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Title	Gaelic service kindreds and the landscape identity of Lucht Tighe
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Publication Date	2018-03-06
Publisher	Cork University Press

Gaelic Service Kindreds and the Landscape Identity of *Lucht Tighe*

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This is a draft version of a paper published in Campbell, E., FitzPatrick, E. and Horning, A. (eds) 2018 *Becoming and Belonging in Ireland AD c. 1200-1600: Essays in Identity and Culture Practice*, 167-88. Cork University Press.

Abstract: This paper discusses the character of the lands of householders who served the courts of Gaelic lords in later medieval Ireland and how their association with those lands, which were mostly of early medieval royal origin, was integral to their identities as hereditary service providers. It demonstrates that this approach has the capacity to reveal a more total picture of later medieval settlement in Gaelic polities than the traditional focus in Irish medieval settlement studies on the residences of elites.

Keywords: boundary, hereditary, household land, hunting, inauguration, lordship, *lucht tighe*, medieval, service families, territory.

Introduction

My aim in this chapter is to place service kindreds of the Gaelic court in their landscape settings between c.1200 and 1600, and to show that the pedigree of their landholdings underpinned their roles as people with often long histories of hereditary service to ruling families. The kind of intense synonymy between identity and place expressed by the relationships between service kindreds and their landholdings is important to understanding how land was organised in Gaelic lordships.

Land organisation and the complex system of customs associated with it in Gaelic cultural practices was considered peculiar if not incomprehensible by successive English administrations in Ireland, but an imperative to understand that system, so that resources could be transferred to subjects loyal to the Crown, produced a particular and informative kind of English record of Gaelic landholding and land use. The traditional historians and brehon lawyers of later medieval and early modern Gaelic Ireland are not known to have made or curated maps of the land denominations that constituted the lordships that they served. However, records of rights and dues in relation to landholding seem to have been kept by the *ollamh*¹ in law of the Gaelic court. This is suggested by an early seventeenth-century encounter between the Attorney-General, Sir John Davies, and the Ó

Breasláin, *airchinneach*² of Derryvullan parish church and *ollamh* in law to the Mág Uidhir lord of Fir Mhanach, when Davies was investigating landholdings in pre-Plantation Ulster. In a letter (1606) to Robert Cecil, the Earl of Salisbury, Davies explained that in order to find out ‘how many vessels of butter, and how many measures of meal, and how many porks, and other such gross duties did arise unto M’Guire out of his mensal lands’, a manuscript kept by Ó Breasláin was viewed and subsequently translated into English for Davies’ benefit. The manuscript that Ó Breasláin produced when pressed to do so, and which he continually carried with him, was described by Davies as a roll which was ‘not very large, but it was written on both sides in a fair Irish character; howbeit some part of the writing was worn and defaced with time and ill-keeping’.³

The landholding arrangement that prevailed in the lordships of Gaelic Ireland provided for four major categories of inheritable land that included (1) personal demesne land attached to the office of the chief; (2) *lucht tige* or household lands, also attached to the office of chief, and populated with service families; (3) sept lands of vassals who owned their lands; (4) and termon or church lands.⁴ All of those land categories were organised in an orderly system of estates generally termed *baile biataigh*.

Davies’ meeting with Ó Breasláin concerned the *lucht tige* of the lordship of Fir Mhanach. Katharine Simms has shown that during the fifteenth century the meaning of the term *lucht tige*, literally ‘people of the house’, changed. The origins of *lucht tige* lies in the formation of early medieval royal lands whereby the king’s troops were granted parcels of land in return for providing military services to the household. Originally, the term meant household troops, but by the late fifteenth century it was used of household lands.⁵ The *lucht tige* was the place that resourced the lord’s household, administrative, ceremonial and military needs.

Defining the *lucht tige* and its occupants

The geography of the late medieval *lucht tige* can be identified in many, but not all, instances as a relic of the early medieval arrangement of the lands of a king’s householders, in the form of sometimes contiguous but more usually scattered blocks of estates occupied by service families. It is a feature of lordship *lucht tige* lands that they were usually situated in a boundary place of an earlier constituent territory such as a *trícha cét* or *túath*. The *lucht tige* of Ó Néill occupied what had earlier been the southeastern extent of the *trícha cét* kingdom of Tulach Óg, lying between the Ballinderry and Blackwater rivers and bordered by Lough Neagh to the east (Fig. 1). *Lucht tige* is historically described in English administrative documents in terms of mensal land. Mensal land was normally

given to food-production and fundamentally concerned with resourcing the lord's table (Latin, *mensa*), but the archaeology of the respective *lucht tige* lands of Ó Néill and of Ó Conchobhair indicates that *lucht tige* also served elite threshold activities such as inauguration, predation, feasting and fighting.⁶ Therefore, *lucht tige* is perhaps best interpreted in the broadest terms as the lands of a lord's householders, rather than in the narrow sense of mensal land concerned with food production.

The hill of Tulach Óg which was situated on the service family lands of the Ó hÁgáin steward to Ó Néill hosted lordly and earlier royal inaugurations, and there was seasonal feasting at An Chraobh, now Stewartstown, Co. Tyrone, on the estate of the service family of Ó Cuinn (Fig. 1).⁷ The use of An Chraobh for that purpose is poetically recorded by Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn in a eulogy to Turlough Luineach Ó Néill, in which the poet writes 'At Christmas we went to Creeve, / the poets of Ireland to a man, /on the smooth side of the little hillock, /where O'Neill was at Christmas'.⁸ The hillock referred to by the poet is Crew Hill in Tamnylennan townland on the northeast side of Stewartstown. A *crannóg* on Stewartstown Lough, in Gortatray townland, was probably the residence of Ó Néill during hospitality events hosted on Ó Cuinn's estate.

In theory, *lucht tige*, with a pedigree that underpinned the authority of the lord, could not be alienated from his family or given to another purpose. Centuries after the formation of the lands of a king's householders, some service kindreds with the family names of original household troops are still found on those lands. This is especially true of several of the service kindreds of the Uí Néill of Tír Eoghain, who are found living around the assembly place of Tulach Óg to c. 1600. It is the case too with the service families of the Síol Muireadhaigh branch of the Uí Chonchobhair of Machaire Chonnacht, who are located around the old *pailís* of Cluain Fraoich as late as the close of the sixteenth century.

The types of service providers that served the courts of Gaelic lords included the steward or overseer of the household, the spenser in charge of distributing food, the marshal, horsemen or cavalry, *ceatharnaigh* or mercenary foot-soldiers, huntsmen and keepers of hounds, horn-blowers, cup bearers, keepers of toilets, among many others, and a range of learned families that included poets, lawyers, physicians and surgeons, musicians and traditional historians and craftsmen.⁹ Within the different groups of functionaries that served the courts of Gaelic lords, the learned professions constituted a very particular elite class, who were hereditary and male and both secular and church officials. Their geographies within lordships tended to be consistently marginal, with poets and traditional historians, in particular, holding lands on old kingdom boundaries. Learned families, who

were appointed to the office of *ollamh* in their respective professions to the Gaelic court, could not always claim the same degree of longevity on their landholdings as stewards, spensers, *ceatharnaigh* and huntsmen. The geographies of several of the learned kindreds attached to later medieval Gaelic courts were the result of migrations after the gradual collapse of the monastic schools in the twelfth century, which had been caused by a combination of Church reform and the introduction of the parochial system during Anglo-Norman settlement.¹⁰ While some learned men who were *comharba* remained on their termon lands, others, especially *airchinnigh*, were slotted into different church lands and sometimes episcopal mensal lands, after the twelfth century.¹¹ They attached themselves to the cult of the saint associated with the church, in addition to running schools and guest houses and serving their lords in the professions of law, poetry, traditional history and genealogy, music, medicine and high-level crafts. Typical of such families were the Uí Dhuibhgeannáin, the leading representative of which was both the *comharba* of St Lasair of Kilronan and *ollamh* in traditional history (*senchas*) to the Mac Diarmada lord of Magh Luirg. The church land of the Uí Dhuibhgeannáin overlooked Lough Meelagh (in north Co. Roscommon) where they also kept a house of hospitality.¹²

Service kindreds are enumerated in native prose and verse and in English administrative records. A prose tract that accompanies a fifteenth-century inauguration ode to the Ó Conchobhair of Machaire Chonnacht, and the prototype of which, Simms suggests, may have had its origins as early as the twelfth or thirteenth century, notes, among others, the respective roles of Ó Taidhg as chief of the lord's household (*'taoiseach teaghlaigh'*) and marshal of his house (*'a mharusgál tige'*), Ó Floinn as steward of his horses (*'maoraigheach each'*) and Ó Dochraidh who was responsible for the privy, the benches and beds in Ó Conchobhair's house.¹³

