

## 1467 MS: The Lamonts

Like the MacLerans (NLS Adv. MS 72.1.1, f. 1re5–10), the Lamonts lie in the most difficult part of the 1467 manuscript, the top right-hand corner of the recto (1re19–29), where W. F. Skene applied a chemical reagent, leaving the vellum stained blue. It did not help him much, but came to be used by scholars as a daft excuse for not looking at the manuscript themselves – not least the historian of the Lamonts, who said: “In the National Library in Edinburgh is the almost obliterated Gaelic manuscript referred to above. From this the traditional pedigree of the earlier chiefs could barely be deciphered with the aid of chemicals before it faded for ever.”<sup>1</sup>

The Lamonts are kindred no. 21 in the website text prepared by my wife Máire and myself ([www.1467manuscript.co.uk](http://www.1467manuscript.co.uk)), between the earls of Lennox (no. 20) and the MacMillans (no. 22). It would seem on the face of it that at this point the scribe, Dubhghall Albanach mac mhic Cathail, was travelling due west in his head from Loch Lomond across Cowal to the shores of the Atlantic.

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 Máire and myself in our website (2009). In this instance I will add the same pedigree as given by (4) Cúchoigríche Ó Cléirigh and (5) Dubhaltach Mac Fírbbhisigh. I will make some general comments on each of these before moving on to a line-by-line analysis. For ease of comparison, all texts are made to correspond to the lines of the 1467 manuscript.

### (1) *Collectanea*:

19 Genelach Clann Ladus . . . . .  
20 Robert ic . . . . . ic  
21 Eoin ic Gillacalm ic . . . . .  
22 mc Gilleasp ic Ferchair  
23 mc Dunsleibe  
24 ic Buirc ic Anradan  
25 ic Gilleabeirt rig eilan Sidir  
26 ic Muredag ic . . . . .  
27 ic Domnaill ic Jamar. a. r.  
28 mc Martan Donn  
29 mc Neillgusa Aberice.

19 Genealogy of the Clan . . . . .  
20 Robert son of . . . . son of  
21 John, son of Malcolm, son of . . . .  
22 son of Gillespic, son of Ferchard,  
23 son of Dunsleve,  
24 son of Burc, son of Henry,  
25 son of Gilbert king of the Western Isles, (Isles of the Sudreys,)

- 26 son of Murdoch, son of . . . .
- 27 son of Donald, son of Ivor, from whom the Clan is named,
- 28 son of Martin the Brown,
- 29 son of Neillgusa of Lochaber.<sup>2</sup>

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

- 19 GENELACH CLANN LADMANN\*
- 20 Roibert mac Donchadh mic
- 21 Eoin mic Giollacoluim mic Ladmainn
- 22 mic Giollacoluim mic Fearchair
- 23 mic Duinsleibe mic Aeda Alain
- 24 .i. Buirche mic Anradan
- 25 mic Flaithbertaigh
- 26 mic Murcertach
- 27 mic Donnall
- 28 mic Murcertach
- 29 mic Neill Glundub

\* This and the three following are from the MS. 1467 and MacFirbis.<sup>3</sup>

- 19 GENEALOGY OF THE CLAN LADMANN OR LAMONTS.
- 20 Robert son of Duncan son of
- 21 John son of Malcolm son of Ladmann
- 22 son of Malcolm son of Ferchard
- 23 son of Duinsleibhe *son of Aeda Alain*
- 24 *the Buirche, son of Anradan*
- 25 *son of Flaherty*
- 26 *son of Murcertach*
- 27 *son of Donald*
- 28 *son of Murcertach*
- 29 *son of Niall Glundubh, or Black Knee.*<sup>4</sup>

(3) [www.1467manuscript.co.uk](http://www.1467manuscript.co.uk), with our footnote:

- 19 *genelaigh cloinni ladmainn .i.*
- 20 Raiberd mac donnchaidh mhic
- 21 eoin mhic gilla colaim mhic ladmainn
- 22 mhic gillacolaim [*altered to gillasp(aig?)*] mhic ferchair
- 23 mhic duinntleibe mhic aed alainn
- 24 .i. buirce mhic anradain
- 25 mhic flaitbertaig mhic connstantin
- 26 mhic muiredhaigh ---?---
- 27 mhic domnaill mhic gillacrist
- 28 mhic murachaidh .i. gilladub [*this line is very uncertain*]
- 29 mhic neill glunduibh\* ite

\* Glunduibh is given here in a number of Irish manuscripts.

- 19 The genealogy of the Clan Lamont i.e.
- 20 Robert son of Duncan son of
- 21 John son of Gille Colaim son of Ladhmann
- 22 son of Gille Colaim or Archibald son of (?) the son of Fearchar
- 23 son of Duinnshléibhe son of handsome Aodh
- 24 i.e. Buirce son of Anradhán
- 25 son of Flaithbheartach son of Constantine
- 26 son of ---?--- Muireadhach
- 27 son of Donald son of Gille Críost(?)
- 28 son of Murchadh(?) i.e. Gille Dubh (?)
- 29 son of Niall black-knee of *Iona*.

(4) Royal Irish Academy MS 790 (23 D 17), p. 33, col. 3, p. 35, col. 1, p. 49, cols 2–3, and p. 60, cols 1–2, with my comments. I take these pedigrees by Cúchoigríche Ó Cléirigh directly from the manuscript, but they have in fact been published in Séamus Pender, ed., *Analecta Hibernica No. 18: The O Clery Book of Genealogies* (Dublin, Stationery Office, 1951), pp. 21, 23, 37, 45. Italics here indicate expansion of contractions. *Donnchaidh* is the Scottish-style genitive of *Donnchadh*; Pender prefers the Irish style, *Donnchadha*.

- 19 *Geinealach Mhic Ladhmainn*. Eoin<sup>5</sup> m *Donnchaidh*<sup>6</sup> m Gille *Espaign*<sup>7</sup> m
- 20 Roibeird m *Donnchaidh* m
- 21 Eoin m Giolla Colaim m Ladhmainn
- 22 m Gilla Colaim m Ferchair
- 23 m Duinnslebhe. Sunn *condregaid* & Clann tSuibhne.

These last words mean: “Here they merge with the MacSweeneys.” We may therefore move on, as directed, to the pedigree headed *Geinealach Mhic Suibne Fhanad* (‘The Genealogy of MacSweeney of Fanad’), in the middle of which we meet Suibhne (*otat Clann tSuibne*, ‘from whom are the MacSweeneys’). Suibhne was, like Fearchar of the Lamonts, a son of Duinnshléibhe, with whom we may pick up the thread.

