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THE CANONS REGULAR OF ST. AUGUSTINE IN MEDIEVAL IRELAND:

AN OVERVIEW

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THE CANONS REGULAR OF ST. AUGUSTINE IN MEDIEVAL IRELAND: AN OVERVIEW

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SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D.

UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN

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

Sarah M. Preston

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SUMMARY

The regular canons of St. Augustine originated in the eleventh century as a vehicle for the reform of the clergy. They marked a turning point in medieval monasticism in that they were the first new order recognised by the papacy which did not follow a form of the the Rule of St. Benedict. They were introduced to Ireland by the leaders of the native reform movement, and spread extensively throughout the country, both before and after the Anglo-Norman invasion in 1169, making them by far the most numerous religious order , but they have been little studied.

There is a large body of material for the study of the Augustinian canons, deriving from their own foundations, and also from ecclesiastical and secular sources. Despite this, little effort has been by historians to utilise it to investigate the order as a phenomenon, although many studies of individual houses, chiefly from an archaeological perspective, exist. This thesis attempts to show how this material, which is of different kinds and dates, can be used to build up a picture of the canons regular as one of the major religious orders of medieval Ireland.

Having first outlined the context in which the order developed, and the general pattern of its expansion in Ireland, the structure of Augustinian organization, the connection between houses of the order, and the internal arrangement of individual priories is examined. In the concluding chapters, an attempt is made to assess the role which the canons played in medieval society. The interaction of the canons with other monastic orders, with the secular church, and with secular authorities is investigated. The final section examines the ways in which the Augustinians came into contact with the laity, and also their intellectual attainments.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.Clon.	The Annals of Clonmacnoise, being annals of Ireland from the earliest period to A.D. 1408, translated into English, A.D. 1627, by Conell Mageoghagan ed. Denis Murphy (Dublin, 1896)
A.Conn.	Annala Connacht ... (A.D. 1224-1544) ed. A. Martin Freeman (Dublin, 1944)
A.F.M.	Annala rioghachta Eireann: Annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters from the earliest period to the year 1616 ed. J. O'Donovan (Dublin, 1851)
A.I.	The Annals of Inisfallen (MS Rawlinson B. 503) ed. Sean Mac Airt (Dublin, 1951)
A.L.C.	The Annals of Loch Cé: a chronicle of Irish affairs, 1014-1690, ed. W.M. Hennessy (London, 1871)
A.Tig.	'The Annals of Tigernach' ed. Whitely Stokes, in Revue Celtique, xvi-xviii (1895-7)
A.U.	Annala Uladh, Annals of Ulster; otherwise Annala Senait, Annals of Senat: a chronicle of Irish affairs, 431-1131, 1155-1541 ed. W.M. Hennessy and B. MacCarthy (Dublin, 1887-1901)
Account Roll	Account Roll of the Priory of Holy Trinity Dublin 1337-1346, ed. J. Mills (Dublin,1891)
Alen's Reg.	Calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register c. 1172 - 1534, ed. C. McNeill (Dublin, 1950)
C.A.R.D.	Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin, ed. J.T. Gilbert, 18 vols (Dublin, 1889-1922)

C.C.C.D.	'Calendar of Christ Church Deeds', in P.R.I. rep. D.K. no. 20 (1888) pp. 36-122; no. 23 (1891) pp. 75-152; no. 24 (1892) pp. 100-194.
C.D.I.	Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland... 1171-[1307], ed. H.S. Sweetman and G.F. Hadcock, 5 vols (London, 1875-86)
C.J.R.	Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls, 2 vols, ed. J. Mills (Dublin, 1905, 1914); vol. 3, ed. M. C. Griffiths (Dublin, 1956).
C.O.D.	Calendar of Ormond Deeds, ed. Edmund Curtis, 6 vols., (Dublin, 1932-1943)
C.P.L.	Calendar of entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: papal letters, 18 vols. (London, 1893- ,Dublin, 1978-)
Cal. Liber Albus	'A Calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus of Christ Church Dublin', ed. H.J. Lawlor in R.I.A.Proc., 27 (1908-9), pp. 1-93
Cal. Liber Niger	'A Calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus of Christ Church Dublin', ed. H.J. Lawlor in R.I.A.Proc., 27 (1908-9), pp. 1-93
Cal. Liber Ruber	'Calendar of the Liber Ruber of the Diocese of Ossory', ed. H.J. Lawlor in R.I.A.Proc., 27 (1908-9), pp. 159-208.
Chart. St. Mary's	Chartularies of St. Mary's, Dublin: with the Register of its house at Dunbrody, ed. J.T. Gilbert (London, 1884)
Dickinson, Origins	J.C. Dickinson, The Origins of the Austin canons and their introduction into England (London, 1950)
I.C.L.	The Irish chartularies of Llanthony Prima & Secunda, ed. E. St. J. Brooks (Dublin, 1953)

P.L.	Patrologia cursus completus patrum Latinorum, ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1844-64)
Reg. All Hallows	Registrum Prioratus Omnium Sanctorum Iuxta Dublin, ed. R. Butler (Dublin, 1845)
Reg. Clogher	'The Register of Clogher', ed. K.W. Nicholls in Clogher Record, 7 no. 3 (1971-2), pp.361-431
Reg. Cromer	'Archbishop Cromer's Register', ed. L.P. Murray [and A. Gwynn] in Louth Arch. Soc. Jn., 7 (1929-32), pp.516-24; 8 (1933-6), pp.38-49, 169-88, 257-74, 322-51; 9 (1937-40) pp.36-41, 124-30; 10 (1941-4), pp. 116-27, 165-79
Reg. Fleming	'A Calendar of the Register of Archbishop Fleming', ed. H.J. Lawlor in R.I.A. Proc.,30 (1912-13), pp.94-190
Reg. Mey	Register of John Mey, Archbishop of Armagh 1446 - 1456, ed. W.G.H. Quigley and E.F.D. Roberts (Belfast, 1972).
Reg. Swayne	Register of John Swayne, Archbishop of Armagh and primate of Ireland 1418 - 1439, ed. D.A. Chart (Belfast, 1935).
Reg. Sweteman	'A Calendar of the Register of Archbishop Sweteman', ed. H.J. Lawlor in R.I.A.Proc., 29 (1911-2), pp. 213-310
Reg. St. T.	Register of the abbey of St. Thomas the Martyr, Dublin ed. J.T. Gilbert (London, 1889)
Reg. Trist.	Register of the priory of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Tristernagh ed. M.V. Clarke (Dublin, 1941)
Rep. Novum	Reportorium Novum: Dublin Diocesan Historical Record (Dublin, 1955-)

Rep. Viride	'The Reportorium Viride of John Alen, archbishop of Dublin 1533', ed. N.B. White in Anal. Hib.,10 (1941), pp.171-222

Other abbreviations used conform to the Rules for Contributors to Irish Historical Studies, or are self-explanatory.

Introduction

The Canons Regular of St. Augustine have been called 'the most neglected religious order of the medieval church'[1], a title which has a considerable amount of truth in it. Of all the major religious orders which flourished in the middle ages it has had the least attention paid to it by scholars. In particular there is a noticeable lack of general writings on the order, although many individual foundations have been discussed. While a history of the order in medieval Ireland is beyond the scope of this thesis, I hope to make some attempt to look at the canons regular as a whole, to examine the relationship between the individual foundations, and to assess the role which they played in medieval Irish society.

As I have said, very little has been written about the history of the order. J. C. Dickinson's The Origins of the Austin Canons denied any claim to being definitive, and hoped to be used as a base for further study, but this did not take place. Only one other scholar, David Robinson, has written a general study of the order in Britain. This was from the perspective of the historical geographer interested in settlement patterns, and depends largely on Dickinson's work for its historical background[2]. The bibliography of this work shows that, with the exception of recent excavation reports, many of the articles on Augustinian houses were published many years ago, although more primary source materials have since been published.

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[1] Dickinson, J.C. The Origins of the Austin Canons (London, 1950) p. v.
[2] Robinson, David M. The Geography of Augustinian Settlement (Oxford, 1980).

In Ireland the situation is similar. Bibliographies such as Asplin[3] and Hayes[4] show how little has been written about the order, particularly when compared with the Cistercians and mendicant orders. Only three articles have been published which deal with general aspects of the order, and these are limited in their subject matter. Dunning's 'The Arroasian Order in Medieval Ireland'[5] and Flanagan's 'St. Mary's Abbey, Louth, and the introduction of the Arrouaisian observance into Ireland'[6] deal with a sub-section of the Canons Regular only, while Hadcock chose to confine his subject geographically in 'The Origin of the Augustinian Order in Meath'[7]. Although there are a considerable number of articles on individual foundations, the majority date from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and while some are valuable for their descriptions of buildings which may no longer exist, or which have deteriorated in the meantime, many are of little value historically, relying largely on earlier, and often inaccurate, writings. Dunning commented on the lack of a general work on the subject[8], but no subsequent historian has remedied the situation.

Historians of the medieval Irish church in general have also tended to neglect the Augustinians, as a look at the indices and bibliographies of such works shows[9]. When the introduction of new religious orders into

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3 Asplin, P.W. A. Medieval Ireland c. 1170 - 1495 (Dublin, 1971).

4 Hayes, R.J. (ed.) Sources for the history of Irish Civilization: Articles in Irish periodicals (Boston, 1970).

5 Dunning, P.J. 'The Arroasian Order in Medieval Ireland' in I.H.S. 4 (1944-5) pp. 297-315.

6 Flanagan, M.T. 'St. Mary's Abbey, Louth, and the introduction of the Arrouaisian order into Ireland' in Clogher Record' X (1980) pp.223-234.

7 Hadcock, R.N. 'The Origins of the Augustinian Order in Meath' in Riocht na Midhe 3 No. 2 (1964) pp.124-131.

8 Dunning, op. cit., p. 299.

9 E.g., Watt, J.A. The Church in Medieval Ireland (Dublin, 1972) gives four works on the Cistercians but only one on the Augustinian canons. The bibliography in Cosgrove, Art (ed.) A New History of Ireland Vol. II. Medieval Ireland 1169-1534 (Oxford, 1987) gives 6 items each for the Cistercians and Dominicans, 1 for the

Ireland is discussed, the Cistercians, and in the following century, the mendicant orders, have tended to be the focus of attention. Dickinson commented on this trend, saying that 'the enormous contribution made by the French to the monastic revival of the twelfth century is known. But the importance of its greatest product, Cîteaux, has often tended to overshadow the significance of less influential movements of a similar kind which had preceded and accompanied it'[10], while Watt went perhaps further in stating that although 'the introduction of the Cistercians happens to be the best documented part of the history of monasticism in twelfth century Ireland. This does not make it the most important part'[11].

Such remarks however have failed to dislodge the Cistercians from centre stage, and most general books relegate the Augustinian canons to the position of a monastic 'also-ran'. Harbison, in the introduction of the Guide to the National Monuments, having discussed the arrival of the Cistercians in some detail, merely goes on to say that 'by the end of the twelfth century other orders were introduced to Ireland such as the Augustinians'[12]. In a similar fashion H. G. Leask devoted an entire chapter to the Cistercians, while including the Augustinians in a far shorter one together with 'the other orders'[13]. While in architectural terms the pre-eminence of the Cistercians may be justified, as seen in

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Augustinians, while the index lists 23 references to the Cistercians and 14 for the Augustinians.

10 Dickinson, Origins, p. 72.

11 Watt, J.A. The Church and the Two Nations in Medieval Ireland (Cambridge, 1970) p.26. This view was folowed by Brian Scott in Malachy (Dublin, 1976) p. 87 - 'Malachy played a vital part in introducing the Cistercians into Ireland. That much is clear from Bernard's letters. But probably his founding of houses of Augustinian canons was more important in the long run'.

12 Harbison, Peter Guide to the National Monuments of Ireland (Dublin, 1975) p.22.

13 Leask, H. G. Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings (Dundalk, 1955-60) Vol. 2 pp.1-24.

Stalley's work[14], it is symptomatic of a general trend in monastic historiography, not only in Ireland[15].

Is there any explanation for this neglect of the order compared to those with which it was contemporary? I believe that several factors are responsible, in varying degrees. Firstly, the order of canons regular of St. Augustine no longer exists in Ireland, having died out in the years following the dissolution of the monasteries, and although it has survived in a few places on the continent, it is no longer very widespread or influential[16]. A look at bibliographies of other religious orders shows that a significant amount has been published by members of the orders concerned; examples of this in Ireland being Fr. Colmcille Conway on the Cistercians, Professor F. X. Martin on the Augustinian Friars, and Fr. Canice Mooney on the Franciscans. While these are by no means the only people to write on the subject, the continued existence of the order creates an interest in, and motivation for, research into its history, something which is lacking for the Augustinian canons.

Secondly, the extent of the order in Ireland has perhaps made potential historians wary of attempting too large a subject. The order was by far the most numerous in medieval Ireland, at least in terms of their foundations, although many of these had very small communities

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14 Stalley, R.A. The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland (London & New Haven, 1987).

15 Milis, Ludo L'ordre des Chanoines Réguliers d'Arrouaise (Brugge, 1969) p. 7; 'Jusqu'à ces dernières années, les chanoines réguliers n'ont pas occupé dans l'historiographie médiévale la place qui leur revient. Influencés par les fondateurs de l'érudition presque tous des moins et plus particulièrment des bénédictins, les historiens n'ont pas reconnu leur importance'.

16 Ibid. 'Leur disparition presque totale avec la Révolution a aussi contribué a les plonger dans un oubli auquel seuls les Prémontrés, order aujourd'hui encore répandu, ont échappé'.

throughout their history, and relatively little is known about them apart from the fact of their existence.

The nature of the organization of the order also differed from that of the other major orders, and this causes some problems in studying the Augustinians as a whole. Unlike the other orders introduced from abroad, the Irish canons regular retained few links with the continental congregations. With the exception of the Arroasians, the Augustinians, unlike the Cistercians and later the mendicant orders, initially held no general chapters to which all abbots and priors were obliged to come at regular intervals, and therefore there are no central records which shed light on the history of the order.

The Arroasian houses alone held chapters from the beginning, having borrowed extensively from the Cistercians, with the approval of Bernard of Clairvaux. The cartulary of Arrouaise contains some information about the introduction of the order to Ireland[17], but it appears that subsequently Irish abbots were lax about their attendance at chapters, and the records of Arrouaise cease to be a source for Irish history. The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 decreed that orders which did not already hold chapters were to introduce triennial meetings, but these appear to have been organized on a national, or provincial basis, if at all[18]. There is in fact only one reference to an Augustinian general chapter being held in Ireland, and nothing is known of its proceedings[19].

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17 Amiens Bibl. Municipale MS 1077.

18 Mansi, J. D. Sacrorum Conciliorum Vol. 22 pp.999-1002, Canon 12 of the Fourth Lateran Council. Salter, H.E. Chapters of the Augustinian Canons (London, 1922).

19 A.F.M. 1242 and A.L.C. 1242.

Within Ireland, the links between houses appear to have been loose, even in the case of mother and daughter houses. Dunning described the order as 'independent houses following a common rule but bound together merely by a bond of sentiment'[20]. The surviving records do however give some information about other houses, particularly if the houses came into conflict about land or tithes, and witness lists often show that another abbot or prior was present when deeds were drawn up. However, the nature of the organization of the order and the relationship between houses will be discussed in more detail below.

If this lack of any central source materials has been a factor in the neglect of the order, what sources are available for a study of the Augustinians in medieval Ireland? The earliest references to the canons regular are to be found in the Irish annals, but these are largely concerned with the recording of deaths or disasters such as fires, or attacks on monasteries. Somewhat more information is gained from St. Bernard's Life of St. Malachy, which, although it is naturally more interested in Malachy's role in the introduction of the Cistercians to Ireland, also includes references to his other activities. These included the introduction of regular canons to his diocese[21].

Much more information is available from the period after the Anglo - Norman invasion of 1169. The various categories of government records contain many references to houses of the order[22]. The majority of these references relate to grants of property or money by the crown

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20 Dunning, 'Arroasian order in Ireland', p.314.

21 Lawlor, H.J.(ed.) St. Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of St. Malachy of Armagh (London, 1920), and Meyer, R.T. Bernard of Clairvaux. The life and death of St. Malachy the Irishman (Kalamazoo, 1978).

22 These include the Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, Calendar of Patent Rolls, Calendar of Charter Rolls and Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls .

or important lords to houses within the Anglo - Norman lordship, many of which had been founded, or re-founded on earlier sites, by Norman lords.

Papal letters and documents also contain a considerable quantity of information, chiefly recording appointments to clerical offices, and revealing much about the financial aspect of the order, particularly in the later middle ages[23]. Surviving episcopal registers are mostly of the later medieval period, but often contain transcripts or confirmations of earlier grants. These include Archbishop Alen's register[24], the registers of the archbishops of Armagh[25], and the Red Book of Ossory[26], and while these are largely concerned with the secular church, they contain some information on the monastic houses in their respective dioceses. Other sources which are not specifically ecclesiastical, such as the Calendar of Ormond Deeds[27], also contain records of grants and other references to Augustinian houses in the area.

The most important category of source material is that of the cartulary or register of individual houses, and records survive for more Augustinian houses than for any other order. Three registers have been

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23 Bliss, W. H. et al. Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland - letters (London, 1893 -); Sheehy, M. P. (ed.) Pontificia Hibernica. Medieval Papal Chancery Documents concerning Ireland 640 - 1261 (Dublin, 1962-5)

24 Calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register ed. C. McNeill, (Dublin, 1950).

25 These include Register of John Swayne Archbishop of Armagh 1418 - 1439 ed. D.A. Chart, (Belfast, 1935); Register of John Mey, Archbishop of Armagh 1446 - 1456 ed. W.G.H. Quigley and E.F.D. Roberts, (Belfast, 1972); Lawlor, H.J. 'A Calendar of the Register of Archbishop Sweteman' in R.I.A. Proc. 29 (1911-2) pp. 213 - 310, and the Register of Primate Octavian, calendared in Sughi, M. La diocesi di Armagh e l'arcivescovo fiorentino Ottaviano del Palagio 1480-1513 (Ph.D. thesis, T.C.D. 1995)

26 'Calendar of the Liber Ruber of the Diocese of Ossory' ed. H.J. Lawlor in R.I.A. Proc. 27 (1908-9) pp. 159-208.

27 Calendar of Ormond Deeds ed. E. Curtis, (Dublin, 1932-46), especially Vols 1 -3.

published - those of St. Thomas the Martyr, Dublin,[28] All Hallows, Dublin,[29] and Tristernagh, Co. Meath[30]. The cartularies of the Irish cells belonging to Llanthony Prima and Secunda have also been published[31], as have the cartularies of Oseney, which include information on their Irish property[32].

As well as these, a considerable amount of material has survived from the Priory of Holy Trinity, Dublin, alias Christ Church - the Black Book of Christ Church[33], the Account Roll of the priory[34], and the Book of Obits and Martyrology[35] have been published, as has a calendar of the Novum Registrum of the cathedral[36]. Unpublished manuscript sources include an incomplete breviary from St. Mary's Trim, including the psalter and calendar of Arrouaise and notes on necrology[37], and a volume from St. Thomas' Dublin, containing, among other items, the observances of the monastery[38]. Later transcripts, chiefly by Ware, of excerpts from lost registers and other documents from Augustinian houses exist from Ballintober, Co. Mayo, Muckamore, Co. Antrim, All Saints, Co. Longford, Kells, Co. Kilkenny, St. John's, Kilkenny, St.

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28 Register of the Abbey of St. Thomas' Dublin ed. J.T. Gilbert (London, 1889).
29 Registrum Prioratus Sanctoruom juxta Dublin ed. R. Butler (Dublin, 1845).
30 The Register of Tristernagh ed. M.V. Clarke (Dublin, 1941).
31 The Irish Cartularies of Llanthony Prima and Secunda ed. E. St.J. Brooks (Dublin, 1955).
32 The Oseney Cartulary ed. H.E. Salter (Oxford, 1928-36).
33 'A Calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus of Christ Church Dublin'ed. H.J.Lawlor in R.I.A. Proc. 27 (1908-9) pp. 1-93, Gywnn, A. 'The Black Book of Christ Church' in Anal. Hib. 16 (1946) pp.283-337.
34 Account Roll of the Priory of Holy Trinity Dublin 1337-1346 ed. J.Mills (Dublin, 1891).
35 The Book of Obits and Martyrology of the Cathedral Church of Holy Trinity ed. J.Crosthwaite and J.H. Todd (Dublin, 1844).
36 'Calendar of Christ Church Deeds' in P.R.I. Rep. D.K., Nos. 20, pp. 36-122, No. 23, pp. 75-152, No. 24, pp. 100-194; Sheehy, M.P.'The Registrum Novum: a manuscript of Holy Trinity Dublin' in Repertorium Novum, 3 (1963-4) pp.249-81, 4 (1965) pp.101-33.
37 Gwynn, Aubrey 'A Breviary from St. Mary's Abbey, Trim' in Riocht na Midhe 3 No. 4 (1916) pp. 290-8, on T.C.D. MS 84.
38 T.C.D. MS 97.

Wolstan's, Co. Kildare and Cong, Co. Mayo. Several foundation charters, or later copies, also survive[39].

While these well documented houses comprise only a small proportion of the total number of foundations compared to Britain, where cartularies, or transcripts, survive from about a third of the houses[40], this is more than any other order in Ireland. Three Cistercian houses have had their records published (St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, Dunbrody, Co. Wexford[41] and Duiske, Co. Kilkenny[42]), one Dominican house (Athenry, Co. Galway[43]), one of the Knights Hospitallers[44], and one belonging to the Fratres Cruciferi, or Crutched Friars[45].

In addition to these sources there are the extents of property belonging to religious houses at the Dissolution[46], and later surveys made when new leases were drawn up or the property granted elsewhere. With this relative wealth of primary sources therefore, it is surprising that more use has not been made of them. However, the information in them is varied in its usefulness, since much of it deals with deaths and successions of abbots and priors, or with property. The distribution of sources is also very uneven in that for some houses, especially those in Dublin, a considerable quantity of material has survived, although, with the exception of Holy Trinity, none of the buildings remain, while for

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39 References in Hayes, R. J. (ed.) Manuscript Sources for the History of Irish Civilization 10 volumes, (Boston, 1965).
40 Dickinson, Origins, p. 108 n. 1.
41 Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey Dublin, with the Register of its house at Dunbrody ed. J.T. Gilbert (London, 1884).
42 'Charters of the Cistercian Abbey of Duiske in the County of Kilkenny' ed. C.H. Butler and J.H. Bernard, in R.I.A. Proc. 35 (1918-20) pp. 1-188.
43 'Registrum Monasterii Praedicatorum de Athenry' ed. A. Coleman in Archiv. Hib. 1 (1912) pp. 201-21.
44 Register of Kilmainham ed. C. McNeill (Dublin, 1943).
45 Register of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist without the New Gate Dublin ed. E. St.J. Brooks (Dublin, 1936).
46 Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions 1540-1 ed.N.B. White (Dublin, 1943).

many parts of the country, while there may be substantial ruins, little or no documentary evidence exists.

There is a marked division also between the Anglo-Norman and Gaelic areas in the documentary sources. In the government records, the houses mentioned are almost all, not surprisingly, in areas under English control, whereas it is the houses in Gaelic areas to which most references are found in the papal records.

Because of the varied nature and value of the sources, information at times needs to be extracted from rather unhelpful material. Because of the gaps in the records, any attempt to study the order as a whole needs to rely on inferences from the surviving records about what may have been the practice elsewhere rather more than might be wished. I hope to show that although the order lacked the more rigid standardization which the Cistercians attempted to impose on their houses[47], the Augustinians had enough cohesion to make such inferences not invalid, and that the order is worthy of such study.

The origins of the canons regular and their spread, not only into Ireland, needs to be seen in the context of the general trend towards the reform of the church throughout Europe. Until the order was officially recognised in the eleventh century, the Benedictine Rule was the basis for all available forms of religious life. How did the Augustinians differ from the traditional forms of monasticism, and what connection did they have with St. Augustine?

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47 O'Dwyer, B. W. 'Gaelic Monasticism and the Irish Cistercians c. 1228' in I.E.R. 108 (1967) pp. 19-28, and 'The Impact of the Native Irish on the Cistercians in the Thirteenth Century' in Jn. Rel. Hist. 4 (1967) pp. 287-301 show how such attempted standardization failed in Ireland.

Before Augustine became bishop of Hippo in 395, he had been living there as a monk. Upon becoming bishop he imposed a semi-monastic lifestyle on his clergy, living a communal life imitating that of the early church as described in the New Testament[48]. However, the order of St. Augustine did not come into existence until the eleventh century, so what happened in the intervening period? Several of Augustine's writings deal with the monastic life, but the Rule of St. Augustine itself exists in a number of versions, only one of which is now thought to be by him[49].

It is not a detailed rule, but rather a letter of general advice on community life, written for a group of women, covering such topics as obedience to the superior, prayer, fasting, and the importance of holding all property in common. While Augustine's idea of having the secular clergy live a common life failed to become widespread, and his views on religious life were to be largely overshadowed by the tremendous success of the later Rule of St. Benedict, the fame of Augustine meant that his ideas were never entirely forgotten either.

During the succeeding centuries attempts to reform the church revived the idea of a common life for the clergy, distinct from a monastic life. These rules, while drawing on previous writers, were less strict than Augustine, particularly with regard to possession of private property, and seem to have had limited success[50]. In Anglo-Saxon England also, collegiate churches, or minsters, were founded where the clergy either

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48 Acts, chap. 2: 44-5, chap. 4: 32-5.

49 Von Bavel, T. and Canning, R. (eds.) The Rule of St. Augustine (London, 1984) p. 3.

50 E.g. the *Regula Canonicorum* of Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz (742--766) and the *Institutio Canonicorum* drawn up by the Council of Aachen of 816 - 817. See Dickinson, Origins , pp. 16-20.

lived in a common residence, or separately but drawing their support from a common fund. In many cases, however, these reforms do not seem to have survived the break-up of the Carolingian empire or the disruption caused by the Vikings throughout Europe[51].

By the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, as Europe became more stable, the need to reform a largely secularized church became more evident. Where communities had survived, many were living in a manner considerably laxer than that required by their rules. Many houses had accumulated considerable wealth through patronage by royalty or nobility, and such patrons had come to regard the church as in a sense their property. The secular church too was in need of reform. Many bishops were appointed primarily for their noble birth and connections rather than for their holiness.

Complaints were made about the ordinary clergy, who tended to be badly educated, and to live lives little different from that of their parishioners. Clerical marriage and concubinage were common, and inheritance of ecclesiastical property, or even offices, by their children, often laymen, led to the alienation of church property from its intended function. It is for this reason that the idea of a common life for clerics re-emerged at this time. If the clergy could be prevailed on to live in communities, without personal property, the incidence of clerical marriage and related abuses could be reduced. For this reason the formation of what was to become the Order of St. Augustine was, from

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51 However Sawyer, P. H. From Roman Britain to Norman England (London, 1978) pp. 241-2, and Lucas, A. T. 'The Plundering and Burning of Churches in Ireland, 7th to 16th Century' in Rynne, Etienne (ed.) North Munster Studies (Limerick, 1967) pp. 172-229, point out that the Viking attacks were not the sole reason for the decline of many religious communities.

the start, closely connected with the leaders of the movement which came to be known as the Gregorian Reform.

The canonical life received official sanction - what Dickinson called its 'birth certificate'[52] - at the Lateran Council of 1059[53], where the subject was raised by no less a person than the future Gregory VII. While this was only one aspect of the reformers' work, papal approval and encouragement was given to all clerics who wished to embrace the 'apostolic life'. This decree was reaffirmed at the synod held four years later[54].

This official approval helped the idea of the canonical life to become more than just a local matter, dependent on individual bishops. Congregations of canons began to spread, at first in Italy and then in France. To begin with the new congregations had no single rule or patron. Benedict had been for centuries the patron of monastic life, and Augustine merely one of the church fathers who had supported the idea. However, a growing interest in the study of patristic literature and canon law revealed the wide range of his writing, and led to his adoption as the patron of the new way of life by both hermits and parochial clergy. It is not certain when the first communities of canons actually adopted the Rule of St. Augustine, but by the end of the eleventh century the term *canonicus regularis*, a cleric who lived according to a rule, as distinct from a secular, had become synonymous with the Rule of St. Augustine.

How did the Augustinians differ from other orders of the period? The most fundamental difference, and one which is sometimes overlooked, is

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52 Dickinson, Origins p. 29.
53 Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum Vol. 20 p. 898.
54 Ibid., Vol. 20 p. 1025.

that strictly speaking they were not a monastic order. They belonged to the *ordo canonicus,* and were clergy living under a rule, rather than monks in holy orders. In the early years of the order this distinction was stressed. Throughout papal letters and other documents are references to 'monks and canons'. Several Augustinian writers also distanced themselves from the monastic orders; the English canon Robert of Cricklade, writing in the early twelfth century, described himself as 'not a monk but the most unworthy of the canons of the church of Mary'[55], while a later Cistercian source refers to regular canons, who 'under no circumstances wish to be called monks'[56]. The fact that they were classed as clergy rather than religious also meant that almost all houses of canons remained under the control of the local bishop, very few gaining exemptions from visitation or financial obligations.

In practice, however, this distinction between monks and canons was blurred. Some branches of the Augustinians from an early date became almost undistinguishable from monks, particularly the congregations of Arrouaise and St. Victor of Paris, which were predominantly contemplative[57]. Others remained in an intermediate status - much later in their history, Erasmus, himself a member of the order, described the regular canon as 'a middle kind of creature between the monks and those termed secular canons'[58]. This middle position was a

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55 Quoted by Dickinson, Origins, p. 199.

56 *Dialogus inter Cluniacensem monachum et Cisterciensem*, quoted by Dickinson, ibid.

57 This was recognized in the twelfth century by observers. The writer of the *Libellus de Diversis Ordinibus* classified religious not just whether they were monks, canons or seculars, but according to their position with regard to society. Constable, G. and Smith, B. (eds.) Libellus de Diversis Ordinibus et Professionibus qui sunt in Aecclesia (Oxford, 1972).

58 Erasmus, Desiderus Pilgrimage to St. Mary of Walsingham, quoted by Dickinson, Origins, p. 197.

characteristic of the order; a canon of Bridlington in Yorkshire described his life as follows - 'we strive to the best of our ability to avoid two extremes as far as possible ..... what is to be considered is not so much what a man does as why he does it'[59]. This moderate stance was one reason for the popularity of the order among those who found the more austere life of the Cistercians or Carthusians too harsh, but it also received criticism from some quarters, particularly from members of stricter orders, and from potential patrons who believed that the more austere a rule was, the holier, and therefore the more efficacious the prayers of its members were likely to be.

The brevity of the Rule, giving as it does only general precepts, compared to the far more detailed Rule of St. Benedict, meant that many different trends could emerge. Each house would have had an additional set of observances to supplement the Rule, such as that which survives from Barnwell Priory[60]. Initially these depended on the superior, but as certain houses became noted for their lifestyle, their observances would be copied by other houses, forming smaller groups within the order. While the French congregations of Arrouaise and St. Victor were particularly influential, other houses also had local spheres of influence[61]. The additional observances varied in number and severity. The debt which the congregation of Arrouaise owed to Bernard of Clairvaux was such that a Cistercian commentator referred

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59 Dickinson, Origins, p. 175. The foundation of Llanthony was described as follows; 'Their habit is neither splendid nor abject, so they avoid both pride and the affectation of holiness. They do not need a great variety of gear, and they are content with a moderate expenditure'. Southern, R. W. Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages (Harmondsworth,1970) p. 249.

60 The Observances in use at the Augustinian Priory of Barnwell ed. J.W. Clark (Cambridge, 1897).

61 E.g. on the foundation of Buckenham Priory, Norfolk, it was ordained that the house should 'follow in all things the institutes of rules of the church of St. Mary of Merton', quoted in Dickinson, Origins, p. 165.

to them as 'canonico-cistercians'[62], while the Victorine canons kept almost total silence[63].

Other custumals reveal, not surprisingly, the influence of the more detailed, and one might say, tried and tested, Rule of St. Benedict. The majority of houses, however, were not as strict as the monastic orders. Dietary regulations were more relaxed, and meat was allowed on certain days of the week. The account roll of Holy Trinity does not suggest much hardship, at least at the abbot's table, even in Lent[64]. Canons also wore linen, rather than woollen garments, and their services were shorter. Manual labour seems to have played a less important part, especially as many houses were in or near towns, and not as agriculturally orientated as the more isolated Cistercians.

The broadness of the Rule meant that many different activities could be undertaken by the order. A certain amount of study was enjoined by the Rule, but scholarship was never as marked a feature of the order as it was to be for the friars. Other activities depended to a large extent on the situation of the house and its size. Houses in rural areas must have lived very similarly to monastic orders in isolated locations, whereas houses in towns were involved in the staffing of hospitals, guest houses, cathedrals and schools. They were also involved in pastoral activities to some extent. However, the work undertaken by the canons will be discussed in more detail below[65].

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62 Dickinson, Origins, p. 78.

63 T.C.D. MS 97, from the Victorine house of St. Thomas the Martyr, Dublin, includes a detailed manual of the sign language to be used in the long periods of silence, ff.121r-122r. This is printed in Berry, H. F. 'On the use of signs in the ancient monasteries, with special reference to a code used by the Victorine canons at St. Thomas's Abbey Dublin' in R.S.A.I. Jn. 22 (1892) pp. 107-125.

64 Account Roll of Holy Trinity, p.xiii-xviii, and passim.

65 See below, chapter 5.

Chapter 1. The Introduction and Spread of the Canons Regular in Ireland before 1169

As stated in the introduction, the canons regular of St. Augustine were very much a product of their time, i.e. the Gregorian Reform, and the reason for their introduction and rapid spread must be seen in that context. Although the Augustinians were relatively slow to reach Ireland, they were, as elsewhere, to be promoted especially by the episcopacy as a vehicle of reform. Exactly when the reform movement began in Ireland is a debatable point. Various dates have been taken as the beginning, the Council of Cashel in 1101, which began the formal work of reform, and the start of close links with Canterbury in 1074, among others.

However, more recently the trend has been to see the origins of the movement in Ireland as beginning earlier than this, and to trace continental and English influences at work in Ireland from early in the eleventh century[1]. It is during this period that increasing numbers of Irishmen joined the Benedictine order abroad, although this had little effect on monasticism within Ireland[2]. Until the second quarter of the the twelfth century, church reform was chiefly concerned with the establishment of a diocesan system and with matters with morality, while monastic life changed little despite the appointment of several Benedictine-trained bishops to Irish sees. The introduction of reform measures touching the monastic institute was to be, to a very large extent,

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1 Cf. Gwynn, Aubrey 'Ireland and the Continent in the Eleventh Century' in I.H.S. 8 (1953) pp. 193-216, Richter, Michael 'The European Dimension of Irish History in the Eleventh and Twelfth Century' in Peritia 4 (1985) pp. 328-45, and Richter, Michael 'The First Century of Anglo-Irish Relations' in History 59 (1974) pp. 195-210.

2 De Varebeke, H. J. 'The Benedictines in Early Medieval Ireland' in R.S.A.I. Jn. 80 (1950) pp. 92-6, Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Relgious Houses, Ireland, (London, 1970) p. 109.

the work of one man, Malachy Ua Morgair, who was responsible for the introduction of both the Cistercian and Augustinian orders to Ireland.

The question of when the Augustinian canons arrived in Ireland has received many different answers. Until the nineteenth century the majority of writers on the Irish church were under the impression that they had arrived much earlier than was actually the case. This was because many early foundations later became Augustinian, or in other cases new monasteries were founded on the site of earlier churches leading historians to believe that they had been Augustinian from the first[3]. Even Ware, who in most cases was aware that these were re-foundations, fell into this trap, stating, for example, that Gallen had been founded for Augustinian canons about the year 492[4].

Alemand believed that the Regular Canons were the earliest of the orders, having been founded by Augustine[5], and this idea remained the general view, despite Archdall's statement that 'St. Augustin *(sic)* instituted no rule, nor was the order bearing his name heard of antecedent to the tenth or eleventh century'[6]. In the following century Lanigan was severely criticised for the same belief[7]. Although it is now known to be correct, the exact date of the first foundation in Ireland is unknown, nor is it clear where it came from, although various, and sometimes contradictory statements have been made.

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3 E.g. Beck, E. W. 'The Order of Austin Canons in Ireland' in I.E.R. X (1889) p. 974; 'The great Apostle of Ireland was himself a Canon Regular, and established the order in the land of his labours'.

4 Ware, James The Antiquities and History of Ireland (Dublin, 1705) p. 84. Unless otherwise stated, this is the edition cited throughout this thesis.

5 Alemand, Louis Monasticon Hibernicum (London, 1722) p. 1.

6 Archdall, Mervyn Monasticon Hibernicum (Dublin, 1786) p. xvii.

5 Battersby, W. J. Monasticon Hibernicum (Dublin, 1839) p. 51, citing Lanigan, John An Ecclesiastical History of Ireland (Dublin, 1822) Vol. 1 p. 187.

The earliest possible date is about 1124, when Malachy was appointed bishop of Connor and abbot of Bangor. He made his base at the site of the formerly important, but defunct, monastery, which he refounded, along with 10 other pupils of the Armagh ascetic Imar O'Hagan. The exact rule of this monastery is uncertain. Watt believed it probable that not only was Bangor Augustinian at this date, but also Armagh from which it was colonized[8].

However, there is no evidence to support this, and Bernard of Clairvaux states that Malachy was 'at once the ruler and the rule of the brethren. They read in his life how they should behave themselves, and he was their leader in righteousness and holiness before God'[9]. If the community had been following a recognized rule, widespread in Europe at this date, he would surely have said so, as he does elsewhere in the work. There is also the question of where Malachy, or Imar, would have learnt the Rule of St. Augustine. The only contact which Malachy had had with non-traditional monasticism at this date, as far as we know, was the period spent at Lismore with Máel Ísu Ua hAinmere before his appointment as bishop of Down and Connor.

It is possible that it was he who told Malachy of the new developments in the reform movement, since although he had been Benedictine trained, and had returned to Ireland before the canons reached England, he was in contact, as were other Irish bishops, with Anselm, one of the principal promoters of the order in England[10]. However, if Anselm was the source from which knowledge of the Rule of St. Augustine came to Ireland, it seems strange that there should be such a time lapse before the first Irish foundation - about

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8 Watt, The Church in Medieval Ireland, p. 16.
9 Lawlor, H.J., Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of St. Malachy, p. 33.
10 Dickinson, Origins, chapter 3.

twenty years after the earliest English houses[11]. There is no evidence that Armagh was Augustinian as early as this either, although the consecration of the new church there by Cellach in 1126[12], and its dedication to SS. Peter and Paul, apparently the first with this dedication, do suggest a change of direction, and possibly external influence[13].

Whether Bangor was Augustinian as early as this or not, the foundation did not have long to establish itself. Due to ongoing local warfare between Niall Mac Duinn Sléibe and Eochaid Ó Mathgamna[14] and a raid on Ulaid by Conchobar Mac Lochlainn[15], Malachy and his companions were driven out of Bangor in 1127, and took refuge at Lismore. Instead of being the end of an experiment, however, the interruption was perhaps to ensure the survival of Malachy's small community. During this period of exile in Munster, Malachy founded another monastery, Ibracense, which grew rapidly in wealth and numbers, owing to the support of Cormac Mac Carthaigh, to whom Malachy became spiritual adviser[16]. The order, if any, to which this house belonged is uncertain, as is its location[17].

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11 Knowles, David and Hadcock, R. N. Medieval Religious Houses. England and Wales, (London, 1971) p. 137.

12 A.U. 1126.

13 Phillips, W. A. (ed.) History of the Church of Ireland (London, 1934) Vol. 2 p. 81 stated that the Canons Regular of St. Augustine were introduced into Armagh in 1126, but gives no evidence for the statement. It is copied by F. J. Byrne N.H.I. vol. 2, p. 38.
No early monasteries with this dedication are listed by Gwynn and Hadcock, although in the 12th and 13th centuries there are Cluniac, Augustinian and Dominican houses dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul. In England during the period 1066 - 1216 this dedication was the second most common one after St. Mary. Binns, Alison Dedications of Monastic Houses in England and Wales 1066 -1215. Studies in the History of Medieval Religion. Vol. 1 (Woodbridge, 1989).

14 A.U. 1127.

15 A.I. 1127.

16 Lawlor, Life of Malachy pp.22 and p. 41.

17 Lanigan, John Ecclesiastical History of Ireland (1822) Vol. 4 p. 92, and later writers including Lawlor, identified Ibracense as Iveragh (Uibh Rathach) in Co. Kerry, possibly Ballinskelligs, where there was a 12th century Augustinian

It has been suggested that the Augustinian rule was introduced gradually there, and that the foundation acted as a training centre from which members were sent out to found other houses of the order[18]. It is not impossible that Malachy learnt the Augustinian way of life before his expulsion from Bangor. The Savignac house at Erenagh, or Carrig, was founded in the diocese of Down in 1127 by Niall Mac Duinn Sléibe as a daughter house of Tulketh, in Lancashire. It has been suggested by Gwynn and Hadcock that Malachy visited Tulketh[19].

If this was the case, it is not improbable that it was during this visit that Malachy became acquainted with the Augustinian canons at Guisborough in Yorkshire. Bernard, speaking of his visit there in 1148, says that they were known to him "of old"[20], but this may perhaps merely refer to his earlier journey to Rome in 1139-40 via Scotland and the north of England. If Malachy had made a visit to a Savignac house at an early stage in his career, however, it is perhaps to be expected that Bernard would have been aware of this, since by the time of Malachy's death the Savignac congregation had been absorbed by the Cistercians.

The problem for the student of the beginnings of the Augustinian order in Ireland is the almost total lack of records. The earliest reference to the Canons Regular in an Irish source is Malachy's obituary in 1148. Unlike the monastic foundations after the Anglo-

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monastery. However, Gwynn believes the area around Cashel, Ui Braccain, to be more likely as Bernard says Cormac Mac Carthaigh was a constant visitor - Lawlor, Life of Malachy, p. 41., Gwynn, Aubrey The Twelfth Century Reform (Dublin, 1968), p. 43 and Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses. Ireland, p. 365.

18 Gwynn and Hadcock, op. cit., p.148.

19 Ibid., p. 147.

20 Lawlor, Life of Malachy, p. 121.

Norman invasion, for which in many cases there are foundation charters, or later confirmations of deeds which can be dated with some precision, the Irish foundations, and especially existing monasteries which adopted the Rule of St. Augustine, have no such documents. In some cases an approximate date can be worked out, or else dates before which houses were established are known, but this lack of precision makes it impossible to get more than a general picture of the expansion of the order[21].

Although the first documented contacts between Malachy and the Augustinian order elsewhere took place in 1139-40, it is clear that there were regular canons in Ireland by this date. Bernard described Malachy's chapter when he returned to the see of Down on his resignation of the primacy in 1137 in the following manner - 'When Malachy was made bishop of Down, immediately according to his custom he was at pains to take to himself from his sons, for his comfort, a convent of regular clerics'[22]. At this time the term regular canon was more or less synonymous with the Rule of St. Augustine, and it is almost certain that this is what Bernard meant.

If so, the statement implies that Malachy had already founded communities of canons before 1137, although Bernard does not say where. It is probable that he was thinking of Malachy's congregations at Bangor and at Ibracense, although, as I have said, it is by no means certain that these were Augustinian from their foundation. It is possible that Bernard, who elsewhere shows a lack of understanding

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21 Almost all the foundation dates given by Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses. Ireland, pp. 153 -6, have been arrived at in this manner.

22 Lawlor, Life of Malachy, p. 63. He is almost certainly correct in taking this to be at Bangor, as this is the only explanation for the claim by the canons of Bangor to be the cathedral chapter rather than the Benedictines of Downpatrick, C.P.L. 1 p.207.

of peculiarly Irish church practices, regarded these communities as being of regular canons as these were the nearest equivalent with which he was familiar to the Irish monasteries.

This similarity explains both the confusion of later writers who classified the early Irish houses as being of regular canons, and also the success of the Augustinian rule in the twelfth century in Ireland[23]. If this is the case, then Lawlor's assumption that the community to which Bernard refers was Augustinian as they were 'the only order of regular clerics recognized at this period by the Roman church'[24] may be mistaken.

The difficulty in dating exactly when houses can be regarded as having been Augustinian, especially during this early period, is increased in that even where we have a date for a foundation, or consecration, or rebuilding, it is by no means certain that the Rule was adopted from the start[25]. There are several houses however, which probably do date from the 1130s, even if they were not fully Augustinian at the beginning. Hadcock believes that the groundwork was laid for the establishment of Augustinian houses in Munster during Malachy's period of exile form Bangor prior to gaining recognition as archbishop of Armagh[26].

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[23] E.g. Alemand, Monasticon Hibernicum, p. xi, states that 'It is also probable that the rules of our Irish monks were the same, or drew very near to those of St. Benedict and St. Augustine, which prospered so much throughout all the West, that those peculiar rules in Ireland were obliged in process of time to give way to, and be incorporated into them'.

[24] Lawlor, Life of Malachy, p. 63 n. 6. In any case this statement was not strictly accurate, as the Premonstratensian Canons received Papal recognition in 1126.

[25] This is a problem with all the early houses of the Order, not only in Ireland, cf. Dickinson, Origins, p. 57 for France. In England, the first Augustinian house of St. Botolph's, Colchester, was recorded as having been founded in 1095, but was probably not actually following the Rule of St. Augustine for another decade, ibid., pp. 101-2.

[26] Hadcock, R.N. 'The Origin of the Augustinian Order in Meath' p. 124.

It is likely, if Cormac Mac Carthaigh was as influenced by Malachy as Bernard says[27], that his material support would not have been confined to Ibracense, but to other projects aimed at reform. Hadcock suggests that the early foundations of Lorrha and Roscrea, Co. Tipperary, and Molana and Mothel, Co. Waterford, may have been influenced by Malachy at this time, resulting in their transference to the Augustinian Rule, but while they are known to have been Augustinian later in the century, it is merely conjecture that the changeover began this early. The houses for which there is any evidence that they were Augustinian prior to Malachy's first journey to Rome are almost all in the north of Ireland.

Armagh is almost certainly the earliest of these. Malachy returned north in 1132. If Bernard is to be believed his first two years were spent living outside the city[28], but once he was established in the see it is not unlikely that he returned to live in the community of SS. Peter and Paul, as he had similarly remained at Bangor after becoming bishop of Down and Connor. Imar died on pilgrimage to Rome in 1134[29], so Malachy would have been the obvious successor. This may support Bernard's comment that the formation of a regular chapter in 1137 was 'according to his custom", although SS. Peter and Paul was in fact quite separate from the cathedral. The house was probably fully Augustinian by this time, and other monasteries are thought to have followed suit. Saints Island, Lough Derg appears to have been made a dependency of Armagh around this time, and adopted the Augustinian Rule[30].

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27 Lawlor, Life of Malachy, p. 41.
28 Ibid., p. 50.
29 A.L.C., 1134.
30 The date of the introduction of the Augustinians at Lough Derg is by no means certain. Gywnn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, p. 193 say that it may have begun a few years after c. 1132, as at Armagh. However Gwynn,

The monastic houses of the diocese of Clogher seem to have been particularly influenced by Malachy's proposals for reform. His brother Gilla Críst, or Christian, was installed as bishop in 1135, and after his death three years later, his successor Áed Ua Cáellaide continued to work closely with Malachy. St. Mary's, Devenish is said to have been founded in 1130[31], and may have been colonized from Armagh as it was a new foundation rather than the reform of the older establishment which still existed on the island[32]. The monastery of Lisgoole probably became Augustinian during this period also, although Ware gives its foundation date as 1106[33], which is unlikely, and Archdall gives as its founder Niall Mac Duinn Sléibe, the founder of Erenagh, who died in 1127[34].

It is probable that St. Mary's, Clogher, was established as a convent of regular clerics either by Christian or Áed, although it is not clear whether this was before or after the see was moved to Louth. If before the community may have been intended to act as the chapter, as at Bangor. A new abbey and church, separate from the old cathedral, was not built until the last quarter of the century, so it is probable that until then the old cathedral had sufficed. One other Ulster house may date from the 1130s - according to Ware, Malachy founded St. John's, Downpatrick, in 1138, after his return to that diocese[35].

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in Studies Vol. 33 (1944) p. 551 says that there is no proof that either Armagh or Lough Derg had become Augustinian before 1137, although the foundation cannot be much later than 1140. Gosse, Antoine-Alexandre, Histoire de l'Abbaye et de l'Ancienne Congregation des Chanoines Réguliers d'Arrouaise (Lille, 1786), p. 48, believed that Malachy placed the Canons Regular in St. Patrick's Purgatory about the same time as at Down, after his resignation from Armagh.

31 Ware, Antiquities, p. 97.

32 Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, p. 169.

33 Ware, op. cit., p. 97.

34 Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum p. 263.

35 Ware, op. cit., p. 93.

During his time as primate, Malachy did not confine his work to the archdiocese of Armagh, but made the visitations traditionally carried out by the coarbs of Patrick in Munster in 1134 and 1136[36]. It was during one of these visits that his friendship with Cormac Mac Carthaigh led to the foundation of Gill Abbey, Cork. The date is not certain; Ware gives it as 1134[37], but Gwynn thinks 1136 or 1137 to be the correct date[38]. It was colonized from Cong, for pilgrims from Connacht[39], possibly as reparation for an attack on Connacht by Cormac Mac Carthaigh and Conchobar Ó Briain in 1133, which was settled by the mediation of the clergy[40]. Presumably, therefore, Cong had become Augustinian by about 1134. During this period it was refounded by Toirrdelbach Ua Conchobair and became one of the most important houses in the area, although the diocese of Cong, recognized at Ráith Bressail, was shortlived. Gwynn and Hadcock assume that Malachy's influence was responsible for this and for other Ua Conchobair foundations, although there is no actual proof for this.

These are the only houses which probably became Augustinian during this first phase of the expansion of the order, although there are others which may belong to this period of Malachy's career, or else to the following decade[41]. The year 1140 was to be a milestone in the

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36 A.F.M. 1134, 1136.

37 Ware, Antiquities, p. 100.

38 Gwynn, A., 'The Bishops of Cork in the Twelfth Century' in I.E.R. 74 (1950) p. 97.

39 A confirmation by Diarmait Mac Carthaigh c. 1173-5 of his father's grant to Gill Abbey states that Cormac had built the church of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist at Cork for Archbishop Maurice and for Gregory and his succesors, the strangers from Connacht and fellow-countrymen of St. Finbarr, BL Add. MS. 4793 f. 70.

40 Gwynn, op. cit., pp. 27-8 rejects the explanation by Walsh, T.J. and O'Sullivan, D. 'St. Malachy, the Gill Abbey of Cork and the Rule of Arrouaise' in Cork Hist.Soc. Jn. LIV No. 2 (1949) pp. 45-6, that Cormac founded it as penance for burning Cong in 1134. There is no annalistic evidence for such an attack in that year.

41 Hadcock, 'Origins of the Augustinian order'. p. 124 states that there were some 16 Augustinian monasteries by 1139-40, but does not name them.

history of the Augustinians in Ireland, marking the opening of a second phase of expansion, in which, as in the first, the influence of Malachy was far reaching[42]. His journey to Rome to seek the *pallia* for the archbishops of Armagh and Cashel, although unsuccessful, had important repercussions. The best documented was his visit to Clairvaux, which led to the foundation of Mellifont, and the writing of his biography by Bernard. However, although it is not surprising that the visit to Clairvaux is the aspect on which Bernard concentrated, the journey had other results. It was on this journey that Malachy made his first certain contacts with Augustinian canons outside Ireland[43], and in particular with the Arroasian observance of the Rule, which he was to promote with vigour on his return to Ireland[44].

He travelled across to Scotland, and then down through England. Bernard only gives some of the places through which he passed, but the general route can be worked out[45]. It is probable that he visited the canons of Guisborough, on the border with Scotland, and while in York he was visited by the prior of the Augustian house of Kirkham, about 16 miles away[46]. In France he would almost certainly have stayed at monastic guest houses along the way, although Bernard only mentions his visit to Clairvaux[47]. After a month in Rome Malachy turned northward again, probably following more or less the same

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42 Richardson, H.G. 'Some Norman Monastic Foundations in Ireland' in Watt, J.A (ed.) Medieval Studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn S.J. (Dublin, 1961) p. 40 believes that the role of Malachy in the monastic reform has been exaggerated, and that he was not, in fact, responsible for the introduction of the Canons Regular to Ireland. However, even if Imar was the founder of the first house, it cannot be denied that Malachy's influence did much to advance the spread of the Order.

43 Lawlor, Life of Malachy, p.69.

44 Amiens Bibl. Munc. MS 1077 f.5v, and see Milis, L'Ordre d'Arrouaise, vol. i ch. 3.

45 Lawlor, H.J., 'Notes on St. Bernard's life of St. Malachy, and his two sermons on the passing of Malachy.' in R.I.A. Proc. 35 (1918-24) pp. 238-243.

46 Lawlor, Life of Malachy, pp. 68-9.

47 Ibid., pp. 71-2.

route. He again halted at Clairvaux, and arranged to leave some of his companions behind to be trained in the Cistercian life.

