

Guide to Groups (Religious Offices and Orders, Secular Offices, Families)

This guide aims to give a sense of the primary group(s) to which particularly significant individuals cited in this study belonged, for better understanding of those individuals and their relationship to others, which should also help locate individuals in the index.

Religious Offices and Orders

Popes mentioned in the text (regnal years): Sylvester I (314–15), Innocent I (401–17), Celestine I (422–32), Boniface IV (608–15), Zacharias (741–52), Gregory VII (1073–85), Eugenius III (1145–53), Adrian IV (1154–59), Alexander III (1159–81), Lucius III (1181–85), Innocent III (1198–1216), Honorius III (1216–27), Gregory IX (1227–41), Innocent IV (1243–54), Alexander IV (1254–61), Clement IV (1265–68), Boniface VIII (1295–1303), Clement V (1305–14), John XXII (1316–34), Benedict XII (1335–42), Clement VI (1342–52), Innocent VI (1352–62)

Archbishops of Dublin mentioned in the text (regnal years): Laurence O’Toole (1162–80), Fulk de Saundford (1256–71), Richard de Haverings (elected and received temporalities 1307 but never consecrated; resigned 1310), John Lech (1311–13), Alexander de Bicknor (1317–49), John of St. Paul (1350–62)

Canons of Holy Trinity mentioned in the text: Adam de Balsham (prior c.1296–1300), Philip de Braybrook (Balsham’s temporary ally who also opposed St. Patrick’s Chaddesworth in 1300; according to a September 1310 letter from archbishop-elect of Dublin Richard de Haverings, Philip was convicted of relapsed heresy and was to be temporarily banished to All Saints Priory in Dublin; apparently never served his sentence and was held in honor by his community), Henry la Warr (sacristan for brief period in 1300, prior 1301–13), John Pekok (leader of opposition to Chaddesworth in 1300, prior 1313–20), William de Clifford (involved in theft of donations for Holy Land in 1311), Robert de Gloucester (prior 1326–31)

Canons of St Patrick’s mentioned in the text: Thomas de Chaddesworth (chancellor 1266–79, dean 1284–1311, frequently vicar of absent archbishops 1271–1311, inquisitor of Templars and Philip de Braybrook, 1310), Richard de Haverings (precentor 1305–?), Alexander de Bicknor (treasurer of Ireland, later justiciar, chancellor, and archbishop of Dublin), William de Rodyerd (treasurer 1306–7, dean 1312–38, Bicknor’s vicar when he was absent from Ireland, Ledrede’s key ally in prosecution of Kyteler case in 1324, Adduce Dubh O’Toole’s probable inquisitor in 1328), William de Nottingham (precentor 1323–57, Ledrede’s first ally in prosecution of Kyteler case), Walter de Islip (treasurer of Ireland 1315, then again 1317–25, keeper of Kilkenny), Elias Lawless (treasurer 1324–30), Peter Wylyby (chancellor, 1324–39?; see also observers of Templar trial)

Templars in Ireland mentioned in the text:

Prior to trial: Ralph de Southwark (former master of Ireland, an apostate by 1235), Roger le Waleis (Ralph’s successor as master of Ireland), Walter le Bachelor (master of

Ireland from 1295 to 1301, convicted of theft, died after about two months imprisonment in London's New Temple)

Interrogated during trial (not all are named in the text): Ralph de Bradeley (custos of Crooke), Hugh de Broghton (custos of Kilsaran), Richard de Bustlesham (custos of Coly), Walter de Choney, Henry Danet (master of Ireland), John de Faversham, Henry de la Forde, Henry de Haselakeby, William de Kilros (chaplain of Kilclogan), Adam de Langeport (from Kilclogan), Henry Mantravers, Robert de Pourbriggs (probably preceptor of Rathronan), John Romayn, Richard de Upladen

Arrested but apparently not tried in Ireland (not all are named in the text): William de Ballygowran,¹ Thomas de Lindsey (returned to England in 1312, submitted to the church, and received penance), Walter le Lung (possibly a fugitive from York), Thomas le Palmer (of Kilbarry), Peter de Malverne (preceptor of Kilclogan and possibly former master of Ireland), Stephen de Stappelbrugge (possibly the same man who returned to England and was tortured into confession in summer of 1311), Michael of Sutton, Thomas of Rathenny, William de Warenne (knight, custos of Clonaul, former master of Ireland)

