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7. THE 'CATHEDRAL', TEMPLE KELLY AND TEMPLE CIARÁN: NOTES FROM THE ANNALS

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These notes concentrate on three churches—the *daimliag*, Temple Kelly and Temple Ciarán—for reasons that will, I hope, become sufficiently clear. As my treatment is based primarily on documentary sources rather than on architectural or archaeological evidence, I also hope that the notes, mainly annalistic, will complement previously published work. Unfortunately, I have not had the opportunity of consulting Annette Kehnel's work.

I have searched eleven sets of annals for the period 550 to 1200: the *Annals of Ulster* (*AU*); the *Annals of Tigernach* (*A. Tig.*); the *Annals of Inisfallen* (*AI*); the *Annals of Loch Cé* (*ALC*); the *Annals of the Four Masters* (*AFM*); the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* (*A. Clon.*); the *Annals of Roscrea* (*A. Rosc.*); the *Chronicon Scotorum* (*Chron. Scot.*); the 'Annals of Boyle' (*AB*); *Miscellaneous Irish annals (AD 1114–1437)* (Ó hInnse 1947); and *Fragmentary annals of Ireland* (Radner 1978). I have also made some use of the Latin and Irish lives of St Ciarán.

1. The *daimliag*

The *daimliag*, the 'stone church', was built in 904/8 by Flann Sinna, over-king of the Uí Néill (reigned 879–916), and Colmán Conaillach, superior of both Clonmacnoise and Clonard (and a bishop, *AU*; *AFM*) at his death, recorded in *AU* 926 (*AFM* 904, 924; *Chron. Scot.* 908, 925; *A. Clon.* 901, 921; *AU* 926.3; *AI* 926; *A. Rosc.* §271). Manning (1998, 71–2) argues that the true date is 909. The shingles of one half of the *daimliag* were completed in 1104 (*AFM*; 'The Singles of the great church of Clonvickenos and the tower end of the wales of the said church, was Repaired and finnished...though others call it McDermots church', *A. Clon.* 1100). The *daimliag* was violated in 1106 (*AFM*). Its (great) altar was robbed of a number of its treasures in ?1129 (*A. Tig.* [1129], *Altoir mor daim liac*, *Chron. Scot.* 1125, *Altoir daimhliag móir*; *AFM* 1129, *Altóir in daimhliag móir*, *A. Clon.* 1108 [sic], 'The great alter [sic] of Clonvickenos'. See also *A. Tig.* [1130]; *Chron. Scot.* 1126; *AFM* 1130; *A. Clon.* 1130.)

It may be the *daimliag* that is referred to also as *tempall* in 1074/7, when Clonmacnoise was burnt entirely except *an tempol* (*Chron. Scot.* 1074; but a *teampaill* (plural) in *AFM* 1077, perhaps through a misunderstanding of its source), and in ?1095, when Clonmacnoise was plundered 'and the door of the temple was blocked up by stones' (*dorus an tempuill*, *A. Tig.* [1095]; *dorus an tempail*, *Chron. Scot.* 1091).

From the late ninth century, bishops are recorded here with sufficient frequency to make it realistic to talk about a bishopric of Clonmacnoise, whether or not the concept entailed any definite territorial jurisdiction, for all or some of the time, in the period before the twelfth-century reforms. The list up to 1100 is fullest in *Chron. Scot.* If the language of individual entries reflects at all accurately the situation 'on the ground', then it seems advisable to distinguish between bishops *of* and bishops *at* (or associated with) Clonmacnoise: some high-ranking ecclesiastics, here as elsewhere, seem to have been in episcopal orders but possibly without attendant administrative responsibilities. The following list of these bishops, therefore, gives enough of the individual entries to make clear (or as clear as possible) the precise status of the individual in question in relation to Clonmacnoise.

Maelodhar, bishop of Clonmacnoise, *Epscop Cluana muc Nois* (*Chron. Scot.*), *epscoip Cluana mic Nóis* (*AFM*), died: *Chron. Scot.* 890; *AFM* 886.

Tuadhear, bishop of Clonmacnoise: *Epscop Cluana muc Nois*, died: *Chron. Scot.* 889.

Cairbre Crom (AFM), or Cam (Chron. Scot.), bishop of Clonmacnoise, *Epscop Cluana muc Nois* (Chron. Scot.), *epsop Cluana mic Nóis* (AFM), died: Chron. Scot. 904; AFM 899. He is also mentioned at Chron. Scot. 899 (Cairpre Crom, *Epscop Cluana muc Nois*) and at AFM 894 (*epsop Cluana mic Nois*).

Loingse(a)ch, bishop of Clonmacnoise, *Epscop Cluana muc Nois* (Chron. Scot.), *epsop Cluana mic Nóis* (AFM), died: Chron. Scot. 918; AFM 918.

Ferdálach, bishop of Clonmacnoise, *episcopus Cluana M. Nois*, died: AU 922.2.

Dúnchad(h), son of Suthainén (AU, AFM), bishop of Clonmacnoise, *episcopus Cluana M. Nois* (AU), *Epscop Cluana muc Nois* (Chron. Scot.), *epsop Cluana mic Nóis* (AFM), died: AU 942.1; Chron. Scot. 941; AFM 940. 'Donnogh B. of Clonvickenose' died: A. Clon. 935.