However, this was not the only continental house which impressed Malachy, for Bernard says that he left some of his companions 'in other places, to learn the rule of life'[48]. Although he does not say where these other places were, we know from an independent source where at least one was. This was the Augustinian house of St. Nicholas of Arrouaise, in northern France, where the rule of the canons regular was followed with extra strict observances, which had been adopted under the influence of the Cistercians.

According to the cartulary of Arrouaise, written some forty years later, '*sancte quoque memorie Malachias Hiberniensum archiepiscopus per nos iter faciens, inspectis consuetudinibus nostris et approbatis libros nostros et usus ecclesie transcriptus secum in Hiberniam detulit*' [49]. The cartulary however makes no mention of Irishmen being left behind to learn the way of life, so either Bernard was misinformed, or else Malachy visited other communities as well. To copy the books of the monastery would presumably have taken some time, although it is not known if Malachy and his companions stayed there while this was being done[50]. It is by no means impossible that they visited the house on the outward journey, and returned on the way back.

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48 Lawlor, Life of Malachy, p. 68.

49 Amiens Bibl. Munc. MS 1077 f.5v.

50 Lawlor does not allow much time for such a visit in his itinerary of Malachy's route, "Notes on St. Bernard's Life of St. Malachy" pp. 242-3. Milis, L'Ordre d'Arrouaise, pp. 344-5 points out that if Lawlor is correct it would have been difficult for Malachy to decide that the Arroasian observance was a suitable vehicle for reform in Ireland after only a brief contact.

Malachy seems to have made an impression not only on Bernard, but on others whom he met while travelling through Scotland and the north of England. The visit of Prior Waltheof of Kirkham has already been mentioned, but it is probable that Malachy's visit had other effects. The Augustinian priory of Carlisle had been raised to the dignity of a cathedral in 1133. Probably around this time it requested, and was granted, permission to join the congregation of Arrouaise[51]. The date of this charter is not known for certain. It has been suggested that it was before Malachy's visit there[52], in which case it would have been his first contact with this particular form of the Augustinian rule, and might have been the reason he made a point of visiting the mother house. However, it is more probable that it was inspired to make the request after hearing about Arrouaise from Malachy on his return journey[53], as at this date there were probably no Arroasian houses in the north of England, whereas after Malachy's visit at least one other joined the congregation[54].

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51 The grant by the Bishop of Carlisle is printed in Salter, H.E. Chapters of the Augustinian Canons, p. xlv.

52 Milis, L'Ordre d'Arrouaise, pp. 324, 326.

53 Cf. Dickinson, J. C., 'The Origins of the Cathedral of Carlisle' in Cumberland and Westmorland Antiq. & Arch. Soc. Trans. 45 (1946) p. 142. Gosse, Histoire d'Arrouaise, p. 44 also dates this charter to c. 1140.

54 Warter Priory, Yorkshire, asked for confirmation from their metropolitan of their transfer to the Arroasian congregation, somewhere between January 1140 and March 1143, Salter, op. cit., p. xliv. Dunning, P. J., 'The Arroasian Order in Medieval Ireland' p. 301 points out that if Malachy followed the route along Erming Street as Lawlor suggests, he would have passed close to Warter. The only Arroasian house in the north of England which may have predated 1140 was the nunnery of Harrold. Knowles and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, England, p. 280.
Dickinson, J. C. ,'English Regular Canons and the Continent' in R.Hist.Soc. Trans. 1, 5th series (1951) pp. 83-4, doubts if the affiliation of Carlisle with Arrouaise ever took effect, as by 1244 the prior was attending the normal Augustinian general chapter at Newburgh. However this does not necessarily follow, as the links between the Arroasian houses in Britain and Ireland with their mother houses were short lived, but are known to have existed. Warter's affiliation only lasted until c. 1181, and like Carlisle was present at Newburgh in 1244. Knowles and Hadcock, op. cit., p. 178.

In Scotland also, Malachy made an impact, both on individuals and probably at a wider level. Bernard records several miracles worked by Malachy on his journey, including the healing of King David's son[55]. According to Bernard, David and his son thereafter 'both loved Malachy, as long as he lived'[56]. The church in Scotland at that time had much in common with the Irish church - and was undergoing reform, chiefly by the introduction of the new monastic orders and the reorganization of the church. This reform movement, as in Ireland, was led by a combination of clergy and important lay people, in particular the royal family[57]. David had already by this date founded many religious houses belonging to almost all the orders, but the Arroasians did not reach Scotland until c.1140, when the king made a grant of a church and land at Cambuskenneth to Arrouaise[58]. It is very tempting, as in the case of Carlisle, to attribute this to the influence of Malachy.

After Malachy's return to Ireland in 1140, the expansion of the Augustinian order, particularly as practiced at Arrouaise, was rapid[59]. It has been thought that this was due to a decree of Innocent II at the Lateran Council of 1139, which stressed that all canons regular should live according to the Rule of St. Augustine[60]. This arose from a misunderstanding by the early monastic historians who considered the early Irish monks to be a form of canons regular, and therefore read

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55 Lawlor, Life of Malachy, pp. 77-8.

56 Ibid., p. 77. The king was Malachy's host for some days on his journey in 1148 as well, ibid., p. 120.

57 Cowan, I. B. and Easson, D. E. Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland (London, 1974) pp. 1-6., and Barrow, G.W.S., 'Scottish Rulers and the Religious Orders 1070 -1153' in R.Hist. Soc. Trans. 5th series 3 (1953) pp. 70-100.

58 Cowan and Easson, op. cit., p. 89.

59 For the purpose of this discussion I am not, as Dunning did, treating the Arroasian houses as a distinct order, but as a part of the Canons Regular as a whole. It is not always clear whether a house was Arroasian or not, and sometimes it varied depending on the period in question.

60 Mansi, J. D. Sacrorum Conciliorum Vol. 21 p. 528.

the decree as a papal order to these communities to adopt the Augustinian rule[61]. However, as the decree was also aimed at monks who were not living according to the Rule of St. Benedict, it seems more likely that it was intended as a reminder to live according to the rule which they had already professed, rather than as an order to others to adopt it.

Bernard tells us relatively little detail about Malachy's eight years as Papal legate, as this portion of the work is more hagiography than biography, consisting of a series of miracles to prove his subject's holiness. It is clear from it, however, that Malachy was active, as the miracles are located in many different parts of the country. Bernard does not say much about the foundation of churches and monasteries, other than a reference to Malachy resting 'in the holy places which he himself had scattered through the whole of Ireland'[62], and that if he stayed with a community 'he conformed to the customs and observances of those with whom it pleased him to tarry, content with the common life and the common table'[63].

It was during this time, apparently, that the monastery of Bangor was rebuilt by Malachy in stone, evidently on a much larger and more ornate scale than was usual up till then. The earliest Romanesque churches built had been in the south of Ireland, and foreign influences were resisted by the more conservative north. If, as Bernard implies, it was 'like those which he had seen constructed in other regions'[64],

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61 Cf. Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum p. xvii and Cullen, J. B. 'The Canons Regular in Ireland' in I.E.R. Vol. XVI (1920) p. 29 'at the second oecumenical council of the Lateran (1139) .... it was decreed by Pope Innocent 11 that all monastic bodies in the church should conform to certain instructions laid down for religious communities in the letters of the great St. Augustine'.

62 Lawlor, Life of Malachy, p.83.

63 Ibid.

64 Ibid., p. 109.

presumably on his travels, Bangor must have been a fairly large and prosperous community. It was evidently costly - Bernard refers to 'many pieces of silver'[65], and for such a building to be necessary the community must have been completely living by the ideals of the common life, rather than by the more individualistic trend of the earlier monasteries.

Bernard refers to two other communities directly founded by Malachy - that of Saul, Co. Down, which was built for Augustinian canons according to a plan which Malachy had seen in a vision[66], and one in Scotland, on his final journey in 1148[67]. The location and order of this monastery are unknown[68]. However, it is clear that these were not the only foundations for which Malachy was responsible, directly or indirectly, although only in some cases is there independent evidence.

Bernard was not concerned with giving all the details of his friend's career, even where it concerned his own order, since although he does mention the arrangements made to train Irish recruits at Clairvaux, he merely says of its expansion that there were five daughter houses of Mellifont at the time he was writing[69], but we cannot be sure to what extent Malachy was behind it.

Even less can be said with any certainty about the role played by Malachy with regard to the spread of the Augustinians, and as with the question of foundation dates, a great deal rests on conjecture rather

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65 Lawlor, Life of Malachy, p. 114.
66 Ibid., p. 113.
67 Ibid., p. 120.
68 Lawlor, ibid., n. 2, assumes that Bernard's Viride Stagnum is Soulseat in Galloway, where there was later a Premonstratensian monastery, but this is rejected by James Wilson in 'The Passages of St. Malachy through Scotland' in Scottish Historical Review XVII No. 70 (1921) pp. 77-8.
69 Lawlor, op. cit., p. 76.

than solid facts[70]. The cartulary of Arrouaise says that Malachy ordered the adoption of their customs by 'all the clergy in episcopal sees and in many other places throughout Ireland'[71]. Gosse gives a list of Irish cathedrals which he believed to have become Arroasian as a result of this decree of Malachy, but its accuracy is doubtful[72]. However, he is not completely wrong, in that several of the places he mentions did have Augustinian monasteries, though separate from the cathedrals. The staffing of cathedral chapters by regular canons will be discussed in a later chapter.

While the identity of many houses which may owe their rule to Malachy may be guessed at, in very few cases is there any definite proof. Saul, the building of which is mentioned by Bernard, is one such house, as the Annals for 1170 refer to it as 'the congregation of Canons Regular ..... whom Máel-Moedoic Ua Morgair, legate of the successor of Peter, instituted in Saball of Patrick'[73]. It may also be significant that the abbot whose death is recorded in 1156 was called Máel Máedog, adopted perhaps as a mark of respect by a protegé[74].

Other houses do have a known connection with Malachy, whether or not he was directly responsible for their foundations. The abbey of SS. Peter and Paul, Knock, founded by Donnchad Ua Cerbaill and

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70 Cf. Watt, The Church in Medieval Ireland, p. 21. 'The progress in Ireland of the rule of the Augustinian Canons in the same period was even more rapid. But the spread is much less well-documented and it is difficult to make firm judgements about Malachy's individual contribution to it'.

71 Amiens Bibl. Munc. MS 1077, f.5v.

72 Gosse, Histoire d'Arrouaise, p. 387. Dunning, 'Arroasian order', p. 313, says that the list presents difficulties, but Milis, L'Ordre d'Arrouaise, p. 347, states that the list did not come from Arrouaise, but a list of dioceses in general, which Gosse assumed to have been a result of Malachy's encouragement of the order.

73 A.U. 1170, also A.F.M. and A.L.C.

74 A.F.M. 1156. Similarly, Gilla Aeda Ua Maigin, whom Malachy appointed bishop of Cork, originally from Connacht, is referred to by the Misc. Ir. Annals, 1159, as having been named for Áed Ua hOissín, archbishop of Tuam.

Áed Ua Cáellaide, was consecrated by Malachy in 1148[75]. In view of the close co-operation between all three, for example with regard to the establishment of Mellifont, it is probable that Malachy was also behind this project, as well as others in that diocese. The inclusion of the feasts of St. Malachy and of an *Edanus episcopus* in a breviary from Trim[76], with a specially elaborate office for the former, may also perhaps be taken as evidence of a close tie between Malachy and that house[77].

Direct proof for the influence of Malachy on the foundation of other Augustinian houses is lacking, but there are certain cases in which there is much circumstantial evidence to support it. Watt believes that there were some 41 Augustinian houses in Ireland by 1148[78], for which Malachy was directly responsible for seven, which he does not, however, name[79]. Gwynn and Hadcock, however, list 33 houses, including those mentioned above, in which Malachy's influence may have been responsible for their rule, together with another thirteen which are either known to have been founded by associates of Malachy, or which may belong to this period[80]. This is not to say that Malachy was responsible for all of these, but that in some cases at least there is a strong possibility. Not surprisingly the bulk of these are in the northern half of the country, with a noticeable absence in the ecclesiastical province of Leinster[81].

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75 A.F.M. 1148.
76 T.C.D. MS 84, ff. 5r and 2r.
77 Gwynn, Aubrey 'A Breviary from St. Mary's Abbey, Trim', p. 291.
78 Watt, The Church in Medieval Ireland, p. 21.
79 Watt, The Church and the Two Nations, p. 26.
80 Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland pp. 153 -198.
81 See map 2.

There are only two possible exceptions to this - Killeigh, and more likely, Inis Padraig where Malachy held a synod in 1148 before setting out for Rome. It must have been a sizeable community to have played host to a gathering of 15 bishops and 200 clergy[82], and it is possible that it was already Augustinian at this time[83]. Relatively few of the houses which may date to before 1148 are in Cashel either, although Bernard shows that Malachy continued to be active there. It may be that after the murder of Cormac Mac Carthaigh in 1138[84] he did not have the same degree of influence on any leading figure in Munster, and that during the last decade of his career his chief supporters were in the northern half of the country.

Until this time Connacht had remained somewhat apart from the reform movement, but with the rise to prominence of the Ó Conchobair family, it became more actively involved, culminating in the elevation of Tuam to metropolitan status in 1152. A considerable number of monasteries in Connacht were established or refounded during this period, particularly for the Augustinian canons. Watt regards Toirrdelbach Ó Conchobair as probably their most assiduous promoter[85], as houses such as Cong, Annaghdown, Clonfert, Roscommon, Tuam and Clonmacnoise benefitted from his patronage. Gwynn and Hadcock suggest that eight western houses owed their

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82 A.F.M. 1148.

83 A St. Patrick's Dublin is listed by Gosse as having been Arroasian. Dunning, 'Arroasian order', p. 313, took this to be St. Patrick's Cathedral, and therefore evidently wrong, but it may perhaps have been St. Patrick's Island, Co. Dublin, which was meant. If this was Arroasian, it would support the hypothesis that Malachy was connected with its adoption of the Rule of St. Augustine.

84 A.L.C., A.F.M., 1138.

85 Watt, The Church in Medieval Ireland, p. 46.

foundation as Augustinian to Malachy's influence on Toirrdelbach Ó Conchobair[86].

However, it is difficult to find any evidence for this statement, as the only apparent contacts between them would appear to have been somewhat hostile. Throughout the 1120s and 1130s Ó Conchobair was almost continually at war with Cormac Mac Carthaigh, and was responsible for Cormac's brief exile in Lismore where he met Malachy[87]. As Cormac was, until his death, a strong supporter of Malachy and the reform movement in general, it would seem to be unlikely that his greatest enemy should also come under Malachy's influence to the extent suggested by Gwynn and Hadcock.

The only possible contacts between Malachy and Toirrdelbach were in 1143[88] and 1144[89], when, according to the annals the coarb of Patrick was involved in making peace settlements between Ó Conchobair and the kingdom of Meath. Lawlor suggests that the coarb in question may have been Malachy[90], as, although he was no longer archbishop of Armagh at this date, the annals continued to refer to him on occasion as the successor of Patrick[91], though also giving the title to Gilla Meic Liac[92]. Bernard makes no direct reference either to Ó

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86 Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, suggest that Annaghdown, Clonfert, Clonmacmoise, Cloontustert, Cong, Roscommon, Derrane and Tuam were established by this means.
87 See A.F.M. and the A.Tig. for these years. There are references to raids and battles between Munster and Connacht almost every year.
88 A.F.M. 1143.
89 A.Tig. 1144.
90 Lawlor, Life of Malachy, p. 106 n. 9.
91 E.g. A.F.M. 1148.
92 E.g. A.F.M. 1145 and 1147 which refers to 'the successor of Patrick, Máel-Máedhog Ua Morgair, Muireadhach Ua Dubhthaigh and Domhnall Ua Longargain ...' implying that the successor of Patrick was somone other than Malachy.

Conchobair or to any place in Connacht, although he does refer to peace-making activities which Lawlor took to refer to Connacht.

Whatever the degree to which Malachy's influence was responsible, the number of Augustinian houses climbed steadily during this period; extraordinarily quickly compared to the slower expansion of the Cistercians during the same decade. By Malachy's death there were probably eight Cistercian houses including the two Savignac foundations which transferred, while there were probably at least 25 new Augustinian houses in the same period[93]. Two factors are probably chiefly responsible for this discrepancy.

Firstly, the majority of these Augustinian houses were not actually new foundations, but rather the transfer of older church sites to the new Rule, and secondly, the Augustinians had no regulations about the minimum size of a community. To establish a Cistercian monastery with a minimum of 13 including the abbot, was a far greater enterprise, both in scale and cost, than giving an existing small church or monastic site to a group of canons. The account of the consecration of Mellifont in 1157 shows what an important event that was considered to be[94].

There does not seem to have been any equivalent ceremony at an Augustinian foundation, or at least not to the same extent. The only one recorded, though this may be due to the gaps in the annals at this period, was that of SS. Peter and Paul, Knock, which 'was finished by the Bishop O'Caellaidhe and Donnchadh Ua Cearbhaill, and was consecrated by Ua Morgair, successor of Patrick; and a Neimheadh,

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93 Cf. Hadcock, 'Origins of the Augustinian order', p.124 that 16 houses founded by 1139-40, and Watt's statement that there were 41 Augustinian houses by 1148, The Church in medieval Ireland, p.21.

94 A.F.M., A.U. 1157.

i.e. ecclesiastical land, was assigned to it in Lughmhadh'[95]. The obituary of Ua Cerbaill gives us additional information about his involvement, saying that by him 'were made the book of Cnoc na nApstal at Louth and the chief books of the order of the year and the chief books of the Mass. It is this illustrious king who founded the entire monastery both [as to] stone and wood, and gave territory and land to it for the prosperity of his soul in honour of Paul and Peter'[96]. He was also connected with the foundation of the short-lived house of canons at Termonfeckin[97], and a convent for Arroasian nuns at the same place, as well as more general support for church reform.

It is highly probable that these works, said to be 'performed for the prosperity [of his soul] and reign in the land of Oirgialla'[98], were the result of his close connection with Malachy since helping to establish him as coarb of Patrick. St. Mary's Abbey, Louth, not far from Knock, also belongs to this period. It may have already adopted the Augustinian rule when Áed Ua Cáellaide moved his see from Clogher to Louth and was refounded in 1148 after a fire[99], according to Ware, also by Donnchad Ua Cerbaill[100]. Flanagan suggests that the introduction of the Arroasian observance took place in 1142, the same year as Mellifont was founded, and that this was the first such house,

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95 A.F.M. 1148.

96 Ua Cerbaill died in 1170. The obituary was copied onto a blank page in the Antiphonary of Armagh (T.C.D. MS 77), and is quoted by Lawlor, Life of Malachy, p. 170.

97 The last record of canons at Termonfeckin is the obit of the former abbot, A.F.M. 1164. The two communities probably formed a double monastery, in which the canons and nuns had separate accommodation but shared the church. By the end of the twelfth century these were being suppressed, perhaps due to allegations of immorality, cf. Giraldus Cambrensis, Speculum Ecclesie. Opera Vol. IV, p. 183. By 1223-4 apart from Termonfeckin which became a convent, the other double houses had probably all become houses of canons only, see Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, p. 150.

98 See n. 96 above.

99 A.F.M. 1148.

100 Ware, Antiquities p. 91.

as it remained in a position of prominence within the Order until the later middle ages[101].

During this phase of the spread of the Augustinians, whether Arroasian or not, the diocese of Meath was the location of a number of new houses, all in places with monastic connections, if not always the refoundation of the early house or the adopting of the Rule by the existing community. In the case of Kells, for example, St. Mary's was entirely separate from the Columban foundation, which was still functioning, although in decline[102]. Duleek was also separate from the older church of St. Cíanán, which had briefly been the cathedral after Ráith Bressail[103]. Clonard was probably the first Augustinian house in Meath, as the convent of Arroasian canonesses there founded by Murchad Ua Máel Sechlainn c. 1144 was for almost a century the leading community of nuns in Ireland[104].

Arrouaise, like several other congregations at this time accepted both sexes, and it is probable that the house St. Peter, Clonard, was founded at the same time. St. Mary's Durrow, also founded by Ua Máel Sechlainn, probably also dates to the same period. It had been patronised by his family prior to this, however, as Murchad's wife died there in 1137[105], and he was to be buried there in 1153[106]. As St. Mary's Durrow was listed in 1195 as being a dependency of Clonard,

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101 Flanagan, M.T., 'St. Mary's Abbey, Louth,' p. 229.

102 Cf. Herbert, Maire Iona Kells and Derry (Oxford, 1988). Gwynn, 'Some notes on the history of the Book of Kells' in I.H.S. 9 (1954-5) p. 142, points out that it is not absolutely certain that the change to the Augustinian rule did take place before the invasion, as the first clear evidence of canons there is in a charter of Hugh de Lacy.

103 Duleek had been chosen as the diocesan centre at Ráith Bressail, but the decision was reversed by the synod at Uisneach in the same year.

104 Cf. Brady, John ,'The Nunnery at Clonard' in Riocht na Midhe 2 No. 2 (1960) pp. 4-7.

105 A.Clon., A.F.M. 1137.

106 A.F.M. 1153.

it is likely that this too was a double monastery[107]. Trim, also dedicated to St. Mary, may also have become Arroasian around this time. It was burnt in 1143[108], and it is quite likely that it was rebuilt as a houses of canons regular after this.

However, the house was destroyed during the Anglo-Norman settlement of the area, and rebuilt by Hugh de Lacy. As with the other Meath houses, Trim may have been linked with a community of Arroasian nuns living nearby, as Trim was also mentioned as a dependency of Clonard, and as late as the 14th century canons of Trim were acting as envoys for the nuns at Clonard[109]. Kells and Duleek also were connected with Clonard, and it is probable from the similarity in date, the location at at already important ecclesiastical sites, and their observance of the Arroasian way of life, that Malachy's was the influence behind their becoming Augustinian. It is possible that Navan should also be included in this group of Meath houses of an early date, as it was almost certainly founded before the Invasion[110], and in the mid-thirteenth century was still regarded as Arroasian[111].

The death of Malachy, although marking the end of an important period in the history of the Irish church, did not end the reform movement. By this time other leaders had emerged. Gilla Críst Ua Connairche, trained at Clairvaux to be first abbot of Mellifont, became bishop of Lismore in 1151, and Malachy's successor as papal legate. Gilla Meic Liac, Malachy's chosen successor in Armagh, remained in

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107 The possessions of St. Mary's Abbey, Clonard, were confirmed by Pope Celestine 111 in 1195, see Brady, 'The nunnery at Clonard', p.5.
108 A.F.M. 1143.
109 Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, p. 318.
110 Brooks, E. St..J. 'A charter of John de Courcy to the abbey of Navan', in R.S.A.I. Jn. 63 (1933) p.39, confirms the lands held 'ante adventum anglicorum'
111 C.D.I. ii, no. 809.

office until 1174[112], and Gilla Aeda Ua Maigin, whom he elevated to the see of Cork, until 1172[113]. Áed Ua Cáellaide, whose role in the reform movement has perhaps been underestimated,[114] remained Bishop of Clogher/Louth until 1178, dying four years later[115]. Through his successors, imbued with the same ideals, Malachy's work continued after his death. The synod of Kells, in 1152, which gave formal recognition to all that had been done since Ráith Bressail, has been seen as the consummation of Malachy's career[116].

The monastic reform, which appears to have been originally the work of Malachy almost single-handedly, had by this time developed its own momentum. Between 1148 and 1169 the number of Cistercian and Augustinian monasteries continued to grow; about 5 of the former and perhaps 20 or more of the latter[117]. A significant proportion of these houses, what might be regarded as the third wave of foundations, were in Leinster[118], and two names are most prominent in their establishment - Diarmait Mac Murchada and Lorcán, or Laurence, Ua Tuathail.

With the exception of the two houses mentioned above, which may have become Augustinian in Malachy's lifetime, the earliest houses of the order whose dates are known were for canonesses. Mac Murchada

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112 A.U. 1174.
113 A.U. 1172.
114 Cf. Flanagan, 'St. Mary's Abbey, Louth' p. 234.
115 A.L.C. 1182.
116 Cf. Watt, The Church and the Two Nations, p. 28.
117 Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, and Watt, The Church in Medieval Ireland p. 21 that there were some 63 houses of canons by the Anglo-Norman invasion, of which 41 had been founded by Malachy's death. According to Watt, op. cit. p. 41, 'By 1171 it is impossible to say with certainty that any monasteries were following any customary Irish rule. Many had become Augustinian or had been eclipsed in the immense attraction exercised by the Cistercians'.
118 Compare maps 2 and 3.

founded the houses of St. Mary de Hogges, Dublin, as a daughter house of Clonard, c. 1146, and it in turn soon had two dependencies[119]. Gwynn and Hadcock state that Malachy, together with Gréne, bishop of Dublin, were involved in this foundation, but do not give the source for the statement[120]. The canons were slower in spreading through Leinster, and the dates, especially for the transfer of older houses to the area, are uncertain.

The first, or probably so, was Ferns, Mac Murchada's 'capital', where the house of St. Mary was founded around 1158[121], or a little after. Its possessions were confirmed between 1160 and 1162[122], and the charter witnessed by, among others, Gilla Críst Ua Connairche, Dungal Ua Cáellaide, bishop of Leighlin, almost certainly a relation of Áed Ua Cáellaide[123], and Laurence, abbot of Glendalough. The time lapse between this and Mac Murchada's earlier foundations, including Baltinglass, is rather surprising, although it was apparently an unsettled time for him, as the annals show him fighting in both Munster and Meath.

Diarmait's interests in church reform, in particular in the Augustinians and Cistercians, while there may be a connection with Malachy, as Gwynn and Hadcock suggest, is probably due more directly to the influence of Áed Ua Cáellaide. Diarmait had been fostered as a child

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119 Aghade, Co. Carlow, and Kilculliheen, Co. Kilkenny, were both founded c. 1151 by Mac Murchada. 'Dermitius, King of Leinster, was founder of the Abbey of Hoggis, under which he placed two cells; one in Ossory diocese, near Waterford; the other called Athadath, perhaps in Leghlin diocese, pertaining to the abbey of the Blessed Mary of Hoggis in the time of Gregory, archbishop of Dublin, and John Papiron, legatus de latere, whose confirmation I have seen'. Alen's Reg., p. 293.

120 Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, p.316.

121 Ware, Antiquities, p. 81.

122 The charter is printed in Dugdale, William Monastici Anglicani (London, 1661) Vol. ii, pp. 1040-1.

123 Flanagan, 'St. Mary's Abbey, Louth', p. 225.

by the Ua Cáellaide family[124], and Áed is described in 1162 as his 'spiritual father and confessor'[125]. Ua Cáellaide was himself an Augustinian[126] - the majority of Malachy's successors were members of the reformed orders, although Malachy himself does not appear to have been[127] - and this was most likely the reason for Mac Murchada's support of the Order for both men and women[128].

The source of Laurence Ua Tuathail's connection with the Augustinians is harder to pinpoint with any certainty, although as for Malachy, there is a biography written by a French cleric[129]. Having spent some time as a child in the keeping of Mac Murchada as a hostage, he was then sent to the abbey of Glendalough to be educated for the church. As with Malachy's early training, this was almost certainly of a traditional kind. His family's dispute with Mac Murchada was presumably settled, since Laurence's sister was married to Diarmait, and Laurence witnessed charters of his brother-in-law.

It is possible that it was through Diarmait, and Áed Ua Cáellaide, that Laurence first came in contact with the Augustinian way of life, although this is not certain. He was elected abbot in 1153, at the age

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124 Flanagan, 'St. Mary's abbey, Louth', p.225

125 Reg. All Hallows, p. 50.

126 His obits in A.L.C. and A.F.M. call him 'head of the canons'.

127 Although he promoted both the Augustinians and Cistercians, there is no evidence that he himself became a canon regular, and his application to enter Clairvaux was refused by the Pope. However it has been assumed, e.g. by Lawlor, Life of Malachy, p. 11 n. 5, that if SS. Peter and Paul, Armagh was Augustinian from the start, that this must have been the 'rule of life' which Imar taught Malachy and his other disciples.

128 F. X. Martin in N.H.I. 2, p. 62 suggests that Diarmait became a patron of the Cistercians and Augustinians in the 1140s due to his connection at this time with David I of Scotland and the future Henry II, who both founded houses for these orders. Barrow, 'Scottish Rulers', and Hallam, E.M., 'Henry II as a Founder of Monasteries' in Jn. Ecc. Hist. 28 (1972) pp. 113-32.

129 'Vie et Miracles de S. Laurent archevêque de Dublin' ed. C. Plummer Anal. Boll. 33 (1914) pp. 121-186.

of 25. While the biography stresses all his virtues for the position[130], his family connections were presumably of some relevance to his election, as his grandfather, Gilla Comgaill Ua Tuathail, had been abbot from 1106-1127[131], and Glendalough was situated in Ui Muiredaig territory of which his father was king[132].

The Life gives no indication of the Rule followed, although it was obviously a strict one. It is not impossible that it was while he was abbot that the small priory of St. Saviour, a short distance away from the main monastery, was founded as training place in the Augustinian life, as Gwynn and Hadcock suggest[133]. In 1157 the bishopric of Glendalough was offered to Laurence, but he refused it - his biographer says that this was because he was underage[134], although this does not seem a very plausible excuse as he was only about a year too young. Five years later, on the death of Gréne, Laurence was appointed archbishop of Dublin, and it is at this time that we get the first certain involvement with the Augustinian order.

In order to reform his new cathedral chapter, Laurence sent two of the canons to Rome to get permission to convert the secular chapter of Holy Trinity into a regular community following the observances of Arrouaise[135]. Laurence himself adopted the habit and lifestyle of the canons, observing the hours of silence, abstaining from meat, and taking part in the services[136]. The working of the Life, that he did these things after he had been made a canon, does suggest that

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130 Plummer, 'Vie et miracles de S. Laurent', p. 132.
131 N.H.I. 9, p. 256.
132 Plummer, op. cit., p. 128.
133 Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, p. 177.
134 Plummer, op. cit., p. 135.
135 Ibid., p. 138, and Ann. St. Mary's 1162.
136 Plummer, op. cit., pp. 138-9.

Glendalough had not already become Augustinian by 1162, but it probably adopted it within a short space of time, as Laurence kept up his contact with his former abbey, using it as a place of retreat[137].

Dublin received a second Augustinian priory around 1166 - All Hallows, founded by Diarmait Mac Murchada[138]. Áed Ua Cáellaide was at least partly responsible for this foundation, as he is the grantee of charter of Diarmait's, witnessed by Laurence, which gave him land in Baldoyle 'for the work of the canons of the daughter house'[139]. As this land was included in the possessions of All Hallows in 1186[140], it may have been the daughter house in question, and it is probable that it had been founded from Louth. This would explain why one of Aed's successors as bishop of Airgialla attempted to claim jurisdiction over All Hallows[141].

The priory of St. Stephen, Leighlin, may also have been founded during these early years of Laurence's archbishopric. Whether Mac Murchada had anything to do with its establishment is unknown[142], but as it was in the see of Dungal Ua Cáellaide, and within Laurence's archdiocese, it is not unlikely that he may have had some involvement. Down, Co. Wexford, in the diocese of Ossory, was founded before the Anglo-Norman invasion, but no more is known

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137 Plummer, 'Vie et miracles de S. Laurent', p. 141.

138 Ware, Antiquities, p. 77. Flanagan, 'St. Mary's Abbey, Louth', p. 224 dates this charter to c. 1162, as one of the signatories is Edenigmus abbot of Glendalough. According to the Life, Laurence's immediate successor was intruded by Mac Murchada, but was soon replaced by Laurence's nephew Thomas. It is not certain, however, that Thomas was abbot as early as c. 1163, cf. Gwynn and Hadcock, op. cit., p. 81 and p. 177, and Mac Shamhrain, A.S., 'Prosopographica Glindelachensis: The monastic church of Glendalough and its community, sixth to thirteenth centuries' in R.S.A.I. Jn. 119 (1989) pp. 87.

139 Reg. All Hallows, p. 50.

140 Ibid., p. 4.

141 This relationship between All Hallows and Louth is convincingly argued by Flanagan,'St. Mary's Abbey, Louth', pp. 224-7.

142 Ware gives its founder or benefactor as Burchad son of Gurmund, a Norwegian, Antiquities, p. 84, while Alemand gives it a 6th century date.

about its founder or the date[143]. Two other houses in the archdiocese of Leinster also probably belong to this period, both in Ossory - Aghmacart and Seirkieran. Both were early sites which were refounded as Augustinian, and known both by their original names, St. Tigernach and St. Ciaran, and also as St. Marys. Seirkieran has been stated to have become Augustinian c. 1200[144], but the absence of any record of the foundation suggests that it took place earlier than this, and probably before 1169.

Outside Leinster, the number of Augustinian foundations was also increasing, though less markedly than in the earlier period. The majority of these were in the archdiocese of Tuam. Abbeygormacan, founded by the O'Gormogan family, probably dates to before 1170, as does Aughrim, Co. Galway. Ware says that a Butler was its founder[145], but as it remained an Irish house, with several members of the O'Kelly family as priors, it is was probably of their foundation, although the Butlers may have been important benefactors[146]. Aughris, Co. Sligo, has been given foundation dates in the 13th[147], and late 14th centuries[148], but this is very unlikely, as at these dates there would probably be some contemporary evidence for the refoundation of the early monastery. Ballysadare, Co. Sligo, and its cell at Kilnemanagh, were certainly Augustinian by the second quarter of the

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143 Ware, Antiquities, p. 81 and Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, p. 169.
144 Carrigan, William The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory (Kilkenny, 1981) Vol. 2 pp. 3-4.
145 Ware, op. cit., p. 109.
146 Gwynn and Hadcock, op. cit., p. 158.
147 Alemand, Monasticon Hibernicum, p. 88, if Gwynn and Hadcock are correct in identifying Keras as Aughris.
148 O' Donovan, John, note to A.F.M 1380.

13th century[149], and the absence of any record may indicate an earlier date.

One house in Cork, Tullylease, founded by Matthew son of Griffin, was possibly founded before 1170, and was later annexed to Kells, Co. Kilkenny[150]. Two houses in the diocese of Meath can also be assigned to this phase of the Order's expansion; Inchmore, Lough Ree, is said to have had Augustinian canons, and in the absence of any evidence was probably pre-invasion in date. Exactly when Navan became Augustinian is unclear. Christian, abbot of Navan, was witness to a charter of Eugenius, bishop of Meath, which has been dated 1174 - 1184, but which cannot be before 1180[151].

The abbey had, however, been founded before this, as John de Courcy confirmed 'to God and the church of St. Marie of Novan and the canons regular serving God there all the lands which they held of the gift of the Irish before the coming of the English into Ireland'[152]. The charter also names 'O Roirke' as the benefactor, presumably Tigernan Ua Ruairc. The early monastic historians obviously did not know of this grant, as the foundation, or re-edification, was attributed to the Nangle, or de Angulo family[153], two of whom were witnesses to de Courcy's charter.

This is probably the limit of the expansion of the Augustinian canons prior to 1169[154]. The almost continual warfare portrayed in the annals

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149 A.F.M. 1230 'Gilla-Coimdeadh O'Duileannain, Coarb of Fechin, and abbot of the Church of the Canons at Easdara [Ballysadare] .... died'

150 Ware, Antiquities, p. 83.

151 I.C.L. pp. 239-40. However the first witness, Leonard, abbot of St. Mary's Dublin, did not become abbot until 1180, Chart. St. Mary's, Dublin Vol. 1 p. xxxvi.

152 Brooks, 'Charter of John de Courcy to the Abbey of Navan' , p. 40.

153 Ware, Antiquities, p. 87, Alemand, Monasticon Hibernicum, p. 34 and Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum, p. 558.

154 See map 3.

in these years may have been the reason for the slackening of the pace of monastic reform, but was indirectly, through the expulsion of Mac Murchada from his kingdom, and its aftermath, the cause of the fourth wave of expansion - the religious houses founded by the Normans granted land in Ireland after 1170, and by Gaelic lords during the same period.

Chapter 2. Expansion of the Canons Regular after 1169

(i) Anglo-Norman foundations

The Anglo-Norman invasion was justified, and given papal permission, as a form of crusade, to reform the Irish church. After it had taken place, Alexander III wrote to the Irish bishops asking for their co-operation with the English, who were there in order to teach the barbaric people the laws of God, and to extirpate abominations[1].

The tone and content of such letters are very little different from those of Lanfranc and others in the preceeding century, and do not seem aware of the considerable advances the reform movement had made in Ireland during the intervening period. Although this religious aspect of the invasion was perhaps partly an excuse for the annexation of Ireland by the English crown, something which had been discussed as early as 1155[2], it was also perhaps, an attempt on Henry's part to re-establish himself in the eyes of the Church after the murder of Thomas Becket[3].

The immediate result of the arrival of the Normans was an interruption in the progress of reform rather than an aid to it, as in the ensuing warfare, churches and monasteries were plundered and destroyed by both Anglo-

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1 Sheehy, M. P. Pontificia Hibernica. Vol. 1 pp. 19-20.

2 According to the chronicler Robert of Torigny, the Council of Winchester in September 1155 discussed plans for an invasion of Ireland, which was to be given to Henry's younger brother. Chronica Roberti de Torigneio, Abbatis Monasterii Sancti Michaelis in Periculo Maris ed. R. Howlett in Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry 11 and Richard 1 (London, 1884-90) Vol. 4 p. 186. A Flemish chronicle based on Robert of Torigny added that it was the 'bishops and certain religious men' who wished the king to go to Ireland. Cited in Flanagan, Marie Therese, Irish Society, Anglo-Norman Settlers, Angevin Kingship (Oxford, 1989) pp. 39-40.

3 Gervase of Canterbury believed that although not the only reason, the most important one for Henry's visit to Ireland was to avoid the proclamation of a papal interdict as a result of Becket's murder. Gervase of Canterbury. Historical Works ed. William Stubbs (London, 1879-80) Vol. 1 p. 235.

Normans and Irish[4]. However, there was a more positive side to the Anglo-Normans' dealing with the Church from an early stage in the preceedings, especially after the arrival of Henry II at Waterford in October 1171. He exerted himself to get the support of the Irish hierarchy, and received their submissions as well as those of the secular leaders[5].

As the Church was the only really national institution this was an important step to take. Shortly after his arrival he spent two days in Lismore[6], where he probably met Gilla Críst Ua Connairche, the papal legate. To back up his claim to be in Ireland as a reformer of the Church, he called together all the hierarchy for a church council at Cashel[7], which was attended by virtually all the Irish prelates, apart from the aged Archbishop of Armagh, Gilla Meic Liac[8].

The council was presided over by Ua Connairche, and its decrees in most respects were very similar to those of earlier reform synods - on marriage; baptism; the payment of tithes; the freedom of the church from secular exactions; that clerics should not help pay compensation if a relation commits murder; that the dying should make wills dividing their

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4 E.g. A.F.M. 1170 'An army was led by Mac Murchadha and his knights into Breifne, and he plundered Cluain-Iraird, and burned Ceanannus, Cill-Tailltean, Dubhadh, Slaine, Tuilen, Cill-Scire and Disert-Chiarain.'; A.F.M. 1171 'Daimhliag-Chianain was plundered by the knights of Milo de Cogan.'; A. Tig.,1172 'Some of the troops of the son of the Empress went with Hugh de Lacy from Dublin to Fore .... Thence they fared to Cill Achaid where they plundered the church, and killed some of its people, and burnet it afterwards.'

5 Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene ed. William Stubbs (London, 1868-71) Vol. 2 p. 30 'Praeterea venerunt ibidem ad regem Angliae omnes archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates totius Hyberniae, et receperunt eum in regem et dominium Hyberniae, jurantes ei et heredibus suis fidelitatem, et regnande super eos potestatem in perpetuum, et inde dederunt ei cartas suas'.

6 Scott, A.B. and Martin, F.X. (eds.) Expugnatio Hibernica. The Conquest of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis (Dublin, 1978) p. 93.

7 Ibid., p. 97.

8 Ibid., pp. 99-101 and Ann. St. Mary's 1172. Both of these give the Primate's age and infirmity as the reason for his absence, although in the same year he made a complete visitation of Connacht - A.U., A.F.M., and A.L.C., none of which mention the Council of Cashel.

property equally between wife, children and payment to the church for burial; that those who die after making their confession should receive proper funeral and burial rites. 'Thus in all parts of the Irish church all matters relating to religion are to be conducted hereafter on the pattern of Holy Church, and in line with the observances of the English church'[9].

A written report was also made about the state of the Irish church, under the legate's seal, which was taken to Rome after the council[10], apparently by one of Henry's ecclesiastical representatives at Cashel, Ralph, archdeacon of Llandaff[11]. This report, together with the letters of the Irish hierarchy, was evidently very negative, as Alexander's letters to them, to Henry, and to the Irish kings and chieftains show[12].

The secular church both in matters of organization and morals, was however only one aspect of the involvement of the Anglo-Norman with the Irish church. The monastic orders gained considerably from their arrival, despite the initial disruption caused by the fighting. The attacking of monasteries in enemy territory was, after all, nothing new to the Irish[13]. The Anglo-Normans contributed to the religious orders in three ways; by founding new monasteries, by granting Irish property to existing houses in England, Wales and France, and by granting or confirming property to existing Irish houses. The Augustinian canons benefitted in all three ways.

Approximately thirty Augustinian houses owe their foundation to Anglo-Normans, the majority of which occurred at an early stage of the

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9 Scott and Martin, Expugnatio Hibernica, p. 101.
10 Ibid., p. 97 and p. 143.
11 Sheehy, Pontificia Hibernica, p. 21.
12 Ibid., pp. 19-23.
13 Cf. Lucas, A.T. 'The Plundering and Burning of Churches in Ireland, 7th to 16th century' in North Munster Studies pp. 172-229.

conquest of the area in which they are located[14]. It is not unreasonable to see the the foundation of new religious houses as part of the subinfeudation and colonisation process, which helped to establish a firmer grip on the newly acquired territory[15]. The sequence of foundations during this phase of the order's expansion is considerably easier to follow than that which preceeded it, owing to a much greater survival of either original charters or later copies and confirmations which allow for more precise dating of the foundation of individual houses.

Probably the first, and certainly the more prestigious throughout its history, was the royal foundation of St. Thomas the Martyr, Dublin. This was established in 1177 by William fitz Audelin, the king's seneschal, at the king's orders, and its first charter bears an impressive list of witnesses including the papal legate, Cardinal Vivian, Archbishop Lawrence, Robert fitz Stephen, Geoffrey de Constentin, Raymond le Gros and Meiler fitz Henry[16].

The order to which the new house belonged is not actually stated in this charter, but in the numerous grants made to it by the witnesses and others, the regular canons of the house are mentioned[17]. Within a decade, St. Thomas's had acquired a large amount of property throughout Anglo-Norman held lands, chiefly in Meath, but also in counties Kildare, Carlow, Wexford and Down[18]. Royal patronage from John both as Lord

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14 Cf. Simms, A. 'The Geography of Irish manors' in Bradley, John (ed.) Settlement and society, (Kilkenny, 1988), p.292.
15 E.g. Reg. Trist. p.xx and Empey , C.A. 'The sacred and the secular: the Augustinian priory of Kells in Ossory 1193-1541' in I.H.S. 24 (1984) pp.131-51.
16 Bodl. Rawl. B. 499, f. 1.
17 Eg. Reg. St. T., pp.118, 221-2.
18 Papal confirmation of 1187, in Rawl. B. 499 f. 129 lists the properties of the house.

of Ireland and afterwards as king also increased the status and wealth of the house.

During the episcopate of John Comin, probably c. 1192, the house was affiliated to the congregation of St. Victor of Paris[19], and a charter of that date was witnessed by two English Victorine abbots[20]. At around this time, and certainly by the end of the decade, St. Thomas's was raised to abbatial status, and its importance continued to increase in the following years with the acquisition of a number of dependent houses.

As one would expect, the earliest Anglo-Norman foundations, that is those dating from before 1200, are concentrated largely in Meath, but also occur in Antrim, Down, Kildare, Kilkenny, Dublin and possibly Wexford and Longford. Including St. Thomas's, there are a possible ten new foundations dating from the twelfth century, as well as four re-foundations, all of which are in the diocese of Meath.

The priors of Muckamore and of St. Thomas the Martyr, Downpatrick, were among the witnesses to John de Courcy's grant of Down to the Benedictines in 1183[21]. De Courcy had granted land at Toberglory on the outskirts of Downpatrick to found St. Thomas's as a cell of Carlisle[22], one of many grants he made to religious houses in both Britain and Ireland[23]. Muckamore had been the site of an early monastery, but the new house was evidently founded not long before 1183 as excavations revealed a farthing of John de Courcy of 1185 under the west cloister arcade wall[24]. Its founder is unknown, although Ware's extracts from the Register of the

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19 Reg. St. T., p.284.
20 Ibid., p.27.
21 Dugdale, Monastici Anglicani, ii. p.1021.
22 Ibid. p.1046.
23 See Duffy, Sean 'The first Ulster plantation: John de Courcy and the men of Cumbria' in Barry, Frame and Simms (eds.) Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland (London, 1995) pp.1-27.
24 Excavations (1973) p.5.

abbey include a confirmation by Lionel, Duke of Clarence stating that the house was '*de fundatione R(?) progenitoris Elizabethe consortis nostre*', therefore presumably a de Burgh, and donors include several members of the de Sandal family[25].

County Meath, which was colonized early and densely by the Anglo-Normans, was also the location of perhaps as many as seven Augustinian houses dating from the twelfth century with Norman antecedents. Duleek, with one Augustinian community already, became home to a second, St. Michael's, founded by Hugh de Lacy c.1180 as a cell of Llanthony Secunda[26]. Although the house remained small, it became the centre for enormous estates[27].

At Clonard, also, de Lacy built a second Augustinian house, dedicated to St. John. Gwynn and Hadcock suggest that it was colonised from St. Thomas's Dublin[28], because the prior of St. John's ratified grants made to St. Thomas's in Meath[29], but this charter, along with a similar one to Llanthony Secunda[30], were made by the '*prior de Sancto Iohanne de Clunard et eiusdem loci capitulum cathedralis ecclesiae Midensis*", and the assumption is unwarranted.

This house, was, however, shortlived, due to the warfare which continued as the Anglo-Normans pushed westward[31], and the diocesan see was moved to Newtown Trim in 1202, leaving the abbey and priory at Clonard to merge into a single house with a combined dedication of SS.

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25 BL. Add. MS. 4787 f.93.
26 Ware, Antiquities, p.87, Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum, p.535.
27 See I.C.L., and Brooks, E. St.J. '14th century monastic estates in Meath' in R.S.A.I. Jn. 83 (1953) pp.140-9.
28 Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, p.163.
29 Reg. St.T., p..241-2.
30 I.C.L. p..267-8.
31 AF.M. 1200, 'Clonard was burnt to injure the foreigners that were in it'.

John and Peter. It is likely that some of de Lacy's Anglo-Norman canons moved with the see to form the new community of SS. Peter and Paul at Newtown Trim, and the Clonard house, although ranking as an abbey, was a poor one. By the time of the Ecclesiastical Taxation its revenues 'do not suffice for burdens'[32].

Two other new foundations in Meath belong to this initial phase of expansion. The priory of Holy Trinity, Ballyboggan, is said to have been founded by Jordan Cumin in the twelfth century[33]. Although little is known about the history of the house, by the early fourteenth century it was one of the wealthier religious houses in Meath[34], due no doubt to the possession of the Holy Cross of Ballyboggan[35]. Colp, like Duleek, was founded by Hugh de Lacy as a cell, but of Llanthony Prima, a house with which he had family connections, c.1182[36]. Owing to the connection of these two cells to the British mother-houses, they are among the best documented of Irish Augustinian houses, with valuable information on their administrative and financial affairs surviving in the cartularies of the two Llanthonys.

The hospital of St. John the Baptist, Naas, is believed to have been founded in the twelfth century by a baron of Naas[37], although the first references to it which survive come in the fouteenth century when it received a number of grants[38].

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32 C.D.I. v. 713.
33 Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum, p.514, Ware, Antiquities, p.86, Brenan, M.J. An Ecclesiastical history of Ireland, p.341. At the time of the Dissolution the property of the house still included Castell Jordan, White, Extents Ir. mon. possessions, p.312.
34 C.D.I. v .713.
35 A.U. 1538.
36 Ware, Antiquities, p.87, I.C.L. p.v.
37 Archdall, op. cit., p.535, Alemand, Monasticon Hibernicum, p. 23.
38 Archdall, op. cit., pp.535-6.

Kells, Co. Kilkenny, was founded in 1183 by Geoffrey fitz Robert, with the permission of his lord, William Marshall, initially for secular canons[39]. Ten years later these were replaced by Augustinians from Bodmin in Cornwall, and were granted six carucates of land and a number of churches and other ecclesiastical benefices[40], by the founder, as well as others in the thirteenth century.

The last new foundation which may date from the twelfth century is SS. Peter and Paul, Selskar, in Wexford, founded by Alexander de la Roche, possibly as early as 1192[41]. It was apparently an important and wealthy house, and was the location of a synod held by the Bishop of Ferns in 1240[42], while in the later middle ages the prior sat in parliament.

In addition to these new houses, the Anglo-Normans also re-established four existing ones. The Dillon family rebuilt Hare Island, Lough Ree some time after 1185[43], although it was afterwards superseded by their larger foundation on Saints Island[44]. Kells, Co. Meath, having been destroyed both by Mac Murchadha and the Anglo-Normans in the 1170s[45], was refounded and extensively endowed by Hugh de Lacy[46], and confirmed by John, Earl of Mortain in 1192[47]. De Lacy was almost certainly responsible for rebuilding St. Mary's Trim[48], while Navan,

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39 Ware's extracts from the register of the house, in BL. Lansdown MS. 418 ff.24-9 are printed as appendix III of White, N.B. Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds, (Dublin, 1936) pp.300-313.
40 Ibid., pp.300-1.
41 Hore, P.H. History of the town and county of Wexford (London, 1900-1911)Vol. 5. p.72.
42 Wilkins, Concilia i, 681-2. The decrees are included in Gwynn, A. (ed.) 'Provincial and Diocesan decrees of the diocese of Dublin' in Archiv. Hib. 11 (1944) pp.55-7.
43 Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, p.178.
44 Ibid., p.194.
45 A.F.M. 1171, 1176, A.U. 1176.
46 Dugdale, Monastici Anglicani, ii, p.1041. He has apparently become confused between St. Mary's Kells, Co. Meath and St. Mary's Kells, Co. Kilkenny, printing the charters of the two in the one section.
47 Ibid., pp.1041-2.
48 Ware, Antiquities, pp.85-6

although already in existence, was apparently restored by Jocelin de Angulo[49] and its properties confirmed by John de Courcy in 1189[50]. After the reign of king John, Anglo-Norman names replace Irish ones in the sources, and at least one Nangle became abbot[51].

The first two decades of the thirteenth century saw a continued increase in the number of Augustinian houses, with an expansion into the south and west of the country, as well as further additions to the monastic population of Meath and Leinster. Many of these new houses were of considerable size and importance. The first decade in particular saw the greatest number of foundations since the 1140s, with perhaps fifteen new Anglo-Norman houses, in Meath, Louth, Westmeath, Longford, Kildare, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford, Cork and Kerry.

The removal of the see of Meath from Clonard to Newtown Trim to the new Victorine house by Simon de Rochfort c.1202 has already been mentioned, and Drumshallon, Co. Louth, was established as a cell of Holy Trinity, Dublin, by Philip Nugent at around the same time[52]. In the same year Greatconnell, Co. Kildare was founded by Meiler fitz Henry from Llanthony Prima, and his charter was confirmed by king John in 1205[53]. Kilrush was granted by William Marshall as a cell of Cartmel, Lancs.[54], probably at the beginning of the century, as they were

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49 De Angulo was granted Navan by de Lacy, Orpen, G.H. (ed.) Song of Dermot, (Oxford, 1892), line 3144. Ware, Antiquities, p.87 believed Jocelin de Angulo to be the founder, although Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum, p.558 suggests that he may have been the re-founder.

50 De Courcy's charter is in Brooks, E. St. J. 'A charter of John de Courcy to the abbey of Navan' pp.38-39.

51 Richard Nangle was abbot in 1488 according to Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum, p.560.

52 Nugent owned land in Louth near that of the canons of Llanthony Prima in 1202, I.C.L. p.51, and was a witness to grants to Llanthony before and after this date, I.C.L. pp.92, 97. It was certainly in existence c.1206 when Helyas de Nugent granted a rent of 9d to the canons of St. Mary's, Drumshallon, C.C.C.D. 478.

53 Dugdale, Monastici Anglicani, ii. p.1037.

54 Ibid. p.301 gives the text of the charter.

exporting corn from Ireland by 1202[55], although St. Thomas's disputed the ownership of the church of Kilrush in 1205[56]. Kildare received a third Augustinian house shortly after, when St. Wolstan's was founded as a Victorine house by Adam de Hereford[57], who was also an important patron of St. Thomas's, Dublin[58].

County Kilkenny received two new Augustinian houses in the early thirteenth century. Bishop Hugh de Rous encouraged Thomas fitz Anthony to found Inistioge c. 1206 with help from Kells in Ossory, of which the bishop had been second prior, and Kells also provided the first prior of the new house[59]. St. John's, in Kilkenny city, founded by William Marshall, must be at least a decade earlier than 1220, the date given by Dugdale[60], as the church was consecrated in 1212[61], and prior Odo witnessed a charter in that year[62].

