Mac Giolla Phádraig Clerics, 1394-1534 AD: Part II

by Mike Fitzpatrick PhD

Independent Scholar, Auckland 0604, New Zealand

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Abstract

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

In *Part I*, the background surrounding the earliest appointments of Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics in the Diocese of Limerick and other parts of Deasmhumhain (Desmond) was examined, revealing a pattern of curious modern-day Y-DNA associations between the modern surname form of Mac Giolla Phádraig, i.e., Fitzpatrick, and the surnames FitzGerald, Purcell, and Hennessey.

Part II examines broader historical records and recently derived Y-DNA data, exploring the questions of (a) how Mac Giolla Phádraig became a powerful clerical lineage in the Dioceses of Limerick and Killaloe, (b) whether Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics of Osraí Uachtarach (Upper Ossory), who rose to prominence in the late-fifteenth century, had their origins in Deasmhumhain (Desmond), and (c) if those clerics were a branch of an early extended Norman gentry lineage. *Part II* begins with the family L'Ercedekin, who arrived in Ireland from Cornwall ca. 1200 AD, and considers the possibility that L'Ercedekin paternity gave rise to the Mac Giolla Phádraig clerical lineage.

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

This article is written in English, but many of the people and places are Irish. To acknowledge the primacy of Gaeilge (Gaelic) in this article, surnames and placenames are provided in modern Gaeilge using the most common spelling; for example, Ó Cuinn (O'Quinn) and Luimneach (Limerick), unless the placename has titular context, for instance, the Abbey of Inisgad or the Diocese of Killaloe.

This article is a living work, i.e., it can be edited by the author, who will retain all versions. Every effort has been made to consult all available records relevant to the period covered in this article, and Y-DNA data are current to the publication date. Y-DNA dating estimates should be considered ± two generations, i.e., ± approximately sixty years.

Many ecclesiastical terms have multiple meanings and can be variably interpreted by writers without doubt because the nature and status of the positions evolved due to changes in the Irish Church[1]. Therefore, a brief overview of broader Irish Church terminology is provided. For those seeking a thorough, concise, modern glossary of terms, McInerney's *Clerical and Learned Lineages of Medieval Co. Clare*[2] delivers.

[1] Seymour S (1932). The Coarb in the Medieval Irish Church. (ca. 1200-1550). Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature, 41, 219-231.
[2] McInerney L (2014). Clerical and learned lineages of medieval County Clare: A survey of the fifteenth-century papal registers. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

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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[3], 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"[4]. The **dioceses** (i.e., jurisdictions under a governor) 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 distinct from, and accountable to, **bishops**. The role of an **archdeacon** is that of an 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[5].

Clerics might be **monastic** or **regular** (i.e., seeking religious seclusion), or **secular** (not monastic, and with a focus on parochial care). 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) oversees 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** organization, 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**. 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.

[3] Lanigan J (1822). An ecclesiastical history of Ireland. Dublin: Graisberry.
[4] Gwynn A & Gleeson D (1962). A history of the Diocese of Killaloe: Vol I. Dublin: Gill.
[5] Jefferies H (1999) Erenaghs in pre-plantation Ulster. Archivium Hibernicum, 53, 16-19.

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Introduction

Osraí Uachtarach (Upper Ossory) was a barony within the boundary of modern-day County Laois, which consisted of the ancient tribal lands of An Choil Uachtarach, Mag Lacha and Uí Fhaircheallái[6]. Although its accuracy has long been disproved as the work of those who manufactured genealogies[7], the oft-cited *Topographical Poems*[8] record that the O'Dubhshlaine (O'Delany) was high chief over An Choil Uachtarach and singles out the O'Faolain (O'Phelan) for having 'filled' Mag Lacha, while there is no mention of Uí Fhaircheallái.

The Mac Giolla Phádraig did not appear as a clan in Osraí Uachtarach until after the Norman invasion. Although Saighir Chiaráin[9] is well known as a burial place for the Kings of Osraí, such as Domhnall Mac Giolla Phádraig[10], this was a dynastic right by virtue of their shared ancestry with Ciarán of Saighir. Saighir Chiaráin sits within the Diocese of Ossory, island-like, surrounded by the Diocese of Killaloe, and its most prominent pre-Norman coarbs, identifiable by dynasty or clan surname, were Uí Raithnén[11] and Uí Cáellaide[12]. Another highly significant monastic site in the Diocese of Ossory was Achadh Bhó[13], where a series of Uí Gearachain[14] are recorded as coarbs.

The first record of Mac Giolla Phádraig in Osraí Uachtarach is Domhnall Mór of Magh Lacha, son of Scannlán Mac Gilla Pátraic[15], who flourished in the thirteenth century[16]. Hence, it should not surprise that there are no pre-Norman records of Mac Giolla Phádraig as coarbs or erenachs of Osraí Uachtarach and that the clan had no reputation as a learned or, specifically, a clerical family – that came later, in the fifteenth century, with the introduction of Augustinian clerics from the Diocese of Killaloe, thus establishing the Mac Giolla Phádraig clerical line of Osraí Uachtarach.

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[6] Carrigan W (1905). The history and antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers, and Walker. An Choil Uachtarach is preserved by the name of the modern-day Barony of Upperwoods, Mag Lacha in the name of the modern-day Barony of Clár Maí Locha (Clarmallagh) and Uí Fhaircheallái by the name of the modern-day Parish of Offerlane.
[7] Carney J (1943). Topographical poems. Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies.
[8] O'Donovan J (1862). Topographical poems of John O'Dubhagain and Giolla na Naomh O'Huidhrin. Edited in the original Irish, from manuscripts in the library of the Royal Irish Academy. Dublin: Alexander Thom.
[9] That is, Sierkieran in Uíbh Fhalí (County Offaly), which is named after the founder the church there, Ciarán, i.e., St Kieran. Sierkieran is frequently referred to in annalistic records as Saighir (O'Donovan J, 1856. Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland. Dublin: Hodges, Smith, & Co).
[10] The burial of Domhnall Mac Giolla Phádraig, who is described as King of Magh Raighne (i.e., Plain of Raigne) rather than of Osraí (Ossory) in its entirety, is famously recounted by Carrigan (1905).
[11] The Uí Raithnén (O'Raithnen) were an Osraí clan descended from Raithnén mac Senaich mac Condla (O'Brien M, 1976. Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies). AD 885: Sloghadhach Ua Raithnén, Abbot of Saighir [died]; AD 920: Aedh Ua Raithnén, old sage of Ireland, and wise man of Saighir [died] (O'Donovan J, 1856).
[12] The Uí Cáellaide (O'Kelly or O'Keally) were a Magh Lacha clan. The commonality of both the given-name Ceallach and the patronyms Uí Ceallaigh, Mac Ceallaigh, and related forms, throughout Osraí is such that uncertainty of their genealogies is ensured. AD 933: Cuilén mac Ceallach, King of Ossory [died]; AD 939: Ceallach, mac Caellaidhe, prior of Saighir [died] (O'Donovan J, 1856).
[13] That is, Aghaboe in the Barony of Clarmallagh, which is often referred to in annalistic records as Cainneach after its founder, i.e., St Canice.
[14] O'Giaran or O'Geran (Ó Muraíle N, 2022. Annals of Cluan Mhic Nóis, Dublin: Edmund Burke Publisher); AD 1007: Maelmaire Ua Gearagain successor of Cainneach [died]; AD 1012: Cian Ua Geargain, successor of Cainneach [died]; AD 1154: Cian Ua Gearachain, successor of Cainneach [died] (O'Donovan J, 1856).
[15] Domnall Mór's lineage is recorded in the Great Book of Irish Genealogies (*GBIG*): Mac Fhirbhisigh D & Ó Muraíle N (2003). *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach*. Dublin: De Burca.
[16] There is some confusion concerning the identities of Domhnall Mór of Magh Lacha and Domhnall Clannach Mac Giolla Phádraig, but they are likely the same person. Notably, Domhnall Mór had a son called Séafraid (*GBIG*, 480.1), as did Domhnall Clannach, i.e., Séafraid the King of Siabh Bladhma (Hennessy W, 1871. The annals of Loch Cé: a chronicle of Irish affairs from AD 1014 to AD 1590. London: Longman).

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Article Overview

While *Part I* of Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics, 1394-1534 set the scene and provided general background[17], *Part II* provides a narrative of how the clerics expanded into a lineage in Limerick and Killaloe, drawing on recent Y-DNA data that identifies an intriguing patrilineal connection to the family of L'Ercedekin of Cornwall, who had a branch land in Ireland ca. 1200 AD as part of an entourage of Norman clerics. Understanding how, when, and where the early Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics emerged is critical to understanding the later appearance of their descendants in Osraí Uachtarach during the second half of the fifteenth century, which *Part III* will interrogate.

The highlights of Part II are:

- Mac Giolla Phádraig ancestry under haplotype R-FT265133.
- The Augustinians in Ireland.
- The L'Ercedekin in Ireland.
- David mac Cellaig Ó Gilla Pátraic Phádraig.
- Matthew Mac Giolla Phádraig and sons.
- A third generation of Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics of Killaloe.
- A Y-DNA reflection.

Mac Giolla Phádraig ancestry under haplotype R-FT265133

Part I recounts the origins of Matthew, the earliest recorded Mac Giolla Phádraig cleric, who appears in a Papal record of 1394 in Cill Churnáin (Kilcornan) Barony of Kenry, Diocese of Limerick[18]. Nothing further can be learned of Matthew until 1418, when he is named in relation to the voidance of the rectory of the united parishes of Cill Fear Buí and Cill Muire Uí Bhreacáin (Kilfarboy and Kilmurry-Ibrickan), in the Diocese of Killaloe, after his death in Rome, ca. 1416 AD[19]. Matthew's descent is unknown, but *Part I* explored his possible paternal lineage origins via Y-DNA, since a cluster of Fitzpatricks in modern-day Laois and Kilkenny fall under the surname-era haplotype, R-FGC5494 … R-A1496, which they share with those of several Norman-derived surnames.

Recent discoveries have pushed the surname-era common Y-DNA haplotype from R-A1496 back to R-FT265133, and the name associations under the latter are both remarkable and deeply informative, providing locational and familial insights. Firstly, there is an irrefutable link to Cornwall via three R-FT265133 lines: (1) R-FT265133>FTF46424>FTC82219, several Cody, and similarly spelled names, of Cill Chainnigh (Kilkenny), which are derived from the surname L'Ercedekin, a family that arose in Cornwall after the Norman invasion of England, before ca. 1190[20]; (2) R-FT265133>A1506>A1496*,

[17] 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.

[18] Bliss W & Twemlow J (1902). Calendar of Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Volume IV, 1362-1404. London: Public Record Office.

[19] Twemlow J (1906). Calendar of Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Volume VII, 1417-1431. London: His Majesty's Printing Office. Matthew's placement in Kilfarboy and Kilmurry-Ibrickan raises the possibility of a maternal link with Dalcassian Mac Giolla Phádraig, since that clan is recorded holding lands there in the seventeenth century: Fitzpatrick D, Fitzpatrick I & Fitzpatrick M (2022). Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais: an ancient clan rediscovered. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 3, 1-45 doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00722.

