

The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society

CRooba coibnesa & seusa
Seneluis saca sabala dantab Ene on
ansa so hadam / act fomopais. loclan-
ais & Saxsail amain lamam o tanadap
dap an / so nomishne & nem mothe
Poila for. & fa geois Clap na ceumstis-
th / Jan nupid aibtope / na Slointe & na
haite oindepca luathu rfin leabansa.

Do teasloma le an Dubaltac me fipbir-
is leacam. 1650.

The Similar-Sounding Surnames of
Haplogroup R-BY140757

Volume 2 | 2021



fitzpatrickclan.org/journal
ISSN 2703-4623

The Fitzpatrick Clan Society

Executive

Joan Fitzpatrick McShane

Matthew Fitzpatrick

Dr Mike Fitzpatrick

Advisors

Proinsias Mag Fhionnghaile CIOM eolas@mcginleyclan.org

Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society

Editorial Board

Mike Fitzpatrick PhD

731 South Titirangi Rd

Titirangi, Auckland 0604

New Zealand

+64 21 2754108

mike@fitzpatrickclan.org

Eithne Branigan

eithne@fitzpatrickclan.org

Dr Esther Fitzpatrick

e.fitzpatrick@auckland.ac.nz

Ian Fitzpatrick

ian@fitzpatrickclan.org

Matthew Fitzpatrick

matt@fitzpatrickclan.org



fitzpatrickclan.org/journal

ISSN 2703-4623

Cover image Reproduced by kind permission of UCD-OFM Partnership.

Díonbhrollach: Leabhar Mór na nGenealach

Craobha Coibhneasa agus géuga genealuigh gacha gabhála dar ghabh Éire on am-sa go hAdhamh (acht Fomhóraigh, Lochlonnaigh, agus Saxgaill amháin lamham ó tánghadar dár ttír), go naoimhsheanchus agus rém rioghraidhe Fódla fos, agus fa dheóigh clár 'na ccuimsightear (iar n-urd aibgidre) na sloinnte agus na háite oirdhearca lúaitear isin leabhar-sa do teaglomadh les an Dubháltach Mac Fírbhisigh Leacáin, 1650.

Forward: The Great Book of Irish Genealogies

The pedigrees and genealogical branches of every invasion that took possession of Ireland, from this time (back) to Adam (but the Fomhóraigh, Vikings, and English we treat of only since they came to our country), together with the saintlore and the succession of the kings of Ireland and, finally, an index in which are collected, in alphabetical order, the surnames and the famous places that are mentioned in this book, which was compiled by An Dubhaltach Mac Fírbhisigh of Leacáin, 1650.



fitzpatrickclan.org/journal
ISSN 2703-4623

The Similar-Sounding Surnames of Haplogroup R-BY140757

by Dr Mike Fitzpatrick ^{1,*} [✉](#) and Ian Fitzpatrick ² [✉](#)

¹ Independent Scholar, Auckland 0604, New Zealand

² Genealogist, Newmarket L3Y 7C9, Canada

*Author to whom correspondence should be addressed

Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 2021, 2, 1-41

Abstract

Y-DNA analysis is a remarkable method that can inform patrilineal genealogies, both ancient, and modern. Applied here to facilitate a critical review of *Branan* pedigrees, an analysis of haplogroup R-BY140757 results in a deep questioning of the dominant narratives of the O'Braonáin Uí Dhuach (O'Brenan of Idough). What results is a disruption of those narratives that is total.

The O'Braonáin Uí Dhuach, held by Ossorian historians to share descent from Cearbhall, King of Osraí (843-888 AD), we argue, are not Osraighe, but are an Uí Failghi tribe – this based on the ultimate authority of Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh. Hence, Y-DNA connections between *Branans*, or those with similar-sounding surnames, and related others, are a false trail for those who claim descent from Cearbhall.

Once Mac Fhirbhisigh is embraced, and the erroneous pedigrees of the O'Braonáin Uí Dhuach are set aside, the origins of men with *Branan*, and similar-sounding surnames, of haplogroup R-BY140757, can be correctly determined. And, based on Y-DNA haplotype analysis, it is considered those origins are not with the O'Braonáin Uí Dhuach, or any Irish clan.

Rather, haplotype R-BY140757 appears to have originated from a family who settled near Braham, in Suffolk, after the Norman conquest of England. The key figure in the appearance of R-BY140757 pedigrees in Éire is Sir Robert de Braham, who was Sheriff of Kilkenny ca. 1250 AD.

A Note on Names, Styles, Edits, Records, and DNA

This article is written in the English language, but the people and places discussed are Irish. In order to acknowledge the primacy of Gaeilge (Gaelic) in this article, the personal names and by-names of people, and place names, are provided in modern Gaeilge using the most common spelling; for example Áth na nUrlainn (Urlingford), unless the place name is titular, for example, the Lord of Kilkenny.

Quotations are italicised, and long or textually significant quotations are also indented. This article is a living work, i.e., it can be edited by the authors; all versions will be retained. Every effort has been made to consult all available records that relate to the period relevant

to this article, and Y-DNA data is current to the date of publication. Y-DNA dating estimates are probabilistic should be considered $\pm$ two generations, i.e., $\pm$ approximately sixty years.

Mac Lysaght (1985) determined the surname Brennan stemmed from Ó Braonáin, being the '*name of four unrelated septs*', one of which was located in Osraí. Mac Lysaght pains to add that the Gaelic name Ó Braonáin was also anglicised as Brannan – a point not to be overlooked. In this article the reader will see reference to other similar-sounding surnames; in this article we use *Branan* as the generic form.

Introduction

On a first reading of the seminal works on the Ó Braonáin Uí Dhuach, it is easy to be swept up and carried away on a warm summer current, perhaps even by the old An Fheoir (River Nore) herself. To be sure, she has seen Ó Braonáin greatness pass over countless generations, and her flow, or so it seems, could tell of their exploits for countless more generations to come.

Graves (1850) declared the '*country of the Ó Braonáin*' was Uí Dhuach (Idough) in Osraí and was, therefore, ultimately under the '*supreme rule of the great Mac Giolla Phádraig*', who '*parcelled out amongst subordinate clans*' the various '*ancient tribe-districts*' in their kingdom. The poor relations in this supposed land-deal were close kindred of their imperious overlords, since the respective clan progenitors were said to share a direct paternal ancestor – Braonáin was a son of Cearbhall, King of Osraí (843-888 AD), and Giolla Pátraic was one of Cearbhall's great-grandsons, via Braonáin's brother Cellach, King of Osraí (905-908 AD).

This article will demonstrate easily enough that the idea Mac Giolla Phádraig ever exercised supreme rule over all Osraí is fraught (Brennan, 1979), and this is particularly relevant to Uí Dhuach. Less easy to demonstrate is that the Ó Braonáin' were, in O'Hart's (1892) words, '*Princes of Idough*'. To date, there has been only one published exposition of the Ó Braonáin Uí Dhuach that goes beyond the general, once-over, type of approach. The definitive '*History of the Brennans of Idough, County Kilkenny*' by Thomas A Brennan (1975) is a fine work – well-sourced and fully referenced, the tome reflects the author's depth of thought and is a lasting resource for anyone with interest in the history not only of Ó Braonáin Uí Dhuach, but also of Osraí.

While Brennan's book is enduring, the advent of Y-DNA surname projects has led to no small mystery concerning some with the surname *Branan*, who trace their origins to Osraí. That Y-DNA findings can be highly disruptive of personal family narratives (Scholar, 2020) is unsurprising. That Y-DNA findings on a broader family scale may result in the disruption of entire clan narratives (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2020a) should, on reflection, also come as no great surprise. The dominant want to remain dominant, even if that means burying some historical records and fabricating new ones. And there are clear examples of '*deliberate censorship and falsification*' of genealogical records by medieval Irish historians on behalf of those seeking to '*find historical justification*' for a royal lineage, and such titles as Taoiseach (chieftain), or Rí (king) (Simms, 2004).

Such corruption of pedigrees cuts close to the bone for Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí, whose lineages were '*obviously manipulated in favour of the later dominant dynastic group*', that group being the descendants of Giolla Phádraig mac Donnchada (Lord of Osraí, 1039-1055 AD) (Ó Corráin, 1977). And the genealogical sins of omission and commission in historical accounts of Mac Giolla Phádraig and Fitzpatricks have been a recurring theme ever since the compilation of regnal lists in the Book of Leinster (O'Brien, 1976); more recently they are found in the works of Shearman (1879), Carrigan (1905), and Zalewski and Fitzpatrick (2002) (Fitzpatrick, 2020a; Fitzpatrick 2020b).

In this regard, a cynic might point to Shearman being on the payroll of John Wilson Fitzpatrick (Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 1879), the first Lord Castletown, who, perhaps with the Victorian chip of illegitimacy weighing heavy on his mind, determined the need to include himself in Shearman's Ossorian genealogy, '*proving*', at least to himself, his descent from Crimthann Coscrach, a second-century king of Éire. Shearman ignored a plethora of key records at his disposal, such as those found in the *Patent Rolls of Ireland* (e.g., Irish Record Commission, 1800), and in doing so effectively disposed of lineages that may have threatened Lord Castletown's claims regarding the primacy of his descent.

Reverend Carrigan, excellent in many respects, was possibly also subject to conflicts of interest; he was a sidestepper of unbecoming acts by clergy (Comerford, 2005) and avoided an exposition of the clerical lineages of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí, which must have been known to him (Fitzpatrick, 2020a; Fitzpatrick 2020b) – granted, the suite of Papal records available to Carrigan was not as complete as it is today.

However, the work of Zalewski and Fitzpatrick is an abject failure and a modern-day example of how dominant narratives can be perpetuated by those blindly motivated by vanities, such as the identification of '*The Fitzpatrick, chief of his name*' (Zalewski & Fitzpatrick, 2002) – as if there could ever be just one person, and that necessarily a man, to represent a surname with such diverse origins (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2020a). To ignore records in both the Patent Rolls and the Papal Registers, in a day and age when those records are so readily accessible, is no small feat of dereliction and incompetence.

The intrusion of a conversation about doubts surrounding Mac Giolla Phádraig lineages, into an article on the Ó Braonáin Uí Duach, is significant to the purpose of the paper. The doubts stem from a Y-DNA connection between men called *Branan* within haplogroup R-A1506>AY140757, and Fitzpatricks within a sibling haplotype, R-A1506>A1496 – it's a genetic connection that might be seen as obvious evidence for shared ancestry out of Cearbhall. However, that idea is disrupted with the understanding R-A1506 may have Norman origins, challenging not only narratives of the Barons of Upper Ossory's descent from Cearbhall (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2020a) but those of related lines as well. But what if the *Branan* genetic '*cousins*' of the Fitzpatricks of Ossory possess a different descent and a different narrative than being Ó Braonáin Uí Dhuach, of an Osraighe line – a much more complex and unexpected descent? And perhaps even more radically – what if Ó Braonáin ancestors of Cearbhall, king of Osraí, do not even exist today?

Such questions are central to this article, the purpose of which is to critically review the Ó Braonáin Uí Dhuach using a twenty-first-century approach – that of using all readily

available historical records in conjunction with a Y-DNA analysis of men in Haplogroup R-140757 who have surnames that are similar-sounding to *Branan*.

An array of relevant historical records have come within much closer reach, enabled via modern accessibility, than was ever enjoyed by the likes of Shearman and Carrigan. And, the analysis of Y-chromosome single nucleotide polymorphisms (SNPs) has evolved to the extent that patrilineal connections never before imaginable have become so obviously apparent that a disruption of the traditional narratives is unavoidable.

Article Overview

This article involves a journey across realms and epochs, beginning with an understanding of the túath (clan-people-nation-district) of Uí Dhuach within the overkingdom of Osraí, then progressing to review the genealogical and annalistic accounts Uí Dhuach chieftains, king Cearbhall of Osraí, and the Ó Braonáin Uí Dhuach, as far as those accounts are relevant to this article's conversation. The direction of the article changes once considerations are given where and when haplogroup R-BY140757 arose, which leads to Cill Chainnigh (Kilkenny), then to the Colony of Virginia, on to Yorkshire, and then to Suffolk, and then back again to Cill Chainnigh. The article signposts are:

- The divisions of Osraí and Uí Dhuach.
- The chieftains of Uí Dhuach.
- Cearbhall and the kingship of Osraí.
- The Ó Braonáin Uí Dhuach.
- R-BY140757 descendants of early Virginia colonists.
- The de Braham of Yorkshire.
- The de Braham of Suffolk.
- Haplogroup R-A1506.
- The de Braham of Cill Chainnigh.
- Explaining the R-BY140757 haplotree.
- Conclusions: conclusive and otherwise.

The divisions of Osraí and Uí Dhuach

No minor difficulty comes when attempting to synthesise and determine the names and geopolitical boundaries of the various divisions of Osraí across several hundred years. Even at the top of the regional political hierarchy of Éire, where things might be considered the least complex, the earliest recorded designation that the Island comprised a discreet provincial '*cuig cuigidh*', or '*five fifths*', (Uladh, Chonnacht, Teamhair, Dinn Riogh, and Mumhan, i.e., Ulster, Connaught, Tara (i.e., north Leinster), south Leinster, and Munster; MacNeill, 1920) is an oversimplification (Koch & Holley, 2006). Futile, then, are attempts to neatly package provincial sub-kingdoms and, under those, túath through the ages and across the dynasties.

The earliest accounts place Osraí within Dinn Riogh, the southern fifth of Laighean (Leinster), which O'Donovan identified as centred near Leithghlinn an Droichid

(Leighlinbridge) (O'Clery, 1856). There is no dissent that the border of eastern Osraí was along An Bhearú (River Barrow), and stretched from the modern-day Barony of Gabhrán (Gowran) in Cill Chainnigh westward across to Gréin: '*Osraige ö Gabran co Gréin*' (MacNeill, 1920). At a western extremity, MacNeill (1920) identified Gréin as An tSeanphailís (Pallas Green) in eastern Luimneach (Limerick). Much more likely, and based on sounder reason, is that Gréin refers to Grian Airbh in Cill Chainnigh, near Áth na nUrlainn (Urlingford) and the Tiobraid Árann (Tipperary) border (Morris, 1922). O'Heerin's early fifteenth-century topographical poem (O'Dubhagain, O'Donovan, & O'Huidhrin, 1862) leaves little doubt regarding the latitudinal boundaries of Osraí, succinctly described as from '*Bladhma out to the sea*', i.e., from Sliabh Bladhma (Slieve Bloom) to Muir Cheilteach (the Celtic Sea).

As detailed by Carrigan (1905), numerous sub-kingdoms and túath of Osraí can be identified, but it is the location Uí Dhuach that holds the attention for this article. The modern-day parish of Bábhún Ó nDhuach (Odagh) in the Barony of Fásach an Deighnín (Fassadinin), northern Cill Chainnigh, still bears witness to a territory once much more extensive. At the commencement of the shiring of Ireland by the Anglo-Normans in the thirteenth century, the subsequent sub-division of Irish counties into cantreds occurred as greater settlement proceeded (Otway-Ruthven, 1980). The cantreds of medieval Cill Chainnigh numbered eleven, but they were not closely similar to the county baronies extant today. The cantred known as Idough enveloped the modern-day baronies of Fásach an Deighnín and Gabhalmhaigh (Galmoy), and parts of the baronies of Crannach (Crannagh), Clann Donncha (Clandonagh), and Clár Maí Locha (Clarmallagh) (Empey, 1971).

Hogan (1864) argued the ancient túath of Uí Dhuach was identical to Airgeadros (or Airgead Rós) – the Silver Wood, and this because of their contextual use, side by side, in a reference to '*Cathal, son of Dubhan, lord of Ui-Dhuach-Argad-rois*' who died in 850 AD (O'Clery, 1856). And Hogan maintains Ui-Dhuach was derived from '*Fearadhach, son of Dhuach, Lord of Osraighe*' who was slain in 582 AD (O'Clery, 1856). Although Hogan was unable to make any connection between Fearadhach and Airgead Rós, according to Ó Murchada (1999) the first use of Uí, meaning descendants, occurs in 579 AD with reference to the Uí Fhailge whose ancestor was Failge Berraide (d. 516 AD). Hence, any use of Uí Dhuach after 582 AD would be consistent with the timeframe for the introduction of Uí in the formulation of Irish surnames and its contemporaneous use in referencing the túath of Uí Dhuach.

Carrigan's case for the etymology of Uí Dhuach is effectively the same as Hogan's, i.e., it comes from a line of fifth-century Mumhan (Munster) kings who ruled Osraí, stemming from one called Concraid, son Dhuach Cliach (Carrigan, 1905). The genealogies of Mac Fhirbhisigh enable the determination that Dhuach Cliach was the father of Fearadhach, and a link between Dhuach Cliach and Airgeadros can be made with certainty because Mac Fhirbhisigh names Carn Mugana of Airgeadros as Dhuach Cliach's great-grandson (Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003).

Having come to an understanding of when, where, and why the túath of Uí Dhuach emerged, there is a need to critique what historians, such as Hogan and Carrigan, relate concerning the entrance of the Ó Braonáin into Uí Dhuach.

The chieftains of Uí Dhuach

Graves (1850) states, *'brief and scanty are the notices of the chieftains of Uí Dhuach afforded by the Annals of the Four Masters'*, and correctly so. One could also add the notices have resulted in confusion, and have been misinterpreted and exaggerated; important here is a sound understanding of just who, exactly, were the chieftains of Uí-Dhuach. Further accuracy is found with Hogan (1864), who notes, *'it does not appear that the O'Breannains at any time held possession of the entire territory of Uí-Dhuach'*. Who, then, were the other possessors, and when was their reign?

The record of Cathal, son of Dubhan, lord of Uí Dhuach, (O'Clery, 1856), is the first mention of the túath in the Annals; unfortunately, neither Cathal nor Dubhan have been identified (Brennan, 1979). More than a century lapses before Uí Dhuach is heard of again, this time when, in 951 AD, *'Faelan son of Tadhg, Tanist of Ui Ceinnsealaigh; and Duibhginn, son of Cuileannan, lord of Uí-Dhuach, died on the same day'* (O'Clery, 1856). Once again, there is difficulty identifying the lord of Uí Dhuach, but there is, at least, a clue that the Uí Dhuach were at war with the Ui Ceinnsealaigh at this time. That war may have been part of a wider conflict between Osraí and the Laigin, which rumbled on throughout the tenth century (O'Clery, 1856; MacCarthy, 1895).

That being the case, it is not unreasonable to suggest the Uí Dhuach may have been allied with Osraí tribes. Still, such conjecture does not fit with the record of events of 1026 AD, that is, if those events retrospectively reveal who the lords of Uí Dhuach probably were in 951 AD:

Aimerigin Ua Mordha, lord of Laeighis, and Cuduiligh Ua Beargdha, lord of Uí Dhuach, were mutually slain by each other; and the Uí-Dhuach and Laeighisi were mutually slaughtered, but the Uí Dhuach were defeated (O'Clery, 1856).

The variable interpretations of this key entry in the Annals of the Four Masters range from the ridiculous to the sublime. The passage is completely misrepresented by both Graves (1850), who called it a *'bloody contest between the O'Broenains, and their neighbours, the O'Mores of Leix'*, and Murphy (1879), who counted the battle was between the Ua Mordha and the Ua Beargdha was somehow *'won by the O'Brenans'*; the reasons why Graves, and Murphy, confound the Ua Beargdha with O'Braonáin are difficult to understand.

Shearman (1878) equated the Ua Beargdha with Uí Bairrche, and said there were four Laighean tribes who bore the name, the most *'historic'* being the descendants of Daire Barrach, the son of Cathair Mór. Shearman also stated it was not they, but another Ua Beargdha tribe who were lords of Uí Dhuach ca. 1026 AD, they being the descendants of those displaced by Concraid, son Dhuach Cliach, although Shearman fails to identify the Ua Beargdha line of descent. Shearman's assertion is self-contradicted when he says O'Brenans supplanted the rulers of Uí Dhuach in the tenth century. The only concept that affords an escape from the confusion of Shearman's complex narrative is that there were multiple rulers of Uí Dhuach.

A more natural and straightforward identification of Ua Beargdha Uí Dhuach is they descend from Beargdha of Clann Chairbre; Cairbre being a son of king Flann dá Chongal, of the Uí Failghi. Indeed these Ua Beargdha do not descend from Daire Barrach, but his brother, Ros Failge (Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003). The proximity of Uí Failghi clans to Uí Dhuach ca. 1026 AD was to the north, and also not distant – and at that time the Uí Failghi were at war with the Ó Mórdha. Given that Mac Fhirbhisigh records it was an Ó Beargdha clan who were lords of Uí-Dhuach, and one of the *‘three principal chieftains of Osraí’* (Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003), at the time of Concraide, mac Dhuach Cliach’s conquest, it is not the least implausible that in 1026 AD the same clan was simply partaking in a struggle for Uí Dhuach that had occupied them for several centuries.

Such details might appear peripheral to the overall thread of this article, but, as will be seen, there are connections to be made with Ó Beargdha that relate to the Mac Fhirbhisigh genealogy of the O’Braonáin Uí Dhuach. However, at this juncture, it is enough to state, O’Braonáin were not lords of all Uí-Dhuach in 1026 AD, although they were becoming something of note (Brennan, 1979); sufficiently so that, around that time, Donnchadh Mac Giolla Phádraig, the Lord of Osraí, had married *‘the daughter of the chief O’Brenan of Idough’* (Lodge, 1789).

What, then, can be revealed that is any different to the narratives of the likes of Groves and Shearman, who have the O’Braonáin Uí Dhuach as the descendants of Cearbhall, King of Osraí? First, it is necessary to understand just who those descendants were.

Cearbhall and the kingship of Osraí

Cearbhall is the name given to three kings of Osraí in Lebor Laignech (the Book of Leinster). Cearbhall II and Cearbhall III ruled portions of Osraí in the twelfth century (O’Sullivan, 1983). Cearbhall I, the son of Dúngal, was king of Osraí (842-888 AD), and was referred to by Carrigan as perhaps *‘the most famous of the kings of Ossory’*; that fame is doubtless partly due to his fortune in having his exploits recorded in the Fragmentary Annals (Donovan, 1860).

Cuilen, the eldest son of Cearbhall, was slain by Norsemen in 886 AD. A dirge for Cuilen, recorded by the Annalists, reads, *‘we did not think that Cuilen would, thus, have perished, we thought he would be king’* (O’Clery, 1856). On Cearbhall’s death, the kingdom of Osraí came to his brother, Riaccán; and it was during his term, in 890 AD, that another of Cearbhall’s sons, Braonáin, was killed *‘by the Deisi’* (O’Clery, 1856). Riaccán, who was advanced in years, died in 894 AD, after suffering at the hands of Diarmait, another son of Cearbhall, who became the next king (Best & MacNeill, 1933; O’Donovan, 1860).

Diarmait’s reign was marked by infamy and fracture – the determination that Osraí came to be broken up, *‘into three small separate states, each with its own line of rulers or kings’* following the death of Giolla Pátraic Rúad in 1103 AD (Carrigan, 1905), can be traced back to events involving Diarmait approximately two centuries earlier. Although all factors are not recorded, Diarmait’s cruelty toward Riaccán is likely to have formed a basis for the descendants of Dúngal deposing him in 900 AD, driving him out of Osraí, and installing his brother Ceallach, the fourth son of Cearbhall, in his place (O’Clery, 1856). And yet, Diarmait

would make a return. Stripped of his kingdom, he found solace with Cearbhall mac Muirecáain, the king of Leinster. These events resulted in Ceallach having a natural sway toward Mumhan, following in the footsteps of his father, Cearbhall. Cearbhall had taken ‘honourably’ to Horm of the Danes, who were the enemies of Laighean and the Norwegians, therefore they shared the common enemies of Mumhan (O’Donovan, 1860).

In 908 AD, at the instigation of Flathbertach the Abbot of Inis Cathaigh, Cormac the bishop-king of Caiseal (Cashel) and ruler of Cúige Mumhan (Kelly, 1895), assembled his armies and marched on Laighean to demand payment under the pretext that it was owing under the terms of Leath Mogha (Keating, 1723), that is, the requirement for kingdoms in the southern half of Ireland to pay tribute to the king of Caiseal. The king of Leinster sought peace, offering jewels to Flathbertach and Cormac (O’Donovan, 1860), and hostages in the form of one of his own sons as well as Diarmait, the deposed king of Osraí – the latter pair to be held in safekeeping by Maenach, the Abbot of Díseart Diarmada (Castledermot) (Keating, 1723; O’Donovan, 1860).

When Flathbertach refused the offer, the stage was set for one of the most bloody battles ever fought on Irish soil, that of Bealach Mughna in Cill Dara (Ballaghmoon, Co. Kildare) (Healy, 1893), where six thousand men purportedly fell (Donovan, 1860). Flathbertach failed to take into account that the king of Leinster would draw on the support of Flann Sinna, king of Éire (879-916 AD), who had an Osraí interest – Flann Sinna’s mother was Flann, daughter of Dúngal (O’Clery, 1856), the sister of Cearbhall, i.e., the dethroned Diarmait’s uncle was the king of Éire.

In the slaughter that followed, there fell many nobles, including Ceallach, king of Osraí, and his son, and Cormac, the king of Cúige Mumhan – Flathbertach avoided death, but he was captured. At the end of the battle, Flann Sinna ‘*came with a numerous royal body of horse, and he escorted Diarmait, son of Cearbhall, into the kingdom of Osraige*’; having ratified a peace between Diarmait and his kin, Flann Sinna reinstated him as king of Osraí (O’Donovan, 1860).

Despite being provided with a second chance, Diarmait’s infamy did not cease, and peace in Osraí was short-lived. Just four years later, in 912 AD, Diarmait saw fit to slay his nephew, the son of Braonáin. Many of Diarmait’s kin, referred to in the Fragmentary Annals as Clann Dúngal, rose against him; notable was his first cousin Mael Mordha, the son of Riacán, who remembered the,

‘cruelty that Diarmait had shown towards his father when he was an old man’. So it was that ‘many nobles were killed ... and many churches were wasted ... and Osraige was divided in two by that war’ (O’Donovan, 1860).

The division of Osraí doubtless resulted in a clamour for Uí Dhuach since it was one of Osraí’s largest regions, and desirable also for its ‘warm soil’ (O’Dubhagain, O’Donovan & O’Huidhrin, 1862) and ‘fertile and sheltered limestone-gravel districts’ (Graves, 1850) – Uí Dhuach was not a region to be given, or taken, on a whim. When and how, then, was it wrested from the Ó Beargdha to come into the possession of Ó Braonáin descendants of Cearbhall, king of Osraí? The short answer is – it didn’t.

The Ó Braonáin Uí Dhuach

The Reverend John Francis Shearman was upset. Upset with Mac Fhirbhisigh's genealogy and upset with O'Donovan's coverage of Ossorian history. Shearman is best known for his *Loca Patriciana* (1878) – a solid and vital work in part, but not a great one. Error-ridden, oft rambling, apt to move back and forth between the ages without care for synchrony, and more than oft devoid of citations or even bare references. *Loca Patriciana* exposes Shearman as an historian standing reliant on what he thinks must be historically correct because, well.... it simply must be – no citations required!

While broaching the topic of *'the numerous sept of O'Brenan of Hy Dhuach'*, he declares, in not atypical Shearman fashion, *'the fact cannot be gainsayed that they are of the true regal descent of the Ossorians'*. Sadly, Shearman's own facts are nowhere in sight, but more to pity is that he affords no opportunity to understand his thinking, that the facts might be discussed with him. And, as this article will demonstrate, the origins, genealogies, and acts of the Ó Braonáin Uí Dhuach are well worth discussion. There is no such criticism required for the *'History of the Brennans of Idough'* (Brennan, 1979), and much of this section covers similar ground to that found there, but ready access to Brennan's book is outside the reach of most; there are, however, some minor corrections and additions, and some valuable discussion points.

But, to concur with Brennan, there is no evidence the Ó Braonáin were called the lords of Uí Dhuach at any stage before the twelfth century (Brennan, 1979). Shearman's assertion that Braonáin, the grandson of Cearbhall, was, in 912 AD, slain *'in Uí Dhuach'* is gratuitous since the text of the Fragmentary Annals only states that he was slain, *'in the middle of his own fortress'* (O'Donovan, 1860). Similarly embellished is the reference to the death of Donnchadh Mac Giolla Phádraig (Lord of Osraí), in 1039 AD; Shearman states his wife was *'the daughter of his kinsman O'Brenan Chief of Uí Dhuach'*, when in fact the manuscript he draws from (TCD MS 804) states only that *'O'Braonáin's daughter'* was *'of Uí Dhuach'* (Graves, 1850 and Brennan, 1979).

The topographical poems of Ó Huidhrin (O'Heerin) and Ó Dubhagain (O'Dugan) are cited as evidence that Ó Braonáin were lords of Uí Dhuach in pre-Norman times (Brennan, 1979). Still, this line of argument fails to convince because the prose of neither Ó Huidhrin nor Ó Dubhagain can be considered as primary sources – they were writing long after the fact having died in 1420 AD and 1372 AD, respectively (O'Dubhagain, O'Donovan & O'Huidhrin, 1862). However, a record in the Annals dated 1146 AD cannot be questioned concerning the rising status of certain O'Braonáin, although there is no sure association of them with Uí Dhuach:

'Gillaphadraig, the grandson of Donnchadh, lord of Osraighe, was killed by the O'Braenains, by treachery, in the middle of Cill-Cainnigh' (O'Clery, 1856).

An entry in *Liber Primus Kilkenniensis* (Otway-Ruthven, 1961), dated 1200 AD, intrigues but it does not refer to Ó Braonáin being lords of Uí Dhuach. The Latin text is translated *'the Obrenans burnt the castle of Comyr and the towns of Leylinn and Wellys'*, and the assumption is that these *'Obrenans'* must be Ó Braonáin of Uí Dhuach because *'Comyr'* (i.e.,

Caisleán an Chomair/Castlecomer) lies in Uí Dhuach and ‘Leylinn and Wellys’ (i.e., Seanleithghlinn/Oldleighlin and Uilis/Wells) are at the eastern border (Brennan, 1979).

Between ca. 1286 AD and 1295 AD, there are a series of records that relate to individuals by the name of Amhlaoibh (Auliffe) Ó Braonáin. Graves (1850) noted, based on a Pipe Roll record that is no longer extant, an ‘Auliffe son of Melaghlín’, who was living in 1286 AD, was fined by William Cadel; this record duplicated, but dated ca.1276 AD, notes the fine was £6 10s (Sweetman, 1877). Cadel served as Seneschal of Carlow from 1283-1289 AD (Hartland, 2003), making the 1286 AD date surely attested. In 1293 AD, ‘Avelan O’Brenan’ was fined 100s for ‘transgression’ (Sweetman, 1881) by William le Deveneys, who held several roles in the Irish judiciary (Devenish & McLaughlin, 1948). Then, in 1295 AD ‘Aulef Obrenan’ is granted the King’s peace ‘for all trespass’ relating to 80 cows (Sweetman, 1881), for which John FitzThomas FitzGerald (fourth Lord of Offaly and first earl of Kildare), was held responsible. This Amhlaoibh Ó Braonáin, therefore, was a tenant of FitzGerald (Brennan, 1979) and not so obviously any resident of Uí Dhuach.

These aforementioned records are invaluable because they not only provide accurate temporalities, they can also be compared and aligned with genealogies of persons named Amhlaoibh Ó Braonáin. The genealogies of the O’Braonáin of Uí Dhuach have been the subject of no small contention. Graves stated,

‘Dr O’Donovan informs me that he never saw a pedigree of the O’Broenains of Uí-Dhuach, except that given in the great genealogical work of Mac Firbis’ (Graves, 1850, p.234).

Graves’ reproduction of Mac Fhirbhisigh’s pedigree provided to him by O’Donovan ascends from ‘Auliffe Oge’, the tenth in line from Cearbhall, and back; most notably, Cearbhall’s father is named as Cu-Bladhma. Graves sought an independent authentication of the Mac Fhirbhisigh pedigree, that of the high authority vested in Sir William Betham, the Ulster King of Arms – and the pedigree was verified (Graves, 1850).

It was Mac Fhirbhisigh’s designation that the father of Cearbhall of Uí Dhuach was Cu-Bladhma that resulted in Shearman’s indignation. Shearman offered nothing to support his belief that the father of Cearbhall of Uí Dhuach was Dúngal, not Cu-Bladhma, perhaps being reliant on Hogan. Hogan had, in an earlier publication, argued against the Cearbhall mac Cu-Bladhma lineage, which he called a ‘discrepancy between the pedigree of Mac Fhirbhisigh and the many other authorities’ (Hogan, 1864). The ‘many other authorities’ that Hogan cites are the Four Masters (O’Clery, 1856), O’Donovan (O’Dubhagain, O’Donovan & O’Huidhrin, 1862), and Keating (1732). But neither the Four Masters nor O’Donovan (or the sources O’Donovan cites) even venture to suggest the O’Braonáin Uí Dhuach descended from Cearbhall mac Dúngal. However, Keating does, or appears to.

Keating’s ‘*Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*’ (commonly ‘*The History of Ireland*’) is not known for its accuracy concerning either Irish pedigrees or Irish history but is still respected in many regards (Cunningham, 2004). The 1732 version, edited by Dermot O’Connor, states the O’Braonáin of Uí Dhuach were derived from the same noble stem as the Mac Giolla Phádraig ‘*Kings of Ireland*’ and ‘sprang’ from Braonáin, the son of Cearbhall, but the edition

is incorrect. It is clear Hogan did not access the more complete early Irish transcripts of *‘Foras Feasa’* (the original is lost) but relied on an English translation, which heavily edited the Mac Giolla Phadraig pedigree. An outstanding example of an early copy is RIA MS 24 P 23, the preface of which is dated 1641, that has reference to the seed of *‘Mac Braonáin’* but none to Uí Dhuach (www.ria.ie). Hogan had one further argument for maintaining the father of Braonáin mac Cearbhall was not Cu-Bladhma – that the latter’s pedigree contains *‘names unknown in the history of Ossory’*, but his position is weak because Mac Fhirbhisigh’s ascent from Cu-Bladhma leads to Uí Failghi lineages – not exactly clans distant from Osraí.

After considering Shearman’s non-existent case, Hogan’s ill-contrived arguments, and the failure to consider Keating’s manuscripts, one must return to the single Irish genealogist who stands head and shoulders above all others. While a nineteenth-century review of Mac Fhirbhisigh’s genealogies by Professor Eugene O’Curry (1861) was hyperbolic in its assessment, *‘perhaps the greatest genealogical collection in the world’*, that of Eoin MacNeill (1921), *‘by far the largest and fullest body of Irish genealogical lore’*, was not (Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003). A review of Ó Muraíle’s edition of the Mac Fhirbhisigh genealogies declares it, alongside O’Donovan’s edition of the Annals of the Four Masters, one of the *‘two greatest works that any modern Irish scholars ever accomplished’* (Ó Canann, 2002). This, and that Dr John O’Donovan (Professor of Celtic Languages), *‘the foremost Irish scholar of the nineteenth century’* (Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003) saw fit not to deviate from Mac Fhirbhisigh, is enough to put Shearman’s and Hogan’s criticism of Mac Fhirbhisigh, and their ill-founded insistence that the O’Braonáin of Uí Dhuach descend from Cearbhall mac Dúngal, into clear perspective.

