



Killaloe – Royal and Ecclesiastical Power on the merchants' river

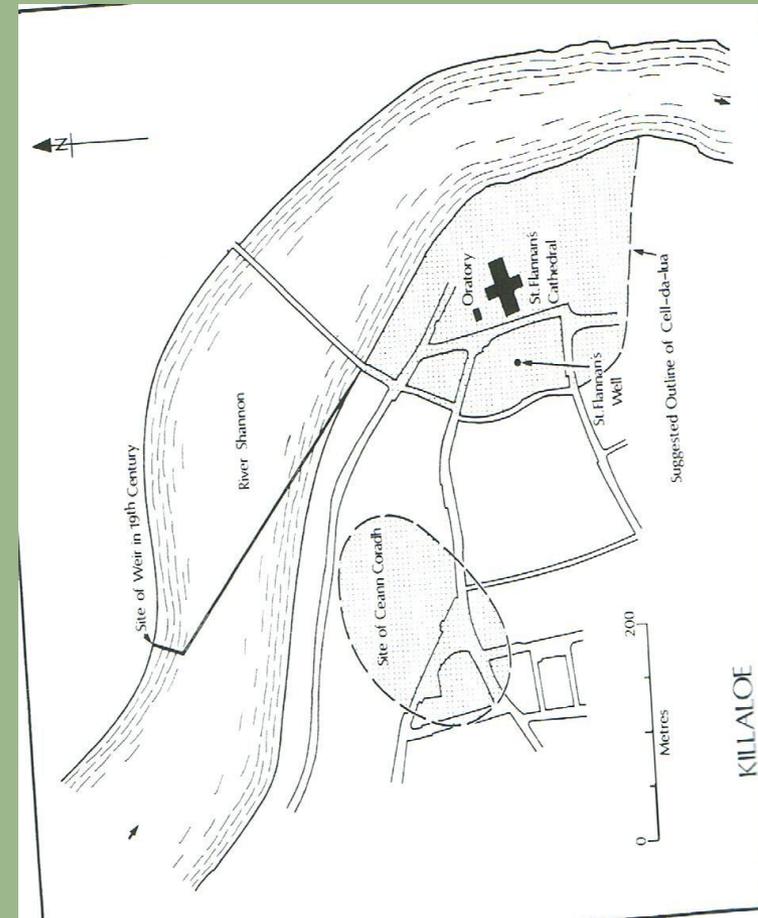
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John Bradley, 'Killaloe: a pre-Norman borough', *Peritia* 8 (1994), 170-79: this lecture is written in his honour

Abstract

Post-Norman records indicate that Killaloe was an early borough. It probably pre-dated the Normans. Here the early history of the related and adjacent sites, Killaloe (Cell Da Lua) and Kincora (Ceann Coradh) is traced. The one was a monastic site and later cathedral, the other a royal centre of the Uí Briain kings of Ireland – a unique combination outside the Scandinavian towns of Ireland. This settlement had urban functions, was a centre of royal and episcopal administration and had a Hiberno-Scandinavian community.



**Curragower Falls by King's Island requiring portage stop:
located by defensible island on major river surrounded by
water on all sides**



Túath Luimneach – lands between Limerick and Killaloe where river is shallow and fishing is excellent.

Westropp 1906/7 – identified this territory as *Es Cluana* and *Aos Trí Muighe* and as being held c. 1177 by Uí Conaing [O'Brien dynasty] “who gave their name to the castellated rocks of Carrigogunnell and Castleconnell.”



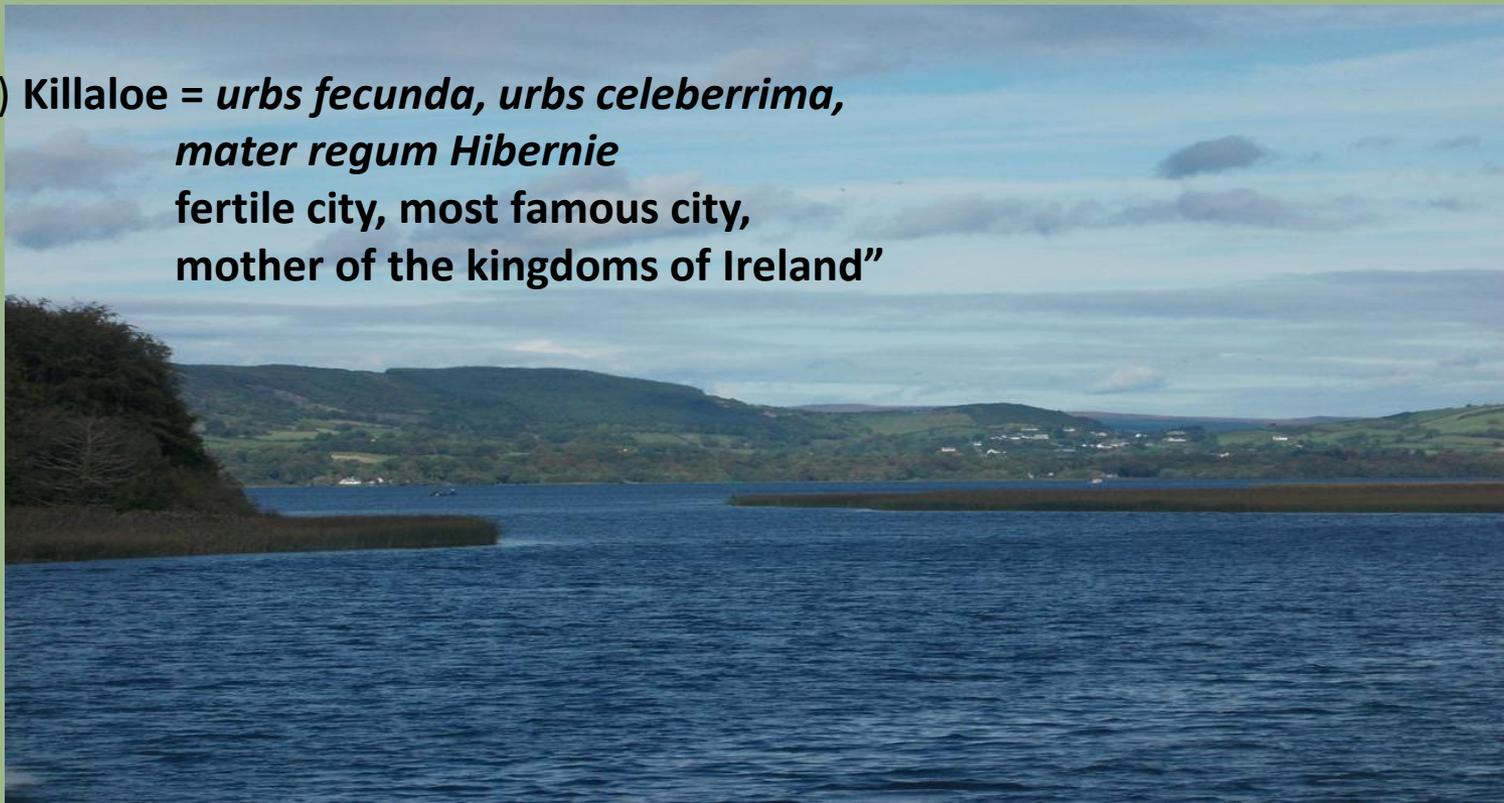
Royal power at Killaloe and Limerick as unit

