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The Latin Franciscan Anglo-Irish
Annals of Medieval Ireland

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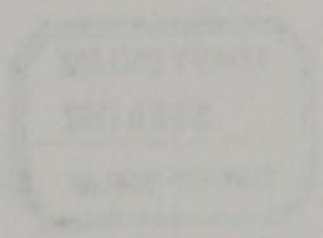


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I hereby declare that this thesis is entirely my own work and that it has not been submitted for a degree at any other university.

Bernadette A. Williams

SUMMARY

Some annals have survived which were written by Anglo-Irish Franciscan friars in medieval Ireland. The earliest surviving example is the Annals of Multyfarnham. The annals do not disclose where they were written or by whom they were written; only by examining the internal evidence can this question be addressed. This problem is also true of the Kilkenny Chronicle and the Annals of Ross; only in the Annals of Clyn can we find the author's declaration. A question which must be addressed is to what extent are these annals the original work of the scribe and what proportion of the annals are compilations. Only when these questions are answered can due weight be given to statements made by the scribes in these works.

The Annals of Multyfarnham were written by friar Stephen de Exonia in Connacht during the years 1272 to 1274. It is possible that he was present in the short lived Franciscan friary in Roscommon; he may then have moved to Claregalway. His annals were used as a direct source for one section of the Kilkenny Chronicle. An examination of the Kilkenny Chronicle discloses that the manuscript was originally a roll of parchment which has broken, possibly as a result of being stored in roll form. Further examination led to the conclusion that the manuscript was not one roll but two rolls, one

of which had a chronicle on the recto side only, possibly written in Castledermot, and the other roll had an early chronicle on what is now the verso of the parchment, and a later chronicle, written in Kilkenny, on what is now the recto of the manuscript.

When the Annals of Clyn were analysed it became possible to divide the annal into two sections, the first section to 1333 being a compilation and the later section the original work of friar John Clyn of Kilkenny, who according to his own words was guardian of the friary of Carrick-on-Suir in 1336 and, according to a note in a Trinity College, Dublin, manuscript was also guardian of Kilkenny friary. Internal evidence suggests that Clyn was absent from Ireland in 1343 and from later entries it is possible to suggest that he was present at the General chapter of the Franciscan order which was held at Marseilles in 1343. His relationship with the de la Frene family stresses the importance of the military establishment in Ireland at that period of time. The Annals of Ross, the chronicle written in Kilkenny and Clyn all used a similar, if not identical source. There is a possibility that the Annals of Ross may have been part of BL Harley 913 in the medieval period. All the annals concentrate on the military aspect of life in Ireland.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Annals of Clyn Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn and Thady Dowling, together with the Annals of Ross ed. R. Butler (Ir. Arch. Soc., Dublin, 1849).
- Annals of Dudley Loftus White, N., 'The annals of Dudley Loftus', Anal. Hib. 10 (1941) p 223-238
- Annals of Multyfarnham Annales de Monte Fernandi (annals of Multyfarnham) in Tracts Relating to Ireland, ii (Ir. Arch. Soc., Dublin 1842)
- Annals of Ross Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn and Thady Dowling, together with the Annals of Ross ed. R. Butler (Ir. Arch. Soc., Dublin, 1849).
- Bryce Scottish Grey friars Bryce, William Moir, The Scottish Grey Friars (2 vols) (Edinburgh, 1909)
- Bryne 'Bishops, 1111-1534', Byrne, F.J., 'Bishops, 1111-1534', N.H.I., vol ix (1984), pp 264-332
- Carrigan Diocese of Ossory Carrigan, W., The history and antiquities of the diocese of Ossory 4 vols. (Dublin, 1905, repr. Kilkenny, 1981).
- Chronicle of Holyrood Chronicle of Holyrood ed. M.O. Anderson (Scottish Historical Society 30, 1938)

- Colker,
Descriptive Catalogue
- Colker, M. L., Trinity College Library, Dublin: Descriptive catalogue of the mediaeval and renaissance latin manuscripts (Scolar Press, 1991).
- Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum'
- Flower, R., 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum' Anal.Hib. 2 (1931) pp 292-340.
- Huber Documented History
- Huber, R.M., O.F.M., Documented history of the Franciscan order 1 1 8 2 - 1 5 1 7 (Milwaukee, 1944).
- Kilkenny Chronicle
- Flower, R., 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum' Anal. Hib. vol 2 (1931) pp 292-340.
- Liber exemplorum
- Liber exemplorum ad usum praedicantium saeculo xiii compositus a quodam fratre minore Anglico de Provincia Hiberniae ed. A.G. Little (Aberdeen 1908)
- Lydon The Lordship of Ireland
- Lydon, J.F. The lordship of Ireland in the middle ages (Dublin, 1972).
- Moorman History
- Moorman, J.R.H., A history of the Franciscan order from its origins to the year 1517 (Oxford, 1968)
- Salimbene
- Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam Eds Joseph L. Baird, Guiseppe Baglivi and John Robert Kane (New York 1986).

Where applicable, in this thesis I have used the bibliographical abbreviations suggested in Rules for contributors to Irish Historical Studies ed. T.W. Moody, Supplement 1 (Dublin, January 1968)

INTRODUCTION

The annals under examination in this thesis are those written in Latin by Franciscan friars who were Anglo-Irish and lived in Anglo-Irish Franciscan friaries. By this criterion, the Latin annals of the Franciscan friary of Nenagh lie outside the terms of reference. A great debt of gratitude is due to past historians who have preserved these annals from oblivion either as original manuscripts or as transcripts. The desire to collect, save and publish the Anglo-Irish annals of medieval Ireland first emerged in the seventeenth century but it was not until the nineteenth century that the ambition to publish the Anglo-Irish medieval annals came to fruition with the advent of the Irish Archeological Society.

The Anglo-Irish annals are constantly consulted by modern historians but the only comments on these works are the brief references made to them by the seventeenth century historians and the prefaces to the published editions. The first overall view of these Anglo-Irish annals came in the publication of Analecta Hibernica where two historians, Robin Flower¹ and

¹ Robin Flower, Keeper of Manuscripts, British Museum.

Aubrey Gwynn,² addressed the problem of the source of the Anglo-Irish annals;³ Gearóid MacNiocail summarised their research in his study of the Irish Annals.⁴ The lack of research in this field has resulted in certain misconceptions arising, and being perpetuated, and as a consequence has resulted in this study becoming a broad overview of the annals in question rather than detailed research on specific aspects. It has become clear that further research on particular aspects of these annals is necessary. A considerable debt is owed to the two historians, Robin Flower and Aubrey Gwynn, who first attempted to address the problems surrounding the Anglo-Irish annals.

The first task in this study was to search for manuscripts and in that endeavour the Hayes catalogue⁵ and the journal Analecta Hibernica were of great assistance by highlighting manuscripts collections that would bear investigation. Chapter I of this thesis

² Professor of Medieval history, University College, Dublin.

³ R. Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum' Anal. Hib. 2 (1931) pp 292-340; A. Gwynn, 'Some unpublished texts from the Black Book of Christ Church, Dublin', Anal. Hib. vol 16 (1946), pp 281-337.

⁴ G. Mac Niocail, The medieval Irish annals (Dublin 1975) [Medieval Irish History Series, 3], pp 37-9.

⁵ R.J. Hayes, The manuscript sources for the history of Irish civilization, 11 vols. (Boston 1965).

addresses the ever fertile question of the source of the Anglo-Irish annals especially in the light of new evidence available since the studies by Robin Flower and Aubrey Gwynn were undertaken. The character of the Franciscan order is examined in Chapter II with reference to the particular aspect of the order in Ireland. In this chapter the editions of the Brussels manuscript 3847: Donatus Moneyus de provincia Hiberniae S. Francisci and the Brevis synopsis provinciae Hiberniae FF. minorum, both edited by B. Jennings, O.F.M.,⁶ have been of invaluable assistance, as has the publication, Materials for the history of the Franciscan province of Ireland A.D. 1230-1450., collected and edited by E.B. Fitzmaurice, O.F.M. and A.G. Little.⁷ The Annals of Multyfarnham are examined in Chapter III where the question of the title is considered, as is the place of residence of the scribe and the years in which the annal was written. Chapter IV examines the Kilkenny Chronicle and suggests that it is not one but three separate chronicles. The greatest Franciscan Anglo-Irish annal, written by friar John Clyn, is surveyed in Chapter V and is placed

⁶ 'Brussels manuscript 3847: Donatus Moneyus de provincia Hiberniae S. Francisci', ed. B. Jennings, O.F.M., Anal. Hib. 6 (1934), pp 12-138; 'Brevis synopsis provinciae Hiberniae FF. minorum', ed. B Jennings, O.F.M., Anal.Hib. 6 (1934), pp 139-191.

⁷ E.B. Fitzmaurice, O.F.M. and A.G. Little eds., Materials for the history of the Franciscan province of Ireland A.D. 1230-1450, (Manchester 1920).

within the context of the society in which he lived. An attempt is also made to determine the point at which his personal contribution to the annal commences. The brief Annals of Ross are considered in Chapter VI in order to discuss the question of provenance.

Initially it had been intended that this thesis would address the whole question of the Anglo-Irish annals and their place in the historical writing of medieval Ireland. However, it soon became apparent that the subject was too vast to be treated in this thesis. The Anglo-Irish Franciscan annals alone proved to be of sufficient size and complexity for a thesis. As a result what has been considered in this study is the relationship of the above annals to each other and in that task the suggestions made by Gearóid Mac Niocaill in his study of the Irish annals proved to be of great assistance.⁸

It is necessary to address the question of terminology. I have used the term Anglo-Irish throughout; this thesis moves backwards and forwards from the twelfth to the fourteen century and to use both the terms

⁸ G. Mac Niocaill, The medieval Irish annals, p 13-18. Also useful was M. Benskin, and M. Laing, 'Translations and Mischsprachen in middle English manuscripts', in M. Benskin and M.L. Samuels So many people longages and tonges. Philological essays in Scots and medieval English presented to Angus McIntosh (Edinburgh 1981) pp 55-106.

Anglo-Irish and Anglo-Norman, sometimes perhaps in the same paragraph, would be distracting. The term English could also have been used but as the annals discuss affairs in England and the English it would be unnecessarily complicated. With regard to the form of the surnames used, as this thesis is concerned with the actual entries written by the chroniclers in their own time, I have felt it useful to remain true to the spelling used by the scribe; the spelling is in itself a link with the scribe. Where necessary I have placed the modern version of the name in parenthesis.

CHAPTER I

THE SOURCES OF THE ANGLO-IRISH ANNALS

It is a very complex task to attempt to trace a chronicler's source. In order to accomplish that task, ideally the chronicle should be compared with all existing chronicles belonging to a period contemporary with, or earlier than, the chronicle under examination. The constraints of time, and availability of manuscripts, can make this complete examination difficult and therefore decisions have to be made to explore only those manuscripts that research indicates as possible lines of exploration.

The task of tracing a source is simplified if the chronicle being studied has long and detailed entries which contain rumour, gossip and unusual comments. Unfortunately, that is a rare occurrence and therefore, failing that, a sequence of similar entries or, even more valuable, similar unusual entries must be sought. An added bonus in this situation is when two chronicles share the same incorrect date for an entry or, even more significantly, when marginalia from one chronicle are incorporated into the text of a later chronicle.

Unfortunately, the entries in the two generally

accepted early Anglo-Irish annals, the Annals of the Black Book of Christ Church and the Annals of Multyfarnham, are short and terse, often consisting of a few words to a year and a varying number of years to the century. The content of these entries also constitutes a problem as they are usually mere notices referring to very well known, and frequently reported, events such as the naming of a new pope or king, notices of the early saints or reference to well documented political events. Clearly, therefore, there is not enough information present in such entries to make tracing the chronicler's source an easy task. If two chronicles have a similar sequence of entries this can be useful but when the entries are so general then this sequence cannot be used as evidence.

Robin Flower, when considering the early annals stated that the original source was a set of one line annals of a type familiar elsewhere in Europe.¹ The Annales de Rouen are the most usual European source for the Anglo-Norman annals² but the annal that agrees most closely with the early Anglo-Irish annals is the Annales

¹ R. Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', Anal.Hib. 2 (1931), p 319.

² ibid p 318-9.

Uticiensis.³ There are also in these early Anglo-Irish annals entries of Anglo-Saxon origin. These entries begin, in the year 530 with the notice, Aratur claruit⁴ and it is interesting to note that under the year 530 the Annales Uticiensis states, Aratur subdiaconus Romanae ecclesia claruit.⁵ The Anglo-Saxon interest continues until the death of archbishop Dunstan in 989 after which there is a void from 1042 until 1066. The Anglo-Saxon entries can be identified as emanating, however indirectly, from the Laud Chronicle E, the Peterborough version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

If the entries in an annal are not sufficiently individual to make verification of the source easily identifiable then the next task in attempting to trace the original source is to isolate any unusual entries. With the Annals of Multyfarnham these can be narrowed down to just a handful. The first such entry is the one noted by Robin Flower when he was considering the

³ The Annales Uticiensis is unfortunately not edited in a complete form; Monumenta Germaniae Historica only begins with the year A.D. 730. However, the early years can be partially traced by using the Annales St Edmund as edited by Felix Liebermann in Ungedruckte Anglo-Normannische Geschichtsquellen (Strassburg, 1879), p 107 et. seq.

⁴ Annals of Multyfarnham p 3.

⁵ Felix Liebermann, Ungedruckte Anglo-Normannische Geschichtsquellen p 116.

source of the early Anglo-Irish annal; the entry reads, Anno 797 Fundator abbacia de Wycumbe.⁶ Robin Flower postulated the theory that, because the Annals of Multyfarnham and the Annals of the Black Book of Christ Church record the foundation date of the Benedictine abbey of Winchcombe, Gloucester, the Annals of Winchcombe must be the source for the Anglo-Irish annals.⁷ Aubrey Gwynn supported Robin Flower's theory and suggested as further proof the fact that the foundation date of Winchcombe was given as 797, instead of the correct but later date of 972.⁸ However, Robin Flower could not test his theory as he believed that the annals of Winchcombe had not survived.⁹ He was mistaken. The Annals of Winchcombe are in fact present in the British Library in a Cotton manuscript.¹⁰

There are some entries common to both the Annals of

⁶ Annals of Multyfarnham p 4.

⁷ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 319.

⁸ A. Gwynn, 'Some unpublished texts from the Black Book of Christ Church, Dublin', Anal. Hib. 16 (1946) p 313.

⁹ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 319.

¹⁰ BL MS Cotton Tiberius E IV. folios 1r to 28r. Some folios are partially damaged as a result of the Cotton fire on 1731, but otherwise the manuscript is in reasonable condition. See also R.R. Darlington 'Winchcombe annals 1049-1181', in An early medieval miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton ed P.M.Barnes and C.F. Slade (Pipe Roll Soc., new ser., xxxvi, 1960) 111-137.

Winchcombe and the Annals of Multyfarnham but this is inevitable, especially considering the brevity of the early entries in the Annals of Multyfarnham and the general content of those entries.¹¹ However, there are entries present in the Annals of Multyfarnham which are not present in the Annals of Winchcombe.¹² Both annals have the entry concerning pope Alexander but the Annals of Multyfarnham has the date as Anno centesimo xiiij,¹³ whereas the Annals of Winchcombe enters the information after xci.¹⁴ Most significantly of all, there is a blank space beside the year 797 in the Annals of Winchcombe,¹⁵ the date given for the foundation of Winchcombe in the Annals of Multyfarnham.¹⁶ There is however an entry in the Annals of Winchcombe, beside the year 811, which begins, Hoc anno dedicata ecclesia Wincelcombe...¹⁷

¹¹ One entry which might be of significant is the entry for A.D. 43 which reads obiit beata maria magdalena; the word Maria is an additional word placed above the line. Annals of Winchcombe flv. The Annals of Multyfarnham has the same entry but this is too common an entry from which to draw any conclusion, Annals of Multyfarnham p 1.

¹² For example the entries for A.D. 100 and A.D. 104 in the Annals of Multyfarnham p 1, are not present in the Annals of Winchcombe f 2r.

¹³ Annals of Multyfarnham p 1.

¹⁴ Annals of Winchcombe f 2r.

¹⁵ ibid f 13r.

¹⁶ Annals of Multyfarnham p 4.

¹⁷ Annals of Winchcombe f 13v.

and continues for three full sides.¹⁸ Moreover, these folios are the only folios to use double columns. It is difficult to imagine that some part of this entry would not have been copied by the scribe if the source he was using was the Annals of Winchcombe.

An interesting feature of the Annals of Multyfarnham is the absence of entries from 1042 to 1065.¹⁹ Following the report of the Norman conquest and the appearance of a comet, there is an entry, in 1069, which states, Bellum in Bledima.²⁰ This entry was noted by Dr. M.O. Anderson when she suggested a relationship between the Annals of Multyfarnham and the Chronicle of Holyrood.²¹ She postulated the theory that the Chronicle of Holyrood, the Annals of Multyfarnham and five other annals had, for the period 1065-1189, a common source, which she called X.²² She suggested that X probably came from a Western monastery

¹⁸ ibid f 14v.

¹⁹ Annals of Multyfarnham p 4-5. This gap is not present in the Annals of Winchcombe f 19rv.

²⁰ Annals of Multyfarnham p 5. For an identification of the battle see Chronicle of Holyrood ed. M.O. Anderson (Scottish Historical Society 30, 1938), p 108n5. Irish pirates were involved in this battle, J. Beeler, Warfare in England 1066-1189 (Cornell 1966), p 38.

²¹ Chronicle of Holyrood p 6 et. seq.

²² ibid p 21.

and she proposed Winchester as a slight possibility.²³ Coincidentally, another unusual entry in the Annals of Multyfarnham is the notice, in 1113, concerning Winchester, Wyncestria comburitur, multis monachis combustis.²⁴ Of further interest is the fact that the source common to the Chronicle of Holyrood and the Annals of Multyfarnham had other entries in it besides those derived from X, for example, only the Chronicle of Holyrood and the Annals of Multyfarnham record the establishment of the canons in Salisbury in 1089²⁵ and also the date of the death of Malcolm 111 of Scotland as 1094 instead of 1093.²⁶ This relationship between the two annals was also essential in elucidating a puzzling entry in the Annals of Multyfarnham, in 1080, which states ventu valido Walterus Denelmensis episcopus occisus est.²⁷ The Chronicle of Holyrood has the correct entry for that year, ventus validus in natale domini. Walcherus episcopus Dunelmensis occisus

²³ ibid p 21. St Bernard of Clairvaux speaks of a Bishop Malchus of Lismore (ob.1135) who was a monk at Winchester, see Bernard of Clairvaux The life and death of Saint Malachy the Irishman trans. and annotated R.T. Meyer (Kalamazoo, Michigan 1978), p 24, 131n29.

²⁴ Annals of Multyfarnham p 7.

²⁵ Osmundus episcopus constituit canonicos xxxvi in ecclesia Salisberiensis, Chronicle of Holyrood p 110. Osmundus constituit canonicos Salisbyrie, Annals of Multyfarnham p 6.

²⁶ Annals of Multyfarnham p 6; Chronicle of Holyrood p 111.

²⁷ Annals of Multyfarnham p 6.

est.²⁸ Dr Anderson suggested that the section of the Chronicle of Holyrood, which ended in 1189, probably reached its present form in the Cistercian abbey of Coupar-Angus.²⁹

Robin Flower recognized the Cistercian element in these annals³⁰ but, perhaps because of the Winchcombe theory, he did not fully explore that ingredient, apart from suggesting St. Mary's Dublin as a possible origin. Aubrey Gwynn also noted the Cistercian element but he discounted the evidence as insufficient.³¹ In the light of the new evidence it is clear that, when considering the method by which the sources of these annals arrived in Ireland, considerable attention should be given to the Cistercian element in the Annals of Multyfarnham. The annals list the foundation of the Cistercian order,³² Malachy as archbishop of Armagh,³³ the foundation of Mellifont,³⁴ the death of

²⁸ Chronicle of Holyrood p 110.

²⁹ Chronicle of Holyrood p 37, et. seq.

³⁰ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 319.

³¹ Gwynn, Black Book of Christ Church p 315.

³² Annals of Multyfarnham p 6.

³³ ibid p 8.

³⁴ ibid p 8.

Malachy at Clairvaux,³⁵ the death of St Bernard³⁶ and, finally, the death of Donatus Urgali [Donough O'Carroll], the founder of Mellifont, in 1168.³⁷ Apart from the entries concerning Mellifont, the interest shown in John de Courcy³⁸ and Hugh de Lacy³⁹ may not only reflect their high status but might also reflect their patronage of the Cistercian order. John de Courcy founded the abbey of Inch, which was filled with monks from Furness,⁴⁰ and the Chronicle of Trim, extant in a seventeenth century transcript,⁴¹ probably using the same source as the Annals of Multyfarnham, records the foundation of the Abbey of Furness in 1126.⁴² Affreca, wife of John de Courcy, also founded the Cistercian Grey Abbey.⁴³ The body of Hugh de Lacy

³⁵ ibid p 8.

³⁶ ibid p 9.

³⁷ ibid p 9.

³⁸ ibid p 10, 11. For contemporary marginal notes see TCD MS 374, f 399r, 400r.

³⁹ ibid p 10, 13. For contemporary marginal notes see TCD MS 374, f 399v, 401r.

⁴⁰ A. Gwynn and R.N. Hadcock Medieval religious houses: Ireland (Dublin, 1970) p 135.

⁴¹ B.L. ADD MS 4789, Annales coenobii Dominicanum - Trim - cronicon cuisjdam fratris ordo Praedicatorum, f 206r-207v.

⁴² ibid f 206v.

⁴³ Gwynn and Hadcock Medieval religious houses: Ireland p 134.

was buried in the Cistercian abbey of Bective⁴⁴ and the only other Anglo-Irish name mentioned in this early section of the annals, William Marshal, was the founder of the Cistercian abbeys of Graiguenamanagh and Tintern.⁴⁵ The importance of the Marshal family may well account for the entries concerning them in the annal but the entry, in 1211, reporting that Richard Tuyt died when a tower fell on him at Athlone⁴⁶ is of considerable interest as Richard Tuyt founded the Cistercian abbey of Abbeylara near his castle at Granard in County Longford.⁴⁷

The format of the Annals of Multyfarnham also conforms with contemporary Cistercian practice regarding decoration. Concerning Cistercian annals it has been said, 'Their decoration is generally sober; there are no large miniatures or historiated initials, and gold is very rarely used. But red and blue initials alternate with decorative effect'.⁴⁸ This could, in effect, be a description of the decoration of the

⁴⁴ ibid p 128.

⁴⁵ ibid p 133-4, 142-3.

⁴⁶ Annals of Multyfarnham p 11.

⁴⁷ Gwynn and Hadcock Medieval religious houses: Ireland p 124.

⁴⁸ R. Cheney 'English Cistercian libraries: the first century', Medieval Texts and Studies (Oxford, 1973) p 331.

Annals of Multyfarnham.

If the premise of Cistercian involvement in the annals is accepted then the question to be answered is how did the annal arrive in Ireland? One possible solution is suggested by the entry referring to Furness in the Chronicle of Trim; the annal could have arrived in the Grey abbey which was, as stated, under the direct jurisdiction of Furness. Another connection between Furness and Ireland in the late twelfth century was Jocelin of Furness who rewrote the life of St Patrick, from earlier sources, for his Anglo-Norman patrons.⁴⁹

Another solution to the process by which the annal arrived in Ireland is suggested by the report of the building of Mellifont⁵⁰ and the notice of the death of the founder of Mellifont⁵¹ in the annals. It is worth noting that the first Cistercian house in England, Waverly,⁵² had a chronicle.⁵³ It is equally

⁴⁹ K. Hughes, 'The offices of S. Finnian of Clonard and S. Cianan of Duleek', Analecta Bollandiana 73 (1955), p 347. Lydon, The lordship of Ireland in the middle ages p 347.

⁵⁰ Annals of Multyfarnham p 8.

⁵¹ ibid p 9.

⁵² Waverly was founded in 1128, D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock Medieval religious houses: England and Wales (London, 1953) p

⁵³ Liebermann, Ungedruckte Anglo-Normannische Geschichtsquellen (Strassburg, 1879), p 182-202.

reasonable to believe that the first Cistercian house in Ireland could have a chronicle. Certainly the esteem in which St Bernard of Clairvaux held St Malachy would have ensured that any Cistercian abbey would have facilitated Malachy had he requested a chronicle.⁵⁴ The question that must arise here is why should Malachy request a chronicle from England instead of looking towards the strong annal tradition already present in Ireland? Perhaps, as the new order came from Europe, Malachy may have desired a chronicle from a similar source, or perhaps he merely wished to supplement the Irish sources.

The theory that the basis of the Anglo-Irish annals lies in England is indeed most logical but if the source is not Cistercian then there are several other possibilities that should be explored. Aubrey Gwynn, accepting Robin Flower's theory of Winchcombe as the source of the Anglo-Irish annal, suggested that the Annals of Winchcombe were brought to Dublin, probably

⁵⁴ It should be recalled that St Bernard himself quickly responded to a request from Ireland that he should write a life of St Malachy, see Bernard of Clairvaux The life and death of Saint Malachy the Irishman trans. and annotated R.T. Meyer (Kalamazoo, Michigan 1978) p 13, 129n1; see also Saint Bernard's epitaph on Saint Malachy ibid p 115 ; Saint Bernard's hymn in honour of Saint Malachy ibid p 119-121.

under the rule of Patrick as bishop of Dublin.⁵⁵ The theory that the annal arrived in Dublin is certainly reasonable given the many connections between Dublin and England. The annal could have been a gift from Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. From a letter written by his successor, Anselm, to Bishop Samuel of Dublin, in 1096, we know that books had been brought to Ireland from England. Anselm reproached Samuel for giving away books, vestments and other ornaments which archbishop Lanfranc had given to Samuel's predecessor, Bishop Donatus.⁵⁶ A second possibility is transmission from York to Dublin.⁵⁷ If, during this period, king Sitric, founder of Holy Trinity [Christ Church]⁵⁸ in Dublin had desired books or annals, it

⁵⁵ A. Gwynn The Black Book of Christ Church p 313-4. For the Winchcombe-Dublin connection see A. Gwynn 'Lanfranc and the Irish Church', I.E.R. 57 (July, 1941) p 1-9; 58 (August, 1941) p 101. For Bishop Patrick see A. Gwynn, 'The first bishops of Dublin' Reportorium novum 1 (1955) p 7-13, and A. Gwynn, The writings of bishop Patrick, 1074-1084 (Scriptores Latini Hiberiae, vol i, Dublin 1955).

⁵⁶ For the background see A. Gwynn, 'Lanfranc and the Irish Church', I.E.R. 57 (1941) pp 481-500; 58 (1941) 1-15.

⁵⁷ It was the practice during the period 971 to 1069 for the bishop of Worcester to be both bishop of Worcester and York; annals could have reached Dublin from Worcester via York. A.P. Smyth Scandinavian York and Dublin: the history and archaeology of two related Viking kingdoms 2 vols. (1975, 1981). Malachy was also in York, see Bernard of Clairvaux The life and death of Saint Malachy the Irishman trans. and annotated R.T. Meyer (Kalamazoo, Michigan 1978) p 52, 139n107.

⁵⁸ A. Gwynn, 'The origins of the see of Dublin', IER 57 (1941) 40-55, 97-112.

would have been natural to turn to York but, apart from an entry relating the capture of the city of York in 893,⁵⁹ there is no recognisable York connection.

The most puzzling feature of the Annals of Multyfarnham is the presence of thirteen entries concerning Lincoln. The entries in question are, 1124 Robert Bluet, bishop of Lincoln died; 1141, Lincoln church was burnt; 1141 King Stephen was captured in a battle at Lincoln on the feast of the Purification; 1147 Bishop Alexander of Lincoln died; 1149 Robert Cheney was bishop of Lincoln; 1158 King Henry was crowned at Lincoln; 1167 Robert de Cheney died; 1185 the consecration of Hugh bishop of Lincoln; 1192 the foundation of the church of Lincoln was built; 1199 Hugh, bishop of Lincoln died; 1217 a great massacre of the barons at Lincoln; 1228 Stephen archbishop of Canterbury died and master Richard, cantor of Lincoln, succeeded⁶⁰ and, 1266 Margaret, countess of Lincoln, died.⁶¹ Although, at present, there is no explanation for these entries,⁶² it is difficult to assume that thirteen entries concerning Lincoln could be merely coincidental, especially in

⁵⁹ Annals of Multyfarnham p 4.

⁶⁰ ibid p 7-12.

⁶¹ ibid p 14.

⁶² For one reference to Lincoln see H.J. Lawlor, 'A calendar of the liber Niger and liber Albus of Christ Church, Dublin.', R.I.A.Proc, 27 C (1908-9), p 8n1.

such a brief annal.

In the light of the new evidence concerning the Annals of Winchcombe and the evidence concerning the Chronicle of Holyrood, it is clear that the relationship between the Annals of Christ Church and the Annals of Multyfarnham needs to be reassessed. There is a close relationship between these two annals but the Annals of Multyfarⁿham are a far more complex production. Any attempt to unravel the threads of these two annals will of necessity be full of conjecture and open to error. What can be affirmed is that both annals used a source, present in Ireland and containing Cistercian entries, up to and including the death of the founder of Mellifont in 1168. However, this early source does not include the entries common to both the Annals of Multyfarnham and the Chronicle of Holyrood.⁶³ The relationship between the Chronicle of Holyrood and the Annals of Multyfarnham begins in 1065.⁶⁴ It is clear that an annalist in Ireland had access to a source, either directly or indirectly, which was not available to the Dublin annalist, but which was also used by the

⁶³ The Annals of Christ Church contain five entries which are also present in the Chronicle of Holyrood but as these refer only to the king, the queen, Lanfranc and Anselm, they cannot be considered as emanating solely from that source.

⁶⁴ Chronicle of Holyrood p 107; Annals of Multyfarnham p 5.

Chronicle of Holyrood in the course of its composition in the Cistercian house of Coupar-Angus in Scotland.

From the beginning of the Annals of Multyfarnham to 1066 the entries are very similar, but not totally identical, to the entries in the Annals of Christ Church. From the year 1066 the entries in the Annals of Multyfarnham expand considerably but nevertheless still incorporate the entries to be found in the Annals of Christ Church. The fact that the Annals of Christ Church has two additional Cistercian entries, not to be found in the Annals of Multyfarnham,⁶⁵ can perhaps be explained by the proximity of Christ Church to the Cistercian abbey of St. Mary's in Dublin. Conversely, the absence of these two additional entries suggests that the Annals of Multyfarnham had ceased to be influenced by the Cistercian order by 1139.

Aubrey Gwynn suggested that the Annals of Christ Church were used by St Mary's annalist, together with additional material.⁶⁶ It is indeed logical to assume that the Dublin Annals of St Mary's used the Annals of Christ Church as a source and in fact they both have

⁶⁵ These are the death of Malachy's brother in 1139 and the dedication of Mellifont in 1157, Gwynn, 'Black Book of Christ Church, Dublin', p 328.

⁶⁶ Gwynn, 'Black Book of Christ Church, Dublin', p 316. Naturally, St Mary's, as a Cistercian abbey also contains a record of Cistercian foundations.

the same error in the year 1098 when they report the capture of Jerusalem instead of the capture of Antioch.⁶⁷ Aubrey Gwynn also suggested that the Annals of Christ Church were used as a source for the Annals of Multyfarnham.⁶⁸ This assumption was based on the belief that the extant Annals of Multyfarnham was a fifteenth century manuscript⁶⁹ and therefore the annals in the Black Book of Christ Church were the earlier.⁷⁰ The Annals of Multyfarnham, as extant, were compiled and written in 1272;⁷¹ the Annals of Christ Church are extant in an early fourteenth century hand.⁷² Also, the Annals of Multyfarnham have ignored the additional two Cistercian entries present in the Annals of Christ Church.

⁶⁷ Annals of St Mary's p 252. Gwynn, 'Black Book of Christ Church, Dublin', p 328. It is important to note that the Annals of Multyfarnham does not have this entry.

⁶⁸ Gwynn, 'Black Book of Christ Church, Dublin', p 315

⁶⁹ ibid p 315.

⁷⁰ Gwynn's mistake may have arisen from a note in the Abbot Catalogue of Trinity College Manuscripts, T.K. Abbott, Catalogue of the manuscripts in Trinity College, Dublin (Dublin, 1900), p 53.

⁷¹ M.L. Colker, Trinity College Library, Dublin: Descriptive catalogue of the mediaeval and renaissance latin manuscripts (Scolar Press, 1991), p 710, 738-9. See below p 117-8.

⁷² Gwynn, 'Black Book of Christ Church, Dublin', p 303. The Annals of Christ Church are extant to 1168, ibid p 329.

Aubrey Gwynn also suggested that the Annals of Christ Church were the basis for the early part of the Kilkenny Chronicle,⁷³ This is in fact not so. It is the Annals of Multyfarnham and not the Annals of the Black Book of Christ Church, which were used directly as a source for a section of an Anglo-Irish chronicle which was written in Kilkenny before 1316.⁷⁴ Of the eighty years extant on this manuscript only five are additional to those found in the Annals of Multyfarnham.⁷⁵ Furthermore, this chronicle provides an example of a situation where marginalia, present in the original source, are copied directly into the text of the material copied. The words, tunc erat tres reges de Britonibus et tres de Saxonibus, are added to the text of the Annals of Multyfarnham in a different hand⁷⁶ and, in the Kilkenny Chronicle, this is incorporated into the text.⁷⁷ Further proof is provided by an error present in the Annals of Multyfarnham (also in the same additional hand) which

⁷³ ibid p 320.

⁷⁴ BL MS Vespasian B XI ff 133v, 134v, 135v, 136v, 137v. Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 330-32.

⁷⁵ See below p 213-215.

⁷⁶ TCD MS. 347. f 395r; Annals of Multyfarnham p 3.

⁷⁷ BL MS Vespasian B XI f 134v; Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 330.

gives the name of Strongbow to William the conqueror⁷⁸ which is repeated in this manuscript.⁷⁹ There can be no doubt that this portion of the manuscript was copied directly from the Annals of Multyfarnham, and not from a common source.

Internal evidence proves that Stephen de Exonia compiled and wrote the Annals of Multyfarnham, as now extant, in 1272.⁸⁰ His own contribution to the annal began in 1261. When the section immediately preceding 1261 is examined, it quickly becomes apparent that, unlike the later section, it is the Dominican mendicant order, and not the Franciscan, that takes priority for the period 1215-1260. In that section, 1215-1260, there are eight entries that refer to the mendicants. Initially, the confirmation of both orders is noted, as are the deaths of both founders. But there the similarity ends. This section of the annal notes the arrival of the Dominicans in Ireland in 1224⁸¹ but is silent concerning the arrival of the Franciscans. Similarly, the translation of St. Dominic, in 1233, is

⁷⁸ TCD MS 347 f 396v; Annals of Multyfarnham p 5.

⁷⁹ BL MS Vespasian B XI f.134v; Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 330.

⁸⁰ See below p 117-8.

⁸¹ Annals of Multyfarnham p 12.

noted⁸² but the translation and indeed the canonization of St. Francis is ignored. The martyrdom of the Dominican Peter is noted in 1252⁸³ but there is no mention of St Anthony of Padua, St Elizabeth of Hungary or St Clare. These mendicant entries clearly indicate a Dominican influence in the section of the annal from 1224, the year of the arrival of the Dominicans in Ireland, to 1260.

By a very fortunate chance, there are seventeenth century transcripts of two non-extant medieval Anglo-Norman Dominican annals.⁸⁴ There is no indication of how complete the transcripts are and one might suspect that they are probably only brief extracts. The transcript of the Annals of Ross has as its title Annales but Ware appended the following note, (Anonymi Hibernici forte ord fratrum Praedicatorum Ross).⁸⁵ The reason for assigning the annal to Ross is clearly the entry in 1267 which states that the Dominicans entered Ross and gives the date 13 Kal November.⁸⁶ This identification is strengthened by an

⁸² ibid p 12.

⁸³ ibid p 13.

⁸⁴ The Chronicle of Trim BL MS Add 4789 f 206v-207v; the Chronicle of Ross Bodl. MS Rawl. B 479 f 68r-69r.

⁸⁵ ibid f. 68r.

⁸⁶ ibid f 68v.

entry in 1293 concerning Thomastown in Ossory.⁸⁷ From the beginning of the annal in the year 1184 to 1259, every entry present is, in the great majority of the cases, virtually identical with the entries in the Annals of Multyfarnham. In 1259 the similarity ceases.

The transcript of the Annals of Trim has as its title q. Annal Coenob Dominic Trim and Chron cuiusdam fratris ord Praedicatorum.⁸⁸ Fortunately in this case the transcriber knows that the annals belong to Trim and therefore the notices of the establishment of eight different friaries cause no problem. The chronicle is preceded by a list of thirteenth century Dominican foundation dates ending with Kilmallock in 1291 and a list of Dominican provincial chapters ending in 1347.⁸⁹ Apart from the notices concerning the foundations of the convents, the Dominican provenance of this annal can be confirmed by an entry concerning the arrival in Ireland in 1257 of the provincial of England, Simon [de Hinton] and the notice of his successor Robert of Kilwardby in 1261.⁹⁰ The

⁸⁷ ibid f68v.

⁸⁸ BL MS Add 4789 f 206r.

⁸⁹ ibid f 206r.

⁹⁰ ibid f 207r. Bede Jarrett, The English Dominicans (London, 1921), p 219.

chronicle itself begins with the year 432 and there are entries for thirty three years up to and including 1260. Of those years, twenty five are virtually identical with the entries in the Annals of Multyfarnham. As with the Annals of Ross, the similarity of entries between the Annals of Trim and the Annals of Multyfarnham ceases after 1260.

It would appear therefore that the Dominicans of Ross, founded in 1267, the Dominicans of Trim, founded in 1263, and Stephen de Exonia all had access to a similar source and that source was Dominican. Obviously, Stephen de Exonia could have copied neither the Annals of Trim nor the Annals of Ross as both friaries were founded after 1260. Moreover, Trim has information concerning the arrival of the Friars Minor in Ireland which was not available to Stephen de Exonia. It is interesting to note that some facts concerning the Dominicans are present in the Annals of Multyfarnham but not in the annals of Trim and Ross. The solution to this might lie in the notes taken by the seventeenth century transcriber, for example, the information concerning the confirmation of the two orders and the death of the two founders is so well known that the transcriber might have felt no need to include them in his notes, but the entry in the Trim annal concerning the arrival of the Friars Minor would clearly be of

interest as it was a subject of speculation in the seventeenth century.⁹¹

The ecclesiastics mentioned in this section of the annal generally refer to the bishops of Meath and the only two Irish placenames refer to castles, Greencastle and Trim. The Anglo-Norman names mentioned complement a Louth/Meath interest. It is interesting to speculate as to which Dominican priory, founded prior to 1260, possessed the source for these annals. Upon consideration, only two foundations appear to answer the requirements and those are Drogheda and Mullingar. Drogheda was founded in 1224 by Luke Netterville, archbishop of Armagh,⁹² and his name appears in this section of the annal.⁹³ However, this cannot be regarded as too significant as he was the Primate.⁹⁴ Mullingar priory was founded in 1237 by either the Nugents or the Petits⁹⁵ and the Petit name can be found in an earlier section of the annal, in 1213 and

⁹¹ Luke Wadding and Donough Mooney both addressed the problem. See below p 44-6.

⁹² Gwynn and Hadcock Medieval religious houses: Ireland p 224.

⁹³ Annals of Multyfarnham p 12.

⁹⁴ F.J. Byrne 'Bishops, 111-1534', in N.H.I. vol ix (Dublin 1984), p 269.

⁹⁵ Gwynn and Hadcock Medieval religious houses: Ireland p 227-8.

1227.⁹⁶ Either of these two foundations could have supplied the later source for the Franciscan annals of Stephen de Exonia.

⁹⁶ Annals of Multyfarnham p 11, 12.

CHAPTER II

THE FRANCISCANS AND IRELAND TO 1349¹

A. BACKGROUND TO THE ORDER²

The Irish church was represented at the Fourth Lateran Council in Rome in 1215 by the four archbishops, fourteen bishops, two bishops-elect and probably the representatives of monastic houses and cathedral chapters.³ The first session began on 11 November 1215;⁴ Francis of Assisi was also in Rome in November.⁵ One of the topics discussed at the council was the problem of new orders which had come into existence in recent years. With reference to this problem a decree was passed strictly forbidding the foundation of new orders; those wishing to join the religious life must enter one of the existing approved

¹ Friar John Clyn's annals cease in 1349, Annals of Clyn p 38.

² The order founded by St. Francis of Assisi is known under various names; the Order of Minors, the Minorites, the Franciscans and, from the colour of their habit, the Grey Friars. In this study I shall refer to the order as the Franciscans.

³ P.J. Dunning, 'Irish Representatives and Irish Ecclesiastical Affairs at the Fourth Lateran Council' in Medieval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn, S.J. eds., J.A. Watt, J.B. Morrall and F.X. Martin, O.S.A. (Dublin, 1961), p 91.

⁴ W. Ullman, A Short History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages (London, 1972), p 221.

⁵ Moorman History, p 28-9.

orders. This decree was made with the intention of achieving greater discipline in the church by combating the growth of small new orders.

One order affected by this new decree was the Order of Preachers which had been recently founded, under the auspices of Fulkes, Archbishop of Toulouse, by Dominic de Guzman.⁶ Dominic, a former Augustinian canon and priest, and his archbishop were in Rome to seek confirmation of the order. Pope Innocent III persuaded Dominic to follow the Rule of the Augustinians, with such additions as were necessary for his particular needs.

Another new order under discussion at this time was the order founded by the layman, Francis of Assisi.⁷ A different decision was made concerning this order as Francis had previously sought permission for the existence of his group from Pope Innocent III and had received verbal encouragement. The pope therefore announced to the council that the Order of Friars Minor

⁶ For a history of the Dominican order see W. A. Hinesbusch, O.P., History of the Dominican Order, origins and growth to 1550 (New York 1965).

⁷ J.R.H. Moorman, St Francis of Assisi, (London 1976); Huber Documented History p 1-14, 519-535; Scripta Leonis, Rufini et Angeli Sociorum S. Francisci ed. and trans. R. B. Brooke (Oxford 1970) (Hereafter Scripta Leonis).

was to be regarded as one of the existing orders.⁸ The willingness of Francis to place the group under the authority of the pope, 'Brother Francis promises obedience and reverence to the lord Pope Honorius and his successors lawfully succeeding and to the Roman Church. And the other brothers are held to obey brother Francis and his successors.',⁹ ensured the survival of the order and resulted in a special relationship between the order and the papacy.

The Fourth Lateran Council in Rome must have been alive with discussion concerning the two new mendicant orders, especially as both Francis and Dominic were also visiting Rome. Even if the Irish prelates did not personally meet the two leaders, they would undoubtedly have joined the inevitable discussion that must have ensued. It follows therefore that when both orders eventually arrived in Ireland the Irish bishops were already familiar with their mission and this may, in part, account for their rapid expansion throughout both the Anglo-Irish and Irish communities. The Franciscan

⁸ Scripta Leonis p 205. For the history of the order see the introduction to Monumenta Franciscana ed. J.S. Brewer (R.S. London 1858,) pp ix-ci. See also bibliography under A.G. Little and J.R.H. Moorman; Huber Documented History; Duncan Nimmo Franciscan Order: from St. Francis to the foundation of the Capuchins (Rome, 1987); R.B. Brooke, The Coming of the Friars (London 1975) and R.B. Brooke, Early Franciscan Government (Cambridge 1959).

⁹ Brooke The Coming of the Friars, p 120.

order that flourished so successfully in Ireland was characterised by its adherence to the ideal of apostolic poverty, to humility and to preaching redemption. As the order developed the friar undertook the role of confessor and the laity sought burial by the friars. The friars also became renowned for their level of scholarship.

The imitation of the apostolic life, the vita apostolica,¹⁰ was the essential element for Francis and his disciples¹¹ and because of this they received an enthusiastic response from the urban communities. Evidently, the Franciscan order answered a deeply felt, but hitherto unsatisfied, need in urban society. Disciples were attracted to Francis by his personal example of poverty¹² and his joyful nature.¹³ Despite the fact that to be a Franciscan was not an easy matter, as it entailed giving up both wealth and family, it appears that there was no shortage of persons wishing to join the order, although not always

¹⁰ St Francis was particularly inspired by the words of the gospel of St. Matthew, chapter 10 verses 7-9.

¹¹ St. Clare was the first female disciple, see P. Robinson, 'St. Clare' in Franciscan Essays I ed. Paul Sabatier and others. (Aberdeen, 1912) p 31-49.

¹² Brooke, The Coming of the Friars p 29. Fr. Cuthbert, O.S.F.C. 'St. Francis and Poverty' in Franciscan Essays I p 18-30.

¹³ Scripta Leonis p 165-6; Huber Documented History p 65.

with the approval of their family. This situation was evident in the attempt made by the father of the Italian Franciscan chronicler Salimbene de Adam. When Salimbene entered the order his father complained to the emperor and the pope saying that the friars minor had stolen his son away from him. Salimbene, despite a visit from his father and an attempted kidnapping, refused to leave the order even though he was aware of the importance of the step he had taken, 'All his life my father sorrowed over my entrance into the Order of the Friars Minor, and would not be comforted, because he had no son left to him as an heir.'¹⁴

The early friars¹⁵ began to preach repentance and obedience to the commandments of God. The Franciscan idea was to influence by spiritual meditation and prayer rather than by dogmatic teaching.¹⁶ The friars possessed only their clothes, were to carry nothing and the use of money was absolutely forbidden.¹⁷ Francis intended that his followers should be workers first and foremost, supporting themselves by skilled and unskilled work for which they would receive food and

¹⁴ Salimbene p 13.

¹⁵ For a full picture of the life of the early friars see Brooke Scripta Leonis.

¹⁶ K.W. Humphreys, The Book provisions of medieval friars (Amsterdam, 1964) p 46.

¹⁷ Huber Documented History p 79.

shelter only. They should beg only when necessary.¹⁸ As the followers grew in number a Rule,¹⁹ the Regula Primitiva became a necessity and it was this Rule that Francis took to Rome for papal approval.²⁰

Within the order a conflict arose concerning the ideal of poverty. One element maintained that the ideals of Francis must be modified to meet the new conditions. Upon his return from the Holy Land St Francis was horrified to find that in his absence a house had been built for the friars; he ordered them to leave.²¹

The problem of adapting the high ideals of Francis to a large organisation had to be addressed and here the influence of Cardinal Ugolino, bishop of Ostia (later pope Gregory IX), and first cardinal protector of the Franciscan order was paramount.²² Francis was

¹⁸ Moorman St Francis p 79. Scripta Leonis p 197-9.

¹⁹ For the Rules of the Franciscan order see Huber Documented history p 605-632.

²⁰ No longer extant but incorporated into the regula prima of 1221, Moorman History p 15; J.R.H. Moorman, The sources for the life of S. Francis of Assisi, (Manchester 1940) p 38-54. (Hereafter Moorman, Sources)

²¹ A. G. Little Franciscan papers, lists and documents p 10. Scripta Leonis p 107-9. For a full discussion of the problems surrounding the Franciscan ideal of poverty see M.D. Lambert Franciscan Poverty: The Doctrine of Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order, 1210-1323 (London 1961) and M.D. Lambert 'The Franciscan Crisis under John XXII' in Franciscan Studies 32 (1972) p 123-43.

²² Moorman Sources p 28-31.

persuaded to write a new rule, the Regula Prima of 1221, which for the first time allowed the friars to possess books, 'they may have such books as are necessary for saying the offices'.²³ In 1222, pope Honorius III gave permission to the friars to celebrate Mass in the time of interdict, 'in your churches, if you come to have any'.²⁴ The order was changing. There was an astonishing growth in the order; in ten years there were five thousand Franciscan friars in the world.²⁵ This growth led to the order settling into an organisation under the authority of a minister general who was directly responsible to the pope. Francis was again persuaded to write another Rule, the Regula Bullata of 1223.²⁶ Notwithstanding that, in order to record his true beliefs, shortly before his death in 1226, he wrote his Testament which protested against the tendency in the order to establish permanent houses and to seek or accept papal privileges. However, four years after his death, pope Gregory IX declared that the Testament was not binding upon his followers.²⁷ It is not altogether surprising therefore to find that construction began shortly after

²³ ibid p 31.

²⁴ ibid p 32-33.

²⁵ Moorman History p 155-76.

²⁶ ibid p 55-58.

²⁷ ibid p 116. Huber Documented History p 80, 102-3.

his death, in 1226,²⁸ on the great gleaming basilica of San Francesco where, in 1230, his tomb was placed amidst great splendour; St Francis believed that 'churches made for the friars should be small'.²⁹ This church exemplified the crisis of the order, extreme wealth versus Franciscan poverty.³⁰

After the death of Francis the conflict about the ideal of apostolic poverty threatened to split the order.³¹ A compromise was reached which maintained the fiction of absolute poverty. Pope Gregory IX's bull of 1230, Quo elongati,³² mitigated the poverty to which the order was vowed when it provided for 'spiritual friends' who could own property for the friars. In 1245 the Bull Ordinem Vestrum was issued by pope Innocent IV which also created the legal fiction of papal ownership of friars' property and provided this time for not just the 'necessities' of life for the

²⁸ St Francis was canonised in 1228, Moorman History p 86.

²⁹ Scripta Leonis p 221.

³⁰ Moorman History p 87, 99, 103.

³¹ See M.D. Lambert, Franciscan Poverty ; M.D. Lambert 'The Franciscan Crisis under John XXII' in Franciscan Studies 32 (1972) p 123-43.

³² For a list of papal bulls see Bryce The Scottish Grey Friars vol 1 p 489-492. For the bull Quo Elongati see Huber Documented History p 102-3; Moorman History p 90.

friars but also for the 'conveniences' of life.³³ However, the friars never became great property owners; most of their income was in the form of gifts, legacies or fees for burials and masses for the dead. Because their property was only for their needs, they did not produce cartularies and estate records and therefore the Franciscan order lacks the contemporary documentation that is available for non mendicant orders.³⁴

Apart from guiding people towards God by the example of his life, Francis, although a layman, preached repentance to the people.³⁵ The inevitable result of an inspiring sermon is the need, on the part of the recipient, to confess and consequently the Franciscan friars also became renowned as great confessors.³⁶ Annual confession to one's own priest became an obligation in the Fourth Lateran council.³⁷ As the

³³ Moorman History p 116-7.

³⁴ When reference is found to a friary in a contemporary source it can only be used, with safety, as a terminal date for the existence of the friary.

³⁵ Moorman St Francis of Assisi p 68-78. Moorman History p 19. D.L. d'Avray The Preaching of the Friars (Oxford, 1985) p 44.

³⁶ M.J. Haren, 'Friars as confessors' Peritia 3 (1984), pp 503-516. For a licence to hear confession under the bull super cathedram A.G. Little, Franciscan papers, lists and documents (Manchester, 1943), p 230-243.

³⁷ A. G. Little Studies in English Franciscan history (Manchester, 1917) p 119-20.

friars ministered to the people it was inevitable that the order should experience some difficulty in fitting into the existing diocesan framework³⁸ and problems did arise between the friars and the secular arm of the church over the question of preaching, the hearing of confession and burials.³⁹ At the second council of Lyon the Dominicans and Franciscans drew up, approved by the pope, a ten point programme designed to ease the tension between the friars and the secular clergy.⁴⁰

Francis had never intended that his followers should cause any disruption in the church and he had forbidden his friars to preach in any diocese against the bishops wishes. He also refused to seek a privilege to make friars independent of bishops for he maintained that if his friars led by example then the bishops would ask

³⁸ Initially bishops welcomed the friars, some bishops even became friars. Episcopal wills also give evidence of support for the friars in the thirteenth century, J.R.H. Moorman Church Life in England in the thirteenth century (Cambridge, 1946) p 370-1. The archdeacon of Cloyne was buried in the habit of the friars minor in 1271, Ann. Inis. p 369.

³⁹ The cemetery of the Friars Minor at Armagh was consecrated in 1266 Annals of Ulster vol 2 p 341. A.G. Little Studies in Franciscan history p 110. For the relationship with the secular clergy see, A. Williams, 'Relations between Mendicant friars and secular clergy in England in the later fourteenth century', Duquesne studies. Annale Medievale (1960) p 22-95; C. Erickson 'The fourteenth-century Franciscans and their critics', Franciscan Studies 13 (1975) pp 107-135; 14 (1976) pp 108-147.

⁴⁰ R.W. Emery 'Second council of Lyon', Catholic Historical Review 39 (1953), p 260.

them to preach.⁴¹ Nevertheless, before many years had passed such privileges were bestowed upon the friars; pope Gregory IX by his bull Nimis iniqua exempted the friars from diocesan authority.⁴² In order to ensure the protection of the friars the pope nominated conservators of the rights of the friars; in Ireland these were the archbishop of Dublin and the bishops of Ossory and Kildare.⁴³

Humility was a keynote in the life of Francis who believed that no one should think himself superior, and that included accepting high office in the church.⁴⁴ As a demonstration of this spirit of humility the leader of the order became known as minister rather than prior. The name chosen for his small group, fratres minores, stressed their humility.⁴⁵ For the Franciscan order to evolve into the learned order that it quickly became, the pure concept of poverty and humility had to be modified. According to Thomas of

⁴¹ Scripta Leonis p 289.

⁴² Little Studies in English Franciscan History
p 101-2.

⁴³ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 9.

⁴⁴ As early as 1244 there was an attempt in Ireland to elect a Franciscan, Thomas O'Quin, to the see of Elphin, W. R. Thomson, Friars in the Cathedral. The first Franciscan bishops 1226-1261, (Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto 1975) p 141.

⁴⁵ Moorman History p 17. See also Scripta Leonis
p 203-205.

Celano's Second Life of St Francis the saint once declared that when a learned man entered the order he ought to divest himself of his learning so that he also might offer himself naked to Christ.⁴⁶ Very early in the life of the order an increasing number of students and priests wished to join the order who, despite their devotion to Francis and his ideals, could not wholly be satisfied with a life which completely cut them off from all intellectual pursuits.⁴⁷ There was a marked anti-academic strain in early Franciscanism.⁴⁸ The problem centred on the ownership of books which were considered as property and as such contravened the vita apostolica as, according to Francis the friars should only have their clothes and, if necessary, shoes, and carry nothing, nihil tuleritis in via.⁴⁹ That Francis viewed the ownership of books as dangerous to the practice of poverty is clear from his reply to a novice who wished to keep his psalter, 'After you have had a Psalter you will want and hanker for a breviary; after you have a breviary you will sit in an armchair like a great prelate, saying to your brother: "Bring

⁴⁶ Quoted by Moorman History p 54; Huber Documented History p 790.

⁴⁷ Scripta Leonis p 209.

⁴⁸ K. W. Humphreys Book Provisions of the medieval friars p.46. Huber Documented History p 788-795.

⁴⁹ Huber Documented History p 44, 615; Scripta Leonis p 206, 217.

me the breviary"'.⁵⁰ A second reservation, again potentially valid, was the fear that study would interfere with humility as the scholar would be looked up to by the illiterate. We are told that when St. Francis heard that an important doctor had joined the order his comment was, 'I am afraid my sons that such doctors will be the destruction of my vineyard';⁵¹ he was not alone in this fear, the contemporary poet Jacopone da Todi wrote, 'Paris has destroyed Assisi'.⁵²

Francis had intended his group to be, 'simple evangelists preaching their Gospel far more by the quality of their lives than by the eloquence of their words.'⁵³ From the point of view of Francis learning and scholarship had nothing to do with the vita apostolica and the need for books and learning was never envisaged. Initially any person could join the order, later, lay persons were allowed to join the order only in case of necessity.⁵⁴ It is possible that the change in the attitude towards scholarship aided

⁵⁰ Scripta Leonis p 215.

⁵¹ K.W. Humphreys Book provisions of the medieval friars p 46.

⁵² Quoted by V. G. Green The Franciscans in medieval English life (1224-1348) p 128.

⁵³ Moorman St Francis of Assisi p 29.

⁵⁴ Huber Documented History p 153.

the Franciscans in their preaching mission. Despite the misgivings of Francis, scholarship quickly assumed a degree of importance in the order and the friars gained great fame through their scholarly activity in the universities.⁵⁵ Learned men such as Alexander of Hales, Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, William of Ockham and Bonaventure brought prestige and further growth to the Franciscan order. Bonaventure justified the change in attitude to learning, 'Let it not disturb you that the [Franciscan] brothers were in the beginning simple and illiterate... I confess before God that it is this which made me most greatly esteem the life of St Francis, because it is similar to the beginning and perfection of the Church, which first began with simple fishermen and afterwards advanced to the most illustrious and learned doctors.'⁵⁶ The dilemma faced by educated men who tried to come to terms with the 'unlettered friars' who had joined the order in the lifetime of St Francis is discussed by the chronicler, Salimbene, whose contempt for these friars, while not in the spirit of the humility enjoined by St Francis, reflects the position of prime importance that learning

⁵⁵ A.G. Little, 'The Franciscan school at Oxford' in Franciscan papers lists and documents pp 55-71. For friars at Paris, Penn. R. Szittyá, The anti-fraternal tradition of Medieval Literature (Princeton, 1968), p 11-17. Moorman History p 240 et. seq.

⁵⁶ Quoted in D. Nimmo, Reform and Division in the medieval Franciscan Order: from St. Francis to the foundation of the Capuchins (Rome, 1987) p 9.

had so quickly come to assume in the order.⁵⁷ As a result of this change the demand for books increased.⁵⁸ Robert Grosseteste, first lector to the Franciscans gave all his books to the friars.⁵⁹ The convent of Assisi had already begun to assemble its famous library by 1230.⁶⁰ The general statutes of the order promulgated at Narbonne (1260), Assisi (1279), Paris (1292) and in various provincial constitutions are indications of the considerable development in the provision of books⁶¹ and the now richer Franciscan order had well stocked libraries.⁶²

The combination of possessing books and of preaching led, perhaps logically, to the production of books of

⁵⁷ Salimbene p 79.

⁵⁸ Books were given to the Franciscans in Exeter in 1266. A. G. Little and Easterling The Dominicans and Franciscans of Exeter (Exeter, 1927) p 21, 59. For books 'borrowed' from the Vatican and not returned see K. W. Humphreys The book provisions of the medieval friars p 48n20.

⁵⁹ R.W. Hunt 'The library of Robert Grosseteste' in D. Callus Robert Grossteste, bishop and scholar (Oxford 1969) p 130.

⁶⁰ Moorman History p 184. By 1331 the Cistercians in Scotland could be guilty of stealing books from the Franciscans. Bryce The Scottish Grey Friars vol 1 p 27; vol 2 p 2-3..

⁶¹ Salimbene p 175, 198, 294.

⁶² For a full discussion of the Franciscan libraries see K. W. Humphreys The book provisions of the medieval friars.p 46-66.

sermons.⁶³ What was not inevitable was that the Franciscans, whose mission was to save souls by preaching and example, should write history. Perhaps it was their awareness that the coming of order had been foretold in the writing of the prophet, Joachim of Fiore,⁶⁴ and his view of the importance of their order in the history of the world that influenced their entry into the field of historical writing in the thirteenth century. After the death of Francis the friars wished to preserve details of the life of their founder and several biographies of St Francis were compiled.⁶⁵ A general history of the order was also composed in 1244 and was duly followed by a series of lives of the minister generals.⁶⁶

Neither the Franciscans nor the Dominicans were

⁶³ For a complete analysis of sermon writings of the friars see D.L. d'Avray The preaching of the friars. Sermons diffused from Paris before 1300 (Oxford, 1985). See also J. V. Fleming Introduction to Franciscan literature of the middle ages (Chicago 1977); M.D. Legge Anglo-Norman literature and its background (Oxford 1963).

⁶⁴ E.G. Gardner, 'Joachim of Flore and the everlasting Gospel' in Franciscan Essays 1 p 50-70.

⁶⁵ J.R.H. Moorman Sources for the life of S Francis of Assisi (Manchester, 1940).

⁶⁶ Huber, Documented history p 563-567, 586-589. A.G. Little, 'Chronicles of the mendicant friars', in Franciscan papers, lists, and documents (Manchester, 1943) p 25-41.

prolific historians.⁶⁷ They lacked the institutional roots and stabilities of the older monastic orders and therefore could not easily draw on established historiographical tradition, accumulated archives and, in the early days, large libraries. Despite this, histories were written. A famous thirteenth century Franciscan chronicle which is of inestimable value, not only for its factual historical background, but also for the information it reveals about daily life among the early Franciscans, information available in no other source, was written by the Italian Salimbene de Adam.⁶⁸ He led a vagrant life, never holding any office but constantly travelling from convent to convent meeting many notable people and preaching in most Italian cities. This itinerant life, as portrayed in his chronicle, illustrates the less important place held by the convent in the life of the friar in the thirteenth century.

A more conventional approach to the writing of history took place in England, in about 1258, when friar Thomas of Eccleston considered that it was a worthy task to record an account of the early years of the Franciscan

⁶⁷ A. Gransden, Historical writing in England c.550-c.1307 vol 1 (London 1974) p 487.

⁶⁸ Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam eds. Joseph L. Baird, Guiseppe Baglivi and John Robert Kane (New York, 1986).

friars in England.⁶⁹ This account of the arrival of the friars in England is important for its illustration of the relationship between the friars and the towns and the importance of friars as preachers and confessors, duties which ensured their continued intimacy with the laity.⁷⁰ Thomas of Eccleston did not produce the only Franciscan historical writing in England. A chronicle, compiled in the Augustinian priory of Lanercost and therefore closer to a monastic chronicle, incorporates two chronicles by Franciscan friars.⁷¹

Some friars record why they wrote their histories. Thomas of Eccleston wrote his account with a purpose and theme, 'In order that you may have examples from

⁶⁹ Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston Tractatus De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam ed. A.G. Little (Manchester, 1951). For an English translation see E.G. Salter The coming of the Friars Minor to England and Germany (London, 1926).

⁷⁰ A similar chronicle was produced in Germany in 1262 when an Italian Franciscan, Giordano of Giano, then aged nearly seventy, at the request of the friars dictated reminiscences covering the period 1209-62. E.G. Salter The coming of the Friars Minor to England and Germany p 129-190.

⁷¹ Chronicon de Lanercost 1201-1346, ed. J. Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1839) H. Maxwell trans. The Chronicle of Lanercost 1272-1346 (Glasgow, 1913) For a discussion of the chronicle see Introduction op. cit.,. A.G. Little 'The authorship of the Lanercost chronicle' in Franciscan papers, lists and Documents (Manchester, 1943) p 42-54. See also H. S. Offler, 'A note on the northern Franciscan chronicle', Nottingham Medieval Studies, 28 (1984) p 45-59.

among your own people wherewith to strengthen your most dearly loved sons'.⁷² A similar account, this time of the arrival of the friars in Germany, was written by Jordan of Giano in response to a request from his fellow friars.⁷³ John of Winterthur declared that he wrote his chronicle because, 'accurate knowledge and faithful account of the past are of great use to succeeding generations'.⁷⁴ The author of The Annals of Ghent, who enjoyed reading and hearing stories and furthermore wrote quickly, had a dual purpose in writing his history, 'My motive was to please and entertain some of the brothers who at times enjoyed hearing or reading such things. Moreover, I had in mind the common welfare, for, so it seems to me, when any events are sinking [into oblivion], it is most useful to know about them.'⁷⁵ The Franciscan writers wrote sermons to aid their preaching mission. Each individual friar had his own reason for writing history. The fact that he had the materials with which to write exemplifies the change in the order from its initial conception by St. Francis to one of the most

⁷² Salter, The coming of the Friars Minor to England and Germany p 3.

⁷³ ibid p 129.

⁷⁴ A.G. Little 'Chronicles of the mendicant friars', p 34.

⁷⁵ Annales Gandenses ed. and trans. Hilda Johnstone (Oxford 1985) p 1.

influential religious movements of the early thirteenth century. The order that arrived in Ireland, while retaining much of the original ethos, was a well organised and structured society whose aim was to minister to the laity, particularly in the towns where support for a mendicant order was available.

THE FRANCISCAN PROVINCE OF IRELAND

There is a legend that the Franciscans came to Ireland via Compostella, in 1214, that is before the death of Francis, Tradunt nostrates, etiam tunc ad se missum in Hiberniam, unum ex Francisi sociis ex civitate Compostellana, idque eo tempore, quod ejusdem civitatis extrubatur Conventus. Traditionem hanc videtur confirmare Gonzaga'.⁷⁶ Taking into account the presence of the Irish prelates in Rome in 1215, the rapid growth of the order and the firm determination to be missionaries this is not an impossible legend to believe. The seventeenth century Annals of the Four Masters, has two entries under 1224 which, if accurate, would support the theory of an early arrival of the friars in Ireland, 'The monastery of St Francis at Athlone was commenced by Cathal Crovderg O'Connor, king

⁷⁶ Luke Wadding, Annales Minorum, Tomus 1, 1208-1220, (2nd ed. (Rome, 1731-41) p 225. For a discussion of this legend see Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p xi-xiv. G. Cleary, 'St. Francis and Ireland' in Studies 15 (1926) p 543-545.

of Connaught',⁷⁷ and, also under 1224, 'A monastery was erected by Maurice Fitzgerald ... at Youghal... for the Franciscan friars'.⁷⁸ Unfortunately, the extant medieval Franciscan annals are surprisingly unenlightening concerning the arrival of their order in Ireland. The Annals of Multyfarnham, silent on the arrival of the Franciscans, give 1224 as the date of the arrival of the Dominicans,⁷⁹ and the same is true of the chronicle known as the Kilkenny Chronicle.⁸⁰ The Annals of friar John Clyn has no mention of the arrival of either mendicant order.

The seventeenth century Franciscan historian, Donagh Mooney, while reporting the tradition that during the lifetime of Francis certain friars left Compostella and landed in Ireland in 1214, after consideration rejects the legend and gives, as his considered opinion, the date 1231 for the arrival of the friars, which date, he states, he obtained from an ancient manuscript he had the opportunity of consulting.⁸¹ This manuscript

⁷⁷ A.F.M. vol 3 p 207.

⁷⁸ ibid p 217.

⁷⁹ Annals of Multyfarnham p 12.

⁸⁰ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 331.

⁸¹ 'Brussels MS 3947: Donatus Moneyus Provincia Hiberniae S. Francisci', ed. B. Jennings, O.F.M. in Anal.Hib. 6 (1934) p 15.

may in fact have been the Dominican annals of Trim which state that the Franciscans arrived in Ireland in 1231.⁸² These are not the only suggested dates for the arrival of the friars. A seventeenth century Ware manuscript dealing with the history of the Marshall family places the arrival in 1232.⁸³ Luke Wadding also gives the date 1232.⁸⁴

The earliest reference in papal documents to the existence of the Franciscans in Ireland is a letter of 14 June 1233 from pope Gregory IX to the minister provincial of the Franciscans in Ireland.⁸⁵ This date is corroborated by the chronicle De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Anglia, written by Thomas of Eccleston in 1258, in which he recounts the arrival and early mission of the Franciscans in England. Thomas states that friar Richard of Ingworth was sent to Ireland to be the Minister Provincial of that country in the time of John Parenti (1227-1232).⁸⁶ Richard of Ingworth is

⁸² BL. MS. Add 4789 f 206v.

⁸³ BL. MS Add 4791 f 64v.

⁸⁴ Annales Minorem vol 1 p 202.

⁸⁵ Pontificia Hibernia medieval papal chancery documents 640-1231 vol 2 ed. Maurice Sheehy, (Dublin 1965), p 46-7, 47n1.

⁸⁶ Salter, The Coming of the Friars Minor to England and Germany p 7. The Dominican order was never a separate province see J. Sever, The English Franciscans under Henry III (Oxford, 1915) p 30-31.

therefore the first documented Minister provincial of Ireland, a position he held from 1230 to 1239.⁸⁷ The appointment of a Minister Provincial suggests that some Franciscan friars were already present in Ireland; 'the probability is that Ireland was colonised from England soon after 1224 and that the order had made such progress that it was possible to create a separate province by about the year 1230.'⁸⁸ There are two dates to be considered; the 1230s as suggested by the Anglo-Irish sources or the earlier, though unsubstantiated, date suggested by the legend of an earlier date and the Annals of the Four Masters. Considering the paucity of medieval evidence on the subject any hypothesis can only be speculation. If, like Thomas of Eccleston, a friar in Ireland considered that it was a worthy task to record an account of the early years of the Franciscan friars in Ireland, then sadly it did not survive.

The growth of the order in Ireland mirrored that of the rest of Europe. According to tradition, the first friars to arrive in Ireland landed at Youghal and

⁸⁷ Salter, The Coming of the Friars Minor to England and Germany p 7.

⁸⁸ Moorman History, p 175. Scotland was colonised from England by 1231, see Bryce, The Scottish Grey Friars vol 1 p 5.

established the first foundation there;⁸⁹ the foundation of Cork is believed to be coeval.⁹⁰ Due to insufficient contemporary evidence, the chronological order of the foundation of friaries is difficult to ascertain but it is generally accepted that Kilkenny was settled en route to Dublin.⁹¹ As far as can be ascertained, the friars then became established in the eastern ports of the country in Carrickfergus, Waterford, Drogheda and Downpatrick, after which the friars moved inland to Athlone c.1239 and Ennis c.1240. New foundations appeared again in the east of the country in Dundalk, Castledermot and New Ross then further incursions inland did not take place until the early 1250's when the friars entered Nenagh, Claregalway, Strade and Ardfert. Strade was originally Franciscan but, at the insistence of Basilia, daughter of Meiler de Birmingham (a patron of the Dominican order), her husband, Jordan de Exonia, gave the site to the Dominicans.⁹² Kildare and Clane were the last two

⁸⁹ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 2, 11-12.

⁹⁰ ibid p 11. C. Mooney, O.F.M., The Friars of Broad Lane: the story of a Franciscan Friary in Cork, 1229-1977 revised by B. Egan O.F.M. (Cork 1977)

⁹¹ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 3. P. Conlan O.F.M., 'St. Francis Abbey, Kilkenny' in The Old Kilkenny Review (1975) p 80-84.

⁹² Regestum monasterii fratrum praedicatorum de Athenry. ed. Ambrose Coleman in Archiv. Hib., 1 (1912), p 204-5.

to be founded in that decade.⁹³ There were eight probable foundations in the next decade, the last great spurt of growth in this early period.⁹⁴ This growth of the order in Ireland was a reflection of the growth of the order in general.⁹⁵

The response to the message of St. Francis was just as dramatic in Ireland as in Europe. The experience of Salimbene's father is mirrored in the reaction of Walter de Burgh, earl of Ulster, when, in 1258, David, the younger brother of the earl became a friar minor in Dublin. The earl objected and

venerunt milites eius et armigeri et satellites, et frangentes medium intersticiam ecclesie et violenciam crudelem per totam domum facientes, ipsum violenter extrahentes, habitu spoliaverunt et ad seculum reduxerunt, et timeo quod ad dampnum anime sue.⁹⁶

⁹³ See Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 44-5, 58-9. Gwynn and Hadcock Medieval Religious Houses Ireland, (Dublin 1988) p 245, 252.

⁹⁴ It must be emphasised that the above friaries are mentioned because of some contemporary evidence, other convents may indeed have been founded in this period but firm evidence is lacking. It is also important to remember that the date of the construction of the church is in no way to be regarded as the date of the arrival of the friars in an area as, from the chronicle of Thomas of Eccleston, we know that convents began in a very simple manner and not until the friars were well established in an area did they build their churches. Salter, The Coming of the Friars Minor to England and Germany p 28-33. Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p xiv.

⁹⁵ Moorman History p 155-76.

