Shearman's Ossorian Genealogy II versus Linea Antiqua, and others: Part I

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Abstract

Kilkenny-born cleric-*cum*-amateur-archaeologist-historian, Rev. John Francis Shearman, is best known for *Loca Patriciana*, which is his rambling wander through the Irish places and placenames of Saint Patrick. At times *Loca Patriciana* diverts to other matters of Irish history, such as the Kings of Ossory, and Shearman, who enjoyed the financial backing of Bernard Edward Fitzpatrick, Second Baron Castletown, the self-proclaimed 'Tanist of Ossory', who saw himself as a noble descendant, saw fit to dabble in the genealogies of the Ossorian kings, among whom the Mac Giolla Phádraig of Ossory rose to prominence in the eleventh century AD.

Ossorian Genealogy II, which appears in *Loca Patriciana*, is a summary chart of Shearman's attempt to make sense of Ossory genealogies, from Ceallach (d. 907 AD, King of Ossory) to Séafraidh Fionn Mac Giolla Phádraig (d. ca. 1314 AD). Since recent critiques of several aspects of Shearman's versions of the histories of the Mac Giolla Phádraig of Ossory have exposed his poor scholarship, it is appropriate to provide a more detailed review of Ossorian Genealogy II against other genealogies, particularly versus one of Shearman's most frequent sources, the scarcely reviewed *Linea Antiqua*. Simply put, this series of articles examines how well Shearman's Ossorian genealogies stack up.

Names, styles, edits, and historical records

This article is written in English, but the people and places discussed are Irish. In order to acknowledge Gaeilge (Gaelic) and allow readers to find locations on maps, place names are provided in modern Gaeilge using the most common spelling.

The rendering of given names and people referenced here also requires consistency, as historical records can vary widely even for the same individual. The approach here is to use the most obvious and correctly spelt form of the given name, whether in Gaeilge or in English.

Clan names or surnames are provided as they appear in the genealogies, along with, where possible, a rendition of their English form, with preference given to a standard spelling, e.g., as determined and published by authorities such as Woulfe[1] and Mac Lysaght[2].

This article is a living work – it can be edited by the authors and re-versioned. All versions will be retained.

[1] Woulfe, P (1923). Sloinnte Gaedheal Is Gall: Irish names and surnames. Dublin: MH Gill & Son.
[2] MacLysaght, E (1985). Irish families: their names, arms and origins. Dublin: Irish Academic Press.

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Introduction

Rev. John Francis Shearman was a Kilkenny-born cleric and amateur archaeologist-historian, known mostly for his treatise *Loca Patriciana*, which was published serially between 1873 and 1878 in the Journal of the Royal Historical and Archaeological Association of Ireland, and later compiled into a single-volume book[3]. In Ireland, among Shearman's religious peers, *Loca Patriciana* was received effervescently as "the work of a born antiquary", albeit without critical review of the main topic, 'the Lives of St Patrick', which Shearman claimed related to not one individual, but three – the reviewer, *The Irish Jesuit*, not having the requisite scholarship, announced they deferred to await "the judgment thereanent of competent authorities", preferring to be mesmerised by 'ample pages bristling with capital letters and unpronounceable names'[4].

Outside of Ireland, a review of *Loca Patriciana* proffered the opinion that Shearman was no more than "an enthusiast on the subject of St Patrick", whose work, while interesting, was unsuccessful in "making the early history of Ireland generally attractive"[5].

Shearman's theory of 'Three Patricks' never gained acceptance[6], let alone withstood the test of time, and, notably, among scholars of true status, later critical reviews were withering[7]. Exposed was Shearman's inability to apply even the basic principles of critical scholarship, such as interrogating all practically available extant records, not just those he found in Maynooth library or those he cherry-picked because they fitted his pre-formed theories. Shearman's dabbling in Patrician narratives, therefore, serves as a warning to would-be scholars, not so much that the correct letters are a prerequisite for success, but that without rigor and criticality, attempts to produce scholarship are doomed to fail.

At this juncture, it is fitting to reflect on Dr William Carrigan, another Ossory cleric, and also one without letters in history. Yet, Carrigan's *The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory*[8] was, from the outset, a *tour de force*, and it remains so today. The chalk-and-cheese comparison with Shearman's *Loca Patriciana* can be exemplified in several ways. The former interrogated every available scrap of manuscript, whether in Irish, Latin, or English, over decades, doubtless in candlelit corners, and provided citations abundant and accurate in support, almost *ad nauseam*. In contrast, the latter distilled his sources in hasty compilation into a jumble, with proper citation practice as rare as hen's teeth.

