcarragh). See: PHA MS 16/B/D/2. Kilcarragh in Kilfenora was associated with the archdeaconry.

\(^{221}\) Modern Moymore in Killaspuglonane parish. In 1618, it was held by William Nellan of “Kilcarragh” (recte Kilcarragh in Kilfenora). See: PHA MS 16/B/D/2.

\(^{222}\) Modern Carrowduff in Killaspuglonane parish.

\(^{223}\) “Shanagh McCruttin” is recorded occupying Carrowduff in 1618. See: PHA MS 16/B/D/2.

\(^{224}\) Parish of Killilagh. In the 1585 Composition Book, Killilagh formed “Toacleae” (Tuath Ghlæ), and it comprised 26 qrs. See: Ó hÓgáin, Conntae an Chlár, 110.
Donnell m'Clancy 2. qr
Salamon m'Crutty  
Cno'gh on Uoghery
Moryrtaigh m' Owen 
Bo. Clancy 2.q.d 
Mu'n Clancy 2.q.d
9.q. one q'tr
Totall 46 also by the coppie wch Hugh Clancy had booke of C'.therr booke but 45.
Landes gyven ffree but dyvers of the ffreeholders viz wch ys inhabyted, viz
Conoghor m'donell O Brien 
of Inchyveve
Murrogh O Bryen of Kyll=
toragh
Cno & Loghlyn m'Gyllisaghta
of Ballybrien
Moryrtaigh duf m'Clancy 
donell-
Donnell McClaudy

---

225 Transcription uncertain.
226 Transcription of the last two words uncertain, but “therr” could signify “therein.”
228 Modern Kiltoragh in Kiltoraght parish.
229 “Cornelius McGillisaght” is recorded occupying “Ballyivren” and “Kilcornan” in 1618. See: PHA MS 16/B/D/2.
231 The ink has been rubbed to remove the name.
Freeholders of Kilfenora Diocese 1601

Murrogh O Flanygan of Tullogh\textsuperscript{232} d.
Bryen Boy.

parish Kylshanny\textsuperscript{233}
Mohown O Hanrahan one q\textsuperscript{tr}
of Cregargan\textsuperscript{234}
Any Iny B.\textsuperscript{235} of curowduf\textsuperscript{236} 1q
Dermott m\textsuperscript{c}Clancy Derrin\textsuperscript{237} 1 q

parish of Kylm\textsuperscript{crehe}\textsuperscript{238}
There are 8.q. dm\textsuperscript{239} ffree of 30
by right & wronge,\textsuperscript{240} D.E.T.\textsuperscript{241} 3 of them,
18 of the sayd q\textsuperscript{ts} payed her ma\textsuperscript{ties}

\textsuperscript{232} Modern Tullagh in Kilfenora parish.
\textsuperscript{233} Parish of Kilshanny.
\textsuperscript{234} Noted above as “Cridergan” in Kilshanny and occupied by the O’Tins in 1618. The modern placename is Carrowmanagh in Kilshanny parish. See: PHA MS 16/B/D/2.
\textsuperscript{235} i.e. Áine inghean B. (“Áine daughter of B.”). “B” is possibly an abbreviation for Brian or O’Brien. In 1618, “Thurlough O Brien” of Tullaghmore held the castle there and also “Pursuen and Carrowduff.” See: PHA MS 16/B/D/2.
\textsuperscript{236} Modern Carrowduff in Kilshanny parish.
\textsuperscript{237} Modern Derreen in Kilshanny parish.
\textsuperscript{238} Parish of Kilmacrehy.
\textsuperscript{239} Dimidium, i.e. half.
\textsuperscript{240} This refers to the type of fee-simple tenure. According to English land tenure: “every man who has a fee-simple, has it by either right or wrong. If by right, then he has it either by purchase or descent. If by wrong, then either by disseisin, intrusion, abatement, usurpation.” Thus, the reference here shows that it was not known by which form of tenure the free lands of Kilmacrehy were held. See: Edwardo Coke, The First Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England, or, A Commentary on Littleton, (London: Printed for the Societie of Stationers, 1628), ed. F. Hargrave and C. Butler, 19th ed. (London: James and Luke G. Hansard and sons, 1832), L.1.C.1. Sect. 1 [2a].
\textsuperscript{241} This is obscure. One possibility is that it is shorthand for D[eacon] e[t] T[enants] who occupied lands in Kilmacrehy. Alternatively, it could be from the Latin det, which is the active subjunctive of dō, meaning to render or give. This interpretation suggests that three quarters out of Kilmacrehy were rendered or yielded for the use of the church.
rent this Easter gale 1601.  