⁹⁶ Liber exemplorum ad usum praedicantium saeculo xiii compositus a quodam fratre minore Anglico de Provincia Hiberniae ed. A.G. Little (Aberdeen 1908) p 69, 146-

Salimbene's comment that he and his brother had, 'destroyed our house in both the male and female line by entering the religious order',⁹⁷ is also reflected in Ireland where Henry of Hereford, lord of Otymy in Kildare lost his son and heir to the Franciscan order, Henricus genuit Walterum de Herefordia et duas filias. Qui Walterus accepit habitum Fratrum Minorum, propter quod tota hereditas pertinuit ad duas sorores....⁹⁸

The organisation and administration of the province was the same in Ireland as elsewhere.⁹⁹ The head of the province was called the Provincial Minister and he, together with his assistant the Vicar Provincial, was responsible to the Minister General of the order (or his assistant the Vicar General). And, of course, the minister general was responsible to the pope.¹⁰⁰ The meeting at which superiors were elected and legislation was enacted was the chapter; a provincial chapter for the province of Ireland and a general chapter for the

7n117. For a similar incident see G.R. Owst 'Some Franciscan memorials at Gray's Inn', in Dublin Review (1925) p 282-4.

⁹⁷ Salimbene p 32.

⁹⁸ Register of the Abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin, ed J.T. Gilbert (R.S. London 1889), p 104. For identification of family and lands see J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Knight's Fees in Kildare, Leix and Offaly', R.S.A.I.Jn. 91 (1961) p 167-9.

⁹⁹ Huber Documented History p 633-667.

¹⁰⁰ See above p 26

whole order. The Minister Provincial could attend the General Chapter. Before 1260 provincial chapters were held every three years, after the conclusion of the general chapter; after 1260 they were held annually.¹⁰¹

Within a province were administrative units called custodies,¹⁰² governed by a custos who could also attend the General Chapter and, upon his return, hold a Custodial chapter. By the mid-fourteenth century there were thirty five convents in Ireland,¹⁰³ which were organised into custodies; the heads of the custodies being Dublin, Drogheda, Cork and Nenagh.¹⁰⁴ The head of a house or convent was the Guardian who, originally, could be any member of the order, even a novice or a lay brother. As the order developed and the importance of education grew, the higher grew the qualifications demanded of the Guardian of the larger

¹⁰¹ Huber Documented history p 646-652.

¹⁰² Huber Documented history p 652-656. Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p xx-xxi.

¹⁰³ Franciscan friaries had not become established in the northwest of Ireland although the Dominicans had priories in Sligo, Strade, Rathfran and Derry.

¹⁰⁴ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p xx. E. Bolster A history of the diocese of Cork, (Shannon, Ireland 1972) p 213.

convents.¹⁰⁵ An important convent such as Kilkenny would therefore have demanded a well educated guardian, especially by the mid-fourteenth century.¹⁰⁶

Initially, any person could become a Franciscan but, later, a certain level of education was required of the prospective novice. Thereafter, further education was available to the novice if he showed an aptitude for study.¹⁰⁷ The principal function of the friar was to minister to the laity. The friars were very popular as preachers and a story is told of a preacher whose appeal was so great that people followed him from one district to another.¹⁰⁸ The friars were not settled permanently in one convent, they came and went as the needs of the order changed.¹⁰⁹ The friary was only a base from which a group of friars could carry out their apostolic mission.¹¹⁰ The friars also heard

¹⁰⁵ Huber, Documented History p 656-661.

¹⁰⁶ ibid p 657.

¹⁰⁷ A.G. Little, A. G., 'Educational Organization of Mendicant Friars in England (Dominicans and Franciscans)', T.R.H.S., 2nd Ser., 8 (1894) pp 49-70.

¹⁰⁸ Quoted in M.H. Mac Inerny, 'Medieval stories for preachers', I.E.R., 20 (1922) p 457-8.

¹⁰⁹ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p xx-xxi. C. Mooney, Irish Franciscans and France (Killiney, 1964) p 5-7.

¹¹⁰ L.K. Little, Religious poverty and the profit economy in medieval Europe (London, 1978) p 159.

confession and burials¹¹¹ were soon part of the service provided by the friars who were in direct and constant contact with the laity and the church and indeed relied on the good will of both for existence; both in their turn could utilise the mobility and education of the friars.¹¹²

Naturally there could not have been such a proliferation of friaries without adequate support from the lay community. The question of maintenance dictated that in order to survive as mendicants the friars needed to be based in a fairly well populated area as their main livelihood derived from acts of charity; financial support also came from the patronage of benefactors and royal alms which continued to be paid in Ireland until 1372.¹¹³ It is not strictly accurate to speak in terms of founders of Franciscan friaries as the friaries could initially consist of merely a room or a building lent to the friars by a local friend or benefactor with the community using a nearby parish church or chapel for worship and prayer.

¹¹¹ Although official permission for burial came in 1250 there are reports of burials in Ireland from 1234, Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 3,7.

¹¹² Bryce The Scottish Grey Friars vol 1 p 162. Wills provide evidence of the popularity of the friars, ibid p 174-7. Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 32-35.

¹¹³ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. passim.

As in the rest of Europe, the Franciscans in Ireland quickly acquired their own churches; the archbishop of Armagh consecrated the church of the Friars Minor in Athlone in 1241.¹¹⁴ Naturally, as the size of the community grew,¹¹⁵ purpose built friaries were built with custodians acting on behalf of the friars possessing whatever building or equipment was necessary for the work.

The ability to attract the friars to an area without a great monetary outlay must have been a great assistance to those who wished, for whatever reason, to establish friars of their choice within an area. This would have appealed to the Anglo-Irish community in Ireland who were setting up urban habitations as it would be possible for the laity to provide small and inexpensive houses for the friars. In return the friars would have provided a society of mobile religious dedicated to the service of God among the laity with no monastery wall to separate them from the people for whose spiritual, and sometimes physical,

¹¹⁴ A.F.M., vol 3, p 303; Annals of Loch Ce, vol 1, p355; Annals of Clonmacnoise, p 237.

¹¹⁵ The size of individual friaries at any point in time is difficult to determine; perhaps 15-16 friars per house in 1254, E. Bolster A history of the diocese of Cork, p 212.

welfare they cared.¹¹⁶ This orientation towards town life was clearly a significant factor in the growth of the order in Ireland. As is apparent from the list of early foundations, the Franciscan friars were initially connected with the predominantly Anglo-Irish towns of the east and south coasts of Ireland.¹¹⁷

The benefactors of these town friaries are difficult to determine with any degree of certainty, except in a few well documented cases such as Carrick-on-Suir.¹¹⁸ What can be stated is that every principal Anglo-Irish family was connected, in some form or another, with the Franciscans.¹¹⁹ The most clearly documented benefactor of the order was the king of England. His alms, from 1233 to 1372 are a matter of

¹¹⁶ The Third Order should not be overlooked in evaluating the influence of the Franciscans on town life. See D. W. Whitfield 'The third order of St Francis in medieval England' in Franciscan Studies 13 (1953) pp 50-59; Moorman History p 218. For letters of fraternity see Moorman History p 120; A.G. Little 'Franciscan letters of fraternity', Bodleian library Record 5 (1954) pp 13-35. For Ireland see E. Bolster A history of the diocese of Cork p 211-212.

¹¹⁷ 'Towns were the only consistently loyal element in medieval Ireland', E. Curtis, A history of medieval Ireland from 1086 to 1513 (London 1978) p 411.

¹¹⁸ Annals of Clyn p 27. For an understanding of the problem see individual friaries in Gwynne and Handcock Medieval Religious houses: Ireland.

¹¹⁹ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 234-5.

record.¹²⁰ The king was very generous to the English Franciscans,¹²¹ however, his motive in supporting the Anglo-Irish Franciscans may not have been totally altruistic. The Irish kings also supported the friars¹²² and therefore the English king would obviously wish to support the Anglo-Irish Franciscans.

The friary itself was important because it was in the town, often indeed within the town walls, and could be used by the townspeople. The first extant record of such a use occurs in 1290 when goods from a ship, worth £200, were stolen from the church of the Franciscans of Youghal.¹²³ Corn was stored at, and seized from, the church of the friars minor at Ardfert¹²⁴ and the pontificalia of the bishop of Annaghdown were seized from the Franciscan friary of Claregalway.¹²⁵ In Germany, while the friars had the right to reside in

¹²⁰ ibid p 2, 4, 9, 13, 14, 15, 20, 26, 37, 41, 43, 44, 46, 48, 51, 53, 61, 65, 71, 86, 87, 110, 127, 129, 136, 145, 154.

¹²¹ Green, The Franciscans in English medieval life (1224-1348), p 70; Moorman Church life in England in the 13th. century p 371-2.

¹²² Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 6-7; John Mac Rory Magrath Caithreim Thoirdealbhaigh trans. S.H. O'Grady (Irish Texts Soc. London, 1929) vol 2 p 32.

¹²³ C.D.I. 1285-1292 p 320.

¹²⁴ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 86

¹²⁵ ibid p 70, 73-4, 79.

the friary, the owner of the property, in actual practice often the town itself, retained the right to employ the buildings for other purposes as well.¹²⁶ The friary could also be used as a meeting place; the Justiciar of Ireland was appointed in the church of the friars minor at Trim in 1391.¹²⁷ In Scotland the Franciscan friaries were frequently used as royal lodgings and it was in the church of the friary of Dundee that the provincial council of the church gave its formal adhesion to Bruce as King of the Scots in 1309.¹²⁸ In Ireland Richard II stayed with the friars of Drogheda in 1394.¹²⁹ MacCarthy may have stayed in the friary at Cork when visiting that city.¹³⁰ The use of the friary by the townspeople would ensure that the friars were conversant with the latest gossip.

Not only were the friaries used for secular purposes but the friars were also used by both the papacy and the king for administrative purposes. An example of

¹²⁶ John B. Freed The friars and German Society in the thirteenth century, (Cambridge Mass., 1977) p 51.

¹²⁷ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 166. The Carmelite friary was also used for secular purposes see Peter O'Dwyer, O.Carm., The Irish Carmelites (Dublin, 1988) p 30.

¹²⁸ Bryce The Scottish Grey Friars vol 1 p 20-23.

¹²⁹ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 167 E. Curtis, Richard II in Ireland, 1394-5, and submissions of the Irish chiefs (Oxford 1927) p 37.

¹³⁰ C. Mooney [B. Egan] The Friars of Broad Lane p 17.

such a instance is the use of Stephen de Exonia, author of The Annals of Multyfarnham, as a messenger sent by the justiciar to inform the king about the state of Ireland.¹³¹ Stephen de Exonia was not the only friar to leave Ireland and return. In 1317 friars Simon le Mercer and Adam le Blound of Drogheda were employed on business of the state.¹³² In 1326 the Franciscan friar Henry Cogry went to Scotland on the kings business,¹³³ as did the Franciscan guardian of Kildare, Andrew Leynagh, in 1335.¹³⁴

Friars from Ireland also travelled overseas on matters unrelated to the affairs of state. Providentially, the record of two Anglo-Irish friars, natives of Ireland, who travelled to the Holy Land in 1323 has survived. The Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis ab Hybernia ad Terram Sanctam¹³⁵ sheds some light on the possibility of travel for friars in that period. It was not only pilgrims who travelled from Ireland,

¹³¹ Documents on the affairs of Ireland before the king's council ed., G.O. Sayles (Dublin 1979) p 8. See below p 155-6.

¹³² Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire.
p 101-2

¹³³ ibid p 128

¹³⁴ ibid p 136. R. Nicholson, 'An Irish expedition to Scotland in 1335', I.H.S. 13 (1962-3) p 206.

¹³⁵ Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis ab Hybernia ad Terram Sanctam, ed., Mario Esposito (Dublin 1960)

provincial ministers and their companions travelled to General chapters and students travelled to universities.

The friars in Ireland performed the same function for the community as they did elsewhere. They preached, heard confessions and performed the burial service. Friars in Ireland, as elsewhere, produced books of sermons. The Liber Exemplorum, a manual for the use of preachers, was produced by an English Franciscan living in Ireland about 1275.¹³⁶ From the Liber Exemplorum we learn of a friar Deodatus, provincial in the mid-thirteenth century who wrote a collection of Exempla, Inter exempla vero Deodati hoc etiam super hac materia reperi.¹³⁷ From the same source we learn also of a frater de Wycumbe, Hoc autem exemplum reliquid frater de Wycumbe in sermonibus suis,¹³⁸ but there is nothing to indicate whether he was living in Ireland or not. Around the same period ~~of time~~, friar Malachy of Limerick produced a treatise on the seven deadly

¹³⁶ Liber exemplorum ad usum praedicantium saeculo xiii ed. A.G. Little, (British society of Franciscan Studies, 1; Aberdeen, 1908). M.H. Mac Inerny, 'Medieval stories for preachers', I.E.R., 20 (1922) p 452.

¹³⁷ Liber exemplorum p 54, 91, 121, 141-3n98

¹³⁸ ibid p 121.

sins De Veneno.¹³⁹ The book which contains the Annals of Multyfarnham is principally a book of material for a preacher.¹⁴⁰

The Franciscans in Ireland also wrote histories but they did not usually explain why they were indulging in such a pursuit, possibly because the extant Franciscan annals of medieval Ireland often consist only of one line entries and as such one would scarcely expect an explanation of why they were produced to be included. Friar Stephen de Exonia, the author of The Annals of Multyfarnham placed his annal at the end of a collection of items useful to a preacher in what was clearly a personal book.¹⁴¹ The annals therefore were not house annals but a personal compilation. Friar John Clyn may have begun his annals with a similar function in mind but then the earth-shattering plague hit Ireland and he saw a more important function for

¹³⁹ Mario Esposito, 'Friar Malachy of Ireland', E.H.R. 33 (1918) pp 359-66. C. Mooney, Devotional Writings of Irish Franciscans 1224-1950 (Killiney, 1952) p10-11. C. Mooney, 'Some medieval writings of Irish Franciscans', Irish library bulletin 3 (1942) p 16-18. Lydon, The lordship of Ireland p 127. G. Clery, Studies 16 (1927) p 58.

¹⁴⁰ M.L. Colker, Trinity College Library, Dublin: Descriptive catalogue of the mediaeval and renaissance latin manuscripts (Scolar Press, 1991), p 710-40

¹⁴¹ It is possible that the book which contained Clyn's annals may also have contained aids for the preaching of sermons, especially if the volume was friar John Clyn's personal property.

his words,

videns hec multa mala et mundum totum quasi in maligno positum, inter mortuos mortem expectans donec veniat, sicut veraciter audivi et examinavi sic in scripturam redegei, et ne scriptura cum scriptore pereat, et opus simul cum operario deficiat, dimitto pergamenam pro opere continuando, si forte in futuro homo superstes remaneat, an aliquis de genere Ade hanc pestilenciam possit evadere et opus continuare inceptum.¹⁴²

This statement does not, as is customary, come at the beginning of the annal but only after the opening report of, what the writer sees as, the possible end of the world. The world as Clyn saw and described it was the world of the Anglo-Irish Franciscan friar. There was another Franciscan Ireland, the Ireland of the Irish friar. By the end of the thirteenth century the Franciscan order in Ireland consisted of Irish and Anglo-Irish friars with the Anglo-Irish friars enjoying a dominant position. The first two provincial ministers, Richard of Ingworth and John of Ketton were sent directly from England and all their successors in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries appear to have been Anglo-Irish or English. The only Irish name on the list is Thady O'Breassil, who was vicar in 1369.¹⁴³ There were in fact 'two nations'¹⁴⁴ in the

¹⁴² Annals of Clyn p 37.

¹⁴³ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire.
p 209

¹⁴⁴ The problems surrounding the church in medieval Ireland has been fully analysed in J. A. Watt The church and the two nations in medieval Ireland (Cambridge 1970).

THE TWO NATIONS IN THE FRANCISCAN ORDER IN IRELAND

Irish bishops were present at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, in fact 'Conor (Cornelius) O'Heeny, bishop of Killaloe, died on his return from the fourth General Council of Lateran'.¹⁴⁶ Certainly, from whatever source, the Franciscan message very quickly reached the Irish population and, despite the fact that the great majority of friaries were of Anglo-Irish affiliation,¹⁴⁷ some friaries were particularly Irish in origin, namely Buttevant, Armagh, Ennis, Timolegue, Killeigh and Cavan.¹⁴⁸

The principal function of the Franciscan friar was, apart from being an example of the apostolic life, to preach, usually in the vernacular; therefore, in order to preach to the Irish laity, knowledge of the language

¹⁴⁵ A division was also present in the French province. Of the eight custodies, four drank beer and four drank wine, Salimbene p 209

¹⁴⁶ A.F.M. vol 3 p 185.

¹⁴⁷ A similar situation existed with the Dominican order Watt The Church and Two nations p 176.

¹⁴⁸ See the named friaries in Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. and Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland

was necessary.¹⁴⁹ The Franciscans were very aware of the need for familiarity with local languages; the initial missions to Germany and Hungary failed because of the language problem, a mistake which was quickly rectified.¹⁵⁰ It can probably be assumed that the first Franciscans who came to Ireland from England learnt Irish in order to preach to the Irish laity. Learning the Irish language in order to preach to the Irish population would not automatically entail learning to write in that language.¹⁵¹ The Latin books of sermons could still be used in an Irish speaking area, 'The overwhelming advantage of Latin as the language for the model sermon collection was that it could be translated into any vernacular'.¹⁵² The situation in Wales was similar. There most of the

¹⁴⁹ H.G. Pfander, The Popular Sermon of the Medieval Friar in England (New York, 1937)p 6. For a criticism of this work see D.L. d'Avray The Preaching of the Friars p 91 n3. G.R. Owst Preaching in Medieval England p 226-8.

¹⁵⁰ The Chronicle of Brother Jordan in Salter, The coming of the Friars Minor to England and Germany p 133-4, 137, 149. Moorman History p 67-8. For a discussion of German vernacular sermons of the thirteenth century see D.L. d'Avray The Preaching of the Friars p 91-3. See also H.G. Pfander, The popular sermon of the medieval friar in England (New York, 1937) p 4-7; J.V. Fleming, An introduction to the Franciscan literature of the middle ages (Chicago, 1977) p 14-15.

¹⁵¹ Alan Bliss, 'Language and literature', in The English in Medieval Ireland, ed. Lydon (Dublin 1984). J.F. Lydon, 'The middle nation' in The English in Medieval Ireland, p 14n3

¹⁵² D'Avray, D.L., The preaching of the friars p 95.

friaries were within the royal or marcher boroughs,¹⁵³ despite this, the English Franciscans at all times recruited many of their brothers from among the Welsh and played a leading part in bringing religion to the Welsh in their own tongue in sermon and literature.¹⁵⁴

Proof of the rapid spread of Franciscan message to the Irish population can be seen by the large number of Irish Franciscans in episcopal appointments.¹⁵⁵ The first known Irish name to be associated with the Franciscans in Ireland is Thomas O'Quinn, first mentioned in 1244 when he was elected to the bishopric of Elphin.¹⁵⁶ Between 1244, when Thomas O'Quinn was proposed for the bishopric of Elphin, and 1317, when Richard Ledred became bishop of Ossory, there were seventeen Franciscan friars appointed to bishoprics in Ireland and at least ten of those were clearly Irish.¹⁵⁷ All, even those who did not receive papal

¹⁵³ There were Welsh foundations also, Llywelyn ab Iorwerth founded a Franciscan friary in Llanfaes, Gwynedd in 1237-45 in memory of his wife Joan, daughter of king John and in 1245 the friars were granted royal protection. Ian Soulsby The towns of medieval Wales (Phillimore 1983) p 166-167. R.C. Easterling, 'The Friars in Wales', Arch. Camb. 14 (1914) pp 323-356.

¹⁵⁴ Glanmor Williams The Welsh Church from conquest to reformation (Cardiff 1976) p 21-22.

¹⁵⁵ W. R. Thompson, Friars in the Cathedrals p 137-48.

¹⁵⁶ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 8-9.

¹⁵⁷ ibid p 221

approval, received royal assent.

Initially, it would appear that there was no racial tension in the order in Ireland.¹⁵⁸ From the author of the Liber exemplorum there is no trace of racial animosity, he was on friendly terms with several Irish friars and there is no evidence of discrimination. This attitude is confirmed by the fact that the Irish friar Thomas O'Quinn was custodian, in 1252, of what was at a later date, if not then, the Anglo-Irish friary of Drogheda.¹⁵⁹ Could absence of distrust at this early period possibly be because as yet the Irish Franciscans were still in the minority and as such would pose no threat to the control of the order in Ireland by the Anglo-Irish friars? That racial tension would eventually appear, given the existence of two nations on the island who differed in customs, speech, laws and dress, might be deemed inevitable.

The first hint of racial tension was apparent by 1285 when both the Dominicans and Franciscans were accused of making much of the Irish language.¹⁶⁰ There is also an interesting letter from the same period which

¹⁵⁸ ibid p xxi

¹⁵⁹ ibid p 18.

¹⁶¹ C.D.I. 1285-1292 p10. Lydon, The lordship of Ireland in the middle ages p 286-7.

confirms the presence of discord within the orders in Ireland. Nicholas de Cusack, the Anglo-Irish Franciscan bishop of Kildare, wrote to Edward 1 warning him against, 'insolent religious of the Irish tongue' who told the Irish and their kings that they were justified by human and divine law in fighting for their country and attacking the English conquerors and suggesting that the solution might be to remove religious with Irish sympathies from convents in dangerous districts and send only 'boni et electi... cum sociis anglicis' to minister to the Irish in future.¹⁶¹ Friar Malachy of Limerick, in his work De Veneno, also attacked the Irish saying that while there were no poisonous snakes in Ireland there were robbers because almost every Irishman is a robber.¹⁶²

It was at the provincial chapter at Cork¹⁶³ in 1291 that racial animosity flared to such scandalous proportions that the affair reached the ears of at least two English monastic chroniclers. The Worcester report stated that,

On 10 June at Cork in Ireland there was a general

¹⁶¹ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p xxii, 52-3.

¹⁶² C. Mooney 'Ciniochas agus Naisiunachas san Eaglais in Eirinn, 1169-1534 Galvia 10 (1965-5) p 15.

¹⁶³ There is a badly mutilated reference to Cork in Nicholas Cusack's letter to Edward 1, Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 52-3.

chapter of the friars minor, where the Irish friars came armed with a papal bull: a dispute having arisen regarding this, they fought against the English friars; and after many had been killed and wounded here and there, the English at length gained the victory by the help of the city and with scandal to the order.¹⁶⁴

Some further information is contained in the account of a Norwich monk,

At the same time the Minister General of the Order of St. Francis was holding a visitation throughout the whole world and came to Ireland for this purpose; and in their General Chapter sixteen friars with their fellow friars were killed, some were wounded and some of them imprisoned by the king of England.¹⁶⁵

The minister general of the order, Raymond Goffredi, came to Ireland in 1291 and Edward 1 gave instructions to the Justiciar and other ministers to give all aid to the minister general in suppressing the rebels of the order so that 'peace, tranquility and concord be introduced among the friars of the order of minors in Ireland'.¹⁶⁶

The interesting point about the episode in Cork is that it is not reported by any of the extant Franciscan annals.¹⁶⁷ Clyn merely states that there was a

¹⁶⁴ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p63-4. Translated in Bolster A history of the diocese of Cork p 214.

¹⁶⁵ ibid p 214.

¹⁶⁶ Clery, 'St Francis and Ireland', Studies 16 (1927) p 59.

¹⁶⁷ As two separate English sources chronicled this incident, it cannot be called 'alleged' as G. Cleary claims, ibid p 59.

chapter at Cork¹⁶⁸ as does the Kilkenny Chronicle.¹⁶⁹

If the two English monastic chronicles as far apart as Norwich and Worcester can have the information then one might expect that the annals of St. Mary's would have a record of the event but they are also silent on the matter. This affair in Cork was probably the cause of the right of electing the Provincial Minister being withdrawn from the Provincial Chapter in 1312 and being vested in the Minister General.¹⁷⁰ The Irish friars must surely have been discouraged by a situation where only English or Anglo-Irish Friars achieved the position of Provincial Minister of Ireland. Could this have been the reason for the riot at Cork?

Racial animosity did not cease in 1291 but continued unabated and found expression once again during the Bruce Invasion in 1315-17.¹⁷¹ The Franciscans had a history of supporting the opponents of social injustice;¹⁷² 'they were not afraid to castigate vices of all classes, and to insist on the performance of

¹⁶⁸ Annals of Clyn p 10.

¹⁶⁹ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 333.

¹⁷⁰ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire.
p 93-4

¹⁷¹ Watt The Church and Two Nations p 183.

¹⁷² H.G. Pfander, The popular sermon of the medieval friar in England (New York, 1937) p 14-15. The song of Lewes ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxford 1963) p xviii.

duties; they gave courage to the poor and oppressed.¹⁷³ The Irish Franciscans supported the cause of Edward Bruce. In 1315 Edward II instructed the justiciar to 'take information concerning the stay of Irish friars and clerks amongst the English in Ireland whereby danger may arise to the cities, boroughs and towns',¹⁷⁴ while at the same time Donal O'Neill in his Remonstrance to Pope John XXII singles out a friar Symon as a believer in the maxim that it was no more a sin to kill an Irishman than a dog.¹⁷⁵ Edward II sent two English Franciscan friars to the pope in 1316 with a letter which stated that the Irish Franciscans incited the Irish laity against the king.¹⁷⁶ Another letter was sent by Edward II to the pope in 1317 complaining that Irish prelates were promoting the Scottish invasion.¹⁷⁷ The pope in 1317 ordered the archbishops of Dublin and Cashel to warn all persons, especially the members of the four

¹⁷³ A.G. Little Studies in English Franciscan history p 156-7.

¹⁷⁴ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 94-5

¹⁷⁵ E. Curtis and R.B. McDowell, eds. Irish Historical Documents 1172-1922 (London, 1943) p 38-46. J.A. Watt, 'Gaelic polity and cultural identity', in N.H.I. vol ii p 348-50. Lydon, The lordship of Ireland in the middle ages p 155-156.

¹⁷⁶ Rymer Foedera II p 295

¹⁷⁷ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 99 footnote.

mendicant orders, to desist from treasonable practices against the English or be excommunicated.¹⁷⁸ From the Irish point of view there could be no treason as they held the belief that the king of England held Ireland by false bulls.¹⁷⁹ Itinerant friars were sometimes viewed with suspicion as they could travel among both races with ease and therefore pass sensitive information.¹⁸⁰

In this circumstance of the Bruce involvement in Ireland, it is worth noting the relationship between Robert Bruce and the Scottish Franciscans. It was at the friary at Dundee that the provincial council of the church gave formal adherence to Bruce as king of Scotland. In 1317 Bruce 'showed scant consideration for the English friars...of Berwick', but founded the friary of Lanark with a very generous yearly annuity.¹⁸¹ However, by 1333, the friary of Berwick was once again full of Scottish friars and Edward 111 addressed a letter to the English Provincial requesting him to expel the Scottish Grey Friars from Berwick because of 'the preaching of certain religious

¹⁷⁸ Rymer Foedera II p 325.

¹⁷⁹ Lydon, The lordship of Ireland in the middle ages
p 190

¹⁸⁰ ibid p 185.

¹⁸¹ Bryce The Scottish Grey Friars vol 1 p 25.

mendicants of the Scottish nation, who, under a fictitious cloak of sanctity, encouraged the Scots in their tyranny'.¹⁸² The king requested that

all your Scottish brethren dwelling in our town and county of Berwick should, meanwhile, be sent into the houses of your order in England, so that with a change of residence may come a change of spirit; and that there be put in their places wise and capable English friars, who, ... may instruct the people, win them to our allegiance and affection and ... implant a true friendship between the nations.¹⁸³

After the Bruce invasion the situation between the 'two nations' of Franciscans in Ireland did not improve.¹⁸⁴

Clyn, in his annal for the year 1325 declares, fuit discordia ut communiter inter religiosos pauperes Hybernie quasiomnes, quidam eorum nacionis sue et sanguinis et lingue partem tenentes et foventes ac promoventes; alii prelacionis et superioritatis officia ambientes.¹⁸⁵

In the same year, Clyn notes that at the General chapter at Lyon, the friaries of Cork, Buttevant, Limerick and Ardfert were taken from the Irish friars and handed to the English friars.¹⁸⁶ The

¹⁸² ibid p 33-4.

¹⁸³ ibid p 34. The Lanercost Chronicle has an amusing comment on the behaviour of the Scottish friars who, before they left the friary, managed to distract the English friars and thereby make off with their own property. The chronicle of Lanercost 1272-1346 trans. H. Maxwell (Glasgow, 1913) p 282-3.

¹⁸⁴ Watt The Church and Two Nations p 190-2.

¹⁸⁵ Annals of Clyn p 17.

¹⁸⁶ ibid p 17.

separation was clearly now fully acknowledged; the Nenagh custody of Nenagh, Athlone, Ennis, Claregalway, Galway, Armagh, Cavan and Killeigh was the Irish custody. The animosity between the two nations was now firmly established and was referred to in 1349 when the archbishop of Armagh, Richard FitzRalph,¹⁸⁷ in a sermon preached before the pope in 1349, described the relationship between England as Ireland as, 'always opposed to one another from a traditional hatred, the Irish and Scots being always at variance with the English: so much so that every day they rob and slay one another at the first opportunity'.¹⁸⁸ Richard FitzRalph, is also known for his attack on the friars for other reasons.¹⁸⁹

Just as Franciscans in other countries wrote annals so also did the Franciscans in Ireland. Six, at least,

¹⁸⁷ K. Walsh, A Fourteenth century scholar and Primate: Richard fitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon and Armagh (Oxford, 1981); A. Gwynn, 'Richard FitzRalph, Archbishop of Armagh' Studies 22 (1933), pp 389-405, 591-607; 23 (1934), pp395-411; 24 (1935), pp 25-42, 558- 572; 25 (1936), 81-96.

¹⁸⁸ A. Gwynn, 'The black death in Ireland' Studies 24 (1935) p 31.

¹⁸⁹ For a full discussion of Richard FitzRalph and the friars see L.L. Hammerich, The beginning of the strife between Richard FitzRalph and the mendicants (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser xxvi 3 Kopenhagen 1838). For criticism of the friars see C. Erickson, 'The fourteenth-century Franciscans and their critics', Franciscan Studies 35 (1975) 107-35; 36 (1976), 108-47.

have survived;¹⁹⁰ how many were lost is open to conjecture. Three of those which survived were written by Anglo-Irish friars and one by Irish friars. Additionally, a section of the Annals of Inisfallen has been identified as being the work of a Franciscan friar.¹⁹¹ Only from the Annals of Nenagh, an Irish friary, is there any degree of information about the friars.¹⁹² The annals written by the Anglo-Irish friars are remarkable for the brevity and scarcity of their mendicant entries.

The Franciscan province in which these annals were written was a province split by a racial divide. The principal office, that of minister provincial, had from the beginning been in the control of the Anglo-Irish community. This must have contributed to racial animosity. The Scottish and Welsh Franciscans had, from the beginning, been considered as part of the English Franciscan province.¹⁹³ A similar situation existed with the Dominican order in Ireland; although

¹⁹⁰ Annals of Multyfarnham, Chronicle A and Chronicle B of the Kilkenny Chronicle, Annals of Clyn, Annals of Ross and the Annals of Nenagh

¹⁹¹ G. Mac Niocaill, The medieval Irish annals (Dublin 1975) p 26.

¹⁹² Annals of Nenagh ed D. Gleeson Anal.Hib. 12 (1943) pp 155-64.

¹⁹³ R.C. Easterling, 'The Friars in Wales', p 330, 341-3. Bryce, The Scottish Grey Friars vol 1 p 5, 8-9.

they arrived in Ireland at the early date of 1224, they did not become a separate province. In Ireland the Dominican order was not independent and was always part of the English province. The Dominican houses in Ireland were grouped under a Vicar-Provincial for Ireland and they were subject to the English Provincial.¹⁹⁴ The Irish Carmelite and Augustinian friars were also part of their English provinces.¹⁹⁵ It is interesting to speculate as to why Ireland became a separate Franciscan province, albeit under the jurisdiction of an English friar. It would appear that there was never a question mark over the establishment of Ireland as a separate Franciscan province. Is it possible that this might indicate that the first friars to arrive in Ireland did not necessarily come via England, as has always been accepted? If they had come from England, as happened in Wales and Scotland, then perhaps there would have not have been a separate province for Ireland.

Only rarely in Ireland is there clear evidence of who was the founder and principal benefactor of a friary,¹⁹⁶ but when there is, some speculation can be

¹⁹⁴ Gwynn and Hadcock Medieval Religious houses: Ireland p 218-9.

¹⁹⁵ ibid p 282, 293.

¹⁹⁶ Annals of Clyn p 27-8. Caithreim Thoiridhealbhaigh vol II p 32.

attempted in order to determine the motive that inspired the foundation. The possibility of pressure on the mendicant orders to assist in laying claim to disputed border areas is worthy of some consideration; 'Thirteenth century rulers in border areas often forced the friars to assign a convent to a political province. The boundaries of mendicant provinces thus reveal the political allegiances and predilections of various temporal rulers in sensitive border areas.'¹⁹⁷ It is perhaps significant that the Franciscans should enter Roscommon in 1268 just when the justiciar Robert Ufford was involved with the construction of the castle there.¹⁹⁸ The Dominicans were already well established in Roscommon but under the patronage of the O'Connors. It might be suggested that royal alms were purposefully directed to aiding the establishment of the Anglo-Irish Franciscans; for example, in 1327, royal alms were transferred from the Irish friars at

¹⁹⁷ John B Freed The friars and German society in the thirteenth century (Cambridge, Mass., 1977) p 15. John B. Freed 'The friars and the delineation of state boundaries in the thirteenth century.' in Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages: Essays in honour of Joseph R. Strayer. eds. William C. Jordan, Bruce McNab and Teofilo F. Ruiz. (Princeton New Jersey 1976) p 31-40. See also Edwina Hutchinson, 'Irish hospitallers 1174-1341; a study of insularism in an international order', (B.A. Dissertation, Trinity college, Dublin 1991) p 14, 19, 21.

¹⁹⁸ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15. For the military function of friars in German towns see John B Freed The friars and German Society in the thirteenth century, p 50.

Athlone to the English friars at Cashel.¹⁹⁹ In 1315 the earl of Ormond acquired the castrum et manerium of Carrick-on-Suir in 1315 but, in 1338, a jury stated that James Butler had no buildings in his manor of Carrick at the time of his death in 1337.²⁰⁰ In 1336, Jacobus comes Ermonie contulit fratribus minoribus castrum suum et locum de Carrig.²⁰¹ Did James Butler wish to establish Anglo-Irish friars at Carrick-on-Suir for political as well as religious reasons? Among the friars who established the new foundation of Carrick-on-Suir were the Anglo-Irish minister provincial and the Anglo-Irish chronicler friar John Clyn.

¹⁹⁹ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire.
p 129

²⁰⁰ C.A. Empey, 'The manor of Carrick-on-Suir in the middle ages', Butler Soc. Jn 2 (1982), p 207.

²⁰¹ Annals of Clyn p 27.

CHAPTER III

THE ANNALS OF MULTYFARNHAM. T.C.D. Ms. 347.

A HISTORY OF OWNERSHIP AND TITLE

The text known since the seventeenth century as the Annals of Multyfarnham survives in a late thirteenth century manuscript volume in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.¹ The earliest mention of this volume can be found in the first shelf catalogue of manuscripts of Trinity College Library, (c.1670), where it is described as Descriptiones terrarum et tractatus de Sacramentis.² The Annals of Multyfarnham are first mentioned specifically in the first alphabetical catalogue produced by Trinity College in 1688 where, they are itemized as, Annales coenobii (ut putatur) montes fernandi ab an domini 45 ad an 1274 +

¹ TCD MS 347 T.K. Abbott, Catalogue of the manuscripts in Trinity College, Dublin (1900) p 53. (According to the John Lyon shelf catalogue of c. 1745 no. C.5.8.) Annales de Monte Fernandi ed. A. Smith in Tracts Relating to Ireland 2 (Dublin 1842).

² TCD. MS 7/2 First shelf catalogue of TCD. c. 1670, f.32v numbered K.I.21. L. A note, Vide J. Ware, is appended to this title. Unfortunately, this reference can not be pursued as 'references to Sir James Ware in some of the descriptiones probably indicate a reliance on a catalogue of Usshers manuscripts made by him before their arrival in the college ... which (catalogue) is now not extant'.

Prior to its arrival in Trinity College the manuscript was the property of James Ussher⁴ who was both a great scholar and an avid collector of manuscripts and his library, comprising about ten thousand volumes, eventually came into the possession of Trinity College, Dublin, in 1661.⁵ In a catalogue of the manuscripts and printed books in Ussher's library in 1661 there is an entry entitled, de fratribus minoribus⁶ which may, perhaps, refer to the volume now known as TCD. MS. 347.

At least two previous owners are suggested by the presence of notes in the first quire of the volume.

³ TCD. MS. 7/1 Samuel Foley catalogue (1688) f7. Longer second reference can be found on f 32v where the volume is catalogued as G.82.

⁴ James Ussher (1581-1656), was twice vice chancellor of Trinity College Dublin (1614, 1617). See R. Buick Knox, James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh (Cardiff, 1967). Parr The life of James Ussher the most reverend and learned father of our church doctors (London 1656)

⁵ T.C. Barnard, 'The purchase of Archbishop Ussher's library in 1657', The Long Room 4 (1971) pp 9-14. See also, W. O'Sullivan, 'Ussher as a collector of manuscripts', Hermathena 88 (1956) pp 34-58. B. Meehan, 'The manuscript collection of James Ussher', in Treasures of the Library of Trinity College Dublin ed. Peter Fox (Dublin, 1986) pp Nessa Ni Sheaghda, Collectors of Irish Manuscripts: Motives and Methods (Dublin, 1984) p 5-6.

⁶ TCD. MS. 6 Catalogue of Usshers library 1661 as given to TCD. (c. 1667) f 68. Also TCD MS 5 f 65v. The manuscript number given beside these entries is E.1.19.

On folio 1⁷ of the volume is a latin inscription which states that the book was the property of friar John Knock⁸ and he was lending it to John Hothum, rector of Cloughran, without any money being involved. Furthermore, he added the statement that if anyone deleted the note he was to be accursed. Was the book returned to John Knock? The probability is that the book was indeed returned to the Franciscans. It is quite clear from the tone of the note that John Knock intended that the book should not be retained by the borrower; he stressed that no money had changed hands and cursed anyone who deleted the note. Furthermore, the Franciscans had very specific library regulations which, because they were an itinerant order, covered all possible eventualities.⁹ For example, when a friar died his books were to be collected by the custodian and returned to the original convent, even if he had died at the Roman Curia; any friar who had lent a book to another must ensure that it was returned to the custodian or warden at the death of the borrower and furthermore the custodian responsible for the loss

⁷ Unless specified, all folio numbers mentioned refer to present day foliation which, according to a note on a fly-leaf, was corrected May 1965.

⁸ John Knock was minister provincial of the Franciscan order in 1441, Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 209.

⁹ For a very full discussion of this topic see K.W. Humphreys, The Book provisions of the medieval friars (Amsterdam, 1964).

of books from the conventual libraries kept a record of any missing books in the register. In view of these rules it would be surprising if the minister provincial of the Franciscan order in Ireland had allowed a book in his charge to be lost to the order. He would have wished to ensure the return of the book.

John Knock and John Hothum were not the only names pertaining to ownership found in the manuscript. Another note of ownership, this time in Irish and in a sixteenth century hand, declares, 'I am the book of Gillapatrik O'Conolan, whoever may say that I am not. I am Gillapetre O'Cuinn priest of ... for that and much more.'¹⁰ A very tentative solution to the identification of this person is that he may have been Gillapatrik O'Connolly, abbot of Clones, whose death is recorded in the annals in 1504.¹¹ Why he should have the volume, if indeed he was the Gillapatrik O'Connolly referred to, is not clear. However, it appears that the book was once again returned to Franciscan hands as there are two sixteenth century notes reporting the death of a Thadei I Daly in

¹⁰ TCD MS 347 f 2. Translation by M.L. Colker in Trinity College Library, Dublin: Descriptive catalogue of the mediaeval and renaissance latin manuscripts (Scolar Press 1991) p 739.

¹¹ A.F.M. vol 5 p 1273.

1583.¹² This note may refer to a Thadeus O'Dalaigh, a Franciscan friar in Askeaton who was captured and tortured in Limerick in 1579.¹³ The names of these two Franciscans, John Knock and Thadeus O'Dalaigh clearly associate this volume with the Franciscan order in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. Apart from these notes of ownership, the word, Balibyn, is also to be found in a sixteenth century hand on four folios;¹⁴ this word may refer to a place or a person.¹⁵ The presence of the word in the quire which contains the Annals of Multyfarnham¹⁶ establishes that the annals were part of the volume in the sixteenth century.

There is a paper endpiece, folio 407, which has a memorandum stating that on the 4th of January 1635 the book was exhibited to the jury of Co. Galway at a castle chamber suit. The memorandum was signed by

¹² TCD MS 347 f 2r, 10r.

¹³ Brevis Synopsis Provinciae Hiberniae FF. Minorum ed. B. Jennings O.F.M., Anal. Hib. 6 (1934) p 174. The Analecta of David Rothe, bishop of Ossory ed. P. F. Moran, bishop of Ossory (Dublin 1884) p 384.

¹⁴ TCD MS 347 f 169, 271v, 347v, 402v.

¹⁵ Evidence of balybyn as a surname can be found in J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The medieval county of Kildare', I.H.S. 11 (1958-9), p194. A Richard de Balibyn was appointed as custodian of Rindown castle in 1308, Helen Walton 'The English in Connacht, 1171-1333', p 498. Luke de Balybyrne Chartul. St Mary's vol 1 p 18.

¹⁶ TCD MS 347 f 402v.

James Ware, Phillip Percivalle and Paul Davys. As the book is associated with James Ware¹⁷ in the seventeenth century¹⁸ it is reasonable to assume that he was the person responsible for its presence in Galway although what exactly the presence of the book at Galway signifies is difficult to ascertain.¹⁹

In Sir James Ware's seventeenth century transcript of the Annals of Multyfarnham, the title given is, Annales Coenobii Montis Fernandi,²⁰ but at the end of the transcript is a note which identifies an early seventeenth century owner of the book,

This booke beinge an Ancient manuscript in parchment was leant unto me by Mr James Ussher and came out of the library of Sr ffrances Shane and is said to have belonged in tymes past to the abbey of Multifernan alias de monti ffernandi whereof this is a true transcript.

This identification of the abbey is then crossed out

¹⁷ For Sir James Ware see Nessa Ni Sheaghda, Collectors of Irish Manuscripts: Motives and Methods (Dublin, 1984) p 7.

¹⁸ Sir James Ware had a transcript of the Annals of Multyfarnham, see below n20.

¹⁹ The manuscript also contains, in a fifteenth century hand, the words locum West/ (lynwest?) TCD MS 347 f43v. See Colker p 739. Also in this manuscript is a list of cantreds f. 389.

²⁰ Bodl. MS. Rawl B.496 f 32r, see appendix II p 391; this volume is part of Ware's collectanea, Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 324.

and the words, 'an abbey in Connacht', substituted.²¹ The problem of identification is evident again in another Ware transcript, which has as its title, Annales Montis Fernandi, Forte Annales coenobii Dominicanorum Straad in com. Maio; then, finally, underneath is written, Annales domus fratrum de Multifernan.²² The Latin table of contents of this volume has information relevant to the problem of provenance. Again the scribe evidently had doubts and suggested that, as the annals contained many things that pertained to Connacht and especially to the ancient family of Dexters or de Exonia, lords of Athlethan and founders of the friary of Strade, then perhaps, he suggests, it may have belonged to the Dominicans of Strade in co. Mayo.²³ An abstract made in the handwriting of William Molyneux, (ob. 1698), highlights the problem with the title. On the lefthand corner of the first page is written, Annales montis fernandi, but then, on the righthand corner the title is changed to, Forte domus de Strade co Maio, and then again in the centre of the page the legend, Annales

²¹ Bodl. MS. Rawl. B. 496 f 41v; Another transcript also identifies the manuscript with Sir Francis Shane, 'ffragments of Irland Collected out of an old written parchement manuscript w^{ch} appertayned to S^r ffrancis Shane knight, and was an Abbie booke in Connought.' Bodl. MS Misc 614 p 113, see appendix III p 394.

²² BL. MS. Add. 4789 f 136r.

²³ ibid f 3rv.

domus fratrum de Multifernan.²⁴ The medieval annals themselves have neither title nor introduction; the title, Annals of Multyfarnham, therefore originated only from the seventeenth century transcripts and, from their titles, it is clear that, even then, considerable doubt was felt concerning the accuracy of the title.

An investigation into the history of the Franciscan friary of Multyfarnham fails to provide evidence to suggest a connection between these annals and the friary.²⁵ The usual difficulty associated with foundation dates of Franciscan friaries prevails when attempting to date the coming of the friars to Multyfarnham but between 1250-70 is considered to be an acceptable date.²⁶ During this period of time there is no reference in the annal itself to Multyfarnham, despite the fact that foundation of the friaries of Roscommon and Clonmel are noted.²⁷ Similarly, although the names of many Anglo-Irish families local to Meath are to be found in the annals, there is no reference to the founding family, the

²⁴ TCD MS F1 no 18 p 303.

²⁵ For a complete history of the friary see T. O'Donnell The Franciscan abbey of Multyfarnham (Multyfarnham, 1951)

²⁶ ibid p 2-3.

²⁷ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15 .

Delamares.²⁸

It has been stated that James Ussher received the volume from the library of Sir Frances Shane, not from Sir Frances Shane himself.²⁹ There is no record of a meeting between James Ussher and Sir Frances Shane but it is always possible that they met. However bear in mind that up to and including 1614, the year in which Sir Frances Shane died, James Ussher was actively engaged both in St. Patrick's cathedral and Trinity College, Dublin.³⁰ On the other hand, Sir Frances Shane was heavily involved in Westmeath and Connacht.³¹ The statement that the volume came from the library of Sir Frances Shane is firm and there is

²⁸ 'Brussels MS 3947: Donatus Moneyus Provincia Hiberniae S. Francisci' ed. B. Jennings, O.F.M. in Anal.Hib. 6 (1934) p 92.

²⁹ See above p 82.

³⁰ Ussher entered Trinity College in Dublin in 1594, gained his master's degree in 1600 and was ordained in Trinity College Chapel in 1602. He went to London in 1603 and 1606. In 1607 he was made a Bachelor of Divinity and soon afterwards he became Professor of Divinity in the College. Meanwhile he had deputised for Archbishop Loftus as chancellor of St Patrick's Cathedral and continued to do so after the death of Archbishop Loftus in 1605 and was formally instated into the office in 1611. He did not become bishop of Meath until 1621. R. Buick Knox, James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh (Cardiff, 1967).

³¹ The first mention of Francis Shane is in March 1588 Cal.State Papers Ireland - Elizabeth vol. 4 p 137. For Sir Frances Shane's career see Calendar of State Papers Ireland - Elizabeth vols 4 -11, passim.; Calendar of State Papers Ireland - James 1 vols 1-5, passim.

no reason to doubt its veracity. The information concerning the title is however far less resolute.: 'is said to have belonged', these words suggest hearsay not fact. Sir James Ware's doubts concerning the accuracy of the title and his suggestion of an abbey in Connacht might suggest that the identification had not come originally from James Ussher himself. As noted above, Sir James Ware used these annals in a court in Galway in 1635, that is to say during the life time of Archbishop Ussher, therefore he had ample opportunity to question Ussher about the annals.³² His continuing doubts about the accuracy of the title strongly suggests that Archbishop Ussher was also uncertain about the provenance. The first mention of these annals in a Trinity College catalogue names them as the Annals of Multyfarnham but this is qualified by the words, ut putatur.³³ The reason for suggesting that these annals were the annals of the friary of Multyfarnham may only have arisen from the fact that the book was at one time part of the library of Frances Shane, a man who was known to have sacked the friary of Multyfarnham.³⁴

³² For the relationship between Ussher and Ware regarding manuscripts see Flower 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British Museum', p 302.

³³ TCD MS 7/1 f7.

³⁴ For a contemporary account of the sacking of the friary see 'Brussels MS 3947: Donatus Moneyus Provincia Hiberniae S. Francisci' p 93 et. seq.

Sir Frances Shane held property in Longford and Mayo which included the manor and parsonage of Granard, the priory of Loughswedie, the parsonage of Strade, and interest in the castle of Callow.³⁵ He was on the very best of terms with the administration and was knighted by the lord Deputy Mountjoy, who called him, 'An old and very good servant of the queen'.³⁶ As landowner and also as sheriff of Westmeath he was frequently in action against the rebels³⁷ and in this connection he firmly asserted that the friars of Multyfarnham were involved in rebellion against the queen calling the friary, 'the nursery of all mishievous practices, ...'³⁸ and, 'the chiefest organ, alienating the subjects heart from Her Majesty, are the friars of Multyfarnham, (this) may easily be remedied ...by razing to the ground that abbey, the den of scorpions'.³⁹ This solution he duly carried out on the night of 1 October 1601, for which task he was

³⁵ Calendar of State Papers Ireland - Elizabeth vol.5 1592-96 p 131.

³⁶ Cal. State Pap.Ireland - Elizabeth vol.9 p 86.

³⁷ Calendar of State Papers Ireland - Elizabeth vols. 4 -11 passim.; Calendar of State Papers Ireland - James 1 vols. 1-5 passim.

³⁸ Calendar of State Papers Ireland - Elizabeth vol. 9 p 85

³⁹ Calendar of State Papers Ireland - Elizabeth vol.10 p197

praised by Thomas Jones, bishop of Meath (1584-1605).⁴⁰

By a fortunate chance on the day that Sir Frances Shane sacked the friary of Multyfarnham, the Franciscan historian, Donagh Mooney, a native of county Westmeath, was present as a novice at Multifarnan.⁴¹ In 1617, when he was provincial of the Franciscan order, he wrote a history of the Franciscan order in Ireland.⁴² Because of his background, considerable reliance must be placed on his report in an attempt to ascertain whether or not the annals were present in the friary. The friary would certainly have had a library⁴³ but it is difficult to be certain about the condition of the friary library in 1601. After it was suppressed in 1540, William Brabason, Under-Treasurer of Ireland, was asked to account for various items pertaining to the friary, among which was listed, 'books and other things' found there at the time of the suppression in

⁴⁰ Calendar of State Papers Ireland - Elizabeth vol.11
p 136-7

⁴¹ et me fratrem Donatum Moneum, tunc novitium
'Brussels MS. 3947: Donatus Moneyus Provincia Hiberniae
S. Francisci', p 93.

⁴² ibid p 12-14.

⁴³ O'Donnell The abbey of Multyfarnham p 17. Michael O'Cleary went to Multyfarnham to consult a famous volume, ibid p 56.

1540.⁴⁴ From this account it would appear highly likely that, either the library of the friars fell into the hands of the royal commissioners, or, alternatively, that the library was dispersed to local benefactors for safety.⁴⁵ If the books remained in the friary, or were returned to the library,⁴⁶ they were not out of danger as Sir Frances Shane was neither the first nor the last to raid the friary.⁴⁷ Donagh Mooney's statement concerning the motive of Sir Frances Shane in attacking the friary is very important, ipse cum suis militibus in monasterio mansit, spoliis intentus, quae non erant valde magna, praeter provisionem victualium satis honestam, quae etiam major fuit ob imminentem festivitatem Sancti Francisci [Oct

⁴⁴ C. Mc Neill, 'Accounts of sums realised by the sale of chattels of some suppressed Irish monasteries', R.S.A.I. Jn 52 (1922) p 33. For a description of the system by which books were to be collected see C.E. Wright 'The dispersal of the libraries in the sixteenth century' in Wormald, F., and Wright, C.E. The English library before 1700 p 166. For the suppression of the friary see Newport White Monastic extents p 275.

⁴⁵ For example, the Nugent family, O'Donnell, The abbey of Multyfarnham p 22. 'Brussles MS 3947: Donatus Moneyus Provincia Hiberniae S. Francisci' p 92.

⁴⁶ In 1609 Michael O'Clery could go to the friary to consult a book. O'Donnell, The abbey of Multyfarnham p 56-7. If the friars could retain that book until 1609 then they could have kept their own annal but Michael O'Clery did not use the Annals of Multyfarnham in his work. A.F.M. vol 1 p xii.

⁴⁷ 'Brussles MS. 3947: Donatus Moneyus Provincia Hiberniae S. Francisci', p 100.

4].⁴⁸ There is nothing in his account to suggest that any significant spoils, other than food, were available to Sir Frances Shane. It is difficult to believe that Donagh Mooney would not have mentioned the seizure of books had such a thing occurred. His statement does not prove that the volume in question was not at the friary but it must raise the question as to what, in the opinion of the Franciscan historian, Donagh Mooney, would constitute plunder of value if not books. Doubts concerning the presence of the annal in Multyfarnham are strengthened when the history of the Franciscan order, which Donagh Mooney wrote in 1616, is examined carefully. In that history there is no record of the existence of a Franciscan friary at Roscommon. The only extant medieval evidence for the existence of this friary is to be found in the manuscript called the Annals of Multyfarnham.⁴⁹ If the annals were in the library then we must believe that the Franciscan historian, Donagh Mooney, had never read them as he did know that a Franciscan friary had existed in Roscommon.

If one considers the possibility that the volume was not in the friary then it might be suggested that, given Sir Frances Shane's interests which spread over

⁴⁸ ibid p 94.

⁴⁹ Anno mclxix Locus captus est apud Roscoman, Annals of Multyfarnham p 15. These annals use the verb capio to mean established.

Longford and Connaught, he could have acquired the book under a variety of different circumstances. An alternative possibility which deserves attention is that he may have seized it from among the belongings of the group of eminent friars whom he captured on his way to Multyfarnham. Again it is thanks to Donagh Mooney that we have this valuable information⁵⁰ and it is interesting to speculate about the presence near the friary of such high ranking men as the Franciscan, Richard Brady, bishop of Kilmore,⁵¹ Bernard Moriarty, dean of Ardagh,⁵² the Franciscan provincial minister John Gray and James Hayes. They may merely have been on their way to the friary for the feast day of St. Francis but, in view of the political situation, it might also be postulated that such an event would offer an ideal opportunity for a subversive meeting as all four men were connected in some way with rebellion.⁵³

⁵⁰ 'Brussels MS. 3947: Donatus Moneyus Provincia Hiberniae S. Francisci', p 93.

⁵¹ ibid p 108.

⁵² He was a member of the Third Order of St Francis and was the vicar of Matthew de Oviedo, the Spanish Franciscan archbishop of Dublin, O'Donnell The abbey of Multyfarnham p 32.

⁵³ Of Brady it was said, 'they had to use all means for the apprehension of the popish bishop of Kilmore who was, they said, secretly harboured by the Nugents, especially the baron of Delvin', Calendar of State Papers-Ireland, 1588-92 p 375. Moriarity was the vicar of Matthew de Oviedo who was involved in the supply of arms to Tyrconnell on April 1600, G.A. Hayes-McCoy 'Tudor conquest and the counter-reformation, 1571-1603', in N.H.I. vol iii (1978) p 132-3. Gray was arrested

It is a possibility that the volume may have been carried by one of those friars that night. The compact size of the book together with the sermon aids it contained made it a valuable preaching aid for an itinerant friar.⁵⁴ Furthermore, two of those friars captured by Sir Frances Shane had held at some time the position of Provincial of the Franciscan order and the book had been the property of a provincial minister in 1414.

If, by whatever means, the book became the property of Sir Frances Shane on 1 October 1601, how, and when did it come into the possession of Archbishop Ussher? Considering the friendship and perhaps even mutual admiration that must have existed between Sir Frances Shane and Thomas Jones, bishop of Meath (1584-1605),⁵⁵ it would not be untoward to speculate that, being in

in 1607 on charges connected with the flight of the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, 'Brussels MS 3947: Donatus Moneyus Provincia Hiberniae S. Francisci', p 99. When James Fitzmaurice landed at Dingle on 1579 to head an insurrection James Hayes led the procession from the ship. O'Donnell, The abbey of Multyfarnham p 33-4. For the question of the rebellion of 1641 being hatched at Multyfarnham, ibid p 62-3.

⁵⁴ D. L. d'Avray, The preaching of the friars (Oxford, 1986) p 57.

⁵⁵ The bishop of Meath describes Sir Frances Shane as, 'in religion very zealous and constant; the only assistant I find in the country where he dwells; in her majesty's services very forward, and always ready to adventure his life', Calendar of State Papers Ireland - Elizabeth vol.10 p 267.

possession of such a book and being himself, according to contemporary evidence, a man of action rather than a scholar, he might have given it to the bishop of Meath. If the volume remained in the episcopal library in Meath then it would have come naturally into the ambit of James Ussher when he in his turn became Bishop of Meath in 1621.⁵⁶ Or, Thomas Jones could have brought the book with him when he became archbishop of Dublin in 1605⁵⁷ and there James Ussher would have had access to the volume. Alternatively, James Ussher may have acquired the volume in a more direct but as yet unknown manner.⁵⁸

It is possible that the annals were being consulted by the year 1629. The Franciscan historian, Francis Matthews, provincial of the Irish Franciscans 1626-1629,⁵⁹ had the information concerning the medieval friary of Roscommon which was denied to Donagh

⁵⁶ N.H.I. vol ix p 407. James Ussher later took a personal interest in Multyfarnham, especially when he was bishop of Meath, C.R. Elrington The Whole works of the most reverend James Ussher, D.D. xv (Dublin 1864) p 180-82.

⁵⁷ N.H.I. vol ix p 423.

⁵⁸ There is also the possibility that the book may have come to his notice through George Montgomery, bishop of Meath 1609-1621, N.H.I. vol ix p 407. For contact between the two men see R. Buick Knox, James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh p 11-12.

⁵⁹ He was the author of, 'Brevis Synopsis Provinciae Hiberniae FF. Minorum', ed. B. Jennings O.F.M., Anal. Hib. 6 (1934) p 139-142.

Mooney in 1616, An. 1269 inhabitari ceptus a fratribus,
Anno sequenti incendio consumptus.⁶⁰ This
dissemination of historical information from Ussher,
if he possessed the volume, to a Franciscan historian
would have been possible through the network of
antiquarian friendship that existed between the
Franciscans and Ussher.⁶¹ It is also possible that
Francis Matthews could have gained this information
from another, now non-extant, source.

B. DESCRIPTION OF VOLUME

The volume which contains the Annals of Multyfarnham
is small in size, merely 158mm x 113mm, and contains
407 folios.⁶² The volume is bound with tooled
leather, a style executed for the college c. 1830, and
it was rebacked in July 1951. The greater part of the
volume is uniform in layout with the folios having, on
average, thirty lines per page, which results in a
written area of only approximately 100mm x 80mm and a
significantly large lower margin. The size of the
lower margin suggest either that there was no shortage
of vellum, or that the writer intended to use the lower

⁶⁰ ibid p 155.

⁶¹ See below p 261-2.

⁶² TCD MS 347. Small portable sized books were used by
itinerant friars, Carleton Brown, 'Texts and the man',
Bulletin of the modern humanities research association
vol 2 (1928) p 107 et seq.

margins for additional notes. The text of the Annals of Multyfarnham begin on fol 394, the second folio of the last complete quire in the volume.⁶³

Before considering an individual text it is important to consider the volume as a whole.⁶⁴ There are forty one quires of varying sizes, and many of the quires, including the last quire, originally had blank folios at the beginning and end of the quire.⁶⁵ These blank folios were later used for short tracts which, unlike the main sections of the quires, were not rubricated.⁶⁶ Medieval foliation, in Arabic numerals, is visible intermittently from folio 12 to folio 392. The absence of some of the medieval foliation, plus the loss of flourishes on large capitals and some written material proves that there has been some loss of parchment on the upper, outer and lower margins. Of inestimable value is a thirteenth century table of contents on folios 12-20 and, from this table, it is possible to determine that all the quires, apart from

⁶³ Colker Descriptive catalogue p 738.

⁶⁴ L.M.J. Delaisse, 'Towards a history of the medieval book', Codicologica 1 (1976) pp 75-83. C. Brown, 'Texts and the man', p 97-111.

⁶⁵ All folio numbers in this chapter will refer to TCD MS 347, unless otherwise stated. For example see f314r-316v; 166rv; 164rv; 217-218v.

⁶⁶ G.S. Ivy, 'The bibliography of the manuscript-book', in F. Wormald, and C.E. Wright, The English library before 1700 p 57-8.

the first and the last, were one entity in the late thirteenth century.⁶⁷

The contents of the volume can be described principally as a collection of sermons, together with an eclectic assortment of minor tracts. Several hands are present in this volume and the decoration is simple consisting of capital letters with a red infill together with the larger opening capitals at major divisions in the text which have a red or blue infill with flourishes in the alternate colour.⁶⁸ Drawings of hands are occasionally used as pointers⁶⁹ and marginal notes are to be found throughout the codex. The Annals of Multyfarnham conform to this pattern. The language of the codex is Latin but there are occasional sentences beginning, Anglice dicitur, and, Gallice dicitur, and also occasional short texts in French, for example, the poem, The Lament for Simon de Montfort.⁷⁰ Middle English is present only in the form of occasional

⁶⁷ BL MS Harley 978 consists of thematically unrelated booklets but which were apparently never circulated separately, J. Frankis, 'The social context of vernacular writing in thirteenth century England: the evidence of the manuscripts', in Thirteenth century England, 1. Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference 1985, ed P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd (Boydell, 1986), p 176-7.

⁶⁸ f32 (specimen)

⁶⁹ f 31v.

⁷⁰ f 2v-3.

phrases such as loc wel and lo lac wel which call attention to certain passages plus a few short sentences.⁷¹ The Annals of Multyfarnham are also in Latin throughout, except for the use of the thorn symbol instead of the letters 'th' in the year 1208 of the annals.⁷² The Irish language is present only in the first quire in a sixteenth century inscription of ownership.⁷³ The question of the dating of these annals does not raise any serious problem. Internal evidence in the annals, plus palaeographical evidence, place the date of compilation of the codex in the late thirteenth century.⁷⁴

The miscellaneous nature of the codex is consistent with the remarkable proliferation of material in the thirteenth century which was designed to improve the spiritual efficiency of preaching by the use of exegetical aids. The Franciscans also brought secular

⁷¹ f 31v, 46. Glossed English and French present on f377, 'although these [sermons] are written down for the most part in Latin, many of them are interspersed with English in such a manner that it is clear that they were delivered in the vernacular'. H.G. Pfander, The popular sermon of the medieval friar in England (New York, 1937) p 45.

⁷² f 400r line 10, appendix I p 385.

⁷³ f 2.

⁷⁴ Colker Descriptive catalogue p 739. Annals of Multyfarnham p v.

songs into use as aids to preaching,⁷⁵ an example of which is the reorientation of secular vernacular songs by Richard de Ledrede, Franciscan bishop of Ossory.⁷⁶ The presence of such items as the Incipit testamentum beati Francisci (an item deemed worthy of enlarged title letters),⁷⁷ and Incipit laudes quas dixit beatus Franciscus ad omnes horas diei et noctis et ante officium beate virginis,⁷⁸ point to the involvement of a Franciscan friar in the production of this volume. Immediately following the Testament of St. Francis is a tract on the prophecy of Joachim which concludes, in large letters emphasising its importance, Explicit propheta Joachim de ordine fratrum minorum et predicatorum.⁷⁹ In the thirteenth century the influence of the prophet Joachim among the Franciscans

⁷⁵ There is a considerable wealth of material dealing with this subject among which are, R.H. Robbins, 'The earliest Carols and the Franciscans', Modern Language Notes 53 (1938), pp 239-245. 'The authors of the middle English Religious Lyrics' in The Journal of English and Germanic Philology 39 (1940) pp 230-238. Benito D'Angelo, O.F.M., 'English Franciscan poetry before Geoffrey Chaucer (1340?-1400)', Franciscan Studies 48 (1988) pp 218-260. See also J.V. Fleming, An Introduction to Franciscan literature of the middle ages (Chicago 1977) p 175. D.L. Jeffrey, Early English Lyric and Franciscan spirituality (Nebraska, 1975) p30-31.

⁷⁶ E. Colledge, The latin poems of Richard Ledrede, (Toronto, 1974)

⁷⁷ f 387v-388v. Brooke, The coming of the friars p 117.

⁷⁸ f 387rv

⁷⁹ f 389v

was significant and very widespread.⁸⁰ A second prophetic tract, the prophecy of the prophet Wynne,⁸¹ preceeds the Annals of Multyfarnham on the, originally blank, first folio of the last quire.⁸² The annals also have a Franciscan affiliation.⁸³

The first quire, containing the notes of ownership, lies outside the medieval table of contents and is marginally smaller in size, the lower margin is approximately 5mm shorter. This may imply that the first quire was added to the main section at a somewhat later period.⁸⁴ Nonetheless, the first quire also contains material of interest to the Franciscan friars, for example, the verses lamenting the death of Simon

⁸⁰ E. G. Gardner, 'Joachim of Flora and the everlasting Gospel, in P. Sabatier, ed., Franciscan Essays (Aberdeen, 1912) p 63-4. M.Reeves The influence of prophecy in the later middle ages (Oxford, 1969) p175-190. E.T. Daniel, 'A re-examination of the origins of Franciscan Joachitism', Speculum 43 (1968), pp 671-676.

⁸¹ f 393.

⁸² This prophecy is present also in Bodl. MS Rawl. B 496 f 41v, following Annals of Multyfarnham. At the end of the transcript is a note, 'This prophecy should be put before the chonology', ibid f 42. See appendix.

⁸³ See below p

⁸⁴ BL MS Harley 978, which consists of unrelated booklets, gave no sign that it ever circulated separately, John Frankis, 'The social context of vernacular writing in thirteenth century England: the evidence of the manuscripts', in Thirteenth century England, 1. Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference 1985, ed P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd (Boydell, 1986), p 176-7.

de Montfort. The Franciscans were both part of the entourage of Simon de Montfort and were also involved in the production of the poem, The Song of Lewes.⁸⁵ Also contained within the first quire is a tract concerning the Eucharist with instructions on how to act if an accident should occur, Si in terram cecedit sanguis Christi.⁸⁶ Saint Francis had a great reverence for the Eucharist and addressed a letter entitled De reverentia corporis Domini et munditia altaris, to all the priests of the church exhorting them to be reverent and meticulous when handling the consecrated elements of the Eucharist.⁸⁷ The tract, Descriptiones terrarum, composed c. 1255, (by which the volume was catalogued, c.1670) is also part of the first quire. This tract has been described as an introduction to a work on the Tartars.⁸⁸ The Franciscans were interested in the Tartars. The chronicler, Salimbene, describes the book written by John of Pian de Carpine upon his return from a mission to the Tartars.⁸⁹ Salimbene also includes in his

⁸⁵ Song of Lewes ed C.L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1963) p xviii-xxiii.

⁸⁶ f 9v.

⁸⁷ Huber Documented History p 51.

⁸⁸ Marvin L. Colker 'America rediscovered in the thirteenth century?', Speculum 54 (1979), pp 712-726.

⁸⁹ Salimbene p 203. The journey of William of Rubruck to the eastern parts of the world 1253-55 with two accounts of the earlier journey of John of Pian de

chronicle a copy of the letter Ghengis Khan sent to Pope Innocent IV.⁹⁰

The last quire, the quire containing the Annals of Multyfarnham, is the same size as the the main body of the volume. The layout of the folios, the size of the margins, the rubrication and the handwriting are also very similar to the main body of the codex. Despite this similarity, the annals were not included in the medieval table of contents and there is no sign of medieval foliation on this quire. The reason for this may simply be that the material was not considered by the scribe as part of a preaching aid. Were the annals always with the rest of the codex? Manuscripts have frequently been gathered together and separated in the past; John Lyon, responsible for the shelf catalogue of Trinity College Library catalogue of c.1745 was also responsible for breaking up some volumes, including Ussher's notebooks, and reassembling them to suit his subject arrangement. However, the similarity of style and hand suggest that the annals may well have been together with the main body of the codex from the very beginning. Certainly they were part of the codex in the sixteenth century as the word balybyn can be found

Carpine ed W.W. Rockhill (Hakluyt Society London 1900).

⁹⁰ Salimbene p 198

as in the annals⁹¹ as well as twice more in the main body of the volume.

All sections of the volume contain matters of interest to a Franciscan friar. The greater part of this book was clearly intended for the use of a preacher⁹² and, as the friars were first and foremost preachers, the size of the volume would have been eminently suitable for an itinerant friar.⁹³ The material in the first quire is of Franciscan interest and the annals, contained in the last quire, are of Franciscan origin. Internal evidence in the Annals of Multyfarnham plus the fact that the only Irish language present in the volume is in the form of a sixteenth century note indicate that the volume is of Franciscan Anglo-Irish provenance.

C. THE TEXT OF THE ANNALS OF MULTYFARNHAM

The text of Annals of Multyfarnham begins on the second

⁹¹ f 402v.

⁹² D.L. d'Avray, The preaching of the friars (Oxford 1986) p 57-8; J.V. Fleming, An introduction to the Franciscan literature of the middle ages (Chicago, 1977), p 113; D.L. Jeffrey, Early English Lyric and Franciscan spirituality (Nebraska, 1975), p 183-90, (occasionally these books contained musical scores, ibid p 173-5, 179) H.G. Pfander, 'Medieval friars and some alphabetical reference books for sermons', Medium Aevum 3 (1934) pp 19-29.

⁹³ D.L. d'Avray, The preaching of the friars p 57-8.

folio⁹⁴ of the last quire. The annals have neither a title nor an introduction and begin with the year 45 A.D. Blank folios at the beginning and end of a quire are a common medieval practice and are formed by starting the text, not on the recto of the first folio but at some subsequent point, sometimes as late as folio three of the quire. The blank folios formed in this manner would protect the unbound quire.⁹⁵ Thus, the year 45 A.D., beginning on the second folio of the quire, could quite logically be the beginning of the text. There are two additional reasons for deciding that the year 45 A.D. is the true beginning of the annals. One, the opening entry reads, Anno ab incarnatione Domini, followed by the date.⁹⁶ All subsequent entries begin only with the word Anno and the year. This unique entry suggests that, either the manuscript from which the scribe was copying began at the year 45, or, the scribe himself decided to begin the annal at the year 45. Two, the first letter of the word Anno, in the opening entry is given a decorated capital A and an examination of the text reveals an interesting work plan for the decorated capitals. The decorated capital As are found in the manuscript

⁹⁴ f 394r.

⁹⁵ G.S.Ivy, 'The bibliography of the manuscript-book', in F. Wormald, and C.E. Wright, The English library before 1700 p 51, 52-4.

⁹⁶ f 394r; Annals of Multyfarnham p 1.

preceeding the years 45, 100, 202, 316, 404, 540, 729, 800, 901, 1012, 1050, and from then on every decade, up to and including 1260, begins with a decorated capital A.

When these years are examined, a logical pattern emerges to explain why only these years received the decorated capital. From the years 45 to 540 the decorated capital represents the first entry for each century, for example, there were no entries for the years 300 to 315; the first entry for that century being anno 316 which year therefore received the decorated capital A.⁹⁷ The seventh century may have confused the illuminator because, instead of writing sescentimo, the scribe used the words quingentesimo centesimo,⁹⁸ and, perhaps because of this, there was no decorated capital for the century beginning 600. The next decorated capital should have occurred at anno 717, the first entry for that century, but instead the second entry, anno 729, was chosen.⁹⁹ Again a certain logic emerges as the year 729 began a new side of a folio. The years 800, 901 and 1012 follow the established pattern. From the year 1040 onwards every year is entered on the manuscript even if, as

⁹⁷ f 394v.

⁹⁸ f 395r; Annals of Multyfarnham p 3.

⁹⁹ f 395v.

frequently happens, no entry is recorded.¹⁰⁰ Following this change of pattern, beginning with anno 1050, each new decade is given a capital A, with the noticable omission of 1070 which is given the normal small anno,¹⁰¹ perhaps a simple scribal error or, on the other hand, it may reflect the contemporary nature of the annals at this period of time. It seems logical therefore to conclude that, despite the fact that the annals begin on the second folio of the quire, the use of the words Anno ab incarnatione Domini, plus the evidence of the decorated capitals indicates that either the manuscript from which the scribe was copying began at the year 45 A.D. or the scribe himself chose to begin his annal with that date.

The text of the annal appears to end abruptly one third of the way down the verso side of the last folio, with an uncompleted sentence in the second entry for the year 1274, Item ob. Domina Anolyna, commitissa Ultonie circa pentecost in die....¹⁰² An examination of the text of the annals reveals that this incomplete entry is not unique. In 1259 the entry states that O'Nel was killed in die sancti...¹⁰³ in 1271 that the castle of

¹⁰⁰ For example see f 396r, appendix I p 383.