- 23 m Duinnslebhe m Aeda Alainn
- 24 .i. an Buirce m Anrothain m Aedha Athlamhain
- 25 m Flaithbertaigh an Trosdain
- 26 m Muircertaigh Midhigh
- 27 m Domnaill Arda Macha
- 28 m Muircertaigh na cCochall cCroicend
- 29 m Neill Ghlunduibh m Aodha Finnleith.<sup>8</sup>

Aedh Athlamhain of line 24 was also an ancestor of the O Neills, so we may, if we wish, pursue the earliest ancestors of the Lamonts in Ó Cléirigh’s pedigree of that kindred:

- 25 m Flaithbertaigh an Trostain
- 26 m Muircertaigh Midhigh
- 27 m Domhnaill Arda Macha
- 28 m Muircertaigh na cCocall cCroicend
- 29 m Neill Glúnduibh m Aedha Finnleith m Nell Caille m Aedha Oirdnide m Neill Frosaign

m Ferghail m Maile Duin m Maile Fithrigh m Aedha Uairidh<sup>n</sup>igh m Domhnaill  
Ilcealcaighe m Muircertaigh m Muiredaig m Eoghain m Neill Naighiallaigh

Curiously, Cúchoigríche returns to the Lamonts later in his manuscript, this time calling their chief *Meg Buirrce*, i.e. Mac Buirrce. He must have got this version from a different source, and failed to realise that he was repeating himself.

- 19 *Geinealach* Meg Buirrce
- 20 Donnchadh m
- 21 Eoin m Giolla Colaim m Ladhmainn
- 22 m Giollacholaim m Ferchair
- 23 m Duinnsleibe m Buirrce a quo *Meg Buirrce*<sup>9</sup>
- 24 m Anrothain m Aedha Athlamain

(5) The MacFirbis genealogies have now been published in full, with translation, in 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). Ó Muraíle's principal source is University College Dublin Add. Ir. ms 14, but he used others as well.<sup>10</sup> Here are extracts corresponding to those cited in (4), with my comments. First the Lamonts, from vol. 1, p. 304 (p. 125.2 of the manuscript):

- 19 Genealach Meg-Buirrce agus Mhec Ladhmainn in Albain.
- 20 Donnchadh mac
- 21 Eóin m. Giolla Choluim m. Ladhmuinn
- 22 m. Giolla Cholaim m. Fhearchair
- 23 mc Duinn Sléibhe m. Buirrce (o ffulid Meg-Buirrce) .i. Aodha Alainn, 7c.

Now part of the MacSweeney of Fanad pedigree, from vol. 1, p. 300 (p. 122.2 of the manuscript):

- 23 m. Duinn Sleibhe Í Nell<sup>11</sup> m. Aodha Alainn,
- 24 re n-abarthaí Buirrce,<sup>12</sup> m. Anrothain m. Aodha Athlamhuin
- 25 m. Flaithbheartaigh an Trosdain, 7c., ag Uibh Néll <isin leath. 114>.

The last words mean 'at O'Neill (on page 114)'. Turning as directed to vol. 1, p. 290 (p. 114.1 of the manuscript), we find the O'Neills brought from *mac Seaain, Iarla Thire-Eoghain* ('son of Seaán, earl of Tyrone') to *m. De-Bhi, Righ na nUile, tar na tteagar* ('son of The Living God, Lord of All, beyond whom one does not go'). At one point between these extremes are:

- 24 m. Domhnuill, re n-abartha 'An tÓgdamh,' m. Aodha Athlamhuin
- 25 m. Flaithbheartaigh an Trosdain .i. a lorg Romha,<sup>13</sup>
- 26 m. Muircheartaigh Mhidhigh
- 27 m. Domhnuill Arda Macha, righ Ereann 24 bliadna,
- 28 m. Muircheartaigh na cCochall cCroiceann
- 29 m. Nell Ghlunduibh, righ Ereann 3 bliadhna, m. Aodha Finnleth, RE 16, m. Nell Chaillne, RE 13, m. Aodha Oirdnidhe, RE 25, m. Nell Frasaigh, RE 7, m. Fearghaile, RE 10, m. Maoil Dúin m. Maoil Firthrigh m. Aodha Uairiodhnaigh, RE 7, m. Domhnuill Ilchealgaigh, RE 3, m. Muircheartaigh (i.e. mac Earca), RE 24, m. Muireadhoigh m. Eoghain m. Nell Naoighiallaigh, RE 27

RE indicates ‘king of Ireland’, as in the description of Niall Glúndubh as *righ Ereann 3 bliadhna* ‘king of Ireland 3 years’. With regard to the last name, Niall Naoighiallach, having always worn the Lamont tartan I cannot resist quoting David Sellar with a little bit of pride: “Niall of the Nine Hostages is a figure of the greatest interest to the genealogist in that he stands as the semi-historical founder of one of the only two families or groups of families in Europe that can be traced back indisputably in the male line from the present day through Medieval times beyond the Dark Ages to the fifth or fourth century A.D.”<sup>14</sup>

Skene did not explain in *Collectanea* who he thought the ‘Clan Ladus’ were. At that time he believed the Lamont pedigree to be the one at 1re35–41, which he subsequently described in *Celtic Scotland* 3 (p. 489) as that of the MacLennans, and which Máire and I describe in our website as that of Mac Gabharain Earca. His work on the present pedigree in *Collectanea* will be used in this article to demonstrate the difficulty of reading the manuscript. It is then best forgotten, because ‘Gilbert king of the Western Isles, (Isles of the Sudreys,)’, ‘Ivor, from whom the Clan is named’, ‘Martin the Brown’ and ‘Neillgusa of Lochaber’ are all red herrings. There are no such people in the Lamont pedigree.

The *Celtic Scotland* text is a conflation. By his use of italics in the translation, Skene obliges us to guess that it is based on the 1467 MS as far as Duinsleibe (line 23), thereafter on MacFirbis. If this is the case, comparison with *Collectanea* and our website reveals that Skene had had some new-found success in reading the names in lines 19–21, but that he was closing down discussion on the elusive 1467 MS readings in lines 25–29, which clearly do not make a neat match with MacFirbis. Once again, then, Skene had failed to answer the question: “What exactly does the 1467 MS tell us?”

In the ‘website’ version I have here used italics where the website itself uses red type. This is explained (for all kindreds) on the home page: “Some of the readings are not clearly visible or are speculative, and these have been shown in red.”

