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# Early Medieval Louth: The Kingdom of Conaille Muirtheimne

BY DAVID E. THORNTON

Until it fell under the control of the O'Carrolls in the twelfth century, what is now County Louth was divided between three minor kingdoms. In the south lay that of Fir Árdá Ciannacht (whence Ferrard): this was ruled by the remnant of the Ciannachta Breg who, at the end of the seventh century, had been defeated and displaced south of the Boyne by the neighbouring Uí Néill rulers of Knowth.<sup>1</sup> In the east and centre of the present county was the Airgiallan kingdom of Fir Rois,<sup>2</sup> and in the north was that of the Conaille Muirtheimne. To date, the only substantial studies of the kingdom of Conaille Muirtheimne are two papers written in the early twentieth century by Laurence Murray which, though useful, now require correction and updating.<sup>3</sup> I have attempted elsewhere an analysis of the origins and history of the Conaille,<sup>4</sup> and offer here the text of, and brief commentary on, a hitherto unpublished genealogical tract about its ruling line and the related Louth dynasty of Uí Mathgnai, as well as the pedigree of the Uí Chrítáin abbots of Dromiskin with whom the Conaille were closely associated.

The territory of Conaille Muirtheimne was associated with Mag Muirtheimne, 'The Plain of Muirtheimne', which was alternatively known as Mag (or Machaire) Conaill(e), 'The Plain of the Conaille' (or possibly as 'The Plain of Conall') and Caille Chonaill, 'The Land of Conall'.<sup>5</sup> The extent of the territory of the Conaille Muirtheimne is not easily determined, but the 'core' area of the kingdom appears to have been roughly equivalent to the barony of Dundalk Upper plus the parish of Dromiskin.<sup>6</sup> The regions to the south-west (Louth) and north-east (Cuailgne, i.e., Cooley) were of uncertain or perhaps fluctuating status. There are hints, for example, that Cuailgne was, at certain times at least, regarded as politically distinct from the Conaille Muirtheimne: thus, one Fergus Fial, described as *ri Cuailgne*, is listed among the fallen at the battle of Kilmona (*Cell Mona*) in 970 alongside a king of the Conaille; and the twelfth-century 'Book of Rights' mentions both a *ri Muirtheimne* and a *ri Cuailgne*.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, perhaps during the mid- to late-eleventh century, a

1. For this dynasty, see M.A. O'Brien (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* [hereafter cited as *C.G.H.*] (Dublin, 1962; rev. imp. by J.V. Kelleher, 1976), i, 247; a reconstruction of the line was offered by M.E. Dobbs, 'The Pedigree and Family of Flann Manistrech', *C.L.A.J.*, v, 3, (1923), 149-53. For the Southern Uí Néill 'kings of Ciannachta', see F.J. Byrne, 'Historical Note on Cnogba (Knowth)', *P.R.I.A.*, 66C, (1967-8), 383-400 (pp 396-7).
2. For Fir Rois, see D. Mac Íomhair's papers, 'The Boundaries of Fir Rois', *C.L.A.J.*, xv, 2, (1962), 144-79 and 'The History of Fir Rois', *C.L.A.J.*, xv, 4, (1964), 321-48; for the related Uí Chruinn, see T. Ó Fiaich, 'Uí Cruinn: a Lost Louth Sept', *C.L.A.J.*, xii, 3, (1951), 105-12.
3. L.P. Murray, 'The Ancient Territories of Oirghialla, Uladh and Conaille Muirtheimne', *C.L.A.J.*, iii, 1, (1912), 52-65; idem, 'The Pictish Kingdom of Conaille-Muirtheimne' in J. Ryan (ed.), *Essays and Studies presented to Professor Eoin MacNeill D.Litt.* (Dublin, 1940), 445-53; also his 'Danish Louth', *C.L.A.J.*, ii, 1, (1908), 72-7, and his 'Omeath', *C.L.A.J.*, iii, 3, (1914), 213-31. Note also N. Lawless, 'Muirtheimhne', *C.L.A.J.*, iii, 2, 156-66.
4. See David E. Thornton, *Kings, Chronologies and Genealogies: Studies in the Political History of Early Medieval Ireland and Wales* (Woodbridge, forthcoming), chap. 6.
5. Ibid.
6. For a discussion of relevant matter see Mac Íomhair, 'The Boundaries', 169-73, 177-8; A.F.M., i, 10n. and 293n.; E. Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum* (Dublin, 1910), 288, 527.
7. W.M. Hennessy (ed.), *Chronicum Scotorum* [hereafter *Chron. Scot.*] (London, 1866), 218 (*sub anno* [968]); M. Dillon (ed.), *Lebor na Cert* (London, 1962), 86, 90-4, 128. In an earlier period (possibly prior to that of the historical Conaille), Cuailgne seems to have been associated with a population-group called the Aignecha preserved in place-names such as *Snám Aigneach* (Carlingford Lough) and *Ard Aigneach* (Faughart): W.M. Hennessy, *Annals of Ulster* (Dublin, 1887-1910, 4 vols), i, 328-9, n.7; Murray, 'Omeath', 214.

## KINGS OF CONAILLE MUIRTHEIMNE

1 Uarcraide ua Osséni ( <i>ob.</i> 688)	16 Spelán mac Congalaig ( <i>ob.</i> 923)
2 Amalgaid mac Cathasaig ( <i>ob.</i> 741)	17 Cróngilla mac Cuilennáin ( <i>ob.</i> 937)
3 Fagall [Fallach] Finn mac Oengusa ( <i>ob.</i> 743)	18 Mac Étig mac Cuilennáin ( <i>ob.</i> 951)
4 Foidmenn mac Fallaig/Fallomain ( <i>ob.</i> 752)	19 Cinaed mac Cróngilla ( <i>ob.</i> 970)
5 Uargal [Uargalach] mac Uachtbrain ( <i>ob.</i> 765)	20 Congalach mac Meic Étig ( <i>ob.</i> 988)
6 Sluagadach mac Uargalaig ( <i>ob.</i> 789)	21 Matudán mac Cinaeda ( <i>ob.</i> 996)
7 Fiachán ( <i>ob.</i> 792)	22 Gilla Crist ua Cuilennáin ( <i>ob.</i> 999)
8 Spelán mac Sluagadaig ( <i>ob.</i> 824)	23a Muiredach ( <i>ob.</i> 1005)
9 Mael Brigte mac Speláin ( <i>ob.</i> 869)	23b In Gercce ( <i>ob.</i> 1005)
10 Gairbith mac Mail Brigte ( <i>ob.</i> 878)	24 Crínán mac Gormlada ( <i>ob.</i> 1012)
11 Ciblechán mac Mail Brigte ( <i>ob.</i> 890)	25 Cinaed mac In Geircce ( <i>ob.</i> 1029)
12 Mael Morda mac Gairbitha ( <i>ob.</i> 891)	26 Domnall mac Gilla Christ ( <i>ob.</i> 1052)
13 Conglach mac Gairbitha ( <i>ob.</i> 913)	27 Cinaed mac meic Odormaic ( <i>ob.</i> 1066)
14 Domnall mac Gairbitha ( <i>ob.</i> 914)	28 Mac Uí Thréodáin ( <i>ob.</i> 1078)
15 Mael Brigte mac Ciblecháin ( <i>ob.</i> 914)	29 Mac In Geircce ( <i>ob.</i> 1081)

branch of the Airgiallan people known as Uí Méith expanded into Cuailnge (Uí Méith Mara whence the name Omeath).<sup>8</sup>

