"1467 мs: The MacEwens", published in the *West Highland Notes & Queries*, Ser. 3, no. 24, Jan 2014, pp. 15–22

1467 MS: The MacEwens of Otter

The estate of Otter or Ottir in Cowal, which took its name from the *oitir* or sandbank that juts out more than halfway across Loch Fyne, extended from the burn of Kilfinan to the burn of Largiemore. It was anciently the province of a family of MacEwens. They were clearly distinguished from others of the name in Argyll and Perthshire by their rights of barony, which presumably means that they held their lands directly of the king, and ruled their own people in their own courts. Vestiges of two monuments bear their name – a castle at Ardghaddan called Caisteal Mhic Eoghain, and a mound close to Otter House called Dùn Mhic Eoghain. The latter may safely be assumed to be the original site of their baron courts.¹

The '1467 MS' (NLS Adv. MS 72.1.1, ff. 1–9) takes its name from a colophon at f. 7r in which the scribe, Dubhghall Albanach, tells us that he wrote 'The Passion of Christ' in Ireland in that year. His genealogies on f. 1 do not extend to that date, but describe the clans as they were c. 1400, presumably because he was not the original author. This is fortunate for the memory of the MacEwens, who appear to have been 'broken' by 1467. We last hear of them in the 1430s, when their chief is Suibhne, not mentioned in the manuscript. By a charter of 1431, as *Sunicus* or *Suffinus Eugenii*, lord of Oittyr, he grants to Duncan the son of Alexander (*Doncano Alexandri*), his son Duncan, and all his other heirs, his lands of Stroynemayte and Barlaggan in the lordship of Oittyr, for a yearly payment of four shillings Scots. Taking *Eugenii* to mean MacEwen, Suibhne may well be a son of Walter, the first name in our pedigree. The identity of *Doncanus Alexandri* is unknown, but the place of signing (Inverchaolain, deep in Lamont territory) may be a clue.²

Almost immediately, the Campbells appear at the gates. In March 1432 Suibhne resigns his barony of Ottirinwerane (*Oitir an Bharain* 'the Baron's Otter') to King James I, who grants it to him afresh. By the terms of the new charter, if Suibhne's male line fails, the lands are to go to Gilleaspaig (Celestine, Archibald), son and heir of Duncan Campbell of Lochow. To obtain this clause, Gilleaspaig gives Suibhne sixty marks in cash and twenty-five cows. Should Suibhne produce a lawful heir the gift must be repaid, either as it was or in the form of Killala and the two Lerags at an annual rent of half a mark. Should Suibhne's heir die before he has another, he must give Gilleaspaig first offer of the land, if leased.³

So Gilleaspaig holds all the cards; the MacEwens disappear from Otter, but it is possible that the Ewings of Bernice on Loch Eck, who can be traced back to the early seventeenth century, are an offshoot. In 1493 James IV confirms the lands of Ottir, then yielding thirty marks annually, to Archibald earl of Argyll as heir to his father Colin, Gilleaspaig's nephew.⁴

The MacEwen pedigree is no. 9 in the 1467 MS. It lies at f. 1rd8–12, near the upper right-hand corner of the recto, a difficult part of the manuscript, where W. F. Skene applied chemical reagents to the vellum. It falls between the genealogies of the Camerons and of the MacLavertys (formerly believed to be the MacLarens). There is a certain north–south logic in that, but it may be coincidental, as there is no other discernible pattern to this part of the text, and the MacEwens belong more naturally with their neighbours and kinsfolk

the Lamonts, MacLachlans and MacSorleys (nos. 21, 27, 29), as we will see. Perhaps the most obvious physical feature of the MacEwen text is the apparent gap right in the middle (in line 10); I am delighted to report that the aptly-named 'spectral' images supplied by the manuscript's owners, the National Library of Scotland, have revealed its contents.⁵

As usual, I begin by citing the text as given by Skene in *Collectanea* (1839), then as given by Skene in *Celtic Scotland* (1880), then as given by my wife Máire and myself in our website (2009), rearranging the nineteenth-century versions to make them correspond to the lines of the original.

