

A PAGE FROM MAC FHIR BHSIGH'S 'GENEALOGIES'¹

THAT part of Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh's 'Leabhar Genealach' or 'Book of Genealogies' containing the genealogies of the various branches of the Uí Bhriúin dynasty of Connacht runs from p. 195 to p. 246 of the autograph manuscript now preserved in the library of University College, Dublin.² The part of the text ending on p. 243 was completed in Galway city on 13 April 1649 and corresponds in large measure to the Uí Bhriúin genealogical tract found in the late fourteenth-century codex known as the Book of Ballymote (BB 89 a 1 – 105 a 19). The portion extending from p. 217 to p. 243 also occurs in that other great north Connacht manuscript, the Book of Lecan (Lec. 63 r a 1 – 69 v b 51) – a noted production of an earlier generation of Clann Fhir Bhisigh which was compiled a short time later than BB.³ (The absence from Lec. of the earlier part of the tract is due to a lacuna in the manuscript. This lacuna predates the earliest foliation, that of 1612.) However, neither BB nor Lec. would seem to have been the immediate exemplar of Dubhaltach's copy of the Uí Bhriúin material.⁴ Instead, he may have drawn his text from another Lecan manuscript, now lost, which possibly contained all or part of the recension of the medieval Gaelic genealogical corpus preserved in Lec. (In the course of LGen. he cites several works from the Clann Fhir Bhisigh library at Leacán which, apparently, have not

¹ ABBREVIATIONS: AConn. = *Annála Connacht: the Annals of Connacht* (ed. A. M. Freeman, Dublin 1944); ALC = *The Annals of Loch Cé* (ed. W. M. Hennessy, London 1871); BB = Book of Ballymote; BSD = Book of Survey and Distribution = *BSD, Co. Roscommon* (ed. R. C. Simington, Dublin 1949) unless otherwise stated; Census = *A census of Ireland, c.1659* (ed. S. Pender, Dublin 1939); CPR = *Irish Patent Rolls of James I (. . . calendar)* (Dublin 1966); Fiant = Fiant of Elizabeth, appendices to 11–13th, 15–18th and 21st Reports of Deputy Keeper of Public Records of Ireland (1879–81, 1883–6, 1889); Inq. = Inquisitions, for Co. Roscommon unless otherwise stated (for details of the surviving transcripts of the Connacht inquisitions see N. Ó Muraíle, 'The Gaelic personal name (An) Dubhaltach', *Ainm* 2 (1987) 1–26, p. 6); Lec. = Book of Lecan; LGen. = 'Leabhar Genealach' or 'Book of Genealogies' by An Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh; O Cl. = 'The O Clery Book of Genealogies', ed. S. Pender, *Analecta Hibernica* 18 (1951); *Onom. Goed.* = E. Hogan, *Onomasticon goedelicum* (Dublin 1910); OS = Ordnance Survey.

²UCD Add. Ir. ms 14. The part relating to the Uí Bhriúin Bhréifne (pp. 195–6, 200–201, 206–211) was edited, along with parallel texts from BB and O Cl. by the late M. V. Duignan, 'The Uí Briúin Bréifni genealogies', *Journal of Royal Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland* 64 (1934) 90–137, 213–56.

³See articles on these two manuscripts by T. Ó Concheanainn: 'A note on the scribes of the Book of Lecan', *Ériu* 24 (1973) 76–9; 'The Book of Ballymote', *Celtica* 14 (1982) 15–25; and idem, 'Scríobhaithe Leacáin Mhic Fhir Bhisigh', *Celtica* 19 (1987) 141–75.

⁴See, for example, the genealogy of Uí Fhallomhuin, LGen. 217, which begins with Aodh (m. Briain m. Aodha) – apparently the 'Aed h. Fallamain toisech Clainni hUatach' whose death is recorded in AConn. 1291.8 – whereas the version in Lec. 63 r ab 40 et seq. and in BB 95 b 1 et seq. opens a generation later, with Seoan (m. Aeda m. Briain) – probably 'Seoan h. Fallamain dux Clainni hUatach', the record of whose death is in AConn. 1337.5.

Leabhar Genealach an Dubhthaigh Mhec Fhir Bhisigh
(UCD Add. Ir. MS 14), p. 227

survived: these include 'Leabhar Airisín Leacáin Mhec Fhirbhisigh',⁵ 'Leabhar Balbh Shémuis Mhec Fhirbhisigh',⁶ 'Leabhar Leacáin' – not Lec!⁷ – and 'Maicleabhar Leacáin Mhec Fhirbhisigh'.⁸)

Despite the close affinity of the LGen. text to BB and to the surviving portion of Lec., there are quite considerable passages in the later work which are not to be found in the codices. This is usually for the very good reason that they pertain to individuals and family-branches which belong to a later period than that of the compilers of BB and Lec. (c.1391 and c. 1397 × 1418 respectively). Dubhaltach, in other words, has in many cases updated his material, extending pedigrees down to his own day. (A small number of similarly updated Uí Bhriúin pedigrees are also to be found in another seventeenth-century compilation, the 'Book of Genealogies' – considerably smaller than Mac Fhir Bhisigh's – ascribed to Cú Choigríche Ó Cléirigh, mac Diarmada, one of the 'Four Masters'.⁹) In most cases the later material forms an integral part of Mac Fhir Bhisigh's text, and this would seem to suggest that it may have been taken, in large measure, from his exemplar – with the addition, as required, of a couple of further generations to bring the pedigrees down to his own time. The fact that the Uí Bhriúin material (like the Uí Fhiachrach tract in LGen. 247–95)¹⁰ has the appearance of having been transcribed consecutively and carefully, perhaps from a single exemplar, with few pages left blank or only partially filled, is in rather marked contrast to other parts of the book, where one often finds a patchwork effect, as a result of material having been inserted at various times and from a variety of sources. A considerable proportion of such later insertions are no more than fairly minor *variae lectiones* – often merely a single word, or even a single letter – but some are quite substantial passages, often comprising an entire pedigree or even a number of pedigrees. Some of the more significant additions can be assigned one of three dates, 1653, 1657 or 1664 (most of the work was written in Galway in 1649–50, although the seventy-page tract on Síol Ír was penned early in 1645),¹¹ but there seems to be no

⁵LGen. 765, 798B, 799 (thrice), 1157. (In relation to the last-mentioned page, see n. 30, below.) See also N. Ó Muraíle, 'The autograph manuscripts of the Annals of the Four Masters', *Celtica* 19 (1987) 75–95, p. 92 n. 75.

⁶LGen. 248, 270, 271, 275 (twice), 343, 784 (and possibly 276 and 833).

⁷LGen. 778, where 'Leabhar Leacáin' is given as the immediate source of Dubhaltach's copy of the tale 'Séanadh Saighre' – see edition by Alan Harrison, 'Séanadh Saighre', *Éigse* 20 (1984) 136–48, pp. 136–8. Lec. is referred to by Dubhaltach as 'Leabhar Mór Mec Fhirbhisigh Leacáin' (LGen. 1031) and 'Leabhar Mór Leacáin Mhec Fhirbhisigh' (LGen. 105, 775).

⁸LGen. 101, 112, 143.

⁹S. Pender (ed.), 'The O Clery Book of Genealogies', *Analecta Hibernica* 18 (1951).

¹⁰Ed. J. O'Donovan, *The genealogies, tribes and customs of Hy-Fiachrach* (Dublin 1844) 2–70, 90–298.

¹¹See N. Ó Muraíle, 'Leabhar Ua Maine *alias* Leabhar Uí Dhubhagáin', *Éigse* 23 (1989) 167–95, pp. 169 and 185.

compelling reason for thinking that other, briefer, insertions may not have been made in between, before or after those three dates.

One of the most striking series of later insertions in Dubhaltach's hand occurs in the midst of the Uí Bhriúin genealogies, on p. 227: it is rendered especially interesting by its autobiographical import. The basic text on the page in question sets out the ancestry of the sons of Brian Óg Mac Diarmada, chief of Clann Mhaoil Ruanaidh¹² of Magh Luirg (the 'Plains of Boyle' in north Roscommon) and son of the compiler of the Annals of Loch Cé.¹³ The material is laid out neatly in two columns and, apart from the first six generations (up to Ruaidhrí Caoch, mac Aodha mec Conchabhair, who died in 1421), is virtually identical to the text found in Lec. 65 v b-d and, somewhat abridged, in BB 98 c-d. In the space between the two columns, however, and spilling down into the lower margin, is a considerable amount of additional material in quite minute and sometimes rather faded handwriting which is nevertheless recognisable as the work of the book's compiler. The main interest which this material holds for us resides in the information it furnishes about an apparently otherwise unattested branch of the Mac Diarmada family of Magh Luirg which settled in Tíreragh¹⁴ and to whom our author was related through his mother. (Although Dubhaltach has several, albeit fairly uninformative, references to his father, Giolla Íosa Mór mac an Dubhaltaigh mec Séamuis, scattered throughout his writings,¹⁵ the solitary, cryptic and very indirect reference to his mother on p. 227 is the only mention he makes of her anywhere in his surviving works.) Another interesting aspect of the material is its list of lands belonging

¹²On 'Clann Mhaolruanadha' the anonymous author [An tAthair Micheál Ó Flannagáin] of the *Ros Comáin* volume in the series *Stair na gConndae* (Oifig an tSoláthair, 1938) cites the following detail: 'Tá muirighíneacha i gCo. Ros Comáin fá láthair agus gídh gur ab é an sloinneadh oifigeamhail seasta atá ortha Mac Diarmuda, Ó Maolruanadha a thugas na comharsana ortha, cruthú láidir ar an gcaoi a maireann sean-nós' (p. 130).

¹³See P. Walsh, *Irish men of learning* (Dublin 1947) 16-18, 20.

¹⁴There is, for example, no one bearing the surname Mac Dermot(t) given as resident in Tíreragh in the Co. Sligo hearth money roll, c.1664 (E. MacLysaght, 'Seventeenth century hearth money rolls with full transcript relating to Co. Sligo', *Analecta Hibernica* 24 (1967) 1-89).

¹⁵Most of the references involve no more than the use of Giolla Íosa's name as a patronymic - some of the examples are quoted in N. Ó Muraíle, 'The Gaelic personal name (An) Dubhaltach', *Ainm* 2 (1987) 1-26, pp. 14-15. The only mention of his father by Dubhaltach which tells more than his (Giolla Íosa's) name and the name of his father, An Dubhaltach (Mór) mac Séamuis, occurs on p. 1112 of LGen. (in the course of the shorter genealogical work known as the 'Cuimre' - see further below, n. 30 and corresponding text). Dubhaltach, in the genealogy of Sliocht Éanna Bhoghuine mec Conuill, comes to 'Breslén, darbho cédainm Breasalán' and continues 'dar dhúthchus Fānuid, gur cuireadh ceann fine a shleachta .i. Ua Breslén, as Fānuid, co ndeachaidh le Féneachus, go mbaoi 'na bhretheamh Fear Manach go haimsir ar n-athar fén, Giolla Íosa Mhóir Mhéc Fhírbhisigh, do mhair anno Christi 1643'. (Dubhaltach's use of 'do mhair', and in English writings of 'floruit', in relation to a certain year frequently means, paradoxically, that the person *died* in that year, i.e. he lived *until* that year.)

to two branches of the Mec Dhiarmada in north Roscommon. Because the writing goes to the very edge of the page's lower margin – having, by a stroke of sheer good luck, barely escaped being trimmed by an eighteenth-century binder¹⁶ – the final lines of the text are exceedingly difficult to decipher and, as a result of this and the tiny cramped and faded handwriting in other parts of the passage, a couple of placenames have not hitherto been accurately transcribed; moreover, most of the names have not been identified until now. The purpose of the present article is to present the text in print for the first time, accompanied by notes and commentary which, it is hoped, will throw some light on this tantalising material which has for so long lain in undeserved obscurity. Although it is the additional material inserted by Dubhaltach which will probably be of greatest interest, it seems advisable to print all the material on the page, for neither Mac Fhir Bhisigh's version of the main text nor the corresponding passages in Lec., BB or the manuscript D, not to mention Mac Fhir Bhisigh's additional material, have hitherto appeared in print. By printing the whole page, moreover, we furnish the general genealogical context in which the additional material is set.