[20] On the authority of Carrigan (1905), the County Kilkenny Codys once bore the surname 'Archdekin', from a Norman family called L'Ercedekin (i.e., The Archdeacon) but they "adopted an Irish patronymic and called themselves Mac Ódo or Mac Óda, from one of their ancestors", Odo L'Ercedekin. Mac Óda later became "anglicised Cody and under this form of the name, all the members of the family became known" (Carrigan W, 1905). The seat of the L'Ercedekin in Cornwall was

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Bargwanna of Cornwall, from Baragwanath meaning 'the top of the wheat field'[21], a rare Cornish surname unknown in Ireland; and, (3) R-FT265133>A1506>A1496>FT12974>FT12563, which represents numerous Dalton surname Y-DNA testers of Cill Chainnigh, Tiobraid Árann (Tipperary), and Port Láirge (Waterford): previously called Daton and de Antonē, the family were from the Parish of Antony in Cornwall (Antone in the Domesday Book)[22], and were first recorded in Ireland in 1242[23].

A Cornish origin does not obviously link to the large and highly specific Branan-like surname-era lineage under R-FT265133>A1506>BY140757, once posited to represent the O'Braonáin Uí Duach Osraí (Brennan of Idough, in Ossory). Yet, the assignment of R-140757 based on surname matches between Branans and Fitzpatricks, based on amateur genealogist John O'Hart's belief that there was shared paternal ancestry between the O'Braonáin Uí Duach and the Mac Giolla Phádraig of Osraí, fails spectacularly because the O'Braonáin Uí Duach were not even an Osraí clan but from among the Uí Failghí – the lesson being that Irish genealogies produced by those of little qualifications should never be relied on more than those produced by the true Irish scholars[24].

The origins of many of those with Branan-like surnames who trace to modern-day Cill Chainnigh are more likely with the family of de Braham of Suffolk than with a mere Irish clan[25] and this is evidenced severally by thirteenth-century records that demonstrate the de Braham arrived in Ireland with the de Clare retinue ca. 1250 AD, holding high positions in the military and the judiciary, which is nigh impossible to imagine being the case in thirteenth-century Cill Chainnigh if they were O'Braonáin Uí Duach, i.e., mere Irish[26]. In any case, many documents of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries record the surname de Braham, or close variants, and there is even a record, as late as 1414, of the "lands of John Braham, Seneschal of Kilkenny", in the eponymistically-named "Brahamescourt"[27].

A compelling nexus exists among the descendants of the L'Ercedekin, de Antonē, and de Braham, as indicated by Y-DNA under R-FT265133, which is not extraordinary since they were all families from the Norman-Irish gentry class. Parker describes the "various socio-political groupings, the baronage, the gentry and the lineages who were the relatives of both groups" who "were all drawn from the descendants of settlers who had been established in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century"[28]. The L'Ercedekin, de Antonē, and de Braham demonstrate such *lignage*, which is the term Norman-Irish nobility used to describe ancestry, descent, or blood relations, i.e., 'keeping things in the family' to maintain a hereditary ruling class, as both nobility and gentry[29]. Under this early Norman-Irish

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the Manor of Veryan and the associated Castle of Ruan Lanihorne, and the Parish of Antony (Whitley M, 1889. Lanyhorn Castle and its Lords. Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall, 9, 425-448; Fitzpatrick M, 2025. Origines Phantasticus: The father of R-FGC5494 … FT265133. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 6, 62-72, doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety02725).

[21] Charnock R (1870). Patronymica Cornu-Britannica. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, & Dyer.

[22] Fitzpatrick M (2025); Open Domesday, Antony: https://opendomesday.org/place/SX3954/antony, accessed 28 October 2026.

[23] Curtis, E (1932). Calendar of Ormond Deeds 1172-1350 AD. Dublin: The Stationary Office.

[24] Fitzpatrick M & Fitzpatrick E (2025). Fitzpatrick Gene-Ealogy and the case for working the hyphen. Journal of the Genealogical Society of Ireland 26, 121-127.

[25] Fitzpatrick M & Fitzpatrick I (2021). The similar-sounding surnames of haplogroup R-BY140757. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 2, 1-41, doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00421.

[26] Murphy J (1954). The ten civic families of Kilkenny. Old Kilkenny Review 7, 1-19. One mere Irish family, the Shees, emerged as a leading civic family in Kilkenny, but not until the late fifteenth century.

[27] Virtual Record Treasury of Ireland. William Lynch's repertory of Irish exchequer memoranda rolls held in the Chief Remembrancer's Office, https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/COA-Lynch-5, accessed 12 September 2026.

[28] Parker C (1992). The politics and society of County Waterford in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries [thesis], Trinity College (Dublin, Ireland). Department of History, pp. 512.

[29] Noble: the French and English being of the Latin *nobilis*, which came to mean of high-birth, aristocratic, etc. Gentry: from the old French *gentil*, meaning high-born, yet of the Latin, *gentis*, meaning clan, extended family, etc.

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system, if you were in the gentry network, you were Norman, and if you were not Norman, you were not in the gentry network.

Succession to shrieval positions was one way the Norman gentry network expressed itself[22], and appointments of various L'Ercedekin, de Antonē, and de Braham in early Norman England and Ireland exemplify as much, highlighting that the appointees were *lignage*, as follows: Thomas Erchedekney, Sheriff of Cornwall (1206)[30]; Radulfo le Arcediacne, Sheriff of Cornwall (1233)[31]; Robert de Braham, Sheriff of Kilkenny (1250-1255)[32]; William le Ercedekne, Sheriff of Waterford (1261)[28]; Thomas L'Ercedekin, Sheriff of Cornwall (1279-1280)[33]; and, Richard de Antonē, Sheriff of Waterford (1291-1293)[34]. While the L'Ercedekin and de Antonē were in close orbit in Cornwall before branches of both families came to Ireland in the thirteenth century, the de Braham of Suffolk were not. Yet a common thread provides a fascinating possibility, which is explored in *Origines Phantasticus*[22], that the de Braham, L'Ercedekin, and de Antonē may share ancestral connections to Robert, Count of Mortain, Earl of Cornwall and his brother Bishop Odo of Bayeux, who were half-brothers of William I.

Shared ancestry under R-FT265133 is one matter, but what genealogical explanation could account for later connections between descendants of the L'Ercedekin, de Antonē, and de Braham and modern-day Fitzpatricks, under R-FT265133? There is no need to understand the de Braham connection beyond what is posited, since R-FT265133 Fitzpatricks do not descend from their line, i.e., the R-A1488 Fitzpatrick branches are under R-FT265133>A1506>A1496, whereas modern-day Branans follow R-FT265133>A1506>BY140757. Hence, it is shared descendants of Fitzpatricks under R-A1496 who come into focus – notably, the many de Antonē, later Dalton, who stem from the L'Ercedekin of Cornwall, and who occur under A1496>FT12974>FT12563, a Dalton surname-specific branch, and two individuals who are singletons under A1496>FT12974, with the surnames Purcell and Hennessey.

Y-DNA data has been updated from *Part I* and is included in the R-FT265133 Haplotree (Figure 1), which shows sub-haplogroup branching and provides perspective concerning the relative proportions of descendant surnames. Dating haplotypes attracts citizen and rocket scientists alike, with enough jargon at times to have given James Dewey Watson a crick in his neck. Yet, Dr Iain McDonald, an astronomer and leading genetic genealogy mathematician, who has developed models for generating both accurate and precise time to most recent common ancestor (TMRCA) estimates from Y-DNA mutation clocks, has provided simplicity of explanation and demonstrated practicality of thought while giving due consideration to 'historical and ancillary information' that can act as statistical constraints, which result in the improvement of TMRCA calculations[35].

Such constraints are vital in the context of this article, since it is trivial to demonstrate that many of Family Tree DNA's (FTDNA's) TMRCA distributions in the early era of Irish surname formation are flawed. The Appendix to this article provides the case for recalculating the FTDNA TMRCA distributions that are relevant to R-FT265133, along with constraint-based TMRCA re-estimates and a calibration check using a R-FGC5494 inter-clade, viz., R-FGC5494>FGC5561 … L1444, which is specific to the Maxwell surname.

[30] Gilbert C (1817). An Historical Survey of the County of Cornwall Vol. I. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown.
[31] Maxwell Lyte H (1905). Calendar of the Close Rolls of Henry III, AD 1231-1234. London: His Majesty's Stationary Office.
[32] Sweetman H (1875). Calendar of documents relating to Ireland preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London, 1171-1251. London, Longman & Co.
[33] Maxwell Lyte H (1898). List of Sheriffs of England and Wales. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.
[34] Sweetman H (1881). Calendar of Documents, Ireland 1293-1301. London: Longman & Co.
[35] McDonald I (2021). Improved models of coalescence ages of Y-DNA haplogroups. Genes, 12, 862.

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Notably, Figure 1 shows:

- R-FT265133 emergence ca. 757-817 AD;
- Cody (L'Ercedekin) surname-specific lineages under R-FTF46424, from ca. 923-943 AD;
- Branan (de Braham) surname-specific lineages under R-BY140757, from ca. 1006 AD;
- Dalton (de Antonē) surname-specific lineages under R-A1496>R-FT12563, from ca. 1321-1421AD;
- Costigan, FitzGerald, and Fitzpatrick lineages under R-A1496>R-A1488 from ca. 1321-1421 AD.

Hence, R-FT265133 is considered to have given rise to early Anglo-Norman lineages, from which some descendants migrated to Ireland, notably bearing the Norman surnames L'Ercedekin, de Antonē, and de Braham, later Gaelicised as Cody, Dalton, and Branan. The R-FT265133 descendants Bargwanna, a uniquely Cornish surname, and Farrell, a uniquely Irish surname, are singletons. While Fitzpatrick dominates R-A1488, this reflects a strong sampling bias[36], and the haplotype is not specific to that surname; notably, Costigan and FitzGerald, both Norman in origin[37], occur distinctly under R-A1488, as do numerous other singleton surnames.

While *Part I* interrogated ancestral origins under R-A1496, exploring the possibility that its associated surnames were connected via a clerical network in Luimneach, the recent emergence of the Cody (L'Ercedekin) surname branch under R-FT265133 provides evidence that the paternal ancestor who may have given rise to Matthew, the first recorded Mac Giolla Phádraig cleric, was no random individual or stray from Osraí, but a member of an important network that Norman noble and gentry families utilised extensively – a clerical lineage of the canons of the Augustinian Rule.

