Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society

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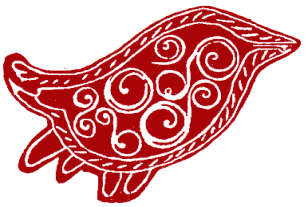

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Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, 1988, Vol. 93, No 252, page(s) 73-82

Published by the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society

Digital file created: February 20, 2017

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The Castle of Dún Mic Oghmainn and the Overlordship of Carbery

By DIARMUID Ó MURCHADHA

INTRODUCTION

Three references to a castle at a place called Dún Mic Oghmainn are to be found in the Annals of Inisfallen[1] (AD 1261, 1310, 1321 (= 1326)) and there are two corroborating entries in Mac Carthaigh's Book[2] (AD 1262, 1310). The context is that of south-west Munster but neither of the editors (MacAirt, Ó hInnse) essayed a more definite identification. Similarly, Hogan (*Onomasticon Goedelicum*) notes simply that it was 'in Desmond, in Mac Carthy's country'.

The various forms of the name in the Irish annals are as follows:

AI : 1261, Caslean Dun Mac Ogmi*n*; 1310, Caislean Duna Mec Odmaind; 1321 (= 1326), caisle(n) Mc. Odhmaind.

MIA : 1262, Caislen Duin Mic Toghmainn; 1310, Caislen Duin Mic Toghmainn.

Though the earliest reference has 'mac', the genitive singular seems to prevail thereafter, so that the name translates as 'the castle of the fort of the son of Oghmainn'. The earlier form of this personal name was Ogamain (or Ogaman),[3] the antiquity of which is shown by its appearance in three 'prehistoric' genealogies.[4] The 'historic' genealogies contain but a few examples of the name — among the Ciarraighe/Conmaicne, the Ulaid and the Lóichsi.[5] Assuming the chronology of the genealogies to be dependable, the period of usage for the name would seem to be prior to the seventh century. Accordingly, it is conceivable that the son of Oghmainn who built a fort there did so no later than the sixth century, so that the *dún* may well have fallen into disuse even before the Norman invasion.[6]

LOCATION OF CASTLE

Despite the destruction of the castle early in the fourteenth century, the name Dún Mic Oghmainn survived in various guises. There is a reference to the manor of Dounm^{c}omyn in 1381.[7] In 1421 the barony of Donmarke and Donm^{c}omound[8] appears to have been named after the western and eastern extremities of West Carbery. In 1468 one of the churches belonging to the *mensa* of the College of Youghal was that of 'Mirosse *alias* Dunmachcomyn'.[9] This might appear to provide a definite location, but there is some doubt as to whether one name is really an alias for the other.[10] Myross (in Irish *Mídhros*)[11] is a thirteenth-century church/parish name.[12] Annat-lists for the same area in 1493-4, while providing rather garbled versions, seem to indicate two connected but separate places — *pro annata rectorie parrochialis ecclesie de Myross et de Druimgowrnayn loci*[13] and *de Uiros et de Dinnychemyn.*[14] These are the last echoes of a name which was probably obsolete even in the fifteenth century. The sole reason for its insertion as an alias for Myross may have been to preserve the memory of the former Geraldine stronghold there.

Nevertheless, at the very least, these references indicate that Dún Mic Oghmainn was somewhere in the parish of Myross. But perhaps the search can be narrowed. The old parish church of Myross is perched almost on the cliff-top and nowhere near the geographical centre of the parish. That siting may indicate the existence nearby of a fortified settlement of the type prevalent in the thirteenth century. Similar coastal settlements in south

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RUINS OF MYROSS CHURCH. HIGH AND LOW ISLANDS IN BACKGROUND

Co. Cork were to be found at Barnahely, Carrigaline, Ringcurran, Ringrone, Lislee, Rathbarry and Glandore, where a castle or fortification of some kind dominated a settlement whose other principal building was the church. The fortification was in some cases later replaced by a tower-house, while the church became the local parish church, none of the places listed being the site of a pre-Norman *cill*.[15] The distance between castle and church averages around 200 metres. Myross fits readily into this pattern. Its castle site should lie within a few hundred metres of the old church;[16] if it lay on the seaward side it could have crumbled over the cliff long since.

