

1467 MS: The MacLeans

The 1467 MS was written by Dubhghall Albanach mac mhic Cathail. His MacLean pedigree, no. 24, fills the entire bottom third of the fifth column of the recto (NLS Adv. MS 72.1.1, f. 1re42–56). This is not a good position, as it was subjected to a good deal of wear by grubby fingers and the like – especially on the right-hand side, close to the outer edge of the manuscript. W. F. Skene applied blue chemical reagent to the MacLean text to help him read it, with the result that images of it must now be adjusted for colour in Photoshop in order to make the script stand out properly from the background.

As usual, I will begin by quoting *verbatim* the transcriptions and translations made by Skene in (1) *Collectanea* (1847) and (2) *Celtic Scotland* (1880), then (3) by my wife Máire and myself in our website (2009). I will add some comparative material: the relevant parts of non-MacLean pedigrees from the 1467 MS (4, 5) and of MacLean pedigrees from other manuscripts (6, 7, 8).¹

The aim of these articles, as of the website, is to answer the simple question: “What exactly does the 1467 MS say?” This is particularly difficult with the MacLeans, for whom there is an abundance of other sources, all more legible than ours. Over and over in this pedigree we find ourselves saying: “These strokes make no sense. Dubhghall must have meant . . .” Why this should be the case is a matter of guesswork; some of the possible reasons are bad light, poor eyesight, sickness, intoxication and interference by another hand.

In *Collectanea* Skene tried at first to answer the same question as that being posed today. This was despite having the ‘Black Book of Clanranald’, text no. 8 below, in his possession. He had picked it up at a Dublin bookstall for £14 in or before 1840.² Clearly when he got to line 52, however, he recognised a sequence of names that had already appeared twice in other 1467 MS pedigrees, and gave up.

In *Celtic Scotland* he made no attempt to answer the question. Instead, he presented Mac Fhirbhisigh’s rather discursive text on the MacLeans, and labelled it as being from ‘MS. 1647, MacFirbis and MacVurich’. This is extraordinarily misleading, in four ways: (1) ‘1647’ should read ‘1467’; (2) he does not appear to have used the 1467 MS for it at all; (3) by ‘MacVurich’ he can only mean the ‘Black Book of Clanranald’ (which thirty-three years earlier he had correctly attributed to the Beaton), since he elsewhere describes one of his sources as ‘those [genealogies] preserved by MacVurich in the Book of Clan Ranald’;³ (4) he does not appear to have used the ‘Black Book of Clanranald’ in any case! All that can be said in his favour is that by 1880 he must have lost track of his source for the material, and thought it best to cover all bases. At (2) below I therefore present only that part of Skene’s *Celtic Scotland* material (the beginning, about a quarter of the whole) that relates in some way to the 1467 text.

As usual, for ease of comparison all texts are presented according to the line numbers of the 1467 MS. Logic therefore obliges me to break the word *sean* at lines 48–49, even though this was done in our manuscript only.

(1) *Collectanea*, with Skene's footnote:

42 Do Genelach Clann Gilleain*
43 Lachlan ic Eon ic
44 mc Maelsig mc Gilleain
45 mc Icrath ic Suan
46 ic Neill ic Domlig i.
47 Ablesanid Sanobi
48 mc Ruingr mc Se
49 an Dubgall Airlir
50 mc Fearchar Abr.
51 mc Feradach ic
52 mc Neachtain mc Colman
53 mc Buadan, &c.

* This genealogy of the Macleans agrees pretty exactly with the old genealogy of that Clan preserved by the Beatons, their hereditary Sennachies, with this exception, that, in place of the "Maelsig" of the MS., they have Malcolm; and this chief was probably known under both names, as we find in the Records, Anno 1296, a Malcolm Maculian in possession of lands in Kintyre. This genealogy, it will be observed, commences with Lachlan, the progenitor of the Dowart family, and thus proves the seniority of this branch over that of Lochbuy, descended from a brother of Lachlan. The MS. having been written during the lifetime of the two brothers, it may be held as settling this question.

42 Genealogy of the Macleans—
43 Lachlan son of John, son of
44 son of Maelsig, son of Gilleain,
45 son of Icrath, son of Suan,
46 son of Neill, son of Domlig,
47
48 son of Ruingr, son of
49 Old Dugall,
50 son of Ferchard,
51 son of Feradach, son of
52 son of Neachtan, son of Colman,
53 son of Buadan, &c.⁴

Line 47 is blank because Skene could make nothing of it.

(2) *Celtic Scotland*, with Skene's footnote:

42 GENEALACH MHIC GILLEOIN*
43 Lochloinn mac Eachduinn mhic Lochloinn mhic Eoin mhic Giollacolum
44 mhic Maoiliosa mhic Gilleeoin
45 mhic Mecraith mhic Maoilsruthain
46 mhic Neill mhic Conduilig .i.
47 Ab Leasamoir
48 mhic Raingce mhic Se
49 an dubhgaill Sgoinne

50 mhic Fearchar abradruaidh
51 mhic Fearadhaigh reambraidhte mhic Fergusa ut supra
52 mhic Neachtain, &c.

* From MS. 1647, MacFirbis and MacVurich, Hector and Lauchlan have charters from the Lord of the Isles of Dowart.

42 GENEALOGY OF THE MACLEANS.
43 Lachlan son of Eachduinn (or Hector) son of Lachlan son of John son of Malcolm
44 son of Maoiliosa son of Gilleeoin
45 son of MacRath son of Maolsruthain
46 son of Neill son of Cuduilig,
47 Abbot of Lismore,
48 son of Raingce son of
49 Old Dougall of Scone,
50 *son of Ferchar abradruaidh*
51 *son of Feradach, above mentioned, son of Fergusa, as above,*
52 *son of Neachtan, &c.*⁵

(3) www.1467manuscript.co.uk, with our footnotes:

42 *do genelach* cloinni gil eain .i.
43 laclain mac eoin mhic gillec[olaim]
44 mhic maulis[o]g mhic gilla eoin
45 mhic mhicrait mhic suthain
46 mhic neill mhic conduiligh .i.
47 ab lesa mor sanabi
48 mhic raing *ruaidh*? mhic se
49 an dubg ar lss
50 mhic fherchair abradruaidh
51 mhic feradhaigh mhic [fergusa]*
52 mhic nechtain mhic colmain
53 mhic leat ain
54 mhic morgainn mhic [domhnaill]*
55 mhic cathmael mhic *ruaidri*?*
56 Mhic []rullaigh mhic cgac[h]**

* This is the reading in other manuscripts.