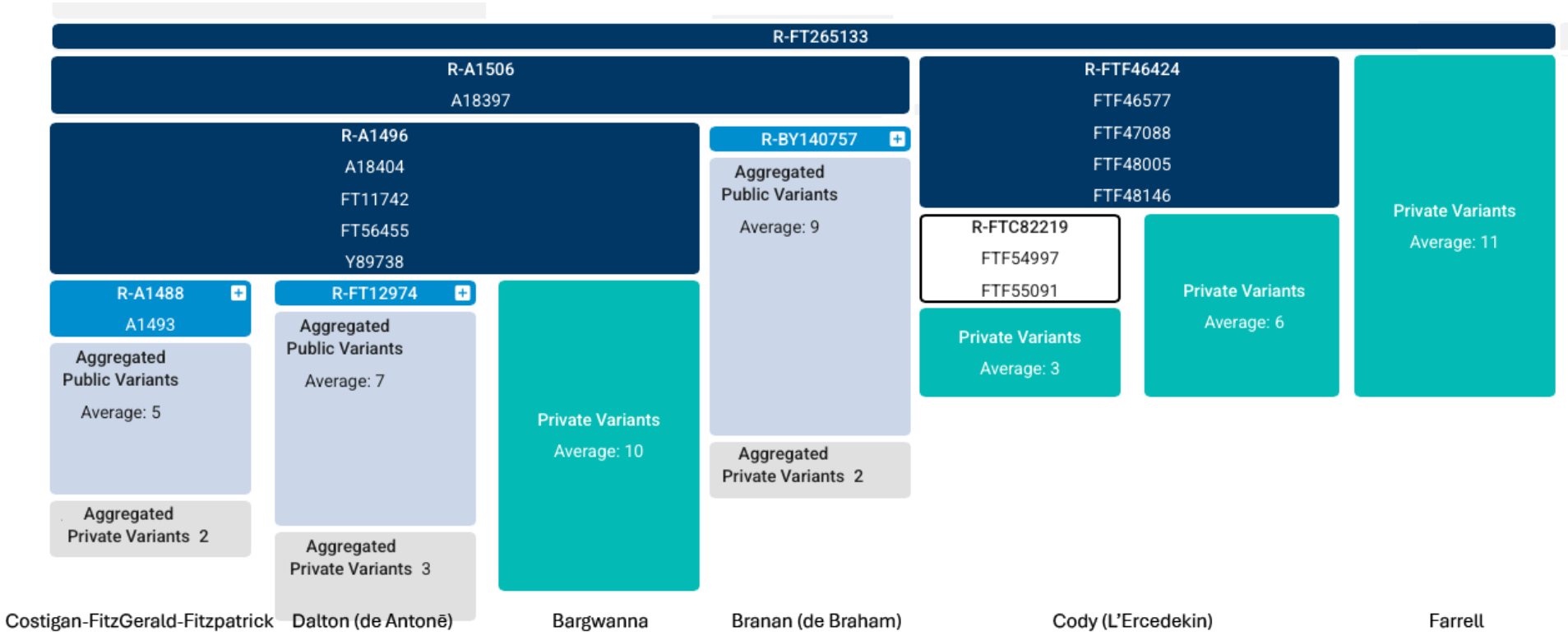
The Augustinians in Ireland

The Rule of St Augustine has special significance for Osraí Uachtarach. Achadh Bhó is the Barony's pre-eminent monastic site, although it was never the See of Ossory – that idea was "an invention in the sixteenth century … repeated by scholars ever since"[38]. At the time of the Norman invasion, Domhnall Ua Fhógartaigh was the Bishop of Ossory (1152-1178) and he was succeeded by Felix Ua Duib Sláine (O'Delany), who sat until his death in 1202. Then came the first Norman Bishop, Hugh de Rous, an Augustinian canon of Cornwall[39] who surrendered the village and lands of Achadh Bhó to William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, in exchange for lands in Baile na Slí (Ballynaslee) and Cill Chainnigh[40]. And Achadh Bhó was clearly under Norman control ca. 1278 AD since there is a record of a dispute between Geoffrey, Bishop of Ossory, and Milicent de Cantilupe, who claimed presentation by Royal decree of prior John de Kirkeby, as successor to Gilbert de Paunton[41].

[36] The Fitzpatrick Y-DNA project, initiated by Dr Colleen Fitzpatrick in 2001, became one of the largest and most successful early Y-DNA surname projects. Yet project uptake was heavily influenced by membership campaigns in Laois and Kilkenny, where Fitzpatrick paternal lines are largely R-A1488, during regular clan gatherings, most notably between 2001 and 2012. https://web.archive.org/web/20140924144050/http://www.genealogy.com/genealogy/users/f/i/t/Colleen-Fitzpatrick-CA/index.html, accessed 12 October 2026.
[37] The only authoritative Costigan genealogy is from Mac Fhirbisigh in his Norman genealogies (*GBIG* 841.4). The surname was taken by the descendants of Hoisteagh, son of Meimhbhreac, from whom are Clann Hoisteigh (i.e., Costigan). Costigan is an important surname in the context of this series since the cleric John Mac Costigan, who later changed his name to John Mac Giolla Phádraig, was probably the father of Bryan, First Baron of Upper Ossory (Fitzpatrick M, 2021).
[38] Bradley J (2015). Pulp facts and core fictions: translating a cathedral from Aghaboe to Kilkenny. In Purcell E, et al. Clerics, Kings and Vikings: Essays on medieval Ireland in honour of Donnchadh Ó Corráin. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
[39] Hugh de Rous was one of four Augustinian canons of Bodmin, Cornwall, handpicked by Geoffrey Fitz Robert for Kells Priory (Butler C & Bernard J, 1918. The Charters of the Abbey of Duiske. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co. Ltd).
[40] Berry H (1908). Ancient charters in the Liber Albus Ossoriensis. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy 27, 115-125.
[41] Sweetman H (1877). Calendar of documents relating to Ireland preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London, 1252-1284. London: Longman & Co.

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Figure 1: R-FT265133 Haplotree[42]



Mean TMRCAs:
R-FT265133, 757-817 AD.
R-A1506 and R-FTF46424, 923-943 AD.
R-BY140757, 1006 AD (conservatively constrained based on the date of surname formation).
R-A1488 and R-FT12974, 1321-1421 AD.

[42] Adapted from Family Tree DNA (database), online Y-DNA Haplotree: Big Y Block Tree showing paternal lineage and SNP placement for haplogroup R-FT265133; accessed via https://www.familytreedna.com, 5 October 2026. Refer to the Appendix for a discussion of TMRCA estimates.
Note: A review of surname matches before R-FT265133 provides compelling reasons not to assign mere Irish identities to its sub-haplotypes. The Mac Giolla Phádraig Osraí boasted Laighin ancestry but no R-FGC5494 haplotypes show the requisite network of connections to Laighin clans, who are considered definitively R-Z255 … L159.2. Rather, R-FGC5494 is characterised by numerous surnames of Norman origin, despite the marked negative sampling bias that is a result of low numbers of French testers.

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However, the appearance of Augustinian canons in Ireland predates the Norman invasion. A revival of the Augustinians came in 1090 when two chaplains of William I retired to the seclusion of Arrouaise in northern France, whence came the Arrouaisian Order, which brought 'parochial balance' to the monastic lives of Augustinian Canons Regular. The appearance of canons of the Arrouaisian order in Ireland came soon after and is attributed to the zeal of St Malachy (Mael Maedog Ua Morgair), who visited Arrouaise ca. 1139 AD, and is said to have then induced most monasteries in Ireland to adopt the Arrouaisian rule. Further expansion came under St Laurence (Lorcán Ua Tuathail), from ca. 1163 AD[43].

The Norman arrival in Ireland brought a wave of monastic activity. Construction of new and the renovation of old monastic houses occurred on a scale never seen, and the "growth in religious orders was remarkable, culminating by 1230 in around 200 houses for men"[44]. Among these were impressive Cistercian houses such as Dunbrody Abbey in Loch Garman (Wexford), founded by Herce de Montmorency, an uncle of Richard de Clare, and Tintern Abbey (Loch Garman) and Duiske Abbey (Cill Chainnigh), founded by William Marshall. But the Augustinian houses were much more numerous and built on a grander scale than those of other orders. The outstanding examples are Kells Priory in Cill Chainnigh, founded by Geoffrey Fitz Robert ca. 1204 AD[23], and Athassel Priory in Tiobraid Árann, founded by William de Burgh ca. 1202 AD[45].

And it transpired that "the Augustinian Rule, whether Arrouaisian or a variant, suited Irish conditions", where non-celibacy and hereditary succession were common. Rather than being rooted out in Ireland by post-Norman reformers, by the thirteenth century such practices had "re-established themselves in full vigour" among Norman and Irish clerics alike[46]. McInerney states that the rates of clerical concubinage and illegitimacy were at 'surprising levels' in the fifteenth century, with over one third of benefices awarded in the Diocese of Kilfenora to sons of clerics[2], and MacCotter considers it unquestionable that some high-ranking clerics were prolific[47].

This historical reality echoes the practices of some medieval Irish dynasts the clerics likely sought to emulate[48], and by the fifteenth century producing a *lignage* was a clear *modus operandi* among many Augustinian clerics in Limerick and Killaloe. The prevailing culture was such that hereditary succession and clerical concubinage were so commonplace that fathering sons to succeed them was not viewed locally as a scandal, but rather as an essential survival strategy. These aspects are discussed in detail in *Part I*, with more complete coverage and several examples found in the works of Gleeson and Gwynn[4], McInerney[2], and MacCotter[49].

One particularly remarkable record concerns Dermot Ó Meadhra, a son of an Order of St Augustine (OSA) canon and an unmarried woman. Ó Meadhra moved between clerical positions at Móin na hInse (Monaincha) in Killaloe and the Rectory of Aghmacart in Ossory, and his infamy was great; he was reportedly the most notorious fornicator in the region, having a 'convent of concubines'[50] at his

[43] Dunning P (1945). The Arroasian Order in Medieval Ireland. Irish Historical Studies 4: 297-315.
[44] O'Sullivan M & Downey L (2017). Medieval Churches. Archaeology Ireland 3, 35-38.
[45] Young F (2020). Athassel Priory and the cult of St Edmund in medieval Ireland. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
[46] Ó Corráin D (2017). The Irish Church, its reform and the English Invasion. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
[47] MacCotter P (2016). The dynastic ramifications of the Geraldines. In, Crooks P & Duffy S (Eds.), The Geraldines and medieval Ireland. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
[48] Nicholls K (1970). The FitzMaurices of Kerry. Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society 3, 23-42.
[49] MacCotter P (2016). The Earlier Geraldine Knights of Kerry. Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society 16, 5-35.
[50] Twemlow J (1915). Calendar of Papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Volume X, 1447-1455. London, His Majesty's Printing Office.

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disposal to provide heirs to sustain his clerical line. That some higher-ranking Augustinian clerics kept harems of nuns, securing access to a supply of women to provide heirs who would sustain their clerical lines, mimicking local dynasts, whose "dozens of infant offspring might be fostered out to cement relations of clientage and political alliance"[51], provides a counter-perspective on the notion that the mothers of clerical sons were lay women of the local community.