A brief explanation of the editorial method employed in relation to the text may be in order. No attempt is made to emulate the columnar layout of the manuscript. Punctuation is almost entirely editorial. The material is divided into numbered paragraphs for ease of reference. Macrons are used to indicate long vowels which have been left unmarked by the scribe and italic *h* is used to indicate lenition omitted by the scribe. Other editorial insertions are printed in italics within square brackets. Most abbreviations are expanded silently, but where there may be room for doubt the expansion is italicised, and when only the initial of a word is given the expansion is likewise printed in italics – for example, the final brief sentence in § 1 reads in the manuscript: F. O *Con. D.*, the third element being the normal tachygram for *con*. Square brackets, enclosing ordinary (roman) print, are used to indicate letters which are illegible in the manuscript. Angular brackets are used to indicate a change of hand within a particular paragraph. (All the material on the page was penned by Dubhaltach, but at different times. Judging by ink-colour or style of script, there seem to be six different 'layers' on the page – these will be examined in more detail presently.) The parallel text from Lec. (with variant readings from BB) and from the O Clery 'Book of Genealogies' – where such a parallel exists – is given at the end of each paragraph of the LGen. text. In a couple of instances (especially as in §§ 2 and 18, where no parallel passages occur in Lec., BB etc.), recourse has been had to a seventeenth-century (c.1644)

¹⁶There is reason to think that the binding was done some short time (a few years?) after the purchase of the manuscript by Viscount Jocelyn in 1766.

manuscript known as 'The Book of the MacDermotts', RIA D i 3(*d*),¹⁷ for corresponding material. Textual notes on the LGen. text are given at the foot of the appropriate page, and a commentary on the places, on certain of the people and on some other points mentioned is given at the end of the text.

The distribution of 'hands' on the page may be set out as follows (bearing in mind that, as pointed out above, all the material was written by a single scribe). We may refer to the hand in the main text (i.e. the two columns which comprised the page's original contents) as 'hand 1': §§ 1 (apart from a couple of minor insertions) and 9–17 are in this hand. What we may term 'hand 2' wrote § 2 and the aforementioned insertions in § 1, and also the three words and one letter inserted in § 18 and the words *Clann Mhuirgheasa* written in the right margin opposite the final words of § 14. The greater part of the intercolumnar insertion is in what may be called 'hand 3': most of §§ 3, 4–6, 8. The hand which wrote the second part of § 3 and the date '1608' at the end of § 5 may be classed as 'hand 4'. Another, 'hand 5', accounts for § 7 and the final word in § 8. Apart from the brief insertions mentioned above as being in 'hand 2', § 18 is written in yet another, 'hand 6'. The inserted passages §§ 3–8 are all written in quite minute script. In the case of 'hand 3' the ink has become rather faded, but in the case of 'hand 5' and more especially 'hand 4' it has remained quite dark and fairly legible.

Because so much of the text on p. 227, particularly §§ 3–8, poses problems of legibility, it may be worth while to look at a couple of copies of LGen. which were penned in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The earliest copy of the manuscript was that executed in 1715–16 on the borders of Cavan and Leitrim by the Fermanagh scribe Séamus Maguidhir. This work, now RIA C vi 2¹⁸ – which was formerly in the hands of Charles O'Connor of Belanagare before passing, in turn, into the Stowe and Ashburnham collections – is, it must be said, a rather slovenly production, with abundant mistranscriptions and omissions. For instance, in the opening line of § 1, immediately following the heading, Maguidhir reads the initials 'M. D.' (for *Mac Diarmada*) as 'Aodh'. About midway through the genealogy, instead of 'o ffuilid Mec Dhiarmada' he writes 'o bhfuilid an fine'. He inserts §§ 7–8 immediately after § 2 – not a very serious blunder, given the rather jumbled layout of the original – but he gives § 8 a second time (and *slightly* more accurately) at the bottom of col. a on the following page, 134. Maguidhir writes the date '1603', which occurs in § 3, as '603'. He renders the beginning of § 5 as follows: 'Do phurt duithidh an tsleachta sin Cormaic Óig .i. baile Puirt na Dithicht' and then proceeds to mangle

¹⁷RIA *Cat.*, 1666–71. The genealogies in this manuscript are grouped into two sections, ff. 24 r – 30 v and 45 r – 83 v. For convenience, in the present article, these sections are designated respectively D1 and D2.

¹⁸RIA *Cat.*, 1811–35.

some of the other placenames in the section: 'Baile na Cille . . . leath-bhaile Rig abPoll . . . trian Airc an Choirce'. For 'don chloind sin' at the end of § 11 Maguidhir reads 'don tsliocht sin', and there are several other similar transcription errors of a relatively minor nature. On the credit side, however, it must be conceded that Maguidhir did manage to decipher with a fair degree of accuracy all of the placenames in § 6. He gives the final six as follows: 'ceathramhadh Thulchain an tShamhaidh, ceathramhadh Chluana Mec Maoilín, ceathramhadh Arda Maoil, Ceathramhadh Chaol, ceathramhadh Tuair na Gaoithe, ceathramhadh Caire Cua'.

A transcription of LGen., which showed remarkable fidelity to the original, was made by Eugene O'Curry for the Royal Irish Academy in 1836: it is now RIA 23 P 1.¹⁹ The autograph was at that period in the possession of the Earl of Roden. John O'Donovan had visited the third earl at his family seat, Tollymore Park, near Newcastle, Co. Down, in July 1834 and had been permitted to examine the manuscript.²⁰ His enthusiastic reports on its value for the work on which he was then engaged as a member of the Ordnance Survey's Topographical Department led to moves being made by the Royal Irish Academy to obtain Roden's permission for the making of an accurate transcript.²¹ The scribe who was first considered for the task was Patrick O'Keeffe, a colleague of O'Donovan's in the Topographical Department.²² But when Eugene O'Curry, who was already well known as an accomplished scribe and authority on Irish manuscripts, moved to the Ordnance Survey from Limerick in November 1835, he was quickly chosen to undertake the onerous task.²³ The work was finished by the beginning of 1837. On the occasion of its being placed before the Academy on 27 February of that year the head of the Topographical Department, George Petrie, read a valuable paper on the history and contents of the manuscript which later appeared in the *Transactions of the RIA* under the title 'Remarks on the Book of MacFirbis'.²⁴

O'Curry in his transcription tried to adhere as closely as possible to his exemplar in such matters as page-layout, size of script, use of

¹⁹*RIA Cat.*, 1835-9.

²⁰Ordnance Survey Letters (hereafter OSL), Co. Londonderry, 1, 3-16, 187 etc.

²¹RIA Council minutes IV, p. 471 (2 Feb. 1835).

²²*ibid.*, p. 484 (6 April 1835). For some further details on O'Keeffe see R. de Valera, 'Seán Ó Donnabháin agus a lucht cúnta', *Royal Soc. Antiq. Ire. Jn.* 79 (1949) 146-59, p. 151; É. de hÓir, *Seán Ó Donnabháin agus Eoghan Ó Comhraí* (Baile Átha Cliath 1962), especially pp. 53-7; J. H. Bernard and R. Atkinson (ed.), *The Irish Liber Hymnorum* I (Henry Bradshaw Soc. XIII, London 1898) xiii.

²³RIA Council minutes IV, p. 528 (14 March 1836): 'Resolved . . . to pay five pounds to Mr. Eugene Curry . . . for . . . transcribing McFirbis's Manuscripts'; also pp. 544, 567 and V, p. 4. (I hope in the near future to publish a fuller account of the background to the production of O'Curry's transcript.) On O'Curry's move from Limerick to the Ordnance Survey see de hÓir, *Ó Donnabháin agus Ó Comhraí*, 14-17.

²⁴*RIA Trans.* XVIII (1838): Antiquities, 3-13.

abbreviations and so forth. There are, of course, occasional errors (despite O'Donovan's claim to have checked it carefully against the original, his examination appears to have been cursory, to say the least), but, by and large, it is a most meticulous production. What, then, of the treatment of p. 227 in 23 P 1? Most instances of divergence between the copy and the exemplar are exceedingly insignificant: in § 1, for example, the space between 'Tadhg na nGadhar' and 'mec Bhriain Óig' is not reproduced, 'm. Ruaidhrigh Óig', is written 'm. Ruaidhri Óig' and, towards the end of the genealogy, 'm. Conchabhair' is written without the penultimate letter (*i*). In § 3 'Muaidh' is written for 'Muaidhe'. In § 4, 'Ruaidhrí (mac Eoghain Ghránna)' is written 'Ruaidhrigh'. The first placename in § 5, which is admittedly quite difficult to decipher in the manuscript, is rendered 'baile puirt na Ditsichta', the uncertainty of the reading being reflected in a note in the left margin: 'or na critsichta?'. The words 'dhūthaigh' and 'L. Tethead' near the beginning of § 5 are both written with a 'ch' instead of a 'th'. In the very problematical § 6 there are a number of minor mistranscriptions ('bhfuil' for 'ffuil' and 'Ruaidhri' for 'Ruaidhrigh' – this latter twice) and others which are of greater significance: 'mc. *Coinn*' for the second 'mec *Conchabhair*', 'a quo O F.' for 'a quo *an fine*' (which, for once, is correct in Maguidhir's copy). Then we come to the placenames. O'Curry writes the first three names in the list accurately enough; the remainder he transcribes as follows: 'ceathramha Tholchain an tSamha, ceathramha Cluana [. . .],²⁵ ceathramha Arda Maoil, Ceathrama Caol, ceathrama. . .'. (I have inserted capitals where appropriate.) In § 10 O'Curry failed to make out the words 'Aodh, ri'. The cause of his difficulty was a large ink-blot in the upper part of col. b. It appears that, long before the 1830s, a rather big blob of ink was dropped on the upper righthand portion of p. 213 of LGen. (as well as a number of smaller blobs elsewhere on that page and on the facing page, 212); the principal blob soaked through the following pages as far as p. 237, obscuring some words in whole or in part between pp. 213 and 225. To make matters worse, the culprit (in guilty haste?) closed the book before the ink was dry and so the blob also soaked backwards as far as p. 205. It seems impossible to decide precisely when the mishap occurred, but it had certainly happened before Séamus Maguidhir made his transcript in 1715–16. Fortunately, all but a small fraction of the obscured words can be supplied from other genealogical collections; moreover, as one moves away from the 'scene of disaster' (p. 213) it becomes increasingly possible to decipher the underlying writing. This is true, for example, of the two words in § 10 which O'Curry failed to read. We must remember that O'Curry, as he tells us in a colophon at the end of his copy, on p. 957, did all the work

²⁵He has left an empty space immediately after *Cluana* to accommodate a small amount (about five or six letters) of illegible material.

of transcription 'do sholus coinnle'.²⁶ Just about the only other point of difference in O'Curry's transcript which may deserve to be noted in passing is his writing of the first 'rí' in § 11 (after 'Conchabhar Óg') as 'righ'.