One, if not both of the new foundations in Tipperary also may belong to the first decade of the thirteenth century. Athassel, one of the largest monastic complexes to survive in this country, was built by William de Burgo c.1200 and the endowments were rapidly increased by members of the founder's family and others[63]. Caher also dates from the reign of king John, but how early is not recorded, and so may Saints Island, Lough Ree, founded by a descendant of Sir Henry Dillon[64].

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55 C.D.I. i. 167.
56 William de Blabi made a grant of the church of Kilrush to St. Thomas's, Reg. St. T. p.232.
57 Ware, Antiquities, p.80. His extracts from the register, beginning in 1209, are in Lansdown MS 418 f.19. B.L. MS. 4798 f.41, containing annals, by Ware, gives 1200 as the foundation date, however.
58 See Reg. St. T., pp.75-9, 142-4, 358.
59 Dugdale, Monastici Anglicani, ii. p.1041.
60 Ibid., pp. 1042-3. The length of time between foundation and consecration could be considerable - Mellifont, for example took 15 years.
61 Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum, p.370.
62 C.C.C.D. 16, dated by the editor as c.1202
63 Archdall, op. cit., p.640
64 Ibid, pp.441-2

Tristernagh priory, in Westmeath, was founded in the early thirteenth century by Geoffrey de Constentin, who may be either the same man who had witnessed the establishment of St. Thomas's Dublin or his son[65]. It is very marked in the surviving charters of the various Augustinian houses how the same names constantly reappear as donors and witnesses, underlining how closely Anglo-Norman monastic and secular settlement were linked[66]. The castle of Kilbixy is mentioned in the charter granting an initial seven churches to the new monastery, and this had been founded in 1192[67].

Further south, St. Katherine's, Waterford, a Victorine house, was founded before November 1207 when the prior and canons received letters of protection from the king[68]. In the south-west, the abbey of Bridgetown, County Cork, another Victorine house, was founded by Alexander fitz Hugh as a joint-settlement from St. Thomas's Dublin and Newtown Trim[69], presumably after 1206. The hospital of St. John the Baptist, Rattoo, Co. Kerry was confirmed by Meiler fitz Henry and witnessed by David, bishop of Ardfert c.1200, apparently as a house of Crutched Friars[70], but afterwards became Arroasian, although the reason, or, the date, for the change of order is not certain[71].

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65 See Reg. Trist. p.x.

66 See Eager, Brian 'Tristernagh Priory: the establishment of a colonial monastic house in the lordship of Meath (c.1200)' in Sheils and Wood (eds.) The Churches, Ireland and the Irish (Oxford, 1989) pp.25-36, and also Empey, 'The Sacred and the secular: the Augustinian priory of Kells in Ossory, 1193-1541' in I.H.S. 24 (1984) pp.131-51.

67 A.F.M. 1192.

68 C.D.I. i. 338.

69 Dugdale, Monastici Anglicani, ii p.1045. Alexander fitz Hugh's charter specifies that if they cannot elect a prior from within the house they should go to the houses of SS. Peter and Paul of Meath, or St. Thomas the Martyr, Dublin from which they begun and accepted their order.

70 Reg. St. John, Dublin, pp.563-4.

71 Ware, De Hibernia et antiquitatibus ejus (London, 1654) p.245. The house is omitted from the 18th cent. English translations.

In the second decade of the thirteenth century, new foundations among the Canons Regular were, with two exceptions, in the midlands and south-west of Ireland, where new lands and churches were still available to potential donors. Two houses in Kerry date from this period, Killagha, founded by Geoffrey de Marisco, c.1216[72], although possibly earlier[73], and its daughter house at Dingle[74]. Rathkeale, the only Augustinian house in county Limerick, was founded by the Harvey family[75], and may have been colonised from Rattoo[76], its nearest neighbour and which was also Arroasian.

Two new Dublin houses also belong to this period, St. Catherine's, Lucan, and Holmpatrick. The former, a Victorine house, was founded by Waris de Peche in 1219[77], apparently from St. Thomas's[78], and granted a further carucate of land for the support of six chaplains by the lord of Leixlip, Adam de Hereford[79]. Holmpatrick, near Skerries, was not strictly a new foundation, but archbishop Henry de Londres transferred the earlier house of St. Patrick's Island to the mainland. Ware gives the date as 1220[80], but Archdall correctly suggests that the move took place earlier in Henry's episcopate[81], since the patronage of the monastery of Holmpatrick was confirmed to the archbishop by Innocent III in May 1216[82].

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72 This date is given by Carmody, J. 'The Abbey of Killagha, parish of Kilcoleman, county Kerry' in R.S.A.I. Jn. 36, (1906) p.285 and followed by Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, p.155. The founder is given by Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum, p.304 and Ware, Antiquities, p.107.
73 Ware and Archdall both say it was founded during the reign of King John, ibid.
74 Archdall, op. cit., p.301 says Dingle a cell of Killagha. Gwynn and Hadcock, op. cit., p.153 give +1216 for the date of foundation.
75 Archdall, op. cit., p.435.
76 Suggested by Gwynn and Hadcock, op. cit., p.190.
77 Ware, Antiquities, p.78.
78 R.I.A. MS 12 D 2, f.47 .
79 Archdall, op. cit., p.254.
80 Ware, op. cit., p.78.
81 Archdall, op. cit., p.220
82 Alen's Reg., p.38, Sheehy, Pontificia Hibernica i. 97

The small foundation of Ballymore, county Westmeath, has been dated to 1218[83], and may have had de Lacy origins[84]. It may have been connected to Tristernagh, which held land in Loughsewdy in the thirteenth century, but the canons' closest link seems to have been with the Cistercian convent half a mile away, leading Archdall to mistake the two communities for a Gilbertine double house[85]. They probably acted as chaplains for the nuns and undertook business for them, as happened at Clonard[86], and when the convent disappeared in the later fifteenth century its property was acquired by the canons[87].

The last new house which must belong to this period, if not earlier, is that of St. John, Enniscorthy, which has stated to have been founded as a cell of St. Thomas's, Dublin, between 1223-43[88]. However, while it is correct that Gerald de Prendergast granted the house to St. Thomas's Dublin, to form a cell for four canons and a prior[89], and which transaction can be more precisely dated to late 1230[90], it is clear that St. John's was already in existence at that date. Hore plausibly suggests that Gerald's father Philip (d.1229) was the founder of St. John's, where he, and his wife were buried, and that after his death, his son, with the permission of the bishop, handed it over to St. Thomas's[91].

There was a marked decrease in new foundations among the monastic orders in Ireland after the first quarter of the thirteenth century. This is

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83 Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum, p.706.
84 Ware, Antiquities, p.88.
85 Archdall, op. cit., p.706, a mistake also made by Ware, op. cit., p.88.
86 E.g. C.D.I. ii, 1924, and iii, 241 and 399, where canons of Durrow, Trim and Clonard acted for the nuns of St. Mary's, Clonard.
87 O'Connell, J. The diocese of Kilmore (1937) p.245.
88 Archdall, op. cit., p.741.
89 Reg. St. T., pp.186-90
90 Hore, P.H. History of Wexford, vol. 6 p.347 observes that the 2nd witness to Prendergast's charters, R, archdeacon of Ferns, was Reginald de Dere, who died in 1230, and that Gerald was out of Ireland for over six months during 1230.
91 Ibid.

less true, however, for the Augustinian canons than, for example, the Cistercians[92]. In the latter case there seems to have been only one small house established after 1225, Abbeystrowry[93], while a further eight Anglo-Norman Augustinian houses were founded.

Mullingar was founded by Ralph Petit, bishop of Meath, c.1227[94]. It appears to been very successful from the beginning, as by 1233 in an agreement with Llanthony Prima they successfully retained possession of the church of Dunboyne[95], which may have become, for a time, a cell of the house[96].

Ballybeg, County Cork, was founded by either Philip de Barry in 1229 or by his son William in 1237[97]. The house acquired a substantial amount of property, with over 2,000 acres at the Dissolution. The priory of Fertagh, County Kilkenny dates from the first half of the thirteenth century[98], but its first mention in the records is in 1251[99].

A final three Augustinian houses with Anglo-Norman backgrounds must be listed. The parish church of Ratoath belonged to St. Thomas's, Dublin, from the twelfth century[100]. There are also mentions of an 'abbey' of St.

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92 This is also true in Britain, where there was 'a steady increase in number of new houses of Austin canons at a time when most other orders had practically reached their maximum', Dickinson, Origins, p.139.

93 Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, pp.122-3. Abbeystrowrey is not mentioned by Stalley, Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland .

94 Ware, Antiquities, p.88.

95 I.C.L. pp.71-3.

96 Cogan, A., History of the Diocese of Meath, vol. 1 p.188-9. At the Dissolution Mullingar's possessions in Dunboyne included a mansion house, a messuage and 40 acres, and the rectory of the church and tithes, Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum, pp. 723-4. Dunboyne is listed among the property of Mullingar in White, Extents Ir. mon. possessions, p.288.

97 Archdall, op. cit., p. 56, Ware, op. cit., p.101.

98 Alemand, Monasticon Hibernicum, p.21.

99 C.D.I. i. 1251.

100 Reg. St. T., p.8.

Mary Magdalene at Ratoath in the fourteenth century[101], which dedication was usually given to a hospital, which may have been served by Augustinian canons from the church of St. Thomas. There was a chantry there at a later date, which may have taken the place of an Augustinian cell[102].

Crossmolina, Co. Mayo was in existence by 1302[103], and was dependent on Ballybeg[104]. Both houses were largely controlled by the Barret family in the later middle ages, and the warden of Crossmolina was customarily a canon of Ballybeg. The last house to be founded was also in Mayo, at Errew, when the Barrets installed the Augustinians into a long existing church in 1413[105]. This appears to have been a cell of Crossmolina, and remained small and of little value, although it continued to exist into the seventeenth century[106].

(ii) Irish foundations

At the same time as the houses discussed above were being founded by the Anglo-Normans, seventeen other Augustinian abbeys and priories were established under Irish patronage. As a rule, these can be more precisely dated than the pre-Conquest foundations, but on the whole are less well documented than their Anglo-Norman counterparts. The new houses are, for the most part, to be found in the counties of Clare, Mayo,

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101 Harris, Walter (ed.) The whole works of Sir James Ware ... revised and improved (Dublin, 1739-45) vol. 2 p.264 and Burke, Thomas, Hibernia Dominicana (1762) p.730 cites Pipe Roll 9 Rich. II as evidence.

102 Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, pp.191, 361. Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum, p.568.

103 It is given in the Ecclesiastical Taxation, C.D.I. v. 704. In 1306 the abbot sued John and William de Rathcogan for wrongful imprisonment, NLI MS 13 p.140. The case was heard at the Common Bench in Hilary term, 34 Ed. I, NAI RC 7/11, 79 m.17d.

104 Cf. C.P.L. V, p.417, and IX, p.4 and other references to the dependency of Crossmolina on Ballybeg.

105 Thomas Barret, bishop of Elphin, was buried there in 1404, A. Conn..

106 Archdall, op. cit., p.502.

Roscommon and Kerry. Four houses which can be assigned to the later twelfth century are in County Clare and owe their establishment to Domhnall Mór Ó Briain[107].

The most important of these was the abbey of SS. Peter and Paul *de Forgio*, or Clare abbey, which had its possessions confirmed by Domhnall in June 1189. This charter, or rather a fifteenth century exemplification of it, contains a list of the properties belonging to the abbey[108], and a second slightly later list also exists[109]. These possessions include the sites of three other Augustinian communities - Canon Island, Kilshanny and Inchicronan. The last named remained dependent of Clare throughout its existence[110], and it is possible that it did not actually become conventual until c. 1400[111], but the other two seem to have been, or later became, independent. Kilshanny appears in the papal letters as an abbey[112], and although the fourteenth century Ecclesiastical Taxation does not describe it as such, the entry for the church of Kilshanny is followed by one for the 'chapel of the monks'[113]. An abbot of the house, Florentius Ó Tigernaig became bishop of Kilfenora in 1273[114]. Canon Island was probably founded in the 1180s by Domhnall Ó Briain, and the

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107 Domhnall Mór Ó Briain is said to have founded 17 monasteries, Gleeson and Gwynn, History of the Diocese of Killaloe, p.168.

108 In T.C.D. MS 579 f.203. The text of the charter is given by Westropp, T.J. 'Carvings in St. Mary's Cathedral, Limerick' in R.S.A.I. Jn. 22 (1892) pp.78-9 and a translation in Gleeson and Gwynn, History of the diocese of Killaloe, pp.201-2.

109 B.L. Royal MS 13 A 14 f.117, and printed in Gleeson and Gwynn, op. cit., pp.202-3 with identifications of place-names.

110 E.g. C.P.L. VII, pp.181, 456.

111 See Glesson and Gwynn, op. cit., p.208, that a transept and small residence were added to the much earlier church in the first quarter of the 15th century.

112 E.g. C.P.L. IX, pp.173, 329, 346; X, p. 684; XI, pp.210, 249. The indexer gives the house as Cistercian, confusing it with Kilsane, but that house was in the diocese of Limerick, not of Kilfenora.

113 C.D.I. v. 723.

114 Ware, Antiquities, p.53 gives him as of Kilsane, O.Cist., but this house had failed soon after its foundation in 1198, Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, p.138.

church and cloister have been dated to that period[115], with later additions corresponding to references in the Papal Letters in 1393 to building repairs[116].

Innisfallen, Co. Kerry, may have become Augustinian towards the end of the twelfth century, as the obit in 1197 of Gilla Patraic Ó hImuir, describes him as 'coarb of Faithlenn, head of a community, ... and founder and assembler of every church property, including a clerical community ...' [117]. This would suggest that it was under his abbacy that the transition took place, and the reference in the following decade to 'the son of the erenagh' [118] does not rule this out, as the terms coarb and erenagh continued to be used after the transfer of many early Irish houses to the Augustinian order[119].

Of the remaining twelve houses of Canons Regular, four can probably or definitely assigned to the first quarter of the thirteenth century. The priory of St. Peter, Abbeyderg, in County Longford, is thought to have been founded by Gormgal O'Quinn[120], before 1217, when abbot Oisin died[121]. St. Michael, *de Rupe* , had been transferred from Skellig Michael to the mainland, possibly before the middle of the eleventh century[122], and is believed to have become Arroasian c.1210[123].

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115 Westropp, T.J., 'Descriptive sketch of places visited. Pt. I. Scattery Island and Canons Island, Co. Clare' in R.S.A.I. Jn. 27 (1897) pp. 286-90.
116 Ibid. and C.P.L. IV, p.448.
117 A.I. 1197.
118 A.I. 1204.
119 Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, p.180, assume, incorrectly, that this reference means the change must have happened after 1197, but see Barry, John 'The coarb in medieval times' in I.E.R. 89 (1958) pp.24-3.
120 Ware, Antiquities, p.89, Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum, p.439.
121 A.L.C. 1217.
122 Gwynn and Hadcock, op. cit., p.192.
123 As late as 1555 the prior of Ballinskellig was described as 'of the canons regular of Arrouaise' according to Walsh and O'Sullivan, 'St. Malachy, Gill Abbey and Arrouaise' , p.59. Gwyyn and Hadcock state that the house became Arroasian c. 1210 from Rattoo, but I have found no evidence to support either statement. There is no mention in published papal letters and annates to an Arroasian connection. Milis,

Ballintober, a new foundation, is better documented, with extracts from its register surviving in Ware's manuscripts[124]. It was founded by Cathal Crobderg Ó Conchobhair in 1216[125], and retained close links him, acting as a refuge and burial ground for various members of the family[126].

The fourth, Mohill, was the site of an early monastery. The date of the Augustinian foundation is difficult to estimate as there were houses of the order founded in the area both before and after 1169. However, Mohill was later described as dependent on Abbeyderg[127], which, may suggest that the establishment of Mohill was later than 1216[128]. However, this assumption must be made with care, since dependency does not, among the Augustinians, always mean that a house was a daugher house, or even that it was therefore later in date, since a reduction in status could be due to a range of social and economic factors[129].

As with the Anglo-Norman foundations, Irish patrons also continued to endow Augustinian houses in the second quarter of the thirteenth century and beyond. The foundation of Kilmore, in the diocese of Elphin, in 1232 was evidently an important event, that is recorded in almost all the annals with unusual detail[130]. Like Ballintober, this house was founded by the family of Ó Conchobhair, with Fedhlim, the son of Cathal Crobderg, granting land to the church, and bishop Donnchad Ó Conchobhair of Elphin consecrating it.

L'Ordre d'Arrouaise, vol. 2, does, however, include Ballinskelligs in his list of Irish houses of the order.

124 B.L. Add. MS. 4787 f. 84 , also printed in Dugdale, Monastici Anglicani, ii p.1037. A transcript and translation is given by Blake, M.J. 'Ballintubber abbey, Co. Mayo: notes on its history' in Galway. Hist. Soc. Jn. 3 (1903-4) pp.68-71.

125 Ibid., f.84r.

126 See below, chapter 5, p.187.

127 C.P.L. VII, p.84.

128 Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, p.187.

129 See below, chapter 3, pp.84ff.

130 A.L.C., A.U., A.Conn., A.F.M., 1232.

Another Roscommon house was certainly in existence by the 1230s, and possibly much earlier - Athleague. Gwynn and Hadcock[131] appear to have overlooked the reference to the fire which burned the church of Athleague 'with the charters and all the books of the canons' in 1235[132]. While they may be correct in calling it a dependency of Roscommon because of the obit in 1266 of Maelisa Ó hAnainn, prior of Roscommon and Athleague[133], there is no real evidence to show whether it dates from the thirteenth century or, like Roscommon, from the twelfth, apart from the absence of any mention prior to 1235 in the annals.

Two northern houses, both on early church sites, also can be dated to this period. The Columban monastery of Derry finally followed the example of so many other early Irish houses in the previous century, and became part of the Arroasian congregation as a daughter house of Armagh[134]. The date is not clear, it was certainly after 1203 when the abbot of Derry became abbot of Iona[135]. The adoption of the new rule may have come in the period of redevelopment which must have followed the plundering of the abbey in 1214[136], and certainly before 1264 when abbot Christian of Derry was appointed abbot of Armagh[137].

The priory of Magheraglass, County Tyrone, has been stated to have been founded by Terence O'Hagan in 1242[138]. Like Derry, it was also connected with Armagh, if the 'priory of Maglemchailli ' mentioned in the later exemplification of privileges granted to Armagh by Innocent IV

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131 Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, p.158.
132 A.Conn. 1235. The fire is also recorded in A.L.C.
133 A.L.C. 1266.
134 Register of John Bole, as cited by Ware, Antiquities, p.95. Milis, L'Ordre d'Arrouaise, does not include Derry as an Arroasian house, however.
135 A.F.M. 1203.
136 A.U. 1214.
137 A.U. 1264.
138 Leslie, J.B. Armagh clergy and parishes (1911) p.325.

is correctly identified as Magheraglass[139]. St. Mary's *de Petra*, Kilmacdaugh, County Galway, also dates from this period, as both the architecture and its common name of O'Heyne's church indicate[140].

In County Mayo, there were two late additions to the Augustinian family, St. Michael's, Mayo, and Cross. Mayo had had a varied past before the establishment of Canons Regular in this early church. In the later twelth and early thirteenth centuries it was a cathedral, and on the suppression of the diocese of Mayo it then became a collegiate church. Around 1370, the archbishop of Tuam changed it into an Augustinian house for a community of six or seven, which alteration was confirmed and the abbey taken under papal protection in 1411[141]. The early monastery of St. Brendan on Inisglora had been transferred to Cross, near Belmullet, possibly in the tenth century. At what date this became part of the possessions of Ballintober is unclear, but Cross was included in a papal confirmation in 1400[142]. The cell was ruled by a canon of Ballintober, and Cross had to pay a pension to the mother house[143].

The final site which was occupied by the Augustinians in Ireland was also possibly the last monastic foundation (i.e. not including the mendicant orders) to occur in pre-Reformation Ireland. This was Corbally, in County Tipperary, and strictly speaking was not a new house. In about 1485, the canons of Monaincha moved their community a mile to the west to the church of the Holy Cross, which thereafter was used as an alternative dedication for Monaincha[144]. The reason for the

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139 C.P.L. II, p.226.
140 Leask, H.G. Irish churches and monastic buildings vol. 2, p.71. Owen O'Heyne died in 1253.
141 C.P.L. VI pp.274-5, 277.
142 C.P.L. V, p.332.
143 Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum, p.500
144 E.g. C.P.L. XIII, p.627, 1478 where the house is called St. Mary's, and XIV, pp. 86, 87, and 94, 1485, where it is given as Holy Cross. In 1487 it is again called St. Mary's, C.P.L. XIV, p.171

move may have been because the situation of Monaincha in the middle of a bog was unhealthy[145], although since the community had remained for over three centuries on the island, and the house was one of the most important pilgrimage site in the country[146], the decision seem a rather strange one.

(iii) Foundations which failed

Despite the large number of Augustinian houses, as well as a large number of other religious houses seeking what was, inevitably, a limited supply of endowments and other donations, only a small proportion of sites failed to flourish. The rest, many of which, as we shall see in the next chapter, were small, and frequently complained of poverty, nonetheless managed to survive until the dissolution of the monasteries. How does the survival rate compare to that found among other orders? How does the experience of the Irish Augustinians compare with their British counterparts? Can we determine what, if any, common factors contributed to the survival, or otherwise, of a house?

About 22 Augustinian houses, or just over 1 in 6, did not survive as conventual houses until the Dissolution. This is actually a much better proportion among the monastic orders in Ireland than any apart from the Fratres Cruciferi, where only one house failed[147], whereas a third of the Cistercian[148] and Premonstratensian foundations failed[149]. Half the

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145 Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum, p.668.
146 Harbison, Peter Pilgrimage in Ireland (London, 1991) p.133.
147 Out of 17, Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, p.210.
148 Possibly as many as 16 out of 50, ibid., pp.121-3.
149 4 out of 14, ibid., p.203.

Benedictine houses did not survive[150], while the Knights Hospitallers had a dramatic decline in the later middle ages[151].

The number of Augustinian houses in England and Wales which can be regarded as failures was higher than in this country, although Robinson's figures need some adjustment to make them comparable, as he includes as failures those houses which were downgraded in rank but which survived, and those which changed order[152]. In Ireland, no houses were reduced in status and survived, and no house changed to a different order, although, as we have seen, some became Augustinian. He also includes a surprisingly large number of foundations which moved, about a tenth of the whole, whereas changes of site were rare in Ireland. Robinson gives a failure rate for abbeys and priories of one in three, which can be adjusted to about one in four.

Do the houses which failed have any common features, which may explain their decline? The distribution pattern is not immediately informative, as, with the exception of the northern counties, failures are sited throughout the country. Robinson concluded that in England and Wales failure and density of settlement were clearly related, with those areas with the most number of foundations seeing the most failures[153].

The 22 Irish houses which failed come from thirteen different counties, but these counties, although only 40.6% of the country, contained 55.4% of the Augustinian houses. However, Galway, for example, which had seven foundations, lost none, while both the Augustinian houses in County Wicklow failed, so density of settlement is not the only factor

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150 8 out of 16, not including those Benedictine houses which became Cistercian, Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, p.104.
151 Only 5 preceptories out of 21 lasted to the dissolution, ibid, p.333.
152 Robinson, D.M. Geography of Augustinian Settlement p.74.
153 Ibid.

involved. Distance from another house, however may be important, as two thirds of those which failed were less than ten miles from another house of the order, and none were further than 25 miles[154]. In the case of the two houses which changed their location, St. Patrick's Island to Holmpatrick, and Monaincha to Corbally, the distances involved were only about 2 and 1 miles respectively, which is lower than the British average of 3.7 miles [155].

One other factor with regards to the location of houses which failed must be taken into consideration. Almost half of the failures were cells or otherwise dependent on another house, so a possible reason for their failure may be their distance from the mother house. This was, in some cases considerable, although for five out of the ten it was less than ten miles. The others, however, range from about thirteen miles to seventy five.

As well as location, the size and status of a house was clearly a contributing factor in the sucess or failure of a house. Dickinson pointed out that in England, the later-founded houses tended to be smaller and less well endowed, and had a far greater chance of failing[156]. The fact that 10 of the 22 houses which failed in Ireland were, at the time of their demise, ranked only as cells, four of them having been reduced from priory status, must be a significant fact, and that these cells were too small and poor to remain conventual.

They may never have been more than parish churches with two or three canons, which by the later middle ages had become merely appropriated churches or lands in the possession of the larger house - for example the

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154 Based on Ordnance Survey Map of Monastic Ireland. (Dublin, 1979)
155 Robinson, Geography, p.78.
156 Dickinson, Origins, pp.140, 142.

rectory of Dunboyne was included in the possessions of Mullingar in 1540[157], Kilmoney belonged to Gill Abbey in 1541[158], and the village and rectory of Tullylease still belonged to Kells, Co. Kilkenny in 1541[159]. The church of Athleague, however, was granted to a brother of Rindown in 1466, so the connection with Roscommon must have ended[160].

The date at which a house failed, and the reason, is, in most cases difficult to state with accuracy, but in at least two cases it was before the end of the twelfth century. These two short lived houses were Roscrea and Termonfeckin. After the abolition of the diocese of Roscrea c.1195, the cathedral priory seems to have been reduced to a parish church. Termonfeckin was unusual in that of the early double monasteries which were not uncommon in the order, it was the only one which became a convent rather than a male house when opinion turned against such communities. Possession of the church was confirmed to the abbess of Clonard in 1195[161], although its former connection with St. Mary's Louth was not broken. In 1418 the abbot of Louth had first voice in the election of the abbess of Termonfeckin[162].

The independent existence of St. John's Clonard came to an end, as we have already seen, around 1202, when it was merged with St. Peter's, and the change of site at St. Patrick's Island occurred in the following decade. Only two other failures can also be tentatively assigned to the thirteenth century. Drumshallon was still in existence in 1262, or a little later, when the abbot occurs in a witness list[163], despite Archbishop Albert of

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157 Extents Ir. mon. possessions, p.288.
158 Ibid., p.142.
159 Ibid., pp.189-90.
160 C.P.L. XII, pp.504-5.
161 Dugdale, Monastici Anglicani, ii, p.1043.
162 N.L.I. MS 13 f.292.
163 I.C.L. p.29.

Armagh's attempts to suppress it as being too far from the mother house[164]. Tullylease, County Cork, which was made a cell of Kells in Ossory, was by the beginning of the fourteenth century descibed only as the 'church of Tulachles'[165] and may have ceased to be conventual by then.

Nine houses seem to have failed during the fourteenth century, or at least disappear from the records after that point. The cells of Dunboyne, Kilmoney and Kilnemanagh probably had become rectories by the middle of the century[166], although the last-named may, in fact, have survived, despite not being mentioned[167]. St. Catherine's, Leixlip, despite having been made dependent on St. Thomas's, Dublin, in 1287[168], had become so impoverished by the early fourteenth century that it was unable to continue as a conventual priory. In 1327, at the petition of the canons of St. Catherine's, the king and the archbishop, after investigations, agreed to the unification of the two houses[169], which decision was ratified by the descendant of the founder[170]. St. Catherine's was reduced from the status of cell to that of an appropriated church, served either by a chaplain or by a canon of St. Thomas's, with the property of the house now belonging to that abbey[171].

St. Stephen's, Leighlin, was still in existence in 1372[172], but by 1432 it had been void for forty years, and papal permission was given for its

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164 Alen's Reg. p.204.
165 C.D.I. v. 716.
166 Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, pp.174, 183.
167 Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum, p.636.
168 Ibid., p.192.
169 R.I.A. MS 12 D 2 f.45-49r.
170 Ibid., f.51-2.
171 Ibid., f.49r. At the dissolution it was leased to canon Patrick Fynne, rent free, to provide for the cure of souls, Extents Ir. mon. possessions, p.28.
172 Rot. Pat. Hib., p. 82.

suppression[173]. The last mention of an abbot of Clonmacnois is in 1384, when Paul McTeige died[174], and Magheraglass does not appear as a priory, only as part of the possessions of Armagh, after 1322[175]. The last two houses which may have failed in the fourteenth century are St. Kevin's and St. Saviour's, Glendalough. They were both included in the Ecclesiastical Taxation at the start of the century[176], but seem to have disappeared except as part of the property of the archdiocese of Dublin by the time Glendalough was burned in 1398[177].

In the fifteenth century, also, a number of Augustinian houses ceased to exist or at least disappear. By 1428 Dingle had become merely a parish church appropriated to Killagha[178], and c.1450 the church of St. Patrick, Elphin, was granted to the Franciscans, because of the demise of 'the no longer existing community of canons of the church of Elphin'[179]. The 'abbey' of Ratoath is mentioned in 1456[180], while at the Dissolution the parish church still belonged to St. Thomas's, and housed a chantry[181]. Athleague had been lost to Roscommon before 1466, as we have already seen[182], and the canons of Monaincha moved c.1485[183]. The two small houses on Lough Ree, Hare Island and Inchmore, both dependent on Saints Island, may also have failed before the Dissolution, as the former was so poor at the end of the fourteenth century that the canons were

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173 C.P.L. VIII p.436.
174 Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum, p. 391.
175 C.P.L. II, p.226.
176 C.D.I. v. 711.
177 A.F.M. 1398.
178 'Obligationes pro annatis Diocesis Ardfertensis' ed J. O'Connell, Archiv. Hib. XXI p.5.
179 C.P.L. X, pp. 457.
180 Archdall, op. cit., p.568.
181 Ibid.
182 C.P.L. XII, pp.504-5.
183 Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, pp.166, 188. In 1568 an inquisition of the property of Monaincha referred to the 'village called Corballi, in which the prior and convent dwelt', cited by Archdall, op. cit., p. 668.

having to earn their living away from their house[184], and there are no references to the latter.

As well as the houses which failed, there were at least two cases where the authorities attempted unsuccessfully to suppress an Augustinian house. In 1257 Alexander IV gave permission to the archbishop of Dublin to amalgamate or move several Augustinian and Benedictine houses in his diocese where 'by reason of unsuitable location religious observance is almost wholly abandoned'[185]. Alen identified one of these houses to be moved as Holmpatrick, but this had already been relocated forty years before, and no Augustinian house in the diocese disappears at this time.

The other attempted suppression was St. Patrick's Purgatory, Lough Derg, which was ordered to be closed after allegations of simony were made by one of the European visitors to the site. An Augustinian canon of Eymstadt, c.1494, complained that payment was demanded from him in order to obtain the necessary permission to enter the Purgatory, and that as he saw no visions, the whole experience was a fraud, designed to obtain money from gullible visitors[186].

Whether or not it was as a direct result of his complaint is not known, but in 1497 'The cave of the Purgatory of St. Patrick on Loch Gearg was broken this year by the Guardian of Donegal and the representatives of the Bishop in the Deanery of Lough Erne by authorisation of the Pope'[187]. However, this closure was apparently only temporary, as there is a

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184 C.P.L. V, p.12.
185 Alen's Reg., p.87.
186 Cited in Haren and de Pontfarcy, The medieval pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory, Lough Derg, (Enniskillen, 1988) pp.191-2.
187 A.U. 1497.

reference to the prior of the Purgatory in 1507[188], and on his death, papal provision was made to Thomas Halsey to fill the vacancy[189]. By 1517, when the papal nuncio to the Tudor court made the pilgrimage, Lough Derg was fully functioning again, with an organized ferry service to the island, and three canons and their servants in residence[190].

The Augustinian canons expanded rapidly in Ireland, as we have seen, becoming by far the most numerous religious order in the country, if the number of foundations is a guide. In the following chapters I will examine how they functioned as an order, and how they fitted into the society in which they existed. I hope that by examining the role which the Canons Regular filled in medieval Irish society, we can go some way to explaining the reason for their popularity and success.

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188 Bieler, Ludwig, 'Letter of credence by Donatus Magrahe, prior of Lough Derg, for Nylanus O Ledan, priest and pilgrim' in Clogher Record 2 no. 2 (1958) pp.257-9.
189 C.P.L. XIX, Dec. 1511, in preparation, cited in Haren & de Pontfarcy, The medieval pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory, p.199.
190 Ibid., p.197. The text and translation of the account is found in Purcell, Mary, 'St. Patrick's Purgatory: Francesco Chiericati's letter to Isabella d'Este' in Seanchas Ardmhacha xii no. 2 (1987) pp.1-11.

Chapter 3. The Organization of the Canons Regular

(i) Constitutional arrangements of the Augustinians

The organization of the canons regular is an aspect of the order which at first sight appears to contrast very unfavourably with that of many of its contemporaries, and perhaps to be lacking altogether. This, however, is inaccurate, as closer examination of the Augustinians reveals a greater level of uniformity than is immediately obvious, while the study of the other religious orders, including that model of reformed monastic organization, the Cistercian order, shows that for them practice and theory did not always go hand in hand[1].

Until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, monastic organization was by no means as formal or as centralized as that which we would expect to find in a modern religious order. Knowles considers that the unreformed Benedictine houses prior to the thirteenth century were not strictly speaking an order at all, as each house was completely autonomous, with 'an entire absence of constitutional bonds'[2], while the somewhat more organized Cluniacs were 'in no sense an order, but rather a body of head and members loosely knit together by bonds resembling those of contemporary feudal institutions'[3]. In comparison to the Benedictines only, could they be seen as an order, but they were still a long way from

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[1] See B.W. O'Dwyer ' The problem of reform in the Irish Cistercian monasteries' in Jn. Ecc. Hist., XV (1964) pp.186-91 on the difficulties the Cistercians had in applying their discipline in Ireland. This was also true in England; references to defaulting English abbots are frequent in the statutes, cf.Knowles, The Monastic Order in England, (Cambridge, 1966), p.639, while complaints against the Welsh and Marcher houses were recorded in almost all the general chapters. Ibid., p.659.

[2] Knowles, op. cit. p. 154, cf. Lawrence, C.H. The English Church and the Papacy (London, 1965) p. 180 'both the Black monks and Augustinian canons ... had originally not been an order at all, but a collection of isolated, disconnected houses which happened to follow the same rule'.

[3] Knowles, op. cit., p. 146.

the constitutional arrangements of the later Cistercian and mendicant orders. Similarly, the early Irish monasticism which the canons largely replaced was individualistic, with rules depending on the founder, and forming only loose federations of houses, such as those deriving from St. Columba, rather than orders or congregations[4].

Before the Augustinians can be denigrated for not having a more developed system of government, it must be remembered that their 'order' was founded in the eleventh century not the twelfth, when such a structure had not been imagined. The many-stranded origins of the canons regular are also a factor in this, as they emerged from a number of different traditions[5]. By the time the need for a more structured and uniform system had become evident, houses had developed their own traditions and observances, and were unwilling to give them up[6].

The origins of most of the later orders, however, were much less complex, as in almost all cases they sprang from single houses which became the head of an order, such as Citeaux, La Grande Chartreuse, Fontrevault, Tiron, Savigny and others. This made the imposition of a uniformity of observance and a unity of organization a much simpler matter, particularly before they spread too rapidly and over a large area, when difficulties inevitably emerged given the problems of communication and travel in the middle ages.

The Cistercian model of organization is the best documented and also the most influential of this period, since it was widely copied or adapted by

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4 Cf. Herbert, M., Iona, Kells and Derry (Oxford, 1988) p.34, 'a picture emerges of the foundations of Colum Cille on both sides of the Irish Sea, each with its own ruler, but all united under the ultimate headship of Colum Cille in Iona'. She describes this headship as a 'dual legacy of spiritual and temporal prerogatives', ibid., p.35.

5 See above, p.13.

6 Cf. Thomson, A. H. History and architectural description of the priory of St. Mary,Bolton in Wharfedale, (Leeds, 1928) p.40.

virtually all orders[7], and can to a large extent stand for the general pattern. The most innovative elements of the Cistercian system were the close links between mother and daughter houses, the system of regular visitations, which included Cîteaux, to maintain discipline, and the obligation of all abbots to attend an annual general chapter[8]. The desire for uniformity was stressed, so that 'the abbeys in different parts of the world might be indissolubly united in soul, even though parted in body'[9]. To ensure this each house had identical service books and *Consuetudines* covering disciplinary and liturgical matters. The visitors and chapters had wide powers to enforce reforms or decisions, which also aided discipline.

Aspects of the Cistercian system were followed by most other orders from the twelfth century, both new orders and already existing ones. The highly detailed written regulations were an easily accessible source for others to copy from, as the Rule of St. Benedict had been for the first canons to supplement their scant regulations[10]. The detail with which they were recorded is perhaps indicative of just how original they were, as often well known observances were not written for a long time, if at all.

The absence of Augustinian custumals from the majority of houses does not mean that there was a lack of organization by any means, but it was clearly of a more traditional kind where such detailed explanations were

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7 Knowles, Monastic Order, p. 208 'their success and influence rested upon a written code and constitution of great originality, which inspired numerous imitations from the first and which has helped to mould, to a greater or less degree, the organization of all subsequent monastic or quasi-monastic bodies'.
8 The *Carta Caritatis* is printed in Guignard, Ph. Monuments primitif de la régle Cistercienne, (Dijon, 1878) pp.79-84.
9 Cited in Knowles, op. cit., p. 213.
10 Dickinson, Origins, pp.164-5

unnecessary[11]. One hundred and thirty years after the arrival of the canons in England it apears that some, possibly many, houses did not have written observances, but rather relied on tradition and possibly the will of the prior or abbot[12].

The relationship between houses of canons regular has been little studied, partly because the nature of the sources make it difficult to make generalizations. The majority of Augustinian houses were independent foundations, following a common rule and broadly similar additional observances. The first attempt to create official links between houses of canons regular was made by the Cistercian pope Eugenius III, in 1145, when he advised German canons to deal with problems by a council of superiors, and outlined the details of a national annual general chapter[13].

However, it was not until the pontificate of Innocent III that more, and more widereaching, efforts to the same end were made. In 1207, he ordered the abbots and priors of the diocese of York to meet[14], while the the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 ordered that all religious orders which had no chapters should institute them triennially, on a national or provincial basis[15]. The second papal attempt to legislate for the canons regular on a world-wide basis was in 1339, when Benedict XII drew up a new constitution for the order[16]. Its provisions placed great stress on the holding of daily, annual, and provincial chapters, on visitations by delegates of the provincial chapter, and on study by members of the order, both at home and at the universities.

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11 The case of the independent congregations which were greatly influenced by the Cistercians is a rather different matter, and where they differ from other Augustinian houses their affiliation will be noted.

12 Salter, H.E. Chapters of the Augustinian Canons, p. 5.

13 Dickinson, Origins, pp.81-2.

14 Ibid., p.82.

15 Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum vol. 22, pp.999-1002.

16 These are printed as an appendix to Salter, op. cit, pp.215-267.

Although the majority of houses were independent, like those of the Benedictines, from an early date the order tended to sub-divide to form congregations. Several large or prestigous houses of Augustinian canons gathered around them a number of other houses, which copied the observances of their house, and, under the influence of reformed monasticism, developed a system of formal links and discipline[17].

While some of these were limited to a geographically small sphere of influence[18], others became international organizations. Some, such as the Premonstratensian canons, actually did become separate orders, but most remained sub-sections within the larger Augustinian order, although retaining individual characteristics. Probably the two most important of these were St. Nicholas of Arrouaise, in the diocese of Amiens, and St. Victor of Paris, and up to a half of Irish Augustinian houses may have been connected with these congregations[19].

The Arroasian congregation was particularly prominent in Ireland, having, as we have already seen, been promoted by both Malachy and Lorcán Ua Tuathail. In addition to the fact that it included two of the better documented houses, Holy Trinity and All Hallows, it is significant because the records of the mother house do contain some information about Ireland[20]. However, it is clear that by the last quarter of the twelfth century, the strictness of the Arroasian rule and its organization was

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17 Thompson, A. H. Bolton priory, p.9.

18 E.g., Thornton, Lincs. agreed to observe the 'order and ecclesiastical use' of Kirkham, Yorks., and Buckenham, Norfolk, adopted the uses of Merton, Surrey, Dickinson, Origins, p.172.

19 Based on Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, pp. 153-6, and Milis, L. L'Ordre d'Arrouaise, vol. II.

20 See above, p.5 The importance of the Arroasian houses, and their records, is reflected in the fact that they are the only part of the regular canons to have been studied in Ireland on a national level, Dunning 'The Arroasian order in medieval Ireland' and Flanagan, 'St. Mary's abbey, Louth, and the introduction of the Arrouaisian observance into Ireland'.

clearly already breaking down. No existing houses had become affiliated to the congregation since 1162, and the general chapter, supposed to be annual, was irregularly attended. In 1181 Abbot Gaulthier obtained papal confirmation from Alexander III of the disciplinary powers of the abbot of Arrouaise, of the obligation to attend the general chapter, and of a prohibition against attendance at chapters held elsewhere than the mother house, for instance regional ones, without permission[21]. These reforms were evidently not very effective, as in 1232 and 1233 Gregory IX issued lists of areas which were in need of improvement[22]. However, the reforms were not incorporated into the *Liber Constitutionum*, and in 1245 Innocent IV made further attempts to have them followed[23].

Although we know that the Arroasian *consuetudines* were distributed in Ireland, and that the term Arroasian continued to be used in describing some Augustinian houses throughout the middle ages[24], connections between Ireland and Arrouaise seem to have ceased at an early stage. A special emphasis seems to have been placed on the Arroasian liturgy and observances, rather than the organizational obligations which affiliation implied[25].

However, English abbots were attending the general chapter regularly until the late twelfth century, so the distance for the Irish abbots and priors cannot have been the only factor[26]. The promulgation of a special

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21 Milis, L'Ordre d'Arrouaise, p.233.
22 Ibid., p.236-40.
23 Ibid., p.241.
24 E.g., in 1413 Clontuskert was described as 'of the order of St. Augustine of Arrouaise', C.P.L. VI, p.413, and as late as 1538, All Hallows is described as Arroasian, the only house which is so called in the Extents Ir. mon. possessions, p.122.
25 Milis, op.cit., p.346.
26 Ibid., p.367.

statute regarding the disciplining of the Irish abbots[27] can probably be dated to the 1180s[28], while in 1200 the pope ordered the archbishops of Tuam and Armagh to ensure attendance at the general chapter, according to the statues of the order[29]. This does not seem to have been effective, either, and Irish canons regular seem to have remained outside the control of the mother-house, while remaining Arroasian in name[30]. Despite this isolation, a link was maintained, as deceased members of the order continued to be commemorated[31], and at the end of the seventeenth century there was renewed contact between Arrouaise and Irish members of the congregation[32].

The abbey of St. Victor of Paris, founded in 1108, like Arrouaise came under the influence of Bernard of Clairvaux, resulting in close resemblances between the Victorine and Cistercian customs[33]. The congregation of St. Victor was never as large as that of Arrouaise, but some of its houses were important, and many of its members were noted scholars. The canons in houses which depended on St. Victor of Paris were all professed members of the parent house, and abbots were appointed from there. As at Arrouaise, existing houses became affiliated to St. Victor in the twelfth century, and their abbots attended the annual general chapter[34]. Attendance at the general chapter was not specified in the *Liber Ordinis* [35], as it was at Arrouaise, and the formal links between

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27 Milis, L. (ed.) Constitutiones Canonicorum Regularium Ordinis Arroasiensis, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis XX (Turnholt, 1970) ch. 204.
28 Milis, L'Ordre d'Arrouaise, p.368.
29 Migne, P.L., vol. 217, col. 67.
30 Milis, op. cit., p.370.
31 Ibid., citing Douai Bibl. Munc. MS 822, 271v.
32 Gosse, Histoire d'Arrouaise, pp. 528-30.
33 Dickinson, Origins, p.78
34 Bonnard, Fourier, Histoire de l'abbaye royale et de l'ordre des chanoines réguliers de Saint-Victor-de Paris, (Paris, 1904-7) vol. 1 pp.141-89.
35 Jocque, L. and Milis, L. (eds.) Liber Ordinis Sancti Victoris Parisiensis, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis LXI (Turnholt, 1984)

houses do not seem to have been maintained, even in France, after the thirteenth century[36]. There is no evidence to suggest that any British or Irish Victorine abbot ever attended the general chapters, although c.1220 the sub-prior of Wigmore was sent with a letter from his confreres[37]. However, a manuscript from St. Thomas's, Dublin, contains sections, based on the *Carta Caritatis*, on the Victorine general chapter and relations between houses[38].

So how was the Augustinian order structured? Houses were classed as belonging to one of four types; the abbey, the priory, the cathedral priory and the cell. Size and wealth were not always the factors which determined status, and status was not always fixed. While it seems to have been more common for a priory to be upgraded to the rank of abbey, as happened at St. Thomas's Dublin, Duleek[39], and Tuam, houses were sometimes reduced in status, as at Glendalough, which the Ecclesiastical Taxation of the early fourteenth century calls the 'Priory of the great church of Glydelagh'[40].

We have already seen that in the twelfth century a number of episcopal sees had canons introduced into them, although not always forming the actual chapter. Where there was a regular chapter the bishop, in theory at least, was the head of the community; in 1300 the Archbishop of Dublin was described by his vicar-general, Thomas de Chaddesworth, as 'abbot of the house of Holy Trinity'[41]. However, since the bishop's duties would have prevented full participation in the community life, it was probably

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36 Bonnard, Histoire de Saint-Victor, vol. 1 p.183.
37 Salter, Chapters of the Augustinian canons , p.xlvi.
38 T.C.D. MS 97, f.149r-v, f.139r.
39 I.C.L. 36, c.1290, is a grant from Abbot Philip Bellew of St. Mary's, Duleek to Llanthony Secunda.
40 C.D.I. v. p. 241.
41 Registrum Novum, Vol. I. p. 355.

more usual for him to have had little to do with the normal running of priory affairs[42]. The position of the bishop would natually have been somewhat different where he himself was a regular - for example Lorcán Ua Tuathail lived as a member of the community, sharing the offices and refectory with his Arroasian chapter in Holy Trinity[43], and the same is likely to have been true of Áed Ua Cáellaide at Louth.

Cells were economically linked to a larger house. They were sometimes divided into conventual, or priory, cells, and non-conventual cells which were more properly granges. However, the distinction appears to have been slight, and even observers could not always tell the difference. Cells were relatively uncommon in Ireland, as few houses had large enough communities to send canons to live elsewhere. However, in France, some of the larger houses had a number of satellites[44].

As with other ranks, the status of cells was not static. Priories which fell on hard times were sometimes reduced to cells, as happened at Hare Island, and St. Catherine, Leixlip[45], while as we have seen, sometimes cells were suppressed altogether[46]. In other cases the status of a foundation was never clear. The cells of Colp and Duleek, whose superiors were known as priors[47], had repeatedly to prove that they were not priories in order to avoid episcopal visitation[48]. Drumshallon, Co. Louth, although also a cell, is recorded as having a prior[49]. There were

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42 In the resolution of a dispute between the canons of Holy Trinity and archbishop John Comyn it was declared 'that the prior should have plenary power over his house in internal and externals', Alen's Reg., p.30.
43 Plummer, C. 'Vie et miracles de S. Laurent', p. 138.
44 Dickinson, Origins, p. 156.
45 Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, pp.177, 192
46 See above, chapter 2, p.71.
47 E.g. I.C.L. nos. XL, LI, XCVIII, CIX, and CXXVII.
48 C.C.C.D., 549a; Reg. Fleming 121; Reg Mey, 12.
49 I.C.L. No. XXI.

two groups of cells in Ireland, those belonging to Irish Augustinian houses, and alien cells, dependent on British mother houses.

One of the most obvious differences that divides the canons from the monastic orders is that, in Britain and Ireland in particular, the majority of houses ranked as priories not abbeys. In France, on the contrary, most houses, whatever their size, counted as abbeys[50], while in Ireland only 32 houses, or roughly a quarter of the total held this rank[51]. In England and Wales the number is similar, but out of more than twice as many houses[52], but in Scotland a third of all houses ranked as abbeys for at least part of their existence[53]. The figures are lower if the congregations of Arrouaise and St. Victor are excluded, since their houses generally, although not always, were counted as abbeys. However, it is not always clear whether houses belonged to these congregations, and for how long, since sometimes the same house can be described as, for example, 'of the order of St. Augustine' or 'of the order of Arrouaise', so the adjustment of figure is difficult to do with precision.

What evidence is there about the relationship between Augustinian houses in Ireland? It has already been said that almost half the houses, including some of those about which we know most, belonged to the independent congregations. However, membership of these congregations was not fixed, and it did not prevent contacts with houses which did not belong to them. In England, Arroasian houses attended the national or provincial chapter with the other houses[54]. There is almost no record of the holding of general chapters among Irish Augustinian

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50 Dickinson, Origins, p. 156.
51 Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, pp. 153-6.
52 Knowles and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales, pp. 137-45.
53 Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland, pp. 88-9.
54 See Salter, Chapters of Augustinian canons.

canons, and it seem unlikely that they could have been held annually or triennially and yet leave so little evidence.

The only definite mention of such a chapter is in 1242, when the archbishop of Armagh held a meeting at Louth of all the 'abbots of the canons of all Erinn, to advance their order'[55] . The occasion was also marked by the translation of relics collected by St. Mochta in Rome[56]. One other chapter is alleged to have taken place, also at Louth, at Pentecost in 1325[57]. However, we have no indication of any decisions which may have been made, and their effectiveness, or how many of the houses were represented.

There are no records of any system of disciplinary visitations of Augustinian houses by other superiors operating in Ireland, as outlined by the Benedictine Constitutions[58]. However, Augustinian abbots and priors were sometimes present at episcopal visitations of other foundations[59], and houses assisted each other in dealing with problems. In 1300, during a vacancy in the archbishopric, the dean of St. Patrick's deposed the prior of Holy Trinity, Adam de Balsham. After Henry of Bristol was appointed in the January of the following year, a number of the canons judged to be causing dissent in the community were sent to do penance in St. John's Kilkenny, Inistioge and Kells Co. Kilkenny[60]. One of them, Philip de Braybok, was disciplined again in 1310, when he was imprisoned in All

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55 A.L.C. 1242.
56 A.Conn, A.F.M., 1242.
57 Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum, p.472, but he gives no reference for this. Harbison suggests that the existing remains of Louth date from the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and that the new church was completed for the holding of the chapter, 'New light on St. Mary's Abbey, Louth' in Louth Arch. Soc. Jn. 18 (1973) p.41.
58 There were however, triennial visitations of houses of canonesses - e.g. Kilcreevanty was visited by the abbot of Cong and the archbishop of Tuam, a former abbot of Saul, C.P.L. V, pp.335-7.
59 See below, chapter 4, p.129.
60 Registrum Novum, Vol. I, p. 360.

Hallows for one year on a diet of one meal of bread a day, on a charge of relapsing into heresy[61].

Despite the indepence of the majority of Augustinian foundations, there were various ways in which houses could be constitutionally linked to others. The various kinds of relationship between houses can be classifed as (i) mother-daughter, (ii) houses dependent on another, although independently founded and (iii) houses with cells.

Although most houses seem to have been independently founded, there is some evidence for a degree of affiliation, although not as formally as among the Cistercians, and in a number of instances we know from whence a house was colonized[62]. There are several clear indications that for a considerable period at least, Louth held a special position among Irish abbeys and priories. Although the earliest houses to be specifically stated to be Arroasian were Holy Trinity[63] and All Hallows[64], it is clear that these were not the first foundations to belong to that congregation. The connection between All Hallows and Louth, and the likelihood that Louth was in fact the mother house of the former, has already been alluded to[65].

Flanagan has made a persuasive argument for Louth being the first Arroasian house in Ireland[66], and the fact that both Áed Ua Cáellaide, and the next bishop of Clogher who was an Augustinian, Gilla Tigernaig Mac Gilla Ronain, were both described in their obits as 'head of the canons of Ireland'[67] seems to underline the importance of Louth. In addition to All

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61 Lawlor, Cal. Liber Niger 83.
62 See above, chapters 1 and 2.
63 Plummer, C. 'Vie et miracles de St. Laurent', p.138.
64 Reg. All Hallows, p.4.
65 Above, chapter 1, p. 45
66 Flanagan, M.T. 'St. Mary's Abbey, Louth', pp. 224-6.
67 A.F.M. 1182, A.U. 1218.

Hallows, Louth seems to have had a number of other daughter houses or dependencies. Although the abbey of Termonfeckin was suppressed at an early date, the right of presentation to the vicarage of St. Fechin remained with the abbot of Louth until the sixteenth century[68], which may indicate that Termonfeckin was in some way subordinate to Louth. In the fifteenth century, Inchmore, L. Gowna was stated to be dependent on Louth[69], and in 1418 the abbot of Louth claimed first voice in the election of abbesses at Odder and Termonfeckin *' presidet principalis generalis capuli ordinis St. Augustini in Hibernia'*.[70] In 1504, it was claimed that Saul was dependent of Louth, and that the prior of Louth had first voice in electing an abbot of the former. Prior William Stradill therefore, with the two canons of Saul eligible to vote, chose Thomas Costello as the new abbot[71].