Witnesses against the Templars in Ireland (not all are named in the text):

Franciscans (13): Roger de Eton (warden), Hugo de Lummour, Walter (William) Prendregest (lector), Nicholas de Kilmainham, Walter Waspayl, Simon de Dachemound, Richard Kissok, Gilbert of Sutton, Roger de Kilmainham, Henry de Pembroke, Ralph Kilmainham, William le Botiller, Henry de Stone

Dominicans (9): Richard de Balybyn (former minister of the Irish Dominicans), Thomas de Ratho, Nicholas Bakun, Richard de Boclonde, John de Balmadoun, Robert de Luske, Lucas Chym, Thomas Cadel, Philip de Kenefek'

Augustinian canons of St Thomas the Martyr near Dublin (6): Thomas (abbot), Simon (prior), Marshal, Richard de Gromekyn, Nicholas Byterel, Adam Barun

Augustinian canons of All Saints near Dublin (community to which Philip de Braybrook of Holy Trinity was supposed to be exiled for heresy; 2): Gilbert le Rene (prior), John Gay

Augustinian friars of Holy Trinity (6): Roger (prior), Henry Wallens, David Long, John of Waterford, John Ansiogh, Hugh le Marshal

Augustinian Crutched friars of the priory and hospital of St John (the Baptist's) outside Newgate, Dublin (2): John le Palmer, John of Swords

Laymen (presumed; 4): Adam le Latimer, Thomas de Broghton, Robert de Hereford, Michael de Bras

Observers of trial (Templars whose interrogations were observed): William de Hothum, future chancellor of the Irish exchequer (Danet); John le Marshall, canon of Kildare (Danet); Peter Wylyby, canon of St. Patrick's and rector of the church of

¹ Some of these names may be alternate renderings of those who were interrogated. For example, Nicholson suggests that William de Ballygowran and William de Kilros may be the same man (*Proceedings*, 2:358 n124).

Ballygriffin (Danet); Roger de Eton, warden of the Franciscans (Danet, Haselakeby, and Langeport); Walter (William) Prendregeest, lector of the Franciscans (Danet, Haselakeby, and Langeport); Philip de Slane, lector of the Dominicans and future bishop of Cork (Danet, Haselakeby, Langeport, Bustlesham); Hugh de Saint Leodegario, O.P. (Danet, Haselakeby, Langeport, Bustlesham); Richard de Balybyn, former minister of the Irish Dominicans (Bustlesham); Philip of Herdley and Matthew of Bela (along with Wylyby, named as present at the close of the trials, June 6, 1310)

Ledrede's accused heretics

1324: Alice Kyteler; William Outlaw; Petronilla and her daughter Sarah de Midia; Elena, Syssook, and John Galrussyn; Robert of Bristol (a cleric apparently in minor orders); William Payn de Boly; Alice, the wife of Henry the smith (*uxorem Henrici Fabri*); Annota Lange; Eva de Brounestoun

1328–29: Arnold le Poer; Roger Outlaw; Robert de Caunton (close associate of Maurice fitz Thomas, earl of Desmond); Alexander de Bicknor (archbishop of Dublin)

Secular Offices

Kings of England mentioned in the text: William I (1066–87), Henry II (1154–89), John (1199–1216), Henry III (1216–72), Edward I (1272–1307), Edward II (1307–27), Edward III (1327–77), Richard II (1377–99), Henry V (1413–22), Henry VIII (1509–47), James I (1603–25)

Justiciars of Ireland mentioned in the text: John Wogan (1295–1308, 1309–12), William fitz John (also archbishop of Cashel; 1318), Alexander de Bicknor (also archbishop of Dublin and chancellor of Ireland; 1318–19), Roger Mortimer (1319–20), Thomas fitz John (also earl of Kildare; 1320–21, 1327–28), John de Bermingham (also earl of Louth; 1321–24), John Darcy (1324–27, 1329–31, 1333–36, 1340–44), Anthony de Lucy (1331–32), Thomas de Rokeby (1349–55, 1356–57), Maurice fitz Thomas (also earl of Desmond; 1355–56)