¹⁰¹ f 396v, see appendix I p 384.

¹⁰² f 403v, see appendix I p 389.

¹⁰³ Annals of Multyfarnham p 14; f 401v.

Roscommon was thrown down in die ...;¹⁰⁴ and, in 1272, that many friars were drowned near St. David's, in die....¹⁰⁵ The explanation for these unfinished entries must be that the scribe, clearly writing his annal at a time contemporary with the events described, left a space, to be filled at a later time when he had discovered the correct date. The Italian Franciscan chronicler, Salimbene, had a similar problem when he was reporting a battle in 1284, 'I have not recorded the number of killed and captured because the reports are so various ... I am awaiting word from the Friars Minor of Genoa and Pisa who will give a more accurate number'.¹⁰⁶ Thus, illogical as it may appear at first glance, all evidence points to the conclusion that here is in fact the true ending of the annal and, from the seventeenth century copies, we know that the format was the same at that period.

When the handwriting in the annals is examined, certain anomalies become apparent. Two types of script are present in these annals¹⁰⁷ and are particularly apparent in certain letters, for example, b, h, r, f and s. In the compact hand form, the ascenders are

¹⁰⁴ Annals of Multyfarnham p 16; f 403r.

¹⁰⁵ Annals of Multyfarnham p 16; f 403r.

¹⁰⁶ Salimbene p 543.

¹⁰⁷ See, for example, f 402r, appendix I p 387.

flat topped and the descenders of the letters r, s and f stay on the line, whereas, in the alternate form of the handwriting the ascenders are split and curly and the descenders go below the line. The question that arises therefore is whether two separate hands are present or one hand using two styles of handwriting. The possibility of two scribes must be rejected as the two different hands intermingle in such a haphazard manner as to make that solution unlikely. The explanation must be that whilst the scribe was copying from the material before him he used his compact careful hand and, when the source was no longer available or he was rushed, he reverted to his own more contemporary and less careful hand.¹⁰⁸ Because the years were entered even without events being recorded it was obviously a simple matter to go back and insert details if, or when, they became available.

D. THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE TEXT

The question now to be considered is what portion of these annals are the original work of the author and

¹⁰⁸ 'Contrary to most reports, nearly all of Harley 913 is by a single hand', see M. Benskin, 'The style and authorship of the Kildare poems- (1) Pers of Bermingham', in In other words. Transcultural Studies in Philology, Translation and Lexicography, presented to Hans Heinrich Meier on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday ed. J.L. Mackenzie and R. Todd (Dordrecht:Foris, 1989), p 58. Also note that the ruling of the page ceases on f 399v, that is to say with the year 1200.

what portion did the scribe copy from another manuscript? The scribal errors in the text are useful in attempting to ascertain which portion of the manuscript was copied.¹⁰⁹ One type of error, to be found several times in these annals, is clearly the result of copying from another manuscript. This error occurred when the scribe, in turning from his own work to the source material, read the incorrect line and began to copy out of sequence. An example of this is to be found in the year 58 where the scribe misread his source and entered the following year, 59, instead, then, realising his mistake, he underdotted the error and proceeded again, this time correctly.¹¹⁰ Words were also susceptible to misplacement; the word Fabianus was entered four lines too soon, and upon recognising his mistake the scribe corrected it and entered the word Fabianus correctly four lines later.¹¹¹ An extreme example of such an error can be found in the year 1212, in this case the date was erroneously entered in the middle of a sentence (yet at the beginning of a new line), Ric Anno moccxii de Tuyt obrutus a turre apud Adlon.¹¹² This was the

¹⁰⁹ G. S. Ivy, 'The bibliography of the manuscript-book', p 55. L.C. Hector The handwriting of English Documents (Dorking 1980) p 49-50.

¹¹⁰ f 394r.

¹¹¹ f 395.

¹¹² f 400r.

final error of this type, all corrected by underdotting.

A class of error that can be of great benefit in attempting to place the scribe's era and locality is when the scribe substitutes the familiar and habitual for the unknown and unaccustomed. An example of this error occurs in the first line of the annal when the scribe, obviously familiar with writing the date for his own era, entered the year as 1045 then, realising his error, he underdotted the M (for milia) thereby leaving the correct date, the year 45. In the entry for the year 1221 the scribe reported the death of John, archbishop of Meath, he then underdotted Meath and continued by writing the correct title, Dublin.¹¹³ As the word Meath does not occur elsewhere on this folio, or even on the next folio, this error might, if substantiated by other evidence, indicate a greater familiarity with Meath than with Dublin.¹¹⁴ A curious error occurred in the year 1245 where the birth of Stephen de Exonia was recorded only to be roughly crossed out and re-entered under the following

¹¹³ f 400

¹¹⁴ These annals relate the family affairs of Richard de Exonia of Uriel. B. Smith, 'The medieval border', in R. Gillespie and H. O'Sullivan eds. The Borderlands (Belfast 1989) p 44-45.

year.¹¹⁵ This error may simply reflect the lack of definite knowledge of age which was characteristic of the period.¹¹⁶ An error found in 1066 has been corrected in a different manner the words capi angl a willo stngbo have been cancelled by a totally different method, that of placing the letters ^{va} in superscript before the error and ^{cat} at the close of the error,¹¹⁷ the word va-cat signifying the area of error. An examination of the errors suggests that the scribe was copying from another source until at least 1212.¹¹⁸ The absence of ruled folio after the year 1201¹¹⁹ would tend to corroborate the conclusion that the author was copying from one document until the first or second decade of the thirteenth century.

The scribe's modus operandi in this manuscript was to write the word anno followed by the date in Roman

¹¹⁵ Appendix I p 386.

¹¹⁶ Lydon, The lordship of Ireland in the middle ages p 259. E. St.J. Brooks, 'The de Ridelesfords' R.S.A.I. 82 (1952) p 59.

¹¹⁷ f 396v, see appendix I p 384.

¹¹⁸ The error of 1221, Meath instead of Dublin, and the error of 1245, the date of Stephen de Exonia's birth, do not fall within the category of errors of copying.

¹¹⁹ f 399v. G.S. Ivy, 'The bibliography of the manuscript-book', p 42 et.seq.. J.P. Gumbert, 'Ruling by rake and board: notes on some late medieval ruling techniques', in Ganz, P., The role of the book in medieval culture 1 (Proceedings of the Oxford international symposium 1982 Brepols-Turnhout 1986) pp 41-54.

numerals and then the information for that year. Initially, the scribe only entered the year when he had an entry for that year. There is no set pattern for those years, indeed one century only has three years entered.¹²⁰ Whether this was the pattern in the manuscript before the scribe or his own adaptation of a one line annal is impossible to ascertain. Later, from 1039, this pattern changed, and for the first time the text displays the true appearance of a one line annal and to the end of the annal, in 1274, every year was entered, even if unused.¹²¹ As the years passed fewer years were left unfilled. From 1240 to the end of the annal in 1274 only two years were left vacant, 1251 and 1260¹²² and from 1261 to 1274 all the years contain an increasing amount of information. Some years have one line entries but occasional major events, such as the conquest of England in 1066, have extended entries.¹²³

Two classifications of marginalia are present in these annals; one series in a seventeenth century hand and the other in the hand of the scribe. If the medieval marginalia are the product of the author, and not

¹²⁰ This is the third century, f 394v.

¹²¹ The year 1260, f401v

¹²² f 401v.

¹²³ f 396v; appendix I p 384.

merely copied from the source manuscript, then they support the theory that the scribe was an Anglo-Irish Franciscan friar living in Ireland. The word Franciscus in the margin beside the year 1226 - the entry for which reads, Ob beatus Franciscus¹²⁴ - clearly suggests a Franciscan friar as neither St. Bernard nor St. Dominic, whose obits are entered,¹²⁵ are so distinguished in this annal. The presence of this friar in Ireland is initially suggested by the marginal words, Patricius and Brigida,¹²⁶ and confirmed by the names de Cursi,¹²⁷ de Lacy¹²⁸ and de Burgo¹²⁹ in the margins. The claim that the friar was Anglo-Irish, rather than Irish, is substantiated by the word Angliam inserted beside the year 454,¹³⁰ and 1171,¹³¹ and the name Edwardus in the margin beside the entry recording the birth of Edward, son of the king of England.¹³²

¹²⁴ f 400v.

¹²⁵ Annals of Multyfarnham p 9, 12.

¹²⁶ f 395r.

¹²⁷ f 399r, 400.

¹²⁸ f 399v, 401r.

¹²⁹ f 401r.

¹³⁰ f 395r.

¹³¹ f 399r.

¹³² f 401r.

Three marginal notes fall outside the aforementioned categories. One, the word sanguis beside the entry which relates that in 1103 blood flowed from the earth at Hameste¹³³ and, two, the word luna beside 1107, the entry relating that two moons were seen in the sky.¹³⁴ The third marginal note, the words crux domini beside the entry concerning the capture of the cross of the Lord by the Saracens,¹³⁵ may reflect the natural interest in the crusades and more particularly the Franciscan interest in the Holy Land.¹³⁶ An examination of the manuscript therefore reveals that the text is complete, that the scribe was copying from an earlier source, at least until c.1212, and, if the marginalia are the work of the scribe, as seems likely, then he was an Anglo-Irish Franciscan friar living in Ireland and interested in Ulster.

E. THE AUTHOR

From internal evidence in the annals it is possible to determine that the author of these annals was a friar

¹³³ f 397r - there is no obvious explanation for this marginal note.

¹³⁴ f 397r - again, there is no obvious explanation for this marginal note.

¹³⁵ f 399v.

¹³⁶ Moorman History p 300-302.

Stephan de Exonia¹³⁷ whose name is to be found initially under the year 1246, Natus est frater Stephanus de Exonia.¹³⁸ Some significance must be attached to this entry because the only other births previously mentioned in these annals were royal births. The author is again mentioned in 1263 with the information that Stephen de Exonia indutus est on Ascension day.¹³⁹ A second non royal birth is recorded in these annals, in 1270, when the annalist reports that Ysemayn, wife of R. de Exonia, gave birth to a male child named John.¹⁴⁰ There are eight entries between 1261 and 1270 concerning the family of Richard de Exonia.¹⁴¹ The extant thirteenth century sources document two branches of the de Exonia family, the Louth branch of Richard de Exonia¹⁴² and the Connacht

¹³⁷ There are several instances of the name Stephen de Exonia in this period, for example, there was a Dominican friar, Stephen de Exonia, in Exeter see A. G. Little, and R.C. Easterling, The Franciscans and Dominicans of Exeter (Exeter 1927) p 46, 80. However, this scribe, can be allied to a distinct family, that of Richard de Exonia, see below p 115.

¹³⁸ Annals of Multyfarnham p 13; f 401r; appendix I p 386.

¹³⁹ Annals of Multyfarnham p 14.

¹⁴⁰ ibid p 15.

¹⁴¹ See under the following years, 1261, 1262, 1263, 1264, 1267, 1269, 1270 [bis].

¹⁴² Orpen, Normans vol4 p 101-2. H.T. Knox, The history of County Mayo (Dublin, 1908) p308-9.

branch of Jordan de Exonia.¹⁴³ The Gaelic annals concern themselves with the Connacht branch and ignore Richard, while the Anglo Norman annals speak of Richard and ignore Jordan. It is difficult to determine exactly the connection and relationship between these two branches of the de Exonia family.¹⁴⁴

The principal member of the de Exonia family mentioned in these annals is Richard de Exonia, who died in 1286 and was initially, a local lord and government official in Uriel where the manor of Darver in the barony of Louth was held of the king in capite.¹⁴⁵ Richard de Exonia interests however were not confined to the eastern side of Ireland. During the justiciarship of Robert D'Ufford,¹⁴⁶ Richard de Exonia received a grant of land in Connacht.¹⁴⁷ He also had a castle at Athleague in 1271¹⁴⁸ and was given custody of the king's castles of Roscommon and Rindown in 1302 and

¹⁴³ Orpen, Normans vol 3 p 197-8. Helen Walton 'The English in Connacht', p 121, 145-6, 162, 167.

¹⁴⁴ Some connection might be suggested as the Jordan branch uses the christian name Stephen, see Orpen, Normans vol 4 p 182n1.

¹⁴⁵ B. Smith, 'The medieval border', p 44-5; Orpen, Normans vol 4 p 101-2 .

¹⁴⁶ Robert D'Ufford was Justiciar 1268-70, N.H.I. vol ix p

¹⁴⁷ Helen Walton 'The English in Connacht 1171-1333', p 478-81.

¹⁴⁸ Orpen, Normans vol 3 p 249.

1304.¹⁴⁹ These annals recount his three marriages, the birth of his son, John, and his assumption of the position of Justiciar of Ireland, during the absence of Robert D'Ufford in England.¹⁵⁰ This considerable amount of information (for these annals) suggests that he was of the same family as the scribe, Stephen de Exonia.

The personal contribution of Stephen de Exonia as the author of these annals can only begin at, or around the time, he became a mendicant and that we know from the annals was in 1263, when he was aged 17.¹⁵¹ The first mention of the de Exonia family comes in 1261.¹⁵² When this section of the annals is examined it can be noted that from the year 1261 there is a change of style. From 1261 the word item is used constantly;¹⁵³ it had never been used before, a fact of some significance which must indicate some change in author. It is therefore logical to credit Stephen de Exonia with the entries from 1261 to 1274.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ Helen Walton 'The English in Connacht', p497, 501.

¹⁵⁰ Annals of Multyfarnham p 14-15.

¹⁵¹ ibid p 14.

¹⁵² ibid p 14.

¹⁵³ ibid p 14; f.401v.

¹⁵⁴ The report of the death of Robert Grosseteste in 1253, where he is titled saint, cannot be taken as an indication of the date of writing, Eric W. Kemp, 'The

Additionally, from the year 1261, there is a considerable expansion in the size of entries; before the year 1261 the average entry covered one, two or, on one occasion, three lines of script.¹⁵⁵ The entry for the year 1261 covers six lines,¹⁵⁶ 1262 and 1263 are less, but, subsequently, the size of entry increases steadily, particularly from 1268,¹⁵⁷ when Stephen is aged 25, until that of 1270 covers sixteen lines, over half the folio.¹⁵⁸ This increase in the size of entries complements the change of style noted from 1261.

With this evidence in mind it is possible to determine, from internal evidence, the exact period in which Stephen was writing. In 1269 Stephen reported the death of the Primate, Patrick, and the name of his successor, Nicholas, after which he stated that the church was vacant for two years.¹⁵⁹ Nicholas was

attempted canonization of Robert Grosseteste', Appendix II in Callus, D.A., (ed) Robert Grosseteste (Oxford, 1969) p 243.

¹⁵⁵ Apart, that is from 1066, f 396v.

¹⁵⁶ f 401v.

¹⁵⁷ f 402rv, appendix II p 387-8.

¹⁵⁸ f 402v .

¹⁵⁹ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15; f 402v. As the death occurred 16 March 1270 this is an indication that, according to Stephen de Exonia, the year began on 25 March. Byrne, 'Bishops, 1111-1534', p 269.

consecrated in 1270 but did not take possession of the temporalities until October 1272.¹⁶⁰ Stephen also included the information that the papacy was vacant for three years from 1269 and it is clear from an examination of the manuscript that it was impossible to add these items of information at a later time.¹⁶¹ Therefore, Stephen wrote his own section of the annals, that is the entries for 1261-1274 inclusive, between 1272 and 1274.

It is important to note that the entry concerning Stephen de Exonia's entry into the religious life does not state that he put on a Franciscan habit, no mendicant order is specified, the statement is merely indutus est¹⁶² so the question of where the annals written still remains. The Jordan branch of the de Exonia family founded a Franciscan house at Strade, Co. Mayo, before 1252 but subsequently, Strade became Dominican in 1252 at the insistence of Basilia de Exonia, the daughter of Meiler de Bermingham who had founded the Dominican friary at Athenry.¹⁶³ The de Exonia family apparently gave in gracefully to the

¹⁶⁰ Byrne, 'Bishops, 1111-1534', p 269.

¹⁶¹ f 402v; there is also a marginal note stating pontificum sedes 3 annos vacat. appendix I p 388.

¹⁶² Annals of Multyfarnham p 14.

¹⁶³ Regestum monasterii fratrum praedicatorum de Athenry ed. A. Coleman O.P., Arch .Hib. vol 1 (1912) p 204-5.

change of mendicant order at Strade because they are subsequently believed to have founded the Dominican house of Rathfran in 1274.¹⁶⁴ Unfortunately these associations with both mendicant orders are of no help in deducing which order Stephen was a member of as he makes no mention of the Jordan branch of the family in his annals. Richard de Exonia's branch of the family appear to have had no connection with the mendicants until the advent of the author of these annals Stephen de Exonia in 1263, but lack of evidence of benefactions to mendicants does not preclude association with a mendicant order.

An analysis of the mendicant entries for the period 1261 to 1274 however quickly establishes that Stephen de Exonia entered the Franciscan order. A dozen friars are mentioned by name during this period, including Stephen himself, beginning, in 1261, with the information, Frater Patricius fit Primas.¹⁶⁵ This friar was the Dominican, Mael Patraic O Scannail, who was elected Archbishop of Armagh in March, conferred in August and transferred from Raphoe in the November of 1261.¹⁶⁶ To find the election of the primate

¹⁶⁴ Gwynn and Hadcock Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland p 228.

¹⁶⁵ Annals of Multyfarnham p 14.

¹⁶⁶ Byrne, 'Bishops, 1111-1534', p 269.

mentioned is perhaps to be expected but it is also noteworthy that whilst Patrick was himself a Dominican he was also the person who brought the Franciscans to Armagh.¹⁶⁷ The death of the primate is also recorded in 1269, Item ob. Patricius primas, successit magister Nicholaus, tum ecclesia vacavit per duos annos.¹⁶⁸ Patrick died 16 March 1270¹⁶⁹ but, if Stephen was using the year beginning 25 March, then the year is correct. Nicholas was elected on 9 May but did not take up the temporalities until 1272.¹⁷⁰ In 1263 is the important entry stating that Stephen became a friar but nothing further on the orders until 1266 when he states, Item frater G. de Slane fit minister.¹⁷¹ The term for the leader of the Dominican order is magister but the Franciscans, in keeping with St Francis' spirit of poverty, use the word minister signifying humbleness. Therefore, frater G. de Slane is undoubtedly a Franciscan.

In the published edition under the year 1268 there is an entry which reads, Item mortuus est frater Nicholas

¹⁶⁷ A.U. vol II p 337; A.L.C. vol I p 449.

¹⁶⁸ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15.

¹⁶⁹ Byrne, 'Bishops, 1111-1534', p 269.

¹⁷⁰ ibid p 269.

¹⁷¹ Annals of Multyfarnham p 14.

de Cusac.¹⁷² Upon examination of the manuscript it is clear that the word is indutus and not mortuus.¹⁷³ A Franciscan friar, Nicholas de Cusack, became bishop-elect of Kildare in 1279.¹⁷⁴ In the published edition under the year 1270 there is the notice, Item frater Johannes Tancard creatus est justiciarius.¹⁷⁵ This is in fact incorrect. When the original manuscript is carefully examined it becomes quite clear the word is minister and not justiciarius.¹⁷⁶ This error occurs again in 1272 with the statement that friar Thomas de Suynisfeld was made justiciar of Ireland,¹⁷⁷ here, once again, one should read minister, which is indeed historically correct.¹⁷⁸ Historians have accepted the incorrect word in the published edition, though usually commenting on the anomaly.¹⁷⁹

Another entry for 1272, also relating to a friar, is

¹⁷² Annals of Multyfarnham p 15.

¹⁷³ f 402v appendix I p 388.

¹⁷⁴ Byrne, 'Bishops, 1111-1534', p 314.

¹⁷⁵ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15.

¹⁷⁶ f 402v; appendix I p 387.

¹⁷⁷ Annals of Multyfarnham p 16.

¹⁷⁸ f 402r; Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 39.

¹⁷⁹ W. O'Sullivan, 'Medieval Meath Manuscripts' Riocht na Midhe 7 (1985-6) p 12.

the notice of the death of a friar Eustace de Prendergast with the date given as in die sancti Evaristi pape et martyris [25 October];¹⁸⁰ perhaps one might conjecture that he and Nicholas de Cusack were members of the same friary as Stephen de Exonia? In 1268 the entry into Ireland of the Friars of the Sack is noted,¹⁸¹ these friars appear to have settled only in Dublin and no other entry is forthcoming in the other extant annals.¹⁸² The establishment of two religious houses is mentioned in this section, at Clonmel and at Roscommon.¹⁸³ At this point it is perhaps of some significance to note that Stephen was not aware of the establishment of the Franciscan house at Armagh in 1264,¹⁸⁴ an omission that would suggest that he was not situated, at this period of time, in or near Ulster. The entry of the friars into Clonmel is confirmed by friar John Clyn in his annal.¹⁸⁵ In 1270 the annalist states that the house of the friars in Roscommon was burned.¹⁸⁶ And finally, in the year

¹⁸⁰ Annals of Multyfarnham p 16.

¹⁸¹ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15.

¹⁸² Gwynne and Hadcock Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland p 306. R.W. Emery, 'Friars of the Sack', Speculum 17 (19) pp 323-334; Salimbene p 248-9.

¹⁸³ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15.

¹⁸⁴ A.U. vol II p 337; A.L.C. vol I p 449.

¹⁸⁵ Annals of Clyn p 9.

¹⁸⁶ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15.

1273, is the last entry concerning the friars, which relates that friars Simon and Magus, visitors, were drowned with many nobles near St. Davids.¹⁸⁷

Clearly, friars G. de Slane, Nicholas de Cusack, John Tancard and Thomas de Suynisfeld can be positively identified as Franciscans. Friar Patrick, whilst a Dominican himself, was a friend of the Franciscans but it is as primate that he and his successor Nicholas are included in these annals. From the mendicant evidence, it can be assumed that Stephen de Exonia was a Franciscan friar and from the evidence of the names of the people mentioned, both clerical and lay, Irish or Anglo-Norman, and the places named in the period 1261 to 1274, it is possible to suggest that he may have lived in either Roscommon friary, Claregalway friary or indeed both.

F. ANALYSIS OF INTERNAL EVIDENCE

When the writer is himself an ecclesiastic certain overriding interests may prevail, for example, one would expect an interest in the leading church dignitaries. Celsus and Malachy are the only archbishops of Armagh mentioned before the advent of

¹⁸⁷ Annals of Multyfarnham p 16. One example of a visitor was a Franciscan from Denmark, C. Mooney, 'Some medieval writings of Irish Franciscans', Irish library bulletin 3 (1942) p 16.

the Normans and Thomas is the only archbishop mentioned from that date to the election of Luke Netterville,¹⁸⁸ after which the elections and /or deaths of the primate is always mentioned. Thus, one would expect to find the primate Patrick and his sucessor Nicholaus [Nicol Mac Mael Isu]¹⁸⁹ recorded in this portion of the annal and they are.¹⁹⁰ Similarly, the archdiocese of Dublin, the centre of Anglo-Irish govenrment, would be of interest to an Anglo-Irish scribe and the archdiocese is mentioned in this annal from the death of John Cumin in 1212¹⁹¹ up to and including the death of Fulk in 1271.¹⁹² His successor, John de Derlington, could not be included as he did not arrive until 1279.¹⁹³ Cashel is mentioned in this section of the annal with the statement, in 1269, that David archbishop of Cashel (1255-89)¹⁹⁴ became a Cistercian monk.¹⁹⁵ There is no entry in this section of the annal concerning the archbishop of Tuam, but the fact

¹⁸⁸ Annals of Multyfarnham p 12.

¹⁸⁹ Byrne, 'Bishops, 1111-1534', p 269.

¹⁹⁰ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15.

¹⁹¹ ibid p 11.

¹⁹² ibid p 15.

¹⁹³ Byrne, 'Bishops, 1111-1534', p 310.

¹⁹⁴ Byrne, 'Bishops, 1111-1534', p 290. There is also a notice of the death of Donatus, archbishop of Cashel, in 1182. ibid p 290; Annals of Multyfarnham p 10 .

¹⁹⁵ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15.

that by 1261 Thomas O'Connor, the incumbent during the period 1261-1274, was already installed and did not die until 1279, that is later than the period of the annal, may well account for this omission.¹⁹⁶ To find both the archdioceses of Dublin and Armagh mentioned is only to be expected in an Anglo-Irish annal. The single entry concerning Cashel may be accounted for by the fact that there was only one incumbent during the period 1261-1274 and the lack of information concerning Tuam is as a result of a similar situation.

Only three bishops are mentioned in this section of the annal and all three were concerned with the archdiocese of Cashel.¹⁹⁷ These entries might, initially, suggest a certain interest in Cashel but, upon examination, it becomes clear these men were the only Anglo-Irish bishops to be elected or die¹⁹⁸ in the period 1270-73.¹⁹⁹ The only other bishop elected in this period

¹⁹⁶ Byrne, 'Bishops, 1111-1534', p 319.

¹⁹⁷ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15-16. The bishoprics in question are Lismore, Limerick and Cloyne, Byrne, 'Bishops, 1111-1534', p 304, 302, 294.

¹⁹⁸ Matthaëus did not get possession of Ross in 1272, Byrne, 'Bishops, 1111-1534', p 306.

¹⁹⁹ The last entry is in fact the notice of the death of Reginald, bishop of Cloyne in 1273 [7 Feb 1274]. The election of Alan ó Longáin, O.F.M. was 18 February 1274, Byrne, F.J., 'Bishops, 1111-1534', p 294. Either Stephen de Exonia was not interested in the election of an Irish Franciscan or he did not get the news by 20 May 1274. See below p 105.

was Florentius O Tigernaig O.S.A.²⁰⁰ There are three additional ecclesiastical entries concerning Ireland. The first is the entry concerning Thomas, bishop of Lismore, who was attacked by Matthew le Poer in 1268.²⁰¹ The second is the account of the capture, in 1267, of Roland, dean of Cashel, by the king's men.²⁰² These entries may reflect the fact that the provincial chapter took place in Kilkenny in 1267.²⁰³ The third additional entry is the notice of the death, in 1269, of Richard, archdeacon of Meath, and the naming of his successor, master John de Dubiltun.²⁰⁴ This interest in Meath may reflect Stephen de Exonia's previous whereabouts or the de Exonia interest in Ulster. An analysis of the clerical names in the section of the annals 1261-74 leads to the conclusion that the identification of the clerics mentioned does not help to establish the area in which the annals were written, but they do confirm that the scribe was Anglo-Irish.

While there may be many reasons for the the annalist

²⁰⁰ Bishop of Kilfenora in 1273, Byrne, 'Bishops, 1111-1534', p 299.

²⁰¹ Annals of Multyfarnham p 14-5. Andrew le Poer was sherrif of Connacht, Mich. 1268 - Mich. 1269. Helen Walton, 'The English in Connacht 1171-1333', p 507.

²⁰² Annals of Multyfarnham p 14.

²⁰³ Annals of Clyn p 8.

²⁰⁴ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15.

to include Anglo-Irish names, the Irish names mentioned are far more likely to indicate local interest and thereby help to locate the friary in which this portion of the annal was written. The Anglo-Irish friar, Stephen de Exonia, had some difficulty when he was entering Irish names. This problem arises with all the Anglo-Irish Franciscan annals; indeed it was also a problem for the scribes responsible for the production of administrative records.²⁰⁵ The solution for the scribes, who may well have been able to speak but not to write Irish, was to reproduce, as Stephen de Exonia did, the names in a phonetic form.²⁰⁶

The first Gaelic name mentioned in this period is Finin Maccartha [Fingen Mac Cartaig] who, we are told, was killed at Rinron in 1261.²⁰⁷ The date is correct and confirmed by the Irish annals.²⁰⁸ The next Irish names to be found in this period are Koneowir O'Bren [Conchobar O'Briain] who was killed, together with his son John, in 1268, by Dermicio Macmurierdi [Diarmait, son of Muirchertach O'Briain];²⁰⁹ the date is correct

²⁰⁵ J.F. Lydon, 'The middle nation' in The English in Medieval Ireland, ed. J.F. Lydon (Dublin 1984) p 14n3.

²⁰⁶ See also Alan Bliss, 'Language and literature', in The English in Medieval Ireland, p 35-36.

²⁰⁷ Annals of Multyfarnham p 14.

²⁰⁸ A.L.C. p 439; Ann. Conn. p 135-7; Ann. Inisf. p 363.

²⁰⁹ Annals of Multyfarnham p 14.

and confirmed by the Irish annals.²¹⁰ These deaths in Munster are not reported by the extant contemporary Anglo-Irish annals and may have come to the attention of Stephen either through Richard de Exonia or the friaries of Claregalway²¹¹ and Ennis.²¹²

The next Irish deaths reported concern Connacht and Ulster. The difficulty with the language occurs again in 1268, when the death of Macohelan is reported;²¹³ Macohelan is in fact Maelsechlainn Mac Cochlain²¹⁴ who was active in the Westmeath/Mullingar area and, according to the Annals of Connacht, was killed by the Galls.²¹⁵ Perhaps this death occurred during a conflict between Eachmharcach O'Hanlon and the Anglo-Irish in 1268?²¹⁶ When the circumstances surrounding the deaths of two other Irishmen, noted by

²¹⁰ A.L.C. p 457; Ann. Conn. p 151; Ann. Inisf. p 367.

²¹¹ A de Cogan foundation, Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 62. See also A. Gray, 'Kinaleghin: a forgotten Irish charterhouse of the thirteenth century', R.S.A.I.Jn 89 (1959), p 53.

²¹² An O'Brian foundation, Cathrim Thoirdealbhaigh p 32.

²¹³ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15.

²¹⁴ I am indebted to Sean Duffy for his assistance in identifying this, and the following, Irish names.

²¹⁵ Ann. Conn. p 151; A.L.C. p 459.

²¹⁶ K. Simms, 'The O'Hanlons, the O'Neills and the Anglo-Normans in thirteenth century Armagh', Seanchas Ardmmhacha 9 (1978/9) p 82.

Stephen de Exonia, are examined it emerges that Eachmharcach O'Hanlon was involved. The first death, in 1269, was that of Maccarthan [Echmilid Mac Airten];²¹⁷ the involvement of O'Hanlon is confirmed by the Irish annals.²¹⁸ The second death, in 1273, was that of Makemahon [Eochaid Mac Mathgamna],²¹⁹ who, according to the Irish annals, was also killed by Eachmharcach O'Hanlon.²²⁰ For the deaths of two minor Irish kings to be reported by an Anglo-Irish scribe must indicate that the scribe was situated in a similar locality.²²¹

The solution to the inclusion of these Irish kings in the annal must lie with the relationship between Eachmharcach O'Hanlon and the Anglo-Irish. O'Hanlon in this period of time was renowned²²² and reference

²¹⁷ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15.

²¹⁸ 'Echmilid Mac Airten was killed by O hAnluain', Ann. Conn. p 153; A.L.C. p 463.

²¹⁹ Annals of Multyfarnham p 16.

²²⁰ 'Eochaid Mac Mathgamna, king of Oriel, was killed, with many others not enumerated here, by O hAnluain and the Cenel Eogain this year', Ann. Conn. p 161; A.L.C. p 473.

²²¹ For the history of this region see K. Simms, 'The O'Hanlons, the O'Neills and the Anglo-Normans in thirteenth century Armagh', Seanchas Ardmhacha 9 (1978/9) pp 70-94. See also Orpen 'The earldom of Ulster', R.S.A.I.Jn 43 (1913) - 51 (1921), passim.

²²² K. Simms, 'The O'Hanlons, the O'Neills and the Anglo-Normans in thirteenth century Armagh', p 79 et.seq.

is made in a contemporary poem to his raids, 'Great Eachmhareach O hAnnlúain plundered as far as Bior [Moyola Water or river, west of L. Neagh] and the Buais [R. Bush, Co. Antrim] with his troop to which he distributed its reward till his kingly flood (of wealth) was exhausted'.²²³ During this period, O'Hanlon was an ally of Aedh Buide O'Neill and, as Aedh Buide O'Neill, king of the Cenel Eogain, had married Eleanor de Angulo, cousin of Walter de Burgh,²²⁴ and was his ally, O'Hanlon was also probably also an ally of de Burgh. In these circumstances Stephen de Exonia's report of the military successes of O'Hanlon is understandable.²²⁵

In 1270 the annalist reports the massacre of the English in Connacht²²⁶ and, according to the Annals of Connacht, Richard de Exonia was involved in that

²²³ I am very grateful to Dr. K. Simms for this valuable reference. Lambert Mc Kenna (ed. & transl.) The Book of Magauran. Leabhar Meig Shamhradhain (Dublin 1947) Poem no. ii p 297 verse 53 [Complimentary envoi in eulogy to Brian Breachach Mag Shamhradhain + 1298].

²²⁴ Simms, 'The O'Hanlons, the O'Neills and the Anglo-Normans in thirteenth century Armagh', p 82. G. H. Orpen, 'The earldom of Ulster', 43 (1913), p 39; 45 (1915) p 133.

²²⁵ Note also the account of James de Audley, justiciar, for the period 1270-2, which has a credit for, 'Robes, furs and saddles for Richard de Exonia... and robes furs and saddles for Oneel, Mackahan and other Irish men coming to the kings peace and remaining with the Justiciar'. C.D.I. 1252-1284 p 148.

²²⁶ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15.

affair.²²⁷ What must be of significance is the fact that the Anglo-Irish annal gives the date, in die sancti Pantaleonis [28 July].²²⁸ In 1273, Stephen de Exonia was again in a position to report an incident that can only have been known in local circles when he writes, O. Rex Conactie dolo cepit O Flyn, id est, 'roht nephe' quem excecavit circa pasca.²²⁹ This report of the blinding of O'Flyn is not to be found in other annals. The words roht nephe have previously been interpreted as an Irish nickname²³⁰ but these words might in fact refer to Ruad in Feda of the Sil Mailruain in the parish of Kiltullagh and Kilkeevin in Co. Roscommon.²³¹ Clearly only a person involved locally would be in a position to give such detail.

Of great significance is the extended report concerning the death of Aed, king of Connacht, which includes a date, circa viii. idus Maii [8 May].²³²

²²⁷ Ann. Conn p 154n2, 155-7. For the importance of this engagement see Lydon, The lordship of Ireland in the middle ages p 162-4.

²²⁸ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15.

²²⁹ ibid p 16.

²³⁰ ibid p 25 .

²³¹ I am very grateful to Sean Duffy for this suggestion. Orpen, Normans vol 3 p203-4. In 1266 Flann Roe O'Flynn had burned Templetogether in the barony of Ballymoe, Co Galway. Helen Walton 'The English in Connacht 1171-1333', p 246.

²³² Annals of Multyfarnham p 16.

The Annals of Connacht and the Annals of Loch Ce are, as might be expected, more specific and give the date as third day of May, a Thursday and the feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross,²³³ nevertheless, the date given by Stephen de Exonia is very close and no other extant Anglo-Irish annal records the death of Aed O'Connor. A further confirmation of this local interest is the fact that the annalist also reports the succession of his nephew Hohy [Eoghan, son of Ruaidri] with his subsequent death around the feast of St. Dominic [4 August].²³⁴ It is interesting to note that the Annals of Connacht give no date but merely say that his kingship lasted three months and that he died in the church of the friars at Roscommon.²³⁵ Stephen de Exonia continues to display an interest in the kingship of Connacht by reporting the death gladiis of the successor to the kingship.²³⁶ Once again, the Annals of Connacht contain less information, they do not report how he died²³⁷ but, perhaps, the use of the word gladiis in this context might be merely

²³³ Ann. Conn. p 161-163; A.L.C. p 473-5.

²³⁴ Annals of Multyfarnham p 16.

²³⁵ Ann.Conn. p 163. This must be the Dominican friary as the Franciscan friary was burnt in 1270, Annals of Multyfarnham p 15. The Dominican friary was important to the O'Connor family, see below p

²³⁶ ibid p 16.

²³⁷ Ann. Conn. p 163.

rhetorical?

The identification of the annalist with Connacht is strengthened by an examination of the local placenames mentioned in this section of the annal and it is Roscommon, or its close environs, which is most frequently named. This interest in Roscommon begins in 1268 when it is reported that Robert d'Ufford built the castle of Roscommon.²³⁸ The following year the establishment of the friars in Roscommon is reported,²³⁹ followed by the report, in 1270, of the burning of the house of the friars and the town of Roscommon.²⁴⁰ In 1271 the overthrow of three castles is reported; Roscommon, Sligo and Athleague.²⁴¹ A year later the overthrow of the castle of Rindown [Rindown] is added to the list.²⁴²

An analysis of the Irish names in the annal suggests that Stephen de Exonia was living somewhere in Connacht and his interest in Roscommon reflects, either his

²³⁸ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15. Helen Walton 'The English in Connacht 1171-1333', p 247-8, 252-3, 454-5.

²³⁹ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15.

²⁴⁰ ibid p 15. The word locus implies a small house.

²⁴¹ ibid p 16. Adhelc is Athleague, is four miles from Roscommon ibid p 24.

²⁴² ibid p 16. Rindown is situated on lough Rea in county Roscommon, Helen Walton 'The English in Connacht 1171-1333', p 451-2

close proximity to that town or perhaps an interest in the king's castle which could be accounted for by his relationship with Richard de Exonia. Between 1261 and 1268 the entries are very general and often concerned with political affairs in England but, from 1268, the Irish entries indicate a considerable awareness of Connacht, the warfare that surrounded it and especially of Aedh O'Connor, king of Connacht.

A similar analysis of the Anglo-Irish names must, however, be treated with a degree of caution as family ties and affiliations may intervene to cloud the issue. Some names might be included because they were benefactors of the local Franciscans. Certain names might only have been included by the annalist because of their official positions and one might expect to find mentioned some, if not all, of the great Anglo-Irish families of this period, and this is indeed so. The Butler family are only mentioned once, in 1273, when the incursion into, and devastation of, Thomond by Maurice FitzMaurice and Theobald Butler is reported.²⁴³ The Butlers did hold some lands in Connacht but not of any great significance.²⁴⁴ The Geraldines, who held lands in Connacht from an early

²⁴³ Annals of Multyfarnham p 16.

²⁴⁴ Helen Walton 'The English in Connacht 1171-1333', p 163; for Theobald Butler and Connacht ibid p 470. Orpen Normans vol 3 p 182, 222.

period, are mentioned three times, but only in a general manner; the war with the de Burgh's and its eventual cessation,²⁴⁵ the reports of the death by drowning of Maurice fitzGerald in 1268²⁴⁶ and the entry into Thomond in the company of Theobald Butler. The Butlers and the Geraldines were benefactors of the Franciscan order but, as only the major events surrounding these names were reported, the fact that they supported the Franciscans cannot be significant.

One of the most important families in Ireland, and especially in Connacht, during the years in which Stephen de Exonia was writing was the de Burgh family, who are mentioned four times by the annalist. Just as Stephen gave a degree of prominence to the death of Aedh O'Connor, king of Connacht, his treatment of the death of Walter de Burgh, earl of Ulster and lord of Connacht is also significant. The only dramatic and personal note in the annals occurs in 1271 when the annalist notes Item ob. dominus W. de Burgo comes Ultonie et dominus Conactie prothdolor [sic] v. Kal. Augusti in die sanctorum Nazarii et Celsi.²⁴⁷ Some consideration must be placed on the fact that the

²⁴⁵ Annals of Multyfarnham p 14.

²⁴⁶ An occurrence reported by most annals, ibid p 15.

²⁴⁷ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15. His heir Richard was aged 12 and was given seisin of his lands in 1280, G.H. Orpen, 'The earldom of Ulster', 43 (1913), p39-40.

annalist described the death of Walter de Burgh with the only sentiment expressed in the annal, prothdolor. It should also be noted that this scribe gives Walter de Burgh his full title, earl of Ulster and lord of Connacht, together with the date in both forms. The Annals of Connacht and the Annals of Loch Ce both report his death as lord of the Galls of Connacht and say it occurred in Galway, but they give no date.²⁴⁸

The Dublin annalist of St Mary's merely give his obit and his title as earl of Ulster.²⁴⁹ The double dating plus the exclamation of anguish can only indicate an involvement with Walter de Burgh in his capacity as lord of Connacht.²⁵⁰ The last date entered, 1274, also reports on affairs in Connacht. The death of Lady Anolyna, [Avelina] countess of Ulster, around Pentecost [20 May],²⁵¹ is reported only by this annalist, perhaps because lady Anolyne held Galway castle and town as part of her dower.²⁵² The annalist also reported the war between lord W. de Burgh

²⁴⁸ Ann. Conn. p 159; A.L.C. p 469.

²⁴⁹ Chartul. St Mary's, Dublin vol 2 p 290.

²⁵⁰ The caput of the de Burgh lordship was Maenmagh [Loughrea], Helen Walton, 'The English in Connacht 1171-1333', p 106-8.

²⁵¹ Annals of Multyfarnham p 16. Avelina, daughter of John fitz Geoffrey and widow of Walter de Burgh, Orpen, Normans vol 4 p 159.

²⁵² Helen Walton 'The English in Connacht 1171-1333', p 110n24. For dower see also C.D.I. 1252-1284 p 165. Orpen, 'The earldom of Ulster', 43 (1913), p 41-2.

and the Geraldines²⁵³ and the death of Raymond de Burgh in 1271.²⁵⁴ It is only to be expected that Stephen de Exonia would report the war between the de Burgh's and the Geraldines. Similarly, notice of the death of the great earl of Ulster might be assumed but the use of the emotive word prothdolor argues a personal interest in Walter de Burgh, a man who was heavily innvolved in Connacht. A local scribe would be fully cognisant of the fact that his premature death, at Galway, leaving a twelve year old heir, would be an ideal opportunity for Aedh O'Connor to incease his policy of aggression. The obit for lady Anolyna, countess of Ulster, with the specific date of her demise, likewise supports a Connacht connection. The death of the comparatively obscure Raymond de Burgh can only be of local interest, and again indicates an area near Galway.

Apart from principal families, clerics and justiciars, a number of other Anglo-Irish names are also found recorded in this portion of the annal, namely, de Verdun, de Cogan, de Riddlesford, de Rechford, de Prendergast, Purcell, Dunhevid and le Petyt. A number

²⁵³ Annals of Multyfarnham p 14. This affair had repecussions in Connacht, Helen Walton 'The English in Connacht, 1171-1333', p 244-5.

²⁵⁴ For an identification of Raymond Burke see H. T. Knox, 'The de Burgo clans of Galway', Galway Arch. Soc. Jn. 1 (1900-1), p 127; 3 (1903-4), p 51, 54, 55.

of these families are related through marriage alliances. The Verdun family²⁵⁵ are mentioned twice by Stephen de Exonia, once when Nicholas and his brother, J., were both made knights,²⁵⁶ and again, in 1271, when their deaths were reported.²⁵⁷ It is interesting to note that the O'Hanlons were involved in relationships with the Verduns.²⁵⁸ These brothers fought against O'Connor²⁵⁹ and the Verdun family had a demesne manor in Athleague in Lanesborough which extended across the Shannon into Co. Roscommon.²⁶⁰ Stephen de Exonia reported the overthrow of Athleague castle in 1271.²⁶¹

²⁵⁵ They are credited with the foundation of the Franciscan friary of Dundalk, Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 13.

²⁵⁶ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15. For an identification of these two brothers see J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The partition of the de Verdun lands in Ireland in 1332' R.I.A. Proc. 66 C (1968), p 445.

²⁵⁷ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15. Only the death of Nicholas is mentioned by Ann. Conn. p 159.

²⁵⁸ J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The partition of the de Verdun lands in Ireland in 1332', p 406n28.

²⁵⁹ John de Verdun accompanied Richard de la Rochelle, the justiciar, to Roscommon to mark out the castle in 1262 and they were joined by Walter de Burgh, Orpen, Normans vol 3 p 239; A.L.C. p 441-3; A.F.M. vol 3 p 387. He also marked out the castle at Moydow Ann. Conn. p 137.

²⁶⁰ J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The partition of the de Verdun lands in Ireland in 1332', p 411. A.F.M. vol 3 p 398 note z. Richard de Exonia held the castle of Athleague. Helen Walton 'The English in Connacht 1171-1333', p 479.

²⁶¹ Annals of Multyfarnham p 16.

The Verdun family were also related by marriage to John de Cogan,²⁶² founder of the Franciscan friary of Claregalway,²⁶³ whose daughter Basilia married Nicholas de Verdun.²⁶⁴ John de Cogan was both a neighbour and nephew of Walter de Riddlesford who was benefactor of Franciscans and possibly founder of the Franciscan friary of Tristledermot [Castledermot].²⁶⁵ The death of John de Cogan, the younger, who was married to Juliana, daughter of Gerald, son of Maurice fitzGerald,²⁶⁶ is recorded in the year 1270.²⁶⁷ The de Cogan family were also related by marriage to the de Prendergasts. One of Gerald de Prendergast's daughters was married to John de Cogan founder of the Franciscan friary at Claregalway.²⁶⁸ Another

²⁶² For de Cogan genealogy see A. Gray, 'Kinalleglin: a forgotten Irish charterhouse of the thirteenth century', R.S.A.I.Jn. 89 (1959) p 41, 45, 56. Helen Walton 'The English in Connacht 1171-1333', p 126-127.

²⁶³ For the site of the friary see A. Gray, 'Kinalleglin: a forgotten Irish charterhouse of the thirteenth century', p 55.

²⁶⁴ ibid p 56.

²⁶⁵ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 14. For Walter de Riddlesford's lands in Connacht see Orpen, Normans vol 3 p 213-4. Helen Walton, 'The English in Connacht 1171-1333', p 113.

²⁶⁶ Gray, 'Kinalleglin: a forgotten Irish charterhouse of the thirteenth century', p 56.

²⁶⁷ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15.

²⁶⁸ Gray, 'Kinalleglin: a forgotten Irish charterhouse of the thirteenth century', p 56. For Prendergast see Helen Walton, 'The English in Connacht 1171-1333', p 137-8.

daughter, Matilda, married Maurice de Rochford and the de Rochford family held land in Síl Maelruain (near Roscommon), the home of O'Flynn.²⁶⁹ Of the three marriages of Richard de Exonia which were reported by Stephen de Exonia, the bride's family name was given on only one occasion and that was the third marriage of Richard de Exonia this time to Ysemain, daughter of lord David de Prendergast.²⁷⁰ Stephen again mentioned the Prendergast family in 1272, when he reported the death of a friar Eustace de Prendergast.²⁷¹ The Prendergast family were benefactors of the Franciscan order²⁷² and held lands in Connacht; a Gerald de Prendergast was both a tenant in chief of Richard de Burgh in Connacht and also his son in law.²⁷³ A David de Prendergast appears in the annals of Connacht in 1265 in connection with the killing of followers of the archbishop of Connacht.²⁷⁴

²⁶⁹ Helen Walton, 'The English in Connacht 1171-1333', p 135. Henry de Rochford was sheriff of Connacht in 1280, *ibid* p 507. Gray, 'Kinaleghin: a forgotten Irish charterhouse of the thirteenth century', p 56. .

²⁷⁰ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15.

²⁷¹ ibid p 16.

²⁷² Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 11-12. E. Bolster A history of the diocese of Cork, (Shannon, Ireland 1972) p 209.

²⁷³ Helen Walton, 'The English in Connacht 1171-1333', p 137-9.

²⁷⁴ In 1266 a meeting was held by the archbishop of Tuam with David Prendergast and the MacMorroughs and many of the bishop's men were killed at Kilmaine [S. Mayo].

It is considered that David de Prendergast was the chief of the Connacht branch of the family in this period.²⁷⁵

The other marriage reported by Stephen de Exonia in which he gives the name of the bride's family was that between Hugh Purcell and Johanna, daughter of Nicholas Dunhevid in 1270.²⁷⁶ Again, the Purcell family were benefactors of the Franciscan order²⁷⁷ but that alone would not appear sufficient reason for inclusion. The persons concerned in this marriage must be Hugh Purcell, sheriff of Limerick in 1274-5,²⁷⁸ and Nicholas Dunhevid, seneschal of Ulster in 1260.²⁷⁹

Ann. Conn. p 145; A.F.M. vol 3. p 399.

²⁷⁵ H.T. Knox, 'Occupation of Connaught by the Anglo-Normans after A.D. 1237', R.S.A.I.Jn. 32 (1902), p 403.

²⁷⁶ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15; Ormond Deeds 1172-1350 p 100, 101.

²⁷⁷ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 10.

²⁷⁸ C.D.I. 1252-1284 p 180. C.A. Empey, 'The Anglo-Norman settlement in the Cantred of Eliogarty' in Settlement and Society in medieval Ireland Studies presented to F.X.Martin, O.S.A. (Kilkenny 1988) p 211, 225n7.

²⁷⁹ Nicholas Dunhevet was a knight of the kings household C.D.I. 1252-1284 p 150, 180; he was seneschal of Ulster 35th Rept. D.K. p 40. Orpen, Normans vol 3 p 278. For a William Dunheved and John de Dunhevet, in Leinster, see J. F. Lydon, 'A land of War', in N.H.I. ii ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford, 1987), p 262, 265.

Both of these men can be placed in Connacht.²⁸⁰

Richard de Exonia was a witness to a deed between Nicholas de Dunhevid and Ralph Pippard concerning land which Hugh Purcell and his wife Joan held of him.²⁸¹

The report by Stephen de Exonia of the death of Hervais Dunhevid in 1270²⁸² confirms an interest in the Dunhevid family.

Among the less notable names in this annal are some that are fairly obscure. The first such name in this portion of the annal occurs under the year 1270 where it states, Item strages Anglicorum in Conactia, in qua dominus W. filius Leonis et alii corruerunt in die sancti Pantaleonis [28 July].²⁸³ This death is not reported in any other annal and the Irish annals do not give a date of this encounter between Walter de Burgh and Aedh O'Connor, but they do reveal that the earl and the justiciar, that is Richard de Exonia, spent the first night at Roscommon.²⁸⁴ W. filius Leonis was possibly a member of the family Fitz Leon de Bromiard

²⁸⁰ In the 1280 Roll of Receipt there is an entry, under Roscommon, concerning a fine from Hugh Purcell for release of revenue for himself and his Irishmen C.D.I. 1252-1284 p 362.

²⁸¹ Ormond Deeds 1172-1350 p 101.

²⁸² Annals of Multyfarnham p 15.

²⁸³ ibid p 15.

²⁸⁴ Ann. Conn. p 155.

who held lands in Meath from the earl of Ulster.²⁸⁵ Additionally, a Henry fitz Leo was custodian of Roscommon castle 1275/76,²⁸⁶ a Thomas son of Les' held a quarter of the cantred not far from Roscommon.²⁸⁷ The second unexplained inclusion in the annal is the report of the death of Peter le Petyt on the 3 March 1272²⁸⁸ and again this must be relevant. If Peter le Petyt is related to the Connacht branch of the family²⁸⁹ then it is important to note that both William le Petit and Thomas son of Les occupied the same quarter cantred of Ciarraige Magh Ai, just north of Roscommon.²⁹⁰ If Peter le Petyt is not related to the Connacht branch of the family then the death may have occurred when Aedh O'Connor burned Meath as far as Granard in 1272.²⁹¹

As might be expected, Stephen de Exonia is interested

²⁸⁵ Orpen, 'The earldom of Ulster', 51 (1921), p 75.

²⁸⁶ Helen Walton 'The English in Connacht 1171-1333', p 501

²⁸⁷ ibid p 143; 36th. Rept. D.K. p 63. A Thomas fitz Lionis was a witness in an Ormond deed with Walter de Burgh and John de Verdun between 1261-4, Ormond deeds 1172-1350 p 60.

²⁸⁸ Annals of Multyfarnham p 16.

²⁸⁹ For Nicholas Petit see Helen Walton 'The English in Connacht 1171-1333', p 155; for William le Petit ibid p 93-6.

²⁹⁰ ibid p 93, map 1.

²⁹¹ Ann. Conn. p 159; Orpen, Normans vol 3 p 249.

in recording the advent of a new chief justiciar of Ireland. He records the death of William de Denne in 1261 together with the name of his successor, Richard de Rupella [Richard de la Rochelle].²⁹² This justiciar was a cousin of Avelina de Burgh²⁹³ and, as he held lands in Connacht, he had a vested interest in destroying the O'Connor power in the king's cantreds.²⁹⁴ He fought against Aedh O'Connor in 1262, at the period when the site for the castle of Roscommon was laid out.²⁹⁵ It might be expected that Stephen should also display an interest in the next two justiciars; Hugh de Taghmon, bishop of Meath, and David de Barry but in fact he makes no mention of those two men. His interest in the justiciars revives with the advent of Robert de Hufford [Ufford] in 1268,²⁹⁶ the man responsible for the building of Roscommon castle.²⁹⁷ Ufford's return to England in 1270 was also duly noted, particularly, as he also noted that

²⁹² Annals of Multyfarnham p 14.

²⁹³ Helen Walton 'The English in Connacht 1171-1333', p 241

²⁹⁴ C.D.I. 1252-1284 p 132. Helen Walton 'The English in Connacht 1171-1333', p 240-1, 459, 460, 466-8, 473; as custodian of Athlone castle 1262-66 ibid p 489.

²⁹⁵ ibid p 240-1, 454.

²⁹⁶ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15.

²⁹⁷ Helen Walton 'The English in Connacht 1171-1333', p 454. Coincidentally, a friar Ufford is mentioned in the Liber exemplorum p 41, 53, 138n66.

Richard de Exonia acted as Justiciar in Ufford's absence.²⁹⁸ The arrival of the next justiciar in 1270, James de Audele [de Audley], is noted,²⁹⁹ as is his death, fregit collum suum, in 1272.³⁰⁰ James de Audley was a great supporter of the de Burgh interest and particularly in connection with the dower of Avelina, countess of Ulster.³⁰¹ His successor, Maurice fitzMaurice, whom Stephen de Exonia merely mentioned by name, was responsible for questioning the validity of, and the subsequent changing of, Avelina de Burgh's dower.³⁰² The arrival of the last justiciar of this period, Geoffrey de Genville, was fully reported by Stephen, Item dominus Galfridus de Genvile venit usque Hiberniam, de terra sancta, parum ante festum beati Francisci, et factus est justiciarius Hibernie, post octavas beati Francisci.³⁰³ This extended entry may have been inspired by the proximity of Geoffrey de Genville's arrival to the feast of St Francis or, perhaps, it was because he was related by

²⁹⁸ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15.

²⁹⁹ ibid p 15

³⁰⁰ ibid p 16.

³⁰¹ For criticism of dower, C.D.I. 1252-1284 p 164-5; Orpen 'The earldom of Ulster', 43 (1913) p 41-2, 83.

³⁰² C.D.I.1252-1284 p 166.

³⁰³ Annals of Multyfarnham p 16.

marriage to John de Verdun?³⁰⁴ Stephen also reported, as did most chronicles, Geoffrey de Genville's expedition against the Irish in Glendmalure.³⁰⁵ All the justiciars, except the two not mentioned, Hugh de Taghmon, bishop of Meath, and David de Barry, had an interest in Connacht.

It is of course impossible to be certain where Stephen de Exonia lived and wrote his annal. Despite his Meath family connections, he cannot have been writing in Meath as he does not record the foundation of the Franciscan friars in Armagh in 1264,³⁰⁶ nor does he display an interest in the justiciar, Hugo of Taghmon, bishop of Meath. If the premise is accepted that the Anglo-Irish names confirm a Connacht bias and that Stephen de Exonia was writing in Connacht, then there are only three possible friaries to which Stephen de Exonia could have been attached at this period in time, namely, Athlone, Claregalway or Roscommon.

The Franciscan church of Athlone was consecrated in

³⁰⁴ Geoffrey de Genville's wife, Matilda, (married 1252) was the sister of Margaret, the wife of John de Verdun. Orpen, Normans vol 3 p 260-61.

³⁰⁵ Annals of Multyfarnham p 16.

³⁰⁶ A.U. vol 2 p 337; A.L.C. vol 1 p 337; A.F.M. vol 3 p 395.

1241³⁰⁷ and there is a tradition which claims that the friary was founded in 1224 by Cathal Crovderg O'Connor.³⁰⁸ Athlone first received royal alms in 1245³⁰⁹ and on four more occasions before 1327 when the alms were taken from Athlone because, 'no English friars dwell there'.³¹⁰ There is no reason why Stephen could not have been in Athlone friary but, if he was there, why did he not report the burning of Athlone and the breaking of the bridge in 1272³¹¹ when he reported the burning of Roscommon in 1270?³¹²

The only contemporary notice of the existence of a Franciscan friary in Roscommon is to be found in these annals when Stephen reported the establishment of the friars in Roscommon in 1269, Locus captus est apud Roscoman.³¹³ There was already a mendicant foundation in Roscommon but it was apparently dominated by the O'Connors. Felim O'Connor, king of Connaught, founded

³⁰⁷ A.L.C. vol 1 p 355; A.F.M. vol 3 p 303; Ann. Clon. p 237.

³⁰⁸ A.F.M. vol 3 p 207.

³⁰⁹ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 9.

³¹⁰ ibid p 129.

³¹¹ Ann. Conn. p 159 .

³¹² Annals of Multyfarnham p 15.

³¹³ ibid p 15.

the Dominican friary there in 1253.³¹⁴ Thomas O'Connor, bishop of Elphin, consecrated the church in 1257.³¹⁵ Felim O'Connor was buried there in 1265.³¹⁶ Imar O'Birn, 'trusted officer of Aed O'Connor', renounced the world and retired there in 1269³¹⁷ and was subsequently buried there in 1271.³¹⁸ The Dominican friary of Roscommon was an O'Connor foundation and, as such, could not have been favoured by the Anglo-Irish of Roscommon.

In view of this situation, it is logical to find an alternative mendicant order, the Franciscan order, appearing in Roscommon in the wake of the large Anglo-Irish work force employed in the construction and defence of the castle. The castle was planned from at least 1262, when the castle was marked out.³¹⁹ Once the actual building commenced, the labour force for such an exercise was considerable. Taking the Welsh castles as an example, in Builth, a small castle, in

³¹⁴ Gwynne and Hadcock Medieval Religious houses: Ireland p 229.

³¹⁵ Ann. Conn. p 125.

³¹⁶ 'and was buried in the monastery of the Preaching friars at Roscommon, which he had presented to God and the Order'. ibid p 145.

³¹⁷ ibid p 153.

³¹⁸ ibid p 159.

³¹⁹ Orpen, Normans vol 3 p 239; Helen Walton 'The English in Connacht 1171-1333', p 454-455.

1278 an average of 177.7 working men were employed, in Harlech, a medium sized castle, in 1286, the weekly average number of men employed in the slack season was 148.77 but this rose to 868.54 in the season which was more than seven continuous months³²⁰ and in Beaumaris, a large castle, in 1295, there was an average of 2,940 workmen employed during the season.³²¹ It is evident, from these figures, that would have been a sufficient number of workmen employed in the building of Roscommon castle to accommodate a second mendicant foundation. Furthermore, as this new influx of workmen would be employed on the building of an Anglo-Irish castle, an affiliation to the Irish Dominican foundation at Roscommon would not be altogether suitable. From the Annals of Multyfarnham we learn that a Franciscan friary was established in Roscommon and there is such an amount of information about Roscommon in these annals that it must be considered a possibility that Stephen de Exonia was one of the friars who established the friary in Roscommon, in 1269, when he was aged 25.

Friaries were frequently used as meeting places and much of Stephen's information could have been gleaned from such a situation, for example, in 1270, we learn

³²⁰ J. Goronwy Edwards, 'Edward 1's castle-building in Wales', Proc British Academy 32 (1946) p 53-4.

³²¹ ibid p 54-55.

that, 'The earl [Walter de Burgh] called upon the justiciar [Richard de Exonia] and his Galls and both came with great armies into Connacht, reaching Roscommon the first night...'.³²² It is in 1270 that Stephen reports the death of a dominus W. filius Leonis on 28 July.³²³ Stephen also reports the burning of the friary and the town of Roscommon in 1270.³²⁴ The Franciscan historian Francis Matthews O.F.M., writing in 1629, explains why the friary became extinct, in primo suo ortu interiit, quia ob subsequtam statim mortem fundatoris defuit restaurator.³²⁵ Perhaps the death of the unknown founder was reported in these annals? The deaths of W. fitz Leon, James de Cogan, Hervais Dunhevid, Walter de Burgh, Raymond de Burgh and the Verdun brothers are all recorded in 1270 or 1271. Perhaps more than one of those named was involved in the foundation? The Regestum monasterii fratrum praedicatorum de Athenry describes how, although a de Birmingham foundation, many knights were involved as

³²² For example, Richard de Exonia and Walter de Burgh spent the first night at Roscommon in 1270, Ann. Conn. p 155.

³²³ Annals of Multyfarnham p 15.

³²⁴ ibid p 15.

³²⁵ Brevis Synopsis Provinciae Hiberniae FF. Minorum ed. B. Jennings O.F.M., Anal.Hib. 6 (1934) p 155. See also 'Brussels MS. 3410: A chronological list of foundations of the Irish Franciscan province', ed. B. Jennings, O.F.M., Anal.Hib. 6 p 195.

benefactors.³²⁶

When the friary failed to become re-established due, no doubt, to the political situation in and around Roscommon, as much as to the death of the founder, Stephen would have to move elsewhere and it can be suggested that he may then have moved to the Franciscan friary at Claregalway.³²⁷ His centre of interest did not change and therefore he must have remained in the region. He could not have moved to Athlone, because, as stated, the fire and destruction of the bridge at Athlone in 1272 was not reported. The only other friary in the region to which Stephen could have moved is Anglo-Irish foundation of Claregalway. Recent research proves that the Franciscan friary of Claregalway was founded, by John de Cogan 1, between 1250 and 1256, and not in 1290 as previously considered.³²⁸ John de Cogan clearly intended Claregalway to be a place of some significance. He founded the Franciscan friary there and in 1252 he was granted a Saturday market in Claregalway.³²⁹ It can

³²⁶ Regestum monasterii fratrum praedicatorum de Athenry ed. Ambrose Coleman. In Archiv. Hib., i (1912), pp 201-21.

³²⁷ Helen Walton 'The English in Connacht 1171-1333', p 127-8. For Claregalway see p 130-3.

³²⁸ It was founded before 1253 because the dormitory was built by O'Heyne who died in 1253, ibid p 127.

³²⁹ C.D.I.1252-1284 p 18, 137-8.

be assumed that the friary in the thirteenth century was of some significance; in 1291 an indulgence was granted for those visiting the church there³³⁰ and in 1297 there is a report that pontificalia of the bishop of Annaghdown was seized at Claregalway friary.³³¹ Certainly there is evidence that records were being kept by the friars minor of Claregalway but the reported existence of a chronicle of Claregalway is inaccurate; only copies of charters of Claregalway are extant.³³² The lack of extant material does not of course preclude the very real possibility that an annal may have been in existence there in the thirteenth century. Stephen de Exonia took the habit in 1263, when he was 17 years of age, but there is no indication at that period as to which house he was assigned. It is possible that Stephen moved to Roscommon in 1269 and subsequently to Claregalway in 1271 where he may have had the time to finish the annal. Alternatively, Stephen may have shown an interest in Roscommon because he was already present in Claregalway.

³³⁰ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 62

³³¹ ibid p 70, 73-74.

³³² Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 128, A.G. Little states 'Ex chronico domus fratrum minorum de Clare', but when the manuscripts are examined the reference is to a chartulary, TCD MS 654 p 11; BL MS Lansdown 418 f 73.

G. CONCLUSION

In conclusion it can be stated that the Annals of Multyfarnham, extant in an Ussher manuscript in Trinity College Dublin, were once in the possession of Sir Frances Shane who sacked the Franciscan friary of Multyfarnham in 1601.³³³ The title of the annals is of seventeenth century origin. The volume which contains the annals is primarily a Franciscan preaching manual. The annals are complete and were the work of Stephen de Exonia, an Anglo-Irish Franciscan friar, who wrote his own section of the annal, 1261-1274, between the years 1272-1274.³³⁴ There is an interwoven pattern of alliances, marriage or otherwise, between the majority of the Anglo-Irish names found in this section of the annal and furthermore they all appear, at some stage, to have some link with both the de Burgh family and with Connacht. It can be suggested that he was present at least from 1269 in the short lived friary of Roscommon and thereafter in Claregalway. His entries are brief and devoid of personal comment, except in the report of the death of Walter de Burgh,

³³³ Coincidentally, in c1589 the friars were driven out of Claregalway by Richard Bingham, who was a great friend of Sir Frances Shane, Gwynn and Hadcock Medieval religious houses:Ireland p 245.

³³⁴ The sources used in the annals of Multyfarnham have been discussed above and the conclusion arrived at was that in the section immediately preceding 1261 it is the Dominican mendicant order that takes priority for the period 1215-1260, above p 19-20.

earl of Ulster and lord of Connacht. His interest is in the affairs of the Anglo-Irish and his entries concerning the Irish are a reflection of that interest. He reports on the affairs, both personal and political, of Richard de Exonia of Uriel who was then involved in affairs in Connacht. He displays no knowledge of Jordan de Exonia. His sources were initially derived from England but later included Dominican and Cistercian notices.

The Annals of Multyfarnham ceased in 1274. The annals were not house annals as such and therefore the reason for the abrupt ending must be sought in the life of the author. One explanation, of course, could be the death of the author but as Stephen was born in 1246 and became a friar at the age of 17 in 1263 he was only 28 years of age in 1274 and therefore his death in that year, while clearly not impossible, cannot be assumed. Two important events occurred in 1274, one in civil life and one in church life, and a person such as Stephen could readily have become involved in either event. In 1274, after the general council of Lyon, pope Gregory X sent letters, dated 13 Nov 1274, to the provincial ministers of the Franciscan order bidding them to preach the crusade.³³⁵ The volume which

³³⁵ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire.
p39-41

contains the Annals of Multyfarnham is primarily a preaching handbook and if it was the property of Stephen, as seems likely, then it is clear that he was already, or was about to become, a preacher. As such, Stephen would have been an ideal candidate for the task of preaching the crusade, and, if he had been attached to the newly abandoned friary of Roscommon, he was free to preach the crusade.

The year 1274 was also significant politically in Connacht, as is clear from Stephen's own annal. In 1274 Aedh O'Connor, king of Connacht, died and there was a challenged succession. If the king desired a report concerning the state of the king's cantreds then Stephen would be an eminently suitable messenger. There is a letter of 1275 from the justiciar, Geoffrey de Genville, to the king informing him that, frere Estevene de Excester, who had been sent to report on the state of Ireland, had returned³³⁶ and a brother Stephen of Exeter of the order of Franciscans claimed for his expenses in coming from Ireland to the king in England regarding affairs of the king.³³⁷ Although the name alone cannot be taken as proof of identity, all the available evidence would suggest that the

³³⁶ Documents on the affairs of Ireland before the king's council ed. G.O. Sayles (Dublin, 1979) p 8.

³³⁷ C.D.I. 1285-1292 p 81, 105

Stephen referred to was the annalist Stephen de Exonia.

The annal ended in 1274 and the question is, did Stephen de Exonia take the annal with him or did it remain in the region? If he took the small volume with him, why did he not continue to write the annal? There was at least two thirds of a folio unused at the end of the annal.³³⁸ Whatever the solution may be, it is evident that the annal did not sink into obscurity because it was used as a source for a Leinster Anglo-Irish annal which is extant in the British Library, MS. Vespasian B XI.

³³⁸ f 403v see appendix I p 389.

CHAPTER IV

THE 'KILKENNY CHRONICLE'¹

A. THE MANUSCRIPT

The Annals of Multyfarnham were used directly as a source for a section of an Anglo-Irish chronicle which can be found in a volume in the British Library catalogued as Vespasian B XI and entitled, Chronicon de Hagneby in Comitatu Lincolniae ad anno 1307. The volume was once the property of Sir Robert Bruce Cotton, the antiquarian founder of the Cotton Library, and his signature is present on folio 2. The volume, which measures 18½cm by 25cm, contains 158 folios and was bound in 1875 and again in 1968. There is a seventeenth century contents list on folio 1 which records the first seven of the nine items contained in the book.² Item number seven on the list of contents states, Annales Hibernie a Anno 1264 ad annum 1330.

The annalistic entries cover folios 126 to 137 inclusive. The language of the manuscript is in Latin throughout and the date is given predominantly in Arabic numerals, though the Latin numerals are present,

¹ BL MS Cotton Vespasian B XI f 126r - 137v. There is a transcript of f 127v in BL MS Domitian xviii f 88v.

² Apart from two French genealogies and a theological text, the book is a collection of chronicles.

usually as marginalia.³ The annals were part of Vespasian B XI by 1621 when the first catalogue of Cotton's library was drawn up.⁴ Sir James Ware made extracts from this manuscript, entitled Anonimus de rebus Hibernicis⁵ and in a note next to the title stated that it came from the library of Georgii Dominus Carew;⁶ a line was drawn through the words Georgii Dominus Carew, although the line did not obscure the note itself. A.G. Little, the Franciscan historian, was aware of this manuscript, which he called an anonymous Anglo-Irish Franciscan Chronicle.⁷ This chronicle was given its present title, The Kilkenny Chronicle by Robin Flower in 1931.⁸ Aubrey Gwynn claimed the early section to be a Dublin Franciscan chronicle.⁹

³ See f 126r where the Latin numeral for the year 1266 is in the centre of the page, appendix IV p 396.

⁴ BL MS Harley 6018 f 9. For a brief discussion of Robert Cotton see Ni Sheaghda, Nessa, Collectors of Irish Manuscripts: Motives and Methods (Dublin, 1984) p 4.

⁵ BL. MS. Add 4787 f 11r - 14v.

⁶ ibid f 11r. For George Carew see Nessa Ni Sheaghda, Collectors of Irish Manuscripts: Motives and Methods p 4-5.

⁷ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p xxii.

⁸ Flower, R., 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 322-323, 330.

⁹ A. Gwynn, 'Some unpublished texts from the Black Book of Christ Church, Dublin', Anal. Hib. 16 (1946) p 320.

The chronicle is not bound directly into the volume as each folio is surrounded by a protective border. The folios are not uniform in colour; folios 133 to 137 are darker. The fragmentary nature of the folios are explained in Diagram A and, for the purpose of this chapter the separate pieces of parchment which make up a full folio are labelled, from top to bottom, A, B, and C.

Folio	Pieces of parchment	DIAGRAM A		
		Size of parchment in cm.		
		A	B	C
126	1	15 x 24		
127	1	15 x 23½		
128	1	15 x 22		
129	1	15 x 22½		
130	1	15 x 21½		
131	1	15 x 21½		
132	1	15 x 22		
133	2	15 x 7½	15 x 15	
134	2	15 x 8½	15 x 13½	
135	1	15 x 22½		
136	3	15 x 12½	15 x 5½	15 x 2½
137	1	15 x 4½		

The folios are not uniform in size and the number of lines per folio vary.¹⁰ There are no margins as the entries fill the folios completely, though there are some gaps in the middle of the later folios.¹¹ The annals do not proceed in chronological order on all the folios.¹² The nature of this manuscript necessitates

¹⁰ For example, compare BL MS Vespasian B XI f128r and 136r. Unless otherwise stated, all folio numbers in this chapter refer to BL MS Vespasian B XI.

¹¹ See f 135r, appendix IV p 403

¹² f 137 should be read before 136. The entries are not in chronological order on f132r.

an analysis of the folios in order to arrive at a full understanding of the document.

