

The Fian, the Gamhanradh, and the kingship of Connacht



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THE FIAN, THE GAMHANRADH, AND THE KINGSHIP OF CONNACHT¹

ABSTRACT

A short, somewhat garbled prose text in Early Modern Irish, preserved in the Book of Lecan and NLS Adv. MS 72.1.1, traces the genealogies of Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh (which includes Clann Mhorna) and the Gamhanradh and associates the lineage of each kin-group with prominent figures from the Ulster Cycle. It also describes the reign of a king from each kin-group over the kingdom of Connacht and the political manoeuvrings and marriage alliances involved, as well as presenting an account of some lesser-known aspects of the feud between Clann Mhorna and Clann Bhaoiscne that animates much of the Fionn Cycle. Although some of the material in the text is present in *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach*, much of the Fionn Cycle material is not, and the text remains unpublished and unedited to date. Consequently, an edition and translation, with explanatory notes and an index, are provided. The text is a product of the later medieval project to construct an ancient history of the kingdom of Connacht as a continuous political entity modelled on earlier medieval literature. As well as providing some potentially significant material on otherwise poorly documented events of the Fionn Cycle, it exemplifies how medieval Irish syncretic historical scholarship can transcend traditional literary genres and creatively re-work historical traditions.

INTRODUCTION

RECENTLY, increasing interest has been taken in the literary and historiographical output of scholars based in later medieval Connacht and their reception of earlier Irish manuscript tradition.² Also discussed have been the

¹I first examined the text presented in this article in collaboration with Christopher Yocum in the course of our work on the IrishGen database (<https://github.com/cyocum/irish-gen> (accessed 16 May 2020)). Extracts from it were discussed productively by participants at ‘RDF Workshop: Semi-structured Data’, a workshop on IrishGen run by Dr Yocum and myself at Ulidia Finn 2018, Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, University of the Highlands and Islands, 13–17 June 2018. IrishGen itself was used to verify some of the genealogical information in the present article. The present article has also benefitted greatly from comments and suggestions made by Martina Maher, Kevin Murray, Nollaig Ó Muraíle, Christopher Yocum, and *Celtica*’s editors and anonymous reader, to whom I am very grateful. I take responsibility for any remaining errors.

²For example, Edel Bhreathnach, ‘Tales of Connacht: *Cath Airtig*, *Táin Bó Flidais*, *Cath Leitreach Ruibhe*, and *Cath Cumair*’, *CMCS* 45 (Summer 2003), 21–42; Ruairí Ó hUiginn, ‘Adapting myth and making history’, in Elizabeth Boyle and Deborah Hayden (eds), *Authorities and*

various medieval and modern generic schemes by which sub-division and cyclification might be imposed on medieval Irish literature.³ The short text here introduced and edited is of critical significance in relation to both subjects, in that it was compiled in later medieval Connacht and its historical narrative draws on texts from an unusually wide range of established literary genres or 'Cycles' inherited from the earlier literature.⁴

Text summary

The text has no title in either of the manuscripts in which it appears (for these, see below). It relates details of the reigns of two kings of prehistoric Connacht, Aodh Álainn mac Eachach Baiceadha from the Gamhanradh and Aodh Caomh mac Gairaidh Ghlúnduibh from Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh, both roughly contemporary with Cormac mac Airt.⁵ These two kin-groups are part of what are elsewhere termed *Sean-Chonnachtaigh* ('ancient Connacht people'), the peoples presented in pseudo-history as the leading polities of Connacht prior to the rise of the region's historical royal dynasties. Much of our text consists of genealogy, through which the Gamhanradh and Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh are both presented as being descended from the Fir Dhomhnann (elsewhere traced back to the Fir Bholg), with Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh also traced back to Clann Deadhadh (i.e. the Érainn).⁶ They are more recently related via the marriage of Aodh Caomh's sister into the Gamhanradh. The text also asserts and details Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh's close kinship with Clann Mhorna, one of the two main factions within the Fian of Fionn Cycle tradition, and the kinship of both the Gamhanradh and Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh with certain heroes from the Ulster Cycle.

The events alluded to in the text are disconnected and not in chronological order. The following summary is derived partly from reference to other medieval sources, of which details are given later in this introduction. Essentially, the Gamhanradh held the kingship of Connacht for some time, alternating with a royal line descended from Meadhbh, of Ulster Cycle fame. Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh and their ancestors (the descendants of Ceat mac Mághach) are

Adaptations: The Reworking and Transmission of Textual Sources in Medieval Ireland (Dundalk, 2014), 1–21.

³Erich Poppe, *Of Cycles and Other Critical Matters: Some Issues in Medieval Irish Literary History and Criticism*, E. C. Quiggin Memorial Lectures 9 (Cambridge, 2008); Elizabeth Boyle and Deborah Hayden, 'Introduction', in Boyle and Hayden (eds), *Authorities*, xvii–xlvi, at xxxix–xl.

⁴Those of relevance to the present discussion are the Cycle of the Kings (Dan M. Wiley, 'An introduction to the early Irish king tales' in Dan M. Wiley (ed.), *Essays on the Early Irish King Tales* (Dublin, 2008), 13–67), the Finn Cycle (Joseph F. Flahive, *The Fenian Cycle in Irish and Scots-Gaelic Literature* (Cork, 2017); Kevin Murray, *The Early Finn Cycle* (Dublin, 2017)), and the Ulster Cycle (Peter J. Smith, 'Irish Literature [1]: Early Prose', in John T. Koch (ed.), *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols (Santa Barbara CA, 2006), iii, 993–7, at 995).

⁵Where not quoted directly from a primary source, Irish names and terminology in the introduction, translation, notes, and index have been standardised to Early Modern Irish forms (hence, for example, Aodh Álainn, not Áed Álainn).

⁶For the Érainn and Fir Bholg, see Francis J. Byrne, *Irish Kings and High Kings* (Dublin 1973, 2nd ed. 2001, repr. 2004), 8–11; for Clann Deadhadh, see Ann Dooley, *Playing the Hero: Reading the Irish Saga Táin Bó Cuailnge* (Toronto, 2006), 83; for the Gamhanradh, see Ruairí Ó hUiginn, 'The Gamhanradh', *Celtica* 27 (2013), 79–94.

implied to have supported the Gamhanradh. Eventually, Aodh Álainn, the last Gamhanradh king, is deposed and exiled by Cormac mac Airt after eloping with Cormac's daughter. Cormac is presented as having interfered illegitimately with Connacht politics by imposing one of his own relatives, Niadh Mór mac Fir Thrí, as king. Aodh Caomh of Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh becomes king thereafter. He gets drawn into the vicious feud between his kinsmen, Clann Mhorna, led by Goll, and the other major kin-group within the Fian, Clann Bhaoiscne, led by Fionn mac Cumhaill. This is what allows Clann Mhorna to challenge Clann Bhaoiscne, who have hitherto had the upper hand through the backing of the king of Munster, obtained via a marriage alliance. This culminates in the famous battle of Gabhar, in which Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh participate on the side of Clann Mhorna.

While the text is ostensibly about relating people and events to each other in terms of time and genealogy, it comes across as a disjointed collection of reports and doctrines, with sudden, unmarked shifts in time and subject-matter. This introduction attempts to provide an interpretation of what it is about and the edition and translation below are accompanied by explanatory notes. An index of names (Appendix 3) is also provided for ease of reference.

Manuscripts

Our text appears in two manuscript versions:

- L: RIA MS 23. P. 2 (535), The Book of Lecan, fols 176vb1–177ra29;
- N: NLS Adv. MS. 72.1.1, fol. 14vb1–60.

For reasons discussed presently, I have used the **L** text as the basis for the main edition and translation, while the **N** text is presented in Appendix 1.

The Book of Lecan (hereafter, *Lec*) was written between 1397 and 1418 by Giolla Íosa Mac Fhir Bhisigh and two assistants, working throughout in close collaboration;⁷ the **L** version of our text is entirely in Giolla Íosa's hand. NLS Adv. 72.1.1, fols 11–25 (sometimes known as John Beaton's Broad Book; hereafter, the Broad Book), including the **N** version, was written by one of Giolla Íosa's assistants on *Lec*, Adhamh Ó Cuirnín.⁸ Ó Cuirnín produced the Broad Book c. 1425.⁹

In both manuscripts, our text is found among large-scale pseudo-historical compilations. **L** appears amidst the extensive genealogical collection in *Lec*. It is immediately preceded by a text detailing 'Rígraid Connacht tar ēis Ailealla ocus Meadba' ('the kings of Connacht after Oilill and Meadhbh'; hereafter, *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht*).¹⁰ The *Lec* text of *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht* is currently unedited, but similar material is interspersed within the section on the Fir Bholg in Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh's (ob. 1671) *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach*

⁷Thomas F. O'Rahilly, Kathleen Mulchrone, Elizabeth Fitzpatrick, and A. I. Pearson, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy*, 28 fasciculi (Dublin, 1926–70), xiii, 1551–1610, at 1551–53.

⁸Tomás Ó Concheanainn, 'The scribe of John Beaton's "Broad Book"', *Ériu* 26 (1975), 99–101.

⁹Ó Concheanainn, 'The scribe', 100–1.

¹⁰*Lec*, fol. 176ra27–176vab61.

(hereafter, *LMG*).¹¹ *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht* is a history of the kingship of Connacht from the time of Oilill and Meadhbh to the time of Niall Naoighiallach mac Eachach Muighmheadhóin, and the supposed establishment of Connacht's early medieval ruling kin-groups descended from his brothers (Síol Muireadhaigh, Uí Fhiachrach, and Uí Bhriúin).¹² This history largely consists of an alternation of kings aligned in some way with the main pseudo-historical royal line of Ireland (either descendants of Meadhbh — herself the daughter of a king of Ireland, Eochaidh Feidhleach — or other kings imposed by kings of Ireland) with kings from the Gamhanradh and, latterly, a king from Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh. After our text in *Lec*, the remainder of the column is filled out by a pedigree of Doilghean mac Dubhthaigh,¹³ who is traced back to Brión mac Eachach Muighmheadhóin, ancestor of the Uí Bhriúin dynasty. Interestingly, the pedigree's title describes it as a pedigree of Uí Dhearca Chéin, which is generally regarded as an Ulster kindred.¹⁴ The scribe, still Giolla Íosa, might be assumed to have changed their mind about what they were going to transcribe, especially as material appears to have been erased, except that this kin-group's pedigree also appears with a similar title in other sources.¹⁵ *Lec* then moves on to a more general genealogical text on the interrelationship of lineages from across Ireland.¹⁶ All this is in the hand of Giolla Íosa Mac Fhir Bhisigh. N, meanwhile, follows the Broad Book's text of the short recension of *Cóir Anmann*.¹⁷ It is followed by a currently unedited genealogical collection structured around the successive settlers of Ireland from pseudo-historical tradition.¹⁸

The L and N texts are, on the whole, similar. L contains some information that is either not in N or is summarized there more briefly. N, where it differs from L, rarely provides substantive information not found in L. Even when it does, the evidence does not generally point towards N being an independent witness to a separate common source also used by L. For instance, N, but not L, explains 'meic Fir Dā Beand' (L l. 62; N l. 57) with 'i. Benn Cnuicc Oigli acus

¹¹Nollaig Ó Muraíle (ed. and trans.), *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach: The Great Book of Irish Genealogies*, 5 vols (Blackrock, 2004) [hereafter, *LMG*], at §§59.5–60.4, 60.8–61.2, 61.5, 61.8, 61.9, 62.2 (?), 62.3, 62.4–6 (first line of poem only in *Lec*), 63.1, 63.5–64.2, 65.7.

¹²For which, see Byrne, *Irish Kings*, 231–2; Thomas Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000, repr. 2004), 38–40.

¹³*Lec*, fol. 177ra30–51.

¹⁴Margaret E. Dobbs, 'The Uí Dercco Cein', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, 3rd Series, 2 (1939) 112–19.

¹⁵M. A. O'Brien (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, vol. 1 (Dublin, 1962) [hereafter, *CGH*], 425–6; *LMG*, §§205.1, 524.7. Dobbs ('Uí Dercco Cein', 118) cites several medieval traditions about refugees from the flooding of Lough Neagh affiliating themselves to the Uí Dhearca Chéin. These include the Crothraige, who claimed descent from Eoghan, son of Duach, who in turn appears in the *Lec* pedigree as a grandson of Brión. This may explain his descendants' designation as Uí Dhearca Chéin, but further investigation is beyond the scope of this study.

¹⁶*Lec*, fols 177rb–182rd.

¹⁷NLS Adv. 72.1.1, fols 13ra1–14vb60; see: Sharon J. Arbuthnot (ed. and trans.), *Cóir Anmann: A Late Middle Irish Treatise on Personal Names*, 2 vols, ITS Main Series 59 and 60 (Dublin, 2005–7), i, 3.

¹⁸NLS Adv. 72.1.1, fols 15r–16r; for the pseudo-historical scheme involved, see: John Carey, 'Lebor Gabála and the legendary history of Ireland', in Helen Fulton (ed.), *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society* (Dublin, 2005), 32–48.

Benn Boirnni, ōr ba rīg sen etorro sin' (N ll. 57–8; 'i.e. Beann Chnuic Oighle and Beann Bhoirne, for he was king between them'). This information, however, is found near L in *Lec*, in *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht*, where it is expressed in closely comparable wording.¹⁹ N adds a pedigree of Fionn mac Cumhaill at the end of the text (see Appendix 2), but this is visually set off from what precedes it by an enlarged initial and a feather symbol in the inner margin and may well have been added from another source altogether. Finally, N's identification of Fear Corb as 'mac Moga Cuirb' (N l. 16; 'son of Mogh Corb'), which is not present in L (ll. 20–1), need not imply access to a version of our text superior to L in detail, as it is non-integral to our text and in line with established genealogical tradition.²⁰

There is one somewhat more convincing instance of N possibly providing a better reading than L. L's version of Goll's pedigree has Garadh Glúndubh as his great-great-grandfather (L ll. 1–2), for which N instead has Garadh Glúinfhionn (N ll. 1–2), with both versions then later naming one of Goll's uncles as Garadh Glúndubh (L l. 22; N l. 18). However, N's reading (Garadh Glúinfhionn) could be the result of an emendation by N in response to the perceived problem of the recurring name and a comparable pedigree in *LMG* agrees with L by having Garadh Glúndubh in this position.²¹ This is thus not sufficiently sound evidence to suggest that N is providing independent testimony.

N is also deficient in several ways compared to L. As discussed in the Notes, the account of Mághach's ancestry makes more sense in L (ll. 7–8) than in N (ll. 5–6). N also twice suffers textual lacunae that are not present in L. Its account of the death of Goll is defective, apparently due to the omission of the word 'fot' (N l. 13), which is present in the corresponding location in L (L l. 17). Later, N introduces 'Dā mac Conrach Cais' ('the two sons of Conri Cas'; N l. 56) without explaining who they are. They are identified as Mac Céacht and Tinne in L (ll. 60–1).

Given the lack of distinctive testimony in N and its general inferiority as a text when compared to L, and given that N's scribe is known to have had access to L through his work on *Lec*, it is plausible that N is derived from L.²² It thus does not seem safe to try and reconstruct an archetype of L and N. Instead, the edition and translation below present the L text, which has been corrected from N or editorially only where it is clearly in error. The N text is given without translation in Appendix 1.

Date and provenance

Our text is concerned with the ancient history of Connacht and with the ongoing relevance thereto of kin-groups descended from the Fir Bholg, with a particular focus on the Gamhanradh, all of which have been identified as distinctively

¹⁹ *Lec*, fol. 176vaa12–15; cf. *LMG*, §65.7.

²⁰ *CGH*, 250.

²¹ *LMG*, §64.5.