** If 'cgac[h]' may be read 'etach', which is just about possible, we arrive at Dubhghall's usual spelling of the genitive case of 'Eochaidh'.

42 Of the genealogy of the MacLeans i.e.
43 Lachlan son of John son of Gille Colaim
44 son of Maol Íosóg son of Gilleoin
45 son of Mac Raith son of Suthain
46 son of Niall son of Cú Duiligh i.e.
47 abbot of Lismore, formerly abbot of Iona,
48 son of [*red-haired*?] Francis son of

- 49 old Dugald [*of Scone*]*
- 50 son of Fearchar Abhradhruadh
- 51 son of Fearadhach son of [*Fergus*]
- 52 son of Neachtán son of Colmán
- 53 son of Leathan(?)**
- 54 son of Morgann son of [*Donald*]
- 55 son of Cathmhaol son of Ruairi?
- 56 son of *Aircheallach*(?)*** son of *Eochaidh* [*Muinreamhar*].***

* Other manuscripts here read ‘sendubhghaill sgoinne’. Presumably ‘sean dubg ar lss’ is a corruption of this.

** MacLeans are often referred to in Gaelic as ‘Leathanaich’, presumably a derivative of ‘MacillEathain’. In the same way, MacKays are ‘Caoidhich’, from ‘MacAoidh’. On the face of it, Dubhghall appears here to be suggesting a different explanation of ‘Leathanaich’ – that they are descended from a man called Leathan. Judging from other manuscripts and here in kindreds 2 and 4, another possible reading is Buadain, but that does not appear to be what Dubhghall has written.

*** This is the reading in other manuscripts.

Given our reference to ‘other manuscripts and here in kindreds 2 and 4’, it will be appropriate to cite the relevant parts of these next.

(4) Conclusion of 1467 MS kindred no. 2, Lulach, King of Scotland:

- 50 mhic mornaill mhic morgainn mhic domnaill mhic cathmhaeil mhic ruaidhri mhic aircheallaigh mhic ferchair fada
- 51 mhic fearadhaigh mhic fergus
- 52 mhic shneachtain mhic colmain
- 53 mhic buadain mhic eathach
- 54 mhic muiredhaigh mhic loairnmair
- 55 mhic eirc mhic ethach muinreamhair.

(5) Conclusion of 1467 MS kindred no. 4, MacNaughton:

- 50 mhic ferchair fhada
- 51 mhic feradhaigh mhic ferghusa
- 52 mhic nechtain mhic colmain
- 53 mhic buadain mhic eathach
- 54 mhic muiredhaigh mhic loairn moir
- 55 mhic eirc mhic echach muinreamair

(6) Cúchoigcríche Ó Cléirigh’s version, taken from Séamus Pender, ed., *Analecta Hibernica No. 18: The O Clery Book of Genealogies* (Dublin, Stationery Office, 1951), pp. 20–21. Pender’s source is Royal Irish Academy MS 790 (23 D 17), p. 33, cols a, b. Italics indicate expansion of contractions.

- 42 GENELACH MEIC GILLE EOIN
- 43 Eachdhonn óc m Lochlainn mhoir m Eachduinn óig m Eachduinn móir m Lochlainn

catanaigh m Eachduinn uidhir m Eachduinn oig m Lochlainn m Eachduinn rúaidh na
ccath m Lochlainn m Eoin duibh m Giolla colaim
44 m Maoil íosa m Giolla eoain (o ta an slondadh)⁶
45 m Mic Raith m Maoil tsuthain
46 m Néill m Con duiligh m Ceallaigh (.i.
47 ab Lesa móir)
48 m Frainc m Se
49 ndubghaill sgoinne
50 m Fearchair abradruaidh
51 m Fearadhaigh m Fearghusa
52 m Nechtain m Colmain
53 m Baodain m Eachach
54 m Muiredhaigh m Loairn moir m Eirc
55 m Eachach muinreamhair m Aonghusa
56 m Fearghusa uallaigh m Eachach tathmhail m Feidlimidh lamdhoid m Cingi m Guaire m
Finntain m Coirpre righfoda m Conaire m Mogha lamha.

At p. 186 of the manuscript (Pender, p. 136) Ó Cléirigh gives a shorter version beginning ‘Eachdonn óg’ (line 43) and ending ‘m Neachtain m Colmain’ (line 52). The only difference of any interest is ‘Eachdhuinn ruaidh m Lochloinn lubanaigh’ (line 43).

(7) Nollaig Ó Muraíle, ed., *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach: The Great Book of Irish Genealogies Compiled (1645–66) by Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh* (5 vols, Dublin, 2003), vol. 2, pp. 144–45. His source is University College Dublin Add. Ir. ms 14, pp. 405–06.

42 Genealach Mhec-Gille Eóin
43 Lochlainn m. Eachdhuinn m. Lochlainn m. Eoin m. Giolla Coluim
44 m. Maoil-Íosa m. Gille-Eóin
45 m. Mec-Raith m. Maoil-tSruthain
46 m. Nell m. Con-Duiluigh .i.
47 ab Leasa Moir,
48 m. Raingce m. Se
49 andubhgaill Sgoinne
50 m. Fearchair Abhradrúaidh
51 m. Fearadhoigh (remhraite) m. Fearghusa, ut supra,
52 m. Neachtain, 7c.

42 The genealogy of Mac Giolla Eóin
43 Lochlainn s. Eachdhonn s. Lochlainn s. Eóin s. Giolla Coluim
44 s. Maol Íosa s. Giolla Eóin
45 s. Mac Raith s. Maol Srutháin
46 s. Niall s. Cú Dúiligh,
47 abbot of Lios Mór,
48 s. Raingce s. Se
49 an-Dubhghall of Scónn
50 s. Fearchar Abhradhruadh
51 s. Fearadhach (aforesaid) s. Fearghus, as above,
52 s. Neachtan, etc.

At p. 1153 of the manuscript (Ó Muraíle, vol. 3, p. 488) Dubhaltach gives the pedigree again. It is basically the same, except for minor differences in spelling, and a slightly different ending:

- 50 mhec Fearchair Abhradruaidh (remhráite)
- 51 mc Fearadoigh mc Feargusa
- 52 mec Neachtuin.

In both places, Dubhaltach goes on to give the supplementary material printed by Skene in *Celtic Scotland*, vol. 3, pp. 481–82; I reproduce it at the appropriate points in my commentary below.