**parysh of Kyllilagh**

**parysh of Kylsfnora**

Conogh’ Murryg[?] Ballybrine  

Carowurbaghy  

Lysdowny by Smythstown people  

Cnockannaghloughort  

Inchyveke  

Any Iny Donogh  

Ballyhomeltowa  

Kyltoragh Murr’O Brien  

Carrowreagh  

Lykin, Bryen Boy  

Ballagh Murr’O flañygan

---

242 Reference to the rent levied on quarters, imposed as part of the 1585 Composition Agreement.  
243 Nothing entered under this parish.  
244 Parish of Kilfenora.  
245 Modern Ballybreen in Kilfenora parish. The name is possibly Conogh Mergagh (Lysaght). In 1641, Ballybreen was held by ‘Loughlin Mergagh Hychatt’ (recte Lysaght). See: Simington, Books, 198.  
246 A “Carowblowgh” is recorded in 1618. See PHA MS 16/B/D/2. In 1629, it paid to Kilfenora 6s. 8d. out of one quarter. See Ainsworth, Inchiquin, 338.  
247 Modern Lisdoony West in Kilfenora parish, close to Smithtown in Kilshanny. In 1629, it paid to Kilfenora 10s 8d out of one quarter. See: Ainsworth, Inchiquin, 338.  
248 Modern Smithtown in Kilshanny parish. In 1629, Ballynagowne (i.e. Smithstown) paid to Kilfenora 23s. 4d. out of four quarters. See: Ainsworth, Inchiquin, 338.  
249 An unidentified denomination.  
250 Inchiveehy in 1659 census in Kiltoraght parish.  
251 i.e. Áine inghean Donnchadh (“Áine daughter of Donogh”).  
252 i.e. de eodem, “of the same.”  
253 Modern Ballyhomulta in Kilfenora parish.  
254 Kiltoragh in Kiltoraght in parish.  
255 Carrowreagh in Kiltoraght parish in 1659. See: Pender, Census, 182.  
256 Modern Lickeen in Kilfenora parish. In 1629, the Dean of Kilfenora claimed one quarter out of it. See: Ainsworth, Inchiquin, 338.  
257 Modern Ballagh in Kilfenora parish.
Freeholders of Kilfenora Diocese 1601

Ballybryn\textsuperscript{258} C. & L\textsuperscript{259} d.

Hugh mcDonel\textsuperscript{260} 8. q. d

\textbf{parish of Clownye}\textsuperscript{261}

Teig o Bryen more 1q\textsuperscript{tr}

Davyd Comi\textsuperscript{n} Ardnakelly\textsuperscript{262} d.

Hugh mcdonel of Tyrlehin\textsuperscript{263} one q\textsuperscript{tr}

Coulenagh\textsuperscript{264} T.O.B\textsuperscript{265} & T\textsuperscript{266} m\textsuperscript{f}yinn 1q

\textbf{pysh. of Kylmanahin}\textsuperscript{267}

Kylcorn\textsuperscript{268} B. boye\textsuperscript{269} 1.q

Cloncowlt\textsuperscript{270} eode\textsuperscript{271} d.

\textsuperscript{258} Modern Ballybreen in Kilfenora parish.
\textsuperscript{259} The initials used here are obscure. Ballybreen paid £1 3s. 4d. to Kilfenora in 1629. See: Ainsworth, \textit{Inchiquin}, 338.
\textsuperscript{260} This name is severely defaced in the original.
\textsuperscript{261} Parish of Clooney.
\textsuperscript{262} Possibly Ardnakelly (now Ardnacullia) in 1641 at nearby Kilmanaheen parish. See: Simington, \textit{Books}, 224.
\textsuperscript{263} Modern Teerleheen in Clooney parish.
\textsuperscript{264} Modern Cullenagh in Clooney parish.
\textsuperscript{265} Presumably an abbreviation of Teig O Bryen who is referred to earlier. A Teige O'Brien held Cullenagh in 1641. See: Simington, \textit{Books}, 211.
\textsuperscript{266} The initials used here are obscure.
\textsuperscript{267} Parish of Kilmanaheen.
\textsuperscript{268} Modern Kilcornan in Kilmanaheen parish. Kilcornan was associated with the McGillisaghta or Lysaght (Meic Giolla Iasachta) family who also held Ballybreen in Kilfenora. In 1601, John and Rob. McGillisaghta of Kilcornan was recorded in the \textit{Fiants}. The Lysaghts held the archdeaconry and chancellorship of Kilfenora in 1633. In 1641, Kilcornan was held by Andrew Lithcett (\textit{recte} Lysaght), and it was where “the Archdeacon hath a stone house.” See: Simington, \textit{Books}, 222; Dwyer, \textit{Diocese}, 177–79; and Nicholls and O Cannan, \textit{Fiants}, no. 6562.
\textsuperscript{269} Probably an abbreviation for “Bryen Boy” (i.e. Brian Buidhe) who is noted elsewhere.
\textsuperscript{270} Modern Clooncoul in Kilmanaheen parish.
\textsuperscript{271} i.e. eodem, “of the same.”
Barony map of County Clare

Parishes of Corcomroe

Kilmacrehy

Kiltoraght

Kilfenora

Kilmanaheen

Clooney

Killilagh

Kilshanny

Killaspuglonane

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