O'Curry's fine transcript provided the basis for a translation into English of some of the more interesting passages on p. 227 by his senior colleague in the Ordnance Survey Topographical Department, John O'Donovan. This translation, headed 'Pedigree of MacDermot, Chief of Moylurg, now the plains of Boyle', occurs in the course of a letter written by O'Donovan from Athlone to his Ordnance Survey superiors on 26 August 1837.²⁷ He begins by listing most of the names in the genealogy in § 1: 'Turlogh, Brian Oge, Brian . . .' back to '. . . Muirges, Tomaltach', appending the four names in § 2 immediately afterwards. He then continues: 'Mac Firbis writes: "Brian Dorogh Mac Dermot (son of Owen Grooma, son of Owen) who was drowned in the Erne in the year 1603 was the maternal uncle of the writer of this book, i.e. Duaid Mac Firbis"'. He passes on from this latter portion of § 3 to a translation of § 4 beginning 'The branch of that race of Cormac Oge who are in Moylurg at this day, is Rory, the son of Owen Grana . . .', and gives the names from the genealogy but without the *mec* preceding each name. After a brief aside he proceeds to a translation of § 5, rendering two of the more problematical placenames in the section as follows: 'Baile-puirt na Ditsichta' and 'the half Bally of Rinn na bpoll'. He ends with a translation of § 6 which may be worth quoting in full: 'The race of Fergal of which there are some in Moylurg and some at Grange Mor in Tireragh. Torlogh, the son of Dwalto, Teigh, Rory, Conor, Rory, Conor, Fergal, Tomaltach Geárr. Their country consisted of the half Bally of Cor na bhfiach, Carrownacreevy, Carrownafinnanagh, Carrowtullaghantawa, Carrowcloon, Carrowardmoyle, Carrowkeel, Carrow * * * (the rest effaced in the original)'. These translated extracts by O'Donovan from p. 227 are the only substantial portions of the material on this page which have hitherto appeared in print – inasmuch as the Ordnance Survey Letters for twenty-eight counties were made available in a typewritten edition by Fr Michael O'Flanagan in the late 1920s.

In addition to the text penned by Mac Fhir Bhsigh on p. 227 of the autograph manuscript (with copies by Maguidhir and O'Curry, as we have just seen) there is a recast version of the Mac Diarmada genealogy

²⁶He describes the difficult circumstances in which he did the transcription in his unpublished catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the RIA, III, p. 1065: 'The entire book was written by candle-light after hours . . . by the light of one small candle, and often without a fire. . .'. (See also a note on this by S. Ua Casaide, *Ir. Book Lover* 3 (1912) 152–3.)

²⁷OSL, Co. Roscommon, II, 249–51 (= p. 103 of mimeographed edition, Bray 1927). The letter in which the translation occurs extends from p. 229 to p. 257. The extracts quoted here are taken from the original, which differs in some details from the published edition. The underlining of certain words in the manuscript is not reproduced.

in Dubhaltach's smaller genealogical compilation, the 'Cuimre' written in the spring and early summer of 1666. The autograph of this later work is no longer extant but the text (or most of it) is preserved in two copies, one of them made in Sligo in and around the year 1705 by Henry McCarrick²⁸ and the other of unknown provenance but of early-to-mid eighteenth-century date.²⁹ Since the latter copy is the fuller of the two, its pagination is used (in a slightly adapted form, as will be explained presently) in the edition of Mac Fhir Bhisigh's genealogical writings which is currently being prepared for publication (although the text is based, for the most part, on McCarrick's generally superior copy). For convenience, the 'Cuimre' is treated as a continuation of the main work and, since the latter manuscript runs from pp. 1 to 957 – albeit with numerous lacunae, duplicated pagination, unnumbered pages, etc. – the first page of the 'Cuimre' is designated '1001' and the final page (422) is correspondingly designated '1422'.³⁰ Using this adapted pagination, we find the genealogy headed 'Clann Mhaoilruanaidh' occupying the final third of p. 1069 and all of p. 1070. (It is printed as an appendix at the end of this article.) The principal difference between this version of the genealogy and that on p. 227 (apart from its being considerably compressed and abridged) is that it is one of twenty genealogies of the more important Gaelic families which Mac Fhir Bhisigh in the 'Cuimre' sets out in reverse order. That is to say, instead of the usual formula found in Irish genealogical collections, *X mac Y mec Z*, we have here *Z athair Y athar X*, and the principal figure in each generation is numbered from Adam (who, naturally, is designated 'no. 1').³¹ We have thus moved in this last great work of the 'celebrated antiquary' and 'last genealogist', Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh, at least half-way from the conventional traditional genealogy towards the genealogical table with which we are nowadays familiar.

²⁸Maynooth Ir. ms B 8 – see P. Ó Fiannachta, *Lámhscríbhinní Gaeilge Choldáiste Phádraig, Má Nuad* IV (Má Nuad 1967) 125, 129; and P. Breathnach [P. Walsh], 'Maynooth manuscript of Mac Fhirbhisigh', *Ir. Book Lover* 24 (1936) 38–9 (reprinted in idem, *Irish men of learning*, 85–7).

²⁹RIA 24 N 2 – see *RIA Cat.*, 1850–57. Paul Walsh (*Ir. Book Lover* 24 (1936) 39 = *Irish men of learning*, 87), in an apparent slip, refers to this manuscript as 'Séamus Maguidhir's copy'. I have no idea as to the identity of the scribe. Nothing is known of its history prior to its purchase on behalf of the earl of Drogheda (for £4) at the sale of Dr Fergus's library in February 1766 (lot no. 2426).

³⁰This arrangement has already been explained: Ó Muraíle, *Éigse* 23 (1989) 186.

³¹This numbering occurs in nine of the twenty genealogies. The remaining eleven genealogies are set out in similar fashion, but without any numbering of the generations.

1. GENELACH MEC DHIARMADA MHUIGHE LUIG

Toirdhealbhach *Mac Diarmada*, Cathal Ruadh, (Tadhg na nGadhar).
 . . .³² *mec Bhriain Óig Mec Dhiarmada* m. Briain m. Ruaidhrigh³³ m.
 Taidhg m. Ruaidhrigh Óig m. Ruaidhrigh Chaoíoch m. Aodha m.
 Conchabhair m. Tomaltaigh (Ghírr) m. Maoilruanaidh m. Giolla
 Chríost m. Conchabhair m. Cormaic³⁴ m. Tomaltaigh na Cairrge m.
 Conchabhair m. Diarmada, ó ffulid *Mec Dhiarmada*, m. Taidhg m.
 Maoilruanaidh m. Taidhg m. Muircheartaigh m. Maoilruanaidh
 Mhóir,³⁵ ó n-abharthar Cland Mhaoilruanaidh, m. Taidhg m. Cathail
 m. Chonchabhair *mec* Taidhg Mhóir m. Muirgheasa *mec* Tomaltaigh,
 7c. (*Féich Ó Conchabhair Donn.*)

Lec.:³⁶ GENELACH MEC DIARMADA *annso*: Aed *mac* Concobair m.
 Thomaltaigh m. Maelruanaid m. Gilli *Chríst* m. Conchobar m. Cormaic m.
 Tomaltaigh m. Conchobair m. Diarmada, o builead *Mec* Diarmada, m. Diarmada m.
 Thaidc m. Maelruanaigh m. Thaidc m. Muircheartaigh m. Muailruanaid Moir, o
 n-abar Cland Maelruanaid, m. Thaidc m. Cathail m. Conchobair m. Thaidc Moir
 m. Muirgiusa m. Thomaltaigh m. Murgail m. Indreachtaigh m. Muireadaigh
 Muillethain.

BB:³⁷ D[O] GENELACH MEC DIARMADA: Aed *mac* Conchubair m. Tomaltaigh
 m. Mhaelruanaid . . . m. Concobair . . . m. Concobair . . . (o fuilet *Mec*
 Diarmada) m. Taidg m. Maelruanaid m. Taidg . . . o fuiled Clann Maelruanaid m.
 Taidg an Tuir . . . m. Concobair m. Taidg Moir . . . m. Tomaltaigh . . . m.
 Innreachtaigh m. Muireadaigh Muillethain.

O Cl.:³⁸ GENELACH MEC DIERMADA: Brian Ócc m. Briain m. Ruaidri m. Taidg
 m. Ruaidri Óicc m. Ruaidri Caoich m. Aedha m. Conchobhair m. Tomaltaigh m. Mail
 Ruanaidh m. Giolla Crist m. Concobair m. Corbmaic m. Tomaltaigh na Cairrge m.
 Conchobhair m. Diermada (a quo *Mac* Diermada) m. Taidhg m. Mail Ruanaidh m.
 Taidhg m. Muircertaigh m. Mail Ruanaidh Moir m. Taidhg m. Cathail m. Conchobhair
 m. Taidhg Moir m. Muirgiusa m. Tomaltaigh m. Murghaile m. Innreachtaigh m.
 Muiredhaigh Muillethain m. Ferghusa m. Raghallaigh m. Uadach m. Aedha m. Echach
 Tirmcharna m. Ferghusa m. Muireadaigh Mail m. Eogain Srebh m. Duach Galaigh m.
 Briúin m. Echach Mugmedóin.

³²Below 'Tadhg na nGadhar' is space for another line (or about one or two additional names – see note 41, below) occupied only by an uneven line of four small dots.

³³Opposite this name, in the left margin, is the figure '10'. It apparently denotes line 10, counting the spaces between the heading and 'Toirdhealbhach M. D.' and between 'Tadhg na nGadhar' and '*mec* Bhriain Óig Mec D.' as one line each. See next note.

³⁴Opposite this name, also, in the left margin, is the figure '10', ten lines down from the '10' mentioned in the preceding note.

³⁵Opposite this name, in the left margin, is a small '2' – perhaps the scribe originally intended to write '20', as it is precisely ten lines below the '10' mentioned in the preceding note.

³⁶Lec. 65 v b 37 – c 14.

³⁷BB 98 v b 34 – c 9.

³⁸O Cl. 1006.

*D1:*³⁹ GINEALACH MEC DIARMADA ann so: (1) Toirdealbhach mac (2) Briain Óig mc. (3) Briain mc. (4) Ruaidhri mc. (5) Taidhg mc. (6) Ruaidhri Oig mc. (7) Ruaidhri Caoich. . . .

*D2:*⁴⁰ GENEALACH MEC DIARMADA MOIGHE LUIRG: Toirdealbhach, Cathal Ruadh, ⁴¹Conchabhar, Bria(i)n Og⁴¹ & Tadhg clann Bhriain Oig mc. Ruaidhri mc. Taidhg mc. Ruaidhri Óig mc. Ruaidhri Chaoich. . . .

2: Tomaltach Óg m. Tomaltaigh Óig⁴² m. Tomaltaigh m. Taidhg.