²² Other texts in the Broad Book have also been observed to be close relatives of texts in *Lec*, as well as in the Book of Ballymote; see: Ó Concheanainn, 'The scribe', 99.

post-Norman interests.²³ We might therefore expect it to have been composed in Early Modern Irish sometime between c. 1200 and 1397×1418, when *Lec* was compiled.

Superficially, our text might appear to be somewhat earlier than this, as its orthography and some of its forms can bear more resemblance to Middle Irish. However, such archaisms are far from unusual in Early Modern texts and do not ultimately point to a date before c. 1200.

Early aspects of the orthography include:²⁴

- Both ‘e’ and ‘ea’ appear before non-palatal consonants (e.g. ‘senathair’, L ll. 7, 23; ‘cor bean’, L l. 13; ‘Senaich’, L l. 24), with no instances of ‘io’ in that context (e.g. ‘Find’, L l. 13; ‘ro h-indarbad’, L l. 50);
- OIr diphthongs are still distinguished (e.g. ‘Āeda Cāeim’, L l. 35; ‘Caī Caīnbrethach’, L l. 57), with no instances of these falling together in writing into EModIr ‘ao(i)’;²⁵
- EModIr ‘ai’ > ‘oi’ is not represented (e.g. ‘aidchi’, L l. 15; ‘Cairpri’, L l. 39);²⁶
- EModIr ‘o’ > ‘a’ is not represented (e.g. ‘fot’, L l. 11; ‘fogla’, L l. 17).²⁷

Other early features include:

- Prepositions appear in forms for which alternatives emerged during the Ml period (e.g. ‘for’ L ll. 42, 43; ‘fri’, L l. 30);²⁸
- The preverbal particle ‘ro’ appears frequently, although it is used interchangeably with ‘do’ as a past tense marker (e.g. ‘is ī [...] do ruc’, L l. 4; ‘is ē [...] ro marb’, L l. 20) and has apparently lost the perfective sense it had in OIr and early Ml;²⁹
- There is one possible instance of an infixed pronoun (‘cēithri fichit blīadna saegal Ceit cor marb Conall’, L ll. 10–11), although this is particularly unreliable as evidence of early language.³⁰

However, there are also some distinctively later forms, e.g.:

²³Bhreathnach, ‘Tales’, 30–1; Ó hUiginn, ‘The Gamhanradh’, 86.

²⁴In the linguistic overview that follows, examples are only provided from N if they differ meaningfully from those given from L in relation to the point in question.

²⁵*SnaG*, 348.

²⁶*SnaG*, 343.

²⁷*SnaG*, 345.

²⁸*eDIL*, s.v. *for*, *fri*.

²⁹*SnaG*, 408–9.

³⁰The sense here has to be that Conall killed Ceat, as this is what is traditionally meant to have happened (e.g. Kuno Meyer (ed. and trans.), *The Death-Tales of the Ulster Heroes* (Dublin, 1906), 36–41). Nollaig Ó Muraíle (personal correspondence) has observed that Giolla Íosa Mac Fhir Bhisigh uses ‘cor’ elsewhere in *Lec* as if it contains an infixed pronoun (e.g. ‘Ó Fēindeada a Findgid cor gabsad Uí Flandgaili iar ndíth a dúchais’, *Lec*, fol. 74ra26–7; ‘Ó Fēinneadha in Finnghid until the Uí Fhlannghaile seized it after his loss of his patrimony’), suggesting that ‘cor marb Conall’

- There is an example of EModIr k-stem inflection of an i-stem ('bráithreach', L l. 37);³¹
- Late MidIr addition of '-t' to palatal 'l' occurs ('i ndīgailt', L l. 50, although cf. 'do dīgail', N l. 47);³²
- A past tense marker is used with a form that would already have been in the perfect tense in early MidIr ('do ruc', L l. 4, although c.f. 'ruc', N l. 4);³³
- The copula is not inflected for number (e.g. 'ba h-īad', L ll. 36–7);³⁴
- *Fa*, the past relative form of the copula in early MidIr, is used in non-relative position ('Fa trēn cland Morna', L l. 30, although cf. 'Ba trēn Cland Morna', N l. 27).³⁵

The text's early features are thus mostly either orthographical or could have arisen out of the simple substitution of archaisms for later forms (e.g. *ro* for *do*, *fri* for *re*), which is common in Early Modern prose. Considered alongside the instances of later language at the level of morphology, this suggests that the text was compiled in the Early Modern Irish period, which accords with the historiographical focus of its content. Its compiler was evidently familiar with at least the spelling and sound systems of the language of earlier manuscripts, as were many Early Modern compilers and authors, and seems to have consciously adopted an archaistic style. He may also have been in part re-compiling earlier materials. Indeed, evidence that our text is a lightly edited compilation from at least two sources is presented below.

The above linguistic survey shows some instances where **N** offers an earlier form compared to that in **L**. While admittedly complicating our suggestion that **N** is derived from **L**, these can be explained as corrections on the part of the scribe of **N** or an intermediary.

As for provenance, there are no indications within the text itself. In our discussion, however, texts and doctrines associated with Leacán and Clann Fhir Bhisigh, who provided historians to the Ó Dubhda rulers of Uí Fhiachrach Muaidhe,³⁶ will repeatedly prove to be particularly relevant for understanding our text. It thus seems reasonable to posit that it was compiled in such a milieu, hence it being available for inclusion in *Lec*.

is an example of the use of some sort of infixed pronoun but that that need not be taken as diagnostic of early language. I am very grateful to Prof. Ó Muraíle for this observation and example. In general, infixed pronouns continued to be used in literary works in Early Modern Irish: Uáitéar Mac Gearailt, 'Middle Irish archaisms in Early Modern Irish prose', *Studia Hibernica* 38 (2012), 57–116, at 86.

³¹ *SnaG*, 377.

³² *eDIL*, s.v. *dīgailt*; for another example, see *eDIL*, s.v. *dedail*.

³³ *SnaG*, 409.

³⁴ *SnaG*, 416–17.

³⁵ *eDIL*, s.v. 1 is; *SnaG*, 417.

³⁶ For Clann Fhir Bhisigh, see Nollaig Ó Muraíle, *The Celebrated Antiquary: Dubhaltach mac Fhirbhisigh, c. 1600–1671*, Maynooth Monographs 6 (Maynooth, 1996), 1–56.

Related Material

As already noted, texts focused on Connacht as a kingdom that purport to provide details on its ancient history and diverse peoples are much more frequently attested in the post-Norman period. The historical Connachta, the royal lineages that vied for the kingship of Connacht during the early Middle Ages (Síol Muireadhaigh, Uí Fhiachrach, and Uí Bhriúin), were presented in medieval historiography as relatively recent offshoots of the pseudo-historical Síol nÉireamhóin line of kings of Ireland. Traced back to Niall Naoighiallach's brothers, they shared their genealogical origins with the Uí Néill dynasties, with both groups of dynasties being grouped together with the Airghialla as Dál gCúinn.³⁷ The Uí Néill claimed royal pre-eminence over Ireland during the early Middle Ages and their claims seem to have set the agenda for much pseudo-historical writing during this period. As a result, the idea of Connacht's ancient past appears from surviving texts to have been subsumed into legendary history associated with the kingship of Ireland.

By the twelfth century, however, the Ó Conchubhair family (from the Síol Muireadhaigh branch of Uí Bhriúin) had excluded all competing lineages from the kingship of Connacht and were becoming increasingly dominant in Irish politics more widely. In a process accelerated by the Norman invasions later in the same century, Connacht became a major centre of Gaelic political power and cultural patronage and thus of scholarly endeavour for much of the later Middle Ages. The region's ruling elites and professional learned families developed pseudo-history that projected Connacht as a political entity back into the ancient past already created by earlier historiography and literature, in many ways drawing upon and maintaining continuity with pre-existing texts and traditions but also adding much in the way of local detail as well as a new political perspective.³⁸

This is the intellectual context out of which our text emerges. While its context in the Broad Book, where it follows *Cóir Anmann*, might suggest that it is being treated as a source of general lore, its context in *Lec* implies that it is being treated as part of the historiography of Connacht. For example, *Cath Airtig* and *Cath Boinde* (also known as *Ferchuitred Medba*) are found in proximity thereto in that manuscript. These are heroic narratives focused on ancient Connacht and *Sean-Chonnachtaigh*, including some of the characters and population groups mentioned in our text.³⁹ The immediately preceding text, *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht* (see above), provides a much fuller regnal and genealogical history of the kings of Connacht and likewise again mentions many of the same characters and population groups.

³⁷Byrne, *Irish Kings*, 231–2; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 36, 627–9.

³⁸Bhreathnach, 'Tales', 30–4; Ó hUiginn, 'Adapting'.

³⁹*Cath Airtig: Lec*, fols 169va47–170ra41; R. I. Best (ed. and trans.), 'The battle of Airtech', *Ériu* 8 (1916), 170–90; Bhreathnach, 'Tales', 23. *Cath Boinde: Lec*, fols 184rb1–185ra8; Joseph O'Neill (ed. and trans.), 'Cath Boinde', *Ériu* 2 (1905), 173–85. Further insights into the internal dynamics of *Lec* will doubtless emerge as its genealogical collections receive much-needed fuller editorial attention: Nollaig Ó Muraíle, *The Irish Genealogies: Irish History's Poor Relation?*, ITS Occasional Lecture Series 3 (London, 2016), 37.

Our text's content is also treated as pertaining to the ancient history of Connacht in *LMG*. There, passages broadly corresponding to passages from our text, although with differences in wording and detail,⁴⁰ occur within *LMG*'s account of the Fir Bholg and its assertion of their prominence in the history of Connacht. In *LMG*, these passages occur in a different order and are interspersed with other material, much of which corresponds to material from *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht*.⁴¹

A concordance between our text and *LMG* is set out below.

<i>LMG</i>	L (ll.)	N (ll.)	Summary
§64.5	1–3	1–3	Goll's pedigree
§64.7	4–8	4–6	Mághach's descendants and ancestors
	9–18	7–13	Death of Ceat mac Mághach The feud between Clann Bhaoiscne and Clann Mhorna The death of Goll
§63.1	19–21	14–16	Aodh Caomh, last king of Connacht from Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh His killing of Fear Corb, king of Munster
§63.2	21–3	17–19	Aodh Caomh's kin-group
	23–4	20	The two sons of Seanach
§63.3	25–6	21–2	Pedigree of Donn, last leader of the Fian
§63.4	27–36	23–33	Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh's marriage alliance with the Gamhanradh kings of Connacht Clann Bhaoiscne's marriage alliance with the king of Munster
	36–41	34–8	The casualties inflicted on Clann Mhorna Intervention by Cairbre Lifeachair and Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh The battle of Gabhar
§62.2	41–51	39–48	Aodh Álainn mac Eachach Baiceadha, last Gamhanradh king of Connacht His overthrow by Cormac mac Airt
	52–62	49–58	Aodh Álainn's pedigree Genealogies of Clann Fhiodhaigh, a branch of the Gamhanradh

Both Giolla Íosa and Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh thus treat our text, or material therefrom, as pertaining to the history of Connacht. What is less clear is how the material resembling that in our text came to be in *LMG* and what

⁴⁰The resemblance between our text and *LMG*, §§63.1 and 63.2, is especially loose.

⁴¹See footnote 11, above.

the evidence from *LMG* tells us about our text's development. Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh cannot have used either **L** or **N**, as, when he was compiling *LMG* (1645–64), *Lec* was temporarily in London and the Broad Book had already been taken to Scotland.⁴² Nollaig Ó Muraíle has shown that Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh had access to source material 'closely related' to *Lec*.⁴³ Unfortunately, Ó Muraíle does not specify the relationship further: Mac Fhir Bhisigh's source could be an ancestor, descendant, or collateral relation of *Lec*.

Our text's counter-intuitive ordering of material and the difficulties with reconciling the various passages on Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh and Clann Mhorna (especially **L** ll. 1–3 and 21–4; see the Notes) suggest that it is a relatively unintegrated compilation from multiple sources. There is one specific clue that points to it being possibly derived, at least in part, from some sort of regnal history of Connacht. Aodh Álainn mac Eachach Baiceadha is introduced as follows:

Ocus is ē in t-Āed Ālaind sin mac Echach Baiceda rīg dēidenach
na Gamanraidi for *cūiced* Condacht. (**L** ll. 41–2)

'And that Aodh Álainn mac Eachach Baiceadha is the last king of
the Gamhanradh over the province of Connacht.'

The wording ('that Aodh Álainn') implies that he has already been mentioned in our text, but this is in fact his first appearance. It is with this sentence, also, that our text, without warning, jumps back in time and moves from the reign of Cairbre Lifeachair back to that of Cormac mac Airt, his father. The ensuing account of Aodh Álainn's reign (**L** ll. 41–51), which corresponds to *LMG* §62.2, thus seems to have been excerpted from a larger text. This larger text could have been an account of the kings of Connacht more generally, not unlike *LMG*'s coverage of the Fir Bholg, which notes the role played by Fir Bholg individuals and peoples during the reign of each king of Connacht, who is sometimes from the Fir Bholg himself. However, Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh makes it clear that he drew on multiple texts in order to produce this.⁴⁴ With both our text and the relevant section of *LMG* apparently compiled from multiple sources, the relationship between our text and *LMG* is likely to be complex and best elucidated through more wide-ranging studies.

It should also be noted that a passage in part resembling our text's account of the lead-up to the battle of Gabhar (**L** ll. 31–41) appears in Geoffrey Keating's

⁴²*Lec*: Ó Muraíle, *Celebrated Antiquary*, 193–4. The Broad Book: Ó Concheanainn, 'The scribe', 99; Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'Poems by Fearghal Óg Mac An Bhaird', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2 vols (1988), 776–83. The Broad Book would return briefly to Ireland c. 1700 in the possession of Rev. John Beaton (*ob.* 1714), where it featured in his collaboration with Edward Lhuyd (1660–1709); see John Bannerman, *The Beatons: A Medical Kindred in the Classical Gaelic Tradition* (Edinburgh, 1998, 2nd ed. 2015), 39.

⁴³Ó Muraíle, *Celebrated Antiquary*, 194.

⁴⁴*LMG* does not seem to be based on a source that combined passages from something resembling our text and a version of *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht*, as passages from these two texts are identified as being from different versions (*sliochta*); for example, compare *LMG* §62.2 (**L** ll. 41–51) with *LMG* §§61.9–62.1 and 62.3 (*Lec*, fol. 176rb34–176va4). He may have still obtained them from the same manuscript source, but he evidently did not encounter them harmonised into a single historical narrative.

(*ob.* 1644) *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, during his account of the reign of Cairbre Lifeachair.⁴⁵ Keating, however, omits all specific references to Connacht, instead contextualising the material within the politics of the kingship of Ireland. As the continuous, long-standing existence of a unitary kingdom of Ireland is one of Keating's major themes,⁴⁶ this should probably be understood as a subsequent development of material from our text (or its source) and so it will not be treated below.