Families²

Berminghams

Peter de Bermingham's 1305 massacre of the O'Connors when they were his guests was among the most egregious examples of Anglo-Irish evil cited by the Remonstrance of Irish Princes in 1317. To colonists, however, he was a hero, and the Bermingham star continued to rise, at least for a few years. In 1318, Peter's son John and his forces defeated and killed Edward Bruce at Faughart, for which John was made earl of Louth in 1319. He and his brother William were said to conspire with the Geraldine Maurice fitz Thomas in his alleged efforts to become king of Ireland. With fitz Thomas, the brothers served as compurgators for Richard de Ledrede, another

² Genealogical tables and succession lists can be found in *NHI*, 9:121–332.

of fitz Thomas's co-conspirators, in 1328. John was killed by a mob the following year (1329) in the Braganstown massacre. In 1332 William was imprisoned by the justiciar for his involvement in fitz Thomas's conspiracy and was hung following an attempted escape that was said to involve magical devices.³ (pages 155–56, 158–61, 167–68, 173, 175–77, 213)

le Botiller (Butlers)

Like the Berminghams, James le Botiller and his uncle Thomas le Botiller stood as Richard de Ledrede's compurgators in 1328 and were said to be Maurice fitz Thomas's co-conspirators in his treasonous scheme to become king of Ireland. The Butlers, however, fared far better than the Berminghams. James was made earl of Ormond (1328) and died uneventfully in 1338. Thomas became baron of Dunboyne in 1324 and died battling the native Irish in 1329. James's branch of the Butlers became one of the most powerful families in Ireland, eventually producing Anne Boleyn and thus Elizabeth I. (pages 155, 159–61, 173, 176)

de Burghs (Burkes)

Whereas the Berminghams and the Butlers became earls in the fourteenth century, the Burghs (Burkes) had been earls of Ulster since 1263. Richard de Burgh, the "Red Earl" of Ulster, ruled for over fifty years (1271–1326) and was regarded as the most powerful man in Ireland. His daughters married other powerful men in the British Isles: Aveline was the wife of John de Bermingham, the earl of Louth; Katherine wed the Geraldine Maurice fitz Thomas (future earl of Desmond) in 1313, possibly to help diffuse tensions between the two families; Elizabeth married Robert Bruce in 1302 and was crowned queen of Scotland in 1306 (though she spent much of the next decade imprisoned); Joan first married the Geraldine Thomas fitz John (second earl of Kildare) and later the justiciar John Darcy; Maud married Gilbert de Clare, the eighth earl of Gloucester and the lord of Kilkenny, who died without issue fighting his brother-in-law Robert Bruce at Bannockburn, causing his lands to be shared among his sisters. Richard's grandson William, known as the "Brown Earl" of Ulster, succeeded him in 1326, and tensions with Maurice fitz Thomas continued to build until Roger Outlaw established peace between them at the April 1329 Dublin parliament. Five years later, William de Burgh was murdered by members of his own family after starving his cousin (and yet another alleged co-conspirator of Maurice fitz Thomas) Walter de Burgh to death. Family feuding intensified after William's death, further splitting the family. (pages 16, 152–53, 156, 159–60, 173, 176, 220–24)

de Clares

The founder of this lineage in Ireland could also be claimed as the founder of the English colony in Ireland, although his lineage repeatedly went extinct in the male line. Richard de Clare (also known as Strongbow), an Anglo-Norman lord from the Welsh Marches, accepted the proposal of the king of Leinster, Diarmaid MacMurrough, to assist him against other Irish kings and take some Irish lands for himself. In August 1170, shortly after arriving in Ireland and capturing Waterford, Richard married Diarmaid's daughter Aífe, which helped legitimize his claim as the first lord of Leinster. The line passed through their daughter Isabel to her husband William Marshal and their children. The branch that figures most prominently in this study descends from Isabel and William's daughter Isabel, who married Gilbert de Clare, the first earl of Gloucester;

³ Philomena Connolly, "An Attempted Escape from Dublin Castle: The Trial of William and Walter de Bermingham, 1332," *Irish Historical Studies* 113 (1994–95): 100–108.