The late medieval *Airem Muintiri Finn*, a fictive list of the people of the house of the mythical hero Finn mac Cumail, reflects, in the roll-call of householders that include officials such as two stewards of Finn's hounds (*'da maer a chon'*), his spenser (*'a rannaire'*), his three cupbearers (*'a tri dáilemuin'*), his physician (*'a liaig'*), and his smith (*'a goba'*) and metalworker (*'a cerd'*), the contemporary practice of placing service providers on household land.¹⁴ The late fifteenth- or sixteenth-century tract, *Ceart Uí Néill*, an historical recollection of tributes and provisions due to Ó Néill from the other kings of Ulster, and relating to a much earlier time when the Uí Néill had household lands in Inis Eoghain, mentions several service families.¹⁵ Among them is Muintir Dhoibhlín who are defined as *fírcheithearnn* (literally *'true ceatharnaigh'*). Although free of normal billeting, they had duties in the springtime to provide 'twenty wholemeal loaves in the spring from each half-quarter (of land), and a meadar of butter with each loaf: and four pecks of malt in the spring, or a

barrel from each half-quarter, and a meadar of butter per week. Four pence of Easter money per half year'.¹⁶ In return for their professional services, families of the *lucht tighe* were immune from paying *cíos* or tribute, which was generally an annual payment.¹⁷ However, as inhabitants of the *lucht tighe* they were obliged to produce food for the lord's household on particular occasions, hence the historical springtime expectations of Muintir Dhoibhlín.

The fact that household lands were occupied in perpetuity by hereditary service families was regarded as a peculiar practice by Tudor administrators. The early modern English elite genre of writing about Irish customs, laws and people generated ethnic stereotypes of the Gaelic Irish in particular, so that 'native conduct and customs, refracted through incomprehension and hostility, emerge as deviations'.¹⁸ That the hereditary nature of their positions was alien to the office-holding norms of English officials in Ireland was observed by Davies (1609) when he described the principal inhabitants of Gaelic household lands thus:

'The chief had certain lands in demesne which were called his loughy [*lucht tighe*], or mensal lands wherein he placed his principal officers, namely his brehons, his marshal, his cupbearer, his physician, his surgeon, his chronicler, his rhymer, and others, which offices and possessions were hereditary and peculiar to certain septs and families...'¹⁹

The hereditary status of service families was emphasised in native and English literature and it was clearly important to the families themselves. In this chapter, precedence is given to the biographies of the respective lands that service families occupied, because their archaeologies, bedrock and topographies were integral to the hereditary nature of service kindred roles in lordly and earlier royal households. What *lucht tighe* meant, and the services provided by families on those lands, were, of course, not immutable, nor is it the case that all *lucht tighe* families could claim deep roots on their landholdings. Learned families were, in some instances, relative newcomers to the household lands of lordships after the twelfth century. Hereditary service families, or kindreds, presupposes the presence of women and children too, but in the historical and literary records, service providers are invariably cited as men. Future archaeological inquiry has an important role to play in broadening and gendering the identity of later medieval service families who, in the written word, are known only through their male representatives.

Household Lands in Tír Eoghain

A deeper understanding of the cultural meaning of service kindreds in later medieval and early modern Gaelic society to c. 1600 is found in the landscape history and archaeology of their *lucht tighe*

holdings. In order to convey some of that meaning, household lands with early origins in Tír Eoghain and Machaire Chonnacht have been selected for discussion.

The *lucht tige* of Ó Néill in the lordship of Tír Eoghain incorporated blocks of land in the area extending from the Ballinderry River south to the River Blackwater, and from Lough Neagh westward to the uplands around Pomeroy. The combined personal demesne of Ó Néill around Dungannon tower house and the *lucht tige* occupied much of the landmass of the southeastern area of the early medieval kingdom of Tulach Óg (Figs. 1, 2).²⁰ The antiquity of that kingdom is not known, but it appears to have been formed between AD 900 and 1000 from the greater part of the lands of the Uí Thuirtri. It was named after the territory's major landmark, Tulach Óg ('hill of assembly of warriors'),²¹ which became the royal centre of the kingdom. After the formation of the lordship of Tír Eoghain, Tulach Óg lay in a boundary zone between Tír Eoghain and the northwestern extent of the lordship of Clann Aodha Buidhe to the east.²² The importance of the hill to the identity of the *lucht tige* and to its Gaelic community endured into the pre-Plantation years of the seventeenth century.

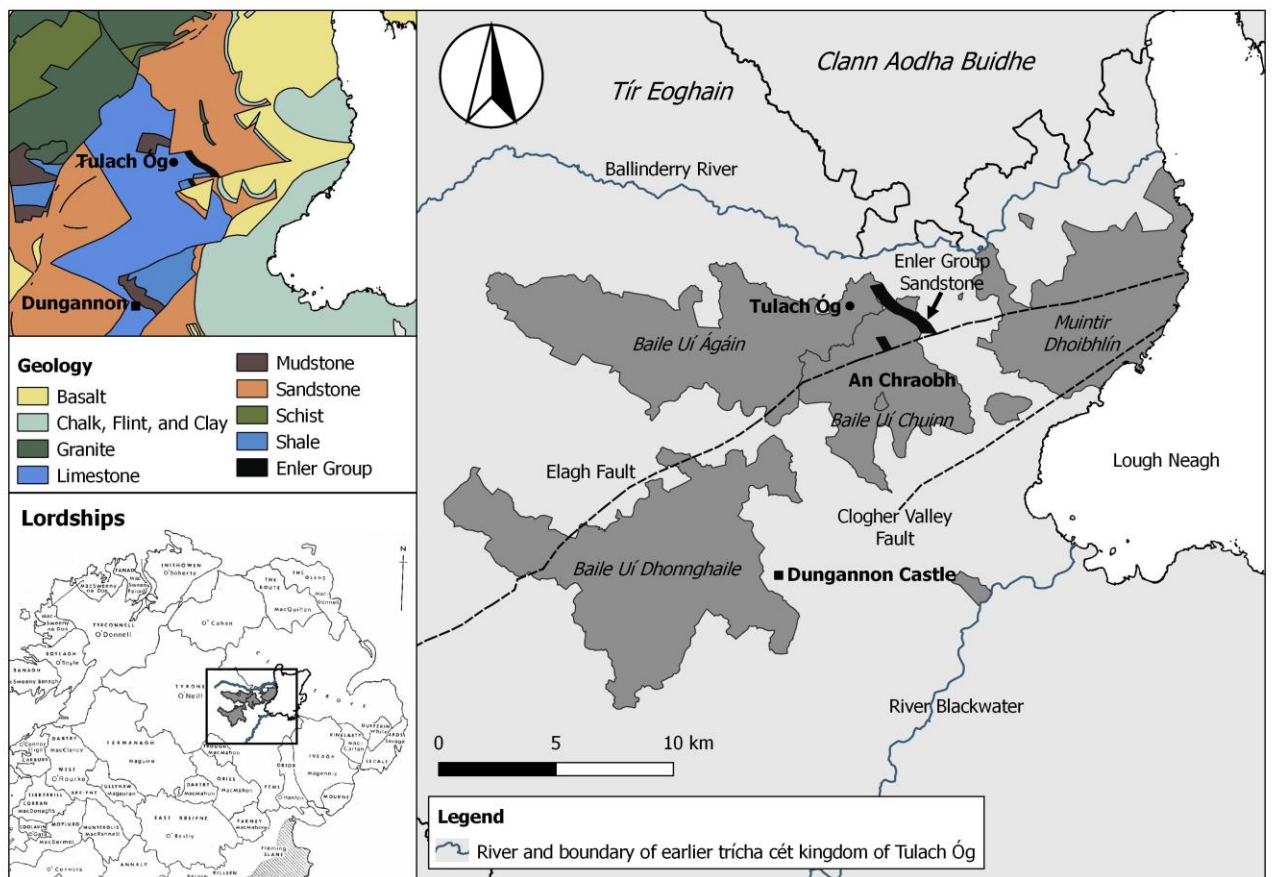


Fig. 1 The baile biataigh or estates of the Ó hÁgain, Ó Doibhlin, Ó Cuinn and Ó Donnghaile on the *lucht tige* lands of Ó Néill, which extended between the Ballinderry River and the River Blackwater. The inset highlights the varied bedrock geology along the Elagh and Clogher Faults and the Enler Group of sandstones that may have been the source of the Ó Néill stone chair at Tulach Óg (drawing: Eve Campbell).