Neither does this rule out that some female monastics willingly sustained the clerical lineages; as Lyons notes, the 'lax condition' in which some monasteries cloistered their nuns indicates that some had the same mentality as the abbots, who sought to have their sons to succeed them in office. Further, the deliberately permeable cloisters of women's monasteries resulted in a forging of "close ties with local gentry or burgess families" for the purposes of continuation[52]. The stated 'lax condition' is evidenced in several records, such as that of St Catherine's Conallaigh, Limerick, from the early-sixteenth century, which noted "the prioress and nuns of the monastery … leading a dissolute life, had wasted in lubricity and converted to unlawful uses the goods of the said monastery, whose church … was parochial, and the only remaining nun had married a layman, by whom she had had offspring"[53].

And in 1567, another nearby Augustinian house, the convent of Cill Eoin (Killone), An Clár, was at the attention of John Neilan, Archdeacon of Killaloe, who wrote "when it was possessed by a nun or an abbess, [it] was kept up indifferent 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"[54].

The L'Ercedekin in Ireland

The L'Ercedekins who settled across the south of Ireland exemplify how Norman gentry families grew and maintained societal status via *lignage*, manipulating another nexus, the Irish church with its political and social influence, landholdings, and financial resources, particularly among OSA clerics. Odo L'Ercedekin was an Augustinian of Bodmin in Cornwall and the first of his surname to appear in records relating to Ireland, also being a key figure in the foundation of early Norman monasteries, which clearly points to his high status among the early Norman gentry in Ireland. For example, Odo bore witness to a grant, made at Hampstead, of lands held by William Marshall to Kells Abbey in 1203[55]. And after Odo came to Ireland with Bishop Hugh de Rous in the Spring of 1204[56], he witnessed the quit-claim by Geoffrey Fitz Robert[57] to Marshal in respect of the lands of Duiske, for the founding of the Abbey. Odo L'Ercedekin was likely appointed Dean of Kilkenny shortly after[6], and the connection with the early Norman church in Ireland became a family affair; Stephen L'Ercedekin, who is considered Odo's son, further proved his family's connection to Augustinians via his charities to Inistioge (Inis Tíog) Priory in Cill Chainnigh[58].

[51] Parkes P (2006). Adoptive kinship and clientage in Northwest Europe. Comparative Studies in Society and History 48, 359-395.
[52] Lyons M (2023). Keeping it in the family: Familial connections of abbesses and prioresses of convents in medieval Ireland. In Browne M, Collins T, McShane B, & Ó Clabaigh C (Eds.), Brides of Christ: Women and monasticism in medieval and early modern Ireland. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
[53] Twemlow, J. (1909). Calendar of Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Volume VIII, 1427-1447. London: His Majesty's Printing Office.
[54] Nicholls, K. (1969). A commentary on the nobility and gentry of Thomond, ca. 1567. The Irish Genealogist 4, 65-73.
[55] White N (1936). Irish Monastic and Episcopal Deeds. Dublin: The Stationary Office.
[56] Crouch D (2015). William Marshal the Elder, Earl of Pembroke. Royal Historical Society Camden Fifth Series 47: 63-183.
[57] Fitz Robert was a knight of William Marshall and a Seneschal of Leinster
[58] St John Brooks E (1950). Knights' fees in Counties Wexford, Carlow and Kilkenny. Dublin: The Stationary Office.

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While the early L'Ercedekin power base was Cill Chainnigh from ca. 1229 AD on account of the marriage of Stephen L'Ercedekin to Desiderata, a daughter of Thomas Fitz Anthony[59], they also became established in Tiobraid Árann, Corcaigh (Cork), and Luimneach not long after their arrival – King John had granted Fitz Anthony and his heirs custody of Deasmhumhain (South Munster), Port Láirge, and the City of Cork, and of all his demesnes and escheats there[60]. The L'Ercedekin family network of Cill Chainnigh was deeply integrated into the church and, as the family expanded and territorial influence grew, its clerical footprint across the southern region did too.

The Athassel Priory of Augustinian Canons Regular in Tiobraid Árann warrants further mention since it was the largest medieval priory in Ireland, an economic powerhouse, a spiritual powerbase, and a major centre of general learning, with a surrounding population said to be more than 2,000 people. The priory was founded by William de Burgh ca. 1200 AD, and by 1220 Hugo de Burgh OSA (d. 1250), a younger son of William, was prior. Hugo's elevation to Bishop of Limerick in 1223 and lengthy episcopate firmly established Anglo-Norman ecclesiastical authority over the See. Although it was never elevated to abbey status, Athassel was the largest and grandest Augustinian priory in Ireland, and it became the symbolic focus of royal authority in Mumhan (Munster). Because of its vast network of dependent churches and its physical size, Athassel priory functioned as a major regional motherhouse where novices were trained in the *vita apostolica* (apostolic life) and parish ministry, from where the de Burghs regularly deployed canons as administrators and emissaries[45].

The L'Ercedekin were well acquainted with Athassel Priory and the nearby community, since they possessed Donohill Castle and its Manor House[61], which are eight miles north-east of the Priory. Dún Eochaille (Donohill) is recorded being with Augustine L'Ercedekin, his given name a clear enough tribute to the saint, until his decease ca. 1275. AD, when it reverted to King Edward I, probably due to the heir of Augustine being in their minority; notably, between March 1275 and September 1276 Donohill Manor returned the Crown £51 10s 1d[62]. Maurice, who was a son of Augustine[63], was clearly of age in 1278, when Edward granted possession of Dún Eochaille back to the L'Ercedekin.

Unsurprisingly, the L'Ercedekin of Dún Eochaille gained wealth. Silvester L'Ercdekein, who had received a knighthood by 1291, was able to act as a mainpernor for Roger de Penbroke regarding debts Roger incurred as Sheriff of Kilkenny, being singly able to "spend £300 per year and bind all his land to the King as security" [64]. Sir Silvester held Dún Eochaille, and he appears there in several entries in the Judiciary Rolls of Ireland[65]. The importance of the castle and the associated manor house is further evidenced by a grant issued from Edward II to Raymond L'Ercedekin to hold a weekly market "with all liberties and free customs"[66]. By 1310, the family's status was such that they were counted among the "earls, barons, nobles, and other magnates" of Ireland[67]. So, there is no question the L'Ercedekin were *nobilis*[29].

[59] Notably around Baile Mhic Andáin (mac Anthony's town), now Thomastown, which gained their names from Thomas Fitz Anthony. Carrigan (1905) provides a useful summary of early L'Ercedekin lands in Cill Chainnigh.
[60] Orpen G (1911). Ireland under the Normans, 1169-1216. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
[61] Mills J (1905). Calendar of the Judiciary Rolls of Ireland. Edward I, Part I Dublin: His Majesty's Stationary Office.
[62] MacDonnell A (1904). The thirty-sixth report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland. Dublin: His Majesty's Stationary Office.
[63] Patent Roll 23 Edward I. Virtual Treasury of Ireland: https://virtualtreasury.ie/item/CIRCLE-3-23-1-4, accessed 21 September 2026.
[64] Sweetman H (1879). Calendar of documents relating to Ireland preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London, 1285-1292. Dublin: Alexander Thom.
[65] Mills J (1914). Calendar of the Judiciary Rolls of Ireland. Edward I, Part II Dublin: His Majesty's Stationary Office.
[66] Seymour J. Notes on a Tipperary parish. Journal of the Cork Historical and Archeological Society 22, 145-156.
[67] Tresham E (1828). Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Calendarium, Henry II – Henry VII. Dublin: His Majesty's Printers.

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In addition to Cill Chainnigh and Tiobraid Árann, early L'Ercedekin occupancy in Corcaigh is evident, which provides valuable insights. While Carrigan[6] considered L'Ercedekne (Archdeacon) took the Irish patronymic Mac Ódo or Mac Óda in the fifteenth century, earlier use is evident since Maurice L'Ercedekne is recorded in the Judiciary Rolls as having 'his prison' at Baile Mhac Óda (Ballymacoda) in the Barony of Imokilly, County Cork, in 1307[65]. The Rolls also record several instances of assault, beating, waylaying, wounding, and striking 'with an axe' by Maurice on various parties. Maurice held eight carucates in Baile Mhac Óda from Thomas de Clare in 1288, then known as Tullaghkilduff [64]. Hence, the L'Ercedekne began using Mac Óda as a surname identifier sometime between 1288 and 1307, less than one hundred years after their arrival in Ireland.

In the same era, the L'Ercedekin were active in Luimneach affairs. In 1295 Sir Silvester L'Ercedekin gave pledge for the debts of Robert Mansell, the Chief Serjeant of Limerick, and in the same year Richard L'Ercedekin bound himself for £40 before the Custos of Limerick on behalf of William L'Ercedekin, Hugh L'Ercedekin, and others, for the safe return of their captive, Geoffrey Purcell[61]. In 1311 and 1313, Sir William L'Ercedekin stood pledge in pleas before the Crown at Luimneach on behalf of David Applegard, who had carried off a widow and "had carnal knowledge of her against her will", and on behalf of "Stephen and David, sons of Ralph" who had stolen from the Bishop of Limerick[68]. The associations of L'Ercedekin in Luimneach are further evident from a 1356 record of the capture, and later release, of Richard L'Ercedekin and Gerald fitz Maurice FitzGerald, a son of the First Earl of Desmond, by the Mac Conmara (Mac Namara)[67].

L'Ercedekin-FitzGerald relationships in Luimneach can be uncovered via church appointments, such as that of William L'Ercedekin to the Rectory of Croom in the early fifteenth century[53]. Cromadh (Croom) was a FitzGerald stronghold from the earliest days of their hegemony in Luimneach, and when William L'Ercedekin held the rectory, Gerald fitz Maurice FitzGerald had patronage. An earlier FitzGerald namesake, the first Lord of Offaly, had received the Manor of Croom by ca. 1193 AD, and it "developed into a major Geraldine residence", which was probably the "source of the Geraldine battle-cry, *Crom Abú*", and the later Kildare branches of the family maintained their strong connections to Luimneach[47].

The founders or patrons of several other Luimneach churches near Cromadh were certainly FitzGeralds. For example: John fitz Thomas, first Earl of Kildare, founded the Augustinian Friary at Áth Dara (Adare), 'The Black Abbey', ca. 1315 AD[69]; Askeaton Friary was founded by "one of the Earls of Desmond" ca. 1389 AD[70]; and, in 1427 the Vicarage of Cróch (Croagh) is recorded under the patronage of James FitzGerald, the sixth Earl of Desmond[19] – all fall within a seven-mile radius of Cill Churnáin, also of Geraldine patronage, where Matthew Mac Giolla Phádraig, the first cleric of his surname, is recorded.