And for the default perspective, which must be with Mac Fhirbhisigh, and not elsewhere, the pedigree of O’Braonáin of Uí Dhuach from Amhlaoibh Óg is as follows:

‘Amhlaoibh Óg m. Muircheartaigh m. Amhlaoibh m. Maoileachlainn m. Amhlaoibh m. Giolla Coimde m. Cearbhaill m. Duinnslébhe m. Congalaigh m. Braonáin m Cearbhaill; sunna contreagad agus Ui Dhuinn’ (Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003).

It is *‘sunna contreagad agus Ui Dhuinn’*, meaning *‘here they converge with Uí Dhuinn’*, that is deeply problematic for adherents clinging onto the idea that O’Braonáin of Uí Dhuach were Osraighe, for the Mac Fhirbhisigh genealogies firmly situate the descent of Braonáin son of Cearbhall, son of Con-Bladhma, out of the Uí Dhuinn (O’Dunn), who descended from Riagáin, who was the grandson of king Flann dá Chongal, of the Uí Failghi. (Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003). Plainly and simply put, Mac Fhirbhisigh did not consider the O’Braonáin Uí Dhuach were any close kin of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí – but, as already noted, he did consider they were kin of the Ó Beargdha of the Uí Failghi.

Finding a response to the apparent irrefutable genealogy provided by Mac Fhirbhisigh, on behalf of Shearman and Hogan, is not difficult – an alternative pedigree is provided by Cú Choigríge Ó Cléirigh (Pender, 1951), another giant of an Irish scholar and one of the Four Masters. Ó Cléirigh’s O’Braonáin Uí Dhuach pedigree differs from Mac Fhirbhisigh’s in three important ways. Firstly, it is headed *‘Genelach Ua mBraonáin Ri Úa nDhuach’*; secondly, from Amhlaoibh Óg to Cearbhaill is fourteen generations, inclusive, compared with Fhirbhisigh’s eleven generations; and, thirdly, the annotation that follows the O’Braonáin

pedigree at Cearbhall reads, in abbreviated form, '*sun dccait et mGp*', taken to read '*from here spring mac Giolla Phádraig*'.

Ó Cléirigh's use of *Rí* in his designating the O'Braonáin 'kings' of Uí Dhuach is rarely used elsewhere by him, hence, it appears out of place, and particularly so given the lofty elevation to *Rí* is not afforded by others. But it is the addition of two generations (Muircertaigh son of Muircertaigh) before Amhlaoibh Óg that causes Ó Cléirigh's pedigree to fail immediately, because the grandfather of Amhlaoibh Óg is, authoritatively, Amhlaoibh (living 1286 AD) – this recorded in Irish judiciary documents (Sweetman, 1877) and also in a Pipe Roll viewed by Graves (1850). Without ready access to Ó Cléirigh's manuscript (RIA MS 23 D 17) it is impossible to further assess '*sun dccait et mGp*', but that matters little. A pedigree found in *Leabhar Muimhneach* (The Book of Munster), which also designs to attach the lineage of Braonáin mac Cearbhall to Dúngal, is annotated from who '*sprang the offspring of the Mac Braonáin Uí Dhuach*' (Ó Donnchada, 1940). Therefore, at least two annotations in the pedigrees of the O'Braonáin of Uí Dhuach evidence positions different to Mac Fhirbhisigh, but the same as Shearman, and Hogan.

Perhaps if Mac Fhirbhisigh could respond to this dichotomy he would gently remind Shearman and Hogan that the great genealogists were not mere scribes or even outstanding historians; rather, they were highly trained and skilled in their specific discipline (Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003). The confusion that comes when fusing fragments of manuscripts together, without consideration for the entire corpus of knowledge, belongs to the work of '*people like John Mac Solly and Richard Tipper*' (Walsh, 1942); they were copyists worthy of credit concerning manuscripts such as *Leabhar Muimhneach*, but they are incomparable to Mac Fhirbhisigh, who '*knew so well*' how to discern historical fact from fiction (Walsh, 1933; Walsh, 1942), being heir to the '*great learned tradition*' of Irish genealogies, and '*its last great exponent*' (Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003).

A useful caution is found here, then, for the modern-day versions of scribes, those family historians who cause '*cut and paste chaos*' (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2020b) by duplicating records at the click of a mouse. Not that making errors during the duplication of genealogical records is some new thing. Those who might rush to O'Hart for his perspective on the pedigree of O'Braonáin Uí Dhuach will discover exactly that type of confusing replication. O'Hart's '*Brenan (No.1) Princes of Idough*' pedigree has Braonáin nine back from Amhlaoibh Óg. And in '*cut and paste*' fashion, O'Hart has an eerily near identical pedigree for his MacBrannen of Uí Dhuinn; this time Amhlaoibh Óg goes back to Braonáin in ten easy steps (O'Hart 1892).

But the disruption of Shearman's and Hogan's narrative goes further still; there is another possible reason why the O'Braonáin Uí Dhuach did not descend from Cearbhall mac Dúngal – they could not because the line of Braonáin became extinct. '*The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*' also known as '*The Invasions of Ireland by the Danes and other Norsemen*', are narratives found in manuscripts first composed between 1103 AD and 1113 AD (Ní Mhaonaigh, 1996). Todd (1867), in conjunction with his translation of the manuscripts, developed various pedigrees to enable a greater understanding of the narratives; this included a genealogical table of the '*Descendants of Cearbhall, Lord of Ossory and the*

Danish King of Dublin, via both his sons and his daughters. Significantly, Todd has no descendants of Cearbhall out of a Braonáin lineage.

If Shearman and Hogan were upset with Mac Fhirbhisigh, surely they would have been apoplectic with Todd; but it appears neither were aware of his work. But is there any basis for suggesting the failure of Braonáin's line? Aside from genealogies, of which only Ó Cléirigh's require serious consideration, there is only a single record that mentions a son of Braonáin, and that is found in the Fragmentary Annals. Recorded there is that the '*son of Braenan, son of Cearbhall*' was killed by Diarmait, Lord of Osraí (O'Donovan, 1860). This son of Braonáin is unnamed, but he is called Dúnagán by Ó Cléirigh (Pender, 1951); and with the use of Dúnagán the likely explanation for Ó Cléirigh's error becomes apparent.

Ó Muraíle states that Mac Fhirbhisigh finished the Laighin section of his genealogies in 1650, drawing mainly from the Book of Lecan, the Book of Ballymote, Rawlinson 502, the Book of Leinster, TCD MS 1298/H2.7 and '*unique material*'. Ó Cléirigh's genealogies were written sometime between 1630 and 1664, and Ó Muraíle considers he and Mac Fhirbhisigh were probably known to each (at one stage they lived just 20 miles apart) and borrowed each other's material. It is considered more likely that Ó Cléirigh, the scribe, simply copied Mac Fhirbhisigh's genealogical material verbatim, as best he could, rather than Mac Fhirbhisigh accepting Ó Cléirigh's genealogical efforts uncritiqued (Mac Fhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003).

The personal name Dúnagán is found only twice in *Leabhar na nGenealach*, first in the pedigree of Síol Colla Mheinn (Oirghialla), and second in the genealogy of Clann Ghormáin (Laighin). In *Leabhar na nGenealach*, the genealogy of Ó Braonáin Uí Dhuach resides on the same folio (478) as the genealogy of Clann Ghormáin; in fact, the genealogies are closely adjacent, being 478.7 and 478.8, on a folio that is quite congested. It is suggested that Ó Cléirigh probably became confused while transcribing '*Braonán son of Cearbhall; here they converge with Uí Dhuinn*' in a section of the folio that has '*Dúnagán son of Gormán, from whom is the family*', perfectly alongside. Not having even close to the same depth of genealogical knowledge of Mac Fhirbhisigh that he could fall back on, Ó Cléirigh then made two errors by (i) converging the pedigree of Dúnagán with Braonáin, and (ii) then assuming his newly created son-father relationship must relate to *the* Cearbhall of Osraighe fame.

With no genealogical evidence left standing to support the Ó Braonáin Uí Dhuach stemming from Dúnagán, son of Braonáin, the context of the slaying of Braonáin's unnamed son by Diarmait becomes clearer. This was no ordinary nepoticide – we read he '*was piteously slain in the middle of his own fortress*' (O'Donovan, 1860); piteous here indicating there was no just reason, and perhaps there was also a degree of treachery since Braonáin's son was in his own fortress. The furious response to the killing from Clann Dúngal included that of Áed, who was the son of Cearball's daughter, Mór. The son of Braonáin was under Áed's tutorage, which means it was likely he had been living with Áed and/or his aunt Mór in a foster relationship, making the unjust killing all the worse. In addition, since he was being tutored and likely groomed to be a future chief, there is a certainty that the son of Braonáin was still young in years (McInerney, 2017), perhaps as young as twenty one years, his father having died 890 AD. If that were the case, and he died heirless, and with his death died the line of Braonáin, it would also give more all the more reason for the clan reacting so furiously.

At this juncture come questions. If the line of Braonáin went extinct, and if the Ó Braonáin Uí Dhuach stem from Uí Dhuinn, then what are the origins of the many *Branans* living today who trace to Cill Chainnigh and who share a Y-DNA connection with Fitzpatricks under haplotype R-A1506? From whom do they descend? Those answers come from an analysis of men of haplogroup R-A1506>BY140757, called *Branan* – and they do not trace solely to Ireland.

R-BY140757 descendants of early Virginia colonists

Haplotype R-BY140757 sits under R1b-L21, which is commonly referred to as the ‘*Celtic*’ haplotype (Lucotte, 2015), even though the emergence of R1b-L21, ca. 2500 BC (Cassidy et al., 2016; Cassidy, 2018), occurred long before the emergence of Celtic languages and what is considered classic Celtic culture in Ireland ca. 700-300 BC (Brown & Ogilvie, 2009; Pope, 2021). The prevalence of R1b-L21 in the British and Irish Isles is high, ranging from an estimated 60-69% in Ireland, to 50-59% in the west of Scotland and Wales, to 11-20% in southeast England (Busby et al., 2011).

To date, putting surname switches aside, the occurrence of R-BY140757 in descendants of early Virginia settlers has only been found in men with surnames that sound like *Branan*. And one of the earliest records of a *Branan* in Virginia is found in 1665 when a Richard Bramham is granted land for the payment of passage for five persons to the Virginia Colony.

Richard Bramham, 240 acs. Rappa. Co., on N. side of sd. Riv. & W. side of Totoskey Cr., 14 Oct. 1665. Beg. at head of land belonging to George Haslock, dec'd.....Trans. of 5 pers: Symon Corneck. Wm. Cisell, John Brookes. Sarah Davies, Marke Hill (Nugent, 1979, p.89).

Land grants were made in exchange for the payment of passage to the Virginia for persons who, typically, became indentured to the person paying the passage. This practice was most common in the early years of the colonisation of Virginia and was a way to encourage settlement and provide labour for the wealthier colonists on the tobacco plantations (Robinson, 1957). Later records show Richard owned a tobacco plantation and tobacco, being a strong currency at the time, was used by him to make purchases and to pay fines and debts; this is evidenced for Richard in 1693, as follows, where there is also a surname variant, which became the common surname spelling for Richard:

Richard Branham of Farnham Parish, Richmond County to Thomas Gladman for 2000 lbs of tobacco, 100 acres of woodland. Adjoins land of Samuel Coggins and land of John Sherlock. With consent of Deborah, 'my lawfull wife'. Witnesses: Wm Kissey, Robt Thornton. Signed Richard Branham, Deborah Branham (Sparacio & Sparacio, 1991).

Richard's arrival to the colonies had taken place sometime before he received the patent for land, and this leads to the question of where he came from. He arrived prior to October 1665, when he is recorded as a witness on a legal document.

Thomas Dios of Westmoreland Co., VA gives power of attorney to friend Thomas Freshwater in respect to a suit to recover funds due him by Robert Smith. Wit: Richard Bramham and Samuel Bowin (Sparacio & Sparacio, 1989).

There have been many unpublished references, made by family historians, which state Richard was from Yorkshire, England, but fully conclusive sources are not cited for this link. There is a baptism record for a Richard Bramham, dated 17 October 1648, in Monk Fryston (White, 1895), which fits a narrative that Richard's origins were in Yorkshire:

The family of Branham, or, as it is sometimes spelled Bramham, was a long resident in West Riding, Yorkshire (Jolliffe, 1893).

But if this assertion is based only on Richard's name and approximate year of birth, without considering alternatives, it could be a mistake; unfortunately, it is an option deemed as factual to many with family trees at genealogy websites, such as ancestry.com. However, there is another baptismal record that fits Richard Bramham's profile, that is if Richards's baptism was ever recorded; it is for Richard Bramham of St. Clements Danes, Westminster, dated 24 June 1645 (City of Westminster Archives Centre, 2021). This record supports a birth earlier than 1648 – the issue with a 1648 birth being it would mean Richard was only 18 years old when he arrived in Virginia, which was too young to hold land (Keim, 1968).

There are other connections that can be made from Richard's records in Virginia, the closest of which is through his wife Deborah, who was the daughter of George Haslock. Richard and George are mentioned in a record from 1665, which related to a dispute over the border of Haslock's land:

When they posed a similar question to Richard Branham, an Antient Man and Son in Law to Geo. Haslock, dec'd, Branham replied 'No, George Haslock was dead before I came into the Countrey' (King, 1966).

A connection between Richard and Thomas Freshwater is also evident:

4 May 1669. Thomas Freshwater by virtue of the power he had from his brother-in-law Richard Branham, sold 240 acres of land to Henry Austine on the North site of Rappahannock River (Sparacio & Sparacio, 1989).

Thomas Freshwater was married to Johanna, the sister of Deborah Haslock, and he and his wife appear on many court and land records. Richard Bramham was the Godfather to one of their sons.

3 May 1670. Richard Bramham gives to his godson and cousin Thomas Freshwater a two-year old heifer. Wit. Will. Lloyd, Edward Williams (Sparacio & Sparacio, 1989).

When examining alternative Yorkshire or Westminster records for the surname Freshwater or Haslock there is nothing of note found in Yorkshire. However, in the London area, there is a baptism record for a Johanna Haslock, who was a daughter of George Haslock and Michelle Bramman, in the church St Lawrence Jewry (England Births & Christenings, 2021),

which is just one mile west from the church of St. Clements Danes. If Michelle Bramman was Richard's aunt, there is an obvious route for Thomas Freshwater jr. to be both his cousin and his Godson.

There are additional Virginia records, which provide detail into potential familial relationships. Richard's wife Deborah is mentioned in legal records as a power of attorney for him while he was still alive, which suggests Richard may have been travelling.

Debora Bramham gives power of attorney to 'my well-beloved friend William Sisson' to acknowledge 100 acres sold to Thos. Gladman. Wit. Thomas Freshwater, John Hill. Signed Debora Bramham. Richmond Co., 8 March 1693 (Sparacio & Sparacio, 1991).

There are several records of the name Sisson in the Colonies, and it is of interest that children of a William Sissons are also found in the St. Clements Danes Church baptism records ca. 1650 (City of Westminster Archives Centre, 2021). The connections between the surnames Bramham, Haslock, and Sisson in records of Westminster churches find no equivalent in Yorkshire records of the same period, providing a reason to advance that Richard Bramham was more likely to have been from London (refer Appendix 1).

Richard's lines left Virginia to settle in Kentucky, and, in the 1800s, most of them are found in Scott County; some branches went into Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri. The descendants of Richard share ancestry from the thirteenth century (ca. 1200 AD) with men who have similar-sounding surnames (Brannan or Brannon) and who also trace their descent from colonial settlers in Virginia; they belong to haplogroup R-A1506>BY140757>BY203414>FT69881>FT124531>FT70038, which arose before ca. 1680 AD. There are two key ancestors in these R-FT70038 Virginia lineages – Charon (Caran) Brannan and Kenyon Branan (refer Appendix 2).

The published lineages of Caran Branan are complex and at times confuse, and Caran's pre-North American origins are not certain. The first record that appears linked to Caran, which is oft-cited by his descendants, is a court document from ca. 1699:

Charon Brenhan, servant to George Davenport, being presented to this Court to have inspection into his age, is adjudged twelve years old and ordered to serve his said master or assigns (Sparacio & Sparacio, 1991).

This court process was in place to reduce the number of children being brought to work in the Colony of Virginia as labourers. The record for Caran does not mean he was twelve years old, but he had at least attained that age; most males who went to the Colony as servants were fifteen to nineteen years old (Galenson, 1978). There is no evidence by which Caran's country of origin can be determined, and the records of George Davenport shed no light on where he may have originated either. Any attempts to conclusively base Caran's origins on either his given name or surname are fraught, since it is well recognised that from early colonial times until the nineteenth century, the spelling form of the surname was in the hands of clerks; many individuals with Brannan sounding surnames were illiterate (Brennan, 1979).

However, what is clear is that Caran, an indentured servant on arrival, was of lower social status than Richard Branham. Caran's descendants settled in Virginia and North and South Carolina in the late eighteenth century, and many went on to claim lands in Georgia in the early nineteenth century. The connections in some lines are impossible to verify fully, however the vast number of historical records of the descendants of Caran shows the generally adopted spelling of the surname was Brannan, or Brannon.

There is no such difficulty verifying the lines that trace to Kenyon Branan; this via a family Bible and many land, census, and vital records from the early nineteenth century. 'The History of Wilkinson County' states:

Of the sturdy pioneers of Wilkinson whose strength of body was only exceeded by their strength of character may well be mentioned Caswell Branan (1807-1897). Born in Morgan County, Georgia, August 10, 1807, the son of James and Sarah Tommy Branan, both natives of Virginia, and grandson of Kenyon Branan, originally from Wales, he with his parents moved to Wilkinson in 1810 (Davidson, 1930).

Therefore, there is evidence enough that Caswell and James, his father, were born in Virginia and that Kenyon was Welsh; or is there? There comes a genetic disruption of the narrative that Kenyon was from Wales, in the United Kingdom, because the pattern of Y-DNA mutations in descendants of Caran and Kenyon indicates Caran was generationally senior (e.g., father, uncle, or grandfather) to Kenyon. Problematic here, but not fatally so, for his Welsh origins is that Kenyon was born ca. 1730 AD, and Caran's immediate descendants were born in the Colony. But maybe it is the Wales connection that misleads. Believe it or not, there is an estate called Wales in Dinwiddie County, Virginia, which lies approximately six miles west of Petersburg. The origin of the estate dates to ca. 1730 AD (Lancaster, 1936).

Caran's passage to Virginia was in 1695 when he was one of a group of ninety persons transported to the Colony, the equivalent headrights being a grant of 4,500 acres in King and Queen County, on the north side of the Mattaponi River (Nugent, 1979). The grant was made to Major Peter Beverley, but the land was deserted and re-granted to others. Although the exact details are unknown, the headright patent for Caran Branan was transferred to George Davenport, whose holdings were in North Farnham, Richmond County, some 65 miles northeast of where the Wales estate would be built.

Caran's connection to George Davenport leads to a possible association with Dinwiddie County, which emerged from Prince George County (Lancaster, 1936) where the *Prince George Davenports* had interests from the early eighteenth century (Davenport, 2007). But with most of the early Dinwiddie County records destroyed (The William and Mary Quarterly, 1915), it is little surprise that Branan connections with Wales, Virginia, cannot be found, even if they did once exist. Ultimately convincing, however, is the record of Kenyon Branan in the Bible of Miss Effie Cooper, which states he was of Virginia (Talmadge, WF Dykes & Daughters of the American Revolution, 1926).

Without Y-DNA clues, the origins of Richard and Caran/Kenyon would likely have remained uncertain in perpetuity. But with Y-DNA clues, links can be made. Male descendants of

Richard, who still bear the surname Branham, are haplogroup R-A1506>BY140757>FTA81953. Their closest Y-DNA matches, prior to the emergence of Richard's line, trace to Cill Chainnigh and the surname Brennan, are under two 'sibling' branches, viz., R-A1506>BY140757>BY203414 and R-A1506>BY140757>BY203414, with shared ancestry of the three 'siblings' from ca. 1200 AD. For the line Caran/Kenyon there is also a common ancestry to *Branans* in Cill Chainnigh, but the connection emerges later, ca. 1400 AD, being at R-A1506>BY140757>BY203414>FT69881 (refer Appendix 3). Making sense of R-BY140757 similar sounding surnames is, therefore, a complex business and requires an interrogation of early English records.

The de Braham of Yorkshire

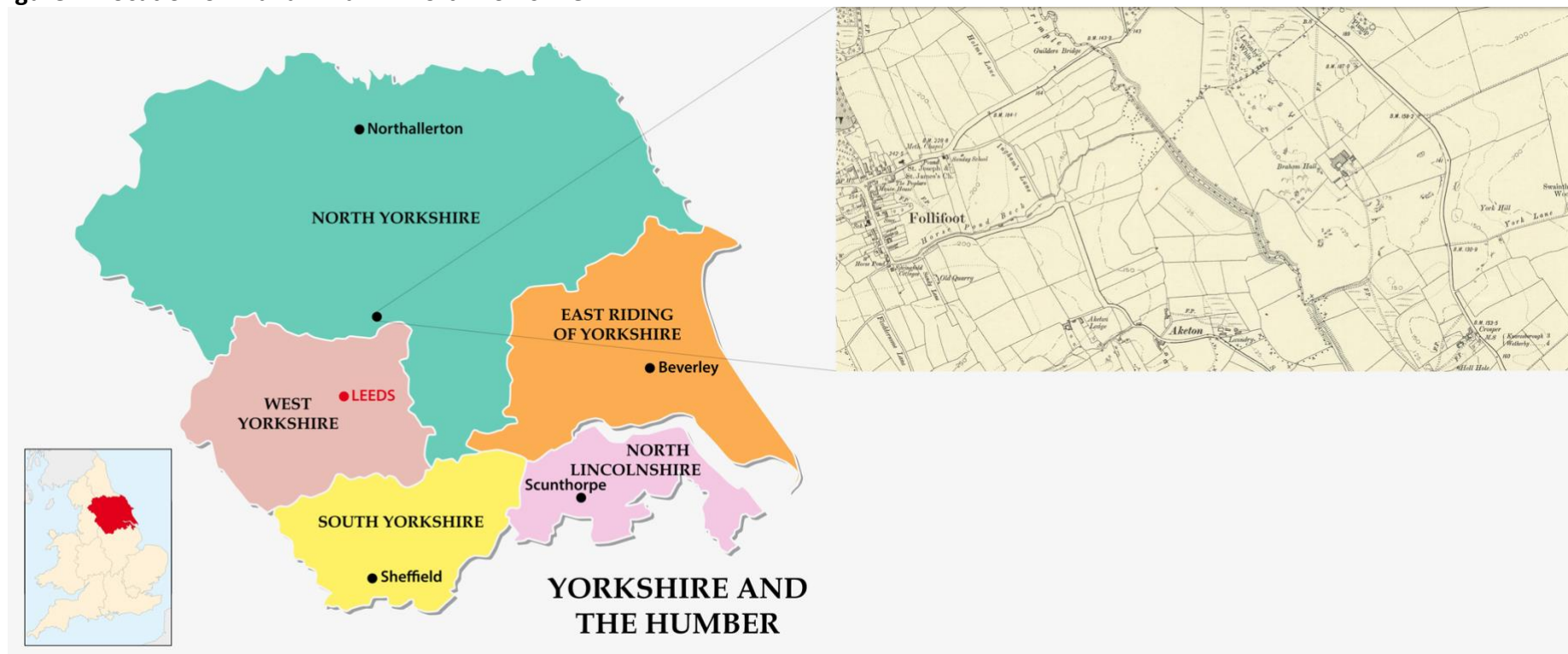
Greater Braham and Little Braham are mentioned in several entries in the Domesday Book (<https://opendomesday.org>). In 1086 AD, they were held by various tenants in chief, including William de Percy, Gamalbarn, Gospatric (son of Arnketil), and Erneis de Burun. The original manor and village of Braham is lost but is now represented by Braham Hall (Fisher, 1954). Not to be confused with Bramham Hall, in West Yorkshire, Branham Hall is one mile east of Follifoot, in North Yorkshire (Figure 1). The family of de Braham trace their lineage to Hippolitus de Braham (Farrer & Clay, 1955), who was possibly a descendant of the aforementioned Erneis de Burun. At the Domesday survey, Erneis de Burun held five carucates (approximately 600 acres) in Yorkshire as well as lands in Lincolnshire (Farrer & Clay, 1955); he was also Sheriff of Yorkshire ca. 1080-1087 AD (Farrer, 1915).

Although it has not been possible to trace the descent of de Burun (Farrer & Clay, 1955), there is a link between him and the de Braham family that stems from the Braham fee. Hippolitus de Braham appears in Yorkshire records ca. 1145-1160 AD, having granted six bovates (approximately 20 acres) in Middleton (Ilkley Parish, West Yorkshire), to the hospital of St Peter, York. Hippolitus was the father to at least three sons (Henry, Matthew, and Hugh) and two daughters (Flandrina, and Maud).

In 1166 AD, Henry, the oldest son and heir of Hippolitus, was in joint possession of a de Percy fee, and in 1167 AD, he had an interest in Braham. Henry had succeeded his father by at least 1175 AD, although Hippolitus was living at that time. Along with his father, Matthew de Braham was a witness to a charter, issued ca. 1154-1175 AD, by Nigel de Stockeld, which gifted land and pasture to the hospital of St Peter, York. Hippolitus enfeoffed to Hugh, the youngest son, four carucates (approximately 480 acres) in Follifoot, Middleton, and Stubham (Ilkley Parish, West Yorkshire) no later than 1176 AD.

Hugh had several sons: Robert, Nicholas, Laurence, Walter, and Eneas. The latter is, perhaps, an indication of de Braham's descent from Erneis de Burun. Eneas de Braham, and his brother Robert granted lands in Middleton to the Augustinian priory at Bolton Abbey, West Yorkshire (Clay, 1930). From Robert's son, Peter come the family of Middleton of Stockeld. Maud de Braham married Arthur, son of Serlo de Westwick, with the gift of a portion of Middleton, and Flandrina de Braham was still living ca. 1234 AD (Farrer, 1914; Farrer & Clay, 1955).

Figure 1: Location of Braham Hall in North Yorkshire



[Braham Hall - early-attested site in the Parish of Spofforth.](#)

Yorkshire and The Humber graphic by [lesniewski](#)

Use of digitised OS maps for non-commercial purposes is permitted under the [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International licence.](#)

The de Braham (a surname sometimes recorded as Brenna, Bram, Braam, Brame, or Braime) were '*of considerable consequence during the Norman and succeeding ages*' (Speight, 1894), and they continued to feature in early Yorkshire charters until the mid-fourteenth century. Their holdings in Braham eventually went to other families. Still, descendants of Hippolitus are found in nearby Follifoot, Middleton, Yeadon, and Spofforth: in 1311 AD, Simon de Braam granted land in Yeadon (Clay, 1924); ca. 1324 AD Matthew de Braam is witness to deed relating to Little Ribston, near Spofforth (Brown, 1914); in 1327 AD Matthew de Braam demised his tenement in Stockeld to the parson of St Michael's York (Clay, 1924); in 1333 AD Matthew de Brame was witness to a grant in Little Ribston (Stanley Price, 1955); in 1336 AD Matthew de Brame demised to Eustachia, widow of Sir Peter de Middleton (Sheriff of York, 1335 AD) lands in Stockeld, and he also witnessed a similar demise made by John de Caylii in 1339 AD. Then, in 1345 AD, John, son of Matthew de Brame is recorded as having loaned ten marks from Thomas, son of Sir Peter de Middleton (Clay, 1930).

From the end of the fourteenth century, de Braham records in the Yorkshire Charters are less common, but from Yorkshire Parish records, which become available ca. 1600 AD, it is evident that Braham lines were still extant in Spofforth Parish and that the surname, and similar-sounding surnames, was relatively widespread in Yorkshire (West Yorkshire Archive Service, 2021). There are, however, no apparent associations to be found that indicate any early de Braham of Yorkshire lines may have migrated to Ireland, that could explain a genetic association with Irish *Branans*.

The de Braham of Suffolk

The de Braham name occurs in many Suffolk records from the twelfth century onwards, particularly in the Parish of Brantham (Maxwell Lyte, 1894; Rye, 1900). Within the parish is Brantham village and, approximately one mile south, is Braham Hall (Figure 2). Situated near Cattawade, Braham Hall is at Suffolk's county border with Essex. The manor, where there remains evidence of a medieval moat (Gardner, 2003), was held by the de Brahams from the thirteenth century; it remained in possession of the de Brahams until the death of Elizabeth, heiress of Sir John de Braham, shire knight of Suffolk, in 1478 AD (Illingworth, 1818; Blomefield, Parker & Miller, 1805; Copinger, 1910; Roskell, Clark & Rawcliffe, 1993).

The earliest records for the de Braham name in Suffolk pertain to Eustace de Braham, who is found in various deeds from ca. 1150 AD. Eustace is extant in records until 1202 AD, and he is referred to as the son of Theobald and brother of Fulco (Tanner, 1787; Palgrave, 1835; Lyte, 1894; Pipe Roll Society, 1890; Stenton, 1952; Sharp, 2014). In a late twelfth-century grant of a salt house in Brantham to the canons of Dodnash Priory, Eustace declared himself, in the fashion of the day, a '*friend of all men, French and English, present and future*'; witnesses to that grant included Sir Roger Bigod (second Earl of Norfolk), Thomas de Braham, and Hugh de Braham (Harper-Bill, 1998). Although nothing further is discoverable regarding the earlier origins of the de Brahams of Suffolk, the connection with the Bigod family is an important one. Prominent among late twelfth and early thirteenth century de Brahams of Suffolk was Roger, son of Eustace (Harper-Bill, 1998), who appears as the seneschal of Sir Roger Bigod from 1198 AD (Dodwell, 1952). Roger de Braham was the successor of Eustace (Brown, 1987), and two other de Brahams (Hugh and Thomas – probably those aforementioned, and perhaps Roger's brothers) were members of the

baronial garrison at Bigod's Framlingham Castle during the siege of 1216 AD, which followed Bigod's role in the rebellion against King John of England, the year previous (Brown, 1951).

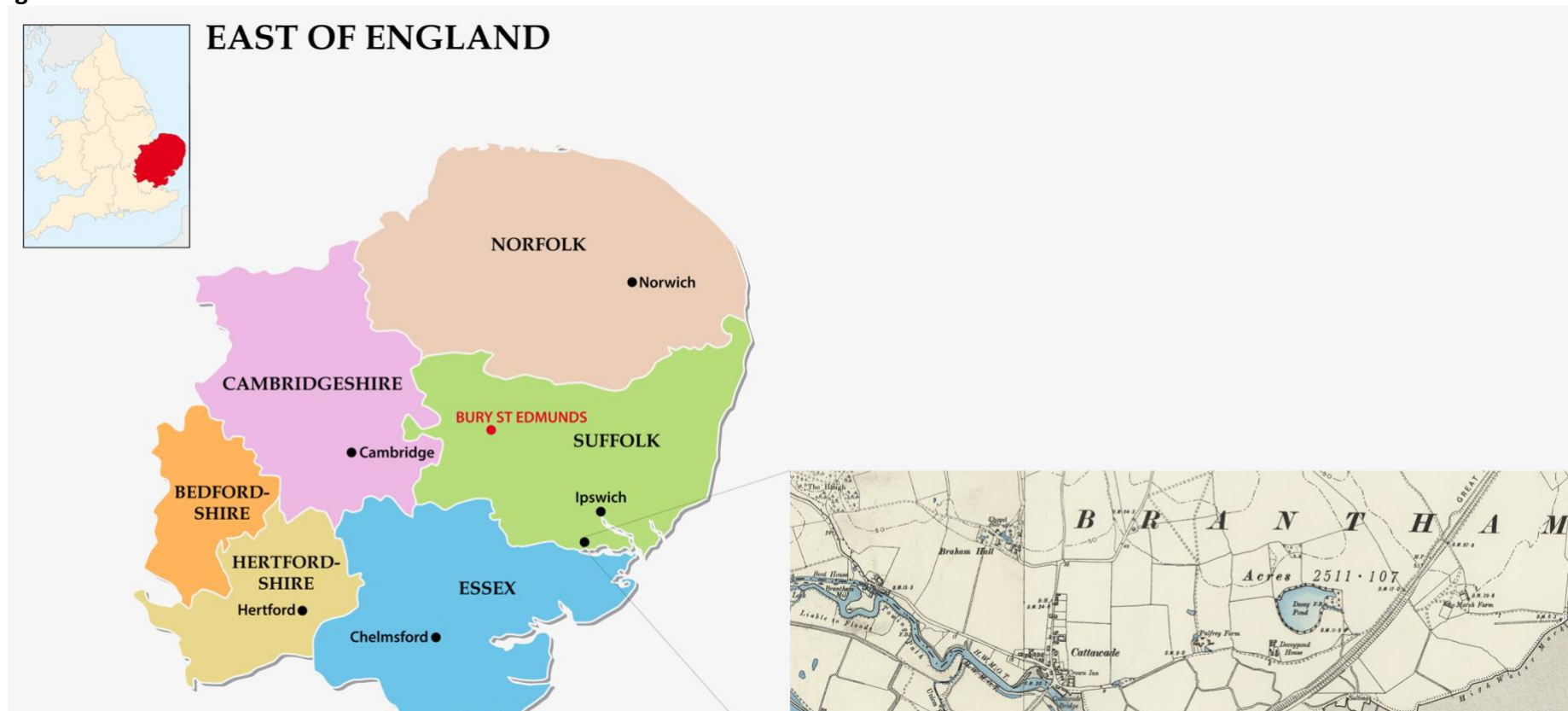
The relationship between the Bigod and de Braham families can be evidenced severally throughout the thirteenth century, but it is their involvement in matters of law that catches the eye. Randolph de Braham is a witness to the charter, ca. 1221-1225 AD, of Hugh Bigod, a son of the third Earl of Norfolk, relating to the grant of Stockton manor to Hamo Lenveise (Morris, 2005). This Hugh Bigod was Justiciar of England (1258-1260 AD), and it was the connection between the Bigod and de Braham families that most likely led to Randolph de Braham also entering the services of the Judiciarship of England. In 1265 AD, Randolph de Braham is recorded as hearing a plea with Hugh le Despenser (Justiciar of England, 1263-1265 AD) (Maxwell Lyte, 1894).

From the late thirteenth century there are many de Brahams who can be traced to Suffolk. Notable are the aforementioned Sir John de Braham, knight, who served in several overseas campaigns (ca. 1370 AD – 1404 AD), including those in France, Ireland, Portugal, and Spain, and William de Braham, who served in France in 1370 AD under William Ufford (Second Earl of Suffolk) (The Medieval Soldier, 2021). But during this era de Brahams also appear throughout the south-eastern counties of Norfolk, Essex, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, and Bedfordshire (see, for example, Dawes et al., 1970; Story-Maskelyne & Maxwell Lyte, 1898; Story-Maskelyne & Maxwell Lyte, 1915; Sharp, 1904; Sharp 1906; Sharp & Stamp, 1908; Stamp et al., 1921; Stamp et al., 1954). Many lines appear to have prospered, and it comes as little surprise they are found in high positions of London Society from the seventeenth century; the most prominent was Sir Richard Braham, MP for Windsor, whose grandfather was of Suffolk origin (Henning, 1983). Of significance to article is how the high-ranking roles of various de Braham of Suffolk origins – in governance, the military, and in the judiciary – appears very likely to have found a parallel expression in Éire.

With the partition of Laighean in 1247 AD among the five daughters, or their heirs, of William Marshall (first Earl of Pembroke) came a *'galaxy of successors to the Marshal lordship of Leinster'* (Frame, 1998). This led to possessions in Éire for the Bigod family via Marshall's eldest daughter, Matilda, who had married Hugh Bigod (third Earl of Norfolk). Hugh and Matilda's son, Sir Roger Bigod (fourth Earl of Norfolk and the Earl Marshal), gained the additional title of Lord of Carlow (Frame, 1998). Hence, compared with the de Braham of Yorkshire, a potential connection between the de Braham of Suffolk and Ireland can easily be imagined.