Oenagan, son of Egertach, *airchinnech* of Eaglais-beag, bishop of Clonmacnoise, *Aircinnech Egailsi bige...Epscop Cluana muc Nois*, died: Chron. Scot. 948. But AFM 947 has '*airchinneach* of Eaglais-beag at Cluain-mic-Nois, bishop and pure virgin', *airindech Ecailsi bicce hi cCluain mic Nóis, epsop 7 ógh iodhan*. This is a doubtful case: Oenagan was probably officially head of Eaglais Beag and also in episcopal orders, but the bishopric of Clonmacnoise would have outranked the headship of a constituent church and so should have appeared first in the entry.

Dunadhach, son of Egeartach (next below), was great-grandfather of Conn na mBocht, according to the genealogy attached by AFM to the obituary of Maelfinnen, son of Conn na mBocht (1056): 'Maelfinnen, son of Conn, son of Joseph, son of Donnchadh, son of Dunadhach, son of Egertach, son of Luachan, son of Eoghan, son of Aedhagan, son of Torbach, son of Gorman, of the Uí-Ceallaigh-Breagh.' Is there a possibility that *Epscop* etc. is simply a mistake arising from the fact that Oenagan and Dunadhach have the same patronymic? See also Conn na mBocht below.

Dunadhach, son of Ege(a)rtach, bishop of Clonmacnoise, *Epscop Cluana muc Nois* (Chron. Scot.), *espucc Cluana mic Nóis* (AFM), died: Chron. Scot. 954; AFM 953. 'Downagh McEgertay...B. of Clonvickenos' died: A. Clon. 950.

Maenach, son of Maelmichil (Chron. Scot.), bishop of Clonmacnoise, *Epscop Cluana muc Nois* (Chron. Scot.), *epsop Cluana mic Nóis* (AFM), died: Chron. Scot. 969.6; AFM 969.

(Under the same year, AFM enters the death of Tuathal, 'successor of Ciarán, Bishop and Abbot of Cluain-mic-Nois', *T. comharba Chiaráin, epsop 7 abb Cluana mic Nóis*, AFM 969. The notice of Maenach's death follows immediately. But Chron. Scot. (969.3) has 'Tuathal, comarb of Ciarán, and a Bishop, died a sudden death after a three days' fast', *T. comarba Chiaráin, ocus Epscop, subita morte post ieiunium treduanum obiit*. Chron. Scot. has seven entries in all for this year. It seems more likely, therefore, that this man was not bishop of Clonmacnoise; cf. Flann, son of Maelmichil, below.)

Conaing Ua Cosgraigh, bishop of Clonmacnoise, *Epscop Cluana muc Nois* (Chron. Scot.), *epsop Cluana mic Nóis* (AFM), died: Chron. Scot. 996; AFM 997.

Maelpoil, bishop of Clonmacnoise and coarb of Fechin, *Epscop Cluana muc Nois, et comarba Fechin* (Chron. Scot.), *epsop Cluana mic Nóis 7 comharba Fecheine* (AFM), died: Chron. Scot. 999; AFM 1000. 'Moyle Paile bushopp of Clonvickenois and cowarb of Saint ffechyn', died: A. Clon. 994.

Conaing, son of Aedhacan, bishop of Clonmacnoise, *Epscop Cluana muc Nois*, of the Mughdhorna-Maighen, died: Chron. Scot. 1008. (AFM has 'Conaing, son of Aedhagan, a bishop, died at Cluain-mic-Nois; he was of the tribe of the Mughdhorna-Maighen', *Conaing mac Aedhagáin, epsop, décc hi cCluain mic Nóis. Do Mughdhornaibh Maighen a chlenél*, AFM 1009. Note that his father's name and his family's are both given here as well, suggesting that he was perhaps more important in the community of Clonmacnoise than AFM's notice would indicate. The more explicit witness of Chron. Scot. is probably to be preferred.)

Flaithbhe(a)rtach, son of Loingse(a)ch, bishop (and lector, AFM) of Clonmacnoise, *Epscop Cluana muc Nois* (Chron. Scot.), *espucc 7 ferleighbinn Cluana mic Nois* (AFM), died: Chron. Scot. 1035; AFM 1038. 'Flaithvertagh McLoingsy, Lector and Bushopp of Clonvickenois', died: A. Clon. 1038.

(In the obituary of Conn na mBocht, Chron. Scot. 1057, Hennessy supplies '[Bishop] of Cluain-muc-Nois', [*Epscop*] *Cluana muc Nois*, noting (fn. 4) that he is described as 'Bishop of Cluain-muc-Nois' in Chron. Scot. 948. But the entry for 948 (see also above) reads: *Oenagan mac Egertaigh, Aircinnech Egailsi bige, qui fuit germanus ataiui Cuinn na mbocht, Epscop Cluana muc Nois, [quieuil]*, 'O. son of E., *airchinneach* of Eaglais Beag, who was own brother of the ancestor of Conn na mBocht, Bishop of Clonmacnoise, [died]'. As it stands, the sentence is, admittedly, ambiguous. If one may assume, however, that *qui fuit germanus ataiui Cuinn na mbocht*, which is basically in Latin, was originally a marginal or interlinear gloss subsequently incorporated in the body of the text by a later copyist, then it is Oenagan, not Conn, who is bishop of Clonmacnoise. Conn na mBocht is not, to the best of my knowledge, described elsewhere as 'bishop'. AFM (1031) calls him 'head of the Culdees, and anchorite of Cluain-mic-Nois', *cend Celedh ndhé 7 ancoiri Cluana mic Nóis*. His death is entered also in AU 1060.4, ALC 1060 and AFM 1059.)

