

1467 MS: The Mackintoshes

The ‘1467 MS’ is the name given to National Library of Scotland Adv. MS 72.1.1, ff. 1–9, because these folios are written by a scribe who tells us in a couple of places that his name is Dubhghall Albanach mac mhic Cathail (‘Scottish Dugald son of the son of Cathal’) and that he is writing in 1467; f. 1 contains genealogies, ff. 2–8 religious texts. The term ‘1467 MS’ or ‘MS 1467’ is often used loosely of f. 1 only, as the religious texts are of no interest to historians. The Mackintosh pedigree is one of the first in the genealogies, at f. 1rb54–56 and 1rc1–24, between those of the MacNaughtons and the Green Abbot. Whether that is significant in some way – ‘headline news’? – I do not know. Certainly there are issues that demand answers, and Dubhghall Albanach supplies them, albeit indirectly. Are the Mackintoshes an east-coast or a west-coast kindred? West coast, says Dubhghall. Are they descended, as has been alleged, from the earl of Fife? No. And what about the MacPhersons’ claim to be the progenitors of the Clan Chattan? He does not mention the MacPhersons – which puts them in their place. But for us, unfortunately, there is a fourth issue. Is this pedigree ‘tosh’?

Today we think of the Mackintoshes as belonging in the centre of the Highlands, close to Inverness. That has been their *dùthaich* throughout modern times. In 1746 Prince Charles stayed with Lady Mackintosh at Moy Hall, where Lord Loudoun was defeated (and Domhnall Bàn MacCruimein killed) in the ‘Rout of Moy’. Lady Mackintosh’s regiment fought with outstanding bravery in the heart of its own country, at Culloden. Go back a little further, however, and we may remember that the Mackintoshes fought ‘the last clan battle’ at Mulroy in 1688 in an attempt to wrest the lordship of Lochaber from the Camerons and Keppoch MacDonells. (This was the culmination of centuries of Mackintosh activity in the west, some of which has left its mark on Gaelic tradition, as we will see.) Then delve more deeply, and it turns out that historians are having some difficulty in finding Mackintoshes before 1371 in the west, but none at all in finding them before 1371 in the east.¹

The specifics are as follows. The Mackintoshes’ own principal account of their origins and early history, the Kinrara MS (written by Lachlan Mackintosh of Kinrara c. 1670–80), claims that they are descended from an earl of Fife.² In the late twelfth century Earl Duncan II of Fife (1154–1204) held substantial lands in Strathspey, in the parishes of Kirkmichael, Inveravon and Advie, which we would now think of as Grant territory. According to this account, Earl Duncan was a thane, and from him the name *Mac an Tòisich* is to be understood as ‘the Son of the Thane’. It goes on to claim that in 1291 his descendant Angus, 6th chief of the Mackintoshes (who is conspicuous by his absence from our pedigree), married Eva, descendant of Gille Catáin and heiress of Glen Lui and Loch Arkaig in Lochaber. The pair are also absent from our pedigree, and Eva, at least, is now regarded by historians as wholly fictitious.

In fact the first Mackintosh to appear in contemporary record is a ‘Farchard Mctoshy’ who terrorises the neighbourhood of Birse in Kincardineshire, not far from Aboyne on the Dee, in 1382, and it is only when we reach 1442 that the Kinrara

MS falls fully into line with surviving charter evidence. This is when Alexander Seton, Lord Gordon, grants ‘Malcolm McKynthoschey, Captain of Clanchatane’ the Nairnshire lands of Meikle Geddes and half of Rait with its castle, thus placing the Mackintoshes pretty much where we would expect to find them. In the meantime, however, between 1291 and 1442, the Kinrara MS and other later sources have had a good deal to say about Mackintosh holdings from the lords of the Isles on the one hand, and Mackintosh support for the kings of Scots on the other. The only blip in their record of support for the Crown is Malcolm’s participation in the battle of Harlaw (1411), and Kinrara explains this neatly by claiming that his opponent that day was not Mar but the Regent Robert Stewart, earl of Fife and Menteith.³ The two weightiest histories of the Mackintoshes ever published (in 1880 and 1903) take the Kinrara MS as their gospel, and devote some space to dismissing the contrary evidence furnished by the 1467 MS.⁴