The loss of some script, at the head and foot, is important in this manuscript. Folio 127 has suffered some loss at the top of the parchment but it is the loss at the foot of the folio which is of the greatest significance; the descenders of both the decorated capital and the letter 'p' of pincerna are partially lost. The missing portions are, however, just visible at the top of folio 128 thus proving that folios 127 and 128 were one piece of parchment. This deduction is further collaborated by the presence of stitching marks at the foot of folio 128 and the head of folio 129. In response to my request, Patricia Basing, Curator in the British Library, kindly examined the manuscript and stated that the document was originally a roll of two membranes, that the chronicler did not cut up the roll, that it may have come into Cotton's hands in bad condition and may have been loose as late as 1875 after which the pasting was done prior to rebinding. I am most grateful to Patricia Basing for all the valuable information she supplied regarding this manuscript.¹³ While normally annals and other literary works were written on parchment already in leaf form, it was not unheard of for works to be

¹³ Appendix IX p 430-31 for letter.

written on rolls of parchment.¹⁴ Clearly this annalist used the parchment in this form. The Franciscan friar who wrote the Annals of Ghent may also have used a roll of manuscript. He states, 'One day when I was not very busy... and also had at my disposal a stock of small [parchment] membranes, of no great value, stitched together...'.¹⁵ It has also been suggested that, 'vernacular texts used by Franciscans may have been written on rolls, which were much more perishable than books'.¹⁶ Rolls were usually used for administrative purposes, to keep records, and perhaps the use of rolls by the Franciscan friars is a reflection of their familiarity with town records? Rolls could become disturbed as they were not bound up in a book form¹⁷ and, if the friars in the towns frequently used rolls to enter their texts then it might be suggested that more material was lost than previously thought. Perhaps the Dominican annals of Trim and Ross, which have survived only as seventeenth

¹⁴ See Ivy, G.S., 'The bibliography of the manuscript-book', in Wormald, F., and Wright, C.E. The English library before 1700 p 32-3, 59n5

¹⁵ Annales Gandenses ed. and trans. H. Johnstone (Oxford, 1985) p 1.

¹⁶ John Frankis, 'The social context of vernacular writing in thirteenth century England: the evidence of the manuscripts', in Thirteenth century England, 1. Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference 1985, ed P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd (Boydell, 1986), p 179.

¹⁷ 28th Rept. D.K. p 39.

century extracts,¹⁸ may also have been written on rolls?

In the light of the information now available concerning these folios it is logical to assume that folios 126-133A should be treated as one item. These folios were obviously one stitched roll of parchment. The question that must be asked is whether the first folio, folio 126, is the true beginning of a chronicle. The opening date, 1264, is in Latin numerals with an enlarged 'M' for milia.¹⁹ All the other entries use Arabic numerals as their main form. Either there is some parchment missing containing the date in Arabic numerals or this Latin date with its enlarged first letter is significant as indicating the beginning of a chronicle. The fact that the first word, Mauricius, is indented would serve to support the theory that the date was written in the Latin form as an indication of the beginning of the chronicle.²⁰ The seventeenth century antiquarians must also have assumed this was the beginning of a chronicle as there is a seventeenth

¹⁸ Annals of Trim BL MS Add 4789 f 206v-207v; Annals of Ross Bodl. MS Rawl B 479 f 68r-69r.

¹⁹ f 126r. Robin Flower has this date entered as MCCLXIII, Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum' p 332. However, when the manuscript is examined the reading is in fact MCCLXIIII.

²⁰ Where Latin numbers are used in the manuscript they have neither the same neat script nor do they use the same form of the letter 'x', see appendix IV p398.

century title at the beginning of this folio, cronica Hiberniae sive Annales.²¹ The chronicle continues, on the rectos of the folios, in a uniform manner until folio 131 and is written in one hand with no apparent major loss of material. The years follow consecutively from 1264, in a single hand, until the year 1316. The year 1316 begins, in a similar hand and manner, on the first line of folio 132 but, after line four, at least five different hands are present on that folio.

The next entry, 1318, is the last year in this section of the manuscript to use the Arabic numerals. The chronicle continues, in several hands, to the top of the next folio, 133r, which folio consists of two pieces of parchment pasted together. The text continues, with the year 1322, for five lines on the upper portion, A, and then there is a gap and, in yet another hand and different coloured ink, there is an entry for the year 1353. This entry is of importance because it is the same as the beginning of an entry for 1353 on the verso of folio 127, which was also written in a different colour ink and in the same, fifteenth century, hand.²² The information contained in this entry concerns an episode which took place at Bunratty

²¹ f 126r.

²² This entry, on f 127v, has been published in Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 144.

castle in 1353.²³ It would appear that the fifteenth century scribe began to write the entry on folio 133r then, realising that he did not have sufficient space for his needs, began again on the verso of 127;²⁴ if that is the case then it would follow that in the fifteenth century, at least, the parchment ended at folio 133A where the beginning of the entry for 1353 was written. For the purpose of clarity this portion of the manuscript - folio 126 to folio 133A inclusive - will be referred to as CHRONICLE A for the remainder of this chapter.

There is a change of appearance on the folios beginning on the second piece of parchment, B, on folio 133r. The remainder of the manuscript from this piece of parchment to the last folio can now be considered as a separate unit which contains two fragments of annals, one on the recto and one on the verso of the folios. This is illustrated in Diagram B.

²³ Dermot Gleeson, 'A Fourteenth century Clare Heresy Trial' in Irish Ecclesiastical Record (1958) p 36-42.

²⁴ The second entry on f 127v is again in a different hand and very faded but it appears to be a list of kings of England beginning with Ethelbertus. This entry is continued on f 128v.

DIAGRAM B

Folio	Years entered on each section of parchment		
	A	B	C
133r	1322-1353	1316-1320	
133v	blank	202-432	
134r	1321-1322	1323-1325	
134v	454-776	901-1003	
135r	1326-1328		
135v	1008-1216		
136r	1330	1331	1332
136v	1231-1250	1254-125	1263-1264
137r	1329		
137v	1224-1226		

The first chronicle fragment is present on the verso of these folios and contains annalistic entries beginning, as extant, with the year 202 and ending on folio 136 with the year 1264.²⁵ Again, for the purpose of clarity, this portion of the chronicle (the verso of folios 133 section B to 137) will be referred to as CHRONICLE Bi. The second chronicle fragment is to be found on the recto of the folios and is a chronicle which begins with the year 1316 and ends on folio 136 with the year 1329. These entries will be referred to as CHRONICLE Bii.

When Sir James Ware made his transcript of the annals from this manuscript he appended a note at the beginning which stated that the source was, In bibliothecae Georgii Dominus Carew, but then the words, Georgii Dominus Carew, were partially crossed

²⁵ f 137, a small fragment, should be read before f 136, appendix IV p404

out (but still visible) and the note continued, Cottoniana sub effigit Vespasiani BXI []²⁶finem chronicis monasterii de Hagneby.²⁷ This transcript is followed by excerpts from the Chronicle of Hagneby.²⁸ Considering the initial statement from the Ware transcript, that the source had come from the library of George Carew, it is not surprising to find among the Carew manuscripts a chronicle entitled, Fragment quaedam ex chronicis Hiberniae,²⁹ which, upon examination, is revealed to be identical to the Ware transcript. This fragment is then followed by Fragmenta ex chronicis monesterii de Hagneby in comitatu Lincolne.³⁰ It is impossible to ascertain who first used the original manuscript.

Both extracts commence with the year 1264, from folio 126r, and continue, in a straightforward manner, with extracts from the recto of folios 127 to the year 1316 on folio 132. A problem then arose as the years 1316 to 1322 are covered twice, on separate folios. In the original manuscript the year 1316 is entered twice, by different hands, on folio 132r and folio

²⁶ Not clear.

²⁷ BL MS Add. 4787 f 11r.

²⁸ BL MS Add. 4787 f 14v.

²⁹ Cal.Carew MSS Book of Howth Misc. p 323-328.

³⁰ ibid p 329.

133r. The initial transcriber, Ware or Carew, had to decide how to approach the problem and the decision for the year 1316 was to conflate the two entries, but only using selected extracts. In the original manuscript the year 1321 is followed by 1353³¹ but in the transcript this was misread as 1313 and follows 1316.³² The year 1318³³ was again conflated. There was no problem with 1320 as there was only one entry for that year.³⁴ The year 1321, which was entered three times,³⁵ was not conflated³⁶ and neither was the year 1322.³⁷ The duplication of the years cease with the year 1323. The scribe continued, using the recto only, of the folios, to folio 137r. Folio 137 was at this time already stored out of sequence as the transcriber entered the year 1329 after he had entered 1332.³⁸ What is interesting to note is that the transcriber decided

³¹ f 133r, appendix IV p 400.

³² Cal. Carew MSS Book of Howth Misc. p 326. BL MS Add 4787 f 12v.

³³ Present, separately, on both f 132r and f 133r.

³⁴ f 133r.

³⁵ Present twice on f 132r and once on f 134r.

³⁶ The year 1321 was taken only from f 134r.

³⁷ The year 1322 was taken only from f 134r. This year was omitted by Robin Flower from his published edition of the manuscript. See appendix VIII p 428.

³⁸ BL MS Add. 4787 f 14rv; Cal. Carew MSS, Book of Howth Misc. p 328.

to ignore completely the chronicle on the verso of folios 133 [B] to 137. These folios contain the early chronicle AD 202-1264 - Chronicle Bi. It might therefore be suggested that, either the seventeenth century transcribers were not interested in the earlier dates, or they considered the earlier entries to be a separate chronicle.

When Robin Flower examined the manuscript he proceeded on the assumption that all the folios were part and parcel of one chronicle and that the chronicler, because of a shortage of vellum, had cut and pasted the folios.³⁹ Robin Flower did recognize that the consequent arrangement of the folios would, of necessity, be peculiar. In effect, he postulated that the chronicle must begin on the verso of folio 133 section B with the year 202 and continue, on the verso only, to the year 1264 on folio 137. The continuation of the chronicle then would depend on turning to the recto of folio 126, beginning again with the year 1264, and continuing on the recto only to the end of folio 137. This arrangement would of course have to include the two sets of entries for the years 1316 to 1322. Patricia Basing's examination has made it quite clear that the document

³⁹ Flower, R., 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 323.

was in fragments and possibly even mixed with other folios at an earlier period.⁴⁰ If one accepts the possibility that there may in fact be two separate documents present here then all the anomalies are explained. It is necessary to examine all three chronicle fragments individually in order to attempt to determine whether they are in fact one chronicle or indeed two separate fragments, Chronicle A, and Chronicle Bi and Bii.

B. THE TEXT OF CHRONICLE A 1264-1322⁴¹

The text begins on folio 126 recto with the year 1264 and has a seventeenth century title. The folios are in good condition. As stated previously, the year 1264 is probably the true beginning of the chronicle as it is the only date given originally in Latin numerals, the only occasion where the letter 'M' for milia is enlarged and the only place where the script is indented. The use of Arabic numerals in the text itself suggests that the secondary form of dating, the Latin numerals, is a later addition. A decorated letter can be found intermittently throughout folios 126-132. Presumably, there is some reason for the placing of the decorated letters but it is not readily evident. These decorated letters are not

⁴⁰ See appendix IX

⁴¹ f 126r - 133r,

present in Chronicle Bi and Bii.⁴² As stated previously, there are no corrections of errors and one hand is responsible for the text up to and including the first four lines of the year 1316 on folio 132. Several hands are responsible for the remaining text to 1322.⁴³

When a previously regular manuscript, written in Ireland, becomes disrupted at the year 1316 then it can be conjectured that the Bruce invasion disrupted the chronicle. Despite the uncertain political situation, some attempt was made to record the traumatic events of the next few years. There is no entry for 1317 but two separate hands are responsible for 1318. There are no entries for the years 1319 and 1320 in Chronicle A. The year 1321 is entered twice by two different hands.⁴⁴ The year 1322 is the final entry of the period before a gap occurs on the manuscript,⁴⁵ after which a fifteenth century hand enters the opening lines of the year 1353.⁴⁶ At this point I would suggest that

⁴² The last decorated capital can be found on f 132r in the midst of the year 1316.

⁴³ f 132r, 133r parchment section A.

⁴⁴ f 132r.

⁴⁵ f 133r.

⁴⁶ This entry is repeated, and extended, on f 127v.

Chronicle A ceases.

AUTHORSHIP

The question of authorship of this chronicle is impossible to determine but, it is clear, from the evidence of the handwriting, that one scribe was responsible for the section commencing with the year 1264, on folio 126r, to the year 1316, on folio 132r. From internal evidence, it can be stated that the scribe began writing in 1316 and finished writing after September 1316. Proof of this statement lies in the entry for 1310 in which the scribe entered this notice. Thomas de Brothertoune, Comes postea Mariscallus natus est.⁴⁷ The date is incorrect,⁴⁸ but the significance of the entry lies in the fact that Thomas de Brotherton, who received Carlow in 1312⁴⁹, was made earl Marshal on the 10th February 1316.⁵⁰ Clearly, therefore, the scribe was writing, that section at least, after 10th February 1316 and

⁴⁷ Flower, R., 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 335.

⁴⁸ He was in fact born in 1300 not 1310, Fryde, E.B., Greenway, D.E., Porter, S. & Roy I. Handbook of British Chronology (third edition London 1986) p 38-9.

⁴⁹ Carlow, after the death of Roger Bigod in 1306, was granted to Thomas of Brotherton by his brother, Edward II. Knight' fees p 5.

⁵⁰ He was granted the office of marshal at the Lincoln parliament of 1316, M. McKisack The Fourteenth Century 1307-1399 (Oxford 1959) p 52.

ceased writing after the entry which recorded the death of John fitzThomas anno illo.⁵¹

Unlike Stephen de Exonia or John Clyn, this annalist makes no mention of his name, or even his order. Nonetheless, it is possible to determine, by internal evidence, that he was an Anglo-Irish Franciscan friar. The only ecclesiastical persons mentioned by the annalist are the legate Octobonus in 1265,⁵² archbishop Fulco in 1271,⁵³ popes Boniface, in 1303, and Clement in 1308,⁵⁴ and a friar Roger de Heytoun in 1315.⁵⁵ Obviously, from this list, only the name of the friar can be used as a clue to the order to which the scribe belonged. Friar Roger de Heton was, in fact, the warden of the Friars minor, Dublin and an inquisitor in the trial of the Templars.⁵⁶ This annalist was demonstrably interested in the Templar affair as he noted their seizure in France and

⁵¹ f 132r. This death occurred on the 12th September 1316. Chartul. St Mary,s Dublin vol 2 p 297.

⁵² Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 332.

⁵³ ibid p 332.

⁵⁴ ibid p 334.

⁵⁵ ibid p 335.

⁵⁶ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 91.

England in 1307,⁵⁷ their seizure in Ireland in 1308⁵⁸ and the inquisition of the Templars in 1310.⁵⁹ The scribe's Franciscan affiliation is confirmed by two entries reporting provincial chapters; the chapter at Cork in 1291⁶⁰ and the chapter at Clonmel in 1322⁶¹ which can only refer to the Franciscans as there was no Dominican house in Clonmel. Although this entry referring to the chapter at Clonmel is part of Chronicle A it is also in that section, 1316-1322, which is written by several hands.⁶² This continuing interest in Franciscan affairs indicates that the manuscript remained in Franciscan hands.

Some references are made to the Dominican order in this annal, there is a report of the burning of St. Mary's and the Dublin Dominican convent in 1304.⁶³ A very interesting entry, in 1313, also concerns the

⁵⁷ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 334.

⁵⁸ ibid p 334.

⁵⁹ ibid p 335.

⁶⁰ ibid p 333; also reported by the Annals of Clyn p 10.

⁶¹ ibid p 336.

⁶² f 133r.

⁶³ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum' p 334.

Dominicans, Imperator intoxicatur a predicatore ut dicitur.⁶⁴ The emperor in question was Henry VII, the son of the count of Luxembourg, who was crowned in 1312 and died in 1313.⁶⁵ This gossip, that suggested that the emperor was poisoned by the Dominicans, makes it highly unlikely that a Dominican would be responsible for such an entry.⁶⁶ The author, then, was a Franciscan friar. The sparsity of entries concerning the Irish clearly identifies the author as either English, living in Ireland, or Anglo-Irish and writing in 1316 and from an analysis of the entries it can be suggested that he wrote his chronicle in the friary of Tristledermot [Castledermot].

⁶⁴ ibid p 335.

⁶⁵ J.K. Hyde, Society and politics in medieval Italy (London 1978) p 139.

⁶⁶ 'Soon after Henry's death a rumour circulated that his Dominican confessor had poisoned him', W.M. Bowsky Henry VII in Italy the conflict of Empire and City State, 1310-1313 (Nebraska, 1960) p 271n112. It was also suggested that the Franciscans were responsible for the rumour, 'I Francescani in lotta di concorrenza con i Domenicani, sembra abbiano da parte loro contribuito a diffondere l'accusa. Per decenni risuonarono romanze e mottetti che svergognavano i Domenicani e si recitarono cronache rimate nelle quali si narrava, si cantavo o si lamentava la morte di Enrico' R. Davidsohn, Storia di Firenze vol 4 (Florence, 1960) [Italian translation of German original] p 750-751. I am very grateful to Professor Christine Meek for this reference.

ANALYSIS OF ENTRIES

Interest in the Irish nation in this chronicle is confined to three families; the O'Connors of Offaly, the MacMurroughs of Leinster and the O'Briens of Thomond. The scribe makes no mention of the Irish until 1270 when it is reported that, omnes Hibernici guerrauerunt et omnes municiones de Offaly preter castrum de Lega destructe sunt,⁶⁷ This entry relates to the O'Connors of Offaly, as does the entry in 1305 in which the death of Calvach O'Connor is reported, Calwach cum fratribus interfectus est.⁶⁸ A third entry relating to the O'Connors is the notice of the death of Peter de Brygame [Peter de Birmingham] in vigilia Pasce in 1308;⁶⁹ this was the man responsible for the death of Calvach O'Connor.⁷⁰ The Mac Murroughs are mentioned twice, Item guerra Macmurthy apud Glindelory' in 1274⁷¹ and Item

⁶⁷ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum' p 332.

⁶⁸ ibid p 334.

⁶⁹ ibid p 334.

⁷⁰ N. M. Hickey, 'Peter de Bermingham, lord of Tethmoy', Kildare Arch.Soc.Jn. 16 (1981-2) p 232-238. See also M. Benskin, 'The style and authorship of the Kildare poems- (1) Pers of Bermingham', in In other words. Transcultural Studies in Philology, Translation and Lexicography, presented to Hans Heinrich Meier on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday ed. J.L. Mackenzie and R. Todd (Dordrecht:Foris,1989), pp 57-75.

⁷¹ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum' p 332. J. Otway-Ruthven History of Medieval Ireland p 202.

Macmurth occiditur, in 1282.⁷² The Irish family which receives the most attention are the O'Briens of Thomond.⁷³ In 1277 the scribe reports, Item Obren [O'Brien] captus est per Thomam de Clare et decapitatus;⁷⁴ the Irish annals state that he had him drawn between horses,⁷⁵ the first record of this claim was in the Remonstrance of 1317⁷⁶ but it does not mention decapitation.⁷⁷ The scribe also reports, Eodem etiam anno urgebatur dominus Thomas comedere de carnibus equorum apud Sleblam[Slieve Bloom].⁷⁸ This is not reported by the other

⁷² Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum' p 333. See Robin Frame, 'The Justiciar and the murder of the MacMurroughs in 1282', I.H.S. 18 (1972), pp 223-30.

⁷³ For a contemporary account of that family see Caithreim Thoirdhealbhaigh ed. and trans. Standish Hayes O'Grady (London 1929). For a discussion of the period see Aoife Nic Ghiollamhaith, 'Dynastic warfare and historical writing in North Munster, 1276-1350', Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies 2 (1981) 73-89.

⁷⁴ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum' p 333. Caithreim Thoirdhealbhaigh p 6-10. Orpen, Normans p 70-71. For a discussion of the death of O'Brien, see Aoife Nic Ghiollamhaith, 'Dynastic warfare and historical writing in North Munster, 1276-1350', p 83-4.

⁷⁵ Ann.Conn. p 167; A.L.C. p 481; Ann. Inisf. p 373.

⁷⁶ Aoife Nic Ghiollamhaith, 'Dynastic warfare and historical writing in North Munster, 1276-1350', p 84.

⁷⁷ T.J. Westropp, 'The Normans in Thomond', R.S.A.I.Jn 21 (1890-1) p 288.

⁷⁸ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum' p 333.

annalists.⁷⁹ In 1278 the author further records, Item combusti sunt milites domini Thome de Clare et interfecti in erexcione de Totomoniam per Tordelach [O'Brien].⁸⁰ This chronicle has a considerable degree of information, even the Caithreim Thoiridhealbhaigh, make no mention of the decapitation of O'Brien or the fact that Thomas de Clare was compelled to consume horses in Slebam. Clearly this annalist must have had information not available to other contemporary scribes. Was it from the de Clares? From these three entries it is clear that the O'Briens are only mentioned in tandem with the de Clares. The Irish names noted by the chronicler do not, in themselves, provide clear indications of the place in which the chronicler was situated but, if the O'Brien entries, because of their evident connection with the de Clares are considered separately, then it might be suggested that the scribe was situated somewhere between Offaly and the east coast of Ireland.

Some specific placenames are mentioned by the scribe and can be used in an effort to determine the area in which the scribe was writing. The mention of Offaly

⁷⁹ Westropp 'The Normans in Thomond', p 288.

⁸⁰ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p333; A.L.C. p 483; Ann. Conn. p 169.

and the castle of Lega in 1270⁸¹ is perhaps significant as it was mentioned neither by Clyn nor by the Dublin annalist. The mention of the burning of Dublin on three occasions⁸² might suggest that the scribe was not too far distant from Dublin. Aubrey Gwynn noted the entries that related to Dublin and suggested a Dublin provenance⁸³ but this must be questioned as there appears to be a mistake with regard to the report of the burning of Dublin. This annalist reports the burning of Dublin in 1282 and 1283,⁸⁴ the Annals of St. Mary's agrees only with the 1283 date;⁸⁵ this annalist also records Dublin burning in 1304,⁸⁶ and the Annals of St. Mary's agrees with this date.⁸⁷ As the report of the burning in 1282 appears to be an error, an area near to Dublin rather than Dublin itself for the location of the scribe appears to be indicated.

⁸¹ ibid p 332.

⁸² See 1282, 1283, ibid p 333; 1304 ibid p 334.

⁸³ Gwynn, 'Some unpublished texts from the Black Book of Christ Church, Dublin', p 320.

⁸⁴ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 333.

⁸⁵ Chartul. St. Mary's vol 2 p 290, 318-9. These two entries may be the same event entered twice as a result of two sources available to the scribe.

⁸⁶ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 334.

⁸⁷ Chartul. St. Mary's vol 2 p 332.

For the purposes of identifying a specific area the two most significant entries must be that of 1284, Norach [Narraghmore] comburitur,⁸⁸ and the entry of 1311 which states, Item dies fori de Cathyrlach [Carlow] mutabatur in feria 4^a qui ante fuerat in sabbato.⁸⁹ Exactly half way between these two places, Narraghmore and Carlow, on a main route from Dublin, is the Franciscan friary of Castledermot [Tristledermot], which was in existence in 1247 when the king ordered his Justiciar to give 15 marks to the friary there.⁹⁰ Castledermot was not of course the only Franciscan friary in the Kildare area, Kildare itself and Clane must also be considered. The Franciscan friary in Kildare was founded between 1254/1260 by Gerald fitzMaurice and the de Vescy family were also thought to be benefactors;⁹¹ John fitz Thomas, first earl of Kildare, was buried there, as was John fitz Thomas the second earl, and his son.⁹² The friary of Clane was thought to have

⁸⁸ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p333. Chartul. St Mary's p 319 has the date as 1286, perhaps a transposition of VI to IV.

⁸⁹ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 335.

⁹⁰ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 14

⁹¹ Gwynn and Hadcock Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland p 252.

⁹² ibid p 252, see also Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p44-5, 58.

been founded in 1258 by Gerald fitzMaurice and it is claimed that he was buried there in 1287.⁹³ However, Kildare also claims that honour.⁹⁴ As all of these families are of great importance in this period their mention in the chronicle can not be used exclusively for the purpose of deciding the place at which the scribe was writing.

Apart from the geographical position of Castledermot, between Carlow and Narraghmore, there is another reason for suggesting Castledermot as the place at which the chronicle was written and that is the entry in the Annals of St. Mary's, in 1317, concerning the Scots' road of destruction through Ireland,⁹⁵ Et Postea perrexerunt usque Tresteldermot [Castledermot], in secunda septimana Quadragesime, et Fratres Minores destruxerunt, et libros, vestimenta, et omnia alia ornamenta asportaverunt, et inde

⁹³ Gwynn and Hadcock Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland p 245.

⁹⁴ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 58-9.

⁹⁵ For the Scots in Ireland see J.F. Lydon, 'The Bruce Invasion of Ireland', Historical Studies, 4 (1963) pp 111-25; J.F. Lydon 'The impact of the Bruce invasion, 1317-27', in N.H.I. ii ed. Art Cosgrove (Oxford, 1989) pp 275-302; Robin Frame, 'The Bruces in Ireland, 1315-1318' Irish Historical Studies 19 (1974-5) pp 3-37. A.A.M. Duncan, 'The Scots invasion of Ireland, 1315', in R.R. Davies, The British Isles 1100-1500 (Edinburgh, 1988) pp 100-117; O. Armstrong, Edward Bruce's invasion of Ireland (London, 1923).

recesserunt usque Balygaveran, et de Balygaveran,
dismissa villa de Kylkenny, venerunt usque Callan
circa festum Sancti Gregorii, Pape' [12 March].⁹⁶

This entry is supported in an unreferenced footnote, for 1317, from a now lost portion of the Annals of Nenagh, Robertus de Brus, rex Scotiae, cum suis Tristldermot perrixit in secunda hebdomada quadregesimae Monasterium Fratrum Mimorum destruxit, libros, sacra ornamenta et universam suppellectilem asportavit.⁹⁷ Clyn, oddly enough, mentions the destruction of the friary at Dundalk⁹⁸ but ignores the situation at Castledermot, but that may merely reflect the source he was using at that period.

This attack on Castledermot occurred when folio 132, section A, would have been in use and indeed the first upset to the manuscript occurs after 1316 when the handwriting changes ⁱⁿ mid entry and the scribe who had written the section from the first folio to 1316 does not appear again on the manuscript.⁹⁹ This manuscript has no entry concerning the Scots at

⁹⁶ Chartul. St Mary's vol 2 p 299-300.

⁹⁷ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 101. This event is also mentioned in the Book of Howth, Cal. Carew MSS Book of Howth p 138-9, and by James Grace Annales Hiberniae ed. R. Butler (1842) p 81.

⁹⁸ Annals of Clyn p 12.

⁹⁹ f 132r, appendix IV p 399.

Castledermot but this in itself does not detract from the possibility that the scribe was writing in Castledermot; indeed, if the friary was being plundered the scribe would not have been in a position to make any entries. Five different hands continue on that folio,¹⁰⁰ a fact not inconsistent with the theory that the disruption of the friary would cause the manuscript to be carried away, especially if the friars had to go elsewhere temporarily. If the manuscript was written in Kilkenny then one would expect notice of such a destruction of a Franciscan friary about 25 miles away to be reported, especially as we are specifically told by the Dublin annalist that the Scots turned away from Kilkenny leaving it untouched.¹⁰¹ Castledermot as the place of authorship would explain the Dublin entries far more satisfactorily than Kilkenny, as the Castledermot friary was in the Franciscan custody of Dublin while Kilkenny was in the Cashel custody.¹⁰² The death of friar Roger de Heytoun, an inquisitor in the trial of the Templars, is noted by this chronicler and not by Clyn. This might be accounted for by the fact

¹⁰⁰ f 132r.

¹⁰¹ dismissa villa Kilkenny, Chartul. St Mary's vol 2 p 300.

¹⁰² Annals of Clyn p 39.

that he was the warden of the Friars Minor of Dublin.¹⁰³ A close proximity to Dublin would also account for notices concerning the archbishops of Dublin in this annal; the Kilkenny chroniclers are often more interested in the affairs of archbishops of Cashel.

Castledermot, by tradition, was said to have been founded by the king; a seventeenth century manuscript gives the founders as Edward 1 and Walter de Riddlesford.¹⁰⁴ Unfortunately, apart from the gift of 15 marks in 1247,¹⁰⁵ a not unusual gift by the king to Franciscan friaries, there is no other direct link between the king and the friary of Castledermot. This fact would not invalidate the choice of the king as a benefactor. If his father had co-operated in the foundation then Edward's claim may have been in his position as the king of England.¹⁰⁶ The de la Hide family have also been claimed as founders.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p335; Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 91.

¹⁰⁴ Gwynn and Hadcock Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland p 244.

¹⁰⁵ C.D.I 1171-1251 p 429.

¹⁰⁶ The king was a great benefactor of the order V.G. Green, Franciscans in English medieval life (New Jersey, 1939) p70 et. seq.

¹⁰⁷ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 14.

Of these suggested founders only the king is found mentioned in this manuscript.

ROYAL MATTERS

When the entries in the annal are examined it is immediately apparent that there is a great deal of information concerning the king's affairs, both domestic and foreign and also the king's family and friends. These items begin with the notice of the battle of Evesham in 1265,¹⁰⁸ the blockade of Kenilworth in 1266¹⁰⁹ and the death of Henry 111 in 1271.¹¹⁰ There is a report, in 1297, of discord between the king and Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk and lord of Carlow.¹¹¹ On these folios, Edward's Welsh wars are related as is his relationship with Scotland from the year 1287¹¹² to the entry in 1304 which states, Item Scotia plene est conquisita.¹¹³ The king's involvement in Gascony is covered,¹¹⁴ as are

¹⁰⁸ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 332.

¹⁰⁹ ibid p 332.

¹¹⁰ ibid p 332.

¹¹¹ ibid p 334; for Carlow see W.F. Nugent, 'Carlow in the middle ages', R.S.A.I.Jn 85 (1955) pp 62-76.

¹¹² Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 333.

¹¹³ ibid p 334.

¹¹⁴ Gascony was in danger of being lost, Lydon, The lordship of Ireland in the middle ages p 121.

his various visits to and from France. Flanders was not ignored by this annalist, from 1297 when Guy of Flanders went to war with Philip of France¹¹⁵ until the destruction of the army of the king of France in Flanders in 1302.¹¹⁶

The king's family are also well represented and includes such items as the entry in 1272 which records the death of Richard, king of the Germans and earl of Cornwall.¹¹⁷ In 1290 royal betrothals are noted, Desponsata est domina Iohanna filia Eadwardi regis Anglie domino G. comiti de Clare et domina Margareta soror sua Iohanni de Braban filio ducis Brabancie 7 idus Iuli [9 July].¹¹⁸ The date of the marriage of Margaret is only incorrect by one day.¹¹⁹ Naturally, the birth of the prince Edward,¹²⁰ the death of the king¹²¹ and the

¹¹⁵ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 334.

¹¹⁶ ibid p334

¹¹⁷ ibid p 332.

¹¹⁸ ibid p 333.

¹¹⁹ The date was 8 July, E.B. Fryde, D.E. Greenway, S. Porter, & I. Roy, Handbook of British Chronology (third edition London 1986) p 38. The Dublin annalist gives the date only as the month of July, Chartul. St Mary's vol 2 p 320.

¹²⁰ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 333.

¹²¹ ibid p 334.

coronation of his successor¹²² are recorded. The death of queen Eleanor is correctly recorded under the year 1290;¹²³ the Annals of St. Mary's records the death in 1291.¹²⁴ Only in this chronicle, Chronicle A, is to be found the information that she died near Lincoln.¹²⁵ The significance of these royal entries can be explained by the suggestion that the king was a founder of the friary. However there are more positive reasons for the presence of these entries. When the fief of Leinster was partitioned among the five daughters of the elder William Marshall in 1247, Maud, the daughter of the youngest sister Eva Marshall, was married to Roger de Mortimer and their share included the services of Walter de Riddlesford at Castledermot and Kilkea.¹²⁶ One of the co-heirs of the Riddlesford lands, Christina de Mariscis, had, in 1282, given a moiety to the king of her lands, including Castledermot and Kilkea, in

¹²² ibid p 334.

¹²³ ibid p 333. Queen Eleanor died on 28 November 1290, Elizabeth M. Hallam 'The Eleanor crosses and royal burial customs', in D. Parsons, ed. Eleanor of Castile 1290-1990 (Stamford 1991) p 9.

¹²⁴ Chartul. St. Mary's vol 2 p 320.

¹²⁵ Queen Eleanor died at Harby, near Lincoln, Elizabeth M. Hallam, 'The Eleanor crosses and royal burial customs', p 7.

¹²⁶ For barony of Kilkea see J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Knight's Fees in Kildare, Leix and Offaly' R.S.A.I.Jn 91 (1961) pp 170-71.

return for equivalent lands in England. This moiety appears to have been transferred to the Queen Eleanor. After the death of the queen the king wrote, in 1291, to William de Vesey instructing him to deliver to Christine de Mariscis the manor of Kilkea and the vill of Tristledermot [Castledermot] which had been leased to the queen.¹²⁷

MATTERS OVERSEAS

It must be stated that these annals contain, for their size, a considerable amount of information pertaining to matters overseas. For example, the war in 1285 between Edward I's friend Charles II, king of Sicily, and Peter of Aragon is mentioned¹²⁸ as is the death of Charles, king of Sicily, in 1285.¹²⁹ Some of the information in this annal is quite particular, for example, when, in 1286, the chronicler notes the death of Peter, king of Aragon, he states, obiit Petrus rex Arragonie in batellia per wlnus clipei cuiusdam armigeri.¹³⁰ Events in the Holy Land also figure frequently in this chronicle.

¹²⁷ C.D.I. 1285-1292 p 379, 407.

¹²⁸ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 333.

¹²⁹ ibid p 333.

¹³⁰ ibid p 333.

Edward's crusade to the Holy Land in 1269¹³¹ and the death of king Louis IX of France on his way to the Holy Land in 1270¹³² were also noted. Equally interesting is the report, in 1291, which reports, Soldanus cum magno exercitu venit de Babilonia apud Agoniam et obsedit usque ad 18 diem May et destruxit tunc ciuitatem primo.¹³³ There is interest in the king of France and his family in this annal; this scribe notes the scandal concerning the daughters in law of the French king with the notice in 1313, Regina Nauere propter adulterium condempnata est cum sorore et milites excoriati sunt et combusti,¹³⁴ Papal interest is evidenced by several references to pope Boniface VIII's problems with the French up to and including the circumstances which led to his death in 1303.¹³⁵ This annalist has evidenced an interest in the English royal family, the French royal family, the papacy, the emperor, the king of Sicily, Peter of Aragon and the Sultan.

How might this information have become available to the annalist? One explanation might lie in the

¹³¹ ibid p 332.

¹³² ibid p 332.

¹³³ ibid p 333.

¹³⁴ ibid p 335.

¹³⁵ ibid p 334.

geographical position of Castledermot itself, en route to the south and west of Ireland. The Justiciar was often in Castledermot: in 1295 wine was bought 'for the use of the chief justiciary and others of the kings council (remaining at Tristledermot [Castledermot] to quell the war)'.¹³⁶ An alternative explanation is the possibility that the friar responsible for the annal had, perhaps, previously been attached, as confessor, to a household close to royal circles.¹³⁷ An example of such a person is the Franciscan, Geoffrey of Aylsham, who had been confessor to Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester¹³⁸ and whom Edward III wished to be appointed as archbishop of Cashel.¹³⁹

There is another possible explanation for the overseas entries in this annal. In the early part of the annal, 1270, there an entry which states, Redierunt de Hibernia in Angliam dominus Iohannes de Vescy et Octo de Grandosono et Rogerus de Clifford.¹⁴⁰ All three men named were, together with Thomas de Clare,

¹³⁶ C.D.I.1293-1301 p 124.

¹³⁷ V.G. Green, Franciscans in English medieval life p 54 et. seq.

¹³⁸ ibid p 54-5.

¹³⁹ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 97-100.

¹⁴⁰ ibid p 332.

close friends of Edward 1.¹⁴¹ When the careers of all three men are examined it transpires that, perhaps only coincidentally, Otho de Grandison was present at most of the overseas events mentioned in these annals.¹⁴² Otho de Grandison was a Burgundian friend and counsellor of Edward 1 who had come to England in the 1250s,¹⁴³ had become one of Edwards knights¹⁴⁴ and had been granted lands in Ireland.¹⁴⁵ The annal records the death of Louis,^X king of France on crusade;¹⁴⁶ Otho was with Edward on Crusade in 1271,¹⁴⁷ and was named as one of Edwards' executors

¹⁴¹ For the relationship between these men and Edward 1 Michael Prestwich, Edward 1 (London, 1990) passim. F.M. Powick, The thirteenth century, 1206-1307 (Oxford, 1953) passim. For de Clare family see M. Altshule, A Baronial family in medieval England: the Clares, 1217-1314 (Baltimore, 1965)

¹⁴² For Otto de Grandison see Esther Rowland Clifford, A knight of great renown (Chicago, 1961) and C.L. Kingsford, 'Sir Otho de Grandison 1238?-1328', T.R.H.S. 3rd. ser., 3 (1909) pp 125-195.

¹⁴³ M. Prestwich, Edward 1 (London, 1990) p 69.

¹⁴⁴ 'He appears as one of Edwards' knights in 1268 and no doubt fought under him at Lewes and Evesham', C. L. Kingsford, 'Sir Otho de Grandison', p 128. The battle at Evesham is mentioned in 1264, Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 332.

¹⁴⁵ C.D.I.1250-1284 p 397; Kingsford, 'Sir Otho de Grandison', p 129-30; Orpen, Normans vol 3 p 266n2; 35 rept. D.K. p 48; 36 rept. D.K. p 25, 34; 38 rept. D.K. p 89

¹⁴⁶ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 332.

¹⁴⁷ Kingsford, 'Sir Otho de Grandison', p 128; M. Prestwich, Edward 1 p 83.

after an assassination attempt in 1272.¹⁴⁸ We are told that Edward was in Gascony in 1273-4,¹⁴⁹ as was Otho.¹⁵⁰ These annals are well informed about the Welsh campaigns in 1276 and 1277;¹⁵¹ Otho and John de Vescy had charge of operations in Anglesey.¹⁵² When the Welsh war was resumed in 1282,¹⁵³ Otho was once more appointed to command in Anglesey, and in 1284 was made Justiciar of North Wales.¹⁵⁴ Most significantly, he was in special charge for the building and care of Edward's castles¹⁵⁵ and he, together with John de Vescy, is mentioned as overseeing the construction of Builth.¹⁵⁶ The

¹⁴⁸ So also was Roger Clifford, Clifford, A knight of great renown (Chicago, 1961) p 30, 31.

¹⁴⁹ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 332.

¹⁵⁰ Kingsford, 'Sir Otho de Grandison' p 128.

¹⁵¹ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 333.

¹⁵² 'Otho's retinue lately sent from Ireland into Wales' C.D.I. 1285-1292 p 326; J.E. Morris, The Welsh wars of King Edward the First passim.; Kingsford, 'Sir Otho de Grandison', p 131.

¹⁵³ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 333.

¹⁵⁴ C.D.I. 1285-1292 p 736; Morris, The Welsh wars of King Edward the First, passim. Kingsford, 'Sir Otho de Grandison', p 132.

¹⁵⁵ Kingsford, 'Sir Otho de Grandison', p 133.

¹⁵⁶ Morris The Welsh wars of King Edward I p 148. For Otho de Grandison and castle building see A.J. Taylor 'Castle building in thirteenth century Wales and Savoy' Proceedings of the British Academy 63 (1977) p 269-270,

annalist records an entry for 1276 which states, castrum de Boelde construitur et quoddam castrum de Flynt et de Rochlan¹⁵⁷firmabantur. ¹⁵⁸ In 1285 Otho was sent to the pope possibly in connection with the Sicilian affair¹⁵⁹ and, in 1285, our annalist duly reports, Guerra inter Karolum regem Cecilie et Petrum regem Aragonie, Philippum regem Francie et dictum Petrum. Obiit Karolus rex Cecilie.¹⁶⁰ In 1286 there is, as previously stated, the report that, obiit Petrus rex Arragonie in batellia per wlnus clipei cuiusdam armigeri.¹⁶¹ In 1287 Edward went to Gascony and Aragon,¹⁶² and Otho de Grandison joined him there.¹⁶³ Otho was involved in the marriage negotiations of Edward's daughter Eleanor and Alfonso of Aragon;¹⁶⁴ a marriage that is not reported by this annalist although the marriages of

291. For Builth castle from 1277-1282 see J. Goronwy Edwards 'Edward 1's castle-building in Wales', Brit.Acad. Proc. 32 (1946) p 22-24.

¹⁵⁷ For the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan ibid p 32-37.

¹⁵⁸ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 333.

¹⁵⁹ Kingsford, 'Sir Otho de Grandison', p 133-4.

¹⁶⁰ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 333.

¹⁶¹ ibid p 333.

¹⁶² ibid p 333.

¹⁶³ Kingsford, 'Sir Otho de Grandison', p 134.

¹⁶⁴ ibid p 134.

two other daughters are reported.¹⁶⁵

A most interesting entry comes in 1291 with the report concerning the Sultan and his large army.¹⁶⁶ Otho de Grandisone was engaged in this enterprise, with his friends, the Templars, in 1291.¹⁶⁷ When war erupted again between France and England in 1293 Otho was probably still in the East.¹⁶⁸ He returned to England in 1296 and met Edward in Roxburgh in May 1296;¹⁶⁹ the scribe gives a comparatively full account of the king and affairs in Scotland in 1296.¹⁷⁰ When affairs in Flanders became important in 1297¹⁷¹ Otho was one of the persons sent to discuss a marriage between the daughter of Guy, count of Flanders and the king's son.¹⁷² In 1302, this

¹⁶⁵ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 333. For his daughters marriages see M. Prestwich, Edward 1 p 126-129.

¹⁶⁶ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 333.

¹⁶⁷ Kingsford, 'Sir Otho de Grandison' p 143 et. seq.

¹⁶⁸ Kingsford, 'Sir Otho de Grandison', p 150n6.

¹⁶⁹ ibid p 152.

¹⁷⁰ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 334. The Irish expedition to Scotland in 1296, could also have been the source of this information, see J.F. Lydon, 'An Irish Army in Scotland, 1296', Irish Sword 5 (1961-2), 184-90.

¹⁷¹ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 334.

¹⁷² Kingsford, 'Sir Otho de Grandison', p 153-4.

scribe notes the slaughter of the king of France's army in Flanders;¹⁷³ Otho was in France in 1302.¹⁷⁴ In 1303, this scribe reports the excommunication, by Pope Boniface VIII, of the French family and the placing of the kingdom under interdict; Otho was in France again in 1303.¹⁷⁵ Otho was in Carlisle in January 1307 and in June he planning to go overseas again on the king's business.¹⁷⁶ Edward 1 died on 7 July 1307.¹⁷⁷ After the death of the king, Otho left England in October and never returned.¹⁷⁸

Again it may well be mere coincidence, but the king of England is never again referred to in this section of the annal to 1316. Apart from the one entry in this annal there is very little connection between Otho de Grandison and Ireland.¹⁷⁹ In 1290, he settled his lands in Ireland, which included the

¹⁷³ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 334.

¹⁷⁴ Kingsford, 'Sir Otho de Grandison', p 155.

¹⁷⁵ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 334; Kingsford, 'Sir Otho de Grandison', p 155.

¹⁷⁶ ibid p 158.

¹⁷⁷ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 334.

¹⁷⁸ Kingsford, 'Sir Otho de Grandison', p 158.

¹⁷⁹ Chartul. St Mary's 1275, 1291; Orpen Normans vol 3 p 266.

towns of Tipperary and Clonmel on his nephew and brother.¹⁸⁰ He was a benefactor of the Franciscans and is credited with the foundation of the Franciscan friary of Clonmel in 1269.¹⁸¹ He also founded a Franciscan friary when he eventually returned to his home in Burgundy.¹⁸² The presence of Otho de Grandison on the occasion of the overseas events mentioned in these annals is one possible explanation for the considerable interest shown by this annalists in events outside Ireland.¹⁸³

ANGLO-IRISH NAMES

An analysis of the Anglo-Irish names found in this annal reveals a strong interest in the de Clare family which begins in 1274 with the marriage between (Juliana) the daughter of Maurice Fitz Maurice (of Offaly) and Thomas de Clare.¹⁸⁴ Thomas de Clare was

¹⁸⁰ C.D.I.1283-1292 p 339-40; Clifford, A knight of great renown (Chicago,1961) p 111. For a later Grandisone in possession of lands in Tipperary see Robin Frame English lordship in Ireland 1318-1361 p 59.

¹⁸¹ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 35-6.

¹⁸² Kingsford, 'Sir Otho de Grandison', p 159.

¹⁸³ C.L. Kingsford suggests that the chronicler of Lanercost may have received information from Otho de Grandison, Kingsford, 'Sir Otho de Grandison', p 144, 149.

¹⁸⁴ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 332. For the barony of Offaly see J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Knight's Fees in Kildare, Leix and

a younger brother of the earl of Gloucester and he was granted Thomond in 1276 by his friend Edward 1.¹⁸⁵ Affairs in Thomond are covered by this annalist and only this annalist when reporting the death of Thomas de Clare gives the date of his death, 4^{or} dies ante Nativitatem beati virginis.¹⁸⁶

Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, who was granted livery of his Irish lands in 1264, came to Ireland in 1293 and this event is duly noted,¹⁸⁷ as is his marriage to the daughter of the earl of Ulster in 1308¹⁸⁸ and his death in Scotland in 1313.¹⁸⁹

Richard de Clare's capture and imprisonment of William de Burgh is recorded,¹⁹⁰ as is the fact that took seizin of Kilkenny in 1316.¹⁹¹ His death, however, is recorded by a new hand, in 1318, with this panegyric, Interfectus est Richardus de Clare in crastino sanctorum martirum Gordiani et Epimachi in

Offaly', R.S.A.I.Jn 91 (1961) pp 178-9.

¹⁸⁵ Orpen, Normans vol 4 p 66.

¹⁸⁶ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 333.

¹⁸⁷ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 333.

¹⁸⁸ ibid p 334.

¹⁸⁹ ibid p 335.

¹⁹⁰ ibid p 335.

¹⁹¹ ibid p 335. This is the penultimate entry by this scribe see f 132.

Totomoniam vir magne prudencie et discrecionis fidelis
in omnibus operibus et catholicus multum, falsitatem
odiens, et diligens veritatem, pacem communem
affectans, nunquam proditoribus se immiscens.¹⁹²

The de Clare family figure largely in this chronicle.

The de Clare interest, in itself, does not suggest a Castledermot provenance. There is no obvious connection between the de Clare family and Castledermot as there is between the de Clare family and Kilkenny. Indeed entries concerning the de Clares, which might be expected to be entered in the annals of friar Clyn of Kilkenny, appear only in these annals. Despite this, there is no indication to suggest that the annal was written in Kilkenny, or indeed any friary further west. Names local to Kilkenny, which can be found in the Annals of Clyn and Chronicle Bii of this manuscript, are absent from this chronicle. The explanation for the interest in the de Clares may lie in the importance of the family. In the thirteenth and early fourteenth century the house of Clare was one of the greatest landholders in the British Isles. The de Clares were powerful English earls, great Marcher lords of Wales and latterly important Anglo-Irish lords. The fact that the de Clares were patrons of the Franciscans

¹⁹² ibid p 335.

might have influenced the scribe but, perhaps more importantly, he may have been influenced by the interest which must have been aroused by de Clare's attempt to subdue Thomond.¹⁹³ Additionally, the de Clares were involved with so many of the other Anglo-Irish families. These elements could, to a great extent, explain the entries concerning the de Clare family in these annals.

Apart from the de Clares, the Anglo-Irish families found represented in this annal agree, in the main, with the area already mentioned, that is between Offaly and the east coast of Ireland. Thomas de Clare had married Juliana, daughter of Maurice fitz Maurice and the Geraldines, both of Offaly and Desmond are found well represented in these annals; only this annal, when noting the death at sea in 1268 of Maurice fitz Gerald, III baron of Offaly, observes that he left an heir of only three and a half years.¹⁹⁴ Similarly only this annal notes that the death of Gerald fitz Maurice in 1286 occurred at Ross and moreover gives the date;¹⁹⁵ Ross was part of the

¹⁹³ For the Gaelic revival and the de Clares see Lydon, The lordship of Ireland in the middle ages p 164 et. seq.

¹⁹⁴ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 332.

¹⁹⁵ ibid p 333.

liberty of Carlow.¹⁹⁶ The de Burghs are mentioned only to announce the death of the earl of Ulster in 1271,¹⁹⁷ the expedition of Richard, earl of Ulster, to Scotland in 1303 together with the thirty three knights he had made in Dublin¹⁹⁸ and the marriage of the earl of Gloucester to the daughter of the earl of Ulster in 1274.¹⁹⁹ The only interest in the Butler family is the death of Theobald in 1285²⁰⁰ and the information that Edmund Butler made thirty one knights in Dublin in 1313.²⁰¹ The Annals of Clyn concern themselves primarily with the Butler family. There are no other entries concerning families to be found in the Kilkenny area and no mention of Agnes or William de Vescy.²⁰² The death of Peter de Birmingham in 1308²⁰³ is the only entry concerning

¹⁹⁶ W.F. Nugent, 'Carlow in the middle ages', p 64.

¹⁹⁷ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 332.

¹⁹⁸ ibid p 334.

¹⁹⁹ ibid p 332.

²⁰⁰ This is Theobald Butler IV with lands in Co. Carlow Knights' Fees p 80; for lands of Theobald Butler see 37th rept. D.K. p 35.

²⁰¹ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 335 .

²⁰² Agnes de Vescy was lady of Kildare from c. 1270 and the liberty was in the king's hand c. 1276, J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The medieval county of Kildare', I.H.S. 11 (1959) p 195.

²⁰³ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 334.

the de Birmingham family before 1316.

Many of the names found included in these annals can be associated, to a greater or lesser extent, with the area surrounding Castledermot. Roger de Clifford, who was with Otho de Grandison on his mission to Paris in 1272,²⁰⁴ is found mentioned more than once in this annal beginning with his capture, in 1280, by David, the brother of Llewelyn,²⁰⁵ and including a full report of his death in 1282, Disconfitura magna de Anglis ubi pons asisus fuit super naues ubi dominus Rogerus de Clifford cum multis nobilibus submersi sunt.²⁰⁶ The interest in de Clifford can only be accounted for by his friendship with Otho de Grandison with whom he shared the honour of being named as executor of Edward's will.²⁰⁷ Of interest here is the fact that the lands of Otho de Grandisone were leased to William de Clifford, bishop of Emly and former chaplain to the pope.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁴ Clifford, A knight of great renown p 48.

²⁰⁵ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 333.

²⁰⁶ ibid p 333. For an account of the accident see Morris, The Welsh wars of King Edward the First p 179-80.

²⁰⁷ Clifford, A knight of great renown p 31.

²⁰⁸ C.D.I.1285-1292 p 174-5, 279.

In 1278 an event occurred that obviously was of interest to this annalist who reported, Nobilissima tabula rotunda fuit apud Kenilworthe per dominum Rogerum de Mortuo Mari, incipiente in vigilia sancti Mathei et durante usque in crastinum beati Michaelis ubi leo ductus est aureus.²⁰⁹ Roger de Mortimer's marriage to the heiress of Meath is also recorded in 1308.²¹⁰ The Mortimers held four knights fees in Castledermot in 1282,²¹¹ and were lords of Dunam^ase from 1247.²¹²

The de Mortimers were involved with the Welsh wars and an interesting entry is the notice in 1287 which states, Item oritur discordiia inter barones Anglie et Reysmeredic.²¹³ Et castrum de Rothelan²¹⁴ capitur ubi occiditur dominus de Moncheneli [sic] et

²⁰⁹ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 333.

²¹⁰ ibid p 334.

²¹¹ Orpen, Normans vol 3 p 104.

²¹² J. Otway-Ruthven 'The medieval county of Kildare', p 185.

²¹³ For an account of the rebellion see Morris, The Welsh wars of King Edward the First p 204-6 .

²¹⁴ The scribe has erred here the castle should be Dryslwyn see A.J. Taylor, 'Who was "John Pennardd, leader of the men of Gwynedd"?' Eng. Hist. Rev. 91 (1976) p 87n3.

alii.²¹⁵ The people referred to are Rhys ap Maredudd²¹⁶ and William de Munchensy [Montchensy; de Monte Canesio].²¹⁷ The Montchensy family were related by marriage to the de Clare and Bigod families.²¹⁸ Warin de Monte Canesio had received lands in Tyberkath near Oboy in Co. Leix.²¹⁹

The less well documented names to be found in this annal are of significance as they are more likely to be an indication of the origin of the manuscript. One such entry is the obit in 1309 of a John de Boneuille.²²⁰ Here it is of interest to note that the Warin de Monte Casesi and John de Bonevill both had lands in Tyberkath.²²¹ If this date is correct then he cannot be the John de Bonevill to whom a writ

²¹⁵ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 333; for an account of the incident see Morris, The Welsh wars of King Edward the First p 213.

²¹⁶ He overpowered and kept captive Roger de Mortimer, Morris, The Welsh wars of King Edward the First p 214.

²¹⁷ For an account of this family see Knights Fees p86. For a corrected identification of William de Monte Caniso see A. J. Taylor, 'Who was "John Pennardd, leader of the men of Gwynedd"?', p 87n4.

²¹⁸ Morris The Welsh wars of Edward I Pedigree no. 2.

²¹⁹ Knights' Fees p 83.

²²⁰ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 335. For Bonevill see Knight's Fees p 86-8.

²²¹ Knights' fees p 83.

was sent to attend the parliament of Kilkenny in 1310, unless of course news of his death had not yet been received by the administration.²²² In 1300 a John de Boneville witnessed the grant of Gracecastle, co. Carlow and was married to the heiress of Naas. In 1307 the seneschal of Carlow was ordered to distrain him but he was in Scotland on the king's service. In 1308 he himself was seneschal of the liberties of Kildare and Carlow and in 1310 the king ordered Arnold le Poer (who was responsible for his death) to desist from besieging John de Boneville in his castle in co. Carlow.²²³ He also held lands in Old Ross, part of the Bigod honour of Carlow. It is interesting to note that Otho de Grandisone had a servant called Ralph de Bonevill.²²⁴ The death of a Henry Leynach in 1311 was clearly of sufficient local importance for the scribe to include it in his

²²² Statutes, Ordinances, and Acts of Parliament, King John to Henry V ed. H.F. Berry (Dublin, 1907) p 261.

²²³ Knights' Fees p 87.

²²⁴ See Clifford, A knight of great renown p 74n69, who has suggested that this is the same family name as Bonvillars. John de Bonvillars was a kinsman of Otho de Grandison who was engaged in 1283 in supervising Edwards castles in Wales and was constable of Harlech and died in 1287, see Taylor, 'Who was "John Pennardd, leader of the men of Gwynedd"?' p 79-97. E. St J. Brooks suggests that the Irish Bonevilles were perhaps a branch of the Welsh Bonevilles, Knights' Fees p 86n7.

annal.²²⁵ A Henry Leynach was a juror in an inquisition concerning one carucate of lands in Collan near Tristledermot [Castledermot].²²⁶

The additional years in this section, written in various hands, need to be analyzed separately. The original hand ceases after 12 September 1316. The next two items entered by a new hand concern Dublin, Ricardus comes Ultonie capitur a burgensibus Dublinie et in castro est detentus. and Item domus predicatorum Dublinie comburitur per burgenses eiusdem ville.²²⁷ These entries are followed, in the same hand, by news of the progress of Edward and Robert Bruce to and from Knockfergus [Carrickfergus], the arrival of Roger de Mortimer with a great army and the expulsion in the following year of the de Lacy's from Meath, Et sequenti anno omnes Lacys expulit de Midia,²²⁸ thus indicating that the scribe was writing after the event. This hand ceases after the notice concerning the death of Richard de Clare

²²⁵ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 335. If this date is correct he cannot be the Henry Leysagh named in an inquisition at Cloncurry in 1312 Ormond deeds 1172-1350 p 180; there is a place called Leynath in Cloncurry, Co Kildare, Red Book of Ormond p 29.

²²⁶ C.D.I. 1302-13 p 102-3.

²²⁷ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 335.

²²⁸ ibid p 335.

in 1318.²²⁹

The next hand enters the death of Edward Bruce and the news that the earl of Kildare was Justiciar of Ireland in 1321. Still on the same folio, a new hand enters, for 1321 also, the information that John de Birmingham was now Justiciar of Ireland and the barons of England were in dispute with the king. The same hand also enters a very curious news item in 1321, eodem anno peperit uxor Petri Poer filius [sic] baronis de Ymill filiam primogenitam suam in die purificacionis[2 February].²³⁰ The Peter le Poer mentioned is probably Peter le Poer, son and heir of the baron of Donoil, who according to the Annals of Clyn, was killed in 1328.²³¹ The barony of Ymill can possibly be identified as Omayl [Imail, Imaal] in the barony of Kilkea²³² but the de Riddlesfords not the le Poers were barons of Kilkea. The problem is solved, however, if the word filius is read as filia thus making the wife of Peter le Poer the daughter of the baron of Imaal. In 1296 a marriage was contemplated between Mariota de Riddlesford and Arnold

²²⁹ f 132r.

²³⁰ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 335.

²³¹ Annals of Clyn p 19.

²³² J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Knight's Fees in Kildare, Leix and Offaly', p 171.

le Poer or his brother John.²³³ That marriage did not take place but it is an indication that a marriage between the family of Philip de Riddlesford of the barony of Kilkea and the le Poers was contemplated. To find the birth of a daughter mentioned in brief annals is most unusual and this must surely reflect the area in which the entry was written or the relationship of the annalist to the person in question. An entry referring to a daughter of a de Riddle^sford giving birth to a daughter indicates that, after 1316, the annal remained in, or returned to, the same locality as before, Castledermot.

In 1322 the scribe notes the death of a John de la Rokele.²³⁴ The only evidence of a John de la Rokele in this period is a Richard, son and heir of John de la Rokele who held Balybothy, Co. Tipperary.²³⁵ Another new hand is responsible for the entry for 1322 which is principally concerned with the revolt of the barons and lists, apart from the main protagonist, the names of eighteen barons, headed by the younger Roger de Clifford, who were captured and

²³³ E. St J. Brooks, 'The de Ridelesfords' R.S.A.I. Jn 82 (1952) p 58.

²³⁴ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 336.

²³⁵ 43rd rept. D.K. p 20, 22, 24.

executed.²³⁶ This list is unusual, in Ireland, for its detail.

When the entries after 1316, in several hands, are considered some ideas can be postulated. The first two entries, which concern Dublin, may indicate where the manuscript moved to immediately after the sack of Castledermot. The entry concerning the wife of Peter le Poer in 1321 strongly suggests that the manuscript had returned to the Castledermot area. The later entry of 1353²³⁷ which relates matter concerning Thomas de Rokeby, who died in Kilkea castle,²³⁸ supports the suggestion that this roll of manuscript had returned to the original area, Castledermot.

This annal, more so than other Anglo-Irish annals of Franciscan provenance, shows an interest in the English royal family and events in Europe. The author may have gathered his information from news related by visitors who came to his friary. In Castledermot the only accommodation suitable to house the Justiciar and the king's council would probably

²³⁶ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 335-6.

²³⁷ f 133r and repeated, in the same hand, on f 127v.

²³⁸ J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Ireland in the 1350s: Sir Thomas de Rokeby and his successors', R.S.A.I.Jn 97 (1967) p

have been the Franciscan friary.²³⁹ An alternative explanation for the information in this annal is that the scribe had been for some time connected to a household close to royal circles, such as in the entourage of Otho de Grandison²⁴⁰ or the de Clares'; the Franciscans were frequently used on diplomatic missions.

CHRONICLE Bi²⁴¹ ANNO 202 -1264

AUTHORSHIP

Of the eighty years extant in this manuscript only five are entries which are additional to those found in the Annals of Multyfarnham.²⁴² There can be no doubt that this portion of the manuscript was copied directly from the Annals of Multyfarnham, and not from a common source, because the marginalia have been copied directly into the text. The words, tunc erat tres reges de Britonibus et tres de Saxonibus, are added to the text in the Annals of

²³⁹ For the use of friaries see above p 56-7.

²⁴⁰ Coincidentally, Otho was used by the pope as an emissary to the Emperor Henry VII, whose death by poison was reported by this scribe, Clifford A knight of great renown p 238-9.

²⁴¹ This chronicle is contained on the verso only of ff 133-137.

²⁴² Discussed below p 214-16.

Multyfarnham;²⁴³ in this chronicle this becomes Tunc erant tres reges in Britannia de Britonibus et tres de Saxonibus.²⁴⁴ Furthermore, an error in the Annals of Multyfarnham which gives the name of Strongbow to William the Conqueror²⁴⁵ is repeated in this manuscript, Willelmo Bastard siue Strangbowe.²⁴⁶

While it is not possible to determine with any degree of accuracy what portion of the annals is missing some estimation can be attempted using the Annals of Multyfarnham as a control copy. However, this must always be regarded as an unreliable guide in view of the possible variation in the length of individual entries. Nevertheless, it is important to attempt to ascertain the possible loss in this portion of the manuscript as it will also help to determine the loss suffered by the chronicle which is to be found on the recto of these folios, that is, Chronicle Bii.

Arguably, there must be some material missing prior to anno 202.²⁴⁷ The only possible entries missing

²⁴³ TCD MS 347 f 395r.

²⁴⁴ f 134v; Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 330.

²⁴⁵ TCD MS 347 f 396v .

²⁴⁶ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 330.

²⁴⁷ f 133v. It is clear from the folio that, at the very least, a few centimeters of parchment are missing from the top of the entry.

from Chronicle Bi are the years AD 45 to AD 183, as present in the Annals of Multyfarnham. As the entries from AD 202 to AD 432 covered two thirds of one folio, as extant, then it is evident that, even if all entries present in the Annals of Multyfarnham were entered, only the same amount of parchment, at maximum, can be lost. Even if the scribe did not wish to copy all the entries present in the Annals of Multyfarnham, he would surely have shown some interest in the early history of Christianity. At the very least, in view of the fact that he entered information about several early popes,²⁴⁸ one might conjecture that he would also have shown an interest in some of the early entries, present in the Annals of Multyfarnham, concerning previous popes. Even if this was not the case, it is difficult to believe that the scribe would have ignored the entry for the year 156, Lucius rex Brittannie christianus efficitur, sub papa Eleutherio.²⁴⁹

Robin Flower conjectured that a year had been cut away at the end of folio 133v and, from the remaining

²⁴⁸ The first extant entry, 202, concerns Pope Victor I. The years 316, 344, 404, and 418 also concern popes, Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 330.

²⁴⁹ Annals of Multyfarnham p 2.

trace of a date, suggested the year 449.²⁵⁰ However, using the Annals of Multyfarnham as a control, it is evident that only a minimal amount of loss can have been sustained here as there are only two possible entries that the copyist could have included.²⁵¹ This missing entry must, in fact, be the year 439 and not 449 and should therefore read, Beata Brigida nascitur.²⁵² The possible loss between the years 776 and 901 is also slight²⁵³ as is the loss between 1103 and 1108.²⁵⁴ Between the years 1108 and 1216, of the 95 years present in the Annals of Multyfarnham,²⁵⁵ the scribe only used 21 and these related events concerning new religious orders, Ireland and king John.²⁵⁶ Based on this

²⁵⁰ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 330.

²⁵¹ Possible entries are the years 437 and 439, see Annals of Multyfarnham p 3.

²⁵² Annals of Multyfarnham p 3.

²⁵³ Between 454 and 776 there were 18 possible entries for the scribe to copy but he only copied 8. Therefore one might infer that he did not appear to have an interest in French or Saxon affairs. If that was a viable interpretation then it can be suggested that he would probably have ignored most of the entries between 776 and 901.

²⁵⁴ There were only two years available for the scribe to include 1106 and 1107. In fact there is a faint trace on the manuscript of an entry which might be part of 1107, Due lune vise sunt in celo, f 134v.

²⁵⁵ Annals of Multyfarnham p 7-11.

²⁵⁶ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 331.

method of analysis any entry present in the Annals of Multyfarnham between 1216 and 1221 could be missing from Chronicle Bi.²⁵⁷ Similarly, between 1226 and 1231 there is a possibility of about four missing entries²⁵⁸ and between 1251 and 1254 again a small loss is possible.²⁵⁹ Between 1259 and 1263 there are two possible entries in the Annals of Multyfarnham that could have been copied by the scribe, 1261 and 1262.²⁶⁰ It is difficult to imagine that the scribe would entirely ignore the comparatively long entry for the year 1261²⁶¹, therefore some loss can be assumed here. The only item in the entry for 1262 which would have been of interest to this scribe was the notice of the death of the earl of Gloucester. The annal, as extant, ends with the year 1264,²⁶² using only the first entry present in the Annals of Multyfarnham for that year.²⁶³ Although Chronicle Bi ends, as extant, in 1264 it is clear, from the uncompleted sentence at

²⁵⁷ Annals of Multyfarnham p 12.

²⁵⁸ Annals of Mutyfarnham p 12.

²⁵⁹ ibid p 13.

²⁶⁰ ibid p 14.

²⁶¹ This long entry announces the deaths of John fitzThomas, his son Maurice, Walter de Riddlesford, Thomas de Recheford and the Justiciar, ibid p 14.

²⁶² f 136v.

²⁶³ Annals of Multyfarnham p 14.

the end of Chronicle Bii,²⁶⁴ that some material is missing. Surely the scribe would have wished to enter, at the very least, the item, also from 1264, concerning the war between the de Burghs and the Geraldines? How much loss was suffered after this date can only be open to conjecture.

As stated above, in addition to the entries to be found in the Annals of Multyfarnham, the scribe added five new years. Of these, three years concern the English royal family. The first such entry, in 1068, records not only that Matilda, wife of king William, gave birth to her son Henry in England but he, the scribe continues, non progenitum suum. Willelmus Rufus et Robertus nati sunt in Normannia antequam pater eorum Angliam subiugaret.²⁶⁵ The scribe also notes the birth and coronation of Henry 111.²⁶⁶ The two other years concern religious orders and record the beginning of the order of Templars in 1118²⁶⁷ and the death of the saint Antony, friar minor in 1231;²⁶⁸ Antony of Padua, who died in 1231, was

²⁶⁴ See below p 218.

²⁶⁵ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 331.

²⁶⁶ In 1207 and 1216, ibid p 331.

²⁶⁷ ibid p 331.

²⁶⁸ ibid p 331 .

canonized in 1232.²⁶⁹ These years are not the only new material present in this section of the manuscript.

In a few instances the scribe, after entering the information present in the Annals of Multyfarnham, added some new facts. Again, the interest in the English royal family is apparent in the notice concerning the birth of the king's brother in 1245²⁷⁰ and, equally, the Franciscan element is also sustained by the note, in 1226, which states that St. Francis was pater et dux fratrum minorum.²⁷¹ This scribe also notes, in 1257, that Maurice fitz Gerald died, in habitu fratrum minorum in Pentecoste.²⁷² The year 1248 has some significant new information which is preceded, for the first time in this section of the chronicle, by the word item, reformatur noua moneta que per tonsores nimis erat corrupta.²⁷³ The

²⁶⁹ D.H. Farmer, The Oxford dictionary of saints (Oxford, 1984) p 20-21.

²⁷⁰ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 332.

²⁷¹ ibid p 331.

²⁷² ibid p 332. Dying in the habit may imply confraternity see A.G. Little, 'Franciscan letters of fraternity', Bodleian library Record 5 (1954) p 18-19; D.W. Whitfield, D.W., 'Third Order of St. Francis in Medieval England' Franciscan Studies 13 (1953) pp 53-4.

²⁷³ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 332.

new money was minted in Dublin in 1251;²⁷⁴ this clearly suggests that the scribe was writing after 1251. The year 1248 is also significant because of the entry, Item guerra Maccanefy.²⁷⁵ This Maccanefy is in fact Donnchad, son of Anmchad son of Donnchad O Gillpatrick of Ossory.²⁷⁶ His death is recorded in brief annals written in the east of Ireland in the early fourteenth century, MCCXLIX. XVII kal. Septembris Mackanefyd occisus est.²⁷⁷ The same information can be found in the Liber Primus Kilkenniensis, Anno mccl Eodem anno occiditur Mackanfy.²⁷⁸ The Annals of Clyn has both entries under the year 1248, 1248 Incepit guerra Mackanfy, et 1250 occiditur idem.²⁷⁹ The final year to have additional information, 1249, has the notice that the church of Salisbury was dedicated.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁴ There was a major recoinage in England in 1249 and this was followed in Ireland where the Dublin mint opened in October 1251, M. Dolley, 'Coinage, to 1534: the sign of the times', in N.H.I. vol ii p 819.

²⁷⁵ ibid p 332.

²⁷⁶ I am indebted to Sean Duffy who identified this Irish name for me; see Ann.Con. p 91.

²⁷⁷ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 315.

²⁷⁸ Liber Primus Kilkenn., p 62.

²⁷⁹ Annals of Clyn p 8.

²⁸⁰ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 332. It is interesting to note that the Annals of St Mary's does not have this information.

These additional entries, over and above those to be found in the Annals of Multyfarnham, provide some information about the scribe. His interest in the English royal family and the friars minor suggest that he was an English or Anglo-Irish Franciscan friar. His additional information concerning money and the dedication of the church of Salisbury might indicate a familiarity with Dublin but his knowledge of Maccanefy should place him firmly in Ossory. The process by which the Annals of Multyfarnham came to Leinster can only be a matter of speculation. Obviously the simplest explanation lies in the presumption that friar Stephen de Exonia was transferred there at some stage of his career and took his annal with him to Leinster where it was then copied later, the recto of the roll was used for further annalistic entries which can be assigned, on internal evidence to Kilkenny.

CHRONICLE Bii²⁸¹ ANNO 1316-1332

AUTHORSHIP

As this chronicle is written on the reverse of Chronicle Bi the same amount of missing parchment can be assumed. As the chronicle stands, the entries begin with the year 1316 and end with 1332. It is possible to be certain that there is some loss at the

²⁸¹ f 133r to 137r.

beginning and end of this chronicle. The first entry begins with the words Item eodem anno, scilicet, anno domini 1316...²⁸² It is not usual to find the first entry in a year beginning with the word Item and where it is normally used by this scribe in the midst of the entries.²⁸³ Also, the words eodem anno suggest earlier entries, even if only for the year 1316.²⁸⁴ Using Chronicle Bi as a control, it is possible to suggest that the maximum parchment loss before 1316 could be two thirds of a folio, as extant. This amount of parchment contains the years 1316 to 1320 and using those years as an indication it would suggest that a maximum of four years could be missing before the incomplete entry for 1316.

Logically, the scribe, when beginning a chronicle on the other side of an already existing chronicle, would not repeat the year already present. At the very most he would try to enter the most important events between that date and the date at which he had intended to commence his chronicle. Perhaps it was

²⁸² Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 336.

²⁸³ For example see 1316, 1318, 1319, 1230, ibid p 336-7. It is interesting to note that the word Item is not used again after 1320; this might suggest that the scribe was using a different source prior to 1321.

²⁸⁴ The loss can only be minor as the size of the entries in Chronicle Bi are very brief.

the Bruce invasion that was the stimulus which inspired him to write? Unfortunately, there is no way of ascertaining at what year this chronicle began.

The last entry in the chronicle, 1332, ends with the information that William de Birmingham was hanged by the Justiciar, Anthony de Lacy. In the published transcript of this annal, the place is named as Dublin castle²⁸⁵ but, in the manuscript itself, there is a double slash before the last word castrum which in this manuscript signifies a full stop.²⁸⁶ Therefore, the word castle is the first word in a new sentence. This new sentence can be reconstructed by using the Annals of Clyn and the Annals of Ross; the missing entry is a report of the destruction of the castle of Bunratty in Thomond by the Irish.²⁸⁷

One can assume, because of the evidence from Chronicle Bi, that some parchment is missing throughout this manuscript. However, in this chronicle this does not necessarily mean that script is missing as it is the convention of the scribe to leave a blank space

²⁸⁵ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 340.

²⁸⁶ f 136r.

²⁸⁷ Annals of Clyn p 24; Annals of Ross p 44 .

between each year entered.²⁸⁸ The Annals of Clyn can also be used in an attempt to discover if any entries are missing within this chronicle. Between the years 1320 and 1321 although there is small loss²⁸⁹ there is probably no material missing. Between 1322 and 1323²⁹⁰ the loss may only be the space that should be present between those two years.²⁹¹ The same is probably true of the next break in the parchment between 1325 to 1326.²⁹² The space break usually left by the scribe is missing on the folios between 1328 and the beginning of 1329²⁹³ but, as can be determined from the Annals of Clyn, little else is missing.²⁹⁴ In the next break in the parchment, between 1329 on folio 137r and the continuation of 1329 on folio 136r, if there is an entry missing, it must come between the account of

²⁸⁸ f 133r, 134r, 135r.