Celechair-Coileachair (Mughdhornach, of the Uí Ceallaigh of Breagha, AFM), bishop of Clonmacnoise, *Epscop Cluana muc Nois* (Chron. Scot.), *esop Cluana maic Nois* (A. Tig.), *espucc Cluana mic Nóis* (AFM), died: Chron. Scot. 1064; A. Tig. [1067]; AFM 1067. 'Celeagher Moyornogh, bushopp of Clonvickenos', died: A. Clon. 1066.

Gillachrist Ua Echtighern, bishop of Clonmacnoise (and *airchinneach* of Ardachaidh-Epscoip-Mel, AFM), *Epscop Cluana muc Nois* (Chron. Scot.), *esop Cluana maic Nois* (A. Tig.), *espucc Cluana mic Nóis* (AFM), died: Chron. Scot. 1100; A. Tig. [1104]; AFM 1104.

'Moriegh o'Moyledowne, bushopp of Clonvickenos...', died: A. Clon. 1105.

The Synod of Uisneach divided the diocese of Meath between the bishop of Clonmacnoise, *Epscop Cluana muc Nois*, and the bishop of Clonard, neither named: Chron. Scot. 1107.

The bishops of Connacht and of Clonmacnoise (or Clonfert?—*espucc Connacht* and *espucc Cluana*), described as two coarbs of Ciarán (*dá comurba Ciaráin*), neither named, are intercepted and turned back by soldiers of Diarmait Ua Maelsechlainn at Corr Cluana, on their way to the synod of Brí maic Thaidg: A. Tig. [1158]. The corresponding entry in AFM (1158), however, refers only to the bishops of Connacht, *epscoib Connacht*.

'In the year 1170 last mentioned, there was a great Convocation of the clergie of Ireland at Clonfert by commission from the Pope...These were the Bishops and clergy that were in that assembly...o'Moylefomer B. o'Rwadan Bishop, Abbott of Clonvicknose, cowarb of St Queran, and the cowarb of Saint Brandon etc': A. Clon 1170. Watt (n.d., 32 n. 2) corrects the date to 1179. There seems to be no mention of this meeting at Clonfert elsewhere in the annals. Within the relevant period, Maelruanaidh (AFM) Ua Ruadha(i)n, bishop (of Luighne-Chonnacht, AFM; bishop of Achonry, Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 60), died: A. Tig. [1170]; AFM 1170. Imar Ua Ruaidhín, *esop* (A. Tig.), *episcopus* (AB), Ua Fiachrach (bishop of Killala, Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 85), died—A. Tig. [1176]; AB §362 [1176]. Ragnall mac Gilli Chellaich u Rúadin comarba Meic De, died: AB §363 [1177]. Tigernach Ua Mael-Eoin, coarb of Ciarán of Clonmacnoise, died in 1172: AU, A. Tig., AFM. Mael-Mochta Ua Fiadbra (Fidhabra, A. Tig.) or Ua Maoilseachnaill (AFM), abbot (*ardab*, A. Tig.) of Clonmacnoise, died in 1173: AU, A. Tig., AFM. Maolciarain ua Fiodhabhra, coarb of Ciarán, died in 1181 (AFM). The matter is doubtful and requires systematic investigation beyond the limits set for the present exercise. Cinaedh Ua Ruaidhín died as tanist-abbot, *tánaissi abbadh*, of Clonmacnoise in 1082 (AFM). Flanchad(h) ua Ruad(h)áin (Ruaidhíne, AFM), coarb of Ciarán of Clonmacnoise, died in AU 1003.1; Chron. Scot. 1001; AFM 1002.

Gwynn and Hadcock (1970, 85) imply that o'Moylefomer (Ó Maelfhoghmair) was bishop of Killala. Macgeoghegan's (*A. Clon.* 1170) construction and punctuation do not promote clarity, but he may mean that o'Rwadan was a bishop, possibly of a Connacht diocese, and at the same time abbot of Clonmacnoise and coarb of Ciarán (cf. Ryan 1973, 55–6).

The diocese of Westmeath was annexed to the *cathair* of Clonmacnoise: *A. Tig.* [1174]; *AFM* 1174.

Muirchertach Ua Maoiluidhir, bishop of Clonfert and Clonmacnoise, *espoc cluana feara* 7 *cluana mic nois*, died: *AFM* 1187. *Episcopus Ua Macludir Cluana Mac Nóis quieuit*: *AB* §372 [1186].

Colmán (son of Ailill (*Chron. Scot.*), *AFM*), superior of Clonard and Clonmacnoise, and scribe and bishop, *princeps Cluana Iraird* 7 *Cluana M. Nois*, 7 *scriba* 7 *episcopus* (*AU*), *espucc* 7 *doctor egnaidh*, 'bishop and wise doctor' (*AFM*), died: *AU* 926.3; *AFM* 924 (which adds 'It was by him the Daimhliag of Cluain-mic-Nois was built'; cf. *Chron. Scot.* 925).

Cormac Ua Cillín, 'comarb of Ciarán and Comán, and comarb of Tuaimgreine... a wise and old man and a bishop', *comorba Ciaráin ocus Comáin, ocus comarba Tuama gréne... Sapiens et senex, et Episcopus* (*Chron. Scot.*), 'successor of Ciarán, a bishop and a wise man of great age', *comharba Ciaráin, epscop* 7 *ecnaidh cianaosda* (*AFM*), died: *Chron. Scot.* 964; *AFM* 964.

Flann, son of Maelmichil, lector of Clonmacnoise, and bishop, and *airchinneach* of Cluain-Deochra, *ferlegim Cluana muc Nois, ocus Epscop, ocus Aircinnech Cluana Deocra* (*Chron. Scot.*; cf. *AFM*, where O'Donovan punctuates both text and translation so as to make Flann bishop (and *airchinneach*) of Cluain-Deochra), died: *Chron. Scot.* 977; *AFM* 977.