Hence, less than one hundred years after they arrived in Ireland, the L'Ercedekin were well embedded in the hierarchy of Norman gentry in southern Ireland, reaching the upper echelons, gaining lands and holding key positions in the judiciary, military, and church, with branches of the family and a network of connections in Cill Channigh, Port Láirge, Tiobraid Árann, Corcaigh, and

[68] Wood H, Langman A, & Griffith M (1956). Calendar of the Judiciary Rolls of Ireland. I to VII Years of Edward II. Dublin: The Stationary Office.
[69] Westropp T (1904). A survey of the ancient churches in the county of Limerick. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy 25, 327-480.
[70] Westropp T (1903). Notes on Askeaton, County Limerick, Part I. The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland 33, 25-40.

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Luimneach. And by the early fifteenth century, Matthew Mac Giolla Phádraig of Cill Churnáin and William L'Ercedekin of Cromadh were in the same orbit.

David mac Cellaig Ó Gilla Pátraic Phádraig

At this juncture, it is worth considering the curious account of the first cleric with a Giolla Phádraig-like patronym, as it illustrates a pattern in many clerical appointments in early Norman Ireland. Dr Emmett O'Byrne considers that David mac Cellaig Ó Gilla Pátraic (d. 1253), Archbishop of Cashel, was probably a member of the Mac Giolla Phádraig dynasty of Osraí [71]. David, Archbishop of Cashel, surely occurs in several judiciary and patent rolls of Ireland, as well as papal records, between 1239 and 1253[72], but without any surname attachment. However, crucially, he is also found in two annalistic accounts as Dauit mac Ceallaig Uí Giolla Phádraig, i.e., with a dynastic and very rarely recorded form of the eponym Giolla Pádraig[73].

Before his appointment to the See of Cashel in 1239, David was recorded as a Dominican friar and Dean of Cashel, and he was appointed Bishop of Cloyne in 1237, being described as a "straightforward and mature man"[74]. It is highly significant that at the time of David's appointment Henry III issued a decree concerning the Bishop of Cloyne, stating that "the Dean and Chapter of Cloyne have license to elect, provided however that they elect such a person who is English"[75]. Given this, and that the Dominicans who first came to Ireland in 1224 were Anglo-Normans[76], David's paternity was surely Anglo-Norman. Yet his surname indicates he was a member of an Uí Giolla Phádraig dynastic group, perhaps taking the name through a maternal lineage, fosterage, or something similar.

And what of David's potential maternity? While the Mac Giolla Phádraig dynasty of Osraí is well known, as noted in the biography written by O'Byrne, there was also a Dalcassian Mac Giolla Phádraig dynasty that emerged ca. 1200 AD[77]. And consideration of a Dalcassian maternity for David mac Cellaig Ó Gilla Pátraic is plausible due to the establishment of early Dominican Houses at Blackfrairs (Luimneach, founded ca. 1227 AD by Donnchadh Ua Briain, King of Thomond, who was allied with the de Burgh), and St Marie's of the Isle (Corcaige, founded ca. 1229 AD by Phillip de Barry), not just the Ossorian Dominican Black Abbey of Cill Chainnigh (founded ca. 1225 AD by William Marshall, Second Earl of Pembroke).

But, moving on from the curiosity of David mac Cellaig Ó Gilla Pátraic, the beginning of a Mac Giolla Phádraig clerical lineage that spanned 140 years, and perhaps much longer, likely came with Matthew Mac Giolla Phádraig, who flourished ca. 1394-1416 AD, rather than with Bishop David.

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[71] MacGillapatrick (mac Cellaig Ó Gilla Pátraic), David: Dictionary of Irish Biography https://www.dib.ie/biography/macgillapatrick-mac-cellaig-o-gilla-patraic-david-a6362, accessed 22 September 2026.
[72] Sweetman H (1875); Sweetman H (1877); Maxwell Lyte H (1908). Calendar of the patent rolls of Henry III (1247-1258). London: His Majesty's Stationary Office; Bliss W (1893). Calendar of papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Volume I, 1198-1304. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.
[73] In the annals he appears as the 'Bishop of C', which was mistakenly transcribed Clonmacnoise: "AD 1253: David, son of Kellagh O'Gillapatrick, Bishop of Clonmacnoise, died and Thomas O'Quinn, a friar minor, was consecrated at Rome as his successor" (O'Donovan J, 1856). O'Quinn was a Franciscan and was confirmed by King Henry III on 20 February 1252 despite his illegitimacy, but David died April 1253 and could not have been replaced at Clonmacnoise before then. Hence, the transcription error becomes evident – mistaking Clonmacnoise for Cloyne (Bliss, 1893; Maxwell Lyte H, 1908).
[74] Brady W (1863). Clerical and parochial records of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross. Dublin: Alexander Thom.
[75] Maxwell Lyte H (1903). Patent Rolls Rolls of the reign of Henry III, 1225-1232. London: His Majesty's Stationary Office.
[76] Lafaye A (2021). Dominican friaries in the medieval landscapes of Britain and Ireland: a comparative study. In Giraud E & Linde J (Eds.), A Companion to the English Dominican Province, ca. 1221–1540. Leiden: Brill.
[77] Fitzpatrick D, Fitzpatrick I & Fitzpatrick M (2022).

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Matthew Mac Giolla Phádraig and sons

In *Part I*, it was posited that Matthew fathered several clerical sons, thereby establishing the Mac Giolla Phádraig clerical lineage – a development directly evidenced by generational surname use and succession to clerical positions. That this lineage first manifested within the Dioceses of Limerick and Killaloe is no coincidence. By the late fourteenth century, the Augustinian canons in these regions had established practices of maintaining successional control over ecclesiastical benefices and church lands. By adopting the Augustinian institutional ethos, the Mac Giolla Phádraig clerical family successfully secured social status and political influence in the region.

Among the most infamous Augustinian clerics of Killaloe in the era shortly after Matthew was Diarmaid Mac Giolla Phádraig, who is considered Matthew's son. Diarmaid's career has been partly reviewed by Gleeson and Gwynn, and McInerney[1], who state, notably, that he was "Abbot of Inisgad for fifty years, but not without being involved in many difficulties"[4], and that he and his kin provide "a good example of an inter-generational transfer of ecclesiastical title"[2].

Diarmaid's clerical longevity is partly understood by his early start, having only "attained his twentieth year", which required dispensation on account of the 'defect of age'. His first appointment, as recorded in the Papal Registers in 1418[19], was to the Rectory of Askeaton in Luimneach, which is just five miles west of Cill Churnáin, where Matthew had previously held the Vicarage; therefore, Diarmaid must have been born ca. 1398 AD. He is further described as the son of a priest, OSA, and an unmarried woman" and so his age, clerical paternity, and location are consistent with him being Matthew's son.

Diarmaid is also described as *nobilis*, and since the local nobility were FitzGerald Earls of Desmond, it is difficult to imagine Diarmaid's appointment, with a value of twelve marks per annum, not having the express approval of the absolute ruler, landlord, and castle-holder of Askeaton, the sixth Earl of Desmond, James FitzGerald. Hence, it is not only possible to assign paternity to Diarmaid, but his mother was not implausibly associated with the House of Desmond, whence probably came Diarmaid's status as *nobilis*, which was a significant factor in Rome's dispensation approving his appointment, as was the dilapidated and mismanaged condition of the vicarage.

Appointments such as Diarmaid's frequently utilised procurators and delators. The latter were informants who initiated a canonical lawsuit by accusing an incumbent cleric of misconduct to strip them of their office and claim the vacancy. Jefferies has estimated that two-thirds "of the delators who made no specific allegations against the heads of religious houses whom they delated were the sons of the secular or ecclesiastical elites in late medieval Ireland". Further, the use of delations by "many of the nobility to intrude their sons into Augustinian houses in particular may account for the apparent lack of discipline which characterised some Augustinian priors … shown in the number of Augustinian abbots' sons who used the system of delations to secure possession of a priory or abbacy or diocesan benefice". Jefferies concludes that such a high statistic demonstrates "that delations were often exploited by the elites to impose their children upon religious houses, particularly Augustinian priories, as a means of assuring them of a status and income commensurate with their fathers' positions in society"[78].

It is Diarmaid's association with Oileán na gCanánach (Canon's Island) and the Abbey of Inisgad that defines his career, and he is easily the most controversial Mac Giolla Phádraig cleric of Killaoe on

[78] Jefferies H (2005). History of the Diocese of Clogher. Dublin: Four Courts Press Ltd.

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record. His provision of a canonry of Inisgad in 1426 records that he had risen to sub-deacon and had great aspiration to "reform the said monastery"[19]. It is twenty-one years before a further record of Diarmait is found when, in 1447, he is noted as Abbot of Inisgad, whom Pope Martin V ordered to make provision for the Vicar of Clooney, and in 1449 Diarmaid received instructions from Rome concerning the vicar of Cill Reachtais (Kilraghtis)[50].

It was after this that the 'many difficulties' came, and it is clear the reformation of Inisgad Abbey had fared poorly. In 1452, Diarmaid was accused of committing murder or causing willful murder to be committed, and of being "a public and notorious fornicator" who had "dilapidated and alienated and uselessly consumed the possessions of the abbatial mensa". The accusations were made by Thomas Mac Mathghamhna, a deacon of Killaloe, and are considered an attempt by the local Mac Mathghamhna (Mac Mahon), chieftains, fierce rivals of the Geraldines of Luimneach, "to gain possession of the monastery"[4]. The accuracy of Mathghamhna's accusations is difficult to refute since Diarmaid was subsequently deprived of Inisgad by ca. 1462 AD "for his faults and demerits". Yet, in 1469 he still held the abbey "without any title or title of right", perhaps since Thomas Mac Mathghamhna had ceded his claim. A new provision was made for Denis Ó h-Aodha (O'Hay) but to no avail[79]. Diarmaid remained abbot until his death ca. 1473 AD and, as will be discussed, there was Mac Giolla Phádraig succession.

With the context of succession in mind, the probability of Matthew having other sons is likely, and the logical interpretation for the record of John Mac Giolla Phádraig, described as Killaloe cleric, being assigned to the Vicarage of Kilcornan in 1427 is that he was Matthew's son and successor at the vicarage. Yet, succession at Cill Churnáin was disputed in this era, with the Uí Bhriain (O'Brien) proxies Thomas Ó Gráda (O'Grady) and Carolus Ó Longargáin (O'Lonergan) also vying for the benefice. The Uí Gráda and Uí Longargáin were influential collateral Dál gCais families, and the latter, particularly, were a long-standing, influential, and powerful clerical lineage[2], which adds weight to John Mac Giolla Phádraig's delator's claim that there was no hope of him "obtaining justice in the city or diocese of Limerick", and reflects on the broader regional power struggle in this era between the Kings of Thomond and the Geraldines[80]. Ó Gráda was granted the vicarage after Matthew's death but did not take possession since Ó Longargáin "unduly detained possession for more than six years"[19]. Yet John's claim was eventually successful; he secured the Papal provision of the vicarage and was also granted the annexed chapel[81].