THE BUILDING OF THE CASTLE

While we have no definite reference to the initial construction of Dún Mic Oghmainn, it could have been one of the ten castles listed in Mac Carthaigh's Book under the year 1214 (? recte 1215) as having been built in south Kerry and west Cork. This spate of incastellation appears to be connected with the grant of custody of Decies and Desmond to Thomas fitz Anthony, several of whose sons-in-law were among the castle-builders.[17]

A castle was built by Mac Cuidithe in Muinntear Bháire, and one at Dún na mBárc by Carew, and another at Ard Tuilithe. Another by the son of Thomas at Dún Lóich, and one at Killorglin. A castle by Roche at Oirbhealach. A castle by the son of Maurice at Magh Uí Fhlaithimh. A castle by the son of Stephen in Corca Laoighdhe. A castle by Barrett in the village above Cuan Dor. A castle by Nicholas Buidhe at Teach Mo-Laige.[18]

Cloch la Mac Sleimhne a Corc(a) Laighi is the entry which concerns us. It precedes — and obviously lay to the west of — Barrett's castle (*cloch*)[19] in Glandore. Corca Laoighdhe extended to the whole diocese of Ross, but Mac Sleimhne's castle is usually assigned to Dún na Séad or Baltimore, mainly on the authority of

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a most unreliable eighteenth-century compilation, the so-called 'Dublin Annals of Inisfallen'.[20] There is no compelling reason why the *cloch . . . a Corca Laighi* should not have been at Dún Mic Oghmainn, the only castle in Corca Laoighdhe recorded as having been burned after the battle of Callann in 1261.

The builder's name, Mac Sleimhne, is translated (by Ó hInnse) as FitzStephen. But who was this FitzStephen? Robert FitzStephen, grantee of half the Kingdom of Cork, is believed to have died before 1188.[21] We know of only two sons of his, both of whom were illegitimate and predeceased their father.[22] According to Giraldus,[23] FitzStephen's heir was Raymond le Gros, younger brother of Odo de Carew who inherited Carew in Wales. Raymond died without legitimate issue. Later, c. 1216, Robert de Carew became the recognized tenant-in-chief of half the Kingdom of Cork, as were his descendants during the thirteenth century.[24] G.H. Orpen rather hesitantly concluded that Robert was a son of Richard who was, he believed, an illegitimate son of Raymond le Gros.[25] But Orpen's first thoughts[26] were that Odo de Carew inherited his brother, Raymond's lands, and there is some basis for this. Odo's eldest son, William, inherited Carew and Idrone,[27] but he had another son, Stephen, (whose charter donating the church of Trummor to St Thomas's Abbey is entitled *Carta Stephani, filii Odonis de Karriu*).[28] It could well be that a son of this Stephen was the Mac Sleimhne[29] who built the castle in Corca Laoighdhe around 1214. Indeed he may also have been the Carrunach of the same list, the one who built Dún na mBárc.[30] If so, he was probably the Robert de Carew who inherited FitzStephen's moiety, as well as the Robert fitz Stephen of whom John fitz Thomas held a half-cantred in Corca Laoighdhe.[31]

THE KINGDOM OF CORK

The descent of the lordship of the 'Kingdom of Cork' (granted by Henry II to Robert FitzStephen and Milo de Cogan in 1177) still presents many problems, particularly in regard to the 24 cantreds not occupied by the grantees. A recent study by H.A. Jefferies[32] identified Milo's four occupied cantreds to the west of Cork harbour as Kinalea, West Kinalea, Kinalmeaky and Ibane.

There is, however, no evidence that the territory to the west of Rosscarbery was part of Milo de Cogan's half; all the indications are that West Carbery lay within the ambit of the FitzStephen/Carew moiety. A Carew is definitely named as the builder of the castle near its western extremity, (Dún na mBárc), while that at the eastern end, (Dún Mic Oghmainn), was probably built by him as well.

During most of the thirteenth century the Carews and de Courcys appear as tenants-in-chief in Co. Cork, but not during the first decade and a half of that century. A treasury account dealing with the years 1208-1212[33] makes no mention of them. Margaret, daughter of Milo de Cogan, was still alive then, as was her son-in-law, Thomas Bloet, sheriff of Waterford, who had in the previous year paid 500 marks to have Milo's inheritance.[34] An outstanding payment of a number of cows in respect of the kingdom of Cork was tentatively (*ut dicitur*) debited to Thomas fitz Maurice — who was, after all, as closely related to Robert fitz Stephen as was Raymond le Gros. There is also, of course, the fact that the Carew heir (Robert) was still a minor. G.H. Orpen deduced a connexion between the incastellation of Desmond already referred to, the grant of custody of Decies and Desmond to Thomas fitz Anthony in 1215, and the payment by Robert de Carew of £100 fine for his relief in 1216 when he came of age. Orpen felt that the reason for the acceptance of a definite heir was to obviate an increase in service charges for the kingdom, and that this would serve the interests of fitz Anthony — and of his sons-in-law who were involved in the castle-building.[35]