(8) The ‘Black Book of Clanranald’, i.e. National Museums of Scotland MS MCR 40, ff. 88v–89r, written c. 1716 by Giolla Críost Mac Bheathadh (‘Christopher Beaton’). I give only the relevant portion. The transcript in Alexander MacBain and Rev. John Kennedy, eds, *Reliquiae Celticae*, vol. 2 (Inverness, 1894), p. 300, is not entirely correct (it gives *Rrath* for *krath*).

- 42 Genelach chloinne ghiolleoin
- 43 mhic lochluinn lubanaigh mhic eoin duibh mhic giolla cholluim
- 44 mhic mhaoilisa mhic giollaeaoín mhóir
- 45 mhic krath, mhic maolsuthin,
- 46 mhic neill, mhic condulligh,
- 47 mhic cellaigh,
- 48 mhic kraine,
- 49
- 50 mhic ferchir abrarúaign,
- 51 mhic báigh, mhic fionlaoich,
- 52 mhic ferchir fada righ alban


Here now is a line-by-line analysis of the 1467 MS version, with pen-and-ink sketches drawn by myself. For photographs see the website. The aim of the analysis is to achieve, for each line, a definitive *transcript* of the original Gaelic and a definitive *interpretation* of it in English. These are given in bold. The aim of the transcript is to answer the fundamental question: “What exactly does the 1467 MS say?” Square brackets indicate illegible text, italics indicate expanded contractions. The aim of the interpretation (I cannot properly use the word translation) is to explain the transcript as concisely as possible, using all available evidence. To put the latter point another way, we could say that the aim of the interpretation is to answer the question: “What exactly does Dubhghall seem to be getting at?”

42 

“**[do] genilach cl[oinn]i gil[l]eai[n] .i.**” A great deal of this line is difficult or impossible to read, especially at the beginning and end, but with the knowledge that what follows is the MacLean pedigree, we can reconstruct it. There are two

strange omissions – the horizontal superscript stroke for *oinn* and the second *l* of *gill* . . . Enough of the final name survives for us to be sure that Dubhghall’s spelling reflects the vernacular Scottish Gaelic pronunciation *Gilleain* (*Gille Sheathain*) in preference to the classical Irish *Gilleoin* (*Giolla Eoin*). Interpretation: “Of the genealogy of the MacLeans i.e.”

43 

“**laclai[n] mac eoin mhic kll[e]c[olaim]**” It is worth pointing out that for ‘Lachlan’ our scribe frequently uses Scottish *Lachlann* in preference to Irish *Lochlann* – I count seven instances of the former and six of the latter. Again he omits the horizontal superstroke that is here required for *n* (strictly there should be two to give us *nn*). The second name is clear, but the third is a challenge. It consists of *k*, then (after a small gap) *ll*, followed by what looks like *c*, and finally some obscure marks. There is, strictly speaking, no letter ‘k’ in Gaelic; it is used solely as a compendium for *cath*, as in line 55, and as in the scribe’s own name, Dubhghall Albanach mac mhic Cathail, which he writes  (Adv. MS 72.1.1, f. 7ra4). ‘Cathllc’ makes no sense, and it is impossible to ignore the fact that all other sources here give *Gille Colaim* or *Giolla Colaim*. In short, *k* must be reinterpreted as *gi*, the *c* may be *c* or *e*, the obscure marks that follow may be read as *c* or *o* surmounted by a tilde (*aim*), and we have to assume that a concluding *l* has fallen victim to grubby fingermarks. Interpretation: “**Lachlan son of John son of Gille Colaim**”

There was a tradition that Gille Colaim fought for the Bruce at Bannockburn in 1314.⁷ Mac Fhirbhisigh speaks of his sons: *Giolla-Coluim mac Maoiliosa, tri mec les .i. Domhnall, Niall, agus Eóin; Rioghnach, ingean Gamhail, mormair Cairrge, mathair an trir sin*. “Gille Colaim son of Maol Íosa, he had three sons, i.e. Donald, Niall and John; Ríoghnach daughter of Gamhal, steward of Carrick, was the mother of those three.”⁸ John is known to tradition as *Iain Dubh*, and indeed Ó Cléirigh and Mac Bheathadh give him as *Eoin Dubh*.⁹ Skene points out that *Dofnaldus MacGilhon* and *Johannes et Nigellus filii Gilhon* (‘John and Niall sons of Gilhon’) appear in the Exchequer Rolls in 1326; the context of the entry suggests that they were granted land in Knapdale around this time, and indeed Alexander Maclean Sinclair claimed that Niall was the progenitor of the MacNeils of Taynish and Gigha.¹⁰ Mac Fhirbhisigh then names the offspring of Gille Colaim’s sons: *Maoiliosa agus Eóin da mhac an Domhnaill sin; Beatog agus Aithbhric a dha inghen. Niall, iomorra, da mac les .i. Diarmuid agus Giolla Caluim. Eoin, diu, dha mhac maithe les .i. Lochlainn agus Eachdhonn*.¹¹ “Maol Íosa and John were that Donald’s two sons; Beathag and Oighrig were his two daughters. Niall had two sons as well, i.e. Diarmad and Gille Colaim. John, then, he had two good sons, i.e. Lachlan and Hector.” John appears to have penetrated north as far as Seil, and to have married a MacDonald.¹² Mac Fhirbhisigh now speaks of offspring of Lachlan and Hector, who established the MacLeans in Mull,¹³ as Hector’s wife was a daughter of MacLeod, this brings him to recite her father’s pedigree back seven generations to the daughter of a king of Norway: *Lachlainn, cuig mec les .i.*

*Eóin, Eachdonn, Lochlainn, Niall, agus Somhairle. Fionnguala agus Mairia a dha inghen. Eachdhonn mac Eoin, clann lais .i. Murchadh, Domhnall, Toirdelbhach, Eoghan, Tamas, agus Gille-Caluim (clann Christíona inghene Mec-Leoid .i. Mhurchaidh mc Tormoid mc Leoid mc Gille-Muire mc Raice mc Olbair Snoice mc Gille Mhuire; Ealga Fholtaluinn, inghean Arailt Semmair, righ Lochlann, mathair an Gille-Muire sin).*¹⁴ “Lachlan, he had five sons, i.e. John, Hector, Lachlan, Niall and Somhairle; Fionnghala and Mary were his two daughters. Hector son of John, he had children, i.e. Murchadh, Donald, Charles, Ewen, Thomas and Gille Colaim (the children of Christina daughter of MacLeod, i.e. Murchadh son of Norman son of Leod son of Gille Moire son of Raice son of Olbhar Snoice son of Gille Moire; Ealga Fholtáinn (‘of the Beautiful Hair’), daughter of Aralt Seammár, king of Norway, was the mother of that Gille Moire).” Finally, Mac Fhirbhisigh names two other sons of Hector’s, this time by an Irishwoman; Skene, or his Irish transcriber, omitted this portion, probably by accident. *Fearchair agus Niall dha mhac ele don Eachdhonn remhraite mac Eóin, agus Mór, inghean Gofraidh Ui Balbhain do Chlannuibh Fhearghusa mc Roigh, mathair an da mhac sin.*¹⁵ “Fearchar and Niall were two other sons of the aforesaid Hector son of John, and Mór, daughter of Gofraidh Ó Balbháin of the progenies of Fergus son of Róch, was the mother of those two sons.” Fergus son of Róch is a hero of the ‘Táin Bó Cuailnge’, no less.