(1) Collectanea, with Skene's footnote:

- 8 Genelach ic Eogan na hoitreac* anso.—
- 9 Baltuir ic Eoin ic Eogain ic Gillaesp
- 10 ic Sabarain ic Duin
- 11 sleibe ic Dedaalain renebarta
- 12 buirree ic Anradan .i. F. Baedeinac.---
- 8 The Genealogy of Macewen of Otter.*-
- 9 Walter son of John son of Ewen son of Gillespic
- 10 son of Savarin son of Dun
- 11 sleve son of Dedalan called
- 12 the clumsy, son of Henry, Lord of Badenoch.----
- * "On a rocky point on the coast of Lochfine, about a mile below the church of Kilfinan, is to be seen the vestige of a building called Caisteal mhic Eoghuin or McEwen's castle. This *McEwen* was the chief of a clan and proprietor of *Otter*."—*Stat. Acct. vol.* 14, *p.* 259. From the genealogy, this tribe seems to have been a branch of the clan Lauchlan.⁶

(2) Celtic Scotland, with my comment:

- 8 GENELACH MHIC EOGAIN NA HOITREAC ANNSO
- 9 Baltuir mac Eoin mic Eogain mic Gillaespic
- 10 mic mic mic Saibairan mic Duin
- 11 sleibe mic Aeda Alain renabarta
- 12 Buirche mic Anradan mic Flathbertaigh
- 8 GENEALOGY OF MACEWEN OF OTTER HERE.
- 9 Walter son of John son of Ewen son of Gillespic
- 10 son of son of son of Saveran son of Dun
- 11 slebhe son of Aeda Alain called
- 12 Buirche son of Anradan son of Flaherty.⁷

In note 26 on p. 472 Skene gives the source of this and the preceding three genealogies in his book – Lamonts, MacLachlans and MacSorleys – as 'the MS. 1467 and MacFirbis'. This is misleading, as the MacEwens are *not* given by MacFirbis.⁸ The purpose of Skene's italics in his translation of lines 11–12 seems to be to draw our attention to steps in the pedigree which are shared by the four kindreds. These steps, in so far as they occur, are

italicised in the translations of the other three pedigrees as well. Skene is clearly seeking to justify his heading at p. 472: "CLANS supposed to be descended from the Hy NEILL or race of Niall Naoi Giallach, King of Ireland, through Niall Glundubh, head of the northern Hy Neill and King of Ireland, slain 917." The Lamont pedigree makes 'Flaherty' the great-great-grandson of Niall Glundubh.

(3) www.1467manuscript.co.uk, with our footnotes (unclear or illegible text shown in the website in red, here in italic):

- 8 genelach mhic eoghain na hoitreach annso
- 9 baltar mac eoin mhic eogain mhic gillaeispaig
- 10 mhic crisdin mhic mhic saibara mhic* duinn
- 11 sleibe** mhic aoda alainn r*ena*bartha
- 12 an buir*rce mhic anra*dan mhic flai*t*ber*t*ac***
- * This could be 'in' but then it's hard to see where we get 'mhic d(uinn)' to come before 'sleibe'.
- ** An alternative reading of this passage is 'mhic [in] mhicsa barain [duinn]sleibe' i.e. 'son of this son of baron Duinnshléibhe'.
- *** It looks as if a later hand has interfered with Dubhghall's text here. This name should be in the genitive case.
 - 8 The genealogy of MacEwen of Otter here:
 - 9 Walter son of John son of Eoghan son of Archibald(?)
 - 10 son of Cristin(?) son of . . . ? . . . son of Sa[i]bara son of Duinn
 - 11 shléibhe son of handsome Aodh who is called
 - 12 the Buirree son of Anradhán son of Flaithbheartach.

It is worth saying straight away that 'Henry, Lord of Badenoch' may be dismissed for ever. By adopting the grammatically correct reading *Flathbertaigh* in line 12, *Celtic Scotland* conceals the justification for Skene's earlier reading *Baedeinac*. The website reveals it as *flaitbertac*. This is as good an illustration as any of the difficulty of the manuscript.

I now proceed to my usual line-by-line analysis with pen-and-ink sketches. As always, square brackets indicate illegible or indistinct text, italics indicate expanded contractions (the less obvious ones, at least).

8 उल्ही-feosni nahormanianipo

"genelach mhic eoghain na hoitreach annso" Except that the first letter is hard to see, there are no problems at all in this line. *Oitreach* is the genitive singular of *oitir*. Interpretation: "The genealogy of MacEwen of Otter here"

9 balt fon feozar fallaen

"baltar mac e[a]in mhic eogain mhic gillae[p]sp*aig*" There are three difficulties in this line, none of them insuperable.