Flanagan suggests that a number of other Arroasian houses had strong links with Louth, probably correctly, although the logic behind her arguments is not entirely valid. The suggestion that Bangor was connected to Louth because in 1273 a canon of Louth was elected abbot of the former house[72] is questionable, as many appointments were made from one house to another where there was no dependency, affiliation or shared membership of an independent congregation[73]. Similarly, her assumption that the prior of Louth had superiority over the abbey of Armagh, because of a papal mandate to ensure reception of a postulant in

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68 Reg. Cromer, p.128.
69 C.P.L. IX, pp.212-3, C.P.L. XII, p.31, C.P.L. XIV, pp.143-4.
70 NLI MS 13 f.291.
71 C.P.L. XVIII, p.13.
72 C.D.I. ii, 980.
73 See appendix 4 for a list of houses between which transfers occured.

the latter[74] is groundless, as similar papal mandates were regularly given even where the delegate was of a completely different order[75].

In most of the cases where we know the source from which a new house was founded, there seems to have been little subsequent link. However, in a number of instances, either the foundation charter or later documents do reveal that a lasting relationship was envisaged. The charter of Bridgetown specifies that if they could not elect a suitable prior from among their own community they were to look to Newtown Trim or St. Thomas's Dublin, '*de quibus initium, et formam ordinis acceperunt* '[76].

Cong, from which Gill Abbey, Cork, was founded, also retained some control over appointments in the daughter house. In 1469 it was stated that provision to the abbacy of Gill belonged to the abbot of Cong when there was no papal reservation[77], and in 1483 that the confirmation of the abbot elect of Cork belonged to abbot of Cong[78]. In that year, abbot Richard of Cong exercised his right to depose abbot Cornelius, confirming the choice of Donald instead[79].

We have already seen that some houses became dependencies of others although they were originally seperate and there was no filial relationship. Financial reasons or falling numbers seem to be the most common or likeliest cause, just as poverty is always given as the reason for requests to appropriate churches. Armagh, one of the earliest Augustinian houses, had a number of dependencies in the later middle

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74 C.P.L. VIII, p.329.
75 E.g. the prior of Durrow was ordered to cause Donatus Macreafay to be received as a Cistercian at Kilbeggan, ibid., p.141, and the dean of Clogher was to cause Matthew Macathassaydh to be received in Clones, ibid., p.128.
76 Dugdale, Monastici Anglicani, ii, p.1045.
77 C.P.L. XII, pp.302-3.
78 C.P.L. XIII, p.125.
79 Ibid.

ages. In 1245[80] and 1451[81] Lough Derg was so described, and when the priorship was granted to the sacrist of the collegiate church of Devenish, he was ordered to be received first as a canon of Armagh, and then to be appointed[82]. The priory of Magheraglass also belonged to Armagh in 1245[83].

Kells, Co. Meath, had a dependent house in Drumlane[84], and, Tullylease, Co. Cork was made subject to Kells, Co. Kilkenny, some time after the latter's foundation[85]. Similarly, St. Saviour's, Glendalough, was placed under the control of All Hallows after the unification of the sees of Dublin and Glendalough in 1216[86], and, as we have seen already, St. John's, Enniscorthy, and St. Catherine's, Leixlip, were made subject to St. Thomas's Dublin[87].

In general, dependent houses were administratively and financially controlled by the senior house. The abbot of St. Thomas, for example, was granted full control over St. John's, '*in interioribus et exterioribus*' [88], and the priory was to be governed ' *per ordinacionem et disposicionem dictorum abbatis et conventus Sancti Thome preficiendos gubernetur secundum regulam Beati Augustini et consuetudines dicti monasterii Sancti Thome*"[89]. The abbot and convent also had the right to appoint the prior, although they could not remove or replace a prior once instituted, without the permission of the bishop of Ferns[90].

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80 C.P.L. II, p.226.
81 C.P.L X, p.558.
82 Ibid.
83 C.P.L. II, p.226.
84 C.P.L. VIII, p.586, XI, p.307.
85 Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum, p.80.
86 Reg. All Hallows, pp.100-1, Alen's Reg., p.55.
87 Above, chapter 2, p.73.
88 Reg. St. T., p.187.
89 Ibid.
90 Ibid., p.190

St. John's was, however, specifically protected from economic exploitation by St. Thomas's, as the goods of the priory were not to be used for other purposes[91]. This protection was not stated in other cases, and it is clear that exploitation did occur[92]. St. Saviour's was granted to All Hallows 'with all its possessions and appurtenances in regular subjection'[93]. Control over appointments in the dependency was a common right. Inchicronan was dependent on Clare, and was 'wont to be governed by canons thereof' [94], and a similar situation applied between Crossmolina and Ballybeg[95], and between Toomyvara and Monaincha[96].

There were two groups of cells in Ireland - those parish churches which had been granted to Irish houses with the intention that canons should reside and fulfill a pastoral role, and the properties belonging to British houses where some residence was either required by the terms of the grant or was necessary for administrative purposes. In the case of all the houses for which we have registers or charters, endowments of churches formed a large part of the income of the priory. While it is not always certain that it was the donor's intention that churches would be served by the canons[97], in some cases this is not only specified, but the establishment of a cell is laid down. The establishment of some of these cells has already been mentioned in the last chapter, and others are found below in relation to the parochial activities of the canons.

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91 Reg. St. T., p.187.
92 E.g. Cross had to pay 30 s. 4d. to Ballintober, leaving 5s for the expenses and repairs of their house, Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum, p.501. Abbots of Cork had to pay 16 half marks per annum for gilding the chalices of the monastery of Cong, and when a new abbot was instituted had to hand over his vestments to the treasury of Cong. B.L. Add. MS 4787, f.3.
93 Alen's Reg., p.55.
94 C.P.L. VII, p.181.
95 C.P.L. IX, p.4.
96 Ibid., p.350.
97 As the introduction to Reg. Trist. p. xx assumes.

The relationship between cell and abbey was predominantly financial. In the case of the Irish cells, the right or duty to reside was frequently replaced by the institution of vicarages which could be served by a salaried cleric, with other revenues returning to the priory[98]. The administration of the alien cells, belonging to four British houses, Oseney, Cartmel and Llanthony Prima and Secunda, was more complex, but we are fortunate that in the case of three of these houses there are surviving cartularies which provide information on their Irish properties[99].

Although canons were sent over from Britain, it is clear that the chief interest was in administering the property rather than in establishing daughter houses or exercising pastoral cures. William Marshal granted the church of Ballysax and lands in Kilrush to Cartmel, in Lancashire[100], and by 1202, the prior was importing corn from Ireland[101]. The church of Kiltevanen was granted to Oseney towards the end of the twelfth century, with the intention that three canons should reside there[102].

However, this was soon reduced to one canon with a secular chaplain - in 1219 the archdeacon instituted a canon and cleric[103], and in 1265 Brother Roger de Wolvercot was sent as vicar[104]. The reduction in numbers may have been because of the small size of the property as the accounts for 1331 say that the receipts were only enough to support the resident

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98 E.g. St. Peter's, Drogheda was confirmed as the possession of Llanthony I by archbishop Eugenius of Armagh, allowing them to make residence on the death of the then incumbent, c.1206, I.C.L. XI. However, half a century later this obligation was cancelled, and a perpetual vicarage instituted, ibid. XXI.

99 Salter, Oseney Cartulary, and I.C.L.

100 Dugdale, Monastici Anglicani, ii. p. 301.

101 C.D.I. i. 167.

102 Oseney cartulary, Vol. 5 pp. 122-3.

103 Ibid., pp. 128-9.

104 Ibid., p. 127.

canon, a secular priest and a servant[105]. Oseney continued to keep a proctor at Kiltevanen, however, until the sixteenth century, as the episcopal visitation of the house in 1520 notes the absence of one canon in Ireland[106].

The Llanthony cells at Colp and Duleek are well documented. Although they were known as priories, and originated in the grant of the churches in both places, they were actually only granges from which the properties were administered. The fourteenth century descriptions differ little from the extents of secular or episcopal manors[107]. They were evidently wealthy and well run, since in the later fourteenth century Duleek was estimated as bringing in a profit of £80 for the mother house[108]. It is understandable, therefore, that in 1233 Bishop Richard de la Corner of Meath protested at the transfer of tithes to Britain at the expense of the church of his own diocese[109].

Both granges had a small complement of canons and seculars. Bishop Simon Rochfort confirmed the grant of Duleek to Llanthony Secunda c. 1205 for two canons with two secular chaplains to minister[110], and when his successor instituted vicarages in the other Meath churches belonging to the house, Duleek was excused because there were canons residing there, although a salary was fixed for the two chaplains[111]. Colp was similarly exempt, since the bishop granted them permission to move elsewhere if they wished, absolving them of the necessity to make residence there by two canons, but if this was done a vicarage would be

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105 Oseney cartulary, Vol. 6 pp. 287-9.
106 Ibid., p. 319.
107 I.C.L. Nos. CLXV and 98.
108 Ibid., p. xxix.
109 Ibid., Nos., XXXVI and 91.
110 Ibid., No. 19.
111 Ibid., No. 81.

instituted at Colp[112]. The offer was not taken up, although there were not always two canons - in 1224 there was only one[113].

The proctor of the Irish possessions was evidently an important official of the parent house, given the value of the properties, and in two instances the proctor went on to become prior of Llanthony[114]. In the second decade of the thirteenth century the sub-prior of Llanthony Secunda, Robert, was acting as proctor in Ireland[115], and a number of priors of both houses visited Ireland. Prior Clement of Llanthony Secunda was given protection by Henry II going to Ireland on business[116], while Prior Gilbert appears as a witness to charter of both John Comyn and Simon Rochfort c. 1213[117]. Shortly afterwards Prior John de Heyhampstead appears as a witness of a charter of the Prior of Llanthony Prima; it is not certain that this was signed in Ireland, but Ralph, archdeacon of Meath is another witness[118]. Prior Geoffrey de Henlawe, later bishop of St. Davids, also witnessed a charter of Simon Rochfort's[119]. Walter, the prior of Llanthony Prima, may have been present in court in Dublin in the 1260s concerning disputes over land, since in only one of the four cases is he stated to have been represented by a proctor[120].

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112 I.C.L., Nos. XXXVII and XXXVIII.
113 Ibid., No. XLIII.
114 Gilbert, Prior of Llanthony II from c. 1206-17 may be the Gilbert, Prior of Duleek who appears in I.C.L., p. ix. Prior John de Heyhampstead was formally proctor general in Ireland, ibid., No. 62.
115 Ibid., No. V.
116 Langston, J.N. 'Priors of Lanthony by Gloucester' in Bristol & Glouc. Arch. Soc. Trans. 63 (1942) p. 22.
117 I.C.L. Nos. II, XXVIII and XLVII.
118 Ibid., No. CXLIX.
119 Ibid., No. XXVII.
120 Ibid., Nos. CXXXVI-VIII, CXLI.

(ii) Augustinian life

The Augustinian order is a difficult subject about which to make generalizations. It has been said, indeed, that 'within the order and indeed within the convent diversity was often the order of the day'[121]. The Rule itself encouraged this, since it specifically stated that not all are to be treated equally regarding food and clothing, 'for you are not all equally strong, but each person should be given what he personally needs'[122]. As a result, with regard to almost every aspect of their lives, the history of the canons regular provides exceptions and instances where things were different, but some attempt can be made at least to give an overall picture.

The internal arrangement of an Augustinian community was no doubt very similar to that of a Benedictine house of similar size, and the similarity of the physical remains underline this. There are no distinctively Augustinian features in monastic architecture, although some commentators have tried to show that there were identifiable differences in their buildings[123]. Canons, like monks, made vows of stability, poverty, obedience and chastity at their profession[124]

The lists of monastic officials found in Augustinian custumals are very similar to their Benedictine counterparts, since the needs of the community would have differed little[125]. They differ considerably from the simplicity of the common life as laid down by the Rule of St.

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121 Dickinson, Origins, p. 195.
122 Von Bavel and Canning, The Rule of St. Augustine p. 12.
123 Hodgson, J.F. 'On the difference in plan alleged to exist between church of Austin canons' in Arch. Jn., XLI-XLIII (1884-6).
124 These points are discussed in the Commentary on the Rule of St. Augustine, by Richard of St.Victor, the only known copy of which is in T.C.D. MS 97, f.97-104, chapters 1, 3-6, from St. Thomas's, Dublin.
125 See Knowles, Monastic Order, Appendix XVI.

Augustine, which refers only to the superior, the brothers who look after the clothing and shoes, the infirmarer, and the brother who looks after the books.

While the degree to which the pattern set out by custumals was followed undoubtedly varied from houses to house, the following list of officials, drawn from the observances of Arrouaise[126], St. Victor[127] and Barnwell[128], were evidently seen as the ideal for the smooth running of a fairly large house.

Arrouaise	St. Victor	Barnwell
Abbot	Abbot	Prior
Prior	Prior	Sub-prior
Sub-prior	Sub-prior	Third prior
Cantor	Chamberlain	Precentor
Master of novices	Grainger	Librarian
Cellarer	Cellarer	Sacrist
Keeper of the vestry	Refecteror	Sub-sacrist
Infirmarer	Infirmarer	Refecteror
Sacrist	Almoner	Almoner
	Porter	Chief cellarer
	Claustral porter	Sub-cellarer

126 Milis, Constitutiones Canonicoruom Regularium Ordinis Arroasiensis
127 Jocque and Milis, Liber Ordinis Sancti Victoris Parisiensis
128 Clark, Barnwell Observances

Hosteller	Kitchener
Keeper of the vestry	Grainger
Librarian	Receivers
Sacrist	Hosteller
Sub-sacrist	Chamberlain
	Infirmarer

These lists are of offices mentioned in the custumals, and would not necesarily have been complete. The Arroasian list is obviously much briefer that the other two, but it is the only one which mentions a master of the novices, although there must have been one in all houses[129]. Similarly, there is no mention of a canon in charge of the lay brothers, although the observances indicate that this was the case.

We do not know to what extent this system of obedientiaries was followed in any Irish houses, although the Victorine list is known from a copy of the observances from St. Thomas's Dublin[130], and the Arroasian observances were brought to Ireland by Malachy, and possibly also by Lorcán Ua Tuathail. However, Irish sources do give us, usually in passing, references to the various offices and positions which existed in Augustinian houses, and the picture given differs little from that found elsewhere. The house about whose internal affairs we know most is Holy Trinity, thanks to the survival of accounts from the fourteenth and

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[129] TCD MS 97 f. 220 contains a work by Hugh of St. Victor on the training of novices. The master of novices is mentioned in the sign language included in the same volume, ff. 122.

[130] TCD MS 97 f.121r-122r. The code of signs include signs for abbot, prior, sub-prior, sacrist, librarian and chanter, master of novices, chamberlain, cellarer, gardener, almoner, infirmarer, refectioner and grainger.

fifteenth centuries[131], while some kitchen accounts from Kells, Co. Kilkenny, also exist[132].

The head of most houses was the prior, aided by the sub-prior, or prior where the house was an abbey. The Holy Trinity accounts refer to the prior[133], sub-prior[134], seneschal[135], treasurer[136], cellarer[137] and kitchener[138]. The house also had its precentor[139] sacrist[140], and master of the works[141]; the last named was an important and responsible position, given the amount of money which was left for the purpose in the wills of benefactors[142]. The prior had his own cook[143], chamberlain[144], clerks[145] and squires[146], while the necrology of the house includes lay cooks[147]. The monastery also depended heavily on hired labour, both internally[148], and for the running of its manors[149]. Most of the labour on the manors appears by the fourteenth century to have been done by lay tenants[150] and

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131 Mills, Account Roll of the Priory of the Holy Trinity Dublin 1337-1346 and notes in the psalter from the priory, Rawl. G. 185, see Hand, G.J. 'The Psalter of Christ Church, Dublin' in Reportorium Novum, 1 no 2 (1956) pp.311-22.
132 Printed in White, N.B. Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds A.D. 1200-1600 Appendix III.
133 Account Roll, passim.
134 Ibid., pp.95-6, 107.
135 Ibid., pp.26-54, 106, 143, 159.
136 Ibid., p.106.
137 Ibid., pp. 50-1, 147, 158, 202.
138 Ibid., pp.20, 21, 124, 161.
139 Registrum Novum Vol. I, p.350.
140 Registrum Novum Vol. I. p. 34, C.C.C.D. No. 513.
141 Registrum Novum Vol. I. p. 355.
142 Berry, H. F. Register of Wills and Inventories of the Diocese of Dublin 1457-1483. (Dublin, 1898) and Todd, J.H. Book of Obits and Martyrology of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity ,passim.
143 Account Roll, p.99.
144 Ibid., p.92.
145 Ibid., pp. 91, 99.
146 Ibid., pp.4, 88, 91-2, 145.
147 Book of Obits pp. 33, 55.
148 The Account Roll includes references to bakers, chamberlains, cooks, messengers, palfreymen and washerwomen.
149 Ibid. mentions bailiffs, carpenters, carters, coopers, cowherds, farmservants, harvesters, labourers, ploughmen, reapers, smiths, thatchers and threshers.
150 Ibid., pp.58, 78, 172, 174, 176, 189, 208 refers to customary services of tenants. However, Otway-Ruthven has pointed out that in 1344 at Clonken, out of 562 days

hired labour, and we do not know if the manors were ever worked by the *conversi* after the Cistercian pattern.

For most other houses we only have occasional references to monastic officials other than the prior or abbot. There are, for example, references to the promotion of sacristans as superior at Kilmore[151], Derry[152] and Knock[153], and to the election of a sacristan at Armagh[154]. Other elections mention the precentor of Bangor[155] and cellarer of Duleek[156]. Armagh had a precentor in 1264[157]. The only official to appear regularly, however, for example in witness lists, is the deputy, whether known as prior or sub-prior, and he also frequently occurs announcing a vacancy and requesting licence to elect. St. Thomas's followed its Victorine observances in having an abbot, prior and sub-prior[158], but this appears to be unusual, and one deputy is all that is mentioned in other houses. Brother Hugh, precentor of St. Thomas's, also appears in a witness list[159], as does Mark, precentor of Louth[160].

The Rule of St. Augustine ordered the community to 'obey your superior as a father [and] give him due respect on account of his office'[161]. The abbot or prior had complete control over the affairs of the community[162],

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reaping, 471 of these were done by hired labour, and 91 by customary tenants. Otway-Ruthven, A.J., 'The organization of Anglo-Irish agriculture in the middle ages' in R.S.A.I.Jn. 81 (1951) p.10.

151 C.P.L. VI Jun. 1412 p. 309.
152 C.P.L. VIII May 1429 p. 115
153 Cal. Pat. Rolls 1327-30, p. 144.
154 Reg. Mey No. 331.
155 Cal. Pat. Rolls 1247-1258, p. 480.
156 C.D.I. ii. 2105.
157 A.U. 1264.
158 Berry, Wills, pp. 177-8.
159 Reg. St. T., CCCXL.
160 I.C.L. 53.
161 Van Bavel and Canning, Rule of St. Augustine, p.23.
162 See Clark, Barnwell Observances, pp.37-47, and Jocque and Milis, Liber Ordinis Sancti Victoris chapter 4.

but the Rule emphasised the responsibility given with this authority. Although the abbot had complete authority, he was not intended to be dictatorial. The Barnwell Observances placed limitations on his actions, for example 'He must by no means presume, without the advice and consent of the chapter, to sell or exchange, to give or alienate, church property, as lands, tenements; to expel a brother from the monastery; to receive back one who has been expelled; to admit a novice or a lay-brother; or to present incumbents to vacant churches or vicarages'[163].

The community had its own seal, and the consent of the chapter was needed for major transactions. All the houses for which we have records include grants made 'with the assent of the chapter', witnessed by the chapter or sealed with the common seal[164]. This check on the power of the superior, did not however, always work, as there are many references to property alienated by former priors, sometimes specified to have been without the consent of the chapter show[165]. One of the problems at Derry recorded by Archbishop Colton's visitation was the usurpation of the common seal by the Guardian or administrator, which had left the canons powerless to prevent alienations[166].

Although *conversi* existed among the canons regular, it is difficult to estimate how widespread these were, as the bulk of the evidence comes from the stricter congregations. This is not only due to Cistercian influence, however, as in the more contemplative sections of the order

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163 Clark, Barnwell Observances, p.49.

164 E.g. Reg. All Hallows, p.35, Reg. St. T., 4, I.C.L. 85. The common seal of St. Thomas's is referred to in Cal. Cl. Rolls Rich II 1385-9, p.102.

165 Kells, Co. Kilkenny, in 1331 was suing to recover land lost in this way, N.L.I. MS 13 f.141

166 Acts of Archbishop Colton in his metropolitan visitation of Derry, 1397, ed. William Reeves, (Dublin, 1850) p.34.

there was from an early date a marked lay element[167]. The first inhabitant of the hermitage which became Arrouaise was a layman, while the earliest community as Premontré included laity. It is clear that they were not considered exceptions, as the writings of the early twelfth century show.

The *Libellus de Diversis Ordinibus* refers to the existence of *conversi* among the canons dwelling 'far from men' - those who are considered less suitable for orders and who ranked lowest in the community[168]. Similarly, the *Liber de Ordine Canonicorum* speaks of 'converted iliterate men of lay conversations who .... neither wish nor are able to be promoted to the order of clerkhood, but live worthily in all monastic perfection labouring with their hands'[169].

The Arroasian[170], Victorine[171] and Barnwell[172] observances all include sections on lay-brethren. The Arroasian regulations are particularly detailed, drawing largely from the Cistercian code, and imply that a large number were present since several chapters relating to the *conversi* are included[173]. It has been estimated for the early twelfth century at least, that the proportion of canons to *conversi* at Arrouaise was about 2:3 [174].

As in the Cistercians, however, the numbers fell in the thirteenth century and largely disappeared in the fourteenth[175]. The Arroasian *conversi*

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167 Fonseca, C.D. 'I conversi nelle comunita canonicali' in I Laici nella Societas Christiana dei secoli XI e XII (Pubblicazioni dell'Universita Catolica del Sacro Cuore, Contributi, 3s, Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioeval 5 Milan 1968) pp.262-305
168 Constable, and Smith, Libellus de diversis ordinibus, p. 61.
169 Migne, P.L. CXVIII c. 1118, cited in Dickinson, Origins, p. 205.
170 Milis, Constitutiones canonicorum regularium ordinis Arroasiensis, chapters 160-3, 208-9, 219, 222-3, 225, 234 and 248.
171 Jocque et Milis, Liber Ordinis Sancti Victoris, chapter 22.
172 Clark, Barnwell Observances., chapters 52-6.
173 Milis, op. cit., chapters 222-3, 225, 234-5, 248
174 Milis, L. L'Ordre d'Arrouaise Vol. I p. 495.
175 Ibid., p.496

played a similar role to the Cistercian laybrethren, as their agriculture was arranged in curtes, or granges. At Barnwell also, they were regarded chiefly as a source of labour; 'lay-brethren are not to be admitted to the habit unless they are instructed in some craft which is useful to the monastery'[176].

We only have references to lay-brothers for a few Irish houses. Given the more abundant sources available for Holy Trinity, it is not surprising that this is the priory with most evidence for the existence of *conversi*. The necrology includes the names of 26 *conversi*, although this is only a very small proportion of the total number of entries[177]. Dates are not given for their deaths, however, so we cannot judge how many there may have been at one time, or if they disappeared as time went on.

There are few other references. Peter of Kells was a *conversus* of St. Mary's Trim in 1261[178]. St. Thomas's almost certainly would have had them, and may be indicated in the repeated reference in one of their charters to the *'canonicis et fratribus'*[179]. The same phrase is used regarding Gallen in 1410[180]. We know that Llanthony Secunda had *conversi* in the mid-thirteenth century, when a ruling was made 'that the canons are to have control of the *conversi* both within and without the monastery'[181], so it is possible that lay-brothers were sometimes sent with the proctors who supervised their Irish possessions, but this is merely speculation.

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176 Clark, Barnwell Observances, p. 223.
177 Todd, Book of Obits
178 C.D.I. ii 705.
179 Reg. St. T. No. 220.
180 C.P.L. VI, p. 201.
181 Cited in Crossley, F.H. The English Abbey (London, 1962) p. 52.

The degree to which the pattern of monastic officials outlined above was practiced must have depended very largely on one important factor - the size of the community. We have passing references, mostly from the later middle ages, to the number of canons in certain houses, and the pensions given at the Dissolution also give some idea, but for the earlier period the evidence is limited. The earliest figure concerning the population of any house comes from Bernard's Life of Malachy, but since we do not know if Ibracense was Augustinian, or if all the monks there, said to have numbered 120, came from or returned to Bangor after Malachy's period of exile, this is not much help[182].

As Holy Trinity is, as usual, the best recorded house, as from witness lists, visitations, etc. we have a fairly good idea of its numbers from the beginning of the fourteenth century on. In 1300 there were 12 members of the community including the prior[183]. In 1325, the prior, five canons, a lay-brother, and the prior's proctor were named[184], but it is not indicated whether this was the full convent. If so, it was subsequently increased again. In 1468 when Archbishop Tregury visited the priory there were eight canons including the prior and sub-prior[185], but three years later the number had risen to ten[186]. For the remaining sixty-eight years of the priory's existence as a regular chapter it fluctuated slightly, but stayed at about ten, which was the total when the cathedral was secularized[187]. We have no idea how many canons there were in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but it probably did not differ greatly.

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182 Lawlor, Life of St. Malachy, p. 41.
183 Registrum Novum I. p. 351.
184 C.C.C.D. 219.
185 Berry, Wills, p. 172.
186 C.C.C.D. 992.
187 Ibid. 1020 (1479, 9); 1042 (Jan. 1483, 9); 1046 (Oct. 1483, 11); 353 (1488, 8); 1109 (1498, 10); 1112 (1502, 10); 1130 (1518, 11); 1158 (1533, 11); 1170 (1538, 10); 432 (1539, 10).

The royal foundation of St. Thomas's was probably the largest Augustinian house in the country. In 1400 it was claimed that at the height of its prosperity it had had thirty-six canons, although at the time of writing the number had fallen to sixteen[188]. Even at sixteen it was unusually large for an Augustinian houses, which very seldom were as large as Benedictine or Cistercian communities, having no traditional or constitutional minimum number. It has been calculated that in Britain the average number was eleven, and that the majority of houses were smaller as the figure is distorted by the existence of a handful of large communities[189]. Few other Irish houses have a recorded population in double figures, although as the numbers are almost all from the later middle ages they may have originally been larger.

In a few instances we know the number at foundation. Enniscorthy was established with a prior and four canons[190], while Kells, Co. Kilkenny, was originally settled by four seculars until Geoffrey fitz Robert brought over four canons from Bodmin[191]; we are not told if the four seculars remained to form part of the new community giving a total of eight, or if the regulars were intended to replace them. Considering that two of the Cornish canons could later be spared to assist in the foundation of Inistioge the former seems more likely.

In the 1320s St. Catherine's, Leixlip, petitioned that it had been founded 'for a certain number of canons which it is so poor it cannot support', and that the figure then was only three, but the original size is not given[192]. Two of its early benefactors, Wareis Peche and Adam de Hereford, made

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188 C.P.L. V p. 325.
189 Robinson, D.M. Geography of Augustinian Settlement , p. 165.
190 Reg. St.T., No. 221.
191 Ir. mon. deeds, 1200-1600, pp. 311-2.
192 R.I.A., MS 12 D 2 ff. 45-9.

grants to the house to find chaplains to celebrate in their house, which perhaps implies a fair sized establishment even if they were seculars and not members of the community[193]. In 1271 William de Kaversham granted Tristeldolan to St. Wolstan's to increase the number of canons by three[194], but in this case also we do not know what it had prior to this.

When Archbishop Tregury visited the religious houses of the Dublin diocese in 1468, All Hallows had six members present[195], St. Thomas's eleven[196] and Holmpatrick four[197], although Alen states that c. 1484 there were eight canons at the latter[198]. Most other references to size prior to the Dissolution are found in pleas of poverty by various houses claiming to have difficulty in supporting themselves - these pleas occur with relative frequency but it is hard to know whether or not they were exaggerating at times. In 1410 Gallen was struggling to support a prior and three canons[199], while at around the same time Clonfert[200] and Clontuskert[201] both stressed their poverty, having nine and thirteen members respectively, which were fair sizes.

Another western house complaining of problems at this time was Mayo, which had had an abbot and six canons since it became Augustinian forty years earlier[202]. In 1397 Monaincha had a prior and eight canons[203], but other houses were smaller than this. In 1492 Ballymore was only with difficulty supporting a prior and one canon, since because of its location

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193 N.L.I. MS 13 ff. 275-6.
194 Alen's Reg. p. 135.
195 Berry, Wills, pp. 176-7.
196 Ibid., pp. 177-8.
197 Ibid., pp. 174-5.
198 Alen's Reg., p. 284.
199 C.P.L. VI p. 201.
200 Ibid., p. 494.
201 Ibid., p. 413.
202 Ibid., pp. 274-5.
203 C.P.L. V p. 74.

on the highway almost all their income was going on hospitality[204]. In 1517, When Lough Derg was visited by the papal nuncio, it had three canons[205]. Duleek was ordered to maintain a minimum number by Archbishop Prene in 1440[206], but this is not given. Other appeals state that the houses in question are too poor to sustain their population, or that the numbers have increased without a corresponding rise in income, but again without specifying.

The Dissolution records give us some idea of the numbers of canons in the houses visited, mostly in the east and south of the country. They are not necessarily exact, however, since while most of the canons present at the surrender probably received pensions, it is quite possible that there was at least a partial exodus from some houses shortly before. It is not always clear, either, if all the people who received pensions were canons, or whether some were lay stewards or bailiffs of the house in question.

The pensions given in the printed extents number as follows[207]; St. Thomas's, 9; Holmpatrick, 1; Naas, 1; Greatconnell, 6; Kilkenny, 4; Inistioge, 4; Kells in Ossory, 2; Fertagh, 1; Louth, 4; Knock, 1; Navan, 5; Tristernagh, 5; Mullingar, 2; Trim, 6; Ballyboggan, 1; Duleek, 1; Cahir, 1; Waterford, 3, and Wexford, 2. The number of recipients at All Hallows, Dublin is not given, although the total value given in pensions is, but the deed of surrender was signed by the prior, sub-prior and four canons[208]. Athassel is said to have had four canons at the Dissolution[209].

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204 C.P.L. XIV p. 297.
205 Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, p. 193, Gwynn, A. The Medieval Province of Armagh 1470-1545 (Dundalk, 1946) pp. 49-53.
206 Reg. Mey No. 33.
207 Extents Ir. mon. possessions.
208 Reg. All Hallows, pp. xxvii, xxix.
209 Bradshaw, B. The Dissolution of the Religious Orders in Ireland under Henry VIII (Cambridge, 1974) pp. 22.

The only other houses for which we have any indication of their size are the cells. I have left these to be treated separately as unlike the other houses there were official regulations about their size[210]. From the twelfth century on, doubts were expressed about the wisdom of having small bodies of religious living away from the communal life of their monastery. Archbishop Alen's Register includes part of an attack on such cells by St. Bernard[211], while Giraldus rather exaggeratedly stated that 'God gave abbeys, the devil cells'[212]. The Lateran Council of 1179 enacted that cells or parish churches were not to be staffed by single canons[213]. Three or four was seen as the ideal, but in reality was impractical for most houses without making conventual life impossible. The Master of the Bridlington Dialogue, while recognizing that to have two or three canons was advisable, felt that if necessary the superior could give a dispensation from this requirement[214], and such a compromise was probrably not uncommon.

The apparently small size of most communities, considering their income, may be deceptive, however, as it is clear that, as in early Irish monasteries, the population was much larger than the number of professed religious. It has been estimated, on the basis of the quantities of bread and ale consumed according to the accounts from Bolton in Yorkshire, that the canons may have formed as little as 10% of the total number of residents[215]. The rest of the number was made up of clerks, esquires, servants, grooms, workmen, guests, corrodians and paupers.

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210 There was no Augustinian equivalent to the Cistercian requirement of 13 members for a new foundation

211 Alen's Reg. p. 204.

212 Cited in Dickinson, Origins, p. 228.

213 Mansi, J.D. Sacrorum Concilium Vol. 22, p. 224.

214 Robert of Bridlington. The Bridlington Dialogue: an exposition of the Rule of St. Augustine for the life of the clergy (London, 1960) p. 128.

215 Kershaw, I. Bolton Priory; the economy of a northern monastery 1286-1325 (London, 1973) pp. 138 f.

Bolton was the largest Augustinian house in Yorkshire with on average about twenty members, but spent much of the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries in debt, despite having an average income of £472 during the period 1315-25[216].

In only a few cases are these non-canonical residents of Irish houses mentioned, although servants in particular can probably be taken for granted. Guests may be assumed since hospitality was an important duty for all religious houses. St. Thomas's abbey was obliged to support and educate twenty-four young clerks who lived in the abbey for as long as they were studying[217]. The house was also expected to provide for former royal servants, either for life[218], or sometimes merely until they could be provided with a benefice in the gift of the abbey[219].

Holy Trinity probably differed little. It is clear from the account rolls that a considerable amount of entertaining was done at the Prior's table[220], and many others who did not merit such an honour undoubtedly were given lodgings for varying periods[221]. Towards the end of the fifteenth century four choristers with a music master were established in the church[222]. The priory also had lay corrodians. In 1283, a woman who granted them land and buildings in Nicholas St., was granted bread, ale, and meat for herself and a maid, as well as the right to go on living in the property for life[223]

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216 Kershaw, Bolton priory, p.163.
217 P.R.O. C47/10/22/16 cited in Gywnn, A. 'The early history of St. Thomas's' p. 33.
218 E.g. Cal. Cl. Rolls Ed. I 1307-1313 p.335, Cal. Cl. Rolls, Ed. II 1318-1328 p.117.
219 E.g. C.P.R., Ed. III 1338-40, p.94 and Cal. Cl. Rolls Rich II 1396-9, p.201, 210.
220 Religious guests include the priors of St. Wolstans, Account Roll, pp. 11, 117 and 154, and of Holmpatrick, pp. 1, 5, 90 and 94, and the Dominicans of Arklow, p.10 Other guests include the escheator of Ireland, p.5, justices itinerant, pp. 5, 19, 152, the sheriff, p.8, and the justiciar, p.112, as well as a considerable number of named laymen.
221 Guests in the refectory are mentioned pp. 1, 9, 15.
222 C.C.C.D. Nos. 319 and 357.
223 C.C.C.D. Nos. 133-4.

It seems unlikely that any of the smaller, and especially more isolated houses, ever had the sort of population estimated for Bolton, but the figure may have still been considerably higher than the number of canons. The most accurate figures that survive are for an Augustinian convent, Lismullen, where, in the first half of the fourteenth century there were fourteen nuns served by a household of forty[224]. We have no source either to provide us with any picture of the effects of the Black Death in Augustinian houses, as Clyn does for the friars. Dickinson estimates for England that the monastic population was probably halved, and that it continued to fall for the rest of the fourteenth century, before beginning to recover in the fifteenth[225].

It is probable that some Augustinian houses were particularly affected, not necessarily by fatalities, but in that owing to the small size of many, even the loss of a handful of canons would have severely curtailed their ability to sustain conventual life. The frequent complaints of poverty in the fifteenth century may have been the result of the problems of the previous century, but we have no earlier records with which to compare them. In some houses, although religious life did not come to an end, the size of the community and its income had evidently decreased, as is indicated by the surviving buildings. Parts of the monastery were sometimes allowed to fall into disuse and disrepair[226], and in other cases

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224 Cal. Inq. Misc. 111 1348-77 No. 634, Cal. Pat. Rolls 1367-70 p. 124.

225 Dickinson, J.C. The Later Middle Ages (London, 1979) p. 279.

226 At Movilla at the end of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century a large stone building fell into disuse, and was afterwards demolished, Ivens, R. 'Movilla Abbey, Newtownards, County Down: excavations 1981' in U.J.A. 47 (1984) p.73. At Kilmacduagh, the north wall of the church collapsed in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, Harbison, Guide to the National monuments, p.95, while at Ballintober, the new fifteenth century cloister was rapidly replaced by a smaller one, Oibre 22 (1965) p.25.

the size of the church was reduced[227]. At Newtown Trim this was by about eighty feet, the church having been exceptionally long to start with[228].

Daily life inside the monastery was fairly standard in all orders, since it was structured around the seven offices, community and private Masses, and chapter[229]. The times of these, and of meals, no doubt varied from order to order, and house to house, as it also altered at different times of the year[230], but the following, drawn from the Barnwell observances, gives an outline of the day[231].

Midnight	Matins and Lauds
Sunrise	Prime
	Morning mass
	Chapter
	Terce
	High mass, followed immediately by
	Sext
Midday	Dinner
	None
	Evensong
	Supper

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227 This was also done in Britain, cf. Dickinson, Monastic life in medieval England (1961) p.42, Dickinson, The Later middle ages, p. 280., and Platt, Colin 'Relaxation of the Rule' in History Today 35 (July 1985) pp.21-6.

228 Harbison, P. Guide to the National Monuments of Ireland, p. 198.

229 'In their mode of life there was little to distinguish [the] canons from monks. It was a monastic life ... their distinctive habit became the only feature which marked their individual position' , Thompson, A. H. Bolton priory, p.3

230 Clark, Barnwell Observances, p.l xxiii

231 Ibid., pp. lxxxiii-xcvi.

Compline

The observances of this house, as in the cases of Arrouaise and St. Victor, are very detailed about the services, and what was to be said, particularly on feast days and other solemnities. The survival of Arroasian and Victorine observances and liturgical material from Irish houses (Trim, Holy Trinity and St. Thomas's[232]) suggest that the religious life of the Irish canons was similar to that of their French brethren.

For other houses we have little information about their daily worship or routine, and in general such subjects were apparently only mentioned when something was wrong. Archbishop Colton's visitation of Derry in 1397 showed that things were evidently not as they should be, since he had to '*ordanimus, diffinimus, pariter et mandamus, quatenus omni die Dominico, et quolibet festo solenni, omnes hore canonice et una missa solennis cum cantu, et alia sine cantu, in choro prefate ecclesiae devote psallantur; et qualibet alia feria una missa ad minus in eadem ecclesia celebretur, et hore canonice in choro psallantur*'[233]. The archbishop also ordered '*tu et singuli Canonici dicte domus in communi refectorio insimul comedatis, sanctam et devotam lectionem in refectione habentes*'[234].

In a considerable number of instances, poverty appears to have prevented the maintenance of the offices. The canons of Hare Island[235], Monaincha[236], Fertagh[237], Inchcronan[238], Cloontuskert[239], Clonard[240] and

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232 See below, chapter 5, p.203.
233 Reeves, Colton's Visitation, p.58.
234 Ibid., p.57.
235 C.P.L. V, p. 12 .
236 C.P.L. V, p. 74.
237 C.P.L. VII, p. 181.
238 Ibid., p. 193.
239 C.P.L. X, p. 672.
240 C.P.L. XII, p. 31.

Devenish[241], all claimed that their houses were too poor to support them and that they were forced to go forth and work for their living. In the case of Devenish this was the result of fire damage which they had been unable to repair so that the buildings were not fit to be lived in.

In other houses where worship had apparantly ceased it was due to bad superiors or lack of discipline. St. Katherine's, Waterford had been granted in commendam to the Bishop of Down and Connor, as a result of which 'divine worship is diminished, hospitality not kept, and the substance of the prior dissipated, that the life of the canons is relaxed, ... and the Rule of St. Augustine etc. is not observed'[242]. At the same time the abbot of Ballintober was accused of being 'so ignorant of letters and so insufficient that he can direct and rule neither himself nor the canons'[243], which if true cannot have encouraged a proper religious life. The records of the later middle ages give a very poor picture of religious life in houses of all orders, and this type of accusation is common[244].

The fundamental principle behind the establishment of the *ordo canonicus*, was the living of the common life. However, in practice, this rapidly began to be broken down. At first this was because the duties, at home and elsewhere, of the abbot or prior led to the increasing separation of the head of the household from the rest of the community. The life of Lorcán Ua Tuathail thought it worth noting that the archbishop followed this injunction when his duties permitted[245], and although the Barnwell Observances state that the prelate 'ought to sleep with the rest in the

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241 C.P.L. XII, p. 183.
242 Ibid., p. 325.
243 Ibid., p. 352.
244 Cf. Lynch, A. 'Religion in Later Medieval Ireland' in Archiv. Hib. 36 (1981) pp. 3-15 and Nicholls, K. W. Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages, (Dublin, 1972) pp.105-111.
245 Plummer, 'Vie et miracles de S. Laurent', p.138.

dorter [and] to eat with them in the frater'[246], it is clear from what follows that this was in fact the exception rather than the general practice[247]. We have already seen that in the fourteenth century the prior of Holy Trinity had a completely separate establishment, with his own servants and squires[248].

The abbatial mensa with which his retinue was supported was distinct from the revenues of the house as a whole[249]. As the possessions of religious houses grew, the administration became increasingly divided into departments, headed by the obedientaries. The kitchener had his own budget and accounts, and the work of the buildings also had a separate fund[250]. In the later middle ages, if not before, there was an tendency for the regular canons to copy the practice of secular canons in having a separate prebend or canonry for each canon rather than 'holding everything in common', as the Rule required[251]. The canons of St. Katherine's, Waterford, 'separate themselves asunder and have divided their revenues ... contrary to the rules of their profession'[252]. Private property[253], and even private residences, are mentioned[254]. In 1484 the

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246 Clark, Barnwell Observances, p.45.

247 Ibid., e.g. pp.49, p.171.

248 Above, p.98.

249 E.g. in 1416 Monaincha was valued at 12 m p.a., 'after deducting the portion of the canons', C.P.L.,VI, p.467.

250 Cf. Burton, Janet, Monastic and religious orders in Britain, 1000-1300 (Cambridge, 1994) p.251. The kitchener's accounts from Kells, Co. Kilkenny have already been referred to, above, n. 132, and a cellarer's account is included in the Account Roll of Holy Trinity, p.202. Notes concerning the accounts of the prior's household and the kitchens are included in Bodl. Rawl. G.185, Hand, 'The Psalter of Christ Church'.

251 See Dickinson, The Later Middle Ages, p.293.

252 P.R.O. S.P. 60/5 no.38 cited by Bradshaw, B. The Dissolution of the monasteries, p.22.

253 C.C.C.D. 46, 1234, some of the canons had incurred excommunication for detaining property. In 1270 the prior, sub-prior and sacristan received legacies in a will, ibid., 513.

254 Archbishop Colton had to order the canons of Derry to 'eat together in the common refectory ... and sleep together in one dormitory, within the house', Reeves, Colton's visitation, p.57. In 1440 Archbishop Mey ordered the canons of Duleek to keep the common life and dress more strictly, Reg. Mey, 33.

canons of Athassel were living in separate houses while letting the monastery buildings fall into disrepair and divine worship was almost extinct[255].

Apart from the stricter congregations to which many of the Irish houses belonged, although few in Britain, the canons regular were generally regarded as having a much easier life than the monastic orders[256]. Their services were shorter[257], since the early canons were more involved in pastoral activities than their monastic contemporaries, for whom the divine office was taking up a larger and larger part of the day at the expense of other activities[258].

The differences between the regular canons and other orders extended to other aspects of their lives also, in dress and more particularly in diet. The Rule of St. Augustine has little to say regarding clothing, except that it should not attract attention. The canons therefore wore normal clerical dress of cassock, rochet and amice, with the cope that gave them the title 'black canons'[259]. The aspect of their dress which differed most from other orders was that they wore linen[260], since this had been permitted by the 9th century institutes for canons. This was evidently regarded as too

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255 C.P.L. XIII p. 193.

256 Stephen of Obazine's biographer commented that 'although canons sing regularly to God, they eat too well, have no lasting silence and do little or no manual work' cited in Leyser, Henrietta, Hermits and the new monasticism (London, 1984) p.21.

257 Dickinson, J.C. Origins, p. 185.

258 This is obviously not the case for those early houses, like Arrouaise, founded in a hermitage.

259 Account Roll, pp.88-90 includes the purchase of skins and fur for the prior's mantle and hood, robes, and woollen coats, surcouts, rochets, amices and gloves for the prior. Shoes were also bought, p.121.

260 Early in the 13th cent. Isabella, countess of Pembroke, granted Kilcullen to the canons of Holy Trinity, half of the tithes to sustain a canon, and the other half to provide linen for the canons, C.C.C.D. 13, while in the mid 14th century canon John Comyn was accused of stealing 5s worth of linen thread from the cell at Kilcullen, ibid. 72.

luxurious in some quarters, to judge by the frequency with which it was defended by early canonical writers[261].

The colour of the habit was evidently not always the same, since decrees on uniformity were made on a number of occasions, beginning with Gregory VII[262]. The Barnwell customs require that canons do not have an improperly cut cloak, holes in their shoes or surplice, or dress 'in a colour other than that which the observances in accordance with the Rule demand'[263]. In 1420, the archbishop of Dublin ordered that the prior and canons should wear amices of grey fur and miniver for special occasions in the cathedral[264].

The diet of the Augustinian canons differed from other orders, and was the area where the divergence between the different sections of the order was probably most marked. The ordinary canons were not vegetarian[265]. The Rule advised fasting and abstinence as far as was compatible with health, and complete abstinence was never envisaged by the early canons. The regulations of Gregory VII allowed the eating of meat three or four times a week[266], and this seems to have remained the usual practice. This was consistent with the policy of moderation which both the Rule and all the early advocates of the canons stressed.

The customs of Beauvais pointed out that both the Bible and St. Augustine authorised the eating of meat, and that any fault lay not in the food itself but in greed[267]. The stricter independent congregations, on the

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261 Dickinson, Origins, p. 184.
262 Ibid., p.185.
263 Clark, Barnwell Observances, p. 199.
264 Account Roll, p.177.
265 Kershaw, Bolton Priory, p.155 comments on the large quantity of meat being consumed in the fourteenth century.
266 Dickinson, op. cit., p.182.
267 Ibid., p. 199.

other hand, followed Cistercian practices with regard to diet. All flesh and fats were forbidden at Arrouaise[268], as the cartulary says 'on the advice of Bernard abbot of Clairvaux of holy memory'[269]. The early Victorines also were completely vegetarian, though by the end of the twelfth century this had been somewhat relaxed to allow the eating of fish[270].

Despite this the canons evidently did not go hungry, as the account roll of Holy Trinity mentions a wide range of foods which were apparently not in short supply. In the early days of Holy Trinity it is clear that the strict diet was kept, since the biography of Lorcán Ua Tuathail says that he never ate meat after becoming a canon[271], but the full observance clearly lapsed as time went on. The accounts include payments for beef[272], capon[273], chicken[274], fowl[275], goose[276], lamb[277], mutton[278], and rabbit[279], some of which were bought already cooked. During Lent, and especially when entertaining, a variety of fish was purchased, including oysters, eels, herring, salmon, trout, plaice, turbot and gurnard[280]. Bread, ale and wine were also purchased in large quantities, although brewing and baking were also carried out in the house[281]. However, it appears that the canons were less well catered for, as wine was only served in the

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268 Milis, Constitutiones canonicorum regularium Ordinis Arroasienses chapter 198.
269 Amiens Bibl. Munc. MS 1077 f. 5r.
270 Dickinson, op. cit., p. 181.
271 Plummer, 'Vie et miracles de S. Laurent', p. 139.
272 Account Roll, pp.2, 15, 73.
273 Ibid., pp. 5, 100.
274 Ibid, p.72.
275 Ibid., pp.7-10.
276 Ibid., pp.114-5.
277 Ibid., pp.7-8.
278 Ibid., p.73.
279 Ibid., p.111.
280 Ibid., pp.9-14.
281 Ibid., pp.70-6, and passim.

refectory on special days[282], and the roast beef and mutton bought for a breakfast for the canons in July 1346 was to celebrate the election of Robert de Hereford[283]. The register of Tristernagh, which did not belong to one of the stricter congregations, gives some indication of food consumed there. In 1210 Walkelinus Flandrensis granted the house wheat and mixed corn for bread, ale, pigs, sheep and eels[284].

Silence was another question which divided the canons regular. A degree of silence within the cloister during certain hours, particularly at night, seems to have been common in most houses of whatever order. In the stricter Augustinian congregations, however, as among the Cistercians, virtually total silence was ordained[285]. The Barnwell observances, which are closely modelled on those of St. Victor, state that silence was to be kept in the church, dorter, cloister and frater, although at certain times of the day speech was permitted in the cloister[286]. The writer was aware, however, that this was not always the case. An extremely elaborate system of sign language to be used during the hours of silence survives from St. Thomas's[287], but this practice was not common to all houses. The Bridlington dialogue notes that 'some people want to use signs in place of words, whereas others decry signs more than words'[288]. The Life of Lorcán Ua Tuathail also refers to hours of silence[289], which are laid down in the Arroasian observances[290]. The times of silence varied from

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282 Account Roll, pp.101-2.
283 Ibid.,p.113.
284 Reg. Trist., LXXXIX
285 Dickinson, Origins, p.183.
286 Clark, Barnwell Observances, pp. 137-41.
287 TCD MS 97, ff. 121r-122r, printed in English Historical Documents Vol. III pp. 751-5, and by Berry, H.F., 'On the use of signs in the ancient monasteries' in R.S.A.I.Jn. 22 (1892) pp.107-125.
288 Bridlington Dialogue p. 117.
289 Plummer, 'Vie et miracles de S. Laurent', p. 138.
290 Milis, Constitutiones canonicis regularium ordinis Arroacensis. chapter 214.

house to house, however, and as with the offices, depended on the time of year. The type of activity carried out by each houses in particular would have determined the degree to which silence was kept[291].

The above examples reflect the variety which was to be found within the Augustinian order in various aspects of their lives. The range of activities which was found to be compatible with the Rule has already been discussed, and also highlights the lack of uniformity which is perhaps almost the most obvious characteristic of the order. The differences are, perhaps, more a matter of detail though, and an underlying similarity is evident in the ethos of the observances, especially in the early period of the order[292].

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291 Cf. Dickinson, Origins, p. 58.
292 Ibid., chapter 4.

Chapter 4. The External relationships of the Canons Regular

(i) The canons and the monastic orders

During the first century of their existence, the relationship between the canons regular and the various orders of monks was a somewhat strained one. The canons were seen as a radically new form of religious life, clearly distinct from the older Benedictine forms of monasticism, a difference emphasised by both groups. The adoption of the Rule of St. Augustine was a help to the canons not only because of the recognized weight of tradition that came with the name but because it gave them the opportunity to claim that the Benedictine rule, since it was later in date, was less historically valid. The adoption of the canonical life by the clergy was, indeed, regarded as a more apostolic lifestyle, having its roots in the very beginnings of the Christian church[1].

That the two groups were very different was accepted and stressed, by members of both[2]. Both sides felt the need not only to defend its own order but to counter-attack by claiming to be superior, and in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries a series of writings, frequently in the form of a dialogue, was produced[3]. The arguments, particularly on the side of the monks, were based sometimes on trivialities, such as the fact that the phrase 'canon regular' was a tautology since both words meant a rule, an objection raised by a number of Benedictine writers[4]. Other objections were based on the historical validity of the new form of life and its claim to the name and authority of Augustine. The canon who wrote the *Libellus de diversis ordinibus* in about the second quarter of

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1 Dickinson, Origins, pp.69-70.
2 Ibid., pp.198-9.
3 Cf. Constable and Smith, Libellus de diversis ordinibus
4 E.g. P.L. 192 c. 639 and P.L. 192 c. 1217, cited by Dickinson, op. cit. p.61.

the twelfth century was aware that although the Rule bore the name of Augustine 'it is not listed in the Retractions as are most of his works and that the kind of vocabulary and gravity of style attesting to Aurelius' work are clearly missing in this rule'[5]. However, he argued that its value as a guide should not be doubted even if Augustine was not the author.

The most seriously debated matters were those of the role to be played by the canons in the church, and the relative merit of each type of life. Southern has described the Augustinian canons as playing the role of Martha to the more contemplatives orders' Mary[6]. The degree of accuracy of this statement will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, on the activities undertaken by the canons. For the present, it will suffice to say that although a simplification, there is a fair amount of justification for it. The monks saw their more cloistered life as a better one since they were cut off from the world.

The canons argued on the other hand that 'to flee from the middle of Babylon and to be saved is, therefore, as much safer as it is easier; but to be crowned victor in the middle of Babylon is as much grander as it is harder; so that monastic perfection, though commendable for merit, is considered as much lower as is is easier'[7]. Theirs was a more commendable life also, they claimed, since while a monk was responsible merely for his own salvation, a canon involved in pastoral work was responsible also for the souls of others[8].

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5 Constable and Smith, Libellus de diversis ordinibus, p.73.
6 Southern, Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages p.244.
7 Philip of Harvengt, in P.L. 204 c. 802, cited in Constable, G. Monastic Tithes from their Origins to the 12th Century (Cambridge, 1964)p.159.
8 Southern, op. cit., p.249.

These disputes, although sometimes virulent, such as the canon who considered monasteries as 'prisons of the damned'[9], gradually died down as the twelfth century progressed, for a number of reasons. It is clear that more reasonable commentators from both monastic and canonical orders realised that such arguments were pointless and irrelevant. The canons were there to stay, and to be different was not automatically to be inferior. Bernard of Clairvaux remarked that 'monks and regular clerics are said to disparage one another because they differ from one another'[10], while Arno of Reichersberg, defending the canons, compared the two orders to twins, which although different were not hostile[11].