The main sources for the kings of Conaille Muirtheimne are the extant genealogies and chronicles. The genealogical sources for the Conaille comprise three groups of secular genealogies, as well as a number of saints' pedigrees. Firstly, there is a single pedigree of Cinaed mac Muiredaig in Geircce, king of Conaille Muirtheimne who died in 1029, which can be found in most of the genealogical collections, including those in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson B.502 (=Rawl.) and the Book of Leinster (=LL).<sup>9</sup> The pedigree of Gormfhlaithe ingen Chuilennáin given in the prose *Banshenchas* is a variant of that of Cinaed and represents an expansion of the notice given in the other recensions of the *Banshenchas*.<sup>10</sup> Another version of this pedigree is found as part of a longer tract on the Conaille in Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS. 535 (23.P.2), better known as the Great Book of

8. See Tomás O Fiaich, 'The Kingdom of the Airgialla and its Sub-kingdoms' (unpublished M.A. dissertation, University College, Dublin, 1950), 147-9. For suggestions of an earlier settlement, see Murray, 'Omeath', 216.

9. See *C.G.H.*, i, 327; also R.I. Best *et al.* (eds.), *The Book of Leinster* (Dublin, 1954-83, 6 vols), vi, 1468. The pedigree occurs on its own as Rawl.162c1 = LL.335f37 = Book of Ballymote (=BB), 164b11. According to M.A. O'Brien's edition, the version on p. 164b11 of BB concludes with the assertion that it is to be found in the 'Psalter of Cashel': *C.G.H.*, i, 327n.; see also T.F. O'Rahilly *et al.*, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy* (Dublin, 1926-70, 28 vols), fasc. xiii, 1637. However, comparison with other manuscripts reveals that this statement in BB is rather to be associated with the genealogies of the Three Fothaid which occur immediately *after* the pedigree of Cinaed in that manuscript but elsewhere in the others: the Great Book of Lecan, fo. 113val; the Book of Uí Maine, fo. 89ve18; Dublin, Trinity College, MS. 1298 (H.2.7), col. 146c2. See also *C.G.H.*, i, 264n., where O'Brien attached the same statement in BB to the Fothaid genealogies as well. For further claims that the Fothaid genealogies occurred in the Psalter, see *C.G.H.*, i, 266.

10. See M.E. Dobbs, 'The Ban-Shenchus [pt. II]', *Revue Celtique*, 48, (1931), 163-234 (p.227); a new edition of this text is forthcoming by Muireann Ní Bhrolcháin.

Lecan (=Lec.), and Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS. 536 (23.P.12) *alias* the Book of Ballymote (BB).<sup>11</sup> This tract has not been previously published and I offer below a text based on Lec., with significant variant readings cited from BB and related material in Dublin, University College, Add. Ir. MS. 14, better known as An Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh's *Leabhar Genealach* (=LGen.).<sup>12</sup> This tract comprises a number of distinct sections and may be summarized as follows. It commences with two different accounts of the ancestry of Conall Anglonnach (the eponymous ancestor of the Conaille), to which is appended a list of his sons. This is followed by a segmentary genealogy enumerating the descendants of Dicuill mac Osséni which concludes with the aforementioned Cinaed of whom it is here said *qui nunc regnat*, 'who is now reigning'.<sup>13</sup> Such a clause is rare in the genealogies in general, and helps date the probable composition of this tract in its original form to 1012x1029. The pedigree of Cinaed is then given: it differs slightly from that in Rawl. and LL and is accompanied by two Clann Chuilennáin pedigrees which are omitted in these other manuscripts. There is an apparent break at this point with a discussion of the Conaille and other 'Cruithni' peoples, including some genealogical material relating to the Sogáin. The tract concludes with genealogies of the collateral Uí Mathgnai, whose ancestry is traced to Crónán mac Conaill Anglonnaig.<sup>14</sup> In addition to the genealogical material discussed here, it is worth noting that the origin-legend of Conall Costamail is entitled *Genealach Conailli Muirteimni*, 'The Genealogy of the Conaille Muirtheimne', in two extant copies;<sup>15</sup> and also there are some Conaille saints' genealogies traced to Lága Lethanglas mac Conaill Anglonnaig.<sup>16</sup>

### GENEALOGIES OF THE CONAILLE MUIRTHEIMNE AND UÍ MATHGNAI

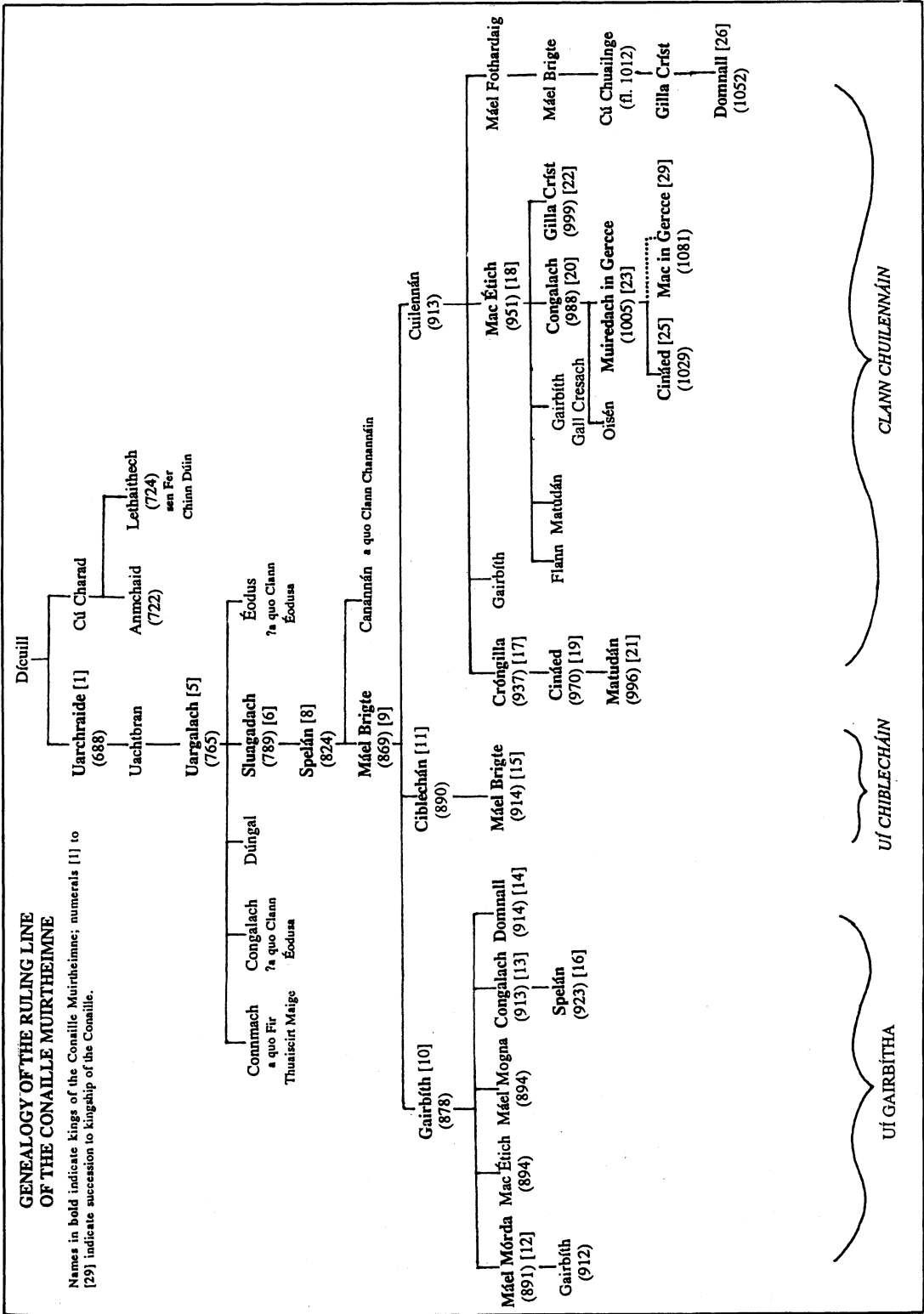
Lec.115rc18 = BB.152d19; cf. LGen.369bb15; Lec.179val.