²⁸⁹ This would correspond with the missing entry referring to the birth of St. Bridget in Chronicle Bi, see above p 211

²⁹⁰ The year 1323 is missing from Robin Flower's published edition, see appendix

²⁹¹ See f 134r; appendix IV p 402.

²⁹² f 134-5r.

²⁹³ Between f 135r and 137r; f 137 has to be read before f 136r.

²⁹⁴ The last entry of 1328 in this chronicle records the death of Arnold le Poer. This is also the last entry for 1328 in the Annals of Clyn p 20, therefore there can be no missing entry for 1328 and the year 1329 is clearly entered in this chronicle on f 137r.

the burning of Athysse and Tipperary²⁹⁵ and the report of the death of John Mc Carwil, archbishop of Cashel.²⁹⁶ Using Clyn's annals as a control, it is clear that there is only one possible entry that might be missing.²⁹⁷ What probably is missing from 1329 is the date of the archbishop's demise, which is given by Clyn.²⁹⁸ The next two breaks in the parchment occur where the spaces between the years should be and, as in each case, the last sentence ends before the end of the line it would appear that there is no script missing.²⁹⁹ There is some loss at the beginning and end of this chronicle but it appears that the loss to the middle of the manuscript is slight.

LOCATION

From the many references to Kilkenny and to families local to that area it is clear that this chronicle

²⁹⁵ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 339; f 137r.

²⁹⁶ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 339; f 136r.

²⁹⁷ The notice reporting the death of David Butler who was killed by the O'Nolans near Carlow, Annals of Clyn p 20. However, as the scribe was not primarily concerned with the Butlers this entry may never have been present.

²⁹⁸ Circa festum Sancti Petri ad Vincula, Annals of Clyn p 20.

²⁹⁹ f 136r.

was written in Kilkenny. There is an entry which states that a chapter was held at Kilkenny, in 1332,³⁰⁰ but that alone can not be taken as evidence of location as chapters at Louth, Clare, Waterford, Kildare, Ross and Cork are also noted. However, there are several other entries concerning Kilkenny. The first mention in the manuscript concerns an altar in the church of the friars minor which, we are informed, was erected in 1321 and consecrated on the 11 January 1323.³⁰¹ In 1332 the collapse, in Kilkenny, of the bell tower of St Canice's on the Friday 22 May is also reported.³⁰² The entries concerning the friary at Kilkenny, the Franciscan chapters, particularly the chapter of 1332,³⁰³ and the entry of 1328 which describes the election of the Franciscan anti-pope, Peter de Corbaro, suggest that the scribe was a Franciscan friar.

The entry of 1328 concerning the election of the Franciscan anti-pope, Peter de Corbaro is extremely

³⁰⁰ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 340.

³⁰¹ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 337.

³⁰² ibid p 340. This is the correct date according to Annals of Clyn p 24

³⁰³ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 340; this entry is not noted in the Annals of Clyn.

useful as it determines when the chronicle was written. The entry states,

Romani cum Lodowyco duce Bauarie qui se gessit pro imperatore creauerunt papam Rome viuento domino I. papa 22 apud Auenionem, sed postea ille sic creatus venit ad Auenionem postulans gratiam a domino I. et optinuit vite gratiam, sed continue tenuit eum in custodia. Istum vocabant antipapam qui primo fuit frater minor de nobiliarique sanguine Romano dictus frater Petrus de Coruario, sed dum se pro papa tenuit Nicholas quintus fuit appellatus.³⁰⁴

The background to this affair was the strife between Louis of Bavaria, the Holy Roman Emperor, (1328-47) and Pope John XXII³⁰⁵ who would not recognize his election or his claims over Italy.³⁰⁶ Louis responded by deposing the pope and in April 1328, the newly crowned Lewis of Bavaria took the Franciscan, Pietro da Corbara, from the convent in Rome in order to make him Pope Nicholas V in place of Pope John XXII.³⁰⁷ The importance of this entry lies in the fact that it determines that this entry must have been written after 1330 when the anti-pope Nicholas V submitted to pope John XXII.³⁰⁸ It might also be

³⁰⁴ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 338.

³⁰⁵ M.D. Lambert, 'The Franciscan crisis under John XXII', Franciscan Studies 32 (1972) pp 123-43.

³⁰⁶ G. Mollat, The Popes at Avignon, 1305-78, trans. J. Love (London, 1963) p 205 et. seq.

³⁰⁷ ibid p 213 et. seq.; Moorman History of the Franciscan Order p 319; Huber Documented History p 233, 256.

³⁰⁸ Mollat, The Popes at Avignon, 1305-78, p 218.

suggested that it was written^t before 1333, when Pietro da Corbara died.³⁰⁹ Considering the amount of information proffered in that entry, it would be illogical to omit notice of his death if it had occurred by the time the scribe was writing, but as the year 1333 is not present on the clearly incomplete extant manuscript we cannot know if he had entered the death in 1333, if 1333 was entered. This entry is given in, what is for this annal, considerable detail. The inference to be drawn from this, and other Franciscan entries, is that this chronicle was written, after 1330 and possibly before 1333, by a Franciscan friar living in the friary at Kilkenny.

RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ANNALS OF CLYN

When this chronicle is examined a very close similarity to the Annals of Clyn and even to the Annals of Ross becomes immediately apparent. Initially, therefore, only the entries which are exclusive to this annal will be considered here. The first entries to be considered occur in 1316 when the annalist relates that Richard de Burgh was captured by the citizens of Dublin and the Dominican friary

³⁰⁹ ibid p 212.

was burnt by the same citizens.³¹⁰ This information is also found in Chronicle A where it is written by one of the many hands that continued after 1316.³¹¹ Although the information is the same the words used are not identical; Chronicle A relates that the earl of Ulster was captured by the burgensibus and detained in the castle³¹² while this chronicle states that the earl was captured by the ciuibus and adds that incident took place outside St. Mary's abbey;³¹³ there is no mention of his detention in the castle. The next entry present in this annal, but not in Clyn, strictly speaking lies outside this chronicle as it is written in a different hand, and describes how the Welsh killed the Rupenses in Ossory in 1320.³¹⁴ The last two entries exclusive to this chronicle are, the entry in 1328 concerns Franciscan anti-pope³¹⁵ and the entry describing the chapter at Kilkenny in 1332.³¹⁶

³¹⁰ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 336.

³¹¹ f 132r.

³¹² Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 335.

³¹³ ibid p 336.

³¹⁴ f 133r. According to Robin Flower, this is still in a fourteenth century hand, Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 337.

³¹⁵ ibid p 336.

³¹⁶ ibid p 340.

Apart from the entries noted, all the entries present in this annal are also present in the Annals of Clyn. Clearly, the question that must arise is what relationship this annal bears to the annals of friar John Clyn of Kilkenny. The affinity between this manuscript and the annals of Clyn can be explained by four possibilities; one, Clyn was the author of both;³¹⁷ two, Clyn used this manuscript as a source for his extended annals; three, this scribe copied Clyn's annals; four, both used another chronicle, no longer extant, as their independent source.

The entry concerning the election of the Franciscan anti-pope in 1328 is central to all these possibilities. If these annals were an early working of Clyn's annals then an answer would need to be found to explain why Clyn entered a comparatively long entry concerning the election of the anti-pope in his Kilkenny chronicle and chose only to begin the opening sentence of that entry in his later chronicle. Furthermore, the partial sentence is entered under a different and incorrect date, 1327, in the Annals of Clyn. By a fortunate chance, we can

³¹⁷ Robin Flower stated, 'We certainly get the impression that for the years 1316-1332 these annals are an early stage of the work known as Clyn's'. Robin Flower was, however, worried about the entry of 1328 concerning the election of the anti-pope, Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 324.

be certain of this fact. The seventeenth century transcriber of Clyn's annals wrote the opening words of the entry, Romani, cum Lodowyco duce Bavarie in Imperatorem electum,³¹⁸ then left a gap of about four lines and in the margin wrote, 'Original hath a blank'.³¹⁹ If, as Robin Flower considered, this Kilkenny chronicle was written by Clyn, as an early draft of his annal, then it is not logical to consider that he would have ignored this entry after he had deliberately entered it in such full detail before.

The same argument can apply to the entry which relates the happenings at the chapter at Kilkenny in 1332, post capitulum absolutus est frater I. Radulfi ab officio ministerii per fratrem I. Fraunceys iuniorem custodem Bristolii vicarium ministri generalis.³²⁰ It is illogical to suppose that Clyn would enter this in his Kilkenny chronicle and then omit it altogether in the later annals. The evidence therefore seems to suggest that this is not an early edition of Clyn's annals. Furthermore, Clyn, in his

³¹⁸ Annals of Clyn p 19.

³¹⁹ TCD MS 574 p 379; Bodl. MS Laud Misc 614 has the same entry but ends with a colon and no marginal note p56; BL MS Add 4789 uses the term deest aliquid f85v; see appendix XI p 436.

³²⁰ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 340.

annal, adds information, for example dates and names³²¹, that could not easily be remembered in later years.³²²

The next question to be considered is whether Clyn used these annals as one of his sources. To a certain degree the same arguments as before apply again. In the case of the Franciscan anti-pope it might be argued that Clyn might have been a fervent supporter of the conventual Franciscans and wished to ignore an episode in Franciscan history that, initially at least, had the support of the Spiritual Franciscans.³²³ Clyn's entry concerning Cola di Rienzo, who was supported by the Spirituels, would appear to deny this assumption.³²⁴ It is difficult to find a reason why, if the entry concerning the chapter at Kilkenny was available, Clyn would ignore it. Furthermore, if the entry concerning the earl of Ulster was available to Clyn he would surely have included it in his compilation. While Clyn may not have been interested in Dublin or its burgesses he

³²¹ For example, under the year 1318 Clyn can add the names of the knights killed with Richard de Clare, Annals of Clyn p 13.

³²² However, this information is often present in the Annals of Ross.

³²³ Mollat, The Popes at Avignon, 1305-78, p 16-17.

³²⁴ ibid p 149 .

was interested in Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster and it is difficult to imagine that he would have ignored this entry.

Apart from the above issues, there is very strong evidence to support the theory that the annalist, friar John Clyn, was unaware of this 'Kilkenny' chronicle, Chronicle Bii. The evidence for this statement lies in the fact that he was clearly unaware of Chronicle Bi. There are, it is true, some entries common to both the Annals of Clyn and Chronicle Bi but those entries are concerned with very well known and documented events.³²⁵ What is significant is the fact that important entries, present in Chronicle Bi, do not appear in Clyn's annals. For example, Clyn does not have the entry recounting the three king of the Britons and the three kings of the Saxons.³²⁶ The entries in Chronicle Bi concerning Lanfranc in 1069³²⁷, Matilda

³²⁵ Even when Clyn has the same information as Chronicle Bi, he frequently gives a different date, for example, Clyn places St Augustines arrival in England as the year 595 Annals of Clyn p 4; Chronicle Bi gives the year as 597. Clyn places the death of St. Benedict as the year 500, Annals of Clyn p 4; Chronicle Bi places it as 509. There are many examples of such discrepancies.

³²⁶ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 330.

³²⁷ ibid p 331.

in 1068³²⁸, the death of William I in 1087³²⁹ and the burning of Waterford by the Dubliners in 1087³³⁰ are all absent from Clyn's annals. Additionally, there is a gap in Clyn's annals from 1003 to 1133,³³¹ but not in Chronicle Bi.³³² As friar John Clyn was compiling an annal from the beginning of the world, it is difficult to believe that he would have ignored the comparative wealth of information available to him in Chronicle Bi. On balance therefore, it appears that this annal, Chronicle Bii, is neither an early rendition of Clyn's annals nor was Clyn copying from it as it is unlikely that Clyn had knowledge of this manuscript.

The third possible explanation for the similarity of entries in these annals is that the Kilkenny scribe used the Annals of Clyn as his source. This scribe wrote his annal after 1330 and possibly before 1333. If as seems possible, Clyn only began his chronicle in 1333³³³ then it could not have been available for

³²⁸ ibid p 331.

³²⁹ ibid p 331.

³³⁰ ibid p 331.

³³¹ Apart, that is, from three entries; 1066 1087 and 1106 Annals of Clyn p 5.

³³² See Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 331.

³³³ See below p 782 *et seq.*

the use of this scribe. Once again the answer to the problem may lie in the entry concerning the anti-pope, Nicholas V. If the Kilkenny scribe used the Annals of Clyn as his source, where did he get that information concerning Nicholas V; Clyn only entered part of the first sentence?

An examination of the differences between the Annals of Clyn and this chronicle is important as an aid to the understanding of the relationship between the two annals. Where the two annals have similar entries, Clyn's annals provide more information, but that of course would not preclude the possibility of the Annals of Clyn being the source for this chronicle. If the scribe was using the Annals of Clyn as a source then the question that must be asked is, what information, present in Clyn, should not have been omitted by a scribe using Clyn's annals as a source. The answer to this question would of course be at best problematical and consequently to state, on that evidence alone, that the Kilkenny scribe was, or was not, using Clyn as a source is dangerous. Clyn, in his annal, uses no Irish word but, both this scribe and the author of the Annals of Ross, give an Irish name to a disease of animals in 1324.³³⁴ Perhaps

³³⁴ The Kilkenny scribe notes that the disease was called Maldouny by the Irish, Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 337; The

also some significance might be attached to the use of the word et cetera several times by the Kilkenny scribe. For example, there is a report, in 1325, concerning the general chapter of the Franciscans which took place at Lyons, where the new custody of Cork was formed. The Kilkenny scribe finished his account with the word et cetera;³³⁵ Clyn has a fuller account.³³⁶ The same pattern is followed for the next entry which begins to describe a storm which threw down campaniles but then enters the word et cetera;³³⁷ again, Clyn has the full description.³³⁸ The word et cetera occurs, yet again, in the following year with the report of the execution of the younger Hugh Despenser³³⁹ and, once again, Clyn has a full report.³⁴⁰

One explanation for the use of the word et cetera is that Clyn, writing the Kilkenny chronicle as an early

Annals of Ross the Irish name as maldow, Annals of Ross p 43.

³³⁵ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 338.

³³⁶ Annals of Clyn p 17.

³³⁷ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 338.

³³⁸ Annals of Clyn p 17.

³³⁹ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 338.

³⁴⁰ Annals of Clyn p 18.

form of his later annal, believed that he could rely on his memory to fill in the details.³⁴¹ This seems highly unlikely, especially in view of previous evidence to the contrary. Another possibility, which must be explored, is that the Kilkenny scribe used the Annals of Clyn as his source and used the word etcetera to shorten his entry. It is impossible to state categorically that the Kilkenny scribe was not using Clyn as a source but the extended entry concerning the anti-pope Nicholas V and the probability that Clyn began writing his annal in 1333 would deny this theory. If all the three above theories are not viable then the final explanation for the similarity of entries is that Clyn, the Kilkenny scribe and the Ross scribe were all using another chronicle from the Kilkenny area as their source. For example, the summer preceeding the year 1320 is the date which Clyn assigns to an expedition to the Holy Land, Item in estate precedente.³⁴² The Kilkenny scribe gives the date as 1319.³⁴³ Both

³⁴¹ Clyn has the additional information, in 1318, that Gilbert de Rupe was killed by the burgesses of Ross, Annals of Clyn p 14; he adds the dates in 1324 when he reports the death of the earl of Pembroke, ibid p 16, and the date, Sunday 8 January, for the death of David, prior of Inistoke ibid p 17.

³⁴² Annals of Clyn p 14.

³⁴³ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 337.

annalists are in fact incorrect.³⁴⁴

CONCLUSION - CHRONICLE A, CHRONICLE Bi, CHRONICLE Bii

The manuscript contained on folios 127 to 137, in BL. MS. Vespasian B XI, is complex and deserving of special attention. These folios were originally in roll form. It follows, therefore, that the annals contained on these folios need to be reconstructed and examined in the form of a roll. When this is done, the difference in folio colour is explained and the theory of two separate annals becomes viable. Chronicle A is contained on what must have been the inner, and therefore lighter coloured, roll and Chronicle Bi and Chronicle Bii on the outer and darker roll. Chronicle A can be considered as a separate chronicle because it has its own format and uses decorated capitals. It also contains entries not found elsewhere and is particular in its historical interest. It should not be considered as a continuation of Chronicle Bi which, in its incomplete state, ends with the year 1264; Chronicle

³⁴⁴ The Annals of Ross gives the year as 1318, Annals of Ross p 42. The Shepherds' crusade took place in 1252, S. Runciman, A History of the Crusades volume 3 p 279. J. Riley-Smith, The Crusades: a short history (London, 1990) p 172. This crusade must refer to 1309 when a 'large numbers of urban and rural poor in England and Europe were taking the cross', ibid p 225. If this is the case then it is possibly a scribal error, XIX instead of IX.

A begins with the same year. Equally, Chronicle A should not be considered as the beginning of Chronicle Bii because both chronicles include the years 1316 to 1322. Apart from these considerations, the fact that a late entry, covering the year 1351, was initially entered on the end of the first roll³⁴⁵ and completed on the back of that roll³⁴⁵ is an indication that the roll was separate in 1351. The entry for 1351 is written in a later hand than the entries on Chronicle Bii. These rolls were collected together at some unknown time. They appear to have been in the library of George Carew before they came into the possession of Cotton. The rolls may have been loose as late as 1875.

³⁴⁵ f 133r.

³⁴⁵ Not on the back of f113r but on f 127v

CHAPTER V

THE ANNALS OF CLYN¹

THE FOUR MAIN TRANSCRIPTS

The fourteenth century annals of Ireland, attributed to friar John Clyn, exist only in seventeenth century transcripts. There is no extant medieval copy of these annals. When the original document does not exist it is essential to scrutinise the transcripts meticulously in order to arrive at the closest version of the original manuscript. There are four seventeenth century copies of the annals of Clyn; Trinity College, Dublin, MS 574² -hereafter referred to as Trinity; British Library, Additional MS. 4789 -hereafter referred to as Add.; Bodleian library, Oxford, Rawlinson MS B496 -hereafter referred to as Rawl. and Laud Misc.614 -hereafter referred to as Laud.

Transcript Trinity, in Trinity College, Dublin, was

¹ The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn and Thady Dowling together with the Annals of Ross. ed. Richard Butler. (Ir. Arch. Soc., Dublin, 1849). This published edition of the Annals of Clyn was taken from pages 369-405 of a manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin, formerly known as E.3.20 and now catalogued as MS. 574.

² T.K. Abbot, Catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. (Dublin, 1900), p 92.

once the property of James Ussher.³ The volume has a modern pagination from 1 to 703, with the section concerning Clyn covering pages 369-443 inclusive.⁴ This section contains one full transcript of the annals,⁵ an opening page of the annal⁶ and extracts from the annals.⁷ The full transcript of the annals of Clyn is not only written in two separate and quite distinct hands⁸ but also has a corresponding internal pagination.⁹ The first hand covers the annal to the year 1332¹⁰ inclusive and the page is arranged with an unruled left margin and the script extending to the edge of the right hand margin; fortunately there is virtually no loss to binding. There is a title, in English, on the top left hand side of the first page of the transcript which states, 'Out of the later end

³ TCD MS 574 pp 409-412 are in Ussher's own hand.

⁴ The Annals of Ross are contained on pages 410-12.

⁵ TCD MS 574 p 369-403. henceforth page references will be to TCD MS 574, unless otherwise stated.

⁶ p 409; this is in Ussher's hand.

⁷ p 413-443.

⁸ The first hand is present in the annals covering pages 369-382, that is the beginning of the annal to the year 1332 inclusive. The second hand is present in the annals on page 383 to 405, that is from the year 1333 to the end.

⁹ p 383-407, written by the second hand, are also foliated as 100 to 1012. Evidently the scribe did not understand how the arabic numbers continued after 100.

¹⁰ p 369-382.

of the book called liber communitatis fratrum minorum Kilkennie. On the top right hand side of the same page there is a smudged note in another hand [?] which states, Hi sunt annales fratris Johannis Clyny vide fol. 109 b.1 ad finum A.D. 1347.¹¹ The quality of the first hand is consistent, there are few errors and it does not have the appearance of a 'rough copy'. This first hand ends, with the year 1332, at the foot of the page with the catchword for the next page.¹²

The second hand begins with a new page¹³ and the year 1333 and now the page is carefully ruled and divided with the script confined to the resultant oblong area.¹⁴ This section of the annals begins with a title Cathologus sive cronico¹⁵ and then the year 1333 follows. Again, the work is carefully and neatly produced. The Annals of Clyny end with the year 1349 and the words videtur quod author hic obiit.¹⁶ However, the second hand continues on the next page

¹¹ p 369.

¹² p 382.

¹³ p 383. The internal foliation begins here, in different ink, as folio 100.

¹⁴ This same method used intermittently throughout the volume.

¹⁵ p 383; according to Trinity and Add., this is the incipit of the chronicle. It is also the main title used by Laud and Rawl..

¹⁶ p 402.

entering the years 1375, 1349, 1362, and 1405. These entries are preceded by a marginal note, alia manu.¹⁷ The second hand continues, yet again, with a list of Franciscan custodies in England and Ireland,¹⁸ a note about the cantreds in Ireland¹⁹ and two pages containing a list of episcopal seats in England, Scotland and Ireland and the internal foliation ceases.²⁰ Curiously, the final page in this section is again written in the first hand. This page has two titles. On the top left hand side of the page is written, Ex libro communitatis fratrum minorem Kilkenny fol 155 and, in larger letters, the title Episcopi Hibernie.²¹ Fortunately, the first hand always placed a catchword at the foot of the page and, despite the problem of two separate hands, the presence of the catchword between the years 1332 and 1333 indicates that no material is missing.²² The fact that the final page is again written in the first hand suggests that it can be considered as a single unit.

Following the list of bishops is the section written

¹⁷ p 403.

¹⁸ p 404-5.

¹⁹ p 405.

²⁰ p 406-7, internal foliation is 1002.

²¹ p 408. APPENDIX J p 410

²² p 382.

in James Ussher's hand.²³ Initially, Ussher began to copy the Annals of Clyn using the title, Ex chronicis Johannis Clynn fratrum ordinum minorum in conventu Kilkennie scripta anno 1349.²⁴ He then began to collate it with annals from a source which he identified as the liber Rossensis. When Ussher had completed the first page of his copy he evidently changed his mind about copying Clyn's annals and continued on the back of the page with the annals from the book of Ross which he titled ex libro Rossensi;²⁵ he did not return to the Annals of Clyn.

Following the section in Ussher's own hand are several pages of extracts from the Annals of Clyn written in a difficult and rough hand.²⁶ These extracts are of particular interest because of the title and concluding comment. The title is, Liber communitatis fratrum minorum Kilkenniensis in custo[] Richardi Shee²⁷ militis et cronic. per scripto per Johannis Clyn

²³ p 409-12 .

²⁴ p 409, APPENDIX V p 411

²⁵ p 410.

²⁶ p 413-443. This manuscript again has its own internal foliation, f 1-15.

²⁷ p 413. For Sir Richard Shee see 57th Rept. D.K. appendix III (1936) p 469-479.

gardiannum fratrum ante christus incarnatione.²⁸ The extracts begin with the year 432. At the conclusion of the annal the scribe appended the following important note, finis collectanus Johannis Clyn gardianni fratrum minorum Kilkennie;²⁹ this is the only reference in any manuscript which suggests that Clyn may have been the guardian of Kilkenny friary.

The transcript in the British Library, Add., is contained in a volume which was once the property of Sir James Ware.³⁰ The Annals of Clyn are contained on folios 75-100 inclusive.³¹ There is a note by Sir James Ware³² on the first folio on the left hand side which states, 'Out of the later end of the booke called liber communitatis fratrum minorum Kilkennie', and on the right hand side Annales Jo: Clinni.³³ This manuscript follows the same pattern of the Dublin manuscript by inserting the same new title, Catalogus

²⁸ There is also a note referring the reader to Stanihurst f 39; appendix V p 412.

²⁹ p 443; appendix V p 413.

³⁰ Catalogue of Additions to manuscripts 1756-1782: Add Mss 4101-5017 (London 1977) p viii. There is a list of contents, BL MS Add. 4789 f 2-4.

³¹ ibid f 90v and 91 are blank.

³² According to Robin Flower, the note is in Ware's hand, Flower, R., 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 324. The note and the annals are very similar in hand.

³³ BL MS Add 4789 f 75; appendix VI p 416.

sive cronica, at the year 1333.³⁴ This transcript is written in the same hand throughout and has the appearance of a rough copy with errors corrected and omissions included between lines and the pages are unruled.

Transcript Rawl. in the Bodleian library, Oxford was also once part of Ware's collection,³⁵ and is written in a close legal hand, the same from beginning to end, with some margin notes in a different hand.³⁶ The title is, Incipit catalogus sive chronica and, in different ink, Annales Jo. Clinni.³⁷ The script has corrected errors and the page is ruled, with the handwriting contained within the resultant oblong area.

The second transcript in the Bodleian, Laud, has as its title, Incipit catalogus sive cronologia and underneath in another hand is written, fratris Johannis Clinne.³⁸ At the end of the annal there is a note 'Here endeth

³⁴ BL MS Add 4789 f 88v. appendix U1 p418.

³⁵ G. Macray Cat. Bod. lib. Oxford Rawlinson manuscripts (Oxford 1862) p 714-5. Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 324.

³⁶ According to R. Butler, this copy was examined in 1849 by a member of Trinity College, Oxford, Annals of Clyn p xxix.

³⁷ Rawl f 44a.

³⁸ Bodl. MS Laud Misc 614 p 37b.

the annals of friar Clynne'.³⁹ This is a very neat copy with very few errors and the page is arranged in the same manner as Rawl.⁴⁰

When these four seventeenth century transcripts are examined it quickly becomes apparent that they fall into two groups; the first, Trinity and Add.; the second, Rawl. and Laud. Both manuscripts in the first group have the same opening title⁴¹ plus a secondary title at the beginning of the year 1333.⁴² Similarly, in the second group, Rawl. and Laud., both have the same opening title⁴³ and no secondary title at the year 1333.⁴⁴ When the marginalia are also scrutinized the same division into two groups becomes apparent. The first group, Trinity and Add., uses many marginal notes to indicate the state of the original manuscript.⁴⁵ The second group, Rawl. and Laud., uses

³⁹ ibid p 77.

⁴⁰ See appendix VI p 424.

⁴¹ 'Out of the later end of his book called the liber communitatis fratrum minorem Kilkennie'. Add. f 75r, appendix VI p 416; Trinity p 369, appendix V p 406.

⁴² Trinity p 383; Add. f 88v.

⁴³ 'Incipit catalogus sive chronicon'. Rawl. 74, Laud 37b.

⁴⁴ Furthermore Add. and Trinity use Arabic numerals for the date: Rawl. and Laud use Roman numerals. For comparisons of transcripts see appendix X.

⁴⁵ See appendix XI.

very few marginal notes concerning the original manuscript.⁴⁶ From an analysis of the four documents it is possible to attempt to determine the relationship between the individual transcripts.

When the two manuscripts in the first group are examined it is possible to suggest that neither transcript was copied from the other.⁴⁷ It is unlikely that Add. copied from Trinity, principally because of the use of the phrases, passus est dominus, in the year 33, March instead of May in the year 20, and Yoaellia instead of Italy in 1279.⁴⁸ Equally, it is highly unlikely that Trinity copied from Add. for the same reasons.

In the second group it is possible to surmise that the Laud transcript copied from the Rawl. manuscript⁴⁹ and rationalised the text. For example, for the year 1329, Rawl. copied in a sentence, which according to Add. and Trinity, was covered by the error notice, va-cat,⁵⁰

⁴⁶ See appendix XI p 438.

⁴⁷ See appendix XI p 436-7.

⁴⁸ Some other discrepancies could possibly be attributed to scribal error, for example 17 Kal Jan is incorrect for St. Stephen's day but 7 Kal Jan is correct.

⁴⁹ See appendix XI p 438

⁵⁰ Add. 86v Trinity p 380.

Rawl. then crossed out the faulty sentence.⁵¹ When Laud came to that sentence it omitted it altogether. (Clearly, because of this, it was thus impossible for any of the other three to have copied from the Laud manuscript.) For the year 1327 Rawl. displayed an awareness of the gap left in the original manuscript⁵² but the Laud manuscript left no gap or any indication of the problem with the original manuscript.⁵³

From the evidence of the comparisons, it is also clear that Rawl. must be considered separately from the first group⁵⁴. Rawl. uses additional words not found in Trinity and Add., for example, the additional thirty words used to describe the weather in 1330.⁵⁵ Also, this manuscript has the correct placename, Acquitain, in 1254,⁵⁶ and the words, cantiton traditur, in 1309.⁵⁷ The separate character of Rawl. is also

⁵¹ Rawl. f 57v.

⁵² Rawl. f 56r; the scribe noted the gap thus, ***. Appendix VII
P427

⁵³ Also, Laud does not clearly indicate that the marginal note Dalkey, in 1349, was in fact a marginal note, f 74.

⁵⁴ See Appendix X

⁵⁵ For these words see Annals of Clyn p 22 where they in Italics.

⁵⁶ Rawl f 48.

⁵⁷ Rawl f 50.

evident from an examination of the marginal notes.⁵⁸ However, the problems surrounding Rawl. may be answered by the suggestion that the additional material in the transcript may be the work of the transcriber.

In order to evaluate the legitimacy of a transcript it is important to attempt to determine whether or not the scribe had the original document before him. In this context the marginal notes which refer to the text are of considerable importance. Manuscripts Add. and Trinity, have fairly extensive marginal notes which refer to the original manuscript. While many of the notes in the two transcripts are identical, there are a sufficient number of dissimilar marginal notes to suggest that each scribe made his copy independently from the original manuscript.⁵⁹

The use of folio numbers in the transcript of Add. suggests that the scribe had access to the original material.⁶⁰ The accuracy of the folio numbers is confirmed by a seventeenth century manuscript, Gilbert MS 105.⁶¹ From the amount of marginal notes referring

⁵⁸ See appendix.X\

⁵⁹ See appendix X\

⁶⁰ Add f 75r.

⁶¹ For a full discussion of this manuscript see below p 248-9

to the original manuscript present in Trinity⁶² it is possible to assume that this scribe also had access to the original document. The same evidence to suggest that the scribe had access to the original material is not present in relation to Rawl.. It does not appear, on balance, that Rawl. copied from either Trinity or Add.⁶³ but, as transcript Rawl. contains neither sufficient marginal notes referring to the original manuscript nor folio numbers it cannot be claimed that it copied from the original manuscript. In spite of this assumption, the problem of the additional material concerning the weather in 1330 still remains to be solved.⁶⁴ If it can be accepted that Add. did not copy from Trinity, then it is highly improbable that those extra words were present in the original Clyn manuscript. Resulting from the study of the transcripts, the judgement must be that greater reliance can be placed on the transcripts of the Annals of Clyn in TCD. MS. 574 and BL.ADD. 4789.

MINOR TRANSCRIPTS AND EXTRACTS

Apart from the four complete seventeenth century transcripts referred to above, there are several other manuscripts which contain either extracts from, or

⁶² See appendix x p 436-7

⁶³ See appendix X

⁶⁴ See above p 244.

references to, the Annals of Clyn. One such manuscript was the property of Sir William Betham⁶⁵ in 1849.⁶⁶ After his death, in 1853, his vast library and his manuscripts were sold by Sotheby's in two auctions in 1854 and 1860.⁶⁷ An account of these sales mentions a Lodge memoranda book, which is of interest because of item 13, listed as, 'An obituary, and chronicle, or annals from A.D.423 to 1346'.⁶⁸ Item 13 is in fact extracts from the annals of Clyn.⁶⁹

Among the collection of manuscripts belonging to Walter Harris (c.1686-1761)⁷⁰ are some pages in a seventeenth century hand, entitled, 'Notes out of ye Annals of

⁶⁵ Sir William Betham, Ulster king of Arms, was attached to the Office of Arms, which office became the Genealogical Office in 1943, P.H. Blair 'Sir William Betham's manuscripts', Anal. Hib. 27 (1972) p 3 et. seq.

⁶⁶ Annals of Clyn p xxviii. This manuscript is presently held by the Irish Gen. Office, MS 28. The text is incomplete. Could this transcript be the second Chandos copy noted as 'less complete', William, Lord Bishop of Derry, Irish Historical library p 32 note f?

⁶⁷ Blair, 'Sir William Betham's manuscripts', p14

⁶⁸ ibid p 42. This is listed as having been sold to the Irish Genealogical Research Society in London, which is now housed in the Challoner Club, London.

⁶⁹ Dr. John McLoughlin kindly examined this transcript on my behalf. There is a loose sheet of contents and item 13 is described as Annales Fratris Johan: Clyn.

⁷⁰ Charles McNeill, 'Harris: Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis', Anal. Hib. 6 (1934) p 248-450.

friar Clynn, ex eodem M.S.,⁷¹ A similar fragment, in Marsh's Library, is bound up with Annals of Dudley Loftus⁷² and is entitled, 'Noats out of ye annals of ffryar Clinn'.⁷³ Both fragments cover the period 1087 to 1347. A manuscript which is in the Royal Irish Academy and listed as Clyn's annals⁷⁴ is not in fact the Annals of Clyn but extracts from the Kilkenny Chronicle.

By far the most interesting manuscript containing references to Clyn's annals is a register in the Gilbert collection.⁷⁵ This early seventeenth century vellum manuscript contains a note by the compiler which describes from where the material contained therein was obtained.

A Register or Breviat of the Antiquities and Statutes of the town of Kilkenny, with other antiquities

⁷¹ ibid p 305-306

⁷² Marsh's Library MS.Z.27 f3-5. These folios were pasted into the book, most probably during the rebinding by Caldwell in 1865. A very clear watermark of early seventeenth century is visible. Dudley Loftus, in his annal, quotes from Clyn for the years 1267 and 1284, Annals of Dudley Loftus ed. N.B. White Anal.Hib., 10 (1941) p 226,228.

⁷³ Marsh's Library MS.Z.27 f 3.

⁷⁴ RIA. MS.III.I.

⁷⁵ Gilbert MS 105. There is also a transcript of that manuscript, Gilbert MS 106.

collected by me, Robert Rothe,⁷⁶ of the same, Esquire, ... and lykewise I have collected out of an Auncient booke or Cronicle sometye belonging to the gray ffrerie of Kilkenny written in velom in a faire attentique hand by a friar called Clyn diverse notes woorthy to be remembered. Which booke was shewed unto me by Sir Richard Shee, knight, and remaineth at this present in his custody....⁷⁷

A debt of gratitude must be due to Robert Rothe for his provision of folio references each time he made use of Clyn's annals. There are many references in the register which mention folios 289a to 300 of Clyn's annals.⁷⁸ From these folio notes, it is possible to confirm that the note referring to a folio number at beginning of transcript Add. is correct and, conversely, that the note at the beginning of Trinity is incorrect.⁷⁹ Furthermore, in the light of this evidence it is possible to reconstruct, in part, the volume referred to in the seventeenth century as, the

⁷⁶ For the Rothe family see G.D. Burtchaell, 'The family of Rothe of Kilkenny', R.S.A.I.Jn. (1886) pp 501-37, 620-54. For Robert Rothe, ibid p 511-12. For relationship between Sir Richard Shee and Robert Rothe in 1587 ibid p 510. See also 57th rept. D.K. p 470-1. Note also that a Rath Rothe was guardian of the Franciscan friary of Kilkenny in 1509, N. White ed. Irish monastic and episcopal deeds (Dublin, 1936) p 296

⁷⁷ Gilbert MS 105 f.2 Appendix to the Second Report Historical Manuscripts commission p 257.

⁷⁸ Gilbert MS 105 passim. These references state that the years 1170, 1185, 1186 and 1204 are on f 289a of the liber communitatis; the years 1233, 1242 on f 289b; the year 1279 on f 290a; the years 1284, 1285 on f 290b. .

⁷⁹ This does not cause any problem with the Trinity transcript as both Add. and Trinity assign f 155 to 'the bishops of Ireland'- see below p 253.

liber communitatis fratrum minorem Kilkenniensis.

OTHER POSSIBLE WRITINGS BY CLYNN

According to Ware,⁸⁰ Clyn, apart from his annal, also wrote, ' De Regibus Anglorum ab Hengist ad Edward 111. lib.1, beginning Saxones sapientius agentes; De custodiis ordinis sui in Anglia et Hibernica; [This probably is the book which Stanihurst ascribes to him under the title of De Custodiis provinciarum lib.1, beginning Anglia habet Custodias Septem]; Catalogum sedium Episcopaliū, Angliae, Scotiae et Hiberniae. [He also writ (as Stanihurst says) De Franciscanorum Cenobeis et eorum distinctionibus, Lib 1, which book also Luke Wadding ascribes to him - (Annal Minorum ad an. 1350)]'. If Ware had been familiar with the original manuscript containing the Annals of Clyn, then it is conceivable that the works he listed as the writings of Clyn were written in the same hand in the liber communitatis.

The Add. transcript is of great service in attempting to reconstruct the liber communitatis. Following immediately upon the Annals of Clyn, on the same folio,⁸¹ is the title Joannis Clynnii De Regibus Anglorum lib, thereby proving that Clyn wrote the

⁸⁰ Ware Writers of Ireland vol i ed Harris p 84.

⁸¹ Add. f 99v, appendix VI p420

tract, and beside the title is given a folio reference, fol 257. The tract begins, Saxones sapientius, but ceases on the same folio. However, there is a note which states, Historia continuit 4. folia. The next tract is entitled, Domus fratrum minorum in Anglia⁸² and, on the same folio, Domus fratrum minorum in Hibernia; beside the latter is a folio reference, 264b. The list of cantreds can be found on the next folio followed by, Sedes metropolitano episcopatum Angliae Scotiae et Hiberniae; this tract contains two references to folio 44b.⁸³ The last tract, Episcopus Hiberiae, has the note Ex libra communitatis fratrum minorum Kilkenny fol. 155.⁸⁴

The Rawl transcript is equally helpful in tracing possible writings by Clynn. Following the transcript of the annals, is the tract on the kings of England and there is a note in the margin which states, 'This treatise should be set before the catologe or chronicle aforesaid scil. annales J. Clynn'.⁸⁵ This note is

⁸² The tract begins on f 100r, Anglia habet custodias vii.

⁸³ f 101rv.

⁸⁴ f 102r; the text concludes on f 102v.

⁸⁵ Bod. Rawl. MS. B 496 f 71. (This volume also contains a copy of the Annals of Multyfarnham immediately followed by the prophecy of the prophet Wynne. These two works are also together in the original manuscript TCD MS 347.)

correct; according to Add. the Annals of Clyn were on folio 288 and the tract on the kings of England on folio 257 of the original volume which contained the annals, the liber communitatis. The Rawlinson manuscript contains, apart from the annals and the tract on the kings of England, other tracts which have a connection with Clyn; the list of the bishops of Ireland;⁸⁶ the list of the custodies or provinces of the Franciscan order;⁸⁷ a note on the cantreds of Ireland;⁸⁸ a list of the bishops of England Scotland and Ireland.⁸⁹ Therefore we can be certain that the liber communitatis contained at least all those tracts already mentioned and, from a separate note⁹⁰ also a tract on the division of the county of Ossory between the three daughters of Gilbert de Clare; this tract is also present in Rawl.⁹¹ Following the tract on the kings of England in the Rawlinson manuscript is a tract on the origins of giants⁹² and, between the tract on the bishops of Ireland and the list of Franciscan houses is an account of the line of descent from

⁸⁶ Bodl MS Rawl B 496 f 80.

⁸⁷ ibid f 82r.

⁸⁸ ibid f 82v.

⁸⁹ ibid f 83.

⁹⁰ BL. MS Add 4789 f 46.

⁹¹ Bodl MS Rawl. B 496 f 84 .

⁹² ibid f 78v.

Richard the Fearless, duke of Normandy, to Henry 1 and the sons of Nestae and daughters of Rhesi.⁹³ The position of these two tracts, among the six tracts from the liber communitatis, suggests that they may also have been transcribed from the liber communitatis.

The liber communitatis fratrum minorem Kilkenniensis can now be reconstructed as follows,

Folio 44b Sedes metropolitano episcopaliū Angliae
Scotiae et Hiberniae⁹⁴

Folio 46 Divisio com Ossorice inter tres filias dom
Gilberti de Clare com. Gloverniae.⁹⁵

Folio 155 Episcopus Hiberiae⁹⁶

Folio 186 Cantreds of Ireland⁹⁷

Folio 257 De Regibus Anglorum⁹⁸

Folio 264? Domus fratrum minorum in Anglia

Folio 264b Domus fratrum minorum Hibernia⁹⁹

Folio 288 Annales¹⁰⁰

Folio ? The origin of giants

⁹³ ibid f 80v-81r.

⁹⁴ BL MS Add 4789 f 100v; folio references on f 101rv.

⁹⁵ ibid f 46.

⁹⁶ ibid f 102r; TCD MS 574 p 408.

⁹⁷ BL MS Add 4789 f 100v.

⁹⁸ ibid f 99v, historia continet 4 folia.

⁹⁹ ibid f 100r.

¹⁰⁰ ibid f 75r.

HISTORY OF THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

Friar Clyn's annals cease in 1349, where all four transcripts contain the words, Videtur quod author hic obiit.¹⁰¹ The next extant notice concerning the annal occurs in 1375 where an abstract of a rental of the bishop of Ossory's lands contains the note 'as Friar Clinne, in his chronicle (the original whereof is remaining in the city of Kilkenny) affirmerth'.¹⁰² The same date, 1375, is the first of the two additional years entered after Clyn had ceased writing his annal.¹⁰³ This entry of 1375 was primarily concerned with listing the years that had suffered from the plague since 1349. The last entry, in 1405, records the capture at sea of friar John, minister of Ireland, who, we are informed, was 55 years of age, having been born in 1349.¹⁰⁴

There is no further extant reference to the annals

¹⁰¹ TCD. MS 574 p402; BL MS Add 4789 f 99r; Bodl. MS Laud Misc. 614 f 77; Bodl. MS Rawl. B 496 f 69v.

¹⁰² Cal. Carew MSS Book of Howth Misc. p 436.

¹⁰³ Annals of Clyn p 38. Unless necessary, no further reference will be made to manuscripts. Henceforth references to the annals will be to the published edition.

¹⁰⁴ ibid p 38.

until the seventeenth century. Some conjecture can be attempted in order to trace the whereabouts of the annal. The entry, in 1405, concerning the Franciscan minister of Ireland,¹⁰⁵ would suggest that the annal was still, at that date, in the friary. At present, there is no further evidence concerning the whereabouts of the annal in the fifteenth century but there is no reason to suspect that it strayed from Kilkenny friary.

In 1543 the friary was given to the sovereign and community of Kilkenny¹⁰⁶ and, if it is assumed that the manuscript was also received by the sovereign, then it becomes quite clear why the next mention of the annals refers to it as being in the possession of Sir Richard Shee as Robert Shee was the sovereign of Kilkenny in 1543¹⁰⁷ and one might therefore presume that this was when the book came into the possession of the Shee family.¹⁰⁸ Robert Rothe identifies the annal as the

¹⁰⁵ ibid p 38.

¹⁰⁶ Gwynn and Hadcock Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland p 253.

¹⁰⁷ Sir Richard Shee, after the earl of Ormond, was the richest man in Kilkenny and was married to Margaret Rothe, W.G. Neely, Kilkenny. An urban history, 1391-1843 (Belfast 1989) p 74. He was sovereign of Kilkenny at accession of Mary, and was described by John Bale, bishop of Ossory as 'sober, wise and godly', S.G. Ellis, 'John Bale, bishop of Ossory, 1552-3', Butler Society Jn. 2 (1984) p 290.

¹⁰⁸ In 1627 Nicholas Shee was buried in the friary of Kilkenny, 'Brevis Synopsis Provinciae Hiberniae FF. Minorum' ed. B. Jennings O.F.M., Anal.Hib. 6 (1934) p

property of Sir Richard Shee; so also does the note to the extracts in TCD MS 574.¹⁰⁹ As Sir Richard Shee died in 1608, Robert Rothe must have consulted it at some time before that date.¹¹⁰

This was a period of intense historical activity and Robert Rothe was not alone in his desire to collect 'antiquities'.¹¹¹ Clearly, among those interested in historical material at this period of time were the Franciscan historians Michael O'Cleary,¹¹² Donagh Mooney,¹¹³ Francis Matthews¹¹⁴ and Luke Wadding¹¹⁵;

146; John Shee, knight, the son of Richard, occupied land called 'chapel', 'Brusslès MS 3947: Donatus Moneyus Provincia Hiberniae S. Francisci' ed. B. Jennings, O.F.M. in Anal.Hib. 6 (1934) p 83. See also C.E. Wright, C.E. 'The dispersal of the libraries in the sixteenth century', in Wormald, F., and Wright, C.E. The English library before 1700 p 161.

¹⁰⁹ TCD MS 574 p 413.

¹¹⁰ Robert Rothe died in 1622 aged 73, G. D. Burtchaell, 'The family of Rothe of Kilkenny', R.S.A.I.Jn. (1886) p 512.

¹¹¹ C.E. Wright, 'The dispersal of the libraries in the sixteenth century', p 157 et seq. Nessa Ni Sheaghda, Collectors of Irish Manuscripts: Motives and Methods (Dublin, 1984); B. Cunningham and R. Gillespie, 'An Irish settler and his Irish manuscripts', Eigse 21 (1986) pp 27-36.

¹¹² Nessa Ni Sheaghda, Collectors of Irish Manuscripts: Motives and Methods (Dublin, 1984) p7-8.

¹¹³ Brusslès MS 3947: Donatus Moneyus Provincia Hiberniae S. Francisci' ed. B. Jennings, O.F.M. in Analecta Hibernica 6 (1934) p 12-138.

¹¹⁴ Author of Brevis Synopsis Provinciae Hiberniae FF. Minorum ed. B. Jennings O.F.M., Analecta Hibernica 6 (1934) pp 139-191.

among other interested historians of the period were John Bale,¹¹⁶ David Rothe,¹¹⁷ Richard Stanihurst,¹¹⁸ George Carew,¹¹⁹ James Ussher¹²⁰ and James Ware.¹²¹ One would expect the Franciscans to refer to Clyn's annals, if, of course, they were aware of their existence. Donagh Mooney knew the work and refers to it, Reperi etiam in quodam veteri manuscripto libro, scripto per fratrem Joannem Clinn qui erat ex conventualibus, et erat primus guardianus conventus de Carrignasuire...,¹²² in his historical work, written in 1617. While he does not give any detail regarding the whereabouts of the annal, he does acknowledge it as his source, fratre Joanne, qui fuit autor

¹¹⁵ Author of Annales Minorum, see Franciscan Fathers, eds., Father Luke Wadding (Killiney, 1957).

¹¹⁶ S.G. Ellis, 'John Bale, bishop of Ossory, 1552-3', Butler Society Jn. 2 (1984) pp 283-93.

¹¹⁷ Author of Analecta ed. P.F. Moran (Dublin, 1843).

¹¹⁸ Colm Lennon Richard Stanihurst the Dubliner, 1547-1618: a biography (Blackrock, 1981).

¹¹⁹ Nessa Ni Sheaghda, Collectors of Irish Manuscripts: Motives and Methods (Dublin, 1984) p 4-5. See also Fergal McGrath Education in ancient and medieval Ireland (Dublin, 1979) p 162

¹²⁰ W. O'Sullivan, 'Ussher as a collector of manuscripts', Hermathena 88 (1956) pp 34-58; R. Buick Knox, James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh (Cardiff, 1967); Nessa Ni Sheaghda, Collectors of Irish Manuscripts: Motives and Methods p 5-6.

¹²¹ ibid p 7.

¹²² 'Brussels MS 3947: Donatus Moneyus Provincia Hiberniae S. Francisci', p 27.

Chronologiae, ex qua hoc desumptum est.¹²³ Curiously enough, another Franciscan historian, Francis Matthews, author of Brevis Synopsis Provinciae Hiberniae, writing before 1629, does not mention the Annals of Clyn even when writing about the Kilkenny friary.¹²⁴

The next notice concerning the manuscript itself occurs in a letter of 20 July 1631 from David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory, to Luke Wadding. In his letter David Rothe refers to the difficulty of historical research,

I knowe there is difficultie to continue a perpetuall historie of our nation ... Our annals are imperfect and short both for tyme and matter, and rather chronically notes then right annals, of obits, or battles, and litle els of anny consequence. ... Fr Clyn is the best that I have lighted on, and he ends in anno 1349. I have his own originall, for he lived in the convent of Kilkenny.¹²⁵

David Rothe then assured Luke Wadding, 'Whatsoever I have either gathered or gotten shall be at your comaunds whensoever I shall light upon a trustie messenger to transporte them'.¹²⁶ If David Rothe had managed to send the Annals of Clyn to Luke Wadding it would surely have been in the form of a transcript, as he would not wish to risk the loss of the original

¹²³ ibid p 80; see also p 83, 86.

¹²⁴ 'Brevis Synopsis Provinciae Hiberniae FF. Minorum ed. B. Jennings O.F.M.', pp 139-191.

¹²⁵ Wadding Papers 1614-38 ed. B. Jennings O.F.M. (Dublin, 1953) p 551.

¹²⁶ ibid p 551.

manuscript; letters to Luke Wadding make constant reference to the problems of the safe arrival of mail.¹²⁷ There was serious doubt concerning the arrival of letters,¹²⁸ in fact, duplicates were sent,¹²⁹ and there is frequent reference made to the non-arrival of letters.¹³⁰

There is no sound evidence to prove that Luke Wadding acquired the original manuscript from David Rothe. Certainly, Wadding refers to Clyn in his Annales Minorum ,

Attamen annales antiqui Hibernici MS. duo et tertius alter codex membraneus Joannis Clyn Minoritae Hiberni Lageniensis (de quo Richardus Stanihurstus in descriptiones Hiberniae, qui rerum notabilium seriem fideli historia a christo nativitate ad annum MCCCL deduxit, vixitque ad annum Mccccv quo jam senex creatus est Hiberniae minister, intermisitque munus scribendi)...¹³¹

In the margin is a note which states, 'Clyn in Chron. MSS. fol 189', but this cannot refer to the original manuscript as the annals began on folio 288.¹³²

¹²⁷ 'At sea a merchant can not navegat two days, when he is taken by a Hollander, or a Dunkerk, or a French pirat, or a hungrie Biscaner', Wadding Papers p 321. See also ibid p 4, 101, 240 .

¹²⁸ Wadding Papers p 467, 469, 487. For reference to the months the letters took to arrive, ibid p 404.

¹²⁹ ibid p 280, 315, 377, 522,

¹³⁰ ibid p334, 293, 607,

¹³¹ Annales Minorum, Tomus 1, 1208-1220 p224

¹³² According to both BL MS Add 4789 and Gilbert MS 105, see above p 253.

Wadding also mistakes John, minister of Ireland, referred to in 1405, for the annalist John Clyn and, had he been in possession of the original manuscript he would have noted the different hand which was commented on by the seventeenth century transcribers.¹³³ When discussing the date of the arrival of the Franciscan friars in Ireland, Wadding states, probabilius tamen puto Clyn assertum,¹³⁴ this does not have the ring of authority which the possession of the manuscript, or indeed a transcript of the manuscript, would sanction.

David Rothe had acquired Clyn's annals by 1631. In view of the very close relationship between the Shee family and the Rothe family it is not difficult to assume that the Shee family would have given or lent the manuscript to their close friend and relative, David Rothe, bishop of Ossory. At what date he came into possession of the annal is impossible to ascertain but, when he gave assistance to Michael O'Cleary,¹³⁵ either he did not have the annal at that time or it was

¹³³ TCD MS 574 p 403; BL MS Add 4789 f99v; Bodl. MS. Laud Misc. 614 p77; Bodl. MS Rawl. B 496 p70.

¹³⁴ Luke Wadding Annales Minorum, Tomus 1, 1208-1220 (2nd ed. Rome, 1731-41) p 224.

¹³⁵ P.F. Moran 'The bishops of Ossory from the Anglo-Norman invasion', Trans. Ossory Arch. Soc. 2 (Kilkenny, 1880-1883) p 287.

not considered as useful material for that history.¹³⁶ David Rothe in his Analecta refers to Clyn, Iohannis Clinn Minoritae monasterii Canicopolitani and he also makes references to the other works in the Liber Communitatis, De custodiis provinciarum lib 1, De Franciscanorum monasteriis et eorum ditincitione lib unus. De Regibus Anglorum lib 1, Annalium Chronicon.¹³⁷

By the year 1633 James Ware was in a position to state that the Annals of Clyn had been transcribed.¹³⁸ A clear line of contact can be traced between James Ussher and David Rothe who began to correspond with each other as early as 1621-2.¹³⁹ James Ussher had a very high opinion of David Rothe as an historian¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ Annals of the Four Masters p xi-xii and lxiii-lxxi.

¹³⁷ David Rothe Analecta p 351.

¹³⁸ Annals of Clyn p i.

¹³⁹ For Ussher's relationship with the Franciscans see Luke Wadding papers passim. David Rothe also wrote to Ussher concerning the Cashel Psalter. P. O'Riain, 'The Psalter of Cashel: A provisional list of contents', Eigse 23 (1989) p 121. James Ussher was also in frequent contact with Thomas Strange, the Guardian of the Franciscan Order in Ireland, see William O'Sullivan 'Ussher as a collector of manuscripts', Hermathena 88 (1956) p 54-56. A. Gwynn, 'Ussher and Father Brendan O'Connor' in Father Luke Wadding ed. Franciscan Fathers (Dublin 1957) p 263-283.

¹⁴⁰ Ussher described Rothe as, 'a most diligent investigator of his countries antiquities', Moran 'The bishops of Ossory from the Anglo-Norman invasion', p 289.

and they exchanged sources. David Rothe wrote, 'Many annals are cited by Sir Josue Ware in his brief History of the Archbops which may be gotten by friendship both of him and of Primat Usher ... he much desiring to have owte of the Vatican the disposition of the four archbishops and of their 4 palles ...';¹⁴¹ a manuscript, sent by Rothe to Ussher, can be identified today in Ussher's collection in Trinity College Dublin.¹⁴² If the original Clyn manuscript was sent to Ussher, and not copied in situ, then it would most probably have been returned to David Rothe after it had been copied, if for no other reason than to keep open the possibility of further exchanges.¹⁴³

If the original manuscript did, in fact, remain with David Rothe then its possible end can be conjectured. In March 1650, when Cromwell attacked Kilkenny,¹⁴⁴ all David Rothe's manuscripts were destroyed; only two small fragments from his work the Hierographia survived

¹⁴¹ Wadding Papers p 551.

¹⁴² W. O'Sullivan, 'Ussher as a collector of manuscripts', p 55.

¹⁴³ Wadding copied manuscripts in the Vatican for Ussher, W. O'Sullivan, 'Ussher as a collector of manuscripts', p 54. A. Gwynn, 'Ussher and Father Brendan O'Connor', in Father Luke Wadding passim.

¹⁴⁴ W.G. Neely, W.G., Kilkenny. An urban history, 1391-1843 (Belfast, 1989) p 94-95.

from all his manuscripts.¹⁴⁵

THE AUTHOR

The assumption that friar John Clyn was the author of these annals is based upon the entry for 1349, when, in the midst of the horrors of the Black Death, an event that the writer regarded as truly catastrophic and apocalyptic, he records the words, Ego autem frater Johannes Clyn de Ordine Minorum et conventu Kilkennie hec notabilia facta, que tempore meo acciderunt, in hoc libro scripsi,¹⁴⁶ From this statement it is clear that John Clyn was responsible for at least this section of the annal, but, on that evidence alone, that he was the author of the complete annal cannot be automatically presumed. His name is also mentioned in the annal, albeit in an impersonal manner, in the entry for 1336, Item, die Sabbati, in festo apostolorum Petri et Pauli, ingressus fratrum primus in locum de Carrig [Carrick-on-Suir]; fratre Stephano de Barry ministro; fratre Willelmo Nasse custode, et fratre Clyn, primo tunc gardiano.¹⁴⁷

The surname Clyn is not a common name in the surviving

¹⁴⁵ Moran 'The bishops of Ossory from the Anglo-Norman invasion', p 285-286, 390.

¹⁴⁶ Annals of Clyn p 37.

¹⁴⁷ ibid p 27.

Anglo-Irish documents of medieval Ireland. The problem of tracing a less well documented surname is that the spelling of the name can be distorted and, even if a similar sounding name is found it may not in fact be that surname at all. An early reference to the name Clyn in Ireland occurs in 1291 when a Thomas de Clyne of Dublin was fined $\frac{1}{2}$ mark¹⁴⁸ but it is usually in Kilkenny documents that the surname can be found. A James de Clyny is mentioned in the extent of a manor in Co. Kilkenny in 1300¹⁴⁹ and a James Clyngne in the extent of the manor of Gowran in 1306¹⁵⁰. An affray at Kilkenny castle in 1302 was investigated by Wogan and a James de Cliny was a juror.¹⁵¹ In 1331 a Nicholas Cleyn was the son in law of Roger de Pembrok, knight.¹⁵² In the Liber Primus Kilkenniensis can be found a reference to a Walter Clynger, or Clinger, in 1344¹⁵³ and again, in 1350.¹⁵⁴ Another Walter Clynge, rector of St Martin's, is named as an asses^sor for the

¹⁴⁸ C.D.I 1285-1292. p 383.

¹⁴⁹ The Red Book Of Ormond p 68.

¹⁵⁰ ibid p 35.

¹⁵¹ Cal.justic. rolls Ire. 1295-1303 p 454.

¹⁵² Ormond Deeds 1172-1350 p 269. For relationship between Roger Pembroke and Richard Ledrede see J. Graves, 'Transcript of an ancient charter', R.S.A.I.Jn 3 (1854-5), pp 414-5.

¹⁵³ Liber Primus Kilkenn. p 6, 7, 17.

¹⁵⁴ ibid p 17.

cathedral of Ossory in 1420¹⁵⁵ and at the same time a Maurice Clynge is named as a collector in the town of Kilkenny.¹⁵⁶ It is difficult to state with any degree of confidence that all these names are either related to each other or indeed to friar John Clyn, but the presence of such names only in the Kilkenny region of Ireland must be accorded a degree of importance.

There is a curious entry in Clyn's annals for 1347, Item, fit magna discordia, contraversia et sedicio inter cives Bristollie.¹⁵⁷; there was no previous mention of Bristol in the annals and indeed hardly any mention of any specific town outside Ireland and only then if it should concern king's war. Of interest here, therefore, is an indenture of 1413 between a William Bourgchier, knight, and James, earl of Ormond which is witnessed by a John Clyne, mayor of Bristol.¹⁵⁸ There are further evidences of the name Clyn in the Bristol/Somerset area. A John Clyne was a churchwarden of the church of Holy Trinity

¹⁵⁵ Parliaments and Councils of medieval Ireland ed. H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles vol 1 (Dublin 1947) p 176.

¹⁵⁶ ibid p 133.

¹⁵⁷ Annals of Clyn p 34.

¹⁵⁸ Ormond deeds 1413-1509 p 7.

Bristol¹⁵⁹ and a John Clyne is mentioned in a will probated in 1452, 'lands formerly belonging to John Clyne'.¹⁶⁰ A Roger de la Clyne was an estate labourer with 2½ acres in Taunton in the thirteenth century.¹⁶¹ A Wells city charter yielded two further John Clyn's, one, in 1412, a tucker¹⁶² the other, in 1421 a mason.¹⁶³

From the evidence of these surnames one might surmise that the family came originally from the Bristol area, thus accounting for Clyn's interest in the city of Bristol¹⁶⁴ or, indeed, that friar John Clyn himself came from Bristol. Furthermore, one might also speculate that the persons named Clynge in the Kilkenny region are possibly members of the same family as friar John Clyn. Placenames in Ireland which may reflect the presence of the family are rare. There is a

¹⁵⁹ 'The great red book of Bristol', Text part 3 Bristol record Society pub 16 (1951) p 34.

¹⁶⁰ 'The great red book of Bristol', Text part 21 Bristol record Society pub 8 (1937) p 207.

¹⁶¹ T.J. Hunt ed. 'The medieval customs of the manors of Taunton and Bradford on Tone', Somerset Record Soc. 66 (1962) p 56, for evidence of date p xiii.

¹⁶² Dorothy O. Shilton and Richard Holworthy, 'Wells city charters', Somerset Record Soc. 46 (1932) p 136.

¹⁶³ ibid p 139.

¹⁶⁴ Another reason for the Bristol entry may be that Clyn's informant in Avignon may have returned to Ireland via Bristol,

Clyntounescourt¹⁶⁵ near Naas but that is some distance and probably refers to the family of Clyntone, or Clinton. A Clinstown in Ossory is more credible, especially as its Irish name is Baile a Clinn or Clyn's town.¹⁶⁶ The evidence of the name Clyn in local sources, while not sufficient of themselves, support the presence of friar John Clyn in Kilkenny in the fourteenth century.

THE CAREER OF FRIAR JOHN CLYN

According to a note, in the hand of James Ussher, John Clyn was born in Leinster;

Johannes Clyn in Laginiam natus, D. Francisci ordinis professus; concionando, (et praecipu in oppide Kilkeninesi) aetatem traduxit. Antiquarius erat non vulgaris, ut apparet ex chronico ab eo scripto, quod a nativitate Christi ad annum 1350 deducit: in quo et ipse floruit. Scripsit Annalium Chronicon lib.1. De regibus Anglorum lib.1. De Custodiis provinciarum lib.1. [De Franciscanorum coenobis et eorum distinctioib. lib.1.].¹⁶⁷

James Ussher gives no reason for his statement concerning the birthplace of John Clyn and therefore there is a possibility that it was mere conjecture on his part, based perhaps on his presence in Kilkenny

¹⁶⁵ Ormond Deeds 1350-1413 p 190, 305.

¹⁶⁶ Carrigan History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory , vol 2 p 199.

¹⁶⁷ TCD MS 790 f 61r.

in 1349.¹⁶⁸ However, it should be noted that there is a strong possibility that Ussher had seen the original volume which contained Clyn's works and there may have been evidence in there for his statement which is unavailable to scholars today. Furthermore, the presence of surnames similar to Clyn in that region would tend to support the possibility.

Ussher's statement, that Clyn was a Franciscan, is corroborated by Clyn's own words.¹⁶⁹ Although he could have entered the order at any age the probability is that, like Stephen de Exonia, author of the Annals of Multyfarnham,¹⁷⁰ he entered the order as a youth. In order to be accepted as a friar it was expected that the postulant would have already been adequately instructed in grammar or logic. John Clyn, upon being accepted as a friar, would then have been sent to the house in the custody where the novices were trained.¹⁷¹ Some part of Clyn's later life was spent

¹⁶⁸ Annals of Clyn p 37.

¹⁶⁹ et fratre Clyn, primo tunc gardiano of the friary of Carrig [Carrick-on-Suir] in 1336. Annals of Clyn p 27. Also, in 1349, Ego autem fratre Johannes Clyn de Ordine Minorum et conventu Kilkennie, ibid p 37.

¹⁷⁰ Stephen de Exonia was born in 1246 Annals of Multyfarnham p 13; he became a friar in 1263 at age 17, ibid p 15.

¹⁷¹ Moorman History p 365.

in the Cashel custody.¹⁷² It is not possible, today, to determine which convent was responsible for the novices but perhaps either Cashel or Kilkenny can be suggested. Cashel has many points in its favour, not least of all that it was the seat of the archdiocese and contained English friars.¹⁷³ However, if Clyn had spent some time in Cashel it is not evident from his annal. The possibility of Kilkenny itself cannot be underestimated; it was a very early foundation and may well have had an equally early teaching tradition.¹⁷⁴ Probably all the friaries had schools¹⁷⁵ as the evidence for lectors at Dublin¹⁷⁶ and especially Nenagh suggests¹⁷⁷ and, from the evidence of Ennis there is no ^areason to doubt that many friaries would also have had libraries.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷² Clyn was present in the friaries of Kilkenny and Carrig [Carrick-on-Suir] and both were, at that time, in the custody of Cashel.

¹⁷³ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire.
p 129

¹⁷⁴ Kilkenny was the first recorded instance of a confraternity, reported in the Annals of Clyn p 34. This confraternity may well have been a precursor of the Third Order and that order was, from its earliest time involved in education, Fergal McGrath Education in medieval Ireland p 186.

¹⁷⁵ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire.
p xxviii.

¹⁷⁶ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 91.

¹⁷⁷ Annals of Nenagh p 160, 161, 162.

¹⁷⁸ Caithr. Thoirdh. p 32.

It was the custom for the most able young friars to be sent, after two or three years, for further education,¹⁷⁹ and there is no reason to doubt that Clyn would have shown such intellectual ability. Franciscan students were present at many, if not all, medieval universities,¹⁸⁰ and Peter Torrington, later archbishop of Cashel, is a prime example of such a Franciscan student.¹⁸¹

The statement that Clyn was a doctor rests at present on James Ussher's unsupported claim. In this instance Ussher may merely have presumed that such a writer was bound to be a doctor or, as stated previously, he may have had the benefit of information no longer extant. Clyn's name is not present in the medieval lists of the Oxford and Cambridge universities but that does not preclude the possibility that he might have been educated at a university in Europe. There is evidence that Irish Franciscan students were present at Paris, as was their entitlement, in 1303¹⁸² and at Strasbourg

¹⁷⁹ A.G. Little, 'Educational Organization of Mendicant Friars in England (Dominicans and Franciscans)', T.R.H.S., 2nd Ser., 8 (1894); Moorman History p 365.

¹⁸⁰ Moorman History p 365-366.

¹⁸¹ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 150, 155.

¹⁸² Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 79

in 1375.¹⁸³ A hint of Clyn's academic interest might be gleaned from the notices in his annal concerning the deaths of Alexander Halys [Alexander of Hales] and John de Rupella [John of la Rochelle] in 1245¹⁸⁴ and Robert Grosseteste in 1253.¹⁸⁵

When considering the possible universities which Clyn might have attended the university at Dublin cannot be ignored. The movement for the establishment of a university in Ireland was launched, in the early fourteenth century, under the auspices of the archbishop of Dublin.¹⁸⁶ While acknowledging that there were, 'some doctors and bachelors, at least in the faculty of theology, and others who lecture on grammar',¹⁸⁷ present in Ireland, the archbishop declared the need for a university in Ireland in order that students should not be subjected to the 'great risk' of a sea crossing in order to gain their education. The Dublin university began in 1320 and

¹⁸³ ibid p 157.

¹⁸⁴ Annals of Clyn p 8. Clyn has^c wrong date for their death, it should be 1242, Moorman History p 131-2.

¹⁸⁵ Annals of Clyn p 8.

¹⁸⁶ A. Gwynn 'The medieval university of St Patrick's, Dublin', Studies 27 (1938) pp 199-212, 437-54. Fergal McGrath S.J., Education in ancient and medieval Ireland p 216-219.

¹⁸⁷ Gwynn 'The medieval university of St Patrick's, Dublin', p 209; McGrath, Education in ancient and medieval Ireland p 216.

Alexander de Bicknor, archbishop of Dublin, looked to the existing theological schools of the Dominicans and Franciscans in Dublin to provide the first four masters. The Franciscans supplied at least one, and possibly two, of the masters.¹⁸⁸ Despite the fact that the university never prospered there is some suggestion that, for a period of time, qualifications were conferred.¹⁸⁹ These included, according to Ware, three friars who were created Doctors of Divinity; perhaps Clyn was among those three?

An interesting note in a Ware manuscript hints at the possibility that the Dublin Franciscan friary might have been used as part of the new university, Iste est liber universitas fratrum minorum Dublin. Quicumque alienavit, anathema sit.¹⁹⁰ The Annals of Clyn reports the beginning of a new university, Incepit

¹⁸⁸ Chartul. St. Mary's vol 2 p 361. The four masters were, a Dominican, a Franciscan, the dean of St. Patricks and Edmund de Kermerdyn who was either a Franciscan or a Dominican and Wadding considered him to be a minorite Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 108nl.

¹⁸⁹ McGrath Education in ancient and medieval Ireland p 217-8.

¹⁹⁰ Gilbert MS Transcripts from the MSS of Sir James Ware see Catalogue of books and manuscripts comprising the library of the late Sir John Gilbert ed. Douglas-Hyde and D.J. O'Donoghue (Dublin 1918) p 961. These are loose leaves with number 31 beginning Ex libro conventi fratrum minorem de Dublin scripto sub temp Edward II vel Edward III. The information referring to the book is on f 81.

universitas Dublinie, univer^sitas quoad nomen, sed utinam quoad factum et rem.¹⁹¹ Even if Clyn did not write this early entry its presence in his annal implies that he concurred with the sentiment expressed. Alternatively, such a comment may well have been made, by Clyn, at a later period and may reflect the attitude of a former disillusioned student. A possible time for Clyn to have attended Dublin university is 1331, when he refers to Dublin in his annal. Clyn rarely mentions Dublin but in that year he reports, in what is for him a lengthy entry, that on the feast of John the Baptist large sea fish, thirty and forty feet, in length were washed ashore in the harbour of Dublin near the town. They were so large that they could hardly be dragged by men and beasts and some were of such a height that when two large men were standing on either side of the belly they could not see each other.¹⁹² Such an entry suggests that the writer was present at the event.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ Annals of Clyn p 14.

¹⁹² Annals of Clyn p 23. For the importance of stranded whales in medieval times, see Arthur E.J. Went, 'Whaling from Ireland' in R.S.A.I Jn. vol 98 (1968) p 31. C.A. Raleigh Radford, 'Stranding of 'Whales' at Seaton' in Devon Historian, 32 (1986) p 29. For contemporary account of stranded whales 30 feet long taken from Thames in 1309 Chronicles of the reigns of Edward I and II 2 vols ed W. Stubbs (R.S. London, 1882-3) p lxxvii 157, 267.

¹⁹³ The Dublin annalist gives the date as 27 June Chartul. St Marys' vol 2 p 375; Clyn gives the date as circa festum Johannis Baptiste [around 24 June], Annals of Clyn p 23.

Whether or not Clyn attended Dublin university, his entry concerning that establishment indicates an interest in scholarship.

The only other place of learning of which Clyn displays some knowledge is Avignon, where there was a Franciscan Studium Generale.¹⁹⁴ Unquestionably, Clyn does appear to have some connections with Avignon. One explanation could be that he studied there but another solution may be through a link with Richard Ledrede bishop of Ossory. In 1347 Clyn reports, Item, frater Ricardus episcopus Ossoriensis in curia Romana optinuit exemptionem a jurisdictione et superioritate archiepiscopi Dublinie.¹⁹⁵ Clyn is remarkably reticent throughout his annal concerning his fellow Franciscan, Richard Ledrede, bishop of Ossory,¹⁹⁶ but, despite this, he may have been acquainted with a member of the bishop's entourage at the Roman Curia. The other possible explanation for the Avignon influence may be the presence of Clyn at Marseilles in 1343.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ Huber Documented History p 802-5.

¹⁹⁵ Annals of Clyn p 35.

¹⁹⁶ Clyn merely notes that Richard was consecrated at Avignon, Annals of Clyn p 13, that Alice Kytler was accused by Richard, bishop of Ossory, ibid p 16 and that he obtained an exemption from a visitation by the archbishop of Dublin, ibid p 35.

¹⁹⁷ See below p 297 et seq.

The Avignon source may also account for information, reported in 1347, concerning Fortanerius Vassalli who was, as Clyn accurately recounts, made archbishop of Ravenna in 1347.¹⁹⁸ A further puzzling entry which may also come under the same umbrella is the following curious item;

Item, fit novus tribunus in Romana civitate qui dixit se velle Romam et Ytaliam et rempublicam reparare in melius et resarcire, cujus officii et dignitatis titulus talis erat; Nicholaus servus et clemens libertatis pacis justicie tribunus, sacre Romane reipublice liberator illustris, liberator urbis, zelator Italie, amator orbis et Augustus.¹⁹⁹

The person to whom Clyn is referring is Cola di Rienzo,²⁰⁰ a Roman notary who went to Avignon on a diplomatic mission in 1343 and impressed Clement VI who appointed to him notary of the Apostolic chamber at Rome, a position of greatest influence. In 1347, Cola,²⁰¹ who wished to restore Rome to its ancient glory acclaimed himself tribune of the people, according to the ancient Roman tradition. At the height of his success he proclaimed himself August and summoned the pope to Rome. This event happened in 1347 and Clyn can report it in his annal for that year. It

¹⁹⁸ Annals of Clyn p 35. Moorman History p 328; Huber Documentary History p 246.