The author of the *Libellus de diverisis ordinibus* recognized the underlying similarity between the monks and canons, and justified the existence of each by biblical precedents. The real gulf in the forms of religious life was not that between monks and canons, but between monks and canons on the one hand, and the secular clergy on the other, despite the fact that the canons were classed as clerics not religious.

Relations between monks and canons were not, once the initial difficulties were solved, antagonistic, and in some instances were friendly or even close. The debt owed by both Arroasians and Premonstratensians to the Cisterians has already been mentioned, while the early promoters of the Augustinians, such as Malachy in Ireland and Anselm in England were able to work with both monks and canons without opposition or resentment. Even the disputes and dialogues referred to above were not exclusively between monks and canons. The Cistercians, in particular, raised just as much opposition from the Benedictines and Cluniacs,

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9 Constable, Monastic tithes, p.158.
10 Ibid., p.157.
11 Ibid., pp. 157-8.

resulting in polemics such as the *Dialogus inter Cluniacensem monachum et Cisterciensem*, Bernard of Clairvaux's *Apologia ad Guillelmum*, and Peter the Venerable's attack on the Cistercian claim to be the only ones properly following the Rule of St. Benedict[12].

Contacts between canons and monks in Ireland, as well as elsewhere, were frequent, and there is no evidence for hostility solely on the grounds of the Rule professed. The one area where there may have been some opposition was in the case of the older Irish monastic houses which the canons largely replaced. However, very few of these communities seem to have continued in existence as monastic houses, and references in the papal letters to places such as Devenish and Scattery Island rank them as secular collegiate churches, so I have not included them in this discussion.

Probably the most frequent reason for contacts betwen the canons and monks of other orders was the practice of papal delegation. In response to an appeal to Rome concerning appointments to benefices or other ecclesiastical office, or against a decision made at a local level, a number of diocesan and monastic officials would be appointed to investigate the matter on behalf of the pope, and to act in the matter as they saw fit. Such appeals were extremely common, particularly from the time of the Great Schism, when they were encouraged as bringing in additional revenue to the papacy, and huge numbers of such delegations were sent to Irish ecclesiastics.

The most usual form was for three delegates to be named by Rome, and at least two of these expected to act[13]. Of these it was common to find

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12 See Morris, C. The Papal Monarchy (Oxford, 1989) pp.252-3.

13 E.g. Reg.St. T. 387, in 1207, the Prior of Duleek was named in the mandates but only the abbot of St. Mary's and the archdeacon of Meath acted.

one secular official such as the dean or archdeacon of the diocese, and the heads of two religious houses in the area named. While in many instances the two abbots or priors were of the same order, this was by no means always the case, as geographical location was evidently considered in the choice of mandatories. Where the delegates were not at least fairly close it was generally because the dispute which they were to settle involved people or offices in both parts of the country.

It appears to have been rare, although not unknown[14], for heads of mendicant houses to be named as delegates. In over two hundred instances in the Calendars of Papal Letters where an Augustinian was named with another religious, there was only one case in which a friar was chosen, when the abbot of Rattoo and the guardian of the Franciscans of Clare were nominated to act with the bishop of Killaloe to investigate the necessity for the union of the dioceses of Tuam, Annaghdown and Kilmacduagh on the grounds of poverty[15].

In general, the Augustinians and Cistercians were the most frequently named, since they were the most numerous of the non-mendicant orders, while the Fratres Cruciferi, the Premonstratensians and Hospitallers also occur. There are certain combinations of abbots and priors who were regularly chosen to act together which must have meant a considerable amount of contact. The abbots of Gill Abbey and Tracton are named together on thirteen occasions, while others, such as Rattoo and Abbeydorney, and Monaincha and Nenagh, also recur frequently.

The inter-order contacts arising from papal delegations were not only due, however, to the use of two religious as delegates acting together. In other instances only one religious was included in the mandate but the

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14 E.g. C.P.L. I, p.457.
15 C.P.L. II, p.318.

matter involved the internal affairs of a house of another order. Probably the earliest example of such an intervention was the deposition of Amhlaimh, abbot of Saul, by Mellifont, which led to the expulsion of the canons by Amhlaimh with secular aid in 1170[16]. It is not clear, however, whether Mellifont was acting on papal or episcopal authority, or whether they had been asked to decide in a dispute between the canons and their abbot[17]. The majority of this type of delegation involved the collation of a new abbot or prior of the house in question, sometimes necessitating the removal or deposition of the incumbent.

However, there were other reasons for such contacts. In 1309, for example, the Prior of Holy Trinity and abbot of Athassel were two of those appointed protectors of the privileges of the Cistercian order[18], while in 1421 the abbot of St. Mary's was ordered to hear the confession of Nicholas Stutard, a canon of St. Thomas the Martyr's[19]. No reason is given for this order, but it must have been for something serious if his own abbot was not considered sufficient. The appropriation of parish churches to monastic houses was also frequently delegated to abbots of other orders[20], as was the admission of a layman or secular clerk to a religious house[21].

Of perhaps more general relevance concerning the relations between the canons and monks is another matter dealt with in the Papal Letters and to a lesser extent elsewhere - the question of migration between religious orders. With the emergence of a wide range of different forms of religious life in the late 11th and 12th centuries came a threat to the vow

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16 A.U. 1170.
17 Suggested by Dunning 'The Arroasian Order in Ireland', p.302.
18 C.P.L. II, p.58.
19 C.P.L. VII, p.195.
20 E.g. C.P.L. XII, pp.31 and 285.
21 E.g. C.P.L. V, p.282, C.P.L. VI, p.507, C.P.L. VIII, p.63.

of stability taken by monks, since there were now readily available alternatives. However, it was generally accepted that a monk could change orders on condition that it was to a stricter life - for example, many of the early Cistercians came from existing Benedictine houses[22], and becoming a hermit was also permitted.

The position of the canons in this was a difficult one. Since they argued that they were clerks not monks, and their lifestyle was demonstrably easier than of the monastic orders, they could not dispute the statement by Rupert of Deutz that 'it is lawful and always will be for a cleric to become a monk'[23]. However, since they claimed, as we have seen, that their life was more apostolic and superior to that of monks, they objected to Rupert's corollary that for a monk to become a canon would be apostasy[24]. This remained the generally accepted view, although, as with so many other aspects of the medieval church, theory and practice were not always one and the same.

Whether a canon could leave his community without permission to become a monk was another awkward question[25]. If the answer was no, as in the papal privileges granted to St. Ruf and Springirsbach which necessitated the agreement of the whole community, it apparently contradicted the accepted view. On the other hand, if the answer was yes, as in the papal confirmation granted to All Hallows, Dublin, whilch forbade a canon to leave without licence unless to join a stricter order[26], it implied that the canons regular were intrinsically inferior to monks. The majority of 12th century writings, accepted Urban III's grant to St. Ruf as precedent, although in practice it was rare for anyone to be forced to

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22 Stalley, R.A. The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland p.15.
23 P.L. 170 c. 536 D cited in Morris, Papal monarchy, p.254.
24 P.L. 170 c. 660 cited in Dickinson, Origins, p.209.
25 For the following see Dickinson, op. cit., pp. 210 ff.
26 Reg. All Hallows I.

return, although Innocent III did order a canon of St. Ruf to do so, having joined a Benedictine house.

Transference of personnel between houses of different orders was evidently not infrequent in Ireland, not withstanding the accepted theory, not only from the canons to other orders, but vice versa. In very few cases is the reason given, however. Contrary to what one would expect, there are in fact considerably more recorded cases of members of other orders entering Augustinian houses, generally to become abbot or prior, than there are of canons leaving to join stricter orders[27]. Not all the appointments did in fact take effect, since they were sometimes dependent on the outcome of an investigation into accusations made against the abbot or prior, but it is clear that the authorities had no problems with such changes of order.

Whether such accusations were based on genuine knowledge of the house in question is not clear, since it was a standard practice with more or less formulaic allegations into the morals and fitness of the subject. However, in the case of two accusations against the abbot of Ferns, the delators, belonging to Cella Parva, Annaghdown, and Glasscarraig respectively, both bear the same name as the accused, so they may have had genuine information based on family connections[28].

In some thirty two cases in the Papal Letters and Annates from the 15th and 16th centuries where migrations either definitely or possibly occured, only eight were from Augustinian houses. The destinations were three to Premonstratensian houses, two to the Crutched Friars, and one each to the Cistercians, Franciscans and Dominicans. For the twenty four who

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27 E.g. C.P.L. VI, p.161, from Rindown to Roscommon, and p.60, a Dominican becoming abbot of Mayo.
28 C.P.L. VIII, p.654, 1437 and C.P.L. XIII, p.575, 1477.

joined houses of canons from other orders the Dominicans were the most common source, at eight instances, while the remainder consisted of five Premonstratensians, three Cistercians, two Hospitallers, two Third Order Friars, and one each from the Franciscans, Augustinian Hermits, Crutched Friars and Benedictines of the Order of Tiron. The only evident pattern in these moves is that where the name of both houses is given[29], the houses were usually in more or less the same area.

While these transfers are sometimes said to be with permission to change order[30], in other cases it is simply stated that the new appointee should wear the habit and follow the observances of the house[31]. In some instances it is clear that the monk or canon in question was not actually changing order, for example the canon of Nenagh who was provided as prior of Seirkieran was to retain his place and portion in St. John's[32], while the abbot of Lough Key was granted Ballysadare in commendam in 1484[33]. Similarly, Glaisne Mag Aenghusa who was killed in 1526 combined the abbacies of Saul, Newry, and priorship of Down, belonging to three different orders[34].

As well as individuals changing order there is at least one case where the rule followed by an entire community was changed. This is Rattoo, Co. Kerry, which seems to have been originally founded c. 1200 as a hospital of Crutched Friars, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and possibly dependent on St. John the Baptist's, Dublin. However, shortly afterwards

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29 In the case of the mendicant houses it is usually just the order, not the house, that is named.
30 E.g. C.P.L. XIII, pp.388, 389.
31 E.g. C.P.L. VI, p.203, C.P.L. VIII, p.520, C.P.L. X, p.701.
32 C.P.L. XIII, p.188.
33 C.P.L. XIII, p.179.
34 A.U. 1526, Nicholls, Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland, p.199.

it became known as the Priory of SS. Peter and Paul, of Arroasian canons[35].

Canons and monks also came into contact through acting with and for the secular church authorities. For example, in 1408 the abbot of Mellifont and the prior of Colp were two of the appointed auditors of the accounts of the archbishopric of Armagh[36], while in 1470, Primate Bole chose the prior of Drumlane to carry out the visitation of the diocese of Kilmore[37]. Similarly, 1532 Prior Richard Springam of Louth and Prior George Dowdall of Ardee were commissioned to carry out the metropolitan visitation of the diocese of Meath[38]. Members of other religious orders were sometimes present during episcopal visitations of monasteries. In 1251 the Prior of Down and abbots of Comber, Grey, Moville and St. John's Downpatrick were present during the visitation of Bangor, when the Bishop of Down attempted to depose the abbot 'for excesses against the Rule of his order'[39], while the abbot of Armagh and prior of Ardee accompanied Bishop Colton on his visitation of Derry in 1397[40].

Similarly, during the convocation of the clergy *inter anglicos* in 1528, it was the priors of Louth, Ardee and Dundalk who announced the decision made on the scale of subsidies to be levied to combat the rebellion of some of the English subjects of Louth and Meath[41]. Attendance at synods was also an opportunity for contacts between religious. However, the relations of the canons with the episcopate and the secular church in general will be dealt with more fully in the following section.

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35 Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, p.191.
36 Reg. Fleming no.71.
37 Sughi, La diocesi di Armagh e l'arcivescovo fiorention Ottaviano del Palagio, in Reg. Octavian f.240, calendar no. 360.
38 Reg. Cromer pt. 8, p.117.
39 C.D.I. i. 3150.
40 Reeves, Colton's visitation , pp.12, 14.
41 Reg. Cromer pt. 5, p.348.

Contacts between the church and the secular authorities was another area which resulted in meetings of religious of all orders. As with their relations with the secular church, this will be dealt with below, but certain aspects must be mentioned here. The most important, and probably the most frequent, meeting place for religious was at parliament. While the exact group summoned did not remain constant, the most prominent Augustinian and Cistercian houses, together with the Prior of the Hospitallers, were generally included[42]. Similarly, when the Earl of Desmond summoned a great council to meet in Drogheda in 1446 to report on his conduct as lieutenant, and on the state of the country, the heads of twenty seven religious houses of various orders were included, of whom eighteen were canons regular[43].

Members of religious orders played other roles also in secular administration. In 1297 the abbots of Saul and Grey were the collectors of the 15th in Ulster[44], while in 1381 the pairs of collectors of a clerical levy to raise an army included, for their respective dioceses, the abbots of Gill and Tracton, the abbot of Abington and prior of Athassel, the abbot of Jerpoint and prior of Kilkenny, and the abbot of Tintern and prior of Selskar[45]. In 1425 the justices and keepers of the peace appointed for Louth included the abbot of Mellifont and prior of Louth, and for Kilkenny the prior of Kells and abbot of Jerpoint[46]. Attendance at liberty courts was a further point of contact for ecclesiastics[47].

Despite the various categories already listed, the one area which was possibly the most important for the people involved, and also probably

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42 E.g. Rot. pat. Hib., pp.90, 104, 110 .
43 Roll of the Proceedings of the King's Council in Ireland ed. J. Graves (Dublin, 1877) p.305.
44 C.D.I. iv, 390.
45 Rot. pat. Hib., p.114.
46 Ibid., p.239.
47 E.g. C.O.D. iii, 102, 337.

the most likely to become acrimonious, was where the canons and monks came into conflict over property. Disputes and litigation were a frequent occurence between religious houses over not only land, but also ecclesiastical benefices, tithes and other rights, although not as numerous as those between religious houses and the laity. Unfortunately, in the majority of cases we do not know the outcome of the dispute, although in the case of churches it is sometimes possible to trace them in the Dissolution extents to see who held them then.

Holy Trinity, Dublin, St. Thomas the Martyr, and Athassel seem to have been particularly active in defending their property and rights. Tithes and advowsons of churches were a frequent cause of disputes, perhaps more so for Augustinian houses than for other orders since spiritualities were such an important part of their economy. Holy Trinity was frequently at odds with the monks of St. Mary's over their right to tithes of fish caught in the Liffey. In 1435 St. Mary's appealed against a judgment against them concerning fish caught by the parishioners of St. Nicholas' church[48], while ten years earlier Holy Trinity had sued the fisherman of a boat owned by the abbey for a tithe of his catch[49]. In 1500, the question of the tithe was still an issue, when St. Mary's bound itself to submit to arbitration[50].

The result of this was that Holy Trinity was judged to be entitled to all the tithe of fish on both sides of the river except for half the tithe of fish landed on the north side of the Fyrpole, which was to be marked out by stakes and stones as far east as Clontarf[51]. In 1473 the farmer of the Hospitaller's manor of Clontarf also came into conflict with Holy Trinity

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48 C.C.C.D. 286.
49 Cal. Liber Albus 10.
50 C.C.C.D. 372.
51 Cal. Liber Albus 48.

over the tithe of fish[52]. In a similar fashion the canons of St. Thomas' were careful to claim their right to the tithe of ale and mead granted by John when the tenants of St. Mary's refused to pay[53].

Compromises seem to have been a normal method of settlement even if the judges awarded in favour of one of the disputants. The papal delegates hearing a suit between the abbey of St. Mary and Holy Trinity over the tithes of four churches in the parish of Kilcullen granted them to Holy Trinity and excommunicated the abbot of St. Mary's[54]. However, the cartulary of St. Mary's records an agreement with Holy Trinity whereby they each got two of the churches[55]. In a similar manner a dispute between Athassel and St. John the Baptist's over the churches of Clonyns and Iselkeran in 1337[56] may have resulted in such a compromise, as only the latter was in the hands of Athassel at the Dissolution, although the ownership of Clonynes was still in dispute in 1398[57].

Many of the plaintiffs in recorded cases were attempting to recover property alienated or otherwise lost by their predeccesors. In 1302 the prior of Newtown Trim unsuccessfully claimed that the former prior of St. John's, Kells, had deforced him of the advowson of the church of Stonhalle which had been appropriated to his house in the time of King John. However, in return for a payment of 20 marks he recognised the right of Kells to the church[58]. In 1331 the prior of Kells, Co. Kilkenny,

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52 C.C.C.D. 304.
53 N.L.I. MS. 13 f. 90.
54 C.C.C.D. 33.
55 Chart. St. Mary's i. 159.
56 N.L.I. MS. 13 f. 299 and 301, N.A.I. RC 7/12 Mich. 11 Ed. 2 m.33.
57 C.O.D. ii, 324.
58 N.A.I. RC 7/10 Mich. 32 Ed. 1 m.33d.

sued the prior of Dysart in County Westmeath for land alienated by the former prior Reginald without his chapter's consent[59].

Subsequent grants of the same property could also lead to disputes. The prior of Louth had granted the presentation of the churches of Drumcar and Clonkeen to Peter Pipard in 1187-8 reserving a third of the tithes to Louth as the cathedral chapter. However, the churches were later granted to St. Mary's Abbey, which, since Louth was no longer the chapter, refused to pay[60]. The problem was resolved in 1244 when St. Mary's granted the whole church of Clonkeen to Louth in return for a quitclaim of all right in Drumcar[61].

In very few instances were the mendicant orders involved in disputes over property, largely because they had little or no material possessions. The one reason that they did at times come into conflict with the older orders was their desire, and need, to obtain monetary offerings such as oblations and in particular, burial fees. A canon of Barnwell priory, Cambridgeshire, complained that the friars 'have procured for themselves the burials, legacies, and alms of rich citizens which before their arrival had benefitted our community'[62], a complaint that many others must also have made.

A notorious example of their eagerness for important burials was the dispute between the Dominicans of Mullingar and Franciscans of Trim over the body of Rosina de Verdon[63]. However, on occasion the friars were not the only ones in such arguments. In 1301 Prior Roger of Colp

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59 N.L.I. MS 13 f.141.
60 Smith, B. The English in Uriel 1170-1330, (Unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, T.C.D.1990) p.55.
61 Chart. St. Mary's, i, 281.
62 Liber Memorandum Ecclesie de Bernewelle, ed. J.W. Clark (Cambridge, 1907) p.70.
63 C.P.L. II, p.171.

was fined by the itinerant justices for waylaying the Dominicans of Drogheda in the street and stealing the body of Roger Wyterel and the bier[64]. Another, better known instance, was the dispute between Bective and St. Thomas' over the body of Hugh de Lacy. De Lacy was buried at Bective in 1195, and his head was sent to St. Thomas' where his wife was buried. It was not until 1205 that Bective agreed to submit to papal judgment regarding St. Thomas' claim to the body, which was duly granted to St. Thomas's[65].

It is not surprising, therefore, that when the canons of Llanthony Prima granted a free cemetery to the hospital of St. Mary de Urso in 1214 they were careful to safeguard as far as possible the rights of St. Peter's, Drogheda as mother church. In addition to requesting an annual pension as well as the oblations on principal feasts, they forbade baptisms or confessions which might take away fees from St. Peter's[66].

Money as well as property was also a cause for complaint, and pleas of debt were not uncommon[67]. Even where a debt was acknowledged, obtaining payment was not always easy, as the canons of Kells, Co. Kilkenny, found. The monks of Abington had acknowledged that they owed an annual pension of 100s. plus arrears estimated at £75[68], but 15 years later still had not paid, and it was ordered that the abbot's possessions in the land of peace should be taken into the king's hand to pay the debt[69]. In 1366 the prior of St. Katherine's Waterford sued the prior of St. John the Evangelist for the arrears of an annual rent of 40s

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64 N.A.I. RC 7/8 Hil. 29 Ed. 1 m.10d.
65 Reg. St. T., p.xv.
66 I.C.L. LV.
67 E.g. N.A.I. RC 7/7 Mich. 28 Ed. 1 m.62d, RC 7/10 Hil. 33 Ed. 1 m.70, RC 7/11 Trin. 33 Ed. 1 m.6d.
68 N.A.I. RC 7/13 Mich. 2 Ed. 2 m.13d.
69 N.A.I. RC 7/13 Hil. 2 Ed. 2 m.5.

plus damages[70]. In 1282 the chapter of Holy Trinity had to be ordered to pay the arrears of an annual pension to the Hospital of St. John the Baptist[71], while the Franciscans of Drogheda remitted part of a debt acknowledged by the abbot of Duleek[72].

Dealings between the orders regarding property were not always hostile, however. Religious houses sometimes made grants or leases to another house, or exchanged property to their mutual advantage. In 1400, for example, the Benedictines of Exeter granted the island of Begerin, which they had been granted by the Roches, to the priory of Selskar, also of the patronage of the Roche family[73]. Around 1200, as part of a settlement of dispute, the brethren of St. John the Baptist granted to St. Thomas's the church of Donoghmore in return for the church of Stahgori[74]. The same house was also included in a list of the feoffers and founders of the cathedral church of Dublin[75], and in c. 1216-7 made an exchange of property in Dublin with Holy Trinity, the latter receiving a house beside their own cemetery[76].

Land and buildings were not the only things transferred. The Cistercian abbot of Abbeydorney asked for the farming of two rectories in the possession of Greatconnell which were not rendering anything, to the mutual advantage of both houses[77]. The prior of Ardee granted a rent of 10s to Holy Trinity arising out of Blakestown in Co. Louth[78], while St.

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70 Archdall, Monasticon Hibernicum, p.699.
71 C.C.C.D. 129.
72 C.J.R. 1305-7, p.177.
73 De Varebeke, 'The Benedictines in medieval Ireland', p.95.
74 Reg. St. T. 369, 371, Reg. St. John, Dublin, 292,293.
75 Liber Niger 2.
76 Reg. St. John, Dublin 69.
77 C.P.L. XII, p.582.
78 C.C.C.D. 402.

Wolstan's remitted to St. John the Baptist's an annual rent of 2m in return for a payment of 10m[79].

The Dissolution extents also give evidence of leases and grants between religious houses. St. Mary's Abbey held land in Bowleston Parva from St. Thomas' manor of Donnamor for a rent of 12s 4d[80], while Baltinglass and St. Thomas's shared the tithes of Castellmore Co. Kildare[81]. Mullingar paid rent for land in Dunboyne owned by Kilmainham[82], and Holy Trinity leased property in Dublin from St. Mary's[83]. Abbeyleix and Greatconnell each owned half of the tithes of Kylroyshe, Co. Carlow[84], and St. Thomas's owed rents in Dublin to both St. John the Baptist's[85] and St. Mary's[86].

In addition to those already discussed, there are a few other areas of contact between religious houses, all of which appear to have been amicable. One which is too frequent to give examples is the evidence of witness lists. Almost all the surviving registers as well as other charters include instances where there are witnesses from different orders from that of the house in question, or from each other. The Register of All Hallows is unusual in having only two cases where there are witnesses from other houses, and in only one of these is the abbot of another order[87]. For obvious reasons geographical location is the most notable factor in the appearance in witness lists, although as most documentation survives from Dublin houses this is not surprising.

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79 Reg. St. John, Dublin, 23.
80 Extents Ir. Mon. Possessions, p.33.
81 Ibid., p.38.
82 Ibid., p.288.
83 Ibid., pp.3-4.
84 Extents Ir. mon. possessions, p.136.
85 Ibid., p.27.
86 Ibid., p.5.
87 Reg. All Hallows, p.53, the abbot of St. Mary's, Dublin.

In 1248 the prior and brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem and the prior and convent of Holy Trinity made an agreement to 'afford each other mutual aid in emergencies and matters concerning their houses'[88], although it is not obvious whether this had any real result. In a somewhat similar manner, in the 15th century, a covenant was made between St. Thomas's, St. Mary's, Philip Bermingham and James Aylmer to admit a given list of people to all spiritual benefits in return for a sum of money[89].

The account roll of Holy Trinity gives little evidence for contacts with other houses, perhaps because there were alternative places to lodge in the city for members of the various orders. The only religious listed as having been entertained at the prior's table were the Dominicans of Arklow[90], and the priors of St. Wolstan's[91] and Holmpatrick[92]. It is clear, however, from the considerable bulk of material which survives from the priory that they were in regular contact with members of all orders.

This brief outline of the various ways in which the canons and monks were brought into contact shows that not only were such dealings a regular occurence, despite the rural isolation of many of their houses, but that they were, as a general rule, on good terms. There is no evident hostility towards the canons regular as an order in Ireland, only individual cases where houses came into conflict, something which occurred at least as much between houses of the same order. On a wider level only the friars seem to have ever faced opposition, and this was for political as much as for religious reasons. Location was evidently an important

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88 C.C.C.D. 64.
89 Elliot, A. 'The Abbey of St. Thomas the Martyr near Dublin' in R.S.A.I.Jn. 22 (1892) p.33.
90 Account Roll, p.10.
91 Ibid., pp.11, 117, 154.
92 Ibid., pp. 1, 5, 90, 94.

factor in allowing such contacts, but not exclusively so, and given the number of religious houses in medieval Ireland few houses were really cut off either from members of their own order or from others.

(ii) The canons and the secular church

As has been stated above, there was a greater difference between the regular canons and the secular church than between canons and monks, despite their theoretical position as clerics. This practical division meant that relations between canons and the church authorities were complex. Having originated from within the seculars, and formed with the backing of popes and bishops, the canons were more dependent on good relations with the episcopate than their monastic and mendicant counterparts. Few Augustinian houses were exempted from the jurisdiction of their diocesan[93], and regular contacts must have taken place, although the paucity of Irish episcopal registers means that much of the detail is missing.

The ways in which the canons and the secular church, in particular the episcopate, came into contact can be grouped broadly into several categories; matters of a spiritual nature, those to do with organization and administration, economic affairs, and those miscellaneous occasions, such as delegations, and synods, as in the preceding section. The canons came into contact, and sometimes conflict, with the secular church authorities in almost every aspect of their lives.

Bishops were needed for many spiritual functions within all religious houses. There was an increasing trend throughout the period for monks to be ordained priests, and, given their origins, this was even more true for the canons regular. In the absence of detailed episcopal registers and

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93 Two in England, Dickinson, Origins, p.162, and none in Ireland.

record books, it is impossible to obtain figures regarding ordinations in Ireland, but there are at least some references. The Armagh registers include entries concerning the administration of Orders, often during visitations, and in some cases the ordinands are stated to be members of religious orders. Swayne's Register mentions Augustinians among those ordained at Drogheda in 1429[94] and at Termonfeckin in 1435[95]. Archbishop Fleming ordained Brother Nicholas Staunton as acolyte at Termonfeckin in May 1410[96], while Bishop Nangle of Clonmacnoise ordained Nicholas Heyn of Navan as acolyte at Dundalk in September 1412[97], and as deacon in the following spring[98]. The Register of Clogher refers to the visit of Bishop Máel Ísa Ua Cerbaill of Airghialla in 1183 when he consecrated the church and conferred orders[99].

An indirect source of information on the ordination of canons regular can be found in the Papal Registers in the many dispensations given on the grounds of illegitimacy. A sizeable number of the recipients are stated to be the sons of ordained members of the order, although it is interesting to note that not all the fathers described as 'abbot of the same order' are also stated to be 'an ordained priest', implying that it was not compulsory for a canon to be ordained to be eligible to be appointed abbot or prior.

Bishops were required for other spiritual functions besides ordinations. Churches and cemeteries had do be consecrated before use, although the absence of cartularies and foundation records mean that the consecration of relatively few Augustinian churches has survived. That of the new church at Clogher in 1183 has already been mentioned, while Knock was

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94 Reg. Swayne p.116.
95 Ibid., pp. 155, 157.
96 Reg. Fleming 125.
97 Reg. Fleming, 218.
98 Ibid., 224.
99 Nicholls, 'Register of Clogher', p.373.

consecrated by Malachy in 1148 at what must have been an impressive occasion[100]. Kilmore was consecrated by Donnchadh Ó Conchobair of Elphin in 1232[101]. In other cases reconsecration was necessary, for example at Dungiven, in 1397, when Archbishop Colton reconsecrated the church and cemetery which had been polluted by bloodshed[102].

All elections of new abbots and priors had not only to be authorised by the king or his justiciar, and by Rome, but the appointee had to be blessed and installed by a bishop, usually the diocesan or metropolitan, or sometimes by his deputy, such as the archdeacon[103]. The countless mentions of new appointments in both the Patent Rolls and the Papal Letters refer to this ceremony[104], while in many cases the new abbot or prior is given the option to be blessed by the prelate of his choice[105]. A missal from the Arroasian house of St. Thomas the Martyr's, Dublin includes the formula for the installation of a new abbot[106].

In addition to the purely spiritual functions of the bishop, there were many other ways in which he was involved in the life of a house of canons and its proper functioning. He frequently had considerable control over appointments to offices within houses in his diocese[107], and acted as a court of appeal over disputed elections[108]. Since his

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100 A.F.M. 1148.
101 A.L.C. 1232.
102 Reeves, Colton's Visitation pp.41-2.
103 Reg. Mey p.235 installation of Maurice Oloucheran at Armagh 1450 by the archdeacon.
104 E.g. C.D.I. ii. 514, 708, 1534.
105 E.g. C.P.L. III, p.488, XIV, p.285.
106 BL Add. MS. 24,198. The bishop introduces the recipient as abbot elect, and the new abbot formally professes obedience to the metropolitan.
107 Rot. pat. Hib., p.259, where the vacancy at Knock devolved to archbishop of Armagh as ordinary on the resignation of the abbot. While the majority of recorded cases refer to episcopal confirmation of abbots and priors, other offices were also affected. In 1455 Primate Mey while visiting Armagh confirmed the appointment of a new sacristan at SS. Peter and Pauls, Reg. Mey 331.
108 E.g. in 1450 the archbishop of Armagh confirmed his own candidate as prior of Louth "per viam compromissi", Reg. Mey 230.

confirmation and blessing were required[109] he could veto the choice of the community, and impose his own choice[110], or even bring in an outsider if he considered there to be no suitable candidate within the community. Where the house was too small for a valid election to be held he could also act as independent arbiter. There are also many instances of bishops deposing abbots and priors, usually for financial or moral wrongdoing[111], and the bishop could be ordered to accept a proffered resignation[112]. Bishops were not infrequently granted custody of the temporalities of a house during a vacancy[113].

The undertaking of pastoral activities by members of religious orders was controlled by the diocesan, particularly in Dublin where a papal confirmation of the Archbishop's rights declared that 'canons, monks or other clerks are not to remove or institute chaplains in churches of the diocese without the archbishop's authority unless by virtue of papal privilege ... monks in Dublin diocese are not to hold chaplaincies or to assume a priest's or a chaplain's duty or benefice without pontifical authority'[114].

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109 In 1318 there was difficulty in removing the new abbot of St. Thomas' in favour of the papal candidate as the diocesan had blessed the canons' choice, Rot pat. Hib., p.161. The new abbot of the same house in 1392 was, as a special favour, allowed 'to receive benediction from any catholic bishop of his choice', C.P.L, IV, p.441.

110 E.g. C.D.I. ii. 980, when the election at Saul was held without licence and declared void.

111 E.g. C.D.I. i. 3150. This deposition by the bishop of Down was reversed by the archbishop of Armagh on appeal. In 1440 the abbot of Trim, Edmund Porter, complained to the king that he had been forcibly removed by the bishop of Meath and one of his fellow canons, and the archbishop of Armagh was ordered to make enquiries, Rot pat. Hib., p.501.

112 C.D.I. i. 1132, 1223 the archbishop of Dublin was ordered to accept the resignation of the abbot of St. Thomas' and grant licence to elect. However, in this instance it was in his capacity as justiciar.

113 E.g. C.D.I. i. 746, Henry de Londres granted custody of St. Thomas' during the vacancy if the report of the abbot's death was true. In 1297 Bishop Nicholas of Down argued in court that the abbot of St. John's, Downpatrick held of him in capite, and that he and his predecessors were accustomed to have custody of the temporalities in all vacancies, C.J.R. 1295-1303 p.115.

114 Alen's Reg. p.10.

In addition to having the authority to appoint abbots and priors, diocesans frequently exercised their right of patronage over religious houses in their see to cause the admission of new members of a community. These were not invariably novices, since many of the papal mandates order the bishop to cause entry to a house and then provide the candidate to an office in the house[115]. Some of the new members were laymen, but quite a lot were already secular clerks. Similarly, mandates were issued for the transfer of religious to other houses. Since few houses had regulations concerning the number of canons to be permitted, a diocesan could place a considerable burden on a house by forcing them to accept more canons than the revenues could support. One papal mandate in 1443 for the entry of two clerks into Ballintober specifically says that this is to be carried out 'even without the consent of the said convent'[116].

The regular visitation of each houses by the diocesan or his representative could also be an instrument for strict supervision and control over an abbey, since the visitation of religious houses within his jurisdiction was both a right and a duty of bishops, except where a house, or order, was exempt from such control. This was seldom the case among Augustinian communities, and no Irish house appears to have had that privilege, except where a cell was proven to be non-conventual, as in the cases of Colp and Duleek[117]. Unfortunately, Ireland does not have such detailed visitation registers as those which survive for some English and continental dioceses, which give detailed accounts of both procedure and findings[118]. However, the surviving episcopal registers, together with

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115 E.g. C.P.L. VII pp.284, 456, 457, VIII pp.52-3, 115, IX pp.209, 324.
116 C.P.L. IX p.405. Similarly , in 1410, Adam O Longsygh was to be admitted to Killagha, 'whether it has a fixed number of canons or not', C.P.L. VI pp.278-9.
117 Reg. Mey 12.
118 See Cheney, C.R. Episcopal visitations of monasteries in the 13th century (Manchester, 1983).

passing references in other sources, do shed some light on this aspect of the canons' dealings with the hierarchy.

The primates of Armagh seem to have been punctilious in exercising their right of visitation, as far as the division of the archdiocese permitted, and where it was not possible for them to travel in person, they sent their suffragans or other representatives. Episcopal supervision of religious houses could take more than one form. The visitation proper, involving the detailed examination of the house and inmates, was the most thorough form. However, a busy ecclesiastic, especially if travelling was difficult, or short of time, frequently summoned the abbots or priors to him to make a report on the state of affairs within their house, and exhibit their charters[119].

This was not unusual on a diocesan or archiepiscopal visitation, where detailed inspections of each house would have been impractical. Other instances of episcopal intervention could occur when an accusation had reached the authorities which needed investigation. It is not always clear which form the visitation took, since the record, for example, of a deposition by the bishop while on a visitation, does not necessarily indicate whether a diocesan visitation, or a visitation of the house, is meant.

The earliest definite reference to a personal visit by an archbishop of Armagh comes in February 1366, when the canons of Newtown Trim were granted an indulgence because of the condition of their house, which the archbishop had seen on his last metropolitan visitation[120]. It is

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119 E.g. the abbot of St. Thomas had to appear before Archbishop David Mageraghty of Armagh at Drogheda during his visitation of Meath to show by what right they held churches in that diocese, Reg. Sweteman 1, and Alen's Reg, p.268 when the canons of Greatconnell were summoned to the cathedral in Kildare to show their charters.

120 Reg. Sweteman 189.

not clear whether this refers to an actual inspection of the affairs of the priory, or simply to the fact that as Newtown Trim was the cathedral for Meath, he must have visited it. There is no reason to suppose that the archbishops had been negligent before this date, and were evidently diligent afterwards. The Armagh registers contain regular notifications of impending visitations within the Primate's jurisdiction[121]. It is certain that other northern bishops were making visitations of houses in the 13th century, as Abbot Michael of Bangor was deposed by the bishop of Derry in 1251 during a visitation in the presence of five local abbots and priors, some of whose houses were presumably also inspected[122].

The fullest surviving account of a visitation comes from the episcopate of John Colton, who toured the diocese of Derry in October 1397[123]. It is a valuable source of information, not only on visitations but also on local conditions at that time. The diocese had been vacant for three years, which may explain why the archbishop felt the need to visit part of the archdiocese *inter Hibernicos* [124]. While most of the visit was occupied with the spiritual and temporal affairs of the secular church, two days were spent investigating the Augustinian house of Cella Nigra, Derry. The visitation began with two Masses, after which the canons were summoned to make statements concerning the state of affairs in their community. A spokesman for the canons reported that the Guardian of the house, appointed on the resignation of the abbot, had usurped control of the common seal. This was surrendered to Colton, and a request was

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121 Eg. Armagh, 1367 and 1375 Reg. Sweteman 213, 214; Down, 1368 ibid. 242; Meath, 1367 ibid. 241.
122 C.D.I. i. 3150.
123 Reeves, Colton's Visitation. A translation given by Porter,J. 'The Metropolitan visitation of the Diocese of Derry by Archbishop Colton, A.D. 1397' in U.J.A. I (1853), pp.66-78, 184-197, 232-41.
124 Vacant since John Dongan transferred to Down 1394.

made that the archbishop should issue ordinances for the restoration of discipline.

The following day, the primate reluctantly accepted the resignation of the former abbot and confirmed the choice of the canons as his successor, subject to there being no response to the public pronouncement that any objection should be made to the archbishop in the cathedral on the morrow, when he was to investigate the authority of all holders of ecclesiastical offices. Since no objections were made, the abbot elect was publicly instituted, and made his oath of obedience to Colton both as metropolitan and ordinary.

On the last day of the visitation, i.e. the 17th October, the archbishop delivered his ordinances to the abbot of Derry at Bannagher. There appear to have been serious breaches in discipline in the house, given that the newly appointed abbot was ordered to put aside his concubine and restore the property he had alienated. The other dictates, concerning the common life and the saying of offices and of Mass, also indicate that the regime had been very lax. The primate also visited the canons at Dungiven, but no other religious house is mentioned as having been visited. The Dominican prior of Derry was present for at least some of the visitation, but his order was exempt from episcopal jurisdiction[125].

The archbishops of Armagh were also careful to exercise their right of jurisdiction over the diocese of Meath, and there are many references to archiepiscopal visitations being made. Swayne's visitation in 1428 has received more attention than any other[126], but he seems to have been an active visitor. However, he appears to have summoned religious and

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125 New Catholic Encyclopedia ii. 974.

126 Murray , L.P. 'Archbishop Swayne's visitation of Meath (A.D. 1428)' in I.E.R. 22 p.240-6.

clergy to central churches to report rather than to have visited the monasteries himself[127].

In addition to the powers which the bishop had over the spiritual and administrative affairs of the order, he also had great influence on the economic position of Augustinian houses. While this is true to some degree of all orders, in the case of the canons regular, for whom spiritualities comprised such a large part of their income, good relations with the diocesan was even more important. Permission to receive grants of churches and other revenues had to be obtained from the bishop[128], who retained, if he was conscientious, a supervisory eye on the condition of the church and the provision made by the canons for the cure of souls[129]. The bishop also had to protect his own rights in such cases, by making it clear who was responsible for the payment of dues[130]. He was also involved in the institution of vicarages in such appropriated churches and in the induction of vicars. Surviving registers of both canons and bishops contain innumerable examples of episcopal confirmation of grants to houses of the order, usually at the request of either the house or the donor, and such confirmations were frequently reissued by succeeding bishops.

All houses under the bishop's jurisdiction owed him procurations for visitations, and a proportion of the tithes of appropriation houses. These payments were a regular cause of complaint, the bishop because of non-

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127 E.g. Reg. Swayne, pp. 51, 76-7.

128 E.g. Henry de Londres refused to authorize the appropriation of Ardry, in the deanery of Athy, granted to St. Thomas' by Milo de Stanton, but another church was given instead. Rep. Viride p.210.

129 E.g. C.O.D. i. 54, where the bishop of Leighlin confirms the appropriation of Kiltevan by Oseney, 'saving a due portion of said church to be reserved for a vicar who shall have the cure of souls there'. Archbishop David of Armagh summoned the abbot of St. Thomas' during a visitation of Meath to explain why there were no vicars in some of the churches in Meath held by the house, Reg. Sweteman 6.

130 Cf. ibid., the vicar 'shall answer for the episcopal, parochial and papal dues'.

payment[131], the canons claiming that he demanded too much for the house to bear, or more than his right[132]. Poverty was often given as the reason for total exemptions or reductions in the episcopal dues. In 1397 Monaincha was exempted from all payments and exactions for thirty years owing to its financial state[133], while in 1421 the bishop of Ferns was ordered to examine the validity of the claim of Kells, Co. Kilkenny to be too poor to pay the ordinary 7 1/2 marks a year for visitation, and to reduce the dues if true[134].

The closest working relationship possible between the canons regular and the episcopate occurred in a situation which, in Ireland, belonged almost exclusively to the Augustinian order - that of the regular cathedral chapter[135]. Since the staffing of cathedral chapters by the canons will be discussed as one of the activities undertaken by the order, it will only be touched on here as a situation which brought them into regular contact with the secular church authorities. It could be an uneasy relationship at times, where the bishop (or in Dublin archbishop) was generally not a member of the order, and yet was theoretically the abbot of the community[136]. The relationship between the canons of Holy Trinity and the archbishops of Dublin is by far the best documented example. However, the existence of the second, secular, cathedral chapter in Dublin complicated the situation considerably and makes Dublin an atypical example of a regular chapter.

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131 E.g. C.P.L. IV p.86 1369 when Prior William of Bridgetown refused to pay the yearly cess due to the bishop of Cloyne.
132 E.g. C.P.L. IV p.602, Mayo accusing the archbishop of Tuam, and C.P.L. IX p.355, when the bishop of Clonfert excommunicated the prior of Clontuskert for refusing to pay his extortions, although the priory was not bound to pay procurations.
133 C.P.L. IV p.74.
134 C.P.L. VII p.180.
135 Downpatrick was the only non-Augustinian regular chapter.
136 Alen's Reg. p. 286 refers to the Archbishop as abbot of Holy Trinity.

The majority of the regular chapters were only temporary arrangements, with the see being moved or abolished altogether[137]. Where this happened, it could lead to some long-running arguments between the canons and the secular clergy with regards to their right to have a say in the election of the bishop. In 1237 an unnamed regular canon was involved in the disputed election of Nehemias Ó Bracain as bishop of Clogher[138], and the canons of Bangor were still claiming the right to elect the bishop of Down a century after Malachy's death[139].

In addition to having secular bishops with regular chapters, it was by no means unusual throughout the middle ages for members of religious orders to be appointed to the episcopate, even where this was directly against the rules of their order. While the friars provided the greatest number of bishops, Augustinian canons were not infrequently appointed, although their occurrence was not evenly distributed throughout the country[140]. Dublin only had one Augustinian archbishop after Lorcán Ua Tuathail (who may not actually have been a member, despite wearing the habit[141]), John Walton from 1472-84, while Clogher and Kilfenora had 5 each, and Ossory 6[142].

It is difficult, however, owing to the nature of the sources, to see whether conflicts occurred between bishops and chapters because one party belonged to the order. The only clear examples of conflict occurred because of property which had been vested in the bishop and chapter as a single entity, the ownership of which was disputed when the bishop was no longer a member of the community. In the case of the short-lived see

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137 See below, pp.178-80.
138 Theiner, A. Vetera monumenta Hibernorum (Rome, 1864) p.36.
139 C.P.L. I, p.207, and Pontificia Hibernica ii, 259.
140 See appendix 2.
141 Neither N.H.I. vol. 9 nor the Handbook of British Chronology list him as a member of the order.
142 Counting John Waltham's two appointments, 1398-1400, and 1402-5.

of Louth, for most of its existence the bishop was a member of the order, and seems to have been on good terms with his chapter. This is supported by a charter granted to Peter Pippard by Bishop Cristin and Prior Thomas with the consent of their chapter[143]. Although the date of the removal of the see to Clogher is uncertain, it seems to correspond to the accession of Máel Ísu Ua Máel Chiarain, O.Cist., as bishop[144], while the confirmation charter c. 1197 to Roger Pippard is from Prior Donat only, although the bishop was a witness[145]. Similarly, many of the early grants to Holy Trinity were made to the archbishop and convent without distinction[146].

It is clear that some regular bishops, at least, even though no longer part of their communities, retained close links with them, and presumably sometimes, although not always, used their position to aid their original house. A long-running dispute between the abbey of Athassel and the diocese of Limerick stemmed from the grant of benefices to the abbey by a former bishop without his chapter's leave[147]. The bishop for the 25 years prior to the settlement of the dispute happened to be a former abbot of Athassel, which suggests that he was the unnamed former bishop responsible. An exchange of spiritualities may, in fact, have been made, as Athassel quitclaimed rights in several other benefices to Bishop Hubert[148].

The ties between bishop and abbey could be formal, as in the instances where an abbot or prior appointed to a bishopric or other office was

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143 C.O.D. i, 12.
144 Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, p.93.
145 C.O.D. i. 9.
146 E.g. Alen's Reg. pp. 34, 38, 52, 54.
147 Black Book of Limerick ed J. McCaffrey (Dublin, 1907) CIII-CXV, 1243-53.
148 Ibid. CII, 1239.

permitted to retain his abbey in commendam[149], or could be informal. The issuing of grants in commendam could take two forms - where a regular canon was granted an ecclesiastical office but allowed keep his position, and where an ecclesiastical office holder was granted an abbey or priory in commendam[150].

Informal ties occurred when a bishop had connections with a house either because he had previously been a member of it, or if he was connected with the founding family or a patron in other ways. The first Anglo-Norman bishop of Ossory was one of the first canons of Kells, Co. Kilkenny, and he advised the establishment of the daughter house of Kells, Inistioge. He also issued charters in favour of the priory[151]. The will of Archbishop John Walton of Dublin refers to the returning of a large amount of property to Oseney, and the granting of other property to the same house, of which he had been abbot. His debtors included a number of canons and officials of Oseney, totalling at least £150[152].

As shown by the account of the early history of the order, the episcopate was closely connected to the founding of many houses. Even where the bishop was not the actual founder, he was often behind the establishment. This could result in a history of good relations between the canons and diocesan, with the bishop granting churches and other rights to increase the status and income of 'his' priory.

Regular canons, chiefly the heads of houses, were often called on to act for their diocesans in a range of administrative tasks. They are found acting as envoys, vicars-general, and making visitations. In 1519 prior

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149 E.g. C.P.L. XII pp.330, 374 for bishops, C.P.L. XIII p.121 for archdeacon and C.P.L. XIII p.757 for chancellorship of a diocese. There are also instances of regular canons also holding secular prebends.
150 E.g. C.P.L. XIII p.834, XIV p.65.
151 Ir. mon. deeds, 1200-1600, App. III.
152 Berry, Wills pp.170-1.

Richard of Louth and the archdeacon were acting as commissaries of the vicar-general of the diocese[153], and this working relationship between the prior and vicar-general continued for some time, as a year later Richard was at Termonfeckin hearing a marriage case, in the presence of the vicar-general[154]. By 1522 the prior and archdeacon were themselves the archbishop's vicars-general, having evidently served their apprenticeship in the role[155]. The priors of Greatconnell were several times appointed by the archbishops of Dublin to carry out a visitation of Kildare during a vacancy in that diocese[156].

While it was more usual for the metropolitan, or the justiciar to have custody of the temporalities of a vacant diocese, this could sometimes be granted to members of religious houses. In 1223 the prior of Athassel, Hubert de Burgo, was granted custody of the diocese of Limerick, to which he was subsequently appointed[157]. The prior of Inistioge had joint custody of the diocese of Ossory on the death of his fellow Augustinian Peter Mauveisin in 1231[158]. In 1529 the prior of Tristernagh, Edmund Nugent, was granted subcustody of the diocese of Kilmore, *sede vacante*[159], during which time he carried out a visitation of the diocese[160]. Like Hubert de Burgo of Athassel, he was afterwards appointed bishop. They could also be used on a personal level - for example, the prior of Greatconnell was one of the executors of the Bishop of Ossory's will in 1250[161], although the reason for the selection is unknown.

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153 Reg. Cromer 46 and 57, pt. 2 pp.44-5 and 59.
154 Ibid., 68, pt. 3 p.179.
155 Reg. Cromer, 25, pt. 5 p.338.
156 Alen's Reg. pp.266-8, 268.
157 C.D.I. i. 1090, 1092.
158 Cal. Pat. Rolls Hen. III, 1225-32 p.439.
159 Reg. Cromer 100 pt. 6 p.38.
160 Ibid., 101 p.38.
161 C.D.I. i. 3120, Cal. Pat. Rolls Hen. III, 1247-58, p.92.

Bishops are recorded throughout the period covered by this thesis as visiting Augustinian houses on pilgrimage, and many elected to be buried in houses of the order, even if they died elsewhere. In some cases a family or personal connection with the house is known to have existed, but in most cases the reason for the choice of site and order is unknown. The bishop of Elphin died on pilgrimage at Cong in 1168[162], and a later successor, Thomas Barrett elected to be buried in Errew[163]. Hugh de Taghmon, bishop of Meath, chose to be buried at Mullingar, which had been founded by a former bishop[164], and the same house was the burial site of bishop Ua Flaithbertaigh of Killala[165].

It is clear from the numerous grants of indulgences to religious houses to encourage pilgrims, that diocesan bishops must have kept a supervisory eye over such houses, although only in the case of Lough Derg is there much evidence of this. The permission of both the metropolitan and diocesan were required for pilgrims to enter the Purgatory[166].

Episcopal encouragement of pilgrimages could take other forms also. The discovery of the relics of SS. Patrick, Brigid and Columba at Saul by Archbishop Nicholas Mac Maelisa was followed by splendid translation ceremonies[167], while other clerics wrote or commissioned lives and offices of the early saints to promote their cults - for example, Finian of Clonard, and Patrick[168]. In 1528 Bishop Patrick of Clogher redacted a new office, presumed by K.W. Nicholls to be that of St. Macartan,

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162 A.U. 1168.
163 A.Clon. 1404.
164 A.Clon. 1282.
165 A.U. 1306.
166 See Haren and de Pontfarcy, The Medieval Pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory (Enniskillen, 1988) and for pilgrimages in general, below, pp.181-4.
167 A.L.C. 1293 , A.C. 1293.
168 Hughes, K. 'The Offices of S. Finnian of Clonard and S. Cíanán of Duleek' in Anal. Boll., 73 (1955), pp.342-72 .

from the ancient books of the order of St. Augustine[169]. Archbishop Henry de Londres made a grant of land to Holy Trinity for the canons to make a gate for the entrance to their church, and in return the canons agreed to celebrate the anniversary of his death[170], and other archbishops protected pilgrims to the cathedral.

Other forms of contact between the canons and their secular colleagues and superiors are similar to those discussed in the preceding section. They met regularly at episcopal synods, councils, and parliament. Witness lists frequently include canons and secular clergy, particularly when spiritualities, or other grants to the church, are the subject of the charters. They met through acting as papal delegates, and not infrequently when they came into conflict over temporal and spiritual rights[171], although sometimes amicable arrangements over property were made. Bishop Michael of Clogher and abbot Cahal Ó Hartagain of Clogher carried out an exchange of land to their mutual benefit in the last quarter of the 13th century[172], and since the bishop was buried in the monastery in 1288 a good working relationship evidently existed[173].

A final topic which, in a way, falls between this section and the preceding one, is the question of the surviving pre-reform houses of Irish monks, which were classed as secular colleges. Since so many early Irish monasteries became Augustinian in the twelfth century, or their former sites and the name and reputation of the founder taken over, it would be

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169 Reg. Clogher, p.431.
170 Alen's Reg. p.48. He is not however included in the Book of Obits.
171 E.g. Liber Ruber of Ossory 7, prior Walter of Kilkenny was excommunicated and the priory placed under interdict for not paying a pension owed the bishop. In 1366 the abbot and convent of Armagh were summoned before the Archbishop to answer for their usurpation of the tithes of his mensal lands at Armagh, for despoiling his servants of tithes , and for non-payment of rents, Reg. Sweteman 128. The archbishop took legal action as well as excommunicating them, ibid., 137.
172 Reg. Clogher f.6v.
173 Reg. Clogher f.10r.

understandable if there was resentment between the Culdees who survived and their supplanters. In a number of cases, the canons and Culdees co-existed, such as at Armagh and Devenish, until the 16th century, and in other instances the older community may have survived into the 13th century[174]. However, there is little evidence for resentment, and although the canons occasionally came into conflict with these secular colleges, this was usually for the same reasons as they quarrelled with their monastic and secular colleagues, outlined above.

As I have said, the canons were in a much closer relationship with the secular church authorities than were most religious, and in every aspect of their lives. The relationship appears to have been in general a good one, and problems occurred only when issues concerning property or rights arose. There are no grounds for believing that the seculars had any problem with the regular canons' ambigious position, counting as seculars but living like monks. Provided they respected the rights of the diocesan, the canons' pastoral activities, discussed below, do not seem to have resulted in the kind of friction that the activities of the mendicant orders sometimes caused.

(iii) The canons and the secular authorities

Contacts between the canons and the secular authorities took many forms, but it is clear that underlying their relationship was the belief that benefits and obligations worked both ways. The secular authorities offered protection and patronage to the church in return for spiritual benefits, as well as claiming the use of the educational and organizational skills of the senior clergy for secular roles. While each side benefitted, this does not mean, however, that relations were always amicable or that

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174 Gwynn and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, Ireland, p.151.

there was no conflict of interest, and both sides were careful to protect their rights from erosion.