The west-coast origin of the Mackintoshes, so evident in the 1467 MS, is fully supported by Christopher Beaton (*Gille Crìost mac Mhic Bheatha*), the writer c. 1700 of the so-called ‘Black Book of Clanranald’. His version of the linked MacKenzie/MacLean pedigree ends ‘*mhic ferchir fada ri alban o bfuilid clann coinndigh, clann chatan, clann grigoir, clann fionguin, clann ghuair, clann neill bharra ⁊ ghigha, clann neachtuin, clann duibhshith, ⁊ morginnuigh mar adir cuid mhor áoca*’ (‘son of Fearchar Fada king of Scotland, from whom are the MacKenzies, the Clan Chattan, the MacGregors, the MacKinnons, the MacQuarries, the MacNeils of Barra and Gigha, the MacNaughtons, the MacDuffies and the MacKays of Strathnaver, as most of them claim’).⁵ So the Mackintoshes (Clan Chattan) come second in a long list of clans descended from Fearchar Fada, king of Dalriada (c23 below). It is an endorsement of the west coast scenario, and more: by adding *mar adir cuid mhor áoca*, literally ‘as say a large portion of them’, Christopher is placing responsibility for the truth of the statement on the kindreds he has named, or on most of them at any rate. In other words, at least by implication, this is what the Mackintoshes themselves say.

Another person traced from Fearchar Fada in the 1467 MS is Lulach, king of Scotland. Alasdair Ross has said of our manuscript: “Since King Lulach’s kindred came from Moray, and assuming that MS 1467 was an exercise in MacDonald authority, it is surely legitimate to speculate that these genealogies say more about fifteenth-century Macdonald ambitions in Moray than actual common lines of descent from an apical ancestor.”⁶ It is still a little premature to characterise the precise purpose of the 1467 MS, and the association of the Cenél Loairn with Moray is well established, but each pedigree must stand or fall on the basis of its own credibility, and by this yardstick ours does not perform well.

I will now give the pedigree exactly as it stands in the editions and notes known to me: W. F. Skene’s *Collectanea* of 1839 and 1847, his *Celtic Scotland* of 1880, and the on-line version published by my wife Máire and myself in 2009. For ease of comparison, the texts are all presented here according to the 27-line structure in which they appear in the manuscript.

(1) *Collectanea* 1839, with Skene's notes:

b54 * *Do Genelach clann an Toisig*
b55 *anso. i. Clann Gilla-*
b56 *catan.**—Uilliam agus*
c1–2 Donaill da mic
c3 Uilliam
c4 ic Fearchair
c5 ic Uilliam
c6 ic Gillamitil
c7 ic Fearchair ic Disiab
c8 ic Gillacrist
c9 ic Aigh cobtach ic Eogan
c10 ic ic ic Niell Lochlan
c11 ic Suibne ic Disiab
c12 ic Leoid ic Tsead
c13 ic Fearchair ic Gillacrist
c14 ic Maelcolaim
c15 ic Donaill renabarta
c16 in Caimgilla ic Muircha
c17 ic Suibne ic Tead
c18 ic Neachtan
c19 ic Gillacatan ofiul clann Gillacatan
c20 ic Gallbrait ic Diarm-
c21 ada renabarta
c22 an fear leigin ic Erc
c23 ic Dlait ic Fearchair fata
c24 ic Fearadaig.

b54 THE GENEALOGY OF THE MACINTOSHES,
b55 OR CLAN-
b56 CHATTAN.**—William and
c1–2 Donald were the two sons of
c3 William
c4 son of Ferchar
c5 son of William
c6 son of Michael
c7 son of Ferchar son of Shaw
c8 son of Gilchrist
c9 son of Hugh the victorious, son of Ewen
c10 son of . . . grandson of Neill. Lachlan
c11 son of Swen son of Shaw
c12 son of Leod son of Shaw
c13 son of Ferchar son of Gilchrist
c14 son of Malcolm
c15 son of Donald called
c16 “of Cowall,” son of Muirich
c17 son of Swen son of Heth
c18 son of Nachtan
c19 son of Gillichatan, from whom came the Clan Chattan,

c20 son of Gilbert son of Diarm-
c21 ed called
c22 “the Leinster man,” son of Erc
c23 son of Dlait son of Ferchar fada
c24 son of Feredach.