¹⁹⁹ Annals of Clyn p 35.

²⁰⁰ Ferdinand Gregor^ovius, Rome and Medieval Culture ed. K.F. Morrison (Chicago, 1971) p 269-307; D. Wood, Clement VI (Cambridge, 1989)p 74, 82-84.

²⁰¹ 'He called himself Nicholas', Ferdinand Gregor^ovius Rome and Medieval Culture p 275.

might be claimed that this entry is an clue to Clyn's opinion of the papacy in Avignon, otherwise why should Clyn exhibit such an interest in a Roman tribune?²⁰² If Rome was returned to its former glory then this move would be a positive step towards the return of the papacy to Rome. The Franciscans tended to be critics of the Avignon papacy.²⁰³

This entry concerning Cola di Rienzo is also of interest in determining when Clyn was writing. He had the information regarding Cola's assumption of the title of tribune in May 1347 but, evidently, did not receive the news that renewed opposition from the Roman nobility compelled Cola to abdicate in December of the same year. Perhaps the event of the plague in Avignon, so fully reported by Clyn, prevented the news of Cola's fall reaching Clyn?

Clyn accurately reports the outbreak of the plague in Avignon in 1348,

Item, in provincia, Avinione civitate ubi tunc Romana viguit et fuit curia, a Januario precedenti incepit, tempore Clementis Pape VI. ubi et ibi ecclesie et cimiteria civitatis non sufficiebant capere mortuorum corpora tumulanda. Et dominus ipse papa ordinavit unum cimiterium novum consecrari, in quo mortui ex clade pestilencie interfecti reconderentur. Ita ut a mense

²⁰² Unless of course Clyn had met Cola di Rienzo in 1343 when he may have been in Marseilles. See below p 297 *et seq.*

²⁰³ Yves Renouard The Avignon Papacy trans. D. Bethell (London, 1970) p 118-9.

Maii usque Sancti Thome translacionem quinquaginta milia et eo amplius corpora sunt sepulta in eodem cimiterio.²⁰⁴

This information is surprisingly immediate and not unsupported, 'In the cemetery bought by the pope, eleven thousand dead were buried between 14 March and 27 April. Since 25 January death had claimed a total of sixty two thousand inhabitants.'²⁰⁵ Evidently, Clyn must have had some informant in, or close to, Avignon to be in a position to enter this material so immediately in his annal.

Another interesting entry, which must surely also owe its origins to Avignon, is the lengthy account of an apocalyptic vision given to a monk at the Cistercian monastery at Tripoli in 1347, which Clyn enters in his annal in 1348.²⁰⁶ This prophecy, known as the 'Tripoli Prophecy',²⁰⁷ was first current in 1239 when

²⁰⁴ Annals of Clyn p 35-6.

²⁰⁵ De Smet, Recueil des chroniques de Flandre vol 3 (Paris 1890) p 170, quoted by G. Mollat The Popes at Avignon p 40. The pope purchased a field outside the city to be used as a cemetery and also consecrated the Rhône to be used for the same purpose, D. Wood Clement VI p 51. 'The plague appeared in January of 1348' Richard W Emery 'The Black Death of 1348 in Perpignan' Speculum 42 (1967) p 612.

²⁰⁶ Annals of Clyn p 36.

²⁰⁷ For a full discussion of this prophecy see Robert E Lerner The Powers of Prophecy (London, 1983) see especially p 118n7, 120-121; for an analysis of the 1347 text see p226-231. For medieval apocalyptic prophecy in general see Marjorie Reeves The influence of prophecy in the later middle ages: A study in

it was reported by Matthew Paris²⁰⁸ and the Dunstable annal.²⁰⁹ The prophecy was employed again after the fall of Acre in 1291 and appeared once again in 1347.²¹⁰ It has been suggested that France was the most likely place of origin²¹¹ and that Clyn's information came to Kilkenny via England.²¹² The evidence for this suggestion is correct but it does not rule out the possibility of the prophecy reaching Ireland directly; in the light of the other information contained in Clyn's annal which clearly ^{must} have been derived from Avignon, it can be proposed that Clyn's information came directly from France and possibly from the papal court at Avignon, a logical place for such information to have been disseminated. At this

time, a Franciscan at Aurillac, John of Rupescissa,

Joachimism (Oxford 1969); M. Reeves, 'Joachimist influences on the idea of a last world emperor', Traditio 17 (1961) pp 323-370; M. Reeves, 'Some popular prophecies from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries' in Popular belief and practice, ed J.G. Cumming and Derek Baker (Cambridge 1972) pp 107-134; Bernard McGinn, Visions of the end (New York 1979); Bernard McGinn 'Angel pope and papal antichrist' Church History 47 (1978) pp 155-173.

²⁰⁸ Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica Majora, (R.S. 57; London, 1874-84), 3, p 538.

²⁰⁹ Annales de Dunstaplia ed. H.R. Luard, Annales Monastici (R.S. 36 London, 1864-69) 3 p 151.

²¹⁰ For the reworking of the prophecy see Robert E Lerner The Powers of Prophecy p 114-134.

²¹¹ ibid p 116n2.

²¹² ibid p 120n13.

had a series of visions, beginning in 1340, and, because of these visions, he spent a considerable amount of time in Franciscan prisons, ending up in prison in Avignon in 1349.²¹³ Undoubtedly, there must have been an amount of talk about such visions in Avignon at that period.

These entries emanating from Avignon provide an insight to an understanding of friar John Clyn. His interest in affairs in Rome implies that he was anxious to see the papacy restored to Rome. His interest in prophecy is natural to a Franciscan, especially as the prophecy in 1347 included the minorites.²¹⁴ It is interesting to note that Cola di Rienzo also shared Clyn's interest in prophecy; he made use of apocalyptic themes in his writings.²¹⁵

The question of whether or not friar John Clyn attended a university at Avignon, Dublin or elsewhere²¹⁶ cannot be answered. However, it is obvious that he had, at

²¹³ For prophets in Avignon see R. Lerner, Medieval prophecy and religious dissent pp 11-15. B McGinn Visions of the end p 150.

²¹⁴ ordines medicantes certe quam plures adversabuntur, Annals of Clyn p 36.

²¹⁵ B. McGinn Visions of the end p 240 -43.

²¹⁶ There is no indication of any familiarity with any other university city apart from Dublin or Avignon in the annals.

least, acquired a sufficient level of education to enable him to write his annal and the other works attributed to him. Equally, he was clearly sufficiently qualified to become guardian of the Franciscan friary of Carrick-on-Suir in 1336. At some time between 1336 and 1348 Clyn moved from Carrick-on-Suir to Kilkenny.²¹⁷ According to seventeenth century extracts from the annals, Clyn was also guardian of the Franciscan friary of Kilkenny.²¹⁸ As Clyn had been guardian of Carrick-on-Suir in 1336 this is not inconceivable. The questions that must arise however are, where was Clyn when he wrote his annals and how much of the annals were his responsibility?

FRIAR JOHN CLYN'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE ANNAL

Clyn does not disclose when he began to write the annal but he does describe his method of approach, hec notabilia facta, que tempore meo acciderunt, in hoc libro scripsi, que oculata fide vel fide digno relatu didici.²¹⁹ He wrote on parchment, of which there was apparently no shortage as he was able to leave parchment to continue the annal.²²⁰ There is no

²¹⁷ Stephen de Barry who was with Clyn in Carrick-on-Suir in 1336 had previously been in Buttevant in 1330, Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 131.

²¹⁸ TCD MS 574 p 443, appendix V p 413.

²¹⁹ Annals of Clyn p 37.

²²⁰ ibid p 37.

question of this annal being considered as a house chronicle but, unlike the Annals of Multyfarnham or the Kilkenny Chronicle, it does contain a number of entries concerning the friary. This new attitude corresponds in some degree with the tendency of the Franciscan order to become less itinerant in the fourteenth century.²²¹

We know that the annals were not the only material included in the volume which contained at least 300 folios.²²² There is no indication of the size of the book but the number of folios does not prevent it being a personal volume and even portable.²²³ If, as seems probable, Ussher and Ware saw the volume in question then it would appear that Clyn's handwriting was present on folios 44, 46, 155, 186, 257, 264 and 288-300, otherwise how could the works, other than the annal, be claimed as Clyn's? The conclusion that must be drawn therefore is that it was Clyn's personal book. The scribe of the T.C.D. transcript, who noted so many features of the original manuscript, did not note a change of hand until 1349, which implies that all of the annal must have been in the same handwriting, that

²²¹ Moorman History p 365.

²²² See above p 253

²²³ Stephen de Exonia's book, TCD MS 347, contains 406 folios and measures only 158mm by 113mm.

is to say, Clyn's.

As the annal opens with the beginning of the world, it is evident that Clyn used sources available to him for the early section. As all evidence appears to suggest that the annal to 1349 was written in one hand, then, clearly, there is both an element of compilation and creation in the work. Dean Butler suggested that Clyn began writing the annals from 1316 when the annals begin to expand.²²⁴ At what stage Clyn's own personal contribution began can only be conjecture but the date 1333 must be seriously considered. The three transcripts Trinity, Add., and Rawl., all agree that there was a second heading in the original manuscript at that date and, as there is no suggestion that there was a new hand at that period, there must be some reason for the new title. A explanation for the new title may be that it was at this point that Clyn's personal contribution to the annal began. With this possibility in mind an analysis of the entries in the annals elicited facts that corroborated, in some measure, the theory that Clyn began writing the annals in 1333.

When the years entered in the annals are listed then

²²⁴ Annals of Clyn p ix.

an interesting fact emerges.²²⁵ Years are frequently duplicated,²²⁶ or indeed entered a number of times; the year 1331 is entered four times.²²⁷ Also, years are placed out of sequence.²²⁸ All this changes with the year 1333. It can be surmised therefore that Clyn had several sources available to him for the section of the annal prior to 1333. The choice open to Clyn was, either to conflate and edit the several entries for each year to one entry, or merely to copy each entry as it stood. Clyn chose the latter method; 'Scribes as a rule opted for the easiest way'.²²⁹

From the years 1333 to 1349 each year is entered only once and every year is entered, except the years 1339 and 1341. However, it can be demonstrated that the year 1339 is in fact present though the year number is absent.²³⁰ The new title and the evidence of the

²²⁵ See appendix XII p 440

²²⁶ For example 1186, Annals of Clyn p 5; 1294, ibid p 10; 1316, ibid p12; 1326 ibid p 17-18.

²²⁷ Other examples are, 1328 entered five times, ibid p 19-20; 1329 six times, ibid p 20-21; 1332 three times, ibid p 24.

²²⁸ For example 1066 first appears between 799 and 942, then reappears between 989 and 1087, ibid p 5; See also the sequence 1153, 1183, 1153, 1109, 1120, 1326, 1327, 1328, 1327, 1328.

²²⁹ For options open to the scribe or compiler see G. Mac Niocaill, The medieval Irish annals (Dublin 1975) [Medieval Irish History Series,3] p 14-15.

²³⁰ See below p 287

number of times the same year is entered are not the only indications which suggest that the year 1333 is notable.²³¹ At about this period in time the annals begin to expand in terms of the amount of detail and personal comment in each item.²³² Also, evidence from the form of dating used for the items entered contributes further corroborating evidence.

In the Annals of Clyn, the beginning of the year is 25 March and, ideally, the entries should progress through the months to 24 March on, what is now understood as, the following year. When the years are duplicated, or more, then, naturally, the sequence is broken. An interesting year is 1331, not least of all because the year is entered four times. There is no problem with the first time the year is entered.²³³ The second time the year is entered the sequence of dates is as follows; 25 April, 22 May, 19 June, 22 June, 26 May,

²³¹ Clyn has the incorrect date for the burning of Gracecastle, 29 Nov 1327, it should be 2 November, G.O. Sayles, 'The rebellious first earl of Desmond' in Medieval Studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., ed. J.A. Watt, J.B. Morrall, and F.X. Martin (Dublin 1961), p 208n26.

²³² For example, see the entry concerning the de Mandevilles, Annals of Clyn p 24-5; concerning Murkyht Nicol Othotyl ibid p25; reporting the expedition to Scotland in 1333 ibid p 26; the episode relating to Eustace le Poer and Fulco de la Frene in 1338 ibid p 28.

²³³ There is only one date, 15 April, Annals of Clyn p 22.

2 May, 24 June, 24 February.²³⁴ The first date out of sequence, 26 May, concerns the arrival of the new justiciar in Ireland; this information may have been received at a later date. What is not clear is why 2 May is out of sequence as it is the report of the killing of twenty four men of Thomastown and Jerpoint by the satelites of William de Bermingham, the Cantetones and the Irish. Perhaps, this may indicate that Clyn was not in Kilkenny in 1331; was he in Dublin?²³⁵ The third time the year is entered the sequence of dates is as follows; 13 January, 22 November.²³⁶ The date, 22 November, must be correct as it is the report of the consecration of the new cemetery of Kilkenny friary. As all four transcripts agree that the previous date is Die Lune in festo beati Hillarionis abbatis²³⁷ then the misplacement of date is probably the fault of the original source. The last time the year is entered there are three dates given, 1 November, 13 December, 4 October,²³⁸ and these are also of interest in considering the

²³⁴ ibid p 22-23.

²³⁵ This entry for the year 1331 also has the report concerning whales in Dublin.

²³⁶ ibid p 23-4.

²³⁷ ibid p 23.

²³⁸ ibid p 24.

whereabouts of Clyn in 1331.²³⁹ The first date, 1 November, is the report of the death^{of} Catherine de Burgh in Dublin, 13 December concerns an affray in Tipperary, and 4 October is the report of the birth of James Butler at Kilkenny. The last date is out of sequence but, 'News of a physically remote event may be set down after a nearer event which it in fact preceded'.²⁴⁰ The fact that this item was reporting a birth may account for a delay in the information reaching Clyn. Was Clyn in Dublin, perhaps at the university, when Catherine de Burgh died there and then later, while still in Dublin, heard the report of the birth of James Butler? Despite the example presented here, there is an attempt to keep the internal dating of the years running sequentially from 25 March.

However, with the year 1333 the dates settle; virtually all dating for 1333, 1334, 1335, 1336 and 1337 is sequentially correct and the years are entered only once. As noted above, the year 1339 was apparently missing from these annals but when the year 1338 is examined then it becomes evident that the two years are

²³⁹ If it might be conjectured that a scribe compiling from various sources would probably be inclined to make his own entries only after he had abstracted entries from other sources, then possibly the final year entered in a sequence is the scribe's own composition. However, if that was the case, then the entry reporting the whales in Dublin could not be Clyn's.

²⁴⁰ G. Mac Niocail The medieval Irish annals p 15.

running consecutively but without the date 1339 being entered. The first dates used in 1338 run from 20 May to November after which comes Lent (10 February to 27 March 1339).²⁴¹ Assuming the end of Lent to be the beginning of the following year, 1339, the entries then run from the end of March to 4 October. The year 1339 is not missing. The year 1341 is missing, as such, being present only as 6 February 1341, the last date entered under the year 1340.²⁴² All the following years are correct until the 1347.

The year 1347 presents a difficulty; the dates entered are as follows; 25 March, 8 September 1346 to 10 August, 24 June, 10 July, 2 December, 7 December, Christmas, 25 March, 2 June,²⁴³ 9 November, 17 March, 3 June. The first entry in that year concerns Kilkenny and then Clyn enters his account of the siege of Calais.²⁴⁴ It is clear therefore that Clyn was

²⁴¹ C.R. Cheney ed., Handbook of Dates for students of English history (London, 1955) 1338 p126-7; 1339 p 96-7.

²⁴² die martis in crastino beate Agathe virginis, Annals of Clyn p 29. The 6 February falls on a Tuesday in 1341, Cheney Handbook of Dates for students of English history p 118.

²⁴³ In the annals noted as anno scilicet 1348, Annals of Clyn p 34.

²⁴⁴ ibid p 34. The siege of Calais was 4 September to 1 August, E. Hallam ed. Chronicles of the age of chivalry (London 1987) p 248-251. R.F. Frame, English lordship in Ireland, 1318-1361 (Oxford, 1982) p 153-6. Desmond Seward, The hundred years war; the English in France 1337-1453 (London 1978) p 68-70. Christopher Allmand,

writing this entry after August 1347. His next dated entry, circa festum Baptiste, reports the capture of Charles de Blois, whom Clyn names as the duke of Brittany, by Sir Thomas Dagworth.²⁴⁵ As Fulco de la Frene was, according to Clyn, a participant at the siege, then he was probably the source for this European information.²⁴⁶ The problem with the dating of this year is that there is no explanation as to why

Clyn's next date, in festo vii Fratrum [10 July], is out of sequence; this date reports the death of Roger de la Frene, then seneschal of Kilkenny,²⁴⁷ and clearly should have come before the notice of the siege of Calais. Is this perhaps just an error on Clyn's part or, as Fulco de la Frene left Ireland in May 1347 to join the king at Calais,²⁴⁸ Clyn may have left a space, in May, to be filled in at a later time.

When the last five dates of that year, 1347, are examined, Christmas to 2 June can in fact be considered

The hundred years war; England and France at war c. 1300-1450 (Cambridge 1988) p 16.

²⁴⁵ Annals of Clyn p 34; Allmand, The hundred years war; England and France at war c. 1300-1450 p16. It should be noted that Thomas Dagworth was the second husband of Eleanor countess of Ormond, R. Frame English Lordship in Ireland 1318-1361 (Oxford,1982) p 344.

²⁴⁶ Annals of Clyn p 34.

²⁴⁷ ibid p 34.

²⁴⁸ Frame, English lordship in Ireland p 153.

as one date as it covers an attack by the Irish which ended in June.²⁴⁹ There is a problem with the next date, undecimo die Novembris, when Clyn reports that the young James Butler, earl of Ormond received regalitas ejus from the king.²⁵⁰ This in fact occurred in February 1347, perhaps 9 November was when the news reached Clyn in Kilkenny? The last date, 3 June, is clearly belonging to the following year as Clyn's additional use of the day of the week, Tuesday, confirms the year as 1348.²⁵¹ On balance it appears that Clyn wrote the year 1347 at least after June 1348, the execution of Donal O'Kennedy at Thurles on 2 June.

The year 1348 is the year in which Clyn reports the plague. Despite this traumatic event, a sequence of dates is present. The year, 1348, is entered beside a report concerning Fulco de la Frene and his domination of the Irish in July and August.²⁵² The report of the plague begins when Clyn reports that fear inspired pilgrimages to St. Mullins well in the months

²⁴⁹ Annals of Clyn p 34. Curtis, Edmund. A history of medieval Ireland from 1086 to 1513 (London 1978) p 214.

²⁵⁰ Annals of Clyn p 34-5.

²⁵¹ die martis scilicet III Nonis Junii, Annals of Clyn p 35. Tuesday 3 June is correct for the year 1348, Cheney Handbook of dates p 143 .

²⁵² Annals of Clyn p 35.

of September and October.²⁵³ This is followed by the report of ^{the} number who had died in Dublin from August to Christmas; thus Clyn is clearly writing this after Christmas 1348. At this point Clyn intervenes with the account of the plagues in Avignon which, he declared, began in the preceding January and he then notes the deaths there between May and July.²⁵⁴ He also enters the Tripoli Prophecy here, which vision he states was seen, anno precedenti scilicet 1347.²⁵⁵ Clyn's narrative then returns to Ireland and enters the number of deaths in the Franciscan friaries of Drogheda and Dublin from the beginning of the plague to Christmas.²⁵⁶ The next date is given as Tuesday, the day after the Purification [2 February 1349], and concerns the death of Conal O'Morthe.²⁵⁷ Clyn returns again to the plague with the information that it was at its height in Kilkenny during Lent (25 February to 12 April 1349) and he reports that from Christmas day to 6 March eight Dominicans died.²⁵⁸ Clearly Clyn was

²⁵³ Clyn, rather cynically, notes that, while a few were inspired by genuine devotion, most went through fear of the plague, Annals of Clyn p 35.

²⁵⁴ Annals of Clyn p 35-6.

²⁵⁵ Annals of Clyn p 36.

²⁵⁶ ibid p 36.

²⁵⁷ ibid p 37.

²⁵⁸ The break in Richard fitzRalph's sermon diary, 11 May 1348 to 25 March 1349, is in agreement with Clyn's report of the plague. A. Gwynn, 'The black death in

writing after 6 March, at the least.²⁵⁹ The next year, 1349, has only one date entered, 16 June, the feast of St Moling.²⁶⁰

It is not possible to state with accuracy when Clyn wrote his annal. Certainly he entered the year 1347 after June 1348. His report concerning the appointment of the archbishop of Ravenna is of some significance here as Clyn reports it at the end of 1347 and it occurred 24 October 1347;²⁶¹ some time must be allowed for the news to reach Clyn in Kilkenny. He also reported the easing of restrictions concerning the eating of meat by the Dominicans in 1347²⁶² but the correct date is 1348.²⁶³ His report of the plague in Dublin is written after Christmas 1348. Apart from the problems of sequence of dating considered above, the year 1333 is the beginning of a stable arrangement.

Reference has been made to the use of days of the week as well as dates. As is common in so many chronicles,

Ireland' Studies 24 (1935) p 30.

²⁵⁹ To say that the plague was at its height in Kilkenny during Lent does not necessarily mean to the last day of Lent.

²⁶⁰ Annals of Clyn p 37.

²⁶¹ Annals of Clyn p 35; Huber Documented History p 247.

²⁶² Annals of Clyn p 34.

²⁶³ Cal.papal letters, III p 283.

the author speaks of events occurring at Easter, at Christmas, in winter, but, where possible, there is more specific dating in a precise and accurate manner, using the day of the week. For example, 1334 In festo Tibertii et Valeriani, ... scilicet, die Jovis,²⁶⁴

This extended form of dating is sometimes present in the earlier part of the annal. The first reported event to use such a double dating is the death of Edward Bruce which is given as early on Saturday morning on the feast of blessed Calixtus pope and martyr [14 October 1318] but this date would have been readily available to any annalist in Ireland.²⁶⁵ The next date to be fully entered recounts the decapitation of the earl of Lancaster in 1321²⁶⁶ and, similarly, that date could be available. In 1327 the annal records the burning of Kells in Ossory as occurring on the first Sunday in Advent and on the eve of the feast of blessed Andrew, the apostle, these dates correlate

²⁶⁴ Annals of Clyn p 25; the date is correct for Thursday 14 April 1334. This form of dating is found frequently throughout the annal eg. xii. Kal: Marcii, die Martis in sero, ibid p 28, correct for Tuesday 18 February 1337, and die Martis in festo Kalixti pape, correct for Tuesday 14 October 1337, ibid p 28.

²⁶⁵ While the Dublin annalist has the same date he does not give a time on Saturday, Chartul. St Mary's vol 2 p 359.

²⁶⁶ Annals of Clyn p 15.

as Sunday 29 November 1327.²⁶⁷ An increasing accuracy in the form of dating now begins to appear, initially only in the case of local names and events²⁶⁸ but, as the years progress, in all reported events. Certainly, from 1331, there is an increase in the number of times that both the day and some form of date are given together.²⁶⁹

THE CAREER OF FRIAR JOHN CLYN 1331-1349

The whereabouts of Clyn, and his age, in 1333 is difficult to determine. After entering the order Clyn would have followed the customary educational path. Whether or not he held some post before becoming guardian of the the friary of Carrick-on-Suir in 1336 is impossible to determine,²⁷⁰ but, evidently, by that year, he was considered to be capable of fulfilling such a role. In the fourteenth century guardians were expected to be well educated and, even though Carrick-on-Suir may not have been a large friary in its initial

²⁶⁷ Local memory, or local source, could account for this accuracy. The Annals of Ross, p 43, give the date only as the first Sunday in Advent but both forms are used in the Kilkenny chronicle Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 338.

²⁶⁸ For example, in 1328, the death of William de Rupe at Bargum on die Martis pridie Idus May, [April 12 1328] Annals of Clyn p 19; in 1329, the burning of Drumhyrthyr on Die Veneris in festo Tiburcii et Susanne ... in vigilia vigilie Palmarum [April 14], ibid p 20.

²⁶⁹ For example see appendix XII.

²⁷⁰ Annals of Clyn p 27.

stage, the fact that the founder was a person of such eminence as the earl of Ormond would ensure that the guardian would be a person of some stature. It should also be noted that the provincial minister of the order, Stephen de Barry, was one of the persons who, with Clyn, first occupied the new foundation.

The notice concerning the fall of St Canice's tower in 1332 does hint at the presence of Clyn in Kilkenny on that day.²⁷¹ However, in 1331, Clyn has a full account of the stranded whales in Dublin and he also reports that Catherine de Burgh died in Dublin. In 1332 there is a report of the hanging of William de Birmingham in Dublin, an entry only to be expected perhaps but Clyn, unlike the Dublin annalist,²⁷² also names the day, Saturday, on which the event took place.²⁷³ It is significant that, in the same year, 1332, a chapter was held at Kilkenny which was not mentioned by Clyn.²⁷⁴ The extensive account pertaining to the death of the earl of Ulster and the part played by the de Mandevilles might be excused on the ground of national importance but the information

²⁷¹ Annals of Clyn p 24.

²⁷² Chartul. St Mary's vol 2 p 337.

²⁷³ Annals of Clyn p 24.

²⁷⁴ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 340.

entered in Clyn's annal is far more extensive than the entry in the Dublin annal, Hoc malum, ut assolet, per mulierem, scilicet Gyle de Burgo, uxorem domini Ricardi de Mandevyle dicebatur perpetratum; eo quod fratrem ejus Walterum de Burgo, et alios incarceravit.²⁷⁵ It is not difficult to imagine such information being available in Dublin.

The presence of Clyn in Kilkenny in 1334 is suggested by the naming of the day on which the burgesses of Kilkenny began to make a pavement in Kilkenny, Thursday the feast of Tiburtius and Valerian [14 April].²⁷⁶ By the same token it should be noted that he does not mention the licence granted by the government to Carrick-on-Suir in 1343 for enclosing the town with a wall and repairing the bridge,²⁷⁷ an indication that he had, perhaps, left Carrick-on-Suir by then. In fact he may well have left Carrick-on-Suir shortly after 1338, when the earl of Ormond died leaving a minor as his heir with the result that the building programme did not commence until after 1347.²⁷⁸ In 1335 Clyn describes the funeral of Remundus le Ercedekne with his

²⁷⁵ Annals of Clyn p 25. Orpen, Normans vol 4 p 245-247.

²⁷⁶ Annals of Clyn p 25.

²⁷⁷ C.A. Empey 'The manor of Carrick-on Suir in the middle ages' in Butler Soc.Jn 2 (1985) p 210.

²⁷⁸ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire.
p 140

two sons, his uncle and three others who, having been killed on the Thursday 4 May, in septem feretris simul et continue per villam Kilkennie, cum multorum planctu ad locum Fratrum Minorum deferuntur tumulandi.²⁷⁹. In the same year, on the Thursday 14 December according to Clyn, a great cross was erected in the middle of the market place in Kilkenny and, multi ad crucem volantes, crucis signo cum ferro candenti super nudem carnem sunt signati, ut in Terram Sanctam vadant.²⁸⁰

While these entries do not offer proof of Clyn's presence in Kilkenny, the detail included in the reports suggest that it is at least plausible to conjecture that, if Clyn was in Dublin in 1331-2, he was once again in Kilkenny in 1334 and 1335. He moved to Carrick-on-Suir in 1336 but was back again in Kilkenny by possibly 1338-9 or, at the very latest, 1343. This theory is supported by Clyn's report that during the flood on Tuesday 17 November 1338, solum altare magnum et gradus altaris de tota abbacia Fratrum Minorum Kilkennie aqua non attigit nec cooperuit.²⁸¹ In 1340 Clyn reports that Robert Conton was killed, In platea Kilkenie, on Friday 21 April.²⁸²

²⁷⁹ Annals of Clyn p 26.

²⁸⁰ Annals of Clyn p 27.

²⁸¹ Annals of Clyn p 28.

²⁸² ibid p 29.

If Clyn was returning to Kilkenny during this period, 1338-9, it might explain why he had omitted to enter the title of the year 1339 in his annal.

When considering the entries over the next few years and especially the details regarding the dates then it quickly becomes apparent that some explanation must be found to account for the absence of detailed dating for the years 1342, 1343 and even 1344.²⁸³ A close examination of the annals suggests that the explanation could be that friar John Clyn attended the General Chapter of the Franciscan order at Marseilles in 1343, Item, in Pentecoste celebratur capitulum generale apud Marciliam.²⁸⁴ Only once before, in 1313,²⁸⁵ and never again, did Clyn note any general chapter, not even those held at Assisi, the birthplace of St Francis, in 1334 and 1339.²⁸⁶

The general chapter was attended by provincial

²⁸³ See appendix Xlll

²⁸⁴ Annals of Clyn p 30.

²⁸⁵ Capitulum generale Barc..nono, Annals of Clyn p 11; this is the general chapter at Barcelona in 1313, Huber Documented History p 206-207.

²⁸⁶ Neither did Clyn mention the next two general chapters that took place in 1346 and 1348; for a list of general chapters, see Huber Documented History p 930-931.

ministers and clearly they did not travel alone.²⁸⁷
The Provincial Minister in 1336 was Stephen de Barry,
ingressus fratrum primus in locum de Carrig; fratre
Stephano de Barry ministro;... et fratre Clyn primo
tunc gardiano.,²⁸⁸ therefore Clyn was well known to
the senior members of his order. Stephen de Barry is
the only minister named in Clyn's annals and that was
only in terms of a new foundation.

There is no record of the name of the Provincial
Minister in 1343.²⁸⁹ A letter from Pope Clement VI,
dated 3 Non. May 1343, makes it clear that Stephen de
Barry was dead and the pope was requesting the vicar
general of the order, Fortanerius Vassali, to choose
a new provincial minister for Ireland.²⁹⁰ It is not
impossible that Clyn himself could have been chosen
as the provincial minister at that time and yet leave
no record of the fact. If indeed Clyn did, at a later
stage, become guardian of Kilkenny,²⁹¹ he does not
mention that fact in his annal. Humility was central

²⁸⁷ In 1294, William, plus seven others, travelled to
the general chapter, Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan
Province Ire. p 66.

²⁸⁸ Annals of Clyn p 27.

²⁸⁹ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire.
p 209.

²⁹⁰ Cal. papal letters III p 87

²⁹¹ As alleged in the manuscript in Trinity College
Dublin, TCD MS 574 p 443.

to the teaching of St Francis and therefore it would not be untoward to find that Clyn was reticent about his status. That he spoke of his position in respect of Carrick-on-Suir is understandable as that was the foundation of a new friary granted to the order by a very distinguished and influential benefactor, the earl of Ormond.

Whether Clyn attended the General Chapter at Marseilles as the Provincial Minister or as an accompanying friar, it is more than feasible that he was present at Marseilles in 1343.²⁹² At that general chapter, by the wish of Pope Clement VI, Fortanerius Vassali (1343-1348), who had been appointed Vicar general, was elected General of the Order.²⁹³ In 1347 Clyn reports, correctly, that frater Fortenarrus Vassali minister generalis assumitur ad archiepiscopatum Ravenarum.²⁹⁴ As Clyn is very reticent on all Franciscan matters and has heretofore displayed no

²⁹² At the end of Clyn's annals is a list of custodies and houses in England and Ireland which, Clyn states, was collectis in capitulo generali celebrato Anno Domini 1331/1320, Annals of Clyn p 39; TCD MS 574 p 405. BL MS Add 4789 f.100 names the years as 1331/1332. The fact that neither the date nor the place was correctly stated implies that Clyn was not personally present at the general chapter at Perpignan in 1331 when this list was drawn up, but he could have obtained the list in Marseilles in 1343.

²⁹³ Huber Documented History p 246.

²⁹⁴ Annals of Clyn p35.

comparable interest in such matters an explanation must be sought for this entry and the answer could lie in a meeting between Clyn and Vassali at Marseilles in 1343. If Clyn had been the friar chosen by Vassali as the new provincial minister in May 1343 then he would, of course, have maintained an keen interest in Vassali's career.

As previously described, Clyn has information in the latter end of his annal that may have emanated from Avignon, namely, the plague, the Tripoli prophecy and the rise of Cola di Rienzo. It is noteworthy that Cola di Rienzo was in Avignon in 1343 and one might speculate on the possibility of a meeting between Cola di Rienzo and Clyn at that time. If the friars from Ireland travelled to Marseilles through France (and not directly by sea) then it is difficult to imagine that they would fail to visit the papal city of Avignon on their way south to Marseilles. A meeting between Cola di Rienzo and Clyn would account for an interest in his affairs being demonstrated in Kilkenny in 1347.

Some interesting events occurred in Ireland after 1343 that may not be unrelated to the general chapter. Clyn has this report in 1345, Item capitulum apud Clan, in quo quattor tantum custodie assignatur; et loca

Kilkenie et Ros de custodia, Dublinie assignantur.²⁹⁵

It is reasonable to assume that such a decision would have been a subject for discussion at the chapter. If the friars visited Avignon en route to Marseilles they may also have discussed the new foundation of Carrick-on-Suir; in 1347 Clement VI granted licence to build at Carrick-on-Suir as long as twelve friars could be maintained there.²⁹⁶

The year 1342, as reported by Clyn, begins with the notice of a new campanile of St Mary's, Kilkenny; Clyn gives no date. The next item is given a date, the general chapter at Marseilles. The presence of Clyn at Marseilles in 1343 would also account for the next entry in that year, Item, obiit in festo Vincencii martiris dominus rex Robertus, rex Jerusalem et Cecilie, vir celebris et famosus, vir sapiens et sanctus, in habitu Fratrum Minorum Neapolim sepultus.²⁹⁷ The fact that Clyn includes this report, with the date, supports the theory that he was in Marseilles in 1343.

FRIAR JOHN CLYN AND HIS SURROUNDINGS

An initial reading of the Annals of Clyn does not

²⁹⁵ Annals of Clyn p 31.

²⁹⁶ Cal. papal letters, III p 263

²⁹⁷ Annals of Clyn p 30.

immediately result in the recognition of the annals as the work of a Franciscan - apart that is from Clyn's own personal information. The first mention of the Franciscan order is a notice regarding the confirmation of the order in 1215.²⁹⁸ Clyn has more information about the early Dominicans than about his own order. He records the arrival of the Dominicans in England²⁹⁹ but has no information regarding the arrival of his own order in England. However, he merely states that blessed Dominic died³⁰⁰ but of St. Francis he relates Obiit beatus Franciscus, transactis 20 annis postquam adhererat perfecte consiliis ewangeliorum perfectionis.³⁰¹ Clyn has no information regarding the arrival of the Franciscans in Ireland. The first mention of the order in Ireland is in 1257 with the notice that Maurice Fitzgerald died, in habitu, et frater minor.³⁰² The first mention of the order in Kilkenny is in 1267 with the notice that a chapter of minors was held there.³⁰³ Other chapters are

²⁹⁸ Annals of Clyn p 7.

²⁹⁹ ibid p 7.

³⁰⁰ ibid p 7.

³⁰¹ ibid p 7.

³⁰² ibid p 8.

³⁰³ ibid p 8.

noted,³⁰⁴ up to and including a chapter at Clare in 1321.³⁰⁵ Apart from the chapter at Clane, in 1345, as already noted, Clyn, in his section, does not concern himself with notices of chapters; there is no mention of the chapter held in Kilkenny in 1332.³⁰⁶ The establishment of the friary of Clonmel is recorded in 1269³⁰⁷ and the foundation of Carrick-on-Suir in 1336,³⁰⁸ but no mention is made of the foundation of Tethmoy in 1325.³⁰⁹ The only other notices concerning the Franciscans are of a miscellaneous nature; the creation of Matthew as minister in 1282,³¹⁰ the death of a friar Philip de Norraht in 1309,³¹¹ the Scottish attack on the friars in Dundalk in 1315,³¹² the canonisation of Louis, the Franciscan archbishop of

³⁰⁴ There are also notices of chapters held at Dundalk [1282], Dublin [1284], Cork [1291], Kilkenny [1308], Youghal [1312], Down [1313], Waterford [1317], Ross [1318], Kildare [1320] and Clare [1321]. This is the last notice until the chapter at Clane in 1345. There is no mention of the chapter held in Kilkenny in 1332.

³⁰⁵ ibid p 14.

³⁰⁶ Flower, 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British museum', p 340.

³⁰⁷ Annals of Clyn p 9.

³⁰⁸ ibid p 27.

³⁰⁹ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire.
p 126-7.

³¹⁰ Annals of Clyn p 9.

³¹¹ ibid p 11.

³¹² ibid p 12.

Toulouse, in 1318,³¹³ and the death of the guardian of Ross in 1333.³¹⁴ From the year 1321, when Clyn reports the building of a new choir,³¹⁵ notices can be found regarding the friary of Kilkenny; a new altar in 1323,³¹⁶ the consecration of the churchyard in 1331,³¹⁷ and the inauguration of a confraternity in 1347.³¹⁸ The other principal Franciscan notice is of course the foundation of Carrickbeg in 1336. Evidently, Clyn has an interest in the friary of Kilkenny from 1321.

In these annals it might be expected that there would be some comment about the controversial Franciscan bishop of Ossory, Richard Ledrede,³¹⁹ but this is not the case; his name is mentioned three times in this annal. In 1317 it is reported that he was consecrated

³¹³ ibid p 13. Margaret Tonybee, Saint Louis of Toulouse and the process of Canonization in the fourteenth century (British Society of Franciscan Studies xv 1929).

³¹⁴ ibid p 25.

³¹⁵ ibid p 15.

³¹⁶ ibid p 16.

³¹⁷ ibid p 24.

³¹⁸ ibid p 34.

³¹⁹ For a full discussion of Richard Ledrede see Ann Neary, 'Richard de Ledrede, English Franciscan and bishop of Ossory' (Moderatorship thesis TCD 1978); Anne Neary 'Richard Ledrede: English Franciscan and bishop of Ossory 1317-c.1360', Butler Soc.Jn 2 (1984), pp 273-82.

bishop of Ossory, in Avignon, by Pope John XXII.³²⁰ His name is only mentioned in the long report of the Alice Kytler affair in 1324.³²¹ As he fled from Ireland in 1329,³²² and did not return until the end of 1347³²³, his absence from Kilkenny may account for his absence from Clyn's work. Although the information regarding the Franciscan order is minimal,³²⁴ this is unquestionably a Franciscan annal. An explanation for the sparsity of Franciscan entries can probably be sought in the presence of the annal in the Liber communitatis; we have knowledge of some Franciscan material in that volume,³²⁵ and there is no reason to doubt that a volume with at least 300 folios, belonging to the Franciscans would contain a considerable amount of Franciscan material. Given that fact, there would be no need to duplicate Franciscan material in the annal.

It is evident from his name that Clyn was either English or Anglo-Irish and, from the lack of notices

³²⁰ Annals of Clyn p 13.

³²¹ ibid p 16.

³²² Anne Neary, 'Richard Ledrede: English Franciscan and bishop of Ossory, 1317-c.1360', p 278.

³²³ ibid p 279.

³²⁴ Compared, that is, with such writers as Salimbene and Thomas of Eccleston.

³²⁵ For a probable list of contents see above p 353

about England, most probably Anglo-Irish. Internal evidence, both with regard to the Irish nation and the Anglo-Irish nation, also supports this assumption. As has been suggested, the placename Clinstown in Co. Kilkenny may have some bearing on the whereabouts of the family of Clyn. Clinstown is approximately 6½ miles north west of the centre of Kilkenny where the rivers Nore and Braccan meet.³²⁶ One mile from Clinstown is Foulksrath, Fulco's Rath, which was named after its earlier proprietors, the de la Frene.³²⁷ Clyn's greatest praise in his annal is reserved not just for Fulco de la Frene but for many members of the family. For example when, in 1347, he reports the death of Roger de la Frene, seneschal of Kilkenny, he calls him juvenis validus, prudens et discretus, qui ut putabatur ad magna et ardua ascendisset nisi morte prematura preventus fuisset.³²⁸ In the same year Oliver de la Frene, also in the office of seneschal of Kilkenny, is reported as, vir probus, modestus et prudens.³²⁹ When Geoffrey de la Frene was killed by the O'Morthe in Slieve Margy in 1333, Clyn adds the

³²⁶ Carrigan Diocese of Ossory vol 2 p 199.

³²⁷ ibid p 197; For the de la Frene family see Robin Frame, English Lordship in Ireland 1318-1361 p 71-2; J.A. Watt, 'The Anglo-Irish colony under strain 1327-99', in N.H.I. vol ii p 359-61.

³²⁸ Annals of Clyn p 34.

³²⁹ ibid p 34.

information that he was the heir of Obargi³³⁰ and then names his wife, Joanna Purcell.³³¹ This Geoffrey was the holder of lands in Foulksrath, a few miles from Clinstown.³³²

Clyn displays an intense interest in the MacGillapatricks, whose later principal stronghold and residence was at Cullahill about ten miles from Clinstown.³³³ The MacGillapatricks had been kings of Ossory³³⁴ and although they had lost the portion of their kingdom that is represented by Co. Kilkenny they were constantly trying to retrêive their ancient lands. There was a long standing link between Kilkenny and the MacGillapatrick family. The first mention of a Mac Gillapatrick being killed at Kilkenny was in 1146 when, 'Gillaphadraig, the grandson of Donnchadh, lord of

³³⁰ According to J. O'Donovan, this is O-m Bairrhe, a territory in extending into the county of Kilkenny, ibid p 57.

³³¹ ibid p 25. This is not the only recorded marriage between the two families. Katherine de fraxineto was the wife of Maurice Purcell in 1338, Calendar of Ormond Deeds 1172-1350 p 338.

³³² Knights' Fees p 184.

³³³ For the Mc Gilpatricks and Aghaboe see C. A. Empey, 'The cantreds of medieval Kilkenny', R.S.A.I.Jn 101 (1971) p 128; C.A. Empey, 'County Kilkenny in the Anglo-Norman period', in Nolan, W., and Whelan, K., eds. Kilkenny: history and society (Dublin, 1990), p 79, 89.

³³⁴ Carrigan Diocese of Ossory vol 1 passim. See maps in A. P Smyth Celtic Leinster (Dublin, 1982) p 149, 150,

Osraighe, was killed by the O'Braenains, by treachery in the middle of Cill-Cainnigh.³³⁵ In 1173 the MacGillapatricks destroyed Kilkenny castle.³³⁶ Clyn displays what might be considered to be a personal knowledge of the members of this family; he names a Carwill, Dermicius, Dovenaldus Duff, Fynyn, Galfridus, Hogebyn, Raynyl and Scanlon. In 1330, there is a report that on the Sunday, the feast of Vitalis and Agricola, Donatus, the son of Geoffrey MacGillapatrik was killed at Kilkenny.³³⁷ In 1340, Clyn reports the killing of Raynyl, the sister of MacGillapatrik by the Rechefords.³³⁸ Apart from the queen, the only other women mentioned by Clyn are Isabella Palmer, benefactor of Kilkenny friary,³³⁹ Gyle de Mandeville, according to Clyn, responsible for the death of the earl of Ulster,³⁴⁰ Catherine de Burgh, wife of the earl of Ulster³⁴¹ and Joanna Purcell, wife of Geoffrey de la Frene.³⁴² The naming of Raynyl MacGillapatrik must

³³⁵ Annals of the Four Masters vol 2 p 1081.

³³⁶ C.A. Empey, 'County Kilkeny in the Anglo-Norman period', in Kilkenny: History and Society p 77.

³³⁷ Annals of Clyn p 22.

³³⁸ ibid p 29.

³³⁹ ibid p 34.

³⁴⁰ ibid p 25.

³⁴¹ ibid p 24.

³⁴² ibid p 25.

therefore be considered as proof of Clyn's interest in, and knowledge of, the MacGillapatrik family. In 1345 Clyn names Carwill MacGillapatrik as, patrie princeps, in his report of his death³⁴³ and in 1346 he calls Dermot MacGillapatrik, monoculus.³⁴⁴ Despite being two separate nations, there was clearly some contact between the MacGillapatriks and their Anglo-Irish neighbours, perhaps even fosterage and marriage.³⁴⁵ An example of such a contact is the second marriage of the earl of Desmond to a daughter of Conor O'Brien of Thomond.³⁴⁶ Such marriages could be expedient, the king granted licence to the marriage of Almaric Grace and Tibina, daughter of O'Magher in 1385, with a view to the improvement of the peace of Co Kilkenny.³⁴⁷ A document referring to the perambulation of part of the manor of Durrow between 1468 and 1478 gives evidence

³⁴³ ibid p 32.

³⁴⁴ ibid p 32.

³⁴⁵ J. F. Lydon 'The middle nation' in The English in Medieval Ireland (Dublin 1984) p 13-17; J.F. Lydon The lordship of Ireland in the middle ages p 181 et. seq., 282-3; J.F. Lydon 'The problem of the frontier in Medieval Ireland', Topic: A Journal of the liberal arts 13 (1967) p 17-21.

³⁴⁶ G. O. Sayles, 'The rebellious first earl of Desmond' in Medieval Studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., ed. J.A. Watt, J.B. Morrall, and F.X. Martin (Dublin 1961), p 216.

³⁴⁷ Carrigan Diocese of Ossory vol 3 p 501. For an indenture between James, earl of Ormond, and the chief of the O'Brenans of Idough in 1359 and 1400 see Ormond Deeds 1350-1413 p 245-247.

of a marriage between the MacGillapatricks and the Butlers, 'the daughter of Edmund Botiller, wife of the late McGillephadrik.³⁴⁸

When local placenames mentioned by Clyn are studied then the association between Clyn and Clinstown is strengthened. For example, when, in 1330, Clyn reports the birth of John, the first born son of James earl of Ormond, he also states that this event occurred at Athur on the Tuesday following the feast of St Leonard.³⁴⁹ Athur is in fact Freshford³⁵⁰ which is about 3 miles from Clinstown. In 1329 there is a report of the burning of Moyarfe³⁵¹ on Monday 17 April by Donatus MacGillapatricks.³⁵² On the previous Friday 14 April Drumhyrthyr was burnt by the O'Brennans.³⁵³ There is some confusion about the identification of this place as O'Donovan identifies it as Drumaghadohir,

³⁴⁸ H.J. Lawlor, 'Calendar of the Liber Ruber of the Diocese of Ossory' in R.I.A. Proc 27, C (1908-9), p 170.

³⁴⁹ Annals of Clyn p 22. Even though this entry may be part of Clyn's compilation the precise information concerning the birthplace indicates a local interest.

³⁵⁰ Carrigan Diocese of Ossory vol 2 p 246, 251.

³⁵¹ According to O'Donovan, this is Magh-Airbh in the present barony of Crannagh, Co Kilkenny, Annals of Clyn p 56. Crannagh is a modern creation, C.A. Empey, 'The cantreds of medieval Kilkenny', p 128.

³⁵² Annals of Clyn p 20.

³⁵³ ibid p 20.

near Castlecomer³⁵⁴ but Carrigan identifies it as Drymerrin, was the property of the de la Frenes.³⁵⁵ In 1328 William, the son of John de Rupe, was killed at Bargum [Rosbercon].³⁵⁶ The de la Frene family had lands in the parish of Rosbercon.³⁵⁷ The Erkedekne family, frequently mentioned by Clyn³⁵⁸ had lands in what is now Galmoy,³⁵⁹ a few miles from Clinstown.

As is to be expected, Clyn, in his annal, has information concerning the principal Anglo-Irish lords of Ireland, the earls of Ulster,³⁶⁰ Desmond³⁶¹ and, particularly, the earl of Ormond. The Butler family, whose principal seat at this period was Gowran,³⁶² are by far the most frequently mentioned name in this

³⁵⁴ ibid p 56.

³⁵⁵ Carrigan Diocese of Ossory vol 3 p 464.

³⁵⁶ Annals of Clyn p 19; for identification of placename ibid p 55.

³⁵⁷ Carrigan Diocese of Ossory vol 4 p 187-189. Also in the parish of Rosbercon is St Moling well scene of the pilgrimage in 1347, Annals of Clyn p 35.

³⁵⁸ Annals of Clyn p 12, 26, 27, 30.

³⁵⁹ C.A. Empey, 'The cantreds of medieval Kilkenny' p 128.

³⁶⁰ Annals of Clyn p 7, 10, 11, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24.

³⁶¹ ibid p 21, 23, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.

³⁶² C.A. Empey, 'The Butler lordship' Butler Soc. Jn, 1 (1970-1), 181.

annal, scarcely a year passes without their mention.³⁶³ Apart from the earls, men from lower ranking families noted by Clyn are usually either from Kilkenny, Tipperary, Carlow, Wexford and Waterford or are part of the justiciar's entourage. The Irish names mentioned are local with pride of place going to the MacGillapatricks. The O'Briens are included because of the Desmond connection.³⁶⁴

AN ANALYSIS OF THE VIEWPOINT IN THE ANNALS OF CLYN

A method of determining the personal contribution to an annal must be to consider the degree of bias evident in the entries. As the earlier section of the annal must be a compilation it is difficult in that circumstance to declare whether biased entries before 1333 are or are not the work of Clyn. Personal comment in the earlier section of the annal is rare. One exceptional notice refers to John fitz Thomas, brother of Maurice fitz Thomas, whose death is reported, in

³⁶³ From the year 1317, they are mentioned in 1319, 1320, 1321, 1323, 1325, 1326, 1328, 1329, 1329, 1329, 1329, 1330, 1330, 1331, 1331, 1333, 1333, 1334, 1335, 1335, 1336, 1336, 1337, 1337, 1338, 1348. The long break between 1337 and 1348 is occasioned by the death of the earl of Ormond in 1337, the entry in 1338 is the report of the death of his brother Lawrence. In 1348 James Butler received the regalities from the king, Annals of Clyn p 34-5.

³⁶⁴ For example see G. O. Sayles, 'The rebellious first earl of Desmond' in Medieval Studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., ed. J.A. Watt, J.B. Morrall, and F.X. Martin (Dublin 1961), p 210.

1324, with the forceful comment, Miles iste juvenis juvenum consilio ut plurimum constipatus, ductus et seductus, a progenitorum ejus militia et vestigiis degenerans, pacis extitit non propugnator nec defensor, sed expugnator.³⁶⁵ The problem here is whether this is Clyn's personal comment or was copied directly from his source.³⁶⁶ If the former then the explanation may be connected with Clyn's opinion of the earl of Desmond and his adherents. The only other personal comments in this section, before the 1330's, are usually in connection with the deaths of men noted for their good or evil deeds.³⁶⁷ Personal observations begin in 1332 with the report of the fall of the belltower of St Canice's which Clyn describes as, unde horribile et miserabile spectaculum erat contuentibus.³⁶⁸ This type of personal remark can be found with increasing frequency in the following years.

³⁶⁵ Annals of Clyn p 16.

³⁶⁶ This death is not reported by the Kilkenny Chronicle, the Annals of Ross, or by the Dublin annalist.

³⁶⁷ Examples of favourable comment are, Hamundus le Grasse in 1315, Annals of Clyn p 12; David, prior of Inistoke, in 1324, ibid p 17; John de Barry de Hely in 1325, ibid p 17; Matthew de Myleborne in 1326, ibid p 17-8; the earl of Ulster in 1326, ibid p 18; the archbishop of Cashel, ibid p 18; Cam O'Kayrwill in 1329, ibid p 20. Examples of unfavourable comment are, Edward Bruce in 1315, ibid p 12; Thomas Don in 1318, ibid p 13; Gilbert de Rupe in 1318, ibid p 14; William, son of Reginald Conteton, in 1322, ibid p 15.

³⁶⁸ ibid p 24.

Clyn has sometimes been considered as hostile to the Irish³⁶⁹ and indeed it might be expected that an Anglo-Irish writer living in Ireland in the aftermath of the Bruce invasion should view the Irish nation with suspicion but this belief may be too simplistic and over-exaggerated. Indeed for nearly every entry before 1333 which is antagonistic to the Irish nation a correspondingly severe entry can be found against a member of the Anglo-Irish race. Certainly the Irish, together with the Scots, are blamed for sacking Dundalk friary.³⁷⁰ And in 1316 the annalist is unequivocal, omnes Hibernici fidem fedissime et fidelitatem deserentes, ut communiter se ad guerram posuerunt.³⁷¹

The Irish were not the only race to abandon faith, William Savage is named as the Anglo-Irish supporter of Bruce³⁷² and the Anglo-Irish were blamed in 1317 for the great damage that they caused as they followed the Scots through Ireland.³⁷³

³⁶⁹ 'a Kilkenny friar hostile to the Irish', R.F. Frame, 'Power and society in the lordship of Ireland, 1272-1377' Past and Present no. 76 (1977) p 29n118; 'That fervent hater of the Irish, the Franciscan friar John Clyn', B. O'Sullivan, O.P. 'Medieval Irish Dominican studies', Irish Rosary 53 (1949), p305.

³⁷⁰ Annals of Clyn p 12.

³⁷¹ ibid p 12. 'This is an exaggerated estimate of the situation', Lydon, The lordship of Ireland in the middle ages p 148.

³⁷² Annals of Clyn p 13.

³⁷³ ibid p 13.

The annalist can be very critical of individuals both Anglo-Irish and Irish; Gilbert de Rupe was killed in 1318 and the comment was, justorum occisor, et fidelium;³⁷⁴ when John, son of Donatus O'Morthe, was killed in 1319, the comment was similar, pacis et pacificorum fidelium impugnator.³⁷⁵ In 1322 William, son of Reginald Conteton, is described as, maximus malefactorum et depredator,³⁷⁶ but the family is redeemed in the following year when Robert, the son of Matthew Caunteton, killed two hundred, de Hibernicis et malefactoribus.³⁷⁷ In 1324, when the death of John fitz Thomas, the brother of Maurice fitz Thomas, was reported his behaviour was lamented.³⁷⁸ The Anglo-Irish Rupenses were forced to give hostages in order to in order to maintain peace in 1324³⁷⁹ but they were in trouble again, in 1328, when William, the son of John de Rupe, cum aliis malefactoribus, hominibus et consanguineis suis,³⁸⁰ was killed at Bargum [Rosbercon]. The Irish O'Carrols are deplored in 1325 when they, vix reliquit domum, castrum aut villam in

³⁷⁴ ibid p 14.

³⁷⁵ ibid p 14.

³⁷⁶ ibid p 15.

³⁷⁷ ibid p 16.

³⁷⁸ ibid p 16.

³⁷⁹ ibid p 17.

³⁸⁰ ibid p 19.

villam in Elycarwyll, inter Anglicos et pacis amatores, quin combussit et destruxit.³⁸¹ It is interesting to speculate about what Clyn's attitude would have been to Peter de Bermingham's treachery towards the O'Connors in 1305 had he been writing at that period, as it is he presumably merely enters the item as his source dictated.³⁸² It is true that Clyn views the Irish nation as disloyal but equally so, in his opinion, are individual members of the Anglo-Irish race.³⁸³ The earl of Ulster was killed in 1333, per suos armigeros (in quibus confidebat), prodiciose occiditur.³⁸⁴

Treachery, whether occasioned by the Irish or by the Anglo-Irish, results in a disapproving comment by Clyn. In 1325 Dovenaldus Duff MacGillapadrack was killed, per suos consanguineos, sed prodiciose,³⁸⁵ and, in 1329, Malahtlyng O'Konkour [O'Connor] was killed, non marte

³⁸¹ ibid p 17. 'Clyn places this expedition in 1325, but it actually took place two years earlier', C.A. Empey, 'The Butler lordship', p 177n20.

³⁸² ibid p 11. J.F. Lydon, 'A land of War', N.H.I. vol ii p 267-8.

³⁸³ 'Marriage and other bonds of alliance had long crossed and blurred national boundaries and loyalties were largely local and personal in a society marked by violent competition and feud', R.F. Frame, 'Military service in Ireland', in Medieval Frontier society ed. R.Bartlett and A. MacKay (Oxford, 1989) p 120.

³⁸⁴ Annals of Clyn p 24.

³⁸⁵ ibid p 17.

also a suspect character in the eyes of the annalist because, he states, occiderat prodiciose, et sic ars deluditur arte.³⁸⁶ In the same year the earl of Louth was killed by the men of his county³⁸⁷ and, while the annalist is not as outspoken in condemnation on this occasion, the words, contra eum conspiraverunt, and, nulli de familia ejus parcentes,³⁸⁸ can in themselves be considered a reproach, as can the eulogy on Cam O'Kayrwill which accompanied the account. This long eulogy,

famosus ille timpanista et cytharista, in arte sua fenix, ea pollens prerogativa et virtute.... et si non fuerat artis musice cordalis primus inventor, omnium tamen predecessorum et precedentium ipsum, ac contemporaneorum, corrector, doctor et director extitit,³⁸⁹

and indeed the whole entry is of particular interest as it is unique in the extant Anglo-Irish medieval annals.³⁹⁰ By comparison, the Annals of Connacht only has this comment, 'And with him was killed Maelruanaid Mac Cerbaill, the king of music-making, called Gilla Caech, and a brother of his; and none knows if there ever was or ever will be so good a player on the

³⁸⁶ ibid p 20.

³⁸⁷ For a full discussion of this event see J.F. Lydon, 'The Braganstown Massacre, 1329', Louth Arch. Soc Jn. 19 (1977-80), pp5-16

³⁸⁸ Annals of Clyn p 20.

³⁸⁹ ibid p 20.

³⁹⁰ Chartul. St Mary's vol 2 p 369-70.

timpe'.³⁹¹ Clearly, Mac Cerbaill was a notable musician but the notice in Clyn's annal is so particular that it might be surmised that the annalist was both a lover of music and knew the Irish musician personally.

After the year 1333 the degree of personal comment increases. The opening notice of that year is the account of the treachery of Scanlon MacGillapatrik who seized and killed two of his own cousins and the third, exoculavit et castravit.³⁹² Moreover, all this occurred after Scanlon had sworn oaths, prodiciose, post multa et iterata sacramenta super diversis libris, et sanctorum multiplicibus reliquiis.³⁹³ However, in 1336, Scanlon, together with Herry O'Ryan, is deemed a loyal Irishman, solum autem Scanlan Mc Gilpatricke et Herry O'Ryan partem tenebant Anglicorum et pacis.³⁹⁴ It should be remembered that the forces opposing the 'Irish enemies' frequently contained large numbers of Irish troops.³⁹⁵ The Scanlon treachery of

³⁹¹ Ann. Conn. p 265.

³⁹² Annals of Clyn p 24.

³⁹³ ibid p 24.

³⁹⁴ ibid p 27. Scanlon MacGillapatrik was in alliance with the earl of Ormond in March 1336, Calendar of Ormond Deeds 1172-1350 p 289.

³⁹⁵ R.F. Frame, 'Military service in Ireland', in Medieval Frontier society (Oxford, 1989) p 124.

1333 can be matched by the action taken against the earl of Ulster in the same year.³⁹⁶ Following on in this account, Clyn displays a bias as he describes how the perpetrators of the crime, Hibernicis se jungentes (qui semper Anglicorum et fidelium persecutoribus receptores amici et defensores esse solent).³⁹⁷ Just retribution followed this and, according to Clyn, they derived only a brief and momentary solace from this alliance.³⁹⁸

Clyn, in the account of the earl's death, also reveals an attitude to women when he declares, Hoc malum, ut assolet per mulierem, scilicet Gyle de Burgo ... dicebatur perpetratum.³⁹⁹ As a counter to this opinion must be placed the eulogy of Isabella Palmer in 1347, in viduitate religiose et honorifice vixit annis circiter lxx et in virginitate ut dicebatur et creditur de hoc seculo migravit.⁴⁰⁰ Perhaps Clyn could say no less considering that she had been such a great benefactor of Kilkenny friary, frontem chori

³⁹⁶ Annals of Clyn p 24-5.

³⁹⁷ ibid p 25.

³⁹⁸ ibid p 25.

³⁹⁹ ibid p 25. Orpen Normans vol 4 p 246-5.

⁴⁰⁰ Annals of Clyn p 34.

fratum erigi fecit.⁴⁰¹

An interesting comment was made by Clyn, in 1333, when Murkyht Nicol Othothyl was murdered in Dublin by an assa^Sin who then fled. Clyn viewed it as God's judgement, et hoc Dei justo iudicio, qui multos male ipse fideles occiderat ante.⁴⁰² This cannot be viewed as prejudice against the Irish solely on the basis of an Irish name as it is in keeping with Clyn's stern views on malefactors.⁴⁰³ However, it is virtually the only instance of a didactic comment in the annal. When speaking of William Carraght O'Bren, in 1333, Clyn can find nothing good to say, homo perversus et malus, male vixit, malo fine vitam finivit, semper in insidiis, semper in furtis, semper in spoliis et homicidiis vivens.⁴⁰⁴ However, neither can he find anything good to say about the Anglo-Irish family of St Aubin who are also guilty of treachery. John de Sancto Albino, lord of Cumcy, occiditur prodiciose, in his chapel, by the

⁴⁰¹ Clyn p 34. Virginity was considered to be the highest ideal a woman could aspire to in this period. M.B. Rose Women in the middle ages and the renaissance (Syracuse, 1968) p 31.

⁴⁰² Annals of Clyn p 25.

⁴⁰³ A Murghut O'Tothel had been in the company of the Justiciar setting out from Dublin to Kilkenny in order to subdue the Irish of Leinster in 1329, 43rd rept. D.K. p 28.

⁴⁰⁴ Annals of Clyn p 25.

sons of Walter de Sancto Albino, in quibus confidebat.⁴⁰⁵ The family were again the subject of interest when, in 1336, it is reported that the sons of Walter and those of the cognatos of John were to settle their argument, sed filii Walteri finem et exitum prodicionis sue timentes et vindictam, pugnare renuerunt.⁴⁰⁶ Yet again, the family were rebuked by Clyn, in 1344, as, molestores de cognomine de Sancto Albino,⁴⁰⁷ and it is of the same family, not an Irish family, that Clyn writes of, again in 1344, combusserunt, et patriam spoliaverunt, multos fideles occiderunt, gravia dampna fidelibus patrie inferentes.⁴⁰⁸

Another person who is the occasion of Clyn's displeasure is Eustace le Poer who imprisoned Fulco and Oliver de la Frene⁴⁰⁹ in 1338. He is duly rebuked by Clyn who declares that Eustace, nulla eis ostensa causa capcionis,⁴¹⁰ and because, as Clyn informs us, the de

⁴⁰⁵ ibid p 26.

⁴⁰⁶ Annals of Clyn p 27.

⁴⁰⁷ ibid p 30.

⁴⁰⁸ ibid p 30.

⁴⁰⁹ It is of interest to note here that Oliver de la Frene is named, together with Walter Clinger, in the court of Arnold le Poer in 1344, Liber Primus Kilkenn. p 7.

⁴¹⁰ Annals of Clyn p 28.

la Frene's did not trust Eustace, Clyn fully justifies Oliver's subsequent escape from the castle.⁴¹¹ The le Poers are subject of censure later in the same year when they, post juramenta et diem captum inter eos, they attacked and killed Walter de Valle and men of his sanguine et familia.⁴¹² It is difficult to be certain of Clyn's attitude to the death of Maurice fitz Nicholas, who having been captured and imprisoned by his kinsman, Maurice fitzThomas, earl of Desmond, in carcere, in dieta inclusus moritur.⁴¹³

When Scanlon MacGillapatrik was praised for remaining loyal to the Anglo-Irish in 1336, the leader of the warring Irish faction was Leysaght O'Morthe who, suasionibus, promissionibus et muneribus alexit ad guerram, had convinced all the Irish of Leinster and Munster to fight.⁴¹⁴ In 1342, when reporting the death of Leysaght, Clyn, while stating his military

⁴¹¹ C. A. Empey, 'County Kilkeny in the Anglo-Norman period' in Kilkenny: History and Society p 83

⁴¹² Annals of Clyn p 28.

⁴¹³ ibid p 29. K.W. Nicholls 'The Fitzmaurices of Kerry', Jn Kerry Arch. and Hist. Soc. 3 (1970) p 33; G.O. Sayles, 'The rebellious first earl of Desmond', p 216n82.

⁴¹⁴ Annals of Clyn p 27. For Leysaght O'Morthe see Robin Frame, 'Military service in Ireland', in Medieval Frontier society (Oxford, 1989) p 120-1; Herbert F. Hore 'Notes on a facsimile of an ancient map of Leix, Ofaly, Irry, Clanmalier, Iregan and Slievemargy, preserved in the British Museum' in Jn Kilkenny and South-East Ireland 4 (1862) p 352-4.

record against the Anglo-Irish, nevertheless describes Leysaght as, vir potens, dives et locuples.⁴¹⁵

The Anglo-Irish John Coterel, the earl of Desmond's seneschal, receives severe criticism from Clyn as a man, qui multas graves, extraneas, et intolerabiles leges dicebatur exercuisse, tenuisse et invenisse.⁴¹⁶ Clyn then reports on the death of the tyrant who was hanged and decapitated after which his innards were divided and burnt piece by piece and his body then placed on view as an example to other of punishment due to a tyrant.

An interesting view of Clyn's Ireland is demonstrated in 1345 when he reports that the earl of Oxford, returning from Brittany, was swept off course and landed among the Irish of Connacht who, spoliaverunt eos bonis suis, equis et armis, graves insultus inferentes, et cum eis gravi et impari insultu pugnantes; qui de naufragio seminudi vix evaserunt.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁵ Annals of Clyn p 29-30. Ufford's campaign against Desmond included 208 men of O'More of Leix, Robin Frame, 'The justiciarship of Ralph Ufford: Warfare and politics in fourteenth century Ireland', Studia Hibernica 13 (1973) p 33.

⁴¹⁶ Annals of Clyn p 31. For the background to this episode see G.O. Sayles, 'The rebellious first earl of Desmond', p 222; R.F. Frame, 'The justiciarship of Ralph Ufford: Warfare and politics in fourteenth century Ireland', p 32-3.

⁴¹⁷ Annals of Clyn p 32.

But when, in the same year, Henry Skrope, again returning from Brittany, landed in Desmond, he was, inter fideles, qui nil ei mali facerunt.⁴¹⁸

From 1346 the Irish are the subject of more reproach by Clyn, obviously in response to more warlike activity. The whole of the Irish of Leinster, according to Clyn, were at war, contra Anglicos et pacificos, in the process of which they destroyed churches, churchyards, sacred places and vestments.⁴¹⁹ In view of this attack against church property it is only to be expected that Clyn should view them as evil. The MacGillapatricks are part of this new wave of aggression but this time it is not Scanlon but the 'one eyed' Dermot who joined with the O'Carrols to burn the town of Athebo [Aghabo]. Dermot, Clyn declares, was, semper insidiis et prodicionibus intendere consuevit, perjuriaque parvi pendens,⁴²⁰ but, as he had plundered the cemetery, the church and even the shrine of St Canice, Clyn's comment can only be described as understandable in the circumstances. Fulco de la Frene was the man responsible for some success against the

⁴¹⁸ Annals of Clyn p 32.

⁴¹⁹ ibid p 32.

⁴²⁰ ibid p 32. For the background to this rebellion see C.A. Empey, 'The Butler lordship', p 178.

Irish at this time.⁴²¹

Treachery is again the subject of Clyn's entry for Tuesday 3 June 1347 when he describes how, Dovenaldus Mc Morkada et Murcardaht Kevanaht per suos consanguineos in prodicione occiduntur,⁴²² however, these two men had been warlike and had attacked the country and, rather interestingly, as a result of their death, cultura crevit.⁴²³ Again, as with the MacGillaptricks, it is a new member of the O'Morthe family about whom Clyn reports in 1348; this time it is Conal O'Morthe. Conal is killed by treachery, per germanos ejus in quibus confidebat, cum quibus ipso die simul epulabatur confidenter.⁴²⁴ Clyn is very distressed by this episode, perhaps because he has already begun to report on the plague, and speaks sadly of the bonds of brotherhood being broken, et rupto vinculo fraternitatis, spreto amore et federe sanguinis, eum prodiciose occiderunt.⁴²⁵ The English of Ossory, who favoured Conal, became involved in this

⁴²¹ He was successful against Carwyl and MacGillapatricks on Saturday 27 July and against Thadeus, son of Roderick O'Carwyl, of Elycarwyl on 9 September, Annals of Clyn p 32-33.

⁴²² Annals of Clyn p 35.

⁴²³ ibid p 35.

⁴²⁴ Annals of Clyn p 36-7.

⁴²⁵ ibid p 37.

episode.

The last entry made by Clyn in this annal concerns the death of Fulco de la Frene who, confidens in promissionibus falaciis Hibernicorum interficitur prodiciose.⁴²⁶ What is interesting here is that while Clyn does decry the Irish he also, in his eulogy, remembers Fulco as the man who, Rupences, Cantonences fidelium oppressores de terra extirpavit.⁴²⁷ The justiciar Ralph Ufford would have agreed with Clyn's view point. When writing to the king soon after his arrival he said that the land was as much troubled by the English as it was by the Irish.⁴²⁸

Clyn's annal covers a troubled period of history and therefore it is only to be expected that the Irish should receive condemnation but, notwithstanding this, Clyn is remarkable for his criticism of the troublesome members of the Anglo-Irish race. He is a friar and this is naturally reflected in his attitude to those who attack church property and and show lack of respect for relics and oaths.

⁴²⁶ Annals of Clyn p 37.

⁴²⁷ ibid p 37-8.

⁴²⁸ Lydon, Ireland in the later middle ages p 76.

CLYN - THE CHURCH AND THE TOWN

Clyn is a Franciscan but he scarcely mentions his fellow Franciscan, Richard de Ledrede, bishop of Ossory. There is evidence to suggest that Ledrede had begun to quarrel with Kilkenny even before he became involved with the Alice Kyteler affair in 1324.⁴²⁹ Clyn in his entry concerning Alice Kyteler and the bishop of Ossory describes it as a charge of heresy but states that it was the first case of its kind and it had never been seen or heard of in Ireland that anyone should suffer the punishment of death for heresy.⁴³⁰ He also reports the public abjuration by William Outlaw in Kilkenny in 1324.⁴³¹ Clyn may well have had mixed feelings concerning this affair, he does not condone heresy but neither does he praise Richard de Ledrede. Richard de Ledrede was an English newcomer and Clyn was Anglo-Irish and may have partly sympathised with Arnold le Poer's opinion of the English bishop.⁴³² Clyn as

⁴²⁹ According to a papal letter of 1320, 'three of his servants were maltreated while doing his business in Kilkenny', Anne Neary, 'Richard de Ledrede, English Franciscan and bishop of Ossory', (Moderatorship thesis) p 27.

⁴³⁰ Annals of Clyn p 16.

⁴³¹ ibid p 17. Clyn does not relate the ongoing problems that William Outlaw had with Ledrede, Anne Neary, 'Richard de Ledrede, English Franciscan and bishop of Ossory', (Moderatorship thesis) p 42.

⁴³² T. Wright, ed. A Contemporary Narrative of the Proceedings against Dame Alice Kyteler, Prosecuted for Sorcery in 1324, by Richard de Ledrede, Bishop of Ossory, (London, Camden Society 1843) p17. For Arnold

a military chronicler would have identified more readily with Roger Outlaw, Prior of the hospital of St John of Jerusalem at Kilmainham, a man who engaged in military enterprises.⁴³³ The annals even report the making of two knights Hospitallers in Dublin in 1325.⁴³⁴ When Clyn reports Roger Outlaw's death in 1340, he lists his achievements, describing him as, Vir prudens et graciosus, and he also gives the day, the date and the place where he died, Athy.⁴³⁵

Alice Kytler was a citizen of Kilkenny and, when accused of sorcery by Ledrede, she fled to Roger Outlaw, to whom she was probably related.⁴³⁶ Roger Outlaw pledged two churches to Richard de Ledrede on behalf of Willam Outlaw and these were Ballygaveran [Gowran], the seat of the Butlers and Gavilmoy [Galmoy] a few miles from Clinstown.⁴³⁷ Clyn's obituary of

le Poer and Ireland as the island of saints see J.F. Lydon, 'The middle nation' in The English in Medieval Ireland, ed. Lydon (Dublin 1984) p 11; R.F. Frame, 'Power and society in the lordship of Ireland, 1272-1377' Past and Present 76 (1977) p 30.

