

The genealogies in King's Inns Library MS 11



Bart Jaski

Celtica 37 (2025), 249–275

DOI: 10.58480/SCS-f78pu-ra37s

DIAS

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Bhaile Átha Cliath | Advanced Studies



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THE GENEALOGIES IN KING'S INNS LIBRARY MS 11

ABSTRACT

King's Inns Library MS 11 is a small genealogical manuscript of ten folios, written in Leinster, probably in the 1520s. It is closely related to a number of other genealogical manuscripts, from Leabhar Donn of c. 1430–35 to O'Clery's Genealogies of c. 1660, and so part of a very formative textual tradition of Irish genealogical recording in the later Middle Ages and afterwards. MS 11 contains an updated section on Leinster families, notably Mac Murchadha, and sections that are (nearly) unique on Clann Aodha Bhuidhe, Mac Quillin and de Burgh. This points to a northern provenance of the exemplar of its contents.

INTRODUCTION TO KING'S INNS MS 11

THE HONORABLE SOCIETY of King's Inns in Dublin is in possession of about thirty manuscripts in the Irish language, most of them of uncertain provenance.¹ This also applies to a small vellum manuscript of ten folia, measuring 21.5 × 15.5 cm, which is solely dedicated to the genealogies of Gaelic and a few non-Gaelic families. It was described in 1972 by Gearóid Mac Niocaill,² who thought that none of the pedigrees went beyond the last quarter of the fifteenth century, and hence he dated both text and manuscript to c. 1500.³ The manuscript has rarely been discussed, and even then mainly with brief comments in overviews of Irish genealogical manuscripts.⁴ However, it will

¹The abbreviations used in this article are: KI = King's Inns Library MS 11 (unedited); LD = Leabhar Donn, RIA MS 23 Q 10 (1233) (unedited); LMG = Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh, *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach*, UCD Additional MS 14 and other manuscripts, see LMG = Nollaig Ó Muraíle (ed. and trans.), *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach: The Great Book of Irish Genealogies. Compiled (1645–66) by Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh*, 5 vols (Dublin, 2003–4); OC = Cú Coigriche Ó Cléirigh, *Genealogies*, RIA MS 23 D 17 (790), see OC = Séamus Pender (ed.), 'The O Clery Book of Genealogies: 23 D 17 (R.I.A.)', *Analecta Hibernica* 18 (1951); S = TCD MS H 1.12 (1286), pp. 1–42 (unedited); T = TCD MS H 3.18 (1337), pp. 810–58 (unedited). For the spelling of names, the Early Modern Irish standard is used, as found in the translations in LMG.

²Cited in Pádraig de Brún, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in King's Inns Library, Dublin* (Dublin, 1972), vii.

³de Brún, *Catalogue*, 25.

⁴Kenneth Nicholls, 'The Irish genealogies: their value and defects', *The Irish Genealogist* 5/2 (1975), 256–61, at 258–9 (see below), repeated in the three (almost identical) lists in Nollaig Ó Muraíle, *The Celebrated Antiquary: Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh (c. 1600–1671): His Lineage, Life and Learning* (Maynooth, 1996), 155; idem (ed. and trans.), LMG i, 12–13; idem, *The Irish Genealogies: Irish History's Poor Relation?*, Irish Texts Society, Occasional Lecture Series, 3 (London, 2016), 44 no. 12 (which will be referred to henceforth). Donnchadh Ó Corráin, *Clavis Litterarum Hibernensium: Medieval Irish Books & Texts (c. 400–c. 1600)*, Corpus Christianorum, 3 vols (Turnhout, 2017), ii, 1001 no. 762. The only article that has a transcribed pedigree from the

be argued here that it is an important witness of Irish genealogical recording from the late Middle Ages and is closely related to a number of genealogical manuscripts from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries.

King's Inns MS 11 (henceforth KI) consists of a bifolium (fols 1 and 10) that now forms the cover of three gatherings of which the last (fols 8–9) is misplaced and reversed, so that fol. 9 in the catalogue is fol. 2 in the original sequence, and fols 2–8 in the catalogue are fols 3–9 in the original sequence.⁵ Reference will be made to the foliation with recto and verso of the original sequence,⁶ as also used in the digitised version published on the website Irish Script On Screen (ISOS).⁷ Each page is outlined in four columns of around 40 to 60 lines each, and in its original state the manuscript must have recorded over four thousand names, although many figure more than once in the genealogies.

As fol. 1r functioned as a cover, it has been so much worn that the text is almost totally illegible with the naked eye. Fol. 1v begins with a Mac Suibhne pedigree, and continues with those of families belonging to the Northern and Southern Uí Néill, Uí Bhriúin and Uí Fhiachrach of Connacht, of a few non-Gaelic families, and subsequently of families of Uí Mhaine and Oirghialla, Leinster, Ulster and Connhaicne, and of other families held to descend from Íor son of Míl of Spain. The final pedigree is that of Ó Deóráin. After that nothing is missing. The back cover is blank. The genealogies of the descendants of Éibhear son of Míl, including those of Mac Cárthaigh, Ó Súilleabháin and Ó Briain, are missing, and there is no indication that they were once part of the manuscript, unless they were written down in a separate gathering which is now lost.

According to Mac Niocaill the manuscript was 'probably written by a single hand throughout; apparent changes of hand [are] to be attributed to changes of pen and variations in surface quality'.⁸ While there seems to be one main scribe, the differences in the lettering in, for example, the pedigrees on fol. 4rc and 4rd are so marked that this can hardly be attributed to the reasons Mac Niocaill mentions. Occasionally other persons may have written contributions, which is a custom familiar from other medieval Irish codices,⁹ or the scribe wrote in a highly inconsistent fashion, regardless of the quality of the parchment or his quills.

manuscript I know of is Tomás G. Ó Canann, 'Ua Canannáin genealogies in the Irish manuscript tradition', *Studia Hibernica* 30 (1998/9), 167–229, at 220, with discussion at 195 and 197–8.

⁵de Brún, *Catalogue*, 25.

⁶In the list of contents in de Brún's *Catalogue* there is no reference to recto and verso, the columns are indicated by letters a–h for the eight columns on each folium. I refer to recto and verso, so that, for example, fol. 6a–h in the catalogue is now fol. 7ra–d and 7va–d according to the original sequence. In the counting of the lines, blank lines are included.

⁷https://www.isos.dias.ie/KINGS/KINGS_MS_11.html; accessed on 11 January 2025.

⁸de Brún, *Catalogue*, 25.

⁹The extent to which this happened is debated, see, for example, Elizabeth Duncan, 'The Book of Ballymote: a reappraisal of the hand formerly attributed to Maghnus Ó Duibhgeannáin', in Ruairí Ó hUiginn (ed.), *Book of Ballymote*, Codices Hibernenses Eximii, 2 (Dublin, 2018), 273–300.

PROVENANCE

There is little information about the manuscript's origin. On fol. 8r, in different ink from the main text, is a note in Irish ending in 'misi Di[arm]aid occ mac Tuileacna dosgraibhe sin' (cf. fol. 3v in the lower margin). Mac Niocaill holds the name Tuileagna to be peculiar to the Ó Maoil Chonaire family of scholars, so he assigns the scribe to that family, although he did not find the Diarmuid in question in their genealogies.¹⁰

Mac Niocaill thinks that the scribe may have worked from a defective exemplar, as he leaves blanks at the beginning of certain genealogies, and that this exemplar may have been from Leinster. He bases this on the detailed records for Mac Murchadha and Ó Tuathail – although he notes that those for Mág Raghnaill, Ó Fearghail (both of the Connhaicne in north-east Connacht) and Ó Ceallaigh (of Uí Mhaine in south-east Connacht) are equally detailed. The manuscript also ends with a lengthy genealogy of the Ó Deóráin family, hereditary jurisconsults to the Meic Mhurchadha, which goes all the way to Míl of Spain; it ends with the note 'A Lebur na hUagabala an geinealach so hI Deorain'.¹¹ Mac Niocaill presumes this refers to the Book of Leinster, also known as *Leabhar na Nuachongbhála*, but adds that there is no Ó Deóráin genealogy in that manuscript.¹² It may be noted that the Irish title *Leabhar na Nuachongbhála* is not attested in the Book of Leinster itself, only in manuscripts that contain later copies of it when it was in Oughaval (near Stradbally, Co. Laois). The earliest manuscript copies in which the Irish title occurs date from around 1400 and the 1620s. Mícheál Ó Cléirigh copied texts from the Book of Leinster in the 1620s, it served as a source of James Ware's 'Commonplace book' (c. 1627–48),¹³ and it is included in the list of the sources that were used to produce the Ó Cléirigh recension of *Leabhar Gabhála* written in 1631.¹⁴ If indeed we have to read 'Lebur na hUa[chon]gabala' in KI, this is the earliest post-medieval reference to the Book of Leinster with that title, and testifies to the reputation the twelfth-century manuscript had gained in the early sixteenth

¹⁰de Brún, *Catalogue*, 25. For the main lineage of Ó Maoil Chonaire, see OC §844; LMG i, 402 (§180.7), in which no Tuileagna occurs. Paul Walsh, 'The learned family of O Maelconaire', in Colm Ó Lochlainn (ed.), *Irish Men of Learning: Studies by Father Paul Walsh* (Dublin, 1947), 34–48, at 43, gives only one example of the name (in the early seventeenth century, see Bernadette Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters: Irish History, Kingship and Society in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Dublin, 2010), 263–7). For Tuileagna son of Torna Ó Maoil Chonaire, who lived around 1600, see Damian McManus, 'Niall Frosach's "act of truth": a bardic apologue in a poem for Sir Nicholas Walsh, chief justice of the common pleas (†1615)', *Ériu* 58 (2008), 133–68, at 135–6. This Tuileagna was the *seanchaidh* of Mac Murchadha, the most prominent Gaelic ruler in Leinster, and perhaps a descendant of or related to the scribe of KI. The name Tuileagna was also current among Muintir Duaine of Monasterboice in Breagha; see OC §2047, where there are three examples.

¹¹de Brún, *Catalogue*, 25. KI fol. 9vc23–4 (*aleb~ nahgab~a*).

¹²de Brún, *Catalogue*, 25.

¹³LL vol. 1, xi–xvii; RIA MS B iv 2 (1080), and BL Add. 4821, respectively.

¹⁴R. A. S. Macalister and John Mac Neill (eds), *Leabhar Gabhála: The Book of Conquests of Ireland. The Recension of Mícheál Ó Cléirigh*, vol. 1 (Dublin, 1916), 4–5; Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters*, 52–3.

century, if not earlier, even if the reference to the Ó Deóráin genealogy appears to be spurious.¹⁵

An Ó Deóráin genealogy is also in Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh's *Leabhar na nGenealach* (c. 1645–66) but it does not depend on the one in KI.¹⁶ There is indeed a good case to be made for a Leinster provenance of KI, but partially for different reasons than Mac Niocaill gives, and the writing of the manuscript probably happened in c. 1520–30, as will be discussed below. The blank spaces preceding certain genealogies are not always due to a defective or unreadable exemplar. As we shall see, they are found in other genealogical manuscripts, and were usually meant to leave room for updates, even if these were rarely added afterwards.

A number of marginal notes show that by the end of the seventeenth century the manuscript was in the hands of two members of the Keogh family, Farrell and Miles. The first writes on fol. 2v 'Ffarroll Keoghe his book, 1695', and essentially the same in pseudo-Gaelic letters on fol. 6v 'Ffariel Mac Hoe is leas an loue soe'. Similarly, his relative writes 'Miles Keoghe his hand and seal' on fol. 9v, and 'Mil More Mac Thoe is e soe a laue' on fol. 7r.¹⁷ The name Mac (T)hoe, (Mac) Kehoe or Keogh, which derives from Mac Eochaidh,¹⁸ can be located in Leinster. Mac Eochaidh and Ó Deóráin attended the inauguration of Meic Mhurchadha as kings of Leinster during reign of Elizabeth I,¹⁹ and the former also inaugurated the Ó Broin (O'Byrne) rulers of north-eastern Leinster.²⁰ The links between Mac Eochaidh and Ó Broin are also reflected in

¹⁵For a correct reference to 'Leabhar na hUachongmhala', see *RIA Cat*, facs. xix, 2343, at *RIA MS 23 F 15* (759), p. 2 (eighteenth century), cf. *LMG* ii, 269 (§481.1), *LL*, vol. 6, 1327–8.