It appears that fitz Anthony had an earlier

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interest in Corca Laoighdhe. In a foundation charter he donated to Inistioge priory ecclesiastical benefices and some land in his half-cantred in '(D)esmunt' . . . scilicet de Winterderich et Legarha . . .'[36] K.W. Nicholls has identified these places as Muinntear Doirc (around Toe Head) and An Garrdha (in and around Myross parish).[37] It is not known what was the origin of fitz Anthony's tenure or to whom it descended; Inistioge priory does not seem to have had any possessions in Co. Cork in 1541.[38]

THE FITZGERALDS

John fitz Thomas cleverly outmanoeuvred fitz Anthony's three other sons-in-law, and in 1259 acquired all his father-in-law's lands and shrievalties.[39] This spurred him on towards his ultimate goal, the complete take-over of south Munster from the Mac Carthys, then represented by Finghin — whose father, Domhnall, after having paid £100 *pro regalitate Desmonie habenda* in 1249,[40] was slain by John fitz Thomas three years later.[41] Finghin and fitz Thomas finally met in 1261 at Callannnear Kenmare, where fitz Thomas was killed and the Norman army routed.

It is in the aftermath of this battle that we first hear of the castle of Dún Mic Oghmainn, when Finghin's triumphant forces in their eastward sweep burned it — along with the castles of Dún Uisce, Mag Cromtha, Mag Olig, Dún Lóich and Cell Forglann.[42] This destruction was not as random as it may appear. Dunisky, Macroom and Aglish (Magh Oiligh) lay within the Cogan sphere of influence; Dunloe and Killorglin were the two castles erected by John fitz Thomas prior to 1214. In view of the reference in the 1282 inquisition, it is reasonable to assume that Dún Mic Oghmainn was then also a Geraldine castle.

Because of the death of John fitz Thomas's only son, Maurice, at Callann, it was not until 1282, when John's grandson, Thomas fitz Maurice, came of age and into possession of his lands, that the Geraldine interest was resumed. One of the inquisitions then taken into these lands found that in Co. Cork Thomas inherited 'Corkeleye . . . ½ cantred of land held of Robert son of Stephen for 1 knight's service, worth in the said John's time 40 marks, and now but 10, because almost wholly destroyed by the war of the Irish'.[43] As already mentioned, Robert fitz Stephen was probably one of the Carews — who at this period, were endeavouring to maintain their overlordship of West Carbery.[44]

The fitz Anthony inheritance was also regranted to fitz Maurice by the crown in 1292;[45] in the following year he referred to 'Douenaldus Roth' (i.e., Domhnall Ruadh Mac Carthaigh, king of Desmond), as his tenant.[46]

Thomas fitz Maurice died in 1298 at the age of 37, leaving a young family. An inquisition into his lands taken two years after his death[47] makes no mention of any part of west Cork, which by then was largely under Mac Carthy rule. Similarly, while a list of Norman *villae* in Co. Cork in 1299[48] shows a strong concentration in the eastern half of the county, nothing appears further west than the Timoleague stronghold of the Barrys on the coast, and the Bride valley's Castlemore of the Cogans in mid-Cork.

The castle of Dún Mic Oghmainn apparently stood empty during the minority of the Fitz-Gerald heir, and in 1310 it was broken down (*do brisiud*) by Domhnall (*Cairbreach*) Mac Carthy.[49]

This Domhnall[50] bears the attributes of a new broom, eager to sweep aside all opposition in Carbery — perhaps throughout Desmond. Already in 1306 he had imprisoned and executed his cousin, Domhnall Óg, a strong contender for the kingship of Desmond '. . . and that was regarded as a shocking deed by the Gaedil and by the foreigners generally'.[51]

Now in 1310 his demolition of the Geraldines' castellated symbol of overlordship must have been regarded as a calculated rebuttal of

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their claims to Carbery. However, it was not until 1314 that the Geraldine heir came of age.[52] Maurice fitz Thomas soon developed into one of the most ambitious magnates of his era. In 1314 he assisted Lord Richard de Clare in his campaign in Thomond, and four years later, after de Clare had been slain, headed a mighty expedition to avenge his death. One of his allies was Diarmaid Mac Carthy, king of Desmond, and following Diarmaid's murder at Tralee in 1325, fitz Thomas not only punished his killers, but presided over the inauguration of Diarmaid's brother, Cormac, as the new king.[53]

But Domhnall Cairbreach's insubordination still rankled, and in the following year (1326) Maurice determined to end it. This is the account of what ensued, as given by the *Annals of Inisfallen* (in translation):[54]

> A great hosting by fitz Thomas and by Donnchad Mac Carthaig in the above year . . . Domnall Cairprech and . . . the Uí Chairpri in general to build the castle of (Dún?) Mc. Od*h*maind. The castle was built by them, and the Uí Chairpri joined them and they gave hostages to him, and fitz Thomas departed with his hosts. And the Uí Chairpri proceeded to Mullach . . .[55] gave battle to the foreigners, and . . . many of his followers were slain there; and fitz Thomas . . . was left, were it not for Cormac Mac Carthaig with the nobles of his kindred and followers . . .