Bethu Phádraig (early/mid 10th C) – ancestor of Killaloe dynasty baptised by Patrick at **Singland**, outside Limerick after “the men of Thomond, to the north of Luimnech, went in seafleets south”.

Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaib (early 12th C) **Singland** = site of ritual humiliation of defeated Vikings of Limerick by Dál Cais after sacking of Viking base in 967

Lebor na Cert (late 11th/early 12th C) **Singland** = site of fortification built by Brian Boru

Vita Flannani (1160s) **Killaloe** = *urbs fecunda, urbs celeberrima, mater regum Hibernie*
**fertile city, most famous city,
mother of the kingdoms of Ireland”**



Roskilde reconstructions of merchant ship (to left) and war ships (to right)



Ships of both kinds were active on Shannon: the merchant Hrafn Hlymsreckfari (Hlymrek(Limerick)-traveller) active in Iceland in *Landnamabók*; see also reference to “ships full of men” in eleventh-century *Lebor na Cert*



Óenach Luimnig in Metrical Dindshenchas

It is an *óenach* of a gathering that is held with victories, with great renown; a proud and wealthy people held it, a people with saddles and silken cloaks.

A great assembly there at the centre of Luimnech of the expeditions; from the meeting of the host, a voluminous sound around from which Luimnech got its warrior-name. Eochu's province assembled there.



Point 1: To control shipping (both merchant and military) on the Shannon, you need to control the bottleneck between Limerick (commanding the estuary) and Killaloe (commanding access to lakes) and the Dál Cais rulers made claims to both from at least mid tenth century

Royal dwelling places in the twelfth century– the evidence of *Mesca Ulad* in *Book of Leinster*

The Ulaid came to the mustering at the feast and men from half the townlands in Ulster arrived. Thus they came, each hospitaller with his spouse, each king with his queen, each musician with his instruments, each gallant with his lady... The **sleeping chambers** (*cotaltigi*) were beautiful, ornamented and finely shaped; the beautiful tall **solars** (*grianána*) strewn with fresh rushes and reeds; there were long-houses for the **troop-houses** (*slúagthigi*), the **cooking houses** (*cuchtarthigi*) were wide and spacious and the **hostel** (*bruiden*) was speckled with a wide door and it was ample, wide and great, having four doors and corners and nooks.

After that the **drinking house** (*óltech*) was set out in order by Conchobar, according to the divisions of kindred, to the ranks and skills..The men who divided set out the divisions (of food), the cupbearers dispensed the drinks and the doorkeepers did the door keeping. Musical pieces are sung along with rousing verses and praises were proclaimed in poems and tales. Treasures and jewels and wealth were distributed to them.

The poets and the musicians and the entertainers were sent to the Ulaid to perform and entertain...their attendants came towards them and a huge bonfire was lit for them. They divided the portions of food and drink...

Béal Ború

Is éard a bhí sa chréif mór seo ar dtús an gnáthchneál saimh chiorclaigh chónaithe a bhí coitianta in Éirinn sna luath-mheánaoiseanna AD 500-1000. Bhí clais dhomhain le claifort arda timpeall air. Iarsma de chaisleán Argla-Normannach is ea an séadchomhartha a fheicimid inniu a tógadh tar éis scríos an leasa i gcogai dírtúla i 1116.

This great earthwork began life as a large ringfort, the standard form of circular habitation site which was common in early medieval Ireland (500 to 1000 AD). It had a deep outer fosse (ditch) and high embankments. The monument we see today is the remains of an Anglo-Norman castle which was built after the ringfort was destroyed during local wars in 1116.

When the Anglo-Normans came to the area less than a century later, they reoccupied the site and began to convert it into a substantial earth and timber castle. A contemporary medieval writer seems to have recorded this event when he described in 1207 how the "English of Meath and Leinster" attempted to build "near the Borow".