#### <sup>a</sup>CONAILLI MUIRTHEMNE SO.<sup>a</sup>

Sé meic Deadad .i. Dáiri, Glúnlíath<sup>b</sup>, Lugaid Gall, Lugaid Laidi, Lugaid Forchaech, Conall Anglondach. Alii *autem* dicunt sic,

Conall Anglondach	m. F[h]edo <sup>i</sup>
m. Féic	m. Miandaich <sup>k</sup>
m. Rosa <sup>c</sup>	m. Lida <sup>l</sup>
m. Fhachtna	m. Lóga
m. S[h]enchada <sup>d</sup>	m. Eithnend <sup>m</sup>
m. <sup>e</sup> Aililla	m. Anbotha <sup>n</sup>
m. C[h]loain <sup>c</sup>	m. Thigern[m]ais <sup>o</sup>

- Both manuscripts can be consulted in facsimile editions: K. Mulchrone (ed.), *The Book of Lecan* (Dublin, 1937); and R.A. Atkinson (ed.), *The Book of Ballymote* (Dublin, 1887).
- This manuscript is, at present, unpublished, though individual parts have appeared occasionally in print, and a transcript made in the 1920s by Michael Duignan is in the library of the School of Celtic Studies, DIAS. It is hoped an edition by Nollaig Ó Muraile is not too long forthcoming. For now see Prof. Ó Muraile's *The Celebrated Antiquary Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh (c. 1600-71): His Lineage, Life and Learning* (Maynooth, 1996), 166-210, from where it would seem the Conaille genealogies in LGen. were probably derived from a lost Clann Fhir Bhisigh manuscript related to Lec. and BB, and not directly from one of these two surviving manuscripts.
- The manuscripts read *ragnat* (Lec.) and *rugnath* (BB); see below, p.143.
- For a brief discussion of the Uí Mathgnai, see below, p. 149.
- Namely, BB.169a3, and Dublin, Trinity College MS. 1336 (H.3.17), p. 867c16. However, the relevance of this tract for the Conaille proper is unclear; for the text, see *C.G.H.*, i, 154; for translation, see D. Ó Corráin, 'Irish Origin Legends and Genealogy: Recurrent Aetiology', in T. Nyberg *et al.* (eds.), *History and Heroic Tale* (Odense, 1983), 51-96 (pp 82-3), and Mac Íomhair, 'The History', 333. For a discussion see Thornton, *Kings, Chronologies and Genealogies*, chap. 6.
- For these saintly Uí Lága, see P. Ó Riain, *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae* [hereafter cited as *C.G.S.H*] (Dublin, 1985), 27, 32 (§§ 157-9, 188), P. Walsh (ed.) *Genealogiae Regum et Sanctorum Hiberniae by the Four Masters* (Dublin, 1918), 103-4; note also Thornton, *Kings, Chronologies and Genealogies*, chap. 6.



m. C[h]estaich	m. F[h]ollaich <sup>p</sup>
m. Róedaich <sup>f</sup>	m. Eithreóil <sup>a</sup>
m. Duid <sup>e</sup>	m. Eriúil Fatha <sup>r</sup>
m. Eatharuid <sup>b</sup>	m. Éremóin <sup>s</sup>
m. Mono <sup>i</sup>	m. Mílead Espáine. <sup>i</sup>

Ut<sup>a</sup> dicunt alii, <sup>v</sup>Seancha m. Aililla Cail Cloain ⁊ is ris-aderar Ailill Cestach mac Rudraidi.<sup>v</sup>

<sup>a-a</sup>De peritia Conailli Muirthemne, BB. <sup>b</sup>Glúnleathan, BB., Énna Glúnliath, Lec.<sup>2</sup>. <sup>c</sup>Rossa, BB. <sup>d</sup>Sech-, BB. <sup>e-c</sup>Aillella Clain Cloan, BB., Oiliolla m. Conuill Clain, LGen. <sup>f</sup>Roaigh, LGen. <sup>g</sup>Druirn, LGen. <sup>h</sup>Edardhuirn, LGen. <sup>i</sup>Mona, LGen. <sup>j</sup>Fedho, BB., Edo, LGen. <sup>k</sup>Mianuigh, LGen. <sup>l</sup>Lidú, BB., Luindil, LGen. <sup>m</sup>Cethnend, BB., Ethninn m. Smerto, LGen. <sup>n</sup>Enbota, LGen. <sup>o</sup>Tigernmais, BB., Tigernmuis, LGen. <sup>p</sup>Follaigh, LGen. <sup>q</sup>Ethreóil, BB. LGen. <sup>r</sup>Ireoil Fhaidh, LGen. <sup>s</sup>Érimóin, BB., Éreamhóin, LGen. <sup>t</sup>Milidh, LGen. <sup>u</sup>vel ut, BB. <sup>v-v</sup>Sencha m. Aililla Coil Cloan m. Cestaich m. Rudraigi, BB., om. LGen.

Dá mac déc Chonaill Anglondaich meic Dedad<sup>a</sup> .i. Eathnae,<sup>b</sup> Reti,<sup>c</sup> Crónán, Dubodar, Duibleasc, Fearb, Cond, Caindeach. Ocht meic indsin Misi Muiceda ingine Fiachrach<sup>d</sup> Araidi. Cairrell, Clíabaire .i. mac ainm do<sup>e</sup> Béoaed, Mac hÍ, Lága .i. gaí-leathain<sup>f</sup> leis. Ceithri<sup>g</sup> meic indsin Gaimlorga<sup>h</sup> ingine Conchobair Abradruaid<sup>i</sup> di Laignib a quo nominatur Gleann nGaimlorga.