[3] Shearman, J (1879). Loca Patriciana: an Identification of Localities, chiefly in Leinster, visited by St. Patrick and his Assistant Missionaries, and of some contemporary Kings and Chieftains. With an Essay on the Three Patricks, Palladius, Sen Patrick, and Patrick Mac Calphurn, Apostles of Ireland in the Fifth Century. Dublin: MH Gill & Son.
[4] Irish Jesuit Province (1879). Loca Patriciana. The Irish Monthly, 7, 445-446.
[5] The Spectator (1881) Loca Patriciana, 54, p.1173.
[6] Ferguson, S (1888). The remains of St Patrick. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers & Walker; Bury, J (1905). The life of St. Patrick and his place in History. London: Macmillan & Co.
[7] O'Rahilly, T (1942). The Two Patricks. A Lecture on the History of Christianity in Fifth Century Ireland. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
[8] Carrigan, W (1905). The History and Antiquities of the Diocese of Ossory. Dublin, Sealy, Bryers and Walker.

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In spite of *Loca Patriciana's* general failure, a minor element of the work – Shearman's genealogical tables – came to gain a cult-like following among family historians, which continues to this day, notably among non-critical Mac Giolla Phádraig researchers[9]. The root of popularity can be understood from a review shortly after publication, in which the tables were described as "very curious" and "a godsend to American relatives who are so laudably anxious to prove their descent from the ancient septs of Eire"[4].

And therein lies the corruption brought about by inflated egos, later fed by pseudo-scholars such as John O'Hart[10], which modern scholars have correctly called out, noting that diasporic genealogy is "as much about enacting distinction as it is about making connections"[11]. While recent critiques of Mac Giolla Phádraig genealogies go some way toward exposing Shearman's poor scholarship[12], the more complete exegesis offered in this series will give Mac Giolla Phádraig researchers the chance to consider for themselves Shearman's mishandling of the source material behind his *Ossorian Genealogies*[13], the most important of which is *Linea Antiqua*.

Linea Antiqua (*LA)* is a genealogical manuscript by Roger O'Ferrell, which has the subsidiary title '*A Genealogical, Chronologicall, and Historicall Account of the Gathelian, Milesian, Scottish, or Irish People or Nation from the beginning of time, to this yeare of our Lord 1709*'[14], which is considered "of immense importance as a genealogical repository" since a portion of it bridges "the gap which exists between the middle of the seventeenth century and the commencement of the eighteenth"[15]. O'Ferrall's genealogical text tables were transcribed and annotated in three volumes by Sir William Betham, Ulster King at Arms, and Betham's copy is available at the National Library of Ireland (NLI)[16].

This series begins with a review of the main stem of Shearman's Ossorian Genealogy II (*OG-II*)[13], from Ceallach, son of Cearbhall, above whom is indicated Lineage *A* in Ossorian Genealogy I (OG-I), to Séafraidh Fionn, below whom is Lineage *B* (Ossorian Genealogy III, *OG-III*), which overlaps with the early portion of *LA* p. 430. An interrogation of the ancestry of Cearbhall does not feature in this series, since, although it may not be widely known

[9] Zalewski, S and Fitzpatrick, R. (2013). Descendants of Bryan Fitzpatrick Lord and First Baron of Upper Ossory. Bend, Oregon, Upper Ossory Press.
[10] O'Hart, J (1892). Irish Pedigrees. Dublin, James Duffy and Co. Ltd.
[11] Nash, C (2009). Of Irish Descent: Origin Stories, Genealogy, and the Politics of Belonging. New York: Syracruse University Press.
[12] Costigan, C., Fitzpatrick, I., Fitzpatrick, M. (2022). The Mac Costigan of Ossory: dismantling an assumed genealogy; The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 3, 78-100. doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety01122. Fitzpatrick, M (2024). The Fitzpatricks of Ballagharahin, County Laois. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 5, 43-61. doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety02124.
[13] Shearman's genealogies that are reviewed in this series are: Ossorian Genealogy – No. II (OG-II); Ossorian Genealogy – No. III (OG-III); Fitzpatricks of Ballyboodan; and, Fitzpatricks of Ballogh.
[14] Ó Canann, T (2012). Roger O'Ferrall, his family background and Linea Antiqua. The Irish Genealogist, 13, 212-225.
[15] Pender, S (1941). O'Ferrall's Linea Antiqua (National Library of Ireland MS.) Analecta Hibernica, 10, pp. 287, 289-292.
[16] Once catalogued as NLI call number GO MS 146, now GO MS 155: Betham, William, Sir, 1779-1853. Ireland. Genealogical Office. A copy, with additions, made by Sir William Betham of Roger O'Ferrall's Linea Antiqua, a collection of Irish pedigrees made in 1709.