¹⁶de Brún, *Catalogue*, 25, points to the overlap of the earlier Ó Deóráin generations in KI with those in the Book of Leinster as published in M. A. O'Brien (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, vol. 1 (Dublin, 1962, repr. 2001), 215 (*LL* p. 321b21), i.e. the genealogy of Ó Súilleabháin of Munster. He also refers to the genealogy in Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh's work, see now *LMG* ii, 574 (§622.3), and iii, 662 (§1318.4). The genealogy there runs from Muircheartach Buidhe son of Uilliam to Suilleabhán; the version in KI begins with Uilliam, adds or omits a few names, and runs until Míl of Spain. *LMG* ii, 574 (§622.4) contains an update six generations removed from Muircheartach Buidhe. There are two persons named Uilliam Ó Deóráin mentioned as *ollamh* in the annals, in 1404 and 1447, and as the name is quite current within the family, they cannot be identified with certainty in the genealogies.

¹⁷My readings may differ slightly from Mac Niocaill's. The *loue* or *laue* in both references is *leabhar* 'book' in Irish.

¹⁸Mac Niocaill transcribes the marginal note at fol. 9v as: 'Ag so leabar Domhnuill mic [...] / Mic Eochadha arna thabairt (?)'.

¹⁹John O'Hart, *Irish Pedigrees: Or, The Origin and Stem of the Irish Nation*, 2 vols, 5th ed. (Dublin 1892, repr. 1999), i, 506; see also Conchubhar Ó Cruaioich, 'The identification of Leac Mhic Eochaidh in north Wexford as a possible site for inauguration of the lord of Uí Chinnsealaigh, and some evidence for its use as an assembly site in 1592', *The Past: The Organ of the Uí Chinnsealaigh Historical Society* 32 (2016), 52–72, at 65–6; Nerys Patterson, 'The O'Doran legal family and the sixteenth-century recensions of the Pseudo-Historical Prologue to the "Senchas Már"', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 6 (1986), 131–49, at 139. At *AFM* s.a. 1417.1 Ó Deóráin is called 'brehon of Leinster' (*breithemh Laighen*), who, as was rumoured, was poisoned together with Art Mac Murchadha, king of Leinster.

²⁰Christopher Maginn, 'Civilizing' *Gaelic Leinster: The Extension of Tudor Rule in the O'Byrne and O'Toole Lordships* (Dublin, 2005), 7–8 note 12. See also A. Martin Freeman (ed. and trans.), *Annála Connacht, A.D. 1224–1544: The Annals of Connacht, A.D. 1224–1544* (Dublin, 1944), s.a. 1534.2.

the manuscript, for a note on fol. 9v reads 'Peter Byrne his Book of Genealogy written ...'

This Peter Byrne was the brother of Major Charles Byrne, and both are known from a letter they wrote in 1688 to their father, James (Séamus) Byrne of Ballinakill (Co. Laois). Charles, who died in the battle of Aughrim in 1691, had a son named Michael Byrne (Mícheál Ó Broin), who possessed the manuscript now known as British Library, MS Egerton 1782; he also transcribed the Book of the O'Byrnes (Leabhar Branach) in 1722 from a manuscript made in 1622 by Brian Mac Giolla Phádraig.²¹ Leabhar Branach contains mainly poetry about the Ó Broin family of Leinster composed by poets of the Mac Eochaidh (Keogh) family.²² We know that Michael Byrne had access to KI from or after his uncle Peter, because he made a copy of it in a manuscript which is now Dublin, National Library of Ireland, MS G 61.

In NLI MS G 61 we find on p. 6 a title page that reads: 'A Book of the Genealogies of the Principal Families of the Milesian Race Interspers'd with several remarkable occurrences. Compiled by John Conry Lord Chronologer of the Kingdom of Ireland. Written by Michael Byrne out of the Original: Dublin MDCCX'. Until p. 32 there are excerpts from *Forus Feasa ar Éirinn* by Geoffrey Keating (died c. 1644) and Egerton 1782, followed by genealogies of Ó Broin, Ó Tuathail and some other material. On p. 33 begins a section with the genealogies of Mac Suibhne of Connacht, with which KI begins on fol. 1v.²³ With minor differences it gives the same genealogies in the same order and with the same headings as in KI,²⁴ ending on p. 103 with that of Ó Deóráin, which duly concludes with *Lebar na hUagabala an geinealach so hÍ Deorain 7c*, as in KI. There follows on p. 104 a genealogy of the Ciarraighe, which precedes that of Ó Deóráin in KI, but which is there difficult to read due to damaged parchment.²⁵ After a brief account of the descendants of Íor son of Míl of

²¹T. F. O'Rahilly, 'The O'Byrnes of Baile na Coille', *JRSAI* 8/2 (1938), 278–80. On Egerton 1782, see also Benjamin James Hazard, '“Gaelic political scripture”: Uí Mhaoil Chonaire scribes and the Book of Mac Murchadha Caomhánach', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 23 (2003), 149–64.

²²Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University, Houghton Library MS Ir 6. See Seán Mac Airt (ed. and trans.), *Leabhar Branach. The Book of the O'Byrnes* (Dublin, 1944), who at xiv and 444 also suggests a family relationship between Peter and Michael, and at xvi–xvii links Michael to the Ó Neachtain scholars in Dublin. For the possibility that Leabhar Branach was for a part indebted to the Book of Leinster, see Neil Buttimer, 'The Book of Leinster and the Book of the O'Byrnes', in C. Breatnach, M. Ní Úrdail and G. Ó Riain (eds), *Lorg na Leabhar: A Festschrift for Pádraig A. Breatnach* (Dublin, 2019), 113–38.

²³It begins with: 'Geinealach Mic Siubhne [sic] Conacht. Toirrdhelbach mac Eoghain mic Dhubhghaill mic Mailmuire...'. In KI this pedigree has no heading and begins with 'm. Eoghain'. Michael Byrne added the heading and also Toirdhealbach, who is named as Eóghan's father in the next entry. For the rest G 61 is a somewhat careless copy of KI, and O'Byrne has taken over a number of errors and scribal mistakes also found in KI.

²⁴When comparing the heading of the genealogies, it should be noted that not all pedigrees have a heading and that Mac Niocaill overlooked the headings to the pedigrees of Ó Conchabhair Failghe at KI fol. 6c59 (here 7c59) and Ó Broin at fol. 6e17 (7va17), and does not record headings of subdivisions such as Gabhal Echach at fol. 6e10 (7va10). These headings are recorded for NLI G 61 in Nessa Ní Shéaghda, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland*, fasc. ii (Dublin, 1961), 86–8.

²⁵KI fol. 9va30–6; NLI MS G 61, p. 104a7–b8 has a longer pedigree (followed by later added

Spain there are further transcripts of Egerton 1782. At p. 186 begins a section with genealogies of the main Irish rulers, taken from the genealogical section appended to *Forus Feasa* in various manuscripts, and with further excerpts from that text, interspersed with some other genealogical material.²⁶

There can be no doubt that Michael Byrne copied the genealogies on pp. 33–104 from KI, and thus we have identified the source of this section in NLI MS G 61.²⁷ It does not necessarily follow that KI was compiled by John Conry, 'Lord Chronologer of the Kingdom of Ireland'.²⁸ His 'Book of the Genealogies of the Principal Families of the Milesian Race Interspers'd with several remarkable occurrences' more likely applies to the sections on pp. 25–8, which list the principal Irish families from the various sons of Míl and other remote forefathers, which follow excerpts from *Forus Feasa* and other sources. This is small fry compared with the complete copy of KI on pp. 33–103, but Byrne may not have known beforehand that he would include this extensive source with the rest.

The history of KI thus has a sequence of Ó Deóráin, Mac Eochaidh and Ó Broin that reflects the bonds between these learned and ruling families of Leinster. After Michael Byrne, the trail runs cold, but it is possible that KI travelled the same road as Egerton 1782. Both manuscripts ended up in the hands of the Dublin scholar Edward O'Reilly (1765–1830), who copied texts from Egerton 1782,²⁹ and owned a number of manuscripts that were acquired by King's Inns Library, very probably including KI.³⁰ In 1858 a number of Irish manuscripts of William Mon(c)k Mason (1775–1859) were auctioned, including Egerton 1782, which was bought by the British Museum (now the British Library).³¹ King's Inns MS 11 was not listed in the auction, and seems to have been among the manuscripts O'Reilly had 'disposed' to William Monk Mason in 1825. Mason's brother, Henry Joseph Monk Mason (1778–1858), was at that point chief librarian of King's Inns, which he remained until 1851. There is evidence that by 1852 the library had acquired several Irish manuscripts that

remarks), and comes from a different source. G 61 also omits the section at KI fol. 9rd42–9va29 (Sogain), which is difficult to read in KI, as the whole of fol. 9va is badly smudged. This was apparently already the case in Michael Byrne's day.

²⁶Ní Shéaghdha, *Catalogue NLI*, facs. ii, 89–90.

²⁷Cf. de Brún, *Catalogue*, xiv: 'some of the material in NLI G 61 seems to derive from King's Inns 11'; cf. Ó Canann, 'Ua Canannáin genealogies', 197.

²⁸As presumed in Ó Corráin, *Clavis* ii, 1008, no. 777, and Bernadette Cunningham and Raymond Gillespie, 'Muirheas Ó Maoilchonaire of Cluain Plocáin: an early sixteenth-century Connacht scribe at work', *Studia Hibernica* 35 (2008–09), 17–43, at 26. For John Conry, see Ní Shéaghdha, *Catalogue NLI*, facs. ii, 84, citing William Nicholson, *The Irish Historical Library* (Dublin, 1724), 243–6, where it is recorded that John Conry (Seán Ó Maoil Chonaire) owned a number of important Irish manuscripts, including annalistic ones; hence, apparently, the lofty title given to him by Michael Byrne. See further Ó Muraíle, *Celebrated Antiquary*, 306 and 309; Richard Sharpe (ed.), *Roderick O'Flaherty's Letters to William Molyneux, Edward Lhwyd and Samuel Molyneux, 1696–1709* (Dublin, 2013), 170–8.

²⁹Robin Flower, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols (London, 1926–53) ii, 263, and iii, 31, where Flower states that Egerton 1782 was owned by O'Reilly in 1808 and by Mason in 1820.

³⁰de Brún, *Catalogue*, xiii–ix.

³¹Flower, *Catalogue BM* ii, 262–3.

were kept under lock and key. An inventory made in 1867 lists 37 manuscripts, King's Inns MS 11 among them. Pádraig de Brún concludes that Henry Joseph, who had an interest in the Irish language and antiquities, had acquired a collection of manuscripts from his brother, and perhaps a number of them directly from O'Reilly.³² In this way our genealogical manuscript travelled from scholar to scholar until it was finally lodged in King's Inns Library.

THE CONTENTS OF KING'S INNS MS 11

The first to investigate and publish about KI after Mac Niocaill's description in 1972 was Kenneth Nicholls. Three years later he remarks:

The earliest inclusion of a Norman family in an Irish genealogical collection of which I am aware is that of the de Burgos in a fragmentary manuscript in the Benchers' Library at King's Inns, Dublin (MS.G.11); this collection, from the latest generations occurring in it, must have been compiled around 1500, but much of the material, including the de Burgo genealogy referred to, seems to be some thirty or forty years earlier.³³

This is in summary repeated in the lists of Irish genealogical manuscripts by Nollaig Ó Muraíle.³⁴ Donnchadh Ó Corráin in his *Clavis* adds a couple of details and says that it was 'probably copied from a defective exemplar, perhaps of Leinster origin',³⁵ thus repeating Mac Niocaill's explanation about the spaces left open before certain pedigrees. None of these scholars have remarked on other aspects or distinctive features of KI. One can conclude that the manuscript has received only cursory attention so far, but since the publication of digitised scans of the complete manuscript on ISOS, its accessibility has been greatly enhanced.