Some archaeologists believe that the builders intended it to be a motte (a flat-topped mound on which a timber tower would be erected) but that they abandoned it when it was only half finished. Other scholars identify it as the remains of a ringwork, a type of castle which had an enclosing earthen bank topped with a wooden palisade.

Náisi a tháinig na hAngla-Normannaigh go dtí an áite seo is ní clais bhain ina áiteadh sin. Fíorghabh siad an náisiúil agus thugadh siad ag áiteamh caitéin láidir críoige agna áiteamh sin. Is cneál gearr í seo an obair a bhí i gceist ag scríobhóir de chuid na meánaoiseanna agus í ag cur síos ar an gceist a náisi "Saxannaigh na hÍr" agus "Leinstear" ag cur tús a thógáil ar an áite seo.

Cuidimís scríobhóirí áite seo go raibís ar í gearr ag na típialaithe móla (clais) a bhí clais bhain caitéin air a dhéanamh tar éis a thógáil ach go raibís siad an mair nach raibís ar áite áiteamh. Áiteamh caitéin éile naí iarsma de chreite fíorghabh, cneál caitéin a bhí cneálaithe ag claifort a raibís cneál áiteamh ar a bhain.

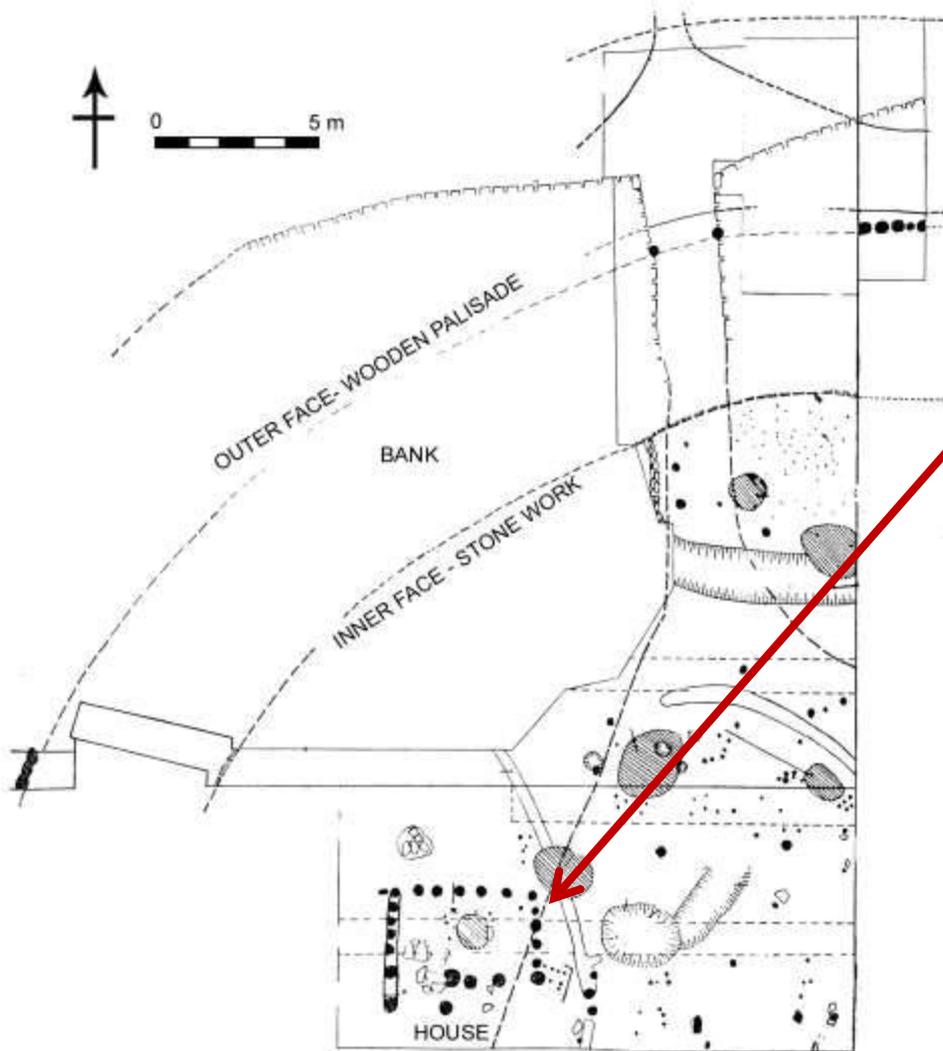
Building earthworks from the Norman Invasion

One quarter of site “fully investigated” over period of 10 weeks in 1961 when 12 men were employed.

5 inner face of original (primary) bank = built stone work- with gravel and turf thrown up from exterior ditch. Outer face held in place by palisade of closely set posts.

What is currently visible at the site is thought to **post-date the Norman invasion** and to represent an early castle of Anglo-Norman type.



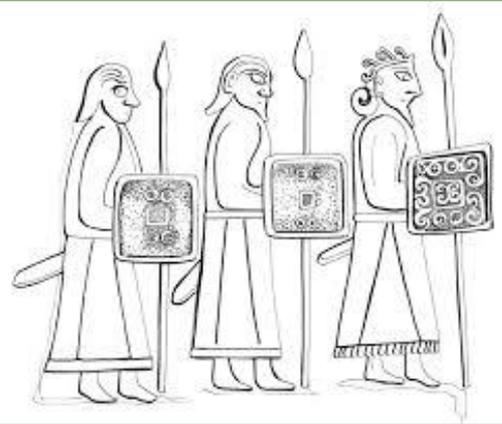


Single house plan (roughly east/west) and measured 4m by 2.5m internally. Constructed of posts but no evidence for infill between posts nor of material used for roofs. Doorway was in south-west and possible porch sheltering doorway. A passage leading into house is well laid of large slabs of stone of local slate. Depth of rubbish from hearth through door and outside. One coin (b) found by hearth-back.