And there is another connection between the de Braham of Suffolk and Laighean that can readily be demonstrated. The heir of William Marshall's second daughter, Isabel, who had died in 1240 AD (her portion of Laighean being the lordship of Kilkenny) was her son, Richard de Clare, the sixth Earl of Gloucester (Altschul, 1965). Following the Norman conquest of England, Richard, son of Count Gilbert of Brionne, came to hold large estates, including the lordship of Clare in Suffolk (<https://opendomesday.org>), which sits on the River Stour, some fifty miles north-west of Cattawade. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the de Clare possessions in England, Ireland, and Wales more than doubled, and the family's land expansions included everything from small, individual manors to great honours, such as Gloucester (Ward, 1962).

Figure 2: Location of Braham Hall in Suffolk



[Braham Hall - Monument record BNT 002.](#)

East of England graphic by [lesniewski](#)

Use of digitised OS maps for non-commercial purposes is permitted under the [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International licence](#).

The de Clare Suffolk interests grew to include Braham, which Gilbert de Clare (seventh Earl of Gloucester) held for a knights' fee (Sharp, 1906), although it is not known when the de Clares came into possession of Braham, since the only complete record of Clare lands dates from the early fourteenth century (Ward, 1962). Certainly by 1315 AD, at an inquisition post mortem of Gilbert de Clare (eighth Earl of Gloucester), William de Braham held Braham in knights' fee. (Sharp & Stamp, 1908), but it is likely that by the middle of the thirteenth century that the de Brahams of Suffolk had entered the orbits of the de Clares; and the de Clares were the newly appointed lords of Kilkenny.

More than 950 years after the Norman conquest of England, Y-DNA analysis is uncovering the patrilineal mix of the Norman nation. Generally considered Norsemen, '*pagan barbarian pirates from Denmark, Norway and Iceland*' who settled in the Frankish kingdom (Britannica, 2015), it is evident that some Norman descendants are, by genetic definition, Celts (Karakachoff et al., 2015). One such Celtic-Norman line appears to be found in the '*genetic father*' of R-BY140757, known as R-A1506. With this understanding it is possible to make compelling connections between the *Branan* surnames in Cill Chainnaig, Virginia and Suffolk, and then uncover a Norman line in Cill Chainnaig from whom R-BY140757 descendants may share common ancestry with. But first it is necessary to understand more of the likely origins of R-A1506.

Haplogroup R-A1506

High frequencies of R1b-L21 are not exclusive to the British and Irish Isles. R1b-L21 also finds a significant expression in several French regions. An analysis of approximately 2600 men from West-Europe (including England, but not Ireland, Scotland, or Wales) found the highest R1b-L21 frequency was found in Bretagne (29% of all Bretons), followed by London (21%), Paris (17%), and northern Portugal (11%); the Paris result due to '*Bretons' massive immigration towards the Capital since the beginning of the twentieth century*' (Lucotte, 2015). In addition, R1b-L21 sub-haplotypes are also found elsewhere in West-Europe, such as Spain (Martínez-Cruz, 2012) and the Netherlands (Altena, 2020).

More granular analyses of human remains from Ireland has found markers of R1b-L21 sub-haplogroups, dated as Early Bronze Age, that are at least four mutations downstream of from R1b-L21 (at R1b-L21 ... DF13) and up to seven mutations downstream (R1b-L21 ... DF13 ... Z16294), from as early as 2286-2039 BC (Cassidy et al., 2016; Cassidy, 2018). Similarly, R1b-L21 sub-haplogroups are also evidenced in ancient samples from outside the Isles; R1b-L21 ... DF13 ... DF21 ... FGC58887 (at least nine mutations downstream of R1b-L21) is found in the south of France ca. 2195-1922 BC (Brunel et al., 2020). These analyses provide a gauge for when early R1b-L21 sub-haplogroups were emerging in Ireland and West-Europe, i.e., approximately 2500 BC.

Although it is helpful to know that certain R1b-L21 sub-haplogroups have an ancient expression in Ireland, any idea that ancient '*Irish haplotypes*' can be rigidly defined at ca. 2500 BC can easily be disrupted. For example, under R1b-L21 ... Z39589, there are cousins R-M222 and R-S310, who share ancestry from ca. 2000 BC. The former are referred to as Irish Type I (or Northwest Irish; Moore et al., 2006), and from the latter purportedly emerge the Royal Stewarts, whose origins at the time of the Norman conquest of England was Bretagne

(Paul, 1904). Hence, the ‘*genetic proximity between Bretons and Irish*’ among Y-chromosome haplogroups is well recognised (Karakachoff et al., 2015). Still, any exact understanding of where R1b-L21 sub-haplogroups may have originated is complex because the migrational movements of ancient Celts was dynamic and not unidirectional (Fitzpatrick, 2018); there was a continuous coming and going of individuals and small groups (Pope, 2021).

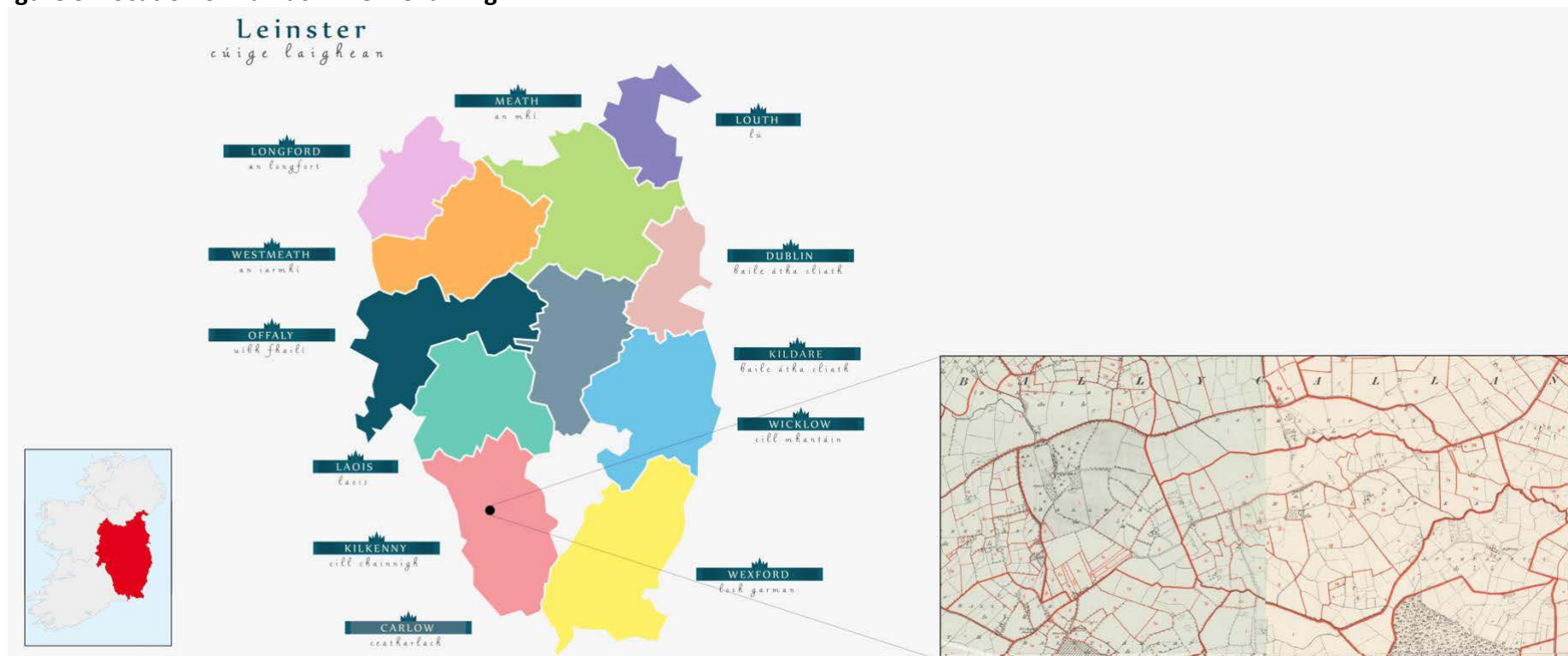
While certain ancient R1b-L21 haplotype sub-groups, without doubt, have a greater expression in Ireland, no such ‘*Irish haplotype*’ definition applies to the major ancestor of R-A1506 under R1b-L21, which is R-FGC5494. Using root-to-tip methodology (Drummond, 2003) for SNP node dating, lineage branching patterns, and other data, a leading researcher of R-FGC5494 has determined that there is no evidence to suggest R-FGC5494 sub-haplogroups arose in the Isles prior to the migration period, ca. 600 AD. That late arrival, the sub-haplogroup distribution patterns, and the absence of R-FGC5494 haplogroups in ancient Isles DNA, also suggest that R-FGC5494 surviving lineages have a Germanic tribal history. Hence, it is considered the vast majority of R-FGC5494 lineages in the Isles descend from Vikings, Saxons, Franks, or Normans (*J. Wigand, pers.comm., 16 June 2021*).

That R-A1506>BY140757 men with *Branan* surnames occur in discreet sub-branches that originated in both England and Éire ca. 1200 AD evidences either an early migration of the haplotype in English who carried it to Éire, or in Irish who carried it to England. This article explores only the former since there is, by far, a much clearer understanding of what the obvious historic pathway was ca. 1200 AD – viz., the invasions and settlement of Normans in Éire (Otway-Ruthven, 1980). And one settler line were de Braham by name.

The de Braham of Cill Chainnigh

In the same era that de Braham of Yorkshire and de Braham of Suffolk were notable families, men with *exactly* the same surname appear in Cill Chainnigh, and they are of no less status than their namesakes in England. Several records calendared in the Ormond Deeds (Curtis, 1932) pertain to de Braham, who act as witnesses in various land transactions and other legal matters. Most notable is Sir Robert de Braham, who in 1250 AD, when acting as a witness to a grant by John the son of Vincent de Everus to Roger de Penbroc of lands in Domhnach Mór (Donaghmore), is named as the Sherriff of Cill Chainnigh. Robert was also recorded as Sheriff ca. 1255 AD, having in his custody a person found coining (Sweetman, 1875). The appointment of Robert de Braham can only have been made by consent of Richard de Clare (the Lord of Kilkenny), and natural logic dictates this probably came about due to earlier family connections forged in Suffolk.

By 1263 AD the tenure of Robert de Braham as Sheriff was over; his successor was Sir Geoffrey de Forestall (White, 1936). Robert de Braham and Geoffrey de Forestall had undoubtedly been acquainted with each other from at least 1250 AD. In 1277 AD, both were witnesses to two grants of lands in Corbally in Tulach Ruáin (Tullaroan) parish to Thomas de Lega. Adjacent to de Lega’s land was ‘*the land of Henry de Braham*’, and in 1286 AD Thomas de Lega received another land grant in Corbally, which was also adjacent to Henry de Braham’s lands in Dámach (Damma; Figure 3); this time the witnesses were three de Braham – Sir Robert, John and Henry (Curtis, 1932).

Figure 3: Location of Dámach in Cill Chainnigh

Dámach – Archival records.

Laighean graphic by [Ingo Menhard](#)

OS map imaged from *Griffith's Valuation Ask About Ireland*

<http://www.askaboutireland.ie/griffith-valuation>: accessed 7 June 2021; OMS Services Ltd, Eneclann Ltd and the National Library of Ireland.

It was during this era that Sir Robert de Braham's focus shifted from the military to the judiciary, the backdrop being that from 1176 AD, during the reign in England of Henry II, there came changes to the judicial system in England. This led to the appointment of greater numbers of justices (i.e., judges) to travel in circuits to hold court and preside over pleas (i.e., legal cases), both civil and criminal; the circuits and courts were known as Eyres, and those on the circuit were referred to as itinerant justices. Ireland lagged in progressing such judicial appointments and in 1221 AD only had one itinerant justice, but by 1253 AD it is evident more justices had been appointed (Sweetman, 1875). In addition, the Court of Common Pleas (i.e., those cases not involving the monarch), also known as *'The Bench'*, was active in Éire from ca. 1276 AD (Ball, 1927).

Surviving records of the English judiciary greatly increase during the reign of Edward II (1272-1307 AD), and many Irish records have been captured in the *'Calendars of Documents, Ireland'* (Sweetman 1875; Sweetman 1877; Sweetman 1879; Sweetman 1881; Sweetman 1886) and *'Calendars of the Justiciary Rolls of Ireland'* (Brand & Getzler, 2012; Mills, 1905; Mills, 1914; Wood, Langman & Griffith, 1905). The appearance of Sir Robert de Braham as a witness to Irish charters from 1277 AD (Curtis, 1932) coincided with his appointment, under Edward I, as a Justice of Common Pleas in 1276 AD (Sweetman, 1877). Robert de Braham is recorded as being an active justice and receiving payment for fees to maintain him in his office until 1285 AD (Sweetman, 1877; Sweetman, 1879; Ireland, 1904). When summoned to the Bench between 1286 AD and 1288 AD, Sir Robert de Braham did not appear and was fined accordingly (Sweetman, 1879); hence, it is considered he died ca. 1288 AD. General Eyres ceased with the onset of Anglo-French hostilities in 1294 AD, after which only one-off visitations occurred in 1299 AD and 1302 AD (Brand & Getzler, 2012). Another Robert de Braham is recorded as a justice itinerant in 1302 AD (Mills, 1905), and he is considered to be the son of Sir Robert de Braham (Ball, 1927).

Based on the dates of various records, it is not unlikely the aforementioned John and Henry were also sons of Sir Robert Braham. In addition to the Thomas de Lega land grant of 1286 AD, John and Henry are found as witnesses to a 1309 AD grant by Henry Brun of land in Tulach Ruáin to John fitz John (Curtis, 1932). And, there are records of de Braham land holdings near Tulach Ruáin. In an inquisition post mortem of Joan of Acre, the daughter of King Edward I of England, and wife of Gilbert de Clare; in 1307 AD, it is recorded that 120 acres of Joan's land in Dámach were held by John de Braham (Sharp & Stamp, 1913; Sweetman, 1886). And in 1314 AD Thomas de Braham granted 29 acres of land in Baile Bhrabastún (Brabstown) to John fitz John as payment for John's enfeoffment (Curtis, 1932). This Thomas is also found earlier, in 1306 AD, with half a carucate (approximately 60 acres) in Clárach Uachtarach (Clara Upper) in the Barony of Gabhrán (White, 1932).

The connection between Dámach and the stewardship of Kilkenny castle existed on either side of Henry and John de Braham's land tenure. After the death of William Marshall, Henry III of England committed the former Earl of Pembroke's lands and castles in Ireland to Walerand Teutonicus. In 1231 AD Henry III mandated Walerand be delivered Kilkenny castle by the constable, else Walerand would *'endeavour to take possession'*; the tension due to the fact Hamo le Gras intended to travel to Éire to prevent that happening – and that due to the directive of Richard Marshall, heir of Earl of Pembroke, who was a *'liege man of the King*

of France', and Henry's enemy (Sweetman, 1875). It is apparent Walerand did succeed in taking possession, and in 1247 AD Franco Teutonicus, a son or brother of Walerand, was holding Dámach for one-tenth of a knight's fee (Brooks, 1950). Seventy years later, in 1317 AD, the heir of Robert de Braham's successor as the Sheriff of Kilkenny, Sir Geoffrey de Forestall, still held Dámach's fee (Brooks, 1950).

Hence, it is apparent the de Brahams were domiciled, after they landed in Éire, on lands bounded by Baile Bhrabastún, in the modern-day parish of Tulach Ruáin, and Dámach, in the modern-day parish of Baile Uí Challáin (Ballycallan), which is five miles to the southeast. And it is also possible to closely approximate when Robert de Braham arrived in Éire; between 1247 AD, and the partition of Laighean, and 1250 AD, when he was appointed Sheriff of Kilkenny.

There is one further record in the Calendar of Ormond Deeds that refers to the de Braham; this relating a grant of 20 acres of land in Stachcan by Richard de Pencoyth to Roger de Braham, and his heirs, dated 1273-1287 AD. Stachcan is not readily identifiable but based on the array of witnesses, and what other deeds they witnessed, and that the infamous de Pencoyth had lands in An tInbhear Mór (Arklow) (Brooks, 1950; Frame, 1972), the most likely location of Roger and his heirs was Scaratanach, Cill Mhantáin (Scratenagh, Wicklow); any connection with the de Braham of Tulach Ruáin is difficult to confirm.

The remainder of fourteenth-century intrigues with respect to de Braham in Cill Chainnigh. The surname ceases to occur – but did it morph into a *Branan*, a more Gaelic sounding form? Thomas Brennan argues for an early example of a corruption of an Irish surname when he discusses the appearance of '*Brennans*' in the boroughs of Cill Chainnigh from ca. 1365 AD, stating these were O'Braonáin who had been displaced from Uí Dhuach (Brennan, 1979). Brennan's case for a surname adaptation has merit, but definitively linking O'Braonáin Uí Dhuach with *Branans* of Cill Chainnigh, simply based on it being a similar-sounding surname, is fraught because *Branan* surnames emerged severally.

The individual Brennan (1979) mentions is William, who is recorded in the Ormond Deeds as the treasurer of the liberty of Cill Chainnigh in 1365 AD and 1375 AD, and in the Red Book of Ormond in 1375 AD. William appears as O'Brenan in the earlier record, and Brenan in the later ones (Curtis, 1934; White, 1932), but a case for William being an O'Braonáin is difficult to build on a single example. Of the several '*Branans*' in the boroughs of Cill Chainnigh recorded in *Liber Primus Kilkenniensis* the surname spellings are either Brenan or Brynnan, not one is O'Brenan, although their occurrences are all after the promulgation of the Statutes of Kilkenny in 1366 AD.

The Statutes of Kilkenny were a response to the increasing Gaelicisation of the English in Ireland, many of whom had taken to the '*manners, fashion and language of the Irish enemies*' (Curtis & McDowell, 1968). MacLysaght (1985) stated the Statutes of had 'no bearing on the use of Mac and O', and that was little pressure for Irish to '*give up*' surname prefixes until the seventeenth century. This despite the decree being:

‘that every Englishman shall use the English language and be named by an English name, leaving off entirely the manner of naming used by the Irish’ (Curtis & McDowell, 1968, p. 53).

Clearly implicit here is that by 1366 AD some English had been doing precisely that – adopting Irish styles of names. Hence, it becomes a two-choice scenario for William *Branan* of Cill Chainnigh: was he an Irishman who dropped the O, or of Gaelicised English stock, who first adopted an O only to drop it again later? The latter gains more traction because in 1365 AD, before the enactment of the Statutes, William’s first name is a Norman first name – this fact not lost on Thomas Brennan *‘because Norman Christian names were not in use among the Irish at this early date’* (Brennan, 1979).

What is also clear is the bearers of *Branan* in Cill Chainnigh town were *‘surprisingly’ ‘peaceful, and anglicised’* (Brennan, 1979) since nothing else could have sufficed. The O’Braonáin Uí Dhuach, now known to be Uí Failghi, had demonstrated some willingness to negotiate peace with their Norman overlords ca. 1317 AD (Tresham, 1828), but they were neither entirely peaceful nor anglicised in this era, a fact attested since they had slain Simon Purcell, sheriff of Kilkenny, and *‘about 20 others’* in 1327 AD, and waged war against Caisleán an Chomair (Castlecomer) in 1329 AD (Butler, 1849). In 1359 AD they entered into a military treaty with James Butler (second Earl of Ormonde) (Graves, 1850) for their engagement *‘against any of the English and Irish outside of peace and faith in the king’* (Graves, 1850), but by 1385 AD O’Braonáin were at war with each other, with one faction in rebellion; Diarmait Ruadh O’Brenan and John Ruadh O’Brenan, along with Henry O’Logan, had killed Tadhg O’Brenan. Thomas St Leger was recompensed ten marks for the delivery of the trio to gaol, where they were sentenced to death and executed (Tresham, 1828). In such a climate, could one of the O’Braonáin Uí Dhuach have ascended to the highest role in the Cill Chainnigh treasury?

An alternative, and more ready, view here is that the Cill Chainnigh town *Branans* in the fourteenth century were not displaced O’Braonáin Uí Dhuach, but were out of a Norman line and were, quite naturally, living and working in a Norman town. The aforementioned William, treasurer of Cill Chainnigh in 1365 AD (Curtis, 1934), appears not long after the last mention of de Brahams in historical records of Cill Chainnigh. Hence, it is considered that William *Branan* was not mere Irish. His fellow witnesses, or participants, in a 1375 AD land concord were as high-ranking Cill Chainnigh individuals as could be imagined: Edmund Mortimer (third Earl of March) and James Butler (second Earl of Ormonde), between whom the agreement was made; Patrick de la Freigne, knight, and seneschal of Kilkenny; and, Fulc de la Freigne, the sheriff of Kilkenny – unlikely company for an O’Braonáin Uí Dhuach.

Also, William *Branan* was educated – a town treasurer who could read and write, which is not so easy to imagine if he was from O’Braonáin Uí Dhuach. There were significant roles taken by other, some no doubt similarly educated, *Branans* in Cill Chainnigh throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and *Liber Primus Kilkenniensis* details several (Otway-Ruthven, 1961). Patrick, Geoffrey, John, and Thomas Brennan were burgesses of Cill Chainnigh in 1383 AD; John and Thomas were glovers; and in 1391 AD Robert Brennan is one of four watchmen named – Robert was also appointed watchman in 1405 AD when he is, additionally, called a cleric. In 1403 AD and 1405 AD, John Brennan is named as a highly

ranked elected official (portreeve) for the district of Irishtown, and, in 1406 AD, as mainpernor (i.e., a guarantor that a prisoner would appear before the court) for Cill Chainnigh gaoler, Henry Mortyn. Janyn Brynнан, a glover, is mentioned as a tax assessor in 1409 AD, and it is likely he is the same individual as John Brenan, merchant, who in 1417 AD was among the city's 'second twelve' – at that time Cill Chainnigh was a borough town, governed by an elected corporate body of twelve 'upper' and twelve 'second' burgesses (Prim, 1864). And in 1411 AD Peter Brynнан, a carpenter, was a tax collector – his surname and Janyn's being early examples of spelling variants, which came about via their similar sounds. Serjeant Walter Brenane was a Cill Chainnigh tax collector in 1420 AD and 1421 AD; in the latter record he is Walter OBrenan and appears with Serjeant Philip Brenane (Richardson & Sayles, 1947)

Hence, there is a sense of permanence of the de Braham, later not implausibly known as *Branan*, in Cill Chainnaig from 1250 AD; they did not fade away but continued to take governance roles that were similar to those taken immediately after their arrival in Éire. Could it be that those de Braham were the ancestors of R-BY140757 men in Éire? A detailed and in-depth Y-DNA analysis, in conjunction with a broad critical review of historical records from Éire, Virginia, Yorkshire and Suffolk, says it is a possibility worthy of consideration.

Explaining the R-BY140757 haplotree

Appendix 3 provides the current R-BY140757 haplotree with the root at R-A1506, which emerged ca. 1120 AD. To date the only sibling of R-BY140757 is R-A1496, which has three branches – R-A1488, R-FT12974, and R-FT109894. R-A1488 is not surname-specific, being characterised by multiple surnames, notably Costigan, FitzGerald and Fitzpatrick. R-FT12974 is dominated by the sub-group R-FT12563, which is specific to the surname Dalton, that diverges with its sibling R-FT109894 (surname Purcell). R-FT109894 contains a single surname, Hennessey.

The three branches of R-A1496 emerged ca. 1400 AD and contain a common origination elements that are unrelated to geographic locations or paternal surnames. Rather, several of the sub-haplogroups of R-A1496 correlate with clerical lineages that emerged in the early fifteenth century. The forthcoming articles, '*Origins and descendants of R-A1496: A Norman-Irish haplotype*', and '*The Clerics of the Mac Giolla Phádraig*', explore the relationships between R-A1496 surnames, which are complex and result in significant disruptions of dominant historical narratives, such as those of the Fitzpatricks of Osraí.

In contrast, there is little evidence the sub-haplogroups of R-BY140757 are clerical, and this provides clues as to the differences in lineage development after the divergence of R-BY140757 and R-A1496, respectively, under R-A1506.

Conclusions: conclusive and otherwise

Having set out to critically review the history of Ó Braonáin Uí Dhuach, assisted by the focusing lens that is a twenty-first-century Y-DNA analysis, it is clear there are multiple factors that give reason to the challenge the traditional, dominant narratives of Ó Braonáin Uí Dhuach.

That Ó Braonáin emerged in Uí Dhuach in the ninth-century was a result of their long-standing struggle for that desirable territory of Osraí. But the most authoritative genealogy of Mac Fhirbhisigh indicates the Ó Braonáin Uí Dhuach did not descend from Braonáin, son of Cearbhall, son of Dúngal, of Osraí – that line appears to have become extinct. The Ó Braonáin Uí Dhuach were not Osraighe, rather they descended from Braonáin, son of Cearbhall, son of Cu Bladhma, of the Uí Dhuinn, of the Uí Failghi. And with that realisation, the origins of *Branans* living today who trace to Cill Chainnigh, and who share common paternal ancestry with Fitzpatricks under haplotype R-A1506, are disrupted.

Further disruption comes from Y-DNA analysis of descendants of the seventeenth-century Virginia colonist Richard Branham, who belong to haplogroup R-A1506>BY140757>FTA81953. Although it is not fully certain, Richard more likely came from the de Braham of Suffolk rather than the de Braham from Yorkshire. It was probably the connection between the Suffolk de Braham and the de Clare Earls of Gloucester, who became lords of Kilkenny, that provided a ready route of entry for the de Braham who are found in Cill Chainnaig from the thirteenth century.

The key figure among the Norman settler family was Robert de Braham, who arrived in Cill Chainnigh ca. 1250 AD; he was Sheriff of Kilkenny and, later, a justiciar. Robert was probably the progenitor of de Braham who held lands from the de Clares in Dámach, Baile Bhrabastún and Clárach Uachtarach in the fourteenth century. That the surname de Braham may have adapted to a similar-sounding surname, *Branan*, which is found in fourteenth-century records for Cill Chainnaig, is not an unreasonable consideration given the Gaelicisation of Normans during that era.

A synthesis of all the factors mentioned above leads to the determination that the similar-sounding *Branan* surnames of haplogroup R-BY140757 probably stem from a Norman lineage. This finding has implications for those haplogroups with common ancestry to R-BY140757, i.e., those under R-A1506, among which are found the surnames Costigan, Dalton, FitzGerald, Fitzpatrick, Hennessey, and Purcell.

Acknowledgments

The authors thank Diane and Paul Branam, Clarence Brannon, Marlene Brannon, Shirley Hok and Jim Wigand for their very helpful inputs.

This article is dedicated to the late Professor Richard Branham, whose pioneering work on the English Brahams pointed us in the right direction.

References

- Altena, E, R Smeding, KJ van der Gaag, M Larmuseau, R Decorte, O Lao, M Kayser, T Kraaijenbrink, and P de Knijff (2020). The Dutch Y-chromosomal landscape. *European journal of human genetics*, 28, 287–299.
- Altschul, M (1965). *A Baronial Family in Medieval England: The Clares, 1217-1314*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Ball, FE (1927). *Judges in Ireland, 1221-1921*. New York, E.P. Dutton and Company.
- Best, RI and E MacNeill (1933). *The annals of Inisfallen: Reproduced in facsimile from the original manuscript (Rawlinson B503) in the Bodleian Library*. Dublin, Royal Irish Academy.
- Blomefield, F, C Parkin and W Miller (1805). *An essay towards a topographical history of the county of Norfolk Volume 1*. London, printed for William Miller.
- Brand, P and J Getzler (2012). *Judges and judging in the history of the Common Law and Civil Law: From antiquity to modern times*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Brennan, TA (1979). *A history of the Brennans of Idough, County Kilkenny*. Lebanon, New Hampshire, Whitman Press Inc.
- Britannica, Editors of Encyclopaedia (2015). Norman. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.
- Brooks, ESJ (1950). *Knights' fees in counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny, 13th-15th-century: With commentary*. Dublin, Stationery Office.
- Brown W (1914). *Yorkshire Deeds, Record Series Volume 39*. Leeds, Knight and Forster.
- Brown, P (1987). *Sibton Abbey cartularies and charters: Part 3*. Woodbridge, Boydell for the Suffolk Records Society.
- Brown RA (1951). Framlington castle and Bigod. *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History* 25, 127-148.
- Brown K and S Ogilvie (2009). *Concise encyclopaedia of languages of the world*. Amsterdam, Elsevier.
- Brunel S, et al. (2000). Ancient genomes from present-day France unveil 7,000 years of its demographic history. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 117, 12791-12798.
- Busby, GB et al. (2001). The peopling of Europe and the cautionary tale of Y chromosome lineage R-M269. *Proceedings of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, 279, 884-892.
- Butler, R (1849). *The annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn*. Dublin, Irish Archaeological Society.
- Carrigan, W (1905). *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*. Dublin, Sealy, Bryers and Walker.
- Cassidy, L, (2016). *A Genomic Compendium of an Island: Documenting Continuity and Change across Irish Human Prehistory*, Trinity College Dublin School of Genetics & Microbiology.

Cassidy, LM, R Martiniano, EM Murphy, MD Teasdale, J Mallory, B Hartwell, and DG Bradley, (2016). Neolithic and Bronze Age migration to Ireland and establishment of the insular Atlantic genome. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, 113, 368–373.

City of Westminster Archives Centre (2021). Westminster Church of England Parish Registers; Reference: SMNA/PR/2/1.

Clay, CT (1924). *Yorkshire Deeds, Volume 4*. Leeds, John Whitehead & Son Ltd.

Clay, CT (1930). *Yorkshire Deeds, Volume 6*. Leeds, John Whitehead & Son Ltd.

Comerford, P (2005). The last pre-reformation Bishop of Ferns and his 'nephew', the Dean of Ossory, *Journal of the Wexford Historical Society*, 20, 156-172.

Copinger, WA (1910). *The manors of Suffolk: notes on their history and devolution Volume 6*. Manchester, Taylor, Garnet, Evans, and Co. Ltd.

Cunningham, B (2004). *The world of Geoffrey Keating: History, myth and religion in seventeenth-century Ireland*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Curtis, E (Ed.) (1932). *Calendar of Ormond deeds Volume I*. Dublin, The Stationery Office.

Curtis, E (Ed.) (1934). *Calendar of Ormond deeds Volume II*. Dublin, The Stationery Office.

Curtis, E and RB McDowell (1968). *Irish historical documents 1172-1922*. London, Methuen and Co. Ltd.

Dawes, MBD, AC Wood and DH Gifford (1970). *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem: Volume 15, Richard II*. London. Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Davenport, JS (2007). *The James River Davenport Search, including Lancelot, Prince George, and Williamsburg: Davenport appearances in various records*.

<http://homepages.rootsweb.com/~nvjack/davnport/jamesriverdavenports.pdf>

Davidson, V (1930). *History of Wilkinson County*. Macon, GA, Press of the J.W. Burke Company.

Devenish RJ and C McLaughlin (1948). *Historical and genealogical records of the Devenish families of England and Ireland with an inquiry into the origin of the family name and some account of the family lines founded by them in other countries*. Chicago, Lakeside Press.

Dodwell, B. (1952). *Feet of fines for the county of Norfolk for the tenth year of the reign of King Richard the first, 1198-1199 and for the first four years of the reign of King John, 1199-1202*. London, the Pipe Roll Society.

Drummond, AJ, OG Pybus, A Rambaut, R Forsberg, AG Rodrigo (2013). Measurably evolving populations. *Trends in Ecology and Evolution*, 18, 481–488.

Empey, C (1971). The Cantreds of the Medieval County of Kilkenny. *The Journal of the Royal Society of Irish Antiquaries of Ireland*, 101, 128-134.

England Births and Christenings (2021). 1538-1975 Database. FamilySearch. <http://FamilySearch.org>: 12 April 2021. Index based upon data collected by the Genealogical Society of Utah, Salt Lake City.

Farrer, W (1914). Early Yorkshire charters, Volume 1. Edinburgh, Ballantyne, Hanson & Co.

Farrer, W (1915). The Sheriffs of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, 1066-1130. The English Historical Review, 30, 277-285.

Farrer, W and Clay, CT (1955). Early Yorkshire charters, Volume 10. New York, Cambridge University Press.

Fisher, EJ (1954). Some Yorkshire estates of the Percies 1450-1650, [thesis], The University of Leeds, Leeds. Department of History, pp 185.

Fitzpatrick, AP (2018). Migration. In The Oxford Handbook of the European Iron Age, Edited by Colin Haselgrove, Katharina Rebay-Salisbury, and Peter S. Wells. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Fitzpatrick, M (2020a). Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí 1384-1534 AD Part I. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 1, 1-17. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00120](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00120)

Fitzpatrick, M (2020b). Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí 1384-1534 AD Part II. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 1, 40-71. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00320](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00320)

Fitzpatrick E and M Fitzpatrick (2020a). When everything changes: using critical family history to deconstruct Keesing and Fitzpatrick surnames, Genealogy, 4, 25. doi.org/10.3390/genealogy4010025

Fitzpatrick I and M Fitzpatrick (2020b). Colonial American Fitzpatrick Settlers, Part I: Making Sense of One Line. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 1, 18-39. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00220](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00220)

Frame, R (1972). The Justiciar and the Murder of the MacMurroughs in 1282. Irish Historical Studies, 18, 223-230.

Frame, R. (1998). Ireland and Britain, 1170-1450. London: Hambledon.

Galenson, DW (1978). British Servants and the Colonial Indenture System in the Eighteenth Century. The Journal of Southern History, 44, 41-66.

Gardner RV (2003). Moated site at Branham Hall, Brantham. SCCAS Report No. 2003/39. Suffolk County Council Archaeological Service.

Graves J (1850). The Ancient Tribes and Territories of Ossory. No. I. Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, 1, 230- 247.

Hartland, B (2003). To Serve Well and Faithfully: The Agents of Aristocratic English Lordship in Leinster ca. 1272-ca. 1315. Medieval Prosopography, 24, 195-245.

Harper-Bill, C. (1998). Dodnash Priory charters. Suffolk, Boydell Press for the Suffolk Records Society.

Healy, W (1893). History and antiquities of Kilkenny (County and City): With illustrations and appendix, compiled from inquisitions, deeds, wills, funeral entries, family records, and other historical and authentic sources. Vol. 1. Kilkenny, Egan.

Henning, BD (1983). The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1660-1690.

Hogan, J (1864). Topographical and Historical Illustrations of the County of Kilkenny (Continued). The Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society, 1864, 5, 189-214.

Illingworth, W (1818). Placita de quo warranto temporibus Edw. I. II. and III. in curia receptae scaccarij Westm. Asservata. London, : G. Eyre and A. Strahan.

Ireland (1904). Thirty-sixth report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records and Keeper of the State Papers in Ireland. Dublin, Alexander Thom for His Majesty's Stationary Office.

Irish Record Commission. (1800). Calendar [of patent rolls of Ireland: 1-22 James I]. Dublin: Irish Record Commission.

Jolliffe, W (1893). Historical, Genealogical, and Biographical Account of the Jolliffe Family of Virginia: 1652 to 1893: also sketches of the Neill's, Janney's, Hollingsworth's, and other cognate families. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Co.