*D1:*⁴³ Clann la Tomaltach Óg mac Tomaltaigh Oig mc. Tomaltaigh mc. Taidg mc. Ruaidhrígh Óig mc. Ruaidhri Chaoich .i. Brian & Hánraoi.

*D2:*⁴⁴ Bria(i)n agus Éinrí clann Tomultaigh Óig mc. Tomultaigh Oig mc. Tomultaigh mc. Taidg mc. Ruaidhri Óig mc. Ruaidhri Chaoich.

3: SLIOCHT CORMAIC ÓIG, noch atā i Muigh Luirg agus i tTír Fhiachrach *Muaidhe*: don ghabhuil tainic i tTír Fhiachrach .i. Brian Dorcha, do báidhedh san Ērne Anno Domini 1603, mac Eoghain Ghruamdha mec Eoghain; ((dhearbhráthair máthar d'fhior dénta agus sgríobhta an lebhair⁴⁵ si .i. an Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh, an Brian Dorcha sin).)

4: An ghubhal don tsliocht sin Cormaic Óig atá i Muigh Luirg aníú .i. Ruaidhri mac Eoghain Ghránna mec Ruaidhrigh mec Cathail mec Briain mec Cormaic Óig mec Cormaic Mhóir mec Tomaltaigh *Ghírr* na cCreach tTimchill mec Maoilruanaidh mec Gille Chríost mec Conchabhair mec Cormaic mec Tomaltaigh na Cairrge.

*D1:*⁴⁶ SLIOCHT CORMAIC OIG Meic Diarmada ann so: ⁴⁷Aodh mac Taidhg mc. ⁴⁷Ruaidhri mc. Eogain Ghranna mc. Ruaidhri mc. Cathail ⁴⁸mc. Cormaic Óig⁴⁸ mc. Briain mc. Cormaic Oig. . . .

Clann la Ruaidhri mac Eoghain Ghranna mc. Ruaidhri mc. Cathail .i. Tadhg agus Tomaltach, Eoghan Ciotach agus Brian. . . . Eoghan Óg mac Eoghain Ghranna mc. Ruaidhri mc. Cathail mc. Cormaic Óig, clann⁴⁹ lais .i. Aodh agus Cormac.

³⁹D i 3, f. 27 r. The generations are numbered (in the hand of none other than Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh) from no. 1 (Toirdealbhach mac Briain Óig) up to no. 27 (Muirgheas mac Tomaltaigh mec Murghaile), but the genealogy continues back more than twenty generations further still to Conn Cédchathach, who, if he were numbered, would be no. 48.

⁴⁰D i 3, f. 53 r. This genealogy is continued back to 'mc. Maoilruanaidh Moir, o bfuil in fine, mc. Taidg Moir'.

⁴¹–⁴¹Note the two names, Conchabar and Brian Óg, which are not in LGen. – but see note 32 above.

⁴²The accent is written above the 'g'.

⁴³D i 3, f. 26 r a.

⁴⁴D i 3, f. 53 r.

⁴⁵There is a small dot high above the 'b', which might be a misplaced lenition-point.

⁴⁶D i 3, f. 26 v a-b.

⁴⁷–⁴⁷A later addition.

⁴⁸–⁴⁸Note that this generation does not occur in the LGen. version of the genealogy.

⁴⁹MS 'mac' (crossed out).

5: Do dhūthaigh an tsleachta si[n]⁵⁰ Cormaic Ōig .i. baile Puirt na Cruithneacht[a]⁵¹ ag Loch Tethead thair .i. Loch Uī Ghadhra aniu, agus Baile na cCeall, läimh re Droicheat Cnuic an Bhiocaire, agus leathbhaile Rinn [n]a bPoll agus trian Aird an Choirce agus Trian na Marbh-laogh. Do bhí an Ruaidhrí rēamhráite mac Eoghain Ghrāna a selbh an 12 cheathramhan sin re linn mharbhta Uī Dhochartaigh, Anno Domini (1608).

6: Sliocht Fearghail⁵² dā fful cuid i Muigh Luirg agus i tTír Fhiachrach isin Ghrānsigh Mhōir: Toirdhealbhadh, Ruaidhrí, Tadhg clann Dubhultaigh mec Taidhg m. Ruaidhrigh mec Conchabhair mec Ruaidhrigh mec Conchabhair mec Fearghail, a quo an fine, mec Tomaltaigh Ghirr na cCrech Timchill, 7c.; as ī a ndūthaigh .i. leathbhaile Chuirr na fFiach, ceathramha na Craibhe, ceathramha na Fionnānach, ceathramha Tholchāin an tSamhaidh, ceathramha Chluana Mec Mhaoilín, ceathramha Arda Maoil, Ceathramha Chaol, ceathramha Thuair na ⁵³[G]aoithe, ceathra[mha Dhoire]⁵³ Cua.

7: Sagart eolach Eoghan mac Briain meic Maoilruanaidh Bhacuigh, 7c.

8: Ón Ghrānsigh Mhōir i tTír Fhiachrach .i. Brian Óg mac Sēmuis m. Briain mec Maoilruanaidh (Bhacaigh).

9: Conchabhar, Tadhg agus Cormac dearbhráithre do Ruaidhrigh mac Conchabhair mec Tomaltaigh, 7c.

10: Conchabhar Mór Mac Diarmada, clann mhaith lais .i. Aodh, rī Muighe⁵⁴ Luirg, Diarmuid, agus Domhnall Dubh.

Lec.:⁵⁵ Conchobar Mor Mac Diarmada, cland maith lais .i. [. . .],⁵⁶ Aed, rig Maighi Luirg, 7 Diarmaid 7 Domhnall Dub.

O Cl.:⁵⁷ Aedh, Domhnall Dub, ocus Diermait: clann Conchobair m Tomoltaigh m Mael Ruanaidh m Gilla Crist.

11: Aodh mac Conc[h]ab[h]air⁵⁸ mec Tomaltaigh, clann mhōr lais .i. Conchabhar Óg, rī Mhuighe Luirg, Tadhg, rī ele Muighe Luirg,

⁵⁰The reading here follows Maguidhir (O'Curry has 'si'): it seems possible that a tiny 'n' may be obscured by the 'perimeter-line' which Dubhaltach has put around most of the additional material inserted between the two columns.

⁵¹The final 'a' is apparently hidden by the lower left angle of the large initial 'A' in 'Aodha' (A. mec Aodha mec Conchabhair, § 15).

⁵²There is a tiny dot high above the 'g': it has been taken here to represent a lenition-point.

⁵³⁻⁵³The missing letters here have been supplied, with slight emendation, from C vi 2, p. 134 a. Maguidhir's 'Caire' should clearly begin with a 'D': the resulting form 'Daire' is of course not incorrect, but in the autograph of LGen. (except in the transcription of an early text) 'Doire' would be much more likely.

⁵⁴There may have been a lenition-mark on the 'M' (compare § 11), but the ink blob has effectively obscured it.

⁵⁵Lec. 65 v c 15-20.

⁵⁶Most of one line and part of another have been left blank (erased?).

⁵⁷O Cl. 1000.

⁵⁸The presence or absence of the two lenition-points is uncertain because of the large ink spot.

Maghnas, Cathal, Cormac, agus Ruaidhrí, rí dēgheanach Mhuighe Luirg don chloind sin.

Lec.:⁵⁹ Aed mac Conchobar Mec Diarmada, clann mor lais .i. Concobar Og, rigdamna Muigi Luirg, 7 Tadc 7 Magnus 7 Cathal 7 Cormac 7 Ruaidri.

O Cl.:⁶⁰ Conchobar, Ruaidri Caech, Cathal, Maghnus Beg, Tadhg, ocus Corbmac: clann Aeda m Conchobair m Tomaltaigh m Mael Ruanaidh m Gilla Crist.

12: Fearghal mac Tomaltaigh Mec Dhiarmada, clann mhōr lais .i. Maolruanaidh, rí Muighe Luirg, Tomaltach Óg, ríoghdamhna Muighe Luirg, Maoileachlainn, Conchabhar, Giolla-Críost, Seaán, Maghnus Buidhe, agus Cormac.

Lec.:⁶¹ Feargal mac Tomaltaigh Mec Diarmada, clann mor lais .i. Maelruanaig, rig Moigi Luirg, 7 Tomaltach Og, rigdamna Moigi Luirg, 7 Concobar 7 Seaan 7 Malseachlainn Clereach 7 Magnas Buidhe; Cormac Og mac Tomal[t]aig.

13: Donnchadh Riabhach, Muircheartach, Tadhg, agus Fearghal cethre mec Mhaoileachlainn Charraigh mec Maoilruanaidh.

Lec.:⁶² Dondchad Riabach 7 Muircheart(h)ach 7 Tadc 7 Feargal cethri mec Maeleachlainn Charraig mec Maelruanaid.

BB:⁶³ . . . 7 Tadc . . . Maeleachlainn Carraich. . . .

14: Cathal, Giolla Críost, Fearghal, Art, Diarmaid, agus Cormac sē mec Mhuirgheasa mec Aodha mec Conchabhair, 'gā ccomhraicid Clann Mhuirgheasa Mec Dhiarmada.⁶⁴

Lec.:⁶⁵ Cathal 7 Gilla Crist 7 Feargal 7 Art 7 Diarmaid 7 Cormac se mec Muirgiosa m. Aeda m. Conchobar, 'ga comraicead Clann Muirgesa Mec Diarmada. *BB*:⁶⁶ . . . m. Aeda m. Concobair, 'ga comraiced Clann Muirgiosa. . . .

O Cl.:⁶⁷ Cathal, Giolla Crist, Fergal, Art, Diermait, ocus Corbmac: .ui. mic Muirgesa m Aeda m Conchobair.

15: Donnchadh, Tomaltach, agus Muircheartach trī mec Aodha mec Aodha mec Conchabhair.

Lec.:⁶⁸ Dondchad 7 Tomaltach 7 Muircheartach tri mec Aeda m. Aeda m. Conchobar.

BB:⁶⁹ . . . mec. Aeda m. Aeda m. Conchubair.

⁵⁹Lec. 65 v c 22–7.

⁶⁰O Cl. 999.

⁶¹Lec. 65 v c 29–38.

⁶²Lec. 65 v c 39–43.

⁶³BB 98 c 10–17.

⁶⁴In right margin: *Clann Mhuirgheasa* (with part of final 'a' cut away by binder).

⁶⁵Lec. 65 v c 44–50.

⁶⁶BB 98 c 18–29.

⁶⁷O Cl. 995.

⁶⁸Lec. 65 v c 51 – d 4.

⁶⁹BB 98 c 30–35.

16: Domhnall mac Matha *mec* Diarmada *mec* Cormaic.

Lec.,⁷⁰ *BB*:⁷¹ Domnall m. Matha m. Diarmada m. Cormaic.

O Cl.:⁷² Donnchad ocus Tomaltach et Muircertach: tri mic Aedha m Aedha m Domhnaill m Matha m Diermada m Corbmaic. [= §§ 15–16]

17: SLIOCHT MAOILEACHLOINN DUIND sonra

Eoghan Grāna m. Cormuic m. Maghnusa *Chaoích*⁷³ m. Donnchuidh

Dhuibh m. *Conchabhair* m. Ruaidhrīgh *Bhuidhe* m. Cathuil m.