Ua Nialláin, 'coarb of Crónán and Ciarán, the bishop and the venerable senior', *comarba Crónáin* 7 *Chiaráin*, in *t-escobb* 7 in *sruthshenóir*, died: *AI* 1093.14. The order of precedence of his titles led me to wonder if the annalist of *AI* had in mind Crónán (of Tuamgraney or of Roscrea?) and Ciarán of Saighir. Mac Airt (1951, 523, 561), however, indexes him as coarb of Crónán of Tuaim Gréine and of Ciarán of Clonmacnoise (see also Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 46). The order of precedence of the titles of Ailill ua Nialláin in *AU* 1093.2 is, therefore, perhaps more 'orthodox': 'successor of Ciarán and Crónán and Mac Duach' (of Kilmacduagh), *comarba Ciarán* 7 *Cronán* 7 *M. Duach*. *AFM* (1093) calls him 'Tanist-abbot of Cluain-mic-Nois, successor of Cronan of Tuaim-Gréine, and successor of Colman of Cill-Mic-Duach' (translation adjusted to fit the text: *Ailill Ua Nialláin, tanaisi abbadh Cluana mic Nóis, Comhorba Crónáin Tuama Gréine* 7 *comharba Colmáin Cille mic Duach*). *Chron. Scot.* (1089) has 'Tanist-Abbot of Cluain-muc-Nois, and comarb of Cronan of Tuaim-greine, and of MacDuach', *Ailill H. Nialláin... tanaise Abbad Cluana muc Nois, ocus comarba Cronan Tuama greine, et Mic Duach*. Only *AI*, then, calls him a bishop.

Domhnall Ua Dubhthaigh, 'the bishop, successor of S. Ciarán', in *t-espoc .i. comurba Ciaráin* (*A. Tig.*), 'Archbishop of Connaught and successor of Ciarán', *aird espucc Connacht* 7 *comhorba Ciaráin* (*AFM*), died (at Clonfert, *AFM*): *A. Tig.* 1136, *AFM* 1136. *Domnall úa Dubtaich Elfinensis episcopus* 7 *comarba Chiarán Cluana Mac Nóis apud Cluain Ferta Brenaind quieuit in Christo*, 'Domnall Ua Dubhtaig, bishop of Elphin and coarb of Ciarán of Clonmacnoise, rested in Christ at Clonfert of Brendan' (*AB* §323. My translation: see Gwynn and Hadcock 1970, 75).

The foregoing list is not intended to be exhaustive, but it is systematic as far as the annals consulted are concerned. There are uncertainties with regard to individual entries, and the need to err (if necessary) on the side of caution by distinguishing between those designated, reasonably securely, bishops of and those designated bishops at or around Clonmacnoise. The cumulative testimony of the list, nevertheless, persuades me that it is plausible to suggest that a bishop's church may well have existed here from the late ninth or early tenth century. Accepting the essential identity of the *daimliag* and the cathedral (see Manning 1998, esp. 57–63, 71–7), I suggest that the *daimliag* was built as a bishop's church specifically (whether

or not it replaced any earlier church or churches, probably of timber, on the same site) at the beginning of the tenth century and within thirty years of the start of a more or less regular succession of resident bishops. While also accepting the advisability of avoiding the use of the term 'cathedral' in the later medieval and modern sense (and so avoiding the questions that the term is likely to beg in a pre-twelfth century context), I suggest further that this original and primary function of the *daimliag* continued more or less uninterrupted to the time when it more certainly emerges as a cathedral in the full sense as a result of the twelfth-century reforms (cf. Manning 1998, 57). The *daimliag* was not, on the other hand, according to this scheme, also the principal church of the community, nor built on the site of one or more such 'monastic' churches, because it was not intended (at least originally) that it take over this particular function. Its role was parallel and complementary to that of the abbot's or coarb's church.

2. The *dairthech*

In 1167 'A church was erected at Cluain-mic-Nois, in the place of the Dearthach, by Conchobar Ua Ceallaigh and the Ui-Maine', *Teampall do dhénamh i cCluain mic Nóis i nionadh an dearthaighe lá Conchobhar Ua cCeallaigh* 7 *lá hUíbh Maine* (*AFM*). Clonmacnoise had been burned by Vikings 'with its oratories', according to *AU* 845 (*cona dertaigibh*, *AU* 845.3; *cona dertighibh*, *Chron. Scot.* 845; *co na derthaighibh*, *AFM* 843), the plural presumably reflecting the presence of two or more wooden churches within the enclosure, as is the case (it is assumed) not uncommonly at the larger church settlements of this time. But in 1080 (*AFM*) and 1081 (*AFM*) Clonmacnoise was plundered, including its 'church' (singular) (*co na derteach* (1080), *dertheach* (1081)), and in 1098 (*AFM*) the 'church' (singular, *derthech*) of Clonmacnoise was burned. This may well be the (wooden) church that O'Kelly replaced by a (stone) church. In 1178 (*AFM*) and again in 1200 (*AFM*) *na tempaill/a themplaibh* (plural) of Clonmacnoise are mentioned in the context of Anglo-Norman depredations; cf. *A. Clon.* 1200.