⁴³³ For Roger Outlaw see R.F. Frame, English lordship in Ireland, 1318-1361, passim. See also C.L. Tipton, 'The Irish hospitallers during the great schism', R.I.A.Proc 69 C (1970) p 37-38.

⁴³⁴ Annals of Clyn p 17.

⁴³⁵ ibid p 29.

⁴³⁶ Narrative p 3.

⁴³⁷ Narrative (notes) p 58.

Roger Outlaw, the position of the two churches pledged by Roger plus local loyalty to Kilkenny suggests that Clyn might have favoured Roger Outlaw above his fellow Franciscan, Richard de Ledrede. This is not to say that he did not favour the case brought before the papacy by Richard Ledrede which protested about the incursion of the authority of the archbishop of Dublin into the see of Ossory; Clyn reports both the visitation by the archbishop in 1335,⁴³⁸ and the subsequent exemption granted by the papacy in 1347.⁴³⁹ Clyn does not, however report the return of bishop Ledrede in September of 1347.⁴⁴⁰ Had he held a good opinion of Ledrede he would surely have entered his successful return to his diocese in the annal.⁴⁴¹

Clyn's interest is not generally concerned with the affairs of the royal administration; perhaps this is

⁴³⁸ inceptit diocesim Ossorie visitare, que a xl. annis ante per nullum metropolitanum ordinarie fuerat visitata. Annals of Clyn p 27.

⁴³⁹ ibid p 34.

⁴⁴⁰ Anne Neary, 'Richard de Ledrede, English Franciscan and bishop of Ossory', (Moderatorship thesis) p 80.

⁴⁴¹ If Ledrede attended the general chapter in 1343 Clyn could have met Ledrede there, however Ledrede was in England in 1343, Anne Neary, 'Richard de Ledrede, English Franciscan and bishop of Ossory', (Moderatorship thesis) p 73.

a reflection of the status of Kilkenny as a liberty.⁴⁴² Under this heading must also be placed Clyn's lack of interest in parliaments. There is a notice in the annal concerning the parliament at Kilkenny in 1315 to consider the problem of the Scots; there is no mention of the parliaments which also met at Kilkenny in 1316, 1325, 1326, 1328, 1330, 1331,⁴⁴³ 1345, 1346 and 1348.⁴⁴⁴ The Dublin parliament of 1333 was mentioned only because it was the occasion of the death of Murkyht Nicol Othothyl.⁴⁴⁵ In 1340 Clyn does have an entry relating to royal administration when he relates that after the king had entered France and waged war, killing and burning, in tantum quod Anglie et Francie simul regem se vocari fecit et scribi in omnibus causis, placitis et literis suis;⁴⁴⁶ this entry must be considered in terms of the result of a military engagement. Clyn, at least in his annals, was

⁴⁴² C.A. Empey, 'County Kilkenny in the Anglo-Norman period', p 82. Clyn is not interested in Hugh Despenser, Hugh Audley or Roger Damory. For the problem of absenteeism see J.F Lydon, The lordship of Ireland in the middle ages p 202-6.

⁴⁴³ The Dublin parliament was prorogued to Kilkenny, G.O. Sayles, 'The rebellious first earl of Desmond', p 212-3.

⁴⁴⁴ H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, The Irish Parliament in the middle ages (London 1952), p 334-9. Again I am taking the date from 1316 when the annals begin to expand; the Dublin parliament of 1341 may have been continued in Kilkenny, ibid p 77n21.

⁴⁴⁵ Annals of Clyn p 25.

⁴⁴⁶ Annals of Clyn p 29.

not interested in the parliaments or their deliberations and neither was he interested in recording statutes promulgated in Ireland.⁴⁴⁷ However, Clyn may well have gleaned news from such events as parliaments must have been an occasion for the exchange of news and doing business.

Clyn's interest in the town of Kilkenny is mainly centred on ecclesiastical property. From 1316, he notes the building programme of the Franciscan friary, which was positioned within the walls of Kilkenny; he also notes two important burials which took place there.⁴⁴⁸ He records the Alice Kyteler affair and the fall of the belfry of St Canice's. Clyn also notes the death of Howel de Bath, vir literatus et largus,⁴⁴⁹ but possibly only because he died in a military engagement. The only reference to the burgesses occurs in 1334 with the notice that they began to make a pavement in Kilkenny⁴⁵⁰ and later, in

⁴⁴⁷ If Clyn had recorded statutes or other administrative matters in the liber communitatis then Ussher would surely have commented on this fact and copied the material. The Black Book of Christ Church had such material among its pages eg H.G. Lawlor, 'A calendar of the liber Niger and liber Albus of Christ Church, Dublin.', R.I.A.Proc, 27 C (1908-9), p 43-5, 51, 53.

⁴⁴⁸ The burial of Isabella Palmer, Annals of Clyn p 34; the Erkedekne family, ibid p26.

⁴⁴⁹ ibid p 27.

⁴⁵⁰ ibid p 25.

1340, we are informed that Robert Conton, accused of heresy by Richard de Ledrede and befriended by the archbishop of Dublin, was killed on the street of Kilkenny.⁴⁵¹ Clyn notes the erection of a great cross in the market place in 1335 and the response of the people to the call of the crusade.⁴⁵² What is missing from Clyn's annal is interest in the town itself,⁴⁵³ its inhabitants and even its absentee lords. The liberty of Kilkenny was in the possession of absentee lords from 1317 until 1391 when the Despenser purparty which included Kilkenny castle was purchased by the Butlers in 1391.⁴⁵⁴ Despite the fact that the friars must have been involved in the town life, Clyn, in his annal holds himself aloof from Kilkenny town life. Perhaps Clyn's lack of interest may reflect the division between town and manor. The citizens did not favour contingents of soldiers arriving in their towns

⁴⁵¹ ibid p 29. For Robert Conton see Anne Neary 'Richard de Ledrede, English Franciscan and bishop of Ossory', (Moderatorship thesis) p 62, 65, 76. For family see George, son of Robert Coton who was a member of 'rout' ibid p 219. For Patrick son of Robert Coton see R.F. Frame, 'Military service in Ireland', p118-9. Also a Guy de Canteton treated very severely by Clyn in 1334 Annals of Clyn p 26; was he a relative?

⁴⁵² Annals of Clyn p 27.

⁴⁵³ For example, why no mention of 1331 when the justiciar went to Kilkenny and imprisoned the prior and convent of St John? Liber Primus Kilkenn. p 64. Why is there no mention of the sovereigns and councils?

⁴⁵⁴ C.A. Empey 'County Kilkennyⁿ in the Anglo-Norman period' p 84-6.

but in such a situation it is probable that Clyn's sympathies would lie with the military.⁴⁵⁵ Other Franciscan chroniclers such as Salimbene, the author of the Annals of Ghent, and Thomas of Eccleston display an interest in the townspeople.

There are some notices concerning Kilkenny which come under the heading of military interest. For example, in 1327, the sheriff of Kilkenny, Simon Purcell, is mentioned when he was killed with twenty others while fighting the O'Brennans.⁴⁵⁶ There is of course also the report of the imprisonment in, and subsequent escape from, the castle of Fulco and Oliver de la Frene in 1338.⁴⁵⁷ Only sparse information regarding the sheriffs and the seneschals of Kilkenny can be found in the annal.

It is clear that Clyn's field of interest, and familiarity, lies in the military society of the area surrounding Kilkenny⁴⁵⁸ and especially in that

⁴⁵⁵ Lydon, The lordship of Ireland in the middle ages p 142-3.

⁴⁵⁶ Annals of Clyn p 19. Perhaps this Simon Purcell was related to the Purcell who had married the de la Frene, ibid p 25.

⁴⁵⁷ ibid p 28.

⁴⁵⁸ Clyn refers to naciones and cognomina, J.F Lydon, 'The middle nation' in The English in Medieval Ireland, p 3-4.

surrounding the Butler family. All internal evidence would suggest that Clyn was a member of a knightly family, albeit of a minor rank. In earlier centuries a young man of noble birth had two options open to him; to become a knight or to enter the church. Clyn entered the church but it is clear from his writing that he knew and understood the life of the knight.⁴⁵⁹ This feeling would, in part, explain Clyn's interest in and account of military activity.⁴⁶⁰ His interest would also have been assured by the milieu of the area from which he sprang. Clinstown might even be classed as on the fringe of a military zone, 'Even as early as 1307 Offerlane in northern Aghaboe was a beleaguered outpost surrounded by a hostile indigenous population' and, therefore, 'the Anglo-Norman settlement in these areas assumed the form of a military aristocracy'.⁴⁶¹ The military situation in Ireland ensured that knightly

⁴⁵⁹ The twelfth century churchman, Guibert of Nogent, came from a knightly family, his brothers were knights, and he had been briefly tempted to become one himself when he 'began to love the company of young lay cousins devoted to knightly activity'. Autobiography of Guibert of Nogent trans. C.C.S. Bland (London, 1976) p 55.

⁴⁶⁰ It would also explain, in part, Clyn's interest in Roger Outlaw who was a knight Hospitaller and who had personally led military expeditions in Ireland, see above p328.

⁴⁶¹ C.A. Empey 'County Kilkenny in the Anglo-Norman period' p 79. For the problems of a frontier society see J.F. Lydon, 'The problem of the frontier in Medieval Ireland', Topic: A Journal of the liberal arts 13 (1967); B. Smith 'The medieval border', in R. Gillespie and H. O'Sullivan eds. The Borderlands (Belfast 1989) pp 41-53.

pursuits could not become irrelevant and anachronistic;⁴⁶² the Parliament at Kilkenny in 1342 said that military obligations ought to be fulfilled in person.⁴⁶³

There was a heavy military demand to counter the now more aggressive Irish families of MacGillapatrik, O'Carroll, O'Nolans, Mc Murroughs, O'Brennans and O'Mores⁴⁶⁴ and this is reflected by the many notices concerning knighthood to be found in the annal. The term knight itself was invested with an acceptance of service; all knights served by arms. They served their own cause if they were high ranking lords, their suzeraine if they were vassal knights, and their employer if they were landless or mercenary knights.⁴⁶⁵ Clyn, in his annal, pays particular

⁴⁶² M. Powicke Military Obligation in Medieval England (Oxford, 1962) 96-7. Arno Borst 'Knighthood in the high middle ages', in Lordship and Nobility ed Frederick L. Cheyette (New York, 1968) pp 180-191. There was a shortage of knights in England due to evasion of knighthood, see N. Denholm-Young 'Feudal society in 13c the knights', History 29 (1944) p 113, 114, 116, 119. 'In England feudal service and its monetary equivalent, scutage, were to all intents and purposes obsolete after 1327', R.F. Frame, 'Military service in Ireland', p 105. For a description of de Vescy clad as a knight in 1293 see Lydon The lordship of Ireland in the middle ages p 123.

⁴⁶³ R.F. Frame, 'Military service in Ireland', p 107

⁴⁶⁴ 'settlers abandoned highlands and retreated to river valleys'. J.F. Lydon, The lordship of Ireland in the middle ages p 171.

⁴⁶⁵ M. Keen Chivalry (Yale 1984).

attention to occasions when the great lords created knights and he also uses terms related to chivalry when he describes their military prowess and lavish hospitality. In 1335, when Ireland was taxed to support the war with Scotland, Clyn understood the need for the king to have the money, sic ne in consequenciam vel consuetudinem duceretur.⁴⁶⁶

Magnates derived prestige and power from the number and quality of young warriors they had knighted.⁴⁶⁷ The creation of knights mentioned in 1312, 1313 and 1317 is associated with great feasts. In 1312 we are informed that at Christmas John fitzThomas held a great feast and knighted Nicholas, son of Maurice of Kerry, plus two others.⁴⁶⁸ In 1313, Edmund Butler held a great feast in Dublin and made thirty knights.⁴⁶⁹ When groups of young men were knighted together they usually formed a tightly knit society.⁴⁷⁰ Examples of knightings on a battlefield are found in Clyn's annals and must be seen as a reflection of a military

⁴⁶⁶ Annals of Clyn p 26.

⁴⁶⁷ J.O. Prestwich 'The military knighthold of the Norman kings' English Historical Review 96 (1981) p 33.

⁴⁶⁸ Annals of Clyn p 11.

⁴⁶⁹ ibid p 11.

⁴⁷⁰ 'Young warriors who had received together the "sacrament of knighthood" on the same day ... remained together thereafter', G. Duby The chivalrous society trans. C. Postan (London, 1977) p 114.

situation occasioned by a strong upsurge in the 'Gaelic revival'. In 1317, the knighting on the battlefield was in response to the presence of the Scots in Ireland.⁴⁷¹ When Roger de Mortimer landed in Youghal in 1317 with thirty eight knights he dubbed some new knights including, John de Birmingham and Nicholas de Verdun.⁴⁷² Undoubtedly, Roger de Mortimer wished to create his own loyal supporters in Ireland.⁴⁷³

No further mention of persons knighted occurs until the year 1330 and now the information becomes more detailed and informative. Military need is suggested when the earl of Ulster made Walter de Bermingham and others de sua familia knights at Moyalty [Moyaliff, co. Tipperary] in an expedition against Breyn O'Breyn.⁴⁷⁴ After Walter had been knighted he, in his turn, knighted Richard de la Rokel and Gilbert de Bermingham. Then, eodem tempore et loco, the earl of Ormond knighted Edmund le Botiller and Robert and Patrick

⁴⁷¹ ibid p 13. 'most of the examples of knighting before a battle date from the fourteenth and fifteenth century', Richard Barber The knight and Chivalry (London 1970) p 28. Maurice Keen Chivalry p 79-80.

⁴⁷² There is some confusion as to the number of men knighted by Roger de Mortimer as the information is entered twice - the year 1317 being entered twice, Annals of Clyn p 13.

⁴⁷³ See indenture between Henry Roche, knight, lord of Rower, South Kilkenny, and John Wogan, R.F. Frame, 'Military service in Ireland', p 117-8.

⁴⁷⁴ Annals of Clyn p 21-2.

Travers, and William de Bermingham knighted John de St. Albino and John Monsel.⁴⁷⁵ Clearly, military need was also a factor in 1333 when, on the Friday after the death of Geoffrey de la Frene at the hands of the O'Morthys of Slemargys, James Butler made Thomas Cantwell a knight.⁴⁷⁶

The idea of a hierarchy of knights is again evident in 1335 when, this time in an expedition against the O'Brennans of Duffyr, the earl of Ormond made Fulco de la Frene a knight;⁴⁷⁷ Fulco then knighted Gregory de la Launde and Matthew son of Oliver.⁴⁷⁸ This inter-relationship of knightings is again evident in 1342 when Maurice fitz Thomas made Richard le Erkedekne a knight and he, Richard, in his turn, on the same day,

⁴⁷⁵ ibid p 22.

⁴⁷⁶ ibid p 35. For Thomas Cantwell ibid p 58-60. There had been a relationship between the Butlers and Cantwells since 1190, C.A. Empey, 'The Anglo-Norman community in Tipperary and Kilkenny in the middle ages: Change and Continuity' in Keimelia Studies in medieval archaeology and history in memory of Tom Delaney (Galway 1988) p 451. In 1352 a Thomas de Cantwell was buried in the Franciscan friary Tipperary, Archdall Monasticum Hibernicum p 671.

⁴⁷⁷ Fulco de la Frene was seneschal of the liberty of Tipperary when it was restored to the earl of Ormond in 1347, C.A. Empey, 'The Butler lordship', p 178.

⁴⁷⁸ Annals of Clyn p 26-7. The Oliver referred to here may be the Oliver de la Frene who was imprisoned with Fulco de la Frene in 1338 by the then seneschal of Kilkenny, Eustace le Poer, ibid p 28.

made three knights and William Grant⁴⁷⁹ made John le Erkedekne a knight, illo tempore.⁴⁸⁰ Clyn interest in the Butler family is evident in the reports concerning knightings. He does not always name the knights made by the earl of Desmond, fecit xiiij milites apud Rahtymegan.⁴⁸¹ He does name the knights made by the earl of Ormond; John de Rechford and Geoffrey Schorthalis at Roscrea in 1336⁴⁸² and Henry de Valle in 1337.⁴⁸³

Clyn had a special relationship with the de la Frene family⁴⁸⁴ and especially with Fulco.⁴⁸⁵ Just as

⁴⁷⁹ According to Clyn, William Grant's lands were given to Fulco de la Frene by the king in 1346, ibid p 33. A William Grant held lands in barony of Iverk Co Kilkenny in 1314 Red Book of Ormond p 134-5.

⁴⁸⁰ Annals of Clyn p 30.

⁴⁸¹ ibid p 28. Also, in 1335 the entry merely states, fecit vii milites juxta Greyn, in expedicione super Bren O'Bren, ibid p 27.

⁴⁸² ibid p 28. Roscrea was the most northerly limit of Butler power in Elyocaroll, C.A. Empey, 'The Butler lordship', p 175; for the medieval county of Tipperary see C.A. Empey 'The Norman period, 1185-1500', in Tipperary: history and society pp 71-91, 438-441.

⁴⁸³ Annals of Clyn p 28.

⁴⁸⁴ For a discussion of the de la Frene family see Knights fees p182-188. A ffulco de ffraxineto [de la Frene] is mentioned in the extent of the manor of Gowran in 1306, mentioned also in that extent are James Clyngne and Thomas Cantewell, The red book of Ormond p 35-6. Coincidentally, the surname Roth is also present in this extent, p35, 39.

⁴⁸⁵ Fulco was a benefactor of the Franciscan order, he gave lands to Franciscans of Cashel, 54 rept. D.K. p

Butlers are constantly to be found in the annals, so also are the de la Frene family.⁴⁸⁶ The first entry occurs in 1320 when Clyn reports that the elder Fulco was killed by William and Sylvester de Marisco and other satellites of Edmund Pincerna.⁴⁸⁷ He also reports the death of Geoffrey de la Frene in 1333. In 1346, he praises Roger de la Frene,⁴⁸⁸ then sherrif of Kilkenny, who siezed a great plunder from Carwyl MacGillpatrick, qualem in partibus illis raro captam meminit homo a multis annis.⁴⁸⁹ The death of this same Roger is noted a year later by Clyn who states that this powerful young and skilled man would, ut putabatur ad magna et ardua ascendisset nisi morte prematura preventus fuisset.⁴⁹⁰

It is Fulco de la Frene, whose knighting by the earl of Ormond is reported in 1335, who is the dominant personality in Clyn's narrative; he also notes the

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⁴⁸⁶ Annals of Clyn see entries in 1320, 1333, 1335, 1336, 1338, 1344, 1346 (three entries), 1347 (three entries), 1348, 1349.

⁴⁸⁷ ibid p 14. The use of the name Pincerna was reserved for the head of the Butler family, Calendar of Ormond Deeds 1172-1350 p vii.

⁴⁸⁸ For information concerning the place Roger held in the de la Frene family see Knights Fees p 185.

⁴⁸⁹ Annals of Clyn p 33.

⁴⁹⁰ ibid p 34.

names of those who Fulco himself knighted, Geoffrey de Launde and Matthew son of Oliver.⁴⁹¹ Fulco now emerges, in Clyn's reports, as a strong military man. He reports his war against Leysaght O'Morthe in 1336⁴⁹² and his success in expelling the St Albino troublemakers in 1344.⁴⁹³ Fulco, we are told, was responsible for killing Thadeaus, son of Roderick O'Caroll, who was, according to Clyn, vir potens, locuplex et dives et bellicosus precipuus Anglicorum et fidelium inimicus et persecutor.⁴⁹⁴

In 1347 Clyn reports that Fulco per regem vocati et invitati entered France for the successful siege of Calais.⁴⁹⁵ In 1348 Clyn discloses that Fulco has the care and custody of the lands of the earl of Ormond, (the son of the man who knighted him) while the earl was in England. Fulco, Clyn continues, then recalled exiles, reduced the rebellious and forced the Irish to repair walls that they themselves had broken down and he also forced the Irish to give hostages. In fact, in the words of Clyn, ad statum primum et subjectionem debitam (quod omnibus videbatur fieri non posse)

⁴⁹¹ ibid p 26-7.

⁴⁹² ibid p 27.

⁴⁹³ ibid p 30.

⁴⁹⁴ ibid p 33.

⁴⁹⁵ ibid p 34.

compulit redire.⁴⁹⁶

It is with great sorrow that Clyn reports, in what is his last entry, the death of Fulco in the following year, 1349. He declares that Fulco, believing in the promises of the false Irish, was treacherously killed. Clyn then continues with a resume of the career and personality of Fulco. He was, we are told, a military man dedicated to military service from childhood, protector of the state and of peace, the hammer of the wicked, he had scarcely an equal in Ireland. Clyn lists his accomplishments, he had rooted the Rupenses and Cantetons from the land, he did not fear the mighty, he was liberal in giving feasts never closing his door to anyone and finally, Clyn said, Fulco, hominum linguis loquor et communis populi sentenciis vix in Hibernia relata.⁴⁹⁷ Immediately following the notice of the death of Fulco comes the words, Videtur quod author hic obiit.⁴⁹⁸

DID CLYN DIE AS A RESULT OF THE PLAGUE?

It has always been assumed that Clyn died of the plague. However, in the year following his report of the plague, Clyn writes two entries. The first entry

⁴⁹⁶ ibid p 35.

⁴⁹⁷ ibid p 38.

⁴⁹⁸ The four transcripts discussed above have this entry

is rather prosaic, stating that there was a great shortage of corn and other things; a pound of corn was selling for twenty pence and ginger for forty pence.⁴⁹⁹ This entry comes before 16 June, the day on which Fulco was killed, and is clearly a report, after the 25 March, concerning the result of the weather conditions of the previous season. It should be noted that there is no mention of the plague in that year, at least up until and including 16 June.⁵⁰⁰ One curious anomaly in Clyn's account of the plague is that, although he enters the number of Dominicans who died of the plague in Kilkenny, he makes no mention of any Franciscan friars dying in Kilkenny. Either there were no Franciscan deaths or Clyn noted the deaths in another section of the liber communitatis.

The question now to be addressed is, why did Clyn cease to write? The accepted theory - he died during plague - is still possible, even though Clyn does not report a recurrence of the plague.⁵⁰¹ A second possibility is that Clyn was moved to a different friary as part

⁴⁹⁹ Annals of Clyn p 37.

⁵⁰⁰ Had the plague been present in Kilkenny, or news of it present in other parts reaching Kilkenny, Clyn would have included that in his report on the killing of Fulco; it would have set for the scene for the tragedy of Fulco's death.

⁵⁰¹ Death could occur within a day as the result of septicaemic plague R.S. Gottfried, The Black Death (London, 1986) p 8.

of a possible redistribution of friars necessary after the decimation of some friaries.⁵⁰² A third possibility is simply that Clyn ceased to write once his friend, and perhaps informant, Fulco dela Frene, had died.

UNUSUAL ENTRIES IN THE ANNALS OF CLYN

An examination of the annals of friar John Clyn would be incomplete without mention of five unusual entries. The first is the entry of 1329, which is unique, in this annal, for its use of an astrological dating, sole existente in Libra.⁵⁰³ This year, 1329, is entered six times, therefore Clyn probably took this entry, as it stands, from some still to be discovered source. The second entry occurs in 1334 when, at the close of a report on the weather, Clyn states that this occurred on the last day of January, et maxime propter leporum venacionem.⁵⁰⁴ The third curious entry, in 1338,⁵⁰⁵ states that, salices in Anglia rosas protulerunt.⁵⁰⁶ The only suggestion that can be made regarding this unusual entry is that it may relate to the legend of

⁵⁰² In the Franciscan convent of Drogheda 25 friars had died and 23 had died in Dublin up to Christmas, Annals of Clyn p 36. Perhaps Clyn was transferred to Dublin?

⁵⁰³ ibid p 21.

⁵⁰⁴ ibid p 26.

⁵⁰⁵ This is actually Lent of 1339, see above p 287

⁵⁰⁶ ibid p 29.

the flowering staff of Joseph of Arimathea, the Glastonbury thorn.⁵⁰⁷ Although the flowering hawthorn was not noted until 1535,⁵⁰⁸ there was a poem of the middle ages which referred to a hawthorn which flowered at Christmas.⁵⁰⁹ The Glastonbury interest is evident in an entry in 1344 which states, corpus Joseph ab Arimathia dicitur hoc anno esse inventum.⁵¹⁰ This entry may furnish evidence as to the period in which Clyn was writing as it was not until 10 June 1345 that a J. Blome obtained a royal writ authorising him to make a search at Glastonbury for the body of Joseph of Arimathea.⁵¹¹ Either a rumour had preceded the application for permission to dig or Clyn was writing this report after 1345. What is of interest is that some line of communication may have been open between Kilkenny and Glastonbury.⁵¹²

⁵⁰⁷ Hugh Ross Williamson, The flowering hawthorn (London, 1962); V. M. Lagorio 'The evolving legend of St Joseph of Glastonbury', Speculum 46 (1971) p 230.

⁵⁰⁸ Hugh Ross Williamson, The flowering hawthorn p 13.

⁵⁰⁹ ibid p 14; there was a suggestion that the thorn was brought back by a crusader, ibid p 49.

⁵¹⁰ Annals of Clyn p 30-31.

⁵¹¹ J.A. Robinson, Two Glastonbury legends (Cambridge, 1926) p 48. The first report concerning the bones of Joseph is in 1367, ibid p 64.

⁵¹² The presence of the name Clyn in the West country may be the connection between the two places and also the source for the notice regarding the civic unrest in Bristol in 1347, Annals of Clyn p 34.

The year 1331 has a curious entry which states that Philip le Brit and his brother were killed by O'Toole, et unus templarius de Geraldinis;⁵¹³ all four transcripts agree with the word templarius. The problem of course is that the Templars had been suppressed.⁵¹⁴ In 1307 Clyn notes capti fuerunt Templarii ubique.⁵¹⁵ It has been noted that when the property of the Templars was seized in Ireland virtually no weapons were found.⁵¹⁶ It has been suggested that Irish Templar arms found their way to Scotland.⁵¹⁷ Might it also be suggested that, if one or many Geraldines were former Templars, the earl of Desmonds entourage may have had the use of some Templar arms?

CONCLUSION

The annals of Ireland written by the Anglo-Irish Franciscan, John Clyn, survive only as seventeenth century transcripts. There is no reason to doubt the

⁵¹³ Annals of Clyn p 22. Does the word unus imply that there were more Geraldine Templars?

⁵¹⁴ M. Barber, The trial of the Templars (Cambridge, 1978)

⁵¹⁵ Annals of Clyn p 11. H. Wood, 'The Templars in Ireland', R.I.A.Proc 26 C (1907) pp 327-77. G. Mac Niocaill 'Documents relating to the suppression of the Templars in Ireland', Anal. Hib., 24 (1967) pp 181-226.

⁵¹⁶ Wood, 'The Templars in Ireland', p 348

⁵¹⁷ M. Baigent and R. Leigh The Temple and the Lodge (London 1990) p 60-61, 98-110.

overall accuracy of the transcripts. The annals were contained within a book, entitled by the seventeenth century historians, Liber communitatis fratrum minorum Kilkenniensis, the contents of which can be partially reconstructed. Concerning the author of the annals, friar John Clyn, we can be certain that he was guardian of the friary of Carrickbeg in 1336 and present in the friary of Kilkenny in 1348, where he may also have been guardian. His position of guardian indicates that he had achieved a significant level of education; he may have been a doctor. His education would have taken place, partly at least, in Ireland and the facilities of the new university of Dublin would have been available to him.

From the evidence of the transcripts together with internal evidence it is possible to suggest that he compiled and wrote the annals after 1333. Some entries for 1347, at least, were written in 1348. His contribution to the annals ceased in 1349 but, whether because he died of a recurrence of the plague, because of the death of Fulco de la Frene or because he moved away is open to speculation. Clyn's interest, as evidenced in the annal, was in the friary of Kilkenny and in the military society that surrounded Kilkenny. His particular loyalty lay with the de la Frene family

and with their overlords the Butlers.⁵¹⁸ Perhaps it was because of this relationship that Clyn was chosen to be guardian of Carrickbeg in 1336. Clyn's account of foreign affairs is confined to major events in England, which affected the magnates of Ireland,⁵¹⁹ and the wars with Scotland and France, the latter probably as a result of Fulco de la Frene's expedition to Calais. The entries concerning Avignon can be explained by the arrival of some member of Richard Ledred's entourage in 1347 or more logically by the presence of Clyn in Marseilles in 1343.

Clyn's annals were not intended as house annals but appear more as a personal reminder of the events that influenced the military society of which Clyn was a member. It is not impossible to imagine that they might even have been compiled at the request of Fulco de la Frene.⁵²⁰ The miles literatus has been shown in

⁵¹⁸ Could they possibly have been fostered together and even a MacGillapatrik with them? Consider the relationship of Peter de Bretingham with the O'Connors.

⁵¹⁹ The Waverley annals notes the involvement of the Irish magnates in the battle of Evesham, Robin Frame, 'Ireland and the Barons War' in Thirteenth century England, 1. Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference 1985, ed P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd (Woodbridge 1986) p 161.

⁵²⁰ Between 1272 and 1282, Digby MS 86 was copied for, and perhaps by, a layman, B.D.H. Miller 'The early history of Bodleian MS. Digby 86', in Annuaire Mediaevale IV (Pennsylvania, 1963) p 55. Laymen were interested in acquiring manuscripts, see T.M. Shonk 'A study of the Auchinleck manuscript: Bookmen and bookmaking in

recent research to be far less rare than heretofore accepted.⁵²¹ The reliance on written records by those inside and outside the administration had become firmly established. It has been argued that there was a working knowledge of Latin among royal officials like sheriffs and judges because the tasks they undertook required that knowledge; in speaking of the twelfth and thirteenth century, H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles declare, 'We may presume that a layman who exercised an office demanding the use of written instruments was literate'.⁵²² According to Clyn, Fulco had the care and custody of the lands of the earl of Ormond, while the earl was in England.⁵²³ Such a man would according to this evidence have been able to read,⁵²⁴

the early fourteenth century', Speculum 60 (1985) pp 71-91; L.H.Loomis 'The Auchinleck manuscript and a possible London bookshop of 1330-1340', P.M.L.A. 57 (1942) pp 595-627.

⁵²¹ Ralph V. Turner, 'The miles literatus in twelfth and thirteenth century England: How rare a phenomenon?' American Historical Review 83 (1978) pp 928-945; M.T. Clanchy, From memory to written record. England 1066-1307 (London 1979) p 182 et. seq.

⁵²² H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles The governance of medieval England from the conquest to magna carta (Edinburgh 1963) p 274.

⁵²³ Annals of Clyn p 35.

⁵²⁴ 'Most knights were at least pragmatic readers, functional literates in today's terms', Turner, 'The miles literatus in twelfth and thirteenth century England: How rare a phenomenon?', p 931.

even if not to write,⁵²⁵ Latin and the Latin used by Clyn, in his annal, was not of an advanced nature.

⁵²⁵ Writing ... was associated with dictating rather than manipulating a pen.... Literacy involved being learned in Latin, whereas writing was the process of making a fair copy on parchment, which was the art of the scribe'. Clanchy, From memory to written record. England 1066-1307 p 218.

CHAPTER VI

THE ANNALS OF ROSS

The Annals of Ross are extant only in a seventeenth century transcript written in the hand of James Ussher.¹ He has entitled his transcript ex libro Rossensi.² The liber Rossensi to which Ussher refers appears to be no longer extant. A published edition of these annals was produced in 1849 by R. Butler who called it the only remnant of the Annals of Ross to which we have access.³ The annal covers the years 1265 to 1346 with additional entries for the years 1467 and 1480, which entries Ussher states were made by a later scribe,⁴ thus suggesting that Ussher had access to the original manuscript.

How complete are the annals? Ussher's transcript begins with the year 1256.⁵ On the previous page

¹ TCD MS 574 p 410-12. Appendix V p 414

² ibid p 410. For a note referring to the Liber Rossensi see BL MS Add 4789 f 81r.

³ The Annals of Ross ed. R. Butler in The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn and Thady Dowling (Dublin, 1849) pp 41-46, 70.

⁴ sequentia a recentiori aliquo adscripta sunt ibid p 412.

⁵ ibid p 410.

Ussher had filled the sheet with the beginnings of a transcript of the Annals of Clyn. In this transcript from Clyn there are two sets of marginalia, both in the hand of Ussher. One set is on the left hand margin and the other set is in brackets in the script itself.⁶ These marginalia consist of entries from the liber Rossensi which prove conclusively that the Annals of Ross began at least as early as A.D.423 and contained entries to at least 1233. Ussher did not include those early entries in his copy of the Annals of Ross which he began on the following page. It is impossible to determine whether these additional entries were the only early entries prior to 1256, or merely the entries that held an interest for Ussher.

If Ussher, who most probably had the original manuscript before him, claimed that his source was the liber Rossensi then there is no valid reason to doubt his word, however, the name Ross is not in itself sufficient to identify the place named by Ussher as there are three separate areas to which that title might refer; Old Ross, New Ross and Rosbercon, all three were referred to as Ross in the middle ages. When, after the death of Anselm Marshal in December 1245, the Marshal inheritance was divided, Ross was

⁶ ibid p 409. See appendix. V p 409

also divided. The port, New Ross,⁷ and the inland castle, old Ross,⁸ became part of the Carlow liberty of the Bigods, earls of Norfolk. The Kilkenny side of the river, known as Rosbercon, became part of the lands of the earl of Gloucester.

If Ussher's title is correct, then of the three Rosses it is least likely that the annals were written in Old Ross which was a farming community with no religious houses. Rosbercon, on the other hand, had a Dominican house⁹ and many orders existed in New Ross.¹⁰ The Dominicans became established in Rosbercon in 1267¹¹ and this date can be verified by three annals.¹² Ware has entitled one of the those annals, forte ord,

⁷ G.H. Orpen, New Ross in the thirteenth century (Dublin 1911); Robin E. Glasscock, 'Some parallels to New Ross', Old Wexford Soc. Jn., 7 (1978-79), p 31-4.; P.H. Hore, A history of the town and county of Wexford vol 2 (London, 1900-11); P.H. Hore, 'Extracts from the great Roll of the Irish Exchequer relating to Waterford and Ross', Cork historical society journal 24 (1918) p 16-28.

⁸ M.C. Lyons, 'An account of the manor of Old Ross, September 1284 to September 1285', Decies, xviii (1981) pp33-40; xix (1981) pp18-31.

⁹ T.S. Flynn, The Dominicans of Rosbercon (1267-c.1800) (Tallagh, Co. Dublin, 1981)

¹⁰ Gwynn and Hadcock Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland p 449.

¹¹ The Dominicans of Rosbercon p 11.

¹² Annals of Clyn p 8; BL MS Add (Chronicle of Trim) f206r, 207r; Bodl. MS Rawl. B 479 f 68v.

fratrum Praedicatorum Ross.¹³ In this annal the date of the establishment of the Dominicans in Ross is given, '13 Kal. November'.¹⁴ This Dominican fragment, thought by Ware to be belonging to the Dominicans of Ross, is not related in any way to Ussher's Annals of Ross. James Ware also knew of Ussher's annals in 1633 when he mentioned them in his preface to Campion's and Hanmer's histories¹⁵ and would surely have mentioned a connection if one existed. The Annals of Ross, as transcribed by Ussher, begins in 1265¹⁶ but has no record of the entry of the Dominicans into Ross in 1267. The only mention of the Dominican order is the notice of the burning of St Mary's together with the Dominican house in Dublin in 1304.¹⁷ There is not sufficient evidence, at this time, to suspect Dominican involvement in these annals.

A Franciscan chapter was held in Ross in 1256¹⁸ and therefore one can presume that the Franciscans arrived in New Ross at some time prior to that date. There is

¹³ ibid f 68r.

¹⁴ ibid f 68v .

¹⁵ Annals of Ross p 41.

¹⁶ ibid p 41.

¹⁷ ibid p 41.

¹⁸ Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire.
p 23-5.

one specific notice referring to the Franciscans in the annal and that is the entry, in 1336, which records the gift by the earl of Ormond of his castle of Carrick-on-Suir to the Friars Minor.¹⁹ It is highly unlikely that a Dominican annal would have such an entry. Also, when the annals are closely examined a relationship with Clyn's annals can be discerned and therefore it is logical to explore the probability of Franciscan provenance.

New Ross was an ideal place for the Franciscans to found a house. The town, which got its first charter in 1281,²⁰ was the principal port of the lordship of Leinster.²¹ At the beginning of the reign of Edward I the shipping trade was at its peak but, from the end of the thirteenth century, New Ross began to decline because of trade restrictions and attacks by the Irish. In 1265, according to a thirteenth century poem, in French, The Walling of New Ross, New Ross was enclosed

¹⁹ ibid p 45.

²⁰ G. MacNiocaill Na Buirgeisi 1 p 302.

²¹ From New Ross goods could be sent up the river Nore to Inistioge and Thomastown and Kilkenny; also, goods could also be sent up the river Barrow to St Mullins, to Carlow and even it appears to Athy, T. O'Neill Merchants and Mariners in medieval Ireland (Dublin 1987) p61. For goods deposited at the Franciscan friary there see Fitzmaurice and Little Franciscan Province Ire. p 66

with a wall.²² The puzzle that arises with regard to the poem is that there is no mention of friars, although priests are mentioned.²³ The poem was unquestionably written by an eye witness and proves that New Ross was a town capable of producing a book which contained annals.²⁴

If James Ussher knew who had written the Annals of Ross he would have indicated as much; when he was making a transcript of Clyn's annals he identified both the author and the place where they were written. In this instance, Ussher merely states ex libro Rossensi but there is no way of ascertaining if Ussher was copying directly from the so called book of Ross or was copying from another transcript. The question is, what was the book of Ross to which he was referring? If the book was the property of a friary he would have stated that

²² Hugh Shields, 'The Walling of New Ross: a thirteenth century poem in French', The Long Room 12+13 (1975) pp 24-33.

²³ ibid p 29.

²⁴ For an identification of Adam de Ros author of the Vision of St Paul as Adam of New Ross see M.D. Legge, The Anglo-Normans in the Cloisters (Edinburgh, 1950) p 54; E. Mullally, 'Hiberno-Norman literature and its public', in Settlement and Society in medieval Ireland Studies presented to F.X.Martin, O.S.A. (Kilkenny 1988) p 337-8. For literature in the area see also K.V. Sinclair, 'Anglo-Norman at Waterford: the mute testimony of MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 405', Medieval French textual studies in memory of T.B.W. Reid (Anglo-Norman text society, London, 1984) pp 219-238.

fact, as he did with Clyn's annals. Therefore the book was not an obvious house book.

There is a possibility that it could be the equivalent of the Liber Primus Kilkenniensis,²⁵ or indeed the lost liber communis communitatis.²⁶ However, it is difficult to accept that, if the book was a corporation book, Ussher would not have remarked on that fact. Also there would be no sound reason for its disappearance from the town during the seventeenth century. The Liber Primus Kilkenniensis contains some annalistic material,²⁷ though not of comparable quality to the entries in the Annals of Ross. If the book was not a belonging to a friary and was not a corporation book then there is one other possibility to be explored and that is the possibility that the liber Rossensi was the manuscript book now known as BL. MS Harley 913. This is a small book²⁸ of 64 leaves which contains a miscellaneous collection of items in verse and prose written in Latin, French and English in different hands and is acknowledged to have been

²⁵ 'The Liber Primus, a vellum book bound in oak boards, written in various contemporary hands, commencing with an entry of the year 1230', Liber Primus Kilkenniensis ed. C. McNeill, (Dublin 1931) p iv et seq.

²⁶ ibid p iv.

²⁷ ibid p 61-65.

²⁸ Measuring only 5½ inches by 3½ inches.

made in the south-east of Ireland at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The book, which has interested both historians and linguists, has strong Franciscan characteristics and affiliations²⁹ and includes a list of provinces, with the number of custodies and houses in the Franciscan order - beginning with Ireland.³⁰ It is important to note that this book was known to Ware as the Book of Ross,³¹ because it contained the poem on the walling of New Ross. Ware made a transcript of this book³² and from that transcript it can be determined that BL.Harley MS 913, as it is now extant, is not complete. Ware, in his transcript, began to copy a poem, in English, beginning 'Young men of Waterford';³³ this poem is no longer present in BL

²⁹ BL. MS Harley 913, f 22-6, 41-3, 43v, 57v.

³⁰ M. Benskin, 'The style and authorship of the Kildare poems- (1) Pers of Bermingham', in In other words. Transcultural Studies in Philology, Translation and Lexicography, presented to Hans Heinrich Meier on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday ed. J.L. Mackenzie and R. Todd (Dordrecht:Foris,1989), p 57.

³¹ There is a note before the poem concerning Piers de Bermingham stating, 'it is said to have been copied out of an old book, in parchment, called book of Ross or of Waterford Feb 1608', BL MS Harley 913 f 89.

³² 'out of a smale olde booke in parchym called the booke of [Cork-crossed out] Rosse or Waterford, Feb 1608', BL MS Lansdown 418 f88; there is also a note in the index ex antiquo cod. villae Rossensis ibid f.2

³³ There is a note by the transcriber of the eight preceding articles from the Book of Ross that there is in this book a long discourse concerning the youth of Waterford. Of this he has only transcribed the first stanza. BL MS Lansdown 418 item 37 f 94.

MS Harley 913. Because of this poem, and because in the sixteenth century the book was the property of a George Wyse of Waterford,³⁴ the book was also known as the Book of Waterford.

Kildare has also been claimed as the source of this book because it contains a poem by friar Michael of Kildare³⁵ and a poem about Peter de Bermingham³⁶ who is buried at the Franciscan friary of Kildare. Also included in this book is the famous poem, in English, the land of Cokaygne.³⁷ From the viewpoint of this study it is of interest to note that the book contains the proverbs of the earl of Desmond. This is now believed to be the work of the first earl of Desmond who was accused of being a Rymoure by Arnold le Poer in 1327.³⁸ These Annals of Ross are overwhelmingly concerned with the affairs of the first earl of Desmond, his allies (including the de Berminghams) and

³⁴ BL MS Harley 913 f 2.

³⁵ ibid f 9.

³⁶ B L MS Lansdown 418 item no.29. Song of Piers de Bermingham fol 89 'it is said to have been copied out of an old book, in parchment, called book of Ross or of Waterford Feb 1608 also in Harley 913' See also M. Benskin, 'The style and authorship of the Kildare poems- (1) Pers of Bermingham', pp 57-75

³⁷ P.L. Henny 'The land of cokaygne: Cultures in contact in Medieval Ireland', Studia Hibernica 12 (1972) 120-141

³⁸ Chartul. St Mary's vol 2 p364; E Mullally 'Hiberno-Norman literature and its public', p 332-3.

his enemies the le Poers.

Could Ussher's Annals of Ross once have been part of BL.Harley MS.913? The Annals of Multyfarnham are present in the last quire of a small Franciscan book which contains sermons, medical recipes, scientific and geographical tracts, a poem, the lament for Simon de Montfort and a satire on monks. Had the Annals of Multyfarnham been separated from that book a similar problem would have been posed.

When the entries in the Annals of Ross are first examined there appears to be no sound reason to doubt that they originated from Ross; the Anglo-Irish names found mentioned are not inconsistent with that area. Additionally, an entry for the year 1333 states that around twenty seven men of Ross were killed by the Irish.³⁹ While the word 'around' might not signify an accurate account, the number 'twenty seven' has some ring of veracity to it. In 1345 the men of Ross are again mentioned when the scribe reports, Moriartach Mac Murch cum uxore, sollemnior de sanguine, et clemens Ketyng malefactor pessimus, per homines de Ros, Dominica infra octavas Corporis Christi, et ex utraque parte duo interfecti.⁴⁰

³⁹ Annals of Ross p 44.

⁴⁰ ibid p 45-6.

There are several puzzling factors about these annals which raise some - perhaps only slight - doubts as to the identification of these annals with Ross. Obviously the close similarity to Clyn's annals raises the question about the possibility of the annals being a copy of Clyn's annal. The majority of entries present in the Annals of Ross are also present in Clyn, but not in identical Latin. Different verb forms are used and, in the instance of a report on the consecration of a bishop in 1322, the Annals of Ross identifies the diocese as Corkumroth⁴¹ while Clyn⁴² and the Kilkenny Chronicle⁴³ calls it Fynaborensis; the diocese in question is Kilfenora.⁴⁴

At this point the Kilkenny Chronicle also must be considered as in 1324 the Annals of Ross records that there was a pestilence of cows and other animals which the scribe declares was called in Irish Maldow;⁴⁵ the Kilkenny Chronicle states that, in 1324, there was a serious plague of cows and oxen which was called by

⁴¹ Annals of Ross p 42.

⁴² Annals of Clyn p 15.

⁴³ The year 1322 was not included by Robin Flower in his published edition. See appendix for transcript.

⁴⁴ A variant name of the diocese is Corco Mruad, Byrne 'Bishops, 1111-1534', N.H.I. vol ix p 299.

⁴⁵ Annals of Ross p 43.

many Maldouny.⁴⁶ Clyn, for the same year, records the pestilence in many places in Ireland but does not give it an Irish name.⁴⁷ When considering the year 1324, Alice Kyteler immediately springs to mind. The affair was reported by both Clyn⁴⁸ and the Kilkenny scribe;⁴⁹ the Kyteler incident is entirely ignored in the Annals of Ross.

It is necessary to address the problem of the relationship between the Annals of Ross, Clyn's annals and the Kilkenny Chronicle. The similarities are evident but that in itself does not presuppose that one annal is a copy of another; the matter is far more complex. In order to attempt to unravel the relationship it is necessary to list what could and could not be possible. The relationships between the Annals of Clyn and the Kilkenny Chronicle have already been examined, and the conclusion that was reached was that, despite the great similarities between the two chronicles, they were not in fact a direct copy of each other but both had used the same source. In a study of the relationship between the Annals of Ross and

⁴⁶ Flower 'manuscripts in the British Museum', p 337.

⁴⁷ Annals of Clyn p 16.

⁴⁸ Annals of Clyn p 16.

⁴⁹ Flower 'Manuscripts of Irish interest in the British Museum', p 337.

Clyn's annals several elements emerge which point in one direction only. It is highly unlikely that the Annals of Ross could have been copied directly from Clyn by a scribe from Ross. The reason for this statement lies in the number of entries directly referring to Ross which are present in the Annals of Clyn but are absent from the Annals of Ross. Clyn records the entry of the Dominicans into Ross in 1267;⁵⁰ these annals do not. The Annals of Ross have no entry concerning the chapter held there in 1318 which is recorded by Clyn.⁵¹ According to Clyn, Adam de Callan, Guardian of Ross, died in 1333. Clyn names the date fully, pridie Non: Marcii, Dominica quarta, scilicet, xl^e, and praises him vir graciosus et dilectus, qui xxiiij annis continue fuit gardianus apud Ros.⁵² This man, guardian of Ross for twenty four years, is not mentioned by the Annals of Ross. A most important Franciscan notice is also absent from the Annals of Ross in 1345; this is the entry which states that the friaries of Ross and Kilkenny were being withdrawn from the Cashel custody and given to Dublin.⁵³

⁵⁰ Annals of Clyn p 8.

⁵¹ ibid p 13.

⁵² ibid p 25.

⁵³ ibid p 31.

In secular matters also there are important notices missing from the Annals of Ross. Both annals record the arrival of Gilbert de Clare in Ireland in 1294,⁵⁴ but only Clyn states that he landed at Ross. More importantly, the Ross annals have no mention of the fact that Gilbert de Rupe was killed in Ross by the burgesses of Ross.⁵⁵ Perhaps most significantly, Clyn has an entry, in 1340, which states that the right of passage of all ships was withdrawn from the city of Ross by the king and council at the instigation of Ralph Meyler;⁵⁶ the Annals of Ross, as we have received them, have no record of this matter. Had the annals ignored only the religious, or only the secular entries, then personal choice might have been responsible but, when both class of entries are missing, the answer lies elsewhere. The conclusion that is suggested by this analysis is that the annals are not from Ross, nevertheless, there are two problems which refute this inference; the Annals of Ross have two entries referring to the men of Ross, in 1333 and 1345,⁵⁷ which are not present in Clyn, and furthermore

⁵⁴ Annals of Clyn p 10. This entry is under 1284 in the Annals of Ross, Annals of Ross p 41.

⁵⁵ Annals of Clyn p 14.

⁵⁶ ibid p 29. E. McEneaney, 'Waterford and New Ross trade competition, c.1300', Decies 12 (1979), pp 16-24.

⁵⁷ The year 1333 is entered twice, Annals of Ross p 44, 45-6.

there is Ussher's statement that the annals came from the book of Ross.

One tentative solution to the problem that could be explored is that a Franciscan friar was present in Kilkenny and had the opportunity of taking extracts from the source used by both Clyn and the Kilkenny chronicler. Then, in 1333, after the death of the guardian of Ross, the friar was moved to Ross. This would account for the absence of entry regarding the former guardian but explain the entry regarding the men of Ross in 1333 which is absent from both Clyn and the Kilkenny chronicle. It would also account for the later entry concerning the men of Ross in 1345. If the scribe did not arrive in Ross until 1333 - after he had used the Kilkenny source - then the lack of interest in Ross prior to 1333 is accounted for. The annals, as transcribed by Ussher, end in 1346. The next two years recorded, 1467 and 1480, are still concerned with the Butlers and Desmonds.⁵⁸ The questions that now arise are, why did the scribe cease to write in 1346; did he die in the plague of 1347; did the book remain in Ross? If on the other hand the conjecture is that the book in question is BL Harley MS 913, then a move to Waterford would account for its final resting place. This tentative theory however

⁵⁸ Annals of Ross p 46.

does not account for the absence of the entry concerning the passage of ships in 1340.

Apart from Ussher's marginalia, the Annals of Ross have information not present in Clyn which in certain cases can be beneficial to the reader of Clyn's annals. For example, in the entry concerning the number killed in the battle of Athenry in 1316, Clyn's annals have the roman numeral V followed by an erasure,⁵⁹ while the Annals of Ross have VII⁶⁰ and the chronicle of Kilkenny has the figure 8.⁶¹ Information present in Ross and present neither in Clyn nor Kilkenny includes such incidental notices as the death of Theobald de Grandison at Clonmel on the morning of 28 September 1326.⁶² Was he a personal friend? The Annals of Ross also has the information that a Nicholas Christofer was killed by the le Poers in 1333.⁶³ The information that the death of Arnold le Poer took place in the castle in Dublin is present in Ross⁶⁴ but not in the other two annals. Of special interest is an entry in

⁵⁹ Annals of Clyn p 12.

⁶⁰ Annals of Ross p 42.

⁶¹ BL MS Vespasian B XI f 133r; Kilkenny Chronicle p 336.

⁶² Annals of Ross p 43.

⁶³ ibid p 44.

⁶⁴ ibid p 43.

1330 reporting the death of a MacGillapatrik in Kilkenny. Clyn names the day, and the man, Donatus,⁶⁵ but it is the Annals of Ross which states, per Anglicos in dolo.⁶⁶

Information present in the Annals of Ross and not in Clyn expands from the year 1331 and much of it relates to Maurice fitz Thomas, earl of Desmond, his allies and his enemies. There are no entries for the years 1337 to 1344. Obviously when one examines Desmond entries the question of a different provenance resurfaces again with special reference to counties Kilkenny, Tipperary and Waterford. Franciscan friaries existed in Youghal, Cork, Waterford, Kilkenny, Cashel and Limerick but these places are not referred to specifically, if at all, in the annals and they would not account for the two entries concerning the men of Ross. The Franciscan convent of Clonmel is thought to have been founded by Otho de Grandison, or the earl of Desmond.⁶⁷

Clyn's allegiance lay with the Butlers and the de la

⁶⁵ Annals of Clyn p 22.

⁶⁶ Annals of Ross p 44.

⁶⁷ Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious houses: Ireland p 246. The earl of Desmond was buried initially in the Dominican friary of Dublin and later re-interred with his ancestors in the Dominican friary at Tralee. G.O. Sayles, 'the rebellious first earl of Desmond', p 225.

Frenes. The Annals of Ross contains information pertaining to the earl of Desmond; the names of his associates captured at Clonmel are included. When reporting the capture of Maurice fitzThomas this scribe relates Captus est Mauricius filius Thomae in dolo.⁶⁸

There are many problems, surrounding the annals of Ross, which need to be resolved before any sound evaluation of the material can be attempted, not least of which is the relationship between the Annals of Clyn, the Annals of Ross and the Kilkenny Chronicle.

⁶⁸ Annals of Ross p 44.

CONCLUSION

When considering any medieval documentation the question of what percentage of the material survived is an important consideration,¹ especially in Ireland where the loss has often been considerable.² It is possible to surmise that there was a far greater amount of historical writing in medieval Ireland than can be accounted for by the extant material. The only surviving example of Dominican historical writing in Ireland exists as very brief extracts in a seventeenth century transcript. How full or how brief the original Anglo-Irish annals were can only be mere conjecture. That the Dominicans of Trim and Ross were not alone in their order in producing Anglo-Irish annals is evident from internal analysis of the Annals of Multyfarnham which indicates that an early Dominican foundation also produced annals. There is no way of determining whether the Dominicans produced Irish annals; the Cistercians produced both Irish annals and Latin annals.³ How many other orders were busy with

¹ For the workings of chance in the preservation of medieval books since the Dissolution of the monasteries see N.R. Ker, Medieval libraries of Great Britain (London 1964), p x-xv.

² H. Wood, 'The Public records of Ireland before and after 1922', T.R.H.S. 13 (1930) pp17-49

³ For a list of principal annals see G. Mac Niocaill, The medieval Irish annals p 40.

historical writing in medieval Ireland is impossible to determine but it is clearly illogical to suppose that, given the political situation in the sixteenth and seventeenthⁿ century, all the historical writing that is extant was all that was in existence in medieval Ireland.

No historical writing has survived from Mellifont but is it possible that the first Cistercian house in Ireland, the monastery which was responsible for such a 'sumptuous' lavabo,⁴ would not concern itself with recording historical data, or is it merely that the writing has not survived? In nearby Drogheda Anglo-Irish historical writing survives only as fragments of two annals⁵ and, as mentioned above, further south the Dominicans of Trim produced a chronicle. The register of the Dominicans of Athenry happily has survived, did they also produce annals now no longer extant? The list of possibilities could continue until it covered virtually all the most important religious establishments in medieval Ireland.

Franciscan historical writing in Medieval Ireland is extant in the form of the annals considered in this

⁴ R. Stalley, The Cistercian monasteries of Ireland (London, 1987), p 171.

⁵ D. MacIomhair, 'Two old Drogheda chronicles', Co. Louth Arch. Jn. 16 (1961), pp 88-95.

thesis; the Annals of Multyfarnham, possibly written in Roscommon and /or Claregalway, the Kilkenny Chronicle, written in Castledermot and Kilkenny, the Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn, written in Kilkenny and the Annals of Ross, written partly at least, in Ross. Apart from the above annals, all produced in Anglo-Irish friaries, there is extant a Latin annal, the Annals of Nenagh, the work of the Irish friars at Nenagh; if at least one Irish Franciscan friary produced Latin annals, how many others friaries did likewise and indeed how many others produced Irish annals? It has been argued in this thesis that the Connacht section of the Annals of Multyfarnham may have been produced in Claregalway and if so then other annals written after 1274 could have been written there; some of the chartulary of Claregalway has survived in the form of a seventeenthⁿ century transcript. A necrology has survived belonging to the Franciscan friary in Galway and if the friary could produce a necrology then it could also have produced an annal. It is difficult, if not impossible, to believe that such a Franciscan friary as Ennis, described in the Caithreim Thoirdhealbhaigh, did not produce some historical writing,

the monastery of Ennis, diversely beautiful, delectable: washed by a fish giving stream; having lofty arches, walls limewhited; with its order of chastity and their golden books, its sweet religious bells; its well kept graves, homes of the noble dead; with furniture of both crucifix and illuminated tomes,

both friar's cowl and broidered vestment; with windows glazed, with chalice of rare workmanship; a blessed and enduring monument which for all time shall stand a legacy and mamorial of the prince that raised it.⁶

There is a Franciscan element present in the Munster Annals of Inisfallen covering the years 1216-1252, 1299, 1301-1311⁷ and the Franciscan identification is especially distinct in the long entry in 1311 which may be described as a diatribe against the Franciscan Spirituals.⁸ The list of Franciscan friaries where it would have been possible for annals to have been produced could cover the entire medieval Franciscan foundations. The Franciscan friary of Adare, founded after 1450, produced annals, did the friars do so because it was the custom to produce annals?

Irish annals, covering the period after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans, survived in Ulster, Munster and Connacht and not in Leinster, whilst Anglo-Irish historical writing survived in Leinster; possibly the political situation was responsible for that survival ratio?⁹

⁶ Caithreim Thoirdhealbhaigh p 32.

⁷ Annals of Inisfallen p xxxvi-xxxvii, 343-357, 391-411. G. Mac Niocaill, The medieval Irish annals p 24-29.

⁸ *ibid* p 411

⁹ John Bale, bishop of Ossory, stated, 'And as concernynge books of antiquite, not printed; when I was in Ireland I had great plenty of them, whom I obtayned in tyme of the lamentable spoyle of the lybraryes of

It cannot be mere coincidence that the greatest survival rate of Anglo-Irish annals is in the east of Ireland where the Gaelic revival made the least inroads. From the Kilkenny region alone there is a considerable amount of survival of Anglo-Irish historical writing. In Kilkenny was written the Kilkenny chronicle, the Annals of Clyn, possibly part of the Annals of Ross and the source used by all three; perhaps the brief annals of 1167-1313 from south east Ireland are part of that source?¹⁰ There are also brief historical notes in the Liber Primus Kilkenniensis. In addition there is the chronicle of the Marshals, the Annals of Duiske, the Castledermot chronicle and the Dominican Annals of Ross. A considerable amount of literary activity, apart from the aforementioned annals was also in evidence in that part of Ireland.¹¹ In the light of these considerations it is easy to encompass the idea of two annals, or more annals being produced in Kilkenny.

England, through much fryndeshypp, labour and expenses'. Quoted in Wright, C.E. 'The dispersal of the libraries in the sixteenth century', in Wormald, F., and Wright, C.E. The English library before 1700 p 153-4 .

¹⁰ BL. MS. Harley 4003, edited by R. Flower, 'Manuscripts in the British Museum', Anal. Hib. vol 2 p 314-5.

¹¹ Beginning with the Song of Dermot and the Earl, The Walling of New Ross to the religious poems of Richard de Ledrede.

The annals are part composition and part compilation and with the element of compilation there is always a problem especially when the only available text is a transcript. The problems associated with a transcript can be examined by comparing the original manuscript of Chronicle A of the Kilkenny Chronicle¹² and a seventeenth century transcript of the same.¹³ In the transcript the names are given a different spelling;¹⁴ word order changes; initials become full names;¹⁵ the verb form changes;¹⁶ dates are not inserted;¹⁷ some years are ignored;¹⁸ some entries in years are ignored. Despite all these changes the sequences appear to remain constant.

A problem arises with the identification of a work when there is an absence of a contemporary medieval title. Any title must be examined to ascertain whether it is the work of an editor, a transcriber or, by fortunate, and rare, chance, the author. This problem

¹² BL MS Vespasian B XI f 126 -133, rectos only.

¹³ BL MS Add 4787 f 11r -14v.

¹⁴ Obren becomes OBrien; Norach becomes Norragh

¹⁵ I becomes Johannes

¹⁶ 1323 interiit becomes interficitur; 1328 factus est = fecit ; Huic competebat =huic apportaiebat

¹⁷ For example 1330.

¹⁸ 1328

was evident with the Annals of Multyfarnham and was absent with the Annals of Ireland by friar John Clyn, who identified himself in the annal as the author. Unless the identification of a work is contemporary and preferably by the author of the said work it is not safe to accept a later identification without constant reassessment. When considering the Kilkenny Chronicle, Robin Flower accepted it as one unit, although he himself commented on Cotton's habit of binding disparate manuscripts together.

Annals cannot exist in a vacuum, they must, to some extent, reflect the society in which they were produced. Yet, despite the fact that the Franciscan order was an urban institution, the Anglo-Irish Franciscan annals that have survived from medieval Ireland do not reflect town life. The Franciscan friary was physically present in the town, frequently inside the town walls.¹⁹ The Annals of Multyfarnham mention the town of Roscommon but only in military terms, the building of the castle and the burning of the town. Chronicle A of the Kilkenny Chronicle, written in Castledermot, is not concerned with town life and only mentions the burning of Norragh and the fair at Carlow. Chronicle Bii of the Kilkenny

¹⁹ The establishment of the friars was often an act by the city council who frequently granted the friars the land on which they built their church and friary.

Chronicle and the Annals of Clyn mention the friary at Kilkenny and the fall of the church tower in Kilkenny but, apart from the building of a pavement and the market cross, the city fathers and ordinances are ignored. On the other hand the Liber primus Kilkenniensis throws a fascinating light on the town life of Kilkenny which Clyn and the Kilkenny chronicler leave uncelebrated.

If the annals considered here do not reflect town life then they must reflect the type of person who became a friar and subsequently wrote the annal. Stephen de Exonia was interested in the activities of his kinsman Richard de Exonia and in the military engagements in the area surrounding Roscommon. The author of Chronicle A was interested in the affairs of the king, matters oversea and in Ireland the military activities of Thomas de Clare. Perhaps he was a newcomer to Ireland. The author of Chronicle Bii, in Kilkenny, was also interested in local military affairs. Friar John Clyn gave a great deal of attention to the military activities of Fulco de la Frene and other Anglo-Irish magnates.²⁰ One might surmise that all the authors

²⁰ 'It is to the glory of the mendicant preachers of all Orders that as champions of the poor, they attacked the tyranny and oppression of lords, the weakness of knights, the ravages of retainers...', Pfander The popular sermon of the medieval friar in England p 15-16.

came from a military background, as was the case of the earl of Ulster's brother who was so summararily extricated from Dublin friary. Given the political situation in Ireland, it is probable that all Anglo-Irish persons were similarly involved in the military life of the country.

A monk wrote his chronicle for his monastery.²¹ It is not clear for whom these friars wrote their historical data. Clearly they were not writing for their order as the Franciscan entries are sparse and, sometimes, even difficult to identify.²² It would appear that they wrote for their own personal benefit. The annalist at Ghent wrote because, 'when any events are sinking [into oblivion] it is most useful to know about them'.²³ The Ghent annalist wrote a long continuous work but these Anglo-Irish Franciscans wrote very brief and terse entries. Only at the very end of Clyn's

²¹ For religious edification, to show God's purpose, or to prove the antiquity, rights and possessions of his monastery, charters were even sometimes included in the chronicle for example Annals of Winchcombe BL MS. f. For the writing of annals see, J. Taylor, The use of medieval chronicles Historical association pamphlet no. 70 (London, 1965) T. F. Tout, 'The study of mediaeval chronicles', Bulletin of the John Rylands library vol 6 (1922) p10

²² By contrast, the Annals of Nenagh are far more ecclesiastically orientated relating events concerning the friary and noting the deaths of the friars,

²³ Annales Gandenses ed. and trans. Hilda Johnstone (Oxford 1985) p 1.

annal, at a time of great turmoil, do the entries lengthen and become discursive. Franciscans were not cloistered, they were busy with their mission of preaching, hearing confession and generally seeing to the spiritual life of the town. Many volumes of Franciscan sermons have survived; few Franciscan annals have survived. Clearly, any time available for writing would have been spent composing sermons rather than long historical compositions. The volume which contains the Annals of Multyfarnham is primarily a book of sermon aids. It does not contain full sermons but aids to sermons. The friar, therefore, was accustomed to using a form of brief notes which he could expand at will. The annals may have been written with a similar function in mind, as an aide-memoire.

The annals were written in Latin. The only example of another language in the Annals of Multyfarnham is the presence of the thorn instead of th. However, in the rest of the volume there are references to both the French and English languages but not to the Irish language. The annal written in Castledermot uses only Latin but the chronicle written in Kilkenny and the Annals of Ross give the Irish word for a bovine disease. Clyn only uses Latin but comments on a Matthew de Mylburn who spoke French. These scribes must have known how to speak Irish but from the

evidence of the interpretation of the Irish names they apparently did not know how to write it.²⁴

The relationship of these authors to the Irish nation is difficult to assess. On the one hand the Irish are usually only referred to in terms of military engagements in the annals, but, except in particular instances,²⁵ so also are the Anglo-Irish race. What is of interest however is the lack of reference to Irish saints in the dates used in the annals, apart from a mention of St Patrick, only once does Clyn display any knowledge of Irish saints and that is in the report of the death of Fulco de la Frene, which, he states, occurred on the feast of St Mullins. If, as claimed, the annals reflect both the author and his environment then these annals must be viewed as a valuable contribution to the historian's view of Anglo-Irish life in medieval Ireland.

²⁴ 'their knowledge, as one might expect, was of the spoken, not the written language', A. Bliss, 'Language and literature', in The English in Medieval Ireland, ed. J.F. Lydon (Dublin, 1984), p 37; J.F. Lydon 'The middle nation' in The English in Medieval Ireland, ed. J.F. Lydon (Dublin, 1984), p 14n3.

²⁵ For example, the references to Richard de Exonia in the Annals of Multyfarnham and the de la Frene family in the Annals of Clyn. Clyn's knowledge of the Mac Gillpatrick family should be noted here.

APPENDIX I- TCD MS 347

anno ab incarnatione do. cy. xlv. tharchedra in pet
 romae: et. dicitur. successit. claudius. qui britanniam
 ante adquisiuit.
 anno. xlviii. maria scripta euuangelium
 anno. xlvij. e. ba uirgo maria. anno uite sue. lxxii.
 anno. lxx. b. s. iacobus lapidatus e h n extitit totus
 anno. lxx. fer. p. cator. iudee. a quo paulus uita est
 romae mittitur.
 anno. lxxii. iacobus fr. do. a iudeis e lapidatus.
 anno. lxxiii. e. ba maria magdalena.
 anno. lxxix. passio ap. loy pet & pauli. poeta in
 dicitur moritur. seneca interficitur. precepto nezomsi.
 ano. lxxii. subuersio ierlm. sub tito & iuliano
 d. detus ep. c. successit dement.
 anno. lxxiiii. d. marcialis ep. p. die. lxx. iiii.
 anno. lxxv. iohs. ewan. in patyminos relegat.
 anno. nonagesimo scripta euuangelium.
 anno. nonagesimo. anno. passio in diomdia iohoy d.
 anno. nonagesimo. anno. d. dement. cui successit an
 d. d. d.
 Anno centesimo. d. iohs. apostolus. q. m. b. e. n. o. e. t. a. t. s. i. e. nonog.
 Anno centesimo. iiii. p. t. i. i. i. s. c. e. s. h. i. s. t. o. r. i. a. s.
 Anno centesimo. viii. alexand. p. q. d. i. c. i. t. u. r. a. q. u. m.
 Anno centesimo. xviii. d. y. t. p. q. d. i. c. i. t. u. r. e. t. e. c. a. n. t. a. y.
 Anno centesimo. xxxiii. cellophoy. p. q. d. i. c. i. t. u. r. g. l. o. i.
 in exte. s. & x. l. i. m. i. u. n. a. z. e.
 Anno. cent. lvi. lucius rex britannie x. an. o. s. i. a. t. / lucius rex
 sub. p. e. l. e. u. t. h. e. y. o.
 Anno. cent. lvi. aquila p. m. interpret ex hobeo britanm
 in greciam flouit. aduano regnante.
 e. p. e. i. t. u. r. p. a.

anno. d. lxxv. d. h. edwardus rex. angl. 7. 11. die
 hinc est hinc dicitur in regem. Cap. angl. d. villo d. angl.
 anno. d. lxxvi. Will. barad dux normann cepit an
 gliam. & iuxta baraldum & inuenerunt apud asting
 qui sibi dicitur postea iuxta. Bellu fuit gmitu
 u. id est. eadem anno. idem. Will. coronat. an
 n. d. lxxv.

anno. d. lxxv. Gucege commeta

anno. d. lxxvi.

anno. d. lxxv. bellum in Bleduna.

anno. d. lxxv. bellu philipū regem. fud. & roberti gmi
 am flandue. Gucege est rex. phs.

anno. d. lxxvi. lausfrancus fit archiep. can.

anno. d. lxxvii.

anno. d. lxxviii.

anno. d. lxxviiii.

anno. d. lxxv.

anno. d. lxxvi. octus est dux waldcolph.

anno. d. lxxvii.

anno. d. lxxviii.

anno. d. lxxix.

anno. d. lxxx. uentu ualido ualce de uelmen
 ep. octus est

anno. d. lxxxi.

anno. d. lxxxii.

anno. d. lxxxiii. obiit matildis pma regina angl.
 pma regis Angl. qui quarto Anno reliquit filio
 suo regnum spale.

Anno .m. ccc. lxx. Thomas pinas wedmarch.
 Anno .m. ccc. lxxi.
 Anno .m. ccc. lxxii.
 Anno .m. ccc. lxxiii. Johs de curti capt a Hugon. de Lac.
 Anno .m. ccc. lxxiv.
 Anno .m. ccc. lxxv.
 Anno .m. ccc. lxxvi.
 Anno .m. ccc. lxxvii. Anglia enat in die. oct. by apertis. Will^{us}
 de beans erat de angl. et uenit in Hibinam. strag
 et fca apud. yollis.
 Anno .m. ccc. lxxviii.
 Anno .m. ccc. lxxix. Johs Rey uenit in Hibinam. Hugon
 em de Lac de terra creat cum filis suis. et de
 Anno .m. ccc. lxxx. tunc obiit a curte apud adon.
 Anno .m. ccc. lxxxi. d. Galton archiepc eboy. et dicitur in
 ne. d. Johs archiepc moie dicit. Galton apud denmas
 uoyl firmatur.
 Anno .m. ccc. lxxxii. d. Will^{us} pazunt.
 Anno .m. ccc. lxxxiii. Genale medicum angl^e relapatur
 Will^{us} Rey loatoy. d.
 Anno .m. ccc. lxxxiv. Guera in d. iohm Regē. et barones. G
 nerale gladium some celebrat. ab innocencio papo
 odo moie firmat.
 Anno .m. ccc. lxxxv. d. iohs Rey angl. tunc hant fil^{us} et
 London. filius Regis Francie uenit in Angliam. d

Fair
 fona
 Courty
 m. ccc.
 cap. lxx
 10.
 fona
 de
 Ricardus
 clonin
 11015



Anno. d. c. xxxvi. d. Willis marescallus nror
 Anno. d. c. xxxvii. d. Gascoigne eps daren. subit solus.
 An. de la cornet fit eps midie
 Anno. d. c. xxxviii. transacio ea d. m.
 Anno. d. c. xxxviii. eadmdns fit arch. cant. d. Dic. mar
 escallus apd Hilary.
 Anno. d. c. xxxv.
 Anno. d. c. xxxvi.
 Anno. d. c. xxxvii. Otto venit Legat. in Angl.
 Anno. d. c. xxxviii.
 Anno. d. c. xxxix. nascit dno edwardus filius regis Angl. posbndns
 Anno. d. c. xl. comes cornubiæ adit ad Ham. d.
 eadmdns arch. cant.
 Anno. d. c. xli. d. p. 12. 13. subit alexander. uacant eccia
 romæ p. hennin. d. comes gilbert marescall. d. Walter
 de la. q.
 Anno. d. c. xli. Albertus archiduch. venit in G. B. Hon. rex
 m. sic. uacant. p. pap.
 Anno. d. c. xlii. d. Hug. de la. q. an. ol. Innoc. p. q.
 aser. arch. d. Geraldus filius m. arch. d. Dic. de burgo. l. burg
 Anno. d. c. xliii. Innoc. p. q. uenit lugdun. Henr. rex
 dux. exercit. uenit scotland. q. regem alexandru
 templari. & hospitari. orati. f. i. est. uacant. d. o.
 Anno. d. c. xliii. gilm. uenit lugdun. d. p. Innoc. m. q.
 d. p. d. frederico. imperator. Henr. dux. exercit. d. uacat. l. Hosp
~~uacant. d. p. p. d. de. Henr. Walter marescallus~~
 & Anselm. p. d. obiit.
 Anno. d. c. xlv. d. David princeps Wallie. nat. d. fr. sept. & exon.
 Anno. d. c. xlv. Henr. p. corn. uacant. d. x. m. arch. In
 d. g. de la. q. d. Henr. Linc.