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among Mac Giolla Phádraig family historians, scholars understand that Cearbhall's genealogy was probably forged in his lifetime by the insertion of an Ossorian line into a Leinster pedigree at a point "so far back in prehistory that it can hardly have been taken seriously by the learned"[17].

Neither are the immediate descendants of Cearbhall discussed. These include the spuriously positioned Ó Braonáin Uí Dhuach (O'Brannan of Idough), who are correctly assigned elsewhere as Uí Fhailge[18], and not Ossorian as Shearman maintained, despite the position of the great Dr John O'Donovan[19], and the 'Ossorians in Iceland', whose genealogies Shearman pilfered from Todd[20] with the scantest attribution and some speculative embellishment. And this first article of the series provides little treatment of Shearman's sojourns away from the main stem of *OG-II*; those cases where *LA* has analogous branching are few (Figure 1), although subsequent articles in the series enjoy far more discussion of Mac Giolla Phádraig lines and Fitzpatrick side-branches, which begin in earnest from p.431.

OG-II versus LA II (GO MS. 155) p. 430

Ceallach (d. 907 AD)

The first portion of Shearman's *OG-II*, down to his generation eighty-one, is provided in Figure 2. It begins without controversy with Ceallach, son of Cearbhall, but soon after errs, since Ceallach's son is given as 'Muirchertach TO [Tanist of Ossory] slain at Ballachmoon[21], 907 AD with his father', Ceallach, King of Ossory[22]. In contrast, *LA Volume II*, page 430 (Figure 1) begins with 'Donoch [Donnchadh] 18 King of Ossory, a religious prince', the son of 'Ceallach 17 King of Ossory'[23], as a continuation of the genealogy of various Kings of Leinster. Meanwhile, *OG-II* brings 'Donnchadh, King of Ossory d. 974 AD', into the

[17] Byrne, F (1973). Irish Kings and High Kings. London: BT Batsford Ltd.

[18] Fitzpatrick, M., Fitzpatrick, I. (2021). The Similar-Sounding Surnames of Haplogroup R-BY140757. The Journal of the Fitzpatrick Clan Society 2, 1-41. doi:10.48151/fitzpatrickclansociety00421.

[19] Graves stated, "'Dr O'Donovan informs me that he never saw a pedigree of the O'Broenains of Ui-Dhuach, except that given in the great genealogical work of Mac Firbis' (Graves, J, 1850. The Ancient Tribes and Territories of Ossory. No. I. Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, 1, 230-247).

[20] Todd, J (1867). The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill. London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer.

[21] Bealach Múna, Cill Dara (Ballaghmoon, Kildare).