At first glance *baltar* actually looks like *bale*, but there is no such name. There are four other occurrences of *Baltar* in the manuscript, all in the genitive form *Baltair* and all, curiously, in this same corner: **balt** (1rd15, MacLavertys), **baltap** (1rd18, MacLavertys), **baltap** (1re10, MacLerans), **baltap** (1re12, Earls of Lennox). Clearly what we have here is *balt*- with superscript -*ar* as at 1rd15.

The second name looks more like *eain* than *eoin*. This is a perfectly acceptable vernacular spelling (it later became *Iain*). I have checked all the instances of 'John' in the manuscript. There are forty-one, excluding the present one. Of these, thirty-five are unambiguously *eoin*. Of the rest, one is abbreviated simply to *e*, another is clearly *eain*; both are in the MacLean pedigree.⁹ The other four are **FAT** (1rd13, MacLavertys), **EFT** (1re21, Lamonts), **EFT** (1va29, MacLachlans) and **EFT** (1vbc56, Clanranald). Once again, the characters bearing the greatest similarity to ours turn out to be in our corner of the manuscript.

The fourth name clearly begins *gilla*, but the rest of it is difficult to read. There is tempting historical evidence – a Gilbert MacEwan is mentioned among the barons of Argyll in 1292,¹⁰ and if we assume that Walter lived *c*. 1400, this *gilla* person was certainly alive *c*. 1292. On the other hand Skene and the website are in agreement here: *Gillaesp*, *Gillaespic*, *gillaeispaig*, Gillespic, Archibald, all the same name. I am not minded to depart from this consensus, because in the thirteenth century 'Gilbert' is as likely to represent *Gilla Easpaig* as anything else. The closest our manuscript comes to 'Gilbert' is *gallbairt* (1rc46, MacKays of Ugadale), confused by *gallbrait* (1rc20, Macintoshes), where it must be for *Gille Brátha*, the eponym of the MacGillivrays. But neither of these is in question here.

There are eleven other instances of the name *Gille Easpaig* in the manuscript. The first element is written \mathfrak{F} four times, \mathfrak{Fill} four times, and \mathfrak{Fill} , \mathfrak{Fill} or \mathfrak{Fill} once each. The second element is written basically \mathfrak{Fill} seven times and \mathfrak{Fill} , \mathfrak{Fill} or \mathfrak{Fill} once each. The second element is written basically \mathfrak{Fill} seven times and \mathfrak{Fill} four times. Why then do we appear to have three descenders rather than two, and what look like two superscript strokes? It looks as if the last letter is p, the second-last is s, and the third-last is either a redundant i (as in the website), a redundant s, an a ligatured to the preceding e, or a p. Perhaps p is the most likely, given the 'Irish' way of writing the name with eps rather than esp, referring back to Latin episcopi, old Gaelic epscop.¹¹ Of the two superscript strokes, the lower is actually the head of the s, while the upper, as we have seen, is a normal part of the *Easpaig* compendium. In one instance (\mathfrak{Fill} , 1vb12, MacSorleys) the order is inverted, but the 'equals-sign' effect is the same; in another (\mathfrak{exi} , \mathfrak{Fill} , $\mathfrak{Ird41}$, Campbells) the two strokes seem to have taken on a ghostly existence of their own, floating loose above the middle of the name. Interpretation: "Walter son of John son of Eoghan son of Archibald"

10 สุเคอสิ.เ ออีก โรงออสอีก

This is a difficult line, and it will be best to leave the transcript till later.

The first thing to say is that the second letter in the line, c apparently, is not likely to be part of *mhic*. M at the start of a line, surmounted (but not followed) by c or a stroke, means *mhic* in its own right.

The four characters following M are a puzzle. They look as if they have been interfered

with. The first looks like c, as I have said. The second looks like r with a smudge in the middle and a little serif instead of a descender. That means it could be n or a. The third looks like b, or possibly a raised and malformed g. The fourth looks like n (or a) surmounted by t. Wisely, Skene declined the challenge, both in 1839 and in 1880. Unwisely, Máire and I rose to it, and suggested *Crisdin* (*Crisdin* or *Cristin*, later *Crisdean* or *Cristean*, a derivative of *Crisd* or *Crist* 'Christ'). This will have been on the basis that the first two characters certainly resemble Cr, the third could be read as an ascender (or a superstroke) with a d, while the fourth, as I have said, resembles n with superscript t. This somewhat weird collection of letters might give *Crisdn*(a)*it* or the like, but as there is no such name, Máire and I clearly had something more like *Crisdtin* in mind.