Lága is fo bith ro fodailtea Conailli fo Éirind la hEochaid nGundad<sup>f</sup> fo bith ro marb seacht rígu Éirind im Art nAenfher<sup>k</sup> mac Cuind Cétchathaich. Is de asbert Cormac fris 'Ní cheil' a dóid for Lága ro bí ríga .i. a sleacht<sup>m</sup> mhuindi oir ima dóid "nó ma meór".<sup>n</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Dedhadh, BB. <sup>b</sup>Ethnae, BB. <sup>c</sup>Reithi, BB. <sup>d</sup>Fiachach, BB. <sup>e</sup>om., BB. <sup>f</sup>gaí-lethan, BB. <sup>g</sup>Ceit[hri], BB. <sup>h</sup>Gaimlorga, BB. <sup>i</sup>Abratiruid, BB. <sup>j</sup>hEochaid nGunnat, BB. <sup>k</sup>Enfer, BB. <sup>l</sup>cel, BB. <sup>m</sup>a secht, BB. <sup>n</sup>om., BB.

Lec.115rd25 = BB.152db37

#### GENELACH CONAILLI ANNSO.<sup>a</sup>

Dá mac la Dícuill<sup>b</sup> mac nOiséne<sup>c</sup> .i. Cú Charad<sup>d</sup> athair Leathaich, sin Fer Chind Dúin, <sup>e</sup>qui cec[i]tit i cath Imleach Apaich la Niall,<sup>e</sup> ⁊ <sup>f</sup>Uarchraidi, sen na rígraidi.<sup>f</sup>

Uargalach<sup>g</sup> immorru mac Uachtbrain meic Uarchraidi, cóic meic lais .i. Condmach, Congalach, Dúngal, Sluagadach, Eodus.<sup>h</sup> Condmach a quo Fir Thuaiscirt Muigi, Congal<sup>i</sup> a quo Cland Eodusa, Sluaideadach<sup>j</sup> cuius filius Spealán.<sup>k</sup>

Iteat cland S[h]pelán<sup>l</sup> .i. Canandán a quo Cland Chanandan ⁊ Mael Brigde. It é immorru meic Maíl Brigde .i. Cibleacháen<sup>m</sup> a quo hUí C[h]iblechán<sup>n</sup> ⁊ <sup>o</sup>Gairbith<sup>p</sup> a quo hUí Gairbitha, Cuileandán a quo Clann Chuileandáin.

It é immorru meic C[h]uilleannáin .i. Gairbith a quo Mael Brigdi ⁊ Mael Fothartaich ⁊ Cróngilla <sup>q</sup>[a quo Clann C[h]róingilla],<sup>q</sup> Mac Éitich<sup>r</sup> a quo <sup>s</sup>a quo<sup>s</sup> Cland Meic Éidich .i. Fland, Madadán<sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup>Gairbith Gall Chreasach, Gilla Críst <sup>v</sup> Congalach. It é meic Congalaich .i.<sup>u</sup> Oisén,<sup>v</sup> Muiridach<sup>w</sup> Gheirrci<sup>x</sup> cuius [filius]<sup>y</sup> Cinaed qui nunc ragnat.<sup>z</sup>

<sup>a</sup>se sis, BB. <sup>b</sup>Díchuill, BB. <sup>c</sup>nOissíne, BB. <sup>d</sup>Cú C[h]jarad, BB. <sup>e-c</sup>in marg., BB. <sup>f</sup>Uarcraidi sean na rígraidi, BB. <sup>g</sup>Uargal[a]ch, BB. <sup>h</sup>Eodass, BB. <sup>i</sup>Congal, BB.; perhaps a phrase like 'Congal[ach a quo Cland Congalaig, Eodus]' has be omitted here. <sup>j</sup>Sluaigedach, BB. <sup>k</sup>Sbealán, BB. <sup>l</sup>It é meic Sbelán, BB. <sup>m</sup>Cibleachán, BB. <sup>n</sup>Ciblecáin, BB. <sup>o</sup>om., BB.

<sup>p</sup>Garbith, BB. <sup>q</sup>add BB. <sup>r</sup>Mac Éididh, BB. <sup>s</sup>sic, Lec., om., BB. <sup>t</sup>Madudán, BB. <sup>u</sup>om., BB. <sup>v</sup>Oissín, BB. <sup>w</sup>Muiredach, BB. <sup>x</sup>Gerrci, BB. <sup>y</sup>add, BB. <sup>z</sup>rugnath, BB., read regnat?

Lec.115va9 = BB.153a3; cf. LGen.169bb23; see also C.G.H., i, 327 (Rawl.162c1 and LL.335f37)

GENELACH CONAILLI SO.<sup>a</sup>

Cinaeth <sup>b</sup>	m. C[h]rónáin <sup>l</sup>
m. <sup>c</sup> In Gerrce	m. Dúnlaingi <sup>m</sup>
m. Muireadaich <sup>c</sup>	m. C[h]ondmach <sup>n</sup>
m. C[h]ongalaich	m. Dúnchada <sup>o</sup>
m. Meic Éidich <sup>d</sup>	m. Dínertaich <sup>p</sup>
m. Meic Leandáin <sup>e</sup>	m. Dúngaili <sup>q</sup>
m. Mail Brigde <sup>f</sup>	m. C[h]olmáin
m. S[h]pecláin <sup>g</sup>	m. C[h]airill
m. S[h]luagadaich <sup>h</sup>	m. Chonail Anglonnaich
m. Uargalaich <sup>i</sup>	ótait Conailli Muirthemne
m. Uachtbrain	m. Deadad <sup>r</sup>
m. Uarchraidi <sup>j</sup>	m. S[h]in
m. Dículla <sup>k</sup>	<sup>s</sup> m. Ros[h]in. <sup>s</sup>
m. Oiséne	
Gilla Críst	m. S[h]peláin <sup>w</sup>
m. Con C[h]uailgne <sup>t</sup>	m. S[h]luagadaig ⁊ rl. <sup>x</sup>
m. Mail Brigde	
m. Mail Fothartaich <sup>u</sup>	Madadán
m. C[h]uilleandáin <sup>v</sup>	m. Cinaeda <sup>y</sup>
m. Mail Brigdi	m. C[h]róngilla. <sup>z</sup>

<sup>a</sup>annso, BB. <sup>b</sup>Cinaed, BB., Cionaoth, LGen. <sup>c</sup>Gerce m. Muireadaich, BB., Muicreóin, LGen. <sup>d</sup>Meic Étich, BB., Édig, LGen. <sup>e</sup>Meic Lennáin, BB., Cuilionnáin, LGen. <sup>f</sup>Mail Brigdi., Mail Brigde, LGen. <sup>g</sup>Sbelán, BB., Sbealán, LGen. <sup>h</sup>Sluaidedaich, BB., Sluaighedhoigh, LGen. <sup>i</sup>Uargal-, LGen. <sup>j</sup>Uarcraidi, BB., Uarcraide, LGen. <sup>k</sup>Díocholla, LGen. <sup>l</sup>Rónáin, LGen. <sup>m</sup>Dúnluing, LGen. <sup>n</sup>Connmaig, BB., Condmuigh, LGen. <sup>o</sup>Dúnch-, LGen. <sup>p</sup>Dínert-, LGen. <sup>q</sup>Dúnghaile, LGen. <sup>r</sup>Degh-, LGen. <sup>s</sup>mc. Roisin, BB., om., LGen. <sup>t</sup>Con Cuailgne, BB. <sup>u</sup>Mail Fotharthaich, BB. <sup>v</sup>Chuilendáin, BB. <sup>w</sup>Sbealán, BB. <sup>x</sup>Sluadadaich, BB. <sup>y</sup>Cinaetha, BB. <sup>z</sup>Cróingilla, BB.