As has already been seen, the early foundations and spread of the Augustinian canons owed much to the support of the crown and nobility as well as of bishops. This link between founder and house was a lasting bond, which evidently was seen as leading to obligations on both sides. St. Thomas's is a good example of this, since petitions to the crown constantly remind the king that they were of his ancestor's foundation, and in return, they were expected to provide services to the crown, which will be elaborated below. The sheltering of the fugitive Diarmaid Mac Murchada by the canons of Ferns is another example of such obligations in practice, and similarly the O Conchobair dynasty used Cong as a place of shelter, retirement, and burial, when necessary, while the splendid remains of this abbey show how much it benefitted from royal patronage.

The most important reason for recurring contacts between the canons and the secular authorities was property. Since the vast majority of surviving records come from the houses within the jurisdiction of the English crown, unless otherwise specified the authorities referred to in the following discussion are the crown and its chief agents. Most Augustinian houses possessed a comparatively large amount of property, which brought them into the complex obligations and duties of feudal law. The claims of the crown to control ecclesiastical appointments sprang from the fact that heads of religious houses had considerable temporal power as landowners. The repetition in licences to elect of the phrase 'to elect an abbot, useful to their church, and faithful to the king and his kingdom'[175], reflects the dual nature of the role. The ban on the appointment of Irishmen was also an attempt to ensure loyalty to the

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175 C.D.I. ii, 1368, 1005 and many similar entries throughout the volumes.

crown, understandable when ecclesiastics had secular influence, and in some cases the duty of attending parliament.

Elections were evidently taken very seriously, judging by the large numbers of requests for licences and the regular reprimands issued to houses which failed to wait for the licence before proceeding to an election. Control over elections was generally easy to enforce by financial means, since by the taking of the temporalities into the king's hands in a vacancy, few houses would willingly elect a candidate unlikely to be approved by the crown, or persist in such a choice if it led to the withholding of the temporalities. Armagh had lands in Meath and Louth taken into the king's hand in 1392 because of the choice of an Irishman as abbot[176]. The king's insistance in 1323 that no elections should be held without first obtaining a licence, and that after the royal assent was given the elect should come in person to give fealty and reecive the temporalities[177], was, however, often relaxed, although this was always clearly stated not to be allowed to set a precedent[178].

In addition to control over appointments, the crown exercised control over the movements of senior clerical figures. Bishops, abbots and priors needed permission to travel abroad, to attend chapters, councils or on business. In 1228 Philip, prior of Holmpatrick, went to Rome with the king's licence[179], as did the prior of Athassel in 1259[180]. In 1283 the abbot of Navan was given licence to go abroad, with no specified destination[181]. In 1264 Thomas Scurlag, prior of Newtown Trim, was summoned to appear before the king's council, but instead 'straightaway

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176 Graves, King's Council, pp.239-40.
177 Cal. Pat. Rolls Ed. II 1321-4, p.332.
178 E.g. C.D.I. ii, 540, 629, 706, 709
179 Cal. Close Rolls Hen. III 1227-31, p.137.
180 C.D.I. ii, 610.
181 C.D.I. ii, 2143.

departed to parts beyond seas without licence, at which the king is much moved, and not without cause'[182].

The passing of the statute of mortmain in 1279 was another means by which the crown sought to protect its rights against the large scale church ownership of land, and this was a common cause of dispute between the king and religious houses. This was particularly the case in Ireland as the publication of the statute was delayed and it was unclear when, or whether, it applied in Ireland[183]. In 1284 a dispute involving Llanthony Secunda and Duleek over whether land had been acquired before the statute was not fully resolved, although the seized lands were returned, while in litigation in 1306 about Duleek it was clearly stated that the land had been acquired after the enactment of the statute but before its promulgation in Ireland[184]. By 1289 licences to acquire land despite the statute were being issued to Irish religious houses, and several Augustinian houses underwent investigation to see whether the acquisition of property would be prejudicial to the crown.

The protection of the crown's rights was the paramount issue. In 1285 land was taken from Llanthony because 'the king would lose accruing wards and marriages if the prior should continually possess the land'[185], while in 1327 the absorption of St. Catherine's, Leixlip into St. Thomas's was authorized on the grounds that 'such licence would be to the advantage of the king, as the abbey is of royal foundation, and its issues pertain to the king in voidance'[186]. Often large fines were demanded of the prior in return for the licence; in the latter instance a 40L fine was

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182 Cal. Fine Rolls VII, 1356-68, p.286.
183 Cf. Brand, P.A. 'King, Church and Property: the enforcement of restrictions on alienations into mortmain in the lordship of Ireland in the later middle ages' in Peritia 3 (1984), pp.481-502.
184 C.J.R. 1305-7, pp.173-4.
185 C.D.I. iii, 39.
186 Cal. Pat. Rolls Ed. II, 1321-4, p.187.

levied, while in 1352, Waterford paid 100s for a judgment that acquisition would not be injurious to the king unless the heir was a minor and the lost wardship and right of presentation during the minority[187].

Although secular authorities were, as a general rule, anxious to guard all their rights and powers, religious houses were sometimes the recipients of grants of exemptions from obligations, or else the crown passed its rights to the house. The foundation charter of Kells, Co. Kilkenny, for example, states 'that they shall be free from following Houthorn, and so shall all those who are under their jurisdiction, but other tenants of theirs shall follow it according to the custom and law'[188]. St. Thomas's Dublin were exempted from paying tolls on corn and victuals coming into the city[189], and Bridgetown was 'free of all service, exactions and demand, aid, tallage and geld, and without feeding of servants, dogs, maintaining of men or horses'[190].

The crown passed on some of its rights, particularly the revenue from specific taxes, to various religious houes. Edward III granted the pontage of the town to the priory of Bridgetown for three years[191], and St. Thomas's had been granted tithes of ale and mead in 1185[192], and also a tithe of the city rental[193]. In 1461 Edward IV granted to St. Mary's, Trim the customs and services of the king's tenants in the manor of Trim, to pay for a light before the miraculous statue of the Virgin[194], while Waterford was granted the king's deodands in Ireland for the relief of the

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187 Cal. Pat. Rolls Ed. III, 1350-4, p.256.
188 C.O.D. i, p.30.
189 C.D.I. i, 2137.
190 C.D.I. iii, 576.
191 Rot. pat. Hib., p.18.
192 Hist. & mun. doc. Ire. 5(1).
193 Ibid., p.7.
194 Cal. Pat. Rolls Ed. IV 1461-7, p.41.

state of the priory[195]. Some grants, were, however, limited, particularly those regarding the right to hold courts. The abbey court of St. Thomas's had court of their men 'and of all plaints and pleas save such as belong to the crown'[196].

The inevitable consequence of possession of property was litigation, and many Augustinian houses appear to have been zealous in protecting their rights by using civil as well as ecclesiastical law. These cases could involve other religious houses, as seen above, or members of the laity, especially the relations or heirs of founders and patrons, or in other cases the secular authorities themselves. Abbots, priors, and canons appear as both plaintiffs and defendants on a variety of charges. It is clear that the richest houses were the most likely to go to court, since they had the most to lose, and could afford the cost. Athassel, St. Thomas's, Holy Trinity, Dublin, Kells, Co. Kilkenny, Greatconnell, and Trim appear regularly in litigation[197].

Disputes with the heirs of donors could be extremely lengthy, involving numerous delays and postponements, and often ended in a compromise rather than a clear victory. Justice was often a slow process, and if defeated, a religious house could find itself paying considerable fines, as well as losing the disputed property or income. Augustinians fined for offences included the prior of Athassel for muddying the river Suir[198], Knock[199] and Bridgetown[200] for trespass, and the prior of Kells, Co. Kilkenny for unlawful detention[201].

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195 C.D.I. iii, 656, 1290.
196 Cal. Close Rolls 1257-1300, p.388.
197 Cf. N.A.I. RC 7 and RC 8, Plea Rolls and Memoranda Rolls, and C.J.R.
198 C.D.I. ii, 1740.
199 C.D.I. ii, 1780.
200 C.D.I. iii, 149.
201 C.O.D. iii, 110.

As plaintiffs, the canons were not unwilling to sue the civil authorities in order to protect themselves and their rights. In 1295 the prior of Holy Trinity named his attorneys against the king in a plea of land[202]. St. Thomas's were frequently in dispute with the Dublin municipal authorities over encroachment of their Liberty. In the 1280s the abbey petitioned that 'a settlement may for once and for all be made regarding the manifest disherison of the abbot and convent' by the civic authorities[203].

In 1326 and 1344 disputes arose over the activities of the city coroner within the abbey, centering on the point whether or not the abbey was within the city jurisdiction, or outside it, as a separate liberty[204]. In 1361 the mayor and bailiffs were ordered to stop forcing the abbot's men to go the city court instead of that of the abbot[205]. Throughout the middle ages there were disputes over the tithe of the city rent, and other grants made to the abbey. Twice in the fourteenth century the Dublin brewers attempted to prevent the abbey's collection of the tolboll[206], and in 1391 the mayor was ordered to pay the arrears of the tithe of the city rent granted by John, amounting to 166L 13s 4d[207], after the abbey had petitioned for assistance in the matter. In another instance, the abbot of St. Thomas's sued the mayor of Bristol, who had appropriated stone destined for the new abbey church for the work on Bristol castle[208].

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202 C.J.R. 1295-1303, p.175.
203 C.D.I. iii, 1176.
204 C.A.R.D. i, pp.146-7, and 155.
205 Cal. Close Rolls Ed. III, 1360-4, p.177.
206 Berry, H.F. 'Proceedings in the matter of the custom called tolboll, 1308 and 1385. St. Thomas' Abbey v. some early Dublin brewers, etc.' in R.I.A. Proc. 28 (1910) pp.169-173 . The issue was still in dispute in 1527, C.A.R.D. i pp. 183-9.
207 Cal. Close Rolls Rich. II 1389-92, p.246.
208 C.D.I. i, 3107.

In addition to civil suits, Augustinians were also accused of crimes, which resulted in their prosecution. In 1299 the abbot of Duleek was found guilty of throwing Nicholas de Netterville's timber into the river, and was given a custodial sentence, which was commuted to a fine[209]. In one of the most sensational periods in their history, in November 1306 the prior of Newtown Trim, Richard Sweetman was charged with the murder of one of the canons[210], while a month later Brother James was also charged and found guilty of the murder of Michael the sumpterman[211]. The following year, a drunken riot led to the murders of two canons by their brethren[212].

The canons were also prepared to use the civil authorities to deal with their problems. In the reign of Edward II the law was set after Brother Roger Corbaly of St. Thomas's who left the abbey without permisison, taking with him a large sum of money[213]. They were also willing to use the civil courts on matters which would appear to have been purely ecclesiastical, such as in a dispute with the ordinary over a right of presentation, as happened between Navan and the bishop of Meath in 1296[214]. In 1392 the justiciar was ordered to arrest John Sergeant who had obtained papal provision to St. Thomas's and intruded himself, removing Richard Tutebury who had been elected with royal licence[215].

However litigation was not the only reason for regular contact between the canons and the secular authorites, and by no means all contacts were acrimonious. Heads of religous houses often acted for, and with, the

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209 C.J.R. 1295-1303, p.281.
210 C.J.R. 1305-7, p.508.
211 C.J.R. 1305-7, p.511.
212 Cited in Lydon, J.F. Ireland in the Later Middle Ages, (Dublin, 1973) pp.24-5.
213 Rot. pat. Hib.,p.16.
214 N.A.I. RC 7/3, p.313, Common Bench Roll, Mich. 24 Ed. I.
215 Cal.Close Rolls, Rich. II 1392-6, pp.16-7.

agents of the crown in the administration of justice, the raising of revenue, and other tasks. Several Augustinians held important offices in the administration of the lordship. Thomas Scurlag, abbot of St. Thomas the Martyr was appointed treasurer in 1375[216], while in 1430 the prior of Newtown Trim, late treasurer, was ordered to hand back his keys and rolls[217].

In the 1280s, the prior of Holy Trinity, Dublin was stated to have 'rendered conspicuous service in forewarding the grant of the 10th and 15th'[218], while in 1309 the abbot of St. Thomas's was the only Irish recipient of the order to collect the 10th of ecclesiastical goods granted to the king by the pope[219]. In 1400 the prior of Waterford was authorized to accept the oaths of office of the mayor and constables of the staple of the city of Waterford as it was difficult for them to get to the chancery[220]. The appointment of priors of both Augustinian and Cistercian orders as justices and keepers of the peace for their county has already been mentioned[221], as has their attendance at Parliament[222]. Augustinians were also used as trusted messengers for the crown and its chief officers. For example, in 1233 William de Cantelupe and the prior of Athassel were sent to the king by Richard de Burgo bearing messages about the king's castle and the justiciarship[223],while in 1256 Brother Henry of Slane, a canon of Holy Trinity was one of two messengers sent by the Barons of the Exchequer to the king in Gloucester with the king's seal for Ireland and the sealof the Exchequer[224].

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216 Cal. Pat. Rolls Ed. III 1374-7, p.120.
217 Cal. Pat. Rolls Hen. VI 1429-36, p.49.
218 C.D.I. iii, 465.
219 Cal. Close Rolls Ed. I, 1307-13, p.227, out of 37 names listed.
220 Cal. Pat. Rolls Hen. IV 1399-1401, p.248.
221 See above, p.130.
222 Ibid..
223 Cal. Pat. Rolls Hen. III 1232-47, p.8.
224 C.D.I. ii, 513.

All houses had secular obligations resulting from land-holding or other grants. Kilkenny held a half knights fee by suit and royal service[225], while Louth quitclaimed to Roger Pippard the churches and tithes of Macherne, except for the third part of the tithes, and the fee of five knights which he had granted to them[226]. The provision of military service for lands in church hands was taken seriously by the authorities. In the later fourteenth century both Athassel and Oseney were fined for failure to provide an armed hoblar from their land in Tipperary[227].

Other obligations of a secular nature which individual houses had to provide in return for grants or privileges included the right of the crown to demand that St. Thomas's provided a pension or corrody for one of the king's servants on each new creation of an abbot[228], and the abbey was used as a storehouse for provisions for the visit of Richard II to Ireland[229]. In return St. Thomas's benefitted extensively from its royal connections, receiving numerous grants and confirmations from the crown. This relationship was close enough for them to ask the king to lay the foundation stone of their new church, referred to as 'the king's special abbey'[230], and to remind, apparantly, the crown when its grant of 20m a year alms was in arrears[231]. However, royal foundations were not the only houses to benefit from occasional grants from the crown, although sometimes bribery was used by the canons to improve relations with officials to their advantage. The account roll of Holy Trinity include the

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225 Cal. Inq. P.M. Ed. II 10-20, p.325.
226 C.O.D. i, 9.
227 Ir. mon. deeds, 1200-1600, C.4.
228 See Cal. Pat. Rolls Ed. III 1338-40, p.94, and numerous examples in the Close Rolls throughout the 14th century, see notes 215 and 215, chapter 3.
229 Cal. Fine Rolls XII p.50.
230 C.D.I. i, 155
231 Payments seem to have regularly fallen behind, e.g. C.D.I. ii, 1038, iii, 169. In the reign of Edward I the abbot asked the treasurer for an account of payments made, so that he 'might more easily obtain the arrears' , C.D.I. iii, 547.

making of presents of money, wine or other goods to the chancellor[232], and such entries as 20s 'to Rolegh the subescheator of county Kildare to take an inquisition and spare the Prior and convent from injury'[233], and 3s 4d for 'William de Drayton, clerk of the chancellor ... to have his counsel and help for procuring a certain writ'[234]. Other contacts between Augustinians and the civil authorities resemble those mentioned in the preceding sections, such as the appearance in witness lists, attendance at councils and courts.

There are very few references in the available sources regarding the relationship between Augustinian houses and Gaelic rulers, other than as founders and patrons. The Irish annals are full of references to burials of members of Gaelic royal families, and also to the making of pilgrimages and retreats by them to Augustinian houses[235]. As has already been seen, a large number of houses of canons were founded by Irish rulers both before and after 1169, and they continued to make donations to the order after this, although few charters survive.

It is clear that even in the later middle ages within English areas, there were contacts between Augustinian houses and Gaelic Irish. In 1385 both Knock and Louth obtained royal permission to deal directly with McMahon because it was claimed that he proposed to destroy both houses[236], and probably there were very many other instances where permission was not sought or received. One of the reasons that Armagh had its lands taken into the king's hands in 1392 was not only that the abbot was Irish but that he was 'dwelling with them as well in time of

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232 Account Roll, pp.17, 18.
233 Ibid. p.18.
234 Ibid. p.94.
235 See below, chapter 5. pp.181-4, 186-8.
236 Cosgrove, A. Late Medieval Ireland (Dublin, 1981), p.15.

peace as in the time of war'[237]. Despite legislation against having dealings with the enemy, it is likely that many religious houses did make agreements with Irish leaders in order to protect their property. In the early 16th century Llanthony Prima was paying 10l a year to the Earl of Kildare, probably to safeguard their Irish estates[238]. The Irish abbot of Kells, John O'Reilly was granted the use of English law in the 15th century in order to encourage his countrymen to come into the king's peace[239].

While the evidence does not exist to show that Gaelic rulers attempted to exert the same control over ecclesiastical appointments as the English crown, the practice whereby the local ruling family effectively owned a monastery and had successive members of the family appointed as abbots comes over very clearly from the obits and appointments in the papal letters. Dispensations granted to clerics for disabilities and injuries occasioned in warfare either with their own kin or against aggressors seeking power for a rival family are not exceptional. Irish families also controlled access to pilgrimage sites such as Lough Derg. In 1397 Ramon de Perellos needed a safe-conduct from O'Neill in order to travel there[240], and in 1494 the canon of Eymstadt had to get permission from the bishop, the local prince and the prior before gaining admission to the Purgatory[241].

Since the canons regular were not an enclosed order, they cannot be separated from the world in which they lived and worked, and their relations with other members of society, both religious and secular, affected all aspects of their life and history. It is inevitable, therefore, that

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237 Graves, King's Council, pp.239-40.
238 Cosgrove, op. cit., p.104.
239 Ibid., p.77.
240 Haren and de Pontfarcy, The Medieval Pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory, p.109.
241 Ibid. p.191.

in discussing these relationships that there is repetition of topics covered in the other chapters of this thesis. Owing to the volume of material available in both secular and ecclesiastical sources I have simply attempted to give examples which reflect the wide range of areas in which the Augustinians came into contact with the world around them.

Chapter 5. Activities of the Canons Regular

That the vagueness of the Rule of St. Augustine enabled its followers to undertake many different forms of life has already been stated. This broadness enabled the Rule to be used, not only by the Canons Regular, but by the Knights Hospitallers, the Fratres Cruciferi, the Dominicans and Carmelites. In this chapter I wish to examine the various activities which the canons regular in Ireland carried out.

The obvious starting point for such a discussion is the area of pastoral work. The position of the religious orders with regard to the pastoral care of the laity has been hotly debated in the middle ages[1]. Although monks had played a significant role in the early middle ages as missionaries, by the eleventh century their suitability for such activities was coming into question, and it was generally agreed that their place was in the cloister. Decrees were made that monks were only to engage in pastoral work with the special permission of the bishop, and that otherwise they should leave such tasks as baptising and preaching to the secular clergy[2].

However, the regular canons were in a somewhat different position. As has been shown above, their original raison d'etre had been to reform the secular clergy - to form 'a leavening element in the clerical life'[3]. The earliest houses of canons, particularly in Italy and France, were predominantly urban, since that was where the churches and

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[1] See Chibnall, M. 'Monks and pastoral work' in Jn.Ecc.Hist. 18 (1967) pp.165-172 and Constable, G. 'Monasteries, rural churches and the cura animarum in the early middle ages' in Monks, hermits, and crusaders in Medieval Europe (London, 1988) pp.349-389 for a discussion of the medieval debate on this issue.

[2] Mansi, Sanctorum Conciliorum vol. 20, 1123-4, Council of Poitiers 1100. The First Lateran Council of 1123 c.16 forbade 'abbots and monks to give public penance, to visit the sick and to anoint them, and to sing mass publicly', cited in Morris, C. The Papal Monarchy, p.254.

[3] Knowles, Religious orders, vol. 2 p.291.

congregations which they served were to be found[4]. However, in other cases, the new form of religious life was adopted by groups of hermits, and so from its beginnings there was a dichotomy within what was to become the Augustinian order between the active and contemplative elements.

Monastic commentators were frequently hostile towards the canons, apparently seeing them as an upstart order, attempting to get the best of both worlds. In the middle of the twelfth century a Cistercian writer insisted that, whether they liked it or not, having professed a rule the regular canons were monks, a charge which was vigorously denied by the canons[5]. Once the distinction between canons and monks was accepted, both orders argued as to their superiority - the canons claimed superiority because they were responsible for the souls of other people, while the monks were only responsible for their own salvation[6].

Since monks were barred from undertaking the cure of souls except in special cases, in theory and usually in practice, the canons had to define their status as clerics if they wished to carry out such work without opposition. It was generally accepted that they could do do - in fact Urban II had declared 'that those who lived the apostolic life were better qualified for pastoral care than secular priests and could preach, baptize, administer communion, hear confessions and give absolution'[7].

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[4] Dickinson, Origins, p.58, Southern, Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages , p.287.
[5] Dickinson, op. cit., pp.198-9.
[6] Constable, G. Monastic Tithes, p.151ff.
[7] Mansi, Sanctorum Conciliorum, vol. 20 p.935, 1096, also cited in Dickinson, op. cit., p.220.

The undertaking of the cure of souls has often been regarded as one of the chief characteristics of the regular canons[8], and which distinguished them from the monastic orders, but the reality is less clearly defined. Urban's use of the subjunctive - that they could preach - is significant; this does not mean that such permission was necessarily availed of. By no means all the canons did involve themselves with such tasks, although the proportion of the order which did may have varied. It was probably never a majority, except perhaps in the eleventh century. This rapidly became obvious - the author of the *Libellus de Diversis Ordinibus* subdivided his categories of monks, canons and hermits according to their nearness to, and association with, the laity[9].

During the latter part of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries, the upsurge in the popularity of the monastic life saw the foundations of Cîteaux, Charterhouse, Grandmont, Tiron, Savigny and Fontevrault, all of which became the mother houses of orders[10]. This enthusiasm for the eremetical life had its effect on the canons as well, and the contemplative element within their order became increasingly important. The personal influence of Bernard of Clairvaux can be traced in the case of several congregations, particularly those of Arrouaise and St. Victor, both of which were widespread in Ireland, while the Premonstratensians were influenced by Cistercian customs to such an extent as to become a distinct order. Even in the strictest congregations, however, theory and practice were not always one and

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8 See Burton, Janet Monastic and religious orders in Britain, 1000-1300 (Cambridge, 1994) pp.48-9, and Morris, Papal monarchy, p.288 'The growth of the regular canons, ... brought into being an influential force committed to cure of souls as part of their philosophy'. Clanchy, M.T. England and its rulers, (Oxford, 1983) p.107 calls the Augustinians the 'Gregorian Reform' in action, as the canonical life provided a way for clergy to be celibate and yet continue with a pastoral ministry ... the Augustinians brought the religious life to the laity'.

9 Constable and Smith, Libellus de divirsibus ordinibus

10 Lawrence, C.H. Medieval monasticism (London, 1984) chapter 8.

the same, The author of the *Libellus de Diversis Ordinibus* saw the canons of Premontré as belonging to the group which were 'separated from the multitudes entirely by their way of life and habit and dwelling place'[11], but they obtained a papal privilege allowing them to serve in parish churches without special permission[12].

The decline in the amount of pastoral work undertaken by the canons was in part due to the difficulties inherent in combining what was essentially a monastic life within the cloister with an active one outside. In practice a house had to decide which was more important to them. The canons of St. Nicholas, Passau, complained that 'because of the very frequent interruptions through hearing confessions, visiting the sick and certain other employments we are not able to observe silence according to the customs of other canons'[13]. In other cases, however, canons who wished to be involved in pastoral work found it incompatible with the demands of their house, and left, either to join other Augustinian houses, or other orders altogether[14].

Other factors also made this dual lifestyle difficult to maintain. The Rule of St. Augustine forbids canons to go out alone[15], a precept reinforced by the additional observances[16]. Except in large communities, the absence of canons on pastoral work would have considerably diminished their ability to keep up the full round of offices in the priory church. This was a particularly important consideration in England and Ireland, where communities of canons were significantly smaller than those of the other orders.

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11 Constable and Smith, Libellus de diversis ordinibus, p.57.
12 Colvin, H.M. The White canons in England (Oxford, 1951) p.23.
13 Cited by Dickinson, Origins, p.58.
14 Ibid., p.72.
15 Van Bavel and Canning, Rule of St. Augustine, p.15.
16 Clark, Barnwell Observances, p.47 regarding the Prior taking companions with him when he has to go abroad on business.

Although there are relatively few cases in which the number of canons in a house is recorded, it is probable that in many instances they remained in single figures for most of their existence[17]. While the mendicant orders also had this combination of an active and contemplative life, on the whole their numbers were noticeably larger, so the resulting problems were not as great. This is not to say that the canons never, or seldom, undertook pastoral responsibilities, but it is clearly an exaggeration to regard them as either their only, or even their chief, activity. Paschal II wrote to Colchester, one of the earliest Augustinian foundations in England, that 'the dispensation of the Word of God, the offices of preaching, baptising and reconciling penitents have always been a function of your order'[18].

The expansion of the order of regular canons as an instrument of reform in the eleventh and twelfth centuries coincided with increasing disapproval by the church of lay possession of ecclesiastical benefices. As a result a large number of churches were granted by their owners to religious houses, and the canons were particularly favoured as suitable recipients. Endowments of churches, tithes and other spiritualities figure prominently in charters to Augustinian houses, and at times could form as much as 50% of their income, a proportion unparalleled in other orders[19]. This is in part because some of them, particularly the Cistercians, refused to accept such grants, preferring to be self-sufficient, although this did not last[20].

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17 See above, pp.104-8.
18 Dugdale, Monastici Anglicani, ii, p.45.
19 Robinson, Geography of Augustinian Settlement, p.172.
20 By 1200 most Cistercian abbeys had some revenues from tithes, Morris, Papal monarchy, p.256. Ten of the thirty parishes in the deanery of Skreen were appropriated to St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin in the later middle ages, Otway-Ruthven, 'Parochial development in the rural deanery of Skreen', in R.S.A.I.Jn. 94 (1964) p.117.

It has sometimes been stated that a founder may have chosen to give the churches of his manors to the canons rather than monks 'because he cherished the hope that they would personally serve the churches'[21] but the evidence to support this is lacking, although it may have been a factor at least on occassions. These grants of churches are somewhat unclear about exactly what was being given - the constantly repeated 'in so far as belongs to me as patron' sounds as if even the donor was not entirely sure[22]. In some cases it is likely that it was only the right of presentation that was meant, although such churches were often fully appropriated at a later stage. In others the grant was extremely comprehensive, including all the ecclesiastical revenues of the donor's lands[23].

It is hard to know what the donor expected in return, apart from the prayers and other spiritual benefits of the house to which the grant was made, as often exactly the same terminology is used in charters to houses of nuns, who obviously could not have provided pastoral care, as it was to monks and canons[24]. The introduction to the Register of Tristernagh states that the numerous churches given by Geoffrey de Costentin 'may perhaps be explained in some measure by the part the house had to play in the work of colonization as an outpost on the frontier of Norman settlement', and that the primary object of the Augustinian canons 'was not so much a claustral life as the direction and stimulation of the pastoral work of the parish priest'[25].

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21 Frere, W.H. 'The Early history of canons regular as illustrated by the foundation of Barnwell Priory' in James, M.R. (ed.) Fasciculus Ioannis Willis Clark dicatus (Cambridge,1909) p.216.
22 E.g. Reg. St. T. pp.27, 34, 43, Reg. Trist., p.101.
23 E.g Reg. St. T., pp.21, 25, 31.
24 See Thompson, S. Women religious. The founding of English nunneries after the Norman Conquest (Oxford, 1991) pp.204-5.
25 Reg. Trist., p.xx.

It seems unlikely, however, that he expected them to serve the churches themselves. The map of their properties shows how scattered they were[26], and while the only reference to the size of the community is at the Dissolution, when 5 canons were granted pensions[27], it is unlikely that even at their height they would have had enough canons to undertake such a charge. In 1247 they were given permission to have the church of Rathaspick served either by a canon or a secular chaplain[28], but this is the only grant of the kind, and there is no record to show if they used it.

Such permission was usually only given as a special favour to a religious house in financial difficulty[29], since it was cheaper to serve themselves than to have to pay a chaplain, even though the average salary of such priests was only the equivalent of that of an unskilled labourer in thirteenth century England[30]. The quality of services provided by such poorly paid chaplains was probably not very high, and pluralism was common as many vicars needed to increase their income in order to support themselves. Gwynn believed that appropriation by a religious house was probably to the advantage of parishioners[31], but in many instances the most that could probably be said is that they were no worse off[32]. Appropriation was primarily a financial transaction, and many

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26 Reg. Trist., map.
27 Extents Ir. mon. possessions, p.280.
28 Reg. Trist. p.114.
29 In 1397 Saints Island was granted the appropriation of the church of Rathelein because of their poverty, and could have it 'served by one of the canons', C.P.L. V, p.12. In 1400, Holy Trinity, complaining of financial losses, was granted the church of Balgriffin, and 'may have it served by one of their canons', ibid., p.345.
30 Hand, G.J. The Church in the English lordship, (Dublin, 1968) p.18.
31 Gwynn, 'Early History of St. Thomas the Martyr', p.18.
32 Cf. Chibnall, 'Monks and pastoral work', p.171.

houses seem to have had little concern for the parishioner or chaplain provided that they got their share of the revenue[33].

Most of the available evidence for the canons' relationship with the churches in their possession comes from the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and it is hard to estimate to what extent the picture provided was also true in the earlier period. It is probable that the permission to appropriate churches and to have them served by canons was at least partly due to the financial problems of the fourteenth century, together with a shortage of secular clergy, and that such permission was more uncommon in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries[34]. There does seem to have been some episcopal control over parish churches in monastic hands, which in some areas was a very high proportion of the total number[35].

The taxation of the diocese of Ossory lists a considerable number of churches as belonging to religious houses[36], in particular Augustinian ones, and attempts were made to ensure that a reasonable income was left for the chaplain[37]. On occasions at least, an abbot or prior wanting to increase his own income left a vicarage vacant, resulting in letters of complaint about his neglect of the parishioners, usually by a cleric who

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33 E.g. the bailiff of St. Thomas's, with the knowledge of the abbot, allowed animals to graze in the churchyard of Donaghmore, of which the abbey was rector, and to unearth a body Reg. Sweteman, no.158. In 1391 it was stated that Killagh were holding Dingle in appropriation, 'enjoying the fruits, a perpetual vicar's portion never having been assigned, and that they had the church served by a secular priest, whom they recalled year to year, to the perils of the souls of the parishioners' C.P.L. IV, p.408. This evidence agrees with Mason, E. 'The Role of the English parishioner', in Jn. Ecc.Hist. 27, (1976) p.17, 'Parishes were viewed, not as spearheads for pastoral activity, but as steady sources of income. ... revenues deriving from parochial churches featured largely in both registers and cartularies. Advowsons, pensions and tithes loomed large, but very little attention was paid to the pew-fodder'.

34 Cf. Dickinson, Origins, p.227.

35 Bishop Ledred's diocesan constitutions of 1317, in the Liber Ruber of the diocese of Ossory, no. 14, pp.166-9, show great concern for the proper maintenance of appropriated churches.

36 Carrigan, History and antiquities of the diocese of Ossory , vol. IV, pp.363-93.

37 Liber Ruber no. 14, items 5, 8, and 9.

wanted the job[38]. In other cases little attempt was made to ensure the suitability of chaplains appointed to appropriated churches[39], as long as the income contimued, but in the majority of instances the arrangement was probably satisfactory enough not to warrant a complaint.

From the somewhat limited evidence it does appear that although the canons possessed numerous churches, it was an event unusual enough to note when they did serve them in person, a case of the exception proving the rule. In the first sixteen volumes of the Papal Letters I have only found some twenty Irish instances where either a parish church was said to have been wont to be held by a canon, or where permission was being granted to have one served by either a canon or a chaplain. In most of these cases the question of the location of the church and its distance from the monastery is mentioned, and it is usually close by. In two cases, however, the churches were sixty and eighty miles from the appropriating house[40]. In general, though, it seems to have been difficult enough for distant houses to collect the tithes and other revenues, without attempting to undertake the cure of souls as well.

It had been decreed that where canons were sent out to serve and reside in parishes there should be a minimum of 3 or 4 of them[41], but in practice it was probably less. The church of Drumshallon, which had been granted to Holy Trinity to form a cell for 3 canons[42], was

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38 In 1398 a complaint was made against Mullingar, that they 'have long held to their own uses, without putting anyone to serve it, and have for 24 years and more farmed to laymen the fruits etc. of the rural parsonage called a rectory, with cure of Tyreaiuhaly' C.P.L. V, p.169.

39 In 1377, Grenoke, appropriated to St. Thomas's, Dublin, was served by a chaplain who could not read or perform any of his offices, and the church was in bad repair, with no decent books, Reg. Sweteman, no. 158.

40 C.P.L. XIII, p.677, C.P.L. IX, p.187.

41 Dickinson, Origins pp.234-5.

42 Alen's Reg., p.204.

suppressed after a short time by the Archbishop of Armagh because it was too far from the mother church for a healthy religious life[43], and even with 3 or 4 it must have been hard to continue to carry on the full round of the liturgy. In another instance where Holy Trinity was granted a church and land to form a cell at some distance from Dublin[44], it seems never to have been established, and it has been suggested that this was due to the opposition of the Archbishop of Cashel[45]. In other cases, though, there were resident canons to be found at a considerable distance from their mother church, as several English houses had extensive properties in Ireland, and kept one or two canons in granges as proctors to ensure their rights were unchallenged[46]. They do not appear to have had any pastoral interests, however, only financial[47].

Altogether it seems that the serving of appropriated churches was very uncommon by the canons. However, if the canons had little pastoral contact with the laity in parochial churches, at least on occasions the laity came to them. Both on the continent and in England a considerable number of foundations of canons were established in pre-existing churches, and the laity continued to use them. In some cases it was merely a temporary arrangement, until a separate church could be built, in others it was more permanent[48]. It has been claimed that the sharing of the church was the norm in England, and that as a result, houses of the order had certain characteristics in their ground plan and

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43 Alen's Reg., p.204.
44 Kildenal, or Killenaule, Co. Tipperary, by Adam de Stanton, in 1220, C.C.C.D. 31.
45 Account Roll, p.161.
46 See above, pp.92-95.
47 In 1409 Thomas Spenser had to prove to Archbishop Fleming that Duleek 'was neither a priory nor a cell of a priory, but a storehouse or house of grange', and therefore exempt from visitation, Reg. Fleming 121. In 1440 the claim by Colp and Duleek of exemption from visitation was upheld, Reg. Mey 12.
48 Dickinson, Origins, pp.149-150.

architecture[49], but the argument for this is does not stand up to closer inspection. Certainly in England a considerable number of churches were saved, in whole or in part, at the Dissolution, for the use of the laity, but this does not necessarily mean that they had acted as parish churches since their foundation[50].

In Ireland, also, the Dissolution extents claim that several monastic churches had traditionally been the parish church, but this is only a small proportion of the whole[51]. The published extents list 172 religious houses, of which only 36 are said to have been parochial. While the Augustinians are the largest single group within this, it only accounts for some 15% of Augustinian churches. The earlier evidence also points in the same direction. There are numerous references in the papal letters to the parish church in places where there was also an abbey or priory, and it is usually either clearly stated, or implied, that it is a separate establishment.

I have found only 4 definite instances of Augustinian churches being shared by the laity; two references to the 'parishioners' of the church of the Augustinian priory of Roscommon[52], one to SS. Peter and Paul, Clare, 'the church of which has the cure of souls of the parishioners'[53], one to the 'canons, parishioners, and tenants of the monastery of Trim',[54] and when St. Stephen's, Leighlin was suppressed in the 15th

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49 Hodgson, J.F. 'On the difference in plan alleged to exist between churches of Austin Canons and those of other monks, and the frequency with which such churches were parochial' in Arch.Jn. XLI (1884) pp.374-414; XLII (1885) pp.96-119, 215-246, 331-369, 440-468; XLIII (1886) pp.52-74, 290-305, 403-422.

50 Dickinson, J.C. 'The buildings of the English Austin canons after the Dissolution of the monasteries' in British Arch. Assoc. Jn. 31 (1968) pp.64-67.

51 Extents Ir. mon. possessions.

52 C.P.L. V, p.348, C.P.L. IX, p.424.

53 C.P.L. XIII, p.84.

54 Reg. Swayne, p.170.

century, provision was ordered to be made for the cure of souls[55]. In addition to these, there were, although mostly only for a brief period, a number of Augustinian cathedral chapters.

According to the cartulary of Arrouaise, St. Malachy had had their customs copied, brought them back to Ireland, *'et fere omnes clericos in episcopalibus sedibus ... ordinem mostum et habitum et maxime divinum in ecclesia officium suscipere et observare praecepit'* [56]. While this is a considerable overstatement, a number of cathedral cities did receive Augustinian communities, although not always in the cathedral itself. However, there are eight houses which either did, or claimed to, form the cathedral chapter. The canons of Bangor, based their claim on their foundation by Malachy while bishop of Down. However, this connection between abbey and see was a personal one, and the Benedictines introduced by John de Courcy formed the cathedral chapter from the 1180s. This did not prevent the canons regular from disputing the matter, and a papal judgment was issued in 1244 declaring in favour of the Benedictines[57]. The right to elect the bishop was still undecided, however, in 1266[58]

The canons at Louth formed the chapter of that diocese for just over half a century, under a number of Augustinian bishops. However, the diocesan centre was returned to Clogher c.1193[59], by which time the regular canons at Clogher had been moved from the cathedral of St. Macartan, and a separate abbey dedicated to St. Mary consecrated[60]. The next two bishops of Clogher to be appointed after the removal of the

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55 C.P.L. VIII, p.43.
56 Amiens Bibl. Mun., MS 1077 f. 5v.
57 C.P.L. I, p.207.
58 C.P.L. I, p.433.
59 Lawlor, H.J. 'The Genesis of the diocese of Clogher' in Louth Arch. Soc. Jn. 4 no. 2 (1917) p.139.
60 Reg. Clogher, p.375.

see, were both priors of Louth[61], and this may in part have been meant to allay any discontent about the change of status. However, the disputed election of a new bishop of Clogher in 1237 was said to have involved a canon regular, among others, in contempt of the dean, precentor and chancellor, implying that Louth may still have been claiming a say in the election[62]. The diocese of Roscrea, where there was also a community of canons, was united with Killaloe about 1195[63], and the church reduced in status.

The canons of Clonard formed the chapter of the diocese of Meath in the twelfth century[64]. However, Simon de Rochfort moved the see to his new priory of Newtown Trim, in the early thirteenth century[65]. Its status as a cathedral cannot have been very obvious, since both in 1255[66] and 1397[67] it was stated that there was no cathedral or chapter in Meath[68]. The proposal by bishop Hugh Taghmon to build a new cathedral in 1255 fell through, however, possibly because of the dispute between the archbishop of Armagh and bishop of Meath[69], and Newtown Trim must have continued to act as the cathedral[70], although there are no references to it where it is so defined[71]. At the end of the

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61 Gilla Tigernaig Mac Gilla Ronain, and Donatus Ó Fidabra.
62 C.P.L. I, pp.163-4.
63 Gwynn and Gleeson, History of the Diocese of Killaloe, p.130.
64 Reg. St. T. pp.241-2, I.C.L., pp.267-8.
65 C.P.L. V, p.75 states that the cathedral was moved by the papal legate, John of Salerno, and the canons regular instituted afterwards. I.C.L. p.93 refers to Roger, dean of Newtown, before 1214.
66 C.P.L. I, p. 312.
67 C.P.L. V, p.74.
68 Nicholls, K.W. 'Medieval Irish catheral chapters'in Archiv. Hib. 31 (1973) p.103, states that Newtown Trim never obtained the rights or functions of a chapter.
69 A.L.C. 1263.
70 Visitations were held there by archbishops of Armagh, Reg. Sweteman, 189; however, the Armagh registers indicate that many Meath churches, both monastic and secular, were used as the centre for a metropolitan visitation, so Newtown Trim had no special status.
71 Lawlor states that the Bull of Innocent VI for 'St Peter at Novimidia near Trym, the cathedral church of Meath', in 1353, included in Reg. Fleming, 111, is certainly a

fourteenth century, the suppression of the priory by non-admittance of new canons, and their replacement with a secular chapter was proposed, but the objections of the community apparently halted the plan[72]. In the fifteenth century, the late foundation of St. Michael's, Mayo, attempted to revive the diocese of Mayo, with their abbey as the cathedral, and abbot Odo O'Higgins obtained provision as bishop[73]. This was subsequently quashed, however, and the church was ordered to be reduced to its former rank[74].

The only Augustinian house which did retain its cathedral status throughout the middle ages, was Holy Trinity, Dublin, despite the foundation of St. Patrick's by John Comin, and its elevation to cathedral status under Henry de Londres. Although there were clearly difficulties in the relationship between the two chapters[75], Holy Trinity remained the senior establishment[76], and the term 'abbot of Holy Trinity' continued to be used as one of the titles of the archbishops of Dublin[77].

Although only a small proportion of Augustinian churches were either parochial or catherals, there is a considerable amount of evidence for the attendance by the laity at the canons' churches. In 1463 after a fire, the canons of Devenish complained that 'the faithful, whose devotion to

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forgery as Innocent was not at Lyons on the day the bull was issued, and the contents of the document are clearly inaccurate.

72 C.P.L. V,p. 75.

73 C.P.L. IX, p.190 calls him bishop of Mayo, in 1441.

74 C.P.L. X, p. 343.

75 Hand, G. 'The rivalry of the cathedral chapters in medieval Dublin' in R.S.A.I.Jn. 92 (1962) pp.193-206. However, Murphy, M. The archbishops and the administration of the diocese and province of Dublin (Unpubl. Ph.D. thesis 1987) chapter 9 shows that there was no attempt to exclude the canons of Holy Trinity from capitular functions, and that relations between the archbishop and the regular canons were not significantly affected by the foundation of St. Patrick's.

76 C.f. Alen's Reg. p.156, 'both churches shall be cathedral and metropolitan, but Holy Trinity shall be the greater, mother and senior'.

77 Novum Registrum, I p.355 and Alen's Reg., p.286.

the monastery used to be great, cease to visit it for masses'[78], while ten years earlier the abbot of Navan was granted permission to appoint priests to hear the confessions of visitors to the abbey[79]. While Holy Trinity cannot be regarded as typical of the order, on account of its cathedral status, it has the advantage of having an extensive collection of records which survive, and it is clear that it was much frequented by the laity.

In 1234 they were allowed to lengthen their church on condition that they made a new path to allow free access[80], and there are references to people hearing Mass from canons of the cathedral[81]. While preaching is probably the least recorded activity by any canon, a canon of Holy Trinity who was accused of heresy was ordered to revoke it ' in the places where he had promulgated it'[82]. I have only found one other record of an Irish Augustinian preaching - in 1383 the prior of Roscommon was ordered to denounce the anti-pope Clement VII 'to clergy and people'[83], as there were a considerable number of adherents of the west of Ireland.

However, the majority of references to the laity visiting the churches of the religious orders, and not just those of the canons, fall into two categories - pilgrimage and burial. A considerable number of churches had relics of either local or more widespread importance, which attracted visitors and gifts. Pilgrimage had an important place in the medieval church, and while it is usually only the journeys of important laity and clergy which are recorded, many ordinary people made

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78 C.P.L. XII, p183.
79 C.P.L. X, p.124.
80 Cal. Pat. Rolls Hen. III 1232-1247, p.70.
81 C.C.C.D. 135, an indulgence was granted to people confessing, and hearing mass, from any canon of Holy Trinity, 1284.
82 Cal. Liber Niger 83.
83 C.P.L. IV, p.238.

pilgrimages of less distance and danger than visits to Rome or the Holy Land entailed[84].

While no Irish house had a shrine to match the importance of that in the hands of the canons at Walsingham, either in terms of its length of popularity or the gifts it received[85], there were none the less quite a few important sites. Holy Trinity was the best recorded pilgrimage destination, for both Irish and Anglo-Norman. It had an impressive relic collection, including the Staff of Jesus, a talking crucifix, bones of several apostles, St. Thomas, St. Laurence, and many others[86]. The Staff of Jesus was evidently the most prestigous of these, and many of the grants made to the church throughout the middle ages were made to it, or to the talking crucifix, of which Giraldus spoke at some length[87]. These relics brought in a considerable quantity of gifts of land and money - in 1300 the oblations made by visitors to the church were valued at 40L a year, or about 20% of the total income of the priory[88]. The popularity of Holy Trinity appears to have remained constant until the Dissolution. In the late 15th and early 16th centuries there were repeated acts of Parliament and other decrees concerning the protection of pilgrims, both English and Irish, travelling there[89].

However it was not the only popular destination. Probably the most famous shrine which attracted international visitors was Lough Derg. In 1409 a safe conduct was requested for a visitor from the Hungarian court, who was visiting 'the Shrine of St. James at Compostella and the

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84 Swanson, Robert, Religion and devotion in Europe, c.1215-c.1515 (Cambridge, 1995) esp. pp.165-8.
85 Dickinson, J.C. The Shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham (Cambridge,1956) pp.3-47.
86 Book of Obits, pp.3-4.
87 Giraldus Cambrensis, The History and Topography of Ireland (London, 1982), pp.85-7.
88 C.C.C.D. 164.
89 C.C.C.D. 297, 362, 385, 398.

Purgatory of St. Patrick in Ireland', a pairing which puts it very much in the top rank of pilgrimage centres[90]. In the later 15th century there were both French and Dutch visitors to the island[91], and although it was demolished by papal order in 1497 and the shrine moved[92], the Annals of Ulster and of Connacht record in 1516 the arrival of a French knight on pilgrimage[93].

Another abbey which had an important relic which achieved a considerable degree of more than merely local fame was St. Mary's, Trim. In 1412 the annals record that the 'image of Mary at Trim wrought great miracles'[94], and in 1423 a papal indulgence was granted to visitors who gave alms to the church 'in which by the merits of the same virgin the lord works many miracles'[95]. Later in the century Edward IV made a grant of two watermills, with weirs and fisheries, trees in the park and services of the villeins of the manor of Trim to establish a wax light to burn perpetually before the image in the church[96]. In 1538 it was one of the shrines which the annalists considered important enough to record its destruction by the English, along with the Staff of Jesus and the Holy Cross of Ballyboggan, another Augustinian house[97].

Other churches also had miracle working statues which were granted at least one mention in the records. In 1381 the image of Mary at Kilmore spoke[98], as a result of which it was said in 1412 that 'innumerable

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90 Cal. Fleming, 178.
91 Haren and de Pontfarcy, eds., The medieval pilrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory, pp.96, 190-2.
92 A.U. 1497.
93 A.U, A.Conn., 1516.
94 A.U., A.Conn., A.L.C. 1412.
95 C.P.L. VII, p.254-5.
96 Cat. Pat. Rolls Ed. IV 1461-7, p.41.
97 A.U., 1538, A.F.M. 1537.
98 A.U. 1381.

miracles wrought there' had led to multitudes resorting there 'from divers parts of the world'[99]. In 1435 the priory of Rathkeale, Co. Limerick, was recorded as being the site of 'manifest miracles by the merits of St. Mary the Virgin and the devotion of a venerable image of ... St. Radegund'[100]. While these are the only references to these shrines, it is probable that visits by the faithful continued, although perhaps at a reduced rate once the novelty wore off. Co. Mayo had several shrines, of which Ballintober and Cong were the most frequently mentioned. There are several references in the annals to the deaths of important people there 'on pilgrimage', while in 1428 it was said of Cong that at certain times of the year a multitude resorted to the church[101]. At around the same time the parish church of Aghagower was said to have been able to furnish itself with chalices and ornaments from the offerings of pilgrims to Croagh Patrick[102], and it is highly likely that nearby Ballintober also benefitted from such visitors.

Throughout the later 14th and 15th centuries, the papal letters record the granting of indulgences to visitors who came to various churches and gave alms, most commonly for building work[103], although sometimes general poverty and inability to sustain themselves is given as the reason for the grant[104]. The houses in question, some 26 Augustinian abbeys and priories, some more than once, are located in all parts of the country. Although the west of Ireland predominates, this is not necessarily an indication of particular financial hardship in the area, since there is a marked western bias throughout the papal letters, and may be the result of a closer link between the Gaelic

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99 C.P.L. VI, p.309.
100 C.P.L. VII, p.603.
101 C.P.L. VIII, p.21.
102 C.P.L. VIII, p.440.
103 E.g. C.P.L. V, pp.319, 380. C.P.L. VI, pp.226, 290.
104 E.g. C.P.L. IV, p.236.

dioceses with Rome, just as the eastern dioceses are more frequently mentioned in the government records of the English crown. While there is no means of telling how effective these grants of indulgences were in attracting visitors to the churches in question, the amount of building work which took place in many instances in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries would seem to indicate either that the grants did lead to an increase in visitors and offerings, or else the houses were exaggerating their financial difficulties[105].

While the fact that the laity visited many Augustinian churches does not necessarily mean that the canons had any pastoral contact with them, at least in some cases it is clear, or may be inferred, that they had. The attendance at Mass by the laity at Devenish, although their parish church was only a matter of yards away, has already been mentioned. In the case of indulgences it was usually specified on which feast days the grant applied, and for how long a period[106], and sometimes what prayers were to be said[107]. It is probable at least that the visitors would have been present for at least one of the services held in the church. In other cases it is clear that pastoral contacts were not envisaged. When Simon de Rochfort confirmed the grant of St. Cíanán's, Duleek, to Llanthony Secunda, although there were to be two canons residing, there were also to be two secular chaplains to minister[108].

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105 E.g. see Fanning, T. 'Excavations at Clontuskert priory', in R.I.A. Proc. 76 (1976) pp.103, 110, and Waterman, D.M. 'St. Mary's priory, Devenish' in U.J.A. 42 (1979) p.35.

106 E.g. C.P.L. V, p.319, 380, C.P.L. IX, p. 279.

107 E.g. C.C.C.D. 135, an indulgence was granted to Holy Trinity for those who 'say the Lord's Prayer and the salutation of the B.V.M., for the benefactors of the said monastery, and for the souls of the faithful departed', and ibid. 312, re a papal indulgence for 'saying thrice the seven psalms with the lections, or the Lord's prayer and angelic salutation 60 times'.

108 I.C.L., p.221.

Hospitality as a duty, and also as a financial burden, is often mentioned[109], and it is possible that at least some visitors would have attended church before continuing their journey. Even in cases where the canons had no wider pastoral interests their lay servants would probably have had some contact with them, and some houses had corrodians or other lay residents as well, who would have attended some of the canons' services.

Apart from pilgrimages, the other most frequent from of pastoral contact between the canons and the laity was the burial of the dead. The burial of founders and benefactors in the churches and cemeteries of religious houses was a common privilege, and was sometimes specified in charters[110]. In some cases there are extremely detailed instructions as to what spiritual benefits in the way of masses and prayers a benefactor expected on his death, apart from the right of burial[111].

In Dublin, both Holy Trinity and St. Thomas's were much patronised by leading Anglo-Normans, and granting burial to donors could be a source of considerable income, since their families subsequently felt a connection with the house and were more likely to give further donations. For example, Beatrice Walter made several grants to St. Thomas's where her husband Thomas de Hereford was buried[112], and the register of the house includes references to, and grants from, a large

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109 E.g. C.P.L. VI, p.236, The fruits of Cloontuskert were 'insufficient for [the prior's] maintenance and for hospitality'. A month later they were granted an indulgence for building, including 'a hostel for its guests', ibid., p.226. In 1455 Fertagh was no longer able to provide hospitality to rich and poor, C.P.L. XI, p.202, and in 1462 Molana claimed poverty because of the size of its community and because 'Christ's poor and other needy are chariitably received', C.P.L. XI, p.628. In 1492 the prior of Ballymore was 'bound to keep up hospitality, because the monastery is situated on the king's highway which is so much frequented ...'that the house was impoverished, C.P.L. XIV, p.297.

110 E.g. C.C.C.D. 4, 103.

111 E.g. C.C.C.D. 4, 122, 221, 225 where the number of masses and what other prayers are to be said, and in some cases when, for the donors.

112 Reg. St.T. pp.194,197, 198, 360, 361.

number of the de Hereford family. Similarly, Gerald de Prendergast granted them Enniscorthy as a cell, as his parents were buried in the abbey[113]. The wills of various Dublin burgesses often include as an item the disposal of their bodies to particular churches[114]. In some grants, the burial is only requested if the donor dies in Ireland[115], but in other cases bodies were brought a considerable distance to be buried in the monastery of their choice. In 1248 William Burke was brought back from England to be buried in his family's foundation of Athassel[116].

Such family connections seem to have been paramount in deciding on a place of burial. Throughout the annals the same family names keep occuring in records of burial in particular monastic houses. For example Ruadhri Ó Conchobair died in his father's refoundation at Cong[117], and his own son and two of his daughters were subsequently buried there[118], one of them actually in the canons' church, although lay people were not strictly supposed to be buried in monastic churches. Toirrdelbach Ó Conchobair had been generous in his gifts to other houses besides Cong, and in these, too, several of his descendants were buried. In the fifteenth century large numbers of the Maguire family were buried in Lisgoole[119], an abbey which appears to have been regarded as their personal property, since almost all the abbots and many of the canons were of that name, and are frequently stated to have been the son or grandson of former abbots.