Unlike the MacLeran, Campbell and MacSorley pedigrees previously considered, this Lamont genealogy is a good example of one for which the 1467 text is bad but a substantial amount of other evidence exists. Inevitably, therefore, our readings are informed by more than the letters on the page. We are looking at a calligraphic disaster-zone and saying: “What is going on here? What has happened? Can we make sense of this mess by reconciling it with other knowledge?” I will therefore present a pen-and-ink sketch of each of the eleven lines, with full discussion. My sketches are based on exhaustive study of the colour photographs in the website, which in this instance provide the clearest representation of the text – clearer than the monochrome photographs, clearer than the scans made in 2011,<sup>15</sup> and clearer than the original, which at roughly six lines to the inch is quite small and difficult to use. I have attempted to show all ink-marks that appear in the manuscript, whether meaningful or not; what my sketches do not show is shades of light and dark. Many of the pen-strokes and other marks are very obscure indeed.

The reader who wishes to know what the original looks like and does not have access to NLS Adv. 72.1.1 should consult the website. Click ‘map’ at the top of the home page, then click no. 21 on the ‘map’. For an overall view, go to ‘site navigation’ and click ‘Manuscript both sides colour’.

This forensic examination of the Lamont genealogy in the 1467 MS, combined with study of other sources, produces results which vary from those given in the website. For each line, the pen-and-ink sketch is followed by (amended) transcript, comments, and (amended) translation, not necessarily in that order. The translation principles applied in the website (and here) are as follows: when there is a widely recognised English equivalent of a Gaelic name or word, e.g. John for *Eoin*, it is used; otherwise the Gaelic name is given in its standardised form, i.e. in nominative case, with accents and ‘h’ added as appropriate.

19 

“**genelaigh cloinni ladmainn .i.**” The first five letters of *genelaigh* ‘generations’ are clear. The plural ending *-aigh* is shown by means of an ‘i’ with a stroke above it. That is normal, though later scribes would have added a dot for the ‘h’. Similarly *cloinni*, genitive singular of *clann* ‘children, clan’ is shown by ‘cl’ followed by ‘i’ and a superscript mark serving for a double horizontal stroke = ‘nn’ preceded by a vowel. The principal eccentricity of the line lies in the elongated third minim of ‘m’ in *ladmainn* (we met something rather like it in the MacLeran pedigree).<sup>16</sup> Skene can be forgiven for reading it in 1847 as ‘Ladus . . . .’, since that is what it resembles; ‘u’ can look very like ‘n’ (there are good examples of this in lines 23 and 24). The line-ending *ainn .i.* is perfectly well written but very faded. Translation: “**The genealogy of the Clan Lamont i.e.**”

20 

“**Raiberd mac donnchaidh mhic**” Although there is no doubt about the identity of the names in this line, a couple of letters deserve comment. The Gaelic for ‘Robert’ is usually now *Roibeard* in Ireland and *Raibeart* in Scotland, but variations are, and were, possible. The second letter looks like ‘a’ but could be ‘o’. The last letter of the same name looks like an ‘a’ converted into a ‘t’ or ‘d’. Compare *tormoid* in the MacLeran pedigree (1re8), the last three letters of which look like *dia*.<sup>17</sup> The other name in the line, *donnchaidh*, is mostly well written but faint (Skene could not read it at all in 1847). The contraction for *-aidh* is carelessly done; in later times, at least, it would be a stroke with a dot above it, and that is perhaps what we have here. Translation: “**Robert son of Duncan son of**”

Duncan succeeded his father as chief of the Lamonts between 1353 and 1356, when he is first heard of as baillie of the Steward of Scotland in Kerry (south-western Cowal). This connection stood the Lamonts in good stead when the Stewarts came to the throne in 1371. Duncan’s last appearance is in 1385 when he witnessed a charter in Bute. He died *c.* 1396 and was succeeded by his son Robert Lamont of Inveryne. Robert married Anne, daughter of Donald, Lord of the Isles, in 1397, and died in 1433.<sup>18</sup>

21 *œt f gilla colt f laðmān*

“**eoin mhic gilla colaim mhic ladhmainn**” Again there is no doubt about the identity of the names in this line, but only the middle one is well written. If we did not have other sources for the Lamont pedigree we would probably have read *cein*, not *eoin*. Dubhghall’s contraction for *-aim* in *gilla colaim* is a form of tilde and is quite normal. The last name in the line, *ladhmainn*, is perhaps not as ill-written as appears at first sight, given that all the correct elements are present: ‘lad’ is clear; it can be argued that the following ‘h’ is shown twice, once as a superscript mark above ‘ad’, once as a letter ligatured to ‘d’; the ‘m’ takes the majuscule form usually reserved for *mac* or *mhic* at the start of a line, as in lines 22, 23, 25, 28, 29; above ‘hm’ are the two horizontal strokes that represent ‘nn’ preceded by a vowel. Translation: “**John son of Gille Colaim son of Ladhmann**”

Ladhmann, the clan’s eponym (and, ironically, the only member of the chiefly line to bear a Norse name) lived *c.* 1235–93. It was during his time that a gift of the churches, lands and fishings of Kilmun and Kilfinan in Cowal and Kilmory in Glassary was made to the Cluniac monks of Paisley; 200 years later John Lamont of Lamont attempted, unsuccessfully, to revoke the gift on the grounds that Ladhmann was then a minor. He was known to tradition as *Ladhmann Mór*, and seems to have been knighted by King John Balliol. He appears to have survived at least until 1293, when a royal precept commanded him to do homage to Balliol. He was succeeded by his son Gille Colaim (Malcolm), who sailed to Paisley in 1295 to confirm the grant of Kilfinan to the abbey.<sup>19</sup>

Malcolm’s son Sir John appears as his successor in 1296, when he paid homage to Edward I of England at Berwick. By *c.* 1306 Sir John was on MacDougall of Lorne’s side against Bruce, and if he fought at Bannockburn in 1314 it would have been with the English. Bruce’s great allies in Argyll were the Campbells, and the long slow downfall of the Lamonts at their hands dates from this period. Sir John’s last public appearance was in 1353, when, as ‘John son of Gillekalum McLawmane’, he witnessed a charter for the earl of Menteith and Sir Archibald Campbell of Lochawe.<sup>20</sup>

22 *ai gillbisiol f sorch*

An honest transcription of this line would be *mhic gilbisiol[aim] mhic sorch*. There is, however, no such name as *gilbisiol[aim]*, and Sorcha is a woman’s name, not something we would normally expect to find in a pedigree. As it happens, Ó Cléirigh and MacFirbis have *mhic Gi(o)lla C(h)olaim mhic F(h)e(a)rchair* at this point, and no doubt that is the solution. In 1847 Skene came up with *mc Gilleasp ic Ferchair*, despite not having access to Irish sources, and failing to recognise that this was the Lamont pedigree. *Ferchair* was simply a good guess; objectively, *Gilleasp* is as sound a reading as any, as Máire and I acknowledged when we transcribed this line in our website as ‘mhic gillacolaim [*altered to gillasp(aig?)*] mhic ferchair’.