Lec.115va49 = BB.153aa43

Do<sup>a</sup> cloind Muirthemne in mogad in tres aicme Conaill[i]<sup>b</sup> Muirthemne. Do<sup>a</sup> cloind Lugdach<sup>c</sup> Laidi arailli dib. Do cloind Fhachtna meic S[h]jeanchada<sup>d</sup> aroili dib. Do cloind <sup>e</sup>Chonail Chernaich aroili dib .i. in rígraid.

<sup>f</sup>Sodáin Midi ⁊ Sodáin Aithchi i Fearnmaig ⁊ Sogáin Chondacht do cloind Chonail Chernaig meic Aimirgin doib .i. do Dál Araidi.<sup>f</sup>

Nár mac Erca meic Sogáin, ceit[h]ri meic lais .i. Findchad<sup>g</sup> ⁊ <sup>h</sup>Crónán ⁊ Muind ⁊ <sup>h</sup>Emmu. Sé meic Fhinchada .i. Trena ⁊ <sup>h</sup>Luchta <sup>i</sup>Domaingen ⁊ Decell ⁊ Fergna ⁊ Rochaid.<sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup>Is uaidib sin itait aicmeda Shogáin Aichi.<sup>j</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Di, BB. <sup>b</sup>Conailli, BB. <sup>c</sup>Lugach, BB. <sup>d</sup>Feachada, BB. <sup>e</sup>Conaill Cernaich, BB. <sup>f</sup>Sodáin i

Mide ʒ Sodháin Aichthi do *chlainn* Conaill Cernaich dóib .i. do Dál Araichi, BB. <sup>ʳ</sup>Finnchad, BB. <sup>ʰ</sup>om., BB. <sup>ʳ</sup>Domangen sin do Cell Fergna Rochad, BB. <sup>ʳ</sup>Is *huaidib* sin atait sé haicme Sogáin Aichi, BB.

Lec.115vb19 = BR.153ab13

<sup>ʳ</sup>NUNC HUI MATHGNAI SO.<sup>ʳ</sup>

Sé meic la Coin C[h]umal mac Mathgnai<sup>b</sup> .i. Aidgein<sup>c</sup> ʒ<sup>d</sup> Caidgein<sup>c</sup> ʒ<sup>d</sup> Airechtach ʒ<sup>d</sup> Mathgnai<sup>f</sup> ʒ<sup>d</sup> Cú Cumsaid. *Cóic* meic Bandamna<sup>ʳ</sup> ingine Cillíne meic Gollain inosin.<sup>b</sup> Conasach in sesead mac do Choin C[h]umal.

Dá mac la hAidgein<sup>c</sup> mac Con C[h]umal.<sup>ʳ</sup>

Cóic meic la Caidgen mac Con C[h]umal .i. Snédgus ʒ<sup>d</sup> Fearr Domnach ʒ<sup>d</sup> hAelgalán ʒ<sup>d</sup> Galán ʒ<sup>d</sup> Anmchad.<sup>k</sup>

Trí meic la hAirechtach<sup>ʳ</sup> mac Coin C[h]umal<sup>m</sup> .i. Cethirnach<sup>n</sup> ʒ<sup>d</sup> Sodalach ʒ<sup>d</sup> Aidgein.<sup>c</sup>

*Cóic* meic la Mathgnai<sup>o</sup> .i. <sup>ʳ</sup>Faithgein Dommutu Mathgnai Earthaili Duibgneand Snámach.<sup>p</sup>

Sé meic la Coin Chumsaid<sup>q</sup> .i. <sup>ʳ</sup>Tendalach, Naindenach, Mochloinges, <sup>ʳ</sup>[Ailgus, Daitheán],<sup>s</sup> Saergus.<sup>ʳ</sup>

Ceithri meic la Conasach<sup>m</sup> mac Cuin C[h]umal<sup>m</sup> .i. Cathchú ʒ<sup>d</sup> Gainebach ʒ<sup>d</sup> Cuangus ʒ<sup>d</sup> Ruidoc.

<sup>ʳ</sup>De peritia hÓ Matgnae, BB. <sup>b</sup>Matgnae, BB. <sup>c</sup>Aidgen, BB. <sup>d</sup>om., BB. <sup>e</sup>Caidgen, BB. <sup>f</sup>Maitgnia, BB. <sup>ʳ</sup>Bannamna indsin, BB. <sup>ʰ</sup>om., BB. <sup>ʳ</sup>Aidgen, BB. <sup>ʳ</sup>Coin Cumal, BB.; *the two sons are not named.* <sup>k</sup>Anmchaidh, BB. <sup>ʳ</sup>Aireachtach, BB. <sup>m</sup>om., BB. <sup>n</sup>Cethirnach, BB. <sup>o</sup>Maithnia, BB. <sup>p</sup>Faithgen Dommutu Mnathgna Earrthuili Duibgend Snámuch, BB. <sup>q</sup>Coin Cumsaid, BB. <sup>ʳ</sup>Tennalach, BB. <sup>s</sup>add, BB. <sup>ʳ</sup>Saergos, BB.

<sup>ʳ</sup>NUNC HUI MATHGNAI SO.<sup>ʳ</sup>

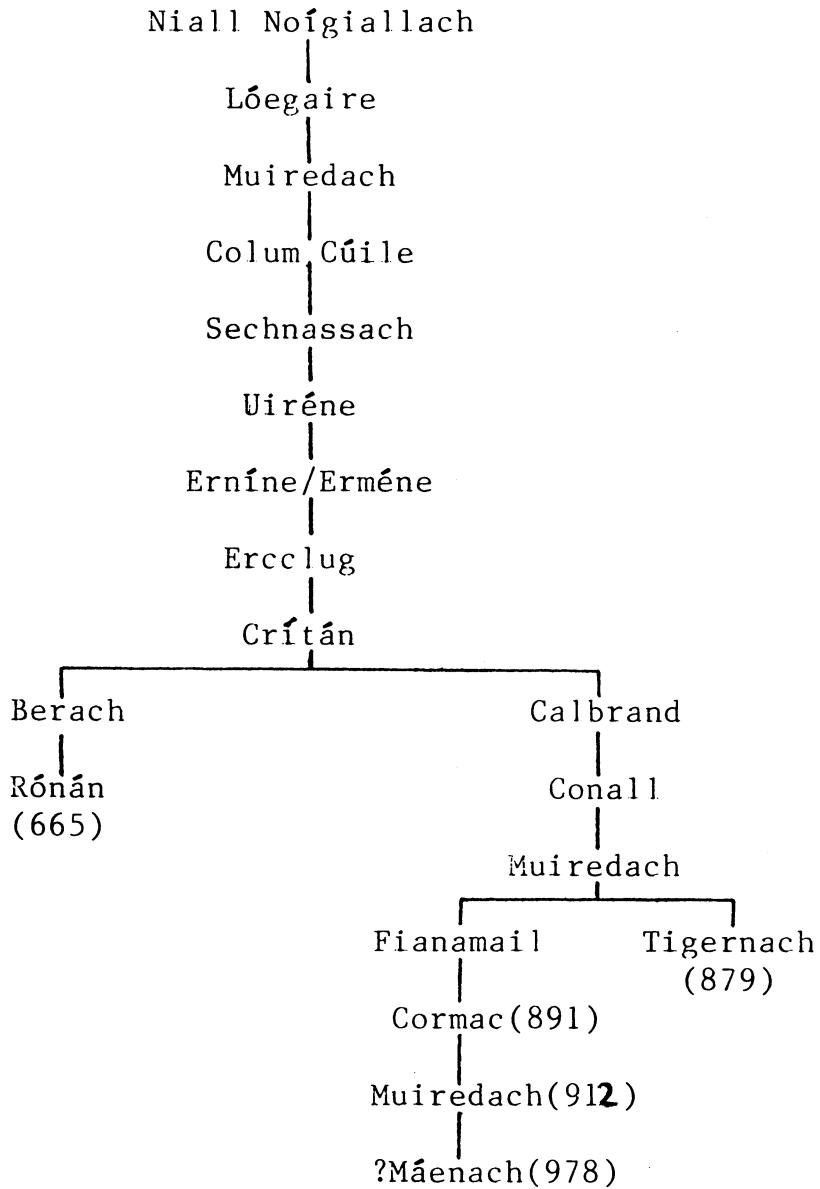
Sodalach	m. Ríg Scoith
<sup>b</sup> m. Aireachtaich <sup>b</sup>	m. Rosa <sup>f</sup>
m. C[h]oin Chumal	m. C[h]uindi <sup>g</sup>
m. Mathgnai <sup>c</sup>	m. Aelchada <sup>h</sup>
m. Gútháin	m. Domnaill
m. Aithgein <sup>d</sup>	m. C[h]rónain
m. Meic Rithi	m. C[h]onail Anglonnaig
m. Loairn <sup>e</sup>	m. Deadad
m. Gútháin	m. S[h]in
m. Gaimchon	m. Ros[h]in,
m. Maíl Scoth	oc usque <sup>ʳ</sup> Oengus Tuirmeach. <sup>ʳ</sup>