Despite the gaps in the entry, one can gather that fitz Thomas's resolute effort to reconstruct the castle of Dún Mic Oghmainn was initially successful. Aided by Donnchadh (?brother of Domhnall) he cowed the Uí Chairbre into apparent submission for a time. But on the return journey the tables were turned when the Carbery men ambushed and routed the Geraldine host. It looks as if fitz Thomas himself would have been killed but for the intervention of his ally (and enemy of Carbery), Cormac, king of Desmond. The *Annals of the Four Masters* also record the victory gained by Domhnall Cairbreach 'over Mac Thomas and the English of Munster' in 1326. Many knights, they add, were slain.

THE EARLDOM OF DESMOND

Following his defeat in Carbery, fitz Thomas confined his warlike activities to the more accessible parts of Munster (and occasionally Leinster). Yet he had by no means lost interest in the western region. His next move was to purchase from Thomas de Carew (the accepted heir of Robert fitz Stephen) all his rights to the moiety of the lordship of Desmond. Shortly afterwards (August 1329) when the government, in a conciliatory gesture, offered Maurice an earldom, the title he chose was Earl of Desmond. In view of the fact that the Munster Geraldines had traditionally been associated with west Limerick and north Kerry, in such manorial centres as Shanid, Newcastle-west, Askeaton and Castleisland, the choice of title is an intriguing one.[56] No doubt it was partly intended as a counterpoise to the Butler earldom of Ormond, created in the previous year, but it seems also to underline a long-standing aspiration to the effective lordship of all south Munster.

Butler[57] remarks on a 'curious anomaly' in the sixteenth century, when Desmond denoted only south Kerry and the Bear peninsula, 'the country which did *not* belong to the Earl of Desmond'. Subsequent events make it clear, however, that the FitzGeralds never relinquished their claim to be legal overlords of that area.[58]

In Dungarvan, the Earl simply appropriated what was legally crown property, as detailed in a recent article by A.F. O'Brien.[59] But when the government perceived that Maurice's elevation to an earldom had done nothing to curb his warlike actions in furtherance of his ambitions, it moved quickly against him. Inquisitions were set up in 1331 to investigate his rebellious activities, and — significantly — to examine his claim to half the lordship of Desmond. The jurors in the latter case found that

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Thomas de Carew had alienated without licence and, more to the point, that the Carews could not have been lawful heirs of Robert fitz Stephen who was illegitimate and died without heir of his body.[60]

Strictly legal though these findings may have been, at that point their political motivation is only too obvious. It is clear that the Carews had been tacitly accepted by the crown for over a century as headrent-paying heirs-general of the FitzStephen portion of the 'Kindom of Cork'.[61] After the Earl's estates were restored in 1349[62] and his outlawries annulled, his status in respect of the lordship seems to have reverted to its pre-1331 position and was so maintained by his successors.[63] After Maurice's death in 1356, his eldest son, another Maurice, succeeded him, but died within two years. A younger son, Gerald, survived as Earl for forty years. A Plea Roll of 1381 recorded that he (Gerald) claimed the advowson of the church of St Ro(n)anus of Scoll as belonging to the manor of Dounm^{c}omyn which his father had held.[64] Presumably his father had it recorded as belonging to that manor after acquiring it as part of the Carew possessions c. 1329.

Gerald was Earl when Richard II came to Ireland. In 1395 Tadhg (*'na mainistreach'*) Mac Carthy submitted to Richard and declared that he did not hold any possessions 'save those which from of old I have obtained under your dominion *and that of my lord, the Earl of Desmond*'.[65] Gerald's son, John, had been earl for less than a year when he was drowned in 1398, leaving a son, Thomas, who was ousted by his uncle James, another highly-ambitious magnate.

In 1420-1 James initiated a series of inquisitions into the family estates, as held by John in 1398.[66] These show that the Earl held of the king by knight service 'the lordship of Desmond within the county of Kerry' as well as his manors in north Kerry. In Co. Cork he held some lands in east Cork of the Barrys, Roches, etc., but of the king in chief he held only 'two acres of meadow and one pool on the water of Lee' together with the following:

> Johannes nuper Comes Dessemonie tenuit in dominico suo ut de feodo in capite die quo obiit de Domino Richardo nuper rege Anglie predecessore domini regis qui nunc est Baroniam de Donmarke et Donm^{c}omound cum suis pertinenciis per servicium militis que nihil valet per annum quia vasta et distruct' sunt per hibernicos inimicos domini regis.[67]