I have now carried out a trawl through the manuscript for Crisdin. It occurs four times, as ourse (1rd22, MacKenzies), on (1rd26, Mathesons), on and on (both 1rd36, Gillanders). These forms do not resemble ours and are all northern (from one county, in fact, Ross-shire). I therefore think the 'Crisdin' hypothesis must be abandoned. In its place I would prefer one based on the falsified look of the characters. I do not think it can be *suibne*, as there is no resemblance between c and s. One obvious candidate does, however, present itself: eoghain. My argument is both palaeographic and genealogical, as follows. The first letter is not c but e: we have met this confusion before.¹² The second is a: eoghain is spelt eaghain at 1va21, which can easily be explained by the Argyll pronunciation of the name.¹³ The third is g. The fourth is a surmounted by an n-stroke, to which it is joined. The *i* is missing, but the use of nominative instead of genitive case may be a symptom of fabrication, see line 12. The eponym of the MacEwens was of course Eoghan. We met a man of this name in line 9, but he was (as I will show) fifth in descent from the common ancestor of the tribes of lower Cowal, Aodh Álainn. The eponyms of the MacLachlans and MacSorleys were third, and that of the Lamonts fourth, in descent from Aodh Álainn. This, it seems to me, is the matter at issue. Whoever wished us to read Eoghan wanted the MacEwens to be as good as the MacLachlans and MacSorleys, not worse than the Lamonts.

Where the second name should have been, Skene, Máire and myself could only see a blank. Thanks to spectral imaging, it is now possible to say that it is *Donnchaidh*. Whoever falsified the first name must have rubbed out the second.

The third name presents a very different challenge, one of ungrounded confidence. In 1839 Skene made it *Sabarain* and translated it 'Savarin'. In 1880 he made it *Saibairan* and translated it 'Saveran'. This conveys the impression that Skene knew something, and Saibaran has become accepted as the forefather of the MacEwens of Otter, appearing as such in this journal as recently as last year.¹⁴ It could be a derivative of *saidbir, saidhbhir* 'rich' – *saidbirín, saidhbhirean* 'rich man'; unfortunately there is no such word or name. Equally, it could be derived from a saint's name such as Severus, Severinus or Severianus; unfortunately, while such derivatives have entered many European languages, these do not include any spoken in the British Isles or Ireland. That includes the surname Severin, which is French in origin.¹⁵

In the circumstances, it occurred to me to test the suggestion put forward in our website that the line could alternatively be rendered *mhic* [*in*] *mhicsa barain* [*duinn*]*sleibe* 'son of this son of baron Duinnshléibhe'. The MacEwens were barons. What, potentially, is the incidence of the word *baran* in the manuscript?

The result surprised me, as it led me to the solution of an even bigger problem. Firstly, at 1re3 we have find a baran 'son of the baron'. This occurs as 'son of Ab(a)ran' in a segment of the MacEachern pedigree which I have published in this journal in unedited form: *bet*[*h*]*ain mhic ab*[a]*ran mhic conaill mhic cairbri mhic eatach* [or *eaictigerna*] mhic bethair moir mhic dubgaill mhic fergusa, which we may now translate 'Beathán son of the baron son of Conall son of Cairbre son of Eochaidh [or Eichthighearna] son of big/great(?) Beathán son of Dugald son of (?)Fergus'.¹⁶ Secondly, at 1re35, we have 5el-f zabaran enc genelach mhic gabharain erca. This is the heading of the mysterious kindred no. 23, wedged between the MacMillans and the MacLeans, assigned by Skene successively to the Lamonds and MacLennans,¹⁷ and despairingly described in our website as 'Mac Gabharáin Earca (Clann Ghille Ádhagáin?)'. If it contains the word baran, it may be understood as 'The genealogy of the son of Baron Fearchar', in Scottish Gaelic spelling Geinealach mhic a' Bharain Fhearchair. The g can easily be explained as the voicing of the c of mhic, the process which, for example, turned Mac (or Mhic) Aonghusa into 'Guinness'.¹⁸ That Fearchar is the name in question is confirmed by the presence in the pedigree of both a Fearchar and a Fearchar Mór.¹⁹ These instances reveal that, in Dubhghall Albanach's writing, the word for 'baron' is not Classical Gaelic barún but vernacular Scottish Gaelic baran. This is not the place for a disquisition on the term, but I am sure the Editor would welcome discussion of it in future issues of WHN&Q.