We can divide KI into seven sections, although the manuscript itself has only a few and undistinctive sectional headings:

1. fols 1va1–3rd2: Northern and Southern Uí Néill, beginning (acephalous) with Mac Suibhne, *galloglass* from Scotland (held to be related to Ó Néill), and showing an erratic order, especially in the genealogies of the various branches of Ceinéal Conaill and Ceinéal Eóghain which are placed quite at random.
2. fols 3rd3–5rc32: Connachta, with most entries reserved for the ruling dynasts of Ó Ruairc and Ó Raighilligh and collateral branches.³⁶

³²de Brún, *Catalogue*, viii–xi.

³³Nicholls, 'The Irish genealogies', 258–9. Séamas Pender, 'A guide to Irish genealogical collections', *Analecta Hibernica* 7 (1934), 1–167, refers to KI (as KI, MS, XI), but at p. i says he relies on a catalogue provided by Brigid O'Byrne and does not appear to have consulted the manuscript himself.

³⁴Ó Muraíle, *The Irish Genealogies*, 44 no. 12 (see further at note 4 above). He refers to Nicholls's publication.

³⁵Ó Corráin, *Clavis* ii, 1001, no. 762. He does not refer to Nicholls's publication.

³⁶At fol. 4vb11–vc26 (10 entries) and fol. 4vd15–5ra40 (14 entries, but actually 16, as one, at fol. 5ra4–11, is a conflation of three entries into one; compare OC §§1501–3).

3. fols 5rc33–5rd35: Five entries on Clann Aodha Bhuidhe (Ó Néill of Clandeboey): the descendants of Muircheartach Ruadh (lord 1425–68) and his father Brian Ballach (†1425).
4. fols 5rd37–5vc40: Non-Gaelic genealogies. Pedigrees of Mac Quillin (Mac Uidhilín) and de Burgh or Burke (Mac Uilliam), including those of the lords of Lower Connacht and the earls of Clan Ricard, and several other branches.
5. fols 5vc41–7ra46: Oirghialla, introduced with *Slicht na Colla*,³⁷ with most entries devoted to Ó Ceallaigh of Uí Mhaine, Mág Uidhir of Fir Manach, and Mac Domhnaill, *galloglass* from Scotland.³⁸
6. fols 7ra47–8rc28: Leinster,³⁹ with most attention given to Mac Murchadha (Caomhánach) and Ó Broin.⁴⁰ This section determines the date of the manuscript as a whole, as it contains the most recent updates, which point to a compilation of c. 1520–30, as will be discussed below.
7. fols 8rc29–9va36: Descendants of Íor son of Míl in Ulster and elsewhere. Introduced with *Slicht Ir mic Miled indso*, and with most entries pertaining to Ó Fearghail, lords of Muintir Anghaile, and Mág Raghnaill, lords of Muintir Eolais, both of the Connhaicne of north-eastern Connacht.⁴¹

Apart from the headings in sections 5 and 7, there are no clear divisions within the genealogies as a whole, but the one proposed here shall serve as an analytical tool for our comparison between KI and other manuscripts. What follows below is a discussion of the main divisions of the records in KI, found in sections 1–2 and 5–7, after which the intrusive sections 3 and 4 will be considered. These last two sections are unique or almost unique to KI (apart from the copy in NLI MS G 61), although some overlap exists between the records in section 4 and records in other manuscripts. In the other five sections the situation is reversed: these records can be found in several closely related manuscripts, although some records are unique to KI, or contain different readings or additions. It is to this material we turn first.

THE LEABHAR DONN – O'CLERY (LD-OC) TEXTUAL TRADITION OF GENEALOGICAL RECORDING

A remarkable feature of the combined sections 1–2 and 5–7 is that they mainly deal with pedigrees only. These pedigrees terminate at c. 1520–30 at the latest (in the Leinster section), but mostly in the fifteenth century, or even up to

³⁷For sake of brevity I include the genealogies of the Fotharta and Déisi at fol. 7ra3–46 in this section. They purportedly descend from Feidhlimidh Reachtmhar, a remote ancestor of the Connachta, Uí Néill and Oirghialla.

³⁸At fols 5vd29–6rc6 (25 entries). The Uí Mhaine shared their ancestor with the Oirghialla; fol. 6rd17–va20 (11 entries); fol. 6va42–vb27 (10 entries).

³⁹For sake of brevity I include the genealogies of Dál Fiatach of Ulster at fol. 8rc1–28 in this section. They purportedly descend from Aonghus Tuirmheach, a remote ancestor of the Connachta, Uí Néill and Oirghialla.

⁴⁰At fol. 7ra47–rc58 (21 entries) and fol. 7va17–vc35 (19 entries, excluding the three Uí Fhelmedha genealogies at 7vb22–vc5).

⁴¹At fol. 8rc29–vb33 (31 entries), and fol. 8vb34–vc39 (11 entries).

several centuries earlier. This reflects the various stages in which these records were either updated or became petrified in the textual tradition which gave rise to KI. This textual tradition ultimately starts with the Psalter of Cashel, a compilation of genealogical (and probably related) material that was reputedly formed under or by the learned king of Cashel, Cormac mac Cuilennáin (†908). It seems to have been redacted under Brian Bóroime, king of Munster, around 1000, and partly updated to this period. All the large collections of secular genealogical records until c. 1400 are indebted to the Psalter of Cashel, which was further redacted in Armagh and other places, so that multiple and partially overlapping versions exist in the extant manuscripts. The genealogies of local dynasties and the most powerful Irish royal dynasties elsewhere were usually updated.⁴² In Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 502 (Leinster, c. 1130) this is done in four discrete sections, either before (Leinster) or after (the other three sections) the body of genealogies that was mainly copied from a redacted version of the Psalter of Cashel.⁴³ In the Book of Leinster (c. 1160) this is done almost at the end of all the genealogies, which were originally placed at the beginning of the manuscript as a whole, that is, after *Lebor Gabhála*, poetry and regnal lists but before saga literature.⁴⁴ In the Connacht manuscripts TCD MS H 2.7 (1298) (c. 1350),⁴⁵ the Book of Uí Mhaine, Book of Ballymote and Book

⁴²Pádraig Ó Riain, 'The Psalter of Cashel: a provisional list of contents', *Éigse* 23 (1989), 107–30; Bart Jaski, 'The genealogical section of the Psalter of Cashel', *Peritia* 17–18 (2003–04), 295–337.

⁴³See Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 502, the updated genealogies of Leinster at p. 117 (O'Brien, *Corpus*, 10–17); Uí Néill, Connachta and Oirghialla at pp. 143bc39–146g55 (O'Brien, *Corpus*, 159–85); Munster (descendants of Éibear son of Míl) at pp. 154a40–155a2 (O'Brien, *Corpus*, 250–5); and Ulster (descendants of Íor son of Míl) and Scotland at p. 161b32–e28 (O'Brien, *Corpus*, 322–30). The four sections appear as columns in the manuscript, a lay-out which is for the rest rarely and irregularly used in the secular genealogies. With few exceptions these four sections are the only ones that contain updates beyond c. 1000, usually from the period c. 1050 to 1130. The four sections are editorial interventions that interrupt the main body of genealogical recording that on the whole reflects the core of the Psalter of Cashel, including redactional activities that took place in Armagh, Leinster and perhaps elsewhere.

⁴⁴TCD MS H 2.18 (1339). *LL*, vol. 6, 1477–92, 1463–77 (pp. 337–8, 335–6). Note that the present edition of the Book of Leinster follows the sequence of leaves as found in the facsimile edition published by the Royal Irish Academy in 1880, but this is not the original foliation of the manuscript. The poems on Leinster history at the beginning (*LL*, vol. 1, 202–60; pp. 43–52) used to be followed by the main genealogical section (*LL*, vol. 6, 1327–1463; pp. 311–34), followed by the collection of pedigrees of Irish kings, and finally the Osraige genealogies (*LL*, vol. 6, 1493–1502; pp. 339–42). It then continued with *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (*LL*, vol. 2, 261; p. 53), the first major saga in the codex. On the reconstructed foliation, see William O'Sullivan, 'Notes on the scripts and make-up of the Book of Leinster', *Celtica* 7 (1966), 1–31, especially the overview at 34/35. He has put pp. 323–4 (*LL*, vol. 6, 1394–1463) as one group of folios much further back in the manuscript, after a lost section. However, the end of p. 322 is without doubt continued at p. 323 (*LL*, vol. 6, 1394; see also the corresponding section in Rawlinson B 502, p. 153a1; O'Brien, *Corpus*, 238), so I take them to have formed one section. That pp. 335–6 follow pp. 337–8 is established by O'Sullivan, 'Notes', 19, on codicological grounds, and is supported by the textual evidence: the genealogies of the Cianachta (p. 335a; *LL*, vol. 6, 1463) naturally follow those of the Luighne (p. 338h; *LL*, vol. 6, 1492), as they share the same forefathers. The Book of Leinster misses a good part of the genealogies of the descendants of Éireamhon son of Míl, except those of Leinster.

⁴⁵Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Dublin, 1985), xxxvii–viii; John Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada* (Edinburgh, 1975), 28–31. TCD MS H 2.7 is a convolute, see also Aisling Byrne, 'Cultural intersections in Trinity College Dublin MS 1298', in Axel and Neele Harlos (eds), *Adapting Texts and Styles in a Celtic Context: Interdisciplinary*

of Lecan (the last three dated to around 1400),⁴⁶ we usually find a mixture of the textual tradition of the Psalter of Cashel interspersed with contemporary updates before or after the records of the royal kindreds, but also in discrete sections. In the last three of these large and extensive codices the genealogies take up a fifth to a quarter of the total number of leaves.

The Ó Cianáin Miscellany (NLI MS G 2–G 3), which modern historians think was probably written in Fermanagh, c. 1345, is a collection of royal pedigrees, genealogical histories, regnal lists, poetry, prose texts and grammatical, wisdom and law tracts.⁴⁷ In the various genealogical sections the emphasis is on the pedigrees of contemporary or earlier rulers, mainly of the Uí Néill, Connachta and Oirghialla. This format may be a forerunner of manuscripts that are completely dedicated to genealogical records and mainly consist of pedigrees in columns, sometimes preceded by the genealogical history of the population group or royal dynasty in question. This is not the place to discuss this new way of genealogical recording in any detail, but it is important to note that KI fits into this textual tradition. KI is particularly closely related to four manuscripts, which are briefly discussed below.

1. Leabhar Donn (LD), RIA MS 23 Q 10 (1233), contains the first extant manuscript in the new format.⁴⁸ Leabhar Donn is a composite manuscript of several (remnants of) manuscripts and inserted leaves of different provenance, on various topics including astronomy, religion, narrative literature and medicine. The oldest genealogical manuscript that it includes is at fols 35–47 and covers the Uí Néill, Connachta (with a genealogical introduction to the records of Ó Ruairc), Oirghialla, Laighin, Descendants of Íor and the ruling dynasties of Munster (with a genealogical introduction to the records of Ó Briain), of which the final section is unreadable because fol. 47v functioned as the outer cover of the manuscript. The rest is missing. Most pedigrees terminate in the last decades of the fourteenth century, but the most recent ones can be dated to c. 1430–35.⁴⁹

Perspectives on Processes of Literary Transfer in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of Erich Poppe. Studien und Texte zur Keltologie, 13 (Münster, 2016), 289–304, at 288–9.

⁴⁶Descriptions and lists of contents of these three manuscripts can be found in R. A. S. Macalister (ed.), *The Book of Uí Maine* (Dublin, 1941) [facsimile of RIA MS D ii 1 (1225)]; Robert Atkinson (ed.), *The Book of Ballymote* (Dublin, 1887) [facsimile of RIA MS 23 P 12 (536)]; Kathleen Mulchrone (ed.), *The Book of Lecan* (Dublin 1937) [facsimile of RIA MS 23 P 2 (535)]. The first two are also discussed in detail in Elizabeth Boyle and Ruairí Ó hUiginn (ed.), *The Book of Uí Mhaine, Codices Hibernenses Eximii*, 3 (Dublin, 2023), and Ó hUiginn, *Book of Ballymote*.

⁴⁷Ní Shéaghda, *Catalogue NLI*, facs. i (1967), 12–28 (which is not always accurate); James Carney, 'The Ó Cianáin Miscellany', *Ériu* 21 (1969), 122–47.