44 ḡmaeil 115 .i 5e

“**mhic maeil** is[o]g **mhic g[ill]e[ain]**” We may as well admit from the start that for the first name here all other sources have *Maol Íosa*, variously spelt. The name means ‘Servant of Jesus’ (*maol* or *mael* implies a tonsure, a bald or shaven head) and is anglicised Malise. The short *i* of *maeil* is very similar to the tail of *k* – reinterpreted as *i* – in the previous line. Perhaps the clearest letter in this line is the one which seems to have the least business to be there, the *g* of *maeil isg*. It is preceded by two longish minims which could be read as *ii*, *ss*, *is* or *si*, hence Skene’s ‘Maelsig’. There are two ways to approach this. We could interpret *g* as falsified *a*, giving *maeil isa* (almost exactly the spelling in the Black Book of Clanranald), just as in the MacLeran pedigree we interpreted *g* as falsified *t*, reading *anailz* (*Aranilg*) as *anailt* (*Arailt*, Harold).¹⁶ The unexplained mark following *g* lends weight to this option. Alternatively we could stick with the *g* and explain the name as *Ísóg* (the hypocoristic form of *Ísa*) with missing vowel. *Ísóg*, spelt *Isog*, is found in the MacNaughton pedigree at 1rb37. This is an equally attractive solution, since it retains *Maol Íosa* in the pedigree but brings him to life through his pet-name. -Óg, earlier -óc, later -ag, was commonly added to saints’ names, e.g. *Colmóg* (St Colm), *Earnóg* (St Earnan, giving *Cill M’ Earnóg* ‘Kilmarnock’). That this applied also to Jesus is demonstrated by the surname MacIsaac, *MacÍosaig*, from an eponymous *Íosag*, earlier *Ísóg*. The omission of the vowel could perhaps be explained away by the change in Scottish Gaelic from long -óg to short (though still open) -ag. Another forename that contains both *Mael* and -óg is *Mael Maedóg*, which gave rise to ‘Marmaduke’. Finally, *gilleain* is shown by the abbreviation *g.e.*, since it is appearing for the second time; I choose this spelling because it

echoes what appears to have been Dubhghall's intention in line 42. Interpretation: **"son of Mael Íosóg son of Gilleain"**

Gilleain, the eponym of the MacLeans, was remembered in tradition as *Gilleathain na Tuaighe* 'Gilleain of the Axe'.¹⁷ Mac Fhirbhisigh gives us the names of his sons: *Gille Eoin mac Mec Raith, tri mec les .i. Bristi, Giolla-Brighde, agus Maol-Íosa*.¹⁸ "Gilleain son of Mac Raith, he had three sons, i.e. Bristi, Gille Brighde and Maol Íosa." Bristi (Briste) is an odd name which bears thinking about. On the face of it it means 'broken' (*briste*) or 'breeches' (*briste*).

45 *ḿhīc ḿhīc raith ḿhīc suthain*

"mhic mhic raith mhic suthain" The first name is clear. It may look like a surname, but it is not. Forenames were sometimes formed from *mac* in addition to *maol*, *gille* (or *giolla*) and *cú*. *Mac Rath* or *Mac Raith* means 'Son of Prosperity'; another such is of course *Mac Beatha* 'Son of Life'. As surnames, MacRae is strictly *Mac Mhic Rath* and Beaton *Mac Mhic Bheathadh*, but these were soon simplified to *Mac Rath* and *Mac Bheathadh*, with or without the space. The other name in this line properly contains *maol*, as is made clear by our alternative sources: *Maoil tsuthain* (Ó Cléirigh), *Maoil-tSruthain* (Mac Fhirbhisigh), *maolsuthin* (Mac Bheathadh). *Maoil-tSruthain* suggests an imagined derivation from *sruth* 'stream', but as I understand it, the name is properly *Maol Suthain*, genitive *Maoil Shuthain*, 'the Servant of St Suthain'; the saint's name, *Suthain*, means 'eternal'.¹⁹ For the loss of *Maol* we may compare the very common name *Calum*, until recently only found as *Maol Chaluim* or *Gille Caluim*. The third letter could be *d* rather than *t*, which would make little difference. The fourth could be *b* rather than *h*, but that would make no sense. Interpretation: **"son of Mac Raith son of Suthain"**

46 *ḿhīc neill ḿhīc con duiligh .i.*

"mhic neill mhic con duiligh .i." The first name is very clear. For the second it is no surprise that in 1847 Skene wrote 'Domlig', but there is no such name. Other sources give *Con Duiligh*, genitive of *Cú Duiligh* (in origin *Cú Dúiligh* 'Hound of Desire', 'Greedy Dog'). That is certainly what we have here. The first letter, it transpires, is not *d* but *c* written backwards, the standard compendium for *con*; the second is not *o* but *d*; the third is not *n* but *u*; and the superscript symbol on *g* is nothing but an over-egged mark of lenition. All of these are traps which Dubhghall seems to enjoy laying for us, though not usually all in a row. Interpretation: **"son of Niall son of Cú Duiligh i.e."**

Other *Cú* names are *Cú Chulainn* 'Hound of Culann' (Culann was his master), *Cú Choigríche* 'Hound of the Border' (see above), and *Cú Beathadh* 'Hound of Life' (in the MacLeran pedigree). See also commentary on line 48.