Isabel and Gilbert's daughter Isabel was the grandmother of Edward and Robert Bruce. Isabel and Gilbert's grandson Thomas (via their son Richard) became the first lord of Thomond in 1276. Thomas murdered his ally Brian Ruad O'Briain at Bunratty Castle in 1277, as the Remonstrance of Irish Princes lamented. Brian's own sons, however, made peace with Thomas, and from then until 1315 Clann Briain Ruaid was allied with Thomas de Clare and his son, Richard. After Richard's death at Dysert O'Dea in 1318, Thomond passed to his young son Thomas, with John le Poer, Arnold's brother and possibly Alice Kyteler's fourth husband, initially granted guardianship of his lands. The Geraldine Maurice fitz Thomas promptly entered Thomond with Brian Bán O'Brien, the main rival of the victor of Dysert O'Dea and de Burgh ally Muirchertach O'Brien for the native Irish kingship of Thomond, and in 1320 fitz Thomas was declared custodian of Thomas's lands. He refused to renounce custody to Thomas's aunt, Margaret Badlesmere, after Thomas died the following year, eventually being enticed to do so in 1329, thanks to Roger Mortimer.

The de Clare lineage offers several examples of the challenges posed to the colony by female inheritance, which further divided estates and often intensified absenteeism. Indeed, the de Clare and Marshal lines had so many female heirs that the Bishop of Ferns, Ailbe Ua Máel Muaid, was said to have cursed William Marshal for stealing his land, vowing that all his sons would be dead within twenty-five years of his death in 1219. The last of William's five sons died in 1245, leaving his four sisters as heirs. The pattern repeated in multiple generations. For example, when the first lord of Thomond's nephew Gilbert de Clare died at Bannockburn in 1314, his lands were divided by his three sisters and their husbands, one of whom was Hugh Despenser. Despenser's archenemy Roger Mortimer also wed a de Clare, Isabel and William's granddaughter Maud; Despenser's wife was their great-great-granddaughter Eleanor. Eleanor's sister (and another of Gilbert's heirs) Elizabeth married John de Burgh and was the mother of William, the Brown Earl. Johanna, the widow of Richard de Clare, wed William de Bermingham, who was executed in 1332. (pages 5–6, 16, 97, 152–53, 213, 220–23)

Geraldines (FitzGerald)

The Geraldines were one of the most prolific and influential families of the British Isles. The name "Geraldines" was bestowed by one of their most famous sons, Gerald of Wales (in Latin, Giraldus Cambrensis), after his grandfather Gerald of Windsor, but, as F. X. Martin points out, they would more accurately be called Nestines, after Gerald's Welsh wife Nesta, who had children with at least three other men, including Henry I.⁴ Gerald's account of the invasion of Ireland (*Conquest of Ireland*; see also his *History and Topography of Ireland*) exalts his kinsmen, especially his uncle, Gerald and Nest's son Maurice fitz Gerald, the progenitor of the future earls of Desmond and Kildare. The earls of Kildare descended from Maurice's son Gerald and his wife Eva de Bermingham, the earls of Desmond from Maurice's son Thomas and his wife Sadhbh, whose name indicates that she was native Irish. Only one earl of Kildare features prominently in the study, the second, Thomas fitz John, who served as justiciar from 1320 to 1321 and again from 1327 until his death on April 5, 1328. Thomas seems to have been a law-abiding man, unlike his cousin, Maurice fitz Thomas, with whom he was said to conspire to make Maurice king. Thomas's inclusion in this conspiracy seems suspect, though other aspects, including the involvement of Richard de Ledrede, are plausible, as discussed on pages 154–57. Maurice was created earl of Desmond in 1329, following intense feuding with the le Poers and

⁴ *NHI*, 2.67–68.