* Where this mark occurs on the margin of the Gaelic, it indicates the commencement of a column in the original MS.

** It will be observed that the McIntoshes are here made a part of the clan Chattan, and their origin deduced from Gilecattan mor, the well-known founder of that clan, a much more credible story than the improbable fiction of their descent from Macduff, Thane of Fife.⁷

(2) *Collectanea* 1847:

With respect to line c16 (translation) Skene corrects ‘of Cowall’ to ‘the one-eyed lad’, and with respect to line c23 (original and translation) he corrects ‘Dlait’ to ‘Conlait’.⁸

(3) *Celtic Scotland*, with Skene’s note:

b54 DO GENELACH CLANN AN TOISIGH
b55 ANNSO .I. CLANN GILLA-
b56 CATAN* William agus
c1–2 Domnall da mhic
c3 William
c4 mic Ferchair
c5 mic William
c6 mic Gillamichol
c7 mic Ferchair mic Disiab
c8 mic Gillacrist
c9 mic Aigcol mic Eogain
c10 mic mic mic Neill Lochlaine
c11 mac Suibne mic Disiab
c12 mic Leoid mic Tsead
c13 mic Ferchar mic Gillacrist
c14 mic Maelcolaim
c15 mic Domnaill renabarta
c16 in Caimgilla mic Mureach
c17 mic Suibne mic Teadh
c18 mic Neachtain
c19 mic Gillachatain o fuiled Clann Gillacatan
c20 mic Gallbrait mic Diarm
c21 ada renabarta
c22 an Fear Leighinn mic Erc
c23 mic Conlait mic Fearchair fota
c24 mic Fearadaigh

* From MS. 1467.

b54 GENEALOGY OF THE CLAN AN TOSHACH
 b55 HERE, VIZ. THE CLAN GILLA-
 b56 CHATTAN. William and
 c1–2 Donald two sons of
 c3 William
 c4 son of Ferchard (mentioned in 1383)
 c5 son of William
 c6 son of Gillamichael
 c7 son of Ferchard son of Shaw
 c8 son of Gilchrist
 c9 son of Aigcol son of Ewen
 c10 son of son of the son of Neill. Lochlan
 c11 son of Suibhne son of Shaw
 c12 son of Leod son of Scayth (mentioned in 1338)
 c13 son of Ferchard son of Gilchrist
 c14 son of Malcolm
 c15 son of Donald, called
 c16 the Caimgilla, son of Mureach
 c17 son of Suibhne son of Tead
 c18 son of Nachtain
 c19 son of Gillachattan, from whom descended the Clan Gillachattan,
 c20 son of Gallbrait son of Diarm-
 c21 ad called
 c22 the Lector, *son of Erc*
 c23 *son of Conlaith son of Ferchar fada*
 c24 *son of Feradach.*⁹

(4) www.1467manuscript.co.uk, with our note:


b54 do genelach cloinni an toisigh
 b55 annso .i. clann gilla
 b56 chatan uilliam 7
 c1–2 *Can't see anything here now. Skene has "Domnall da mhic"*
 c3 uilliam
 c4 mhic ferchair
 c5 mhic uilliam
 c6 mhic gillamichil
 c7 mhic ferchair mhic oisiab
 c8 [*Skene saw "mic Gillacrist" here*]
 c9 [*Skene saw "mic Aigcol mic Eogain" here*]
 c10 mhic [?p]al mhic neill lachlanaig
 c11 mhic suibne mhic oisiab
 c12 mhic leoid mhic tsead
 c13 mhic ferchair mhic gillacrist
 c14 mhic maeilcolaim
 c15 mhic domnaill renabartha
 c16 in caimgilla mhic murchaidh
 c17 mhic shuibne mhic theadh
 c18 mhic neachtain § *clann gilla catain*
 c19 *mhic gillachatain o fuilid**

c20 mhic gallbrait mhic diarm
 c21 ada renabarta
 c22 an fer leiginn mhic erc
 c23 mhic conlaith mhic ferchair fhota
 c24 mhic fearadhaigh