Maoileachlainn Duinn m. Giolla Chríost *Chlērigh* m. Maoilruan[aidh]⁷⁴

m. Giolla Chríost m. *Conchabhair* m. Cormuic⁷⁵ m. Tomaltaigh na Cairrge

18: (Eoghan Ōg mac) Eogha(i)n *Ghrāna* m. Maoileachlainn Duinn m. Donnchuidh *Dhuibh* m. *Conchabhair*, 7c.

D2:⁷⁶ SLIOCHT MAOILEACHLUINN DUINN

Eoghan Og mac Eoghain *Ghranna* *mec* Maoileachlainn Duinn *mec* Donnchaidh

Dhuibh *mec* *Conchabhair* *meic* Ruaidri Buidhi *mec* *Cathail* *mec* Maoileachluinn

Duinn *mec* Gille Crist Chleirigh *mec* Maoilruanaidh *mec* Giolla Crist *mec*

Conchabhair *mec* Corbmaic *mec* Tomaltaigh na Carrge.

⁷⁰Lec. 65 v d 5–8.

⁷¹BB 98 c 36–9.

⁷²O Cl. 996.

⁷³Accent above the 'a' in MS.

⁷⁴There appears to have been a suspension stroke above the 'n' which was smudged, probably at the time of writing.

⁷⁵There is a large dot or spot above the 'm': it seems too big for a lenition-mark, which in any event would be incorrect here.

⁷⁶D i 3, f. 53 v.

COMMENTARY

1. Most of the names in this pedigree (particularly those from Brian Óg Mac Diarmada up to Tomaltach na Cairrge) can be dated fairly readily from the Annals, especially those of Loch Cé and Connacht: these dates have been inserted beside the appropriate names in the accompanying genealogical table.⁷⁷ The import of the direction in parentheses at the close of the section is that the reader should turn to the genealogy of Ó Conchabhair Donn, LGen. 223, which ends ‘. . . m. Taidhg Mhóir m. Muirgheasa, 7c., leathanach 219’. On turning to p. 219 we find, in a column on the left-hand side of the page, a genealogy beginning ‘Aodh mac Aodha m. Cathail . . .’ and carrying on through ‘. . . m. Taidhg m. Muirgheasa m. Tomaltaigh. . .’ to ‘. . . m. Iondrachaigh m. Muireadhoigh Mhuilleathuin, 7c., leathanach 213’. On p. 213 a genealogy headed ‘Muintir Fhlannagáin agus Muintir Mhughróin cona ffrēmhuibh agus cona ffintheadhoibh and-so’ goes well beyond Muireadhach Muilleathan to ‘. . . m. Briain [*a quo Uí Bhriúin*] m. Eathach Mhuighmheadhóin, 7c.’

2. In the case of this, the first of Dubhaltach’s *addenda*, were it not for D we would be at a loss to know where Tadhg, father of Tomaltach, fits into the genealogical scheme.

3. The initial sentence, as far as the colon, may be taken as a heading to this and to the next two sections (§§ 3–5). It is regrettable that Dubhaltach does not identify Eoghan, grandfather of Brian Dorcha (and his own maternal great-grandfather), more clearly. Of the various individuals named Eoghan in the Sliocht Cormaic Óig genealogy (i.e. Eoghan Ciotach mac Ruaidhrígh mec Eoghain Ghránna, Eoghan Óg mac Eoghain Ghránna mec Ruaidhrígh and Eoghan Gránna himself), the last-mentioned, Eoghan Gránna mac Ruaidhrígh who died in 1619, seems, in terms of chronology, to be the only one who could possibly have been the Eoghan (father of Eoghan Gruamdha) whose granddaughter was wife to Giolla Íosa Mór Mac Fhir Bhisigh.⁷⁸ If Eoghan Gránna is indeed the Eoghan in question, however, it would appear that he had two sons, both of whom were also named Eoghan (i.e. Eoghan Óg and Eoghan Gruamdha). While such a state of affairs would not be altogether unknown,⁷⁹ there is another possibility to be considered: Eoghan Gruamdha mac Eoghain (Dubhaltach’s maternal grandfather) and Eoghan Óg mac Eoghain Ghránna may very well have been one and the same individual. There would be nothing particularly unusual about a person bearing two different nicknames at

⁷⁷The dates of other individuals on p. 227 have also been inserted whenever it has proved possible to ascertain them.

⁷⁸Giolla Íosa Mór was old enough to be the recipient of a royal pardon in April 1603 (CPR 22a); as mentioned above (note 15), he lived on for another four decades.

⁷⁹It occurs especially when a son is born after the death of another son; in this instance, however, we have two Eoghans surviving to adulthood, each fathering at least two children: Aodh and Cormac from Eoghan Óg (§ 4: D1 – last paragraph), and Brian Dorcha and the mother of Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh from Eoghan Gruamdha (§ 3).

different periods of his life or in different contexts.⁸⁰ Against this, it may be urged that D1 (last paragraph), in naming the sons of Eoghan Óg, makes no mention of Brian Dorcha. But if, as seems likely, that work was compiled several years (about forty?) after the unfortunate Brian Dorcha was drowned in the Erne in 1603, the compiler may have felt no compelling reason to mention a young man who had long ago died without issue. Dubhaltach's mention of him, on the other hand, is quite understandable, given that Brian Óg was a maternal uncle of his – what a pity, though, that he gives us no clue whatever as to the circumstances in which the drowning occurred.

4. Ruaidhrí mac Eoghain Ghránna and his father make their appearance in several seventeenth-century official documents. For example, the record of an inquisition conducted at Boyle on 3 February 1616 [= 1617] before Sir Charles Coote tells of 'Owen Grana mcRory mcCahell McDermod and Rory mcOwen Grana McDermod of Portnecrannagh' being seized in fee of *Portnecrannagh 1 qr.* and certain other lands,⁸¹ and later the same year the Patent Rolls of James I⁸² record a grant from the King to 'Owen Grana McRorie McCaell McDermodt, and Rory McOwen Grana McDermodt of Portnecrannaght, gent.' of 'The town, lands and qr. of Portnecrannaght, Lurgan 1 qr., Carrowewagh 1 qr.' According to an inquisition taken at Athlone in 1623, 'Owin Grana mcRory mcCahell McDermodt de Portnecranagh, parochia de Kyllmamanagh [*sic*] in Barronia de Boyle' died on 12 October 1619 and his son and heir, 'Rogerus alias Rory mcOwen', is stated to have been granted possession of Portnecranagh, Lurgan etc. on 8 October 1608, these lands being held from the King in return for military service.⁸³ (The coincidence of the date, 1608 – plus the mention of military service – on the one hand, and the reference at the end of § 5 to the killing of Sir Cathaoir O Doherty in the same year, 1608 (on 5 July in Co. Donegal), on the other, is rather striking to say the least.)⁸⁴ In the Book of Survey and Distribution for Co. Roscommon⁸⁵ the proprietor in 1641 of Portnecrannaght, and the other lands already mentioned, is named as 'Rory Grana Mc Owen Dermott' [*sic*]. He again appears, as 'Rory mcOwen Grana McDermodt', in the record of the Cromwellian transplantation of the 1650s, having been decreed 120 Irish acres in his own parish of Kilnamanagh and 120 Irish acres (profitable) in the parish of Dunamon, barony of Ballymoe, Co. Galway.⁸⁶ In the BSD for Co. Galway,⁸⁷ a grandson of Rory's, 'Hugh mcTeigue ffitz Rory &c.' (no surname given) is listed as holding 101

⁸⁰One example which comes to mind is of Donnchadh mac Tanaidhe Uí Mhaoil Chonaire, ollamh Síil Mhuireadhaigh (d. 1404), who was known variously as Donnchadh Bán (*Annals of Ulster* III (ed. B. MacCarthy, Dublin 1895) 54; *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters* IV (ed. J. O'Donovan, Dublin 1856) 780; LGen. 245), Donnchadh Bacach (AConn. 1224.2, 1228.2, 1404.17 – although this last could also be read as D. Bān) and Donnchadh Losc (AConn. 1278.2).

⁸¹Inq. 3.177.

⁸²CPR 332.

⁸³Inq. 3.269.

⁸⁴For an account of the background, career, rebellion and death of Ó Dochartaigh, see B. Bonner, *That audacious traitor* (Dublin 1975).

⁸⁵BSD 130.

⁸⁶R. C. Simington, *The transplantation to Connacht, 1654–58* (Dublin 1970) 73, 263.

⁸⁷BSD, *Co. Galway* (ed. B. Mac Giolla Choille and R. C. Simington, Dublin 1962) 164.

acres profitable in the townland of Cornaveagh, parish of Dunamon, towards the close of the century, and, as 'Hugh McTeig ffz Dermott', he appears in the Roscommon BSD,⁸⁸ holding 19 of the 334 acres held by his grandfather in 'Portnecrennaght, Lurga & Carrowreagh'. The same details concerning this 'Hugh mac Teige fitz-Rory mc Owen Grana Mc Dermott' appear in the 'Abstracts of grants of lands . . . under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation', the grant in question being dated 29 April 1681.⁸⁹ The Eoghan Óg mentioned at the beginning of the final paragraph from D1 occurs (as Owen Oge mc Dermot) in BSD 153 as proprietor in 1641 of Runnibull (see placename no. 5 in next section) and Tulloghboy.

5-6. The placenames mentioned in these two sections are deserving of some attention as the great majority of them have not hitherto been identified.

- (1) *baile Puirt na Cruithneachta*: This is the townland of Portnacrinnaught in the parish of Kilnamanagh and barony of Frenchpark (formerly part of the barony of Boyle), Co. Roscommon, Ordnance Survey six-inch map no. 9. The following are some of the references to the place which may be found in seventeenth-century sources – that dated 1603 appears to be the earliest available. (In the following examples, the citation is given, followed by the source, usually in abbreviated form, and the date, in parentheses.) 4 qr. de Portnecronoght, Inq. 1.176 (1603); Portnecrannagh, Inq. 3.177, Portnecrannaght, CPR 332 (1617); Portnecrennaght BSD 130 (c.1670). The OS Parish Notebook gives the Irish form c.1837 as *port na cruithneachta* 'port of the wheat'. The name is entered, in a form deriving from O'Curry's mistranscribed version in 23 P 1, in *Onom. Goed.* 88b as *baile puirt na ditsiachta* – not surprisingly, no identification is offered.
- (2) *Loch Tethead/Loch Uí Ghadhra*: Some of the numerous citations of this well-known north Roscommon lake, now anglicised Lough Gara, may be found in *Onom. Goed.* 504b, 505a.
- (3) *Baile na cCeall*: Ballenegall, Inq. 2.125 (1640); Ballenigall, BSD 144 (c.1670) – in the latter source it is given as being in the possession of the bishop of Elphin, and located in the parish of Kilbryan, barony of Boyle. Its situation may be deduced more precisely from the map of Roscommon County in Petty and Lamb's miniature atlas entitled *Geographical description of ye kingdom of Ireland* (London c.1687): there it appears as *B. Gall* on the north-eastern side of Lough Key and just north of Knockvicar Bridge,⁹⁰ a location roughly corresponding to the present townland of Kiltasheen in the parish of Kilbryan, OS 3,6 – and agreeing also with Mac Fhir Bhisigh's statement as to its location. The Irish form of Kiltasheen, written in pencil in the OS Namebook (indicating that it was obtained from native speakers of the language in the locality in 1837) is *cill Téisín*, which John O'Donovan in the same source rationalises to *cill tSéisín*, explaining it as 'Seisin's church'. There appears to be no attestation of this name in seventeenth-century sources, but we are probably safe

⁸⁸BSD, 130.