The title 'barony of Donmarke and Donm^{c} omound' apparently denotes the whole of West Carbery, of which Dunnamark (now in Bantry barony) and Dún Mic Oghmainn (Myross) would signify the western and eastern boundaries. The inquisition's findings indicate that John (or a predecessor) had obtained a new charter from the crown in respect of the half-cantred in Corca Laoighdhe previously held of the Carews, and was now tenant-in-chief; the service due was still that of one knight. The unusual styling of the barony, by the naming of a former castle at either end, was one way of emphasizing the antiquity of the Geraldine claim to Carbery. A more direct method was James's intervention in the Mac Carthy dynastic dispute of 1430 when he took the castle of Kilbrittain from Domhnall Glas and handed it over to Donnchadh, brother of Domhnall.[68]

THE COLLEGE OF YOUGHAL

James FitzGerald's son, Thomas, succeeded to the title in 1462. In the following year he was appointed Lord Deputy and was highly regarded throughout Ireland. He finally succeeded in forging an alliance with Mac Carthy of Carbery (Finghin) by giving him his daughter, Caitilín, in marriage.[69]

In 1464 he founded the College of Youghal and shortly afterwards endowed it with various benefices in his gift. These comprised the parish churches of Moala (Mallow), Athcarryn (Aghern), Nova villa (Ballynoe), Kathracha (Caheragh), Mirosse alias Dunmachcomyn

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(Myross), Criach alias Gortnacloghy (Creagh), and Kyltinrabia alias Belachnagayn (Kilmacabea).[70]

This benefice-list interestingly parallels the 1421 (re 1398) inquisitions. The Earl held Mallow of the Roches, Ballynoe and Aghern of the Barrys. The other churches — Caheragh, Myross, Creagh and Kilmacabea — were all in Carbery.

That the gift was legally valid is shown by the fact that these churches were still annexed to the College of Youghal up to the early seventeenth century. The Royal Visitation of 1615[71] lists them all (with the exception of Kilmacabea).[72] It also lists additional ones which successive Earls of Desmond had bestowed on the college. These included ten churches in Imokilly as well as that of Carrigaline — both areas which had come under Desmond rule in the fifteenth century. Skull and Kilmoe in West Carbery were likewise added to the list, as was 'Aglis Egunnin, a small living in Kerry' — perhaps Aglish (parish) in the barony of Magunihy (*Magh gCoinchinne*).

THE EARL'S BEEVES

The Desmond overlordship of Carbery in Elizabethan times is made clear in several surveys and inquisitions. One such survey, dated 1572, is to be found among the Carew MSS.[73] In respect of the cantred of 'Karbregh', we are told that the Earl claimed a rent of 67 beeves yearly from Mac Carthy Reagh's chief dwelling-place, Kilbrittain — also a 'rising-out' for three days.

An inquisition[74] taken at Cork in 1586 (into the slain Earl Gerald's lands) goes into greater detail. The late Earl was seized in fee tail of an annual rent of 67¾ cows (*vacce*) out of the barony or cantred of Carbery. The same barony was obliged to supply to the Earl 160 kerne (footsoldiers) and 16 horsemen, armed and trained, for a month every year while the earl would be at Skirivoskye.[75]

Another reference to beeves is contained in a 1608 inquisition into O Driscoll's lands . . . 'To the Earles of Desmounde either eight beoves or eight nobles sterling, at the ellection of the said O Driscolls, to be payed at the feastes of All Saints yearely'.[76]

Even after the confiscation of all the Desmond estates, the legacy of the rents lived on. In 1610 a group of gentlemen and freeholders in Carbery petitioned the crown for relief from the levy known as 'the Earl's beeves', then being collected by Sir John Jephson.[77] As late as 1690, according to Sir Richard Cox,[78] there still existed 'a most unjust and slavish tribute, called Earl's Beeves, which though, as I conceive, not maintainable by law, is yet tamely paid by the Carbrians to this day, for want of unity among themselves to join in proper methods to get legally discharged of it'.

* * *

So it would appear, from what has been adduced, that six or seven centuries ago Myross was far from being '. . .one of the most secret places in Ireland, without traffic, almost without the pulse of life'.[79] Since the peninsula was, in the early Norman period, much more accessible by sea than by land, it is likely that landing-places such as Squince strand or Blind Harbour frequently awoke to the sounds of maritime traffic in the years when due regard was paid to the symbolic and strategic importance of the castle of Dún Mic Oghmainn in the power-struggle for the lordship of Carbery.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 Seán Mac Airt (ed.), *The Annals of Inisfallen* (Rawl. B. 503) (Dublin 1951).