I have assumed for the purposes of the present argument that *dairthech* (lit. 'oak-house', see *DIL*) denotes strictly a wooden church and that *tempul* (Latin *templum*, 'temple, church') is being used here to denote a stone church. If this is so, and if we assume that we are dealing with one and the same church each time, the apparently long survival—into the second half of the twelfth century—of a single *dairthech* at Clonmacnoise is very interesting. Why should a single wooden church be thus preserved, a church, moreover, important enough for its violation or burning to be recorded by *AFM* three times during the late eleventh century and important enough to be rebuilt after its (at least partial) destruction? A reasonable explanation, it seems to me, is that it survived because of its peculiar sanctity and prestige in the eyes of a community that had conservative tendencies and valued its traditions highly: this was the principal church of the settlement, the last representative (or representatives?) of perhaps a long line of timber churches of possibly varying size and character succeeding each other on the same site. If, furthermore, it was this church that was replaced by O'Kelly in 1167 and if O'Kelly's church is in fact Temple Kelly (Macalister 1909, 145) or a predecessor on the same site, then an intriguing situation suggests itself. The *daimliag*—the bishop's church—was built in the early tenth century alongside a *dairthech* that was the contemporary church of the abbot of Clonmacnoise and coarb of St Ciarán. As I said earlier, the one church need not have superseded the other: the two churches, the older a (timber) *dairthech*, the newer a (stone) *daimliag*, had parallel and complementary functions in the tenth century and later ecclesiastical economy—the newer episcopal, the older 'monastic' (to use a convenient if possibly no longer fully apt description, at least at the period in question). After all, an abbatial succession is recorded at Clonmacnoise throughout the period of the late ninth to the late twelfth century (Ryan 1973, 45–56). The precise

significance of O'Kelly's action at this juncture, on the other hand, is not clear to me. Could it reflect the decline in importance of the abbacy in relation to the bishopric? The *dairthech* as *dairthech*, in other words, was no longer regarded as sacrosanct and so could now be replaced by a stone church that was only one among several in the later twelfth-century enclosure and, by implication at least, of lesser status than the cathedral. The hypothesis proposed here rests on a number of assumptions—perhaps too many—but it offers a provisional explanation that could be tested by excavation for the presence of the two churches here more or less alongside each other.

If we pursue this line of argument a little further, it is difficult to decide, on the basis of the annals alone, in which of these two churches (it was presumably in one or other of them) Toirdhealbhach Ua Conchobhair was buried, when he was 'buried beside S. Ciarán's altar', *rohadnaicedh laim re haltoir Chiarain* (*A. Tig.*), 'interred at Cluain-mic-Nois, beside the altar of Ciarán', *a adhnacal hi cCluain mic Nóis lá taobh altóra Chiaráin* (*AFM*), in 1156. It might be expected that the altar of Ciarán would have been in the older church. In the case of Toirdhealbhach's son, Ruaidhri Ua Conchobhair, on the other hand, who died at Cong in 1198 (*AFM*), 'his body was conveyed to Clonmacnoise, and interred at the north side of the altar of the great church of Clonmacnoise', *ruccadh a chorp co cluain mic nóis, 7 ro hadhnaiceadh don taobh tuaidh daltoir thempaill móir cluana mic nóis*, a description that seems more appropriate to the *daimliag*. A late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century poem in Irish, however, listing Connacht kings buried at Clonmacnoise, mentions both Toirdhealbhach and Ruaidhri lying buried on either side of the altar of the *tempall mór* (Manning 1998, 79). Manning (1998, 63–8, 77–80, esp. 78, 79) suggests, furthermore, that the occasion of the phase 2 rebuilding of the cathedral may well have been the enshrinement of Ruaidhri's remains in 1208. The *daimliag* may, by 1150, have largely or wholly absorbed the functions of the *dairthech* (cf. above), a process that might have been facilitated by the number of occasions when episcopal orders and abbatial or coarbial rank coincided in the one person: Tuathal (*Chron. Scot.* 969; *AFM* 969), two unnamed bishops (*A. Tig.* [1158]), O'Rwadan (?) (*A. Clon.* 1170), Colmán mac Aililla (*AU* 926.3; *AFM* 924), Cormac Ua Cillín (*Chron. Scot.*; *AFM* 964), Ailill Ua Nialláin (?) (*AI* 1093.14), Domhnall Ua Dubhthaigh (*A. Tig.*; *AFM* 1136; *AB* §323)—see above.

3. Eaglais Beag

Egeartach, *airchinneach* of Eaglais Beag, died in 893 (*AFM*); presumably of Clonmacnoise.

Fiachra of Eaglais Beag died in 921 (*AFM*); presumably of Clonmacnoise.

Oenagan, son of Egeartach, *airchinneach* of Eaglais Beag (at Clonmacnoise, *AFM*) and bishop (of Clonmacnoise, *Chron. Scot.*, but see above), died (*Chron. Scot.* 948; *AFM* 947).

Cathasach, *airchinneach* of Eaglais Beag at Clonmacnoise, died in 977 (*AFM*).

Broen Ua hAedha, *airchinneach* of Eaglais Beag, died in 986 (*AFM*); presumably of Clonmacnoise.

Cairbre, son of Rodaighe, *airchinneach* of Eaglais Beag, died in 1037 (*AFM*); presumably of Clonmacnoise.

Ailill Ua Maelchiaráin, *airchinneach* of Eaglais Beag, died in 1060 (*AFM*); presumably of Clonmacnoise.

? 'Hugh O'Konoyle, dean of the Little Church of Clonvickenos died' (*A. Clon.* 1092).

Maelán Ua Cuinn, *airchinneach* of Eaglais Beag, died in 1097 (*AFM*); presumably of Clonmacnoise.