de Burghs. Maurice and Ledrede's shared hatred of Arnold le Poer prompted their alliance, yet the relationship soured by 1329, when Ledrede accused one of Maurice's closest retainers, Robert de Caunton, of heresy. Maurice was also closely allied with Brian Bán O'Brien, who along with Caunton, Ledrede, and others participated in Maurice's conspiracy; their alliance dissolved in 1335, when Maurice led an expedition against Brian Bán as part of the terms of his release from prison. Despite being repeatedly found guilty of and imprisoned for treason, Maurice was pardoned in 1349 and served as justiciar in the last years of his life (1355–56). His son Gerald fitz Maurice, the third earl of Desmond, shows how gaelicization continued even at the highest levels of colonial administration. Though he was justiciar the year after the Statute of Kilkenny decreed that colonists were not to foster their children among the native Irish, he received license to do so in 1388, and he was celebrated for his Irish verse; in fact, he may be best known as Gearóid Iarla (Earl Gerald in Irish). (pages 14–17, 115–16, 142, 149–69, 172–73, 176, 182, 187, 203–4, 212, 220, 223–24, 233, 238)

MacMurroughs

Diarmaid MacMurrough became king of Leinster around 1132 but was deposed in 1166, prompting him to seek help from Henry II and his Anglo-Normans lords. He did not long survive their help; after several military victories combined with severe personal losses [his son, grandson, and the son of his foster-brother were executed by Ruaidrí Ua Conchobair (Rory O'Connor), the high king (*ard ri*) of Ireland, in retaliation for his military expeditions outside Leinster], Diarmaid died suddenly at Ferns in 1171. Claim to Leinster passed through his daughter Aífe to her husband Richard and then to their daughter Isabel's husband William Marshal. To reconcile competing claims among the native Irish, Richard de Clare (Strongbow) as lord of Leinster recognized Diarmaid's son Domnall Cáemánach as king of Leinster and Diarmaid's nephew Muirchertach as king of the Uí Chennselaig, both subordinate to the lord of Leinster. The Leinster Irish, including the MacMurroughs, the O'Byrnes, and the O'Tooles, increased resistance to the colonists in the 1270s. On July 21, 1282, Domnall Cáemánach's grandsons, Muirchertach and Art, were slain by Geoffrey (*r.* Henry?) de Pencoyt as they slept as guests in his home, another example of Anglo-Irish treachery cited by the Remonstrance of Irish Princes. After being inaugurated as king of Leinster, Art's son Dónal MacMurrough led a short-lived native Irish uprising in early 1328, the immediate prequel to the trial and execution of Adducc Dubh O'Toole. (pages 6, 16, 200–202, 205, 211, 213)

O'Briens

The O'Brien dynasty can be said to begin with Brian Boru, celebrated hero of the Battle of Clontarf in 1014. His heirs supported Gregorian reformers like Lanfranc in their hopes of reciprocal support for their claims to the high kingship of Ireland. Their power gradually diminished, however, and Anglo-Norman encroachment shrunk their control of Thomond (north Munster) still further. In the second half of the thirteenth century, the O'Briens split between those who supported Brian Ruad O'Brien, king of Thomond from 1268 to 1277 (Clann Briain Ruaid), and those who supported his nephew Tairdelbach, who was king of Thomond from 1277 to 1306 (Clann Taidc, after Tairdelbach's father). Brian Ruad met a grisly and treacherous end at the hands of his former ally Thomas de Clare in 1277, but his sons reconciled with de Clare the following year. For decades the divisions between the O'Briens intersected with Anglo-Irish feuds. Clann Briain Ruaid stood with the de Clares and Geraldines, Clann Taidc with the de Burghs; this latter affiliation was cemented by a marriage between a son of Richard de Burgh,

the “Red Earl,” and Tairdelbach’s daughter. Her brother Muirchertach’s victory at Dysert O’Dea in 1317 helped establish his dominance in Thomond, especially since the battle claimed Richard de Clare’s life and left a child, Thomas, as his heir. A few years later, the Geraldine Maurice fitz Thomas, a close ally of Clann Briain Ruaid’s Brian Bán O’Brien, took possession of Thomas’s Thomond lands and refused to release them until eight years after Thomas’s death in 1321. With Maurice’s support, Brian Bán was able to win some battles against his cousin Muirchertach. In 1335, however, Maurice fitz Thomas severed their alliance and led an army against Brian Bán, part of the terms of his release from prison for his treasonous conspiracy, which also involved Brian Bán, Richard de Ledrede, and possibly John and William de Bermingham and John and Thomas le Botiller, among others.