O'Kelly, M. J. 1962. "Béal Ború" *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 67, 1-27, fig. 4

NB! Excavator was not allowed disturb trees so did not investigate the most sheltered part of the site where high status habitation was probably most likely

In 12th C mid West, such royal houses held amalgam of ethnic groups:



Pictish/Scottish warriors = allies of O'Briens



“Lambertus de Killdalu”
[Germanic name] attested in Dublin citizen roll of c. 1200

Memorial stone to Norse-named settler, Thorgrim inscribed in west Atlantic runes & found at Killaloe cathedral (with ogham transcription)



Coins from Anglo-Saxon & Anglo-Norse England - estuary, Béal Boru, Limerick





Point 2: By 11th and 12th C, the military élite for hire around northern Europe had arrived at Irish royal settlements which included cluster of houses used for different functions and some of which appear to have been much bigger than others.



Early Irish Church draws on varied models of monastic organisation

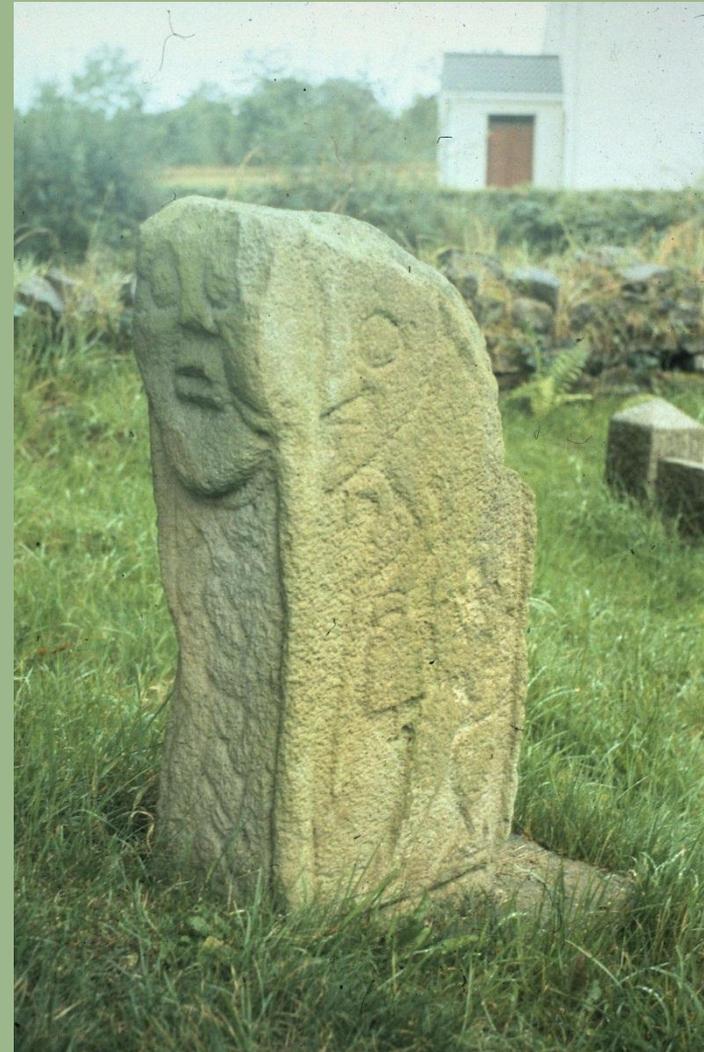
Nth France: St Martin of Tours – monk at breakfast and tea – bishop in between times; priests who look after laity but live as monks

Cappadocia: Rule of St Basil – a family (males and females) dedicating themselves to offering charity and hospitality

Italy: Rule of the Master – a group of scholars who live apart, no priests and no physical labour in fields

Spain: St Isidore – economically self sufficient communities who produce their own food

Carolingian Empire: Benedictine.



Brian Boru's brother as leading Dál Cais churchman was NOT a bishop – was he a monk?

- Marcán is head of church of Emly (site of bishopric) by 990 although by 995 Marcán had lost the headship to a member of Eoganacht Áine – a family apparently centred on Bruff.
- In 991, the abbot of Killaloe, Scandlán mac Taidc dies and his successor was apparently Marcán. When he died **Marcán was comarba Coluim m.Cremhthainn & Innsi Celtra & Cille Da Lua, i.e. leader of Terryglass, Inis Cealtra and Killaloe (AU 1010)**
- **He is not given a clerical grade but instead is identified as *cenn Muman i lleith o clercibh* or “head of Munster on the side of clergy” (CS 1010).**

Giraldus Cambrensis writes about *abbas laicus* – ‘lay-abbots’

- “For the practice and perverse custom grew whereby men, powerful in the *parochia*, at first were established by the clergy as patrons and defenders (*defensores*) of the household or rather of the churches; later with the passage of time (and) with increasing greediness **they usurped the whole administration to themselves and impudently appropriated all the lands and external possessions to themselves; leaving to the clergy only the altar income together with tithes and offerings** and assigning these to their sons and relations who were clerics. Such defenders or rather destroyers of churches cause themselves to be called abbots and they thus dare to have assigned to themselves the name as well as the thing that is not their due.” (Trans by Holland, “lay control”, 129 from *Giraldus Cambrensis opera* RS 21 (London 1861-91), vi, 120)

Bethu Phádraig - Patrick blessed Conall mac Éndai of the Uí Amlongid of Tirawley of north Mayo:

- “Arise O Conall” said Patrick, “you must take the bachall. Conall said “If it is a pious thing, I will do it for you”. “That shall not be so” said Patrick. “You shall be under arms for the sake of your kindred’s inheritance (*comarbae*) and you will be known as Connall Bachall-Shield”. The order of warrior cleric or lay cleric (*laech clerech*) shall be from you and every one of yours in whose shield shall be the sign of my bachall, the warriors around him shall not be turned”.

the men who enjoy ecclesiastical immunity and whom they call ecclesiastical men, although they are laymen and have wives, wear long hair hanging down past their shoulders but do not, in fact, bear arms; these wear coronae (crowns?) on the head as a mark of protection by authority of the bishop (pontifex).” *Giraldus Cambrensis Opera Vol V* (London 1867), 171 – my translation



MILITARY ADVANTAGES TO MARCÁN'S CONTROL OF DÁL CAIS CHURCHES



Genealogy of the descendants of Tairdelbach in Book of Leinster

Five sons of **Tairdelbach**: holy **Flannán**, Mathgamain, Áed, Eochu, Ailgile.

Four sons with Mathgamain that is Ánluain, Áed, Sathgel & Fiangalach

One son with Ánluain – that is Corcc

One son with Corcc – that is Lachtna

One son with Lachtna that is Lorccán

Four sons with Lorccán – that is **Cennétig** & Coscrach, Londgargán & Congalach

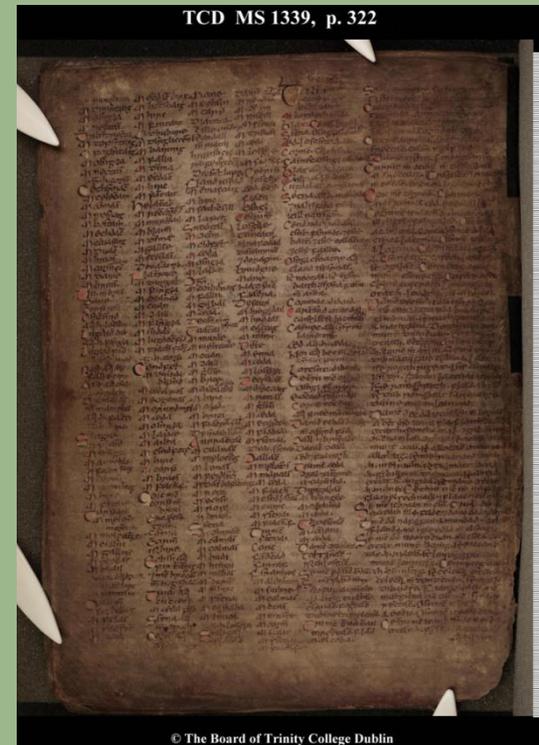
Cennétig from whom are the Family of Cennétig

Cosgrach from whom are the offspring (Clan) of Coscrach

Longargán from whom are the descendants of Lonngargáin son of Lorccan

....12 sons of Cennétig and of them, five had descendants – i.e.

Brian (from whom are the seed of Brian (Síl mBríain),....