It seems reasonable to identify Eaglais Beag with Temple Ciarán, built, according to tradition, over St Ciarán's grave (see Macalister 1909, 141–2; 1921, 160). This identification is supported by the Irish life of St Ciarán: 'When the time of his death was near to Saint Ciarán in the Little Church [*ind eclais beic*]...; 'He [Ciarán] was brought afterward into the Little

Church [*ind eclais beic*], and he...said to the brethren to shut the church upon him till Coemgen should come from Glenn da Locha'; '...and they did the will of Coemgen, and opened the Little Church [*ind eclais beic*] to him. The spirit of Ciarán went at once to heaven [*sic*, read 'came from heaven'] and he returned again into his body to converse with Coemgen, and welcomed him' (Macalister 1921, 94–5; Stokes 1890, 132–3 (Irish text)). So the tradition associating the place of St Ciarán's death and burial with the/a Little Church is at least as old as the late fifteenth century (Macalister 1921, 7; Macalister thought (p. 5) that the Irish life 'originally...may have been written about the eleventh century, though incorporating fragments of earlier material'). It was also known in the early seventeenth century to Conell Mageoghagan, who incorporated elements of the saint's life in his *Annals of Clonmacnoise* under the year 547: '...when he [Ciarán] was Dying he desired his monkes, that they would bury his body in the little Church of Clonvickenos and stop the doore thereof with stones and let nobody haue access thereunto until his companion Keyngynn or Keyvinn had come, which they accordingly did...the stones being taken out of the doore, St Kevinn entred, to whom St Queran apeared and remayned Conversing together for 24 hours, as is very confidently Laid Down in the Life of St Queran, and afterwards St Kevin Departed to the place of his one [own] abiding, left St Querin buried in the said little Church of Clonvickenois' (Murphy 1896, 79–80, 81–3, esp. 82). The Latin lives, however, while mentioning St Ciarán's burial-place, do not say that it was in a church (Macalister 1921, 41–2, 56–7; for the Latin texts, see Macalister 1921, 172–83; Plummer 1910, vol. 1, 200–16; Heist 1965, 78–81). The Latin accounts, on the other hand, know of the miraculous properties of earth taken from the saint's grave (Macalister 1921, 41–2, 56–7; cf. *A. Clon.* 82–3, although Mageoghagan seems uncertain whether it is the earth or the bell (or both) that cures King Diarmait's deafness in this instance). Macalister (1909, 142) mentions a hole in the floor of Temple Ciarán, 'made by the peasantry taking away pieces of sacred clay from the site'.

It does not seem to be the case that the presence of an *airchinnech* defines with any precision the status or function of the church (or indeed other institution; see below) in question. The term is already broad in the eighth century. *Airchinnech* is '“head, leader, superior”...[the] name of a monastic office, anglicised “erenagh”' (*DIL*, s.v.). Kenney (1929, 12 n. 17) thought that it 'is the name which in the post-Viking period was most frequently applied to the head of a monastic church. The *airchinnech* seems to have held the same position as the earlier *abbas*.' His view, however, almost certainly oversimplifies the situation, just as the purely monastic model of the early Irish church, so long in vogue, has been shown to conceal a much more complex state of affairs. *Airchindech* is the Irish word closest in usage to Latin *princeps*. The conventional translation “abbot” is somewhat misleading, for its use in *Riagail Phátraic* suggests that already in the eighth century it did not mean “father of a community of religious” but “lord of a monastic estate”. It is used of the heads of important churches and had not yet sunk to the low level of the late medieval “erenach”, a hereditary tenant-in-chief of erstwhile monastic estates, but it has started on the semantic development which would lead there' (Sharpe 1984, 259). 'It is sometimes assumed that the distinction between a monastic and a non-monastic church is clear-cut. Yet, in the *Hibernensis* [= *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*, an early eighth-century canon law collection], there is no sharp distinction between a church which is monastic and a church staffed only by *clerici*. The head of a church, usually called a *princeps* (Irish *airchinnech*, “erenagh”), may have under his authority monks...he may also rule over *clerici*...He may himself be a monk, but he may also be married and have sons...moreover, a *princeps* may be a bishop...' (Charles-Edwards 1992, 67, see also 79). In six sets of annals (*AU*, *A. Tig.*, *Chron. Scot.*, *AI*, *ALC*, *AFM*) the term seems to be used directly of the superior of Clonmacnoise only once in the period 800 to 1200: in his obituary *AU* (1088.3) calls Tigernach ua Broein *airchinnech Cluana M. Nóis*. In *Chron. Scot.* (1084), on the other hand, he is *comarba Chiaráin Cluana muc Nóis ocus Comain*, and in

AFM (1088) he is *ardchomharba Chiarán 7 Chomáin* (cf., however, the obituary of Gillacríst Ua Maeleóin, AU 1127.9: *Gilla Críst H. Maeleoin comarba Ciarain Cluana M. Nois sonus 7 sobarthu airchinnech chell nErenn in Christo quieuit*, 'Gilla Críst ua Maeleoin, successor of Ciarán of Cluain Moccu Nóis, happiness and prosperity of the superiors of the churches of Ireland, rested in Christ'; cf. AI 1127.9; Chron. Scot. 1123; AFM 1127).