Based on this evidence, what we appear to have in line 10 of the MacEwen pedigree is *mhic sa barain*, followed by a name beginning *to* or *do* and completed as *sleibe* on the following line. Here at last we are on safe ground – the name *Donnsléibhe* appears at this point in the Lamont, MacLachlan and MacSorley pedigrees as well. We may therefore read the last character in the line as *n* surmounted by an *n*-stroke.

How then are we to understand sa? The suggestion put forward in the website assumed invisible in (or an) in the gap. In the gap I have now found neither in nor an but Donnchaidh. This gives us mhic Eagan mhic Donnchaidh mhic sa barain Donnsleibe, which appears at first sight to make no sense. However, we have already established twice in this line alone, by Eagan and barain, that Dubhghall's phonology is that of vernacular Scottish Gaelic, while the expanded form Donnchaidh is based on the fact that the Scottish genitive Donnchaidh appears written in full elsewhere in the manuscript (as donnchaigh, 1rd25, Mathesons) but the Irish genitive Donnchadha does not. In Scottish Gaelic phonology the n of the article an is lost before a labial and the vowel sound may be subsumed by a neighbouring one, e.g. Baile an Bhiocaire > Baile a' Bhiocair > Baile Bhiocair > Balvicar in Seil. We may therefore render the line as mhic Eagan mhic Donnchaidh [a'] mhic sa barain Donnsleibe 'son of Eoghan son of Duncan of this son of Baron Donnsléibhe'. Donnsleibe is a nominative of apposition – better grammar than *mhic a' Bharain Fhearchair*, which we may describe as colloquial.²⁰ 'Of this son of' is, I believe, equivalent to 'son of some son of': perhaps he was illegitimate, and is best glossed over, but we must also bear in mind that 'Duncan' was then erased, giving us, in clumsy Gaelic, mhic Eagan mhic mhic sa barain Donnsleibe 'son of Eoghan son of this son of Baron Donnsléibhe', which brings Eoghan one step closer to Aodh Álainn.

Transcript: **"mhic eagan mhic donnch***aidh* **mhic sa barain donn"**. Interpretation: **"son of Eoghan son of Duncan of this son of Baron Donn"**

All in all there is an active sense of controversy about the line. Nothing is known about

Donnsléibhe except that he will have lived in the twelfth century, a hundred years and more before 'Gilbert'. He also appears in the Lamont and MacSorley pedigrees, but is not there called a baron. Was the first baron his unnamed (perhaps illegitimate) son? Was this son the 'real' Baron Eoghan, as opposed to his grandson – or son – Eoghan whose name is doctored to make it unrecognisable?

11 rleber acoa ghipeprobais

"sleibe mhic aoda alainn re[na]ba[r]tha" There are no difficulties at all until we come to the last sequence of letters, properly *re n-abartha* 'who is called'. The *n* has a descender like an *r*, the following *a* looks more like *e*, and the *a* following *b* has a long descender. It appears at first sight to lack the cross-stroke that would convert it into *ar*, but see line 12. These are minor issues, however. The content is repeated in the MacLachlan pedigree (1va35–37), where it is very clear, except for the initial *a* of *aeda*:

Interpretation: "sléibhe son of handsome Aodh who is called"

For Aodh Álainn see 'Lamonts', for his nickname an Buirrce see 'MacSorleys'.²¹

12 à Unip c empuoast plais 15 Tac

"an buir[r]c[e] [mhic] anradan mhic flaith[ber]tac" This is a poorly written line and has probably been interfered with (see my comments at line 10 on the incorrect use of the nominative), but as the content is familiar from the Lamont, MacSorley and MacLachlan pedigrees, there is no real difficulty. With regard to *flaith[ber]tac*, the first and last syllables can be read quite easily. In between, there appear to be a superfluous minim, a diagonal superstroke and what looks at first sight like a raised g, but is in fact b with superstroke to give ber. I cannot explain the superfluous minim, but the 'diagonal superstroke' is probably in fact the missing r from re[na]ba[r]tha above. Interpretation: "the Buirrce son of Anradhán son of Flaithbheartach"

For Flaithbheartach an Trosdáin (977–1036) and his son Anradhán or Anrothán see my 'Lamonts' article, pp. 11–12. My friend Dr Donald McWhannell believes Anradhán to be a fictitious character – not without justification, in my opinion – and has set out his views in an article submitted to WHN&Q.