Another likely son of Matthew is Karolus Mac Giolla Phádraig, a cleric of Killaloe who became a Rector of Kilfarboy and Kilmurry-Ibrickan[82], albeit under duress, and who further exemplifies the strategies clerical lineages engaged in to maintain their status and position in society. While masking paternal succession from Rome via creative surname use was not uncommon[2], such succession became more brazen with little attempt to disguise paternity, particularly among Augustinians. A not uncommon concealed legal violation was 'cross-border' pluralism, i.e., illegally holding multiple church offices simultaneously across different dioceses. For example, because Killaloe and Limerick were separated by the River Shannon and deeply divided politically, a cleric could hold benefices in both dioceses, drawing two incomes, without either local bishop necessarily realising it or challenging

[79] Twemlow J (1955). Calendar of Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Volume XIII – Part II, 1471-1484. London: Her Majesty's Printing Office.
[80] Otway-Ruthven A (1980). A history of medieval Ireland. London: Ernest Benn Ltd.
[81] Moloney M & Costello M (1942). Obligationes pro Annatis Diocesis Limiricensis 1421-1519. Archivium Hibernicum, 10, 104-162.
[82] Gleeson D & Costello M. (1943). Obligationes pro Annatis Diocesis Laoniensis 1421-1535. Archivium Hibernicum 10, 1-103.

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the matter. To further mask such activity, a cleric could use two different proctors in Rome: one paying the annates for the Killaloe parish, and another proctor paying the annates for the Limerick parish. However, it was also not uncommon for there to be perfectly legitimate reasons for holding multiple benefices, cross-border or otherwise, such as a lack of available clerics, and there are many such cases recorded in the Papal registers[83]. A legitimate example of cross-border pluralism involving the Dioceses of Killaloe and Ossory is found with Odo Ó Cearbhaill (O'Carroll), a cleric of Ossory, who was granted the Priory of Sierkieran in Ossory and the canonical portion of the Augustinian Priory of Tyone, Killaloe[84].

Did Karolus Mac Giolla Phádraig hold benefices in the Dioceses of Killaloe and Ossory? There is sufficient evidence to posit as much based on the same given names[85], common identity features, and temporal career overlap between Karolus and a cleric recorded as Cervallus Mac Giolla Phádraig of Ossory. In 1432, Karolus Mac Giolla Phádraig, a clerk of the diocese of Killaloe, bound himself to the annates of the rectory of the united churches of Kilfarboy and Kilmurry-Ibrickan[83], where Matthew Mac Giolla Phádraig had once been vicar. Yet clerical conflicts came, and in 1443, Karolus made a report to Rome that Donald Ó Cuinn (O'Quinn) had "dilapidated his canonry and prebend of Rathblathmaic[86], is a notorious fornicator and has committed perjury and simony". Karolus was "in fear of Donald's power" such that he could not publicly accuse him. Donald had also illegally possessed the Rectory of Kilfarboy and Kilmurry-Ibrickan, and the Pope ordered him removed, mandating the collation of Karolus to the canonry of the Cathedral Church of Killaloe (i.e., St Flannan), and that provision also be made to him for the Rectory of Kilfarboy and Kilmurry-Ibrickan and the canonry and the prebend of Rathblathmaic[87].

It also happens that ca. 1427 AD, in the same era as Karolus' early career, Cervallus, alias Criffannus, clerk of the Diocese of Ossory, *nobilis*, was collated and assigned to the Rectory of Aghaboe, with a generous annual income of thirty marks. Notably, Cervallus is described as of having "studied canon and civil law for several years in [several] places which are not universities"[19]. There is no history of Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics at Achad Bhó, but William Ó Maol Bhreanndáin (O'Mulbrandon, before ca. 1417 AD), John Mac Fhíodhbhuidhe (Mac Evoy, ca. 1418-1420 AD), Simon Ua Cáellaide (O'Kelly, ca. 1421-1422 AD), David Ó hEarcáin (O'Hurkan or Harkin, ca. 1422-1426 AD), were Cervallus' immediate predecessors and, therefore, there is no evidence of clerical succession at Achad Bhó in the early fifteenth century. It intrigues that Cervallus' annates were paid for by Adam Ua h-Uallacháin (O'Houlihan), Vicar of Kilcolmin in Killaloe[88], and this establishes Cervallus' connection with that

[83] For example: "Odo O'Hogan, of the Diocese of Cashel, scholar of canon law. For a canonry of Killaloe, with expectation of a prebend, value 16 gold florins, notwithstanding that he has a grant of the Rectory of Tipperary, value 30 florins, of which he has not yet obtained possession on account of the slender value of benefices and the scarcity of fit persons, it is hardly possible to subsist on two benefices". Bliss W (1896). Calendar of Papal registers: petitions to the Pope, 1342-1419. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

[84] Fuller A (2024). Calendar of entries Papal registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Volume XXI, 1513-1521, Leo X, Part II. Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission.

[85] In the Papal registers and annates, the names are recorded in Latin, as Karolus of Killaloe, and Cervallus (alias Criffanus) of Ossory. Some translations took the liberty of writing Karolus as Charles, i.e., the French or Anglo-Norman form. Woulfe states the modern name Charles is equivalent to the English form Carroll in Ireland, and is Cervallus in Latin, and Cearbhall in Irish. Criffanus is a pet-name of the same group of names, which had much greater preference in Ossory versus the use of Cervallus in Killaloe. Hence, Karolus = Cervallus = Criffanus. Woulfe P (1923). Sloinnte Gaedheal Is Gall: Irish Names and Surnames. Dublin: MH Gill & Son.

[86] An Ráth, Clár (Rath, County Clare), in the Diocese of Killaloe.

[87] Twemlow J (1912). Calendar of Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Volume IX, 1431-1447. London, His Majesty's Printing Office.

[88] Clohosey T (1957). Obligationes pro Annatis Diocesis Ossoriensis 1413-1531. Archivium Hibernicum 20, 1-37. The Uí h-Uallacháin supplied several clerics in the Diocese of Killaloe (Gwynn A & Gleeson D, 1962).

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diocese; the church at Cill Chuimín is seven miles west of Rose Cré, Uíbh Fhailí (Roscrea, County Offaly)[4] and twenty-one miles west of Achadh Bhó. In addition, Cervallus' training was explicitly tied to several premier houses. While Osraí Uachtarach had no such centres in the early fifteenth-century[89], Killaloe hosted several elite educational institutions, with "at least six of the very greatest and most notable monasteries of the golden age"[4], such as Lorrha Priory, with its "vibrant scholastic tradition"[90]. Hence, Cervallus was most likely educated at several Killaloe monasteries and well connected to their clerical networks.

Cervallus appears a second time in the Diocese of Ossory, again in relation to Achadh Bhó, in an account that raises the question of whether he was working the system to obtain multiple cross-border benefices. In 1440 Cervallus sought, and was granted, a new provision (*nova provisio*) for Achadh Bhó, and while no explanation is given for why such a new provision was required, it was likely because of some irregularity in the way the first award was granted, or a dispute over the benefice, or an undisclosed defect in Cervallus (such as illegitimacy), or a failure to fulfill the requirements of the post (such as absence), or holding multiple benefices without the required dispensation.

There is no record of any irregularity in the award of Achadh Bhó or any subsequent dispute and the Papal records are replete with such cases, which were well documented; so the reasons for the new provision probably lay elsewhere. Did Cervallus' first appointment to Achadh Bhó not disclose a defect, or did he not fulfill the requirements of the post because of absence? Or perhaps he accepted multiple benefices in Killaloe without dispensation, which would have made Achadh Bhó vacant by law. If any of the preceding were the case, it would further align Cervallus and Karolus as the same person. Notably, if Karolus-Cervallus were the same person, it would stand to reason that he might return to Achadh Bhó for security during the conflicts with Donald Ó Cuinn in Killaloe, which rendered him unable to possess the lucrative Rectory of Kilfarboy and Kilmurry-Ibrickan.

The last record of Karolus in the Diocese of Killaloe is from 1466, in which it was his turn to stand accused of dilapidating the goods of the Rectory of Kilfarboy and Kilmurry-Ibrickan and of committing simony by resigning his canonry of Killaloe and the prebend of Rathblathmaic, being "reputed in those parts to be a notorious simoniac and perjurer"[91]. Karolus' benefices passed to John Ó Flannagáin (O'Flanagan), breaking the association that Mac Giolla Phádraig had with the Rectory Kilfarboy and Kilmurry-Ibrickan until 1507, when came the intriguing appointment of Wiliam Mac Giolla Phádraig, of Ossory, to the rectory, in 'ecclesiastical fee'[92], to be discussed in *Part III*.

That Karolus Mac Giolla Phádraig Killaloe and Cervallus Mac Giolla Phádraig Killaloe and Ossory (a) had the same names, (b) flourished in the same era, (c) were of the same Augustinian order, (d)

[89] Aghaboe Abbey was infamously destroyed by Diarmaid Mac Giolla Phádraig, 'the one-eyed' in 1346 when it was under Norman control (Williams B, 2007. The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn. Dublin: Four Courts Press), and then famously re-established by Finghin Mac Giolla Phádraig in 1382 (Archdall M, 1786. Monasticon Hibernicum: or, a history of the abbeys, priories, and other religious houses in Ireland. Dublin: WB Kelly), but there is no record of Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics there until Cervallus. Another well-known house was the Aghmacart Priory, which was not established as a centre of learning until the sixteenth century (Fitzpatrick M, 2021. Pátraic surnames in the Fiants and Patent Rolls of Ireland: Part I: a method of approach to mega-data, and a Mac Caisín case study. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 2, 66-92, doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00621.

[90] Bolger T, Moloney C, & Troy C (2012). Archaeological excavations at Lorrha, Co. Tipperary. The Journal of Irish Archaeology 21, 113-137.

[91] Twemlow J (1933). Calendar of Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Volume XII, 1458-1471. London, His Majesty's Printing Office.

[92] Ecclesiastical fee, i.e., arising from church lands and non-parochial (Nicholls K, 1971. Rectory, vicarage, and parish in western Irish dioceses. The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland 101, 53-84.

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operated among the same diocesan alliances and networks, and (e) utilised the same dubious modes of operation and pluralistic tendencies, is compelling evidence they were *eadem persona*, i.e., the same person. And if correct, Karolus-Cervallus was also Matthew's son and, like his brother Diarmaid, *nobilis*.

A third generation of Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics of Killaloe

Little attention has been given to the generations of Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics after Matthew, his probable sons, Diarmaid and John of Killaloe, and Karolus-Cervallus of Killaloe and Ossory. Therefore, the remainder of *Part II* focusses on the third generation of Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics of Killaloe, while *Part III* explores the rich and complex narratives of the Mac Giolla Phádraig clerical lineage that expanded from Killaloe into Ossory from the mid-1460s. Both clerical lines probably have their origins with Diarmait, Abbot of Inisgad (ca. 1398-1473 AD) who gained substantial wealth and possessions, rose in socio-political status and power, and lived long – all coupled with a riotous lifestyle and a taste for women, in a fashion not uncommon among Augustinians.