A glance at *gilla colaim* in the previous line suggests the kind of thing that Máire

and I were alleging: two descenders were added to ‘co’ to turn it into something resembling ‘sp’ (though the actual result is closer to ‘sio’) and part of the concluding tilde was removed. This does not explain, however, why ‘la’ (which is common to both names) should have been turned into ‘bi’; all that can be said for it is that Dubhghall does sometimes write ‘a’ with a long descender – in this pedigree alone, there is a good example in line 24, and a more peculiar one in line 27. Nor does it explain how any reader could have understood the final ‘l-’ as ‘aig’. The only other significance that ‘l-’ (or something like it) could possibly have is as an extra *mhic*, which is why we translated this line in our website as ‘son of Gille Colaim or Archibald son of (?) the son of Fearchar’; or, perhaps, as *Gilleasbaig* written in the ‘Irish’ way, as exemplified by Ó Cléirigh’s *ḡille eḡḡ* and MacFirbis’s *ḡille eḡḡ*, in which the second element is a contraction of Latin *episcopi*.<sup>21</sup>

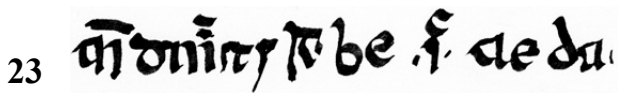
It is almost as difficult to understand what is going on with *Ferchair*. This name occurs twenty-seven other times in the 1467 MS. Twenty times it is written *ferch*, twice it is written *peych* (1va13, 1vbc46), once *ferg* (1vb39), once *feran* (1rb13), once *feran* (1rb33), once *pegan* (1rd44), and once *farck* (1rc4). The last of these provides a model for the present instance, but it is impossible to know what is represented by the last visible stroke in our manuscript. It could be an ‘a’, an ‘h’ or a compendium meaning ‘air’ as at 1vb39. Translation: **“son of Gille Colaim son of Fearchar”**

Fearchar lived *c.* 1200. According to Hector McKechnie, the 1467 MS pedigree gives Ladhmann as ‘son of Farquhar, son of Farquhar’. He adds: “So far it is certainly correct because it is proved by the charter evidence.” This is unfortunate, as it is clear from the genealogical table on the previous page that his first ‘Farquhar’ is a slip for ‘Malcolm’.<sup>22</sup>

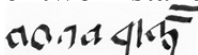
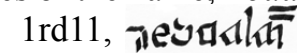
McKechnie says that Fearchar had at least three sons: his successor, Gille Colaim (Malcolm); Duncan, tutor of Gille Colaim’s son Ladhmann; and ‘Sir David, chaplain, son of Ferkar’, who witnessed a confirmation of the grant to Paisley Abbey in 1270. This is highly speculative, however, for as noted in my last article, the 1467 MS speaks of just two sons, Gille Colaim and Somhairle. The family appear to have lived at Glassary; it may be that Gille Colaim’s name survives there in Callum’s Skeir (*Sgeir Chaluim*, the charter rock at Silvercraigs) and, even more revealingly, the adjacent district of Ardcalmisaig, the *àird* (‘promontory’) of *Kalmasvik* (Norse ‘Calum’s Bay’).

It has been plausibly conjectured that Gille Colaim (who was dead by 1235) married a daughter of Somerled (Somhairle), king of the Isles. This would explain why the name Somhairle began to appear in the family, and also why their first-born was called Ladhmann (Somerled’s daughter had an uncle and brother of that name). This theory that Ladhmann was Somerled’s grandson is given force by a seventeenth-century tradition among the Lyons of Glamis that ‘Jon de Lyon, who lived in the reign of K[ing] D[avid] 2d [1329–71] . . . maryed Lymon alias Laumond, great-grandchild to the famous Sumerledus who in the reign of K[ing] Malcolm 4th aspired to the Croune’. For ‘Lymon alias Laumond’ we may read *ní Ladhmann* ‘Ladhmann’s daughter’.<sup>23</sup>



23 

“**mhic duinntsléibe mhic aeda**” The first name is written with reasonable competence. A ‘u’ resembling ‘n’ is common, see comments on line 19. Above the third minim in the word (‘i’) are two strokes for ‘nn’. There appears to be a fourth minim followed by a ‘t’; I cannot explain the fourth minim, but the ‘t’ may represent a pronunciation-spelling. The following ‘l’ and ‘e’ are ligatured together. The ‘e’ is particularly indistinct, and it is impossible to tell if there is an ‘i’ in the gap that follows, due to distressing of the skin at this point. The ‘b’ is clear, the ‘e’ is faint.

In ‘aeda’, the first three letters are clear enough; the fourth is not. It is followed by a blank, which I now take to mean an absence of writing rather than an illegibility of writing. However, the individual who comes in here is described in the Irish genealogies as *Aed[h]* (or *Aod[h]*) *Álainn*, genitive *Aed[h]a* (or *Aod[h]a*) *Álainn* (‘Handsome Hugh’), and irrespective of whether the scribe was trying to write ‘aeda’ or ‘aed .a.’, there is no doubt about the fourth letter. Since the most obvious gap is between the ‘e’ and the ‘d’, and there is no sign of a full stop before the final letter (though there may be part of a letter after it), I think it best to settle for ‘aeda’. In the other two instances of the name, *Aoda* (or *Aeda*) and *Alainn* are both written in full:  1rd11,  1va35. Translation: “**son of Duinnshléibhe son of Aódh**”

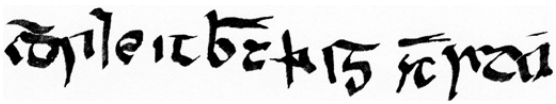
Aodh and his son Duinnshléibhe must have lived in the period 1070–1170. It seems likely that the addition of ‘Buirce’ (see next line) was to distinguish our Aodh Álainn from an earlier one who died in 1047.<sup>24</sup>

24 

“**i buirce mhic anradain**” A relatively well-written line. In ‘buirce’ we have, again, ‘u’ resembling ‘n’. The ‘mhic’ compendium is in the majuscule form with superstroke (and here also ‘c’) usually reserved for the beginning of a line. In ‘anradain’ two things are notable: the descender on the second ‘a’, mentioned in my commentary on line 22, and the ‘d’ that looks a little like an ‘n’ due to the partial absence of the lower curve. Translation: “**i.e. Buirce son of Anradhán**”

Anradhán and his son Aodh Álainn, ‘an Buirce’, will have lived in the period 1020–1120.<sup>25</sup> As compared with the Irish versions of the pedigree, which give (in varying spellings) ‘mhic Aodha Alainn mhic Anrothain mhic Aodha Athlamhain mhic Flaithbheartaigh an Trostain’, there is a name missing at this point – that of Aodh Athlamháin. This draws attention to the curious fact that the final ‘ain’ of the line resembles majuscule ‘m’ with superstroke and could therefore, in theory, be for ‘mhic’. I find it difficult to argue, however, that what I have read as ‘anrad’ is intended for ‘anradain’, or that there is an illegible ‘aeda’ at the end of the line: as I pointed out in my commentary on line 23, 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.