2 Séamus Ó hInnse (ed.), *Miscellaneous Irish Annals* (Dublin 1947).

3 O'Brien indexes the name as *Ogoman* while Ó Riain favours *Ogamain*. (See next note).

4 The two main printed sources for early Irish personal names are M.A. O'Brien (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae I* (Dublin 1962) and Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Dublin 1985). The various forms

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of the name (mainly genitives) include: Ogaman, Ogamain, Ogamuin, Agomain, Ochomon, Ochomuin, Occomain, Odamain, Ugamain, Echomain, Fogamoin and Sogomain. The prehistoric genealogies referred to are to be found in *CGH* 115 b 39, 162 g 48; *CGSH* 208.

The 'F' and 'S' of the last examples are scribal insertions, neither initial being sounded when lenited after *meic*. The same applies to the 'T' in the Mac Carthaigh's Book entries; this may derive from the personal name Tomán as found in the Uaithne Tíre genealogy in Geinealach Chorca Laidhe, *Misc. of the Celtic Soc.* (1849) pp. 62, 64.

5 See *CGH* 126 b 45, 154 d 39, 157,8; 158,46; 161 b 12, 161 bb 37, 327 d 5, 328 f 22, 330 b 10, 330 b 15, 336 f 9. See also *CGSH* 123.2, 126, 127.1, 140, 149, 295, 302, 358, 384, 716.3.

6 It is likely that this early *dún* was a promontory fort; slight traces of fortification can be seen on a cliff-top isthmus, c. 200m south-east of the old Myross church. A promontory fort at nearby Carrigilihy was excavated by M.J. O'Kelly (*Proc. RIA* 55C (1952-3) pp. 25-59), as was an early bronze age fort in the same area (*JCHAS* lvi (1951) pp. 69-86).

7 See note 63.

8 E. Curtis (ed.), *Calendar of Ormond Deeds* iii(Dublin 1935) p. 34.

9 See note 69.

10 Another benefice on the list is 'Criach alias Gortnacloghy', but Creagh (church) and Gortnaclohy (castle) are in two separate parts of Creagh parish, almost four miles apart.

11 'Geinealach Corca Laidhe' in J. O'Donovan (ed.), *Miscellany of the Celtic Society* (1849) p. 50. The name Mídhros simply means 'middle peninsula', the peninsulas at either side being those of Reen and Carrigilihy.

12 In the taxation-lists of the early 1300s it appears as Mydrus and Micrus (? recte Miorus). (*Cal. Docs. Ire.* v, pp. 278, 294).

13 J. Coombes (ed.), 'Oblig. pro annatis dioc. Rossensis', in *Archivium Hibernicum*, Vol. 29, p. 42.

14 D. Buckley (ed.), 'Oblig. pro annatis dioc. Cloynensis', in *Arch. Hib.*, Vol. 24, p. 25.

15 They are not to be found, for example, in the 1199 list of Cork and Ross churches. (E. Bolster, *Dioc. of Cork,* Vol. i (Shannon 1972) pp. 88-9.

16 A possible clue may lie in the obsolete townland-name, Fonigloghe/Faniglohie, which place appears to have been between Cooscroneen and Ballinatona in Myross parish, according to a royal grant of 1615. (App. to J. O'Donovan (ed.), *AFM* p. 2445). It does seem, however, that *Fán na gcloch* (slope of the stones) is a more likely original form than *Fán na cloiche* (slope of the stone castle).

That a name of the significance of Dún Mic Oghmainn failed to become, either in whole or in part, a townland-name, may simply reflect the disappearance of the castle in the fourteenth century while the nearby church (and its name) lived on. Where two names compete, the one which derives from an existing building generally prevails, e.g. Dún na Séad / Baltimore; Castlemahon / Castlebernard. So the 226-acre townalnd of Myross is the likeliest site of the former castle.

17 This question is discussed in my earlier article, 'The battle of Callann, AD 1261', *JCHAS* lxvi (1961) pp. 105-116.

18 *MIA* 1214.

19 *Cloch* is used in these two cases only, *caislen* being used in the other eight — and elsewhere. The distinction is not clear. While *cloch* obviously denotes a stone building, it seems unlikely that *caislen* does not.

20 TCD MS H.I.7 (f.53). The list of castles is not found in *AI* (Rawl. B. 503) and it looks as if the compiler of H.I.7 — in succeeding annals as well as in 1214/15 — depended entirely on Mac Carthaigh's Book. But for some reason the original list was randomly extended to include an extra seven castles known to the compiler, though some, at least, appear to be fifteenth or sixteenth-century tower-house foundations rather than early Norman castle sites, e.g. Dunkerron, Cappanacush, Callanafersy. Cloch an tsráidbhaile at Glandore is wrongly separated into two castles (*Caisleán leis an mbaroideach a tráighbhaile láimh le Cuan Dor, agus caisleán Cuan Dor ris an bhfear céadhna*). Two Corca Laoighdhe castles are included — Dún na Séad and Dún na nGall (on Ringarogy I.).