Recorded c.1603 by Richard Bartlett as 'The Lotie' [*lucht tighe*], on his map of southeast Ulster²³ and on his 'Generalle Description of Ulster',²⁴ the household lands of Ó Néill incorporated, among others, the estates of household officials who Bartlett described as 'the five farmers of the Lotie'.²⁵ Bartlett's description of the *lucht tighe* community is augmented by a sixteenth-century Tudor document and by *Ceart Uí Néill*, both of which provide the names of the five 'farmers' noted by Bartlett as well as other service providers. Those named were all representatives of long-standing hereditary service families to the Uí Néill including the Ó hÁgáin, who had multiple roles as *reachtaire* (steward) and as an *ardfheadhmontaigh* (sheriff) and *ardmhaor* (tax collector), Ó Cuinn, who also held office as an *ardfheadhmontaigh* and *ardmhaor*,²⁶ Ó Donnghaile, *marasgál* (marshall), Mac Cathmhaoil, Mac Murchaidh and Ó Doibhlín, *fírcheithearnn* (leaders of *ceatharnaigh*), Ó Goirmleaghaigh, master of stud and chandler,²⁷ and Ó Corragáin who is noted in the Carte manuscript but without a record of his roles.²⁸ Ó Doibhlín is distinguished in the Carte manuscript as the leader of Ó Néill's *lucht tighe* and his lands bordering the western shoreline of Lough Neagh are marked on Bartlett's map of southeast Ulster with the legend 'Monterivlin O Duellins lands'.²⁹ Their estate was coterminous with the parish of Arboe (Fig. 1).

Household lands must have been carefully chosen, or annexed, from the outset during the composition of royal lands. The greatly varied bedrock of the area covered by the *lucht tighe* of Ó Néill, (Fig. 2) between the Ballinderry and Blackwater rivers in Tír Eoghain, predicates different types of physical and cultural resources in terms of pasture and arable land, woodland, bog, building-stone, mineral/metal ores, hunting grounds and prehistoric antiquities. The *lucht tighe* landscape is marked by two major faults – the Elagh Fault and the Clogher Valley Fault which run due southwest from the vicinity of Ardboe Point on the western shore of Lough Neagh.

Tulach Óg is an expansive low-lying hill that commands extensive views, especially north to Slieve Gallion. The hill and its immediate hinterland is a point in the landscape where no less than eight different types of bedrock meet along the line of the Elagh Fault (Fig. 1). The presence of limestone, basalt, chalk, dolerite, marl with gypsum, coal measures, millstone grit and different types of sandstones, including red-brown sandstone with conglomerates, siltstone and breccia,³⁰ distinguishes Tulach Óg and its environs as a locus of transitions and a place of resource potential. The extent to which stone might have been exploited as a resource in the *lucht tighe* landscape between 1200 and 1600 is, as yet, unknown, but the central role of 'Leac na Ríogh' ('flagstone of the kings') in Uí Néill inaugurations at Tulach Óg might suggest that the diversity of bedrock in that

landscape was important to the hill as, at once, a liminal landmark and a topography of power in the eastern boundary zone of the lordship of Tír Eoghain, 5km south of where it adjoined the neighbouring lordship of Clann Aodha Buidhe. The hill was the foundation of the *lucht tige*.

It has been observed that landforms that occur in contact zones between different rock types, and which were used as boundary markers of Gaelic territories, often allude to the mythical warrior-hunter Finn mac Cumail in the place-names Suidhe Fhinn (Finn's Seat) and Formaoil na bhFiann ('bare place of the *fian*').³¹ There is no surviving Finn lore associated with Tulach Óg but the implicit reference to an assembly of warriors, in the place-name, could be an allusion to early medieval young aristocrats classed as *féinnidi* and *díberga* who, having not yet come in to their inheritance, lived outside of society in threshold places given to hunting and wilderness lifeways.³² There are intimations in Gaelic and English sources that Tulach Óg and its hinterland was a sylvan landscape to some degree. It is recorded in the chronicles as the site of venerable trees [*biledha*] which were cut down by the Ulaid during their hosting into Cinéal Eoghain in AD 1111.³³ However, for the early medieval period there is conclusive evidence that arable farming took place on the hill, or at least in its immediate hinterland, over a prolonged period. Two cereal-drying kilns excavated at Tulach Óg were in use in the early to middle seventh century, and in the eighth to tenth century period.³⁴ This evidence advises against any characterisation of the hill as a wilderness, at least in the period between the seventh and tenth centuries and suggests, instead, a mixed-use landscape in keeping with a farmed estate. Bartlett's map-picture of Tulach Óg several hundred years later (c. 1602) presents the hill as a semi-wooded place. As Thomas Herron has convincingly argued, the woodland appears to be shaped in the figure of a satyr,³⁵ Pan, the Greek god of the woodland. Herron suggests that, here, Bartlett uses the tree-figure of the satyr to parody the venerable trees of Tulach Óg and to refer to the 'uncivilized state of Ireland's native inhabitants, who throughout the medieval and early modern periods frequented Ireland's plentiful woods for ambushes, escapes and more mundane purposes such as firewood and cattle-grazing'.³⁶ The extent to which this image should be interpreted as a parody by a cartographer who was 'creatively satirizing the Irish'³⁷ is a matter for debate, but the possibility that Bartlett chose the satyr as a device to convey the genuinely liminal aspect of the hill and its setting, is worth considering as a counterpoint to the view of the map-picture as a condescension of brutish Arcadians.³⁸

The kaleidoscope geology of the greater landscape of the hill (Fig. 1) may bring a new perspective to bear on 'Leac na Ríogh' on which successive kings and lords of Tír Eoghain were inaugurated and which in its latest recorded manifestation was a stone chair.³⁹ The most detailed

record of the form and location of the chair is Bartlett's map-picture, which features the object composed of four separate pieces of stone, in a clearing in woodland on the southern declivity of the hill where it abided until 1602.⁴⁰ The geology of the rough seat, the cut sides and back of the chair, as portrayed by Bartlett, will never be known because the object was 'taken away' at Lord Deputy Mountjoy's command in September 1602.⁴¹ Nor can the archaeology of the chair ever be fully understood from Bartlett's drawing. It is possible that the recumbent stone that formed the seat of the chair was a reused megalith. There is a single standing stone and a standing stone pair at the foot of the hill, to the north in Grange townland, which is a reminder that the Tulach Óg landscape has a prehistoric horizon which may prove to extend to the hilltop if some of the features recovered through recent geophysical survey are ever excavated.⁴² A particular rock type is likely to have been selected for the chair because of its special qualities, whether a reused megalith or a freshly quarried block of stone. It is speculation, but the red-brown sandstone with conglomerate, siltstone and breccia, classified in modern geology as the 'Enler Group' and found in thin bands immediately south and east of the hill (Fig. 1),⁴³ may have been the source of the stone because it is speckled, but also because it expressed the place of anomaly and transition represented by the hill and its hinterland. Some support for this idea can be found in the choice of speckled stone for inauguration furniture elsewhere. The basin stone at Magh Adhair, the assembly place of the early medieval Dál Cais dynasty and their descendants, the Ó Briain overlords of Thomond, is a large conglomerate boulder with porphyritic and quartzite inclusions. It is an ornament in the predominantly limestone bedrock of the area.⁴⁴ The probable inauguration chair of the Clann Aodha Buidhe branch of the Uí Néill (housed in the Ulster Museum) is composed of indurated, coarse sandstone of pinkish-brown hue, the sediment texture of which varies from a medium grain to a pebble-grade conglomerate. The front of the seat of the chair has a particularly conspicuous pebbly layer that includes clasts of quartz, dark-red sandstone, possibly jasper and mudstone,⁴⁵ giving the otherwise rough object an ornamental or jewelled appearance.