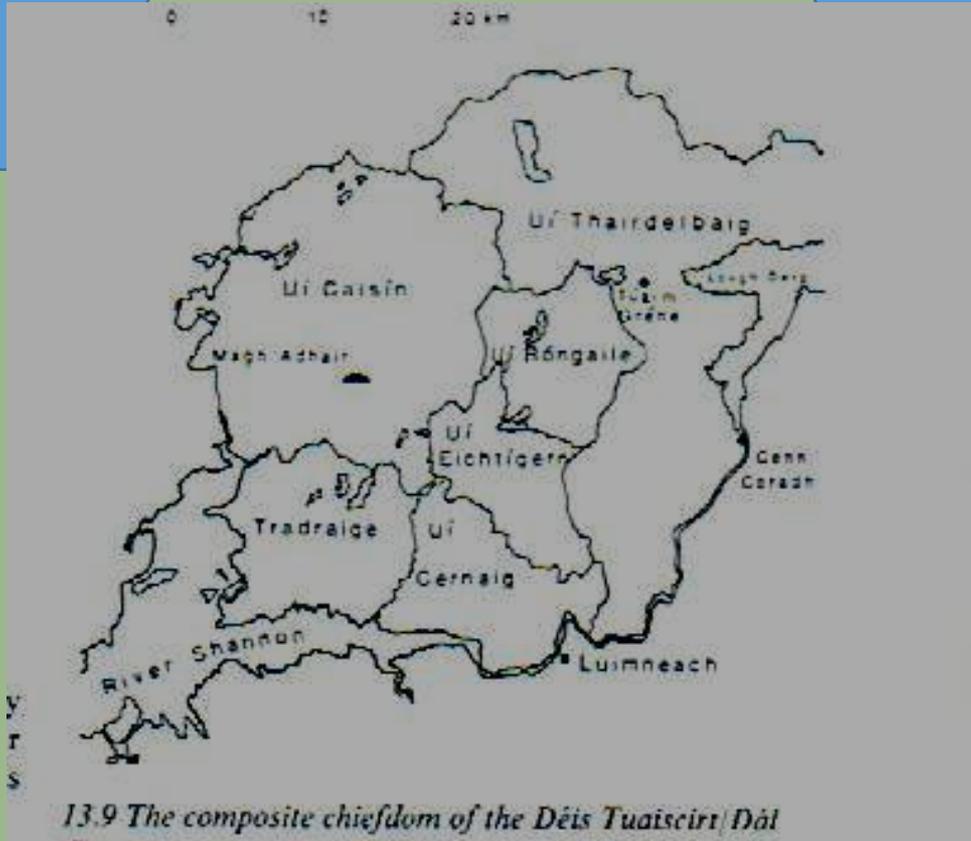


CAS

Caissín

Cairthenn

Bapt. by St Patrick



13.9 The composite chiefdom of the Déis Tuaiscirt/Dál



Nature of episcopal involvement at Killaloe

- In 10th and 11th centuries, list of bishoprics in *Annals of Inisfallen* is Lismore, Ardfert, Emly, Cork, **Thomond** (AI s.a. 927, 953, 1018) as well as bishop and coarb of Brendán and Flannán (AI s.a. 1040), Cashel, Inis Cathaig (Scattery island) and Lorrha. There is also a bishop who is coarb of Crónán and Ciarán who presumably is based in the vicinity of Roscrea and/or Seirkieran as well as five bishops whose sees are unknown.
- AI 1111: “A great assembly (*mórdál*) of the men of Ireland, both clergy and laity in Fiad Mac nAengusa, i.e. in Ráith Breasail, including Muirchertach Ua Briain, high-king of Ireland” [in Eliogarty, E. Tip. c.Thurles]
- 7 Munster bishoprics listed by Keating as having been created at Ráithbreasail: *Is ré linn an Muircheartaigh fós do horduigheadh seanadh nó comdháil choitchenn I nErinn I Ráith Breasail...*
- Cathaoire Mumhan (Cities of Munster – used here of bishoprics)
Caiseal ag airdeaspog Lethe Mogha, Lios Mór nó Port Lairge, Corcach, Ráith Mhaighe Deisceirt, Luimneach, Cill Dálua, Imleach Iobhair.

Anselm of Canterbury writes to Muirchertach Ua Briain (based at Limerick and Killaloe) in late 11th/ early 12th C

- “It is also said that in your country **bishops are elected at random and appointed without any definite place for their bishopric** and ordained bishop by one bishop only, just like any priest. This is of course totally against the holy canons which order that those who have been appointed or ordained in this way, as well as those who ordained them, are to be deposed from their episcopal office. For indeed a **bishop, unless he has a particular diocese and a people whom he watches over, cannot be appointed according to the will of God**, for even in secular affairs he who has no flock to feed can have neither the name nor the office of pastor. Episcopal dignity suffers not a little whenever someone is raised to a bishopric without knowing where, as an ordained bishop, he is to reside nor knowing for sure over whom he is to preside through his episcopal ministry.”

Change in Killaloe status (or at least power) by mid 12th C

- 14 bishops listed in the Montpellier list of Munster dioceses that represents our best contemporary account of the arrangements of Kells/Mellifont in 1152.
- Montpellier list includes would-be bishops at both Mungret and Ardmore as well as Limerick, Lismore, Kilfenora, Roscrea, Scattery and Waterford (= 5 Thomond & 3 Desmond dioceses) as well as the metropolitanus of Cashel
- But **Montpellier does NOT include bishop of Thomond**, Tadg Ua Longargain, who apparently was not present at Kells/Mellifont in the 1150s
- 1150S = a period when the Uí Briain dynasty were in a much weaker position, politically, than they had been at the time of Ráíthbreasail. It is probably not surprising, then, that the huge diocese awarded to Killaloe at the beginning of the twelfth century was fragmented in these later arrangements.



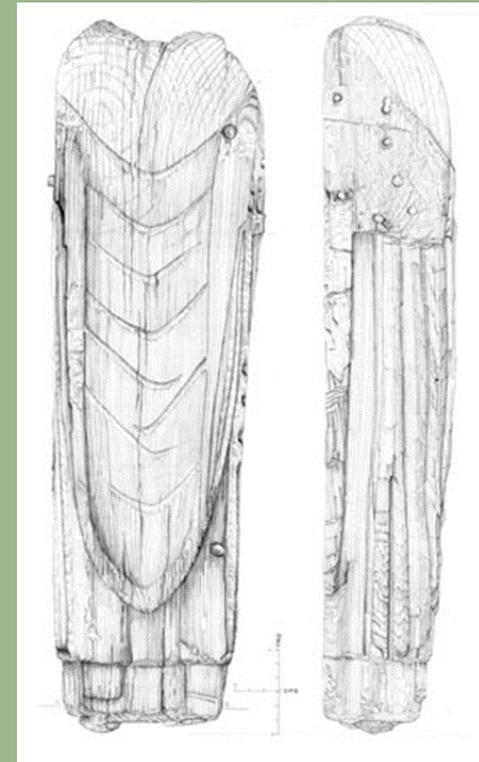
Point 3: tradition in 11th C Killaloe of church *defensor* who is member of ruling dynasty of Killaloe and also of bishops without territorially defined diocese but whose title derived from kingdom or settlement.

bronze mounting strips with Ringerike ornament Nth of St Caimin's church, Iniscealtra, brooch & mounting strip from St Brigit's church – NMAJ 53 (2013), 64 Illus 21

Loss of episcopal power in arrangements of 1152 at Kells/Mellifont + strong tradition of monastic/secular church landowner power tied to ruling dynasty gives context for life of St Flannan written in 1160s

- Flannan is six generations removed from Brian Boru and is son of Tairdelbach.

Before I begin this little work, I will mention a few out of the many deeds of Theodericus, father of the holy man. Theodericus was a king whom the history of old kings of Ireland recorded and ancient tradition of ancestors proclaimed; he was a most Christian man as I have thus said, and an apostolic or great preacher, experienced in work and faith. Following all the traces of the Saviour, proclaiming the faith of Christ with his own mouth, he built churches with his own wealth, he used to act as a father to the naked of Christ's poor, he relieved the debts of [his] pleading enemies and through the fame of his good works, he called pagans, who were enemies of faith, back to the faith.