Ryan (1973, 19–20) envisaged also lay *airchinne* 'who served the monastery as agents and land stewards': cf. Macalister's (1909, 133 and note) description of 'Oenach, son of Egcertach' as 'bailiff' of Eaglais Beag and his note 'I use this word (for want of a better) for *airchinneach*, the superintendent of the church lands'. Ryan noted that the heads of the guesthouse during the eleventh and twelfth centuries were (sometimes at least) called *airchinnech*. The death of the *airchinnech* of the guesthouse is noted in 1031, *airchinnech tighe aoidheadh Cluana mic Nóis* (AFM); 1093, *airchinneach Taighe aoidheadh Cluana mic Nóis* (AFM); 1102/6, *airchinnech tige aiged Cluana muc Nois* (Chron. Scot. 1102), *airchinnech Tíge aoidheadh Cluana mic Nóis* (AFM 1106); 1116, *airchinneach Lis aoidheadh* (AFM, 'at Clonmacnoise' supplied by O'Donovan); 1128, *airchinneach Lis aoidheadh Cluana mic Nóis* (AFM); and 1166, *airchinneach tige aoidheadh Cluana mic Nóis* (AFM). I think, however, that Ryan not only assumed the strictly monastic character of the organisation and discipline of Clonmacnoise throughout the early medieval period but also sought to distinguish clerical and lay, celibate and non-celibate, in a clear-cut way that is not generally applicable to the Irish church of this period. The position of the *airchinnech*, nevertheless, seems to have had a material rather than a spiritual base: cf. Sharpe 1984, 259, 263–4.

Eaglais Beag is the only named church at Clonmacnoise that is said to have an *airchinnech* (although it is possible that the guesthouse complex had a church of its own as well). While this fact may well be some reflection of its special status among the various churches of the settlement—and, as the shrine of St Ciarán, it may have been especially well endowed with lands and property—it seems safest to say only that the presence of an *airchinnech* here probably implies no more than the existence of some kind of clerical (not necessarily monastic) community, of whatever size, serving this particular church. The Fiachra who died in 921 and who is not said to be *airchinnech* may have been a noted member of such a community but not its head.

A number of individuals are said by AFM to have died 'in St Ciarán's Bed'. In 979 Aghda, son of Duibhcenn, lord of Teathbha, died *i nIomdhaidh Ciaráin*. In 1088 Tighernach Ua Braoin, 'chief successor of Ciarán and Coman' (see above) died *i nIomdhaidh Chiaráin*. In 1134 Ceileachair, son of Cormac Ua Cuinn na mBocht and a senior member of the community of Clonmacnoise, died *i nIomdhaidh Chiaráin*. And Maelciarain, 'a son of the same Cormac' and likewise a senior member of the community, also died in 1034 *i nIomdhaidh Ciaráin*. Kenney (1929, 670–1), furthermore, draws attention to an earlier instance noted in the Carlsruhe Bede (dated c. 836 x 848), fol. 17: 'Death of Murchad, son of Máeldúin, in Cluain-maccu-Nóis, on the bed of Ciarán, in the tenth year' (i.e. of the decemnovenal cycle beginning 817 = 826). He had been king of Cenél nEogain, having been deposed in 823: 'Murchad, son of Mael Dúin was deposed by Niall son of Aed and the Cenél Eógain' (AU 823.7). The context is the calendar in the Carlsruhe Bede, and the note is in the right margin at .v. Kl. Sept. (cf. v. id. Sept. *Ciarani maicc ind sair*): *bás Muirchatho maicc Maile dúin hi Cluain Maccu Nois á imda Chiaráin* (Stokes and Strachan 1901–3, vol. 2, 283)—apparently by a contemporary hand and linguistically of the ninth century, according to Kenney. The panegyric on Ciarán that closes the Irish life has, comparing the saint in a number of ways with Christ: 'This man arose after three days in his bed [*ina imdhai*] in Cluain to converse with and to comfort Coemgen, as Christ arose after three days from the grave [*asín adhnucul*] in Jerusalem, to comfort and strengthen His mother and His disciples' (Macalister 1921, 97; Stokes 1890, 134, who translates *imdhai* as 'room' (p. 280)). As we have

seen, the tradition represented here is that St Ciarán was buried in the Little Church. I suggest that *Imdae Ciaráin* was specifically the traditional grave of the saint, or a shrine built over it, within Temple Ciarán, on or above the floor of that church, rather than a separate church. See further DIL 2 *imdae*, especially (b), (c) and (e). For the general idea of a saint's grave as his bed, cf. *Lebaid/Leaba Molaga*, Labbamolaga, Co. Cork (Hogan 1910, 477; Leask 1955, 61–2; Power 1932, 95, 98). Is it, finally, relevant to note in this context the death in 900 (AI and note thereto) of Tadg, son of Conchobar, king of Connacht, 'after he had renounced the world on the hide of Ciarán's Dun Cow', *iarna imnochtaí for seche na hUidre Ciarain*? The tradition that death on this hide effected immediate and unconditional reception into heaven appears in the first Latin life of the saint (§15), as well as in the Irish life (§§12, 20, Macalister 1921, 24, 76–7, 84 and his comments, 124–5).