The keepers of Tulach Óg were the service kindred of Ó hÁgáin who lived there between the eleventh century and the early years of the seventeenth century and performed the roles of steward or overseer for the Ó Néill household and sheriff to Ó Néill.⁴⁶ The consolidation of the household lands of the Uí Néill of Cineál Eoghain in the early medieval kingdom of Tulach Óg is understood not to have occurred until after the partition of Tír Eoghain in 1166, during the reign of Aodh Ó Néill,⁴⁷ but the chronicle record of the death of Gilla Mura, son of Ócan (Ó hÁgáin), the *rechtair* of the king of Cineál Eoghain, at the royal centre of Tulach Óg in AD 1056, suggests that the formation of the

lands of the royal household had begun by the eleventh century.⁴⁸ The hereditary office came with a *baile biatagh* of *lucht tighe* land, an estate of c. 1000 acres, recorded as 'Bally O Hagan' (Baile Uí Ágáin), the place of O Hagan, which incorporated Tulach Óg (Fig. 1).⁴⁹ The use of *baile* in combination with a service family name is a common cultural practice relating to the place-names of later medieval service family landholdings throughout Ireland, but not one exclusive to those officers.⁵⁰ The Ó Donnghaile, as marshal to Ó Néill, held an estate of *lucht tighe* land called Baile Uí Dhonnghaile c. 9km southwest of Baile Uí Ágáin (Fig. 1).⁵¹ Baile Uí Chuinn, the equally large estate of Ó Cuinn, chief administrator to Ó Néill, was coextensive with the medieval parish of Donaghery (Fig. 1).⁵² The estate centres of both of these service families were *crannóg* settlements. As hereditary office holders of the position of household overseer, the Uí Ágáin had their residence within a large earthen enclosure on the summit of Tulach Óg, captured in detail by Bartlett in his map-picture of the hill. They also held the privilege of inaugurating Ó Néill until that role was passed in the sixteenth century to the Uí Chatháin of Gleann Con Cadhain who emerged in that period as the principal vassal of Ó Néill.⁵³

By 1602, the year in which the Ó Néill stone chair was removed from Tulach Óg, the hill and its landscape setting was a persistent and mnemonic place with a deep timescale. The Ó hÁgáin kindred had already lived there in a hereditary capacity for over 500 years. The traditional knowledge that they and the *lucht tighe* community must have had of Tulach Óg can only be imagined. Little has survived of its history, and almost nothing by way of folklore. The fracturing of the landscape and oral tradition of Tulach Óg, just before and during the Plantation period, greatly reduced the transmission and therefore the survival of the social memories of the long-lived Gaelic service family culture of the *lucht tighe*.⁵⁴

Hangers-on at the Palace in Machaire Chonnacht

The unique locus of *lucht tighe* families, which informs their cultural practices as service providers, can be recomposed by placing them in the landscape. What comes through in particular is the way that they closely identified and engaged with the antique world of early medieval royal lands which, mostly, they occupied, as householders, in perpetuity from one generation to the next. This pattern of hereditary status and longevity of landholding in an enduring place is seen again in Machaire Chonnacht, on what can be proposed as the household lands of the Ó Conchobhair lords of Síol Muireadhaigh, even after their breakdown into two factions and the corresponding split of the territory of Machaire between them in 1384.⁵⁵ Identification of *lucht tighe* lands in Machaire is

complicated, however, by the considerable movement of the *caput* of the Ó Conchobhair ruling family in the century after the Anglo-Norman subinfeudation of Connacht c. 1235, and especially by the sept split of 1384 when the descendants of Aodh son of Cathal Croibhdhearg divided into factions of Uí Chonchobhair Ruaidh (red) and Uí Chonchobhair Dhuinn (brown). The former were supported by the Mac Diarmada of Magh Luirg and Clann Uilliam Uachtair, while the latter allied with the Ó Ceallaigh of Uí Maine and Clann Uilliam Íochtair.⁵⁶

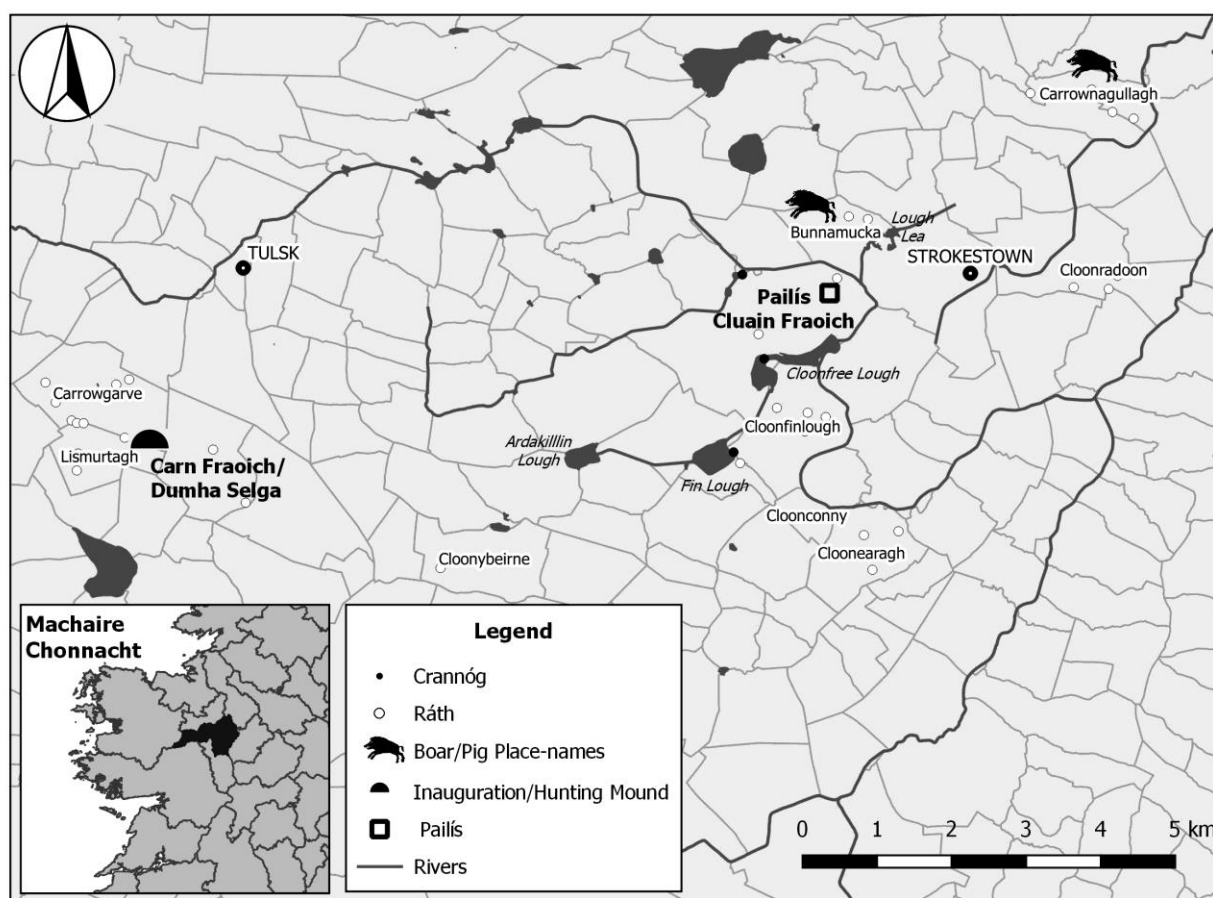


Fig. 2 As late as the end of the sixteenth century, service families of the Uí Chonchobhair of Machaire Chonnacht were recorded living around Pailís Cluain Fraoich and Carn Fraoich in the townlands of Cloonfree, Cloonfinlough, Cloonearagh, Clonybeirne and Cloonradoo. The presence of huntsmen and keepers of hounds as well as pig-related and hunt-associated place-names suggest that predation was an elite activity in the *lucht tige* terrain (drawing: Eve Campbell).

In the prose tract of probable twelfth- or thirteenth-century origin that prologues the fifteenth-century inauguration ode to the Ó Conchobhair king-elect of Connacht, the service family of Uí Bheirn are described as holding the position of *ronnadóir* or spenser in Ó Conchobhair's household – ‘Ronnadóir Í Chonchobhair Ó Beirn’.⁵⁷ The Uí Bheirn are attributed a landholding, Cloonybeirne (Cluain Uí Bheirn) in Machaire Chonnacht, in the triangle extending from the modern

Co. Roscommon settlements of Elphin, southwest to Tulsk and from there east to Strokestown and Slieve Bawn (Fig. 2). This was the core of the territory of Uí Chonchobhair Ruaidh after the split of 1384. Prior to that it was very much borderland between the *trícha céit* of Síol Máelruanaid to the west and Mag Aí to the east.⁵⁸ As early as the late eighth or ninth century, the ancestors of the Uí Chonchobhair, the Síol Muireadhaigh, had emerged as the most politically dominant family among the Uí Briúin Aí dynasty of Mag Aí.⁵⁹ Both the *trícha céit* of Síol Máelruanaid and Mag Aí were incorporated into the later lordship of Machaire Chonnacht.