Cú Duiligh is claimed as the ancestor of the Rankin pipers. The claim is made in an article in Gaelic by Neil Rankin Morrison. Here are the relevant statements, with my translation: *Tha e air aithris gur e Cuduilig MacRainge a' cheud phìobaire a bha ann am Muile. Tha e mar an ceudna air innseadh dhuinn gun d'ionnsaichheadh*

air a' cheòl e ann an Eirinn, gun d' thàinig e do Mhuile le Lachainn Lùbanach agus Eachann Reanganach; b' iad sin na ceud Leathanaich a fhuair seilbh air fearann ann am Muile. "It is said that Cuduilig MacRainge was the first piper in Mull. We have also been told that he trained as a musician in Ireland, that he came to Mull with Lachann Lùbanach and Eachann Reanganach; those were the first MacLeans who took possession of land in Mull." After quoting the MacLean genealogy from *Celtic Scotland*, Morrison concludes: *Faodar fhaicinn bhuaithe so gur h-ann bho Chù-duilig a thàinig Gill-eathain na Tuaighe a' cheud cheann-cinnidh a bh'aig Cloinn 'Illeathain*. "It can be seen from this that Gillean of the Axe, first chief of the MacLeans, was descended from Cù-duilig."²⁰

What appears to have happened is that the MacLean genealogy as cited by Skene has provided a very welcome peg upon which to hang a genuine tradition that the Rankin pipers, *Clann Duiligh*, were descended from *Cù Duiligh mac Raing*. Whatever the origin of the tradition, it is absurd to claim that the chiefs were descended from the pipers rather than the other way round, and in fact the claim is illogical – Morrison tells us that Cù Duiligh came to Mull with Lachann Lùbanach, yet Lachann Lùbanach, according to the pedigree, was Cù Duiligh's great-great-great-great-great-grandson. Lachann may well have come to Mull with a piper called *Cù Duiligh mac Raing*, but if so, he was certainly not the *Cù Duiligh mac Raing* of the MacLean pedigree.

What the tradition underlines for us is the origin of the MacLeans in the professional rather than the warrior class. There is evidence of continuous movement between the professions in the medieval Gaelic world, and that certainly includes music, poetry and the church. One thinks for example of *croasanachd*, Irish *croántacht*, a poetic mode associated with bagpipe-playing monkish satirists (*croáin*, carriers of crosses in religious processions), which also survives in the name of a *pìobaireachd*, *Croasanachd an Doill*, routinely mistranslated as 'The Blind Piper's Obstinacy'.²¹

At this point both Ó Cléirigh and Mac Bheathadh (but not Mac Fhirbhisigh) have an extra name, *Ceallach*. I do not think there is anything missing at the end of line 46. I am tempted to explain away *Ceallach* as Cù Duiligh's nickname, as it means 'Cell-Dweller' – very appropriate for an abbot. It occurs twice in the MacQuarrie pedigree, no. 25 in the manuscript.²²


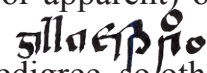

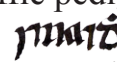


47 ab lesa mor sanabi

"ab lesa mor sanabi" This is the most clearly-written line in the entire genealogy. The reading *ab lesa mor* is corroborated by Ó Cléirigh and Mac Fhirbhisigh, and its meaning is obvious: 'abbot of Lismore'.²³ The second half of the line is not corroborated by any other source, but I believe its meaning is equally clear: 'old (i.e. former) abbot of Iona'.²⁴ We have *san* for *sean* again in lines 48–49; it also occurs in the MacKinnon pedigree (*mhic shaineaghain* 'son of old Ewen, 1va21). If it be objected that the grapheme interpreted as meaning 'of Iona' in the Lamont pedigree was *ite*, not *i*, the response is to hand: as my sketch shows, there *does* appear to be something following *i*, though exactly what is uncertain.²⁵ In any case usage on this point varies. The late Dugald MacArthur, a native of the island, once

took me to task for saying *Eilean Ithe* – he had only ever heard *Eilean Í*, he said. I suspect it is one of those island names which is differently handled depending upon whether one is a native or not, others being *Tiriodh* or *Tiridhe* for Tiree, and *Ratharsair* or *Ratharsaigh* for Raasay. Interpretation: “**abbot of Lismore, formerly abbot of Iona,**”

48 

“**mhic raing r[uaidh?] mhic s**” It would be difficult to know for sure how to interpret the first name were it not for the fact that our other sources are unanimous: Ó Cléirigh has *Frainc*, Mac Fhirbhisigh has *Raingce* and Mac Bheathadh has *krainc*, all of which point clearly to *Fraing* (or *Frainge*), genitive of *Frang* ‘Francis’. The second letter could be *a* or *u*, but the result is the same. Dubhghall is the only one of the four scribes not to use *c*, which may suggest a lack of plosive quality in his pronunciation of the name. It is surprising to find Alexander MacBain, normally a reliable authority, commenting on *Raingce* that ‘this name seems English, a diminutive of Randolph’.²⁶ It seems obvious to me that, belonging as it does to a sequence of clergymen, the name is that of St Francis of Assisi (1181/2–1226). Perhaps the problem in MacBain’s mind was that ‘Raingce’ lived a little too early – he gives his dates as ‘circ. 1100-1150’. But this only applies if we insist on viewing the pedigree as a statement of historical fact.

The real problem of the line is the presence of an *r* following the name. This is best dealt with by taking it as the very common abbreviation of *ruadh*, here *ruaidh*, ‘red-haired’. We have already met it above in a quotation from Pender’s *Analecta Hibernica*, ‘Eachdhuinn ruaidh m Lochloinn lubanaigh’. There are four other instances (real or apparent) of *rua(i)dh* in the 1467 MS: 1rc40  ‘abradruaidh’; 1rd50  ‘gilla espaig ruaidh(?)’ (in the otherwise unattested MacDuffie pedigree, so other evidence for the meaning is lacking); 1vc10 ; 1vd39 . It has to be said, then, that there is no other evidence for Dubhghall writing *ruadh* or *ruaidh* in precisely this way. Usually an abbreviation would be indicated by dots: . When we do come across  (1rb23) it is not *ruaidh* but *reamhair* ‘fat’ in the context *mhic ethach muinreamhair* ‘son of Fat-Necked Eochaidh’!