⁴⁸Nicholls, 'The Irish genealogies', 257 (he only discusses the later genealogies in the manuscript); Ó Muraile, *The Irish Genealogies*, 44, no. 11; Ó Corráin, *Clavis* ii, 1000–01, no. 761. David E. Thornton, *Kings, Chronologies, and Genealogies: Studies in the Political History of Early Medieval Ireland and Wales* (Oxford, 2003), 171 (cf. 19) notes that KI and LD share an identical mistake in the Déisi genealogies.

⁴⁹The more recent pedigrees include at fol. 36ra1: Eóghan Ó Néill (reigned with intervals 1410–55); fol. 37ra3: sons of Toirdhealach Ó Domhnaill (†1422); fol. 38vec30: Eóghan Mac Diarmada Ruadh (†1455), son of Maol Eachlainn (†1417); fol. 41rba22: Tadhg Ó Ruairc (reigned 1419–35); fol. 43vc4: Donnchadh Mac Murchadha (reigned 1417–c. 1455); fol. 43ve32: An Calbhach

2. TCD MS H 1.12 (1286) (S) contains a colophon that states that the genealogical tract was copied by Aodh Ó Dálaigh from an old book of Seán son of Muiris Ó Maoil Chonaire, *ardollamh* of Ireland and Scotland. This copying was done in the library of St Patrick's Cathedral in 1744 on the order of Dr Francis Stoughton Sullivan (1715–66), professor at Trinity College Dublin. Nicholls calls it 'a very bad copy', and Ó Corráin 'an indifferent transcript'. There are indeed ample scribal mistakes, but it is written in a fairly legible but constantly changing hand. The date of 1480 that Nicholls assigns to it has been taken over by others, but it is nowhere mentioned in the tract itself.⁵⁰ The genealogical section is in the second part of the manuscript, paged 1–41. It starts with the Munster dynasties of Máig Cárthaigh and Ó Mathghamhna, followed by the records of Ó Briain, which is preceded by a genealogical introduction. Hereafter follow the ruling families of Connacht (with a genealogical introduction to the records of Mac Diarmada), the Uí Néill, Uí Briúin Bréifne (with a genealogical introduction to the records of Ó Ruairc), Oirghialla, Leinster and the Descendants of Íor. On p. 42 is a long pedigree of Mac Uidhílin (Mac Quillin), but crossed out. The sections of Leinster on pp. 43–50 (with the scribe noting the date of 1725) and the Descendants of Íor and Ulster kings on pp. 51–3 are from different manuscript traditions.⁵¹ The pedigree of Eóghan (died 1485), son of Feidlimidh (king of Connacht 1466–74), as head of the Ó Conchabhair Donn branch, seems an indication of its latest date, around 1480.⁵² However, the records of Ó Tuathail and Ó Broin of Leinster are even later, and point to a date of c. 1490 and a Leinster provenance, as will be further discussed below.

3. After KI, written in the period c. 1520–30, as will be discussed below, we find this textual tradition recorded in TCD MS H 3.18 (1337) (T). This is another composite manuscript, which contains a distinctive paper section with genealogical records on pp. 810–58.⁵³ It covers the Uí Néill, Oirghialla,

Ó Conchabhair Failghe (reigned c. 1425–58); fol. 45re20 (*Comarba Caillin*): Matha Ó Roideacháin (†1447), son of Roibeard (†1428), of Connhaicne. The later genealogical section in Leabhar Donn is at fols 13–29. It has detailed records of the Connachta and Oirghialla, updated to around 1480. It ends acephalous. Because of its limited coverage, it will be left out of the subsequent discussion.

⁵⁰Nicholls, 'The Irish genealogies', 257–8; Ó Muraile, *The Irish Genealogies*, 48 no. 28; Ó Corráin, *Clavis* ii, 1010, no. 781, who gives a transcription of the colophon at the bottom of p. 8c. The same year and place are also at p. 26c.

⁵¹The Leinster section (Uí Bairrche and Uí Fhailge) roughly corresponds to O'Brien, *Corpus*, 46–65 (121a38–123f18), but in a different redaction, and the Ulster section with *ibid.*, 269–77 (156a25–157,10).

⁵²The more recent pedigrees include at p. 11c3: Tadhg Ó Conchabhair (reigned 1439–64); p. 12b31: Eóghan Cáech Ó Conchabhair Donn (†1485); p. 18a21: Enrí Ó Néill (reigned 1455–83); p. 29c1: Eoin Mac Domhnaill (†1503), son of Alexander (†1449); p. 31b26: Conn Ó Conchabhair Failghe (reigned 1458–74); p. 39b27: sons of Cathal Mag Raghnaill (reigned 1462–6). Other pedigrees are similar to the latest in LD, for example at p. 13b12: Eóghan Mac Diarmada Ruadh (†1455), son of Maol Eachlainn (†1417); p. 20a8: sons of Toirdhealbach Ó Domhnaill (†1422); p. 23c6: Tadhg Ó Ruairc (reigned 1419–35); p. 30c32: Donnchadh Mac Murchadha (reigned 1417–c. 1455); p. 40a21 (*Comarba Caillin*): Matha Ó Roideacháin (†1447), son of Roibeard (†1428), of Connhaicne.

⁵³Nicholls, 'The Irish genealogies', 256 (who notes the relationship with OC); Ó Muraile, *The Irish Genealogies*, 46, no. 22; Ó Corráin, *Clavis* ii, 1005, no. 769, who states that RIA MS 23 O 21 (1130) is of the same paper and the same hand and thus appears to be a fragment of H 3.18. This is not the case, and the contents of the two manuscripts even partially overlap.

Laighin and ends with the Descendants of Ír. This last section is followed by a genealogical introduction to their records (comparable with the last section in S, no. 2 above), and at this point the manuscript breaks off. The Connachta are omitted, although there is nothing missing between the records of the Uí Néill and Oirghialla. In S the records of the Connachta precede those of the Uí Néill, and it is likely that this section was also included in the first part in T but is now missing. The most recent records point to an Ulster provenance and a date of c. 1630 for the manuscript, but there are only a few pedigrees from that period; most of the rest terminate at c. 1600 or earlier.⁵⁴

4. The best-known genealogical source in this textual tradition is the collection known as O'Clery's Genealogies (OC). The autograph manuscript, RIA MS 23 D 17 (790), was written by Cú Coigcríche Ó Cléirigh (*fl.* 1630–64), one of the Four Masters, who lived in Co. Donegal before he resettled in Co. Mayo.⁵⁵ The genealogies were written with several blank lines between the heading and the first name, so that they could be updated. After a list of Irish Franciscan monasteries and the genealogy of the king of Spain, the main sections are devoted to the descendants of Éireamhon son of Míl son of Bile son of Bréoghan (§§5–1792), Ír son of Míl (§§1793–1930), Éibhear son of Míl (§§1931–2048), Lughaidh son of Íth son of Bréoghan (§§2049–2093), and to non-Gaelic (mostly Anglo-Norman) families (§§2093–2337). The focus is clearly on the first group, consisting mainly of the Uí Néill, Connachta and Oirghialla. Some sections have introductory genealogies starting with pseudo-historical ancestors like Niall of the Nine Hostages and his kin, including those found in some or all of the other manuscripts: Ó Briain, Mac Diarmada, Ó Ruairc and Descendants of Ír; all are with some variations also found in one or more of the codices of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries.⁵⁶ The main focus of OC is on the branches of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Genealogical recording took place until about 1660. Updates are often placed in separate sections which can be introduced by the heading *núai fhiadnaisi* (lit. 'new testimony') or the like.⁵⁷ The complete manuscript was edited and published by Séamus Pender in 1951.

All five manuscripts show such a level of agreement in the pedigrees they record, and the order in which they present them, that they clearly belong to the same textual tradition of late medieval genealogical recording in Ireland.

⁵⁴The more recent pedigrees include at p. 810a1: Seaán Ó Néill, Earl of Tyrone (†1641); p. 826a1: Brian Mág Uidhir (†1632), son of Conchabhar (†1625).

⁵⁵Pender, 'O'Clery Genealogies', xi–xii; Nicholls, 'The Irish genealogies', 256–7; Ó Muraíle, *The Irish Genealogies*, 46, no. 21; Ó Corráin, *Clavis* ii, 1004–5, no. 768. The manuscript is unsigned and Cú Coigcríche's authorship is extrapolated from other manuscripts; see in particular Pádraig A. Breatnach, *The Four Masters and their Manuscripts: Studies in Palaeography and Text* (Dublin, 2013), 10–20, 122–4.

⁵⁶For edited versions of the last two, see M. V. Duignan, 'The Uí Briúin Bréifni genealogies', *JRSAI* 64 (1934): 90–137, 213–56; M. E. Dobbs, 'The History of the Descendants of Ir', *ZCP* 13 (1921), 308–59; 14 (1923), 44–144.

⁵⁷See the headings at OC §§185 (with the year 1660), 1489, 1530, 1609 and 1715.

This tradition spans almost two and a half centuries, in chronological order LD (c. 1430–35), S (c. 1490), KI (c. 1520–30), T (c. 1630) and OC (c. 1660). We can refer to it as the *Leabhar Donn-O'Clery* (LD-OC) textual tradition of genealogical recording. Their common core is best visible in the more extensive records reserved for the more powerful or locally relevant families, such as Ó Ruairc and Ó Raighilligh and related families of Uí Bhriúin Bréifne,⁵⁸ Ceinéal Maine of Tethba,⁵⁹ Mág Uidhir of Fir Manach,⁶⁰ and Ó Fearghail and Mág Raghnaill and related families of Conmhaicne.⁶¹ In all cases we can expect variations in pedigrees, updates, discarded records, differences in order, copyist mistakes and orthographic variations, but their common roots are nevertheless obvious. This also applies to dynasties or families represented by a single pedigree, such as in the case of the records of the Uí Mhac Uais, Uí Bhreasail Macha and Uí Bhreasail Oirthir (all Oirghialla), Uí Lomáin Fionnabrach and Uí Chormaic Máonmhuighe (both Uí Mhaine) and Uí Nualláin (Fotharta of Leinster), which are found in that order in LD, S, KI and T, and somewhat rearranged in OC.⁶² The middle four are petrified pedigrees that do not go beyond the twelfth century. In general, the single petrified pedigrees are ultimately based on the Psalter of Cashel textual tradition of genealogical recording. But also the records of the more powerful families may not go beyond the decades around 1400 if they were not updated afterwards. This explains why we find relatively many pedigrees in KI that terminate in this period. The best covered families in the LD-OC manuscripts by and large reflect the focus on north-eastern Connacht when these were originally compiled, of which LD is the best representative, even if it is incomplete at the end. OC has the most extensive version, because it covers all the dynasties, including those of Munster and Anglo-Norman families. These are not, or sparsely, covered in the other four, with the exception of the Munster families in S. It is possible that KI had early on lost its Munster section which would have preceded what now has been left in a separate section. OC has also the most updates, and has further additions, such as an extensive account of the Uí Dhomhnaill which originally did not belong to the LD-OC textual tradition. But on the whole OC is part of that tradition, not a new compilation of sorts.

THE LEINSTER PEDIGREES

Now we have established the broad context in which KI should be placed, we can discuss its main points of interest. Since KI relies on an already existing

⁵⁸ LD fols 41rba22–42rf37; S pp. 23c6–26c32; KI fols 4vb11–5rb37; missing in T; OC §§1409–1529.

⁵⁹ LD fols 37vb28–38rc30; S pp. 21b4–22b14; KI fols 2vd28–3rc12; T pp. 818b30–823a8 (excluding the inserted pp. 820–1, with a pedigree of Ó hEaghra of Luighne); OC §§832–53 (which includes at §§842–3 a regnal list and a poem not found in the other versions).

⁶⁰ LD fol. 42vd1–vf12; S p. 29a15–b11; KI fol. 6rd17–va11; T pp. 826b1–827a35; OC §§1599–1608 (and updates at 1609–15).

⁶¹ LD fols 45ra1–vb9, 45vd15–46ra17; S pp. 37b26–40b12; KI fols 8rc29–9ra12; T pp. 838a1–842a24; OC §§1842–1924.