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113 Reg. St. T, pp.186-9.
114 E.g. Berry, Wills, pp.141, 146, C.C.C.D. 513, 886.
115 E.g. C.C.C.D. 22, 47.
116 A. Conn. 1248.
117 A. Conn. 1198.
118 A. Conn. 1224, 1226, 1247.
119 E.g. A.U. 1419, 1447, 1450.

The practice of giving a religious habit to the dying so that they would receive the spiritual benefits of the order occured with relative frequency. The obits of Christ Church include several such cases[120], and the annals record the burial of people 'in the habit of a canon'[121], or where it is evident that the person concerned had only spent a short time before their death as a canon.

Although I have only looked at certain aspects of the pastoral activities of the canons I think it is evident that while they did undertake such work more frequently than monks, it is inaccurate to regard the cure of souls as their chief purpose, particularly from the twelfth century on, although it was certainly characteristic in the beginning of the order. Location and the size of a community were important factors in this. Obviously houses in towns and cities were more likely to have at least some contact with the laity than those in isolated rural areas, while the importance of size has already been discussed. Many houses of canons chose not to involve themselves with the laity, while there are instances of monks undertaking such tasks, and by the fourteenth century even the Cistercians were appropriating churches[122]. It has been said that as time went on the canons became 'monachized', while the monks to a certain extent became 'clericalized'[123], and certainly the ordination of monks appears to have become more common than it had been in the early middle ages[124].

However, practical work dealing with the laity was not the only way in which the canons regular occupied their time. In the rest of this chapter

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120 E.g. Book of Obits, pp. 10, 11, 30.
121 E.g. A.L.C. 1242, A.L.C. 1373, A.U. 1435, 1477.
122 See above, n.20.
123 Cf. Morris, The Papal Monarchy, p.254 on the growth of the canons regular 'While monks were thus in the process of becoming clergy, some clergy were on the way to becoming monks'.
124 See Lawrence, Medieval monasticism, pp. 99, 178.

I want to try to examine their intellectual and educational activities, although the sources for Ireland are rather meagre. The Augustinians had chosen for their patron one of the greatest scholars of the early church, and indeed in the early years of their existence had had to study the writings of the church fathers to find justification and historical precedents for their order[125]. While the long established Benedictine houses had built up a tradition of scholarship[126], and at least in the 12th century the Cistercians had an explicitly anti-intellectual policy[127], the Augustinians, as can be said of almost every aspect of their lives, took a wide variety of view-points.

Despite the brevity of the Rule of St. Augustine, it refers in three places to reading and books - firstly concerning paying attention in silence to the reading of scripture during meals[128], secondly regarding the service of those responsible for food, clothes and books[129], and lastly that books were to be made available at a set time every day[130]. More detailed observances from individual houses all give books and scholarship due attention. The Barnwell Custumal, for example, lays down rules for the readers in church[131], at chapter[132], and in the refectory[133], for the duties to be undertaken by the librarian[134], and on the care and preservation of

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125 Dickinson, Origins, pp.69-70.
126 Courtenay, W.J. Schools and scholars in fourteenth century England (Princeton, 1987) p.77 'Until the twelfth century the monasteries of western Europe had been the centers of intellectual life, ... the monastery had always been a school'.
127 Lawrence, C.H. 'Stephen of Lexington and Cistercian university studies in the thirteenth century' in Jn. Eccl. Hist. 11 (1960) pp.164-178.
128 Van Bavel and Canning, Rule of St. Augustine, p.14.
129 Ibid., p.21.
130 Ibid. p.21.
131 Clark, Barnwell Observances, p.83.
132 Ibid., p.79..
133 Ibid., pp.liv, 61, 66, 66, 157-9, 163, 165
134 Ibid. pp.xxxviii-xlvii, 63-7.

the books in great detail[135], as do the Victorine[136] and Arroasian observances[137].

The historical and scholarly roots which the order established in its fight for survival, combined with its moderate and balanced approach to the religious life, which has been compared to the humanism of the fifteenth century[138], seems to have attracted many educated and scholarly men, for whom the ascetism of the Cistercians was too extreme. In Britain many of the canons in the twelfth century were men of considerable learning in various fields[139], such as Alexander Nequam (abbot of Cirencester), Robert of Betun (canon of Lanthony and bishop of Hereford), Geoffrey de Henlawe, (6th prior of Llanthony), to whom Giraldus refers as famous for his medical skill[140], and William of Newburgh. There are also many others who were writing works of theology and history, or whom had studied in the chief schools of Europe, and certain houses seem to have attracted, or produced, a succession of learned men, such as Aldgate, Llanthony and Bridlington. In France, also, the school of St. Victor produced major writers whose works were widely diseminated and read, judging from the number of surviving manuscripts in libraries of all orders[141], although even there, the daily timetable made little provision for teaching and study[142].

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135 Clark, Barnwell Observances, pp.63-5.
136 Jocques and Milis, Liber Ordinis Sancti Victoris chapters 19 and 29.
137 Milis, Consitutiones Ordinis Arroasiensem, chapters 7, 138-40, 166, 243 all relate to reading and books.
138 Dickinson, Origins, pp.190, 192.
139 Ibid., pp.187-190, and Hunt, R.W. 'English learning in the late twelfth century' in R.Hist. Soc. Trans. 19 (1936) pp.19-35.
140 Giraldus Cambrensis, Opera, R.S. vol. i, p.103, cited by Dickinson, op. cit., p.188.
141 Cf. Ker, Medieval libraries of Great Britain. (London, 1964)
142 Dickinson, op. cit., p.192.

The limitations of the few surviving manuscripts from Irish Augustinian houses make it difficult to make statements about the intellectual traditions and activities of the canons regular in this country. What I propose to do is, first, as far as possible, to comment on the participation of the canons in formal education, and then to look at the types of material which they are known to have been reading and writing.

No Augustinians from Ireland are recorded in the records of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge[143], and apart from the attempt to establish a university at St. Patrick's cathedral[144], the only known places of higher education in Ireland are the *studia generale* of the mendicant orders[145]. The last references to lectors at Armagh and Derry are in 1188 and 1220 respectively[146]. The only references to teaching in any Augustinian house are that St. Thomas' Dublin had the duty to provide for the support and education of 24 clerks[147], and Holy Trinity established a small choir school in the fifteenth century[148]. In the latter instance they were definitely paying for a master from elsewhere, not doing the teaching themselves[149]. Apart from these, we have no evidence for where, and by whom, canons regular may have been receiving their education, but it is clear, from both direct and indirect

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143 Aston, T.H. 'Oxford's medieval alumni' in Past and Present 74 (1977) pp.2-40, and Aston, Duncan and Evans 'The medieval alumni of Cambridge' in Past and Present 86 (1980) pp.9-86.

144 Gwynn, Aubrey 'The medieval university of St. Patrick's, Dublin' in Studies 27 (1938) pp.199-212, 437-54.

145 Fitzmaurice, E.B. and Little, A.G. Materials for the history of the Franciscan province of Ireland (Manchester, 1920) p.xxvii, McCaffrey, P.R. The White friars (Dublin, 1926) pp.351-2, and Gwynn, Anglo-Irish church life, (Dublin, 1968) pp.37-8.

146 Kenney, J.F. , Sources for the early history of Ireland. Vol. I. Ecclesiastical (New York, 1929) p.18.

147 PRO C47/10/22/16, cited by Gwynn, 'The Early history of St. Thomas's Abbey', Dublin', p.33.

148 C.C.C.D. 319.

149 C.C.C.D. 357 allocates funds to pay the master.

evidence, that education to some degree must have taken place. It appears that in the later middle ages privately run seminaries were operating to supply the education of diocesan clergy, and that laymen were attending them, so it is possible that Augustinians were also[150].

A basic education involving at least the ability to read Latin would have been presumably required for the round of offices which make up the central part of the monastic life, and it is probable that most of the canons had at least this. There are, however, a few references to *conversi* within the order as we have seen, whose duties were largely manual and who were only expected to follow a small part of the liturgical round, with the implication that this was learnt by rote[151].

Because the canons from the beginning were counted as secular clerics rather than regulars, they probably always had a greater proportion in holy orders than among Benedictines or Cistercians. This must have been the case if they were serving even a small number of the parish churches which were given to them. From the mid fifteenth century the papal letters usually state if the person concerned was in orders[152], and these, together with the contemporary *Obligationes pro Annates*, form the chief source on ordination within the order, since the surviving episcopal registers only mention a handful of instances.

While ordination was not compulsory or probably even the norm among canons, it does appear, in theory at least, to have been required for elevation to high office[153]. For example, in 1455 the prior of

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150 Burrows, Michael 'Fifteenth-century Irish provincial legislation and pastoral care' in Sheils, W.J. and Wood, D. (eds.) The Church, Ireland and the Irish. Studies in Church History 20 (Oxford, 1989) pp.63-4.

151 Milis, L'Ordre d'Arrouaise, p.497.

152 E.g. C.P.L. IV, pp.407, 524, V, p.289, VI, p.160.

153 C.P.L. XV, p.12 refers to 'a certain synodal statute obliging all priors to celebrate in person in the churches of their monasteries', so evidently it was assumed that all superiors would be ordained.

Roscommon was deposed because he had held office for more than a year without being promoted to the priesthood[154]. As is so often the case, however, theory and practice were by no means always the same. It is clear that many abbots and priors never received major orders, and in a number of cases were specifically exempted form being forced by reason of the office to received ordination within a specified period, as long as they became sub-deacon within the required time[155].

In addition to the cases where the status of an abbot or prior-elect is given, there is another source concerning the frequency of ordination of those holding office. This is found in the numerous dispensations for illegitimacy found throughout the fifteenth century. Many of those dispensed are stated to be the sons of Augustinian canons or abbots, a considerable number of whom were also in priests orders[156].

While only a minority, although a sizable one, of the 1500 or so members of the order who are named in the papal sources are stated to have been priests, one feature becomes obvious on even a cursory glance through the papal letters. This is that the vast majority of applicants to join the order who went through papal channels were already priests or in minor orders, holding ecclesiastical benefices or dignities[157]. While this may be due to the fact that these clerics were the ones with knowledge of the appeals system and access to it, and there were probably many others who entered their local monastery leaving no record, it does make it clear that a considerable number of entrants had already received some level of education and training.

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154 C.P.L. XI, pp. 28 and 198. Quite a number of appointments to perpetual vicarages were annuled for the same reason, e.g. C.P.L. IV, pp.414, 471; V, p.602; VII, p.59.
155 E.g. C.P.L. XIV, pp. 249-50; XVI, pp.245-6; XVII, p.330.
156 E.g. C.P.L. VI, pp.278, 467; VII, pp.51, 61, 62.
157 E.g. C.P.L. VI, p.470; VII, pp.84, 275, 284, 285.

This may explain why there is no record of educational provision within Augustinian houses in Ireland, if there was a tendency to take older, already educated men rather than young boys needed more elementary training. Indeed in the only records of younger entrants, both in or about their 12th year, one is described as a 'scholar' [158] and the other was already a perpetually beneficed clerk[159]. This practice is in contrast to that of the friars, who, in the period after the Black Death, were accused of recruiting boys too young to appreciate the step which they were taking, but who wished to receive an education[160].

In addition to the secular clerics who became Augustinians, there are also the members of other orders who either transferred orders or were appointed to priorships or abbacies of Augustinian houses without actually changing order. In the case of both seculars and religious, a considerable number were given appointments to office immediately on reception within the house[161]. A possible, if cynical, explanation for these transfers is that, in the absence of educational provision among the canons, an ambitious cleric who had received a degree of education might see the order as an area in which he could rapidly advance his career.

There are a small number of instances where members of the order are described as graduates or where other information about their educational standing is given, although it is not always stated where, or whether this took place before or after they became canons. In 1411, Alan Olongsygh, who was to be made prior of Killagh on entry, had studied for 4 years canon and civil law at Oxford[162], while 8 years later,

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158 C.P.L. VI, p. 527.
159 C.P.L. XV, p.155.
160 Walsh, K. Richard FitzRalph (Oxford, 1981) pp.424-5.
161 E.g. C.P.L. VI, p.392; VII, pp. 84, 275.
162 C.P.L. VI, pp.278-9.

canon Charles Oduban became prior of Cloontuskert, having studied canon law[163]. Hugh Barton, a canon of All Hallows, Dublin in 1447 was a Bachelor of Canon Law[164], while Thomas St. Leger, Augustinian bishop of Meath a decade later, was a doctor of decrees[165]. In 1468, Nicholas Crum, a canon of Navan, was granted licence to go on pilgrimage to Rome, and to study at the schools for 10 years[166]. The most detailed record of education in the papal letters is that for canon John Ymulchonayre of Ballinskelligs 'who alleges that he has studied both laws for 12 years approximately in the university of Oxford and in *studia particularia* elsewhere'[167].

An important source, although perhaps owing to its nature not entirely trustworthy, is the obits of abbots and others in the Irish annals, which praise the scholarship of a number of Augustinians in highly flattering terms. For example, the Annals of Ulster call Girard Ua Cathain 'the most learned canon that was in the order of canons'[168] and Muirdeagh Ua Gormghaile, prior of Inchmacnerin, 'the most erudite and pious person of the fifth of Connacht'[169]. The best of all, however, is the obit of Augustine Magraidhin of Saints Island, described as 'an undisputed master of sacred and secular wisdom, including latin learning, history and many other sciences, ollamh of eloquence for western Europe, compiler of this book and of many other books, including lives of saints and histories'[170].

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163 C.P.L. VII, p.131.
164 C.P.L. X, p.306.
165 C.P.L. XI, p.153.
166 C.C.C.D. 300.
167 C.P.L. XV, p.95.
168 A.U. 1229.
169 Ibid.
170 Misc. Ir. Annals, 1405. The book referred to is Bodl. Rawl. B. 488.

However as well as direct evidence of learning within the ranks of the Augustinians, there are also cases where the opposite is true. The system whereby ecclesiastical appointments were obtained by accusing the current holder of various crimes and misdemeanours flourished during the 15th century. While the accusations were almost always concerning sexual and financial misconduct, there are a few instances where education, or lack of it, is given as a reason for dismissal. In 1473, Abbot Edmund Staunton of Ballintober was 'so ignorant of letters and so insufficient that he can direct and rule neither himself nor the canons of the said monastery'[171], while 8 years later he was accused of admitting for money an unlearned man who was unable for that reason to pray or celebrate[172]. Similary, John Bared of Ballybeg was accused of being 'of insufficient learning', in 1440[173].

Some appointments were also stated to be conditional on investigation by the papal mandatories of the suitability of the candidate. While the phrase 'if found fit' is common in such mandates, this is sometimes expanded to specify the educational standard of the subject. William Mackyldroma was to be appointed prior of Killagh 'if found fit after the usual examination in Latin'[174], while Nicholas Staunton was apppointed to Holy Trinity 'if found fit in Latin or if he swear to become so within a year'[175]. Since he had already been prior of Louth[176], and did become prior of Holy Trinity[177], he must have satisfied the examiners.

Although the evidence for education within the mendicant orders is much greater than for the Augustinians or other orders, and the friars

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171 C.P.L. XIII, p.352.
172 Ibid., p. 92.
173 C.P.L. IX, p. 131.
174 C.P.L. V, p. 151.
175 C.P.L. VI, p. 203.
176 Ibid., p.202.
177 Ibid., p.203.

always had a reputation for scholarship, in terms of practical education for the purposes of worship and administration there is little reason to suppose that there was a marked difference in standard between the various orders. In fact for the purposes of administration, a higher standard was probably needed by non- mendicant orders, since these had much greater possessions requiring management.

The comparatively large amounts of property held by many Augustinian houses needed to be maintained just as much as any secular manor, by good husbandry and often frequent lawsuits. While the Account Roll of Holy Trinity and the later accounts in the psalter from that house, the 1382 kitchen accounts of Kells, Co. Kilkenny, and the extents from Colp and Duleek, are the only such documents we have, it is clear that most if not all houses would have needed to keep such records. For the period shortly before the Dissolution we do have references to lay stewards and administrators[178], and evidence that more and more property was being farmed out on long leases rather than kept in the hands of the canons[179], but this may have been due in part to falling numbers. It is probable that in the earlier period most of the administration was done by the canons themselves, and it is only in legal matters that lay representatives seem to have been widely used[180]. There are a few instances where a canon with presumably a talent for administration was lent to another house which had got into financial difficulty through mismanagement in order to help sort out the problem[181].

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178 E.g C.P.L. XIV, p.28, at Athassel, and Account Roll pp.22, 123 at Holy Trinity
179 Typical examples from the later 15th century are C.C.C.D. 1020 (41 year lease), 1030 (40 year lease) and 1042 (50 year lease). Kells Co. Kilkenny were leasing parsonages for 41 years at 6 m. a year, Ir. mon. deeds, 1200-1600, A. 63.
180 E.g. C.J.R. 1295-1303, pp.75, 313; C.J.R. 1305-7, pp.231, 331.
181 E.g. C.P.L. XI, p.202, at Fertagh.

Judging by the frequency which the houses for which good documentation survives requested confirmations and exemplifications of charters from successive kings, popes, bishops and heirs of lay patrons, the need to preserve carefully such archival material in order to keep possession of their rights and properties was fully recognised. Although only a few registers survive, there is no reason to suppose that the other hundred or more houses did not keep their charters as carefully as possible, even without a formal cartulary - for example the copying of charters onto blank pages of other precious manuscripts, such as the book of Kells[182], and accounts on the blank leaves of a psalter from Christ Church[183].

Another area in which Augustinians evidently had their share of practical ability is in the episcopate. While in the later middle ages the mendicant orders provided a large number of bishops to Irish sees, taking the period from the early twelfth century to the Reformation, there is little difference in the proportions of bishops belonging to the Franciscan, Dominican, Augustinian and Cistercian orders[184]. Although with the exception of the series of registers from Armagh there are few Irish episcopal registers, we have no reason to believe that the other sees did not keep their administrative records, and that those bishops did not have the necessary education and training for their position.

For the remainder of this chapter, I wish to look at the question of possession, and production, of books by Augustinian houses. As we have already seen, the Rule, and its more detailed supplements, placed considerable emphasis on the use and care of books. The Barnwell

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182 O'Donovan, J. 'Irish charters in the Book of Kells' in Misc. Irish Arch. Soc. i (1846) pp.127-58.
183 Bodl. Rawl. G. 185, f. iiv and 144r, see Hand, G.J. 'The Psalter of Christ Chuch, Dublin' in Rep. Novum 1 no. 2 (1956) pp.311-322.
184 21, 19, and c.18 and 18% respectively, based on the lists in N.H.I. vol. 9.

observances make it quite clear that there were two distinct collections in the house, the service books and the works intended for private study[185]. This distinction was evidently used in some houses, since a catalogue from Leicester dating from the fifteenth or sixteenth century says that there were 228 books 'in libraria' and 21 'in scriptoria'[186].

One of the greatest gaps in the surviving sources for the medieval Irish church is the almost total lack of either libraries or catalogues of monastic libraries, with only one catalogue surviving[187]. This compares very unfavourably with the British situation, as Ker's Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, and the British Library's current Corpus of Medieval Monastic Libraries project show. Unfortunately, the volume covering Augustinian houses has not yet been published, but Ker includes surviving books known to have come from some 94 British Augustinian houses. A sizeable proportion appear to have been 'working' books, such as bibles, psalters, chronicles, and some music. Few of the surviving Augustinian libraries are extensive, compared to some of the large Benedictine and cathedral libraries. However, some, at least, were clearly large to begin with. In the 14th century Llanthony Secunda had a shelf list for 5 book-cupboards, this collection being augmented by a bequest of 56 books from John Leche in 1361[188]. Of this extensive library more than 100 works have survived[189]. Other fairly large collections survive from Waltham, Merton, Southwark and Oseney[190].

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185 Barnwell Observances, chapter 14.
186 Ker, Medieval libraries, p.113.
187 Youghal, see Coleman, James ' A medieval Irish monastic library catalogue' in Bibliographical Society of Ireland II no. 6 (1925) pp.111-120.
188 Ker, Medieval libraries, p.108.
189 Ibid., pp.108-112.
190 Ibid., pp.192-3, 130-1, 180-1, 140-1.

Although there are not that many books surviving from Irish monastic houses of all orders[191], not only the Augustinians, references to books occur in the various sources, although seldom giving any information about their content. Many of these references are to do with the destruction or theft of books in fires or attacks on religious houses, which occured throughout the middle ages. In 1202 Clomnacnois lost vestments, books and chalices[192], while in 1170 Saul had been despoiled of all its movable goods, including books, furniture and livestock, leaving the canons with only the clothes on their backs[193]. In 1235 Athleague was burned, 'with the charters and all the books of the canons'[194] while the frequent records of fires, accidental or deliberate, must have in some instances done serious damage to libraries.

Time and use as well as deliberate destruction also took its toll on books and charters, and age and condition is sometimes given as a reason for getting confirmations of agreements, or for making copies of records[195]. The collection of 21 related charters belonging to Kells, Co. Kilkenny covering the period 1228-1337, now found in the Ormond Deeds were compiled in the mid fourteenth century, probably for use in a dispute[196], while other fourteenth century documents in the same source owe their survival to their copying in the sixteenth century from the 'parchment booke of the abbey of St. John Evangelist of Kilkenny'[197], now otherwise lost.

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191 Gougaud, L. 'The remains of ancient Irish monastic libraries' in Ryan, J. (ed.) Feil-sgribhinn Eoin Mhic Neill, (Dublin, 1940) pp.319-334.
192 A. Clon. 1202.
193 A.U. 1170.
194 A. Conn. 1235.
195 E.g. C.P.L. 4, p.210, getting an exemplification of papal confirmation beginning to decay with age, and Brooks, 'A charter of John de Courcy to the abbey of Navan', p.38.
196 C.O.D. i. nos. 53-74.
197 Ibid., no. 792.

Occasionally books were received as a legacy, for example, Holy Trinity received a breviary in a will in 1423[198], and the list of gifts to the house included in the Book of Obits include a missal and psalter[199]. The same source says that John Aleyn, dean of St. Patrick's left them two theological works[200], although this was not the case according to his will[201]. Similarly, the Martyrology of Navan recorded the bequest of a decretal and Bible by Martin White, rector of Liscarten in 1438[202]. Copying must also have been a way of increasing collections, although there is little direct evidence for the practice in any Irish house. There are few houses where we have references to a precentor[203], but it is possible in many houses where the number of canons was never large that the care of books was undertaken by the sacrist.

The extent to which the scholarly traditions of the early Irish church was continued in the many houses which adopted the Rule of St. Augustine in the twelfth century is very difficult to assess, particularly as the date of adoption of the new regime is so seldom known with any degree of accuracy. For example, the annals record the death of Gilla na Naemh Ua Dúinn, lector of Inchcleraun, in 1160, a historian and poet[204], but it is not entirely certain whether the house was then under Augustinian rule. In 1164 Máel Caeimhghin Ua Gormáin, Master of Louth and former abbot of Termonfeckin died[205], but we know that both of these houses had become Arroasian in the 1140s. In 1156 Durrow and Aghmacart were burnt by Muirchertach Mac Lochlainn,

198 C.O.D. i. no. 886(b).
199 Book of Obits, pp.14, 24.
200 Book of Obits, p.5.
201 Alen's Reg. p.259.
202 BL MS 486 f.16v.
203 See chapter 3, pp.98-9.
204 A.Tig. and A.F.M. 1160.
205 A.F.M. 1164.

resulting in the death of the lector, though of which monastery is not clear[206]. It is probable that where a new Augustinian house replaced an earlier foundation, even if not on the same site, the manuscripts from the older house were preserved in the new priory. This was certainly the case in Scotland, where a similar pattern of replacement of early houses by canons regular took place - at Loch Leven 17 books were brought from the old house to the new in the mid twelfth century[207].

In the absence of any catalogues, it is impossible to know just how much has been lost, as is the case for some of the British houses, although we may assume that all houses had at least some liturgical books and some house records. Only a small number of Irish houses have surviving registers or similar material, even in later transcripts, out of a total of about 120 houses, whereas one third of English and Welsh houses have cartularies[208]. With other works it is even more difficult, since chance plays so large a part in survival. The small size and poverty of many houses probably meant that they had few books other than the essential ones, since the purchase of books or their copying were expensive and time consuming. However, we will probably never know the truth of this for most foundations.

So what does survive? There are surviving manuscripts definitely or possibly linked to nineteen Irish Augustinian houses. A fuller list of books associated with Irish Augustinian houses is given in appendix 3, and here I will just outline the types of material rather than attempt to give a catalogue. The first group of manuscripts to consider are the registers and other compilations of documents. Cartularies survive for

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206 A. Tig. 1156.
207 Ker, Medieval libraries, p.120.
208 Dickinson, Origins, appendix IV.

three Irish houses[209], plus the records of the Irish cells of Llanthony Prima and Secunda, and of Oseney. In addition there are excerpts made from lost registers of seven other houses. While these excerpts are tantalising short, at least we know that these, and probably many other, houses did keep their records in this manner.

Christchurch, owing to its position as the senior of the two cathedrals in Dublin, has a lot of surviving material in the Account Roll, Novum Registrum, and Black Book of Christ Church, among others. None of these can really be called cartularies of the house, but they do provide a great deal of information about the possessions of the priory and their dealings with others.

The second group of books to be considered are those items which would have been used on a daily basis as part of the monastic life, such as missals, psalters, kalendars, and martyrologies. An elaborate breviary following the Arroasian use, belonging to St. Mary's, Trim, survives, dating from the second half of the fifteenth century.[210] It contains the calendar of saints, the psalter, and the sanctorale, and also some 16th century obits. Although the name of the house is not actually inscribed on the volume, the inclusion in the calendar of St. Malachy[211], and Edanus epicopus[212], together with the obits of 2 canons[213] and an abbot of the house[214], make it unlikely that it came from anywhere else. Bodl. Rawl. G. 185, a fourteenth century volume containing the kalendar, psalter, creed, litany and other prayers, belonged to Stephen de Derby, prior of Holy Trinity from 1349 to c. 1382. This is a beautiful item,

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209 All Hallows, Dublin, Tristernagh, and St. Thomas's, Dublin.
210 T.C.D. MS 84, discussed in Gywnn, A. 'A breviary from St. Mary's Abbey, Trim' in Riocht na Midhe 4 (1966) pp.290-298.
211 TCD MS 84, f.6r.
212 Ibid., f.2r.
213 Ibid., f.5r.
214 Ibid., f.1v.

with illuminated initials, borders and miniatures, but was clearly used regularly, as various notes on the priory, and obits of priors from 1397 to 1537 have been added[215].

There are three missals which come from Irish Augustinian houses. The first is a missal from the fourteenth century with some fifteenth century additions, bearing the inscription of James Cotrell abbot of St. Thomas[216]. The contents follow the Victorine use[217], and it may have come to Dublin from St. Augustine's Bristol, with which the abbey had been closely linked in its early days[218]. The second is an early fifteenth century volume from the library of Llanthony Prima, with indications of a Meath provenance, and it is likely that it came into the possession of Llanthony from Duleek[219]. The provenance of the last, in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, is uncertain, as is its date[220]. Both Clones[221], and Armagh[222], also dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul, have been suggested as its place of origin.

A number of liturgical works such as the offices of several saints have strong links with an Augustinian house. The first of these is the office of St. Finian of Clonard. Although the cult of St Finian had been well-established before the Anglo-Norman invasion, its spread owed much to the Anglo-Norman bishops of Meath, Hugh Thagmon and especially Thomas St. Leger. The Augustinian house of St. John's, Clonard,

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215 Hand, G. 'The Psalter of Christ Church, Dublin' in Rep. Novum 1 no. 2 (1956) pp.311-22.
216 BL Add. MS 24,198.
217 See Hawkes, W. 'The liturgy in Dublin, 1200-1500' in Rep. Novum 2 no. 1 (1958) p. 61.
218 Gywnn, A. 'The Early History of St. Thomas', pp.26-33.
219 Lambeth MS 213, discussed in O'Sullivan, W. 'Medieval Meath manuscripts' in Riocht na Midhe VII no. 4 (1985-6) p.6.
220 Gywnn, A. 'The Irish missal of Corpus Christi College, Oxford' in Dugmore, C. W. and Duggan, C. (eds.) Studies in Church History 1, (1964) p.67.
221 cf. Gougaud, The remains of Ancient Irish Monastic Libraries, p.323.
222 Gywnn, op. cit., pp.47-68.

founded after the Invasion, was initially the centre of the diocese, and the office was almost certainly constructed in its present form in that house[223], using earlier hagiographical material which is now lost. A second office of St. Finnian is found in the Llanthony missal already referred to, and two other Llanthony manuscripts contain the office of St. Cíanán of Duleek[224]. The third office of an Irish saint which owes something to the canons regular is the office of St. Macartan in the Register of Clogher. Although this was compiled in 1528, it is stated to have been carefully transcribed 'out of the ancient books of the order of St. Augustine'[225]. It is probable that his source was the Augustinian house at Clogher.

Martyrologies and necrologies were also among the working books of monastic houses, since the commemoration of the dead, whether saints, members of the community, or lay patrons, was part of the liturgical round. The martyrology and obits of Christ Church[226] remained in use until at least 1558, as notices of deaths continued to be added[227]. The martyrology from St. Thomas's is contained in a composite volume, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries[228]. The calendar of saints is imperfect, ending in August, and various obits have been added to the calendar. The manuscript was obviously a working one, in many different hands, and with additions and corrections made at different periods.

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223 Hughes, 'The offices of S. Finnian of Clonard and S. Cíanán of Duleek' in Anal. Boll. 73 (1955) p.346.
224 Lambeth MS 357 ff.72v-77, and BL Lansdowne MS 387 ff.35-41, see Hughes, 'Offices of S. Finnian of Clonard and S. Cíanán of Duleek' pp.349-50.
225 Reg. Clogher, p.431.
226 T.C.D. MS 576.
227 Book of Obits, p.29 contains the obit of Rosina, wife of Arland Usher, who died 20th June 1558.
228 T.C.D. MS 97, ff.36v-72v.

A partial martyrology of the fourteenth century from Navan which survives includes the obits of various people and the admission of members of the laity to a confraternity attached to the abbey in the margins[229]. Some excerpts from the martyrology of Kells, Co. Meath exist in a sixteenth century transcript[230], while another martyrology connected with an Augustinian house is that compiled by Máel Muire Ua Gormáin, abbot of Knock[231].

The third category of books which are known to have belonged to Augustinian houses in Ireland, and in some cases which were written there, include annals, saints' lives, and theological works. The writing of history and hagiography was evidently an important part of the Irish monastic tradition. It is difficult to know to what extent the writing of chronicles took place in Augustinian houses, but it is probable that some of the earlier annals were continued, or at least preserved, in houses which became Augustinian.

Although what we now know as the Annals of Inisfallen may not in fact have been originated there, there is no reason to doubt Ware's identifying that monastery as their home thoughout the middle ages[232]. Augustine Magraidhin of Saints Island continued the annals of Clomnacnoise[233] as well as collecting and translating saints lives. The Annals of Roscrea, of which seventeenth century extracts survive, may have come from St. Cronan's Roscrea, one of the many early monasteries which became Augustinian in the mid-twelfth century.

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229 Bodl. Rawl. B. 486, ff.16-23.
230 T.C.D. MS 594, ff.4-5v. Some obits of canons of Kells are also found in BL Add. MS 4796 f.136r-v.
231 Gougaud, 'Remains of ancient Irish monastic libraries' p.329.
232 Gwynn, 'Were the annals of Inisfallen written at Killaloe?' in N.Munster Antiq. Jn. VIII no. 1 (1958) pp.20-33. Bibliotheca Jacobi Waraei equitus Aur. catalogus (Dublin, 1648) p.8 'Item XXVI Annales coenobii Innisfallen in agro Kerriano'.
233 Gougaud, p.333. TCD MS 804 includes 'Annales Prioratus omnium SS in Loghree in Com. Longford 1004-1441 script per Augustin Magraight canonicum'.

Kenney suggests that these were compiled around the same time as the Life of St. Cronan, probably in the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries, and it is probable that the manuscripts, along with those of the book of Dimma and the Rule of Echtgus us Cuanain, remained in the house after it adopted the new order[234]. The Annals of Tigernach may have been continued at Clomnacnoise until 1178, and the house also preserved its earlier manuscripts[235]. Transcripts of annals were included in the Black Book of Christ Church[236]. However, the suggestion that the Annals of Connaght were written at Cong[237] has been shown to be mistaken[238].

Collections of saints' lives can also be associated with Augustinian houses. Bodl. Rawl. B. 485, a collection of Latin lives of Irish saints, and B. 505, a later arrangement of the same in the order in which they occur in the calendar, may have come from Saints Island[239], although McNeill believed that the former came from the Crutched Friars house at Kilkenny West, and the latter probably from Abbeyderg, County Longford[240]. Kenney, however, believed that Rawl. B. 485 came from Saints Island[241]. Saints Island is also in county Longford, and we have already seen that there was at least one member of the community famous for writing saints lives. The most recent study of these

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234 Kenney, Sources, p. 460 and Gleeson and MacAirt 'The annals of Roscrea', R.I.A.Proc. 59 (1957-9) pp.137-80.
235 Gougaud, 'Remains of ancient Irish monastic libraries' p.324.
236 Gywnn, A. 'The Black Book of Christ Church' in Anal. Hib. (1946) pp.295-6, 303-4.
237 Gywnn, A. .'The Annals of Connaght and the Abbey of Cong' in Galway Hist. Soc. Jn. 27 (1956-7) pp.1-9
238 O'Dwyer, B.W. 'The Annals of Connaght and Loch Cé and the monasteries of Boyle and Holy Trinity' in R.I.A.Proc. 72 (1972) pp.83-101.
239 Gougaud, 'Remains of ancient libraries' p.332.
240 McNeill, C. 'Report on Manuscripts in the Bodleian library', in Anal. Hib. 1 1930, p.139-40. These provenances are accepted by O'Sullivan, W. 'Medieval Meath manuscripts' p.9.
241 Kenney, Sources , p.19.

manuscripts, while accepting the connection of the later manuscript with Saints Island for at least part of its existence, points out, however, that there is no evidence to support the assumption that the two items came from the same religious house[242].

Other material which comes from Augustinian houses include a copy of Eusebius, *Ecclesiastica historia*, transcribed in Greatconnell, Co. Kildare in the thirteenth century[243], and a copy of Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale* owned by the canons of Inistioge[244]. From the fourteenth century, a *Liber sextus decretalium cum apparatus*, inscribed *'iste liber pertinet ad priorem de dyneleke'* [245] almost certainly came into the Lambeth collection via the library of Llanthony. Another Irish house which has material in Lambeth is Lorrha, where a fifteenth century manuscript *Clementinae,* has a colophon identifying Roricus Olacthmain prior of Lorrha as the scribe[246].

The St. Thomas's manuscript, which contains the martyrology, contains a wide variety of material. Theses include Hugh of St. Victor's commentary on the Rule of St. Augustine[247], the only known text of Richard of St. Victor on the same[248], and parts of the Victorine customs[249]. These Augustinian sections are then followed by a series of other items on the monastic life including the Rule of St. Benedict, and

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242 Sharpe, Richard, Medieval Irish Saints' Lives: an introduction to the Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae (Oxford, 1991), p.249.
243 Hereford cath. lib. MS P.4.XIV, f.138. It is inscribed *'Explicit liber undecimus ecclesiastice hystorie, anno ab incarnacione domini MCCXXXVII scriptus in monasterio sancte Marie de Conal'.* It is discussed by Tallon, M. 'An Irish medieval manuscript in Hereford Cathedral chained library' in The Irish Book 3 no. 1 (1964) pp.26-9.
244 T.C.D. MS 188.
245 Lambeth MS 60 f. 11a, Gougaud, 'Remains of ancient monastic libraries', p.326.
246 Lambeth MS 46, colophon quoted in Gougaud, op. cit. p.330.
247 T.C.D. MS 97, ff.73-95.
248 Ibid., ff.95-102.
249 Ibid., ff.107-48.

the Franciscan Regula Secunda, patristic extracts for reading in chapter, and Hugh of St. Victor *De Institutione Nouiciorum* and Innocent III *De Miseria Humane Conditionis* [250]

There are several items in the surviving manuscripts which show a taste for literature among the canons. The Account Roll of Holy Trinity contains both French[251] and English poetry[252], and the Black Book of Christ Church also includes a long French poem[253]. The inclusion in two sections of the Black Book of parts of the *Tractatus de Purgatorio sancti Patricii*, perhaps also indicate an interest in what might be termed the 'fabulous'[254]. Two manuscripts of what has been called 'The Dublin *Visitatio Sepulchri* Play' dating from c. 1400 belonged to the parish church of St. John the Evangelist, Dublin, which was appropriated to, and served by, canons of Holy Trinity. The editors of the text suggest that the production of the play may have been inspired by the artistic 'renaissance' the cathedral chapter experienced during the priorate of Stephen de Derby, which is reflected in the elaborate psalter which bears his name[255].

Not a great deal is known about writing in Augustinian houses which does not survive, and the obits in the Irish annals are practically the only source for names of men who were noted as scholars. Stanihurst's list of noted Irish writers includes no Augustinians[256], and while Ware records 7 canons, the only items which have not been already mentioned

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250 For a full list of contents, see Colker, M.L. Trinity College Library Dublin. Descriptive catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Latin manuscripts (Aldershot, 1991), pp.183-195.
251 Mills, Account Roll, p.125.
252 Ibid., pp.126-142.
253 Gywnn, 'Black Book of Christ Church', pp.293-5.
254 Ibid., pp.306-7.
255 Egan-Buffet, Maire and Fletcher, Alan 'The Dublin *Visitatio Sepulchri* Play' in R.I.A.Proc. 90 (1990) p.164.
256 Holinshed, Raphaell, The Historie of Ireland , ed. by L. Miller and E. Power, (Dublin, 1979).

are that Patrick Barret, the abbot of Kells, Co. Kilkenny and bishop of Ferns from 1400-15, wrote a catalogue of his predecessors in the see[257], and that Thomas Fich, subprior of Holy Trinity was the compiler of the Liber Albus, and Ware suggests also of the book of Obits[258]. As Fich died in 1518[259] he is probably too late to have been responsible for the latter work, although he may have made some of the additions.

Apart from this it is risky to try to attribute any other items to the canons. The mixed nature of the surviving material makes it difficult to make any generalisations about the scholarship, or otherwise, of the Augustinians, although the practical nature of the majority of the books does suggest that, as Kenney puts it 'it was mainly to secular scholarship that the transmission through the later middle ages of the old Irish records and traditions was due'[260], rather than to the inheritors of the early monastic sites.

The small size and comparative poverty of the canons regular must have played a part in this. Few houses appear to have reached double figures, compared to the hundreds of inhabitants which are recorded at the earlier Irish monasteries. Although the canons held large amounts of land, and houses with a pilgrimage site could receive offerings of money - the donations to Holy Trinity were substantial - the cost of copying or purchasing books which were not essential was probably beyond many houses. The regular raids on, and fires at, monastic houses throughout the medieval period must also have played a considerable role in the destruction of books belonging to Augustinian houses.

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257 Ware, Antiquities , pp.22 and 24
258 Ibid., p.24.
259 Book of Obits, p.7.
260 Kenney, Sources, p.19.

The education of canons regular is a more difficult question to assess. The accusations of the fifteenth century are difficult to substantiate, as it was in the interest of the accuser to make his report as bad as possible. However, the fact that a lack of learning was almost never used as a reason for deposition may make it more believable in these cases, unlike the more or less formulaic accusations of immorality and dishonesty. Either that, or the educational standard in general was so low that nobody bothered to comment, though this is perhaps a rather extreme interpretation. Unfortunately the lack of continental ties which were maintained by the canons mean that we do not have on outside observer such as Stephen of Lexington to comment on the standards within the order.

However, if the Cistercians were as ill-educated as he claimed[261], it is difficult to see how the contemporary Augustinians could have differed. Stephen's standards must have been unrealistic in Irish conditions, though, without easy access to universities and major libraries, and it was the Cistercians' use of Irish that seems to have annoyed him most, considering it symbolic of their inferiority[262]. The surviving manuscripts show that at least a proportion of the canons regular had some interest in following the scholarly traditions of their order, despite the relative disadvantages under which they suffered compared to the canons in other countries.

The most obvious feature in the order of St. Augustine was its diversity, and this has been stressed by commentators as the reason both for its success and some of its weaknesses. A wide variety of activities and

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261 E.g. Stephen of Lexington, Letters from Ireland 1228-9. trans. and ed. by B.W. O'Dwyer, (Kalamazoo,1982) p. 113, the prior of Mellifont, appointed bishop of Clogher, is to be commended for his 'moderate literacy'.
262 Ibid. p.69, 91.

lifestyles could be followed without being in breach of the Rule, and it appears that the canons took advantage of this fact. This survey of some of the areas in which the Augustinians operated in Ireland is necessarily only an outline, picking out some examples from a large body of material, but I hope that it indicates the wide-ranging and important role which the canons played in the religious life of medieval Ireland.

Conclusion

The Augustinian canons were by far the most widespread religious order in medieval Ireland, and were possibly the earliest of the new reformed forms of monastic life to arrive in this country. It is therefore very surprising that they have been largely ignored by historians. The interest of archaeologists and antiquarians has tended to be solely concerned with the physical remains of their foundations, and they have made little contribution to the study of the order responsible for the buildings. These studies have also been parochial in their viewpoint, concentrating either on an individual house, or on those in a limited geographical area.

The absence of a general study of the order is even more surprising when the available sources are examined. A large body of information survives relating to Augustinian foundations in Ireland. While much of this is concerns the affairs of an individual house only, when examined carefully and in relation to other such material, many inferences can be drawn which are of relevance to the order as a whole. By sifting through a large and varied body of material from a range of sources, I have attempted, in this thesis, to reveal the canons regular of St. Augustine as a proper religious order, rather than an amorphous collection of houses with different origins which had little in common but their name, and one which deserves much more scholarly attention than it has so far received.

Because of the early date at which the canons arrived in this country, our knowledge of the order of foundations, and their dates, is often uncertain. This is also true of early Augustinian communities elsewhere, where the adoption of the name and Rule of St. Augustine may have taken place a considerable time before the first charter appears which names them as

such[1]. The canons seem to have been less interested than the Benedictines in writing chronicles of their houses, and little is known of many foundations other than the fact of their existence by a particular date. However, the combination of a wide range of material including Irish annals, ecclesiastical registers and biographies, charters, Anglo-Norman government records, and, for the later middle ages, a large number of entries in the papal records, allows us to reach a fairly clear picture of the general pattern of expansion.

Although the introduction of the Augustinian order was closely connected to the reform movement in the twelfth century Irish church, and especially with Malachy Ua Morgair and Lorcán Ua Tuathail, the Anglo-Norman invasion did not result in the end of new foundations, or in an attempt as happened among the Cistercians, to alter the affiliation of existing houses on racial grounds. Almost as many new houses of canons were founded after 1169, both by Anglo-Normans and Irish, and grants and confirmations were made to existing houses, regardless of nationality. Although the expansion of all the monastic orders showed a marked decline in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, after the arrival of the friars, new Augustinian foundations were made after that date, and most of these houses received enough endowments, despite the competition, to survive until the Dissolution of the monasteries.

While the Augustinians lacked the highly detailed written rule of some other medieval religious orders, notably the Cistercians, the order did not lack either a definite ethos, or a degree of uniformity. All the commentators, both contermporary and modern, on the order remark that moderation was the hall-mark of the order. The Barnwell Observances declared that the canons regular were for 'those who love the beauty of

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[1] Dickinson, Origins, pp.36-8, 97-8.

holiness to the door of salvation under a moderate rule'[2] , while Southern rather rudely stated that 'The Augustinian canons indeed, as a whole, lacked every mark of greatness. They were neither very rich, nor very learned, nor very religious, nor very influential'[3]. Although their houses were generally independent, like those of the Benedictine monks, they showed from an early date a tendency to form congregations of houses sharing a common lifestyle and liturgical practices. Many of these groupings were inspired by the asceticism of the Cistercian way of life, and their borrowings included the constitutional arrangements of that order, including the holding of general chapters and visitations to preserve a degree of uniformity and discipline.

However, the workings of these constitutional arrangements, notably among the Victorine canons, but also among the Arroasians, had a limited success, and the attendance at the general chapters, particularly among Irish and English canons, was short lived. The principle of the general chapter was, however, adopted on papal order in the thirteenth century, and as we have seen, was carried out in Britain, and at least for a time, in Ireland.

The formalties between houses were limited, even where one house had been colonised from another. Unless the foundation charter specifically ordained that there were to be a continuing link, as was the case at Bridgetown, and at Kells, Co. Kilkenny, most houses were, as Dunning phrased it, 'bound together merely by a bond of sentiment'[4]. In general it was only in the case of dependent cells, which were directly controlled by the mother house, that there was a close and lasting tie between Augustinian foundations.

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2 Clark, Barnwell Observances, p.34.
3 Southern, Western Society and the church, p.248.
4 Dunning, 'Arroasian order in medieval Ireland', p.314.

This does not mean, though, that the canons lacked organization, but that uniformity within their ranks was achieved more by the sharing of a common rule and liturgical observances than by external regulations. The frequency with which members of one house were granted permission to transfer to another, or where a canon of one foundation was promoted to abbatial office elsewhere, even from Augustinian houses abroad, makes it clear that such moves were entirely acceptable, despite the vow of stability to the house of entry, which the canons, like the Benedictines, made.

The Augustinian canons seem not to have experienced the racial division and discord which is a marked feature among other religious orders in medieval Ireland, especially the friars. Whether this is in any way a reflection on the good relations between houses of the order cannot be said with certainty, but there are few references in any of the sources to difficulties caused by nationality. Conflict occured within the order, as examples of requests for transfers sometimes reveal, but these seem to be based on political rather than racial grounds, for example family rivalries over control of territory or over a particular religious house[5]. Changes of house took place regardless of the nationality of the founder, although in general such moves were relatively small in distance.

Because the number of their foundations, and because they received so many grants of property, both temporal and spiritual, the canons regular inevitably had many contacts with the world outside their abbeys and priories. As landholders, they came into contact with the secular authorities, and as landlords they inevitably affected their tenants by their

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[5] E.g. C.P.L. VIII, p.52, a request was made to transfer to Cong 'because he cannot safely remain therein on account of the deadly enmities between his kinsmen and certain neighbours of the monastery', while a request was made to move to Drumlane 'of which his ancestors were the founders', C.P.L. XII, p.200.

decisions. While it is only in the cases of Holy Trinity and to a lesser extent Kells, Co. Kilkenny, from which houses we have accounts, that we can examine in some detail the management of their revenues and properties by the canons, we have a greater knowledge of the Augustinians as spiritual landlords.

The large numbers of parish churches which were granted to the canons, and for which they were responsible, either by serving it in person, or for the provision of a proper chaplain or vicar to minister to the parishioners, meant that good or bad stewardship of these appropriated churches had a considerable effect on many people. The care which conscientious bishops showed in relation to churches owned by distant monastic houses reflects the importance of this aspect of the canons' relationship both with the secular clergy and episcopate, and with the laity. Successive bishops making visitations ordered religious houses to bring their charters in order to prove their claim to be rectors, and efforts were made to force such houses to provide for the proper maintenance of both the physical upkeep of the church, and the spiritual needs of the people.

The canons were clearly perceived as being useful to the society in which they lived. In return for grants of land, money and churches, they were involved in both ecclesiastical and secular administration in a range of capacities. Augustinian canons served as bishops, as delegates for both bishops and papacy, and as collectors of clerical taxes. Canons were sometimes deputed to undertake episcopal visitations, or to hear disputes. They also undertook a variety of tasks for the secular authorities, apart from the role which some members of the order played as spiritual peers in parliament. Positions held by members of the order included that of Treasurer, justices of the peace, and trusted messengers and emissaries.

The canons regular, and indeed all the religious orders, were careful to defend the property and rights which they had accumulated from encroachment, either by the laity, or from other religious. Litigation was a regular occurence for the richer houses, and disputes over property, or any attempt to deny them their rights, were actively pursued, either in the secular or religious courts.

The brevity of the Rule of St. Augustine meant that virtually any form of activity could be undertaken while remaining within its spirit. This was one of the reasons for the success of not just the canons regular, but the many other orders which adopted the rule. The chief considerations which determined the form of life of a particular house were, size, location, and sometimes the intention of the founder. Small houses were restricted in what functions they could fulfill, since where this would involve the absence of members of the community, for example, the serving of distant parish churches, the religious life of the priory would be difficult to maintain.

The location of a house, whether rural and isolated, or in an urban setting, would also influence the general character of the community, since for houses in a city, or where many travellers could be passing, hospitality was a particularly important duty. More isolated communities probably had a more contemplative ethos, except in those instances where their church was a place of pilgrimage. While Lough Derg was internationally famous, and Holy Trinity attracted large numbers of visitors, many other sites throughout Ireland also had shrines, or were granted indulgences from pope or bishop, which drew pilgrims. The financial contributions of these pilgrims made possible much of the building work which survives, and even in the case of smaller houses, additional features such as

windows, elaborate doorways, and new cloisters, were often added in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries[6].

The intention of the founder sometimes influenced the subsequent life of a monastery. Those communities which were established to form a cathedral chapter had a clear function from the beginning. Regular chapters were almost exclusively staffed by the Augustinian canons in Ireland, unlike in Britain where the Benedictines were dominant. The maintenance of hospitality was often mentioned in charters as being the reason for the grant. Many other houses were founded to serve as, in effect, chantries, praying for the souls of the founder and his family, while in other cases, especially in cells in parish churches, a pastoral role was probably, but not always, expected.

The grants of large numbers of parish churches to Augustinian houses has led many historians to assume that pastoral work was one of the chief functions of the canons regular. However, this is not supported by the available evidence, and serving appropriated parish churches in person was a rare event. The small size of communities obviously played a large part in this, as few houses could have kept up conventual life if even two or three such churches had resident canons.

Although the regulations of the order did not place quite the stress on education as was the case among the mendicant orders, it is clear that the canons had at least as much interest in, and need for, education as most of their contemporaries. Although there is little evidence for the attendance of Irish canons at university, this is hardly surprising since Ireland was

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6 E.g. at Killagh, new windows and doors were added, Carmody, 'The Abbey of Killagha', in R.S.A.I.Jn. 36 (1906) p.288, and at Monaincha a sacristy was attached to the north side of the church, Stout, G. Archaeological survey of the barony of Ikerrin (Roscrea, 1984) p.73. The carved cloister arcade at Inistioge dates from the 16th century, Manning, C. 'The Inistioge priory cloister arcade' in Old Kilkenny Review 1 (1976) p.199.

lacking in the opportunities for higher education. In general, however, the canons showed an early interest in scholarly activity, and attracted a considerable number of highly able entrants. In the early fourteenth century, the Constitutions of Pope Benedict in 1339 for the reform of the Augustinian canons stressed the need for education within larger houses, and instituted a levy on all houses for the support of students belonging to the order[7].

Despite the lack of a university, and of an Augustinian equivalent to the *studia generale* of the mendicant orders, within Ireland it is clear that education, and intellectual activity, was commonplace. The administration of the often extensive possessions of religious houses, as well as the fulfillment of the spiritual requirements of the religious life, especially for those in orders, needed a degree of education at least, and the canons regular elevated to the episcopate must also have had the necessary level of attainment in both practical and theological fields.

Despite the relatively small amount which survives from Irish monastic libraries, Augustinian houses are remarkably well represented. Books written in, or owned by, nineteen communities survive, and others, now lost, are known to have existed. Although necessary items such as psalters, calendars, and martyrologies, comprise a considerable number of these manuscripts, the remainders cover a wide range of subjects. Theology, history, hagiography, and poetry all survive in items from Augustinian houses, and reveal a level of education and culture which in some ways appears at variance with the dismal picture of later medieval Irish religious life as portrayed in the papal archives[8].

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7 Benedictine Constitutions, chapters X-XII, in Salter, Chapters of the Augustinian Canons, pp.229-240.

8 Cf. Lynch, 'Religion in late medieval Ireland', and Nicholls, Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the later middle ages, pp.91-110.

While there are few members of the order who were noted for their writings, it is clear from their ownership of books, and from the preservation of earlier manuscripts in communities which adopted the Augustinian rule in the twelfth century, that the canons were educated men who appreciated, and cared for, these works. The relative poverty of Augustinian houses[9] would have meant that the purchase of many items for their libraries would have been impossible. The elaborately decorated psalter from Holy Trinity was ordered by Stephen de Derby, but Holy Trinity was one of the few houses which could have afforded such an item. There are no references to *scriptoria* in any Augustinian priories, but the copying of books was clearly done, at least in some houses, as we know from the colophons of several items.

The Augustinian canons were a very flexible order; they came into existence from a range of backgrounds, and inevitably retained divergent interests thoughout their history. The number of foundations, and the large but miscellaneous body of information which survives concerning them, make generalizations difficult. For every statement that is made about how they lived, how they interacted with each other and the world around them, there are examples which appear to contradict it.