For the final *s* see line 49. Interpretation: “**son of [red-haired?] Francis son of**”

Mac Fhirbhisigh tells us of this man’s sons: *Trí mec Raingce .i. Cu Catha, a quo Clann Conchatha i ccrich Leamhna, agus Cu-Sithe, a quo Clann Con-Sithe a Bhibh, agus Cu-Duiligh, a quo Clann Con-Duiligh .i. Clann Mec Gille Eoin in oiléunuibh Muile*.²⁷ “The three sons of Francis were Cú Catha (‘Hound of Battle’), from whom the Clann Chon Catha in the land of Lennox, and Cú Síthe (‘Hound of Peace’), from whom the Clann Chon Síthe from Fife, and Cú Dúiligh, from whom the Clann Chon Dúiligh, i.e. the MacLeans in the islands of Mull.” As far as I know, the Clann Chon Catha and Clann Chon Síthe remain unidentified.²⁸ The formula ‘islands of Mull’ is appropriate, being presumably designed to include Iona and Lismore.

This is the most interesting line in the text. Taken together with *s* at the end of line 48 and the evidence of other sources, the first two-thirds of it certainly appear to give us ‘old Dugald’. The evidence of the final third is, however, ambiguous. Following *g* is a broad space, followed by *a* including what appears at first sight to be a very long descender with a cross-stroke, giving the *ar* compendium; however, a glance below shows that most of this, including the cross-stroke, is actually the ascender of *b* in the next line. This is why in 1847 Skene read *Airlir* and in 2009 Máire and I read *ar lss*. Very careless of us. We are in fact dealing with a modestly long (and meaningless) descender on *a*, quite a common phenomenon in Dubhghall’s calligraphy.²⁹ There is then a narrow space containing faint traces of what may once have been a minim, followed by what could be *lss* or *lis*; in 1847 Skene read the final letter as *r*, but if so it is misshapen, the head being too small for its body.

This means that the line offers two different hypotheses. The first depends ultimately for its validity upon the Ó Cléirigh and Mac Fhirbhisigh readings *Sendubghaill sgoinne* and *Seandubhgaill Sgóinne*, ‘old Dugald of Scone’. According to this hypothesis the line reads *an dubg aills*, i.e. the broad space should be ignored, the narrow space contains *i*, the penultimate letter is neither *i* nor *s* but lowered *l*, and the last letter, *s*, is intended as an abbreviation for *Sgóinne*, giving altogether ‘old Dugald of Scone’.

According to the second hypothesis, the broad space is what it looks like (a break between words), *dubg* is intended to be read *Dubgaill* ‘Dugald’, the narrow space contains nothing (and is also therefore a break between words), and the penultimate letter is *i*, giving altogether [*s*]*an dubg[aill] a lis*. The final part could represent, in modern Scottish Gaelic spelling, either *á Lios* ‘from Lios’ or *an lios* ‘of the Lios’ (*n* is regularly silent before *l* in western dialects). *Lios*, earlier spelling *les*, is defined by the historical *Dictionary of the Irish Language* as ‘the space about a dwelling-house or houses enclosed by a bank or rampart’, and was often used ‘of the enclosure around monastic buildings’, sometimes ‘the bank or rampart itself’; in modern Scottish Gaelic it is basically a cabbage-garden, and of course as *Lios Mór* it is the name of the fertile island of Lismore (once monastic property), the natives of which are simply *Liosaich*. If we choose to understand the line as *sean Dubhghall an lios* ‘old Dugald of the monastic garden’ (genitive), he could still, in theory, be a monk of Scone; if we prefer *sean Dubhghall á Lios* ‘old Dugald from Lios’ (dative), the reference must surely be to Lismore. And it could be argued that the dative interpretation is more likely to be correct, as in line 47 the genitive form was spelt *lesa*.³⁰

This second hypothesis depends on *dubg* representing *Dubhghaill*. Analysis of the 1467 MS shows that the name appears on nineteen other occasions. Usually (thirteen times) it is written in full, give or take the odd mark of lenition. The remaining six are: 1re5 *dubgaill*, 1vbc37 *dubg̃*, 1vb2 *dubg̃*, 1vbc42 *dubg̃*, 1vb8 *dubg̃*, 1vbc46 *dubg̃*. This shows that Dubhghall frequently uses *dubg* to represent *Dubhghaill*, the only qualification

being that the present instance is the only one which lacks a stroke to indicate that it is a contraction. This failure to mark contractions seems to be a feature of Dubhghall’s script in the MacLean pedigree, see my remarks on lines 43, 44, 48, 50, 56.

With some confidence, we may now read the line as “**an dubg[*ail*] a lis**” and interpret it as “**old Dugald from Lismore**”. It is of course perfectly possible that all our sources are correct – that old Dugald was a monk from Lismore who ended his days in Scone. Dubhghall appears to be at pains to delineate the extent of MacLean territorial claims through their church connections, from Iona in the west to Lismore in the east.

Old Dugald – who, it will be noted, is nowhere described as an abbot – brings what we may loosely call the ‘historical’ part of the MacLean pedigree to a close, in the sense that the names cited down to this point appear to be those of ecclesiastics remembered in oral tradition as predecessors of the MacLeans. What follows is clearly ‘mythological’ in the sense that it was picked out of other genealogies by the pedigree-maker and tacked on here to provide old Dugald with illustrious forebears. This, I am sure, is why in *Celtic Scotland* Skene chose to set his translation in italics from this point on. Having lost sight of the question ‘What does the 1467 MS tell us?’ he was attempting to answer the much larger one ‘What are the historical facts?’ He was clearly embarrassed at such patent fakery. He declares, however, that it ‘can hardly be doubted’ that old Dugald is identifiable with ‘Dufgal son of Mocche, who was aged, just, and venerable (senex, justus, et venerabilis)’, and who, shortly after 1100, took part as an arbiter in a perambulation of the lands of Kyrknesse and Lochow, on the Kinross–Fife border.³¹ This is putting it too strongly, and given that Dugald’s patronymic was known to the cartularist, it is disappointing, to say the least, that the MacLean genealogist chose to fabricate one instead.