Two key high-status sites of the Uí Chonchobhair can be found in the lordship landscape of Machaire Chonnacht. These are the *pailís* of Cluain Fraoich ('palace of Fraoch's water-meadow') and the assembly place of Ard Caoin ('the fair height') crowned by the inauguration mound of Carn Fraoich ('Fraoch's mound'), which had an alternative name and, probably, a role as a hunting mound ('Dumha Selga').⁶⁰ The *pailís* was situated in the boundary area of the earlier *trícha céit* territories of Trí Túatha (the 'three *túatha*' concerned were Corcu Eachlann, Tír Briúin na Sinna and Cenél Dobtha),⁶¹ in which it was situated, and Mag Aí which adjoined it to the west. Trí Túatha was also incorporated into the lordship of Machaire Chonnacht. Carn Fraoich lay at the western edge of Mag Aí where it adjoined the *trícha céit* of Síol Máelruanaid. Both sites were, therefore, in-between places, disposed to the margins of their respective territories. Celebrated in two bardic poems composed in the fourteenth century, the *pailís* was built for Aodh Ó Conchobhair, lord of Machaire Chonnacht, between 1293 (when he first assumed power) and 1306 when it was attacked and burned.⁶² The Irish *pailís* is variously translated as a palisade or stockade, a castle and a palace but, where associated with Gaelic elites in fourteenth-century Ireland, it appears to imply an elaborate timber hall which, I have argued elsewhere, probably combined the roles of hunting lodge and feasting hall.⁶³ Cloonybeirne, 'the meadow of Ó Beirn', was situated southwest of the *pailís* (Fig. 2). The combination of the family name with the place emphasised the important role that the Uí Bheirn played in the court of the Uí Chonchobhair, and the synonymy between genealogy and landholding that often characterised the geography of the *lucht tighe*. Brian Shanahan's work for the Discovery Programme has revealed that Cloonybeirne is rich in settlement including a moated site that incorporates part of an earlier *ráth* and a settlement cluster of eight houses, the chronology of which is as yet unknown.⁶⁴ At the time of the Composition of Connacht (1585), Cloonybeirne constituted two quarters of land and was recorded at that time as the estate of Aodh Mac Toirdhealbhach Ruaidh Ó Conchobhair, the *tánaiste* (heir apparent, second in rank to the chief)⁶⁵ of Uí Chonchobhair Ruaidh.⁶⁶

A fiant of 1594 lists pardons granted to individuals who, by virtue of their names and occupations, are recognisable as service providers of the Uí Chonchobhair. Most of the fiants or warrants, directed to the Irish Chancery, were pardons that required those persons concerned to ensure their good conduct and to appear at the next court sessions. They are an invaluable source for revealing personal details of members of Gaelic society in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries not least because their subjects range in status from lords to *ceatharnaigh*. The fiant of 1594 includes learned men, *ceatharnaigh*, horn blowers, huntsmen and keepers of hounds, the descendants of some of those named in the Ó Conchobhair inauguration ode and prose tract.⁶⁷ Their domiciles, as cited in the fiant, indicate that the majority of them were clustered in the vicinity of the old *pailís* of the fourteenth century (Fig. 2), on the landholdings of Cloonfinlough, Cloonearagh and Clonconny and in the landholding of Cloonfree, the correct name of which the fiant reveals as 'Palishclonfrey' (Pailís Cluain Fraoich). It is this massing of a wide range of service families in the hinterland of the *pailís* and the inauguration site of Carn Fraoich that confirms the former role of those lands as *lucht tighe*.

The landscape across which the land denominations are spread is rich in settlement archaeology, with the *ráth*, *crannóg* and moated site especially plentiful. The identification of some of the *lucht tighe* families of Machaire Chonnacht with the landholdings in which those monuments are distributed, invites interpretation of the possible roles of those settlement forms for the kindreds concerned. The content of the 1594 fiant dealing with Machaire is as follows:

Pardon to ... Dermot M'Ferrdorraghe M'Bronane, of Clonfinlag, freeholder, Conn m'Hughe oge M'Bronan, of same, kern, Shane m'Donowgh M'Brownan, of Cloynerany, stokagh, Thady m'Ferrall M'Brownan, of Palishclonfrey, kern, Cormack m'Wm. M'Brownan, of Portnern, kern, Melaghlin M'Anloghie, of Cloncony, stokaghe,⁶⁸ Cormack M'Andowalty, of same, kern, Conn M'Andowalty, of Cloynfinglagh, kern, Cormack O Downever, of Cloynfinglaghe, scholar, Mullmory O Mulconery, of same, Moyllyne O Mulconery, of Killreaghe, Loghtney O Mulconery, of the same, Arrhully m'Cach M'Multolly of Olfine...⁶⁹

The fiant refers to the renowned Connacht learned families of Uí Dhonnabhair and Uí Mhaoilchonaire who are represented in the townlands of Cloonfinlough and Kilreagh. Giolla na Naomh Ó Donnabhair is cited as chief poet of Connacht in 1101,⁷⁰ and in 1594 a 'scholar' of that name is found living in Cloonfinlough just south of the high medieval *pailís* of Aodh Ó Conchobhair (Fig. 2). While the roles of two members of the Uí Mhaoilchonaire, living in Cloonfinlough and

Kilreagh, are not recorded in the *fiant*, they are likely to have been members of the poetic family who also held the privilege of inaugurating the Ó Conchobhair on Carn Fraoich at Ard Caoin until c. 1310.⁷¹

Tadhg Mac Branáin, described in the *fiant* as a ‘kern’, was living at Pailís Cluain Fraoich in 1594. His kinsmen, who also include *ceatharnaigh* and a horn-blower, were based in the neighbouring townlands of Cloonfinlough and Cloonearagh and in the unidentified Portrern. Another horn-blower, ‘Mac Anloghie’ (Ó hAinlidhe) is provenanced to Cloonconny (Fig. 2). The role of the Ó hAinlidhe in the period from the twelfth/thirteenth century to the fifteenth century is communicated in the Ó Conchobhair tract and inauguration ode as ‘the guarding of Ó Conchobhair’s hostages’ and ‘the command of his foot soldiers’ (*‘Coimhét giall agus brághad Uí Chonchobhair cona sochar agus cennus a chosi, baráass a chobhlaigh...’*).⁷² Horn-blowers were generally *ceatharnaigh*. In Albrecht Dürer’s image of Irish warriors and peasants he shows two *ceatharnaigh* distinguished by their hairstyle and bare feet, and one of whom carries a *stoc* or horn. German artists of the sixteenth century used dress and images of clothing to ‘imagine identifications’ and therefore Dürer’s pen and watercolour drawing made at Antwerp in 1521 cannot be taken as an eye-witness record,⁷³ but it has been suggested that Dürer believed that ‘human variety’ could only be understood if it was ‘well observed and visualised’.⁷⁴

The combination of roles as *ceatharnaigh* and keepers of hounds, and *ceatharnaigh* and horn-blowers, suggests that *ceatharnaigh* were not simply foot soldiers but involved in hunting too. They were associated in the minds of high medieval commentators with early medieval *díberga* and with the mythological Finn mac Cumail and his *fían*.⁷⁵ As Alan Harrison and Katharine Simms have observed, by the end of the sixteenth century *ceatharnaigh* were considered outlaws and popularly referred to as *cioth Ifrinn* – ‘a shower of hell’,⁷⁶ which possibly explains why they occur so frequently in the *fiant*s.

The various Meic Bhranáin *ceatharnaigh* named in the *fiant* of 1594 were descendants of the chiefs of the *túath* of Corcu Achlann (in which the *pailís* lay)⁷⁷ and hereditary leaders of Ó Conchobhair’s *ceatharnaigh* and keepers of his hounds. The Mac Branáin is found in that role at least as early as the thirteenth century, since the family are mentioned in that capacity in the prose tract that prologues the Ó Conchobhair inauguration ode – ‘Mac Branáin has the rear-guard of Ó Conchobhair and the stewardship of his hounds and the leadership of his kernes’ (*‘Cúlchoimét Í Chonchobhair agus conmaoraigheacht agus taoisigheacht cheithirne ag Mac Branáin’*).⁷⁸ The ode itself compares Mac Branáin’s role to that of Finn mac Cumail and his *fían* in their wilderness hunting

ground.⁷⁹ There are other insights into the cultural practices of the Meic Branáin as hereditary huntsmen to their lord on the lands of the *lucht tige*. In 1448, Seán Mac Branáin, keeper of Ó Conchobhair's hounds and leader of his *ceatharnaigh*, died at Dumha Selga ('the mound of the hunt').⁸⁰ The circumstances of his death are not explained but Dumha Selga is located on Ard Caoin, the assembly place of Machaire Chonnacht.