The material in our text not paralleled by passages in *LMG* focuses on Clann Mhorna, presented as close kin of Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh, especially on their feud with Clann Bhaoiscne, as well as on the genealogical identity of the Gamhanradh, although these subjects are also touched upon in some of the parallel passages in *LMG*. The key point of connection is Aodh Caomh mac Garaoidh Ghlúnduibh, who is presented in our text as both a king of Connacht from Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh and kinsman to Clann Mhorna. It is potentially significant that, in contrast, no connection is made between Aodh Caomh, king of Connacht, and Clann Mhorna in *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht*; there, Aodh Caomh is simply described as a son of Garadh Glúndubh, with no details on the latter's lineage.⁴⁷ There is a Clann Mhorna warrior called Aodh mac Garaoidh in Fenian tradition,⁴⁸ and that tradition often associates Clann Mhorna with Connacht,⁴⁹ but I have been unable to find Aodh Caomh, king of Connacht, appearing in a Fionn Cycle context other than in our text, in the parallel passages preserved in *LMG*, and in the apparently related passage from Keating. It is therefore possible that Aodh Caomh, king of Connacht, and Aodh mac Garaoidh, the member of Clann Mhorna, were originally different characters and it is even possible that their conflation is original to our text. However, this is complicated by their also being conflated in parallel passages in *LMG* that must have had another physical source, which may be a common ancestor to *LMG* and our text. Until the mass of genealogical lore preserved in late medieval manuscripts like *Lec* is more easily accessible and better understood, this kind of suggestion must remain hypothetical.

For now, it seems safe to say that the compiler of our text in its extant form drew on a variety of sources to explore (and possibly invent) interconnections

⁴⁵David Comyn and Patrick Dineen (eds), *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, 4 vols, ITS Main Series 4, 8, 9, and 15 (London, 1902–14), ii, 354–5; Anja Gunderloch, 'The *Cath Gabhra* family of ballads: a study in textual relationships', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2 vols (1997), i, 161–2. The same material is echoed in a similar passage in Roderick O'Flaherty, *Ogygia, seu Rerum Hibernicarum Chronologia* (London, 1685), 341–2 (on which, see Gunderloch, 'Cath Gabhra', i, 165–6; Richard Sharpe (ed.), *Roderick O'Flaherty's Letters to William Molyneux, Edward Lhwyd and Samuel Molyneux 1696–1709* (Dublin, 2013), 55–63). Possibly via Keating or O'Flaherty, it also seems to underlie the passage quoted from an unspecified, apparently English-language manuscript by William H. Drummond, '[The Poems of Ossian]', *The Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* 16 (1830), 1–161, at 137.

⁴⁶Bernadette Cunningham, *The World of Geoffrey Keating: History, Myth and Religion in Seventeenth-Century Ireland* (Dublin, 2000), 105–72.

⁴⁷*Lec*, fol. 176va8.

⁴⁸See the Notes, on L i. 19.

⁴⁹Noelle Ní Uigín, 'Goll mac Morna: laoch Connachtach na Fiannaíochta agus ceist an chúigeachais' in Mícheál Mac Craith and Pádraig Ó Héalaí (eds), *Diasa Diagraise: Aistí i gCuimhne ar Mháirtín Ó Briain* (Inverin, 2009), 237–55.

between people and events from the Fionn Cycle and the pseudo-history of Connacht, as well as to connect both back to the Ulster Cycle. What ideas might have animated this enterprise? In what follows, I argue that the text is placing the Gamhanradh and Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh, the latter associated with Clann Mhorna, within a narrative of dissent on the part of military vassals from domination of Connacht by the kings of Ireland. This provides Connacht with both a heroic age and validation of its rulers, all of which is paralleled in the earlier literature on which it may well have been modelled.

Discussion

Our text presents the origins and fortunes of the Gamhanradh and Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh (including Clann Mhorna) as deeply intertwined. When Cormac mac Airt deposes Aodh Álainn, the last Gamhanradh king of Connacht, he is described as taking the kingship from a set of kin-groups:

don Gamanraid ocus do Chlandaib Ūmōir ocus do Chloind Cheit
meic Māgach (L ll. 44–5)

‘from the Gamhanradh, and from Clanna Ūmhóir, and from Clann
Cheit mheic Mhāghach’.

Clann Cheit mheic Mhāghach here seems to refer to, or at least include, Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh, as our text traces Garadh Glúndubh’s lineage back to Ceat (L l. 1–3).⁵⁰ How Clann Cheit can be said to have held the kingship of Connacht before the reign of Aodh Caomh (who only becomes king after Cormac’s preferred candidate) is set out in *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht*. In its account, after the death of Meadhbh, queen of Connacht and daughter of the king of Ireland, Eochaidh Feidhleach, Sanbh mac Ceit mhic Mhāghach was acclaimed as king of Connacht by an assemblage of the kingdom’s peoples,⁵¹ including all three of the peoples from whom our text says Cormac took the kingship.⁵² This was in preference to Meadhbh’s son, Maine Aithreamhail, who was supported by another assemblage of peoples. The result is war in Connacht. Although Sanbh is victorious and becomes king, the kingship subsequently alternates until it finally passes to Niall Naoighiallach’s brothers, the ancestor figures of the septs that would rule Connacht during the early Middle Ages. For reasons that are not explained in *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht*, the alternation is between the line of Maine Aithreamhail and the line of Aonghas Fionn of the Gamhanradh and does not initially involve the descendants of the original pretender, Sanbh.

In our text, the king of Connacht eventually imposed by Cormac — his relative, Niadh Mór mac Fir Thrí (whose father is also known as Lughna Fear Trí) — is overthrown and killed by Aodh Álainn, the previous king from the Gamhanradh line, who is then exiled (L ll. 46–50). *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht*

⁵⁰The contradictions between L ll. 1–3 and ll. 21–4 should be borne in mind when reading them in conjunction; see Notes for details.

⁵¹*Lec*, fol. 176ra38–50; cf. *LMG*, §§59.5–60.1; Bhreathnach, ‘Tales’, 29–31.

⁵²*Lec*, fol. 176ra27–37; cf. *LMG*, §§59.5–60.1.

agrees that Niadh Mór was killed and Aodh Álainn exiled.⁵³ There then follows the reign of Aodh Caomh mac Garaídh Ghlúnduibh. In *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht* and in *LMG*, but not in our text, he is said to have killed Lughaidh, another son of Fear Trí, who had been given the kingship by Cormac after Aodh Álainn's exile.⁵⁴ This latter assertion enhances the sense already conveyed in our text that Aodh Caomh's lineage is thought of as allied with the Gamhanradh kings. His ancestry beyond his father, Garadh Glúndubh, is not set out in *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht*; in our text, he is a descendant of Sanbh mac Ceit (*L* l. 1–3), who is the original opponent of the line of Meadhbh in *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht* and whose descendants are numbered among Cormac's opponents when he imposes Niadh Mór. Alongside this royal pedigree, Aodh Caomh is also linked by marriage to the Gamhanradh line of Connacht kings. Our text notes that Fial, Aodh Caomh's sister, was the mother of Forgha mac Fearadhaigh, a king of Connacht contemporary with Art mac Cuinn Chéadchathaigh (*L* ll. 27–30). He appears in *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht* as one of the kingdom's Gamhanradh kings.⁵⁵

This marriage may be imagined to have aided Aodh Caomh's claim to the kingship of Connacht, but our text's only explicit comment is that it strengthened Clann Mhorna (*L* l. 30). Indeed, as king, according to our text, Aodh Caomh takes part in the feud within the Fian on the side of his kinsmen, Clann Mhorna, against Clann Bhaoiscne (*L* ll. 32–6). Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh is also on the side of Clann Mhorna and Cairbre Lifeachair, the king of Ireland, against Clann Bhaoiscne and the forces of the king of Munster at the battle of Gabhar (*L* ll. 39–41). They are presumably led by Aodh Caomh, although this is not stated. Our text offers no comment as to whether Aodh Caomh continued or abandoned his Gamhanradh predecessors' hostility to the kings of Ireland. Our text also does not make it clear what eventually happens to him but, in *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht*, he is grievously wounded while fighting against the king of Munster on another occasion and is replaced as king by Coinne, yet another son of Fear Trí.⁵⁶ No subsequent kings from either the Gamhanradh or Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh are given in either text.

Overall, read in conjunction with *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht*, our text presents the Gamhanradh and Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh as long-standing allies in the Gamhanradh's long-running struggle to retain the kingship of Connacht against candidates either descended from or favoured by the Síol nÉireamhóin kings of Ireland. Their solidarity seems to have both a genealogical and a social basis. In terms of genealogical connections, our text presents Ceat, ancestor of Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh, as descended from the Domhnannaigh via Cairbre, his father (*L* ll. 9–10). The Domhnannaigh, also known as the Fir Dhomhnann or the Domhnainn, are sometimes presented in medieval historiography as the Gamhanradh's geographical neighbours, sometimes as their genealogical close

⁵³ *Lec*, fol. 176rb34–176va4; cf. *LMG*, §§61.9, 62.3. Confusingly, *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht* refers to Aodh Álainn, as he is in our text, as Aodh Caomh (*Lec*, fol. 176rb34) but he remains identifiable via his pedigree.

⁵⁴ *Lec*, fol. 176va5–9; *LMG*, §62.2.

⁵⁵ *Lec*, fol. 176rb22–31; cf. *LMG*, §§61.5–61.7.

⁵⁶ *Lec*, fol. 176va9–12; cf. *LMG*, §63.1.

relatives, and sometimes as simply identical with them.⁵⁷ Both the Gamhanradh and the Domhnannaigh are presented elsewhere as descended from the Fir Bholg.⁵⁸

The Gamhanradh and Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh also occupy similar social roles. Both groups are identified with dedicated bands of warriors. The main metaphorical sense taken on by *gamhanradh* (literally, ‘yearlings’) is ‘warriors’.⁵⁹ Ruairí Ó hUiginn has shown that the Gamhanradh are not a definable kin-group in pre-Norman sources; they were created as such, and given a full genealogical identity as a remnant of the Fir Bholg, in later medieval literature and historiography via the re- or misinterpretation of literary references to the *gamhanradh* (‘warriors’) of Iorras Domhnann.⁶⁰ Both the warriors of Iorras Domhnann and, latterly, the Gamhanradh are depicted as a formidable martial force.⁶¹ Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh, meanwhile, are presented in our text as close relatives and allies of the Clann Mhorna faction of the famous Fian, another collective of warriors.⁶² Indeed, our text sometimes implies that Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh and Clann Mhorna are essentially the same kin-group.⁶³ Finally, the genealogies of both the Gamhanradh and Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh in our text include prominent characters encountered in martial contexts in Ulster Cycle literature.⁶⁴ Fraoch mac Fiodhaigh and Fear Diadh mac Damháin, who fight on the side of the Connachta in *Táin Bó Cúailnge*,⁶⁵ are both numbered among Clann Fhiodhaigh, a sept of the Gamhanradh (L ll. 54–62). Mághach, meanwhile, is ancestress of Clann Mhorna and mother to Ceat, who also appears in Ulster

⁵⁷Ó hUiginn, ‘The Gamhanradh’, 85; Emma Nic Cárthaigh, Pádraig Ó Riain, and Kevin Murray, *Historical Dictionary of Gaelic Placenames / Foclóir Stairiúil Áitainmneacha na Gaeilge, Fascicle 7 / Fascúl 7 [D-Drongán]* (London, 2018), s.n. Domhnainn / Domhnannaigh. In *Imtheacht an Dá Nónbhar agus Tóraigheacht Taise Taoibhghile* (hereafter, *Imtheacht an Dá Nónbhar*), Goll mac Morna is a descendant of Ceat mac Mághach, as in our text (L ll. 1–3), but he is also described as being of the Gamhanradh: Máire Ní Mhuirgheasa (ed.), *Imtheacht an Dá Nónbhar agus Tóraigheacht Taise Taoibhghile* (Dublin, 1954), ll. 6236–42.

⁵⁸Séamas Pender, ‘The Fir Domhnann’, *JRSAI* 3:1 (1933), 101–15, at 101–2; Ó hUiginn, ‘The Gamhanradh’, 80. *LMG* (§59.2) explicitly notes that the Fir Bholg’s relatives include Clann Mhorna, the descendants of Mághach, and the descendants of Aonghas Feart, who is numbered among the Gamhanradh in our text (L ll. 52–3). In *LMG* §59.2, the Fir Bholg are referred to as Clanna Geanainn.

⁵⁹Ó hUiginn, ‘The Gamhanradh’, 90; *eDIL*, s.v. *gamanrad*.

⁶⁰Ó hUiginn, ‘The Gamhanradh’, 86, 90–3. Ó hUiginn focuses on interpreting the population group’s name and assessing whether they existed historically; he leaves unexplored the question of why the warriors of Iorras Domhnann gained literary prominence.

⁶¹Bhreathnach, ‘Tales’, 35; Ó hUiginn, ‘The Gamhanradh’, 84.

⁶²For the development of the idea of the Fian, see: Flahive, *Fenian Cycle*, 7–8; Murray, *Early Finn Cycle*, 57–63. As Ó hUiginn (‘The Gamhanradh’, 92) notes, *fian* (‘warband’), like *gamhanradh*, develops gradually from a common to a proper noun.

⁶³For example, when Aodh Caomh is noted as opposing Clann Bhaoiscne, it is stated ‘is ac Clandaib Morna do bī rīgi Condacht in tan sin’ (‘the kingship of Connacht was at that time with Clann Mhorna’; L ll. 35–6). It is not clear whether Clann Mhorna refers to the descendants of Morna Mór (L l. 1), father of Néamhann, or to the descendants of Morna (L l. 21), Néamhann’s son; see the Notes.

⁶⁴For references, see the Notes.

⁶⁵*TBC* I, ll. 834–57, 2570–3153; *TBC* LL, ll. 2606–3569.

Cycle texts as a Connacht warrior.⁶⁶ She is also maternal grandmother of the Ulaídh heroes, Conall Cearnach, Cú Chulainn, and the sons of Uisneach (L ll. 4–6).

The two kin-groups' designation as warriors also occurs elsewhere. *LU*'s probably Connacht-based scribe H, in his version of the first recension of *Táin Bó Flidais*,⁶⁷ lists three 'láechaicmi Herend' ('warrior-kindreds of Ireland'):

in Gamanrad a Hirrus Domnand. 7 cland Dédad hi Temair Lóchra.
7 clanna Rudraige i nEmain Macha. La claind Rudraige im dibdait
in da aicme aili.⁶⁸

'the Gamhanradh of Iorras Domhnann, and Clann Deadhadh in Teamhair Luachra, and Clanna Rudhraige in Eamhain Mhacha. By Clann Rudhraige, indeed, were the other two kindreds wiped out.' (my translation)

In our text, Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh and Clann Mhorna are traced back to Deadhadh via Mághach (L ll. 1–8).⁶⁹ In *Táin Bó Flidais*, as elsewhere in the literature, Clanna Rudhraige refers to the Ulaídh of the Ulster Cycle. This means that all three of the 'warrior kindreds' listed by H appear in our text and our text makes all three out to be genealogically related.

In drawing warrior kindreds as a class into the pseudo-history of the kingship of Connacht, our text's compiler may have been trying to replicate the pseudo-history of the kingship of Ireland. Historical Uí Néill kings relied on the military services of vassal peoples like the Airghialla or Cianachta. These peoples are often depicted in pseudo-history as having, in the distant past, claimed or even briefly occupied the kingship of Ireland, only to have then been bested by their future overlords' ancestors. Their subordinate but respectable standing in the present is thus established.⁷⁰ The purpose of our text's narrative could be to establish and historicise this as a social category within the kingdom of Connacht. Our text notes that Donn mac Aodha Caoimh goes on to assume leadership of the Fian (L ll. 25–6),⁷¹ apparently becoming a *féinnidh* ('warrior', 'warband member') rather than a king, like his father (although cf. N ll. 21–2). This is perhaps meant to be understood as his line's proper station. Indeed, in *Cath Maíge Léna*, we find both Goll and Conall Crúachna of the Gamhanradh (mentioned at L l. 52) fighting for Conn Céadchathach.⁷² Ann Dooley has

⁶⁶Thomas O. Clancy, 'Die like a man? The Ulster Cycle death-tale anthology', *Aiste* 2 (2008), 70–93, at 80–2.

⁶⁷*LU* ll. 1558–1641; Ó hUiginn, 'The Gamhanradh', 82.