Karakachoff M, et al.(2015). Fine-scale human genetic structure in Western France. European Journal of Human Genetics, 23, 831-836.

Keating, G (1723). The general history of Ireland: Containing. London printed by J Bettenham, for B Creak, Jermyn Street, St. James's.

Kelly, MT (1895). A bishop-king of Cashel. Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, 1, 193-200.

Keim, CR (1968). Primogeniture and Entail in Colonial Virginia. The William and Mary Quarterly, 25, 545-586.

King, GHS, 1966 The Registers of North Farnham Parish 1663-1814 and Lunenburg Parish 1783-1800, Richmond County, VA, compiled by George Harrison Sanford King

Koch, JT and A Holley (2006). Celtic culture: A historical encyclopedia. Santa Barbara, ABC-Clío.

Lancaster, RA (1936). Wales, Dinwiddie County, Virginia. The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, 44, 232-237.

Lodge, J (1789). The peerage of Ireland: Or, a genealogical history of the present nobility of that kingdom. ... By John Lodge, Esq. Revised, enlarged and continued to the present time ; by Mervyn Archdall. London, Printed for G.G.J. and J. Robinson.

Lucotte, G (2015). The Major Y-Chromosome Haplogroup R1b-M269 in West-Europe, Subdivided by the Three SNPs S21/U106, S145/L21 and S28/U152, Shows a Clear Pattern of Geographic Differentiation. Advances in Anthropology, 5, 22-30.

MacCarthy, B (1895). Annals of Ulster, otherwise, Annala senait, Annals of senat: : a chronicle of Irish affairs from A.D. 431 to A.D. 1540. Dublin, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Mac Fhirbhisigh, D and Ó Muraíle, N. (2003). Leabhar Mór na nGenealach. Dublin, De Burca.

MacLysaght, E (1985). *Irish Families: Their Names, Arms and Origins*. Dublin, Irish Academic Press.

MacNeill, E (1920). *Phases of Irish History*. Dublin, MH Gill and Son Ltd.

MacNeill, E (1921). *Celtic Ireland*. Dublin: Martin Lester.

Martínez-Cruz, B, C Harmant, DE Platt, W Haak, J Manry, E Ramos-Luis, DF Soria-Hernanz, F Bauduer, J Salaberria, B Oyharçabal, L Quintana-Murci, D Comas, and the Genographic Consortium (2012). Evidence of Pre-Roman Tribal Genetic Structure in Basques from Uniparentally Inherited Markers, *Molecular Biology and Evolution*, 29, 2211–2222.

Maxwell Lyte HC (1894). *A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds: Volume 2*. London, Eyre and Spottiswoode.

McInerney, L (2017). A most vainglorious man. *Archivum Hibernicum*, 70, 202-283.

Mills, J (1905). *Calendar of the justiciary rolls: Or, Proceedings in the Court of the justiciar of Ireland preserved in the Public record office of Ireland*. Dublin, His Majesty's Stationery Office.

Mills, J (1914). *Calendar of the justiciary rolls preserved in the Public record office of Ireland*. Dublin, Printed for His Majesty's Stationery Office by A. Thom & Co. Limited.

Moore, LT, B McEvoy, E Cape, K Simms, and DG Bradley (2006). A Y-chromosome signature of hegemony in Gaelic Ireland. *American journal of human genetics*, 78, 334-338.

Morris, H (1922). The Ancient Kingdom of Ossory. II. *The Irish Monthly*, 50, 279-282.

Morris, M (2015). *The Bigod Earls of Norfolk in the thirteenth century*. Woodbridge, Suffolk, Boydell Press.

Murphy, N (1879). The O'Brenans and the ancient territory of Hy-Duach. *Transactions of the Ossory Archaeological Society*, 1, 393-407.

Ní Mhaonaigh, M (1996). Cogad Gáedel Re Gallaib and the Annals: A Comparison. *Ériu*, 47, 101-126.

Nugent, NM (1979). *Cavaliers and pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia land patents and grants. Volume Three: 1695-1732*. Richmond, VA: Virginia State Library and Archives.

O'Brien MA (1976). *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*. Dublin, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Ó Canann, T (2002). *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 132, 127-137.

O'Clery, M., O'Clery, C., O'Clery, C., O'Mulconry, F., O'Duigenan, C., & O'Donovan, J. (1856). *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters, from the earliest period to the year 1616*. Dublin, Hodges, Smith, and Co.

Ó Corráin, D (1977). The education of Diarmait Mac Murchada. *Ériu*, 28, 71-81.

O'Curry, E (1861). *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*. Dublin, James Duffy.

Ó Donnchada T (1940). *An Leabhar Muimhneach: Maraon le suim aguisíní*. Dublin, Oifig díolta foillseacháin rialtais.

O'Donovan, J. (1860). *Annals of Ireland. Three Fragments, copied from ancient sources by Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh*. Dublin. University Press.

O'Dubhagain, S, J O'Donovan, and G O'Huidhrin (1862). *The topographical poems of John O'Dubhagain and Giolla Na Naomh O'Huidhrin*. Dublin: Printed for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society by Alexander Thom.

O'Hart, J (1892). *Irish Pedigrees*. Dublin, James Duffy and Co. Ltd.

Ó Murchadha, D (1999). *The Formation of Gaelic Surnames in Ireland: Choosing the Eponyms*. *Nomina* 22, 25–44.

O'Sullivan, A (1983). *The book of Leinster*. Dublin, Dublin Inst. for Advanced Studies.

Otway-Ruthven, AJ. (1961). *Liber Primus Kilkenniensis*. Kilkenny: E. Smithwick and Sons.

Otway-Ruthven, AJ (1980). *A history of medieval Ireland*. London, E. Benn.

Palgrave, F (1835). *Rotuli Curiae Regis Volume 1*. Great Britain, The Commissioners of the Public Records of the Kingdom.

Paul, JB (1904). *The Scots peerage: Founded on Wood's edition of Sir Robert Douglas's Peerage of Scotland ; containing an historical and genealogical account of the nobility of that kingdom*. Edinburgh, D. Douglas.

Pender, S (1951). *The O Clery Book of Genealogies: 23 D 17 (RIA)*. *Analecta Hibernica*, 18, 1-198.

Pipe Roll Society (1890). *The great roll of the pipe for the fourteenth year of the reign of king Henry the Second, A.D. 1167-1168*. London, Hansard Publishing Union.

Pope, R (2021). *Re-approaching Celts: origins, society, and social change*. *Journal of Archaeological Research*: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10814-021-09157-1>

Prim, JGA (1864). *Memorials of the Family of Langton of Kilkenny*. *The Journal of the Kilkenny and South-East of Ireland Archaeological Society*, 1864, 5, 59-84.

Richardson, HG and GO Sayles (1947). *Parliaments and councils of mediaeval Ireland*. Dublin: Stationery Office.

Robinson, WS (1957). *Mother earth - land grants in Virginia, 1607-1699*. [With plates, including a portrait and a facsimile, and with a bibliography]. Williamsburg.

Roskell, JS, L Clark, and C Rawcliffe (1993). *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1386-1421*. Stroud, England, Alan Sutton.

Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 1879. *The Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland*, 5, 3-15.

Rye, W (1900). A Calendar of the feet of fines for Suffolk. Ipswich, The Ancient House.

Scholar, H (2020). The ghost of the 'Y': Paternal DNA, haunting and genealogy. *Genealogy*, 4, 3.

Sharp, JEES (1904). Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem: Volume 1, Henry III. London. His Majesty's Stationery Office.

Sharp, JEES (1906). Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem: Volume 2, Edward I. London. His Majesty's Stationery Office.

Sharp, R (2014). Charters of William II and Henry I Project:

<https://actswilliam2henry1.files.wordpress.com/2013/04/h1-adam-the-clerk-2014-1.pdf>

Sharp, JEES and AE Stamp (1908). Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem: Volume 5, Edward II. London. His Majesty's Stationery Office.

Sharp, JEES and AE Stamp (1913). Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem: Volume 4, Edward I. London. His Majesty's Stationery Office.

Stamp, AE, JBW Chapman, MCB Dawes and DB Wardle (1954). Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem: Volume 13, Edward III. London. Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Stamp, AE, E Salisbury, EG Atkinson and JJ O'Reilly (1921). Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem: Volume 10, Edward III. London. His Majesty's Stationery Office.

Story-Maskelyne AS and HC Maxwell Lyte, 1898. Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem: Series 2, Volume 1, Henry VII. London. Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Story-Maskelyne AS and HC Maxwell Lyte (1915). Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem: Series 2, Volume 2, Henry VII. London. His Majesty's Stationery Office.

Shearman, J (1878). *Loca Patriciana: An Identification of Localities, Chiefly in Leinster, Visited by Saint Patrick and His Assistant Missionaries and of Some Contemporary Kings and Chieftains*. Dublin, M. H. Gill.

Simms, K (2004). The Macmahon genealogy: a medieval forgery. *In* *Regions and rulers in Ireland, 1100-1650*. Edited by David Edwards. Dublin, Four courts Press.

Sparacio R and S Sparacio (1989). Deed and will book, Old Rappahannock County, Virginia 1665-1677. Springfield, VA, Antient Press.

Sparacio, R and S Sparacio (1991). Deed abstracts of Richmond County, Virginia, 1692-1695. McLean, VA, Antient Press.

Speight, H (1894). *Nidderdale and the garden of Nidd: a Yorkshire Rhineland*. London, Elliot Stock.

Stanley Price, MJ (1955). *Yorkshire Deeds*, Volume 10. Leeds, John Whitehead & Son Ltd.

Stenton, D (1952). *Pleas Before the King Or His Justices, 1198-1202: Rolls or fragments of rolls from the years 1198, 1201 and 1202*. London, Quaritch.

Sweetman, H S (1875). *Calendar of documents relating to Ireland preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London, 1171-1251*. London, Longman & Co.

Sweetman, HS (1877). Calendar of documents relating to Ireland preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London, 1252-1284. London, Longman & Co.

Sweetman, HS (1879). Calendar of documents relating to Ireland preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London, 1285-1292. London, Longman & Co.

Sweetman, HS (1881). Calendar of documents relating to Ireland preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London, 1293-1301. London, Longman & Co.

Sweetman, HS (1886). Calendar of documents relating to Ireland preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London, 1302-1307. London, Longman & Co.

Talmadge, JY, WF Dykes and Daughters of the American Revolution (1926). Historical collections of the Georgia chapters, Daughters of the American Revolution. Atlanta, CP Byrd, State printer.

Tanner, T. (1787). Notitia Monastica. Cambridge, Printed at the University Press, by John Archdeacon for John Nichols.

The Medieval Soldier (2021). Information on soldiers has been taken from the AHRC-funded The Soldier in Later Medieval England Online Database, www.medievalsoldier.org, 20 May 2021.

The William and Mary Quarterly (1915). Records of Dinwiddie County, 23, 214-218.

Todd, JH (1867). Cogadh Gaedhel ke Gallaibh: The war of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, or the invasions of Ireland by the Danes and other Norsemen. London, Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer.

Tresham, E (1828). Rotulorum patentium et clausorum Cancellariæ hiberniæ calendarium: Vol. I. Pars. I. Dublin: His Majesty's printers.

Walsh, P (1933). Gleanings from Irish manuscripts. Dublin, At the sign of the three candles.

Walsh, P (1942). An Leabhar Muimhneach. Irish Historical Studies, 3, 135-143.

Ward, JC (1962). The estates of the Clare family, 1066-1317 [thesis], Queen Mary. University of London, pp 367.

West Yorkshire Archive Service (2021). Yorkshire Parish Records; New Reference Number: RDP96/1.

White, NB (1932). The Red Book of Ormond, A. D. 1200-1600. Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission.

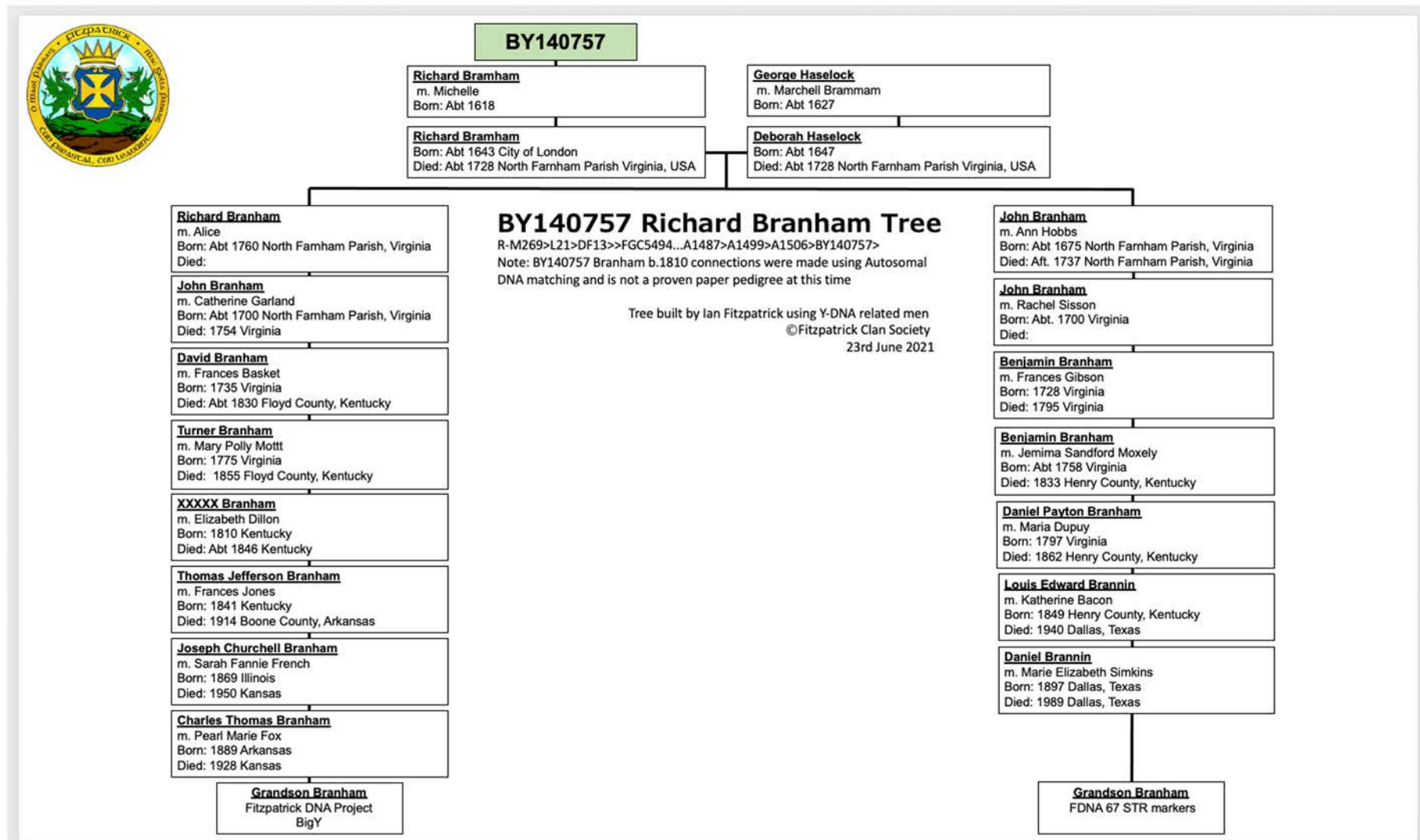
White, NB (1936). Irish monastic and episcopal deeds, A. D. 1200-1600. Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission.

White, R (1895). The registers of Monk Fryston, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Worksop, Printed by R. White.

Wood, H, AE Langman and MC Griffith (1905). Calendar of the justiciary rolls, or proceedings in the Court of the Justiciar of Ireland. Dublin: Stationery Office.

Zalewski, S and R Fitzpatrick (2002). Descendants of Bryan Fitzpatrick Lord and First Baron of Upper Ossory. Dublin, Zalewski & Fitzpatrick.

Appendix 1: Descendant-haplotree of Richard Branham



Appendix 2: Descendant-haplotree of Caran Branan



FT70038

Caran Branan
 m. Margaret Bryan
 Born: 1687 Unknown
 Died: 1750 North Farnham Parish Virginia, USA

FT70038 Caran Branan Tree

R-M269>L21>DF13>>FGC5494...A1487>A1499>A1506>BY140757>BY203414>FT69981>FT70038
 Tree built by Ian Fitzpatrick using three Y-DNA related men.

FT101136

James Brannan
 m. Wilmoth Dudley
 Born: 1720 North Farnham Parish, Virginia
 Died: 1753 Northumberland County, Virginia

William Brannan
 m. Scarberry Blackwell
 Born: 1745 Northumberland County, Virginia
 Died: 1802 Spartanburg, South Carolina

Thomas Brannon
 m. Polly Smith
 Born: 1779 Spartanburg, South Carolina
 Died: 1850 Cherokee County, Georgia

Andrew George Brannon
 m. Mary Elizabeth Nance
 Born: 1814 Spartanburg, South Carolina
 Died: Abt. 1870 Georgia

Franklin Smith Brannon
 m. Catherine Haley
 Born: 1842 South Carolina
 Died: 1921 Rains County, Texas

Columbus Fuller Brannon
 m. Ida Winters
 Born: 1877 Georgia
 Died: 1945 Portland, Oregon

Grandson Brannon
 Fitzpatrick DNA Project BigY

Kenyon Branan: possibly a grandson or nephew of Caran
 m. Elizabeth Carswell
 Born: 1730 North Farnham Parish, Virginia
 Died: North Carolina

FTA18116

Harris Branham
 m. Cynthia Barton
 Born: Abt 1765 North Carolina
 Died: Abt 1860 Coffee County, Alabama

Sampson Brannum
 m. Pricilla Gordon
 Born: Abt 1800 Georgia
 Died: 1856 Coffee County Alabama

Harrison Branam
 m. Mary Ann Driskell
 Born: Abt 1824 Coffee County, Alabama
 Died: 1905 Alabama

Jasper Newton Brannen
 m. Anna Della Rhoden
 Born: 1872 Alabama
 Died: 1956 Texas

Grandson Brannen
 Fitzpatrick DNA Project BigY

FT70009
FT70343

John Brannum
 m. Nancy Parker
 Born: 1776 North Carolina
 Died: 1858 Harris County, Georgia

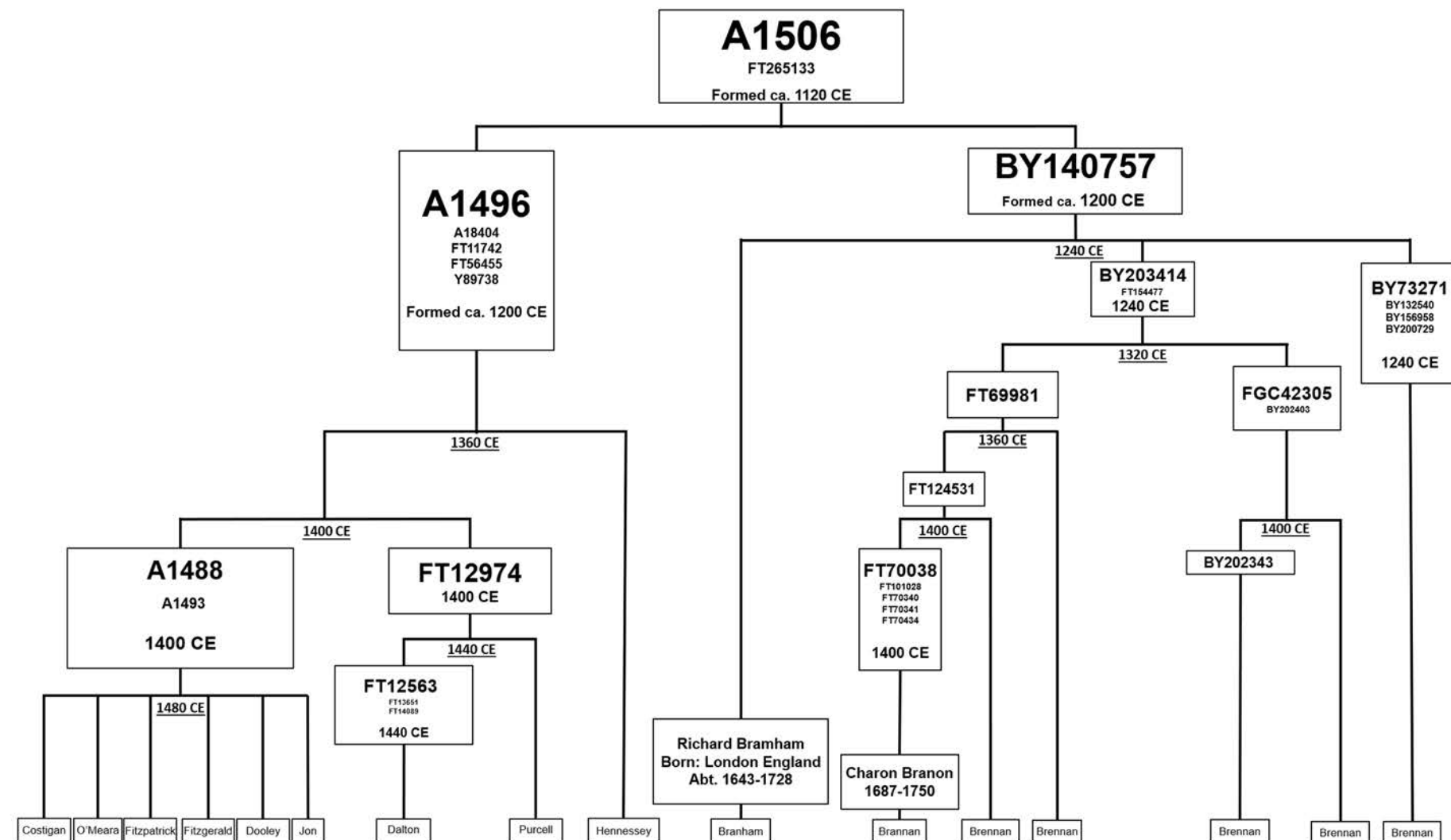
Wesley Branan
 m. Mary Griffen
 Born: 1812 North Carolina
 Died: 1901 Pike County, Georgia

Alfred Fletcher Branan
 m. Martha Dennis
 Born: 1834 Newton County, Georgia
 Died: 1924 Cullman County, Georgia

William Alexander Branan
 m. Texanna Britten
 Born: 1866 Georgia
 Died: 1942 Cullman County, Georgia

Grandson Branan
 Fitzpatrick DNA Project BigY

Appendix 3: R-BY140757 Haplotree



Mac Giolla Phádraig Clerics 1394-1534 AD

Part I

by Mike Fitzpatrick PhD 

Independent Scholar, Auckland 0604, New Zealand

Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 2021, 2, 42-65

Abstract

Mac Giolla Phádraig Clerics 1394-1534 AD is a three-part series, which provides an account of all known individual Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics in the late medieval era and details their temporalities, occupations, familial associations, and broader networks. The ultimate goal of the series is the full contextualisation of all available historical records relating to Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics alongside the genealogical record that can be extracted by twenty-first century science – that being the science of Y-DNA.

The Papal Registers, in particular, record numerous occurrences of Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics, predominantly in the dioceses of Cill Dalua (Killaloe) and Osraí (Ossory), from the late fourteenth to the early sixteenth century. Yet, no small intrigue surrounds their emergence. Part I of Mac Giolla Phádraig Clerics 1394-1534 AD examines the context surrounding the earliest appointments of Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics, which is in neither Cill Dalua nor Osraí but the diocese of Luimneach (Limerick). Once that context is understood, a pattern of associations emerges.

A ‘*coincidental*’ twenty-first century surname match from the Fitzpatrick Y-DNA project leads to a review of the relationship between the FitzMaurice of Ciarraí (Kerry) clerics and Jordan Purcell, Bishop of Cork and Cloyne (1429-1472). The ‘*coincidence*’ then leads to an examination of a close Y-DNA match between men of the surnames Purcell and Hennessey. That match, coupled with the understanding that Nicholas Ó hAonghusa (O’Hennessey), elected Bishop of Lismore and Waterford (1480-1483) but with opposition, is considered a member of Purcell’s household, transforms the ‘*coincidence*’ into a curiosity.

Part I morphs into a conversation, likely uncomfortable for some, relating to clerical concubinage, illegitimacy, and the ‘*lubricity*’ of the prioress and her nuns at the Augustinian nunnery of St Catherine's in the parish of Conallaigh (Connello). The nunnery was located at Mainistir na gCailleach Dubh (Monasternagalliaghduff), which lay just a stone’s throw from where Bishop Jordan Purcell and Matthew Mac Giolla Phádraig, the first Mac Giolla Phádraig cleric recorded in the Papal Registers, emerged.

Part I makes no judgments and draws no firm conclusions but prepares the reader for Part II by ending with some questions. Do the Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics of Osraí, who rose to prominence in the late-fifteenth century, have their origins in south-western Éire? Could the paternal lineages of Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics be, at least from the mid-fourteenth century, with the house of the Geraldine FitzMaurice clerics of Ciarraí? And, could some of the modern-day descendants of the Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics be those Costigans, FitzGeralds, and Fitzpatricks who are found under haplotype R-A1488?

Names, styles, edits, historical records, DNA, and ecclesiastical terminology,

This article is written in the English language, but the people and places discussed are Irish. To acknowledge the primacy of Gaeilge (Gaelic) in this article, the personal names and by-names of people, and place names, are provided in modern Gaeilge using the most common spelling; for example, Luimneach (Limerick), unless the place name is titular, for instance, the Archdeacon of Limerick, or the Abbey of Inisgad.

Quotations are italicised, and long or textually significant quotations are also indented. This article is a living work, i.e., it can be edited by the authors who will retain all versions. Every effort has been made to consult all available records related to the period relevant to this article, and Y-DNA data is current to the publication date. Y-DNA dating estimates are probabilistic and should be considered $\pm$ two generations, i.e., $\pm$ approximately sixty years.

A brief overview of broader '*Irish Church terminology*' is necessary for readers of Parts I-III unfamiliar with the subject matter. For those seeking a thorough and concise, modern glossary of terms, McInerney's '*Clerical and Learned Lineages of Medieval Co. Clare*' (pp. 295-303, 2014) delivers. Many ecclesiastical terms have multiple meanings. They can be variably interpreted by writers doubtlessly because the nature and status of the positions evolved due to changes in the Irish Church (Seymour, 1932).

Some common terms are defined in this section; if necessary further elaboration of terms occurs in the body of the article.

Termon (meaning sanctuary) lands were associated with early Irish Church communities, and hereditary tenants often farmed those lands.

The administrators of **termon** lands were **coarbs** (i.e., heirs) and **erenachs** (i.e., superiors).

A detailed exposition is provided by Lanigan (1822), who states that a **coarb**, whenever possible, was a member of a clan hierarchy elected by them to possess an inheritance (i.e., a **patrimony**) while also holding a Church position, hence signifying a clan-Church joint-partnership.

Erenachs were more numerous than, and of inferior rank to, **coarbs**, and their roles included the management of Church properties and their economies.

With the Synod of Ráth Breasail in 1111 AD came the first organisation of a '*full territorial and diocesan hierarchy for all the provinces of Ireland*' (Gwynn & Gleeson, 1962). The **dioceses** (i.e., jurisdictions under a chief administrator) of the Irish Church had several levels of organisation and various associated **clerical** (i.e., of the church) positions.

The chief church of a **diocese** is the **cathedral**, the seat of governance for the **bishop** (i.e., overseer), and the **college** (i.e., community) of **cathedral clerics** is known as the **cathedral chapter**.

Bishops may once have been termed **coarbs**, but over time **coarbs** became completely distinct from, and accountable to, **bishops**.

The role of an **archdeacon** is that of administrative assistant directly under the **bishop**, i.e., effectively the same as an **erenach**.

As with **coarbs**, **erenach** succession was hereditary – chosen by the clan, with the **bishop's** approval; **erenachs** ultimately became the chief tenants of the **bishop's** lands (Jefferies, 1999).

Clerics might be **monastic** (i.e., seeking religious seclusion), or **secular** (not monastic, or not part of any religious order, such as the Augustinians).

A **monastery** is a residence for **monastics**, and an **abbey** is a **monastic** community having twelve or more monks (under an **abbot**) or nuns (under an **abbess**).

A **priory** is a **monastery**, but it is of lower rank than, and perhaps a satellite of, an **abbey**; its superior is a **prior**.

Within a **diocese** are geographic sub-divisions. At the smallest level are **parishes** (literally meaning, alongside-houses), which are sub-jurisdictions under the immediate authority of a **cleric**.

And **parishes** may be grouped to form a **deanery** under the jurisdiction of a **dean**.

A **rector** (meaning to rule) is in charge of a **college**, typically a **parish**, and receives a **benefice** (i.e., revenue, or an ecclesiastical position) for undertaking their duties.

A **rectory** may refer to the **rector's** residence or the **benefice** itself, and parallel definitions can also be applied to **deanery** and **priory**.

By viewing Irish Church records through the lens of **diocesan** organisation it is possible to gain insights into the familial networks and socio-political relationships that were at play in a region.

One fundamental way to understand those networks and relationships is via the identity of the key players who held sway concerning ecclesiastical appointments, notably who held the **advowson**, or **patronage**, that is the legal right of a patron to present a candidate for a vacant **benefice** to the **bishop** of the **diocese**.

Notwithstanding this so-called '**advowson presentative**', a **patron** or other sufficiently empowered person (e.g., a king) could make an appointment without presentation; the so-called '**advowson donative**' (McInerney, 2014).

Hence, it can be understood that **patrons** were benefactors of the Church, for example, by gifting lands or building churches.

Naturally, the possession of **advowson** was the **patron's** and was subject to change depending on the political climate and powerbase in a region.

Introduction

To date, any in-depth discussion of Mac Giolla Phádraig clerical lineages has only covered those of the diocese of Cill Dalua (Gwynn & Gleeson, 1962; McInerney, 2014). Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics were also known to be of Osraí, but Carrigan (1905), the great Osraí scholar, chose only to give them scant attention. Recently, two articles introduced the Mac Giolla Phádraig clerical lineages of Osraí in the broader context of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí affairs between 1384 and 1534 AD (Fitzpatrick, 2020a; Fitzpatrick, 2020b), and speculated on the possible familial connections between the clerics and their non-cleric namesakes.

It is only natural that such connections should be considered. Various scholars in past times have assumed all Fitzpatricks must have common paternal ancestry (Shearman, 1879; Woulfe, 1923), but that simplistically based on them sharing a surname (i.e., Fitzpatrick) that only came into existence in the mid-sixteenth century; in fact, men who bear the surname Fitzpatrick today are of many and diverse patrilineages, not all of which are ancient (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2020). Hence, common paternal ancestry between Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics of Cill Dalua and Osraí cannot be taken as fact. Still, even if there is a common patrilineage, the idea that Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics of Cill Dalua originated in Osraí, and not vice versa, should not be assumed either – the latter point will be explored in more depth as the series of articles proceeds.

'Mac Giolla Phádraig Clerics' is presented in three parts and builds on the previously published material to provide a thorough review of all available records of Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics from their first appearance in 1394 until 1534, those years being within the current range of coverage provided by the series of publications known as the Calendar of Papal Registers.

In Part I, the focus is the first appearance of Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics, and it provides the general historical, geographical, and socio-political context for their emergence. The historical records are rich and provide much insight into that emergence – and yet it is the observations that come via Y-DNA matches between Fitzpatrick men who trace their paternal origins to Osraí, and men whose surnames are associated with clerical lineages, that lead to a question of primary importance. Could some of the men under haplotype R-A1499 be descendants of the Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics?

Article Overview

Much of Part I involves setting the scene, and the when and where Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics are first recorded as emerging is critical. From there, Part I moves to a discussion of the Y-DNA surname matches of Osraí Fitzpatricks and the curious occurrence of those surnames in Luimneach clerical lines. Part I concludes with an overview of the career and relationships of Matthew Mac Giolla Phádraig, the first cleric with that surname recorded in the Papal Registers. The article highlights are:

- Cill Dalua and the early emergence of Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics
- Matthew Mac Giolla Phádraig: locational context and connections
- The origins of haplotype R-A1499: Irish or Norman? It can't be both
- Haplotype R-A1496: from coincidence to curiosity
- Clerical lineages, masking succession and concubinage beyond *'the norm'*
- Curious surname connections: what are the chances?
- Matthew Mac Giolla Phádraig: his career and his kin

Cill Dalua and the early emergence of Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics

Central to this series of articles is understanding why appointments of Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics were made. Many were made in relation to benefices held in Cill Dalua, and this is of critical importance to all three articles; therefore, a brief historical review of the diocese of Cill Dalua is required. The definitive *'A History of the Diocese of Killaloe'* (Gwynn & Gleeson, 1962) provides readers with an excellent overview of the places, people, and politics of Cill Dalua from the early period through to the sixteenth century. McInerney (2014) adjusts the boundaries of his similar survey to An Clár; still, his exposition is also more expansive and goes deeper – it is imposing concerning the analysis of complex familial and political connections. Both works are rigorous concerning detailing aspects of ecclesiastical appointments in the diocese of Cill Dalua, and Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics find thorough mention in both works. Yet questions arise.

Gwynn and Gleeson explain how the boundaries of the diocese of Cill Dalua were fixed, in a somewhat complex fashion, at Ráth Breasail. That virtually all of modern-day An Clár (Clare) was incorporated indicates the diocese was in the territory of the Dál gCais; the diocese of Cill Fhionnúrach (Kilfenora) in north-western An Clár, out of the kingdom of Corcu Mo Dhruadh (Corcomroe), was not formally recognised until 1152 at the Synod of Kells. That the eastern boundary of Cill Dalua reached far across An tSionainn (River Shannon) into the territory of Éile Uí Chearbhaill (Ely O'Carroll), i.e., parts of modern-day southern Uíbh Fhailí (Offaly) and northern Tiobraid Árann (Tipperary), is testimony to the fact that Muircheartach Mór Ua Briain, then King of Munster, and at the height of his power, was one of those who presided at Ráth Breasail (Gwynn & Gleeson, 1962; Ní Ghabhláin, 1995).

Of the Norman invasion, Gwynn and Gleeson (1962) write that after 1174, when the forces of Philip de Braose were defeated when attempting to take Tuamhain (Thomond), which Henry II granted him, *'nothing effective was done thereafter by the invaders to secure a footing in the diocese of Cill Dalua until after the death of Domnall Mór [Ó Brian] in 1194'*. The struggle for Tuamhain in the thirteenth century was as much about rival Ua Briain factions vying with each other for the overall kingship as it was about the Norman attempts to gain a firm foothold and establish control.

In very concise terms, by the early-fourteenth century, the family of de Clare had settled at their seemingly unassailable base at Bun Raite (Bunratty) and were aligned with Brian Ruadh, son of Conchobhar na Suidaine Ó Brian (King of Thomond, 1242-1268), and his descendants. The opposing Ua Briain faction of Toirdhealbhach Mór, the son of Brian Ruadh's brother, Tadhg, had found the support of another Norman family, the de Burgh. The vital turning point in the Ua Briain feud came in 1318 when Clann Toirdhealbhach defeated Clann Brian Ruadh and the de Clare at Díseart (Dysert), after which *'the whole Norman power in Thomond was annihilated forever'* (Westropp, 1891).