b54 Of the genealogy of the Mackintoshes
 b55 here i.e. the children of Gille
 b56 Catáin. William and
 c1–2 “*Donald two sons of*”
 c3 William
 c4 son of Fearchar
 c5 son of William
 c6 son of Gille Míchil
 c7 son of Fearchar son of Oisiab
 c8 *obscure now* [*son of Gille Críost?*]
 c9 *very obscure now* [*son of Aigcol son of Ewen?*]
 c10 son of ? son of Niall Lachlannach
 c11 son of Suibhne son of Oisiab
 c12 son of Leód son of Séadh
 c13 son of Fearchar son of Gille Críost
 c14 son of Maol Colaim
 c15 son of Donald who is called
 c16 the Caimghille son of Murchadh
 c17 son of Suibhne son of Séadh
 c18 son of Neachtán § *the Clan Chattan*
 c19 *son of Gille Chatáin from whom are**
 c20 son of Gille Brátha son of Diarm-
 c21 aid who is called
 c22 the fear léighinn (‘lector, reader’) son of Earc
 c23 son of Conlaith son of Fearchar Fada
 c24 son of Fearadhach.

* The ‘ceann fo eite’ indicated by §. Reads: *mhic gillachatain o fuilid clann gilla catain* (son of Gille Catáin from whom are the Clan Chattan)

I move now to my usual line-by-line discussion of Dubhghall Albanach’s 1467 text using pen-and-ink sketches, based on spectrally-imaged colour photographs which are superior to those in the website. As always, square brackets indicate illegible, indistinct or uncertain text, italics indicate expanded contractions (the less obvious ones, at least).

b54 

do genelach cloinni an toisigh = “Of the genealogy of the Mackintoshes”

The line is perfectly clear. The most literal translation of *tòiseach* would be ‘a premier’, Latin *primus*. It is the Scottish variant of Common Gaelic *toísech*, Irish

taoiseach, now used for ‘prime minister’. The *Dictionary of the Irish Language* defines *toisech* simply as ‘leader, chief’. In medieval Scotland, however, it has been said to have two distinct meanings, ‘the head of a tribal unit’ and ‘an official in pre-Norman Gaelic society’.¹⁰ I would question the distinctness of these meanings, on the assumption that any official in pre-Norman Gaelic society required a warband to enable him to carry out his duties, and that a warband in a kin-based society was necessarily a tribal unit. Since by definition every eponym is the head of a tribal unit, I cannot see how *Mac an Tòisich* could have become a surname unless *tòisich* were seen primarily as officials of some kind.

Tòiseach has often been translated ‘thane’. This is *þegn*, an Anglo-Saxon word. A thane was the steward of a thanage. A thanage was a unit of royal demesne, of which seventy-one have been counted in Scotland, ranging from Dingwall in the north to Haddington in the south-east, with none whatever in the west, or indeed in the far north or south. The heyday of thanages was 1000–1200, after which, with the feudalisation of Scotland north of the Forth, they declined in importance, some serving as bases for sheriffdoms. Ferintosh in the Black Isle is *Fearann an Tòisich* ‘Thane’s Land’, presumably from its connection to the thanage of Dingwall.¹¹ In post-medieval times, at least, it was known as *an Tòisigheachd* or *an Tòiseachd* ‘the Thanage’, much sung about with reference to its most celebrated product, whisky.

It has been well said, however, that ‘while thane became *toisech* in Gaelic, not every *toisech* was necessarily a thane’.¹² The presence in the west of Scotland of *tòisich* who were stewards but not necessarily proprietors of land is sufficient confirmation of this. Suibhne of the MacSweens, builder of Castle Sween, is said to have been Toshach of Knapdale, and later we will meet others: MacEacherns, MacKays.¹³ It is clear that in Gaelic society the *tòiseach* ranked below the mormaer or *rí* and had the right to gather taxes for his immediate superior, whoever that might be.