⁶⁸*LU* ll. 1620–2.

⁶⁹In some traditions, Fionn and Clann Bhaoiscne are also traced back to Deadhadh: Murray, *Early Finn Cycle*, 85–6.

⁷⁰Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 459, 512–18. The Fian of the Fionn Cycle was thought by some nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars to be a historical military unit comprised of ethnically distinct vassal peoples (Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 467–8; Flahive, *Fenian Cycle*, 65–6).

⁷¹For discussion of this character's relationship with a similar character from *Acallam na Senórach*, see the Notes.

⁷²Kenneth H. Jackson (ed.), *Cath Maíge Léna*, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Texts Series 9 (Dublin, 1938), ll. 877–87.

argued that *Acallam na Senórach* addresses the evolving social relationships between the king of Connacht and military vassals in the early thirteenth century,⁷³ while Mícheál Hoyne has argued that the relationship between lords and vassals is a key theme of *Imtheacht an Dá Nónbhar*.⁷⁴ The issue thus seems to have been culturally productive in a Fionn Cycle context through the later Middle Ages. Its political relevance in such a context is enhanced by the fact that both the later medieval Ó Conchubhair kings of Connacht and Clann Fhir Bhisigh's Uí Fhiachrach patrons traced their descent from the Síol nÉireamhóin kings of Ireland who eventually gain supremacy in our text over Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh and the Gamhanradh.

This picture is complicated, however, by the inclusion of Clann Úmhóir in the trio of kin-groups arrayed in our text against Cormac mac Airt (L II. 44–5). They are numbered in *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht* among the peoples that supported Sanbh against Maine Aithreamhail.⁷⁵ According to several medieval versions of *Leabhar Gabhála Éireann*, Clann Úmhóir were quite recent arrivals in Connacht. Like the Gamhanradh and Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh, they descend from the Fir Bholg, but from a branch of the latter that had settled in the Hebrides after their expulsion from Ireland by the Tuatha Dé Danann.⁷⁶ Upon returning to Ireland, they had to agree to perform service for the king of Ireland, Cairbre Niadh Fear, in order to be allowed to settle there. This arrangement becoming unbearable, they fled to Connacht and were given land and protection by Oilill and Meadhbh.

This was part of Leacán tradition, as Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh, in *LMG*, provides an expanded version of this narrative from what he describes as a text of *Leabhar Gabhála Éireann* by his own grandfather.⁷⁷ In Mac Fhir Bhisigh's version of their story, upon arrival in Ireland, Clann Úmhóir name four guarantors who will ensure their provision of unfree service: Ceat mac Mághach, Ros mac Deadhad, Conall Cearnach, and Cú Chulainn.⁷⁸ These guarantors are eventually forced by Cairbre Niadh Fear to save their own honour by violently punishing Clann Úmhóir for breaching their conditions of settlement.

If the Gamhanradh, Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh, and Clann Úmhóir are all understood as ultimately descended from the Fir Bholg, their political alignment against Cormac mac Airt in our text could be understood as kin-based solidarity. Yet all four of Clann Úmhóir's guarantors, who eventually side with Cairbre Niadh Fear in Dubhaltach's grandfather's narrative, are, according to

⁷³ Ann Dooley, 'The date and purpose of *Acallam na Senórach*', *Éigse* 34 (2004), 97–125, at 105–23.

⁷⁴ Mícheál Hoyne, 'Imtheacht an Dá Nónmhar agus Tóraigheacht Taise Taoibhghile: an Early Modern Irish exemplary tale', *Ériu* 65 (2015), 1–47.

⁷⁵ *Lec*, fol. 176ra38–48; cf. *LMG*, §§59.5–60.1.

⁷⁶ R. A. S. Macalister (ed. and trans.), *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, 5 vols, ITS Main Series 34, 35, 29, 41, and 44 (Dublin, 1938–56), §§281, 291, 298. For the textual history of *Leabhar Gabhála Éireann*, see R. M. Scowcroft, 'Medieval Recensions of the Lebor Gabála' in John Carey (ed.), *Lebor Gabála Éirenn: Textual History and Pseudohistory*, ITS Subsidiary Series 20 (London, 2009), 1–19.

⁷⁷ *LMG*, §§66.1–68.4. Ó Muraíle (*LMG*, i, 16) has argued that Dubhaltach Mac Fhir Bhisigh drew extensively on this text when compiling *LMG*.

⁷⁸ While referred to as *cora* ('guarantors'), each is playing the role of a *naidhm* ('binding surety'), in medieval Irish legal terms; Fergus Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law* (Dublin, 1988), 171.

our text, also related to the Gamhanradh or Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh via Mághach, Clann Deadhadh, and the Domhnannaigh (L ll. 1–8). Whether as a result of differences between traditions or deliberate social commentary, the picture that emerges is one of juxtaposed genealogical identities and social roles, between ties of kinship and perhaps of common political exclusion and the role of warrior kindreds within the established power structure.⁷⁹ Clann Úmhóir, meanwhile, have had warriors of an ultimately common lineage as guarantors of good behaviour, opponents, and finally allies, except that this alliance, too, is ultimately defeated by royal power.

In fact, it turns out in our text that warrior kindreds are powerless and highly dependent on their relationships with established kings. Clann Bhaoiscne can inflict bloody vengeance on Clann Mhorna due to Fionn's daughter having married the king of Munster (L ll. 31–6). They are only stopped when Cairbre Lifeachair and other kings intervene on Clann Mhorna's behalf (L ll. 39–41). Furthermore, kings do not seem to be envisaged as operating under much ethical constraint. Cormac's imposition of his relative, Niadh Mór, as king of Connacht is described as 'in ainfhír flatha' (L ll. 43–4; 'the injustice of lordship'). In conceptualisations of kingship in some earlier texts, this would have spelled the end of Cormac's reign.⁸⁰ Here, his injustice is apparently without consequence for him, although it does result in the violent death of Niadh Mór. Indeed, in backing Niadh Mór, Cormac is perhaps meant to be understood as manipulating other military vassals into a kind of proxy war, as Niadh Mór's father, Lughna Fear Trí, is thought to stand in earlier sources for two other military vassal peoples, the Luighne and the Corca Fhir Thrí.⁸¹

Escaping military vassalhood is also presented as perilous. Aodh Álainn is deposed by Cormac after illegitimately eloping with Cormac's daughter (L ll. 41–6). This can be understood as an attempt on Aodh Álainn's part to gain greater political and social security. In Fionn Cycle tradition, elite marriage is a route by which a *féinnidh* could theoretically establish himself in settled society,⁸² although, in practice, settled society often conspires to block this route.⁸³ This is very much the outcome for Aodh Álainn in our text. Aodh Caomh, meanwhile, is presented as gaining a degree of security for Clann Mhorna by becoming king, although, as *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht* relates, he is not able to sustain this against other kings.⁸⁴

⁷⁹It should be noted that *laochaicme* does not appear as a formal legal category in medieval sources so there is no theoretical definition of their social role available.

⁸⁰Bart Jaski, *Early Irish Kingship and Succession* (Dublin, 2000, repr. 2013), 72–81.

⁸¹James Carney, 'Nia son of Lugna Fer Trí', *Éigse* 2/3 (1940), 187–97; Tomás Ó Cathasaigh, *The Heroic Biography of Cormac mac Airt* (Dublin, 1977), 51–8; Donnchadh Ó Corráin, 'Historical need and literary narrative', in D. Ellis Evans, John G. Griffith, and E. M. Jope (eds), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Celtic Studies, Oxford, 1983* (Oxford, 1986), 141–58, at 148–51, 153–5; Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 468.

⁸²Joseph F. Nagy, *Wisdom of the Outlaw: The Boyhood Deeds of Finn in Gaelic Narrative Tradition* (Dublin, 2010), 80–5.

⁸³Nagy, *Wisdom*, 89–90.

⁸⁴*Lec*, fol. 176va7–12; cf. *LMG*, §63.1.

Relationships between warrior kindreds and kings take on even more importance when one considers our text's portrayal of the fractious relationship within the Fian between Clann Bhaoiscne and Clann Mhorna, which seems to offer each side little in the way of an alternative to engagement with external royal politics. This is hardly distinctive to our text. Tensions and hostility, but also rapprochement, between these two factions constitute a major theme of later Fionn Cycle literature.⁸⁵ The disrupting influence of external political allegiances on the common life of the Fian can also surface; particularly resonant with our text is a poem from *Duanaire Finn* in which Goll complains that Cumhall gained an unfair advantage over him through his kinship with Conn Céadchathach.⁸⁶ In our text, however, we encounter a particularly negative outlook on intra-Fian relations, with kin-based factionalism the major driving force.

Overall, our text's account of Clann Bhaoiscne and Clann Mhorna (L ll. 11–18, 31–41) focuses on conflict, with no reference made to anything the two factions accomplished together as the Fian.⁸⁷ In particular, it is stated (L ll. 11–13) that Fionn fought the otherwise poorly documented battle of Ceann Cluidh and took hostages 'dā aindeōin do Goll' ('by force from Goll'), implying some sort of conflict between them. Our text provides only laconic information, but the position of the battle of Ceann Cluidh in the narrative implies that this is how Fionn assumed control of the Fian and pacified Clann Mhorna on behalf of Clann Bhaoiscne. This is distinctly more confrontational and less consensual than in other accounts, where Fionn proves his right to lead the Fian through repelling Ireland's common supernatural enemies.⁸⁸

Our text's fragmentary details (L ll. 13–18) on the resumption of the conflict between Clann Mhorna and Clann Bhaoiscne also offer a grim counterpoint to traditions found in other texts. The resumption apparently involved the violent deaths of Cnú Dearóil and Art Óg mac Morna, the former at Teamhair Luachra. Beyond that, it is not clear what is meant to have happened. Art Óg is implied elsewhere to have been one of the killers of Fionn's father, Cumhall,⁸⁹ so lingering resentment at this on Fionn's part should perhaps be understood

⁸⁵Flahive, *Fenian Cycle*, 25, 39, 50–1; Diarmuid Ó Murchadha (ed. and trans.), *Lige Guill: The Grave of Goll*, ITS Main Series 62 (London, 2009), xxv–xxviii.

⁸⁶Eoin MacNeill and Gerard Murphy (eds and trans.), *Duanaire Finn*, 3 vols, ITS Main Series 7, 28, and 43 (London, 1908–53) [hereafter, DF], XXXV.12–19; Nagy, *Wisdom*, 80. On the tradition of Fionn Cycle lays represented by *Duanaire Finn*, see Flahive, *Fenian Cycle*, 32–48.

⁸⁷For examples of their joint accomplishments elsewhere, see Whitley Stokes (ed.), 'Acallamh na Senórach', in Whitley Stokes and Ernst Windisch (eds), *Irische Texte* 4:1 (Leipzig, 1900), ll. 5632–5724, 6444–6529 (Ann Dooley and Harry Roe (trans.), *Tales of the Elders of Ireland* (Oxford, 1999), 159–60, 181); Nessa Ní Shéaghdha (ed.), 'Bruighion Chéisi Coruin(n)', in Nessa Ní Shéaghdha and Máire Ní Mhuirgheasa (eds), *Trí Buidhne* (Dublin, 1941), 3–15; Hoynes, 'Imtheacht', 14–23; DF, Poems XXI, XXIII, XXXII, L, LXIV, LXVII, LXVIII.

⁸⁸Nagy, *Wisdom*, 188–91; Murray, *Early Finn Cycle*, 39–40.

⁸⁹Nessa Ní Shéaghdha (ed. and trans.), *Tóruigheacht Dhiarmada agus Ghráinne*, ITS Main Series 48 (Dublin, 1967), ll. 818–58.

to have been a factor. The killing of Cnú Dearóil, Fionn's much-loved, physically diminutive musician,⁹⁰ certainly marks the incident out as horrific and a credible candidate for what terminated Fionn's relations with Clann Mhorna.

Cnú Dearóil may have been killed because of professional jealousy. Among the passages in our text not paralleled in *LMG*, which mostly concern Clann Mhorna's feud with Clann Bhaoiscne, there is a passage noting Binn and Suanán as the two sons of Seanach mac Morna (L ll. 23–4), without any explanation of this information's relevance. They seem to be musicians, however. In *Acallam na Senórach*, Seanach is a musician of the Fian from Clann Mhorna.⁹¹ Furthermore, Seanach's sons in our text both have names connected to music (*binn*, 'harmonious'; *suanán*, 'lullaby'). Reading a lot into our text's laconic evidence, we might envisage that the violence began with a dispute involving Cnú Dearóil and these musicians from Clann Mhorna. After all, Cnú Dearóil had already been driven out of the Otherworld by the jealousy of his fellow musicians.⁹² Music's value to society is a major theme in *Acallam na Senórach*,⁹³ while Cnú Dearóil has been called 'an outstanding example of success in life achieved through the help of Finn and the experience of *fénnidhecht*'.⁹⁴ In the hypothetical narrative to which our text may be alluding, however, Cnú Dearóil's potentially unifying art and the affection in which he is held produce a flashpoint for social conflagration.⁹⁵

Indeed, our text also recalls further examples of violent death from another literary context. Recurrent genealogical linkage is made with characters from the Ulster Cycle, many of whom die violently for reasons that may have been considered questionable or risible even by the literature's medieval audience.⁹⁶ Most strikingly, by means of similar wording, the text implies a parallel between the killing of Goll's ancestor, Ceat, by Conall Cearnach and the killing of Cumhall by Goll (L ll. 10–12). Other than the act of killing itself and the genealogical linkage, it is not made clear what connects these killings. However, Béalchú's famous condemnation of the destructiveness of the careers of

⁹⁰Nagy, *Wisdom*, 75, 181.

⁹¹Stokes (ed.), 'Acallamh', ll. 4057–66, 5294–9 (Dooley and Roe (trans.), *Tales*, 120, 147). For reasons of concision, only the earliest extant recension of *Acallam na Senórach* is being consulted in this study; for details on the text's varied recensions, see Flahive, *Fenian Cycle*, 22–31.

⁹²Stokes (ed.), 'Acallamh', ll. 611–83 (Dooley and Roe (trans.), *Tales*, 21–3); see Notes.

⁹³Dooley and Roe (trans), *Dialogue*, xvii–xx; Joseph F. Nagy, 'Oral tradition in the *Acallam na Senórach*', in W. F. H. Nicolaisen (ed.), *Oral Tradition in the Middle Ages* (Binghamton, 1995), 77–95, at 91–3; 'Oral tradition and performance in medieval Ireland', in Karl Reichl (ed.), *Medieval Oral Literature* (Berlin, 2012), 279–93, at 283–6, 290–1; Ann Dooley, 'The European context of *Acallam na Senórach*', in Aidan Doyle and Kevin Murray (eds), *In Dialogue with the Agallamh: Essays in Honour of Seán Ó Coileáin* (Dublin, 2014), 60–75, at 67–70.

⁹⁴Nagy, *Wisdom*, 75.

⁹⁵It should of course be questioned whether it is the relatively optimistic *Acallam na Senórach* that represents the mainstream tradition and our text a dark subversion thereof. *Acallam na Senórach* has already been shown to be selective in its inclusion of pre-existing tradition, possibly for ideological reasons: Geraldine Parsons, 'Breaking the Cycle? Accounts of the death of Finn', in Sharon J. Arbuthnot and Geraldine Parsons (eds), *The Gaelic Finn Tradition* (Dublin, 2012), 81–96.

⁹⁶Clancy, 'Die like a man?'.

both Conall and Ceat in *Aided Ceit maic Mágach* ('the death-tale of Ceat mac Mágach') might be of relevance:

'bid maith an Ériu festa ... ó dotorchair in dá árchoin so doloitsitar an Ériu eturra.'⁹⁷

'“henceforth Ireland will be happy, since these two slaughter-hounds have fallen, who ruined Ireland between them.”'