Aodh Athlamháin was king of Aileach in Donegal and died in 1033. According to ‘Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne’ his son Anradhán quarrelled with his elder brother Domhnall *an tÓgdamh* (‘the Young Ox’), ancestor of the O Neills. Anradhán therefore came to Scotland, where he prospered and married the daughter of an unnamed king of Scots.<sup>26</sup>

25 

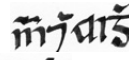
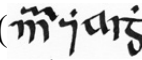
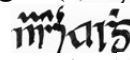
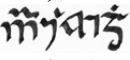

“**mhic fleitbertaig in trosdan**” The second name results from study of other sources, and represents a complete departure from the website reading. Let us start at the beginning however. Dubhghall’s habit of occasionally writing the *mhic* compendium with what looks like a ‘d’ in place of the second two minims may be found in all parts of the manuscript; there are particularly good examples at 1rd53 and in column 1vd. The lack of a cross-stroke on ‘f’ has already been encountered in line 22. The third letter of ‘fleitbertaig’ should be ‘a’, not ‘e’. The rendering of ‘bert’ by means of ‘bt’ with a superstroke is normal. What follows is probably a simple error of anticipation: ‘i’ corrected to ‘a’, followed correctly by ‘ig’.

*Flaithbheartach an Trosdáin* or *Trostáin* (‘Flaithbheartach of the Pilgrim’s Staff’), king of Aileach, is widely recognised as the ancestor of the O Neills, MacSweeneys, Lamonts, MacSorleys of Monydrain, MacLachlans, MacEwens of Otter and MacNeils. In preparing the website text, however, our attention was focussed on the 1467 MS itself, not on other sources. That is why our reading here was ‘mhic *connstantin*’. It is an excellent illustration of the perils of the manuscript. What looks like ‘mhic’ now turns out to be merely ‘i’. What looks like ‘c’ turns out to be ‘t’. What looks like a double superstroke (read above ‘c’ to give ‘conn’) turns out to be single (read above ‘i’ to give ‘in’). The middle letter in the group looks more like an ‘r’ than an ‘s’; it probably *is* an ‘r’, but that means that the scribe has failed to show ‘os’ anywhere. If, on the other hand, we read the middle letter as ‘s’, we can interpret the lines above ‘t’ as an unconventional way of showing ‘ro’. After that, ‘dan’ (or ‘tan’) is plain sailing, the final ‘i’ being missing from other sources as well. The snag with ‘*connstantin*’ was that it assumed the presence of lost text; yet again I invoke the principle that the blank space to the right represents not illegibility but absence of writing. Translation: “**son of Flaithbheartach of the Pilgrim’s Staff**”

Flaithbheartach an Trosdáin (b. 977) died in 1036, three years after his son Aodh Athlamháin, having resigned the kingship in 1030 to make a pilgrimage to Rome – hence his nickname.<sup>27</sup>

26 

“**mhic mu[i]rcerta[i]gh mig[hi]g**” For the first name *Collectanea* has ‘Muredag’, *Celtic Scotland* has ‘Murcertach’, the website has ‘muredhaigh’, and the Irish manuscripts have ‘Muirc(h)e(a)rtaigh’. The superstroke that lies two-thirds of the way along the name is of particular interest: note the use of a long straight superstroke

for *er* in ‘fleitbertaigh’ (line 25). We find other good examples of it in ‘airbertaigh’ 1rc48, 1rd38, 1va25, ‘airbertaigh’ 1va8. Something resembling a stroke can also appear over the ‘et/ed’ compendium in ‘Muiredhaigh’ (  1rb20), but normally it is a lenition mark or dot (  1rb51,  1rc47,  1rd35). In one case ‘Muiredhaigh’ is written quite differently (  1vd54).

If we assume that the sixth minim in the name is the descender of ‘r’, and that the next mark is the other part of the same letter, the following blank will have contained ‘c’ for ‘mu[i]rcerta[i]gh’ or ‘e’ for ‘mu[i]redha[i]gh’. It is impossible to determine whether the blank, the compendium and the next letter should be read as ‘[c]ert’ or ‘[e]dh’. The final ‘ag’ seems clear enough, and the lenition-mark over the ‘g’ is pretty substantial. In strictly palaeographic terms, then, we have a dead heat between ‘mu[i]rcerta[i]gh’ and ‘mu[i]redha[i]gh’, but Irish manuscripts are unanimous for ‘Muirc(h)e(a)rtaigh’, and that must be the determining factor.

It is clear that there is something else in the line. In 1847 Skene thought he saw ‘ic’. In 1880 he said nothing. In 2009, assuming that it was an adjective, Máire and I placed ‘---?---’ before ‘Muireadhach’, because although generally in Gaelic an adjective will follow a noun, in English it will precede it. In this case, without other evidence, it is not possible to guess from the semi-legible matter what the word or name might be. Ó Cléirigh and MacFirbis *do* provide other evidence, however, namely the adjective *M(h)idhigh* (‘of Meath’), and we have to ask: “Does it fit the palaeography?”

The answer is yes, pretty well. My sketch shows the remains of ‘m’, followed by something like ‘ig’, then a gap, then ‘g’. (In the manuscript this final ‘g’ is little more than a ghost.) As the gap is far too large to have contained only ‘i’, it must have contained ‘hi’. This gives us ‘mig[hi]g’, an acceptable spelling. Translation: **“son of Muircheartach of Meath”**

Muircheartach of Meath was killed in battle in 977, three years before the death of his father.<sup>28</sup>



27 

It is difficult not to believe that this line has been interfered with, and I cannot begin my comments with any definitive transcript. In 1847 Skene read ‘ic Domnaill ic Jamar. a. r.’, in 1880 he restricted himself to ‘mic Domnaill’, and in 2009 Máire and I thought we could see ‘mhic domnaill mhic gillacrist’, yet the Irish manuscripts here have ‘mhic Domhnaill Arda Macha’. (The spelling of ‘Domhnaill’ varies, but that of ‘Arda Macha’ does not.)

Let us get the first name out of the way first. There is no doubt about the reading ‘Domnaill’: the long descender on ‘a’ is odd, but not unprecedented. See commentary on line 22.