⁶² LD fol. 43rg24–vb6; S p. 30b8–c21; KI fols 6vd10–7ra24; T pp. 829b8–830b8; OC §§1719, 1674, 1673, 1680, 1679, 1733.

and continuing textual tradition, most records do not go beyond the early fifteenth century, and on the whole KI agrees with the records in LD and S, and with those records in T and OC which have not been updated. S is chronologically the closest to KI (even if it is a later copy), and a comparison between the records of the more extensively recorded dynasties shows that S shares some features of LD, T and/or OC against KI, but also agrees with KI against some or all of the other three. The exact relationship between the five manuscript witnesses is a complicated question and still has to be addressed, but it appears that while all five share many records up to the first quarter of the fifteenth century, this becomes less pronounced afterwards. This is due in part to the fact that T and OC contain several records that have been updated to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, so that fewer records of the fifteenth century remain. One of the latest records that S, KI, T and OC have in common is the pedigree of Art Ó Maoil Eachlainn (†1468), son of Conn (†1431), of Clann Cholmáin of Mide.⁶³ S and KI also have the genealogies of Tadhg Óg Ó Conchabhair (king of Connacht, 1439–64) and the sons of Cathal Óg Mág Raghnaill (lord of Muintir Eolais, 1462–8) in common. Both have been updated in T and OC, so their records cannot be used to establish when the four start to diverge.⁶⁴

In the case of S and KI it seems that their latest common records point to the years 1462–4 when they diverge. S has one clear example of a record that is not updated after that period in KI,⁶⁵ while KI has several that are not updated after that period in S.⁶⁶ The latest of these non-Leinster updates in KI relates to Niall Ó Baoighill (†1502), son of Toirdhealbach (†1489), of Ceinéal Conaill.⁶⁷ KI thus has updates until c. 1490 which it does not share with S, while T and OC either lack these updates or have updated the lineages, up to around 1600 (T) or later (OC). The situation is reversed in KI section 6 on Leinster, where KI has updated the basic fifteenth-century records as we find

⁶³S p. 20b34; KI fol. 2rd18; T p. 817b14; OC §780.

⁶⁴S p. 11c3; KI fol. 3rd3; missing in T; updated at OC §928, and S p. 39b17; KI fol. 8vc2. Compare T p. 840a4 and OC §1882, which record the ruling lineage descending from Cathal Óg's brother Íor (†1464).

⁶⁵S p. 29c1: Eoin Mac Domhnaill (†1503), son of Alexander / Alastar (†1449), son of Domhnall (†1423) (identical to T p. 827b30 and OC §1698); KI fol. 6va42 begins with Domhnall Mac Domhnaill.

⁶⁶KI fol. 1vc26: Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill (king of Tír Conaill, 1461–1505), son of Niall Garbh (†1439), son of Toirdhealbach; S p. 20a8 and T p. 814b6 terminate at the sons of Toirdhealbach, but this is followed at T p. 184b13 with an updated record, while OC §925 has a further updated record. KI fol. 2rb5: Brian Ó Dochartaigh (lord of Airmire, †1496), son of Domhnall (†1440), son of Conchabhar (†1413); S p. 20a30 terminates at Conchabhar; updated in T p. 814b34 and OC §199. KI fol. 2va24: Aodh Ó Maoil Mhuaidh (lord of Fir Chell, †1454), son of Niall (†1425), son of Ruaidhrí; S p. 21a1, T p. 818a13 and OC §888 terminate at Ruaidhrí; KI fol. 2vb7, T p. 818a22 and OC §890: Cú Coigriche Mág Eochagáin (lord of Ceinéal Fiachach, 1470–4), son of Niall (*fl.* 1454), son of Diarmuid (†1392); S p. 21a14 terminates at Diarmuid. KI fol. 3vd6: Domhnall Ó hAinlighe (lord of Ceinéal Dobtha, *fl.* 1495), son of Ruaidhrí Buidhe (†1482), son of Giolla na Naomh (blinded 1445), son of Aodh (†1405); S p. 15b11 and OC §1295 terminate at the sons of Aodh; not in T. KI fol. 4rb23: Domhnall Ó Birn (†1497), son of Maol Eachlainn (lord of Tír Briúin na Sinna, †1465), son of Brian, son of Tadhg; S p. 16c1 terminates with the sons of Tadhg; not in T; updated at OC §1226.

⁶⁷KI fol. 2ra25; missing in S; further updated at T p. 814b26 and OC §197.

them in LD, T and OC, while S sits somewhere in the middle. This is set out in Table 1.

Table 1: Records on Leinster where KI fols 7ra47–8rb52 has been updated compared to LD fols 43vc4–44vc23, S pp. 30c32–35c31, T pp. 830b26–834b9 and OC §§1736–88.⁶⁸ Underlined is where LD, S, T and/or OC terminate. The updates in OC from the seventeenth century are not included. An * denotes where S terminates if this differs from LD, T and/or OC. Only the first persons of the pedigrees are noted here.

kL = king of Leinster; kUF = king of Uí Failghe; s.o. = son of

7ra47	Murchadh Ballach Mac Murchadha (kL, 1476–1511) s.o. Muircheartach (†1442) s.o. <u>Donnchadh</u> (kL, 1417–abd. c. 1455; †1478) s.o. Art (kL, 1375–1416)
7rb32	Feidhlimidh s.o. Giolla Pádraig s.o. <u>Dáibhidh</u> of Clann Dhonnchadha na Cailledh
7rb50	Muiris Ó Muiris s.o. Diarmuid s.o. Muiris s.o. <u>Uadagh</u>
7rb58	Labraidh s.o. Criomhthann s.o. <u>Domhnall</u> s.o. Muiris (his brother Art †1380) s.o. Gearalt s.o. Tomás Finn of Gabhal Toirdhealbhaigh
7rc8	<i>Nuadfhíadhnnus Caomanach innso</i> (discussed below)
7rc44	Éamonn Dubh s.o. Donnchadh s.o. Art s.o. Donnchadh s.o. Art s.o. Donnchadh s.o. Art s.o. Diarmuid s.o. Tomás Finn of Gabhal Toirdhealbhaigh (not in LD, S, T or OC)
7rc59	Brian Ó Conchabhair Failghe (kUF c. 1520–c. 1560) s.o. <u>Cathaoir</u> (kUF 1474–1511) s.o. *Conn (kUF 1458–74) s.o. An Calbhach (kUF c. 1425–48)
7rd46	<u>Diarmuid Ó Tuathail</u> (†1445) s.o. Aodh (†1376) s.o. <u>Dáibhidh</u> (†1328)
7va1	*Fearghal Ó Tuathail s.o. Seaán s.o. Aodh s.o. Seaán Ruadh (†1388) [s.o. of <u>Dáibhidh</u> (†1328)] (not in LD, T or OC)
7va3	*Seaán Ó Tuathail s.o. Éamonn (†1488) s.o. Teabóid s.o. Diarmuid (†1445) (not in LD, T or OC)
7va17	*Tadhg Ó Broin (of Newragh fl. 1488) s.o. Bran (†1436) s.o. <u>Donnchadh</u> (†1434) s.o. Broin
7va31	*Donnchadh Ó Broin s.o. Maol Eachlainn s.o. <u>Tomás</u> of Gabhal Dalbhaigh
7va40	*Cuilen Ruadh Ó Broin s.o. Laiseach s.o. Maol Eachlainn s.o. Giolla Pádraig s.o. <u>Donnchadh</u> of Gabhal tSiomóin
7va47	*Donnchadh Ó Broin s.o. Dalbhach s.o. <u>Dáibhidh</u> Ruadh s.o. Murchadh s.o. Lochlann s.o. Cúug s.o. Ailgeoit s.o. Siomón (not in LD, T or OC)
7vb1	*Réamonn Garbh Ó Broin (†1510) s.o. Seaán s.o. Aodh s.o. Domhnall Glas s.o. <u>Conchabhar</u> of Gabhal Raghnaill

⁶⁸LD fol. 44v is much worn and in places illegible. S, KI and OC also include at the end records of Mac Giolla Pádraig of Osraige before adding a few Leinster records.

- 7vb22 *Toirdhealbach Ó Murchadha s.o. Art s.o. Tadhg s.o. Donnchadh s.o.
 Donn Sléibhe of Uí Fhelmedha; LD, T and OC: Domhnall s.o.
 Murchadh s.o. Donnchadh s.o. Donn Sléibhe
 8ra12 *Éinrí Ó Riain s.o. Séafrún s.o. Éinrí s.o. Éinrí s.o. Séafrún

For the Leinster sections, T and OC are basically copies of the early fifteenth-century records we also find in LD (except where records have been added or were discarded). There is one major exception to this rule: LD terminates with An Calbhach Ó Conchabhair Failghe (kUF c. 1425–48), S with his son Conn (kUF 1458–74) and T and OC with the latter's son Cathaoir (kUF 1474–1511). Most records in KI listed in Table 1 are updated with two to four generations as compared with LD, T and OC, a sure sign that these records were updated in Leinster. With regard to Mac Murchadha, S follows the records in LD, T and OC, but for Ó Tuathail, Ó Broin, Ó Murchadha and Ó Riain it has the same updates as KI, including Seaán Ó Tuathail, son of Éamonn (†1488), and Réamonn Garbh Ó Broin (†1510), which puts their codification in S around 1490. It thus seems that KI incorporated records on Ó Tuathail, Ó Broin and others in its Leinster records from a source similar to S; it was not S itself, as there are various differences between KI and S that suggest one or more steps between them. KI then added its updates of the Mac Murchadha lineages, and probably also of Ó Conchabhair Failghe. Although it is only updated with one generation, Cathaoir's son Brian Ó Conchabhair Failghe (kUF c. 1520–c. 1560) is the most recent person dateable among the updates in Table 1, except for the updates of the Mac Murchadha records that begin at KI fol. 7rc8 with the heading *Nuadfhiadhnnus Caomanach* ('New Testimony of (Mac Murchadha) Caomhánach').⁶⁹ Text 1 gives an edition of this part, which follows after the Mac Murchadha records that KI has in common with the rest of the LD-OC textual tradition.

Text 1: Updates on Mac Murchadha (KI fol. 7rc8–43)

7rc8 *Nuadfhiadhnnus Caomanac[h] inso*

Diarmait Laimhderg mac Diarmata mic Gerailt mic Airt [mic] Airt.
 Clann Diarmata Laimhderg: Donnchadh ⁊ Art ⁊ Muircertach, Dunlaing
 ⁊ Emann ⁊ Muiris.
 Cuig mic Airt mic Diarmata Laimderg: Geralt ⁊ Cathair, Brian ⁊
 Domnall ⁊ Murchadh.
 Aenmac ag Donnchadh .i. Domnall.

⁶⁹The date c. 1520 reflects the uncertainty of the date of Brian's accession to the kingship of Uí Fhailghe. The Irish annals record that Brian's father Cathaoir was killed in 1511 by two sons of his brother Tadhg (†1471). Of these sons Brian mac Taidhg became the new king, and after his death in 1517 his brother An Calbhach was inaugurated. In 1523 the Earl of Kildare and his allies moved against Ó Conchabhair Failghe and peace was made. It is generally understood that Tadhg's sons were supported by the Earls of Kildare, while Brian mac Cathaoir had become king in 1520 due to the support of the Earl of Surrey, who had just replaced Kildare as lord lieutenant of Ireland (O'Byrne, *War, Politics*, 150–4).

Dias ag Muircertach mac Diarmata Laimhderg: Cathair 7 Dunlaing.
 Mac ingnimha ac Dunlaing mac Diarmata .i. Domnall.
 Mac (MS: n;a c) ag Emand mac Diarmata .i. Geralt.
 [Muiris:]⁷⁰ Ni hairmigther do clann.
 Clanni Diarmata Laimhderg ingnima acht sin.

Art Buidhe 7 Brian, Cathair 7 Geralt, Muiris 7 Murchadh: clann Dom-
 naill Riabaigh mic Gerailt mic Airtt mic Airt.
 Clann Airt Buidhe .i. da Muircertach 7 Murchadh, tri Dondchadha 7
 Cath[air], Diarmait.
 Clann ingnima Gerailt: Diarmait 7 Cr[i]mhthan.
 Da mac ag Brian Ballach .i. Muircertach 7 Dondchadh.
 Dibaidh Cathair, can clann acht mic ingine infhaitigh. Clann mac ingine
 infaitigh .i. Geralt 7 Diarmait na nGall 7 Muircertach.⁷¹

These additions record the two main branches among the Meic Murchadha at the time, who are the descendants of the two sons of Gearalt Caomhánach (†1431): of Diarmuid (father of Diarmuid Láimhdhearg) and of Domhnall Riabhach, who succeeded Gearalt's brother Donnchadh as king of Leinster around 1455 (see Chart 1).