Our text's depiction of the Fian is bleak and cynical. Its members' rivalries and grudges prove unsustainable, and both of its factions find themselves reliant on external, royal support against each other. This material seems to have been added to our text to parallel the downfall of Clann Mhorna's fellow *Sean-Chonnachtaigh* and warrior kindred, the Gamhanradh, whose last king, Aodh Álainn, is also depicted as following a *féinnidh*'s career path in a daring but doomed effort to advance himself. Ultimately, it is the royal authority of the ancestors of the Ó Conchubhair kings of Connacht and of Clann Fhir Bhisigh's Uí Fhiachrach patrons that is legitimised as the political future.

Evaluation

Our text's compiler supplemented material focused on the regnal history of Connacht, which resembles material later used in *LMG*, with additional material on the Gamhanradh and Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh, as well as the latter's connections with characters from the Fionn Cycle. The Gamhanradh and Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh are warrior kindreds, of a common genealogical origin, that manage to temporarily attain royal status. This proves not to be sustainable, however, as both succumb to external machinations. This echoes earlier pseudo-historical narratives about the likes of the Airghialla or the Cianachta, in which the legitimacy of the ruling line and the position of their social subordinates is proved by the latter's failure to become the former. Ó hUiginn has argued that the pseudo-history of later medieval Connacht was to a large extent formed out of the reception of the intellectual heritage of the Middle Irish period, identifying the Ulster Cycle and pseudo-history on the kingship of Ireland as particularly influential.⁹⁸ Our text further demonstrates the influence of these bodies of literature, including the reception and localisation of a particular stock narrative from earlier pseudo-history, as well as showing that Fionn Cycle traditions were also engaged with in this context.

In our text, however, the reuse of this narrative has far-reaching implications, given some of the protagonists' prominence elsewhere in the literature, which our text is particularly keen to explore in the case of Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh's close relatives, Clann Mhorna. As we have seen, Clann Mhorna's Fenian existence is not just referenced but integrated thematically into our text's narrative of political manoeuvring, based on some particularly bleak interpretations of Fionn Cycle traditions. Referring to the fusion of traditions and styles

⁹⁷ Meyer (ed. and trans.), *Death-Tales*, 38–9; Clancy, 'Die like a man?', 82–3.

⁹⁸ Ó hUiginn, 'Adapting', 5–7.

in *Acallam na Senórach*, Kevin Murray has written of the Fionn Cycle's subsequent 'ability to adapt, change, and broaden its cultural relevance'.⁹⁹ Our text further evidences the Cycle's adaptability within an alternative political setting. Its integrative approach also results in a Fian much more orientated around royal politics than it is elsewhere. In this, it resembles the Ulster Cycle literature of later medieval Connacht, in which earlier pseudo-history focused on the kingship of Ireland is influential not just as background information but in terms of characters' perceived motivations and constraints.¹⁰⁰

Indeed, continuity is also drawn between events of our text and the Ulster Cycle, via characters' genealogical descent and even direct parallelism.¹⁰¹ Like the Ulster Cycle, in some interpretations,¹⁰² our text can be shown to be deconstructing and problematising what is superficially heroic. It achieves this through its bringing together of an unusually eclectic range of narratives, factions, and characters from across the literature. Indeed, it may be that our text engages in the creative conflation of previously separate characters so as to create a unified history out of disparate sources and set what are seen as comparable narratives alongside each other. The equation of Aodh Caomh, king of Connacht, and Aodh mac Garaidh, of the Fionn Cycle is of particular importance. The extent to which this level of historiographical re-working is taking place in our text remains in need of further, more broadly scoped investigation, however.

In any case, it is worth noting the broad historiographical scope of the compiler's engagement with what are often considered discrete Cycles.¹⁰³ His use of the different Cycles goes beyond the framing of large-scale national history via synchronisms or genealogical scholarship, for which there are earlier examples,¹⁰⁴ and provides evidence that he considered what the Cycles have in common thematically. This suggests that the heroic and pseudo-historical literature of later medieval Connacht would well merit further investigation that especially considers its critical, compilatory responses to the rich and complex materials that its creators inherited.

⁹⁹Murray, *Early Finn Cycle*, 162.

¹⁰⁰Ó hUiginn, 'Adapting', 6–8.

¹⁰¹For the importance of the Ulster Cycle in later medieval Connacht, see: Ó hUiginn, 'Adapting', 6–7.

¹⁰²Thomas O. Clancy, 'Court, king and justice in the Ulster Cycle', in Helen Fulton (ed.), *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society* (Dublin, 2005), 163–82; 'Die like a man?', 82–3. In addition, a promising study of Ulster Cycle sexual politics and violence in another later medieval Connacht text is being undertaken by Abigail Burnyeat, '#MedbToo: *Ferchuitred Medba* as alternative causa for *Táin Bó Cúailnge*', unpublished conference paper, Ulidia Finn 2018, Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, University of the Highlands and Islands, 13–17 June 2018.

¹⁰³Poppe, *Of Cycles*.

¹⁰⁴Peter J. Smith, 'Early Irish historical verse: the evolution of a genre', in Proinséas Ní Chathain and Michael Richter (eds), *Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages: Text and Transmission* (Dublin, 2002), 326–41, at 340–1; Ó Muraíle, *Irish Genealogies*, 2–8.

EDITION

Editorial Method

The text below is that of **L**, with only a few corrections from **N** and a few editorial corrections at points where both texts appear to be in error. **L** has been reproduced as per the manuscript, with internal orthographical inconsistencies retained. Accents are not used in **L** so these have been supplied as macrons. Given that the orthography resembles that of Old or early Middle Irish, macrons have been supplied for vowels that would have been long during this period of the language (e.g. ‘ind Fhīan’, **L** l. 26, for *an Fhian*; “Āed Cāem”, **L** l. 19, for *Aodh Caomh*), even when they are not typically marked as long during the Early Modern period in which the text was likely composed. Capitalisation, punctuation, and word division are also supplied. The expansion of suspension strokes is denoted by italics, as is the expansion of abbreviations that cannot be expanded with certainty; other expansions have been made silently. Words or letters supplied for clarity have been placed in square brackets, while text that is hard to read in the manuscript is in curly brackets. Conjectural readings are discussed in the notes. Paragraphing is based on the visual presentation in **L**; that is, a new paragraph begins where **L** uses an illuminated initial.

Text

[fol. 176vb] Goll *mac Cormaic meic Nēmaind meic Morna Mōir meic Garaid Glūnduib meic Āeda D{h}ūanaich meic Āeda Chind Clāiri meic Conaill meic Sainb meic Ceit meic Māgach Muirisce.*

Is ī ’n Māgach sin do ruc trī h-ingena do Chathbaid draī[d] de Ultaib .i.
 5 Deithtir, *māthair* Con Culaind; ocus Indlenn, *māthair* cloindi Uisleann¹⁰⁵ .i.
 Naīsi ocus Āindli¹⁰⁶ ocus Ardāin; ocus Findchāem, *māthair* Conaill Cearnaid.

In Māgach īsin, *ūa*¹⁰⁷ Degad a senathair, ocus cland dā derbrāthar Cū Rāī ocus senathair Māgaich.¹⁰⁸

As ī in Māgach sin *māthair* Cheit *meic Cairpri Ceinddeirg meic Fhir Dā*
 10 Loch do Domnandchaib ocus .u. blīadna dēg ocus cēithri fichit blīadna saegal
 Ceit cor marb Conall. Ceitri fichit blīadna acht āenmī namā fot saegail Guill
 in tan ro marb Cumall fēnnid, ocus āenblīadain dēc dā ēisi sin co cath Cind
 Cluid¹⁰⁹ ocus cor bean Find brāigdi dā aindeōin do Goll ocus .x. mblīadna ocus
 dā fichit ōn chath sin co brised na sīthchāna ocus cor marbad Cnū Deireōil in
 15 t-airfideach a tig Temra Lūachra cētaidchi na fogla ocus isan aidchi sin do thoit
 Art Ōc *mac Morna* do lāim Find bodēin ocus *forba Cloindi Morna* and. Deich
 mblīadna ocus cāecaīs fod na fogla cor thoit Goll ’sin [fol. 176vc] carraic do
 lāim Moga Smōile *meic* Smōil.

Rīg dēigenach cūicid Condacht ō Cloind Morna .i. Āed Cāem *mac Garaid*
 20 Glūnduib *meic Nēmaind*. Ocus is ē in t-Āed Cāem sa rī Condacht ro marb Fear

¹⁰⁵Uisleann] **L**: uilsleann

¹⁰⁶Āindli] **L**: aidli

¹⁰⁷ūa] **L**: .h.; **N**: immorro

¹⁰⁸Māgaich] **L**: Magaich īsin; **N**: Māgaidi.

¹⁰⁹co cath Cind Cluid] **L**: cacad chatha Chind Cluid; **N**: cogad chatha Cind Cluidh

Corp, rī Muman. Ocus is iād sin trī meic Morna Mōir .i. Morna mac Nēmaind, athair Guill; ocus Garad Glūdub mac Nēmaind, athair Āeda, airdrīg Condacht uili esen; ocus Doigfher mac Nēmaind, senathair Senaig meic Daigri. Bind ocus Sūanān, dā mac Senaich meic Morna meic Nēmaind.

25 Dond mac Āeda meic Garaid Glūnduib meic Nēmaind, is ē sin rīgfhēndig dēiginach do gab ind Fhīan fa deōig.

Fīal, ingen Garaid Glūnduib, māthair Forco meic Feradaich. Is ē in Forco sin fa rīg Condacht ō cath Muigi Lēna co cath Muigi Mucraimi ocus i n-āenlō ro marbad Art mac Cuind, rīg Ērend, ocus Forco mac Feradaich, rīg Condacht.
30 Fa trēn cland Morna fri sin ac mac ingine Garaid.

Saimēr ingen Fhind meic Cumail, ben Cormaic Chais meic Ailella Ūluim, ocus is ī sin ruc Tindi ocus Conla ocus Mog Corp, rī dā cūiced Muman. Ocus is trīt sin, do beith 'na ngāel, do chongaim Modh Corp dearbrāthair a māthar .i. Oisīn mac Find ocus Cland Bāiscni tar sārugud Chairpri Lifechair, rīg h-
35 Ērend,¹¹⁰ ocus Āeda Cāeim meic Garaid Glūnduib, airdrīg Condacht uili, ūair is ac Clandaib Morna do bī rīgi Condacht in tan sin. [fol. 177ra] Ocus ba h-īad sin easbada Guill ocus a brāithreach ar Find ocus ar clandaib Bāiscni re rē chāecaīsi ar mīs ocus .uii. mbliadna na fodla .i. āenfhear dēc ocus sē fichit cēt, conad airi sin do-chūadur Cland Garaid Glūnduib ocus Cairpri Lifechair ocus
40 cūicedaich Ērend arāen ris d'aithrīgad Moga Cuirb¹¹¹ ocus d'indarba Cloindi Bāiscni, conad airi sin thucad cath Gabra. Ocus is ē in t-Āed Ālaind sin mac Echach Baiceda rīg dēidenach na Gamanraidi for cūiced Condacht. Ocus is ē ruc Sechra, ingen Chormaic, for ēlōd. Ocus is airi sin ro imir Cormac in ainfhīr flatha .i. rīgi cūicid Condacht do būain dē ocus don Gamanraid ocus do
45 Chlandaib Ūmōir ocus do Chloind Cheit meic Māgach, ūair ro baī cēt blīadna ar fichit i comflaithes Cormaic. Ocus tuc Cormac rīgi Condacht do Nīa Mōr mac Fhir Trī, in nāemad¹¹² mac māthar do Chormac eisiden, ocus Lugaid mac Laigdeach ocus Āengus mac Luigdech meic Duib meic Fothaid meic Fiachach Suidi, conad airi sin ro marb Āed Ālaind Nīa Mōr um chend rīgi Condacht,
50 ocus ro h-indarbad īar sin Āed co brāch la Cormac i ndīgailt meic a māthar. Ocus nīr gabsad in Gamanrad rīgi īar sin rīam.

Āed Ālaind mac Echach Baiceda meic Conaill Crūachan meic Āengusa Feirt¹¹³ meic Āengusa Find meic Domnaill meic Fhidaig.

Is iād clanna Fidaich ō fuilet rīgda Rātha Crūachan.

55 Frāech mac Fidaid ocus Eō Inaga mac Figaich ocus Fland Fada mac Fidaich.

Ocus Caī Caīnbrethach mac Fēic meic Āeda Find meic Dāiri Domnandaich .i. senathair Fhir Dīad meic Damāin. Gūas ocus Gusa ocus Fear De Ceird,¹¹⁴ trī meic Fhir Dīad meic Damāin meic Delbraid meic Dāiri Domnandaich meic Ilair
60 meic Figda, .i. senathair Meic Cēcht¹¹⁵ .i. Monodur Mōr, ocus Tindi, dā mac

¹¹⁰h-Ērend] L: hēind; N: ērend

¹¹¹Cuirb] L: corb; N: cuirb

¹¹²in nāemad] L: in aemad; N: in naemad

¹¹³Feirt] L: fert; N: feirt

¹¹⁴Fear De Ceird] L: fear deichead; N: fer de cerd

¹¹⁵Cecht] L: echt; N: cecht

Conrach Cais *meic* Dāiri *meic* Fidaig *meic* Rain Rogloin *meic* Tūama Tened *meic* Fir Dā Beand *et reliqua*.

Translation

Goll, son of Cormac, son of Néamhann, son of Morna Mór, son of Garadh Glúndubh, son of Aodh Duanach, son of Aodh Cinn Chláire, son of Conall, son of Sanbh, son of Ceat, son of Mághach Mhuirisce.

This Mághach bore three daughters by the druid Cathbhadh, of the Ulaidh: Deithtir, mother of Cú Chulainn; Innleann, mother of the sons of Uisneach, Naoise, Áinnle, and Ardán; and Fionnchaomh, mother of Conall Cearnach.

This Mághach, Deadhach's grandson was her grandfather and Mághach's grandfather and Cú Raoi were children of two brothers.

This Mághach, indeed, is the mother of Ceat, son of Cairbre Ceinneadarg, son of Fear Dá Loch of the Domhnannaigh. 95 years was Ceat's lifespan until Conall slew him. Only one month shy of 80 was Goll's lifespan when he killed Cumhall the *féinnidh*. 11 years after that until the battle of Ceann Cluidh and until Fionn took hostages by force from Goll. 50 years from that battle until the breaking of the peace and until Cnú Dearóil the musician was killed in the house of Teamhair Luachra on the first night of the conflict. And on that night fell Art Óg mac Morna, by Fionn's own hand, along with most of Clann Mhorna. The conflict lasted 10 years and a fortnight, until Goll fell on the rock by the hand of Mogh Smóile mac Smóil.

Connacht's last king from Clann Mhorna: Aodh Caomh, son of Garadh Glúndubh, son of Néamhann. And this Aodh Caomh is the king of Connacht who killed Fear Corb, king of Munster. These are the three sons of Morna Mór: Morna, son of Néamhann, Goll's father; Garadh Glúndubh, son of Néamhann, father of Aodh [Caomh], high-king of all Connacht; and Daighre, son of Néamhann, ancestor of Seanach mac Daighre. Binn and Suanán, two sons of Seanach, son of Morna, son of Néamhann.

Donn, son of Aodh [Caomh], son of Garadh Glúndubh, son of Néamhann, he is the last warband leader who led the Fian in the end.