Alii ita dicunt,

Gúthán	m. C[h]uindi
m. Gaimchon	m. Chon Culaind <sup>ʳ</sup>
m. C[h]rónáin	m. Chona[i]ll Anglondaig <sup>m</sup>
m. F[h]inchail <sup>ʳ</sup>	m. Deadad
.i. Mael Scoith	m. S[h]in
m. Meic Déicet <sup>k</sup>	meic Ros[h]in. <sup>n</sup>

<sup>ʳ</sup>Genelach hUa Mathgnae, BB. <sup>b</sup>.i. Aireachtaich, BB. <sup>c</sup>Mathgnae, BB. <sup>d</sup>Aithgen, BB. <sup>e</sup>Loairn, BB. <sup>ʳ</sup>Rossa, BB. <sup>ʳ</sup>Chuindi, BB. <sup>ʰ</sup>Ailchada, BB. <sup>ʳ</sup>Oingus Tuirbeach, BB. <sup>ʳ</sup>Findcail, BB. <sup>k</sup>Meic Déicet, BB. <sup>ʳ</sup>Con Cul-, BB. <sup>m</sup>Conaill Anglon-, BB. <sup>n</sup>Roshin, BB.





**GENEALOGY OF THE UÍ CHRITÁIN  
AND ST RÓNÁN OF DROMISKIN**

## GENEALOGIES OF ST RÓNÁN AND THE UÍ CHRÍTÁIN OF DROMISMN

BB.88a36; cf. *C.G.S.H.*, p.52 (§ 325)

## CLANN MUIREDAICH.

Rónán	m. Uiréne
m. Bearaich	m. S[h]eachnasaigh
m. C[h]rídháin	m. C[h]olaim Chúile
m. F[h]ir Logha	m. Muiredaich
m. Eríne	m. Lóegaire.

*Caireach Dergain* ingin *Fhir C[h]olcaidh* siur do Rónán. Caimne *ingen Bresail meic Muiredaich* o *Thich Camene* lasna *Désib Breagh*. *Scannlach ingen S[h]eachnasaich* m. *C[h]olaim Chúile* m. *Muiredaich* m. *Loeghaire*.

BB. 88b6; cf. LGen.193

## GENELACH HUI C[H]RÍDÁIN DROMA INDASCLAIND.

Muiredach	m. Erclogha
m. Cormaic	m. Erméne
m. F[h]ianamla	m. Uiríne
m. Muiredaich	m. S[h]eachnasaich
m. Chonail	m. C[h]oluim Chúile
m. C[h]albraind	m. Muiredaig
m. C[h]rídáin	m. Lóegaire.

## TEXTUAL NOTES

## The Ancestry of Conall Anglonnach

The name *Conaille* (or *Conailli*) has been explained as deriving from an earlier form *Conaillne*.<sup>17</sup> It would therefore count among a series of early Irish population-group names combining a personal name in the genitive case (*Conaill*) with the collective nominal suffix *-ne* or *-ni*, and would mean something like ‘the people (or descendants) of Conall’.<sup>18</sup> This etymology implies an eponym Conall and, a number of figures bearing such a personal name occur in the genealogical records in association with the Conaille, including the ‘Pictish’ ancestor Conall Cernach, a Conall Costamail (or Cosdub) who was a descendant of this Conall Cernach, a Conall Glass (or Cas), and even a Conall Muirtheimne.<sup>19</sup> Among the genealogies edited above, however, the eponymous Conall in question is called Conall Anglonnach, ‘Conall the Valiant’. The tract commences by describing various versions of this Conall’s ancestry, and by listing his twelve sons. These sons include Cairrell, the ancestor of the Conaille, Crónán ancestor of the Uí Mathgnai (discussed below), and Lága, who occurs elsewhere as ancestor of various Conaille saints.<sup>20</sup> From this source taken alongside the other versions of the pedigree of Cinaed (cited above), we see that the eponymous Conall Anglonnach was credited with three different ancestries: the first, through Dedad mac Sin meic Roshin, gives him an ‘Érainn’ ancestry and would affiliate the Conaille with the Dál Fiatach of northern Co Down; the second, through Fiacc mac Rossa, would associate them with various legendary figures known from Ulster Cycle tales; and finally, a third ‘Cruithni’ ancestry, through Eochaid mac Cruinn ba Druí (which

17. J. MacNeill, ‘Early Irish Population Groups: their Nomenclature, Classification, and Chronology’, *P.R.I.A.*, 29C, (1911-12), 59-114 (p.69).

18. I have found one instance of the form *Huí Conaill Muirtheimne* which would mean the same thing: Dobbs, ‘The Ban-Shenchus [pt.II]’, 227.