Fig. 3 The landscape of Ard Caoin, showing (at centre) Carn Fraoich, alias Dumha Selga 'the mound of the hunt', where Mac Branáin, keeper of Ó Conchobhair's hounds, died in 1448. The role of the route running north–south and curving around the mound is not known. It may have been processional or possibly used for coursing (Photo: Gerry Bracken, courtesy of the Rathcroghan Project).

The archaeological identity of Dumha Selga among the three known mounds on the ridge at Ard Caoin has been discussed by John O'Donovan and others,⁸¹ but writing in 1649 the traditional historian and genealogist Duaid Mac Firbhisigh was of the view that Dumha Selga and the inauguration mound of Carn Fraoich on Ard Caoin were synonymous, the former being its original name (Fig. 3).⁸² The fact that Dumha Selga was the subject of a twelfth-century topographical poem (*dindshenchas*) in which it is defined, in origin, as a royal barrow [*ríg-duma*], the grave of Fer Fota, and subsequently as a hunting mound 'since the chase of Dre briu's six swine',⁸³ seems to strengthen Mac Firbhisigh's historical interpretation of the hybridity of the monument name and the dual role

that it played as both an inauguration mound and a hunting platform. There is an implication in the *dindshenchas* attached to the site that hunting of wild pig/boar may have been conducted on Ard Caoin.

Swine-related place-names in the *lucht tighe* landscape, especially around Pailís Cluain Fraoich, lends some support to the idea that the household lands given to the threshold activities of the Ó Conchobhair, incorporating the inauguration site and *pailís*, included hunting. The townland of Bunnamucka (Bun na Muice), immediately north of the *pailís* and the Cloonfree River, refers to the bottom or low place of the pigs,⁸⁴ while Carrownagullagh (Ceathramhadh na gCullach⁸⁵), northeast of Pailís Cluain Fraoich, is translated as the 'quarter of the boars'. Within it lies the local field-name 'Boarfield' and modern Boarfield Grove House. It is also worth mentioning that a large deer park occurs in the townland of Cloonradoon within Strokestown House demesne which lies east of Pailís Cluain Fraoich. Later deer parks on country house estates are often found in landscapes previously given to hunting.⁸⁶

The literary and historical references that intimate predation in the *lucht tighe* landscape, together with the place-names alluding to hunted species, give some physical context to the scene of Mac Branáin's death in 1448 at Dumha Selga, the 'mound of the hunt'. It is not inconceivable that he died there while coursing his hounds. Dumha Selga (alias Carn Fraoich, after Mac Firthisigh) sits on the highest point of the ridge of Ard Caoin (OD 119.5m). The limestone bedrock of the ridge is very close to the surface and outcrops in several places, most notably on the crest of the ridge where Dumha Selga/Carn Fraoich sits. As an inauguration mound and hunting platform, the celebrated monument could not be more inconspicuous, but the commanding view from the slightly dished summit compensates for its small size (2m in height and 11m in diameter at base). It would have been an ideal stand from which to engage with a ritualised hunt or ceremonial coursing of wild animals during an assembly. From the air, a route (15-20m wide) can be seen running in a north-south alignment on the immediate east side of Dumha Selga/Carn Fraoich and which respects the curve of the mound (Fig. 3).⁸⁷ Theorising this route, it might be interpreted as some kind of processional way, but it could also have been a run along which prey were coursed by hounds into the sight of an archer or a spear-caster positioned on the mound, in the manner of bow-and-stable hunting. Coursing with sighthounds in an open environment where the spectacle could be viewed by an audience was a well-established hunting practice of European medieval elites and, in some instances, courses were made to make the chase more observable.⁸⁸

The predominance of *ceatharnaigh*, keepers of hounds and horn-blowers in the *lucht tige* landscape extending between Ard Caoin and the hinterland of Pailís Cluain Fraoich, combined with the abundance of lakes, underwood, rocky pasture, and place-names that reference hunted species strongly suggests that large parts of the *lucht tige*, including the assembly place on Ard Caoin, were given to hunting. The family names associated with those roles in the fiant of 1594 were among those of the original household troops of Ó Conchobhair.

Conclusion

I have attempted to show how enumerations of *lucht tige* peoples in Gaelic and English written sources, which contain their names, roles and abodes, can be animated by reconstructing the landscape contexts of their lives. It is possible to interpret settlement in the *lucht tige* and to populate it with meaningful communities of people by a total landscape approach that works different bodies of evidence together. This approach has the capacity to reveal a more total picture of later medieval settlement in Gaelic polities than the traditional fixation on the residences of their elites.

The landscape, language and history of the Gaelic *lucht tige* is a complex set of codes, at the heart of which lies the identity of the service families who lived and worked in that specialised land category. Hereditary status was the principal identifier of service families and what conferred that standing was the sense of antiquity and permanence that their positions gave to them. They consciously affiliated themselves to the past – a practice that was underpinned by the fact that their *lucht tige* landholdings were for the most part inherited from royal household lands of early medieval kingdoms. Those lands contained, among other natural and cultural resources, assembly venues and hunting grounds in prehistoric landscape settings. It is certain that *lucht tige* lands were carefully chosen for their resources and threshold geographies and that there was considerable traditional knowledge of their importance among the people who provisioned the *lucht tige* in Gaelic lordships.

¹ K. Simms, *From Kings to Warlords: The Changing Political Structure of Gaelic Ireland in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), p. 176, translates *ollamh* as ‘master of poetry, or other learned or skilled profession in the native tradition, as law, history, medicine, music, smithcraft’.

² Simms, *From Kings to Warlords*, p. 170 translates the later medieval *airchinneach* as ‘an official, normally hereditary, under the authority of the local bishop, with responsibility for maintaining the fabric of a church and providing for the celebration of divine service when not himself ordained’.

³ C. Vallancey, *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis: Number II* (Dublin: Luke White, 1786), pp. 163–5; P. Palmer, *Language and Conquest in Early Modern Ireland: English Renaissance Literature and Elizabethan Imperial Expansion* (Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 71–2.

⁴ P.J. Duffy, ‘Social and Spatial Order in the MacMahon Lordship of Airghialla in the Late Sixteenth Century’, in P.J. Duffy, D. Edwards and E. FitzPatrick (eds), *Gaelic Ireland c. 1250–c. 1650: Land, Lordship and Settlement* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2001) p. 129; L. McInerney, ‘The West Clann Chuiléin Lordship in 1586: Evidence from a Forgotten Inquisition’, *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, vol. 48, 2008, pp. 35–7.

⁵ Simms, *From Kings to Warlords*, p. 94, 176.

⁶ For a discussion of the concept of liminality as an intermediate state of being ‘in between’ during rites of passage [inauguration for instance] connected with changes in social status see A. van Gennep, *Les Rites de Passage* (Paris: E. Nourry, 1909) and V. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1977). For an understanding of how liminality is contrived and conveyed in medieval Irish literature see J.F. Nagy, ‘Liminality and Knowledge in Irish Tradition’, *Studia Celtica*, vol. 16–17, 1981–2, pp. 135–43; Laura Feldt discusses wilderness as a spatial expression of liminality in L. Feldt (ed.), *Wilderness in Mythology and Religion: Approaching Religious Spatialities, Cosmologies, and Ideas of Wild Nature*, Religion and Society vol. 55 (Boston and Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), pp. 1–9, and Bjorn Thomassen discusses liminal landscapes in ‘Revisiting Liminality: The Danger of Empty Spaces’, in H. Andrews and L. Roberts (eds), *Liminal Landscapes: Travel, Experience and Spaces In-Between* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 21–35.

⁷ É. Ó Doibhlin, ‘Ceart Uí Néill: A Discussion and Translation of the Document’, *Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, vol. 5, No. 2, 1970, 356–7; E. FitzPatrick, *Royal Inauguration in Gaelic Ireland c.1100–1600: A Cultural Landscape Study* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2001), pp. 140–43.

⁸ Eleanor Knott (ed. and trans.), *The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn*, 2 vols. (London: Irish Text Society, 1926), vol. 2, p. 34.

⁹ For descriptions of many of these roles see Simms, *From Kings to Warlords*, pp. 170–78.

¹⁰ C. O’ Scea, ‘Erenachs, Erenachships and Church Landholding in Gaelic Fermanagh, 1270–1609’, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. 112C, 2012, pp. 273–4; P. Mac Cana, ‘The Rise of the Later Schools of *Filidheacht*’, *Ériu*, vol. 25, 1974, 127–30; M. Dillon, D.A. Binchy and D. Greene (eds), *Robin Flower: The Irish Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1947; repr. 1948), p. 84.