Fial, daughter of Garadh Glúndubh, mother of Forgha mac Fearadhaigh. That Forgha was king of Connacht from the battle of Magh Léana until the battle of Magh Mucramha, and on the same day were killed Art mac Cuinn, king of Ireland, and Forgha mac Fearadhaigh, king of Connacht. Clann Mhorna were strong at that time on account of the son of Garadh's daughter [i.e. Forgha].

Saimhéar, daughter of Fionn mac Cumhaill, was wife to Cormac Cas, son of Oilill Ólom, and it is she that bore Tinne, Connla, and Mogh Corb, king of the two provinces of Munster. And it is because they were related that Mogh Corb supported his mother's brother, Oisín mac Finn, and Clann Bhaoiscne against Cairbre Lifeachair, king of Ireland, and against Aodh Caomh mac Garaidh Ghlúnduibh, king of all the Connachta, for Clann Mhorna held the kingship of Connacht at that time. These were Goll's losses and those of his brothers at the hands of Fionn and Clann Bhaoiscne during the seven years, one month and a fortnight of the conflict: 231 men. Therefore, Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh, Cairbre Lifeachair, and the kings of the provinces of Ireland went together to

overthrow Mogh Corb and expel Clann Bhaoiscne, so that on account of that arose the battle of Gabhar. And that Aodh Álainn mac Eachach Baiceadha is the last king of the Gamhanradh over the province of Connacht. He took Seachra, Cormac's daughter, by elopement. And it is on account of that that Cormac inflicted the injustice of lordship: he took the kingship of Connacht from him, and from the Gamhanradh, and from Clanna Úmhóir, and from Clann Cheit mhic Mhaghach, for he had been 120 years in contemporaneous rule with Cormac. And Cormac gave the kingship of Connacht to Niadh Mór mac Fir Thrí, who was the ninth son of Cormac's own mother, and to Lughaidh mac Luighdeach, and to Aonghas, son of Lughaidh, son of Dubh, son of Fothadh, son of Fiacha Suidhe. So, for that reason, Aodh Álainn killed Niadh Mór, on account of the kingship of Connacht, and Aodh was exiled forever by Cormac after that, to avenge his mother's son. The Gamhanradh never took the kingship again thereafter.

Aodh Álainn, son of Eochaidh Baicidh, son of Conall Crúachna, son of Aonghas Feart, son of Aonghas Fionn, son of Domhnall, son of Fiodhach.

These are the offspring of Fiodhach, from whom are [descended] the kings of Ráth Cruachna.

Fraoch mac Fiodhaigh, and Éo Ionaga mac Fiodhaigh, and Flann Fada mac Fiodhaigh.

And Caoi Caoinbhreathach, son of Fiac, son of Aodh Fionn, son of Dáire Domhnannach, that is, the grandfather of Fear Diadh, son of Damhán. Guas, Gusa, and Fear De Cheird: these are the three sons of Fear Diadh, son of Damhán, son of Dealbhradh, son of Dáire Domhnannach, son of Iolar, son of Fiodhach, i.e., ancestor of Mac Céacht (i.e. Monodur Mór) and Tinne, the two sons of Conri Cas, son of Dáire, son of Fiodhach, son of Raon Roglan, son of Tuaim Teineadh, son of Fear Dá Beann *et reliqua*.

Notes

Line references in these notes refer to the edition from **L**, above.

1–3 *Imtheacht an Dá Nónbhar* provides a pedigree for Goll that exactly matches that with which our text opens, the only substantial differences being that Sanbh is given the epithet *Sithcheann* and that Goll is stated explicitly to be of the Gamhanradh of Iorras Domhnann.¹¹⁶ Other pedigrees for him are less similar, although he still tends to be traced back to Mághach. Two pedigrees in *LMG* also trace Goll back to Mághach while differing in terms of the intervening generations.¹¹⁷ *Bruighion Chéisi Coruinn* includes a pedigree back to Mághach for Goll (also known in this text as Iollan).¹¹⁸ It comprises names that are all the same as or similar to names in Goll's pedigree in the present text, while also omitting several and depicting Mághach as male. Goll's pedigree in *Acallam na Senórach* is radically different to all the above, although it does also ascribe him royal ancestry.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶Ní Mhuirgheasa (ed.), *Imtheacht an Dá Nónbhar*, ll. 6236–42; Hoyne, 'Imtheacht', 42.

¹¹⁷*LMG*, §§64.5–6.

¹¹⁸Ní Shéaghdha (ed.), 'Bruighion Chéisi Coruin(n)', 7.

¹¹⁹Stokes (ed.), 'Acallamh', ll. 208–11 (Dooley and Roe (trans), *Tales*, 9).

As discussed in the introduction, **N** possibly provides a better reading than **L** for the fifth name in this pedigree, with **N**'s Garadh Glúinfhionn (**N** ll. 1–2) being arguably more plausible as Aodh Duanach's son than **L**'s Garadh Glúndubh, on account of a character also called Garadh Glúndubh appearing later in the text (**L** l. 22) as a son of Néamhann. However, **L**'s reading has been chosen in the edition because *LMG* has Garadh Glúndubh, not **N**'s Garadh Glúinfhionn, as a son of 'Aodh Duan' in the corresponding position in one of its pedigrees for Goll.¹²⁰

When the text refers to Clann Mhorna and Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh, it is not clear whether these kin-groups' eponyms are conceived as being the characters from this pedigree in **L** and *LMG* (i.e. Morna Mór and Garadh Glúndubh) or Morna and Garadh Glúndubh, the sons of Néamhann (**L** ll. 21–2; **N** ll. 17–18). The text treats Aodh Caomh, son of Garadh Glúndubh, son of Néamhann as a member of Clann Mhorna (**L** ll. 19–20, 35–6), perhaps suggesting that Clann Mhorna's eponym is Morna Mór, as this is Aodh Caomh's only ancestor called Morna in our text (**L** l. 1).

Sanbh mac Ceit appears quite frequently in texts relating to Connacht. His relationship with Meadhbh and her offspring is either understood differently in different texts or was understood to have deteriorated over time. *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht* and *Lec*'s text of the originally Middle Irish prose *Bansheanchas* note that Sanbh was Meadhbh's final lover.¹²¹ In *Bruiden Da Choca*, he is among the band of Connachta that slays Cormac Conn Loingeas.¹²² He then appears among the 'airigh chatha' ('warlords') of the Connachta in *Cath Airtig*,¹²³ which follows on from the events of *Bruiden Da Choca*. In both texts, he fights alongside Maine Aithreamhail, son of Meadhbh, who would subsequently become his rival for the kingship according to *Ríoghraidh Chonnacht*. He is also presented as something of an insurgent in a passage elsewhere in *LMG*,¹²⁴ where he is one of the provincial kings that join the *aitheachthuatha* ('rent-paying tribes') in their attempt to overthrow the Síol nÉireamhóin kings of Ireland.¹²⁵ The placename, Magh Sainbh, relating to an area south-east of Rathcroghan (Co. Roscommon), might commemorate him as a character.¹²⁶

Mághach's epithet ('Muirisce'), referring to Muraisc (Co. Sligo),¹²⁷ might suggest that she is being identified with Máda Muirisc, mother of Meadhbh's

¹²⁰*LMG*, §64.5.

¹²¹*Lec*, fol. 176rb6–7; Margaret E. Dobbs (ed. and trans.), 'The Ban-shenchus [part 2]', *RC* 48 (1931), 163–234, at 174.

¹²²Gregory Toner (ed. and trans.), *Bruiden Da Choca*, ITS Main Series 61 (London, 2007), §§23, 28.

¹²³R. I. Best (ed. and trans.), 'The Battle of Airtech', *Ériu* 8 (1916), 170–90, at 176, 182, 178, 184.

¹²⁴*LMG*, §§47.7–48.1; see also *CGH*, 190.

¹²⁵On the concept of *aitheachthuatha*, see Jaski, *Early Irish Kingship*, 205–8.

¹²⁶Edmund Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum* (Dublin, 1910), s.n. mag sainbh; no. 21073 in the revised version by Donnchadh Ó Corráin (<https://www.dias.ie/celt/celt-publications-2/onomasticon-goedelicum> (accessed 25 October 2021)).

¹²⁷Hogan, *Onomasticon*, s.n. muirese (Ó Corráin, no. 22064); Byrne, *Irish Kings*, 238–9.

spouse, Oilill. However, as Bart Jaski has examined in detail,¹²⁸ medieval sources evidence a sustained difference in learned opinion as to whether these two characters can be identified with each other.

4–6 Mághach seems to have originally been the genitive form of the earlier name, Mágu.¹²⁹ Here and elsewhere in our text, however, it is used a nominative (e.g. **L** ll. 4, 7, 9).¹³⁰ ‘Māgach’ is used as a genitive at **L** l. 3, but ‘Māgaich’ is the genitive form at **L** l. 8.¹³¹ Mághach’s three daughters by Cathbhadh and their offspring are set out in the poem ‘Cathbaidh mac Maoilchróich na ccath’, embedded in *LMG*,¹³² except that, in the poem, Innleann is replaced by Ailbhe. Conall Cearnach’s descent from Mághach via Cathbhadh is attested in earlier genealogical tradition.¹³³ The prose *Bansheanchas* also mentions all three daughters and generally agrees with our text.¹³⁴

7–8 Here, **L** has a significantly better reading than **N**, in that it recognises that three, not two, generations lie between Deadhadh and Mághach. In genealogical tradition, Cú Raoi is Deadhadh’s grandson,¹³⁵ so the statement that Cú Raoi and Mághach’s grandfather were sons of two brothers, while present in both **L** and **N**, only makes sense in **L**, as **N** also says that Deadhadh is himself Mághach’s grandfather. The confusion could have been caused by the abbreviation ‘.h.’. This can stand for *úa* (‘grandchild’), which is apparently the correct reading, or for *immorro* (‘however’, ‘moreover’), which is what we find in **N**. Given that **L** has ‘.h.’ at this point, **N**’s reading could have resulted from a misunderstanding of **L**. On the other hand, the corresponding passage in *LMG* presents both Cú Raoi and Mághach as grandchildren of Deadhadh via different fathers,¹³⁶ which is closer to what is implied in **N**. This could be an attempt to resolve the kind of textual confusion we encounter in **L** and **N** or it could suggest that the confusion is not merely textual and that substantively different doctrines about these characters were in circulation. *LMG* also adds that Mághach’s father was called Aonghas.¹³⁷

9 Cairbre Ceinndearg, who, in our text, is Ceat’s father and Mághach’s spouse, is also noted in both roles in *LMG*, in the *Lec* text of the prose *Bansheanchas*, and in the sixteenth-century genealogies physically appended

¹²⁸Bart Jaski, ‘The strange case of Ailill mac Mágach and Cét mac Mátach’, in Emer Purcell, Paul MacCotter, Julianne Nyhan, and John Sheehan (eds), *Clerics, Kings, and Vikings: Essays on Medieval Ireland in Honour of Donnchadh Ó Corráin* (Dublin, 2015), 440–51.

¹²⁹Jaski, ‘Strange case’.

¹³⁰*Mághach* is also used as a nominative in the prose *Bansheanchas* (Dobbs (ed. and trans.), ‘Ban-shenchus [part 2]’, 173).

¹³¹At **L** l. 3 (*Lec*, fol. 176vb11), there are some ink markings above ‘Māgach’ that may be inserting ‘i’ into the second syllable to give ‘Māgaich’, as at **L** l. 8. This is uncertain, however.

¹³²*LMG*, §§64.8–65.7.

¹³³Jaski, ‘Strange case’, 444–7.

¹³⁴Dobbs (ed. and trans.), ‘Ban-shenchus [part 2]’, 173, 209.

¹³⁵Jaski, ‘Strange case’, 450.

¹³⁶*LMG*, §64.7; cf. §65.6.

¹³⁷*LMG*, §64.5. This is perhaps Óengus mac Duibsinna, from *Aided Meidbe* (Jaski, ‘Strange case’, 447).

to *LL*.¹³⁸ In the prose *Bansheanchas* in the Book of Uí Mhaine (RIA MS D.ii.1 (1225)),¹³⁹ which distinguishes between Mághach, mother of Ceat, and Máta Muirisce, Cairbre Ceinne-dearg is still spouse to Mághach and father of Ceat.¹⁴⁰ Finally, *Bruighion Chéisi Coruinn* offers a complete outlier, depicting Cairbre Ceinne-dearg as Mághach's father.¹⁴¹

10–11 Conall's slaying of Ceat mac Mághach is narrated in detail in *Aided Ceit maic Mágaich*.¹⁴²

11–12 Goll's slaying of Cumhall is narrated in *Fotha Catha Cruacha* and the *dinnsheanchas* of Almha and is alluded to frequently elsewhere in the Fionn Cycle.¹⁴³

12–13 The construction, *cocad catha Cind Chluid* ('the conflict of the battle of Ceann Cluidh'), which is present in **L** and **N**, reads quite oddly. It is perhaps a corruption of *co cath Átha Cind Chluid* ('to the battle of Áth Cinn Chluidh'), which makes more sense, fits better in terms of meaning, and relates to a known place.¹⁴⁴ If this is taken as textual corruption, then its appearance in both **L** and **N** corroborates the argument made in the introduction for **N** being derived from **L** and at least implies that it is a close relative. On the other hand, Poems XVI and XLII in *Duanaire Finn* both mention a battle taking place at Ceann Cluidh, not Áth Cinn Chluidh.¹⁴⁵ I have therefore amended the text to 'co cath Cind Cluid', which fixes the syntax while locating the battle in terms attested elsewhere in Fionn Cycle tradition.

Neither our text nor either of the *Duanaire Finn* poems provides enough information for us to be sure that these references all relate to the same battle, although Poem XVI implies that it was Fionn's first battle after assuming leadership of the Fian, which fits in with our text's insinuation that this was when Fionn gained supremacy over Goll. The only other detail about the battle given in *Duanaire Finn* is that someone called Dubhthach mac Duibh was killed there. The nature of Fionn's confrontation with Goll at, or in relation to, this battle thus remains unclear.

13–16 Cnú Dearóil was a close companion of Fionn mac Cumhaill, while Art Óg mac Morna, was one of Cumhall's killers. The resumption of hostilities between Clann Bhaoisne and Clann Mhorna does not appear to be narrated in this

¹³⁸*LMG*, §64.5; Dobbs (ed. and trans.), 'Ban-shenchus [part 2]', 174; Robert Atkinson (ed.), *The Book of Leinster sometime called the Book of Glendalough* (Dublin, 1880), fol. 380a6–9.

¹³⁹Dobbs (ed. and trans.), 'Ban-shenchus [part 2]', 210. Muireann Ní Bhrolcháin sees the Book of Uí Mhaine text of the prose *Bansheanchas* (her D) as generally the closest to the archetype: 'The manuscript tradition of the Banshenchas', *Eriu* 33 (1982), 109–35, at 134.

¹⁴⁰Jaski ('Strange case', 447–8) has explored the implications of this distinction, especially for the identity of Oilill, spouse of Meadhbh.

¹⁴¹Ní Shéaghda (ed.), 'Bruighion Chéisi Coruin(n)', 7.

¹⁴²Meyer (ed. and trans.), *Death-Tales*, 36–41.

¹⁴³For discussion and references, see Flahive, *Fenian Cycle*, 12–13; Murray, *Early Finn Cycle*, 39–40, 117–18.

¹⁴⁴Pádraig Ó Riain, Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, and Kevin Murray, *Historical Dictionary of Gaelic Placenames / Foclóir Stairiúil Áitainmneacha na Gaeilge, Fascicle 1 / Fascíl 1 [A-]* (London, 2003), s.n. Áth an Ghnéin.