The descendants of Murchadh Ballach, king of Leinster from 1476–1511, and grandson of Donnchadh, are not recorded.⁷² As Murchadh Ballach's son Cathaoir reigned from 1532 to c. 1543, this section with updates in KI is likely to predate Cathaoir's reign. This is also suggested by the use of the term *ingníma* 'capable of deeds', which in this context surely refers to an adult fit to handle weapons. Other sons may have been known to the compiler, but they had not yet reached adulthood. Hence, we should not date this section to the lifetime of the last generation, that is, the grandsons of Diarmuid Láimhdhearg (†1511) and Domhnall Riabhach (†1476), but rather to the period of the sons of these two. These sons are Art (died post 1517), son of Diarmuid Láimhdhearg, and the sons of Domhnall Riabhach, who collectively ruled from 1511 to 1531. Since we also have the pedigree of Brian Ó Conchabhair Failghe (kUF c. 1520–c. 1560), the *terminus post quem* is thus 1520, while the *terminus ante quem* is 1532, when Muiris, the last son of Domhnall Riabhach, dies, and Cathaoir son of Murchadh Ballach succeeds as king.

This gives us the date of c. 1520–30 for the date of KI. It is not quite possible to tell whether KI was written during the reign of Gearalt (1517–23) or his brother Muiris (1523–32). Gearalt's two adult sons are named, but no sons of his younger brothers Muiris and Murchadh are recorded, despite the fact

⁷⁰Muiris is the youngest son of Diarmuid Láimhdhearg, and the only one who is lacking in this list, so it seems his name was omitted by accident before the line *Ni hairmigther do clann* 'His offspring is not recorded'.

⁷¹Cathaoir's lineage is extinct (*dibaidh*), except for the three *mic ingine infhaitigh* 'sons of an uncareful woman', suggesting they were born outside of marriage.

⁷²The succession of Art Buidhe Mac Murchadha (king of Leinster, 1511–17) was contested between his brother Gearalt, and Murchadh Ballach's son Muircheartach (†1521), who lost out. This may explain the omission of Murchadh Ballach's sons.

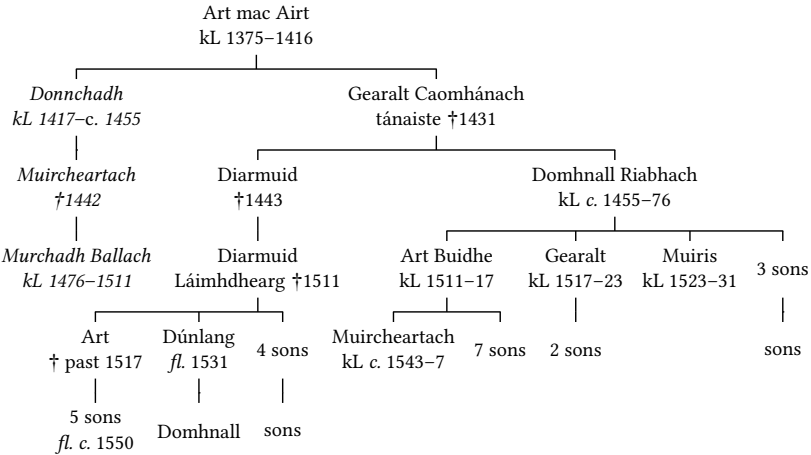


Chart 1. Persons recorded in the section *Nuadfhiadhnnus Caomhánach* in KI, with titles and years added, and with the identical spelling of names.⁷³ The lineage of Murchadh Ballach as recorded in KI is added in *italics*, but his descendants are not recorded in KI and left out here.

that Muiris’s son Diarmuid died in 1531 and another son, Murchadh, would be created Baron of Coolnaleen in 1554.⁷⁴ Muiris himself must have been well over 60 years old when he succeeded in 1523, as his father had died in 1476, and so old enough to have adult sons of his own. Why Muiris sons are omitted, such as for a political reason when his brother Gearalt reigned, or because of a mistake by the copyist, is unclear. It does not point decisively to Gearalt’s kingship as the time of writing, and it should be noted that several later updated pedigrees of the Mac Murchadha genealogies terminate with Muiris, as will be discussed below. Hence c. 1520–30 is as precise as we can get for the date of the information as written down in KI. This does not preclude the possibility that KI is a later copy of the original manuscript with a number of mistakes and omissions, but at this stage there is no evidence either for or against this. It is also equally uncertain if KI, or an exemplar, was written for a member of the learned Ó Deóráin family, attached to the Meic Murchadha, but their long pedigree at the end of the manuscript suggests that they were included in the line of transmission.

⁷³Based on the chart of T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A New History of Ireland, Volume IX: Maps, Genealogies, Lists: A Companion to Irish History, Part II* (Oxford, 1976), 149, no. 21. See also the chart in O’Byrne, *War, Politics*, 248–9, which at times gives somewhat different lineages, titles and dates. Notably, Domhnall (†1476) has not his epithet Riabhach, and Diarmuid Láimhdhearg is left out as son of Diarmuid (†1443).

⁷⁴See the chart in Moody, Martin, and Byrne, *A New History of Ireland, Volume IX*, 149, no. 21.

FURTHER UPDATES OF THE MAC MURCHADHA GENEALOGIES

In order to set the genealogies in KI in their proper context, it is instructive to consider the main genealogical compilations of the later period, particularly those that include Leinster genealogical material. KI stands alone in this respect in the sixteenth century, for there are no other extant players in this field for the rest of the century. It is only in the early seventeenth century that we pick up the tradition again in the form of TCD MS H 5.21 (1393a), which can be dated to c. 1610, give or take about five years.⁷⁵ Only four Mac Murchadha pedigrees are given:⁷⁶

- Muiris (†1531) son of Domhnall Riabhach (†1476) s.o. Gearalt (†1431) s.o. Art (†1416) etc. until Ughaine.
- Brian (†1578) s.o. Cathaoir (†1554) s.o. Diarmuid Láimhdhearg (†1511) [s.o. Diarmuid (†1443) s.o. Gearalt (†1431)] s.o. Art (†1416) and continued for three more generations.
- Éamonn Dubh s.o. Donnchadh – 6 generations – Toirdhealbhach s.o. Énna (†1168) s.o. Diarmuid na nGall (†1171).
- Domhnall Spáinneach (*fl.* 1581, †1632) s.o. Donnchadh s.o. Cathaoir Carrach (†1538) s.o. Muirheartach (†1547) s.o. Aodh Buidhe (†1517) s.o. Domhnall Riabhach (†1476) s.o. Gearalt (†1431) s.o. Art (†1416)

In all the other seventeenth century manuscripts, at most only these four pedigrees occur. The only difference is that in all cases they are updated with Murchadh (†1636), son of Brian (†1578), and in some cases with Sir Murchadh (†1645), son of Domhnall Spáinneach (†1632). No further updates occur in the remaining genealogical manuscripts that contain Leinster pedigrees, which are all from the 1640s or later. This applies to the 'Book of (the) Mac Dermot(ts)' or 'Leabhar Clainne Maoilruanaidh', written by Mathghamhain Ó Duibhgeanain and others in the early 1640s, and the related 'O Flaherty – O Conor Collection';⁷⁷ the genealogies that are appended to manuscripts of Geoffrey Keating's *Foras feasa ar Éirinn*, primarily TCD MS H 5.26 (1397), written c. 1640 by Seaán, son of Torna Ó Maoil Chonaire;⁷⁸ Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh's

⁷⁵T. K. Abbott and E. J. Gwynn, *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin, 1921), 261, date the whole manuscript to the seventeenth century. The first and one of the latest dateable pedigrees is at p. 3.23, that of Éamonn Mac Feorais (Edmund de Bermingham), who died in 1612/14, and for whom the tract may have been written. The inclusion of Brian Óg Mac Diarmada (reigned 1603–36) at p. 14.14 points to a date after 1603. Many other pedigrees terminate in the last decades of the sixteenth century.

⁷⁶TCD MS H 5.21 (1393a), pp. 1–18, at pp. 5.19–6.17.

⁷⁷RIA MS D i 3 (539), fols 24–85, at fol. 62v8–28, and RIA MS E iv 4 (621), at fol. 16r5–21. For their names, see Ó Muraile, *The Irish Genealogies*, 45 no. 19 (see also Ó Muraile, *The Celebrated Antiquary*, p. 93) and no. 17 (named after two of its former owners); both are taken together in Ó Corráin, *Clavis* ii, 1004, no. 767. Both manuscripts omit 'Spáinneach' as Domhnall's epithet, and omit Cathaoir Carrach as his grandfather (a later addition in RIA MS D i 3 (539) rectifies this in the updated pedigree of Domhnall's son Murchadh).

⁷⁸TCD MS H 5.26 (1397); see Abbott and Gwynn, *Catalogue TCD*, 262; Ó Muraile, *The Irish Genealogies*, 45 no. 18; Ó Corráin, *Clavis* ii 1003, no. 766. See the edition in Patrick S. Dinneen (ed. and trans.), *Foras feasa ar Éirinn: The History of Ireland by Geoffrey Keating D. D. Volume IV*,

Leabhar Mór na nGenealach, mostly written in 1649 and 1650;⁷⁹ O'Clery's Genealogies (OC) from the late 1650s, which has two updated pedigrees;⁸⁰ RIA MS C iv 1 (540), an Ó Ruairc compilation of the 1660s;⁸¹ Roger O'Ferrall's *Linea Antiqua*, from the years 1707–12;⁸² and the genealogical manuscripts written by or copied from Richard Tipper and Seán Mac Solaidh, including *An Leabhar Muimneach*,⁸³ and RIA MS 23 M 17 (153) and related manuscripts penned in the years around 1720, which offer similar pedigrees of Sir Murchadh that include some additional information on collateral branches.⁸⁴

All the manuscripts cited in this section essentially contain the same information and are related to each other. KI stands on the crossroads between the LD-OC textual tradition of genealogical recording, to which it added copious records, and the later tradition which continues with four lineages at the most. One of these is the lineage of Éamonn Dubh of Sliocht Tomáis Fhinn, who by generation count is to be dated to the early sixteenth century. Éamonn Dubh's lineage is also included in TCD MS H 5.21 (1393), RIA MS D i 3 (539) and MS E iv 4 (621), and RIA MS 23 P 41 (1404). We have dated the latest records in KI to the reigns of the kings of Leinster Gearalt (1517–23) or Muiris (1523–31), and in TCD MS H 5.21 (1393), RIA MS E iv 4 (621) and LMG we find the main pedigree terminating with Muiris.⁸⁵ Hence it seems that KI is an exponent of genealogical recording in the 1520s in Leinster, and almost a century later the four pedigrees listed above were all that was left. They were subsequently copied by the scholars and antiquarians of the seventeenth century, who only updated the two ruling lineages, the descendants of Diarmuid Láimhdhearg

Containing the Genealogies, Synchronisms with an Index. Irish Texts Society, vol. 15 (London, 1914), 38–40, with variants from several other manuscripts at 69–71: the pedigree of Sir Murchadh, with interspersed information including a reference to the branch of Diarmuid Láimhdhearg.

⁷⁹ LMG ii, 278, at §473.1 (the pedigree of Murchadh Ballach, cf. KI fol. 7ra47), §473.2 (Muiris), §473.3 (Murchadh son of Brian), the last two with several mistakes; LMG iii, 574 (the later added *Cuimre* section) omits the pedigree of Murchadh Ballach, adds the pedigree of Murchadh son of Domhnall Spáinneach (§1241), and repeats the other two (§1242.1–2).

⁸⁰ OC §1737: Domhnall Spáinneach; OC §1738: Murchadh son of Brian (which omits Diarmuid Láimhdhearg's father and grandfather).