The above sketch of the line was prepared objectively, certainly in the belief that what followed ‘Domnaill’ was the ‘mhic’ compendium, but otherwise uninfluenced by any particular views. The final ‘r’ comes across particularly strongly: it was read by Skene in 1847 and by Máire and myself in 2009. I now find that it is

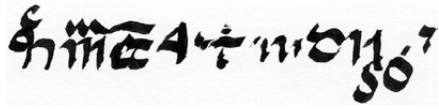
possible to look again at the colour photograph of the text in the website and read *ardamhachad*, thus: 

The writing of initial ‘ar’ as  is normal and can be found for example in  ‘Artuir’ (1rb35). What is odd here is the thickness of the vertical line and of the curve that sits on top of it looking very much like the lower half of a ‘c’. It is as if ‘ar’ has been doctored to turn it into ‘mhic’. The following letter, ‘d’, is so faint that I picked it up in my first sketch as resembling an ‘a’, and the one after that, which really *is* an ‘a’ (I think), appears quite confidently in that sketch as an ‘n’. The ‘m’ that follows consists, rather like the majuscule ‘m’ in lines 22, 23, 24, 28 and 29, of two short angular strokes followed by two minims with something hovering above – here I think a lenition-mark rather than a superstroke. The two minims and the lenition-mark, if understood as ‘ll’ with part of each stroke missing, provide the first semblance of justification for reading ‘gilla’ at this point. That the next two letters are ‘ac’ is not disputed, but the dot on the ‘c’ is uncertain. According to the ‘gillacrist’ theory, what follows ‘c’ is ‘r’ followed by a grand loop signifying ‘ist’; according to the ‘ardamhachad’ theory, to which I now subscribe, it is ‘a’ with a long descender (much better formed than the one in ‘Domnaill’) followed by ‘d’.

The form ‘ardamhachad[h]’ for *Ard Macha* is of great interest. It cannot be explained in terms of Irish dialects.<sup>29</sup> It can, however, be explained in terms of Scottish ones, notably nowadays that of South Uist, in which *-dh* is routinely added to the genitive singular of feminine nouns: *doras na sgoileadh*, for example, for *doras na sgoile* ‘the school door’. It has been recognised for some time that the scribe, Dubhghall Albanach mac mhic Cathail, had professional and personal connections with the Clanranald family. Here now, it seems, is evidence that he was a native of their territory. It lends extra force to his description at 1vc7–8 of the son of Aengus Riabhach, chief of Clanranald, as *aenghus og agarobusa fen am aelanach og* ‘young Angus whom I myself served as a young student’.<sup>30</sup>

In this line, then, I sense the presence of an interloper, but an innocent one, who thought that there was something wrong with “**mhic domnaill ardamhachad**”, and sought to change it to “**mhic domnaill mhic damhachad**”. There is, I hasten to add, no such name as ‘Damhachad’. Translation: “**son of Donald of Armagh**”

Domhnall of Armagh, called by the Annals of Ulster ‘over-king of Ireland’, died in 980.<sup>31</sup>

28 

The *Collectanea* and website renderings of this line confirm the evidence of this sketch: very little is legible except the initial ‘mhic’, the ‘m’ that follows it, the ‘ar/air/ur/uir’ compendium above the ‘m’, and the ‘d’ towards the end of the line. As the following analysis shows, when we take the evidence of the Irish manuscripts into account, even the ‘d’ falls away, just as the ‘r’ fell away in line 27.

The problem with reading either ‘martain’ or ‘murchaidh’ for the first name is that there is something between ‘mar/mur’ and ‘t/c’. In our website we suggested solving this problem by making it a svarabhaktic ‘a’: ‘murachaidh’. The main

problem with this is that Dubhghall's way of writing this common name is remarkably consistent: he makes it *m̃ch* nine times, *munch* three times, and writes it in full *muncad* once (1rd21). In any case, Ó Cléirigh's and MacFirbis's 'Muirc(h)e(a)rtaigh' solves the problem. As shown above (commentary on line 26), 'cert' would be written 'ct' with a superstroke, and that must be what we have here. The illegible letter is 'c', and Skene's identification of the following one as 't' in 1847 proves to be correct.

Armed with this knowledge, it is possible to work out how the name ends. In the website we identified 'g' in the middle of the line. In line 26 the last syllable of 'Muircertaigh' was written not as an abbreviation but as 'agh'. Here it is now possible to make out *at̃* 'aigh'.

The secure identification of the first name in the line as 'muircertaigh' raises the likelihood that the rest of the line corresponds similarly with the Irish evidence, and also shows us where this other matter begins. Theoretically there are four possible types of conclusion: this other matter may be identical to that in the Irish manuscripts; it may be a variant of it; it may be identified as something completely different, e.g. the 'dub' of the website; or it may be deemed illegible.

The Ó Cléirigh/MacFirbis reading is *na cCochall cCroicend* or *cCroiceann* 'of the Leather Cloaks', a sobriquet known to many Scottish Gaelic speakers today from the tale 'Gille nan Cochall Craicinn'.<sup>32</sup> It is difficult to believe that there is no connection between Muirheartach and the tale. The phrase is written variously as *na ccoéull cc̃ic̃h̃* or *naccocall.ē* or *na.c.ē* by Ó Cléirigh and as *na ccoáll ccroic̃h̃* by MacFirbis.<sup>33</sup> If it is present here, it will be in abbreviated form. It is certainly possible to read what lies between 'aigh' and the alleged 'd' as 'na': that is, two minims followed by a curved stroke, giving *na*. Equally, the two minims that follow the alleged 'd' certainly look much more like 'll' than 'u' (thus 'dub' drops out of the reckoning). On the other hand if the alleged 'd' is really 'd', there is no possibility of reading *na cCochall cCroicend* or anything representing it. However, there is more to this 'd', both beside it and above it, than first meets the eye. There appear to be not one but four circles, two of which are incomplete: *ca*. The two lower ones could be 'cc', the two upper ones could be 'ca'. It is an odd way to write 'ccoc[h]all', but adheres to the rule that a consonant written superscript signifies that consonant preceded by a vowel.

Three other elements are visible. The first is a strange S-shape that connects the bottom of the second 'l' with the top of 'b' in the line underneath, like a little snake in a game of snakes and ladders. It is the 'er' of Skene's *Collectanea* reading of line 29, 'mc Neillgusa Aberice', and it certainly bears some resemblance to the *er*-compendium as met in, for example, *f̃er̃m̃* 'Fercair'. The second is a subscript circle which is in the right place to be the loop of a 'g'. The third is what looks like the top half of an 'l'; I do not think it is a 'b' as there is no trace of a loop. There is room for more – line 28 is short compared to lines 27 and 29 – but I think that that is all there is, or all that survives.