This exercise has, I believe, substantially improved our understanding of the MacEwen pedigree. It has demonstrated the value of 'spectral imaging' techniques, thrown up more evidence for the scribe's use of the vernacular, and yielded further examples of interference with the text. Regarding interference, two theories have been put forward: that the purpose in this case is to bring the MacEwen eponym two steps closer to Aodh Álainn, the common ancestor of the tribes of lower Cowal, and that the presence of

fabrication may sometimes be detected by the appearance of the nominative case instead of the genitive (*eagan* line 10, *flaithbertac* line 12). Finally, study of the scribe's use of the term *baran* ('baron') has led to the unexpected discovery that text no. 23 in the manuscript is not 'the genealogy of Mac Gabharáin Earca' but 'the genealogy of the son of Baron Fearchar'. The identity of Baron Fearchar remains to be discovered, which means that some discussion of the term 'baron' as used in the Highlands would be doubly useful.

Ronald Black

- 1 Archibald Brown, *The History of Cowal* (Greenock, 1908), p. 51.
- 2 Argyll Muniments, Inveraray Castle, Bundle 1107; Cosmo Innes, ed., Origines Parochiales Scotiae, vol. 2, part 1 (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1854), p. 54. Curiously, in citing the charter, Brown turns Doncanus Alexandri into 'Archibald, or Gillaspy, the third son of Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochow by his second wife' (History of Cowal, p. 51).
- Argyll Muniments, Bundle 1107; Innes, Origines Parochiales, vol. 2, part 1, p. 54; Brown, *History of Cowal*, pp. 51–52; Stephen Boardman, *The Campbells 1250–1513* (Edinburgh, 2006), pp. 301, 309. In Alastair Campbell of Airds, A History of Clan Campbell (3 vols, Edinburgh, 2000–04), vol. 1, pp. 121–22, *Suffne M'Ewyn* is wrongly given as 'Sween, son of John'.
- 4 Innes, Origines Parochiales, vol. 2, part 1, p. 54; Brown, History of Cowal, pp. 111–12.
- 5 Ronald Black, 'The MacLerans', WHN&Q, ser. 3, no. 18 (Jan. 2012), pp. 3–17: 16.
- 6 The Iona Club, *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* (Edinburgh, 1839), pp. 52–53, 62.
- 7 William F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1876–80), vol. 3, p. 474.
- 8 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).
- 9 Ronald Black, '1467 MS: The MacLeans', *WHN&Q*, ser. 3, no. 22 (May 2013), pp. 3–19: 8, 10.
- 10 Campbell of Airds, History of Clan Campbell, vol. 1, p. 122.
- 11 Ronald Black, '1467 MS: The Lamonts', WHN&Q, ser. 3, no. 21 (Jan. 2013), pp. 3–19: 10.
- 12 '1467 MS: The Lamonts', p. 9.
- 13 See '1467 MS: The MacLeans', p. 12.
- 14 Bruce McAndrew, 'West Highlanders and their Seals in the Ragman Roll', *WHN&Q*, ser. 3, no. 20 (Sept. 2012), pp. 3–11: 7.
- 15 Patrick Hanks and Flavia Hodges, *A Dictionary of Surnames* (Oxford, 1988), p. 485; Patrick Hanks and Flavia Hodges, *A Dictionary of First Names* (Oxford, 1990), p. 298.
- 16 'The MacLerans', p. 9.
- 17 The Iona Club, *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* (Edinburgh, 1847), pp. 358, 359; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. 3, pp. 489–90.
- 18 Ronald Black, ed., *The Gaelic Otherworld* (Edinburgh, 2005), p. 436, note 625.
- 19 For my analysis of how *Fearchar* is written in the manuscript see '1467 MS: The Lamonts', p. 10. This discovery puts the number of occurrences of the name up to twenty-nine.
- 20 In our website and my 'MacSorleys' and 'Lamonts' articles, *mea culpa*, I slipped into citing the name as *Duinnshléibhe* and *Duinn Slebhe*. The nominative case is given by good authorities as *Donn-sléibhe*, earlier *Dond-slébe*. The meaning is 'Brown of the Hill'. See Alexander MacBain, 'Early Highland Personal Names', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. 22 (1897–98), pp. 152–68: 153; M. A. O'Brien, ed., *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* (Dublin, 1976), p. 596.
- 21 Ronald Black, '1467 MS: MacSorleys of Monydrain', *WHN&Q*, ser. 3, no. 20 (Sept. 2012), pp. 12–14: 13; '1467 MS: The Lamonts', p. 11.