When a chronicler like Fordun speaks of ‘thanes’ outside the geographical area of thanages, we may assume that something vague like ‘native lord’ is meant,¹⁴ but when Gaelic-based sources speak of them, the word being translated may be *tòisich*. Dean Monro categorises the fourteen members of the council of the Isles (whom he collectively calls barons) into ‘Nobles callit Lords’ (MacLean of Duart, MacLean of Lochbuie, MacLeod of Harris, MacLeod of Lewis), thanes (MacKinnon, MacQuarrie, MacNeil of Gigha, MacNeil of Barra), great men of the royal blood of Clan Donald (MacDonald of Kintyre, MacIan of Ardnamurchan, Clanranald, ‘Clan-Alister Carryche in Lochaber’), and clerics (the bishop of the Isles, the abbot of Iona).¹⁵ Hugh MacDonald appears to echo this with his story in which the tutor of Clanranald announces at dinner that MacKinnon and ‘MacQuire’ (MacQuarrie) may sit, ‘for MacQuire was an ancient Thane’.¹⁶ In other words, he takes for granted that his hearers know MacKinnon to be a thane, and seeks to link MacQuarrie with him.

MacDonald also tells us that John of the Isles ‘created many Thanes in his time, for the Lords of the Isles created thanes and sub-thanes at pleasure’.¹⁷ ‘Thanes and sub-thanes’ will not be *tòisich agus fo-thòisich*, but, following William Gillies’s lead, it could very well be *tòisich agus tòisich-daorraith*, which for present purposes we might translate ‘stewards and client stewards’.¹⁸ *Tòisich-daorraith* is of course the plural of the word that appears frequently in anglicised spellings such as ‘tosachdorrach’,

with innumerable variants. However, MacDonald throws major complications into this simple scenario with his description of the council of the Isles. It consists, he says, of ‘four Thanes, four Armins, that is to say, Lords or sub-Thanes, four Bastards, (i.e.) Squires, or men of competent estates, who could not come up with Armins or Thanes; (and four) that is, freeholders, or men that had their lands in factory, as Macgee of the Rinds of Isla, MacNicoll in Portree in Sky, and MacEachern, Mackay, and MacGillevrays in Mull, Macillemhael or MacMillan, etc.’¹⁹ ‘Armin’ is the Norse word *ármaðr* ‘hardest, steward’, which came into Gaelic through its genitive form *ármanns* as *àrmann* ‘officer’, equivalent to Gaelic *maor*, and which appears quite often in vernacular verse with the generalised sense of ‘warrior’ or ‘hero’.²⁰ By ‘come up’ MacDonald no doubt means ‘compete’. He uses ‘thane’ for the highest grade of baron (presumably MacLean of Duart etc.), ‘sub-thane’ or ‘armin’ for the next grade (presumably MacKinnon etc.), ‘bastard’ or ‘squire’ for the third grade (who exactly he means here is known only to himself), and, finally, a blank for the lowest grade (MacEachern etc.), which he defines as ‘freeholders, or men that had their lands in factory’, leaving us with the distinct impression that the blank represents ‘tosachdorrach’ or the like, for such men were indeed factors or stewards. In the end we are left with the uncomfortable possibility that for these four grades MacDonald may be attempting to translate *tighearna*, *àrmann*, *tòiseach* and *tòiseach-daorraith*, in that order – in which case ‘thane’ no longer represents *tòiseach*. Certainly in many other parts of his narrative MacDonald uses ‘thane’ for *tighearna*: ‘Thane of Argyle’, ‘Thane of Angus’.²¹ But the fact remains that if John of the Isles ‘created thanes and sub-thanes at pleasure’, such offices were either honorary or relatively humble. And indeed by the time Sir Walter Scott wrote *Saint Ronan’s Well* in 1824, he was happy to use ‘thane’ of a minor Border laird of c. 1812: “This Mowbray . . . might do pretty well at a Northern Meeting, or the Leith races, where he could mingle with brother thanes and give five minutes to the sport of the day, and the next half hour to county politics, or to farming.”²²

It may help us understand the original significance of *tòiseach* if, before returning to the subject of our pedigree, we consider three other families known independently to have borne the name *Mac an Tòisich* or Mackintosh, those of Glentilt, Monzievairst and Kintyre.