50 *m̃h̃ic f̃h̃ erchair abhr adruaidh*

“**m̃h̃ic f̃h̃[*erchair*] abhr[*adruaidh*]**” We need not waste time over this line. Other than *m̃h̃ic*, the first lexeme is an obscure jumble, the second is clear but much abbreviated, the solution to both is provided by Ó Cléirigh, Mac Fhirbhisigh and Mac Bheathadh. In my last article I offered an analysis of the ways in which Dubhghall writes *Fearchair*.³² In this instance we are probably dealing with *f̃*, a superscript *er*-compendium (see next line for a good example), *c* and *h*; for the apparent lack of a contraction-stroke see my commentary on line 49. As for *abhradhruadh*, strictly it means ‘red-eyelashed’, but Scottish Gaelic *fabhra* can mean ‘eyebrow’ as well as ‘eyelash’, and no doubt that is what we should understand here. Interpretation: “**son of Fearchar of the red eyebrows**”

Fearchar Abhradhruadh is also an ancestor of *Clann an Aba Uaine*, ‘the Children of the Green Abbot’, kindred no. 6 in the 1467 MS. Perhaps this further ecclesiastical connection explains why he was chosen by the pedigree-maker to be old Dugald’s father. Fearchar Abhradhruadh was, allegedly, a brother of Fearchar Fada, who appears in the above-quoted genealogies of Lulach, king of Scotland,


and of the MacNaughtons. As Ferchar Fota, son of Feradach, son of Fergus, son of Colmán, son of Báetán, son of Eochaid, he was a historical king of Dalriada; according to the Annals of Ulster he died in 697.³³ Mac Bheathadh, on the other hand, makes *ferchar fada righ alban* (‘Fearchar Fada king of Scotland’) Fearchar Abhradhruadh’s great-grandfather.

51 

“**mhic feradhaigh mhic [fergusa]** The first name is perfectly clear, and the second, which is not visible at all, is supplied by Ó Cléirigh and Mac Fhirbhisigh. In my previous article, referring to an area further up this same column, I concluded that ‘it is safer to infer that the blank space to the right of the pedigree represents an absence of writing than an illegibility of writing’; clearly the opposite is the case here.³⁴ As for the genitive form *fergusa*, it is worth noting that throughout the 1467 MS Dubhghall uses Irish *fergusa* (and *aengusa*) in preference to Scottish *ferguis* (and *aenguis*). This contrasts with his partiality for *lachlann*, see line 43. Interpretation: “**son of Fearadhach son of [Fergus]**”

At this point our pedigree is identical to the above-quoted genealogies of Lulach, king of Scotland, and of the MacNaughtons. Mac Bheathadh’s version goes off on its own with *mhic báigh*, *mhic fionlaoich*, which sounds like a garbled rendering of Macbeth, king of Scotland, and his father – *macbethadh mac finnlaeich*, in Dubhghall’s spelling (1rb24–25).

52 

“**mhic nechtain mhic colm[ain]**” The first name is very clear.  is the standard contraction for *cht* or *acht*.³⁵ The mark above the *m* of *colm* is probably what survives of an *n*-stroke for *-ain*, giving *colmain*. Interpretation: “**son of Neachtán son of Colmán**”

This line is present in the 1467 MS genealogies of Lulach, king of Scotland, and of the MacNaughtons. It is also given by Ó Cléirigh. Mac Fhirbhisigh breaks off at *Neachtain*. In Lulach’s genealogy *neachtain* is spelt *shneachtain*, as if derived from *sneachta* ‘snow’, *sh* being silent.

53 

“**mhic leat ain .i.**” This reading is clear enough, but as my sketch shows, there are other marks (much more faint and uncertain) between *leat* and *ain* and at the end of the line. At this point Ó Cléirigh has *Baodain*, the Lulach and MacNaughton pedigrees *buadain*, others (as we have seen, line 50) *Báetán*. The *le* is clear, and the obscure marks would not serve to turn *leat ain* into any of these. As is pointed out in the website, the line may be seen as an attempt to justify the ‘alternative’ MacLean surname *Leathanach* (which is in fact simply a derivative of *MacillEathain*, i.e. *Mac Gille Sheathain* ‘Son of the Servant of St John’) by inventing an ancestor called *Leathan*, and placing him well back in the ‘mythological’ part of the pedigree.

There is confusion about this point today – I have recently seen *Leathanaich* (‘MacLeans’) spelt *Leathainnich* as if they had something to do with *leathann* ‘broad’. One would have expected *Gille Eoin*, *Gilleain* or *Gille Sheathain* again at this point, and perhaps the obscure marks have something to do with that. Interpretation: “son of Leathan i.e.”

54 *ā mōrṣāī .fōō*

“**mhic morgainn mhic dom[hnaill]**” Enough of the line has survived for us to be confident about this reading. The maker of the pedigree has suddenly switched to a more recent series of names in Lulach’s genealogy. Interpretation: “son of Morgann son of Donald”

55 *ā rāīrē lī ruaid*

“**mhic cathmhael mhic ruaid[hri]**” The reading is tricky at this point, so it is fortunate that the Lulach genealogy comes to the rescue. The first letter after *mhic* is *k* for *cath* (see line 43). It has an extraordinarily long right-hand downstroke which could perhaps be explained as the lower part of an *a*, ligatured to the following *m*, after which *æ* is also ligatured, as in Latin; we should perhaps therefore read *kamhael* rather than *cathmhael*, but it comes to the same thing, as *th* is only an aspiration, phonologically speaking. The second name is difficult to make out, but enough of it survives for us to be sure that it is *ruaidhri*, just as in the Lulach genealogy. Interpretation: “son of Cathmhael son of Ruairi”

56 *ā rull .fēcāc*

“**mhic []rullaigh mhic cgac**” It is impossible to make out what lies between *mhic* and *rull*. Basically this line makes no sense at all, and we are left seeking help from other sources. Following *mhic cathmhaeil mhic ruaidhri* in the Lulach genealogy is *mhic aircheallaigh mhic fercair fada*; alternatively, at a roughly equivalent point Ó Cléirigh gives *m Fearghusa uallaigh* (‘Fergus the proud’) *m Eachach tathmhail*. All that we can say is that *r* and *ll* appear in both *aircheallaigh* and *Fearghusa uallaigh*, and that the latter gives us *u* as well. As for *cgac*, Máire and I alleged in the website that if it is read *etac* we arrive at Dubhghall’s ‘usual spelling’ of the genitive case of *Eochaidh*, i.e. *Eathach*. Dubhghall writes *Eathach* (or *Eachach*) in the following ways: *ēcḥ* (1rb23), *ēcḥ* (1rb53), *ēacḥ* (1ra22, 1ra31, 1vd21, 1vd23, 1vd45), *ēacḥ* (1vd36, 1vd51), *ēcāc* (1ra33), *ēcāc* (1rb50), *ēcāc* (1ra16). *Etac* is not exactly his ‘usual spelling’, then, but if we were to supply the consonants with lenition marks, *ethach*, it would certainly be one of his usual spellings. So with Ó Cléirigh’s help, we can make sense of the line, but only if we accept that some one has interfered grossly with the text, erasing abbreviated *fergusa*, substituting *ru* for *ua* and *cg* for *et*, and probably also removing diacritics. Interpretation: “son of Fergus the Proud, son of Eochaidh.”