Transfer of power from St Molua (who had given his name to settlement) to later Saint Flannan

The *Salamenticensis* life states: St Molua, sitting on a high seat in the presence of the king and assembled nobility, announced that it was time for him to depart, in order to fulfil the prophecy of St Brendan of Ardfert that “a star of David will rise from a blood-stained kingdom on the banks of the Shannon”.

SECULAR
POWER

The Rawlinson life, in contrast, prefaces this speech with a more pointedly ecclesiastical formulation as follows:

“the holy father, the abbot Molua, having been inspired by the Holy Spirit and understanding the future pastoral dignity of the church, called together an assembly of church prelates in the presence of the king.”

CHURCH
POWER

Both agree that Flannan felt himself unworthy of taking up responsibility for the care of others despite the fact that he was, in the words of *Salamenticensis*, “most worthy, given his merits, for the rank of bishop” *meritis pontificali dignissimus gradu* and that he was both *electus atque intronizatus* “chosen and enthroned” at Killaloe. The decision was therefore, taken that he would go to Rome...

Foreigners brought back by Flannan from Rome who live in island community as monks who look after sick & ‘naked of Christ’s poor’?

Apart from a knowledge of church affairs in Rome, Flannan is said to have brought back with him a group of Roman monks, *monachi* or *fratres* who settled on *an insula Ferdinea/Fredinea*. They had followed Flannan “through many seas” to arrive in Thomond.

These men were identified by Salamenticensis as being *infirmi* and in Rawlinson as being “leperous men and monks by profession”.

THE POOR AND SICK OF KILLALOE

Annals of Tigernach 1142 Conchobar Ua Briain having fallen ill “died from it in Killaloe on a pilgrimage.”

Annals of the Four Masters 1137 Domnall ua Conaing is *eirdnidthe bídh ocus seód do thruacchaibh ocus trénaibh* – bestower of food and treasure to both the pitiful and to the strong
1167: Úa Briain king was “the best man that came in his time for distributing treasure and wealth to the poor and the indigent of God”.

KING DECIDES to give royal *cert & cána* [=agricultural renders] to Flannan as bishop

Rawlinson: “The King Theodoric did not forget the sermon of the man of God, holding back all things with devoted mind and conserving the memory, he placed the many estates and royal tributes in the hands of the mediator of the church of Killaloe.”

Salamanticensis: “*predia multa, prata virentia, regia tributa*” -

MANY SPOILS, GREEN MEADOWS, ROYAL TRIBUTES

King Tairdelbach/Theodoric then takes up role as Cistercian-style monk at Lismore, labouring at physical toil.

- ❑ The Úa Briain king who ruled at the end of the twelfth century, Domnall Mór Úa Briain, endowed multiple houses including Cistercian monks, Augustinian canons and Augustinian nuns.
- ❑ Dál Cais churchmen dominated the archbishopric of Cashel for much of the twelfth century and first half of thirteenth century WHEN NUMBER OF ARCHBISHOPS = CISTERCIAN
- ❑ 10 Irish sees were occupied by Cistercians between 1150 and 1199.

Who are priests of the Killaloe diocese and where do they live?

- In *De statu ecclesiae*, Bishop Gille of Limerick states clearly that monasteries should be under the control of bishops and kept separate from pastoral duties for “it is not the task of monks to baptize or to give communion or to minister anything ecclesiastical to the laity”.
- Much of our evidence, from all periods, represents priests living and working in Gaelic Ireland as ISOLATED individuals. The death at Killaloe of *in t-uasalshacart* “the noble priest” in 1077 with the use of a definite article is typical.
- This is supported by Gille of Limerick: ““He should hold a synod twice a year, in summer and autumn. In this way all the priests come together from the whole diocese and the bishop examines them lest any should be lacking in the whole order or in the utensils of the church (*desit in omni ordine uel utensilibus ecclesiae*) or that any of them may have injured another. They meet over a period of three days. Then, having settled everything peacefully they are free to go in peace.”

[Fleming, *Gille*, 160-1, ll. 252-8. The translation of the phrase given here in Latin has here been made more literal: Fleming renders it “lacking in their priestly lives or in their pastoral ministry.”]

Scattered Dál Cais families who are affiliated to church (episcopal) structures

Úa hEnna - based in Áes Cluana or Kilkeedy in Co. Limerick.

Uí Ócáin or O'Hogans who became the hereditary keepers of relics at Rath (the home of Flannan's teacher Blathmac in his *vita*) = descendants from the first cousins of Brian Boru. They are cousins of two *comarba* (heirs) of Flannan in the first half of the eleventh century, Cathal mac Maine (who died in 1013) and Coscrach mac Aingid (died in 1040) and they appear to have had a base at Lorrha in the later medieval period (R. Ó Floinn in NMAJ 32(1990), 21-2)

Similarly devolved settlement pattern for families of monastic officials at Clonmacnoise in the same period (see family of Colmán Bocht at Ísel Chiaráin).

NB! We have tended to assume that, upon receiving offices such as *comarba Flannaini* or *epscop Tuadmumu*, the recipients necessarily moved to permanent residences at Killaloe itself but there is no explicit evidence for this.

Flannan lives extremely ascetic life as bishop but there is no reference in his *vita* to living within (monastic) community

- As bishop, Flannan wore rough clothes, avoided hunting with dogs and other royal pleasures, did not take baths, mended his own garments when they were torn and was prepared to feed himself through the work of his own hands, allowing him to donate all his income to care for others. He also studies the Psalter on a regular basis and in extreme conditions, standing in cold water over the night hours.