McInerney (2014) clearly distinguishes the *'hereditary clerical kindreds'* and the clerical appointments made by *'secular lineages'* of An Clár. The hereditary clerical lineages were families, sometimes extending out to include minor kin, *'associated with parish churches or their termon lands'*, who *'functioned as coarbs and erenaghs'*. As mentioned, the main secular lineage in An Clár was the Ua Briain, and their clerics *'dominated high-status posts at the cathedral chapters of Killaloe and Kilfenora'*. However, in eastern An Clár, parish appointments were dominated by Mac Conmara clerics. The Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics who appear in An Clár are not obviously either a line of hereditary coarbs or erenaghs, or a secular lineage; that they settled at the Augustinian Abbey of Oileán na gCanánach (Inisgad, or Canon's Island) and remained there for more than a century is, states McInerney, for reasons *'unknown'*.

Unknown, then, and perhaps unknowable. But, maybe a lead comes from the fact that the first Mac Giolla Phádraig cleric to be found in the Papal Registers, although ‘*of Cill Dalua*’, was not appointed to a benefice in Cill Dalua; instead, his appointment was in the neighbouring diocese of Luimneach (Bliss & Twemlow, 1902).

Matthew Mac Giolla Phádraig: locational context and connections

The first Mac Giolla Phádraig cleric to find mention in the Papal Registers is Matthew, who appears in 1394 in Cill Churnáin (Kilcornan) in the barony of Caonraí (Kenry), in the diocese of Luimneach. This entry is the first for Matthew and Cill Churnáin, which is approximately thirteen miles southwest of the modern-day city of Luimneach. The context of Matthew coming into the possession of the perpetual vicarage of Cill Churnáin intrigues and sets the scene for much of the remainder of this article. How may a Cill Dalua cleric have come to be appointed to a Luimneach parish?

The Papal directive for Matthew’s appointment was made to the Dean of Limerick and two other Luimneach canons, this at the expense of Thomas Ua Fhlannabra, who had illegally held the vicarage, previously voided by Phillip Lussel (possibly Russell based on later records in the Papal Registers) who was also in illegal possession since he was not ordained (Bliss & Twemlow, 1902). As discussed, the right to present in the diocese of Cill Dalua in the fourteenth century was mainly with the Ua Briain or the Mac Conmara; in the diocese of Luimneach, it was elsewhere. Hence, an understanding of how a Mac Giolla Phádraig cleric could gain an appointment in Cill Churnáin is informed by an ecclesiastical hierarchy quite different from that found in Cill Dalua. At Ráth Breasail, the boundaries of the diocese of Luimneach were defined with ‘*care and precision*’ and approximated the ancient túath of the Uí Fhithigeinte. The extent of the borders of the early diocese closely resembles those of the modern-day county of Luimneach (Begley, 1906). Therefore, the south-north boundary between the dioceses of Cill Dalua and Limerick is An tSionainn.

It is not until volume four of the Papal Registers (covering 1362-1404) that references to Luimneach clerics, apart from those who are mostly of high rank and named only by first-name and title, can be found. The first, in 1366, records the provision of the archdeaconry of Luimneach to Maurice, son of Peter de Geraldinis, a canon of the diocese of Ard Fhearta (Ardfert) who held a prebend there, as well as having a canonry and prebend from An Caiseal (Cashel) Cathedral (Bliss & Twemlow, 1902). This was Maurice fitzPeter fitzMaurice of the FitzMaurices of Ciarraí (Nicholls, 1970), who finds earlier mention, in 1346, when presented with the Parish church of Cill Neachtain (Kilnaughtin) in the diocese of Ard Fhearta, which is at its eastern border with the diocese of Luimneach. Maurice’s presentation was made by none other than Edward III of England (Tresham, 1828) – the king’s affinity for Geraldines already well established, him having made Maurice fitzThomas FitzGerald (the fourth Lord of Desmond) the first Earl of Desmond in 1329.

Also noteworthy among the earliest recorded appointments is another Geraldine. In 1368 John (Bachelor of Canon Law), the son of John de Geraldinis, was provided with a canonry and prebend from Luimneach cathedral by the Bishop of Limerick (Stephen Wall) – that position had become vacant following the resignation of Walter Gnosall, papal chaplain, and sub-collector in Ireland. At the time of his appointment, John was also the recipient of an annual pension from the rectory of St Brandan, in the diocese of Ard Fhearta (Bliss & Twemlow, 1902). This John is considered to be the son of John fitzNicholas FitzMaurice, Knight and Lord of Kerry ca. 1345, who was a first paternal cousin of the aforementioned Maurice fitzPeter FitzMaurice (Nicholls, 1970).

From the end of the mid-fourteenth century, the Papal Registers are then littered with records of Geraldine clerics in the dioceses of Luimneach and Ard Fhearta, and further appointments, many high-level, of Geraldines follow. In 1392 Thomas, another son of the aforementioned John fitzNicholas FitzMaurice, who is described as *'of a noble race of earls, barons, and knights'* and *'a scholar of canon law'*, and who was formerly the sub-deacon of Cloichear Bhraoin (Clogherbrien), Ciarraí, was appointed Chancellor of Limerick (Bliss & Twemlow, 1902), a position he held until his death ca. 1421 (Twemlow, 1906).

The role of chancellor demanded handling official diocesan correspondence (McInerney, 2014), in turn necessitating a formal education. And the academic prowess and pedigrees of the FitzMaurice of Ciarraí clerics are further exemplified by Thomas' son, David, who in 1409 was provided with the chancellorship of Ard Fhearta having *'studied canon and civil law for seven years in an university'* and being *'of a race of earls and barons'* — papal dispensation was granted him being *'the son of a deacon and an unmarried woman'* (Bliss & Twemlow, 1904b). Also in 1409, Maurice, yet another son of John fitzNicholas FitzMaurice, *'precentor of Ardfert, who is by both parents of a race of barons and earls, and has for six years studied canon and civil law in certain universities'*, was provided with the deanery of Ard Fhearta (Bliss & Twemlow, 1904b).

Although Geraldines feature in many high-level clerical appointments in Deas Mumhan (south Munster) from around the early-fifteenth century, not all, by far, were of the FitzMaurices of Ciarraí. Nicholas fitzMaurice was a long-reigning (1408-1450) Bishop of Ardfert, and his brother, Gerald, was a canon of Luimneach and a scholar of civil law (Bliss & Twemlow, 1902; Bliss & Twemlow, 1904a; Bliss & Twemlow, 1904b; Twemlow, 1912). These are of the FitzGerald of Uí Mhic Coille, Corcaigh (Imokilly, Cork), who descend from Sir Maurice FitzGerald, the illegitimate son John fitzThomas of the Barony of Seanaid (Shanid), Luimneach, i.e., the first Lord Desmond. Sir Maurice was the first Knight of Kerry and Bishop Nicholas, his great-grandson, was fifth to hold that title. From another of Nicholas' brothers, Richard — the first seneschal of Uí Mhic Coille — stem a later line of Geraldine clerics, beginning with Gerald fitzRichard, Bishop of Cloyne and Cork in the latter part of the fifteenth century. A complete treatment of Geraldine clerics of Uí Mhic Coille, who are the descendants of Bishop Gerald, is provided by MacCotter (2004).

Understanding such Geraldine appointments comes with the knowledge that the diocesan economy was big business, and the *'holding of well-endowed benefices by clerics of aristocratic lineages'* was part and parcel of maintaining wealth, as well as having political influence (McInerney, 2014). The Geraldines of Deas Mumhan, and particularly the FitzMaurices of Ciarraí, were well-equipped to compete for Luimneach benefices on several fronts; such a process was, as McInerney explains, complicated — requiring an education, specialist knowledge, and significant financing. Such factors worked against clerics of lesser families *'especially when the coveted benefice was contested by a cleric from a powerful lineage'*.

It is into this lofty and politically super-charged environment, at a time when clerical appointments in Deasmhumhain (Desmond) need to be *'seen against a background of increasing domination of episcopal sees by members of powerful lineages'* (MacCotter, 2016a), that there comes Matthew Mac Giolla Phádraig. Absent through the lens of any other historical records that might afford an understanding of his familial connections, Matthew is unexpected and out-of-the-blue. However, it is expected that he must have had a Geraldine, and probably a FitzMaurice of Ciarraí, connection — it is undoubtedly impossible that Matthew could have fallen into the possession of the vicarage Cill Churnáin without some degree of Geraldine approval. Much more likely is that Matthew's placement

at Cill Churnáin was fully calculated and that he was quite possibly a close family member of a Geraldine lineage. So perhaps not so much out-of-the-blue as out of '*blue blood*'.

Could Matthew have even been a patrilineal member of a Geraldine clerical lineage? There are circumstances in the body of historical records that lend some support to such a speculation. But in the absence of any definitive way of connecting Matthew to his ancestors via codices, the code hidden inside blood requires visitation.

The origins of haplotype R-A1499: Irish or Norman? It can't be both

In-depth Y-DNA surname studies can provide remarkable insights into paternal lineages, in many cases extending the definition of those lineages right back to the point when surnames were taken and beyond – providing insights into more ancient clan connections. And such studies involving surnames found in Éire can result in a wide range of outcomes concerning surname origins – from clear confirmations of historical records and pedigrees to problematic disruptions and subsequent personal and clan identity crises, the latter exemplified by the surname Fitzpatrick (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick 2020).

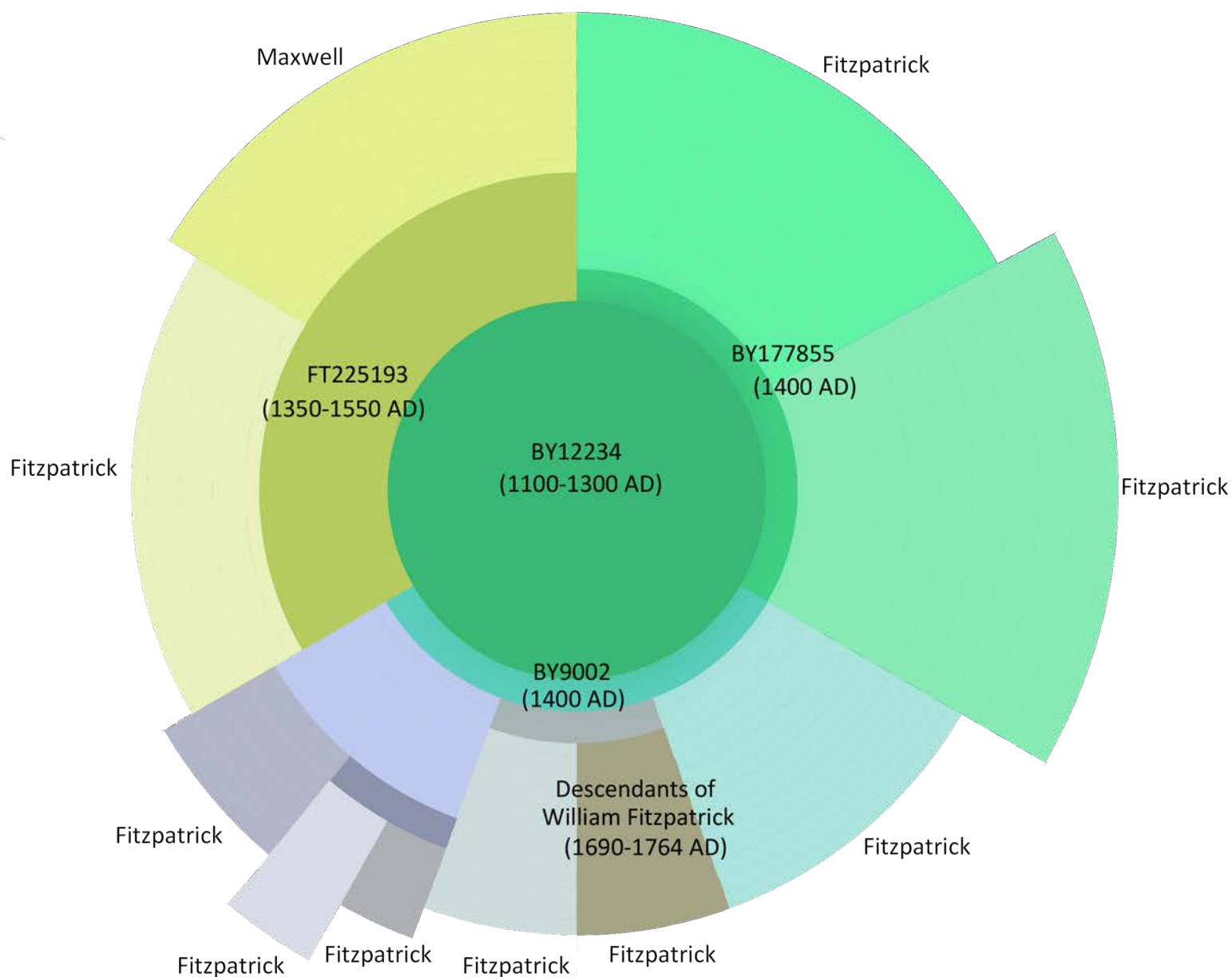
With sufficient data, it becomes possible to understand what an ancient Irish clan Y-DNA haplotype structure looks like within the framework of a patronymic expression – this does not preclude that there may be other Y-DNA haplotype structures that also demonstrate clan relationships. The Fitzpatrick Y-DNA project provides several examples of the direct patronymic and ancient Irish clan structures. For example, haplotype R-L21...FGC11134...BY12234 is both broad and deep (Figure 1), demonstrating a Pátraic surname-specificity associated with single nucleotide polymorphisms (SNPs) that arose in ancient times. R-BY12234 (Ulaidh/Ulster) are numerically significant and broadly distributed in Éire, which also bears witness to their existence from ancient times.

Another large clan of Fitzpatricks, who are numerous and broadly trace their direct paternal eighteenth century origins to the diocese of Osraí, can also be readily identified by Y-DNA. They are of haplotype R-L21...FGC5494...A1488, but their defining terminal SNP is not surname-specific – it is shared with several other surnames, most notably Costigan and FitzGerald. In addition, R-A1488 is not ancient, having arisen ca. 1400 AD. In other words, there is zero genetic evidence this Fitzpatrick clan was formed by direct paternal descent from an ancient ancestor who bore a Pátraic-surname – rather, the direct paternal lineage is elsewhere (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2020), and here lie some points of intrigue.

Firstly, R-A1488 '*Osraí Fitzpatricks*' are often taken on face value, without any critical determination, as descendants of the Barons of Upper Ossory, who in turn are said to be the descendants of the Mac Giolla Phádraig dynasts who take their name from Giolla Pádraig mac Donnchadh, King of Ossory 976-996 AD (MacFhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003). This, seemingly, is based on the idea that simply tracing relatively recent ancestral origins to Osraí is sufficient proof of dynastic descent. However, the age of R-A1488, and the absence of any Fitzpatricks among the immediate branches of the haplotree above R-A1488, means there is no clear, direct patrilineal link to a clan progenitor who bore a Pátraic-surname. Where else, then, might direct patrilineage lie from ca. 900 AD, i.e., at the dawn of surnames in Éire?

Figure 1: Y-DNA Haplopie for R-BY12234

Mac Giolla Phádraig Ulaidh (Mac Gilpatrick/Fitzpatrick of Ulster)



The Y-DNA haplopie for R-BY12234 exemplifies (a) ancient surname uptake, (b) depth of clan structure, and (c) breadth of surname continuation in the clan – the single appearance of another surname (Maxwell) indicative of a surname or DNA switch (SDS).

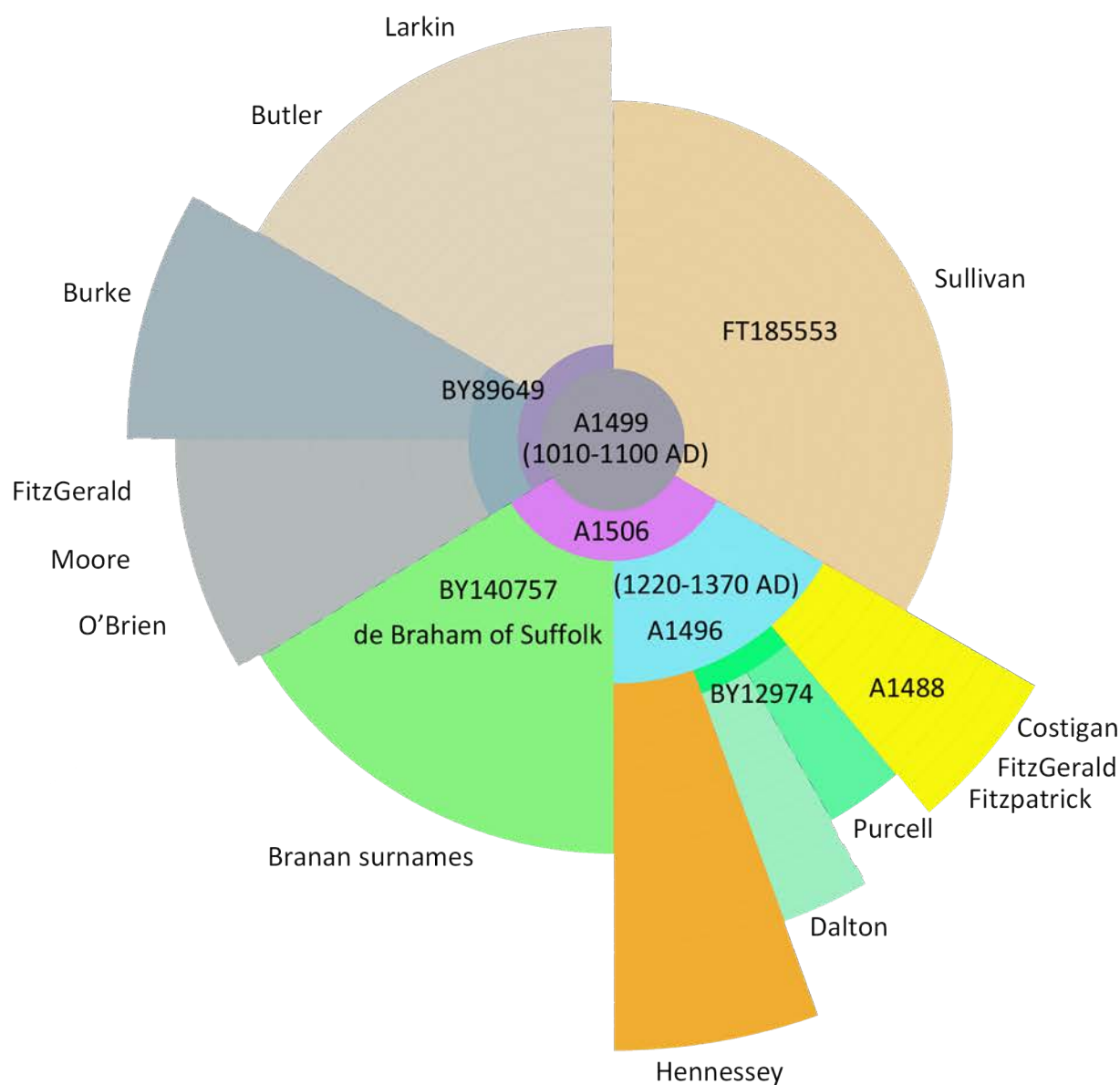
Also, the ancestry of R-A1488 from ca. 1000 AD is from R-A1499 via A1506>A1496 and, as shown in Figure 2, the descendants of R-A1499 possess a mixture of native-Irish and Norman-Irish appearing surnames. If nothing else, haplotype R-A1499 demonstrates that assigning an Irish identity based solely on a surname can be a fraught business and one subject to debate, claim and counterclaim. For example, certain Daltons who trace their origins to Éire in the fourteenth century are part of a surname-specific branch, being that of haplotype R-A1499>A1506>A1496>FT12974>FT12563. It has been claimed, and without evidence (simply stating, '*clan Dalton was not of the British Isles*' is not evidence), their descent is from a Norman line (Dalton-Mapstone, 2019). These Daltons share ancestry with R-A1488 Fitzpatricks, under R-A1496, before ca. 1400 AD.

Yet, it has been counterclaimed, equally thinly, that those Fitzpatricks are clearly '*not [Norman] and clearly they are Irish*' (Zalewski & Fitzpatrick, 2013) – but the only thing clear is the absence of any evidence for that claim. There is at least one truism within this evidence-scarce and emotive debate – the respective sides can't both be correct. And to assess the separate claims of R-A1496 being of either Norman or Irish descent, it is necessary to look further back in time from when the Dalton and Fitzpatrick lines emerged.

There are currently three branches that have been discovered under R-A1499. One branch, R-A1499>BY89649, is populated by six different surnames. Three of those surnames are considered Norman (Burke, Butler, and FitzGerald), two are considered Irish (Larkin and O'Brien), and one surname could have Norman or Irish origins (Moore) – and there is a distinct Mhumhain (Munster) flavour to the surnames. However, the R-BY89649 O'Brien is not of a paternal Tuamhain lineage because Brian Bóruma's line is definitively out of the Dál gCais haplotype, R-L226 (i.e., Irish Type III; Wright, 2009; Swift, 2014). Hence, on balance, R-A1499>BY89649, which arose ca. 1150 AD is more likely Norman than Irish. A second branch under R-A1499 is defined by R-A1499>FT185553 and has just one member surnamed Sullivan. And yet clan Ó Súilleabháin is strongly characterised under haplotype R-FGC11134...CTS4466 (i.e., Irish Type II; Farmer, 2018), hence it is impossible to confidently assign either an Irish or a Norman origin to R-A1499>FT185553 on a surname basis. R-A1499> A1506 defines the third branch, and this branch informs much of the conversation around where the roots of R-A1499 lie.

R-A1506 has two branches, R-BY140757, and R-A1496. The former haplotype is the subject of a recent article entitled, '*The Similar-Sounding Surnames of Haplotype BY140757*': the article summarises that men of the surname Branan, or similar, who trace to Osraí, or thereabouts, are not the descendants of the O'Braonáin Uí Dhuach (O'Brenan of Idough) but most likely stem from the de Braham of Suffolk, with the possible progenitor of R-BY140757 lines in Éire being Sir Robert de Braham, who was Sheriff of Kilkenny ca. 1250 AD (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2021).

Hence, the scorecard in the debate around the origins of R-A1499 lies conclusively in favour of the Norman corner, even before any conversation about R-A1496 origins is had. The when, how, and why of the emergence of R-A1496 occupies next. And it is a seemingly coincidental surname occurrence, which then becomes a curiosity, that provides a basis for a deeper investigation of historical records and an advancement of a theory for who, exactly, may have been the mysterious progenitor of Daltons, Fitzpatricks, and others under R-A1496.

Figure 2: Y-DNA Haplopie for R-A1499

The Y-DNA haplopie for R-A1499 exemplifies (a) prolific surname diversity and descent, (b) non-ancient Pátraic surname adoption, (c) late (> 1400 AD) Pátraic surname intrusion, and (d) shallow modern Fitzpatrick of Ossory clan structure.

Haplotype R-A1496: from coincidence to curiosity

At the R-A1496 juncture descend the numerous members of R-FT12563 clan Dalton in one branch and the equally numerous R-A1488 Costigans, FitzGeralds, and Fitzpatricks in another. And yet, on closer scrutiny, it is the occurrence of two other surnames directly under R-A1496, almost hidden from view, flanked by their scores of cousins, that captivate. One of the surnames, surely a ‘*coincidence*’ of a match, is Purcell of haplotype R-A1496>FT12974. A single surname occurrence from a line tracing back to Edward Purcell in the eighteenth century, who left Éire and eventually settled in Western Samoa, where his descendants prospered. Referring to the Purcell Y-DNA match as a ‘*coincidence*’ comes because Jordan Purcell, Bishop of Cork and Cloyne (1429-1472, with opposition in the last decade of his reign) was, before his election to the newly united Sees, the Chancellor of Limerick (Twemlow, 1906). The career of Bishop Jordan is well-documented, and it was not only long but also colourful, distinguished, and not lacking in controversy. Although Bishop Purcell’s paternal origins are unknown, there is evidence he may have fathered at least one cleric, and, as will be demonstrated, his entire clerical career was among a network of clerical lineages.

Purcell’s career was first recorded in the Papal Registers in 1427; the Luimneach cleric had resigned from the vicarage of Cróch (Croagh) – that benefice being of the ‘*patronage of laymen*’, and that of none other than James, the sixth Earl of Desmond – to take up the chancellorship (Twemlow, 1906). The Purcells of Cróch are related to the well-known Purcells of Luachma, Tiobraid Árann (Loughmoe, Tipperary) via different sons of Richard, the son of Sir Hugh Purcell (MacFhirbhisigh & Ó Muraíle, 2003), and were associated with Cróch since the early-thirteenth century, from when numerous records exist. Notable are those records that demonstrate the close ties the Purcells of Cróch enjoyed with various Geraldines. For example, an earlier Jordan Purcell was recorded in 1346 as Keeper of the Peace for Eas Géitine (Askeaton); he was present at the baptism of Maurice, the son and heir of Maurice FitzGerald, first Earl of Desmond, in 1336 AD and was alive in 1357 AD when he was one of several to attest to Maurice attaining the age of 21 years (Begley, 1906; Dryburgh & Smith, 2007; Frame, 1992; Waters; 2004).

Bishop Jordan’s career is also one way of demonstrating the conflict that at times existed between competing Deas Mumhan Geraldine clerical lineages in the early-fifteenth century and leads to the question: were the Cróch Purcells aligned with the FitzMaurices of Ciarraí during that period? The genesis of the breakout of an early-fifteenth century Geraldine conflict likely stemmed from the fact various FitzMaurices were desirous of greater autonomy from the Earls of Desmond, evidenced by fines the former incurred for failing to pay estate fee as tenants of the Desmonds – effectively a ‘*black rent*’. This particular Geraldine discord reached a legal resolution, heavily in favour of the Desmonds, in 1420 by the interdict of Nicholas, Bishop of Ardfert, of the Uí Mhic Coille FitzGeralds (Nicholls, 1970; MacCotter, 2016b).

Such Geraldine feuds were by no means limited to the secular world, and it is clear there was a rivalry, at times fierce, between the FitzMaurice of Ciarraí clerics and the FitzGerald of Uí Mhic Coille clerics. The archdeaconry of Luimneach was one position that, at times, was a particular bone of contention. Invariably held by FitzMaurices from the middle of the fourteenth century, in the early-fifteenth century the archdeaconry passed from John de Geraldinis to Thomas de Sancto Jacob, who had the position by at least in 1414 (Twemlow, 1906). And yet, Thomas Mac Mathghamha (MacMahon – a sept of the Uí Briain; Mac Lysaght, 1985), who was reserved to the future archdeaconry in a 1427 mandate (Twemlow, 1906), prevented ‘*peaceable possession*’, seeking to prematurely claim the position and usurp de Sancto Jacob (Twemlow, 1909).

Mac Mathghamha had successfully gained possession of the archdeaconry by 1429, only to suffer the same type of disruption he had inflicted on de Sancto Jacob. In 1435 is a petition by Mac Mathghamha relating to Thomas de Geraldinis, a layman of Luimneach, who *'was unduly detaining possession of lands and possessions belonging to the said archdeacon'* and *'had taken certain tithes similarly belonging to him, and had violently broken a manor and castle belonging to the said archdeaconry'*. Coincident was Mac Mathghamha's complaint regarding a claim over the archdeaconry by Phillip fitzGerald fitzPeter of the FitzMaurices of Ciarraí, a cleric of Limerick, who caused Mac Mathghamha to be summoned before Bishop Jordan Purcell, arguing that he had letters to support that the provision to the archdeaconry was his. Purcell adjudged the archdeaconry to Philip and imposed perpetual silence on Mac Mathghamha, who also complained to Rome that it was *'very hard for him to litigate in the Roman court from such remote parts, on account of divers costs usual in such causes'* and of *'his fear of Philip's power'*. The same Phillip FitzMaurice had previously, in 1427, been deprived of the vicarage of Daingean Uí Chúis (Dingle), Ciarraí, by Bishop Nicholas FitzGerald (Twemlow, 1909). Bishop Nicholas was not immune to retaliatory action. Also, ca. 1427, he was captured *'by some of his enemies'*, and among those present and giving assistance was the father of Maurice FitzMaurice (Twemlow, 1915).

These interwoven events and relationships provide an indication of where various allegiances lay during this era. The FitzMaurices and Bishop Jordan Purcell on one side, and the FitzGerald of Uí Mhic Coille, in support of Mac Mathghamha clerics, in the opposite corner, although the *'them and us'* binary is an oversimplification because factions could also find common ground for agreement, such as that during the 1378-1417 *'Great Schism of the West'* (Gwynn & Gleeson, 1962). But if the disagreements over the archdeaconry were not dramatic enough, they pale compared to the events that were to embroil Bishop Jordan in his later career, which rumbled on for more than a decade. Although there were difficulties early in Purcell's reign over the newly united see of Cloyne and Cork – in 1431, it is recorded that Purcell had *'not yet been able to have possession'* (Twemlow, 1909), probably reflecting the difficulties endured in finally securing the unification of the two bishoprics – his tenure was *'one of a capable ministry'* (Whitman, 2015). There is even reason to suggest Purcell may have been a moderating influence among the Geraldine factions since a youthful Gerald fitzRichard, of the FitzGerald of Uí Mhic Coille, had by ca. 1460 become a clerical assistant in Purcell's own household. Purcell's tenure was, therefore, essentially free from interference, that is, until 1461 (Twemlow, 1921; MacCotter, 2004; Whitman, 2015).

William Roche, of the Mainistir Fhear Maí (Fermoy) family, was Purcell's archdeacon of Cloyne and had, from the late 1450s, been scheming to become his successor (MacCotter, 2004). Roche complained to Rome that the Bishop was *'an octogenarian'* (importantly placing Purcell's birth ca. 1381) and *'so old and without bodily strength and sight that he cannot exercise the pastoral office in person'*; Roche was duly appointed Purcell's co-adjutor. But another schemer was at large. In 1462, out of left-field, Rome accepted Purcell's resignation in favour of Gerald fitzRichard, who, remarkably, had devised a way to have himself promoted to bishop. Purcell responded by petitioning not only Pope Pius II but also Edward IV, King of England: it transpired that William had over-stated Purcell's disabilities, while Gerald, of Purcell's household, had positioned himself to forge the bishop's own resignation. The Pope ordered Purcell's restoration and that both William and Gerald, under threat of ex-communication, be inhibited from meddling any further. However, that William and Gerald continued to *'meddle'* is well evidenced (Twemlow, 1921; MacCotter, 2004).

This section's *'so-whatness'* gains appreciation only once ecclesiastical appointments of this era are well understood via the lens of complex familial connections and alliances. A bishop of a clerical lineage, in some way birthed among the FitzMaurices of Ciarraí, bearing the surname Purcell is, when

laid alongside the finding of a Purcell at a critical juncture under haplotype R-A1496, in isolation, just a '*coincidence*' and to suggest a greater probability of connection on such evidence is baseless. However, that '*coincidence*' soon becomes a curiosity because at the same R-A1496 juncture comes the surname Hennessey. By 1480 the Bishopric of Lismore and Waterford had come to Nicholas Ó hAonghusa (O'Hennessey), and just three years later, Hennessey's successor was Thomas Purcell. How curious.

Clerical lineages, masking succession and concubinage beyond '*the norm*'

McInerney (2014) explains that the only way clerical lineages could maintain their possessions and Church income was via '*direct hereditary succession*' and that to avoid Rome's displeasure, such succession needed to be inconspicuous; canon law did not permit clerics to marry, let alone have children and then provide them with plum jobs in the Church. Hence, direct succession, easily identified in men bearing the same surname, was masked by various strategies, such as creating a temporary '*fictitious possessor*'. Do the Papal Registers reveal other methods employed to mask a paternal identity?

The sexual practices of some high-ranking Cilla Dalua and Luimneach clerics, and the opportunity for them to have access to a supply of women to provide heirs who would sustain their clerical lines – all illegitimate in Rome's eyes – although not at all avoided in the conversation around clerical lineages to date, has mostly focussed on concubinage. Neither has the discussion about the sexual and family relations among late medieval clerical lines ignored that which might have been glossed over or avoided concerning more extreme examples – that some clerics were prolific progenitors. That clerical concubinage and illegitimate offspring were not uncommon among clerics of the Irish Church in the late medieval era are not up for debate, although Jefferies (2006) argues that trawling through court records, including the Papal Registers, and finding numerous examples of clerics behaving badly or requiring dispensation is not evidence for widespread decay in the pre-Tudor Church. Instead, Jefferies argues that since the focus of such records was often on delinquent behaviour, they portray a biased view – that disorders such as concubinage and illegitimacy were typical, when in fact 'the individuals featured in them were not necessarily representative of the wider clerical milieu'.

McInerney (2014) brings some much needed empirical data and analysis to the table; he concludes that the rates of concubinage and illegitimacy '*among clerics who were the sons of father-clerics, was high*' citing the example of the diocese of Cill Fhionnúrach where twenty-two out of sixty-one (36%) papal mandates to provide benefices were to sons of clerics. In other words, the very fact clerical lineages existed indicates there was a pattern of behaviour down generations and that concubinage was not even a matter of choice. Clerical celibacy was to be avoided, by necessity, for those of lineages who desired to '*hold ecclesiastical posts over successive generations*'.

MacCotter (2016b) argues that neither concubinage nor illegitimacy necessarily evidenced moral decay; '*medieval Ireland was a polygynous society, where the siring of offspring was related to power and prestige*'. With respect to the Geraldines, MacCotter states those of Desmond '*provide one of the best examples*' of the phenomenon of polygyny, or widespread concubinage, and that it is entirely likely that the three most important knightly cadet lineages of the house were the result of '*irregular*' liaisons. The ethos of polygyny pervaded the Irish Church of the medieval era, which '*did not adopt enthusiastically the canon law on clerical celibacy, and priests and bishops having partners and children was the norm*' (MacCotter, 2016a). Nevertheless, the behaviour of some particularly powerful clerics surely went beyond that considered '*the norm*'. John FitzGerald, Bishop of Ardfert,

took the wife of Shane de Moor, and she *'in the lifetime of her said husband, bore three sons and two daughters'* to him (MacCotter, 2016b).

There is circumstantial evidence of behaviour that argues for the existence of cleric progenitor relationships other than concubinage. Although not considered as *'normal'* behaviour even for *'back then'*, perhaps something more *'institutionalised'* and hidden was practiced. An example is the Augustinian abbey of St Catherine's in the parish of Conallaigh (a nunnery, also known as Oldabbey) notable because the *'goings on'* there were deemed aberrant even by Rome's tolerant standards of the day. That the clerics in question probably included some of FitzMaurice lineages, and that the events in question occurred exactly *when*, and precisely *where*, both Matthew Mac Giolla Phádraig and Jordan Purcell emerged, provides the context that makes a discussion of cleric relationships beyond *'the norm'* of relevance to this article.

The *when* regarding St Catherine's Conallaigh was 1432 and earlier, and the *where* was Mainistir na gCailleach Dubh (Monasternagalliaghduff) in the parish of Baile Riobaird (Robertstown), Barony of Seanaid, Luimneach, i.e., in the heart of Geraldine territory. Cróch, the medieval domain of the Purcells, lies ten miles to the southeast of Mainistir na gCailleach Dubh. Just five miles to the north-east is Eas Géitine, which is where the well-known cleric Diarmaid Mac Giolla Phádraig first emerges in the Papal Registers in 1418 (Twemlow, 1906); a further five miles east of Eas Géitine is Cill Churnáin, where Matthew Mac Giolla Phádraig was first recorded. There can be no question regarding the proximity of these parishes to each other – if not adjacent, they are very near neighbours (Figure 3).