⁸¹ RIA MS C iv 1 (540), fols 206–31, at fol. 216r14–rb18 (Sir Murchadh).

⁸² NLI MS GO 155, vol. 4, p. 185 (Sir Murchadh and collateral branches, set in a genealogical chart); see Ó Muraíle, *The Irish Genealogies*, 48 no. 31; Ó Corráin, *Clavis* ii, 1017, no. 792.

⁸³ Tadhg Ó Donnchadha (ed.), *An Leabhar Muimhneach maraon le suim aguísíní* (Dublin, [1940]), 272–3 (Sir Murchadh), of which the principal manuscript is RIA MS 23 E 26 (756), written by Richard Tipper and Seán Mac Solaidh, 1716–26, and based on a compilation by Domhnall Ó Duinnín and Tadhg Mac Bruaidheadha; see Ó Muraíle, *The Irish Genealogies*, 47 no. 26; Ó Corráin, *Clavis* ii, 1007, no. 774.

⁸⁴ RIA MS 23 M 17 (153), pp. 127b14–129a5 (Sir Murchadh and Murchadh son of Brian); NLI MS G 177, p. 62a13–62b28 (Richard Tipper, c. 1724) (Sir Murchadh, Murchadh son of Brian and Éamonn Dubh); RIA MS 23 P 41 (1404), p. 117a6–21 (Tadhg Ó Neachtain, c. 1725, with a reference to Keating) (Murchadh son of Brian and Éamonn Dubh); see Ó Muraíle, *The Irish Genealogies*, 47 no. 27; Ó Corráin, *Clavis* ii, 1007–8, no. 775. Harvard, Houghton Library, MS Ir. 20, pp. 119.6–121.12 (Tadhg Ó Cróinín, 1736) (Sir Murchadh), also belongs to this group.

⁸⁵ LMG ii, 278 (§473.1) still retains the pedigree of Murchadh Ballach, only further attested in KI at fol. 7ra47 and in TCD H 4.31 (1372) at fol. 50va9. It is in the acephalous section of fols 47r–82v that has been dated to c. 1500; see Nicholls, 'The Irish genealogies', 256 (who notes its relationship with TCD MS H 4.25 (1366) and BL MS Egerton 133); Ó Muraíle, *The Irish Genealogies*, 46 no. 23; Ó Corráin, *Clavis* ii, 1002 no. 764. It is strongly related to the LD-OC tradition.

and Domhnall Riabhach. OC has only these two lineages added to the records of the LD-OC tradition, as the lineages of Éamonn Dubh and Muiris were also ditched. Among the records of the few dozen most influential Irish dynasties that remained under English rule only the pedigree of Sir Murchadh survived, sometimes with information about collateral branches.⁸⁶

The recording of the Mac Murchadha pedigrees was thus mainly a matter of copying older records and adding at best a generation or two. This invited mistakes, such as we find in the often-cited compilations LMG and OC. Especially the pedigree of Murchadh mac Briain seems to have created confusion, and it goes to show that neither Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh nor Cú Coigcríche Ó Cléirigh were immune to mistakes. They often relied on an existing written tradition, even if their respective compilations only partially overlap. OC is of course an exponent of the LD-OC tradition, which is not fully represented in LMG. Mac Fhirbhisigh copied many records that belong to the Psalter of Cashel tradition as it was continued up to c. 1400. For updates of the Mac Murchadha records both scholars had to rely on what was available in the middle of the seventeenth century, which was basically no more than the four pedigrees we have listed above.

The analysis above underlines the unique place of KI with regard to the Leinster genealogies, especially those of Mac Murchadha. On the one hand, KI is part of the LD-OC textual tradition of genealogical recording, on the other it forms a bridge between this tradition and the genealogical manuscripts of the seventeenth century and later. This also highlights its Leinster provenance and sets the latest updates of its genealogies in clear perspective.

THE INTRUSIVE SECTIONS

We have now analysed the manuscript tradition of KI sections 1–2 and 5–7 in general terms or in more detail, and have established that they firmly belong to the LD-OC manuscript tradition of Irish genealogical recording. Sections 3 and 4 fall outside this tradition, as is clear from their intrusive character and subject matter. The genealogical information on members of Clann Aodha Bhuidhe and the non-Gaelic families of Mac Quillin (Mac Uidhilín) and de Burgh (Mac Uilliam Burke) is placed between that of the Uí Bhriúin of Connacht and the Oirghialla, to which they do not belong. Their insertion may tell us something of the origin of these records in KI before they were copied in Leinster. It falls outside the scope of the present article to discuss these records in detail, so what follows is but a general description to give an impression of their contents and relationship with records in other manuscripts.

The section on Clann Aodha Bhuidhe deals with the sons of Muircheartach Ruadh (lord of Clann Aodha Bhuidhe, 1425–68), son of Brian Ballach (†1425), and their mothers; the sons of Éinrí (†1463) and of Niall Gallda, sons of Brian Ballach, and their mother(s); and the sons of Feidhlimidh (†1496) and Art

⁸⁶O'Hart, *Irish Pedigrees*, vol. 1, 494, also ends with Sir Murchadh, recording his descendants until his own time in the subsequent pedigree.

Ruadh, sons of Muirheartach Ruadh, and their mothers. According to Leabhar Donn and LMG, Brian Ballach had four sons: his successor Muirheartach Ruadh, Aodh Buidhe, Niall and Éinrí.⁸⁷ Apart from his second son their offspring is recorded in section 3. The omission of Brian Ballach's son Aodh Buidhe suggests a date after his death in 1444. Just the year before Aodh Buidhe had shouldered his older brother Muirheartach Ruadh aside to become the dominating force in north-eastern Ulster.⁸⁸ The records are unique to KI (apart from the copy in NLI MS G 61); they are not in other genealogies or a source like *Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe*.⁸⁹ They give a unique insight into the marriages of some of the sons and grandsons of Brian Ballach.

After a blank line, section 3 is followed by the pedigree of Baltar Mac Uidhilín (Walter Mac Quillin), who was the Mac Uidhilín from c. 1493 to 1506.⁹⁰ The long pedigree is a remarkable concoction of various traditions. Baltair's ancestors are traced back in time, passing through Arthurian pedigrees, names familiar from Leabhar Breathnach (the Irish translation and redaction of *Historia Brittonum*),⁹¹ Classical mythology, *Leabhar Gabhála* and the Old Testament until it ends with Adam son of the Living God.⁹² Four other lineages follow, but they are separated from the main pedigree by the genealogy of one of the branches of Ceinéal Conaill, which we shall discuss in a moment.

The only study of the Mac Quillin lordship of north-eastern Ulster is that of Edmund Curtis, published in 1938.⁹³ He regarded Mac Quillin as a branch of the Mandeville lords who held a lordship in the same area in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but later scholars regard Mac Quillin or Mac Uidhilín as a Welsh family (How(e)lin; Mac Houlyn), who had been recruited as a troop of mercenaries (Irish *rúta*) in the early fourteenth century and gave their name to The Route (*An Rúta*), east of Coleraine, where they established their lordship later that century.⁹⁴

In his study, Curtis edited the genealogies of Mac Quillin from Mac Fhirbhisigh's *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach*, TCD MS H 3.18 (1337), and RIA MS 23 M 17 (153).⁹⁵ Unknown to Curtis were the records in RIA MS D i 3 (539),

⁸⁷RIA MS 23 Q 10 (1233), fol. 36rb30 (Leabhar Donn); LMG i, 298 (§121.7).

⁸⁸Katharine Simms, *Gaelic Ulster in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 2020), 153–85.

⁸⁹Tadhg Ó Donnchadha (ed. and trans.), *Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe* (Dublin, 1931).

⁹⁰See LMG iii, 168 (§832.1), for his lordship of 13 years.

⁹¹A. G. van Hamel (ed.), *Lebor Bretnach: The Irish Version of the Historia Britonum Ascribed to Nennius* (Dublin, 1937).

⁹²This will be discussed in Bart Jaski, 'The Arthurian genealogies of Mac Quillin and Clan Campbell' (forthcoming).

⁹³Edmund Curtis, 'The MacQuillan or Mandeville Lords of the Route', *PRIA* 44C (1937/8), 99–113. For a comparison with the Arthurian pedigrees of Clan Campbell (Mac Cailin) lords of Argyll, see David Seller, *Pedigrees, Power and Clanship: Essays on Medieval Scotland*, ed. Hector L. MacQueen (Edinburgh, 2023), 243–62. This is a reprint with additional comments of W. D. H. Sellar, 'The earliest Campbells – Norman, Briton or Gael?', *Scottish Studies* 17 (1973), 109–25.

⁹⁴T. E. McNeill, *Anglo-Norman Ulster: The History and Archeology of an Irish Barony, 1177–1400* (Edinburgh, 1980), 70, 120–1; K. W. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edition (Dublin, 2003), 158–9; Simms, *Gaelic Ulster*, 110, 122–3.

⁹⁵Edited in LMG iii, 166–8 (§§831.9–832.1) (two identical pedigrees are also at LMG iii, 762 (§1413.7–8)), with a list of lords and lengths of their lordship; TCD MS H 3.18 (1337), pp.

fol. 78r1–4, TCD MS H 4.25 (1366), pp. 176–7,⁹⁶ NLI MS G 177, p. 77b5–11, RIA MS 23 P 41 (1404), pp. 170b20–171a5 (both related to RIA MS 23 M 17), TCD H 4.31 (1372), fol. 39rb6–va19, and those in KI, TCD MS H 1.12 (1286) (our S), pp. 42a1–37. With few minor differences, the long pedigree in KI is identical to that in S, where it is crossed out.⁹⁷ Regarding the close textual relationship between KI and S within the LD-OC manuscripts, the almost identical Mac Quillin pedigrees found in both manuscripts cannot be coincidental. They may be misplaced in KI by accident, while in S the copyist Aodh Ó Dálaigh perhaps realized he was copying a non-Gaelic pedigree and therefore crossed it out. It is possible that records of ‘foreign’ families such as Mac Quillin and de Burgh entered the Irish genealogical manuscripts in the decades around 1500. Perhaps due to their geographical proximity, the records of Clann Aodha Bhuidhe were also included in them in KI, but not elsewhere. Both KI and S suggest a northern source which in the case of Mac Quillin was transferred to various manuscripts in the seventeenth century.

The rest of section 4 is devoted to de Burgh (Mac Uilliam Burke), an originally Anglo-Norman family. The genealogies of the lords of Lower Connacht terminate c. 1440–65,⁹⁸ those of the Earls of Clan Ricard start with William (lord 1519–20), son of William ‘the White Earl’ (Uilliam Finn, †1509), and several other branches, which generally terminate in the middle of the fifteenth century. The pedigree of William de Burgh points to a very specific date, one close to the codification of KI itself, but we have to reckon with the possibility that the copyist made a mistake and inserted one William too many.⁹⁹ There is some overlap with the Mac Uilliam Burke genealogies in OC and LMG and other manuscripts, but taken as a whole this collection of about twenty entries seems to represent a different textual tradition.¹⁰⁰ The reconstruction of the

684.10–685.4; RIA MS 23 M 17 (153), p. 146a28–b9.

⁹⁶These two manuscripts are discussed in Nollaig Ó Muraíle, ‘Naisc idir íochtar Chonnacht agus Oirthear Uladh sa tSeachtú hAois Déag: Muintir Eaghra an Rúta, Clann Uighilín agus Clann Domhnaill’, *Léann: Iris Chumann Léann na Litríochta* 1 (2007), 93–112, at 97–9.

⁹⁷Kenneth Nicholls, ‘Scottish mercenary kindreds in Ireland, 1250–1600’ in Seán Duffy (ed.), *The World of the Galloglass: Kings, Warlords and Warriors in Ireland and Scotland, 1200–1600* (Dublin, 2007), 86–105, at 88–9, briefly refers to this manuscript version. TCD H 4.31 (1372) also contains the long pedigree, but has been updated.

⁹⁸They start with the genealogy of Edmund (‘na Féasóige’; lord of Lower Connacht, 1440–58), son of Tomás (†1402), until Rollo of Normandy († c. 930), and which is different from the one at OC §2315, which is also updated for another four generations. This is followed by the eight sons of Tomás, and of four of these their sons are given as well: of Walter (lord 1402–40), Edmund (‘na Féasóige’) (cf. OC §2316); John (Seaán) (†1456) and Richard (lord, 1460–9, †1473). These records are not in OC or LMG.