⁸⁹Appendix to 15th annual report of Commissioners of Public Records of Ireland (1825) 271. ('Hugh mac Teige fitz-Rory' is of course the 'Aodh mac Taidg mc. Ruaidhri' who appears in the first genealogy from D1 in this section.)

⁹⁰It also appears, as *B:gall*, on the map of 'The province of Connought' in 'Petty's Atlas', W. Petty, *Hiberniae delineatio* (n.p. 1683 – although the plates of the 'Atlas' were engraved as early as c.1663).

in taking it to have been one of the *cealla* which gave *Baile na cCeall* its name. It may be noted that there are a couple of sites with apparent ecclesiastical associations marked on the Ordnance Survey map of Kiltasheen. These are *Bishops Seat* in the south near the mouth of the Boyle River and *Tober Patrick* in the north-eastern corner of the townland. The former is the subject of a pencilled note in the Namebook, on the page relating to Kiltasheen: 'An old Bishop's seat. The Bishop's Seat is the name of a feature in the townland'. Immediately bordering Kiltasheen on the north and north-west is the townland of Kilfaughna, in the parish of Ardcarne: it is tempting to see this as another of the *cealla* which gave name to *Baile na cCeall* – ?'Cill Fhachtna'. However, the Irish form in pencil in the Ardcarne Namebook is *coill Fachtna* (although, admittedly, the *o* in the initial element was a somewhat later addition, being inserted above the line). There is a brief entry, headed *b. na gcell*, in the *Onom. Goed.* 85b, but the only information supplied is 'nr Droichead Cnuic an Bhiocaire, Fir. 227'.

- (4) *Droichead Cnuic an Bhiocaire*: The townland of Knockvicar, parish of Ardcarne, barony of Boyle, OS 6. This name (minus the initial element, *Droichead*) is one of the best-attested of the names under consideration here. It occurs as *Knockyycary* in the record of an inquisition dated c.1584 (Inq. 1.57) and as *Cnoc in Bicaire* in the Annals of Loch Cé at the year 1587, as well as in a variety of seventeenth-century sources. The bridge, which was clearly an important structure, strategically placed, is shown on the map of Roscommon in Petty and Lamb's *Description* (already mentioned under no. 3, above).⁹¹
- (5) *leathbhaile Rinn na bPoll*: The townland of Runnaboll, parish of Kiltcolagh, barony of Frenchpark, OS 10, 16. Rimebull, Inq. 3.41 (1611); Runapoole, Inq. 3.67, Rumball, Inq. 3.75 (1614); Runnipoll, Inq. 3.171, Runnepoll, Runepoll, CPR 332b (1617); Runeboll, Inq. 4.153 (1663); Runnibull, BSD 153 (c.1670); Rinabul, W. Edgeworth's Grand Jury Map (1817). (In Inq. 3.75, above, the place is mentioned in relation to 'Rorye Grana de Fornechrinagh': Ruaidhrí mac Eoghain Ghránna de Phort na Cruithneachta – see § 4, above.) The Irish form of the placename given in the Ardcarne Namebook, both in pencil and in ink, is *roinn na bpoll*, 'division of the holes'. There are numerous other townlands in the area with the same initial element: Runnabehy (OS 9), Runnacocka (OS 16), Runnameelta (OS 9), Runnarodan (OS 9), Runnaroddaun (OS 16), etc. There is a brief entry, without any identification other than 'in Connacht', under the headword *rinn apoll* in *Onom. Goed.* 581b.
- (6) *trian Aird an Choirce*: In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources this place is almost invariably mentioned in conjunction with the townland of Faus (parish of Estersnow, barony of Boyle, OS 10). Tryne Fasse, Tryne Ardcurky, Inq. 1.176 (1603); Fasse, Ardcurke, CPR 332, Ardecurck, Inq. 3.169 (1617); Fasse & Ardcocke, BSD 145 (c.1670). The name is apparently no longer extant, but as may be seen from a description of its location preserved in Registry of Deeds 23.448.14015 (1719), it was located

⁹¹It is also shown on the map of Connacht in Petty, *Hiberniae delineatio*.

in the south-western corner of Faus townland.⁹² The name appears to have survived, however tenuously, as late as the 1830s, for among the evidence for the name Faus in the Estersnow Namebook, we find the following on the authority of Rev. Thos. Crawford, Vicar: *Fass and Ardcorcka*. The name appears, without identification, in *Onom. Goed.* 37a.

- (7) *Trian na Marbh-laogh*: The townland of Treanamarly, parish of Estersnow, barony of Boyle, OS 10. Tryne Martry, Inq. 1.176 (1603); Trine ne marley, Inq. 3.25 (1610); Trine Nemarley, Inq. 3.67 (1614); trine ne marley, Inq. 3.169, Trinenemarly, CPR 332 (1617); Trinamarly, BSD 146-7 (c.1670); Trynmarly, Registry of Deeds 46.52.27625 (1724). The Irish form in the Namebook, in pencil and in ink, is *trian na marlaidhe*, explained as 'third of the marl'. The LGen. form of the name appears, without identification, in *Onom. Goed.* 646a. This form is noteworthy, since it appears to find so little support in the other attested forms, almost all of which seem to point to an Irish form rather like that given in the Namebook – perhaps *Trian na Marlaí*, and indeed *Trian an Mharla* (giving the meaning suggested in the Namebook) cannot be ruled out either. The compound *marbhlaogh* seems to occur only in Ó Dónaill's *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* (as *marbhlaeo* 'still-born calf' – the corresponding word in Dinneen's dictionary is *marbh-ghamhain*). This prompts the thought that Mac Fhir Bhisigh may have been working from an English (or Latin) text, perhaps a record of a grant or inquisition or the like, and merely furnished Irish versions of the placenames on an ad hoc basis rather than on the basis of personal acquaintance with the places in question. Some at least of the other name-forms found in this text also seem to give grounds for suspicion – most notably nos. 5 and 6 above, *Rinn* (rather than *Roinn?*) *na bPoll* and *trian Aird an Choirce* (rather than *t. Aird Choirce* or the like?), and nos. 13 and 16 below, *ceathramha na Fionnánach* (for *c. na fFionnánach?*) and *ceathramha Arda Maoil* (rather than *c. Arda Maoile* or some such form).
- (8) *Magh Luirg*: There is a lengthy entry on this well-known name in *Onom. Goed.* 525a.
- (9) *Tír Fhiachrach* (also *Tír Fhiachrach Mhuaidhe*): A name which survives as the barony-name Tireragh, Co. Sligo. See *Onom. Goed.* 637a.
- (10) *An Ghráinseach Mhór*: The townland of Grange More, parish of Templeboy, barony of Tireragh, Co. Sligo, OS 12; there is a townland of Grange Beg in the same parish. This is a well-attested name, being found for example in the Book of Lecan (*O Colmain on Grainsich Moir*, Lec. 74 r a 35 – see also LGen. 275). In view of part of *Sliocht Fearghail* being settled there, an entry in CPR 22a (1603) is worth noting: *James McFearill of Graingmore, student, Edw. McFearill of the same, kerne*.
- (11) *leathbhaile Chuirr na fFiach*: The townland of Cornaveagh, parish of Estersnow, barony of Boyle, OS 9. Cornevegh, Fiant 5468 (1590); Corneveigh, Inq. 3.195 (1617); Cornafeagh, BSD 147 (c.1670). The Irish form in the Namebook, retraced in ink over a pencilled version, is *cor na bhfiach*, explained as 'round hill of the ravens'. The Namebook has another Irish

⁹². . . bounded eastward by the new road leading from the ford of Ardcorck to Knockandonellbane. . . – therefore equivalent to the portion lying to the west of the road passing from north to south (from Estersnow to Croghan) through the western end of the townland. This is confirmed by its position on William Edgeworth's Grand Jury Map of north Co. Roscommon (1817), where it appears as *Ardacurk*.

form, written by John O'Donovan, *cor na ffiach*, whose source is stated to be 'Dudley Firbisse in M'Dermots Pedigree'. The name is given, from 'Fir. 227', without identification in *Onom. Goed.* 484a. It may be noted that, according to the Fiant, Cornevegh was held in 1590 by 'Doaltagh m'Teig M'Rory' – the Dubhaltach mac Taidhg mec Ruaidhrigh mentioned earlier in § 6.

- (12) *ceathramha na Craoibhe*: Carownecriue, Inq. 3.169, Carrownacrive, CPR 332 (1617); Creeff, Census 583 (1659); Creevee, Creeve, BSD 130 (c.1670); the quarter of Creeve, Registry of Deeds 19.80.9712 (1717). At first sight, there appears to be no present-day townland corresponding to this name in the parish of Kilnamanagh (which is where the Census and BSD locate it). But, in view of the fact that (as a glance at the map will show) all the other readily identifiable names in the latter part of this section (that is, seven out of nine) are located adjacent to one another in an anti-clockwise sequence, it seems reasonable to concentrate our search for the two remaining names, *c. na Craoibhe* and *c. na Fionnánach* (see next name) in the area between Cornaveagh (no. 11, above) and Tullaghan (no. 14, below). There is a name in that area which bears a certain resemblance to the name in question here, namely *Creen* which forms part of the townland-name Tonroe or Creen (parish of Kilnamanagh, barony of Frenchpark, OS 9). The first part of the townland-name appears, as *Townroe*, in Registry of Deeds 217.299.143899 (1762), but the second part appears to be unattested prior to the early nineteenth century and even then the evidence is rather thin. The Irish form in the Namebook, written (perhaps significantly) in ink only and not in pencil, is *críon* 'withered'. The sources quoted in the Namebook for the anglicised form, Creen, are 'County Book, 1821' and the House of Commons 'Report on the Survey and Valuation of Ireland', 1824; the Boundary Surveyor's Sketch Map (later 1820s) has *Toanroe alias Creen*. In the light of all this, it seems not all unlikely that *Creen* may never have had anything more than a 'paper-existence': it may have come into being as a simple mistranscription of *Creev(e)*, perhaps as late as the 1820s. The entry in *Onom. Goed.* 231a does not offer much assistance in solving the problem posed by this name: the portion following the lemma merely states 'in Connacht, Fir. 227; 4 tls. of Carrownacreevy in c. Sli'.
- (13) *ceathramha na Fionnánach*: ffinnagh, Inq. 3.169, Finnanagh, CPR 332 (1617); Fenanagh, BSD 130 (c.1670); Finnanagh, Registry of Deeds 19.80.9712 (1717); Feenrenagh [*sic*], Registry of Deeds 103.458.72046 (1741). As in the case of the preceding name, there seems to be no present-day townland whose name can be readily equated with *c. na Fionnánach*. However, if we are correct in suggesting that *c. na Craoibhe* is represented by Tonroe or Creen, it would seem just as reasonable to equate the name in question here with the name of the adjoining townland of Tonroe or Feenagh (parish of Kilnamanagh, barony of Frenchpark, OS 9). Once again, as with Creen, there seems to be no trace of Feenagh (or any similar disyllabic form) before the early nineteenth century, e.g. *Fienagh* in Registry of Deeds 679.43.467373 (1814), *Finagh* in the 'County Book, 1821' and in the Survey and Valuation Report, 1824, and *Toanroe alias Feenagh* on the Boundary Surveyor's Sketch Map – as in the case of Creen, these last three sources are quoted in the Parish Namebook. The Irish name is given in the Namebook, in ink only, as *fíodhnach* 'wooded'. The entry in