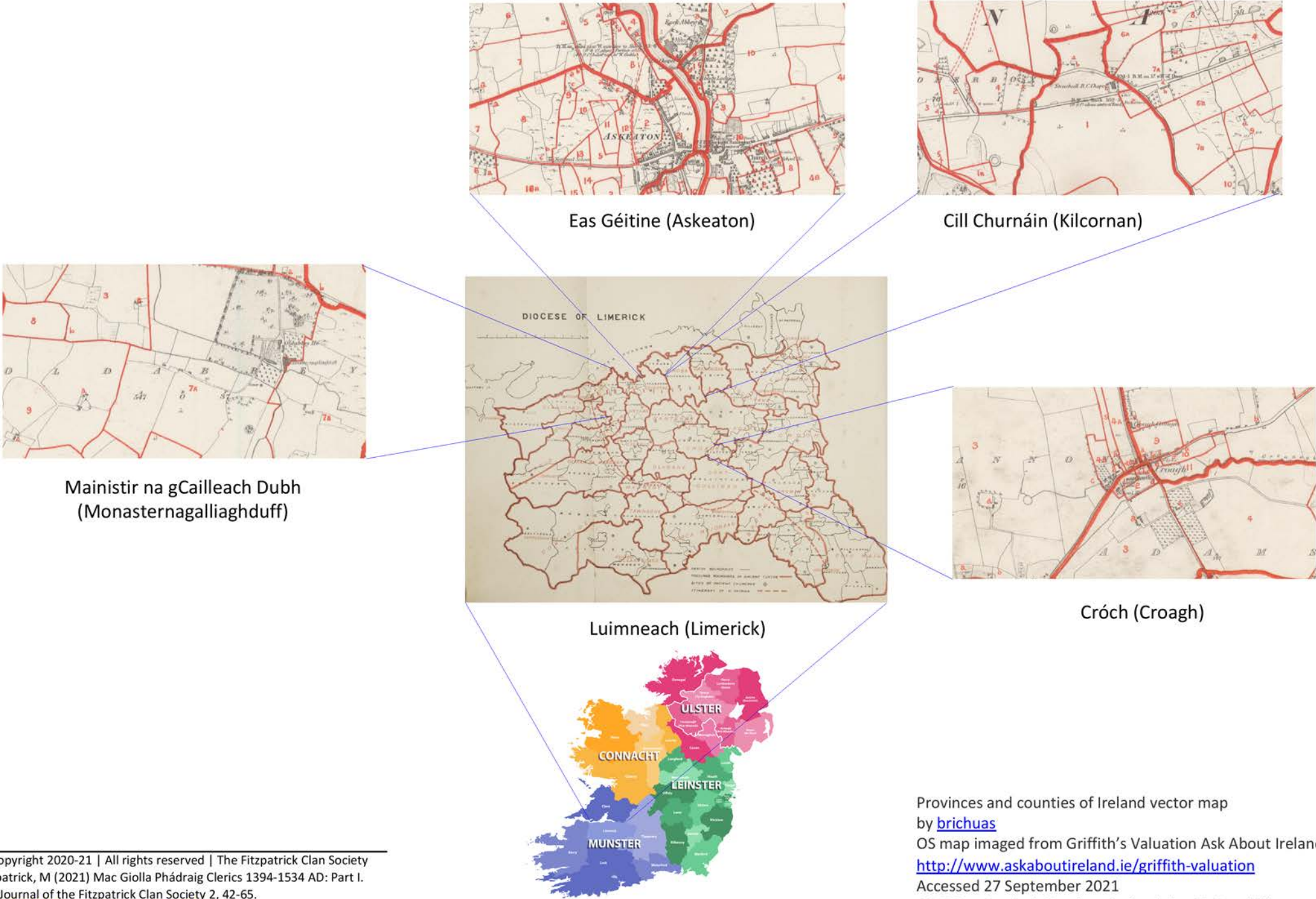
Professor John Wardell, a Limerick born historian of Trinity College, Dublin (Cullen, 2017) recounted a narrative of St Catherine's Conallaigh from the early-eighteenth century, as follows:

'the country people were wont to declare that, prior to the reformation, the abbey had been dissolved by the pope on account of the bad conduct of the then prioress. It would appear that she, "a lady of the Fitzgeralds", had taken to witchcraft and "fortune-telling."... it is possible that this legend has its origin in the fact that one of the nuns may have lingered on in the building after the dissolution' (Wardell, 1904, p. 50,52).

Wardell did not know the record of the dissolution of the abbey found in the Papal Registers since that record was not published until 1909, and that he cited an accurate version of events that occurred approximately 400 years earlier, been passed via *'country people'*, is remarkable. For the record, the Papal Registers note:

'Upon its being set forth to Martin V on behalf of James, earl of Desmond, the patron, that inasmuch as the prioress and nuns of the monastery of St. Catherine Oconyll, in the diocese of Limerick, or several of them, leading a dissolute life, had wasted in lubricity and converted to unlawful uses the goods of the said monastery, whose church (wont to be governed by a secular priest appointed and removed at the pleasure of the said prioress and nuns) was parochial, and that the only remaining nun had married a layman, by whom she had had offspring, and that Cornelius [now] bishop in the universal church, then bishop of Limerick, had, with consent of the dean and chapter of Limerick, decreed by his ordinary authority the removal from the said monastery of the said nun, the said pope ordered the bishop of Limerick, if he found the facts to be as stated, to suppress the said order in the said monastery by papal authority' (Tremlow, 1909, pp. 400-402).

Figure 3: Luimneach Locations of Relevance



Wardell noted that little was known of the history of St Catherine's Conallaigh but that *'it was the only nunnery in this part of the country, and that, judging by its remains, it must have been of considerable size'*. An early record, from 1316, notes the prioress of St. Catherine's Conallaigh had the presentation of the vicar to the church of Baile Riobaird but failed to do so; she was held in contempt of court (Wardell, 1904). Hence, it is possible to evidence a waywardness associated with the governance of the abbey for more than a century before the decree of dissolution in 1432 – it was likely a culmination of events, Rome's patience had become exhausted.

In isolation, the *'lubricity'* of a prioress and her nuns becomes just a euphemism that could mean almost anything *'unbecoming'*. But the nunnery of St Catherine's Conallaigh was not an isolated case of a narrative of destitution. Another nearby Augustinian house, the convent of Cill Eoin (Killone), An Clár, formed part of the subject matter in an anonymous letter from 1567. The author, said to be John Neilan, Archdeacon of Cill Dalua, was writing *'to declare the qualities'* of Connor O'Brien, third Earl of Thomond, but among the more scathing of Neilan's revelations are those relating to Cill Eoin, which:

'when it was possessed by a nun or an abbess, was kept up indifferent well as a parish church and the revenues thereof (which were great) converted for the most part to whoredom, gluttony, and other kinds of excess and dissolute living' (Nicholls, 1969, p.70).

The comments of a post-reformation cleric about an Uí Briain abbey probably need to be taken with a grain of salt – the reference to *'whoredom'* at Cill Eoin does not come even close to evidencing it was an actual whorehouse. While records in the Papal Registers referring to male clerics' *'irregular'* practices are not uncommon, narratives recounting similar behaviour by nuns are much less frequent. Nevertheless, a third record, also involving an Augustinian abbey, evidences what McInerney (2014) refers to as *'the decline in monastic standards among the Augustinian houses in the late medieval period'*:

'at the recent petition of James, Earl of Ormond, containing that on account of the dissolute, unreligious and immodest life of the nuns of the Augustinian monastery of St Mary the Virgin de Belloportu alias Kylkylchyn [the Augustinian nunnery of St Mary the Virgin, Cill Choilchín, Port Láirge (Kilculliheen, Waterford)], in the diocese of Osraí, of which he is one of the founders, very many inconveniences and scandals have arisen, and worse are feared' (Twemlow, 1906, p.522).

That Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics of unknown pedigree and heritage arose 'out of the blue' in the same area, at the same time, among a community of Augustinians well-known for desires for patrilineal succession, intrigues. Could they be 'masked' lineages that arose via non-concubinal relationships? If so, it is likely any efforts to conceal such lines from Rome's eyes would also succeed in stymying the modern researcher; but there could be clues. That Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics held the Abbey of Inisgad (McInerney, 2013; McInerney, 2014) for an extended period will inform various points of discussion in Part II but, for now, it is sufficient to note that by 1392 the Augustinian abbey was 'threatened with ruin' (Bliss & Twemlow, 1902); was this, perhaps, due to its clerics having succumbed to the same kind of secular influence and decay found at St Catherine's Conallaigh? There are other clues that the offspring of some FitzMaurice clerics may have emerged with Irish surnames. The FitzMaurices of Ciarraí, unlike their cousins, the Desmond earls, had a preference for Irish women and 'almost always married wives of the native Irish race', although 'the honours and estate certainly descended according to the English law of primogeniture' (Hickson, 1895). Another surname clue lies with aliases, which leads to broader questions relating to how certain clerics came to take

their surnames. Could the use of aliases among clerics, perhaps the use of the mother's surname, explain the appearance of Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics in a domain that was so obviously dominated by Geraldines, particularly the FitzMaurice of Ciarraí? The use of aliases by clerics will be more fully explored in Parts II and III, and they are notable because they may reveal direct paternal connections hidden within Y-DNA.

Could the rich climate for clerical succession, articulated in terms of location and the Augustinian sect, have led to some FitzMaurice of Ciarraí clerics being prolific progenitors? It is likely the '*dynastic ramifications of the Geraldines*' (MacCotter, 2016b) would concur. Can those ramifications, even outside single surname boundaries, be identified by twenty-first century science? As a general topic among Y-DNA scholars, prolific lineages have been subject to debate and controversy. Specific early Y-DNA reviews of large-population groups were quick to jump to conclusions regarding the modern-day descendants of the so-called 'super-progenitors', men such as Genghis Khan or Niall of the Nine Hostages; Khan said to have sixteen-million, and Niall up to three-million, living male descendants. That early ebullience has faded, particularly since subsequent studies have drawn on the greater power of next-generation sequencing, which has allowed the definition of Y-DNA haplotypes to a much greater degree of accuracy and precision than affordable via the determination of a relatively small number of Y-STR markers. Nevertheless, it is apparent that 'super-progenitors' did leave large genetic footprints, even if they are not as large as first imagined (Zhabagin et al., 2021).

Curious surname connections: what are the chances?

The appointment of Nicholas Ó hAonghusa to the Bishopric of Lismore and Waterford was far from ordinary. Around the time of his appointment, ca. 1481, he is described as the former Abbot of Fermoy, as well as the proctor for Bishop Gerald FitzRichard FitzGerald (MacCotter, 2004; Twemlow, 1955; Twemlow, 1960). However, various Port Láirge citizens disputed the legality of Nicholas' appointment and also complained that Nicholas 'does not understand the English language, and cannot speak it intelligibly'. Despite Pope Sixtus IV ordering the Archbishop of Cashel, John Cantwell, to enforce the provision, Nicholas never took office (Power & Costello, 1946; Cotton et al., 2008). Before the suppression period, most of the Bishops of Lismore and Waterford majority bore 'English names; in fact, there is only one—Nicholas O'Hennessey—with a distinctly Irish cognomen' (MacErlean et al., 1912). But possessing a mere Irish surname and having a mere Irish tongue, reflective of a mere Irish upbringing, need not necessarily indicate mere Irish paternity (Booker, 2011). Was Ó hAonghusa simply one from a web of clerical lineages with paternal origins in the thirteenth century among the FitzMaurices of Ciarraí?

Ó hAonghusa was born ca. 1430, and on this basis, along with the collective record of his life and times, it is considered not unlikely he probably spent some of his formative clerical years in the household of Bishop Jordan Purcell. Consistent with Ó hAonghusa being mentored by likely family members, who had acquired an advanced skill-set with respect to securing high-level ecclesiastical appointments, is a 1488 entry in the Papal Registers. This provides insight into Ó hAonghusa's inherited *modus operandi*, him having obtained 'certain letters surreptitiously extorted from the pope' (Twemlow, 1960). An editorial footnote to this entry states, '*there is no such Nicholas, bishop of Lismore and Waterford, in Eubel, Hierarchia*' (i.e., Eubel, 1914). Hence, perhaps Ó hAonghusa's brief dalliance with the bishopric was simply in line with McNerney's (2014) insight that clerical succession, at times, needed to be masked, or perhaps needed to be delayed before settling the benefice more permanently. And without labouring a point too much further, by 1484 the consecrated Bishop of Lismore and Waterford was Thomas Purcell; Thomas' parents were first

cousins, and his father was a bishop – either Jordan Purcell or John Purcell, Bishop of Ferns (1457-1479) (Twemlow, 1955).

It is not suggested that these closely associated high-level appointments provide cast-iron evidence for direct paternal lineages. Still, they do likely represent relationships among members of an extended network of clerical kin. And they evoke curiosity regarding the FitzMaurice-Purcell-Ó hAonghusa clerical relationships when considered alongside the parallel surname relationships uncovered under haplotype R-A1496. One explanation for the surname connections is that they come from kindred clerics who shared common paternal ancestry ca. 1200-1400 AD. The common ancestor was of a Geraldine lineage that led to the FitzMaurice of Ciarraí branch. As will be presented in detail in Part III, from R-A1496 an explanation for the emergence of a distinct genetic Dalton branch under FT12974 ca. 1450 is not problematic to posit because there is clear evidence for Daltons of Mhumhain (considered earlier to have been called Datoun or Daton, rather than Dalton or D'Alton; Carrigan, 1905) were intimately immersed in the same sphere as the Purcell clerics in the mid-fifteenth century (Curtis, 1935). And neither is the occurrence of a de Braham lineage under R-BY140757, that being a sibling of R-A1496, problematic to explain, although it would, in context not unexpectedly, add to the highly interlaced surname grouping under R-A1506. The de Braham entered Éire early in the mid-thirteenth century, or earlier, as part of the de Clare retinue (Fitzpatrick, 2021) – the relationships between the de Clare and the Geraldines in Deas Mumhan is discussed via the lens of Y-DNA in Part II.

And the curiosity of the occurrence of clerical surname connections amongst Y-DNA lineages extends into R-A1488. That one of the main sub-groups of R-A1488, i.e., R-BY116564, is specific to the surname FitzGerald is, among the overall tenor of the discussion, another *'what are the chances?'* moment. Much more difficult to assign to chance is the occurrence of the surname Costigan and Fitzpatrick under R-A1488, and even under the same sub-group, R-A1488>FT206758. This, no longer some curious coincidence, is much better described as a smoking gun because, in 1481, the Papal Registers record the petition of John Mac Costigan, an Osraí cleric, relating to the rectories of Achadh Bhó (Aghaboe) and Bordaíol (Bordwell) (Twemlow, 1955). Subsequent records, from 1488 and 1493, name him as John Mac Costigan alias Mac Giolla Phádraig (Twemlow, 1960; Fuller, 1998), and he later reverted to the sole use of Mac Giolla Phádraig, a name by which he was able to exert more significant influence in Rome (Fuller, 1994; Fitzpatrick, 2020). The context of John Mac Costigan's relationships, and the use of clerical aliases, are discussed further in Part III.

Matthew Mac Giolla Phádraig: his career and his kin

As Part I draws to a close, it is necessary to return to Matthew Mac Giolla Phádraig to set the scene for Part II, which will take up the detailed careers of Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics who are recorded after him. Following Matthew's collation to the vicarage of Cill Churnáin in 1394, little else of him is known. Matthew died ca. 1416 in Rome, his final resting place affording a clue that he possessed skills and experience that held him in good standing among the Roman curia.

On Matthew's demise, the vicarage of Cill Churnáin, pre-reserved, went to Thomas Ó Gráda, from which comes an understanding that Matthew probably had some relationship with the Uí Gráda, who had the parish church in 1404 (Bliss & Twemlow, 1904b); the Uí Gráda were an established clerical kindred, but more known for their prominence further afield at Tuaim Gréine and Inse Chrónáin, An Clár (Tomgraney and Inchicronan) (McInerney, 2014).

Did Matthew father three clerical sons? If so, it would add significantly to the picture we could paint of him. Thomas Ó Gráda cannot have held the vicarage of Cill Churnáin for an extended time because for more than six of the eleven years after 1417 it was detained illegally by Charles Ua Longargáin, and that after it was *'long void'* following the death of Phillip Russell (Twemlow, 1906). The vicarage was then assigned to John Mac Giolla Phádraig, probably Matthew's son, who goes un-noted before and after his 1427 appearance in Papal records (Twemlow, 1906; Moloney & Costello, 1943); John may not have taken possession, it is recorded that he was in fear of the Uí Longargáin, a long-standing Dál gCais clerical lineage (McInerney, 2014) and one too influential and powerful for a seemingly newly forged, minor family, of Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics.

Was Matthew the father of Diarmaid, the long-serving Abbot of Inisgad? Traction for this theory comes from the knowledge that the first record of Diarmaid was in 1418. Although he is described as a Cill Dalua cleric, his emergence is the Luimneach parish of Eas Géitine, which borders Cill Churnáin to the west. Diarmaid will occupy much of Part II, but he is variably described as the son of an Augustinian priest/canon, a profile that fits Matthew as his father, as does the fact Diarmaid was born ca. 1398 (Twemlow, 1906).

There is also a clear connection between Matthew and Charles Mac Giolla Phádraig, that being the rectory of the united parishes of Cill Fear Buí and Cill Muire Uí Bhreacáin (Kilfarboy and Kilmurry-Ibrickan), which is some distance, thirty miles northwest as the crow flies, from Cill Churnáin. Little can be learned of the rectory before 1416, when it became void on Matthew's death. It was then held in illegal possession for approximately one year by Phillip Ua Flannagáin (O'Flannagan) before being assigned to Donald Ua Chuinn (O'Quinn). Under a complaint by Charles for having *'dilapidated'* diverse goods, having *'children in his house'*, being *'a notorious fornicator'*, neglecting *'to celebrate mass and say the canonical hours, to preach and to administer the sacraments'* and for committing perjury, Ua Chuinn was deprived of the rectory, which was assigned to Charles in 1432 (Twemlow, 1912).

McInerney refers to the *'quasi-hereditary'* nature of rectorships, which further supports Charles being a son of Matthew. While the advowsons of most lay An Clár rectories were with the Uí Briain, the rectory of Cill Muire Uí Bhreacáin, which was of lay patronage (Twemlow, 1906), was also within the Mac Mathghamha general *'sphere of influence'* (McInerney, 2014), which provides an explanation why, in 1346, the cleric Thomas Mac Mathghamha was presented with the church of Uí Bhreacáin, by Edward III, King of England (Crooks, 2012). However, no connection can be found between the Mac Mathghamha and the Mac Giolla Phádraig during the fourteenth century, and in the fifteenth century, as will be discussed in Part II, the Mac Mathghamha and Mac Giolla Phádraig were in opposition with respect to Oileán na gCanánach (Twemlow, 1915).

Summary

This article provides the context for the appearance of Matthew, the first Mac Giolla Phádraig cleric recorded in the Papal Registers, which intrigues because he emerged in the late-fourteenth century, not in Cill Dalua nor Osraí, where Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics later thrive, but in Luimneach. And understanding that Geraldine clerical lineages dominated medieval clerical appointments in Luimneach leads to the inevitable question: what was the relationship between the Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics and the Geraldines, particularly the FitzMaurice of Ciarraí?

The desire of members of medieval clerical lineages to maintain their possessions and income via direct hereditary succession is one way to understand the diverse and seemingly disparate surname

matches under the Y-DNA haplogroup R-A1499, which, on balance, is considered more likely Norman than native Irish in origin – but it can't be both. And it is a pattern of surname matches under R-A1499, which parallel those found in clerics with connections to medieval Luimneach, which renders those matches first a seeming '*coincidence*', and then a growing curiosity.

The '*lubricity*' of Augustinian clerics of Luimneach provides further context and evidences how the '*normal*' ethos of polygyny, which was not uncommon in the Irish Church of the medieval era, may have led to some clerics being prolific. The powerful FitzMaurice of Ciarraí clerics readily fit the bill for being '*super-progenitors*', who could, and probably should, be discoverable centuries later via Y-DNA analysis.

Part II of Mac Giolla Phádraig Clerics 1394-1534 AD moves on to the context surrounding the rise of the Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics of Cill Dalua, and Part III the Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics of Osraí. Both parts will demonstrate ongoing familial and clerical associations with Geraldine lineages that extend into the sixteenth century and provide further evidence that Costigans, FitzGeralds, and Fitzpatricks under haplotype R-A1488 may descend from Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics who, in turn, may come out of a line of FitzMaurice of Ciarraí clerics.

Acknowledgments

The author thanks Luke McNerney, Dr Paul MacCotter, and Joe FitzGerald for their very gracious and helpful inputs.

References:

- Begley, J. (1906). The diocese of Limerick, ancient and medieval. Dublin, Browne & Nolan Limited.
- Bliss, W. and Twemlow, J. (1902). Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 4, 1362-1404. London, Public Record Office.
- Bliss, W. and Twemlow, J. (1904a). Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 5, 1398-1404. London, Public Record Office.
- Bliss, W. and Twemlow, J. (1904b). Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 6, 1404-1415. London, Public Record Office.
- Booker, S. (2011). Gaelicisation and identity in the four obedient shires of Ireland, 1399-1534, [thesis], University of Dublin, Dublin, Department of History, pp. 310.
- Carrigan, W. (1905). The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers and Walker.
- Cotton, H., Rennison, W., Knox, I., Leslie, J. (2008). Clergy of Waterford, Lismore and Ferns: Biographical succession lists. Belfast, Ulster Historical Foundation.
- Crooks P. (Ed.). (2012). A Calendar of Irish Chancery Letters, c. 1244–1509, Patent Roll 20 Edward III, §131.
- Cullen, R. (2017). Professor John Wardell and University History in Ireland in the Early Twentieth Century. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature, vol. 117C, 239–260.
- Curtis, E. (Ed.). (1935). Calendar of Ormond deeds Vol. III. Dublin: The Stationery Office.
- Dalton-Mapstone, K. (2019). The clan Dalton DNA. Journal of the Genealogical Society of Ireland, 20, 9-17.
- Eubel, K. (1914). Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi: Sive summorum pontificum, S.R.E. cardinalium ecclesiarum antistitum series. Monasterii: Sumptibus et typis Libr. Regensbergianae.
- Farmer, S. (2018). An exploration of Irish surname history through patrilineal genetics, [thesis], Purdue University, Indianapolis, USA. Department of Biological Sciences, pp. 98.
- Fitzpatrick, E. and Fitzpatrick, M. (2020). When Everything Changes: Using Critical Family History to Deconstruct Keesing and Fitzpatrick Surnames. Genealogy, 4, 25.
- Fitzpatrick, M (2020a) Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí 1384-1534 AD Part I. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 1, 1-17.
- Fitzpatrick, M (2020b) Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí 1384-1534 AD Part II. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 1, 40-71.
- Fitzpatrick, M and Fitzpatrick, I (2021) The similar-sounding surnames of haplotype R-BY140757. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 2, 1-41.
- Frame, R. (1992). Commissions of the Peace in Ireland, 1302-1461. *Analecta Hibernica* , 35, 3-43
- Fuller, A. P. (1994). Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 17-1, 1495-1503. Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission.
- Fuller, A. P. (1998) Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 17-2, 1492-1503. Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission.

- Gwynn, A., & Gleeson, D. F. (1962). A history of the Diocese of Killaloe: Vol. 1: pt. I., pt. 2. Dublin: Gill.
- Hickson, M. (1895). Ardfert Friary and the Fitzmaurices, Lords of Kerry. The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 5, 30-40.
- Jefferies, H. (1999) Erenaghs in pre-plantation Ulster: an early seventeenth-century account, *Archivium Hibernicum*, 53, 16-19.
- Jefferies, H. (2006). A Church in decline? The pre-Reformation Irish Church. *History Ireland*, 14, 13-18.
- Lanigan, J. (1822). An Ecclesiastical History of Ireland. Dublin, D. Graisberry.
- MacCotter, P. (2004). The Geraldine clerical lineages of Imokilly and Sir John fitz Edmund of Cloyne. D. Edwards (ed), *Regions and Rulers in Ireland, 1100-1650*, 54-77. Dublin, Four Courts Press.
- MacCotter, P. (2016a). *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society*, 16, 5-35.
- MacCotter, P. (2016b). The dynastic ramifications of the Geraldines. P. Crooks and S. Duffy (eds), *The Geraldines and Medieval Ireland*. Dublin, Four Courts Press.
- MacErlean, A. et al. (1912). The Catholic Encyclopedia: an international work of reference on the constitution, doctrine, discipline, and history of the Catholic Church. Volume 14. New York, Robert Appleton.
- MacFhirbhisigh, D. & Ó Muraíle, N. (2003). *Leabhar mór na ngenealach*. Dublin, De Burca.
- MacLysaght, E (1985). *Irish Families: Their Names, Arms and Origins*. Dublin, Irish Academic Press.
- McInerney, L. (2014). Clerical and learned lineages of medieval Co. Clare: A survey of the fifteenth-century papal registers. Dublin, Four Courts Press.
- McInerney, L. (2013). The clerical lineages of Inis Cathaigh. *The Other Clare*, 37, 57-64.
- McInerney, L. (2014). Clerical and learned lineages of medieval Co. Clare: A survey of the fifteenth-century papal registers. Dublin, Four Courts Press.
- Moloney M, and Costello, M. (1942). *Obligationes pro Annatis Diocesis Limiricensis 1421-1519*. *Archivium Hibernicum*, 10, 104-162.
- Ní Ghabhláin, S. (1995). Church and community in medieval Ireland: the diocese of Kilfenora. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 125, 61-84.
- Nicholls, K. (1969). A Commentary on the Nobility and Gentry of Thomond, circa 1567. *The Irish Genealogist* 4, 65-73.
- Nicholls, K. (1970). The FitzMaurices of Kerry. *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society*, 3, 23-42.
- Power, C. and Costello, M. (1946). *Obligationes pro Annatis Diocesis Waterfordnesis 1421-1507*. *Archivium Hibernicum*, 12, 1-14 .
- Seymour, S. (1932). The Coarb in the Medieval Irish Church. (Circa 1200-1550). *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, 41, 219-231.
- Shearman, J. (1879). *Loca Patriciana: An Identification of Localities, Chiefly in Leinster, Visited by Saint Patrick and His Assistant Missionaries and of Some Contemporary Kings and Chieftains*. Dublin: M. H. Gill.

Swift, C.. (2014) Hunting for the genetic legacy of Brian Boru in Irish historical sources. in Seán Duffy (ed.) *Medieval Dublin XVI Proceedings of Clontarf 1014–2014*. Four Courts Press, Dublin.

Tresham, E. (Ed.). (1828). *Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Calendarium*, Hen. II–Hen. VII, Dublin: RCI.

Twemlow, J. (1906). *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 7, 1417-1431*. London, His Majesty's Printing Office.

Twemlow, J. (1909). *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 8, 1427-1447*. London, His Majesty's Printing Office.

Twemlow, J. (1912). *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 9, 1431-1447*. London, His Majesty's Printing Office.

Twemlow, J. (1915). *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 10, 1447-1455*. London, His Majesty's Printing Office.

Twemlow, J. (1921). *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 11, 1455-1464*. London, His Majesty's Printing Office.

Twemlow, J. (1933). *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 12, 1458-1471*. London, His Majesty's Printing Office.

Twemlow, J. (1955). *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 13, 1471-1484*. London, Her Majesty's Printing Office.

Twemlow, J. (1960). *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 14, 1484-1492*. London, Her Majesty's Printing Office.

Wardell, J. (1904). The History and Antiquities of St. Catherine's, Old Abbey, County Limerick. *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 34, 41-64.

Waters, K. (2004). *The Earls of Desmond in the Fourteenth Century*, [thesis], University of Durham, Durham, Department of History, pp. 326.

Westropp, T. (1891). The Normans in Thomond. Part III., 1313-1318 (Continued). *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 1, 462–472.

Whitman, M. (2015). *The clergy of Cork, Cloyne and Ross during the Tudor reformations*, [thesis], University of Liverpool, Liverpool, Institute of Irish Studies, pp. 252.

Woulfe, P. (1923). *Sloinnte Gaedheal Is Gall: Irish Names and Surnames*. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

Wright, D. (2009). A set of distinctive marker values defines a Y-STR signature for Gaelic Dalcassian families. *Journal of Genetic Genealogy*, 5, 1-7.

Zalewski, S., Fitzpatrick, R. (2013). *Descendants of Bryan Fitzpatrick Lord and First Baron of Upper Ossory*. Bend, Oregon, Upper Ossory Press.

Zhabagin, M. et al. (2021). Medieval Super-Grandfather founder of Western Kazakh Clans from Haplogroup C2a1a2-M48. *Journal of Human Genetics*, 66, 707-716.

Pátraic surnames in the Fiants and Patent Rolls of Ireland

Part 1: a method of approach to mega-data, and a Mac Caisín case study

by Mike Fitzpatrick PhD [✉](#)

Independent Scholar, Auckland 0604, New Zealand
Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 2021, 2, 66-92

Abstract

The fiants and patent rolls of Ireland are an extraordinary and largely untapped source of information. This article taps into this valuable source with a focus on interrogating Pátraic-surnames, i.e., Patrick, Fitzpatrick, Kilpatrick, Mac Giolla Phádraig and Ó Maol Phádraig, which document grants, leases, and pardons, etc., issued under the Great Seal of Ireland. The extant records of fiants are for the period 1521-1603, and the patent rolls 1514-1575 and 1603-1633, i.e., much of the reign of Henry VIII of England to the eighth year of Charles I of England.

Ireland's fiants and patent rolls provide mega-data on names, places, occupations, relationships, and more, and Pátraic-surname records uncover rich narratives from all over Éire. Yet, there is a tendency for the vastness of the records to overwhelm, so a systematic approach is required to extract the maximum value. This article provides a method for '*eating an elephant*', and one key is having a secure temporal frame of reference via which associations, familial and otherwise, can be understood.

By way of example, the surname Mac Caisín begins this series of articles on Pátraic surnames in the Fiants and Patent Rolls of Ireland. The choice of Mac Caisín may appear strange at first, since it is not obviously a Pátraic surname. However, this article argues the case study of Mac Caisín provides a clear example of how an interrogation of the fiants, and patents reveal many instances where members of Pátraic families are recorded by other names, such as Mac William, Mac Edmund, Mac Flynn and, maybe, Mac Caisín. Understanding such names in the fiants and patents requires a sound knowledge of context so they can be distinguished as surnames or patronymics. Still, even then, there is evidence that members of Pátraic families sometimes took other surnames due to, for example, fosterage or to '*mask*' a clerical lineage.

This article seeks to answer questions about the Mac Caisín of Osraí (Ossory), who were unquestionably the close associates of the Fitzpatrick barons of Upper Ossory. Were the Mac Caisín either a lineage from an individual called Caisín (a name meaning curly-haired) Mac Giolla Phádraig, or a line out of fosterage, or of a '*surname-masked*' clerical lineage; or, was there even any kinship bond?

When to read this article

To extract maximum benefit from this article, '*Mac Giolla Phádraig Clerics 1394-1534 AD, Part I*' (Fitzpatrick, 2021) should be read before this one.

Names, styles, edits, historical records, DNA

This article is written in the English language, but the people and places discussed are Irish. To acknowledge the primacy of Gaeilge (Gaelic) and to allow readers to be able to find locations on modern maps, place names are provided in modern Gaeilge using the most common spelling; for example, Cill Dalua (Killaloe), unless the place name is titular, for instance, the baron of Upper Ossory.

The rendition of personal names and by-names of people in the fiant and patents and other records referenced in this article requires consistency because they can be variability even for the same individual, with mixtures of Gaeilge and English forms being used and sometimes with spellings imaginatively conjured up via phonetics. The approach here is to use the most obvious and correctly spelt form of the personal name, be it Gaeilge or an English form, for the particular individual in question. For example, there may be a Tadhg Fitzpatrick of Ráth Sháráin (Rathsaran), and a different individual called Teige Fitzpatrick of Cluain Boireann (Clonburren); the choice of Tadhg or Teige comes down to which is used first, or most often, for the individual. Surnames are much less problematic, and preference is for standard a spelling, e.g., as determined and published by authorities such as Mac Lysaght (1985).

Quotations are italicised, and long or textually significant quotations are also indented. This article is a living work, i.e., it can, and most likely will, be edited by the authors who will retain all versions. Every effort has been made to consult all available records related to the period relevant to this article, and Y-DNA data is current to the publication date. Y-DNA dating estimates are probabilistic and should be considered $\pm$ two generations, i.e., $\pm$ approximately sixty years.

Introduction

On the first pass, the appearance of *'Morogh McCassyn, of Crovan'* in fiant 897 of Elizabeth 1 in 1566 (HMSO, 1879) piques the curiosity. Along with Morogh is *'Thomas McCassyn, of Boulleduff'* (later, in 1585, referred to as a surgeon), and *'John McCassyn, of Delge, surgeon'* (also referred to as Shane). The three Mac Caisín appear among the list of those pardons granted by the Queen of England to Barnaby Fitzpatrick, baron of Upper Ossory, his sons, and his adherents. Morogh (i.e., Murchadh, or Morgan) appears to have much status – he arrives near the top of the list, preceded only by the five extant sons of Lord Barnaby: Barnaby, John, Florence, Donell, and Geoffrey. That the sons are probably listed in order of rank, and therefore age, reveals that John, the illegitimate son of Barnaby and Joan ny Cearbhaill, appears to have been born while Margaret Butler, mother to all four of John's half-brothers, was still living; that little morsel is a topic for another day (Fitzpatrick, in press) – what immediately intrigues and occupies here is the high-status of Morogh Mac Caisín (Mac Cashin).

Mac Lysaght (1991) referred to the Mac Caisín of Osraí as a *'medical family'*, and not without good reason. In addition to the 1566 reference to John Mac Caisín's profession, there are several mentions of other Mac Caisín surgeons or physicians in the fiant and

patents. Altogether eight different individuals are named as medics between 1566 and 1607, six of whom are associated with Fitzpatricks or Mac Giolla Phádraig in Osraí (HMSO, 1879; HMSO, 1880; HMSO, 1883). Aoibheann Nic Dhonnchadha (2006) explains how the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí were patrons of *'The medical school of Aghmacart'* and her review leaves no doubt the Mac Caisín of Osraí produced a successive line of medics. Some may even have held the sought-after title of *'Chief Master of Medicine of Mac Giolla Phádraig'*, which could explain the appearance of Thomas and John above a slew of Fitzpatrick kin. Yet Morogh was never called a medic, which leads to the need to understand how he seemingly enjoyed high status in the clan. Of note is that other non-medics immediately follow Morogh in the fiant – the *'McSheare'*, *'McWilliam'*, *'McFynne'*, and on they go. So, also – who are these people, and what of their status?

This article is the first of a multi-part series, which reviews the occurrences of the surnames Patrick, Fitzpatrick, Kilpatrick Mac Giolla Phádraig and Ó Maol Phádraig (subsequently, when a collective, referred to as Pátraic-surnames) in the fifteenth and sixteenth-century fiants and patent rolls of Ireland, that attempts to address the *'who are you?'* question and others that arise from it, such as *'what were your origins'* and *'who are your descendants today?'* The task is enormous, and once one begins to work with the fiants and patents there come many *'going off on a tangent'* moments, which enable the researcher to uncover essential elements of Pátraic-clan histories that would not have been discoverable by a linear approach. The fiants and patents contain several hundred references to Pátraic surnames, and at times it seems like anyone and everyone bearing a Pátraic surname makes an appearance.

But it's not just the names; it is the places, are all over Éire that also provide bright rays of hope for Fitzpatrick family historians who have hit an origins brick wall in townlands distant from Osraí, where Fitzpatrick origins were all said to lie. The narrative that all Fitzpatricks must have common paternal ancestry in Osraí (Shearman, 1879; Woulfe, 1923) is dead and buried (Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2020), but the resources this series of articles provides for Fitzpatricks, of many diverse origins, will endure.