A second cleric called Diarmaid Mac Giolla Phádraig (Diarmaid II) is considered the son of Diarmaid, Abbot of Inisgad[2,4], and for good reason, not just because of the common given name. The earliest record of Diarmaid II comes from the Papal registers of 1463, in a powerfully worded mandate to the Dean of Limerick, Archdeacon of Limerick, and Maurice FitzGerald, a Canon of Limerick, concerning Diarmaid II's award of a canonry of Killaloe and a prebend of Cluain Dá Ghad (Clondagad), which is on the north bank of the Shannon River, and less than five miles from Inisgad. He is described as the "illegitimate son of an abbot of the order of St Augustine and an unmarried woman" who had already been provided with the Rectory of Kilkeedy[93] and the Rectory of Drumcliff[94], in ecclesiastical fee, to a total value of twenty-five marks[95]. The paternity evidence, generous provision, and placement near Inisgad all position Diarmaid II as being a FitzGerald-groomed Mac Giolla Phádraig heir to Inisgad Abbey. And Rome also took the step of warning against interference by communicating his mandate concurrently to the Abbot of Clare Abbey, the Dean of Killaloe, and the Treasurer of Killaloe[96], although an audacious attempt to install Diarmaid II into a second and newly created rectory at Tradraighe (Traderry) to the value of twenty-two marks, failed; it was in the heart of the country of the powerful Mac Conmara[2],

A 1465 record of Diarmaid II being excommunicate comes out of the blue. Other than an inferred local rivalry, there is no background or context to support the accusation of him being "in contempt of the Keys" by Maurice Ua h-Ogáin (O'Hogan), a cleric of Killlaoe. Diarmaid continued in his clerical duties, and the following year he is recorded as a Canon of Killaloe alongside his father, the Abbot of Inisgad. A reassertion of the sentence of excommunication was made in 1470 by Rory Ó Comhain (Cowan), who sought the Rectory of Drumcliff[92]. By ca. 1470 AD, Diarmaid II had relinquished the benefices of Cluain Dá Ghad[80], probably to focus on the affairs of Inisgad, where his father was in decline; in 1478 Diarmaid II was awarded a Canonry of Inisgad and promoted to abbot, following in his father's footsteps. Yet an internecine power struggle over Inisgad is clearly evidenced. The previously unrecorded Maurice Mac Giolla Phádraig had detained possession of the abbey from ca.

[93] Cill Chaoide, a parish in the Barony of Inchiquin.
[94] Drom Cléibh, a parish in the Barony of Islands.
[95] Twemlow J (1921). Calendar of Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Volume XI, 1455-1464. London, His Majesty's Printing Office.
[96] The abbot was Matthew Mac Craith, the dean was Thomas Uí Cormacáin, and the treasurer was Odo Mac Conmara (Crooks D & Leslie J, 2010. Clergy of Killaloe, Kilfenora, Clonfert, and Kilmacduagh: Biographical succession lists. Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation) – all were politically aligned with the Earls of Thomond (McInerney L, 2014).

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1473 AD[80], after Diarmaid's demise. A record of Maurice's death and the subsequent vacancy of Inisgad, recorded in the annates of Killaloe[4], refers to him as 'Maurice, son of Diarmaid'; hence, Maurice and Diarmaid II were brothers.

Diarmaid II enjoyed a long tenure at Inisgad, where he remained abbot until his death in Rome in 1520, after which control of Inisgad was granted to Theodoricus Mac Mathghamhna, although Donald Mac Giolla Phádraig briefly detained the rule and administration of the abbey[85]. Donald appears in Papal records in the same era as Diarmaid II, suggesting a likely common paternity, but before he appeared at Inisgad, he was described as a Luimneach cleric. In 1462 Donald was collated to a canonry and prebend of Teampall Mainchín (St Munchin's)[96], which he resigned in 1476 while in Rome[82]. After this, Donald may have transferred to Osraí Uachtarach, and this possibility is explored further in *Part III*.

Another probable son of Diarmaid and third-generation Mac Giolla Phádraig cleric was Finianus of Killaloe, son of a priest and an unmarried woman. Finianus is recorded in 1465 as receiving a benefice of the Rectory of the Kilfearagh[97] church parish to the value of three marks, in ecclesiastical fee. It is not known whether Finianus took up the rectory, which lay in the heart of Mac Mathghamhna country, and there is no other record found for him. And a further Mac Giolla Phádraig cleric of Killaloe is Thateus, who, in 1505, accused Cornelius Mac Mathghamhna and Donald Uí Cáellaide of illegally detaining the Vicarage of Kilfarboy and Vicarage of Kilmurry-Ibrickan, respectively, and made petition for their removal and the unification of the vicarages. Thateus, *nobilis*, was successful with his petition and held the united vicarage until at least 1507[98]. He perhaps represents a fourth generation of pre-Reformation Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics of Killaloe and his appointment evidences nearly one hundred years of their association with Kilfarboy and Kilmurry-Ibrickan.

A Y-DNA reflection

Part II provides a narrative of Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics that could probably never have been told had it not been for Y-DNA, which has led to a need to understand how an early Norman *lignage* of Cornwall came to the south of Ireland and expanded west, before a branch, having adopted an Irish surname, forged a highly notable clerical lineage in Killaloe that was sustained over several generations. *Part III* explores whether the later emergence of a Mac Giolla Phádraig clerical lineage in Osraí Uachtarach stemmed from the movement of Mac Giolla Phádraig from Killaloe.

But aside from the modern surname connections linking Norman-Irish lineages to Fitzpatricks of Laois and Cill Chainnigh, it is worth reflecting on whether Y-DNA can identify clerical lineages. Since some clerics sired numerous offspring in their efforts to sustain their lineages, perhaps they left behind a genetic pattern like those found among some of the lineages of the prolific Irish dynasts[99]. In genetic genealogy, there are signatures that are commonly referred to as starbursts, which are rapid expansions that occur when a single ancestral node suddenly splits into several distinct, surviving parallel branches. Typically, a starburst, or star-cluster, is caused by a sudden, massive increase in social status, political power, or reproductive success within a specific patriarchal dynasty[100].

[97] Cill Fhiarach in the Barony of Moyarta.
[98] Haren M (1989). Calendar of entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Volume XVIII, Pius III and Julius II 1471-1484. Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission.
[99] McEvoy B, Simms K, & Bradley D (2008). Genetic investigation of the patrilineal kinship structure of early medieval Ireland. American Journal of Physical Anthropology 136, 415-422.
[100] Balaresque P, Poulet N, Cussat-Blanc S, et al. (2015). Y-chromosome descent clusters and male differential reproductive success: young lineage expansions dominate Asian pastoral nomadic populations. European Journal of Human Genetics 23, 1413-1422.

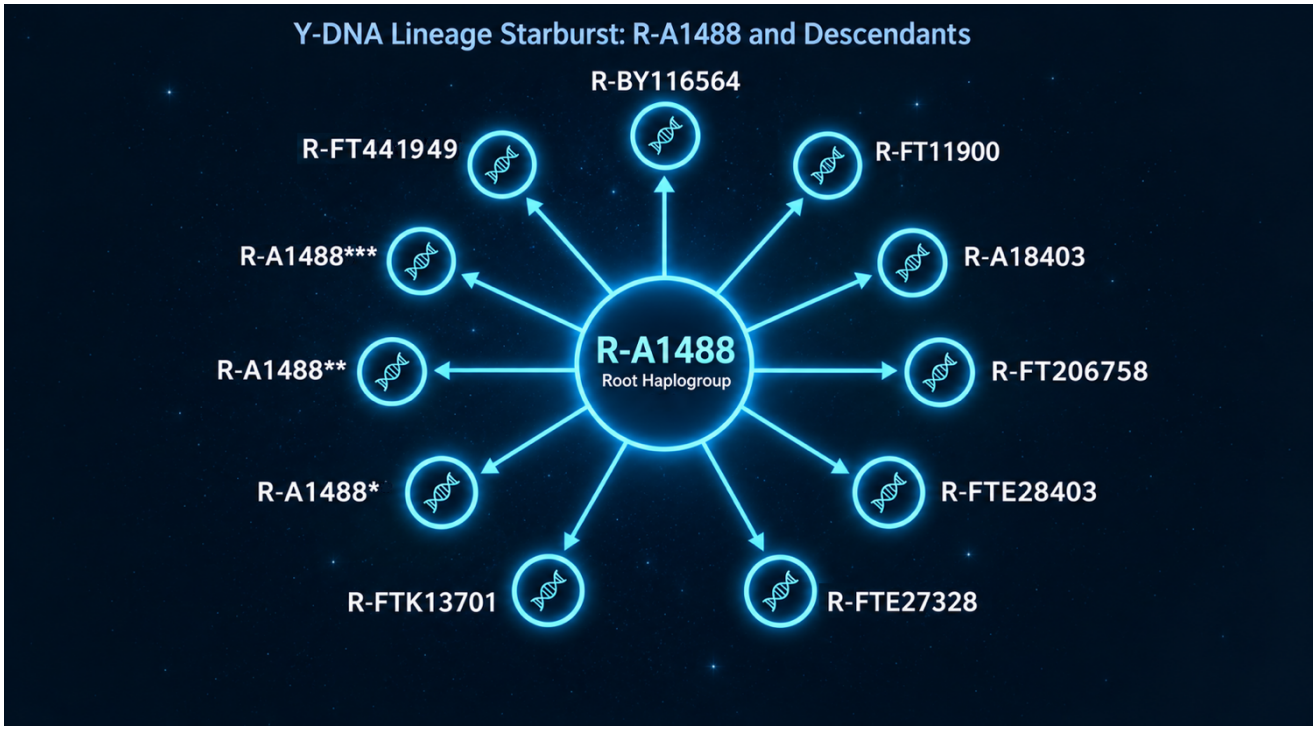
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In the context of *Part II*, a good example of a Y-DNA starburst is found among the Mac Conmara Dál gCais, whose lineage "presents the most compelling example of lay infiltration of benefices" in An Clár, from the "mid fourteenth-century or earlier"[2]. This leads to the possibility that a starburst among the Mac Conmara Dál gCais clan might reveal a clerical lineage. The clan surname Y-DNA project indicates that haplotype R-DC30 is among the variants that are "almost certainly specific to the Mac Namara surname"[101] and, notably, there are five surviving descendant lineages under R-DC30>DC189>DC191, whose common ancestors were born after ca. 1250 AD. A five-lineage expansion is not inconsistent with the formation of a Mac Conmara Dál gCais clerical lineage in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.