21 G.H. Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans* (Oxford 1920) i, 18.

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22 A.B. Scott and F.X. Martin (ed.), *Expugnatio Hibernica* (Dublin 1978) p. 186.

23 Ibid.

24 See, for example, *CDI* i, nos. 1001 (1221) and 2285 (1235); *Cal. Carew MSS. Misc.*, pp. 432, 434 (c. 1250); *Eng. Hist. Review* 18, p. 504 (c. 1280); *42nd. Report DKRI*, p. 49 (1322). When Sir Peter Carew revived the family claims in the 1560s, the moiety claimed (allegedly derived from ancient documents) extended to: Imokilly, Barrymore, Muskerry, Kinalea, Kinalmeaky, Carbery (including Collymore, Collybeg, Ivagha, Synnagh (O Donovan) and Muntervary), Bantry and Bear, and Duhallow — along with Coshbride in Co. Waterford and the whole of Co. Kerry, excepting Corkaguiny. (Lambeth MS 606, f. 53, quoted in J. Maclean, *The Life and Times of Sir Peter Carew* (London 1857) pp. 276-7.

25 Orpen, op. cit., iii, 147-151.

26 Ibid., ii, 47.

27 Carew from his father and Idrone from Raymond. (Ibid., iii, 148).

28 *Register of the Abbey of St Thomas* (Rolls Series, 1889) p. 205.

29 Just as the descendants of his uncle, Griffin de Carew, were known as FitzGriffins. (Orpen, op. cit., i, 18; iv, II).

30 Mac Carthaigh's Book is a late fifteenth-century compilation, and this particular entry (which is not in *AI*) may derive from more than one source. It is noticeable, for example, that the castle of Dún Lóich on this list had previously been named as having been erected in 1206.

31 *Cal. Inq. P. M. Edw. I*, vol. ii, p. 254. (*CDI* ii, no. 1912, has a faulty reading: '½ carucate at Corleleye').

32 *JCHAS* xci (1986) pp. 26-48.

33 'Irish Pipe Roll of 14 John', *Ulster Journ. of Arch.*, 3rd. ser., vol. 4 (1941 pt. ii, suppl. p. 48).

34 *CDI* i, no. 422. (?For 'niece' read 'granddaughter').

35 Op. cit., iii, 151.

36 *Pontificia Hibernica* (ed. M.P. Sheehy) Vol. ii, no. 268.

37 *Dinnseanchas*, iii, 4 (1969) p. 96.

38 *Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions, 1540-1541* (ed. N.B. White, Irish MSS. Comm. 1943) pp. 184-8.

39 *Cal. Justiciary Rolls Ireland 1295-1303*, p. 153.

40 TCD MS 671 (F.3.13) f.3v. (Pipe Roll, 33 Hen. III), quoted by James Lydon in Art Cosgrove (ed.) *A new history of Ireland* ii (Oxford 1987) p. 251, fn. 3.

41 *AI* 1252.

42 *AI* 1261. *MIA* (1262) state that the castles were 'demolished and burned'.

43 See note 31. The documentary evidence produced at this 1282 inquisition related to the time of Thomas's grandfather, John fitz Thomas.

44 See pleas of Maurice de Carreu versus several tenants in the Schull area in 1290. (PROI Rec. Comm. Cal. Plea Rolls, ii, 252, 322). Maurice also appears as overlord of Caheragh and Killeenleagh in 1297. (*CJRI* i, 154-5). An early seventeenth-century poem by one of the Ó Dálaigh family acknowledges that the Ó Dálaigh tenure of Muinntear Bháire derived from the Carews. (*Éigse* xiv (1971) pp. 27-38).

45 *Rot. Pat. et Claus. Canc. Hib. Cal.* (ed. E. Tresham, 1828) p. 2, No. 17.

46 *Rotuli Parl. Anglie* (ed. H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, Camden Soc., 1935) p. 35.

47 *CJRI* i, 311.

48 *CJRI* i, 265-6. (This list was compiled in connexion with a proclamation concerning bad money).

49 *AI* 1310; *MIA* 1310.

50 The regnant son and grandson of Domhnall God Cairbreach (sl. 1252) are titled Domhnall Maol and Domhnall Cam respectively in the Mac Carthy genealogies (*LM* 152-3). *MIA* (1306, 1310) name the destroyer of Dún Mic Oghmainn as D. Maol, but the more contemporary *AI* style him D. Cairbreach (while the D. of the 1270-1285 period was D. Óg). The time-lapse makes it more likely that D. Cam was the one involved in 1310. *AI* are also silent with regard to Diarmaid Trágha Lí who, according to an interpolation in *MIA*, assisted Domhnall in 1310 (despite the fact that Domhnall had murdered Diarmaid's father four years earlier!)