The fiants and patent rolls of Ireland

To say the fiants and patents are a rich source of information for researchers of Pátraic surnames in Éire does no justice – they are remarkable in terms of the sheer number of records, and the combined extractable knowledge of locations, temporalities, family associations, occupations, and the like, is a gift that keeps on giving. Equally remarkable, and testimony to no small degree of dereliction is that those long considered the great scholars of Fitzpatrick histories – Shearman (1878), and Carrigan (1905) – grant the fiants and patents scant, if any, attention. It is little wonder, therefore, that Pátraic-clan histories have been turned on their head in recent times by a series of articles that combine Y-DNA analysis with records from the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries, which have previously barely seen the light of day (Fitzpatrick, 2021; Fitzpatrick & Fitzpatrick, 2021). Even so, to date, the fiants and patents have barely featured as part of the wholesale revision of the faulty, pre-2020, Pátraic surname narratives.

Given such a grand introduction, the fiants and patents require some explanation. What are these records, and why do they matter so much? Writing in the preface to Volume One of his *'Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland'*, James Morrin, who was clerk of enrolments at the Chancery, described the records of Ireland, lamenting that there was:

'not a perfect series of records, from the commencement in this country of the English Government: occasioned by the decay of time; by the negligence of officers; by the insecurity in which they were kept; and by casualties from fire' (Morrin, 1861, p.xi).

Irish state records had previously been described as poorly kept. In 1760, the Deputy Keeper of Rolls noted they were *'in a very ruinous condition'*. This concern became the focus of an 1810 Irish Record Commission *'issued for the better regulation of records in Ireland'*. Action ensued, and by 1815 the Commission had published the first of a series of reports providing inventories from the various records offices and the condition of the records kept therein. The publication of records themselves, such as part of the first volume of Patent Rolls from Henry II to Henry VII, soon followed; however, in 1830, the Irish Record Commission was suspended (Morrin, 1861).

Morrin described the various records removed to his place of employ, at Four Courts, including the fiants, which he generally considered of somewhat lesser importance because they only served as the legal documents to direct Letters Patent to be passed. Morrin noted the fiants were *'preserved in large bundles'* and were largely unindexed but, prophetically, were of value *'considering that if accident happen to any of the patent rolls, they can be replaced, in a great measure, by the fiants'* (Morrin, 1861, p.xxxiv). The fiants, being records of Letters Patent, are so known from the initial words from the original legal documents – *'Fiant literæ patentes'* (HMSO, 1875, p.11), which means *'let the letters patent be'* – and are now considered of great value because they are the primary record with authority of grants, leases, and pardons, etc., issued under the Great Seal of Ireland. And the fiants may also be considered superior to the actual Letters Patent because although fiants *'were all supposed to be enrolled ... numerous instances occur where the patent'* is not found (Morrin, 1861, p.xxxiii). Hence, the fiants provide more information than found on the patent rolls.

As Morrin feared, the original fiants and patent rolls were destroyed in the Four Courts explosion and fire (Fewer, 2019). However, late nineteenth-century copies of many fiants are contained in a series of reports of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records in Ireland, commencing with the seventh report (reign of Henry VIII, 1521-1547) published in 1875, and ending with the eighteenth report (reign of Elizabeth I, 1601-1603) published in 1886. Patent rolls have been published in various formats, most notably in Morrin (1861), which covers the period of a continuous portion of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I and Elizabeth I (1514-1575), *'The Calendar of the Patent Rolls of the Reign of James I'* (Clarke, 1967) which covers the entirety of James' reign (1603-1625), and *'The Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls. Chancery, Ireland, of the Reign of King Charles I'* (Morrin, 1863), which covers the first eight years of Charles' reign (1625-1633).

It is easy to become lost amongst the many hundreds of references to individuals with Pátraic surnames in the fiants and patents. There is a need for robust methodology if sense is to be gained of both individuals and the collective. As with the proverbial, *'how to eat an elephant'*, the first bite of many must be taken, but starting at the beginning of the fiants (1521 AD) or patents (1514 AD) is not the chosen approach for this work. Instead, the year 1566 AD serves as a crucial temporal frame of reference for understanding the contexts of family networks and political associations. And it is the surname Mac Caisín that will first illustrate the methodology employed here because, once an historical frame of reference is secured, the Mac Caisín demonstrate the value of making connections between surnames, places of abode, occupations, and the like.

Numerous questions come as the fiants and patents are examined, for example – if the Mac Caisín were medics and, otherwise, close associates of the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí, were they also kin in some way and, if so, where did they originate? Could the Mac Caisín have emerged as a patrilineal Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí sept who, perhaps, adopted a distinctive patronym from an individual called Caisín Mac Giolla Phádraig? And may have some Mac Caisín reverted to the surname Fitzpatrick at a later stage? These are just the beginning of the questions and the uncovering of Pátraic-surname mysteries hidden in the fiants and patent rolls of Ireland.

Once the patents and fiants yield information of interest, other records become more readily understood, and more mindfully accessible. In addition to the fiants and patents, other invaluable sources of land records can be used for purposes of correlation and expansion of narratives, most notably from *'Inquisitionum in Officio Rotulorum Cancellarie Hiberniae Asservatum Repertorium'*. These are the records of inquisitions in the Rolls Office of the Court Chancery of Ireland, classified as either inquisitions post mortem or inquisitions on attainder. The inquisitions post mortem provide the legal account of

'what lands any person died seized of, by what rents and services they were held, and who was the next heir and his age ... all grants of wardships of body and marriage – liveries of lands – pardons of intrusion – pardons and licences of alienation, etc. in virtue of the tenures in capite. They are the best evidences of the descent of families, and of the transfer and possession of property during the period they embrace. Numerous family settlements, deeds, wills, leases, and other Instruments relating to property in Ireland, are set out at full, or copiously recited; and of the greater number of these there are, at present, no other traces to be found' (Inquisitionum in officio rotulorum cancellariae Hiberniae (IORCH), 1826, p.ix).

The inquisitions on attainder show,

'whether any person was attainted, in which case his lands and other property, which were also found, were seized into the King's hands' (IORCH, 1826, p.ix).

Once sufficient information is extracted from the combined sources, it becomes a matter of trying to draw out a narrative. The method employed in this article explores individuals and

their relationships via an understanding of historical events in time and place, and essential is establishing key points of reference.

1566 AD, and other key points of reference

Close your eyes and imagine beyond the eighteenth-century Fitzpatrick genealogy brick wall. In this world, you can see a head of a family, his sons and grandsons, his brothers and their sons, his uncles, and their sons – it could almost be a '*male side*' family reunion. Connections can be made in a never-before-elucidated way via naming patterns and where the extended family members lived. And the men are all together on a fixed date as if it were a coming together for a medieval family photograph. The date is 30 June 1566, and it is one of several that afford a key point of reference for a high-level understanding of the kin connections of Barnaby Fitzpatrick, first Baron of Upper Ossory. Although they were by no means the only Pátraic-clan in Éire during the period when the fiant and patents are available, Barnaby's acquisition of large landholdings in Laois in 1541 (State Papers, 1834) means he and his descendants were often '*part of the action*' in the Irish midlands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As will be seen in subsequent articles, it is possible to reconstruct Pátraic-clans, particularly from Bréifne, Laighean, Mumhan, from the fiant and patents, and how they were aligned concerning political affairs of the day – although none to the same depth as the heavily documented Fitzpatricks of Osraí.

Points of reference are key to the methodologies employed in this series of articles because they are timestamps for when dumps of mega-data occurred, which can be held on to with great confidence – confidence underpinned by the Great Seal of Ireland. One such point of reference is 30 June 1566, although that was a day of forgiveness. The event that led to the need for absolution from Elizabeth I was 8 February 1565 – the triod mhór was the Battle of Áth Mheáin (Affane), and there were Fitzpatricks on one side and Mac Giolla Phádraig on the other. Áth Mheáin is referred to as '*the last private battle fought between noblemen in Ireland*', between Thomas Butler, tenth Earl of Ormond, and Gerald FitzGerald, fourteenth Earl of Desmond; the outcome was a decisive victor for Ormond (Connolly, 2011), but neither party escaped Elizabeth's fury. The Calendar of the State Papers of Ireland record Elizabeth's letter to '*the Earl of Ormond and Ossory ... [and her] ... mislike of the meeting in such manner of hostility between him and the Earl of Desmond*' (Hamilton, 1860, p.253).

Fiant 897 of Elizabeth I demonstrates Barnaby Fitzpatrick, and many of his kin, sided with Ormond, and yet not one is referred to as Mac Giolla Phádraig (Twemlow, 1921), that name surrendered as part of the conditions of submission to Henry VIII, being that Barnaby '*doth utterly forsake and refuse the name of MacGilpatricke*' (State Papers, 1834, p.291). On the side of Desmond were the Caomhánach (Kavanagh) and one of the heads of those supporting the fourteenth Earl, who was pardoned in relation to the conflict, was Gerald mac Cahir Caomhánach (HMSO, 1879). Gerald's father, Cahir Caomhánach chief of his sept, had married Cecilia, the daughter of Gerald FitzGerald, ninth Earl of Kildare and, at the time of Áth Mheáin, the relationship between the Earl of Desmond, the Earl of Kildare, and the Caomhánach was close. Among those Caomhánach followers granted pardon were Gerald Mac Giolla Phádraig, Ferdinand ruadh Mac Giolla Phádraig, and Símon ruadh Mac Giolla Phádraig. Gerald, Ferdinand, and Simon feature in several other patents, before and after

1566, variously domiciled in a tight area triangulated by southwest Cill Dara (Kildare), western Ceatharlach (Carlow), and southwest Cill Mhantáin (Wicklow). The question, ‘*who are these Laighin Mac Giolla Phádraig?*’, will be addressed in subsequent articles (Fitzpatrick, in press).

Apart from 1566 and the aforementioned surrender and regrant relating to Barnaby Fitzpatrick, other vital dates when large numbers of Pátraic surname entries appear in the fiants and patents are as follows: 1571, relating to the Butler revolt (Edwards, 1993); 1576, relating to the rebellion of Ruairí Óg Ó Mórdha (Rowe, 1916); 1581, following the death of Barnaby Fitzpatrick, second Baron of Upper Ossory (Carrigan 1905); from 1597-1604, many entries relating to the Nine Year’s War (Morgan, 1993); and, 1619, relating to plantations in Cill Mhantáin (Price, 1933). These events, along with 1566, provide the critical contexts for where Pátraic surname connections and broader alliances lay. And it is the abodes, alliances, occupations, and origins of one such family of allies, the Mac Caisín, that occupies much of the remainder of this article.

In addition, with respect to 1566 and related fiants, Owen mac Owen Mac Caisín, surgeon, of An Ghráinseach, Cill Chainnigh (Grange, Kilkenny) was named in a list of pardons granted to supporters of Thomas Butler, tenth Earl of Ormond (HMSO, 1879). And in 1571, Hugh mac Owen Mac Caisín, physician, of Cill Chainnigh, was pardoned along with Butler associates (HMSO, 1880). These two medical sons of Owen Mac Caisín are of a lineage with as yet unknown associations with the Fitzpatrick barons of Upper Ossory.

The Mac Caisín in the fiants and patent rolls of Ireland

As will be observed throughout this series of articles, the accurate interpretation of placenames as they appear in the fiants and patents is of no minor consequence and no mean feat of achievement. It is fortunate that scholars who have written about Osraí, particularly Carrigan (1905), had an intimate understanding of its places, coupled with a fluency of Gaeilge and an ear for phonetic spellings of Irish placenames in English. And researchers are also able to draw on the resource that is the Placenames Database of Ireland (<https://www.logainm.ie>). Hence, the Mac Caisín places of abode in 1566 can be understood: Crovan is Cruail (Cruell); Boulleduff is An Baile Dubh (Ballyduff); and, Delge is Cill Deilge (Kildellig). So, what can be learnt of these townlands that could enrich the narratives of the Mac Caisín occupants? This is where other records can come into play.

There are further supportive resources, such as the important Kildare Rental, which identify various Mac Giolla Phádraig townlands before the 1543 grant to Barnaby Fitzpatrick (MS Harleian 3756; Hore 1859; Hore, 1862; Hore, 1866; Mac Niocaill, 1992). Cruail is mentioned therein as a part of ‘*McGyllepatrickis countre*’, which would become the abode of Morgan Mac Caisín, but which in 1518 was subject to Gerald FitzGerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, notably by Clann Maeleachlainn Ruadh. Cruail was also a townland of some contention concerning the 1571 grant of lands by Barnaby Fitzpatrick to Thomas Butler, tenth Earl of Ormond; that grant in feoffment to Butler included many various manors, lordships, and castles, etc., but made specific mention that Cruail and the neighbouring Baile Uí Ghaoithín (Ballygeehan)

and Cloch Choill (Knockkyle, or Springfield), were provided to John Fitzpatrick, his son – here the Ormond Deeds are the source (Curtis, 1941).

Fiant 6733 of Elizabeth I, in 1602, records a long list of Fitzpatricks of Osraí headed by Teige, the son of Florence, third Baron of Upper Ossory, who were pardoned following their support of Hugh Ó Néill. Here Fynyn mac Donell Fitzpatrick is recorded as from Cruail (HMSO, 1885). This Fynyn was the son of Donell (the son of Barnaby Fitzpatrick, first Baron) of Gort na Cleithe (Gortnaclea), which is but one mile north of Cruail, but no familial relationship between Donell and the Mac Caisín can be established. And a 1607 fiant from the reign of James I records the (ultimately failed) suit of Teige Fitzpatrick, the son of the John Fitzpatrick, brought against his uncle, Florence Fitzpatrick, the third Baron, in part for Cruail (Clarke, 1967), but the rationale behind why Teige claimed the townland is not discoverable. Cruail was adjudged to Florence, and after his demise it passed to his son John, a younger brother of Teige, the fourth Baron (Curtis, 1970). Hence it appears clear that after 1543, at least, Cruail was held by Barnaby Fitzpatrick, the first Baron, and then his descendants, and remained that way until 1659, or later (Pender, 1939). The circumstances around Morogh Mac Caisín dwelling there in 1566 have not been discoverable, but it was not because of possession; more likely it simply because it was a secure abode, that being the strong castle of Cruail-Baile Uí Ghaoithin (Cruell-Ballygeehan) (Down Survey, 1641; Carrigan, 1905).

An Baile Dubh in the parish of An Chill (Kyle; in ancient times called Cill Cluain Fearth Molua, i.e., possibly the church of the *‘wondrous resting place’* of Molua), which is in the diocese of Cill Dalua, not in the diocese of Osraí as one might expect based on location. When St Molua was near death ca. 609 AD, he left his termon lands to St Crónán of Ros Cré (Roscrea). The ancient coarbs of An Chill were the Uí Duigin (O’Deegan) of Cluain Cuas (Clonecourse) (Gleeson, 1949; Gwynn & Gleeson, 1962), which provides the context for several entries recorded in Papal records: in 1400, the rectory of An Chill was noted as void on the death of Donát Ó Duigin (Bliss & Twemlow, 1904a); in 1418 Thady Ó Duigin was rector (Twemlow, 1906); and, in 1479 William Ó Duigin was assigned the rectory (Twemlow, 1955; Gleeson & Costello, 1943). The clerical appointments to the rectory of An Chill are consistent with the possession of An Baile Dubh being with the Uí Duigin, and the townland does not appear to have passed to Barnaby Fitzpatrick in the grant of 1543.

Fiant 6551 from the reign of Elizabeth I records the 1601 pardon of William Ó Duigin, *‘of Kilballeduff, husbandman’* (HMSO, 1885), and an inquisition of 1613 found William held An Baile Dubh *‘sed quo jure, preter antiquā possessionē’* (by what right, apart from ancient possession) (IORCH, 1826). An Baile Dubh, comprising *‘631 acres arable, and 1340 acres bog’*, went to Philip Ó Duigin, probably William’s son, in 1629 (Morin, 1863) – Philip died that year, and an inquisition post mortem in 1631 recorded the proprietorship passed to his son John, aged twenty-four years (IORCH, 1826). John Ó Duigin was killed in the 1641 rebellion (Cooke, 1852), and the Down Survey terrier records he held An Baile Dubh at that time (Down Survey, 1641). The circumstances around Thomas Mac Caisín dwelling among Ó Duigin at An Baile Dubh in 1566 have not been discoverable but, as with Cruail-Baile Uí Ghaoithin, there was a castle, known as Cluain Cuas, which existed there from at least 1622

(Down Survey, 1641; Nelligan & Dempsey, 2020), which is an indication of an earlier secure place of dwelling.

Cill Deilge, meaning church of the thorns/thorn trees, features in several medieval records. In 1267 it was the possession of one of several Norman families (Curtis, 1932) and next finds mention in 1425 when the '*church of Delge*', of lay patronage, was provided, along with the rectory of Ráth Sháráin, to a scholar called Diarmaid Ó Brain (O'Byrne) who was the son of an Augustinian cleric (Twemlow, 1906). Evidence for Uí Brain succession at Cill Deilge is clear from the 1480 appointment of Thady Ó Brain, a son of a priest, following Donát's Ó Brain's seven to eight-year possession, which was without canonical right (Twemlow, 1955). Thady's appointment was subject to challenge in 1484 by John Ó Duigan with the resolution being unknown, and by 1491 the benefice of the Rectory of Cill Deilge has devolved to Rome, having been detained illegally by another Ó Duigan, Patrick. A Mac Giolla Phádraig interest in Cill Deilge is apparent in 1493 with the appointment of Patrick Mac Giolla Phádraig to the rectory (Fuller, 1986; Clohosey, 1957), but by 1525 it had returned to the Uí Duigan (Mac Quarrie, 2018).

Hence, there is no evidence of hereditary Mac Giolla Phádraig possession and patronage at Cill Deilge; instead, it is the Uí Duigan who dominated clerical appointments in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The proprietorship of Cill Deilge, as with An Baile Dubh, probably came to John Mac Caisín by virtue of a relationship between the Mac Caisín and the Uí Duigan. However, it is not impossible that Cill Deilge wrested from the Uí Duigan and provided to John Mac Caisín by Barnaby Fitzpatrick after large swathes of lands, much not hereditary, came into Barnaby's possession in 1543, for two knight's fees and an annual rent of £3 13s 4d (State Papers, 1834), on confirmation of the patent grant of the Barony of Upper Ossory made on 11 June 1541 (Morris, 1861; HMSO, 1875).

It is unlikely no coincidence that the rise of Barnaby Fitzpatrick came on the back of the rise in power of the Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics from the late fifteenth century. Deciphering the relationships between the Mac Caisín, the Uí Duigan, and the Mac Giolla Phádraig of Osraí, and other familiarly connected residents such as the Costagáin (Costigan, or Mac Costigan), cannot be achieved in isolation from church records and an appreciation of just how interwoven some clerical lineages were (Nicholls, 1970; MacCotter, 2004; McInerney, 2014; Fitzpatrick, 2021). And, in this regard, it is not useful to maintain a generalistic and monocular view that the Mac Caisín of Osraí were simply a '*medical lineage*' – they were not solely that, and this aspect will be discussed further in the next section.

But returning to Cill Deilge, fiant 6551 from 1601 records Teige (also known as Thomas) Mac Caisín, '*of Killdelgen*' (HMSO, 1885), who is one of eleven Mac Caisín associates of Florence Fitzpatrick (the third Baron) who received pardons; among the eleven was also Gilpatrick mac Shane, a surgeon who had followed his father's, i.e., John Mac Caisín's, career path. In 1605, following the death of Teige Mac Caisín, Florence, granted Cill Deilge to Donogh and Conly (i.e., Connghalaigh), who was a husbandman, Mac Caisín, and their brothers (IORCH, 1826). As will be discussed in the next section, in 1607 a Mac Caisín was not the chief Master of Medicine for the Fitzpatrick barons of Upper Ossory, although the role of some Mac Caisín as medics continued. Patrick Ó Caisín, a surgeon, of Cill Deilge-Baile Raighleáin

(Kildellig-Ballyreilly) was among those pardoned among the retinue of Shane mac Teige Mac Giolla Phádraig and Donnogh mac Teige Mac Giolla Phádraig (Clarke, 1967); it appears that while they did not service the barons, the Mac Caisín medics did have a medical role among the Mac Giolla Phádraig ‘rebels’.

A 1613 inquisition found William Mac Caisín, Owen Mac Caisín, Donogh Mac Caisín, and Patrick Mac Caisín in possession of Cill Deilge (IORCH, 1826), but by 1618 it was solely with Owen, granted him by Barnaby Fitzpatrick, son of Teige the fourth Baron, who was residing at Caisleán an Uisce (Watercastle) (IORCH, 1826). Owen was indicted and outlawed in 1621 (IORCH, 1826; Clarke, 1967), and William Mac Caisín, perhaps Owen’s brother, then alleged the right to the title. But by in 1629 Cill Deilge was back with Owen – Charles I regranted him ‘213 acres arable ... in the territory of Upper Ossory’ (Morrin, 1863), which was only a portion of the townland since large parts of Cill Deilge and Baile Raighleáin were included in a swathe of lands, some ‘3785 acres bog, wood and mountain’, granted to George Villiers, the Duke of Buckingham, in 1624 (Clarke, 1967). By 1659 there was no longer evidence of a Mac Caisín presence in Cill Deilge – the proprietor was John Petit, alias John Short. Yet, between when they first appeared in the fiants in 1566 and the time of the *ad hoc* 1659 ‘Census’, the Mac Caisín of Osraí were not diminished. And it is possible to connect many of the Mac Caisín in the fiants and patents with those recorded in 1659 and construct some of their lineages by virtue of another vital point of reference – the 1641 rebellion.

The Mac Caisín of Osraí in 1641

The circumstances and events surrounding the ‘Irish rebellion’ of 1641 have been exhaustively reviewed via modern lenses in recent works such as ‘Tyrone’s Rebellion’ (Morgan, 1993), ‘England and the 1641 Irish Rebellion’ (Cope, 2009), ‘The 1641 Depositions and the Irish Rebellion’ (Darcy, Margey & Murphy, 2016), ‘The Shadow of a Year’ (Gibney, 2013), and ‘The Irish Rebellion of 1641 and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms’ (Darcy, 2015). 1641 brings other records into play, and the depositions are considered among the most important documents of Irish history; they are witness testimonies, mostly from protestants, relating to first-hand accounts of the rebellion – almost 20,000 pages of depositions are held at Trinity College, Dublin, but they are also available online at <http://www.1641.tcd.ie>.

Before the outbreak of the 1641 hostilities, Morgan Mac Caisín, referred to by Carrigan (1905) as ‘the principal man of his name’, was in possession of several townlands in Laois. He is mentioned in two depositions and the accounts of English army officers, where he is referred to as a gentleman and a Justice of the Peace. Morgan Mac Caisín, of An Corrán (Corraun), his eldest son, Captain John Mac Caisín, and Patrick Mac Caisín were among ‘the chief of the rebels that were slain’. Morgan’s second son, also Morgan and a gentleman, is stated as being in rebellion, but he was not killed (Bacon, 1642; 1641 Depositions). In addition to An Corrán, in 1641, either Morgan Mac Caisín or his namesake son were in possession of several other townlands in Achadh Bhó: An Cheathrú Riabhach (Carrowreagh); Garraí an Uisce (Garryniska); Cúlbaile (Coolbally); Baile Uí Ghamhdáin (Ballygowden); and the moiety of An Srath (Srah). In 1659 Morgan, junior, held the title of Conc an Fhalmairigh (Palmerhill) (Pender, 1939).

Prior to 1641, Cúlbaile was held by Edmund Óg Mac Giolla Phádraig in 1566 (HMSO, 1879), Donell mac Murtagh Mac Caisín, gent, in 1601, 1605, and 1613 (HMSO, 1885; Clarke, 1967; IORCH, 1826). Before 1641 Baile Uí Ghamhdáin was in the possession of Anya Ní Costigan (HMSO, 1885), and Thady mac Donell mac Donnogh Mac Giolla Phádraig and Kellagh mac Teige Mac Giolla Phádraig held it in 1613 (IORCH, 1826). In 1601, the moiety of An Srath (Srah) was with the surgeon, and the official physician to Mac Giolla Phádraig, Donnchadh Óg' Ó Conchubhair (HMSO, 1884). These various records evidence that lands within a general area between just north of Achadh Bhó and just south of Ráth Domhnaigh (Rathdowney) were associated with lesser ranked kin and followers of the barons of Upper Ossory (Figure 2). Similarly, Morgan Mac Caisín's 1641 lands in the parishes of Cúil Choire (Coolkerry), Bordaíol (Bordwell), and Ráth Domhnaigh provide evidence that the Mac Caisín were domiciled in, or near Ráth Domhnaigh town. Most notable in the parish of Ráth Domhnaigh are Morgan Mac Caisín's occupancies of Ráth an Phiobaraigh (Rathpiper) – a castle was there where Shane Mac Caisín dwelt in 1601 (HMSO, 1885) – and Áth Cip (Akip), where Dr Conly Cashin gentleman held the title in 1659 (Pender, 1939).

Apart from Morgan's holdings in 1641, the Down survey terrier and map for the parishes of Cill Baile Dubh (Kilballyduff) and Uí Fhairchealláin (Offerlane) show John Mac Caisín and Edmund Fitzpatrick held 298 acres in An Lóthrán (Lowran) and Dóirín Oilibhéir (Derrinoliver). That a Fitzpatrick and a Mac Caisín shared An Lóthrán ca. 1641 echoes that found in a 1613 inquisition post mortem into the holdings of Florence Fitzpatrick, the third Baron, when Thady McFynyn and Morgan Cashin held An Lóthrán by virtue of ancient possession (IORCH, 1826) – residence almost 100 years previously, in 1518 was with Clann Maeleachlainn Ruadh (Mac Niocaill, 1992). The sequence of tenure at An Lóthrán provides a clear example of what this series of articles will repeatedly demonstrate, viz., the Mac Giolla Phádraig are oft-recorded in the fiants and patents by a patronym, not a surname, thus making the records a treasure trove of undiscovered Mac Giolla Phádraig individuals and lineages. In this case, it is the appearance of Tadhg mac Fynyn who leads to the questions, *'who was Fynyn Mac Giolla Phádraig?' and 'what was his relationship to (a) Edmund Fitzpatrick and (b) Clann Maeleachlainn Ruadh?'*, because those two individuals, and an entire sept, have gone largely undiscovered – it is a journey through fiants and patents that makes such discoveries commonplace.

Another Mac Caisín to feature in the Down survey is Anthony, who is recorded as holding Cnoc an Mhuilinn (Knockamullin) and An Chrois (Cross), in the parish of Achadh Bhó (Aghaboe) (Down Survey, 1641). Cnoc an Mhuilinn was previously held by Hugh Mac Caisín in the early seventeenth century, but he was attained in 1611, and the townland passed to Gerald FitzGerald, fourteenth Earl of Kildare (IORCH, 1826; James, p.316. After Kildare's death, the townland returned to the Mac Caisín (Owen). Anthony is also recorded in the 1641 depositions as being in rebellion (1641 Depositions). There are several other Mac Caisín who find little reference in the fiants, patents, and depositions. Still, they contribute to an understanding of the wider Mac Caisín lines in the seventeenth century, and some are also identified by location. In 1601 Gilpatrick mac Shane Mac Caisín, surgeon, Conly Mac Caisín, husbandman, and the aforementioned Hugh Mac Caisín were dwelling in Dóirín na Saileach (Derrin) along with Fynyn and Shane mac Donell (HMSO, 1885) – the latter pair were Mac Giollo Phádraig descendants who had been identified by patronymic. In 1602

Gilpatrick mac Shane is recorded as dwelling at Baile Uí Bróithe (Ballybrophy), and as well as being a surgeon, he is referred to as a yeoman; his cousin, Morgan mac Hugh Mac Caisín, is similarly described and was living at Cluain Boireann (HMSO, 1885), which was the stronghold of Teige Fitzpatrick (Clarke, 1967), who would become the fourth Baron in 1613. Such richness of information from the fiants, patents, and other sources affords the development of a proposed pedigree of Mac Caisín medics of Osraí, which is provided in Figure 1. Figure 2 illustrates the townlands associated with the family from 1566-1641. Following the events of 1642, the Mac Caisín yet remained a principal family in Osraí. The 1659 'Census' records twenty-four adult men living in the Barony of Ossory and eight living in the Barony of Maryborough (Pender, 1939).

The origins of the Mac Caisín of Osraí

It has been demonstrated with certainty that the Mac Caisín of Osraí were a '*medical family*' (Nic Dhonnchadha (2006). Eight distinct Mac Caisín medics are referenced in the fiants and patents between 1566 and 1607, and six were resident in Osraí across three generations. Yet, any suggestion that Mac Caisín were a medical lineage of Osraí from more ancient times is presumptuous – there is simply no record before 1566.

Ó Muráile (2016) provides a thorough treatise entitled '*The Hereditary Medical Families of Gaelic Ireland*' in which he explains that hereditary learned families, which first arose in the thirteenth century,

'furnished poets, others historians, others lawyers, others scribes, yet others medical practitioners, while a number of them could be deemed to have been multidisciplinary' (Ó Muráile, 2016, p.85).

Here, then, lies a clue to where Mac Caisín origins can be found. Medical science in medieval Éire cannot be understood without a consideration of where sources of knowledge lay. Early medieval monasteries in Éire were centres of learning of unquestionable importance, and while '*not comparable to the great [early] Christian schools of Antioch and Alexandria*' neither were they '*purely ecclesiastical seminaries where the merest rudiments of theology were taught and where profane learning was either feared or despised*' (Graham, 1925, p.431). The long tradition of learning at monastic centres in Éire was not diminished after the Norman invasions and the '*Hippocratic corpus*', which '*formed the basis of advanced teaching of medicine throughout Europe*' from the twelfth to the sixteenth century soon made its way to Éire. The first translations from Latin into Irish, was by Mumhan medical scholars and scribes, Aonghus Ó Callanáin and Niocol Ó hItheadha, and date from 1403. Another well-known early medic, herbalist, and scribe was Tadhg Ó Cuinn, a '*bachelor of medicine*' (Nic Dhonnchadha, 2000).

Yet earlier references to those Irish so conferred with degrees of medicine can be found. It is of little surprise within the context of monastic scholarship that the Papal Registers record, in 1390, '*the extension of successive dispensations on account of illegitimacy*' was made to Malachy Ó hÍomhair (O'Howard) of the diocese of Cill Dalua, a '*bachelor of medicine*', and the archdeacon of Cill Fhionnúrach (Kilfenora). Malachy was permitted to

hold up to three benefices and was even allowed to *'exchange them as often as seems good to him for similar or dissimilar mutually compatible benefices'* (Bliss & Twemlow, 1902). Gwynn and Gleeson (1962) chose not to categorise individuals of great knowledge, such as Malachy Ó hlómhair, as either one thing (e.g., a cleric) or another (e.g., a medic), but referred to them as *'hereditary men of learning'*, and it is considered this is the most relevant description of the Mac Caisín family who became medics of Osraí in the sixteenth century. But the reference to Mac Caisín being of Osraí is only accurate regarding their first recorded presence there in 1566. Aodh Mac Caisín, a medic, is found recorded in a manuscript probably dating to the fifteenth century (Ó Muráile, 2016), but there is no certainty Aodh was *'of Osraí'*. Confidence, however, does come that Mac Caisín medics were out of a learned lineage not *'of Osraí'*. In the fifteenth century, they can be found nearby, in the diocese of Cill Dalua – they are not referred to as medics, but as clerics.

Gwynn and Gleeson (1962) refer to key medieval monastic sites as centres of *'the tradition of learning in the fifteenth century'*, and they state that one such site was the Augustinian priory at Lothra (Lorrha) in the diocese of Cill Dalua. There are few surviving records of the provision of prebends of Lothra. Still, papal records inform several fifteenth-century associations of Mac Caisín clerics of Cilla Dalua, and they are all confined to a small area in the northwest of the diocese near Lothra, which is sometimes also called Dura (Dorrha). The earliest recorded Mac Caisín clerics of Cill Dalua are Thomas, Donat, and William. Thomas held the parish church of Dura, five miles east of the priory of Lothra, which he resigned ca. 1399. Donat, perhaps Thomas' son since he required dispensation for being the son of a cleric and an unmarried woman, was granted the Dura parish church prebend in 1400 subject to him being *'fit in Latin'* (Bliss & Twemlow, 1904a). William Mac Caisín, who was dispensed for the same defect, was promoted to hold the rectory of Dura in 1411, this after the death of Donat – William had previously held the rectory of Maigh Drithne (Modreeny), which is twelve miles south of Lothra (Bliss & Twemlow, 1904b). William, who was unordained, died ca. 1421 (Twemlow, 1906), and Dura came to the possession of Cornelius Ó Cinnéide (Gleeson & Costello, 1943). Another Donat Mac Caisín, likely the son of the previously mentioned Donat or William, probably succeeded Ó Cinnéide, but by 1437 he had been deprived of the parish church of Dura (Gleeson & Costello, 1943). Nevertheless, Mac Caisín clerics continued to gain appointments around Lothra until the late fifteenth. In 1479, Maurice Mac Cashin succeeded to the Priory of Lothra – his annates were confirmed in Rome by his procurator, David de Burgh – and by 1487, Donat Mac Caisín had followed Maurice as prior (Gleeson & Costello, 1943; Haren, 1978). The last appearance of a Mac Caisín cleric in the Papal registers comes in 1492, when prior Donat ruled in favour of William de Geraldinis concerning the abbacy of Monasteranenagh (Manister), in the diocese of Luimneach (Limerick) (Fuller, 1986).

There are several points of intrigue that are woven amongst the careers of the Mac Caisín hereditary clerics, but it is only as one critically explores all individuals, the monastic centres they issued from, and the clerical lineages they represented, that factors behind Mac Caisín relationships with the execution of papal mandates come to light. It should be recalled that the *'holding of well-endowed benefices by clerics of aristocratic lineages'* was part and parcel of maintaining wealth, as well as having political influence, and this is best exemplified via the *'modus operandi'* of various Augustinian clerical lineages and their wider kin networks

during the fifteenth century (McInerney, 2014). It is an era when clerical appointments need to be understood in the context '*of the increasing domination of episcopal sees by members of powerful lineages*' (MacCotter, 2016a). Those lineages were most obviously identified when men of the same surname secured benefice by succession. And, despite the Church's clear disapproval of such nepotism, there are numerous records of direct hereditary succession in plain view, which can be extracted from the Papal Registers. The works of Gwynn and Gleeson (1962), MacCotter (2016b), and McInerney (2014) provide more than ample discourse on the topic of clerical lineages, and the latter, in particular, explains that to avoid Rome's displeasure, hereditary succession needed to be inconspicuous.

Hence, strategies were often employed to mask paternal identities, and one such strategy was the use of alias surnames. What chance is there, then, for researchers some six-hundred plus years later, so used to categorising patrilineal relationships based solely on a single surname, and any '*irregularities*' as non-paternity events, to be able to make sense of the familial connections the Papal Registers point to, yet do not lay bare? Without the sophistication of twenty-first-century science, it is considered there would be zero chance, but the insights that come with next-generation sequencing of the Y-chromosome can afford the construction of Y-DNA haplotrees of the descendants of clerics. That some high-ranking clerics were prolific is without a doubt (MacCotter, 2016b). So it becomes a question of not if their descendants can be found by Y-DNA analysis, but what are the modern surnames of those descendants, and how might those '*masked*' surname lineages have arisen? (Fitzpatrick, 2021). It has been mooted that Costigans, FitzGerald, and Fitzpatrick under haplotype R-A1488 may descend from a line of FitzMaurice of Ciarraí (Kerry) clerics, who may not only have spawned Mac Giolla Phádraig clerical lineages but Purcell and O'Hennessey clerical lines as well (Fitzpatrick, 2021). And could this be merely the tip of the iceberg – could the network of clerical lines be much more extensive? Indeed, there is evidence of associations between the Mac Caisín clerics and other clerical lineages that hints at a vast web of Augustinian familial connectivity.