Return of Theodoric from Lismore to Flannan's episcopal [?] hall

- On the next day, when [Theodoric] was coming into his own land, all the nobles of the land running to him and asking suitable coverings for his grade and to be dressed in worthy clothes, he would not in any way agree. After this the pauper of Christ, carried neither by horse or chariot as is permitted but [walking] with his stick, he entered humbly into the hall of his son, holy Flannanus as one who was a pilgrim,. Meanwhile the man of God, Flannan, prepared foodstuffs and feasts as required by hospitality, and he wished to provide warm baths after such labours, his father forbade him saying, “ Holy Colman, bishop of Lismore, does not offer such sustenance to me.”
- **Flannan is here offering normal [secular] hospitality of a great lord to his father.**
- **Episcopal halls known from 11th C Armagh where they're associated with coloured drinking horns**

11th C account of royal and ecclesiastical halls in parallel from *Fragmentary Annals* - similar in structure?

- It was at this time that Fergal made a prophecy for his sons Áed Alláin and Niall Condail..They came one day to visit him at Ailech, Áed the elder son , a prime, clever, cruel and vigorous warrior.., the younger son came thus: calmly, and temperately, peacefully with few attendants..
- After that the older son Áed was brought into the *rígtheach cona muinntir*. The young son, Niall was brought to a lovely secluded house. he came in the last part of the night to the house in which the elder son was staying ..it was very foul within that house. There were buffoons and satirists and horse-boys and jugglers and oafs, - *fuirseoiri & cainteada & eachlacha & oblóiri & bachlaigh* - roaring and bellowing there. Some were drinking, some sleeping, some vomiting, some piping, some whistling. Drummers and harpers were playing, a group was boasting and arguing....And then he came to visit the secluded house where the younger son was..and he heard nothing there but thanksgiving to God for all that they had received and sweet, quiet, harp playing and the singing of praise songs to the Lord.



Point 4: in Life of Flannan, the bishop is described as living an ascetic [Cistercian style?] life while surrounded by royalty and as having responsibility for foreign monks living on island who look after poor and sick. There is no evidence for a large group of priests living at Killaloe but bishop has hall where he offers hospitality

crossing the bridge of the *civitas*, [Theodoric] began to ascend the mountain nearby and discovering in the corner of that mountain, a fountain of water, he bent to take a little to drink from it with his palms. And when he was thus bent, suddenly, he felt the burden of a pain which would not permit him to continue his journey beyond that fountain.

Then the king on earth [Flannan's brother] with all his leaders and with many holy men came to holy Flannan so that they might lead the holy body of Theodoric to the place of burial. On the following day, when the royal funeral processions were finished, they buried him with honour.

*Cum planctu et clangore tubarum ac
tibicinum, iuxta morem regum
Occidentis*



Bishop as royal advisor rather than diocesan and pastoral administrator

- *Salamanticensis*: “Having called together his uterine brother, the king, and his relatives, the leaders of the kingdom and the holy fathers, prelates of the churches ...none of his own blood or of royal power or because of hereditary right, should usurp the rule of his church”
- Anselm of Canterbury wrote to Muirchertach Úa Briain c. 1106: “if your excellency is not able to read the passages of the divine Scriptures which forbid this infamous business yourself, order the bishops and religious clerics who are in your kingdom to read them to you” [Fröhlich, *Letters of St Anselm*, iii 215 §435]
- Key negotiator for treaty of Windsor on behalf of Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair was *Catholicus archiepiscopus Tuamensis*, the *airdespoc Connacht* who died in Cong in 1201

Máel Muire Úa Dunáin – episcopal politician and king’s man

Signs himself *episcopus Midiae* in a letter of the 1090s but is *uasal epscop & aird-shenóir Érenn* in 1101 according to the Annals of the Four Masters. Donnchadh Ó Corráin described this in 1983 as “a title which, if the entry is genuine, probably reflects the glory of his new patron as much as his own standing” and follows this with the question: “But is the entry genuine?”

kingdom of Mide collapsed in the 1090s and overlordship over it was subsequently exercised by Muirchertach Úa Briain,

Úa Dunáin, is described as the leading cleric of “an assembly of the men of Ireland, lay and cleric at Cashel around Muirchertach Ua Briain” in record of synod of Cashel in 1111



Conclusions

- Nature of Shannon navigation ties together fortunes of Killaloe and Limerick as key settlements of lake and estuary respectively, separated by shallow fisheries. This links both settlements as Ua Briain strongholds, focii of local church power and magnets for foreign merchants and mercenaries for hire.
- By mid twelfth-century, Killaloe had been linked to local church *defensor* & lay abbot belonging to royal dynasty as well as association with bishopric of KINGDOM of Thomond.
- Life of Flannan written in 1160s portrays saint as bishop with responsibility for foreign monks living in seclusion on unknown island. As bishop, he lives an ascetic lifestyle at the royal court of his father and brother, while garnering royal tributes to pay for his charity and offering quasi royal hospitality to the deserving.
- While author(s) of Flannan's life seem particularly impressed by Cistercian rule, Flannan himself seems to fit more easily into role of royal "clerk" and advisor. Lacking the clear locational associations of episcopal sees such as Canterbury, the politically pre-eminent Irish bishops appear to have taken their status from that of the temporal kings who were their patrons however transitory such status may have been.
- Priests who represented local staff of bishop appear to have been dispersed into local parishes by early twelfth century if not before.
- In Richard Gem's words, the oratory of St Flannan, built c. 1100 was created by "an Anglo-Norman mason of some standing whose fashionable design would reflect well on the status of his patron", namely Muirchertach Ua Briain (1086-1119).
- **To rephrase John Bradley: 1994 Killaloe is ROYAL nucleated settlement with some (minimal number of) church monuments located by a river controlled, in both its upper and lower reaches, by the Killaloe kings** And used by them to transport imported goods and military men.