19. For these various figures, see Thornton, *Kings, Chronologies and Genealogies*, chap. 6.

20. For the Uí Lága, see the sources cited above, footnote 16.

occurs in the other versions of the pedigree only), connects the Conaille with the Uí Echach Coba of southern Down and the Dál nAraide of southern Co Antrim. This varying ancestry represents a fine example of what may be termed ‘genealogical schizophrenia’ and, I have argued elsewhere, was probably in part a response to the shifting politics among the Ulaid overlords of the Conaille and, on the other hand, was a product of the position of the kingdom of the Conaille as a buffer-state between the Ulaid and the Southern Uí Néill, which may be detected both in the historical and possibly the archaeological record.<sup>21</sup>

### The Conaille Muirtheimne c. 650 to c. 1050

The segmentary genealogy above traces the descendants of Dícuill mac Osséni to Cinaed, stating *qui nunc regnat*, and is followed by a version of the pedigree of Cinaed plus two shorter pedigrees. This material, along with the various notices of kings of the Conaille in the annals, provides the means of reconstructing the genealogical history of the ruling line of Conaille Muirtheimne from the late seventh until the mid-eleventh centuries; and I offer such a reconstruction in the accompanying genealogical chart and regnal list.<sup>22</sup> Dícuill mac Osséni does not occur in the chronicles, but he is mentioned in the fragmentary *Vita S. Ronani*, as a contemporary of St Rónán of Dromiskin (d. 665; see below),<sup>23</sup> which more or less agrees with the chronology of Dícuill’s descendants. Although the *Vita* calls Dícuill *rex*, I have omitted him from the accompanying list of kings of Conaille since he is not named as such in the extant annals.

A number of interesting points emerge if my reconstruction is compared with the genealogical tract edited above. For example, it is apparent that the tract concentrates on the ramifications of Cinaed’s own Clann Chuilennáin segment of the dynasty, at the expense of the rival Uí Gairbitha and Uí Chiblecháin – neither of which had held the kingship since the early decades of the tenth century. Accordingly, information about these two segments is only to be found in the chronicles. This may be a reflection of their relative political insignificance by the early eleventh century, or may be a case of deliberate omission by the Clann Chuilennáin of information about their dynastic rivals – a phenomenon without precedent in the early Irish genealogies. Furthermore, some of the known kings of Conaille cannot be readily located within the overall genealogical scheme. This may simply be because their exact affiliation to the main dynasty is now lost to us; however, it is perhaps significant that most of these ‘problem kings’ ruled either during the early eighth century, when the dynasty was still in the process of establishing its power in the region (i.e., nos 2-4 in the regnal list),<sup>24</sup> or during the eleventh century, when it seems to have gradually lost that power (nos 24, 27-28). Some or all of these figures may therefore represent members of rival dynasties which managed to supplant the

21. Thornton, *Kings, Chronologies and Genealogies*, chap. 6; also David E. Thornton, ‘Orality, Literacy and Genealogy in Early Medieval Ireland and Wales’, in Huw Price (ed.), *Literacy in Medieval Celtic Societies* (Cambridge, 1998), 83-98 (p. 88). For the archaeological debate concerning the position of the Conaille see V.M. Buckley and P.D. Sweetman, *Archaeological Survey of County Louth* (Dublin, 1991), 13, 152-3; V.M. Buckley, ‘From the Darkness to the Dawn: the Later Prehistoric and Early Christian Borderlands’ in R. Gillespie and H. O’Sullivan (eds.), *The Borderlands: Essays on the history of the Ulster-Leinster border* (Belfast, 1989), 23-39 (pp 33, 37, 39); V.M. Buckley, ‘Ulster and Oriel Souterrains an Indicator of Tribal Areas?’, *U.J.A.*, (3rd Series), 49, (1986), 108-110 and R.B. Warner, ‘Comments on ‘Ulster and Oriel Souterrains’, *ibid.*, 111-12; Paul Gosling, ‘From Dún Delca to Dundalk: the topography and archaeology of a medieval frontier town A.D. c. 1187-1700’, *C.L.A.H.J.*, xxii, 3, (1991), 221-353 (p. 247).
22. This reconstruction should, I think, be preferred to those of Murray (‘Pictish Kingdom’, 449, and ‘Ancient Territories’, 62) since he did not use the genealogical tract and relied upon the often sketchy chronology of the Annals of the Four Masters. Note also the partial reconstruction given by F.J. Byrne, *Irish Kings and High-Kings* (London, 1973), 123. Again, for a detailed consideration of the genealogical history of the Conaille, see Thornton, *Kings, Chronologies and Genealogies*, chap. 6.
23. [A. Poncelet], ‘De S. Ruonano Episcopo’, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 17, (1898), 159-66.
24. Of these, it is worth noting that no. 4, Foidmenn mac Fallaig (*obit* 752) - possibly son of no. 3, Fagall Finn mac Oengusa - was the brother of Femen and father of Ailbuir, the twelfth and thirteenth abbesses of Killeavy in Co Armagh, according to a ninth-century list of successors of St Monenna: see M. Esposito, ‘Conchubran Vita Sanctae Monennae’, *P. R.I.A.*, 28C, (1910), 202-51 (pp 244-5); and *idem*, ‘The Sources of Conchubranus’ Life of St. Monenna’, *English Historical Review*, 35, (1920), 71-8 (pp 75-6).

descendants of Dicuill mac Osséni during these periods of instability.

### The Uí Mathgnai

According to the segmentary genealogy of Uí Mathgnai or Uí Maithgne edited above, this group took their name from Mathgna mac Gutháin and were connected to the Conaille through the common ancestor Conall Anglonnach. The tract begins by listing the six sons of Cú Chumal mac Mathgnai and then naming the numerous sons of these six in turn. This is followed by a pedigree of Sodalach son of Airechtach mac Con Chumal to Crónán mac Conaill Anglonnaig, to which is appended a variant descent to a Cú Chulainn mac Conaill Anglonnaig. As no Cú Chulainn is listed among the sons of Conall Anglonnach in the main Conaille genealogies above, this second line is somewhat suspect. Indeed, a reference in the genealogical compilation known as the ‘Lecan Miscellany’ to a Cú Chulainn son of one Conall mac Conaill Anglonnaig adds to the confusion.<sup>25</sup> The younger Conall may represent a doublet for his father or perhaps a miscopying of an abbreviated form of the name Crónán. It is not clear whether the Cú Chulainn in question was intended to be the famous Ulster Cycle figure of that name, who of course had strong associations with the Louth region, but the line of descent described here is different from that normally attributed to the Ulaid hero.<sup>26</sup>

The descent of the Uí Mathgnai from Crónán mac Conaill Anglonnaig suggests they should be regarded as a segment of the Uí Chrónán, to whom there is a scattering of references in the genealogical sources. For instance, a notice in a number of manuscripts states that Fintan, daughter of Findchaim (or Fintanán) mac Faithgin and mother of Rónán mac Domangairt of Uí Echach Arda, was of Uí Chrónáin ‘of the Conaille’ (*de Conaillib*).<sup>27</sup> A Faithgen, son of Mathgna mac Con Chumal meic Mathgnai, occurs in the Uí Mathgnai segmentary genealogy and he may accordingly be identified with the paternal grandfather of this Fintan. Furthermore, Mac Fhirbhisigh claimed, in a statement concerning the ancestry of St Fursa, that *Tech mac nAithecháin* (that is, the present-day Haggardstown) was located ‘in Uí Chrónáin of the Conaille Muirtheimne’. This would serve to locate the Uí Chrónáin and, perhaps, by extension, the Uí Mathgnai in the region of Haggardstown.<sup>28</sup>

I have been able to identify only one member of the Uí Mathgnai in the extant chronicles: an *Aedgein ua Maithgne* (or *ua Maithe, O’Mathgna*) is listed among the fallen allies of ‘high king’ Fergal mac Maíl Dúin (of Cenél nEogain) at *Alma* (Allen, Co Kildare) in 722.<sup>29</sup> The ‘tribal-geographical’ arrangement of the list of fallen would certainly permit a location of Aedgein among the Conaille, and indeed an *Aidgein* is the first of the sons of Cú Cumal mac Mathgnai in the segmentary genealogy of Uí Mathgnai.<sup>30</sup> This would date the figures named in the various Uí Mathgnai genealogies above to the first half of the eighth century – roughly the same period when the ruling line of Conaille Muirtheimne first emerges (above).