The primary subchief of the O’Briens, the MacConmara, was most commonly allied with Clann Taidc, although he is said to have been among Maurice fitz Thomas’s co-conspirators in 1326, which would have happened only if he had also allied with Brian Bán. After Maurice’s betrayal, Brian Bán made peace with Muirchertach and the rivalry experienced relative peace until 1343, when Muirchertach died and was succeeded by his brother Diarmait as king of Thomond. Brian Bán protested the succession, possibly because a term of the peace between himself and Muirchertach in 1336 stipulated that Brian would succeed Muirchertach; with the help of MacConmara and others, Brian ousted Diarmait, but soon thereafter MacConmara reversed his position and reinstated Diarmait, who remained king until he was deposed in 1360. (pages 4, 16, 153, 155, 213, 219–24, 227, 234)

O’Tooles

The O’Tooles take their name (Ua Tuathail) from their ancestor Tuathail, a tenth-century king of Leinster. Their most celebrated son is St. Laurence O’Toole (Lorcán Ó Tuathail), archbishop of Dublin from 1162 to 1180, who spent part of his childhood as Diarmaid MacMurrough’s hostage to better secure Laurence’s father’s loyalty. Laurence’s half-sister Mór was the wife of Diarmaid MacMurrough and the mother of Aífe. Over the course of the second half of the twelfth century, the O’Toole homeland moved from Kildare to Wicklow, partly because of the Anglo-Norman invasion as well as O’Toole ties with Glendalough, where Laurence studied after being freed from Diarmaid and served as abbot before becoming archbishop of Dublin. The O’Tooles initially seem to have adjusted to Ireland’s new political realities relatively well, and in the third quarter of the thirteenth century Archbishop Fulk de Saundford gave Glenmalure and its environs to Murtough O’Toole. This Wicklow valley greatly benefitted the O’Tooles when their resistance to the colonists increased soon thereafter. Though some O’Tooles integrated with the colonists and even had protection under English law, by the fourteenth century the O’Tooles had become the scourge of the Dublin colonists, whose lands and stock they frequently attacked, and at whose hands they often suffered significant losses. Art MacMurrough’s inauguration as king of Leinster in early 1328 came amid another wave of uprisings by the Wicklow Irish, which cost many O’Toole lives and led to the executions of David O’Toole, who may have been the chief of the O’Tooles for nearly seventy years, and Adducc Dubh O’Toole. Most likely tried and executed under the authority of William de Rodyerd, the dean of St Patrick’s and the vicar of Archbishop Alexander de Bicknor, who was then out of the country, Adducc Dubh allegedly denied the very basics of Catholicism. In a letter to the pope that originated with Richard de Ledrede’s two main allies in the Kyteler case, Rodyerd and William de Nottingham, St Patrick’s precentor, Adducc Dubh served as the single specific example of the native Irish as a lawless race rife with heresy in a request for a crusade against them and those Anglo-Irish who had been

infected with their heresy by adopting their customs and language. Pope John XXII's response to the letter (known as the Counter-Remonstrance, since it seems to deliberately counter the claims of the Remonstrance of Irish Princes) is unknown, but no crusade was called; his advice to Edward III on July 1, 1331, to include native Irish governors and officers in Ireland's colonial administration, implies that he understood that the dynamics of the island were far more complex than the letter allowed.⁵ (pages 2, 18–19, 25, 70, 77, 105, 142, 166, 174, 188–89, 200–211, 219, 229, 231–34, 240–41)

Outlaws (Utlaghs)