¹⁴⁵*DF*, XVI.43, XLII.110.

level of detail elsewhere, so it is not clear how they are each involved. *Duanaire Finn* Poem XLII, however, mentions that Cnú Dearóil and his wife, Bláthnaid, are buried at Teamhair Luachra,¹⁴⁶ which is also alluded to elsewhere as the location where hostilities resumed.¹⁴⁷

16–18 Goll's last stand on the rock is the subject of several sympathetic poems in *Duanaire Finn*.¹⁴⁸ It is also mentioned in *Acallam na Senórach*.¹⁴⁹

19–20 Slightly more information on Aodh Caomh is provided in *LMG*.¹⁵⁰ While he is described here and in *LMG* as being from Clann Mhorna, he is not described elsewhere in our text as being a descendant of Morna, son of Néamhann, only of Morna Mór, and the text's account of his descent from Morna Mór (L ll. 21–4) is itself problematic (see below). It is also not clear why the text describes him as Clann Mhorna's last king of Connacht, as no other king of Connacht descended from either Morna, son of Néamhann, or Morna Mór is attested.

Yet another question raised in relation to this character is whether he, Aodh Caomh, king of Connacht, and his father, Garadh Glúndubh, son of Néamhann, are meant to be identified with Aodh and his father, Garadh mac Morna, who feature as Clann Mhorna warriors in various Fionn Cycle narratives.¹⁵¹ Their names and Clann Mhorna affiliation are the same but they otherwise have little specific in common, as discussed further in relation to Donn mac Aodha (see below).

21–4 This passage is problematic. It claims to list 'trī meic Morna Mōir' ('the three sons of Morna Mór') but each of the sons — Morna, Garadh Glúndubh, and Daighre — bears the patronymic 'mac Nēmaind' ('son of Néamhann'). Néamhann appears as a son of Morna Mór at L l. 1, so L ll. 21–4 may be at fault by skipping over a generation. If so, the error is again shared with N, which has essentially the same passage as L (N ll. 17–19). Other sources suggest that the issue is more complex, however. A passage in the section of *LMG* containing material paralleling our text names the three sons of Néamhann as Morna, Daighre, and Uarán,¹⁵² while *Acallam na Senórach* distinguishes Clann Bhaoiscne, Clann Mhorna, and Clann Néamhainn as different clans within the Fian.¹⁵³ As already noted, it is not clear if the ancestor figures of Clann Gharaidh Gh-lúnduibh and Clann Mhorna are the two eponymous sons of Néamhann or the eponymous characters named at L l. 1.

Fear Corb and his father, Mogh Corb, both appear in *CGH* as kings of Ireland from Síol nÉibhir.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁶DF, XLII.62.

¹⁴⁷LU ll. 3212–19.

¹⁴⁸For references, see Flahive, *Fenian Cycle*, 39.

¹⁴⁹Stokes (ed.), 'Acallamh', ll. 1959–2022 (Dooley and Roe (trans.), *Tales*, 60–2).

¹⁵⁰LMG, §63.1; see also *Lec*, fol. 176va7–12.

¹⁵¹For example: E. J. Gwynn and J. H. Lloyd (eds and trans.), 'The burning of Finn's house', *Ériu* 1 (1904), 13–37; DF, LXVIII; Stokes (ed.), 'Acallamh', ll. 1362–448 (Dooley and Roe (trans.), *Tales*, 42–5).

¹⁵²LMG, §63.2.

¹⁵³Stokes (ed.), 'Acallamh', ll. 6466–68 (Dooley and Roe (trans.), *Tales*, 181).

¹⁵⁴CGH, 188.

23–4 In *Acallam na Senórach*, Seanach is a musician within the Fian from Clann Mhorna with a similarly named son, Suanach.¹⁵⁵ However, Seanach in the *Acallam* is Seanach, grandson of Daighre, and, while such a person is mentioned in our text (L l. 23), Seanach, father of Suanán and Binn, is a son of Morna, not a descendant of Daighre. As noted already, the genealogies of Clann Mhorna in our text give the impression of being generally in some disarray.

25–6 Donn, son of Aodh, son of Garadh, son of Morna is a prominent character in *Acallam na Senórach*, where he and Caoilte mac Ronáin effect a belated reconciliation between Clann Bhaoiscne and Clann Mhorna.¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, with Caoilte's encouragement, he does indeed end up leading the restored Fian.¹⁵⁷ As has already been noted, his father, Aodh, son of Garadh, son of Morna, is a relatively well-attested Clann Mhorna character from the Fionn Cycle. Yet nowhere in the *Acallam* is he described as a king of Connacht, despite that text's interest in positive relationships between the Fian and kings. Our text appears to be conflating Aodh Caomh, king of Connacht, with Aodh mac Garaidh, the Clann Mhorna character from the Fionn Cycle.

It is also not implied in the *Acallam*, as it is in our text, that Donn will be the Fian's last *ríghfhéinnidh* ('warband leader').¹⁵⁸ Indeed, even N (ll. 21–2) arguably does not support this latter notion, stating merely that Donn was the last 'rí' ('king') to lead the Fian. *LMG*, however, agrees with L.¹⁵⁹ Also worth noting is a poem within *Acallam na Senórach* that lists 'Donn mac Morna' as the last ('in deidinach') leader of the Fian from among the kinsmen of one, Morna, son of Cairbre, several generations before the time of Goll and Fionn.¹⁶⁰ This Donn's kinsmen bear names like Daighre and Garadh, like the better-known Clann Mhorna. It is possible that the notion that Donn, son of Aodh Caomh, was the last leader of the Fian arose through conflation with this tradition.

References to a general association between Clann Mhorna and Connacht can be found in a range of other sources, however. Noelle Ní Uigín has argued that authors and tradition-bearers from Connacht down to the modern era have claimed Clann Mhorna as regional heroes.¹⁶¹ To add two items to the evidence she discusses: *Bruighion Chéisi Coruinn* alludes to Clann Mhorna providing kings of Connacht,¹⁶² while *Imtheacht an Dá Nónbhar* alludes to a connection between Goll himself and Connacht several times.¹⁶³

27–30 Both the battle of Magh Léana and the battle of Magh Mucramha receive detailed narrative treatment in saga tradition.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁵ Stokes (ed.), 'Acallamh', ll. 4057–66, 5294–9 (Dooley and Roe (trans), *Tales*, 120, 147).

¹⁵⁶ Stokes (ed.), 'Acallamh', ll. 1952–2013, 2217–36 (Dooley and Roe (trans), *Tales*, 60–2, 68).

¹⁵⁷ Stokes (ed.), 'Acallamh', ll. 2282–2305 (Dooley and Roe (trans), *Tales*, 70–1).

¹⁵⁸ On the position of *ríghfhéinnidh*, see Nagy, *Wisdom*, 42.

¹⁵⁹ *LMG*, §63.3.

¹⁶⁰ Stokes (ed.), 'Acallamh', ll. 2507–12 (Dooley and Roe (trans), *Tales*, 77).

¹⁶¹ Ní Uigín, 'Goll mac Morna'.

¹⁶² Ní Shéaghda (ed.), 'Bruighion Chéisi Coruin(n)', 7.

¹⁶³ Hoyne, 'Imtheacht', 42.

¹⁶⁴ Wiley, 'Introduction', 58.

31–6 Fionn’s daughter, Saimhéar, appears in the Book of Uí Mhaine text of the prose *Bansheanchas* as the mother of Tinne, Connla, and Mogh Corb,¹⁶⁵ although her spouse is not mentioned. Cormac Cas, son of Oilill Ólom and spouse to Saimhéar, according to the present text, came, in genealogical tradition, to be regarded as the eponymous ancestor of Dál gCais, via Mogh Corb.¹⁶⁶ As noted in the introduction, as well as appearing in *LMG*,¹⁶⁷ versions of this passage would prove popular with early modern historians seeking to contextualise the battle of Gabhar.¹⁶⁸

36–41 We would expect *Érend* or suchlike as the genitive singular of *Éire*. However, Giolla Íosa here writes ‘rīg h-Ērind’ (L ll. 34–5; ‘king of Ireland’) plene, while all other instances in this text consist of “er” with a suspension stroke. The form at L ll. 34–5 seems to be more than a one-off slip, as he also uses *Ērind* as well as *Érend* as the genitive singular elsewhere in *Lec*.¹⁶⁹ Nonetheless, *Érend* has been chosen as the standard form in this edition, as it is more standard generally for the period and Giolla Íosa was evidently aware of it.

The battle of Gabhar is alluded to in various prose genres but it is narrated mainly in the ballad tradition;¹⁷⁰ in the latter, the focus tends to be on the tragic-heroic events of the battle itself rather than on its causes. The *Annals of Ulster* note the importance of the alliance between the line of Cormac Cas and the *Fianna Éireann* while denying the involvement of named Fenian characters like Osgar mac Oisín.¹⁷¹

Our text does not make it clear if the king of Connacht was still meant to be Aodh Caomh at the time of Clann Gharaidh Ghlúnduibh’s participation alongside Clann Mhorna and Cairbre Lifeachair in the battle of Gabhar. The ballads narrating the battle that I have been able to consult do not mention him.¹⁷²

41–51 At this point, confusingly, the text jumps back in time from the reign of Cairbre Lifeachair to that of Cairbre’s father, Cormac mac Airt, when Aodh Álainn mac Eachach Baiceadha, of the Gamhanradh, is king of Connacht.

Our text lists three individuals who received the kingship of Connacht from Cormac: ‘Nia Mór mac [Lugna] Fhir Trī ... ocus Lugaid mac Laigdeach ocus Āengus mac Luigdech ...’ (L ll. 46–8). This could mean that they ruled together, but, in *LMG*,¹⁷³ Niadh Mór is king initially. He is then killed by Aodh Álainn (as in our text: L l. 49) and Cormac then imposes his brother, Lughaidh, son of Lughna Fear Trí. A similar sequence of events, although with different characters, might be being described in our text in shorthand.

¹⁶⁵Dobbs, (ed. and trans.), ‘Ban-shenchus [part 2]’, 210.

¹⁶⁶*CGH*, 192–4.

¹⁶⁷*LMG*, §63.4.

¹⁶⁸Gunderloch, ‘*Cath Gabhra*’, i, 161–2, 165–6.

¹⁶⁹For *Ērind*, see: *Lec*, fols 176rb50, 186vb47, 194ra2. For *Érend* and similar, see: *Lec*, fols 32va1, 239vb13.

¹⁷⁰Gunderloch, ‘*Cath Gabhra*’, i, 160–90.

¹⁷¹*AU* s.a. 4264; Gunderloch, ‘*Cath Gabhra*’, i, 163–4.

¹⁷²For example: Nicholas O’Kearney, *The Battle of Gabhra*, Transactions of the Ossianic Society 1 (Dublin, 1854); *DF*, Poem XXXIX; Gunderloch, ‘*Cath Gabhra*’, ii.

¹⁷³*LMG*, §62.2 (cf. *LMG*, §§61.9–62.1); see also Ó hUiginn, ‘The Gamhanradh’, 80.

As noted in our main discussion, Lughna Fear Trí has been taken as standing for the Luighne and the Corca Fhir Thrí, two important military vassal peoples for historical Uí Néill kings.¹⁷⁴ As for Aonghas, his ancestor, Fiacha Suidhe is elsewhere said to descend from the Déisi.¹⁷⁵ I have been unable to identify Lughaidh mac Luighdeach.

The intervention by Cormac mac Airt described here, including the serious charge of ‘ainfhír flatha’ (‘injustice of lordship’; *L* II. 43–4), is not mentioned in the earlier literary and pseudo-historical traditions concerning Cormac.¹⁷⁶ Cormac’s mother is named in the prose *Bansheanchas* as Éadaoin, daughter of Olc Ocha, a blacksmith.¹⁷⁷ There, she is the wife, not the mother (as per our text), of Lughna Fear Trí. Seachra, Cormac’s daughter, is not mentioned in Dobbs’ edition of the *Bansheanchas*.

52–3 Aodh Álainn’s pedigree conforms to the doctrine set out in *LMG*.¹⁷⁸

54–62 The genealogical materials on Clann Fhiodhaigh presented here do not conform textually to anything that appears in either *CGH* or *LMG*, although several of the individuals mentioned appear in the pedigree of Conall Crúachna in *LMG* and elsewhere therein.¹⁷⁹ His ancestry is traced back to Deala mac Lóich, of the Fir Bholg,¹⁸⁰ via Dáire Domhnannach and the Fir Dhomhnann.¹⁸¹ Among those named here, Fraoch mac Fiodhaigh, Fear Diadh mac Damháin, and Mac Céacht mac Conrach Cas, all play prominent roles in earlier saga literature.¹⁸² In *Cath Boinde*, Tinne is king of Connacht; he and Mac Céacht (as Monodur) begin a feud by killing the eponymous Fiodhach after he attempts to claim the kingship.¹⁸³

APPENDIX 1: THE N TEXT

Editorial Method

The *N* text has been edited according to the same principles as the *L* text, with a couple of differences. No corrections have been made from any other manuscript. Accents are used to mark length in a small minority of instances in *N*. These are indicated here by accents; where omitted, macrons have been supplied editorially to mark length. As with *L*, due to *N*’s early orthography,

¹⁷⁴See also *LMG*, §367.2.

¹⁷⁵*LMG*, §§106.5; 367.1–4; 718.9; 719.1–6; 720.1.

¹⁷⁶For example, Ó Cathasaigh, *Heroic Biography*.

¹⁷⁷Dobbs (ed. and trans.), ‘Ban-shenchus [part 2]’, 177, 213. Both names are rendered in a variety of ways across texts of the *Banshenchas*.

¹⁷⁸*LMG*, §§61.9, 65.7.

¹⁷⁹*LMG*, §§65.7, 482.4.

¹⁸⁰Macalister (ed. and trans.), *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, §§278–9.

¹⁸¹Margaret E. Dobbs, ‘The Domnaind’, *JRSAI* 6:2 (Dec. 1916), 168–74, at 70–2.

¹⁸²Fraoch: Donald Meek, ‘*Táin Bó Fraích* and other ‘Fráech’ texts: a study in thematic relationships. Part I’, *CMCS* 7 (Summer, 1984), 1–37; ‘*Táin Bó Fraích* and other ‘Fráech’ texts: a study in thematic relationships. Part II’, *CMCS* 8 (Winter, 1984), 65–85. Fear Diadh: Dooley, *Playing*, 166–9. Mac Céacht: Ralph O’Connor, *The Destruction of Da Derga’s Hostel: Kingship and Narrative Artistry in a Mediaeval Irish Saga* (Oxford, 2013), 211–23.

¹⁸³O’Neill (ed. and trans.), ‘*Cath Boinde*’, 176–9.

it has been decided to mark vowel length as is conventional for Old and Middle Irish (e.g. ‘ind Fīan’, N l. 22, for *an Fhian*; “Āed Cāem”, N l. 14, for *Aodh Caomh*). N is in somewhat worse physical condition than L and, in one instance (N l. 37), the text is completely illegible.

Text

[fol. 14vb1] Goll *mac Cormaic mhic Nēmaind mic Morna Mōir mic Garaig Glūnfhind mic Āeda Dūanaig mic Āeda Chind Clāiri mic Conaill mic Sthainb mic Ceit mic Māgach*.

Et is ī in Mag[ach] sin ruc trī *hingena* do Catbad draī[d].

5 In *Māgach* sin *immorro*, Degad a *senathair* agus *clann* dā *derbrāthar Cū Raī* agus *senathair Māgaīdi*.

As ī in *Māgach* sin *māthair Ceit mic Cairpri Cenndeirg* agus .u. *blīadna dēg* agus *ceithri fichit Ceit gor marb Conall*. Cēitri fichit acht mad *āenmī* do *tesbāil* dīb robo slān do Goll ag marbad *Cumhaill* agus *ēnblīadain dēg dā ēisi sin cogad* 10 *chatha Cind Cluidh* agus *gor bean Find brāigdi dā aindeōin* do Goll agus .x. *mblīadna* agus dā *fichet ōn cath sin co brisid na sīdchāna* agus *gor marbad Cnū Deireōil* a tig *Temra Lūacra cētaidche* na *fogla gor toit Goll Cloindi Morna*; *caicīs* agus *secht mblīadna* [fot] na *fogla gor toit Goll isin caraig*.