The thanage of Glentilt is well described by Skene. The earldom of Atholl had become vested in the person of Robert the Steward, and before he succeeded to the throne as Robert II in 1371 he granted a charter, as lord of Atholl, to Eugenius, thane of Glentilt, brother of Ronald of the Isles, of the whole thanage of Glentilt. A later charter refers to ‘Finlay Toschach’, who was thane of Glentilt c. 1500. Skene points out that from these thanes ‘no doubt proceeded the McIntoshes of Tiriny in Glentilt, which is included among the lands of the thanage’.²³ A late descendant of this family was the Rev. Donald Mackintosh (1743–1808), born at Orchilmore in neighbouring Glen Giraig. He was the last bishop of the non-juring episcopal church of Scotland, and the author of *Gaelic Proverbs*.²⁴ Among the proverbs he placed on record was: *Cha bhi tòiseach air Tirinidh, ’s cha bhi Tirinidh gun Tòiseach*. It is a play on words, a riddle. “There will be no thane over Tirinie, but Tirinie won’t lack a Mackintosh.”²⁵

The Mackintoshes of Monzievairst in Strathearn were almost certainly descended from Duncan, thane of Strowan, who witnessed two charters for Gilbert, earl of

Strathearn, c. 1200–03. The parish of Strowan was subsequently linked with Monzievaird.²⁶ There is a well-known Gaelic proverb, *Chan ann a h-uile latha bhios mòd aig Mac an Tòisich*. “It’s not every day that Mackintosh holds a court.” The Rev. Donald Mackintosh explained it like this: “Toishach, or Mackintosh of Monyvaird, chamberlain under the Earl of Perth, held his court of regality, with the powers of *pit and gallows*; and, if report speaks true, was in the habit of condemning a victim to be hanged on each court day, by way of a salutary example, to remind the neighbouring thieves that the like doom awaited the guilty. Others say, that the person alluded to in the old saying, was Mackintosh of Mackintosh, part of whose property is situate in Lochaber, such as Keappoch, Glenroy, Glenspean, &c. where he held a regality court for the same wholesome purpose.”²⁷ This may represent a remarkably long piece of continuity, or the proverb may be older than the Rev. Donald realised; either way, it shows us thanes who were *tòisich* and who served a line of magnates hereditarily in an administrative role.

The third such family is the Mackintoshes of (or rather in) Kintyre. Their best-known modern representative is Peter Macintosh (1788–1876) from Ardnacross, author of the *History of Kintyre* (1857). All the Kintyre Mackintoshes appear to have been from the Ardnacross/Carradale area.²⁸ This is worth noting, as my intention here is to show that they were Ugadale MacKays in origin (Ugadale is between Ardnacross and Carradale, on the east side). In a previous article I explained that these MacKays were said to have received a charter to Ugadale and Arnicle from King Robert Bruce in return for services rendered, and that in 1542 Ewir (Ivor) MacKay received another, confirming (1) that he held the office of crowner of North Kintyre and (2) that his family had possessed Arnicle and Ugadale ‘beyond the memory of man’. Arnicle is in upper Glen Barr, on the west side, five miles due west of Carradale. As crowners (or ‘mairs of fee’) of North Kintyre, the MacKays of Ugadale were counterparts to the MacEacherns of Kilellan, who claimed descent from the *Tòiseach Bàn* of Nether Craginish and who were crowners (or ‘mairs of fee’) of South Kintyre.²⁹ The charter of 1542 was renewed in 1615, and the MacKays retained possession of their lands until the male line became extinct c. 1680, following which the estate passed to the MacNeils (‘Macneals’) of Tirfergus.³⁰

If we now turn to the Dewar MSS, we discover that John Dewar refers repeatedly to the part played by ‘Mackintosh of Arnicle’ in the events of 1647. To sum it up, while a Covenanting army led by Gen. Alexander Leslie is advancing south from Skipness, Alastair mac Colla, the Royalist leader, is led to believe that it is still at Tarbert. Alastair organises his force for the march north to meet Leslie, but at that point Mackintosh arrives with his men. The two are half-brothers, but have never met before. Mackintosh gives his sword to his second-in-command and puts him in charge of his company. Alastair sends off his force, intending to catch up with it later, then retires to the inn at Tayinloan with Mackintosh to celebrate the occasion. Leslie is in fact waiting for Alastair’s force in the wood of Creagan nam Muc, so the Covenanters take the Royalists by surprise, killing many and pursuing others towards the coast. Leslie’s cavalry outflank the fleeing Royalists and are waiting for them when they arrive at Rhunahaorine. On hearing the sound of gunfire Alastair and Mackintosh rush out of the inn, the latter seizing a stick for lack of his sword. They get their horses out of the stable and ride south, chased by troopers. Alastair

escapes by jumping the waterfall above Killeen. Mackintosh, whose horse is not as good, turns down towards Killeen. Three troopers catch up with him at a place called Sròn Ruiseag. He fights them with his stick, but it breaks and he is killed.³¹