Two Outlaws figure prominently in this study, but their relationship is uncertain. William Outlaw, Alice Kyteler's son and Arnold le Poer's liveryman, is described as the blood relative of Roger Outlaw, the prior of the Hospitallers at Kilmainham and a key colonial administrator. Roger is often assumed to be William's uncle, the brother of Alice Kyteler's presumed first husband, whose name is often claimed to be the same as her son; Roger Outlaw and Alice's son William seem roughly contemporary, however. Roger held the office of chancellor of Ireland from 1322 until his death in 1341 with a few brief interruptions, often acted in the justiciar's stead when he was out of the country or the colony was between justiciars, and served as deputy treasurer of Ireland during the Bruce invasion and again in 1325–26. William was also a man of power, serving as the sovereign (mayor) of Kilkenny in the first decade of the fourteenth century and becoming very wealthy, thanks to his lucrative business with his mother. In 1302, their wealth prompted a relative, William le Kiteler, to try to steal over £3,000 from Alice, her second husband Adam le Blund, and William. When the three resisted, William le Kiteler, ironically the sheriff of Kilkenny, accused them of murder and threatened to have them executed; their powerful connections, including with the le Poers and King Edward I, helped exonerate them and condemn William and his accomplice Fulk de la Freyne. The episode shares marked similarities with the events that drove Alice out of Ireland in 1324, but significantly lacks Ledrede's later claims of sorcery, witchcraft, or heresy. Once the events of 1324 subsided, life seems to have resumed more or less as normal for William Outlaw. Roger Outlaw had a few more years of dealing with Ledrede, being forced to clear his name of Ledrede's claims that he was a fautor of heresy, but then helped to drive Ledrede from Ireland in 1329. (pages 77, 80–84, 92, 98, 101–4, 110, 112–14, 117–18, 120, 122–27, 129, 131–41, 143–46, 148, 149–51, 159–60, 164–66, 168, 171–74, 176, 182, 185, 187, 204, 208, 210, 241)

Le Poers (Power)

The le Poers were one of the oldest and most influential colonial families. Robert le Poer was granted custody of Waterford by Henry II in the 1170s, and their power continued to increase in the colony, especially in the southeast. Since 1290, the head of the le Poer lineage was responsible for bringing familial malefactors to justice, an adaptation of the native Irish system of kin-liability, *cin comfocuis*, which attests to le Poer independence from other forms of colonial authority.⁶ The central le Poer in this study is Arnold, a co-leader (with his cousin, John le Poer, baron of Dunoyl) of the le Poer lineage and the seneschal of Kilkenny, Carlow, and Wexford.

⁵ CPL 2.500.

⁶ G. J. Hand, "English Law in Ireland," 407–8, 417–18.

The le Poers were closely allied with Alice Kyteler and William Outlaw since at least 1302, when Eustace le Poer, Arnold le Poer's uncle and then head of his lineage, and John le Poer, who may be the one who later became Alice's fourth husband, helped to clear their names of William le Kiteler and Fulk de la Freyne's false charges of murder. It is not clear which John le Poer was Alice Kyteler's fourth husband, but Ciarán Parker has suggested that he may have been Arnold's brother.⁷ Wright suggests John le Poer, baron of Dunoyl, but if that were the case, the *Narrative*, Clyn, and other contemporary sources would almost certainly have identified the ailing John as the baron, given his prominence.⁸ Arnold le Poer's archnemeses, Richard de Ledrede and Maurice fitz Thomas, combined to bring about Arnold's downfall. On March 14, 1329, he died imprisoned in Dublin Castle, awaiting trial for Ledrede's charges of heresy. For several years before his death, his family suffered many bitter losses in their ongoing feuds with Maurice fitz Thomas. The worst, however, was yet to come. Arnold's son Eustace overcame the divisions of the past to join Maurice's rebellion in the summer of 1345, for which he was executed soon thereafter.⁹ Other le Poers were exiled and leadership of the lineage fractured.¹⁰ This was the final and greatest wound inflicted on Arnold by his old enemy, who managed once again to escape the king's wrath. Signs of the détente between the two sides are also found in Eustace's 1331 wedding to the daughter of John de Bermingham, earl of Louth. (pages 14, 16, 69, 82–83, 88, 100–102, 106, 115, 117, 120, 122, 124–27, 129–33, 139, 141–44, 146, 148, 149–69, 172–74, 176, 180, 185, 187, 208, 210, 237, 239–40, 241)

⁷ Parker, "Paterfamilias and *Parentela*," 111.

⁸ Wright, *Narrative*, 49.

⁹ Clyn, 31–32; Parker, "Paterfamilias and *Parentela*," 111–13; Frame, *English Lordship*, 274–75.

¹⁰ Parker, "Paterfamilias and *Parentela*," 113.