¹¹ See for instance the landholding of the Meic Bhruaideadha poet–chroniclers of Lettermoylan and Fomoyle at Slieve Callan, Co. Clare, which constituted episcopal mensal land of the Bishop of Killaloe to whom the learned family paid a rent. L. McInerney, ‘Lettermoylan of Clann Bhruaideadha: A Résumé of their Landholding, Topography and History’, *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, vol. 52, 2012, p. 86.

¹² AFM 1578.4; E. FitzPatrick, ‘*Ollamh, Biatlach, Comharba*: Lifeways of Gaelic Learned Families in Medieval and Early Modern Ireland’, in L. Breatnach, R. Ó hUiginn, D. McManus and K. Simms (eds), *Proceedings of the XIVth Celtic Congress, Maynooth, 2011* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2015), pp. 173–4.

¹³ M. Dillon, ‘The Inauguration of O’Conor’, in J.A. Watt, J.B. Morrall, F.X. Martin (eds), *Medieval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn, S.J.* (Dublin: The Three Candles, 1961), pp. 190, 198, 199; K. Simms, ‘*Gabh Umad a Fheidhlimidh – A Fifteenth-Century Inauguration Ode?*’, *Ériu*, vol. 31, 1980, pp. 132–45.

¹⁴ S.H. O’Grady, *Silva Gadelica: A Collection of Tales in Irish with Extracts Illustrating Persons and Places*, 2 vols. (London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1892), vol. 1, p. 92, vol. 2, p. 99.

¹⁵ Myles Dillon (ed. and trans.) ‘Ceart Uí Néill’, *Studia Celtica*, vol. 1, 1966, pp. 1–2, 6–7; Ó Doibhlin, ‘Ceart Uí Néill’, p. 325–5.

¹⁶ Ó Doibhlin, ‘Ceart Uí Néill’, p. 354–5.

¹⁷ Simms, *From Kings to Warlords*, 143–5, 172.

¹⁸ Palmer, *Language and Conquest in Early Modern Ireland*, p. 74.

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- ¹⁹ PRO London SP 63/226 No. 8; H. Morgan (ed.), 'The Lawes of Irelande: A Tract by Sir John Davies', *Irish Jurist*, vol. 28–30, 1993–5, p. 311.
- ²⁰ P. MacCotter, *Medieval Ireland: Territorial, Political and Economic Divisions* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), p. 224; S. Ó Ceallaigh, *Gleanings from Ulster History* (Cork University Press, 1951; Reprint Draperstown: Ballinasreen Historical Society, 1994), p. 21.
- ²¹ É. Ó Doibhlin, 'O'Neill's "Own Country" and its Families', *Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, vol. 6, 1, 1971, p. 3.
- ²² In *Royal Inauguration*, pp.195–6, I was incorrect in stating that 'Tulach Óg, although close to the western side of Lough Neagh, could not be considered a boundary site of Tír Eoghain'. It was, of course, a short distance south of the Ballinderry River which, in that area, formed part of the boundary between the lordships of Tír Eoghain and Clann Aodha Buidhe. The presence of the Elagh Fault just south of the Ballinderry River and the location of the assembly place of Tulach Óg in close proximity to the river and the fault suggests that they may have constituted a natural boundary zone for the northern extent of the early medieval kingdom of Tulach Óg. As Padráig Ó Riain observed in 'Boundary Association in Early Irish Society', *Studia Celtica*, vol. 7, 1972, pp. 24, 25, assembly places of early medieval territories are often found in boundary zones. Paul MacCotter, however, in *Medieval Ireland*, p. 259 shows the *trícha cét* of Tulach Óg extending into what is now south Derry.
- ²³ PRO, London, MPF 36.
- ²⁴ PRO, London, MPF 35.
- ²⁵ PRO, London, MPF 36.
- ²⁶ Ó Doibhlin, 'Ceart Uí Néill', pp. 328, 331.
- ²⁷ Ó Doibhlin, 'Ceart Uí Néill', pp. 345–7.
- ²⁸ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Carte MS no 55, fo. 591; Ó Doibhlin, 'Ceart Uí Néill', p. 353–8.
- ²⁹ R. Bartlett. Southeast Ulster. PRO London, MPF 36.
- ³⁰ Geological Survey of Northern Ireland, *Geological Map of Northern Ireland: Solid Geology 1:250 000* (Surrey: 1997).
- ³¹ E. FitzPatrick, R. Hennessy, P. Naessens and J.F. Nagy, 'Decoding Finn Mac Cumail's Places', *Archaeology Ireland*, vol. 29, 3, 2015, pp. 26–31; E. FitzPatrick, 'Formaioil na Fiann: Hunting Preserves and Assembly Places in Gaelic Ireland', in D. Furchtgott, G. Henley and M. Holmberg (eds), *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, vol. 32 (Harvard: Harvard University Press 2013), pp. 95–118; FitzPatrick, 'The Mountain Seat of Fionn', in FitzPatrick, *Royal Inauguration*, p. 131.
- ³² K. McCone, 'The Celtic and Indo-European Origins of the *Fían*', in S.J. Arbuthnot and G. Parsons (eds), *The Gaelic Finn Tradition* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012), pp. 20, 22; K. McCone, *Pagan Past and Christian Present in Early Irish Literature*, Maynooth Monographs, vol. 3 (Maynooth: An Sagart, 1990), pp. 205–6.
- ³³ AI 1111.6; AU 1111.6; FitzPatrick, *Royal Inauguration*, p. 141.
- ³⁴ B. Sloan, *Community Excavation adjacent to Tullaghoge Fort, Cookstown, Co. Tyrone*. Data Structure Report No. 109. Centre for Archaeological Fieldwork, School of Geography Archaeology and Palaeoecology, Queen's University Belfast (Belfast: Northern Ireland Environmental Agency), p. 2.
- ³⁵ T. Herron, 'Orpheus in Ulster: Richard Bartlett's Colonial Art', in T. Herron and M. Potterton (eds), *Ireland in the Renaissance c. 1540–1660* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), p. 299.
- ³⁶ Herron, 'Orpheus', p. 303.
- ³⁷ *ibid.*, Herron, 'Orpheus', p. 308.
- ³⁸ P. Borgeaud, *The Cult of Pan in Ancient Greece*, trans. K. Atlass and J. Redfield (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), argues pp. 9–10 that the rustic or brutish nature of the Arcadians was explained by their considerable antiquity.
- ³⁹ FitzPatrick, *Royal Inauguration*, pp. 105–6, 149–56
- ⁴⁰ NLI, MS 2656 (5).
- ⁴¹ Annotation by Richard Bartlett on his map of southeast Ulster 1603, PRO London, MPF 36.
- ⁴² S. McDermott, *Magnetometry Survey, Tullaghoge Fort, Co. Tyrone*. Geophysical Survey Report No. 31. Unpublished Geophysical Report Prepared by the Centre for Archaeological Fieldwork, QUB (Belfast: Northern Ireland Environment Agency, 2014).
- ⁴³ Geological Survey of Northern Ireland, *Geological Map of Northern Ireland*.
- ⁴⁴ FitzPatrick, *Royal Inauguration*, p. 56.
- ⁴⁵ M.J. Simms, 'Provenancing the Chair of Clann Aodha Buidhe', in E. FitzPatrick, *Royal Inauguration*, pp. 243–48.