⁹⁹The pedigree at KI fol. 5vb37 begins with: ‘Uilliam m Uilliam m Uilliam m Uilliam [a few letters erased] an Fina m Ricaird Oig m Uilliam en caim ...’ The erasure was probably due to the scribe starting to write ‘Uilliam en caim’ at first, and this name is also incorrectly copied afterwards; OC §2324 (cf. LMG iii, 128 (§808.1)) has: ‘... m Uillig Enaigh Chaoin ...’ of Annaghkeen (Castle) (he died in 1343). The careless copying may have invited the addition of one William in excess.

¹⁰⁰OC §§2315–32; LMG iii, 112–36 (§§799.1–810.43), 732–6 (§§1384.1–1388.2); see also, for example, TCD MS H 2.51 (1393), pp. 4–5; TCD 1372 (H 4.31), fols 9va13–12vb21; RIA MS 23 O 21 (1130), pp. 9a1–10.4; Standish Hayes O’Grady (ed. and trans.), *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh: The Triumphs of Turlough*, 2 vols, Irish Texts Society, vols. 26 and 27 (London, 1929) i, 149–61 (edition);

genealogies of the Anglo-Norman families by Irish genealogical scholars from at least the later Middle Ages onwards is still an unexplored field of study.

Sections 3 and 4 are clearly intrusions in the usual LD-OC set up, and there may be a clue as to where they came from. Following section 2, which ends with a series of Connacht pedigrees, but before section 3 on Clann Aodha Bhuidhe, at KI fol. 5rc23, there is a pedigree of the Eóganacht of Ceinéal Conaill, glossed as 'O Fridil' (Ó Frighil). There is a pedigree of the same lineage and updated with four generations in the middle of the Mac Quillin pedigrees in section 4. It has no heading and runs as follows:

KI fol. 5va34: Diarmait m Conla m Aodha m Clemint m Muiris m Diarmuta m Gilla Adabnain m Clemint m Eoin m Muiredhaigh m Muirgile m Fergaile m Eogain Big m Feidlimidh m Fergusa Cennfata m Conaill Gulban m Neill .ix.giallaigh.

The first pedigree terminates with Muiris, but instead of '... m Fergaile m Eogain Big ...' in the second pedigree, it has '... m Eogain a quo Eoganacht m Domnaill m Donnchada m Aodha ...', thus lacking Eóghan (Beag), the only brother of Colum Cille son of Feidhlimidh according to the genealogies.¹⁰¹ Yet it includes an Eóghan further on, who serves as the eponymous ancestor of the Eóghanacht of Ceinéal Conaill. Mac Fhirbhisigh gives the pedigree of Toirdhealbach Ballach Ó Firghil, who is six generations removed from Ruaidhrí son of Muiris, and between Muirghel and Feidhlimidh has '... m Fhirghil, o ffuil O Firghil, m Domnuill m Donnchuidh m Aodha m Eoghain, dearbhrathair Choluim Chille ...',¹⁰² essentially combining both versions as we find them in KI. The second pedigree in KI is six generations more recent than Giolla Adhamhnáin (†1328), coarb of Adhamhnán in Raphoe, and three generations older than Toirdhealbach Ballach (*fl.* 1609),¹⁰³ which allows us to date Diarmuid son of Conla Ó Firghil to around 1500,¹⁰⁴ exactly the period to which the Mac Quillin and de Burgh sections are dated. This opens the possibility that the intrusive sections 3 and 4 came from an Ó Firghil source. Since the Ó Firghil family were the hereditary coarbs of Colum Cille in Kilmacrenan, and

ii, 159–71 (translation). For a comment on O'Grady's faulty edition and translation, and offering a fresh edition, see Nollaig Ó Muraíle, 'Seanchas na mBúrcach agus a chuid logainmneacha', in: Dónall Ó Baoill, Donncha Ó hAodha and Nollaig Ó Muraíle (eds), *Saltair Saíochta, Sanasaíochta agus Seanchais: A Festschrift for Gearóid Mac Eoin* (Dublin, 2013), 335–78.

¹⁰¹ See also O'Brien, *Corpus*, 163 (144e4), and Ó Riain, *Corpus*, 61 (§397) and 79 (§661) for the two brothers. In the first pedigree Ó Firghil descends from Aodh son of Feidhlimidh.

¹⁰² LMG i, 350 (§152.3), which is followed by a pedigree of another descendant of Ruaidhrí.

¹⁰³ For these identifications, see Tomás G. Ó Canann, 'Review of Nollaig Ó Muraíle, *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach* ...', *JRSAI* 132 (2002) 127–37, at 131; idem, 'Ó Domhnaill's inauguration, according to Pilib Ó Súilleabháin Bhéarra', *JRSAI* 137 (2007), 101–16, at 107–8 (with also a discussion of the change from Ó Firghil to Ó Frighil). For the identification of Toirdhealbach Ballach he follows Ó Muraíle, *Celebrated Antiquary*, 172. Ó Canann notes that the pedigree is way too short and that the genealogical attachment to the brother of Colum Cille is highly suspect.

¹⁰⁴ As also calculated by Ó Muraíle, *Celebrated Antiquary*, 203 note 48.

inaugurated the Uí Domhnaill and the Meic Shuibhne,¹⁰⁵ it seems apt that they had an interest in genealogical recording. This interest would have extended to the genealogies of the Mac Quillin and de Burgh lords, who were both in the Ó Domhnaill sphere of influence. Indeed, Mac Fhirbhisigh wrote that the descent of Ó Firghil from Eóghan, brother of Colum Cille, is ‘according to the writings of the coarb of Cell Mhac nÉanáin’.¹⁰⁶

We may further look at KI itself, which is linked to the Ó Deóráin and Mac Eochaidh families, who both played a role at the inauguration of Mac Murchadha, while Mac Eochaidh also inaugurated the Ó Broin.¹⁰⁷ We know that many genealogical manuscripts were copied by members of the established poetic families, who could also have a function at the inauguration of their lords.¹⁰⁸ It is easy to imagine that within the networks of the poetic scholarly families,¹⁰⁹ manuscripts such as KI could be copied, updated and customized to serve their own needs and those of their patrons. This may even have given rise to the LD-OC textual tradition of genealogical recording in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as genealogical manuscripts in this format began to circulate among the scholarly communities as handy compendia which listed all the main Irish and in due course also the ‘foreign’ dynasties of the island. They are relatively small in size (NLI MS G 2–G 3 c. 20 × 13 cm; LD c. 24.4 × 16.8 cm; KI c. 21.5 × 15.5 cm) and in the amount of leaves – LD and KI, if complete, would not have counted more than twenty folia. In both LD and KI one of the outer leaves with text has become unreadable due to intensive use, which points to a similar way of handling these portable manuscripts which lacked a proper binding. This all stands in contrast to the much larger codices such as produced in Connacht around 1400 that were compiled for wealthy secular or clerical patrons. The ‘genealogy only’ manuscripts served a different purpose, to give an overview of who is who and who is (remotely) related to whom. No high-status scholar and bardic poet could do without such information in a society where descent, lineage and pedigree were of primary importance. And with no alternatives at hand, the LD-OC textual tradition naturally dominated the field. We can regard KI as an exponent of this development, in its size, simplicity, content, mistakes, additions, updates, use and provenance. A rare if not unscathed survivor of the many copies that must have existed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and of which we mainly have later copies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the Gaelic lords and their scholars and poets were themselves struggling to survive in a rapidly changing world. Genealogical lore became increasingly the

¹⁰⁵ Ó Canann, ‘Review’, 131; idem, ‘Ó Domhnaill’s inauguration’, 107–8; cf. Bart Jaski, *Early Irish Kingship and Succession* (Dublin 2000), 274, for the ancient inauguration site situated in the lands around Kilmacrennan in 1549.

¹⁰⁶ LMG i, 350 (§152.2). See further Ó Canann, ‘Review’, 131–2.

¹⁰⁷ See p. 252 above.

¹⁰⁸ Katharine Simms, *From Kings to Warlords: The Changing Political Structure of Gaelic Ireland in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1987), 21–40. Cf. Nicholls, ‘The Irish genealogies’, 256–7.

¹⁰⁹ Evan Bourke and Deirdre Nic Chárthaigh, ‘Patronage networks in Gaelic Ireland ca. 1541–ca. 1660’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 76 (2023), 938–79 (doi:10.1017/rqx.2022.436); Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters*, 244–300.

occupation of the 'antiquarians' who, often with the help of the last members of the Irish learned families, sought to preserve all that was still left.

CONCLUSION

We have established that King's Inns MS 11 belongs to the LD-OC textual tradition of genealogical recording, and that its contents agree for a substantial part with those in LD, S, T and OC. They can each differ with regard to order, orthography, mistakes, and added, updated or discarded records. The exact nature of their mutual relationship still needs to be analysed. This would involve a detailed comparison between the five sources, as well as with the genealogies in the codices of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, as the LD-OC textual tradition rests for a good part on records of the Psalter of Cashel textual tradition of genealogical recording up to c. 1400. The LD-OC textual tradition established the format and core text of subsequent Irish genealogical manuscripts and was highly influential in all the genealogical copying and recording from the fifteenth century onwards. By the seventeenth century many pedigrees had become petrified, as we have seen in the case of the Leinster section; scholars were mainly copying and compiling rather than concerned with updating and adding. This said, each genealogical manuscript is unique and provides us with genealogical information not found elsewhere or in a different version. Of each, its structure, order, date and textual preponderance will help us to gain a better understanding of the influence, development, dissemination and adaptation of the LD-OC tradition. Notwithstanding the classifications of modern scholars, the majority of the genealogical manuscripts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are in many respects much alike and ultimately draw for a large part on a common source: the LD-OC textual tradition of genealogical recording; it is thus in this context they should be studied.

We have seen that KI shares with S the main Mac Quillin pedigree, and that the additions of the other Mac Quillin pedigrees, the de Burgh records (all up to c. 1500, perhaps even 1520) and probably also the Clann Aodha Bhuidhe records (c. 1450) seem to derive from a source that can be linked to the Ó Firghil coarbs of Kilmacrennan. S also shares the updates with the northern Leinster pedigrees in KI, but not the updates of the Mac Murchadha pedigrees, which are unique to KI, and point to a compilation around 1520–30, during the reign of either Gearalt or Muiris, sons of Domhnall Riabhach Mac Murchadha. The long pedigree of Ó Deóráin at the end of KI ties in with the focus on Mac Murchadha, while subsequent owners, probably belonging to Meic Eochaidh, point to circulation of KI among the learned families of Leinster. KI came subsequently into the hands of a branch of the Ó Broin lords of northern Leinster, from whence it was copied in NLI, MS G 61. The most likely route thereafter is that it ended up in the hands of Edward O'Reilly, and finally came into the possession of Henry Joseph Monk Mason, the librarian of King's Inns in Dublin. He probably donated it to the library in the 1850s. For more than a century it remained just about unknown to the scholarly world, but even afterwards this small, unassuming and damaged manuscript was not

studied in much detail. By this analysis of its content and history, and perhaps by a future edition, it can take its place among the manuscripts that reflect the great Irish tradition of genealogical recording, and provide modern scholars with essential information for their research.

ABBREVIATIONS

- KI King's Inns Library MS 11 (unedited)
 LD Leabhar Donn, RIA MS 23 Q 10 (1233) (unedited)
 LMG Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh, *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach*, UCD Additional MS 14 and other manuscripts
 LMG Nollaig Ó Muraíle (ed. and trans.), *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach: The Great Book of Irish Genealogies. Compiled (1645–66) by Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh*, 5 vols (Dublin, 2003–04)
 OC Cú Coigcríche Ó Cléirigh, *Genealogies*, RIA MS 23 D 17 (790)
 OC Séamus Pender (ed.), 'The O Clery Book of Genealogies: 23 D 17 (R.I.A.)', *Analecta Hibernica* 18 (1951)
 S TCD MS H 1.12 (1286), pp. 1–42 (unedited)
 T TCD MS H 3.18 (1337), pp. 810–58 (unedited)

BART JASKI

Utrecht University