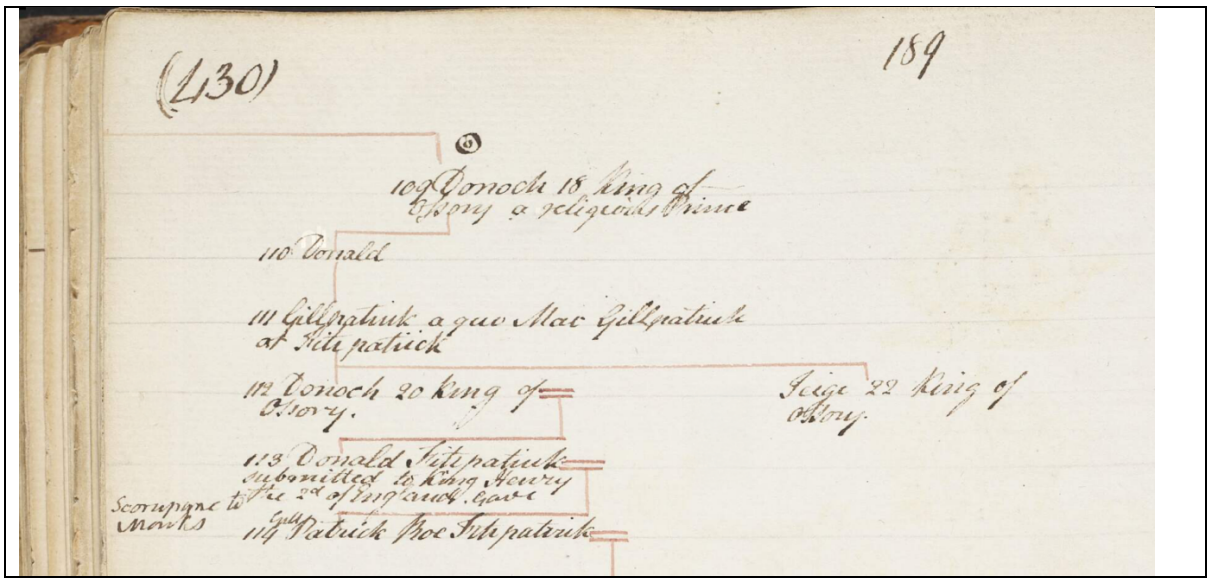
[22] Shearman provides the citation 'AFM p. 569', which is a bamboozling and wayward interpretation. The citation is from O'Donovan's edition of the Annals of the Four Masters (O'Donovan J, 1856. The Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1616. Dublin: Hodges, Smith, and Co., Vol. II, p. 569) but is a re-citation from Lynch's *Cambrensis Everus*, which, in an account of the Battle of Ballaghmoon, reads '*In ipso porro pugnæ hujus exordio, Morchertachus Ossiræ regulus cum filio occubuit*', i.e., at the very beginning of this battle, Muirchertach, *regulus* of Ossory, died with his son. While Lynch, a priest-*cum*-historian like Shearman, completed *Cambrensis Everus* in 1662 (Dictionary of Irish Biography: John Lynch, https://www.dib.ie/biography/lynch-john-a4945 , accessed 29 May 2026), there are earlier translations of the battle made by elite scholars, such as that of Dubhaltach Mac Firbisigh, which he made in 1643 (O'Donovan, J, 1860. Annals of Ireland: Three Fragments. Dublin: The Irish Archaeological Society). Mac Firbisigh records 'In the very beginning of the battle, Ceallach, son of Cearbhall, King of Osraighe, and his [unnamed] son, were killed at once', which does not conflict with Linea Antiqua or the aforementioned genealogies. Shearman chose to take Lynch's 'Morchertachus' on face value, and then chose to translate *regulus* as tanist, thus inventing 'Muirchertach Tanist of Ossory – yet tanist is an unconventional translation; *regulus* is better as chieftain or petty-king, which are more fitting given the status of the Kings of Ossory.

[23] *LA Volume II*, p. 429.

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genealogical scheme as the son of Muirchertach[24]. However, the Great Book of Irish Genealogies[25] (*GBIG*), records the equivalent entry as 'Donnchadh [son of Ceallach], in whose time the English first came to Ireland[26]. And all other genealogies and annalistic accounts also have Donnchadh as the son of Ceallach[27], including O'Clery's genealogy of the 'Mac Giolla Patrick' as recorded in *LA*[28], which makes it difficult to understand Shearman's deviation.

Figure 1: The first portion of Betham's Linea Antiqua p. 430.



Donnchadh (d. 974 AD)

However, the authority of *LA*, *GBIG*, and others is far from exempt from challenge. While immediately following Shearman's entry of Donnchadh (d. 974 AD) comes Giolla Pádraig, *LA*, *GBIG*, and other authoritative genealogies have Giolla Pádraig as the son of Domhnall, son of Donnchadh, son of Ceallach. Other manuscripts, such as Rawlinson B.502 and O'Clery's genealogies[29], align with Shearman and omit Domhnall entirely, listing Giolla Pádraig, son of Donnchadh, son of Ceallach. The descent of Giolla Pádraig, as either the son of Domhnall or the son of Donnchadh, can be interrogated four occurrences in the *Annals of Inisfallen*[30] and

[24] Shearman claimed 'Muirchertach 'was inserted between Ceallach and Donnchadh in a list of the Kings of Leinster in MacFirbis, p. 427' (Shearman, 1879, p. 361), but there is no such insertion found in.

[25] Ó Muraíle, N (2003). Leabhar Mór na nGenealach: The great book of Irish genealogies. Compiled (1645–66) by Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh, Volumes I-V. Dublin: De Burca.

[26] *GBIG*, 480.1. Note, '*English*' is recorded as *Goill Sax*, i.e., *Gaill-Sasanach*: the use of *Gaill* in an historical and linguistic context gives 'Viking Saxons', i.e., Vikings who had settled in England.

[27] Hence, Donnchadh mac Ceallach is readily identified in annalistic records as a ruler of longevity, who reigned for 31 years and died in 976 AD, *in senili étate mortuus est*, i.e., he died in his old age (Hennessy, W, 1887. Annals of Ulster: otherwise Annals of Senat; a chronicle of Irish affairs. Dublin: Her Majesty's Stationary Office; Stokes, W, 1895. The Annals of Tigernach (First Fragment). Revue Celtique 16, 374–419).