- ⁴⁶ É. Ó Doibhlin, 'Ceart Uí Néill, pp. 328, 331; Edmond Oge O'Hagan was cited as being of 'Tullioige', in a general pardon granted to him by James I in 1608. *Cal. Pat. Rolls Jas. I*, 23 Feb. 1608.
- ⁴⁷ Ó Doibhlín, 'O'Neill's "Own Country"', p. 6.
- ⁴⁸ AU 1056.7.
- ⁴⁹ G. Hill, *An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster at the Commencement of the Seventeenth Century, 1608–1620* (Belfast: McCaw, Stevenson and Orr, 1877), p. 549; FitzPatrick, *Royal Inauguration*, pp. 198–200.
- ⁵⁰ FitzPatrick, 'Ollamh, Biatach, Comharba, p. 4.
- ⁵¹ Research undertaken by Shane McGivern 2007, 'Gaelic Secular Settlement in South-east Tyrone in the Late Medieval Period', Unpublished Thesis, Queen's University Belfast, 2007 argues convincingly that the Uí Dhonghaile residence is likely to have been a crannóg in Lough Aughlish, c. 1km to the west of Castle Caulfield, and not Mullygruen Lough southwest of Donaghmore which I suggested in *Royal Inauguration*, p.199; N. Carver and C.J. Donnelly, *Investigations at Castle Caulfield, Lisnamonaghan, Co. Tyrone* (Belfast: Centre for Archaeological Fieldwork, QUB, 2011), pp. 73–4.
- ⁵² Ó Doibhlín, 'O'Neill's "Own Country"', p. 6.
- ⁵³ FitzPatrick, *Royal Inauguration*, pp. 142–3.
- ⁵⁴ M. Vejby and J. Ahlers, 'Land, Myth and Language: The Preservation of Social Memories', in A.M. Chadwick and C.D. Gibson (eds), *Memory, Myth and Long-term Landscape Inhabitation* (Oxford and Oakville: Oxbow, 2013), pp. 276–8.
- ⁵⁵ AC 1384.2; FitzPatrick, *Royal Inauguration*, pp.210–11.
- ⁵⁶ F. Verstraten, 'Ua Conchobair', in S. Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Ireland: An Encyclopaedia* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 772.
- ⁵⁷ Dillon, 'The Inauguration of O'Conor', p. 190.
- ⁵⁸ MacCotter, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 148–9, 208–9.
- ⁵⁹ F.J. Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings* (London: Batsford, 1973), pp. 251–3.
- ⁶⁰ For the landscape of Ard Caoin see 'Survey at Carn Láma, Carnfree and Duma Selga', in J. Waddell, J. Fenwick and K. Barton (eds), *Rathcroghan: Archaeological and Geophysical Survey in a Ritual Landscape* (Dublin: Wordwell, 2009), pp. 113–35; R. McNeary and B. Shanahan, 'Carns Townland, Co. Roscommon: Excavations by the Medieval Rural Settlement Project in 2006', in C. Corlett and M. Potterton (eds), *Rural Settlement in Medieval Ireland in the Light of Recent Excavations* (Dublin: Wordwell, 2009), pp. 125–37; FitzPatrick, *Royal Inauguration*, pp. 60–68.
- ⁶¹ MacCotter, *Medieval Ireland*, 210.
- ⁶² AC 1306.4; K. Simms, 'Native Sources for Gaelic Settlement: The House Poems', in P.J. Duffy, D. Edwards and E. FitzPatrick (eds), *Gaelic Ireland*, p. 257; L. McKenna (ed. and trans.), 'Poem to Clonfree Castle', *Irish Monthly*, vol. 51, 1923, p. 644.; E. Crosby Quiggin (ed. and trans.), 'O'Conor's House at Cloonfree', in E. Crosby Quiggin (ed.), *Essays and Studies Presented to William Ridgeway* (Cambridge University Press, 1913), pp. 336, 337.
- ⁶³ K. Ferguson, 'Castles and the Pallas Placename: A German Insight', *The Irish Sword*, vol. 22, 89, 2001, p. 247; E. FitzPatrick, 'The Last Kings of Ireland: Material Expressions of Gaelic Lordship c. 1300–1400 A.D', in K. Buchanan, L.H.S. Dean and M. Penman (eds), *Medieval and Early Modern Representations of Authority in Scotland and the British Isles* (Routledge: Oxford, 2016), pp. 197–213.
- ⁶⁴ B. Shanahan, 'Roscommon Landscape: Cloonybeirne: O Conor Roe Lordship' (Dublin: Discovery Programme, 2010), outlines the features of the O Conor Roe lordship centre at Cloonybeirne identified by him during systematic mapping of relict earthworks in the townland.
- ⁶⁵ Simms, *From Kings to Warlords*, p. 178.
- ⁶⁶ A.M. Freeman (ed.), *The Compossicion Booke of Conought* (Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 1936), pp. 155, 156, 162–3.
- ⁶⁷ Dillon, 'The Inauguration of O'Conor, pp. 196, 202; Simms, 'Gabh umad a Fheidhlimidh, Ériu, vol. 31, 1980, 132–45.
- ⁶⁸ The term 'stokaghe' is possible a corruption of the Irish *stocaire* which according to E.G. Quin (ed.), *Dictionary of the Irish Language: Based Mainly on Old and Middle Irish Materials* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1984), p. 390, means 'trumpeter'. The root *stoc* translates as trumpet, bugle, horn. It probably refers to hunting horns and to those whose hereditary position it was to blow the hunting horns for Ó Conchobhair.
- ⁶⁹ K.W. Nicholls (ed.), *Irish Fiants of the Tudor Sovereigns 1586–1603*, 4 vols. (Dublin, Éamonn de Búrca for Edmund Burke, 1994), p. 242 [5888].
- ⁷⁰ AFM 1101.13 records the death in that year of Giolla na Naomh Ó Donnabhair, 'Chief Poet of Connacht'.

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- ⁷¹ Dillon, 'The Inauguration of O'Conor', pp. 189, 197; FitzPatrick, *Royal Inauguration*, p. 181.
- ⁷² Dillion, 'The Inauguration of O'Conor', pp. 190, 195, 197–8, 202.
- ⁷³ U. Rublack, *Dressing Up: Cultural Identity in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 27–31, 182–7.
- ⁷⁴ Rublack, *Dressing Up*, p.183.
- ⁷⁵ Dillon, 'The Inauguration of O'Conor', p.196, 202.
- ⁷⁶ A. Harrison, 'The Shower of Hell', *Éigse*, vol. 18, part 2, 1981, p. 304. K. Simms, 'Gaelic Warfare in the Middle Ages', in T. Bartlett and K. Jeffery (eds), *A Military History of Ireland* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 100–101.
- ⁷⁷ MacCotter, *Medieval Ireland*, p. 210. The Meic Branáin are mentioned as kings of Corcu Achlann in 1159 and again in 1224.
- ⁷⁸ Dillon, 'The Inauguration of O'Conor', pp. 190, 198.
- ⁷⁹ Dillon, 'The Inauguration of O'Conor', pp. 196, 202.
- ⁸⁰ AFM 1448.10.
- ⁸¹ J. O'Donovan, 'Letters Containing Information relative to the Antiquities of the County of Roscommon Collected During the Progress of the Ordnance Survey in 1837', compiled by M. O'Flanagan, typescript in 2 vols (Bray, 1927). pp. 27–8; In FitzPatrick, *Royal Inauguration*, pp. 63–7 I suggested that Dumha Selga was probably identifiable as a conjoined earthwork straddling the Lismurtagh and Carrowgarve townland boundary. That suggestion was subsequently adopted by Waddell, Fenwick and Barton, *Rathcroghan*, p. 113. However, in view of Mac Fírbisigh's record and a new understanding about the hybrid identity of assembly mounds, for which see FitzPatrick, '*Formaoil na Fiann*', pp.115–7, I am now convinced that Dumha Selga and Carn Fraoich are the same site and identifiable as the mound on the highest point of the ridge in Carns townland.
- ⁸² M.V. Duignan (ed. and trans.), 'The Uí Briúin Bréifni Genealogies', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol. 64, 1934, pp. 103–4.
- ⁸³ E. Gwynn (ed. and trans.), *The Metrical Dindshenchas: Text, Translation and Commentary*, Part 3, Todd Lecture Series 10 (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1913, repr. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1991), pp. 386–87.
- ⁸⁴ [<https://www.logainm.ie/en/43714?s=Bunnamucka>]. Accessed 4 July 2016.
- ⁸⁵ Irish *cullach* generally translates as a boar but can also mean a stallion. See E.G. Quin (ed.), *Dictionary of the Irish Language: Based Mainly on Old and Middle Irish Materials, Compact Edition* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1990), p. 168, 613.
- ⁸⁶ FitzPatrick, '*Ollamh, Biatach, Comharba*', pp. 169–71.
- ⁸⁷ I am grateful to Brian Shanahan for discussion about this feature.
- ⁸⁸ J. Fletcher, *Gardens of Earthly Delight: The History of Deer Parks* (Oxford: Windgather Press, 2011), pp.109–15; J. Stuhmiller, 'Hunting, Fowling and Fishing', in A. Classen (ed.), *Handbook of Medieval Culture: Fundamental Aspects and Conditions of the European Middle Ages*, vol. 2 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), pp. 697–721; Chris Taylor, in 'Ravensdale Park, Derbyshire, and Medieval Deer Coursing', *Landscape History*, vol. 26/1, 2004, pp. 37–57 has identified what he believes is a deer course within the deer park in the forest of Duffield Frith, at Ravensdale in Derbyshire Park. The park itself was first recorded c. 1230. The trackway which Taylor identified is formed by two parallel banks with hedges 70–80m apart and 1.6km long. Taylor argues that paddock coursing was so well established by the sixteenth century that it must have developed earlier in the medieval period.