51 *AI* 1306; *MIA* 1306.

52 Orpen, op. cit., iii, 156.

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53 *AI* 1314, 1318, 1320 (= 1325).

54 *AI* 1321 (= 1326).

55 Mullach Mór (Mullaghmore, par. Caheragh) is a possible reading here; a more likely ambush site is Mullach Méise (Mullaghmesha, par. Drimoleague) overlooking the gap of Barnagowlane which would have been on fitz Thomas's route if he were heading north-west towards Co. Kerry.

56 Even before being created an earl, in July 1329, he described himself as 'lord of Dessemound and Okenill'. This was in connexion with his purchase from Thomas de Carreu of the lordship of the manors of Inchiquin and Youghal. (*Cal. Close Rolls 1327-1330,* p. 563).

57 W.F.T. Butler, *Gleanings from Irish History* (London, 1925) p. 14.

58 An account of the Earl of Desmond's lands in 1572 (*CSP Carew 1515-1574,* pp. 414-418) includes: 'The chief rent of Desmond *per annum* 32£. O'Sullyvan More is charged with 6£ yearly, and McConnell and Mc Krehvin with other, 16£'. A letter from Sir Valentine Browne to Lord Burghley in June 1587 (four years after the killing of Earl Gerald) refers to '. . . the country of Desmond, whereof the late Earl of Desmond was the chief lord . . . not only M'Carthy More, but all the chief men of that country held their lands of him by services and yearly rents, which rents amount in the whole to £214-11-2 sterling'. (*Cal. S.P. Ire. 1566-1588*, p. 368). See also *An Leabhar Muimhneach* (T. Ó Donnchadha ed.) pp. 166-7.

59 A.F. O'Brien, 'The development and evolution of . . . Dungarvan', *JCHAS* xcii (1987) pp. 85-94. (See note 29, p. 93).

60 The text of the inquisition's findings is given in an appendix to A.F. O'Brien, 'The territorial ambitions of Maurice fitz Thomas . . .', *Proc. RIA* 82C p. 87. This article explores fully the endeavours of the government to curb Maurice's increasing power. See also *Cal. Fine Rolls 1327-1337,* p. 286.

61 See note 24.

62 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1348-50,* p. 434.

63 His widow, Avilina, was assigned dower of ⅓ of the 'cantred of Dessemound' in 1358. (*Rot. Pat. et Claus. Canc. Hib. Cal.* (1828) p. 70).

64 Genealogical Office MS 192, p. 221. For this reference I am indebted to Mr K.W. Nicholls.

65 E. Curtis, *Richard II in Ireland 1394-5* (Oxford 1927) p. 158.

66 *Cal. Ormond Deeds* iii, pp. 30-36.

67 NLI MS Ormond Deed no. 1571.

68 *AFM* 1430.

69 See notice of her death in *AFM* (1506) where she is credited with the building of the castles of Benduff and Dunmanway. Finghin's and Caitlín's son, Domhnall, married Eleanor, dau. of Gearóid Mór, Earl of Kildare; when that earl invaded Munster in 1510 in an attack on the O Briens, he was joined by the Earl of Desmond and Mac Carthy Riabhach. (*AFM* 1510).

70 *Cal. Papal Letters* xii, p. 624. By the time papal confirmation of his grant arrived Thomas had been beheaded on the orders of Sir John Tiptoft.

71 Ed. by Michael A. Murphy in *Arch. Hib.* ii (1913) pp. 212-4. (Myross may be found on p. 209).

72 Being a border area, there may have been a dispute here. Kilmacabea parish is divided between West and East Carbery, but the church site is in the east. In the seventeenth century some Kilmacabea townlands now in West Carbery belonged to Caheragh parish. (*Census of Ireland c. 1659*, p. 223).

73 *Cal. S.P. Carew 1515-74*, p. 417.

74 RIA MS Cork Inquisitions, vol. i, p. 36.

75 Or possibly 'Kirivoskye'. I have been unable to identify this place.

76 *Misc. Celt. Soc.*, pp. 105-6.

77 BL Harl. 697 (Council Book of Munster') quoted by R. Caulfield in App. A to *Counc. Book Corp. Kinsale* (Guildford 1874) p. 315. The beeves (67⅓) had in 1588 been bestowed by Queen Elizabeth on Florence Mac Carthy (Fiant Eliz. 5278 in App. to *16th Rep. DKRI*) who sold them to Sir Thomas Norris from whom they came to Jephson.

78 'Carbriae Notitia', *JCHAS* xii (1906) p. 144.

79 Daniel Corkery, *The Hidden Ireland* (Dublin 1925) p. 298.

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