Onom. Goed. 231a states baldly: 'in Connacht, Fir. 227'. According to the BSD, the proprietors of Fenanagh in 1641 were Bryan and Tirlagh Mc Dermott: the latter may have been the Toirdhealbhach mac Dubhalthaigh mec Taidhg mentioned earlier in § 6. As has been remarked upon above, under no. 7, this name, in the form written by Mac Fhir Bhisigh, gives us certain grounds for suspicion: it would seem to demand emendation, perhaps to a form such as *c. na fFionnánach*. Who or what *Na Fionnánaigh* were must be a matter of speculation. One possibility is that it denotes bearers of a surname such as Mag Fhionnán.⁹³ One of a number of objections which can be raised to this suggestion is that the use of the formula *An X-ach*, which is common with surnames of Anglo-Norman / 'Old English' (i.e. Seanghall) origin (An Búrcach, An Buitléarach, An Gearaltach, etc.) is relatively rare (and late) with Gaelic surnames – one of the few that springs to mind is *Baoigheallaigh* (from Uí Bhaoighill) which survives as the barony-name Boyleagh, Co. Donegal. A more serious objection, however, is that all of the attested forms in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources (other than LGen.) appear to represent *Fionnánach* without any trace of a preceding *ceathramha na*, so perhaps we should posit *An Fhionnánach* as the correct form and see this as further support for the suggestion made above (under no. 7) that Mac Fhir Bhisigh's forms are simply ad hoc gaelicisations of written forms taken from Latin or English documents.

- (14) *ceathramha Tholcháin an tSamhaidh*: The townland of Tullaghan, parish of Kilnamanagh, barony of Frenchpark, OS 9, 10. Tullaghannetawey, CPR 332 (1617); Tullehanatawe, BSD 130 (c.1670). The Irish form, in pencil, in the Namebook is *tullachan* while the form written in ink is *tulachan* 'a hillock'. The Namebook also has the fuller version of the name taken from a seventeenth-century source, *Tullaghanetaue*, from 'Lord Dundas' Letters Patent, 1667'. The wording of the *Onom. Goed.* 231a entry, under the heading *c. tholchain an tsamha* (taken from O'Curry's transcript), is identical to that on the preceding name, no. 13.
- (15) *ceathramha Chluana Mec Mhaoilín*: The townland of Cloonmacmullen, parish of Kilnamanagh, barony of Frenchpark, OS 9. Clowne mc Moyline, Inq. 3.171, Clownmacmoyllin, CPR 332 (1617); Cloone mc Malline, BSD 130 (c.1670). The Irish form in the Namebook, written in ink, is *cluain Mc. Maoláin*. The entry in *Onom. Goed.* 230b is headed *c. cluana* (being based on O'Curry's transcript) and has the very same wording as in the case of nos. 13 and 14 above. (The proprietor in 1617, incidentally, is named in the Inquisition as Dualtagh mcConnor oge McDermot.)
- (16) *ceathramha Arda Maoil*: The townland of Ardmoyle, parish of Kilnamanagh, barony of Frenchpark, OS 9. Ardmoyle, Fiant 5877 (1594); Inq. 1.234 (1610); Ardmoyle, Inq. 3.195 (1617); Ardmoyle, Census 583 (1659); Ardmoyle, BSD 130 (c.1670). The Irish form, in pencil, in the Namebook is *árd mhaoil*, explained by O'Donovan as 'hill of the hornless cow'. The entry in *Onom. Goed.* 230a merely indicates the source, 'Fir. 227'. The structure of this name appears to be noun + noun + noun ('qr.

⁹³There is in fact a townland in the western part of the parish of Kilnamanagh called Cloonmagunnaun whose Irish form, in pencil, in the Namebook is *cluain Mag Fhionnán*. However, this form does not find support in a notable source, the Annals of Connacht, which has (AConn. 1393.4) *Cluain h. Conden* (*Cluain Ó Condén* in the index and *Cluain Ó g Coinnedín* in modern orthography).

of the headland of (the) tonsured one, flat-topped hillock', etc.?).⁹⁴ If the final element were an adjective (and *maol* occurs rather more commonly as an adjective in placenames),⁹⁵ the form the name would take would be *c. Arda Maoile* (from *Aird Mhaol*) or *c. Aird Mhaoil* (from *Ard Maol*). Once again, however, we may be dealing with an ad hoc regaelicisation by Mac Fhir Bhisigh.

- (17) *Ceathramha Chaol*: The townland of Carrowkeel, parish of Kilnamanagh, barony of Frenchpark, OS 9. Carrowkyle, Inq. 1.234 (1610); Carrowkeile, BSD 130 (c.1670). The form in the Notebook, in pencil, reads simply *ceathramhadh*, the second part of the name having been erased, but the Irish form written in ink is *ceathramhadh caol*. In *Onom. Goed.* 230a this name (taken from 'Fir. 227') is linked in with a reference (from Lec., etc.) to a place of the same name in the parish of Attymas, barony of Gallen, Co. Mayo. The inference to be drawn is clearly that the two places were identical. However, the entry ends with the statement: 'There are 66 Carrowkeel tils'.
- (18) *ceathramha Thuair na Gaoithe*: The townland of Tournagee, parish of Kilnamanagh, barony of Frenchpark, OS 9. Toarenegehy, Inq. 1.234 (1610); Towerneghye, Inq. 3.169, Towernegh, CPR 332 (1617); Tornegee alias Tonregeeh, BSD 131 (c.1670). The Namebook gives, in pencil and ink, the Irish form as *tuar na gaoithe* 'bleach of the wind, Windfield'. Since O'Curry was able to decipher only the initial element, *ceathramha*, the name does not occur in *Onom. Goed.*
- (19) *ceathramha Dhoire Cua*: The townland of Derrycoagh, parish of Kilnamanagh, barony of Frenchpark, OS 9. i nDoire Chua, *Annals of the Four Masters* IV, 1152 (s.a. 1487); Derrycoagh, Inq. 3.169, Dirrechoagh, CPR 332 (1617). The Namebook has the form *doire cuach* written in pencil and retraced in ink, together with the note 'Present pronunciation on the spot'. It also adds, in ink, 'doire cua, 4 Masters, oakwood of the acorns'. This name has an entry in *Onom. Goed.* 327a referring only to its attestation in the Annals of the Four Masters: because O'Curry found it illegible, there is of course no mention of its occurrence in LGen.⁹⁶

6. In relation to *Sliocht Fearghail* it is interesting to note that shortly after the reference in Inq. 1.176 (1603) to '4 qr. de Portnecronoght' there is mention of '10 qr. de Sleight Ffarrell'. The Dubhaltach mac Taidhg mec Ruaidhrigh whose three sons are listed in this section crops up in a record of an inquisition dated 1610: 'Dowaltagh mcTeige mcRowry intravit in actionem rebellionis contra Reginam Elizabetham 10 Februarii 1601 et fuit occisus apud Downgar

⁹⁴See *Dictionary of the Irish language* s.v. 2 *mael*

⁹⁵See P. W. Joyce, *Irish names of places* I (Dublin 1913) via Index of root words; see also Hogan, *Onom. Goed.* s.nn. *bél átha an caisléin mhaoil, badhún maol, dún mael, caislén mael, ráith mael*, but also *ard na mael, lecht na maol, cluain dá mael, inis dá mhaol, inis mic maeil*.

⁹⁶It may be of some interest to consider the order in which some of the placenames just discussed occur in two sources which are both dated 1617, the inquisition taken at 'Boile [= Boyle] 3d of february 1616 [= 1617] before Sr. Charles Coote, Knt.' and the Patent Rolls Inq. 3.169: nos. 6, 12, 13, 18, 19, 7; 3.171: 5, 15; 3.177: 1; 3.195: 16, 11. CPR 332: 6, 12, 13, 14, 18, 19, 5, 15, 1.

10 Junii 1602. . .'.⁹⁷ He features several years earlier, as 'Doaltagh m'Tieg M'Rory of Cornevegh', recipient of a royal pardon in 1590 (Fiant 5468), and he may be identical with the 'Dowaltagh m'Teig M'Rory of Inyshcloyne' who received a previous pardon in 1585 (Fiant 4728). The phrase 'mec Fearghail, a quo an *fine*' towards the end of the genealogy is interesting as it could be taken as suggesting that a surname, such as *Mac Fearghail* (or *Ó Fearghail?*), may have been derived from this Fearghal Mac Diarmada, mac Tomaltaigh Ghirr. There is a certain amount of evidence to suggest that such a surname existed in Cos. Roscommon and Sligo, at least for a time, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Most of this evidence is to be found in the later Fiants of Elizabeth: Rory carragh M'Farrill, of Rowhie, Fiant 5438, Dowaltogh m'Donogh M'Farrill, of Belanegarr, gent., Fiant 5447, Tirlagh M'Farrill, of Clunmore, Fiant 5449, Dwaltagh m'Tieg M'Ferrill, of Ballinvile, Fiant 5468 – all in Co. Roscommon (1590); Edm. M'Farriell, of Grangemore, Co. Sligo, Fiant 5606 (1591); Edm. M'Farriell, of Iskerowne, Co. Sligo, Fiant 5798, Deirmot M'Fearraill, of Mylacke (? Co. Roscommon), Fiant 5802 (1592–3); Edm. buy m'Teige M'Ferrall, of Roscribe, James m'Teige M'Farrall, of Larraes, Co. Sligo, Fiant 5815 (1593). In addition, there were Morchow M'Farrill, of Clonefrill, freeholder, Co. Galway, Fiant 4697 (1585), and Edmund keaghe M'Ferrall, of Glasevoyne, Co. Leitrim, Fiant 5440 (1590). We have already met James and Edward McFearill of Grangemore, Co. Sligo (under placename no. 10, above – in CPR 22b, AD 1603): they were no doubt related to the Edmund McFarriell of Grangemore mentioned in Fiant 5606 above. There is also a townland named Farranmacfarrell in the parish of Kilmacshalgan, barony of Tireragh, Co. Sligo, OS 12, 18. The Irish form of that name written in pencil in the OS Namebook for Kilmacshalgan is *feár'na-c-fhear-ighil*; the Namebook also has two forms written in ink: *Fear'n'ac Fhear'ighil* and the more rationalised *fearann Mhic Fhearghaile*, explained as 'land of the son of Farrell'. Most seventeenth-century anglicised forms of the name agree quite closely with the Down Survey (c.1654) form, *Farrin mcFarrell*. It is, of course, possible that at least some of the examples quoted from the Fiants, plus the two from the CPR, might represent patronymics rather than established surnames. On balance, however, it seems reasonable to assume the existence of Mac Fearghail as a surname – even though we must concede that there appears to be no trace of it in relation to Cos. Roscommon and Sligo in the CPR (apart from the two examples quoted from p. 22b) or in the Co. Sligo Hearth Money Rolls of the 1660s.⁹⁸ Of course, the simplest and most obvious interpretation of

⁹⁷Inq. 1.234. *Downgar* = Dungar townland in the parish of Tibohine, barony of Frenchpark, Co. Roscommon, OS 15. *Dún Gar* is also used as the Irish form of Frenchpark (both village and barony).