### The Uí Chrítáin abbots of Dromiskin

The church of Dromiskin or *Druim Inasclainn* was allegedly founded by St Patrick and settled by St Lugaid (Molua) of the Eoganachta (in Munster), whose relics it was said to contain.<sup>31</sup> Its

25. Lec. I 79va4: T. Ó Raithbheartaigh (ed.), *Genealogical Tracts* (Dublin, 1932), 159. For Cú Chulainn as son of Conall Anglonnach, see LGen.369bb18.
26. For example, see *C.G.H.*, i, 285; M.E. Dobbs, ‘The History of the Descendants of Ir [pt. ii]’, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 14, (1923), 44-144 (p.50).
27. Lec.128vb12, 131ra39 = BB.167a50 = UM.65vb51: see M.E. Dobbs, ‘The History of the Descendants of Ir [pt. i]’, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 13, (1921), 308-59 (p. 354).
28. LGen.737; also Mac Iomhair, ‘The Boundaries’, 158.
29. P. Ó Riain (ed.), *Cath Almaine* (Dublin, 1978), 15, 22, 53-4, 67-8; also *Annals of Tigernach [722]*; *Chron. Scot.* [718]; *AFM sub anno 718*; J.N. Radner (ed.), *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland* (Dublin, 1978), 78-9; D. Murphy (ed.), *The Annals of Clonmacnoise* (Dublin, 1896), 113.
30. There is also an *Aidgein* among the sons of Airechtach mac Con Chumal, but he would not be *ua Mathgnai* in the strictest sense.
31. On Dromiskin in the early Middle Ages, see J.B. Leslie, *History of Kilsaran* (Dundalk, 1908), 164-77; F.W. Stubbs, ‘Early Monastic History of Dromiskin, in the County of Louth’, *J.R.S.A.I.*, 27, (1897), 101-13.

principal saint, however, was Rónán mac Beraig, who is said to have died of the plague in 665 and may have been the Rónán whose curse was responsible for the madness of the legendary Suibne Geilt.<sup>32</sup> Rónán's relics are said to have been enshrined in a 'gold and silver casket' in 801,<sup>33</sup> perhaps indicating when his cult was established at Dromiskin. According to his 'standard' pedigree (given above), Rónán was of the Uí Muiredaig segment of the Lóegaire (or Uí Lóegairi), who by this date were a relatively minor branch of the Southern Uí Néill based around Navan.<sup>34</sup> As the material edited above illustrates, the saint was therefore allegedly related to the ecclesiastical family of Uí Chritáin Dromma Inasclainn (that is, Uí Chritáin of Dromiskin) through the common ancestor Critán mac Erccloga. Analysis of the handful of notices of abbots of Dromiskin in the annals demonstrates that these Uí Chritáin controlled the church for much of the ninth and tenth centuries, with the abbacy passing from father to son on at least one occasion (see my reconstructed genealogical table below). The earliest recorded abbot is one *Muirchiu* (Muirchú) who died in 828. He cannot be connected to the Uí Chritáin of the pedigree, unless his name represents a miscopying of *Muiredach*, in which case he could be Muiredach mac Conaill.<sup>35</sup> The next named abbot, Tigernach mac Muiredaig, was possibly a son of this Muiredach mac Conaill, and is said to have died after a prolonged illness in 879.<sup>36</sup> He was succeeded by his nephew, Cormac mac Fianamla, who died in 891<sup>37</sup> and was in turn followed in the abbacy by his own son Muiredach mac Cormaic. The latter seems to have become embroiled in the often messy politics of the Conaille Muirtheimne, for in 912 he is said to have been burned to death, alongside Gairbith mac Maíl Mordai, prince of the Conaille, in the refectory at Dromiskin at the hands of king Congalach mac Gairbitha.<sup>38</sup> The exact course of events is not clear, but it is possible that Gairbith was engaged in an intra-dynastic conflict with his uncle Congalach, and that Muiredach had provided him with sanctuary at Dromiskin. The extant pedigree does not go beyond this Muiredach, but one further abbot occurs in the annals, namely Maenach mac Muiredaig (d. 978), whose patronymic may suggest that he had some link with the Uí Chritáin.<sup>39</sup>

There are a number of difficulties with the rather convenient genealogical scheme connecting St Rónán with his Uí Chritáin successors. As my reconstructed table shows, the connection is chronologically unsound: the saint should perhaps stand three or four generations earlier for the scheme to be plausible. Furthermore, the *Vita S. Ronani* contains the assertion that Rónán's father Berach mac Critáin was *de Chonilibus*, that is, of the Conaille (and, by extension, *not* of the Lóegaire).<sup>40</sup> It seems probable therefore that the scheme discussed above was created to associate the abbots with their patron saint; and it is tempting to connect Rónán's displacement of Lugaid as patron and the enshrinement of his relics in 801 with the emergence of Uí Chritáin at Dromiskin.<sup>41</sup>

32. AT [665]; *Chron. Scot.* [661]; A.F.M. *sub anno* 664; Poncelet, 'De S. Ruonano Episcopo'; P. Ó Riain, 'The Materials and Provenance of "Buile Shuibhne"', *Éigse*, 15, (1973-4), 173-88 (pp 176-7). For an attempt to credit St Rónán with the founding of Dromiskin, see *C.G.S.H.*, 52 (§325). For a St Rónán mac Ninneda associated with Dromiskin, see *ibid.*, and L. Gwynn, 'The Life of St. Lasair', *Ériu*, 5, (1911), 73-109.
33. S. Mac Airt and G. Mac Niocaill (eds.), *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)* [hereafter cited as AU] (Dublin, 1983), *sub anno* 800 = 801.1; AFM *sub anno* 796.
34. For this pedigree, see above, p. 146, and *C.G.S.H.*, 52, 71, 86 (§§325, 534, 662.59).
35. AU *sub anno* 827 = 828.2; AFM *sub anno* 826.
36. AU *sub anno* 878 = 879.3; AFM *sub anno* 876; also D. Comyn and P.S. Dinneen (eds.), *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn le Scathrúin Céitinn* (London, 1902-14, 4 vols), iii, 190.
37. AU *sub anno* 890 = 891.5; AFM *sub anno* 887.
38. AU *sub anno* 911 = 912.4; AFM *sub anno* 908.
39. AFM *sub anno* 976 (= 978). For the sake of convenience, I make him son of the unfortunate Muiredach mac Cormaic, but the chronology of this link is not entirely satisfactory.
40. Poncelet, 'De S. Ruonano Episcopo', 161.
41. Such a development would not have been without precedent: see, for example, D. Ó Corráin, 'Dál Cais - Church and Dynasty', *Ériu* 24, (1973), 52-63 (p. 52, n.2). For some general remarks on early medieval ecclesiastical families (including the Uí Chritáin), see *idem*, 'The Early Irish Churches: Some Aspects of Organisation', in D. Ó Corráin (ed.), *Irish Antiquity* (Cork, 1981), 327-41.