[28] *LA* II, pp. 442-443.

[29] Bodleian Library MS. Rawl. B. 502, https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk, notably folio 18v, accessed 31 May 2026. Pender S, 1951. The O Clery Book of Genealogies: 23 D 17 (RIA). Analecta Hibernica, 18, pp. ix, xi-xxxiii, 1-198; p. 134.

[30] The Annals of Inisfallen. Bodleian Library MS. Rawl. B. 503, https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk, accessed 30 May 2026.

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one in the *Annals of Ulster*[31], and is unanimously resolved as the latter, i.e., the son of Donnchadh, recorded in a manner such as '*gillai patraicc meicc dondchada rig osrai*'.

The confusion in the accounts of Mac Giolla Pádraig genealogies for several generations after Ceallach almost certainly comes about due to the inordinate repetition of the names Giolla Pádraig, Domhnall, and Donnchadh, as evidenced in annals and regnal lists[32], which should not be conflated with genealogical succession. Notably, in *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*[33] (*CGH*), O'Brien endeavours to negotiate the gaps in Rawlinson B.502's *Genelach Osrithe* (Genealogy of Ossory), via the Ossorian regnal list (*Genelach Ríg Ossairge*) in *The Book of Leinster* and various annalistic records, using common son-father 'couples'. But there is no surety that the common son-father name combinations are equivalent, particularly since it is clear that the regnal list embraces Mac Giolla Phádraig from several agnatic branches, not just a single patrimony[34].

Shearman's extended tree of Donnchad (d. 974 AD), has Giolla Pádraig (d. 996)[35], Giolla Pádraig's wife, 'Aelmuire, daughter of Amlaebh'[36], and several of his siblings – the children of Donnchadh: Diarmaid (d. 972 AD), Dungal (d. 979 AD), Aengus (*viv*. 994 AD), Mór, Queen of Ireland (d. 985 AD), Sadbh, wife of Donnchadh mac Flann, King of Ireland, Muiredach, Tanist of Ossory (d. 975 AD), and Taidgh (d. 990 AD) – of whom *LA* makes no account. Diarmaid, Dungal, and Taidgh can be confidently assigned as children of Donnchadh – they appear in annalistic accounts with the correct son-father name combination, and they are also referred to as tanists, or similar. And full certainty can be afforded to Muiredach mac Donnchadh mac Ceallach, tanist of Ossory[37].

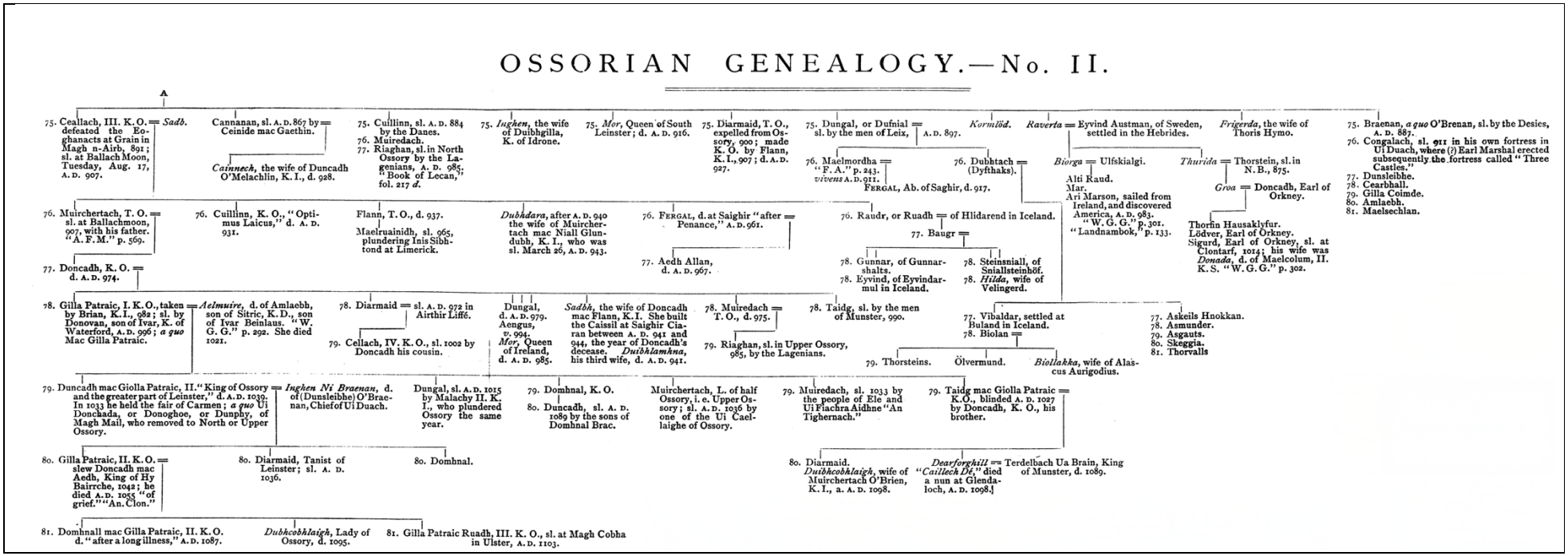
The record of Sadbh stems solely from an unknown manuscript once with Geoffrey Keating that provided her remarkable narrative, which recorded she was the wife of 'Donnchadh, son of Flann Sionna … [who] held the sovereignty of Ireland twenty years … [the] daughter of Donnchadh, son of Ceallach, King of Osraighe'[38]. The descent of Mór, Queen of Ireland, is slightly less certain – although she is recorded in several annals, including Tigernach, as a daughter of Donnchadh mac Ceallach, it is without reference to any Ossory connection[39]. Of Aengus, nothing more is known, and neither *OG-II* nor *LA* finds a place for Giolla Pádraig's sister, 'Cacht ingen Donnchada mac Cellaig', wife of Dondchada mac Congalaig'[40].