There is '*no extant genealogy of the Uí Chaisín*' (N. Ó Muráile, pers.comm., 21 October 2021), but it is the identification of northwest Cill Dalua as the centre where Mac Caisín clerics flourished from the fourteenth century that, ultimately, leads to an understanding of how, when and why they made their way into Osraí. And northwest Cill Dalua elsewhere intrigues because the Papal Registers record, in 1488, that the benefice of the rectory of Tuain Uí Mheára (Toomyvara) was illegally detained by Rory Mac Costagáin (Haren, 1978). The Mac Costagáin will feature in a forthcoming article relating to their appearance in the fiant and patents, and reference will also be made to their clerics and their land proprietorships (Costigan & Fitzpatrick, in press). They were a family unrecorded in Osraí until the late fifteenth century and appear only to have arisen there in the era contemporaneous with the rise to prominence of Mac Giolla Phádraig. And it is the record of John Mac Costagáin in 1481, remarkably revealed as '*alias Mac Giolla Phádraig*' (Tremlow, 1955; Fitzpatrick, 2020a; Fitzpatrick, 2020b), which provides further basis for understanding the origins of the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí in the sixteenth century. Central are the relationships between the Augustinian houses of northwest Cill Dalua and the Augustinian houses of Osraí, most notably between the established centre of learning at

Lothra and, thirty-five miles to the southwest, the priory of Achadh Mhic Art (Aghmacart), which from the early sixteenth century was on the rise.

The priory of Achadh Mhic Art

That there was a priory at Achadh Mhic Art from ancient times, i.e., ca. 550 AD, is without question based on oral tradition and archeological investigations (Archdall, 1786; Courtney, 2020). Although questions do surround the priory's re-establishment toward the end of the High Middle Ages (Carrigan, 1905), there is little reason to challenge the belief that Hugh Ó Díomasaigh founded the Augustinian priory at Achadh Mhic Art in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Such a timeframe is consistent with the date range attributed to the charter of the Abbey of Rosglas at Mainistir Eimhín (Monasterevin) ca. 1178-1189, which was definitively founded by Diarmaid Ó Díomasaigh, King of Uí Failghe, the father of Hugh (Alemand, Lucas & Lamb, 1690; Mathews, 1903). Achadh Mhic Art is barely thirty miles southwest of Mainistir Eimhín, and the kingdom of the Uí Díomasaigh, at times, included swathes of lands in Laois. Although O'Donovan (1838) considered it unlikely the Augustinian priory was founded by the Uí Díomasaigh, stating, instead, that it was *'more probable Mac Giolla Patrick, Lord of Ossory, not O'Dempsey was the founder'*, this position appears based on the misguided assumption that Mac Giolla Phádraig held some sway in the north of Osraí in the late twelfth century. But there is no record of any Mac Giolla Phádraig association with Achadh Mhic Art until the fifteenth century.

A Norman presence is evidenced in the area from ca. 1210 (Curtis, 1923; Archdall, 1786), and in 1251 the prior and canons at Achadh Mhic Art, along with those at Feartach (Fertagh), obtained protection *'without term'* from Henry III (Lyte, 1901). Any Irish presence at Achadh Mhic Art at this time appears to have been with the Uí Caollaidhe (O'Kelly). Despite the thirteenth-century intrusions in the region by the de Hereford family, the native clan maintained a presence – the Justiciary Rolls of Edward I of England record that, in 1302, an Englishman called Richard de Blake had an Irish manservant of the *'family of Okegle of the parts of Adhmacart'* (Mills, 1905). The priory at Achadh Mhic Art suffered heavily during the conflicts in the area during the early fourteenth century; this evidenced by the inability of the prior to pay taxes due the Bishop of Ossory ca. 1303-1306 (Lawlor, 1908). But regardless of the ongoing internecine struggle in the area in that era, Achadh Mhic Art was still subject to scutage due to Norman overlords in 1419 (Curtis, 1935). Then follow excellent accounts of various associations with the priory at Achadh Mhic Art, found in the Papal Registers, for the remainder of the fifteenth and into the sixteenth centuries – too voluminous for detailed discussion in this article, but summarised up until the end of the sixteenth century, as follows.

Priors of Achadh Mhic Art are not identified by name until the mid-fifteenth century, from when Uí Bróithe clerics dominated the position. An unusual sequence of events recorded in the Papal Registers, which involved Carolus the first named Uí Bróithe prior of Achadh Mhic Art, is recounted by Gywnn and Gleeson (1962). They picked up their narrative in 1414 when Dermot Ó Meadhra was appointed to the Augustinian priory of Móin na hInse (Monaincha), one mile east of Ros Cré (Roscrea) town, and fifteen miles northwest of Achadh Mhic Art. The Uí Meadhra *'retained control of ...[Móin na hInse]... at all times up to*

the dissolution' (Gwynn & Gleeson, 1962), although not without controversy. In 1450 the prior, another Dermot Ó Meadhra, stood accused of keeping a *'convent of concubines'* and living *'a secular and unlawful life'* – his accuser being unable to *'remain with a good conscience and peace of mind in the said monastery, wherein he made his regular profession'*, sought transfer to a canonry in Ros Comáin (Roscommon) (Twemlow, 1915, p.465).

This was no isolated incident, and it is apparent Móin na hInse had become dilapidated by the same Augustinian excesses of this era, as documented elsewhere in the diocese of Cilla Dalua, as well as in the dioceses of Ail Finn (Elphin), Luimneach, and Port Láirge (Waterford) (Twemlow, 1906; Twemlow, 1909; Twemlow, 1915; Nicholls, 1969). The suggestion that some among the higher-ranking Augustinian clerics kept harems of nuns, securing *'access to a supply of women to provide heirs who would sustain their clerical lines'* (Fitzpatrick, 2021), as well as providing *'dozens of infant offspring [who] might be fostered out to cement relations of clientage and political alliance'* (Parkes, 2006, p.382) is not far-fetched; it merely echoes the practices of some of the medieval Irish dynasts the clerics sought to emulate. For example, *'Turlough an fhíona Ó Donnell, lord of Tirconnell (d. 1423) had eighteen sons (by ten different women) and fifty-nine grandsons in the male line'* (Nicholls, 1972). But back to the affairs of Móin na hInse; mandates from Rome ensued. In 1454 Carolus Ó Bróithe exchanged the priory of Achadh Mhic Art for Móin na hInse; travelling in the opposite direction was Dermot Ó Meadhra, who is noted then as being the son of an OSA (Order of St Augustine) canon and an unmarried woman (Twemlow, 1915). The exchange was brief, and in 1455 it is evident that Carolus had died; his son, Patrick Ó Bróithe, was appointed to the priory of Achadh Mhic Art. Meanwhile, Dermot Ó Meadhra returned to Móin na hInse. (Twemlow, 1915; Gwynn & Gleeson, 1962).

At this juncture, there are several threads that can be pursued in more detail. The renowned Osraí cleric, William Mac Giolla Phádraig, was born ca. 1444, being *'the son of an unmarried man and a ravished unmarried woman, related in the third degree of kindred'* (Twemlow, 1960, p.83). William requires mention because assigning him a Mac Giolla Phádraig paternity is complex; his father was probably a cleric, but there are no obvious Mac Giolla Phádraig prospects (Fitzpatrick, 2020a). Yet, within the inventory of those local clerics who might be in the *'ravishing business'*, and with *'identity masking'* being commonplace, Dermot Ó Meadhra must be among the frontrunners in William's fatherhood stakes. Does twenty-first-century science provide any evidence in support of William's paternity being with Dermot Ó Meadhra?

No small number of *'coincidences'* and *'curiosities'* appear in the surname matches under haplotype R-A1499, among whom are the likely descendants of Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí clerics, who are haplotype R-A1488. The *'curious'* surnames are Purcell, Hennessey, FitzGerald, and Costigan, which are found under various R-A1499 sub-haplotypes and easily lost among the *'noise'* of Fitzpatrick DNA participants – they are curious because they are irrefutably associated with powerful clerics (Fitzpatrick 2021). To date, largely unnoticed, is also the surname O'Meara, which inhabits haplotype R-FT206758 along with four Fitzpatricks and one Costigan. The Uí Meadhra clerics were a powerful force in late medieval Cilla Dalua, and from 1354 they played a *'very prominent part in Ormond history'* (Gwynn &

Gleeson, 1962). Medical lineages grew from them, and Oxford-educated Dr Dermot O'Meara was '*physician to the tenth Earl of Ormond*', yet early origins of the Uí Meadhra are '*somewhat obscured*' (O'Meara, 1996). However, Y-DNA is able to reveal what may be another example of 'surname masking'; the '*coincidence*' and '*curiosity*' of an Ó Meadhra under R-A1488 will enjoy further discussion in the forthcoming article, Mac Giolla Phádraig Clerics 1394-1534 AD, Part III.

Returning to Achadh Mhic Art, after Patrick Ó Bróithe's death the priory was, in 1466, granted to James Ó Bróithe, who was probably a son of either Carolus or Patrick since he was the son of a priest (Twemlow, 1933). In 1481 the priory was with William Ó Bróithe (Clohosey, 1957), confirmed by Rome in 1493 (Fuller, 1998), who made several notable judgments during his term: in 1485, in favour of William Mac Giolla Phádraig (Twemlow, 1960, Haren, 1978); in 1489 in favour of Patrick Mac Giolla Phádraig (Twemlow, 1960); in 1491, against Patrick Ó Duigan (Haren, 1978); in 1491, against Walter Ó Duigan (Haren, 1978); in 1493, in favour of Patrick Mac Giolla Phádraig on three occasions (Twemlow, 1960; Fuller, 1986); in 1493, in favour of Donat Mac Giolla Phádraig (Fuller, 1986); in 1493 in favour of John Mac Costagáin, alias John Mac Giolla Phádraig (Fuller, 1998). William Ó Bróithe's term as prior came under threat in 1498, when the twenty-three-year-old William Mac Giolla Phádraig, son of the aforementioned and powerful cleric of the same name, made his move to oust him (Fuller, 1986). Mac Giolla Phádraig contended that Ó Bróithe had held the priory without title, doubtless aware that it had taken Rome twelve years to rubber-stamp his appointment. The ambitious young cleric also argued that the priory could be united with the rectory of Domhnach Mór (Donaghmore), which was detained without right by William Ó Duigan – there can be no doubt that Mac Giolla Phádraig's coup attempt defines a watershed moment. The Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics had bided their time, grown in power, and then, in one swift move, launched an offensive against both the Uí Duigan and Uí Bróithe clerical houses.

The coup failed, but in 1508 William Ó Bróithe died – his successor, Patrick Ó Bróithe, detained the priory for '*certain months, short of a year*', but he could not resist the now inevitable transfer of power, that mandate executed via the judgment of John Mac Costagáin, alias Mac Giolla Phádraig (Haren, 1998). And who else could have been appointed prior of Achadh Mhic Art, other than William, of the Costagáin-Mac Giolla Phádraig clerical line, who had nurtured been for the very role – William remained prior of Achadh Mhic Art until at least 1525 (Mac Quarrie, 2018). When trawling through the fifteenth and sixteenth-century records of the diocese of Osraí is easy to become lost in church politics, which was seemingly inseparable from the ambitions and quests for power by Norman houses and Irish clans alike. Yet, against this backdrop, it is likely the two most powerful Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics, William and son, were primarily responsible for the rise of the centre of learning at Achadh Mhic Art.

The Medical School of Achadh Mhic Art

The definitive review of the Medical School of Achadh Mhic Art is with Nic Dhonnchadha (2006), who states it was '*almost certainly long-established by 1500*'; the basis Nic Dhonnchadha's statement of origination is the weakest part of her remarkable article since

she provides none. However, if the foundation of the medical school at Achadh Mhic Art is viewed within the context of Mac Giolla Phádraig succession to the priory, it is more reasonable to place the date for that foundation close to 1508 than it is *'long'* before 1500. The root of Nic Dhonnchadha's (2006) date estimate is based solely on the *'approximate date of writing of the earliest document associated with it'*, but it is considered the production of medical texts would surely be a high priority for a new medical school, and one of the first tasks undertaken, not one left for a long period of time.

The attraction Achadh Mhic Art wielded under the benefactorship and leadership of the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí was great, and its reputation became established across Europe (Nic Dhonnchadha, 2006). The *'chief physician of Ossory'*, domiciled at Achadh Mhic Art, came to be known as *'the best of the doctors of Ireland in his own time'*, yet that physician was not a Mac Caisín, it was Donnchadh Óg Ó Conchubhair (Walsh, 1922). Indeed, the Uí Conchubhair were associated with the medical school of Achadh Mhic Airt for over one hundred years. The patriarch of the Uí Conchubhair of Osraí medics was Giolla Phádraig, who was related to the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí by marriage. Giolla Phádraig was active from ca. 1500, and his grandson, Donnchadh Óg Ó Conchubhair, was present when Barnaby Fitzpatrick, second Baron, made his last will and testament in 1581 – Carrigan (1905) mistakenly referred to Donnchadh Óg as a member of the Uí Caisín family. Donnchadh Óg was the personal physician of Florence Fitzpatrick, the third Baron, and a close associate of John Fitzpatrick, Florence's brother (Hare, 1978; Walsh, 1922; Nic Dhonnchadha, 2006).

Donnchadh Óg Ó Conchubhair's position as head medic did not sit well with the Mac Caisín, and it is clear the latter were not all high-brow academic types. In 1596, medic and scribe Donnchadh Albanach Ó Conchubhair, while staying at the Achadh Mhic Airt medical school, transcribed a section of *'Lilium medicine'* under some duress, him being *'afraid of some of the race of Cashin who were among the outlaw band'* (Walsh, 1922). The aggression of the Mac Caisín, and the fear Uí Conchubhair medics felt, was due to the Mac Caisín desiring the prestige and benefits of the ultimate position of medical service to the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí. In 1596, Niall Mac Iomhair, a Scottish medical student at Achadh Mhic Art, noted *'the kindred of Caisín were striving'* with Donnchadh Óg Ó Conchubhair to be the Chief Master of Medicine of Mac Giolla Phádraig (Bannerman, 1986). Niall considered this unjustified because *'the Mac Caisíns were insufficiently skilled to be appointed to such a position'* (Nic Dhonnchadha, 2000). It is considered the Uí Conchubhair medics *'ended their days in Upper Ossory'* (Nic Dhonnchadha, 2006), but neither the Down Survey nor the 1659 *'Census'* record they acquired lands there.

Conclusions, and a looking forward

The fact there was no small number of Mac Caisín medics to the Mac Giolla Phádraig during the sixteenth century, and that their land proprietorship in Osraí was also significant during this period, provides some later context around why Morogh, Thomas, and John Mac Caisín had status in 1566, as fiant 897 appears to indicate. While they were esteemed, the Mac Caisín did not attain the same lofty heights as medics as did their Uí Conchubhair counterparts. So, it intrigues that Conchubhar Ó Conchubhair, a brother of Donnchadh Óg, appears *'further down the list'* than Morogh, Thomas, and John in fiant 897. Also, the Uí

Conchubhair medics did not appear to attain land proprietorships in Osraí, which leads to a nagging question – is there more to the Mac Caisín medics' relationship with the Mac Giolla Phádraig of Osraí than meets the eye?

In a return to where the conversation started, who were the Mac Caisín? Neither the fiant, patents, nor any other record indicates the Mac Caisín of Osraí were a lineage from an individual called Caisín Mac Giolla Phádraig. And, authoritatively, there is

'no evidence of Caisín being used as a personal name by the Mac Giolla Phádraig family, and in Mac Fhir Bhisigh's Book of Genealogies, the personal name Caisín is extremely rare; there are only three instances – one, if not two, of which look(s) very dubious' (N. Ó Muráile, pers.comm., 21 October 2021).

Likewise, there is no evidence the Mac Caisín were a line out of fosterage, or Mac Giolla Phádraig *'in-laws'*, or any other type of kinship bond. But this article began with questions not contrived to secure answers in the affirmative.

The Mac Caisín were more than just a hereditary medical family; they were a hereditary clerical family or, more broadly, a hereditary learned family, whose origins were in Cill Dalua before they were in Osraí. Their appearance in Osraí as medics probably came before the first record of them as such in 1566; it is likely they arrived from Cilla Dalua around the time of the establishment of the medical school Achadh Mhic Airt, ca. 1500, which is consistent with the last record of a Mac Caisín cleric in Cill Dalua, in 1492. It is not implausible that the Mac Caisín were patrilineally connected with the Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí. Still, the complexities and variabilities of surname use, being part and parcel of clerical lineages, means it is unlikely that any such relationship could be uncovered by conventual genealogy. There is also currently no evidence that might be provided via Y-DNA analysis for a Mac Caisín-Mac Giolla Phádraig relationship via a clerical line, but while records such as the fiant and patents are not subject to change, with genetic data, one never knows.

An appropriate way of closing this article is to introduce the next subjects in the series, among whom are the Mac Séartha and the Mac Fynin; after the Mac Caisín, a good place for continuing a discussion of alternative surname Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí septs are these for straightforward reasons. Although some earlier Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí septs, only recently identified, had adopted alternative surnames before the Mac Séartha, such as Clann Maeleachlainn Ruadh (Fitzpatrick, 2020b), the Mac Séartha were long ago identified by Carrigan (1905) in remarkable and now well-cited fashion (e.g., Mac Lysaght, 1991).

For the record, Carrigan (1905) noted that Irish speakers of Osraí in his day *'never mentioned'* Fitzpatricks *'under any other name than that of MacShaerha, O'Shaerha, or O'Sheerrha'* – remarkable because for Fitzpatricks to be not mentioned, not even once, among the Irish speakers of Osraí seems unfathomable, as does the concept that all Fitzpatrick became called Mac Séartha. Carrigan's unequivocal position does not stand the test of time, but his sojourn into alternative Mac Giolla Phádraig surnames does.

As such, a sceptical reader of narratives such as this Mac Caisín introduction to the fiant and patents of Ireland, which result in major disruptions of traditional Fitzpatrick histories, is unlikely to feel too uncomfortable venturing a little outside their Carriganesque world. And such journeying needs only be to authoritative and accessible records, such as *Linea Antiqua* (O'Farrell, 1709) where there are pedigrees of the Mac Fynin, or *Fynen alias Fitzpatrick*, who descend from the 'Lords of Ossory'.

Acknowledgement

The author thanks Professor Nollaig Ó Muráile for his support and insights.

floruit (AD)

FIGURE 1: A POSSIBLE PEDIGREE OF MAC CAISÍN CLERICS & MEDICS CA. 1399-1641

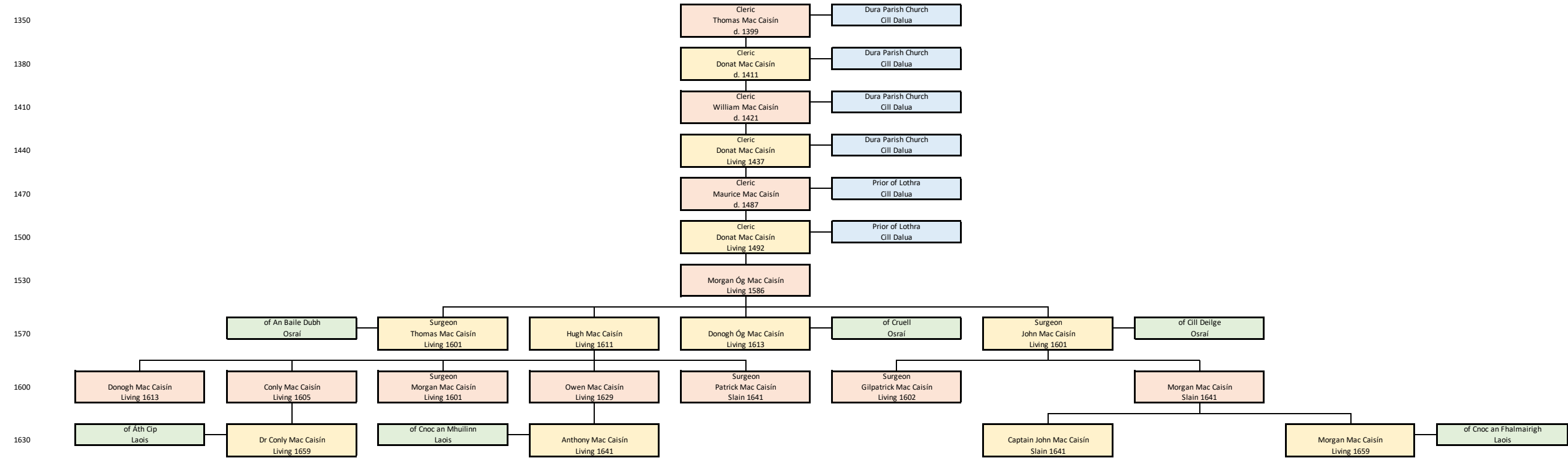
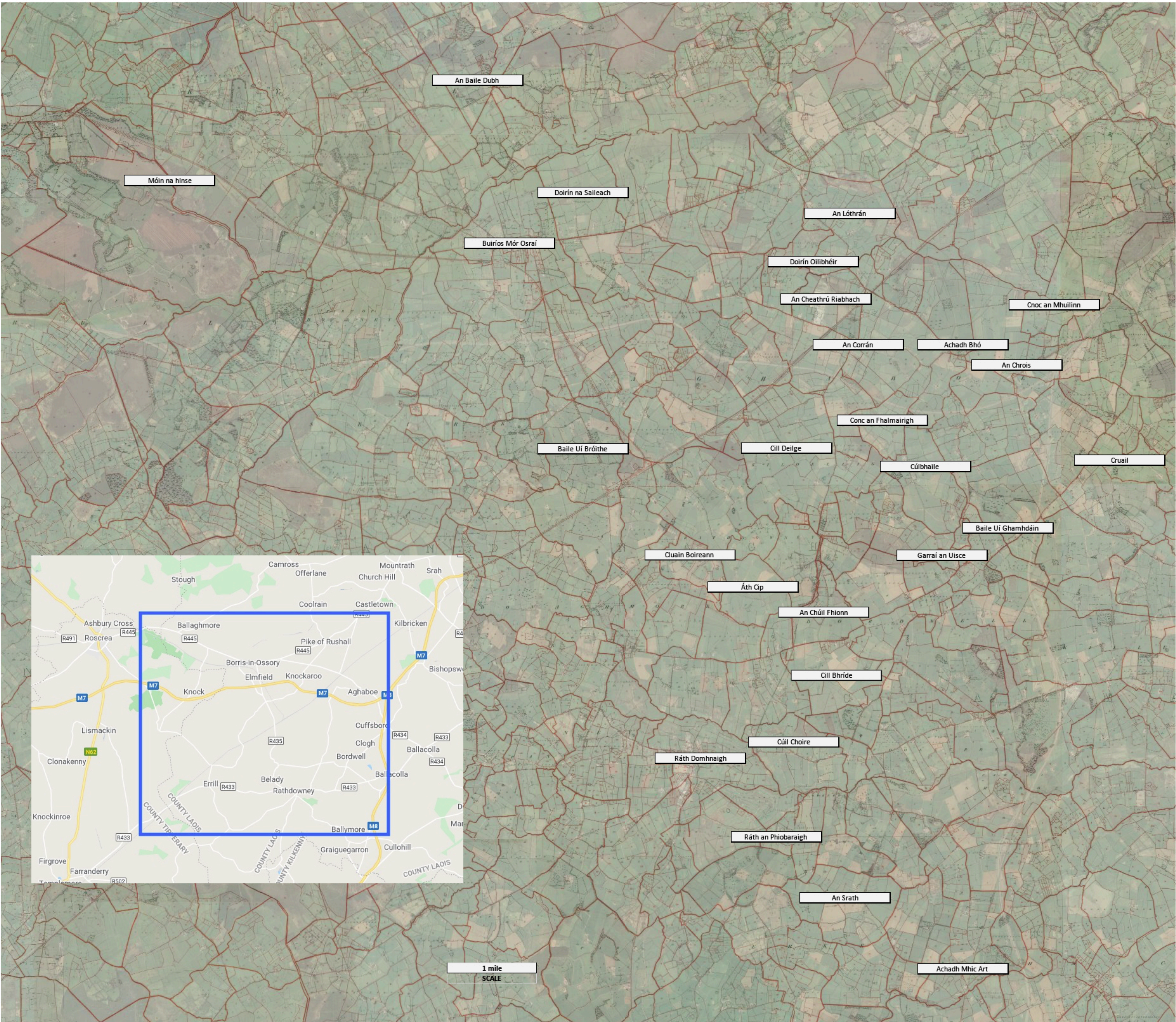


Figure 2: Location map of Mac Caisín abodes



References

1641 Depositions, Trinity College Dublin. <https://1641.tcd.ie>. Accessed 17 October 2021.

Alemand, L, Lucas, L and Lambin, A (1690). *Histoire monastique d'Irlande, où l'on voit toutes les abbayes, prieurez, convents & autres communautés régulières qu'il y a eu dans ce royaume... le nom des fondateurs, les villes... où elles étaient situés... avec quantité de remarques historiques et critiques*. Paris: chez Louis Lucas.

Archdall, M. (1786). *Monasticon Hibernicum: or, A history of the abbeys, priories, and other religious houses in Ireland; interspersed with memoirs of their several founders and benefactors, and of their abbots and other superiors, to the time of their final suppression*. Dublin: WB Kelly.

Bacon, J (1642). *A true relation of several overthrows given to the rebels*. London: printed for Joseph Huns Scot.

Bannerman, J (1986). *The Beatons: A medical kindred in the classical Gaelic tradition*. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers.

Bliss, W and Twemlow, J (1902). *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 4, 1362-1404*. London, Public Record Office.

Bliss, W and Twemlow, J (1904a). *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 5, 1398-1404*. London, Public Record Office.

Bliss, W and Twemlow, J (1904b). *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 6, 1404-1415*. London, Public Record Office.

Carrigan, W (1905). *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers and Walker.

Clarke, A (1967). *Irish Patent Rolls of James I. Facsimile of the Irish Record Commission's Calendar*. Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission.

Connolly, S (2011). *The Oxford companion to Irish history*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cooke, T (1852) On ancient Irish bells. *Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society* 2, 47-63.

Cope, J (2009). *England and the 1641 Irish Rebellion*. Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press.

Courtney, L (2020). *Archaeological aerial survey — a bird's-eye view of the M7/M8 in County Laois*. National Roads Authority, Transport Infrastructure, Ireland.

Curtis, E. (1923). *A History of Medieval Ireland from 1110 to 1513*. London: Macmillan.

Curtis, E (1932). *Calendar of Ormond deeds Volume I*. Dublin: The Stationery Office.

Curtis, E (1935). *Calendar of Ormond deeds Volume III*. Dublin: The Stationery Office.

Curtis, E (1941). *Calendar of Ormond deeds Volume V*. Dublin: The Stationery Office.

- Curtis, E (1970). Calendar of Ormond deeds Volume VI. Dublin: The Stationery Office.
- Darcy, E (2015). The Irish rebellion of 1641 and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. Woodbridge, Suffolk : The Boydell Press.
- Darcy, E, Margey, A and Murphy, E (2016). The 1641 depositions and the Irish Rebellion. London : Routledge, 2016.
- Down Survey (1641). Trinity College Dublin. <http://downsurvey.tcd.ie>. Accessed 21 October 2021.
- Edwards, D (1993). The Butler Revolt of 1569. Irish Historical Studies, 28(111), 228–255.
- Fewer, M. (2019). The battle of the Four Courts, 28–30 June 1922. History Ireland, 27, 44–47.
- Fitzpatrick, E and Fitzpatrick, M (2020). When Everything Changes: Using Critical Family History to Deconstruct Keesing and Fitzpatrick Surnames. Genealogy, 4, 25. doi.org/10.3390/genealogy4010025
- Fitzpatrick, M (2020a) Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí 1384-1534 AD Part I. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 1, 1-17. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00120](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00120)
- Fitzpatrick, M (2020b) Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí 1384-1534 AD Part II. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 1, 40-71. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00320](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00320)
- Fitzpatrick, M (2021) Mac Giolla Phádraig Clerics 1394-1534 AD, Part I. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 2, 42-65. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00521](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00521)
- Fitzpatrick, M and Fitzpatrick, I (2021) The similar-sounding surnames of haplotype R-BY140757. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 2, 1-41. [doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00421](https://doi.org/10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00421)
- Fuller, A (1986). Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 16, 1495-1503. Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission.
- Fuller, A (1998) Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 17. Part II 1492-1503. Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission.
- Gibney, J (2013). The shadow of a year: The 1641 rebellion in Irish history and memory. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Gleeson, D (1949). The Coarbs of Killaloe Diocese. The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 79, 160–169.
- Gleeson D and Costello M (1943). Obligationes pro Annatis Diocesis Laoniensis 1421-1535. Archivium Hibernicum, 10, 1-103.
- Graham, H (1925). Irish Monks and the Transmission of Learning. The Catholic Historical Review, 11, 431–442.
- Gwynn, A and Gleeson, D (1962). A history of the Diocese of Killaloe: Vol. 1: pt. I., pt. 2. Dublin: Gill.

Hamilton, H (1860). Calendar of the State Papers of Ireland, of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth, 1509-1573. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts.

Haren, M (1978) Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 15. 1484-1492. Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission.

Haren, M (1998) Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 19. 1503-1513. Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission.

HMSO, (1875). The seventh report of the deputy keeper of the public records in Ireland. Dublin: Alexander Thom for Her Majesty's Printing Office.

HMSO, (1879). The eleventh report of the deputy keeper of the public records in Ireland. Dublin: Alexander Thom for Her Majesty's Printing Office.

HMSO, (1880). The twelfth report of the deputy keeper of the public records in Ireland. Dublin: Alexander Thom for Her Majesty's Printing Office.

HMSO, (1883). The fifteenth report of the deputy keeper of the public records in Ireland. Dublin: Alexander Thom for Her Majesty's Printing Office.

HMSO, (1884). The sixteenth report of the deputy keeper of the public records in Ireland. Dublin: Alexander Thom for Her Majesty's Printing Office.

HMSO, (1885). The seventeenth report of the deputy keeper of the public records in Ireland. Dublin: Alexander Thom for Her Majesty's Printing Office.

Inquisitionum in officio rotulorum cancellariae Hiberniae asservatarum, repertorium, volume I (1826). Erscheinungsort nicht ermittelbar.

Lawlor, H (1908). Calendar of the Liber Ruber of the Diocese of Ossory. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature 27, 159-208.

Lyte, H (1901). Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry III: Volume 1, 1216-1225. London, His Majesty's Stationery Office.

MacCotter, P. (2004). The Geraldine clerical lineages of Imokilly and Sir John fitz Edmund of Cloyne. D. Edwards (ed), Regions and Rulers in Ireland, 1100-1650, 54-77. Dublin, Four Courts Press.

MacCotter, P. (2016a). Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society, 16, 5-35.

MacCotter, P. (2016b). The dynastic ramifications of the Geraldines. P. Crooks and S. Duffy (eds), The Geraldines and Medieval Ireland. Dublin, Four Courts Press.

Mac Lysaght, E (1985). Irish Families: Their Names, Arms and Origins. Dublin, Irish Academic Press.

Mac Lysaght, E. (1991). The surnames of Ireland. Dublin, Ireland: Irish Academic Press.

Mac Niocaill, G (1992). Crown surveys of lands, 1540-41: with the Kildare rental begun in 1518. Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, pp.443

Mac Quarrie A (2018). Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 23, Part I 1523-1534. Dublin, Irish Manuscripts Commission.

McInerney, L. (2014). Clerical and learned lineages of medieval Co. Clare: A survey of the fifteenth-century papal registers. Dublin, Four Courts Press.

Morgan, H (1993). *Tyrone's rebellion: The outbreak of the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland*. Rochester: The Boydell press.

Mathews, T (1903). The O'Dempseys of Clan Maliere. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co. Ltd.

Mills, J (1905). Calendar of the Justiciary Rolls: Or, Proceedings in the Court of the Justiciar of Ireland preserved in the Public record office of Ireland. Dublin, His Majesty's Stationery Office.

Morrin, J (1861). Calendar of the patent and close rolls of Chancery in Ireland, of the reign of Charles I, first to eighth year inclusive . Dublin: Alexander Thom for Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Morrin, J (1863). Calendar of the patent and close rolls of Chancery in Ireland, of the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. Dublin: Alexander Thom for Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Nelligan, T and Dempsey G (2020). Picking up the pieces. *Archaeology Ireland* 34, 23-26.

Nic Dhonnchadha, A (2000). Medical writing in Irish. *Irish Journal of Medical Science* 169, 217-220.

Nic Dhonnchadha, A (2006). The Medical school of Aghmacart Queen County. Ossory, Laois and Leinster, 2, 11-43.

Nicholls, K. (1970). The FitzMaurices of Kerry. *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society*, 3, 23-42.

Nicholls, K (1972). Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages. Dublin: Lilliput.

O'Donovan J (1838). Ordinance survey of Ireland: Letters, Queen's County (Laois). Dublin: Ordinance Survey Office.

O'Ferrall, R. (1709). *Linea Antiqua*, a collection of Irish genealogies compiled by Roger O'Ferrall, with index. Genealogical Office Manuscripts Collection MS 155.

O'Meara, K. (1996). O'Meara family origins, [dissertation], Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland. Department of History, pp 10.

Ó Muraíle, N (2016): The hereditary medical families of Gaelic Ireland. in: Ó Murchú, L [ed.], *Rosa Anglica: reassessments*, Irish Texts Society, Subsidiary Series 28, London: Irish Texts Society, 85-113

Parkes, P (2006). Celtic Fosterage: Adoptive Kinship and Clientage in Northwest Europe. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 48, 359-395.

Price, L (1933). The Byrnes' Country in County Wicklow in the Sixteenth Century. *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 3, 224-242.

Rowe, J (1916). Rory Oge O'More: The First of the Rapparees. *The Irish Monthly*, 44, 613–626.

Shearman, J. (1879). *Loca Patriciana: An Identification of Localities, Chiefly in Leinster, Visited by Saint Patrick and His Assistant Missionaries and of Some Contemporary Kings and Chieftains*. Dublin: M. H. Gill.

State papers (1834): King Henry the Eighth Volume III. London: Eyre.

Twemlow, J. (1906). *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 7, 1417-1431*. London, His Majesty's Printing Office.

Twemlow, J. (1909). *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 8, 1427-1447*. London, His Majesty's Printing Office.

Twemlow, J. (1915). *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 10, 1447-1455*. London, His Majesty's Printing Office.

Twemlow, J. (1933). *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 12, 1458-1471*. London, His Majesty's Printing Office.

Twemlow, J. (1955). *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 13, 1471-1484*. London, Her Majesty's Printing Office.

Twemlow, J. (1960). *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating To Great Britain and Ireland: Volume 14, 1484-1492*. London, Her Majesty's Printing Office.

Walsh, P (1922). *Gleanings from Irish MSS*. Dublin: At the Sign of the Three Candles.

Woulfe, P. (1923). *Sloinnte Gaedheal Is Gall: Irish Names and Surnames*. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.