Still, the R-DC191 starburst pales in comparison with that observed under R-A1488 (Figure 2), which has no fewer than eleven surviving descendant lineages. Such an explosive starburst among the Mac Giolla Phádraig of Osraí, if it occurred in the thirteenth century, is unexpected and difficult to rationalise, since the clan bore the brunt of Diarmaid Mac Murchadha's hatred and his Anglo-Norman knights' force when they invaded Osraí in 1169. In a single battle, Donnchadh Mac Giolla Phádraig is said to have lost three hundred of his men, after which Mac Murchadha's army went killing and robbing throughout Osraí until Donnchadh, a prince of the clan, sued for peace[102]. Mac Murchadha attacked Osraí again in 1170, again killing many and laying waste to the country, and there was no respite for the clan even after Mac Murchadha's death in 1171 – the Mac Giolla Phádraig were ultimately ejected from their Kilkenny stronghold and bountiful lands ca. 1192 AD[6].

Figure 2: The R-A1466 Starburst[103]



[101] https://www.familytreedna.com/groups/mcnamara/about/results, accessed 12 October 2026.
[102] Three hundred was the number recorded by Giraldus Cambrensis (Wright T, 1905. The historical works of Giraldus Cambrensis. London: George Bell & Sons) although Carrigan (1905) suggests the loss of one hundred and twenty men more realistic.
[103] A R-A1488 starburst could also make sense if it represented the descendants of Bryan Mac Giolla Phadraig, first baron of Upper Ossory, who sired numerous offspring, legitimate and otherwise (Carrigan, 1905). However, this would require a TMRCA in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.

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Hence, for the Mac Giolla Phádraig of Osraí, those times were not conducive to leaving behind a starburst signature; they were a clan in fast retreat and severe decline. Then, by the early thirteenth century, they were transplanted to Osraí Uachtarach, where they fought guerrilla campaigns against the Normans and forged new alliances with Irish clans to the north, yet they struggled to establish a foothold[6]. Perhaps that is why a definitively proven branch of the Osraí Uachtarach clan relocated to An Clár ca. 1230 AD where they eventually became domiciled at Lios Dúin Bhearna (Lisdoonvarna) and flourished in the era of Fynin Mergagh (i.e., the freckled) Mac Giolla Phádraig (d. 1622). Later, many of that clan were evicted from their lands following the 1642 siege of Tromráth Thoir (Tromra) Castle in 1642, in which they assisted; they found new homes on Oileáin Árann (Arann Islands), in Gaillimh (Galway) and, later, Maigh Eo (Mayo), and Ros Comáin (Roscommon), where their descendants live today[78]. The main genetic branch of the clan, who are known as Mac Giolla Phádraig Dál gCais, falls under the surname-specific Y-DNA block with the named primary variant R-FT212775, one twelve variants that formed ca. 600 AD. There is no further branching until ca. 1600 AD, when three lines emerged. Such a pattern aligns more with an Irish clan under duress from the era of the Norman invasion – who barely survived.

In contrast, a starburst originating with a cleric of status in Killaloe and Limerick would have been fueled by combined unique factors, viz., insulated wealth, generational continuity, and large families. While secular Irish chiefs and their heirs constantly lost their lives and lands during the Anglo-Norman expansion, church lands were a sanctuary, which kept clerical families wealthy and physically secure. And since clerics' sons were accepted as legitimate heirs, the wealth and reproductive advantage of a clerical lineage could compound uninterrupted for generations. A wealthy cleric could maintain concubines, potentially producing many male children who had the nutrition, safety, and social standing required to survive to adulthood and pass on their Y-DNA. Hence, R-A1488 more reflects a clerical lineage that arose among Ireland's early Norman gentry than a mere Irish clan on the brink of extinction following the 1169 invasion.

Summary

Part II has reviewed the origins, extent, and dealings of the Mac Giolla Phádraig clerical lineage of Limerick and Killaloe and has introduced their entry into Osraí Uachtarach. Long recognised by Gwynn and Gleeson, and the focus of renewed interest by McInerney, the Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics were ignored by Shearman[104] and Carrigan[6], the pre-eminent Fitzpatrick scholars of the nineteenth century, perhaps unsurprisingly since both were men of the cloth with little appetite for recounting the not infrequent degenerate behaviour of their peers past, even if keeping concubines, having illegitimate children, and political maneuvering to harvest wealth caused little concern for the local population at the time.

If *Part II* seems disruptive of traditional Fitzpatrick of Osraí Uachtarach origin narratives, *Part III* goes even further by exploring the Mac Giolla Phádraig clerical lineage of Ossory, which attained more status and political power than anything achieved by their ancestor clerics of Limerick or Killaloe, and piecing together the clear connections between the Mac Giolla Phádraig clerics and the line from which the Fitzpatrick barons of Upper Ossory probably emerged.

While modern scholars default to the dominant narrative of the barons of Upper Ossory as a family with mere Irish origins emerging from a clan with roots among the Laighin, and with their progenitor,

[104] Shearman J (1879). Loca Patriciana: an Identification of localities, chiefly in Leinster, visited by St Patrick and his assistant missionaries, and of some contemporary kings and chieftains. With an essay on the three Patricks, Palladius, Sen Patrick, and Patrick Mac Calphurn, Apostles of Ireland in the fifth century. Dublin: MH Gill & Son.

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Bryan Mac Giolla Phádraig, simply portrayed as a bad actor who sold out his clan in 1541, via surrender and regrant, to possess the clan lands and gain a royal title, it is a perspective lacking any measured form of critical review. Even those few scholars who explore the barons more thoughtfully miss the mark. Notably, Edwards romantically posits that Bryan collaborated with the Crown and local Norman-Irish overlords as a survival strategy, yet his conclusion that the Mac Giolla Phádraig of Upper Ossory were "left almost entirely unaffected"[105] entirely misses the point: the dominant branch of the Mac Giolla Phádraig clan in Bryan's era was deeply interwoven with a clerical line that had over two hundred years of experience with, and adaptation to, a Norman-Irish way of being. Hence, the claim that Mac Giolla Phádraig of Upper Ossory were 'unaffected' fails to account for the fact that they were well familiar with living in two worlds – they had long been deeply affected but had become adept at concealment and reinventing themselves in the same ilk as other Gaelicised Norman clans who were referred to as 'more Irish than the Irish'.

And Edwards' talk of "a new alliance" between the Mac Giolla Phádraig of Upper Ossory and the Butlers of Ormond in the Tudor era[106] is also poorly determined since he fails to recognise the schism in the Mac Giolla Phádraig of Upper Ossory clan that occurred in 1443 AD, after which clan leadership, under the barely acknowledged Donnchadh Oirig ('the tribute king') Mór Mac Giolla Phádraig, became aligned with the FitzGeralds of Kildare, while a junior branch, under Finghin Mac Giolla Phádraig allied with James, Fourth Earl of Ormond, sealing the arrangement in typical Ormond fashion via a duel marriage arrangement between Finghin and Margaret, a daughter Edmund MacRichard Butler, and Morena ny Giolla Phádraig and John Butler, who was probably a son of Edmund MacRichard[107].

Hence, a revised narrative of the Mac Giolla Phádraig of Upper Ossory and its later barons is required, one that accounts for a clerical lineage that cared little for anything beyond maintaining status, power, landholdings, and, perhaps most of all, continuing a centuries-old paternal Norman-Irish *lignage*. The poster boy of the line became Bryan Mac Giolla Phádraig, who from a young age exhibited all the hallmarks of his clerical forebears. As laid bare in the Papal Registers[108], his life was defined by chaotic personal diplomacy – marked by successive carnal unions across multiple prohibited degrees of consanguinity and affinity, producing numerous illegitimate offspring – he was self-seeking, murderous, and had little concern for his kinsfolk, children, or neighbouring Irish clans. Yet he was politically astute, well-networked with, and precisely married into the most powerful Norman house in Ireland of his era – obsessed with *lignage* and with little care, as Carrigan well noted[6], for an Irish clan and its identity.

Bryan and his clerical forebears of Upper Ossory are the subject of a thorough analysis in *Part III*, which includes a detailed examination of much previously unconsidered historical records.

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Appendix

It is trivial to demonstrate that many of FTDNA's TMRCA distributions are flawed in the early era of Irish surnames. For example, R-BY140757 is specific to Branan-like surnames and likely originated with the Norman house of de Braham of Suffolk; therefore, the surname did not form before 1066, i.e., before the Norman invasion of England. Hence, the surname's formation date provides a definitive prior constraint on the TMRCA estimate for R-BY140757.

FTDNA's reported TMRCA confidence interval statistics for R-BY140757 are 480-1216 (99%), 624-1108 (95%), and 757-1003 (67%), with a mean of 890[109], but these statistics are not tenable. Therefore, the TMRCA distribution for R-BY140757 requires recalculation, and the starting point is what constitutes a reasonable prior. Since the focus here is to show that the mean TMRCA for R-BY140757 is too young, it is conservative to fix the prior at 1006 AD, i.e., approximately two generations before the eponymous progenitor of the de Braham landed in England.

Thereafter, Bayesian (i.e., conditional) recalculation, such as that developed by McDonald[35], provides a way forward by creating an informed prior on the probability of a relationship at a past time. The approach used here is straightforward enough, performing an analytical post-hoc Bayesian update to FTDNA's TMRCA distribution for R-BY140757 in *Python*. The recalculated TMRCA estimates are 1066-1087 (99%), 1066-1083 (95%), and 1066-1074 (67%), with a mean of 1069.

An R-FGC5494 inter-clade calibration of the R-BY140757 TMRCA re-estimate can also be considered. R-L1444 is a variant associated with the foundations of the Scottish clan Maxwell, of probable Norman origin[110]. The usefulness of R-L1444 for a calibration check on R-BY140757 is that it (a) both variants occur under the ancestral clade R-FGC5494>FGC5561, (b) they are the same number of variants from R-FGC5561, and (c) R-L1444 has been extensively studied in a large Y-DNA cohort. The Maxwell descendant lineages that emerged under R-L1444 have mean TMRCAs of ca. 1150 AD[110], which compares more closely to the R-BY140547 TMRCA re-estimated here versus FTDNA's reported TMRCA.

Re-estimating the TMRCA of R-FT265133's descendants is readily achieved by calibrating against R-BY140757 via simple variant counting. An obvious paradoxical issue with FTDNA's TMRCA for R-A1488 is that while there is only a single variant from the close ancestor R-A1506 to R-BY140757, there are six variant steps to R-A1488. Yet FTDNA reports a mean TMRCA of 1150 for the latter, which is only 160 years more recent than its TMRCA for R-BY140757. Therefore, while McDonald's standard mutation rate for commercial tests is approximately 83 years per variant, TMRCAs based on a faster-paced clock speed of 63 years per variant have also been provided (Table 1).

Table 1: Re-estimate mean TMRCAs for R-FT265133 and descendants

Haplotype	Mean TMRCA (AD)
R-BY140757	1006[A]
R-FT265133	757[B], 817[C]
R-A1506, R-FTF46424	923[B], 943[C]
R-A1488, R-FT12563	1321[C], 1421[B]

Notes:
[A]Bayesian re-estimate; [B]Based on 83 years per variant relative to R-BY140757; [C]Based on 63 years per variant relative to R-BY140757.

[109] Family Tree Discover; accessed via https://www.familytreedna.com, 5 October 2026.
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