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[31] Hennessy, W (1887).
[32] Notably, in the Book of Leinster (Book of Leinster, formerly Lebar na Núachongbála. Best R, Bergin O, and O'Brien M, 1954. Dublin: Dublin Institute For Advanced Studies).
[33] O'Brien, M (1976). Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
[34] This is particularly evident in the period after the death of Gilla Patraic Rúad, who was of uncertain paternity, in 1103 AD, when there came "dissensions and strife in Ossory" (Carrigan, W, 1905, Volume I, p.52).
[35] Shearman records his as King of Ossory, 'taken by Brian KI [King of Ireland], slain by Donovan, son of Ivar of Waterford, 996 AD', which is largely accurate (The Annals of Inisfallen; Hennessy, W, 1887).
[36] That is Maelmuire (d. 1021) not Maelmure the daughter of Aralt, as asserted by Todd (1867).
[37] O'Donovan, J (1856).
[38] Dinneen, P (1908). The History of Ireland by Geoffrey Keating, Volume III. London: Irish Texts Society. Sadbh's narrative is also accounted for by Carrigan (1905).
[39] Stokes, W (1895).
[40] 'Cacht, child of Dondchad the great son of Cellach (the fair king of Ossory of the pastures), was mother of a distinguished haughty man, brown Dondchad U Congalaig' (Dobbs M, 1930. The Ban-Shenchus. Revue Celtique, 47, 283-339).

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Figure 2: The first portion of Shearman's Ossorian Genealogy II, down to generation eighty-one.



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Giolla Pádraig (d. 996 AD)

Next in Shearman's main stem is Giolla Pádraig (d. 996 AD) '*a quo*[41] Mac Gilla Patraic', whom *LA*, *GBIG*, and other authoritative genealogies also state was 'from whom the surname Mac Giolla Phádraig arose'. *OG-II* gives the children of Giolla Pádraig as Donnchad (King of Ossory and the greater part of Leinster, d. 1039 AD), Dungal (d. 1015 AD), Domhnall (King of Ossory), Muirchertach (Lord of Upper Ossory, d. 1041 AD[42]), Muiredach (d. 1033 AD), and Taidgh (King of Ossory). *LA* records only Donnchadh (20 King of Ossory) and Taidgh (22 King of Ossory). Except for Domhnall (said to be King of Ossory), for whom no records can be found, all children can be fully accounted for and are well summarised by Carrigan[8]. However, Muiredach was not among the sons of Giolla Pádraig; rather, he was his grandson, the son of Muirchertach[43].