Temple Ciarán has been considered in relation to the cathedral (e.g. Herity 1977, 66–8 and fig. 8; cf. 1983, 278). Manning (1998, 76–7; cf. 1994, 26) has, furthermore, suggested that it and phase 1 of the cathedral are roughly contemporary. Even if the present Temple Ciarán represents the replacement in c. 900 of an older structure, church or shrine of stone or timber, a close association with the *daimliag*, or 'cathedral', may be accepted. The bishop of Clonmacnoise would, after all, need to be as closely associated with the cult of the patron saint as his abbatial or coarbial colleague. And the core area of the settlement seems in any case to have been fairly restricted whatever the layout: the principal churches were going to be physically close to each other. Temple Ciarán, on the other hand, is in fact noticeably closer to Temple Kelly than it is to the cathedral and is situated at the south-east corner of Temple Kelly (see the plan in Manning 1998, 57; the fact that none of these three buildings is exactly parallel with either of the others is not, I think, significant here). This may, of course, be pure coincidence. An apparent shrine or shrine church, nevertheless, located at the south-east corner of a (larger) church with which it presumably has a definite relationship, originally or at some period, seems to be a not uncommon phenomenon. I give a few examples here, in no particular order; there are probably many more. At Church Island, Valencia, Co. Kerry, the probable tomb shrine lies some distance to the south-east of both the timber and (perhaps more especially) the stone oratory (O'Kelly 1958, 87–90, 115 and plate XVII). At Glendalough, St Kieran's Church lies '12 yards [10.97m] to the south-east of St Kevin's Church' (Leask [n.d.], 25–6. The spatial relationship of the two churches is discernible on the plan in Henry 1967, 44, fig. 5 (no. 6)). A tradition of a 'special relationship' between Ciarán and Coemgen and their communities is reflected in the lives of both saints: the first Latin life of Ciarán, §36; the Irish life of Ciarán, §§38–9 (where Ciarán gives his bell to Coemgen); and the life of Coemgen, translated by Macalister (see Macalister 1921, 41, 94–5, 160–3). It is presumably these two churches that are referred to by AFM (1163), when 'Gleann-da-locha was burned, together with Cro-Chiarain [*Cró Chiaráin*] and Cro-Chaemhghin [*Cró Chaemhghin*], and the church of the two Sinchells [*reccles an dá Sinchell*]' At Ardmore, Co. Waterford, St Declan's oratory lies south-east of the cathedral: the oratory is the traditional burial-place of St Declan, and a hollow in its south-east corner is pointed out as his grave (Harbison 1992, 324–5; Westropp 1903, 365 (plan)). At Banagher, Co. Derry, a house-shaped gabled 'mortuary house' of twelfth- or early thirteenth-century date is situated to the south-east of the church, which was probably built in the twelfth century. The mortuary house bears the figure of a bishop or abbot on its west gable, probably a representation of the founder, Muiredach O'Heney, whose reliquary tomb this was (Harbison 1992, 89; the relationship of the church and the mortuary house is shown in Waterman 1976, 25, fig. 1 (site plan)). At Cappanagroun on the Iveragh Peninsula, Co. Kerry, a *leacht*-like rectangular structure within a rectangular walled enclosure lies to the south-south-east of a small drystone oratory. Both buildings are associated with a children's burial-ground and stand within a larger, subrectangular walled enclosure (O'Sullivan and

Sheehan 1996, no. 935 and fig. 164). At Temple Cronán, Termon, Co. Clare (Harbison 1992, 70), it seems fairly clear from Thomas (1971, plate VII; I have been unable to find a plan of the site) that one of the two slab shrines—the one locally believed to mark the grave of St Cronán—is located a short distance to the south-east of the church, which is probably Romanesque. At St Mullin's, Co. Carlow, St James's oratory, a tiny building, almost square in plan (2.06m by 2.39m internally), with the remains of a west doorway and an east window (and therefore possibly early in date), lies close to the south-east corner of the chancel of Teampall Mór, the oldest church on the site. Manning (1999) believes that the nave, the oldest part of the latter church, may date to c. 1000. The chancel is a later addition, reputedly containing the grave of St Moling. The remains of a probable ninth-century cross, on its original cylindrical base, stand beside the south-east corner of the chancel. St James's lies in fact east-south-east of the nave of Teampall Mór. The precise relationship of these various structures, therefore, both spatial and temporal, seems uncertain: could St James's have acted as a reliquary church subsidiary to a shrine or shrine church of St Moling on the site of the chancel and due east of the original principal church of the settlement? So, if a position south-east of a church or the principal church was regarded as a privileged one, it may be suggested that it was the exterior counterpart of the placing of a tomb shrine in the favoured position in the interior of a church—at the east end to the right (south) of the altar (cf. Thomas 1971, 145–6, 157–9). Such exterior shrines or separate shrine churches, then, may reflect a need or desire to keep the veneration of relics apart from the activities inseparable from the (main) church. Where even major churches seem to have been often, if not usually, small, such separation may have been imposed or at least encouraged by considerations of practical necessity or convenience as much as anything else. And whether the (main) church or shrine (church) is earlier or both are contemporary is not really relevant here. Both more formal and communal ceremony in honour of the saint and more informal and private devotional activity on the part of groups or individuals (not necessarily mutually exclusive categories in any case) might thus have been accommodated more easily and comfortably within the unity of the enclosure rather than under the one roof.

References

Abbreviations

AB = 'The Annals of Boyle' (Freeman 1924–7).

A. Clon. = *The Annals of Clonmacnoise* (Murphy 1896).

AFM = *Annals of the Four Masters* (O'Donovan 1854).

AI = *The Annals of Inisfallen* (Mac Airt 1951).

ALC = *The Annals of Loch Cé* (Hennessy 1871).

A. Rosc. = *The Annals of Roscrea* (Gleeson and Mac Airt 1958).

A. Tig. = *The Annals of Tigernach* (Stokes 1895–7).

AU = *The Annals of Ulster* (Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983; Hennessy and MacCarthy 1887–1901).

Chron. Scot. = *Chronicum Scotorum* (Hennessy 1866).

DIL = *Dictionary of the Irish language* (Royal Irish Academy 1913–76).

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