⁹⁸Cf. note 14 above. Two other occurrences of the name may be noted, both of them in documents of ecclesiastical provenance. The first – admittedly rather problematical – is in a letter written in 1462 and preserved in the papal archives, Rome. The writer's name is given as 'Morianus Macsorgail' [?' *recte* Macfergail], a canon of the diocese of Killala: J. A. Twemlow (ed.), *Calendar of papal letters XII* (London 1933) 154. If the emended reading suggested by the editor is correct, this would be much the earliest attestation of the name – and note that it occurs in what might be considered, broadly speaking, a Tír Fhiachrach context. (In a number of annalistic entries from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the diocese of Killala is referred to by the alternative designation of *Uí Fhiachrach*.) The second example of the name dates from the year 1600 when a priest of the same diocese, 'Eugenius Mac

the phrase 'a quo an *fine*' would be that it refers to the derivation not of a putative surname but of a well-known subgroup of the Mac Diarmada family, *Sliocht Fearghail*⁹⁹ – see, for example, the entry in the Annals of Loch Cé *s.a.* 1589 on the death of the father of Dubhaltach mac Taidhg (mec Ruaidhrígh): 'Taidhg mac Ruaidrí meic Conchobair .i. duine uasal do tshlicht Fergail Mec Diarmada' (ALC II 488).

7–8. In the absence of any information whatever as to the identity of the father of Maolruanaidh Bacach, it seems impossible to link the names in these two sections into the general scheme. With regard to *An Ghráinseach Mhór* and *Tír Fhiachrach*, see placenames 10 and 9, respectively, above. (The syntax of § 8 is rather striking.)

9. Here we return to the 'main text', which was written prior to Dubhaltach's extensive interpolations. This genealogy would appear to require slight emendation, viz. the insertion of 'm. Aodha' between 'Ruaidhrígh' and 'mc. Conchabhair', as there seems to be no 'Ruaidhrí mac Conchabhair mec Tomaltaigh' elsewhere on this page. However, if we do make this emendation, the section must be considered tautologous by comparison with § 11 which also names these four sons of Conchabhar mac Tomaltaigh, and two others besides.

11. The differences in detail between the LGen. and Lec. versions of this section are of some significance. When the Lec. genealogy was being compiled Conchabhar Óg was still *rígdamna* of Magh Luirg. A member of a rival line, Maolruanaidh mac Fearghail (see § 12) succeeded Conchabhar Óg's father, Aodh mac Conchabhair Mhóir (who was also Maolruanaidh's first-cousin), as king in 1393, in the face of bitter opposition from Aodh's sons.¹⁰⁰ In 1398 Conchabhar Óg and his brothers finally succeeded in deposing Maolruanaidh, killing his brother, Conchabhar mac Fearghail, in the process.¹⁰¹ Conchabhar Óg then became king and reigned until his death in 1404, whereupon he was succeeded by his brother, Taidhg.¹⁰² The new king did not survive long, being killed in battle the following year against a formidable alliance of, among others, the O Conors and the sons of Fearghal Mac Diarmada¹⁰³ (including, no doubt, the deposed king, Maolruanaidh, who died in 1414). Taidhg was succeeded by his brother Ruaidhrí Caoch, 'rí dégheanach Mhuighe Luirg don chloind sin', who died in April 1421.¹⁰⁴ At least some of this material is relevant to the early history of the Book of Lecan: it further buttresses the already very convincing argument of Tomás Ó Concheanainn¹⁰⁵ that compilation of that codex was in progress some twenty years earlier than the dates (1416 × 1418) which have – at least since O'Curry's day – been commonly assigned

Fearghuil alias Macdiarmada', confessor and secretary to Aodh Ruadh Ó Dohmnaill, was recommended for the see of Killala: J. Hagan, 'Some papers relating to the Nine Years' War', *Archivium Hibernicum* 2 (1913) 276–320, p. 292. Nothing further seems to be known of him.

⁹⁹The problem raised by the phrase has been discussed briefly in Ó Muraile, *Ainm* 2 (1987) 10 n. 47. The final sentence there, on the supposed absence of examples of the surname Mac Fearghail from the Fiants, requires revision in the light of the evidence presented above.

¹⁰⁰ AConn. 1393.4

¹⁰¹ AConn. 1398.4 and p. 423 n. 5.

¹⁰² AConn. 1404.4.

¹⁰³ AConn. 1405.15.

¹⁰⁴ AConn. 1421.2.

¹⁰⁵ 'A note on the scribes of the Book of Lecan', *Ériu* 24 (1973) 76–9.

to it. We have here further strong evidence to place the commencement of that work prior to 1398, when Conchabhar Óg Mac Diarmada succeeded to the kingship of Magh Luirg.

12. Note the divergence between the LGen. and the Lec. versions in relation to Cormac, who appears at the end of this section: in the former he is a son of Fearghal mac Tomaltaigh while in the latter he is a brother.

14–15. There is no Muirgheas (§ 14) or Aodh (§ 15) named among the sons of Aodh mac Conchabhair in § 11,

16. It is difficult to decide which part of the genealogical jigsaw puzzle these four generations fit into: in other words, who was Cormac's father? Was he son of Muirgheas mac Aodha mentioned in § 14, of Fearghal mac Tomaltaigh (or, following Lec., of Tomaltach mac Maoil Ruanaidh?) in § 12, or of Aodh mac Conchabhair in § 11? O Clery's version of the genealogy is of course a conflation of §§ 15 and 16.

17. There is mention of *Slicht Maoilsechlainn Duinn* in ALC II 362 (s.a. 1553). The second, third and fourth names in this genealogy occur in a Latin pedigree in Genealogical Office MS 87, p. 183, as Cormacus, Magnus Caecus and Dionisius Niger respectively. All three are linked with *Leimgirr* (Léim na Girre in ALC II 356), a placename no longer extant but formerly located in or around the townland of Castletown, parish of Creeve, barony of Frenchpark, OS 10.¹⁰⁶ The only one of the three to be mentioned in the Annals is Donnchadh Dubh, whose death in 1536 is recorded in the following terms in the principal local annalistic compilation: 'Donnchadh Dubh mac Conchubhair mic Ruaidhri Bhuidhe, fear saibhreis agus tighe oidedh coitchinn, d'fhaghail bais ongha agus aithrige' (ALC II 302).

18. If we take the first three names in this genealogy in reverse order, beginning with the earliest, we find the death of Maoileachlainn Donn recorded in ALC II 360 (s.a. 1552). His son, Eoghan Gránna, was a party to the 'Indenture of Maghery Connaught', in the Composition of Connacht, 1585. He is called 'oyen Grany of leamgire gen' in *The Compossicion Booke of Conought* (ed. A. M. Freeman, Dublin 1936) 155. His name occurs again, more than thirty years later, in the Patent Rolls of James I as 'Owen Grana McLaughlin Bunn [= Dunn] of Moyhidane,¹⁰⁷ gent' (CPR 332 – AD 1617). Eoghan Óg is listed in BSD 167 as 'Owen Oge mc Dermot', proprietor in 1641 of land in and around a place called *Athinchongrana*.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶See Sir Dermot MacDermot (The MacDermot), 'The MacDermots of Moylurg and Coolavin' (typescript, 2 voll., 1985) 278–9 and 454.

¹⁰⁷Townland of Moheedian, parish of Creeve, barony of Frenchpark, OS 10, 11, 16, 17.

¹⁰⁸Townland of Attiaghygrana, parish of Creeve, barony of Frenchpark, OS 16.

APPENDIX: LGen. 1069–70 ('Cuimre')

CLANN MHAOILRUANAIDH

*athar*¹⁰⁹(108) (leathanach [1066]¹⁰⁹ MAOLRUANAIDH, *o* ttáid Clann Mhaoilruanaidh, *athar* (109) MUIRCHEARTAIGH *athar* (110) THAIDHG agus Dhonnchaidh *athar* (111) MAOILRUANAIDH *athar* (112) THAIDHG *athar* (113) DIARMADA, *ó* ttā Mac Diarmada Muighe Luirg, *athar* (114) CONCHABHAIR, *o* ttáid Uí Chruadhlaioich agus Mac Diarmada Gall, *athar* (115) TOMALTAIGH NA CAIRRGE *athar* (116) CORMAIC, *o* ttáid Clann nDonnchaidh Íochtair Chonnacht, *athar* (117) CONCHABHAIR (annso sgaruid Clann Diarmada Ruaidh) *athar* (118) GILLE CHRÍOST *athar* (119) MAOILRUANAIDH, *o* ttáid Sliocht Mhaoileachlainn Duinn, *athar* (120) TOMALTAIGH *athar* Chormaic, *o* ttáid Muintir Phuir na Cruithneachta, *athar* (121) CONCHABHAIR¹¹⁰ *athar* (122) AODHA *athar* (123) RUAIDHRĪGH CHAOICH *athar* (124) RUAIDHRĪGH ŌIG *athar* (125) THAIDHG *athar* (126) RUAIDHRĪGH *athar* (127) BRIAIN *athar* (128) BRIAIN ŌIG *athar* (129) TOIRDHELBHAIGH [*agus*] Cathail Ruaidh mhaireas aniu, 1666¹¹¹ ¹¹²*athar* Bhriain accus Aodha mhaireas anois, 1705.¹¹²

NOLLAIG Ó MURAÍLE
Brainse Logainmneacha na Suirbhéireachta Ordanáis

^{109–109}On p. 1066 the father and other receding ancestors of Maolruanaidh (108) are given: Tadhg na tTrí tTor et al. In McCarrick's copy the page-reference is omitted, while in 24 N 2 the whole item, including page-reference, is inserted *after* MAOLRÚANAIDH and reads '(leathanach 66)'. For details of the two principal manuscripts of the 'Cuimre', see notes 28 and 29 above.

¹¹⁰Note that Conchabhar (121) is a son of Tomaltach (120), not of Cormac. The latter is a brother of Conchabhar's and progenitor of a side-branch of Mec Dhiarmada. (Only members of the main line are numbered and in capitals.)

¹¹¹Note the absence of Tadhg na nGadhar, not to mention the two others named in D i 3, f. 53 r (see § 1: D2). As to the statement that the two sons of Brian Óg here named were both living in 1666, we see from the detailed genealogical table accompanying 'The MacDermots of Moylurg and Coolavin', by Sir Dermot MacDermot (see note 106), that Toirdhealbhach, who is on record as being a colonel in 1652, died without issue before 1664, while Cathal Ruadh lived on till c.1693–4, having had five sons and two daughters. Two of the sons are named in the text above.

^{112–112}This line occurs only in McCarrick's copy. According to Sir Dermot Mac Dermot (see preceding note), Brian was still living in 1719 but Aodh had died in 1707. At the close of this study, it may be worth noting that Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh was more closely related to Brian Mac Diarmada, compiler of the Annals of Loch Cé, than he was to the descendants of Giolla Íosa Mór Mac Fhir Bhisigh, compiler of the Book of Lecan. In the latter case he had to go back a full thirteen generations to meet a common ancestor, while in the former the journey involved only nine (or ten) generations. Compare the genealogical table given here with that of Clann Fhir Bhisigh printed by P. Walsh, 'Ancestry of an historian', *Ir. Book Lover* 27 (1940) 221–7, p. 227.

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