This does, not mean, however, that a study of the canons regular is impossible, or that they do not merit the effort. Their importance in the medieval church has been admitted by many scholars, but the challenge to fill this gap in the history of the monastic orders in Ireland has not been taken up. The scale of such a task has perhaps daunted those who might otherwise have attempted it; however, it is only by combining the wide range of material which refers to the canons throughout Ireland, and

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9 Southern, Western Society and the church, p.246 estimates that the sum required for the maintenance of a canon was one third that for a Benedictine monk.

comparing it with the situation from elsewhere, that enough evidence can be brought together to see the overall outline. While studies of individual houses, or areas can be more detailed, particularly with regard to the political, social and economic events which influenced the success or failure of individual communities, such work often shows little awareness that the canons regular were, like the Cistercians, Dominicans and Franciscans, part of an organization found all over Ireland and indeed Europe, and that they need to be studied in that context.

This thesis has touched on certain aspects of the canons regular in Ireland throughout the middle ages. While it cannot make any claim to be a comprehensive history of the order in this country, its aim is to use the large amount of little used information on them, in order to show that this is a subject worthy of much greater attention than it has hitherto received. I have attempted to examine not just to outline the spread of houses in Ireland, but to show how the Augustinians fitted into the medieval Irish church, and into the society of which they formed a part.

APPENDIX 1. AUGUSTINIAN HOUSES

Name	Rank	County	Diocese	Congregation / dependency
Abbeyderg	Pr.	Longford	Ardagh	
Abbeygormacan	Ab.	Galway	Clonfert	Arr.?
Aghmacart	Ab.	Laois	Ossory	Arr.
Annaghdown	Ab.	Galway	Annaghdown	Arr.
Ardcarn	Pr.?	Roscom.	Elphin	Arr.
Armagh	Ab.	Armagh	Armagh	Arr.
Athassel	Pr.	Tipperary	Cashel	
Athleague	Pr.	Roscom.	Elphin	Arr. Roscommon
Aughrim	Pr.	Galway	Clonfert	Arr.?
Aughris	Pr.	Sligo	Killala	
Ballinskelligs	Pr.	Kerry	Ardfert	Arr.
Ballintober	Ab.	Mayo	Tuam/Mayo	
Ballybeg	Pr.	Cork	Cloyne	
Ballyboggan	Pr.	Meath	Meath	
Ballymore	Pr.	W.Meath	Meath	
Ballysadare	Ab.	Sligo	Achonry	Arr.?
Bangor	Ab.	Down	Down	Arr.
Bridgetown	Pr.	Cork	Cloyne	Vict.
Caher	Pr.	Tipperary	Lismore	
Canon Island	Ab.	Clare	Killaloe	

Name	Rank	County	Diocese	Congregation / dependency
Clare	Ab.	Clare	Killaloe	
Clogher	Ab.	Tyrone	Clogher/Louth	Arr.
Clonard (St. Peter)	Ab.	Meath	Meath	Arr.
Clonard (St. John)	Pr.	Meath	Meath	Arr.
Clonard (SS. John & Peter)	Ab.	Meath	Meath	Arr.
Clones	Ab.	Mon.	Clogher	Arr.
Clonfert	Ab.	Galway	Clonfert	Arr.
Clonmacnois	Ab.	Offaly	Clonmac.	Arr.
Clontuskert	Pr.	Galway	Clonfert	Arr.
Cloontuskert	Pr.	Roscom.	Elphin	Arr.
Colp	Cl.	Meath	Meath	Llanthony I
Cong	Ab.	Mayo	Tuam	Arr.
Corbally	Pr.	Tipperary	Killaloe	Arr.?
Cork	Ab.	Cork	Cork	Cong
Cross	Pr.	Mayo	Killala	Ballintober
Crossmolina	Pr.	Mayo	Killala	Ballybeg
Derrane	Pr.	Roscom.	Elphin	Arr. Roscommon
Derry	Ab.	Derry	Derry	
Devenish	Pr.	Ferm.	Clogher	Arr. Armagh
Dingle	Cl.	Kerry	Ardfert	Killagh

Name	Rank	County	Diocese	Congregation / dependency
Down	Pr.	Wexford	Leighlin	
Downpatrick (St. John)	Pr.	Down	Down	Arr.
Downpatrick (St. Thomas)	Pr.	Down	Down	
Drumlane	Pr.	Cavan	Kilmore	Arr. Kells (Meath)
Drumshallon	Pr. Cl.	Louth	Armagh	Arr. H.T. Dublin
Dublin (Holy Trinity)	Cd. Pr.	Dublin	Dublin	Arr.
Dublin (All Saints)	Pr.	Dublin	Dublin	Arr.
Dublin (St. Thomas)	Pr.>Ab.	Dublin	Dublin	Vict.
Duleek (St. Mary)	Ab.	Meath	Meath	Arr.
Duleek (St. Michael)	Cl.	Meath	Meath	Llanthony II
Dunboyne	Cl.	Meath	Meath	Mullingar
Dungiven	Pr.	Derry	Derry	Arr.?
Durrow	Pr.	Offaly	Meath	Arr.
Elphin	Pr.	Roscom.	Elphin	Arr.
Enniscorthy	Pr.	Wexford	Ferns	Vict. St. T. Dublin
Errew	Pr. Cl.?	Mayo	Killala	Crossmolina

Name	Rank	County	Diocese	Congregation / dependency
Ferns	Ab.	Wexford	Ferns	Arr.
Fertagh	Pr.	Kilkenny	Ossory	
Gallen	Pr.	Offaly	Clonmac.	Arr.?
Glendalough (St. Kevin)	Ab.>Pr.	Wicklow	Wicklow	Arr.
Glendalough (St. Saviour)	Pr.	Wicklow	Wicklow	Arr. All SS. Dublin
Greatconnell	Pr.	Kildare	Kildare	
Hare Island	Pr.>Cl.	W. Meath	Meath/ Ardagh	Sts. Is.?
Holmpatrick	Pr.	Dublin	Dublin	Arr.
Inchcleraun	Pr.	Longford	Ardagh	Arr.?
Inchicronan	Pr.	Clare	Killaloe	Clare
Inchmacnerin	Pr.	Roscom.	Elphin	Arr.?
Inchmore	Pr.	Longford	Ardagh	Arr.? Louth
Inchmore	Pr.>Cl.	W.Meath	Meath	Arr.? Sts. Is.?
Inistioge	Pr.	Kilkenny	Ossory	
Innisfallen	Pr.	Kerry	Ardfert	
Kells	Ab.	Antrim	Connor	Arr.?
Kells	Ab.	Meath	Meath	Arr.
Kells	Pr.	Kilkenny	Ossory	
Kilkenny	Pr.	Kilkenny	Ossory	

Name	Rank	County	Diocese	Congregation / dependency
Killagh	Pr.	Kerry	Ardfert	
Killeigh	Pr.	Offaly	Kildare	Arr. Durrow
Kilmacduagh	Ab.	Galway	Kilmac.	Arr.?
Kilmoney	Cl.	Cork	Cork	Cork
Kilmore	Pr.	Roscom.	Elphin	
Kilnemanagh	Cl.?	Sligo	Achonry	Ballysadare
Kilrush	Cl.	Kildare	Kildare	Cartmel
Kilshanny	Ab.	Clare	Kilfenora	
Knock	Ab.	Louth	Armagh	Arr.
Leighlin	Pr.	Carlow	Leighlin	Arr.
Lisgoole	Ab.	Ferm.	Clogher	Arr.
Lissonuffy	Cl.	Roscom.	Elphin	Arr. Cong
Lorrha	Pr.	Tipperary	Killaloe	
Louth	Cd.Pr.>Pr.	Louth	Louth/ Armagh	Arr.
Magheraglass	Pr.	Tyrone	Armagh	Arr. Armagh
Mayo	Ab.	Mayo	Tuam/Mayo	
Mohill	Pr.	Leitrim	Ardagh	Abbeyderg
Molana	Pr.	Waterford	Lismore	
Monaincha	Pr.	Tipperary	Killaloe	Arr.? to Corbally

Name	Rank	County	Diocese	Congregation / dependency
Mothel	Pr.	Waterford	Lismore	
Movilla	Ab.	Down	Down	Arr.
Muckamore	Pr.	Antrim	Connor	Vict.
Mullingar	Pr.	W.Meath	Meath	
Naas	Pr.	Kildare	Kildare	
Navan	Ab.	Meath	Meath	Arr.
Newtown Trim	Cd.Pr.	Meath	Meath	Vict.
Rathkeale	Pr.	Limerick	Limerick	Arr.
Ratoath	Cl.	Meath	Meath	St.T. Dublin
Rattoo	Ab.	Kerry	Ardfert	Arr.
Roscommon	Pr.	Roscom.	Elphin	Arr.
Roscrea	Cd.Pr.	Tipperary	Roscrea	Arr.?
St. Catherine's	Pr.>Cl.	Dublin	Dublin	Vict. St.T. Dublin
St. Patrick's Is.	Pr.	Dublin	Dublin	to Holmpatrick
St. Wolstan's	Pr.	Kildare	Kildare	Vict.
Sts. Island (Lough Derg)	Pr.	Donegal	Raphoe	Arr. Armagh
Sts. Island (All Saints)	Pr.	Longford	Ardagh	
Saul	Ab.	Down	Down	Arr.
Seirkieran	Pr.	Offaly	Ossory	
Termonfeckin	Ab.	Louth	Louth	Arr.

Name	Rank	County	Diocese	Congregation / dependency
Toomyvara	Pr.Cl.	Tipperary	Killaloe	Monaincha
Trim	Ab.	Meath	Meath	Arr.
Tristernagh	Pr.	W.Meath	Meath	
Tuam	Pr.>Ab.	Galway	Tuam	Arr.
Tullylease	Pr.>Cl.	Cork	Cloyne	Kells in Ossory
Waterford	Pr.	Waterford	Waterford	Vict.
Wexford	Pr.	Wexford	Ferns	H.S.?

Abbreviations
Ab. = abbey. Pr. = priory. Cl. = cell. Cd. = cathedral
Arr. = Arroasian. Vict. = Victorine. H.S. = Holy Sepulchre

APPENDIX 2. AUGUSTINIAN BISHOPS

Name	Accession	Death unless otherwise stated
Diocese of Achonry (Tuam)		
Thomas Ford (de Rivis) canon of Bodmin	prov. 8 Oct. 1492 (suff. in Lichfield 1405, in Lincoln 1496-1504)	p.1502
Diocese of Annaghdown (Tuam)		
John Boner alias Camere	prov. 9 June 1421 (suff. Salisbury and Hereford 1421, and Exeter 1438)	a.1446
Diocese of Ardagh (Armagh)		
M. prior of Inis Mór	c.1224	c.1229
Cormac Mág Shamhradháin prior of Drumlane	prov. 6 Nov. 1444 cons. p.19 Feb. 1445	res. c.1462
Diocese of Armagh (Armagh)		
Conchobar mac Meic Con Caille, abbot of SS. Peter and Paul, Armagh	el. and cons. c.1175	1175
Echdunn Mac Gilla Uidir, 1216 abbot of Bangor	el. and cons. 1202 temp. 30 Aug. 1206 (suff. in Exeter and Worcester 1207)	p. 11 Aug.
Donatus Ó Fidabra prior of Louth, bp. of Clogher	trs. c.Aug. 1227 temp. 20 Sept. 1227	a.17 Oct. 1237
John Bole, abbot of Navan and bp.-elect of Kildare	prov. 2 May 1457 cons. a. 13 June 1457	18 Feb. 1471

Name	Accession	Death unless otherwise stated
Diocese of Cashel (Cashel)		
Maírín Ó Briain bp. of Cork	el. p.19 Aug. 1223 trs. 20 June 1224 temp. 25 Aug. 1224 (again) 20 Jan. 1225	res. a. 6 June 1237 d. 1238
Diocese of Clogher (Armagh)		
Áed Ua Cáellaide prior of Louth	1138	res. a. May 1178, d. 29 Mar. 1182
Gilla Crist Ua Mucaráin abbot of Clones	c. 1187	1193
Gilla Tigernaig Mac Gilla Rónáin, prior of Louth	c.1197	1218
Donatus Ó Fidabra prior of Louth	c.1218	trs. to Armagh c.Aug. 1227
Gelasius alias Cornelius Ó Bánáin, abbot of Clones	el. c.1316 cons. c.1316	1319
Diocese of Clonfert (Tuam)		
Matthaeus Mág Raith abbot of Clare Abbey	prov. 22 June 1464	1507
Giolla Pádraig Ó Condálaigh abbot of Clones	prov. 6 Mar. 1504	a. Dec. 1504
Diocese of Clonmacnoise (Armagh)		
William prior of Brinkburn	prov. 14 July 1458 (suff. in Durham)	p.1484

Name	Accession	Death unless otherwise stated
Diocese of Cork (Cashel)		
Gilla Áeda Ua Maigin canon of Cork and abbot of Gill Abbey	a. 1148	1172
Mairín Ua Briain canon of Christchurch	a. 1208	trs. to Cashel 20 June 1224
Diocese of Down (Armagh)		
Gilla Domangairt Mac Cormaic, abbot of Bangor	1175	1175
William White prior of Greatconnell	prov. a. Dec. 1367 temp. 30 Dec. 1367	c.10 Aug. 1368
Ralph Alderle prior of Newark	prov. 26 Apr. 1445 (did not get possession)	-
Diocese of Down and Connor (Armagh)		
Tadhg Ó Muirghease prior of St. Katherine's Waterford	prov. 10 July 1469 cons. 10 Sept. 1469	p.July 1480
Diocese of Dromore (Armagh)		
John Waltham bp. of Ossory	trs. 14 May 1400	trs. to Ossory Oct.1402
Roger Appleby prior of Nuneaton and bp. of Ossory	trs. Oct. 1402	trs. to Waterf. a. Oct. 1407
Diocese of Dublin (Dublin)		
John Walton abbot of Oseney	prov. 4 May 1472 cons. a. 27 Aug. 1472 temp. 15 Aug. 1474 (again) 20 May 1477	res. 14 June 1484

Name	Accession	Death unless otherwise stated
Diocese of Emly (Cashel)		
Thomas de Burgh canon of Clare Abbey	prov. 19 Dec.1425 cons. p.23 Feb. 1428	a. Sept. 1444
Diocese of Ferns (Dublin)		
Patrick Barrett canon of Kells in Ossory	prov. 10 Dec. 1400 cons. Dec. 1400 temp. 11 Apr. 1401	10 Nov. 1415
John Purcell II canon of St. Katherine's Waterford	prov. 13 Apr. 1519 cons. 6 May 1519	20 July 1539
Diocese of Kildare (Dublin)		
John Bole abbot of Navan	el. c.1456/7 never cons.	prov. to Armagh 2 May 1457
Thomas Dillon of St. Peter's Drogheda	prov. 24 Aug. 1526	a. July 1529
Walter Wellesley prior of Greatconnell	prov. 1 July 1529 temp. 23 Sept. 1531	a. 18 Oct. 1539
Diocese of Kilfenora (Cashel)		
Florentius Ó Tigernaig abbot of Kilshanny	el. a.18 Sept. 1273 temp. 30 Nov. 1273	a. 12 July 1281
Diocese of Killala (Tuam)		
Tomás Bairéad canon of Crossmolina	prov. 9 Feb. 1470 (suff. in Ely 1497)	p.1497

Name	Accession	Death unless otherwise stated
Diocese of Killaloe (Cashel)		
Donatus Mág Raith abbot of Clare Abbey	prov. a. 8 Feb. 1400 cons. a. 9 Apr. 1400	p. Aug. 1421
Thaddaeus Mág Raith I abbot of Clare Abbey	prov. 25 Oct. 1423 temp. 1 Sept. 1431	a. July1443
Diocese of Kilmore (Armagh)		
Mauricius abbot of Kells	el. a.Oct. 1286	1307
Fear Sithe Mág Dhuibhne prior of Drumlane	prov. 11 July 1455	27 Nov. 1464
Seán Ó Raghallaigh II abbot of Kells	prov. 17 May 1465	a. Nov. 1476
Cormac Mág Shamhradháin prior of Drumlane	prov. 4 Nov. 1476	Dec. 1512
Edmund Nugent prior of Tristernagh	prov. 22 June 1530	dep. 5 Nov. 1540
Diocese of Leighlin (Dublin)		
Thomas prior of Greatconnell	el. a. 4 Sept. 1252 prov. 7 Jan. 1253 temp. p.9 Mar. 1253	25 Apr. 1275
John Caroys canons of All Hallows	prov. 10 Oct. 1483	-
Diocese of Limerick (Cashel)		
Hubert de Burgh prior of Athassel	cust. 11 Mar. 1223 el. a. 7 May 1224 temp. c. 21 Apr. 1225	14 Sept. 1250

Name	Accession	Death unless otherwise stated
John of Mothel	prov. 7 Oct. 1426 temp. 23 Jan. 1427	res. a.Apr. 1458 d.1468
Thomas Leger canon of Dunstable	prov. 10 May 1456	dep. 23 Nov. 1456
Diocese of Mayo (Tuam)		
Aodh Ó hUiginn abbot of Mayo	prov. 31 Aug. 1439	dep. a. Jan. 1448
Diocese of Meath (Armagh)		
Nicholas Allen abbot of St. Thomas's Dublin	el. a.Jan. 1353 cons. 31 Jan. 1353 temp. 15 Mar. 1353	15 Jan. 1367
Richard Wilson prior of Drax and bp. of Negropont	prov. 27 Feb. 1523 (suff. in York 1523-9)	res. a. Sept. 1529
Diocese of Ossory (Dublin)		
Hugo de Rous canon of Kells in Ossory	c.1202	a. Dec. 1218
Peter Mauveisin	el. a. 8 Dec. 1218	a. Mar. 1231
John Waltham	prov. a. 1 Feb. 1393 temp. 20 Mar. 1399	trs. to Dromore 14 May 1400
Roger Appleby canon of Nuneaton	prov. 26 Sept. 1400 temp. 3 Jan. 1401	trs. to Dromore Oct. 1402
John Waltham (again) bp. of Dromore	trs. Oct. 1402	5 Nov. 1405
Milo Baron (FitzGerald) prior of Inistioge	prov. 8 June 1528	1550

Name	Accession	Death unless otherwise stated
Diocese of Scattery Island (Cashel)		
John Grene prior of Leighs	prov. 30 Mar. 1447 (vicar in Lincoln dioc. 1458, suff. York 1452-62, in Canterbury 1465-7)	p. 1467
Diocese of Tuam (Tuam)		
Felix Ua Ruanada prior of Saul	1202	res. 23 Mar. 1235, d.1238
John de Burgh abbot of Cong	prov. 9 Oct. 1441 cons. c.Nov./Dec. 1441	a. Dec. 1450
Donatus Ó Muireadhaigh	prov. 2 Dec. 1450 cons. p. Dec. 1450	17 Jan. 1485
Diocese of Waterford and Lismore (Cashel)		
Roger Appleby bp. of Dromore	trs. a. Oct. 1407	a. Aug. 1409

APPENDIX 3. AUGUSTINIAN MANUSCRIPTS

Clogher

The Register of Clogher contains an office of St. Macartan, arranged in 1528 by the bishop of Clogher. This is stated to have been 'transcribed out of the ancient books of the order of St. Augustine'[1], so it is quite likely that the source was from the canons' house at Clogher.

Clonard

The office of St. Finnian of Clonard survives in two versions. Although the cult of St. Finnian had been well-established before the Anglo-Norman invasion, its spread owed much to the Anglo-Norman bishops of Meath, Hugh Thagmon and especially Thomas St. Leger. The Augustinian house of St. John's, Clonard was the centre of the diocese, and the office was almost certainly constructed in its present form in that house[2], using earlier hagiographical material which is now lost. The manuscripts in question are Brussels Bibl. Roy. MS 8590-8598, f.176v-81v, and Lambeth MS 213 f.230.

Clones

Bodleian MS C.C.C. 282, belonging Corpus Christi College, Oxford, is an Irish missal, probably dating from the 12th century. The work has been widely accepted as having come from Clones[3], but more recently other suggestions have been made. Gwynn postulated a Munster provenance[4], but O'Sullivan has pointed out that Henry Parry who

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1 Reg. Clogher, f.45r.
2 Hughes, 'The offices of S. Finnian of Clonard and S. Cíanán of Duleek' in Anal. Boll. 73 (1955) p.345-6.
3 Cf. Gougaud, The remains of ancient Irish monastic libraries,' p.323
4 Gywnn, A.'The Irish missal of Corpus Christi Colledge, Oxford, in Dugmore C. and Duggan, C. (eds.) Studies in Church History 1 pp.61-66

donated the manuscript to the college, also gave a number of items which came from the Llanthony library, and so Duleek may have been the origin of this volume also[5].

Clonmacnois

The Annals of Tigernach were continued at Clomnacnois until 1178[6]. Earlier manuscripts which were preserved in Clonmacnois are the Lebor na Huidre[7] and Bodl. Rawl. B. 502. The Annals of Clonmacnois survive only in a 17th century translation[8], but there is no internal evidence connecting them with the abbey of Clonmacnois[9].

Colp

See below, under Duleek.

Dublin, All Hallows

The Register of All Hallows[10] dates from the second half of the 15th century.

Dublin, Holy Trinity

The martyrology and obits of Christ Church[11] remained in use until at least 1558, as notices of deaths continued to be added. The volume is in two sections. The first dates from the 15th century, and contains the list of the main relics belonging to the cathedral, the necrology proper, followed by those people who were to receive more solemn

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5 O'Sullivan, W. 'Medieval Meath manuscripts' in Riocht na Midhe VII (1986) p.17.
6 Bodl. Rawl. B. 488
7 R.I.A. MS 23 E. 25
8 T.C.D. MS 673
9 See Gwynn, A. 'Tomaltach Ua Conchobair, coarb of Patrick' in Seanchas Ardmhacha VIII (1977) pp.238-9.
10 T.C.D. MS 525
11 T.C.D. MS 576

commemoration, or to be buried in the cathedral. The rest of the volume is from the first half of the 13th century, and contains the calendar of saints, short gospel readings with patristic commentaries for reading in chapter, and part of the Rule of St. Augustine.

Accounts from the priory covering the years 1337 to 1346, together with a valuation of the possessions of the priory in 1306, a rental from c.1326, French verses, and an English morality play were published in the last century.

The Liber Niger is a composite volume, mostly dating from the 13th century, and was owned by Henry La Warr, elected prior of Christ Church in 1301. Later items were added on blank leaves unitl the later 15th or 16th centuries. The contents are very varied[12]. Thomas Fich, subprior of Holy Trinity was the compiler of the Liber Albus, which contains charters, leases, rentals and inventories concerning Holy Trinity - further material dating from 1585 was added on blank pages[13].

The Calendar of Christ Church Deeds lists over 1,400 documents, now lost, dating from the 12th to the late 17th centuries[14]. The first 467 of these survive more fully in an eighteenth century transcript, known as the Registrum Novum[15].

Bodl. Rawl. G. 185, a 14th century decorated volume containing the calendar, psalter, creed, litany and other prayers, belonged to Stephen de Derby, prior of Holy Trinity from 1349 to c. 1382. This is a beautiful

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12 They are described by Gwynn,A. 'The Black Book of Christ Church' in Anal. Hib. 16 (1946) pp.283-337.

13 'A Calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus of Christ Church Dublin', ed. H.J. Lawlor in R.I.A.Proc., 27 (1908-9), pp. 1-93

14 Published. in the 20th, 23rd, and 24th Reports of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records in Ireland, (1888-92)

15 R.C.B. Library, MS C 616. Parts have been published by M.P.Sheehy, 'The Registrum Novum: a manuscript of Holy Trinity Cathedral: The Medieval charters' in Reportorium Novum 3 no. 1 (1962) pp.249-81; 4 no. 1 (1965-71) pp.101-133.

item, with illuminated initials, borders and miniatures, but was clearly used regularly, as various notes on the priory, and obits of priors from 1397 to 1537 have been added[16].

Dublin, St. Thomas's

There are three full or partial cartularies of this house. Bodl. Rawl. B. 500, which is intact, dates from the late 13th century, although there are a few later items at the end. Bodl. Rawl. B. 499 and RIA 12 D 2, are transcripts made in 1525 by William Copinger of Cork of a more extensive cartulary. While containing most of the items in the earlier register, they also include material, both earlier and later, not contained in the manuscript published by Gilbert.

BL Add. MS 24,198 is a 14th century missal, with some 15th century additions, and the inscription of James Cotrell abbot of St. Thomas [1526] [17]. T.C.D. MS 97 is a composite volume, of the 13th and 14th centuries. Its contents include the martyrology of the house, with an imperfect calendar to which various obits have been added. The manuscript is in many different hands, and with additions and corrections made at different periods. Other items in the volume, which has 276 leaves, include, Alexander de Villa Dei, Mass Compoti (f.7-32), regulations for the brothers including prayers to be said at certain times such as on entering the church (f.33), Letters attributed to Chromatius and Heliodorus to Jerome, and a reply (f.35); Hugh of St. Victor's commentary on the Rule of St. Augustine (f.73-95), with the text of Regula Prima and Secunda merged; the only text of Richard of St. Victor on the question of the authorship of the Rule of St. Augustine (f. 95-102);

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16 See Hand, G.J. 'The Psalter of Christ Church, Dublin (Bodleian MS Rawlinson G. 185' in Reportorium Novum 1 no. 2 (1956) pp.311-22, and Hawkes, W. 'The liturgy in Dublin, 1200-1500' in Reportorium Novum 2 no. 2 (1958) pp.54-7.

17 f.54v.

and parts of the Victorine customs (f.107-48). These Augustinian sections are then followed by a series of other items on the monastic life - the Rule of St. Benedict, The Franciscan *Regula Secunda*, papal constitutions on the Franciscan, 2 pieces on the life of the anchorite, and exercepts from various other works on monastic life such as Arnulfus de Boeriis *Speculum Monachorum* [18]. Other contents of the volume include patristic extracts for reading in chapter, Hugh of St. Victor *De Institutione Nouiciorum* and Innocent III *De Miseria Humane Conditionis.*[19]

Duleek

Lambeth MS 60 is a 14th century of the *Liber sextus decretalium cum apparatus,* inscribed '*iste liber pertinet ad priorem de dyneleke*'[20] almost certainly came into the Lambeth collection with the library of Llanthony, and it is probable that other items, although uninscribed, may have come to Llanthony from Ireland. One such item is MS 357, which contains the office of St. Cianan of Duleek, in an early 15th century hand[21]. This volume also contains works by Hugh of St. Victor, Bernard of Clairvaux and Richard FitzRalph of Armagh[22]. B.L. Lansdowne 387 ff.35-41 contains the same office, as well as a Mass, and may be slightly earlier. It also has connections with Gloucestershire[23]. The Llanthony Prima and Secunda cells of Duleek and Colp have surviving records in the cartularies of their mother houses, containing charters from the 12th to the 14th centuries.

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18 f. 206, differs from published text in P.L 184: 1175-82

19 For a full analysis see Colker, M.L. Trinity College Library, Dublin.Descriptive catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Latin manuscripts, pp.183-195.

20 f. 11a, Gougaud, 'Remains of ancient Irish monastic libraries', p.326.

21 Hughes, 'The Offices of S. Finnian of Clonard and S. Cíanán of Duleek', p.349

22 O'Sullivan, W. 'Additional medieval Meath manuscripts' in Riocht na Midhe VIII no. 1 (1987) p.68

23 Hughes, op. cit., pp.349-51.

Greatconnell

Hereford cathedral library MS P.4.XIV is a copy of Eusebius, *Ecclesiastica historia*, inscribed *Explicit liber undecimus ecclesiastice hystorie, anno ab incarnacione domini MCCXXXVII scriptus in monasterio sancte Marie de Conal*[24].

Inistioge

T.C.D. MS 188, a 14th century copy of Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* has been identified as coming from Inistioge, Co. Kilkenny[25].

Innisfallen

Bodl. Rawl. B. 503, f.1-57, the Annals of Inisfallen may not in fact have been originated there[26], there is no reason to doubt Ware's identifying that monastery as their home thoughout the middle ages[27].

Knock

A metrical martyrology was compiled by Máel Muire Ua Gormáin, abbot of Knock[28], who died in 1181[29].

Lorrha

Lambeth MS 46 is a 15th century *Clementinae,* with a colophon identifying Rodericus Olacthmain prior of Lorrha as the scribe. Lorrha is also mentioned in an inscription on the part of Rawl. B. 486 containing

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24 f.138

25 Hayes, R. Manuscript sources for thehistory of Irish civilization, under Inistioge, and Gougaud, op.cit., p. 327

26 Gwynn, A. 'Were the annals of Inisfallen written at Killaloe?' in N. Munster Antiq. Jn. VIII no. 1 (1958) pp.20-33

27 Bibliotheca Jacobi Waraei equitus Aur. catalogus (1648) p.8 'Item XXVI Annales coenobii Innisfallen in agro Kerriano'.

28 Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 5100-4, ff.124-97v, published as Felire Hui Gormain. The Martyrology of Gorman, ed. Whitley Stokes (London, 1895)

29 A.F.M.

the genealogies of Irish saints, as having been copied for the coarb of Lorrha[30].

Navan

Bodl. Rawl. B. 486, ff.16-23 contains a partial martyrology of the 14th century from Navan. The obits of various people and the admission of members of the laity to a confraternity attached to the abbey are included in the margins.

Roscrea

The Annals of Roscrea, of which 17th century extracts survive[31], may have come from St. Cronan's, Roscrea, one of the many early monasteries which became Augustinian in the mid-12th century. Kenney suggests that these were compiled around the same time as the Life of St. Cronan, probably in the late 11th or early 12th centuries[32], and it is probable that the manuscripts, along with those of the Book of Dimma[33] and the Rule of Echtgus us Cuanain[34], remained in the house after it adopted the new order[35].

Saints Island

Bodl. Rawl. B. 485, an early 14th century collection of Latin lives of Irish saints, and B. 505, a later 14th century re-arrangement of the same order in which they occur in the calendar, may both have come from

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30 Rawl. B. 486 f.43v.
31 Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 5303, ed. by Gleeson, D. and MacAirt, S. 'The annals of Roscrea', in R.I.A.Proc. 59 (1957-9) pp.137-80
32 Kenney, Sources, p.460.
33 T.C.D. MS 59.
34 This survives in a 17th century copy, as Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 5100-4 p.16.
35 Henry, F. and Marsh-Micheli, G. 'Manuscripts and illuminations, 1169-1603' in N.H.I. 2, p.788 state that the Book of Dimma was still in Roscrea in the 15th century when its shrine was repaired.

Saints Island[36], although there is no clear evidence that the earlier manuscript had any connection with that house[37]. The obit of Augustine Magraidhin of Saints Island, described as 'an undisputed master of sacred and secular wisdom, including latin learning, history and many other sciences, ollamh of eloquence for western Europe, compiler of this book and of many other books, including lives of saints and histories'[38]. The book to which is referred is Bodl Rawl. B. 488, ff.29r-33v, which is part of an annal, from 1392-1407. Magraidhin also translated a life of St. John into Irish[39]

Trim

TCD MS 84, is a breviary following the Arroasian use, belonging to St. Mary's Trim, and dating from the 2nd half of the 15th century. It contains the calendar of saints, the psalter, and the sanctorale, and also some 16th century obits. It is a small, but quite elaborately decorated with red, blue, white and gold ornamentation of foliage, animals and fruit.

Tristernagh

The Register of Tristernagh[40] was produced in the 14th century. It is a fairly small parchment volume, and contains 24 folios (2 have been lost), written in two columns, with red initials and some decorated capitals. The texts were divided into two parts, each with a table of contents, and the charters are roughly arranged according to the location of the place concerned. There are also two transcripts of the register, one made in

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36 Gougaud, 'Remains of ancient Irish monastic libraries', p.332
37 Sharpe, R. Medieval Irish saints' lives, p.249ff.
38 Misc. Ir. Annals, 1405.
39 R.I.A. MS 23 O 48, cited in Sharpe, Medieval Irish saints' lives, p.265.
40 In Armagh Cathedral library.

1618[41], and an inaccurate one, which is bound with the original, made in 1716.

41 Bodl. Rawl. B. 504.

APPENDIX 4. TRANSFERS

This list is of actual or potential transfers between Augustinian communities. It is based on requests for transfers, and on accusations which may have led these appointments being made, but the sources do not always allow us to be sure if they did take place.

TRANSFERS INVOLVING PROMOTION

Abbeyderg - Mohill
Aghmacart - Monaincha (twice)
All Hallows Dublin - Greatconnell (twice)
Annaghdown - Kilmacduagh
Armagh - Lough Derg
Athassel - Rattoo
Aughrim - Cloontuskert and Roscommon
Ballybeg - Ballintober and Crossmolina
Ballyboggan - Clonard (twice)
Ballysadare - Tuam
Bangor - Saul
Caher - Waterford
Canon Is. - Inchicronan
Clare - Inchicronan (twice)
Clogher - Devenish
Clones - Mayo
Clontuskert - Gallen, Cong, Roscommon (twice) and Rathkeale
Cloontuskert - Inchcleraun
Cong - Cloontuskert
Cork - Clonfert
Derrane - Roscommon and Kilmore
Derry - Roscommon and Inchmacnerin
Drumlane - Crossmolina
Durrow - Clonard
Gallen - Clontuskert
Greatconnell - Louth and Killeigh
Inchmacnerin - Ballysadare (twice) and Fertagh
Inistioge - Ferns and Ballybeg
Kells (Antrim) - Muckamore
Killagha - Molana
Killeigh - Molana
Kilmore - Roscommon
Knock - Clonhors (unidentified)
Lough Derg - Armagh
Louth - Bangor, Holy Trinity Dublin, and three to Knock
Mayo - Ballintober
Molana - Athassel and Bridgetown (twice)

Monaincha - Toomyvara and Aghmacart (twice)
Mothel - Waterford
Newtown Trim - Mullingar and Cloontuskert
Rathkeale - Clontuskert (three times)
Roscommon - Ballysadare, Ferns, Inchcleraun
Saints Is. - Cloontuskert
Seirkieran - Toomyvara and Monaincha
St. Thomas's Dublin - Greatconnell, Louth and Enniscorthy
St. Wolstans's - Greatconnell
Tuam - Annaghdown, Ferns, Ballysadare and Mayo

TRANSFERS FROM ABROAD

Diocese of Bologna - Derry
Diocese of Bordeaux - Athassel
Diocese of Carlisle - Saul
Diocese of Constance - Kells
Diocese of Grenoble - Canon Is.
Diocese of Pisa - Derrane
Diocese of Ravenna - Inchmacnerin

OTHER TRANSFERS OR REQUESTS FOR TRANSFERS, NOT INVOLVING PROMOTION

Annaghdown - Cong
Aughris - Cong
Ballymore - Cloontuskert
Cork - Kells
Cross - Ballintober
Derry - Cloontuskert
Fertagh - Clonfert
Kilmore - Derrane
Lorrha - Clonfert
Monaincha - Roscommon
Muckamore - Kells (Antrim)
Trim - Aughrim
Tuam - Ballintober
Tuam - Cong
Tuam - Mayo

ABROAD

Siena - Drumlane

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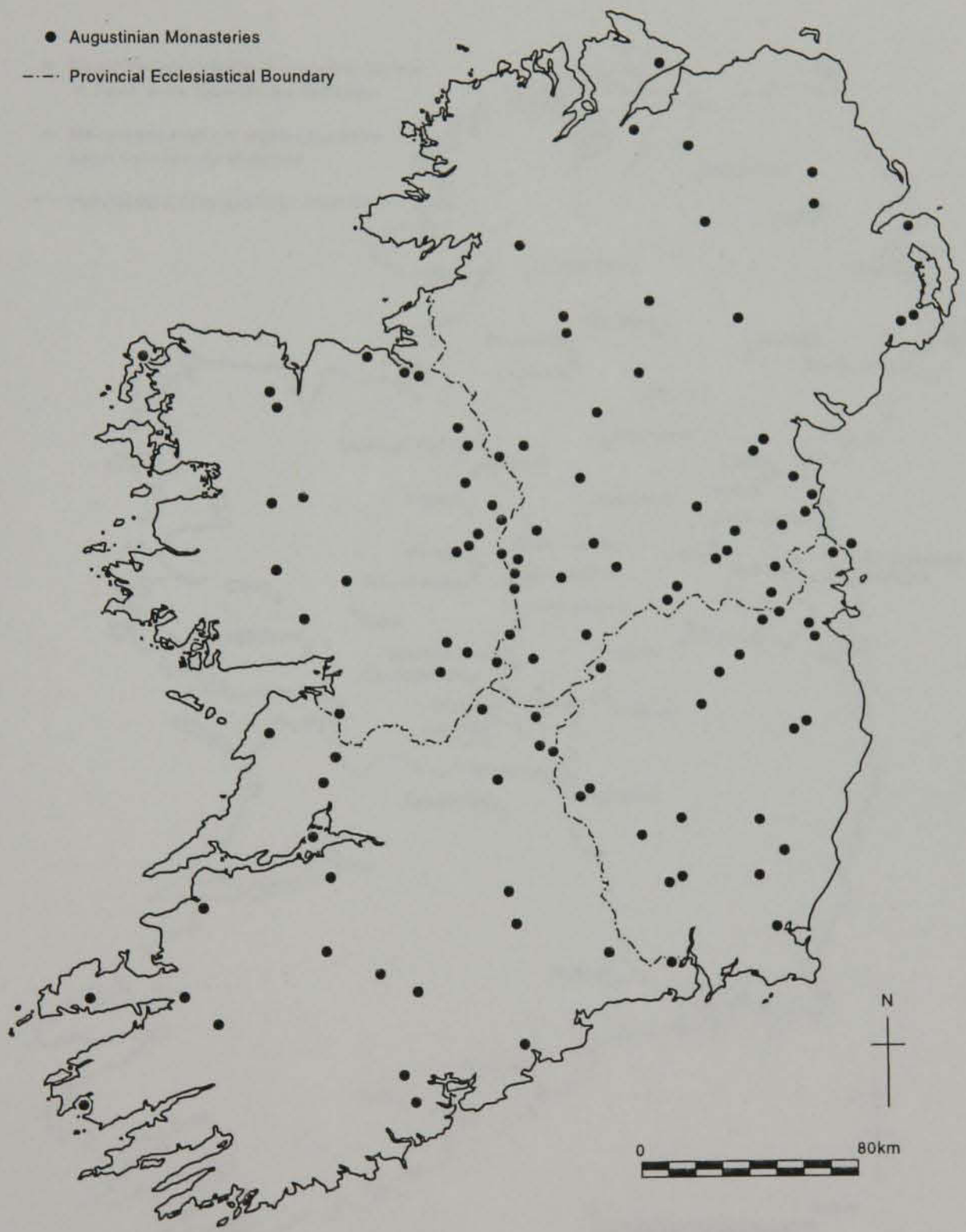
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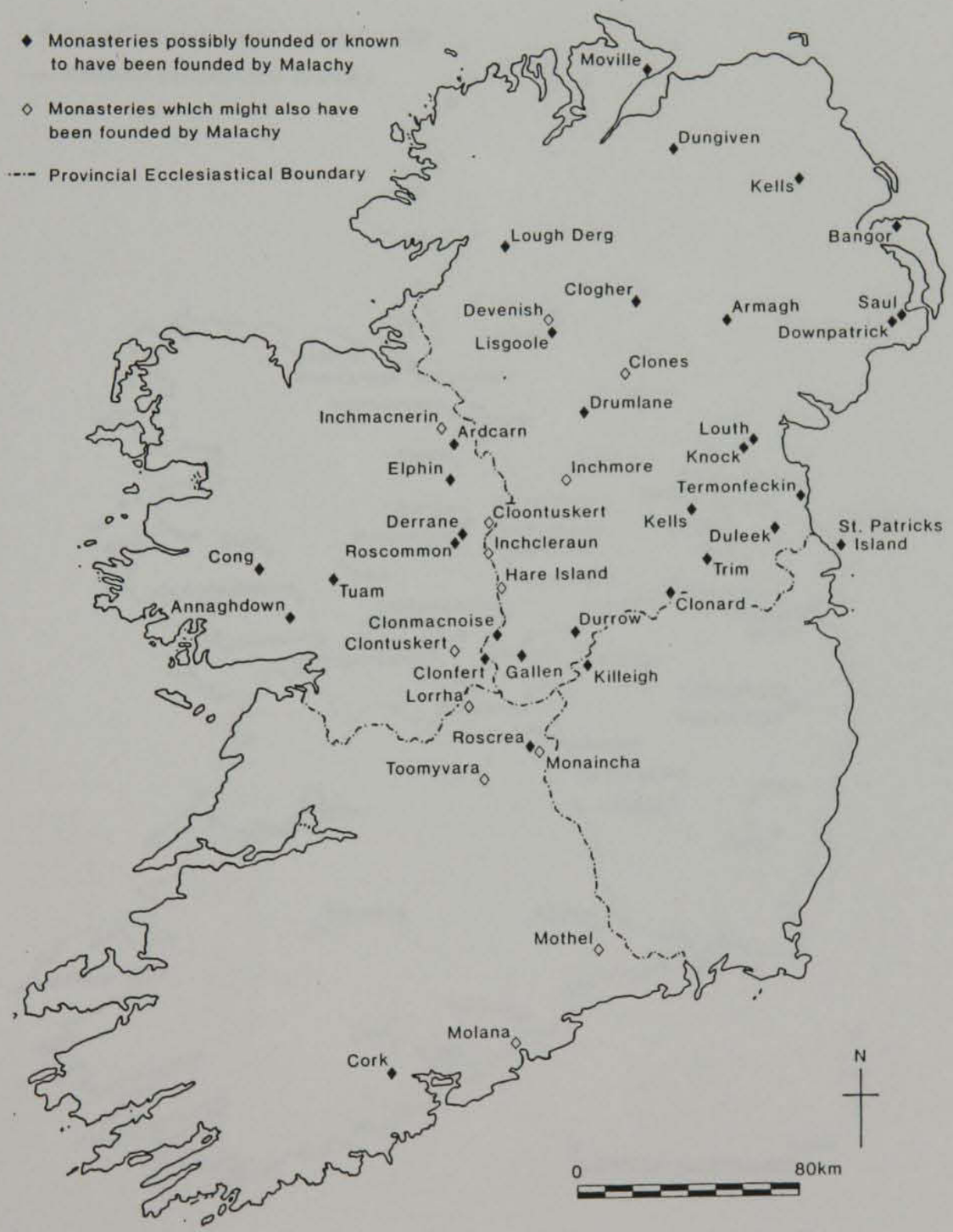
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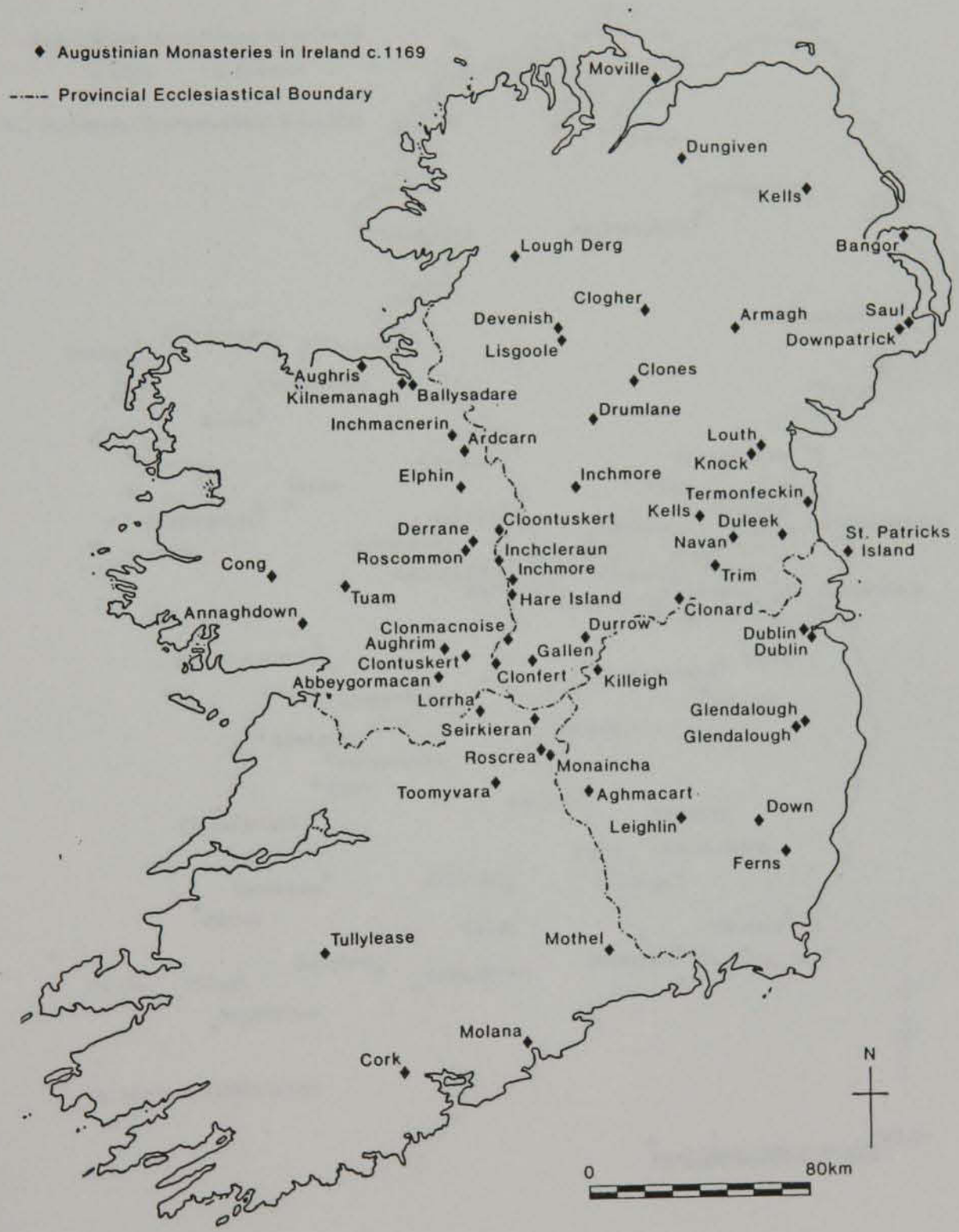
Map 1


Augustinian Monasteries
Provincial Ecclesiastical Boundary
N
0
80km

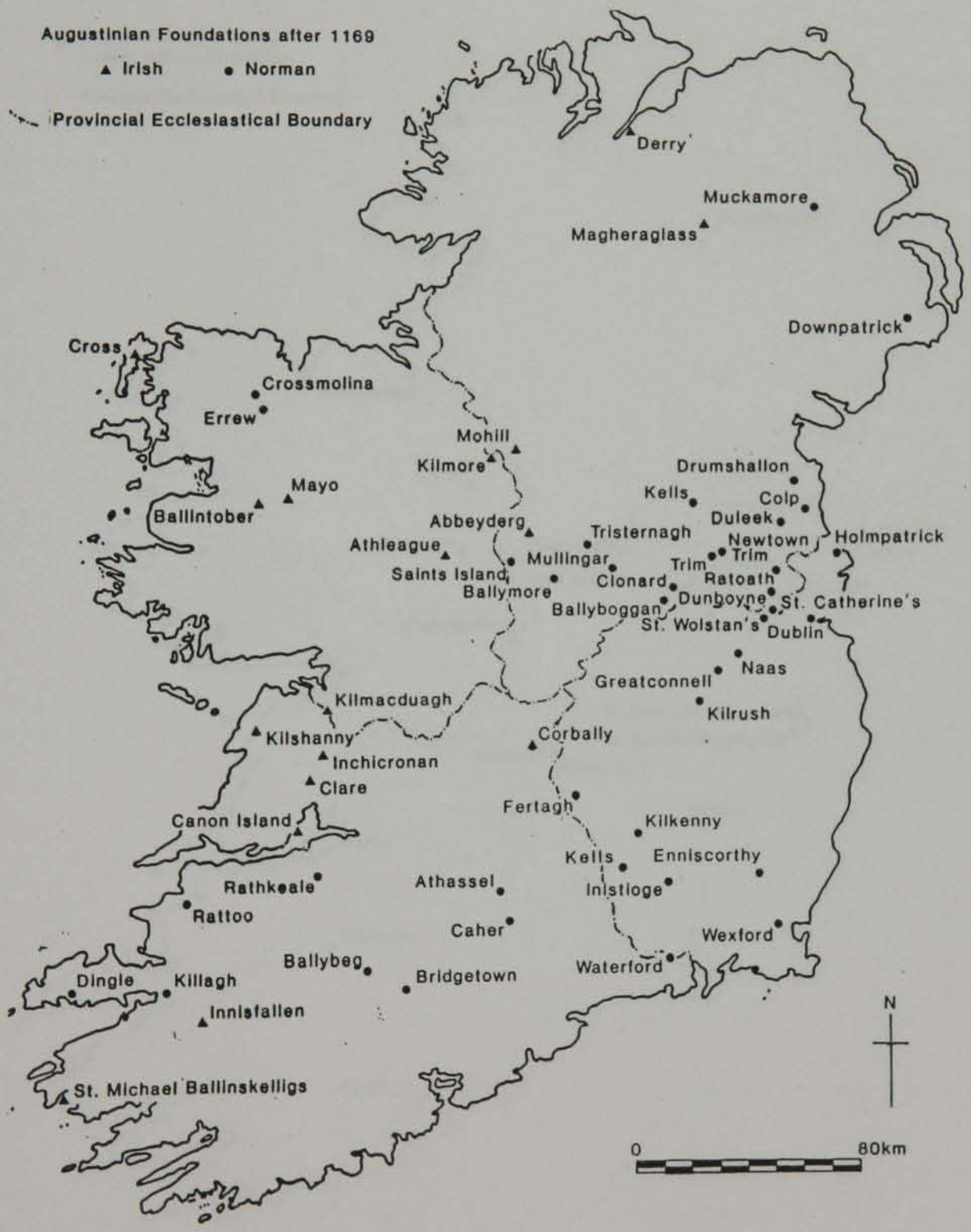
Map 2


Monasteries possibly founded or known to have been founded by Malachy
Monasteries which might also have been founded by Malachy
Provincial Ecclesiastical Boundary
Moville
Dungiven
Kells
Bangor
Lough Derg
Clogher
Devenish
Armagh
Saul
Downpatrick
Lisgoole
Clones
Drumlane
Inchmacnerin
Ardcarn
Louth
Knock
Elphin
Inchmore
Termonfeckin
Derrane
Cloontuskert
Kells
Duleek
St. Patricks Island
Roscommon
Inchcleraun
Cong
Trim
Hare Island
Tuam
Clonard
Annaghdown
Durrow
Clonmacnoise
Clontuskert
Clonfert
Gallen
Killeigh
Lorrha
Roscrea
Monaincha
Toomyvara
Mothel
Molana
Cork
N
0
80km

Map 3


Augustinian Monasteries in Ireland c.1169
Provincial Ecclesiastical Boundary
Moville
Dungiven
Kells
Lough Derg
Bangor
Clogher
Devenish
Armagh
Saul
Downpatrick
Lisgoole
Clones
Aughris
Kilnemanagh
Ballysadare
Drumlane
Inchmacnerin
Ardcarn
Louth
Knock
Elphin
Inchmore
Termonfeckin
Kells
Duleek
Cloontuskert
Derrane
Navan
St. Patricks Island
Roscommon
Inchcleraun
Cong
Inchmore
Trim
Tuam
Hare Island
Clonard
Annaghdown
Durrow
Clonmacnoise
Dublin
Dublin
Aughrim
Gallen
Clontuskert
Clonfert
Killeigh
Abbeygormacan
Lorrha
Glendalough
Glendalough
Seirkieran
Roscrea
Monaincha
Toomyvara
Aghmacart
Down
Leighlin
Ferns
Tullylease
Mothel
Molana
Cork
N
0
80km

Map 4


Augustinian Foundations after 1169
▲ Irish
● Norman
Provincial Ecclesiastical Boundary
Derry
Muckamore
Magheraglass
Downpatrick
Cross
Crossmolina
Errew
Mohill
Kilmore
Mayo
Ballintober
Drumshallon
Kells
Colp
Duleek
Abbeyderg
Tristernagh
Newtown
Holmpatrick
Athleague
Mullingar
Trim
Saints Island
Clonard
Ratoath
Ballymore
Dunboyne
St. Catherine's
Ballyboggan
St. Wolstan's
Dublin
Naas
Greatconnell
Kilmacduagh
Kilrush
Kilshanny
Corbally
Inchicronan
Clare
Fertagh
Canon Island
Kilkenny
Kells
Enniscorthy
Rathkeale
Athassel
Inistioge
Rattoo
Caher
Wexford
Ballybeg
Waterford
Dingle
Killagh
Bridgetown
Innisfallen
St. Michael Ballinskelligs
N
0
80km

Map 5


Monasteries which did not survive until the Dissolution
Provincial Ecclesiastical Boundary
Magheraglass
Kilnemanagh
Elphin
Drumshallon
Termonfeckin
St. Patrick's Island
Athleague
Saints Island
Hare Island
Ratoath
Clonard
Dunboyne
Clonmacnoise
St. Catherine's, Leixlip
St. Saviour's, Glendalough
St. Kevin's Glendalough
Roscrea
Monaincha
Leighlin
Tullylease
Dingle
Kilmoney
N
0
80km