Anno .o. c. lxx. d. dñi. Quia de exon. pma exor dñi h. d.
de exon. d. in die iudicacionis. f. d. h. d. de clare com
es glouernie.

Anno .o. c. lxx. batones angl' eiecerunt alienigenas. f.
induc' est f. sept' de exon. in die iudicacionis. p. die martis.

Anno .o. c. lxxiii. bellum quissum est apud lewis. ubi ca
luc rex. cñ milib'. d. dñi. marit'. f. d. exor. dñi
h. d. de exon. f. d. Valerian'. f. d. p. d. h. d. sub.
clementis quard'. f. d. Sueria mota est in dñi. v. 2
burgo. 7 Geraldus. f. d. magnates capti snt apud
deserun. in die s. mch.

Anno .o. c. lxxv. Frotul comes p. iunie. uocat' a demente
p. ad regnum cealie. scda die martii quissum est bellu
inter ipm 7 mandredum. in apulia. et interfecit' d. ma
tredus. f. d. quissum. et bellum apud euicham. f. d. oco
bon uenit legat' in angl' dñi. et bell' apud euicham
in ceno inuenadom' s. s. septi.

Anno .o. c. lxxvi. castrum de Fentvurpe obcellum est.
reddidit regis. Comes d. feret capt' est apud chert
seld. d. margareta quissim' Lincolne. f. d. h. d. de
clane sit miser. eclipsa lune. die s. lucie uirginit'
Anno .o. c. lxxvii. Bolandus detin' castel. capi. a rega
h. d. dñi. de exonia adiut' regem pro regalib'.
q. castellensem.

Anno .o. c. lxxviii. Eoneowir o. luen. 7 ioh' fil' e.
interfere sunt a deminio macmurierdi. thomas
p. lismoreas' captus est a macho le poel. f. d. man
ricus fil' Gerald' submersus est inter Valliam
7 hiberniam. Robert' de hussford uenit itinarius

Iherosolime. & eodam anno edificata est castra de Roscom
 An. & ffe Maam mēuerunt hiberni. & macohelan mē
 fecit est. & mō. & est ffe nichola de curia.
 Anno. d. c. lxxix. fca. et. pax inter canonicos. & uirgo
 & Geraldinos. loc. capt. est apud rolan. Interea ē mac
 archan. dauid. arch. castell. mō. & hiru mōchali. & ffe
 dñc. Ric. d. exon. duxit dñā ysemam. filiā dō dauid de
 A. prendore. & ffe. d. Ric. archid. miche. successit magi
 iohc. de dubitum. & loc. capt. est apud. donmele. & d.
 patn. p. mat. successit magi nich. & est. uacauit. p. duos
 annos. & dñc. rich. d. uerdun & d. ffe. d. ffe. ffe. mih
 ces. d. domes. & cessauit episcopus. & annis. &

pontificu
 sedes. 3. años
 vacat

Anno. d. c. lxx. septuagesimo. d. Thom. episcopus. h. l. m. o. y
 Lubit magi. iohc. de rupe. & d. hugo p. u. tel. dux
 it iohanna. filiā dō mchi. d. u. b. e. n. d. & d. Ric. d. u. f.
 ord. reuert. est in angl. & d. Ric. d. exona. gessit uicel
 iusticiari. hibernie. & hibernie. & ueruerunt. & ffe. ffe. an
 glicoy in conacta. in q. d. d. v. fil. leom. & alii cor
 uerunt in die s. p. antaleonis. & d. i. ames. d. andole
 uent iusticiari. hibernie. & d. ffe. ffe. de. cog. an. i. u. mo. & ffe
 heuic. d. un. hen. id. interea. est. & ffe. ffe. iohc. r. an. car. d.
 est. & m. h. e. r. & d. om. ffe. ffe. m. & u. l. l. a. de. r. o. l. c. o. m. a. n.
 g. u. l. t. a. est. & ffe. y. s. e. m. a. y. n. u. u. o. r. d. o. Ric. d. exon. p. e. p. t.
 m. a. l. c. u. l. i. i. o. h. m. n. o. i. e. in die s. q. & l. o. d. o. v. i. c. r. e. x.
 f. r. a. n. c. i. e. & d. n. c. e. d. w. a. r. d. fil. r. e. g. i. s. a. n. g. l. i. e. a. d. u. e. r. i. t.
 t. e. r. r. a. m. s. a. m. & m. o. r. t. u. i. ē. r. e. x. f. r. a. n. c. i. e. & d. h. e. n.
 r. i. c. d. a. l. e. m. a. n. i. a. m. i. t. t. e. r. est. apud. u. i. t. e. r. b. u. i. a. G. u. i.
 done. de. m. o. n. t. e. f. o. r. t. i.

De nisticores. f. in m hōmā. f. f. p. o. n. o. r. r. f. p. m. a. g. z.
 n. i. s. t. i. c. o. r. e. s. f. f. m. m. h. o. m. a. f. f. p. o. n. o. r. r. f. p. m. a. g. z.
 n. i. s. t. i. c. o. r. e. s. f. f. m. m. h. o. m. a. f. f. p. o. n. o. r. r. f. p. m. a. g. z.

f. d. d. de Oeneulle & ceteri nobiles de Hibern. miserit usq
 slendelay circa campum. f. d. m. a. g. z. p. e. s. m. a. l. d. u. s. e. p. c. O. n.
 e. n. s. i. s.

f. anno. g. c. lxxiii. d. o. d. o. Rex conatit om. a. p. d. v. m. id. m. a. n.
 om. successit in regno. G. h. y. nepos e. q. r. d. m. t. f. e. a.
 om. f. e. t. t. o. d. m. a. om. f. u. a. e. l. l. i. c. e. n. e. p. o. s. q. o. a. u. l. u. m. g. l. a.
 d. n. o. p. a. t. a. p. f. e. o. d. n. a. a. n. a. l. y. n. a. g. m. t. i. l. l. a. n. t. r. o. n. o. y. e. r. a.
 p. e. n. t. e. c. e. m. d. i. e.

APPENDIX II

Bodl. MS Rawl. B 496

APPENDIX II

Bodl. MS Rawl. B 496

APPENDIX III

Bodl. MS Laud Misc.614

Manuscript Stone

115

fragments of Ireland collected out
of an old written parchment
manuscript wh^{ch} appertained to
S^r Francis Franc Knight, and was
an Abbe's booke in brought.

Ano 1121

Christinus Archiepiscopus Dublinia accipit.

St. Leger

Ano 1134

Malachias fit Archiepiscopus Ardmaghi

St. Malachy

Ano 1148

Obijt beatus malachias apud Carnwall.

St. Malachy

Ano 1177

Vinianus mittitur Ligatus in Hibernia a Papa Alexandro.

vinianus

Johnus Courcy adquisiuit Ultram.

Courcy

Obijt Episcopus Armachonensis.

Ano 1180

Obijt Donatus Archiepiscopus Cassellensis

donatus

Ano 1185

Johnus filius Regis intravit Hibernia, et restituitur.

Johnus

Ano 1200

Johnus Prothos Egijetur de Romaxia.

Johnus

Ano 1201

Obijt Thomas Primas Ardmaghi

Thomas

Ano 1203

Johnus Courcy capitur a Hugonis Lacy.

Courcy

Lacy

APPENDIX IV

BL MS Vespasian B XI

1265. **M**auricius filius Mauricius Galardi cepit Ricardus de Ripe
 Justiciarius hibernie Johes de Cogan Teobaldus de Botiler
 apud St. Idemot et mactarunt eos apud Ley.

1264. **S**icut fuit bellum apud Euesam Simon de Monte fortior
 apud et filius eius Henricus et multi magistri ex parte baronum.
 Octavo venit legatus.

1266. Rex obsedit castellum de Kemysberve et eodem anno recessit ab
 eodem.

1268. Circa festum sancti Jacobi obiit in Parisiis Mauricius filius Galardi
 principis hibernie cum anno et dimidio. Eodem anno venit ite-
 rari dominus Robertus Dufford.

1269. Fuit pax inter Burgeses et Saracenos. Edwardus filius
 Angli et multi barones venerunt ad terram sanctam.

1270. Redierunt de hibernia in Angliam dominus Johannes de Westp et octo
 de secundo sono et Rogerus de Clifford. Fuit inter rex Francie
 Lodovicus nonus et terram sanctam et obiit in itinere. Eodem anno
 cum omnes hibernici guerrevant et omnes mercatores de Offaly
 et castellum de Lega deserte sunt et Angli inde expulsi et
 magister sancte utriusque nationis factus est in conacia.

1219. **C**ogitavit cardan scribario esse cap^o p^o eod^o ano car^o d^o sept^o
1216. **O**mn^o discordia int^o do^o Leutinu^o & regē ead^o h^o d^o & cap^o
Mortu^o de Boelde g^ost^o & p^o cap^o de ff^oont & de rochlan
fmabant

1211. **P**ap^o informac^o int^o regē & Leutinu^o. Nova moneta fa
beata e^o q^o p^o consores minus erat corrupta. **T**heob^o Obven
capt^o e^o p^o thom de clare & decapitat^o. Eod^o & ano
urgetat^o do^o thom comeder^o de carmb^o ed^o ap^o ste
blam. **T**heob^o de Barry obit.

1218. **F**oblissia tabula rotunda f^o ap^o kembarve p^o d^onm^o eos^o
de mortuo mari. manete in vigi^o s^oci^o machi & d^once
v^o p^o m^o q^ontu^o bi^o arch^o v^o Leo duct^o d^o a^ore. **T**heob^o Joh^o
de Cogin mortu^o. **T**heob^o obusti s^ont milites do^o thome
de clare & m^o f^o m^o ev^oac^ooe de totom^o p^o tordelach.

1280. **C**apt^o e^o eos^o de chiford semoz ap^o haberdyn p^o
ed^o frem^o lebelm^o & q^o milites d^oci^o Edwardi t^o f^oci^o
& p^o h^ores armig^o. v^o it^o s^ouer^o va^o oz^o int^o regē
& lebelm^o & ed^o frem^o ei^o.

1282. **D**isposita mas^o de Anglis v^o p^oos^o asisus f^o s^o r^o naues
v^o do^o eos^o de shifford cu^o m^oltis nobilib^o st^omp^o s^ont.

Theob^o lebelm^o p^onceps & p^o h^ores Galie mas^otes t^o f^oci^o s^o
p^o Dublin^o g^obit^o in mas^o vico. **T**heob^o machinch occidit^o.

1283. **D**avid capt^o e^o in snobdu^o. eod^o anno distit^o & decolat^o
& d^oms^o p^o q^o p^otes p^o iudicu^o v^o g^ont. **T**heob^o Dublin^o g^obit^o
mas^o p^os.

1282. **E**adward fil^o reg^o eadward nat^o e^o die s^oci^o mas^o
m^ont^o p^orach g^obit^o.

1284. **C**uerra int^o karolu^o regē ecche & pet^o regē dra
some p^o h^om^o regē f^oacie & d^ocm^o pet^o. **T**heob^o obit ba
rolus rex ecche. **T**heob^o theobals^o v^o r^o d^ona.

1219. **C**onstituta carcerum in senario esse cast. p. eod. ano car. d. septimo
 1216. **O**mnis discordia inter dom. Leulinu & regem Edwardum & cast.
 MCCCXX De boelde gftic & p. d. cast. de ffhont & de rochlan
 smabant

1211. **P**ap. informac. inter regem & Leulinu. Foua moneta fa-
 beata e. q. p. consores nuns erat corrupta. **T**heobaldus obven-
 capt. e. p. thom. de clare & decapitac. Eod. t. ano
 urgebat. do. thom. comeder. de carmb. e. p. apud ste-
 blam. **T**heobaldus de Barry obit.

1218. **F**lorentissima tabula rotunda fuit apud kemborve p. dnm. rog.
 de mortuo mari. mapiete in vigilia. s. machi. & dante
 usq. in campu. bi. nich. v. Leo duct. d. aure. **T**heobaldus
 de Cogin mortu. **T**heobaldus obusti sunt milites do. thome
 de clare & m. f. in erep. de totom. p. tordelach.

1280. **C**apt. e. rog. de chiford senoz apud halberdyn p.
 ad frem. lebelm. & q. milites d. Edwardi. t. p. n. t.
 & p. h. res armig. v. n. idu. suerva. orio. m. d. reg.
 & lebelm. & ad frem. ei.

1282. **D**isposita mas. de Anglis. v. pos. asisus. fu. sr. naves
 v. do. rog. de chiford. cu. m. t. nobilib. st. m. s. t.

Theobaldus princeps & p. h. res. Balhe. mas. tes. t. f. c. s. t.
 fu. Dublin. g. b. t. in. mas. vico. fu. machm. ch. occidit.

1283. **D**and. capt. e. in. snobdu. eod. anno. dist. & decolat.
 & d. n. s. p. q. p. tes. p. m. d. c. n. v. g. n. **T**heobaldus Dublin. g. b. t. o.
 mas. p. s.

1282. **E**dwardus fil. reg. Edwardi. nat. e. die. s. machi.
 m. d. forch. g. b. t. o.

1284. **G**uerra inter Karolu. regem. Ceche. & pet. regem. Ara-
 some. p. h. m. regem. f. u. c. i. e. & d. m. pet. obit. ka-
 rolus. rex. ceche. **T**heobaldus. theobaldus. v. n. c. n. a.

1286. **O**bit **H**enr^{us} rex francie & multi magistri s^{en} m^o **H**er^{ic}
 1227
 ano post obit pet^{ri} rex aragonie in batell. per
 W^{il}elm^{um} d^{omi}ni c^{on}de armig^{er}o. **I**te obit do^{minus} g^uar^{us} fili^{us}
 g^uar^{us} ap^{ud} eos xl octob^{ris}. **I**te eod^{em} ano obit g^uald^{us} fili^{us} g^uar^{us}.
 p^{ri}mo^{rum} ap^{ud} zach^{aria}. **I**te obit do^{minus} thom^{as} de clare
 eod^{em} ano p^{er} x^{vi} dies anⁿⁱ p^{ro}fac^{ion}e be^{ate} v^{ir}g^{inis}.

1287. **H**er^{ic} ad^uard^{us} rex ang^{lorum} & aragon^{um}
 1227
Ite obit alexander rex scocie. **I**te or^{itur} discor^{dia}
 dia int^{er} barones ang^{lorum} & rex^{em} meredic^{um}. Et cap^{itulum}
 de rotholam cap^{itulum} occidit do^{minus} de g^uonch^{er} & al^{ios}.

1289. **H**er^{ic} ad^uard^{us} rex ang^{lorum} & aragon^{um}.

1290. **D**ep^{os}ita est d^{omi}na joh^{anna} fit^{is} ed^uard^{us} rex ang^{lorum} d^{omi}no
 1227
 comiti de clare & d^{omi}na marg^{ar}ita sor^{or} sua^{rum}.
 de brabant fit^{is} ducis brabantie. **I**te fut^{us} **I**te
 banizati s^{un}t iudei de ang^{lorum}. **I**te est p^{ro}pana regia
 ang^{lorum} m^{ortua} est m^{ortua} lincol^{niensis}.

1291. **S**oldan^{us} cu^m magno exercitu ven^{it} de babilon^e ap^{ud}
 1227
 romam & ob^{edi}it usq^{ue} ad .18. diem may & des^{er}u^{it}
 t^{er}re civitate p^{ri}mo. **I**te cap^{itulum} b^{at}el^{is}.

1292. **P**ax r^{est}ituta int^{er} do^{minus} reg^{em} & do^{minus} joh^{annem} de bay^{ernia}
 1227
 rex reg^{em} scocie.

1293. **O**ra est guerra int^{er} rex^{em} ang^{lorum} & p^{ri}nc^{ip}em re
 1227
 gem francie p^{ro} tra^{ns} baston^{em}. **I**te comit^{us} mag^{ister} &
 corrup^{ti}o^{rum} domes glou^{cestrie} ven^{it} in hibernia.

[Faded header]
1318. *[Faded]* p. 2. mare. De vic. de clar. accunt
sessma de bollen. p. *[Faded]* p. 2. marc. De vic. de clar. accunt
fili Thome. ano illo. *[Faded]* p. 2. marc. De vic. de clar. accunt
mes vrad capte i brens. Dublin. t. m. aff. 3. Decem. *[Faded]*
dom. p. dicitur Dublin. q. b. p. brens. c. d. velle. *[Faded]*
p. de hys t. de *[Faded]* p. e. m. h. t. t. *[Faded]*
t. h. o. f. e. r. p. m. e. *[Faded]* t. s. u. *[Faded]* *[Faded]*
t. g. b. y. e. n. d. e. t. t. a. m. u. s. n. a. m. a. t. h. i. n. t. a. s. *[Faded]*
p. s. i. c. a. l. p. e. d. i. t. e. d. o. p. o. b. m. *[Faded]* d. e. l. i. n. o. t. e. r. e. *[Faded]*
p. d. e. r. e. d. e. m. a. r. i. m. o. r. t. u. o. *[Faded]* p. o. u. e. l. t. u. m. *[Faded]* *[Faded]*
p. a. l. e. d. t. r. a. n. s. a. n. o. o. m. n. i. s. l. a. t. i. o. *[Faded]* *[Faded]*
p. *[Faded]*

1318. *[Faded]* p. 3. de d. m. t. a. m. a. t. o. g. m. *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]*
m. g. m. a. g. n. e. p. d. e. n. t. e. t. a. g. r. e. d. e. *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]*
m. i. t. e. n. t. e. d. i. e. n. s. t. d. i. l. i. g. e. n. s. *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]*
n. e. a. f. f. e. c. t. i. m. s. u. m. q. *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]*

[Faded] p. m. e. s. e. t. e. d. *[Faded]* d. e. l. y. n. *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]*
p. m. e. a. t. o. s. p. e. t. *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]*

Anno d. g. cc. xxi. *[Faded]* p. d. o. n. o. c. o. m. e. s. d. e. *[Faded]* *[Faded]*

Anno d. g. cc. vicesimo primo venit d. s. de bremeghem iusticiarius hylie
eod anno comon p. bayan de anglia s. p. e. d. e. angl. eod anno p. e. p. o.
p. e. p. p. e. p. s. b. bayan de p. m. i. t. s. i. h. a. p. r. e. m. e. t. a. g. m. d. i. e. *[Faded]*

16 52. Anno d. g. cc. vicesimo secundo Inscitis et suis magister de bonum acul
bilis comes berfracie in vigilia s. p. a. u. l. i. Eod anno p. x. die p. festum s. t. h. o. m. e.
abbe capte est d. n. o. s. t. e. a. l. d. e. l. a. n. c. a. s. t. r. a. *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]*
p. d. e. c. o. l. l. a. t. *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]*
de chifford sumer. t. d. n. o. s. l. i. t. e. s. o. u. m. b. r. a. *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]*
de l. a. n. c. a. s. t. r. a. d. o. n. a. l. l. o. p. l. e. n. t. i. o. d. n. o. s. f. r. a. n. c. i. s. d. e. i. l. l. a. m. *[Faded]*
de l. i. t. t. a. d. e. n. e. d. o. h. e. n. d. v. i. c. e. d. o. r. a. m. d. e. l. y. l. d. d. o. t. h. o. s. c. u. p. p. e. r. *[Faded]*
de w. u. n. f. e. t. d. o. h. e. n. d. l. a. n. c. a. s. t. r. a. d. o. t. h. o. s. p. a. u. d. i. t. e. *[Faded]* *[Faded]*
d. o. s. f. o. l. e. s. m. a. n. d. i. t. e. *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]*
a. l. i. s. m. d. u. l. l. i. s. l. o. c. i. s. m. a. n. d. i. t. *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]*
[Faded] *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]* *[Faded]*

212. ...
 239. ...
 245. ...
 249. ...
 254. ...
 286. ...
 316. ...
 348. ...
 392. ...
 410. ...
 420. ...
 430. ...
 418. ...
 423. ...
 429. ...
 437. ...

1325. // *[Faded text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side]*

1326. // *[Faded text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side]*

1328. // *[Faded text, likely bleed-through from the reverse side]*

229 // *Occidit p rufenses & barones p[er] h[er]edem p[er] d[omi]n[u]m d[omi]n[u]m cu[m] a
 de c[on]no[n]e suo. Int[er] p[er] h[er]edem. Hugo cano[n] cu[m] m[ul]t[is] ca[us]is de
 d[omi]n[u]m q[uod] de familia curat. 100. // *De d[omi]n[u]m de Beuesb[ur]gomes
 de latho c[on]no[n]e i[n] m[on] p[er]uoc[er]tes & de bualc apud a 100 &
 p[er]uoc[er]tes de m[on] p[er] familia p[er] uoc[er]tes de c[on]no[n]e suo & de c[on]no[n]e.
 // *De d[omi]n[u]m de latho p[er] p[er]uoc[er]tes i[n] m[on] c[on]no[n]e apud // 50 p[er] m[on] p[er]uoc[er]tes
 de c[on]no[n]e suo de c[on]no[n]e p[er]uoc[er]tes & c[on]no[n]e p[er]uoc[er]tes i[n] c[on]no[n]e
 de c[on]no[n]e suo de c[on]no[n]e p[er]uoc[er]tes & c[on]no[n]e p[er]uoc[er]tes i[n] c[on]no[n]e***

APPENDIX V

TCD MS 574

Epistola *Letter* *Book of the*
Book called, Liber *Community.*
quatuor minor - 411

MS 109. 6. 5. 2. p. 139.

369.

fratril catholicus qd emic. *Frater secundus* *origines ab orbis*
 p condito ipse ad *orbem roma condita* *anni quatuor milia cccc*
ochuaginta quor ann. Et ab *orbis condita* *874* *mat. 715* *ann. 32*
sic colliguntur ad originis 5199. *Ann. nostris* *Christus*
primus et sumus pontifex fuit et *Paul* *in hoc tempore* *annis*
32 *3. milisig.* *secundum* *iuxta illud evangelii jtes erat. q.*
incipis usq. 30. v. tricesimum incipit, *13* *diebus* *frater* *quidam*
ann. pater q. 22 *die* *anno rebobato* *conbetti* *agnus* *in* *binis* *et* *in*
sequenti *pascha* *i. ann. 33.* *paschus* *et* *Ann* *in* *carceratus* *32* *cap.*
et *in* *die* *pasche* *sep* *recolatus,* *et* *et* *in* *factio* *pasce* *i. 33.* *ann.*
paschus *et* *Ann* *et* *ita* *binis* *32* *ann* *integre* *et* *33.* *ann.* *quatuor*
et *huyor* *a* *recolti* *874* *ad* *pasce* *q.* *no.* *in* *die* *copulati.*
Ann *nostr.* *sub* *augusto* *cesare* *i.* *albaniano* *q.* *in* *verat* *ann.*
nat. 4 *ann.* *12.* *et* *nat.* *anno* *13* *ann.* *iste* *loko* *degit* *in* *brany*
marchiam, *hibernis* *spz* *x.* *ann.* *18.* *v.* *Ann.* *in* *centis* *minis* *et*
duo *millia* *quinque* *centis* *et* *aliam* *q.* *in* *verat* *ann.* *et* *secundum.* *Ann*
et *in* *verat*

Annus *1109* *quinti* *decies* *istius* *seculi*
Annus *defueral* *q.* *89* *ordus* *erat*
Quatuor *millibus* *fructus* *et* *ann.*
Annus *in* *infirmitate* *fuit* *et* *ann.* *prime.*

castro de brecler tentus festo sevy nunti. Eustacii et sociorum
 eius ⁷²² post eius epulionem et sepultus est ap gloucestria.
 + In anno 1327 in festo scie trinitatis occiditur Symo parcyll tenens
 in officio vicecomitis Bylly p obrenanis et alii cum eo hinc 20.
 1327. Do. s. p. de auventu et in sigill: Ebi amare apu combustas
 villa et fere tata hucina de huly in o'oe p' vms willm de
 Birmingh'm et gualinus, hucinus. s. d. m. ante filii rorum et
 illu' vir au octo dies, combusti et destructi fuit gualificastel cu
 toto territorio in circuite et fuit guerra sebi s'ma inter gual-
 p'inos Birmingh'mys et sua sequelle ex parte una q' norinus et illos
 de burgo ex parte altera. hinc et vniuersimiliter q' porinus in iure
 vniuersimiliter hincinus. que potentia illi de valle et de
 sco elvino et felz nys cu multis aliis manerij et millibus norinoy
 occidit ^{copy} et hinc omnia sua hinc amiserunt et destruxerunt.
 1328. fe. 3. post pacela nortay s. aniles obiit d'ns Thome filius
 Johis comes B'uarie justiciarius hinc hinc ap' maynot. In die
 martis p'is d'g' a'hib' au' eode occiditur au' Baryu ^{not} fil: Johis
 de rype cu aliis malefactoribus hinc et consanguineis suis de hinc
 p'edicatoy extractis. In 11. fe. 12. obiit d'ns et uniu occiditur
 p'itus p'ore nil et hinc baronis et controller cu aliis ex cogne
 sua dea ^{de p'arm'ia} 12. Do. maner. fil: rorum et illo vir occiditur d'ns Johes
 fil: gualli in eode conflictu. In eode au' 5. fe. Junis in vig
 trinitatis obiit d'ns wills de sco i'ouyacio. 1328. capitur et oc-
 ciditur in vigil: vig: Ebi mathei apu Johes fil: benedicti de p'ore
 d'ns de Raltgornoch et Bylmydan p' cantibonessu et cito post obiit
 erit patrina fil: maner uxore eius et hinc roy. ap' Ros.
 1327. com' cu Couoyco uice barbarie in impatoru electi.

original hat: a blot

1328.
 Edwardus rex anglie post conquest, hincius fuit f'ens p'us
 Eltam d'ns comite cornubie, d'ns Rogeru de m'at' hinc

Et Catalogus suus dicitur

383.

1323 in primis manifestis sumis Francos in Silpaciis
 et post multo et forata sacramenta sui dicitur
 libris et foris multiplicibus reliquis, duos filios
 Roman in Silpaciis de amicitia sui regis et imperatoris
 et herem copulavit et costravit. Item eodem anno,
 octavo die Julij in octava Trinitatis, videlicet de Burgo
 domus obstitit dux, conatus in qua molforibus
 suos Armigos in quibus confidit dicitur omnibus
 quibus autem solvitis auctoribus erant Joannes de Logan
 Robertus filius sui Petri Mandobyle Robertus filius
 Martini Mandobyle, qui tamen brevis et momentaneus
 et per solatium sunt consequi nam submissis se
 pinguentes qui semper Anglorum et fidem psonaribus
 receptores amici et defensores esse solent, infra
 mensos duos per Joannem de Mandobyle et paucos de
 patria eorum et amplexibus vno die occiduntur, for
 matu et affuit in mulierum fructu. Item de
 Burgo uxorem sui Petri de Mandobyle dicebatur
 et pererat eorum fructus cum Walterum de Burgo
 et alios intractavit. Item domus subtilissimi erat
 ingenij, uti publicus et pariter amator ²⁰ amoru
 civitatis civitatem et universalem relinquens
 eorundem. Item foris quanta post octava Trinitatis
 tempore plerumque occidit apud Dubliniam
 Martini in rotis dicitur in ^{turma} et inter
 multitudinem ambulavit occisores in regno
 etiam fugente et in turca latitante et for dei
 in isto iudicio, qui multos male ipse fideles
 occiderat. etc. N. N.

... 22/22

Anno dñi 1349 in magna tristitia foret et penitencia
 nam libra foret vendebatur ex donarijs, et pueris
 et miseris et donarijs. Item in festo stulti
 xpi. Dominus Julus de la frena confidens in
 commissionibus falaris subintra inter fuitur p̄dico
 br̄ milis et militaris a p̄uicia deditur et
 intendens, et p̄ris de fono, reip̄dica
 de fono in clona malens, plurimū relatu,
 hominū in religione vix in t̄bia et in
 in d̄nem t̄ntonenros fidelis opp̄ressor
 de terra et h̄ p̄ant, h̄ magnaminiū minas
 magnos et non formidans, h̄ largus et
 p̄ris nob̄ quam iob̄ abens maioris fame quam
 substantis et fufus erat in d̄ndis expulsi nulli
 et laudans suam rannam, et som̄ linguib̄ laque
 et rominis p̄p̄i sententijs h̄ in t̄bia et lata
 Videt̄ qd̄ Auctor h̄ ob̄it.

Per vias fidelibus
 pateforit

344
408

Handwritten notes, possibly including "Lod to..." and "summary of the following...".

Epilobium

The two problems mentioned.

Cassidix aculeata

Waterfordensis

Lysimachia

Clonensis

Corfage

Rosensis

Herforthenis

Lymricensis

Lromensis

Finsla

Tynaburghensis, id est corfuensis.

For Comaric

Trecensis, etc.

Mucicinus, id est Lymricensis.

112
 Fibra romana habet Richard Wilsoni
 in methodia Dierckxii Fide Wilhelmi et
 de quibus singl. Rec. 39. Per script. f. de quibus
 1348. Ceterum quod dicitur factum
 et est.

Fibra romana habet Richard Wilsoni
 in methodia Dierckxii Fide Wilhelmi et
 de quibus singl. Rec. 39. Per script. f. de quibus
 1348. Ceterum quod dicitur factum
 et est.

~~Ex libro Rossensi.~~

- 1255. Occiditur Simo de Monte forti.
- 1266. Vincitur Walterius de Burgo: et milites sui cum multis alijs occiduntur.
- 1280. Mutatur moneta. Combuntur Waterfordia.
- 1284. in festo marparthe virginis fuit fulgur et cruscatio des Emery hanc, provent magna caristia, ex qua multi fame perierunt. Eodem anno comes venie intravit Hiberniam. et Ricardus de Burgo come. Ultonie apud ...
1.2. Joannem filium ...
- 1304. Abbatia monachorum et longi praedicatorum in festo columbae abbatibus Dublini ...
ant. ombusca.
- 1305. ... O Konwysir et multi alij de cognomine in domo Petri ...
1310. Batus de Bunsrat, ubi apitur Willhelmus de Burgo cum multis alijs per Ricardum le Clare. et occiditur dominus Joanne, Croke cum multis alijs.
Eodem anno obiit dominus J. Copan.
- 1312. Ordo Templarum destruitur. Eustacius le Doer mortuus. Petrus ...
- 1313. In festo sancti Michaelis Edmundus princeps Dublinie fecit 30. milia ...
- 1312. 1314. in festo sancti Baptiste, Gilbertus come. Ultonie apud ...
hinc in bello occiditur.
- 1315. Scoti intraverunt Hiberniam et in festo sancti Michaelis multi Batus Episcopus
apud Ketchis bellum contra eos.
- 1316. Dominus + filius domus intravit Angliam, et acens est come. Ultonie.
Eodem anno fuit magna caristia in Hibernia ita quod ...
vendit et pro 40. Sidijs et communiter et aliquando pro finibus, et eodem anno
communiter omnes Hibernia preta rids et fidelitate commoda contra Anglos
poverunt se ad guerram et eodem anno in festo Laurentij bellum contra eos
apud ... in ... ubi ... et meruit per Ricardum de Brimingham
et dominum Willhelmum de Burgo de Hibernia omnium et multorum ...
- 1317. Dominus Rogerus de portu mari capulit illos de cognomine de ... de Hibernia
et reperiunt in Scotiam.
- 1318. fuit magna caristia in Hibernia et innumerabili populo moriebatur, et cruce
muniti communiter pro 20. Sidijs et plijs ... Eodem anno dominus
Ricardus de Clare cum fribilibus militibus et alijs multis a ... Hibernia ...
in occiditur.

APPENDIX VI

BL MS Add 4789

manu scriptio: Anno dñi 1405 frater Jo^hannes minister Joh^hannis
 comitis de rapho gentili rapho fuit in mari
 flandrensium et soluit p^{er} raptone sua p^{er} maras
 et quinq^{ue} ^{familis} famulato, quo anno fuit h^{ic} h^{ic} anno,
 Anno p^{er} dñi 1340 (natus).

fol 254. Joannes Clyniff de
 Regibus Anglorum
 lib.

Saxones Saxientibus nomen et concessa inter se
 gentes agros redentes riles et oppida edificantes
 Sic ab anno dñi Britanni tota Hibernia imperaverunt,
 Dne dñi p^{er} dñi hanc, qui ip^s autem Rob^{ertus} Diadema
 portabit &
 Henricus vero p^{er} m^ultatione dñi 447 p^{er}it et
 486 occidit. Ip^s in fac suo Horsa fuit dñi
 Saxoni in Britannia p^{er} benidubus. Erat sermo
 b. Sida birguli filius &
 p^{er}hit in Ebor^{ac} cu^m his verbis. Historia continet
 + filia /
 Ihes^{us} historia sibi Chrocin continetis alibi
 in ferius p^{er}sequitur & sic dimittur quia
 nunc del. actum ubi acta utrob^{iq} agitur

Item fund minor Anglia habet custodias vij sicut Londoniam, que
sunt in Anglia. Item sicut Londoniam, Salisburiam, Cantuariam, Wintoniam,
Eboracensem, Dunelmam, Herefordiam et Gloucestriam.

Item Oxoniensem, que habet viij sicut Oxoniensem,
Bedfordiam, Staffordiam, Northamptoniam, Northamptoniam
et Gloucestriam. Item sicut Londoniam, que habet
sicut Londoniam, Gloucestriam, Herefordiam, Worcesteriam,
am, Wintoniam, Herefordiam et Gloucestriam.

Item Cantuariam, que habet viij sicut Cantuariam, sicut
Northamptoniam, Dunelmam, Herefordiam, Worcesteriam, Gloucestriam
et Dunelmam.

Item Wintoniam, que habet vi sicut Wintoniam, sicut
Staffordiam, Staffordiam, Herefordiam, Salisburiam, Herefordiam
et Herefordiam.

Item Eboracensem, que vij sicut Eboracensem, sicut
Northamptoniam, Dunelmam, Herefordiam, Worcesteriam, Gloucestriam
et Dunelmam, que habet vi sicut Northamptoniam, Worcesteriam,
munda, Herefordiam, Worcesteriam, Dunelmam, Herefordiam,
Wintoniam, Dunelmam et Dunelmam.

fol. 264. b

Item fund minor
in Hibernia.
Castellum mot
atq. Dist. d. mot

Item duo sicut clare sicut Londoniam et Herefordiam
habet custodias sicut Dubliniam, que habet 7 sicut
Dunelmam, Herefordiam, Worcesteriam, Herefordiam, et Worcesteriam,
Item sicut sicut que habet 6 sicut sicut, sicut, sicut,
magna farnam, Dunelmam et Worcesteriam. Item sicut sicut, que
sicut, sicut, sicut, sicut, sicut, sicut, sicut, sicut, sicut,
Item sicut sicut, que habet 10 sicut, sicut, sicut, sicut, sicut, sicut, sicut, sicut, sicut, sicut.

Ante An. 1332
in pagina seq.

In Libra communitate feni
 minor filii. fol: 153.

Fili Abbie.

70/1

In provincia monachia

Castellus anglicus	Castell. En waterford.
waterfordus	Kilmore. 1 m. 1/2 waterford.
Lismoreus	Clare Cork
Clonous	Ross.
Corkus	
Rossus	
Kenoy.	q: Anade unks to Perth. Perth.
Indferious	Smick.
Limericus	Killaloe
Lacous	q: Emly unks Castell.
Euclia Imilianu	Kilfenora.
Aynabores, id est rothurog	

In Comacia

Juanous anglicus	Juanus.
Duareus i Kylmabog	Kilmacough.
Enardimus	Enardimus
Aladous i. Killaloe	Killala.
Aladous i. Aghyanou.	Agheny.
Imaymus i. mayon	unks to T.
Effimus	Elphin.
Cloufous	Clonfert

APPENDIX VII

Bodl. MS Laud Misc 614

Birmingh
 Cast. y. r. a. c.
 Pow. M.
 Wale
 Tam
 Alchynge
 Fitzgerald
 Roche
 Pow. M.
 Dimm
 Fitzgerald
 J. Ludgwe
 Pow. M.
 R. A. H. O. M. I. C. E.
 Londons
 Rothel
 Demond
 Bneyo
 plun. g. g. t.
 Clare

Birmingh, et Geraldinos homines filios domini Mauri filii
 Thome. Et illo die ad octo dies combustum, et destructum fuit
 in castro Castell, in toto Comitatu in Britania, et fuit guerra
 ferocissima inter Geraldinos Birminghamos, et sua sequela
 ex parte una, contra Normanos, et illos de Surgo ex parte altera
 tunc unanimiter, contra Normanos insurrexerunt Geraldini
 Birminghamos, sua potentia, et illi de Walli, et de fide Albano
 et Alchynge, et multis alijs nationibus, et multos Normanos
 occiderunt, et fere omnes eorum terras combusserunt, et
 destruxerunt.
 M^o CCC^o xxxviii feria tertia post pascha, non Julii Aprilis obiit
 dominus Thomas, filius Johannis Comes Anglorum, et Justiciarius tunc regis
 apud Maynoth. Item die Martis pridie Idus Aprilis Anno eodem
 occidit apud Burgum Willus filius Johannis de Turpe cum alijs
 malefactoribus hominibus, et consanguineis suis, de loco peditatorum
 extrahit. Item vij kal. eiusdem mensis, et anni occidit Petrus
 de Turpe filius et heres Baronis de Dohulle cum alijs de suo
 regno circa xvij familia domini Mauri filii Thome, et
 illo die occidit dominus Johannes filius Geraldini in eodem conflictu.
 Item eodem Anno x kal. Junij in vigilia Trinitatis obiit dominus
 Willus de fide Leodegario.
 M^o CCC^o xxxviii rapitur, et occidit in vigilia vigilia beati Mathie
 apostoli, Johannes filius Benedicti le Robur, dominus de Dachtgormok, et
 Colmudan p Cantabrigie. et tunc post obsiderunt Altonia,
 filia Mauri, uxore eiusdem, et heres eorum apud Rob.
 M^o CCC^o xxxviii Romanorum Lodovico dicitur Barone in
 Imperatorem electum.
 M^o CCC^o xxxviii Edwardus Rex Anglorum post conquestum tertius fecit
 fratrem suum Johannem de Eltam ducem Comitum Cornubie, dum
 Rogerus de Mortuo mari Comitem Maricie, et dum Jacobus
 le Boliler Comitem Exonie.
 Item M^o CCC^o xxxviii circa festum Michaelis Willus de Burgo Comes
 Altonia in Anglia educatus cum Matilda uxore eius filia domini
 Henrici Comitis Lancastrie, et consanguinea ipsius, ex
 dispensatione Curie dispensati quia erant in tertio, et quarto
 gradu affinitatis, genuerunt ad Libiniam, hic erat filius
 Johannis de Burgo filii Girardi, et Elizabetha filia Gilberti
 de Clare cui tertia pars terrarum Comitatus Glouernie
 competebat ex parte matris sue, ipsius Elizabetha.

[Handwritten signature]

APPENDIX VII

Bodl. MS Rawl B 496

1^o die febr. hinc ad redonem dunt dunt
~~magnum clerum x x x.~~

1^o die febr. (magnum clerum dunt dunt)

Edwardus Rex. In hoc festo conquestu terrarum
 fortiter regnavit. In hoc festo de Elton dunt dunt
 omnium formidit, cum Rogerum de Mortuo mari
 videret matrem, et cum Robertum de Mortuo
 omnium dunt dunt.

Etiam in hoc festo. Intra septuagesimam, vultus
 de Longo comitis Altonie in Anglia duratus
 ad matrem de Elton - illa dunt dunt
 Lancaster et consanguinea ipse ex dunt dunt
 dunt dunt quia erat, in tertio et
 quarto gradu affirmatis, vultus ad dunt dunt
 qui erat filius Rogeri de Longo in Pirard
 et Elizabeth filie quondam de Flaun, cui tertie
 parte terrarum dunt dunt competebat de
 parte matris sue ipse Elizabeth.

1^o die febr. dominica in festo Agnetis puto obiit
 dunt dunt de dunt dunt de dunt dunt. In
 eodem anno fuit ultimus dies februarii dunt dunt
 combustum est dunt dunt de dunt dunt de
 dunt dunt.

1^o die febr. y adus, martij die fuit, matris
 in festum dunt dunt. Mort dunt dunt dunt dunt
 de dunt dunt.

1^o die febr. die veneris in festo dunt dunt
 combustum fuit dunt dunt, in vigilia dunt dunt
 dunt dunt de dunt dunt. die hinc post dunt dunt
 in dunt dunt combustum dunt dunt de dunt dunt
 et dunt dunt.

1^o die febr. die hinc, in vigilia dunt dunt
 occidit de dunt dunt et dunt dunt dunt dunt
 dunt dunt dunt dunt dunt dunt dunt dunt

APPENDIX VIII

A.D. 1322

BL MS Vespasian B XI f134r

OCCISI SUNT NOBILISSUM COMITIES ET BARONES ANGLIE
ETC// OBIIT RICARDUS BRIMEGHAM, DOMINUS DE ATHENERI//
INTERIIT WILLELIMUS FILIUS REGINALDI CANTON DOMINICA
ANTE FESTUM BEATI MICHAELIS// OCCIDITUR APUD ONOLANYS
DOMINUS NICHOLAS DE LANDE ANDREAS BREMEGHAM CUM MULTIS
IN VIGILIA LUCE EWANGELISTE// REX EDEWARDUS CUM MAGNO
EXERCITU INTRAVIT SCOTHIAM UBI MULTIS DE SUIS FAME
PERIERUNT ET NIHIL PROFICIENDO REDDIIT UBI REDDEUDO
CAPTUS FUERAT DOMINUS JOHANNES DE BRITANIA COMES DE
RICHMUNDE// CONSECRATUR APUD WATERFORD NICHOLAS
WELIFED EPISCOPUS WATERFORD JOHANNES LEYNACH EPISCOPUS
LYSMORENSIS EPISCOPUS FINABORENSIS IN DIE PALMARUM

APPENDIX IX

LETTER FROM BRITISH LIBRARY

APPENDIX IX - Letter from the British Library

BL MS Vespasian BXI

1. The document was originally a roll of two membranes, sewn foot to head: the stitching marks are visible at the foot of f. 128 and the head of f. 129 - marks on f. 128, faint dots and a line where the creases have been.
2. The annals written on the recto side
3. Second chronicle on the verso and followed by the later 14th century additions.
4. Flower's analysis of the order in which the leaves should be placed is correct.
5. I am sure the second chronicler did not cut up the roll.
6. The first and outer membrane of the roll may have suffered damage from damp and dirt.
7. Both chronicles are imperfect at the beginning.
8. Some of the text and the blue and red colouring of the annals is faded and the dorse of the parchment has a particularly dirty appearance.
9. The 17th century contents for the volume, f.1, lists Annales Hibernie a Anno 1264 ad annum 1330.
10. The item was part of Vesp. B XI by 1621 when the first catalogue of Cotton's library was drawn up (Harley MS. 6018, f.9).
11. Sir James Ware made extracts from both chronicles which he placed in chronological order, ADD. MS. 4787, ff. 11-14b.
12. He does, in fact, use the 1329 fragment (f 14b), placing it after 1332, which suggests it was out of sequence at the time.
13. The note by Ware on Add. 4787 f 11 also indicates that the document may have been owned by George, Baron Carew.
14. It is possible that Carew obtained the document in Ireland and passed it to Cotton.

- | | | |
|-----|------------------|----------------|
| 15. | O.F. (Cottonian) | MODERN. (1875) |
| | 126 | 126 |
| | 127 | 128 |
| | 12[8] | 130 |
| | 129 | 132 |
| | 130-132 | 153-155 |
| | 133 | 141 |
| | 134 | 143 |
| | 135 | 158 |
16. ff. 141-143 are now part of art 8 (ff 138-144), a 15th cent. verse chronicle.
17. ff. 153-155, 158 are part of art. 9 (ff 145-158), an imperfect theological text.
18. The roll came into Cotton's hands in bad condition, perhaps even in pieces.
19. He divided the text for 1264-1322 into four sections, O.FF. 126-129 and they were followed by sections of the 15th century chronicle and the theological text, O. FF. 130=135.
20. art. 4, ff. 72-79, a 15th century chronicle of St. Martin's, Dover, is a divided roll, formerly O.FF. 72-75.
21. Cotton had the whole chronicle and it is possible that parts of it and of artt. 8 & 9 were in too bad a state to be bound.
22. These fragments may have been in close juxtaposition: offsets from material that looks like the Kilkenny annals appears on ff. 152b-154.
23. A memorandum in an 18th century hand, f. 158b, states that the MS. had 153ff. + f. 131* (a 16th - or could be early 17th - century paper sheet, now f. 138).
24. The pasting was therefore not done until after this was written, and was probably done in the British Museum in the 19th century.
25. Two attempts were made at refoliating the MS in pencil, the second in June 1875.
26. At the first attempt someone marked f. 134 verso upper as f. 127*, which suggests the material was still loose at this stage, after which I suspect the pasting of the chronicle was done, prior to rebinding. Binding records start 1878. The volume was rebound again in 1968.

APPENDIX X
COMPARISONS OF TRANSCRIPTS
ANNALS OF CLYN

Some examples of comparisons of transcripts of Clyn

	TCD MS 574- T	ADD. 4789- A	Laud Misc.614- L	RAWL B 496- R
	Out of the later end..	Out of the later end..	Incipit catalogus. .	Incipit catalogus ..
	fol 109 b	fol 288		
		passus est	passus est	passus est
			natus est	natus est
	spiritus	spiritus	spiritus sanctus	spiritus sanctus
	17 kal Jan	7 kal Jan	7 kal Jan	7 kal Jan
	8 kal May	8 kal March	8 kal March	8 kal March
	493	593 to 493	595	593
	457	457	454	454
	1183 *108 3	1183	1083	1083
	1153 *100 3	1153 *1103	1103	1103
	Henry III	Henry 111	Henry IV	Henry IV
	Henry 111	Henry 111	Henry IV	Henry IV
	Yoellia	Italia	Italia	Italia
	Austria	Ausrta	Acquitain	Acquitain
	sabbato	veneris in margin	veneris	veneris
			ob Ed.111 - out of sequence	ob. Ed 111-out of seq.- crossed out
		Canteton et David	Cantiton traditur	Cantiton traditur
	Barc...no ne	Barcinono	Barrinonae	Barrinono

	TCD 574	ADD 4789	LAUD 614	RAWL.B 496
	va- cat note how it stands over the two lines	entry but no va- cat	no entry	entry but crossed out
	iste annu s a Mayo	Iste annus a Mayo	Iste annus + 30 words -a mayo	Iste annus + 30 words - a mayo
	captus est			xxxxxx
	all between these two lines in margin	mane rec in margin	in nota	in margin
	catalogus sive ...	catalogus sive ...		

APPENDIX XI
 EXAMPLES OF MARGINALIA
 ANNALS OF CLYN

1293		
1294		
1295		
1296		
1297		
1298		
1299		
1300		
1301		
1302		
1303		
1304		
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1310		
1311		
1312		
1313		
1314		
1315		
1316		
1317		
1318		
1319		
1320		
1321		
1322		
1323		
1324		
1325		
1326		
1327		
1328		
1329		
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1331		
1332		
1333		
1334		
1335		
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1345		
1346		
1347		
1348		
1349		
1350		

Examples of marginalia used in transcripts of Clyn

	T.C.D. MS 574 'T'	ADD. MS 4789 'A'
	1152 [distribuit]	written over in text
	1183 [1083]	
	1109 [1209 protu Dublin]	
	1269	[¹ *in margin]
	1290 [*in margin]	[* in margin]
	1291 [*in margin]	[* in margin]
	1294	[*in margin]
	1303	[* in margin]
	1307	[* in margin]
	1309 [* in margin]	
	1316 [there is a manifest erasure in ye original]	vii milibus in lib. Rossensis]
	1317 [* razed]	
	[* interlined]	
	[* sibi nomen]	
	1321 [* in margin]	[* in margin]
	[* interlined]	[* in margin]
	1323 [johannes]	[* in margin]
	[septuagesima]	
	1326 [*1326] 1306 in text	[* potius Edwardus 2nd]
	[*hyemes]	
	[* a rasere]	
	1327 original hath a blanck	de est aliquid-written in text
	1329 [*blanck]	

¹ TCD uses three dots; Add uses cross

	1329 [*filius potius [*corcagnes] [*note how va cat standeth over these two lines]	
	1330 [* all between these two marks in ye margin]	[*margin] [mame recentiore in margin]
	[* ca purificatione: thus in ye margin]	[* in margin]
	[* blanck in ye original]	
	[* nulla potius]	
	[* both razed]	
	1333 cathologus sive chronica	cathologus sive chronica- crossed out
	1334 [* pig m ta]	
	[* cu cy]	
	1336 [* rasere]	
	1339 [* a blanck in ye original for ye knights name]	
	[*a forte]	
	1340	drawing of a viking ship
	[*obiit David fil David de Barry iiij idus maii]	[*obiit David fil David de Barry iiij idus maii]
	[ad aquam fr Moling]	
	[Dalkey]	[in margin Dalkey]
		[* in margin aliispuendo sanguine]
	[hic vias fidelibus pateferit]	[* in margin hic vias fidelibus pateferit]

Rawl B 496 -R	Laud Misc. 614 - L
313 *Jeronius-and hand pointer	
1254 Aquitania	
1269 date in arabic	
1290 m290 arabic number	
1291 m291 " "	
1319 obit D. de Barry	
	1324 nota re Petronilla de Midia
1330 Edwardus appellat	1330 nota re 'and later called Edward'
1345 Capitulum de Clana in quo Kilkennia et Ros...	1345 Capitulum de Clana in quo Kilkennia et Ros...
'ad aquam sti moling' then crossed out	
Dalkey	Howth with Dalkey underneath
hic vias fidelibus pateferit	hic vias fidelibus pateferit
videtur quod auctor hic obiit [alia manu]	videtur quod auctor hic obiit

1871	1872	1873	1874	1875
1876	1877	1878	1879	1880
1881	1882	1883	1884	1885
1886	1887	1888	1889	1890
1891	1892	1893	1894	1895
1896	1897	1898	1899	1900
1901	1902	1903	1904	1905
1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
1911	1912	1913	1914	1915
1916	1917	1918	1919	1920
1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
1926	1927	1928	1929	1930
1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
1936	1937	1938	1939	1940
1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
1946	1947	1948	1949	1950
1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
1991	1992	1993	1994	1995
1996	1997	1998	1999	2000

APPENDIX XII DATES IN ANNALS OF CLYN

2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
2016	2017	2018	2019	2020
2021	2022	2023	2024	2025
2026	2027	2028	2029	2030
2031	2032	2033	2034	2035
2036	2037	2038	2039	2040
2041	2042	2043	2044	2045
2046	2047	2048	2049	2050
2051	2052	2053	2054	2055
2056	2057	2058	2059	2060
2061	2062	2063	2064	2065
2066	2067	2068	2069	2070
2071	2072	2073	2074	2075
2076	2077	2078	2079	2080
2081	2082	2083	2084	2085
2086	2087	2088	2089	2090
2091	2092	2093	2094	2095
2096	2097	2098	2099	2100
2101	2102	2103	2104	2105
2106	2107	2108	2109	2110
2111	2112	2113	2114	2115
2116	2117	2118	2119	2120
2121	2122	2123	2124	2125
2126	2127	2128	2129	2130
2131	2132	2133	2134	2135
2136	2137	2138	2139	2140
2141	2142	2143	2144	2145
2146	2147	2148	2149	2150
2151	2152	2153	2154	2155
2156	2157	2158	2159	2160
2161	2162	2163	2164	2165
2166	2167	2168	2169	2170
2171	2172	2173	2174	2175
2176	2177	2178	2179	2180
2181	2182	2183	2184	2185
2186	2187	2188	2189	2190
2191	2192	2193	2194	2195
2196	2197	2198	2199	2200

Begins	Anno	1153 1	Anno	1264	Anno	1327
Anno 2	Anno	1183	Anno	1265	Anno	1328
Anno 3	Anno	1153	Anno	1267	Anno	1327
Anno 19	Anno	1109	Anno	1268	Anno	1328
Anno 30	Anno	1120	Anno	1269	Anno	1328
Anno 33	Anno	1133	Anno	1270	Anno	1328
Anno 34	Anno	1125	Anno	1271	Anno	1329
Anno 38	Anno	1142	Anno	1272	Anno	1329
Anno 45	Anno	1144	Anno	1274	Anno	1329
Anno 48	Anno	1148	Anno	1279	Anno	1329
Anno 49	Anno	1161	Anno	1280	Anno	1329
Anno 58	Anno	1169	Anno	1281	Anno	1329
Anno 59	Anno	1170	Anno	1282	Anno	1330
Anno 62	Anno	1172	Anno	1283	Anno	1331
Anno 63	Anno	1174	Anno	1284	Anno	1331
Anno 83	Anno	1177	Anno	1285	Anno	1331
Anno 97	Anno	1183	Anno	1286	Anno	1331
Anno 100	Anno	1185	Anno	1287	Anno	1331
Anno 156	Anno	1186	Anno	1288	Anno	1331
Anno 233	Anno	1186	Anno	1290	Anno	1331
Anno 265	Anno	1187	Anno	1291	Anno	1332
Anno 286	Anno	1189	Anno	1294	Anno	1332
Anno 316	Anno	1190	Anno	1294	Anno	1332
Anno 410	Anno	1193	Anno	1302	Anno	1333
Anno 313	Anno	1199	Anno	1303	Anno	1334
Anno 411	Anno	1204	Anno	1304	Anno	1335
Anno 423	Anno	1214	Anno	1305	Anno	1336
Anno 424	Anno	1215	Anno	1307	Anno	1337
Anno 417	Anno	1216	Anno	1308	Anno	1338
Anno 432	Anno	1217	Anno	1309	Anno	----
Anno 439	Anno	1221	Anno	1310	Anno	1340
Anno 457	Anno	1226	Anno	1312	Anno	----
Anno 490	Anno	1228	Anno	1311	Anno	1342
Anno 500	Anno	1231	Anno	1312	Anno	1343
Anno 525	Anno	1232	Anno	1313	Anno	1344
Anno 592	Anno	1233	Anno	1314	Anno	1345
Anno 595	Anno	1240	Anno	1315	Anno	1346
Anno 606	Anno	1241	Anno	1316	Anno	1347
Anno 638	Anno	1242	Anno	1316	Anno	1348
Anno 688	Anno	1243	Anno	1317	Anno	1349
Anno 729	Anno	1202	Anno	1318		
Anno 799	Anno	1220	Anno	1317		
Anno 1066	Anno	1245	Anno	1318		
Anno 942	Anno	1251	Anno	1319		
Anno 900	Anno	1252	Anno	1320		
Anno 973	Anno	1248	Anno	1321		
Anno 989	Anno	1253	Anno	1320		
Anno 1066	Anno	1254	Anno	1321		
Anno 1087	Anno	1255	Anno	1322		
Anno 1103	Anno	1257	Anno	1323		
Anno 1106	Anno	1258	Anno	1324		
Anno 1133	Anno	1260	Anno	1325		
Anno 1139	Anno	1261	Anno	1326		
Anno 1152	Anno	1262	Anno	1326		

APPENDIX XIII
DATES IN ANNALS OF CLYN
BEFORE AND AFTER 1343

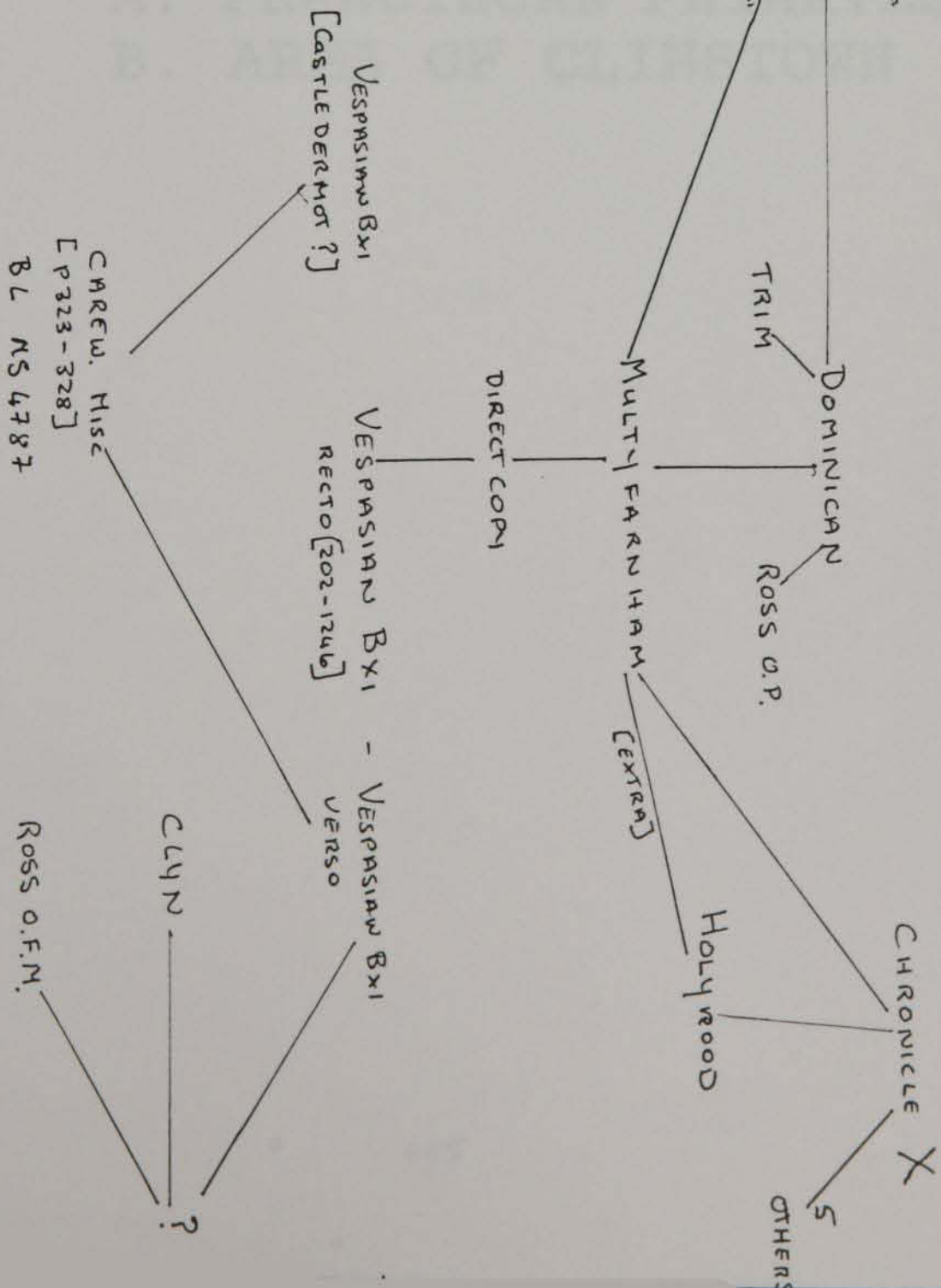
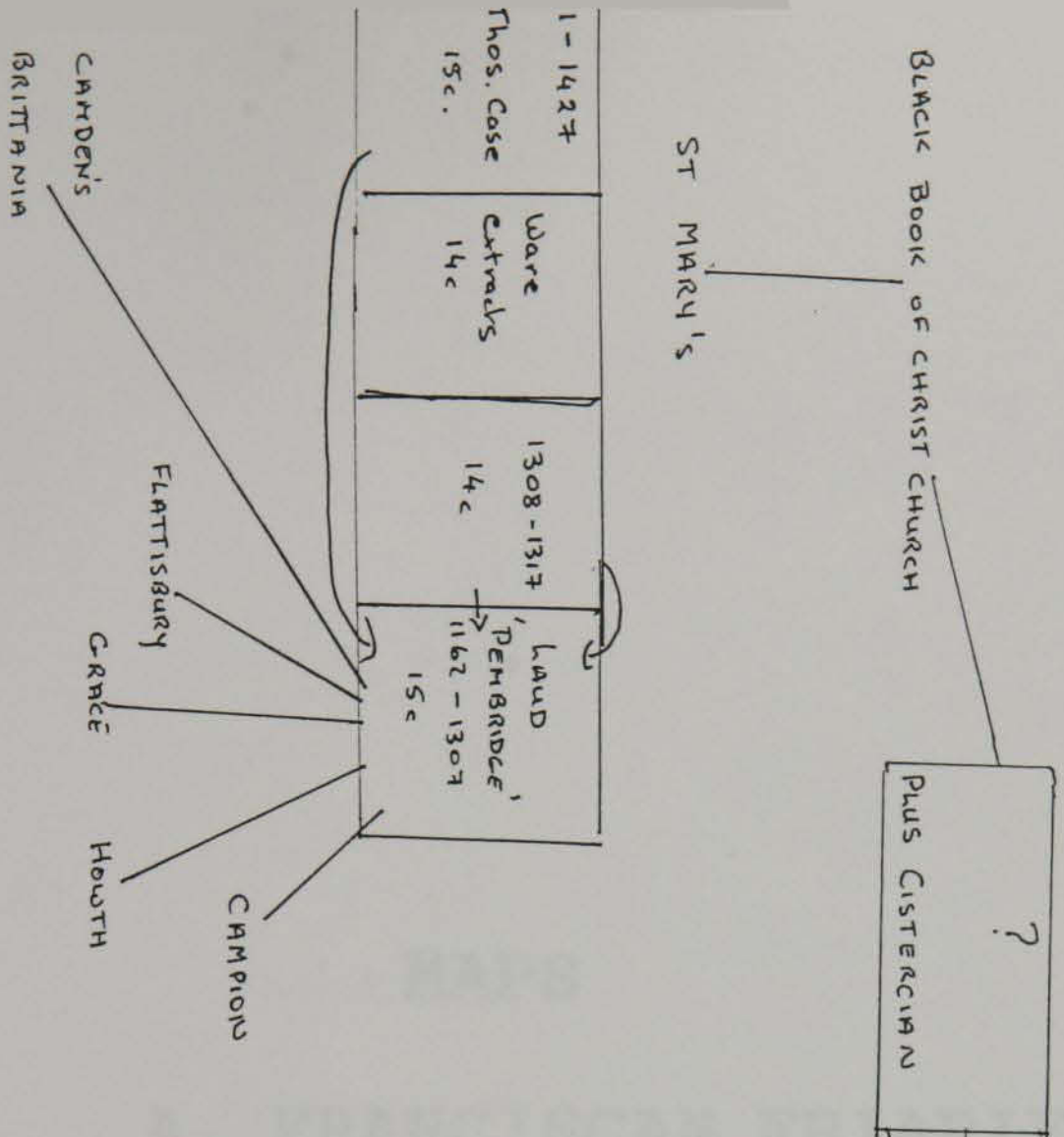
DATES USED BY CLYN BEFORE AND AFTER 1343

- 1338 Ascension - feast of the Baptist - last day of August - Wednesday nones October - feast of St Martin - Tuesday 15 Kal December - from All saints to Easter - from the feast of St Andrew to the feast of St Vincent - Lent - feast of St Magdalen - Friday, eve of Assumption - Monday, the eve of Blessed Matthew - within octave of Blessed Francis.
- 1340 Friday within octave of Easter - on the following Thursday - Kal. May - feast of the Baptist - Friday 4 August - Tuesday following the feast of Agatha.[1341]
- 1342 Christmas - 16 March
- 1343 Pentecost¹ - feast of St Vincent²
- 1344 3 July - Tuesday 3 Ides July - Christmas - Quadragesima - feast of cathedre Petri.
- 1345 Around Easter - feast of the Baptist - Friday feast of Jerome - Friday 12 Kal November, the feast of Hilary - and the following Monday - Saturday after Calixtus - feast of Innocents - Annunciation.
- 1346 5 Ides April and Palm Sunday - preceeding vigil - after Easter - within octave of Easter - first soday after Easter - Wednesday 3 Nones May - feast of Baptist - Saturday the feast of blessed Martha - 26 August - Tuesday eve of St Luke - Saturday following the nativity of Mary - Winter - feast of Clement.

¹ Chapter at Marseilles

² Robert, king of Jerusalem and Sicily buried at Naples in the habit of a friar minor.

APPENDIX XIV
ANGLO-IRISH ANNALS
-LINE OF DESCENT-

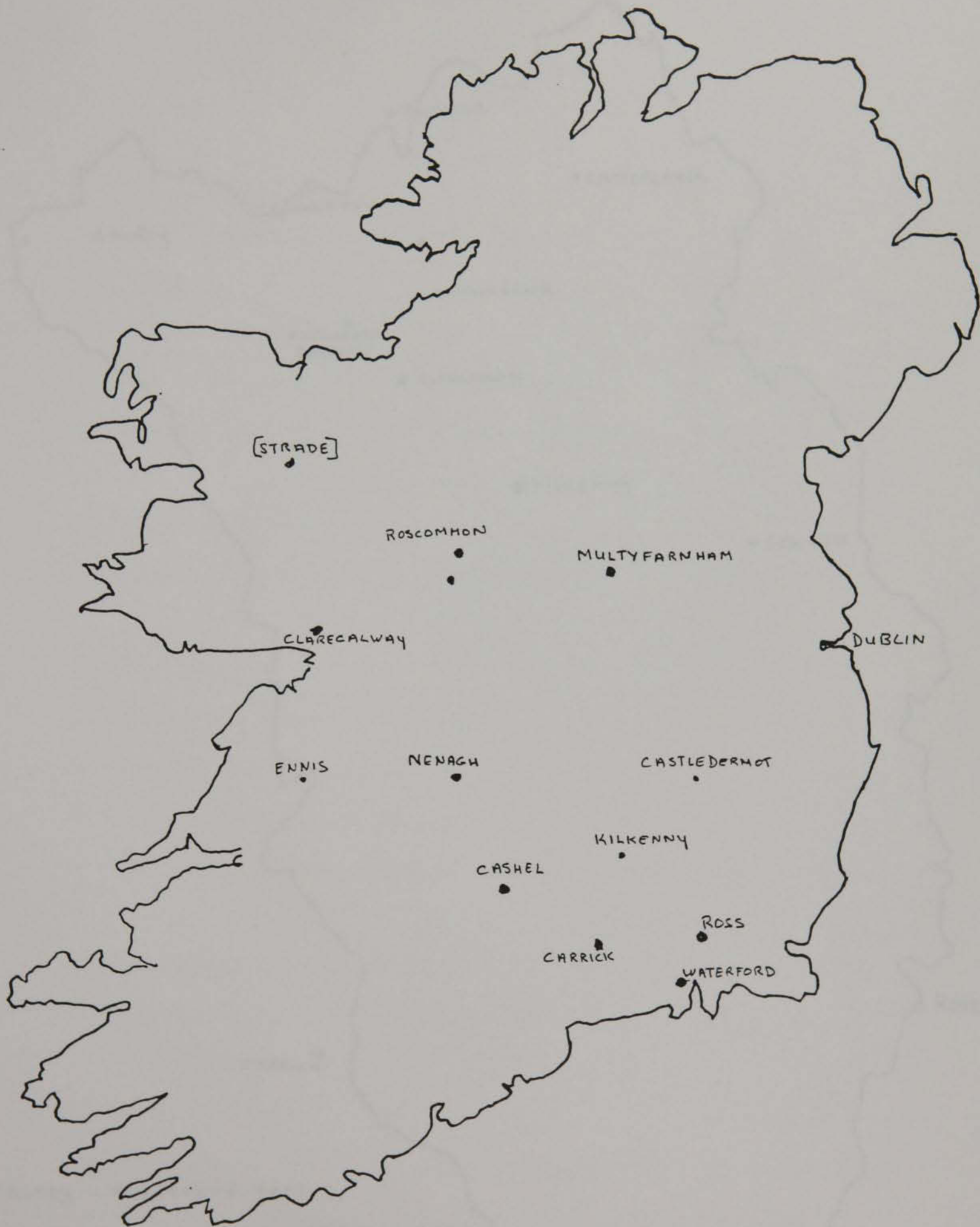




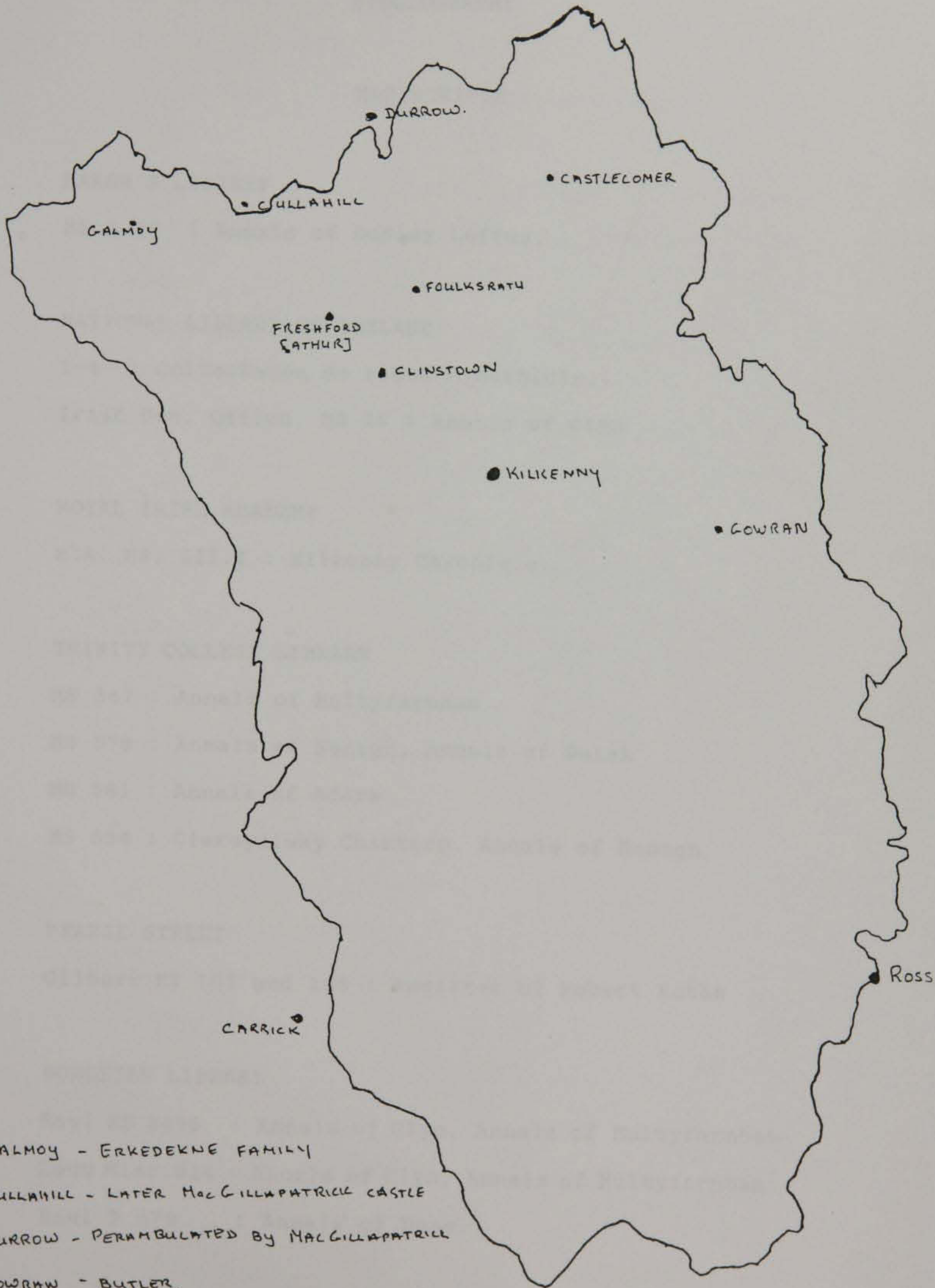
MAPS

- A. FRANCISCAN FRIARIES
- B. AREA OF CLINSTOWN

FRANCISCAN FRIARIES MENTIONED IN THESIS



AREA SURROUNDING CLINSTOWN



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Harley MS 913, Claregalway
charters
Add 4783 : Clyn, note f 71v.
Add 4787 : Kilkenny Chronicle.
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of Trim, Annals of Clyn, Annals
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