I would rationalise these last three marks as follows. The purpose of initial 'c' in 'cCochall' and 'cCroicend' is to show that, as a mark of the genitive plural, 'C' has

taken the sound ‘G’ (in fact in Early Modern and Modern Irish the phrase would be written *na gCochall gCraiceann*). Coming to ‘ll’ followed by a sound written ‘c’ but pronounced ‘g’, Dubhghall mistakenly anticipated the following line and wrote ‘glunduib’, or part of it. When he realised his error he took a little piece of cloth and erased as much of it as was still wet, i.e. back to the lower half of ‘l’. Then, after writing ‘glunduib’ in the right place below, he drew the line connecting it with ‘ccoc[h]allgl’ as if to say: “Sorry, I mixed these up.”

By this argument, Dubhghall meant us to read ***mhic muircertaigh na ccoc[h]all gcroicend***. Translation: “**son of Muirheartach of the leather cloaks**”

Muirheartach’s many exploits between 921 and 943 are described in the Annals of Ulster, ending with this magnificent note of his death in the latter year:

Muirchertach m. Neill, .i. Muirchertach na Cochall Craicinn, ri Ailigh 7 Echioir iarthair beatha, do marbad do ghentibh prima feria, .iiii. Kl. Martai, .i. la Blacair m. Gofraid, ri Gall, ic Glais Liathain hi taibh Cluana Cain Fer Ros.

(“Muirchertach son of Niall, i.e. Muirchertach of the Leather Cloaks, king of Ailech and the Hector of the western world, was killed by the heathens, i.e. by Blacair son of Gothfrith, king of the foreigners, at Glas Liatháin beside Cluain Chaín, in Fir Rois, on the first feria, fourth of the Kalends of March [26 Feb.]”)<sup>34</sup>

## 29 *mhic neill gllunduib*

“***mhic neill gllunduib ite***” The guiding factor in interpreting this line is the presence of Niall Glúndubh in the Irish manuscripts at this point, along with the clarity of ‘g’ and ‘b’, which certainly seem to indicate the first and last letters of the epithet. Yet, as always, there are some strange ambiguities.

First of all we may firmly reject Skene’s 1847 reading ‘Neillgusa’. The genitive of the name Niallgusa is not Neillgusa but Niallgusa (as at 1vd15), and there is no trace of an ‘s’ or an *us*-compendium, at least not in the right place. We can say with confidence that the line begins ‘mhic neill’ (although the superstroke on ‘mhic’ is remarkably long).

The two or three letters following ‘g’ seem to have fallen victim to distressing of the skin, compounded by the blue chemical applied by Skene. The ill-prepared vellum which is so typical of Gaelic manuscripts is subject to distortion, with the result that tiny white cracks, running through the vellum like veins, have appeared in Skene’s reagent where the surface is slightly convex. If they are close together there is some loss of text. As my sketch shows, there *appear* to be three diagonal minims followed by a short vertical one. I am satisfied that the last two of these four minims, taken together, form a ‘d’. I believe I can also distinguish the ghost of an ‘l’ immediately after the ‘g’, and of a horizontal stroke over the first two of the four minims, giving ‘un’. So far, then, we have ‘glund’. Following ‘d’ there is a space, then two minims, then ‘b’. I think the space was formerly occupied by another minim (it is a little more than a ghost), and that we therefore have ‘uib’. In our website we read ‘bh’; this was an attempt to make sense of the ‘S’ above the ‘b’, and is now superseded by my remarks on line 28.

That is still not all. The last three letters are clear: ‘ite’. There is no possibility that they are a form of ‘etc.’ In Gaelic this would be 7c – precisely what Ó Cléirigh has here, but I cannot see how it could be turned into ‘ite’. It could, however, represent the first appearance of *Ithe*, a relatively modern spelling of the genitive case of Í ‘Iona’.<sup>35</sup> I find it very curious that it follows a sequence of letters which could so easily be read as *ab* ‘abbot’, due to the virtual disappearance of the third minim before ‘b’. By adding ‘ite’ and scratching away a letter or two in the middle of the line, is it possible that someone has deliberately turned ‘son of Niall Glúndubh’ into ‘son of Niall G—, Abbot of Iona’?

This theory can be tested non-palaeographically and non-genealogically. Which of these two formulations stands up better in the light of other known historical facts – ‘son of Niall Glúndubh of Iona’ or ‘son of Niall G—, abbot of Iona’? That is to say, was Niall Glúndubh connected with Iona? Was there an abbot of Iona called Niall Gorm, Niall Glas or the like?

Niall Glúndubh (‘Black-Knee’), king of the northern Uí Néill and eponym of the O Neills, became high king of Ireland in 916. His father was Áedh Finnliath, king of Aileach, and his mother, importantly for us, was Mael Muire, daughter of Cinaeth mac Alpin, the king of Dalriada who also became king of the Picts and thus first king of Scotland. Cinaeth it was who, under the pressure of repeated Norse attacks, moved the relics of the church from Iona to Dunkeld. When the Norsemen under Sitric occupied Dublin in 919, Niall gathered the levies of Ulster, Meath and Connacht and marched on the town. Sitric’s forces met him at Cell mo Shamoc (now Islandbridge), a ford on the Liffey west of Dublin. There Niall met a heroic death and the Irish were defeated.<sup>36</sup> Clearly he was not buried in Iona, but his mother’s identity connects him with the island and its abbey. As if to prove the point, his name was remembered by the Gael of Scotland (as was that of Murchadh son of Brian Boru, who died in identical circumstances in 1014). The mether or four-sided cup at Dunvegan, made in 1493 (as the inscription shows) and apparently gifted by the O Neills to Rory Mor MacLeod a century later, was believed to have belonged to Niall Glúndubh, and a farrago of stories developed around it, in which Niall Glúndubh was the name of the Skyeman or Harrisman who acquired the cup from the fairies.<sup>37</sup>

Niall Glúndubh’s wife Gormlaith was also well known to tradition. There is a poem addressed to her, as yet unpublished, in the Book of the Dean of Lismore.<sup>38</sup>

Regarding ‘Niall Gorm’ or ‘Niall Glas’, there was no abbot of Iona called Niall during the period of Iona’s ascendancy, 565–891, when the title appears to have been held in regular and undisputed succession. In 891, however, the leadership of Calum Cille’s monastic *familia* was separated from that of the community in Iona, and from then on the title *ab Iae Coluim Cille* was frequently bestowed on churchmen resident in Armagh or Kells. For example, at his death in 927 Máel Brigte mac Tornáin, abbot of Armagh since 888, was described as *abb Aird Macha 7 ab Iae Coluim Cille*; on the other hand Cáencomhrac (d. 947) served as abbot of Iona during the time when Robartach (d. 954) held office as ‘successor of Colum Cille and Adomnán’.<sup>39</sup> Even as early as Niall Glúndubh’s lifetime, then, there were periods during which Iona had no resident abbot, and although no Niall appears *de*