Donnchadh (d. 1039 AD)

Shearman's account of Donnchadh mac Giolla Pádraig in *OG-II* brings with it several narratives, including that his wife was 'Inghen Ni Braenan, daughter of Dunsleibhe O'Braenan, Chief of Ui Duach'[44]; that he blinded his brother, Taidgh (King of Ossory) in 1027 AD; and that his children were Giolla Pádraig (King of Ossory, d. 1055 AD), Diarmaid (Tanist of Leinster, d. 1036 AD), and Domhnal. Further, *OG-II* states Donnchadh 'held the fair of Carman' in 1033 AD, and took the surname Uí Donnchadha (i.e., Donoghue or Dunphy) and 'removed to Upper Ossory'[45]. While *LA* is silent on all the aforementioned matters except

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[41] That is, *from which*.

[42] Shearman states the death of Muirchertach occurred in 1036 AD, but it was 1041 AD (Hennessy, W, 1887).

[43] 'A battle between the Éli, wherein fell Braen Húa Clérig and Muredach, son of Muircertach Mac Gilla Patraic, and another host of nobles.' (Stokes, W, 1895).

[44] The citation trail indicated by Brennan, (Brennan, T. 1979. History of the Brennans of Idough, County Kilkenny. Lebanon, New Hampshire: Whitman Press Inc.) leads to Graves (Graves, J, 1850. The Ancient Tribes and Territories of Ossory. No. I. Transactions of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society, 1, 230- 247), who in turn cited Lodge (Lodge, J, 1789. The Peerage of Ireland. Dublin: James Moore) and TCD MSS F.1.19. The former citation is notorious for its unreliability (even as exemplified in its narrative of Donnchadh mac Giolla Pádraig). A review of the latter (Ussher's *Miscellanea de Rebus Hibernicis*) might prove insightful, yet at this time, Shearman's account remains unverified.

[45] There is evidence of Mac Giolla Phádraig co-leadership in Ossory soon after Donnchadh's death, since his brother, Muirchertach, is referred to as 'one of two Kings' (Leith Rí) of Ossory in 1041 AD, the year of his death, at the hands of the Uí Cáellaide (O'Keally), who were 'his own people' (Stokes, W, 1895). That Donnchadh may have relocated to Upper Ossory was perhaps a case of demonstrating his strength to possibly quell internecine discontent (Ó Corráin, D, 1977. The Education of Diarmait Mac Murchada. Éiru, 28, 71-81). Earlier, in 1027 AD, Donnchadh had blinded his brother, Taidgh, who is described as King of Ossory in *Ban-Shenchus* (Dobbs M, 1930), while Muiredach mac Muirchertaig mac Giolla Pádraig was slain by the Éile in 1033 AD (Hennesey, W, 1887). Neither the progenitor of the Uí Cáellaide kin of the Mac Giolla Phádraig of Ossory, nor how they were related, is clear; the commonality of both the given-name Ceallach and the patronym Uí Ceallaigh, and related forms, throughout Ossory is such that uncertainty is ensured. But it is not implausible that the surname was taken by any of the brothers of Donnchadh mac Ceallach (d. 974 AD), i.e., Cuilén mac Ceallach, King of Ossory (d. 933 AD), Flann mac Ceallach (d. 939 AD), or Fergal mac Ceallach (d. 963 AD); refer O'Donovan J (1856). It is also certain that Taidgh's line had close ties with the Uí Cáellaide of the north of Ossory and of Éile in that era, via typical intermarriage and regional alliance building. Taidgh's daughter, Dirborgaill (d. 1098), married Dunlaing Uá Cáellaide, 'King of the North' (i.e., in this context, northern Ossory), and bore him two sons, Fionn and Donn Sléibhe – the former may be the same as he who rose to be a joint-King of Ossory, while the latter was, assuredly, a King of Éile (Dobbs M, 1930; Best R, Bergin O, and O'Brien M, 1954).

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that Donnchadh had a brother, Taidgh, King of Ossory (d. 1027 AD), there are plenty of sources by which to confirm the accuracy of most of Shearman's account. Donnchadh mac Giolla Pádraig's achievements and exploits are recorded severally in annals, and well summarised by Carrigan, the most important being that he was King of Leinster (1036-1039 AD)[46] – the only Mac Giolla Phádraig ever to hold that title.

Carrigan takes exception with Shearman's view that an Uí Donnchadha (Donoghue-Dunphy) clan, who were said to be the descendants of Donnchadh mac Giolla Pádraig (d. 1039), could have founded Jerpoint Abbey, since they would have taken their surname 'more than a century and a half before ever there was a question of the erection of Jerpoint'[47]. Indeed, in the body of *Loca Patriciana*, Shearman contradicts his own *OG-II* by stating that the Uí Donnchadha of Ossory were the descendants of Donnchadh (d. 974 AD)[48]. Yet, beyond the oft-cited *Topographical Poems*[49], whose accuracy has long been disproved, as the work of those who manufactured genealogies[50], there is no evidence for the emergence of the surname Uí Donnchadha in Ossory during the eleventh century or earlier. Although there is ample evidence of a Uí Dúnchada dynasty of Leinster[51], 'whose eponym, Dunchad of the Uí Dunlainge, died in 728 AD'[52], there is no evidence of parallel surname emergence. In Ossory, the descendants of Donnchadh (d. 1039) took the surname Mac Giolla Phádraig[53].