Rīg *dēiginach cūigid Connacht o Cland Morna: Āed Cāem mac Garaig* 15 *Glūnduibh mic Nēmnaid*. Agus is é in t-Āed Cāem sa rī *Connacht ro marb Fer Corb mac Moga Cuirb, rī cūigid Muman*.

Et is īat sin trī *mic Morna Mōir* agus *Morna mac Nēmaind, athair Guill*, agus *Garaigh Glūnduibh mac Nēmaind, athair Āeda, airdrīg Connacht uili esen*, agus *Doigfer mac Nēmaind, senathair Senaidh mhic Doigri*.

20 Bind agus *Sūanān, dā mac Senaig mic Morna mic Nēmnaid*.

Donn *mac Āeda mic Garaig Glūnduibh mhic Nēmaind*, is é sin rī *dēiginach ro gab ind Fīan fa deōig*.

Fial *ingen Garaig Glūnduibh, māthair Fhorgo mic Feradaig*, agus is é in *Forgo sin fa rī Connacht {a Ca}th Muigi Léna co Cath Muigi Mucruma* agus 25 *a nāenlō {do} marbad Art mac Cuind, rī Ērend*, agus *Forgo mac Feradaigh, rī Connacht*.

Ba trēn *Cland Morna fri sin ac mic ingine Garaid*.

Saimēr *ingen Fhind mhic Cumaill, ben Cormaic Cais mhic Oilella Ōluim*, agus is ī sin ruc *Tindle* agus *Connla* agus *Mog Corb, rī dā cōigid Muman*, agus 30 *is trīt sin do beith na nāengcāel do cundaimh Mog Corb derbrātair a māthar .i. Oissīn mac Find* agus *Cland Baīscni tar sārachadh Cairbri Lifechair, rīg Ērend*, agus *Āeda Cāeimh mic Garaig Glūnduibh, rī Connacht uili esen, ūair is a Clandaib Morna do bī rīgi Condacht in tan sin*.

Et ba h-īat *sin esbhada Guill* agus a *brāitrech ar Find* agus ar *Clandaib Baīscni* re ré *cāicīsi ar mīs* agus .uii. *mblīadna* na *fogla .i. āenser [leg. āenfer] dhēg* agus { .ui. *fichit cēt* } *conad aire sin do-cūatar Cland Garaig Glūnduibh* 35 { ... } *Ērend arāen ris d’aitrīgadh Moga Cuirb* agus *d’indarba Cloindi Baīscni* *conad airi sin tucad cath Gabra*.

Et is ē in t-Āed Ālaind sin *mac Echach Baicida rī dēiginach na Gamannraigi* 40 *for cūigid Condacht* agus is ē ruc *Secra ingen Cormaic for ēlōdh*. Et is airi sin

ro imir Cormac in anfir flatha .i. rīgi cūigid Connacht do būain de agus don Gamannraidh agus do Clandaib Umoir agus do Cland Ceit mic Māgach, ūair do bī cēt bliadna ar fichit a comflaithes Cormaic agus tuc Cormac rīgi Connacht do Nia Mōr mac Fir Trī, in nāemad mac māthar do Cormac eiside, agus Lugaid
 45 mac Laigeach agus Ōengus mac Luigeach mic Duib mic Fothaig mic Fiachach Suigi, conad airi ro marb Āed Ālaind Nia Mōr um ceann rīgi Connacht, conad airi ro tinōil Cormac cūigedaig Ērend do dīgail mic a māthar ar Āed. Acus ro h-indarbad Āed co brāth agus nīr gabsat in Gamantad rīgi co brāth da ēisi sin.

Āed Ālaind mac Echach Baicida mic Conaill Crūachna mic Ōengusa Feirt
 50 mic Domnaill mic Fidaig. Acus is iat clanda Fidaig ō fuilet rīgrraig Rātha Crūacan .i. Frāech mac Fidaig agus Eó Inaga mac Fidaig agus Flann Fada mac Fidaig agus Caī Caīnbreatach mac Fidaig [*leg. Fēic*] mic Āeda Find mic Dāire Domnandaigh .i. senatair Fir Diadh mic Damān. Gūas agus Gusa agus Fer De Cerd, trī mic Fir Diadh mic Damāin mic Delbraid mic Dāire Domnanaigh mic Ilair
 55 mic Figda .i. senathair Mic Cēcht.

Dā mac Conrach Cais mic Dāiri mic Fidaig mic Rain Roglain mic Tūama Tened mic Fir Dā Beand .i. Benn Cnuicc Oigli agus Benn Boirnni, ōr ba rīg sen etorro sin. Finit.

APPENDIX 2: FIONN'S PEDIGREE IN N

Introduction

This pedigree of Fionn mac Cumhaill is appended to the N version of our text (NLS Adv. MS 72.1.1, fol. 14vb16–18), although slightly set off from it visually. A wide variety of pedigrees for Finn are attested elsewhere;¹⁸⁴ the present item adds to the variety. Few of the individuals named higher up the pedigree can be identified with characters in other sources but they tend to echo the names of legendary Leinster dynasts.¹⁸⁵

Text

Find mac Cumaill mic Trēnmōir mic Treduirn micc Būain mic Boga mic Baīscni, o fuilet Cland Baīscni, mic Shēdna Sithbaic mic in Filedh Abratrūaid, ut putant alii.

Translation

Fionn, son of Cumhall, son of Tréanmhór, son of Treadharn, son of Buan, son of Bug, son of Baoiscne, whence Clann Bhaoiscne, son of Séadna Siothbhac, son of An File Abhradhruadh [*‘the poet of the ginger eyelashes’*], as others maintain.

¹⁸⁴For example, *CGH*, 22, 99; Stokes (ed.), ‘Acallamh’, ll. 6550–4 (Dooley and Roe (trans), *Tales*, 184); *LMG*, §§435.2, 435.4. For further references, see Flahive, *Fenian Cycle*, 17.

¹⁸⁵For example, *LL* ll. 46544–60.

APPENDIX 3: INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES

Characters in the index are identified where possible by how they are identified in the text. Where it has been necessary to use identifying information (e.g. a patronymic) from other sources, this has been placed in square brackets. Differences in identification between **L** and **N** are also set out in square brackets.

An File Abhradhruadh. **N** Appendix 2

Aodh Álainn, son of Eochaidh Baicidh. **L** II. 41, 49, 50, 52; **N** II. 39, 46, 48, 49

Aodh Caomh, son of Garadh Glúndubh. **L** II. 19, 20, 22, 25, 35; **N** II. 14, 15, 18, 21, 32

Aodh Cinn Chláire, son of Conall, son of Sanbh. **L** I. 2; **N** I. 2

Aodh Duanach, son of Aodh Cinn Chláire. **L** I. 2; **N** I. 2

Aodh Fionn, son of Dáire Domhnannach. **L** I. 57; **N** I. 52

Aonghas, son of Lugaid, son of Dub. **L** I. 48; **N** I. 45

Aonghas Feart, son of Aonghas Fionn (**L**); son of Domhnall (**N**). **L** II. 52–3; **N** I. 49

Aonghas Fionn, son of Domhnall. **L** I. 53

Áinnle, son of Uisneach. **L** I. 6

Ardán, son of Uisneach. **L** I. 6

Art, son of Conn [Céadchathach]. **L** I. 29; **N** I. 25

Art Óg, son of Morna. **L** I. 16

Baoiscne, son of Séadna Siothbhac. **N** Appendix 2

Binn, son of Seanach, son of Morna, son of Néamhann. **L** I. 23; **N** I. 20

Buan. **N** Appendix 2

Bug. **N** Appendix 2

Caoi Caoinbhreathach, son of Fíac. **L** I. 57; **N** I. 52

Cairbre Ceinnearg, son of Fear Dá Loch. **L** I. 9; **N** I. 7

Cairbre Lifeachair. **L** II. 34, 49; **N** I. 31

Cathbhadh. **L** I. 4; **N** I. 4

Ceat, son of Mághach. **L** II. 3, 9, 11, 45; **N** II. 3, 7, 8, 42

Cnú Dearóil. **L** I. 14; **N** II. 11–12

Conall, son of Sanbh. **L** I. 2; **N** I. 2

Conall Cearnach. **L** II. 6, 11; **N** I. 8

Conall Crúachna, son of Aonghas Feart. **L** I. 52; **N** I. 49

Conn [Céadchathach]. **L** I. 29; **N** I. 25

Connla, son of Cormac Cas. **L** I. 32; **N** I. 29

Conri Cas, son of Dáire Domhnannach. **L** I. 61; **N** I. 56

Cormac [son of Art, son of Conn Céadchathach]. **L** II. 43, 46, 47, 50; **N** II. 40, 41, 43, 44

Cormac, son of Néamhann. **L** I. 1; **N** I. 1

Cormac Cas, son of Oilill Ólomm. **L** I. 31; **N** I. 28

Cú Chulainn, son of Deithtir. **L** I. 5

Cú Rai. **L** I. 7; **N** II. 5–6

Cumhall, father of Fionn. **L** II. 12, 31; **N** II. 9, 28; **N** Appendix 2

- Daighre, son of Néamhann. **L** l. 23; **N** l. 19
Dáire Domhnannach, son of Fiodhach. **L** ll. 57, 59, 61; **N** ll. 52–3, 54, 56
Damhán, son of Dealbhradh. **L** l. 59; **N** ll. 53, 54
Dealbhradh, son of Dáire Domhnannach. **L** l. 59; **N** ll. 54
Deadhadh [son of Sin]. **L** l. 7; **N** l. 5
Deithtir, daughter of Cathbhadh. **L** l. 5
Domhnall, son of Fiodhach. **L** l. 53; **N** l. 50
Donn, son of Aodh Caomh. **L** l. 25; **N** l. 21
Dubh, son of Fothadh. **L** l. 48; **N** l. 45
Éo Ionaga, son of Fiodhach. **L** l. 55; **N** l. 51
Eochaidh Baicidh, son of Conall Crúachna. **L** ll. 42, 52; **N** ll. 39, 49
Fear Corb [**N**: son of Mogh Corb, son of Cormac Cas]. **L** ll. 20–1; **N** ll. 15–16
Fear Dá Beann. **L** l. 62; **N** l. 57
Fear De Cheird, son of Fear Diadh. **L** l. 58; **N** l. 53
Fear Diadh, son of Damhán. **L** ll. 58, 59; **N** ll. 53, 54
Fear Trí, son of the mother of Cormac mac Airt [also known as Lughna Fear Trí]. **L** l. 47; **N** l. 44
Fearadhach, father of Forgha. **L** ll. 27, 29; **N** ll. 23, 25
Fiac, son of Aodh Fionn. **L** l. 57
Fiacha Suidhe. **L** ll. 48–9; **N** ll. 45–6
Fiodhach, son of Raon Roglan. **L** ll. 54, 55, 56, 60, 61; **N** ll. 50, 51, 52, 55
Fial, daughter of Garadh Glúndubh. **L** ll. 27, 30; **N** ll. 23, 27
Fionn, son of Cumhall. **L** ll. 13, 16, 31, 34, 37; **N** ll. 10, 28, 31; **N** Appendix 2
Fionnchaomh, daughter of Cathbhadh. **L** l. 6
Flann Fada, son of Fiodhach. **L** l. 55; **N** l. 51
Forgha, son of Fearadhach. **L** l. 27; **N** ll. 23, 25
Fothadh, son of Fiacha Suidhe. **L** l. 58; **N** l. 45
Fraoch, son of Fiodhach. **L** l. 55; **N** l. 51
Garadh Glúndubh, son of Aodh Duanach. **L** ll. 1–2
Garadh Glúndubh, son of Néamhann. **L** ll. 19–20, 22, 25, 27, 35, 39; **N** ll. 14–15, 18, 21, 23, 32, 36
Garadh Glúinfhionn, son of Aodh Dúanach. **N** ll. 1–2
Goll, son of Cormac, son of Néamhann [= Goll, son of Morna, son of Néamhann]. **L** ll. 1, 11, 13, 17, 22, 37; **N** ll. 1, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 17, 34
Guas, son of Fear Diad. **L** l. 58; **N** l. 53
Gusa, son of Fear Diad. **L** l. 58; **N** l. 53
Iolar, son of Fiodhach. **L** l. 59; **N** l. 54
Innleann, daughter of Cathbhadh. **L** l. 5
Lughaidh, son of Dubh. **L** l. 48; **N** l. 45
Lughaidh, son of Lughaidh, son of Dubh. **L** l. 47; **N** l. 44
Mac Céacht [= Monodur Mór], son of Conri Cas. **L** l. 60; **N** l. 55
Mághach (**L**: Mághach Mhuirisce). **L** ll. 3, 4, 7, 8, 9; **N** ll. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Mogh Corb, son of Cormac Cas. **L** ll. 32, 33, 40; **N** ll. 16, 29, 30
Mogh Smóile, son of Smól. **L** l. 18
Monodur Mór [= Mac Céacht], son of Conri Cas. **L** l. 60
Morna, son of Néamhann. **L** ll. 21, 24; **N** ll. 17, 20

Morna Mór [**L**: son of Garadh Glúndubh, son of Aodh Duanach; **N**: son of Garadh Glúinfhionn, son of Aodh Duanach]. **L** ll. 1, 21; **N** ll. 1, 17
 Naoise, son of Uisneach. **L** l. 6
 Néamhann, son of Morna Mór. **L** ll. 1, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24; **N** ll. 1, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20
 Niadh Mór, son of Fear Trí. **L** ll. 46, 49; **N** ll. 44, 46
 Oilill Ólomm. **L** l. 31; **N** l. 25
 Oisín, son of Fionn. **L** l. 34; **N** l. 28
 Raon Roglan, son of Tuaim Teineadh. **L** l. 61; **N** l. 56
 Saimhéar, daughter of Finn. **L** l. 31; **N** l. 28
 Sanbh, son of Ceat. **L** l. 3; **N** l. 2
 Seachra, daughter of Cormac, son of Art. **L** l. 43; **N** l. 40
 Seanach, son of Daighre. **L** l. 23; **N** l. 19
 Seanach, son of Morna. **L** l. 24; **N** l. 20
 Séadna Siothbhac. **N** Appendix 2
 Smól, father of Mogh Smóile. **L** l. 18
 Suanán, son of Seanach, son of Morna. **L** l. 24; **N** l. 20
 Tinne, son of Conri Cas. **L** l. 60
 Tinne (**N**: Tindle), son of Cormac Cas. **L** l. 32; **N** l. 29
 Treadharn. **N** Appendix 2
 Tréanmhór. **N** Appendix 2
 Tuaim Teineadh, son of Fear Dá Beann. **L** l. 61; **N** ll. 56–7
 Uisneach. **L** l. 5

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>CGH</i>	M. A. O'Brien (ed.), <i>Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae</i> , vol. 1 (Dublin, 1962).
<i>DF</i>	Eoin MacNeill and Gerard Murphy (eds and trans.), <i>Duanaire Finn</i> , 3 vols, ITS Main Series 7, 28, and 43 (London, 1908–53)
<i>Lec</i>	RIA MS 23.P.2 (535), The Book of Lecan.
<i>LMG</i>	Nollaig Ó Muraíle (ed. and trans.), <i>Leabhar Mór na nGenealach: The Great Book of Irish Genealogies</i> , 5 vols (Blackrock, 2004).

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