*lege* as abbot of Iona, it is possible that a person of that name held the position *de facto*. This is decidedly tenuous however, and in the absence of other evidence I think we must accept the reading *mhic neill g[lun]duib ite* as genuine. Translation: **“son of Niall Black-Knee of Iona”**

The main conclusion to be drawn is that for this most difficult part of the manuscript, the attempt made in the website to read the text without consulting other sources has been a failure. Where they exist, other sources must be tested against the fragments of legible text. If this is done methodically and painstakingly, the 1467 MS can retain its authority as an independent witness. The same applies to nos. 20 and 22 (earls of Lennox, MacMillans). Lessons learned can then be applied to contiguous pedigrees for which no other sources exist, notably nos. 8–10, 18, 23 (Camerons, MacEwens, ?MacLavertys, MacEacherns, Mac Gabharain Earca). Finally, among points noted here are the continued presence of an interpolator (lines 22, 27, 29), the omission of a step in the pedigree (line 24), the evidence for the scribe’s dialect (line 27), and the addition of an Iona dimension (line 29).

Ronald Black

#### NOTES

- 1 Hector McKechnie, *The Lamont Clan 1235–1935: Seven Centuries of Clan History from Record Evidence* (Edinburgh, 1938), p. 75.
- 2 The Iona Club, *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* (Edinburgh, 1847), pp. 358–59.
- 3 The ‘three following’ in *Celtic Scotland* are the MacLachlans (1va28–51), the MacSorleys of Monydrain (1vb11–15) and the MacEwens of Otter (1rd8–12). For transcripts of Irish manuscripts Skene depended on Eugene O’Curry and other Dublin scholars. Amongst Skene’s papers in NLS Adv. MS 73.1.16 (at ff. 71–72) is a set of transcripts headed: “Mac Firbis’ Genealogies. R. I. Academy. Page 125.” This presumably means that they were taken from RIA MS 582 (C vi 2), a copy of MacFirbis’s text made in 1715–16 by James Maguire. They include a carelessly-copied version of the Lamont pedigree.
- 4 William F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1876–80), vol. 3, pp. 472–73.
- 5 John (b. 1437), chief of the Lamonts 1448–88, for whom see McKechnie, *Lamont Clan*, pp. 71, 72–80.
- 6 Duncan, first mentioned in 1431, chief of the Lamonts to 1448, see McKechnie, *Lamont Clan*, pp. 67–72.
- 7 Celestin, who witnessed a charter at Dunoon in 1402 but predeceased his father, see McKechnie, *Lamont Clan*, pp. 64–65, 67, 71.
- 8 This pedigree is also printed in Rev. Paul Walsh, *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne: An Account of the Mac Sweeney Families in Ireland, with Pedigrees* (Dublin, 1920), p. 107.
- 9 i.e. ‘from whom is Meg Buirrce’.
- 10 The UCD manuscript is among those which can now be viewed on ISOS (Irish Script on Screen, [www.isos.dias.ie](http://www.isos.dias.ie)).
- 11 This is Duinn Slebbe’s surname, O Neill.
- 12 i.e. ‘who was called Buirrce’.
- 13 i.e. ‘his Roman staff’.



- 14 W. D. H. Sellar, 'Family Origins in Cowal and Knapdale', *Scottish Studies*, vol. 15, part 1 (1971), pp. 21–37: 24–25, citing A. R. Wagner, *English Genealogy* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 16–29.
- 15 Ronald Black, 'The MacLerans', *WHN&Q*, ser. 3, no. 18 (Jan. 2012), pp. 3–17: 16.
- 16 Black, 'The MacLerans', p. 11.
- 17 Black, 'The MacLerans', p. 12.
- 18 McKechnie, *Lamont Clan*, pp. 57, 60–66, 71.
- 19 McKechnie, *Lamont Clan*, pp. 41–45, 48, 52–58, 75–76.
- 20 McKechnie, *Lamont Clan*, pp. 57–60.
- 21 Copied from RIA MS 790, p. 33.1, and UCD Add. Ir. ms 14, p. 42.1.
- 22 McKechnie, *Lamont Clan*, pp. 45, 46.
- 23 McKechnie, *Lamont Clan*, pp. 42–45, 48.
- 24 Sellar, 'Family Origins', p. 25.
- 25 For 'Buirce' see Ronald Black, '1467 MS: MacSorleys of Monydrain', *WHN&Q*, ser. 3, no. 19.
- 26 Walsh, *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne*, pp. 2–5; Sellar, 'Family Origins', p. 24.
- 27 Sellar, 'Family Origins', p. 24; Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill, eds, *The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)*, part 1 (Dublin, 1983), pp. 412–13, 466–67, 472–73, 474–75.
- 28 Sellar, 'Family Origins', p. 26; Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill, *The Annals of Ulster*, pp. 412–13.
- 29 I am grateful to Professor Colm Ó Baoill, himself a native of Armagh, for discussing this point with me.
- 30 Colm Ó Baoill, 'Scotticisms in a Manuscript of 1467', *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, vol. 15 (1988), pp. 122–39: 123; Martin MacGregor, 'Genealogies of the Clans: Contributions to the Study of MS 1467', *Innes Review*, vol. 51, part 2 (2000), pp. 131–46: 135, 142, note 74.
- 31 Sellar, 'Family Origins', p. 24; Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill, *The Annals of Ulster*, pp. 414–15.
- 32 Alan Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales and Mediaeval Romances* (Dublin, 1969), p. 124.
- 33 Copied from RIA MS 790, pp. 19.1, 49.2, 53.1, and UCD Add. Ir. ms 14, p. 114.2.
- 34 Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill, *The Annals of Ulster*, pp. 390–91.
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- 37 Alexander Mackenzie, 'Mairi Nighean Alastair, Rory Mor's Cup and Horn, and Unpublished Macleod Traditions', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. 22 (1897–98), pp. 43–67: 49–53; McKechnie, *Lamont Clan*, pp. 46–47; I. F. Grant, *The MacLeods* (London, 1959), pp. 185, 261–63; Otta F. Swire, *Skye: The Island and its Legends* (2nd edn, London, 1961), pp. 117–18, 124–26, 190; Ronald Black, ed., *The Gaelic Otherworld: John Gregorson Campbell's Superstitions of the Highlands & Islands of Scotland and Witchcraft & Second Sight in the Highlands & Islands* (Edinburgh, 2005), pp. 315–16.
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