Giolla Pádraig (d. 1055 AD) and Domhnall (d. 1087 AD)

After Donnchadh (d. 1039), there is a notable divergence between *OG-II* and *LA*, *GBIG*, and O'Clery. Shearman deserves credit for the accuracy of his record of Giolla Pádraig mac Donnchadh (d. 1055 AD), and his son, Domhnall (d. 1087), who were both Kings of Ossory, but after this, all of the aforementioned accounts fail to keep track of either the Mac Giolla Phádraig lineages or the Ossorian regnal list. *LA* fails at Donnchadh (d. 1039 AD), leaping in his rightful stead to 'Donald Fitzpatrick [who] 'who submitted to King Henry II of England [and who] gave Seorupaine to the Monks'[54].

[46] The Book of Leinster records the blinding of Donnchad mac Dúnlainge, King of Leinster, after he was taken from the Church of Castledermot (*dallad la Dondchad mac Gillai Patraic arna thabar a tempul Disirt Diarmata*), after which Donnchadh mac Giolla Pádraig reigned three years. His blinding and resultant death is recorded in the Annals of Ulster, and is stated to have occurred in 1036 AD. Hence the generally accepted reign of Donnchadh mac Giolla Pádraig is 1036-1039 AD, although he exercised a degree of rule of Leinster from 1033 AD, which is apparent from annalistic references to him hosting the Fair of Carman in that year (Hennessy, W, 1887; Best R, Bergin O, and O'Brien M, 1954; Byrne, F, 1973).

[47] Carrigan, W (1905), Vol. IV, p. 283.

[48] Shearman, J (1879), p. 364.

[49] O'Donovan, J (1862). The Topographical poems of John O'Dubhagain and Giolla na Naomh O'Huidhrin. Dublin: Alecander Thom.

[50] Carney, J (1943). Topographical poems. Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies.

[51] MacCotter, P (2008). Medieval Ireland: Territorial, Political, and Economic Divisions. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

[52] Nicholls, K (1984). The Land of the Leinstermen. Peritia, 3, 535-538.

[53] Ó Murchadha, D (1999). The Formation of Gaelic Surnames in Ireland: Choosing the Eponyms. Nomina, 22, 25-43.

[54] This was Domhnall Mac Giolla Phádraig (d. 1185 AD), who is generally accepted as son of the founder of Seireapún, i.e., Jerpoint Abbey, (Carrigan, 1905) and who was alive at the time of Henry II visit to Ireland, in 1171 AD.

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Ó Corráin considers the 'great deal of infighting and disorder amongst his descendants' led to a 'poor state of preservation of the Ossraige genealogies in this period', which were 'obviously manipulated' in favour of one of the later dominant dynastic groups, who were among the descendants of Giolla Pádraig mac Donnchadh[55]. However, Carrigan was able to bring order to the chaos via his careful attention to annalistic accounts[8]. His pedigree from Domhnall (d. 1087 AD) to his son, Donnchadh (d. 1089 AD), through to his fourth great-grandson, Giolla Pádraig Mac Giolla Phádraig, after whom order is restored across all genealogies, has been verified by the modern scholar, Bart Jaski[56].

The complexity of Mac Giolla Phadraig genealogies at Donnchadh mac Domhnall makes for an appropriate place to end *Part I* of Shearman's Ossorian genealogies versus *LA*, and others. While *Part I* has shown Shearman's *OG II* deviates only in a few minor ways from genealogical accuracy, and surely in no greater fashion than other genealogies, *Part II* highlights the way *OG II* goes awry, from Domhnall Mac Giolla Phádraig (d. 1087 AD) and then among the Fitzpatricks of Ossory, the arms of whom the most prominent member, the first Baron of Upper Ossory, feature as a nice example in *LA* (Figure 3).

Figure 3: from Betham's Linea Antiqua p.431, Fitzpatrick of Ossory.



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[55] Ó Corráin, D, (1977).
[56] Jaski B, (1995). The traditional rule of succession in early Ireland, [thesis], Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland. Department of History: pp. 326, pp. 275.

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