I would conclude by emphasising that this is a pedigree of two halves. Lines 42–49 consist of ecclesiastical-sounding characters who lived in the period 1100–1400 and must have been known to the oral tradition-bearers of the MacLeans. Dubhghall is careful to mention two monasteries in the MacLean sphere of influence, Iona and Lismore; other scribes add Scone. The pivotal figure of old Dugald, and the relationships between the three monasteries in his period (c. 1100), deserve careful examination; it would also be good to find some sort of local evidence for the *Clann Chon Catha* in Lennox and the *Clann Chon Síthe* in Fife. Lines 50–56 represent a desperate attempt to provide old Dugald with royal descent, parts of the genealogies of Lulach, Macbeth and even the Dalriadic kings all being pressed manically into service without regard for chronology. At line 53 one of the Dalriadic kings, Báetán, is turned into Leathan to provide a spurious link to the MacLeans. In palaeographic terms, the pedigree is notable for the greater than usual absence of suspension-marks and diacritics; the principal evidence for interference by another hand is in the last line.

Ronald Black

NOTES

- 1 For a more comprehensive presentation of MacLean genealogies see Nicholas Maclean-Bristol, *Warriors and Priests: The History of the Clan Maclean, 1300–1570* (East Linton, 1995), pp. 158–98.
- 2 Mark Napier, *The Life and Times of Montrose* (Edinburgh, 1840), p. ix; W. F. Skene, ‘The Leahber Dearg, or Red Book of Clanranald’, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. 1 (1855), pp. 89–91: 90; Alexander MacBain and Rev. John Kennedy, eds, *Reliquiæ Celticæ*, vol. 2 (Inverness, 1894), p. 139.
- 3 William F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1876–80), vol. 3, p. 338. The ‘Little Book of Clanranald’ (MCR 39) was written by MacVurichs, but there are no MacLean genealogies in it at all. MCR = ‘MacDonald of Clanranald’.
- 4 The Iona Club, *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* (Edinburgh, 1847), pp. 358, 359, 362.
- 5 Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. 3, pp. 480–81. For the italics see my commentary on line 49.
- 6 “From whom is the surname.” See Maclean-Bristol, *Warriors and Priests*, p. 7.
- 7 Maclean-Bristol, *Warriors and Priests*, p. 11.
- 8 Ó Muraíle, *Leabhar Mór*, vol. 2, p. 144, cf. vol. 3, p. 490. Gamhal is unidentified. For the Carrick roots of the MacLeans see Maclean-Bristol, *Warriors and Priests*, pp. 9, 11.
- 9 Maclean-Bristol, *Warriors and Priests*, pp. 14–18.
- 10 Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. 3, p. 481; W. D. H. Sellar, ‘Family Origins in Cowal and Knapdale’, *Scottish Studies*, vol. 15, part 1 (1971), pp. 21–37: 32; Maclean-Bristol, *Warriors and Priests*, pp. 11–13, 16.
- 11 Ó Muraíle, *Leabhar Mór*, vol. 2, p. 144, cf. vol. 3, p. 490, and Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. 3, p. 482.
- 12 Maclean-Bristol, *Warriors and Priests*, pp. 14–17.
- 13 Maclean-Bristol, *Warriors and Priests*, pp. 18–30.
- 14 Ó Muraíle, *Leabhar Mór*, vol. 2, p. 144, cf. vol. 3, p. 490, Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. 3, p. 482, and Maclean-Bristol, *Warriors and Priests*, p. 33.

- 15 Ó Muraíle, *Leabhar Mór*, vol. 2, p. 146, cf. vol. 3, p. 490, and Maclean-Bristol, *Warriors and Priests*, p. 29.
- 16 Ronald Black, 'The MacLerans', *WHN&Q*, ser. 3, no. 18 (Jan. 2012), pp. 3–17: 12.
- 17 For what is known (or rather not known) about him see Maclean-Bristol, *Warriors and Priests*, pp. 7–8.
- 18 Ó Muraíle, *Leabhar Mór*, vol. 2, p. 144, cf. vol. 3, p. 490, and Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. 3, p. 481.
- 19 I find the name *Mael-suthain* in M. A. O'Brien, ed., *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* (Dublin, 1976), p. 252. I cannot find St Suthain in the martyrologies of Donegal, Gorman, Oengus or Tallaght.
- 20 Neil Rankin Morrison, 'Clann Duiligh: Piobairean Chloinn Ghill-Eathain', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. 37 (1934–36), pp. 59–79: 61, 62.
- 21 See for example Ronald Black, *An Lasair: Anthology of 18th Century Scottish Gaelic Verse* (Edinburgh, 2001), p. 408.
- 22 Maclean-Bristol (*Warriors and Priests*, p. 3) is willing to accept Ceallach as an extra step in the pedigree, despite his omission by the 1467 MS and Mac Fhirbhisigh.
- 23 Maclean-Bristol (*Warriors and Priests*, pp. 3, 5) is willing to accept the possibility that Lismore in Co. Waterford is meant. I think this is most unlikely.
- 24 Cf. Maclean-Bristol, *Warriors and Priests*, p. 3.
- 25 Ronald Black, '1467 MS: The Lamonts', *WHN&Q*, ser. 3, no. 21 (Jan. 2013), pp. 3–19: 17.
- 26 Alexander MacBain, 'Early Highland Personal Names', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. 22 (1897–98), pp. 152–68: 158.
- 27 Ó Muraíle, *Leabhar Mór*, vol. 2, p. 144, cf. vol. 3, p. 490, and Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. 3, p. 481.
- 28 Cf. MacBain, 'Early Highland Personal Names', p. 158; Maclean-Bristol, *Warriors and Priests*, pp. 3, 4, 6.
- 29 See Black, '1467 MS: The Lamonts', p. 10.
- 30 Cf. Maclean-Bristol, *Warriors and Priests*, p. 2.
- 31 *Celtic Scotland*, vol. 3, p. 343, citing *Chart. of St Andrews*, p. 117. For discussion see Maclean-Bristol, *Warriors and Priests*, pp. 2–4.
- 32 Black, '1467 MS: The Lamonts', p. 10.
- 33 John Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada* (Edinburgh, 1974), pp. 66, 109, 110; Maclean-Bristol, *Warriors and Priests*, p. 1.
- 34 Black, '1467 MS: The Lamonts', p. 11.
- 35 The contractions of Gaelic script derive from Latin palaeography. This compendium began life as the contraction for Latin *sed* 'but'. The Gaelic for 'but' is *acht*.