Dewar's claim that Mackintosh is Alastair mac Colla's half-brother may help us identify him. He explains in a footnote: *An deigh do Cholla-ciotach nighean Thighearna Achnambreac a threigsinn, phòs Mac an Tòisich Iarnagile i.*³² "After Colla Ciotach had forsaken the daughter of Campbell of Auchinbreck, Mackintosh of Arnicle had married her." This would of course have been our Mackintosh's father. The improbable claim that Colla Ciotach had married a daughter of Campbell of Auchinbreck, and that Alastair mac Colla was their son, was made to Dewar by informants in Glendaruel, and Dewar repeated it several times.³³ According to Niall MacMhuirich, Alastair's mother was a daughter of Ronald, brother and tanist of Angus MacDonald of Dunnyveg, and this is very likely to be correct. Her name is given by the authors of *The Clan Donald* as Mary. Ronald lived at Smerby, a couple of miles south of Ardnacross. MacMhuirich adds that Mary of Smerby also had by Colla *clann mhaith inghen do pòsadh re daoineibh uaisle maithe*, 'a respectable family of daughters who were married to respectable gentlemen'.³⁴ One of these appears to have been Jean, who married MacKay of Ardnacross, of whom Lord Archibald Campbell says: "After the massacre at Dunaverty, another barbarous massacre took place at Cnoc-na-Muice (more recently called the Whinny Hill), where McKay of Ardnacroish (father of Iver Mor McKay, killed at Auldearn) and the McAlisters were put to death (hanged) . . . According to the original MS. of the Rev. Donald Kelly, McKay, laird of Ardnacroish (*Aird-na-croise*), was married to Jean McColl, Kittoch (*Ciotach*), sister of Sir Alasdair McCholla McDonald, the major-general."³⁵

The hangings at Cnoc na Muice or Whinny Hill (above Campbeltown) are well recorded, but Dewar calls the place Achnamuc and Achanamuc.³⁶ Clearly there is some confusion between these traditions. If 'Mackintosh of Arnicle' is to be identified with MacKay of Ardnacross, he was not Alastair mac Colla's half-brother but his brother-in-law. At any rate, it seems to be beyond all possible doubt that he was a MacKay. The curious thing is that in these traditions the name Mackintosh is never associated with any place but Arnicle. In Dewar's different spellings we have *Mac an Tòisich Fhearnagil*, *Mac an Tòisich Earnagil*, *Mac an Tòisich Iarnageal*, *Mac an Tòisich Iarnagil*, *Mac an Tòisich Iarnagile* and even *Mac an Tòisich Airneal*.³⁷ We also have, carelessly scribbled, *Iarnagail*, *far an [robh] Mc an Tòisich a comhnuidh* – "Arnicle, where Mackintosh lived."³⁸ We never find *Mac an Tòisich Ugadail* or *Mac an Tòisich Aird na Croise*. On the other hand, we do have, again carelessly scribbled, *Mc Aoidh Ugadal*, *Eairneagal agus Amud*: "MacKay of Ugadale, Arnicle and Amod."³⁹ Amod is the farm across the Barr Water from Arnicle. Is it possible that Arnicle and Amod, being on the other side of Kintyre from Ugadale and Ardnacross, were traditionally held by the tanist, and that he was called *Mac an Tòisich* because he was, quite literally, the son of the *tòiseach*, but not the *tòiseach* himself?

If this is so, MacKay of Ugadale falls into line as a *tòiseach* along with Mackintosh of Tirinie, Mackintosh of Monzievaird and MacEachern of Kilellan.

In his assessment of the twelfth-century property records in the Book of Deer as a source for early Scottish history, Dauvit Broun has provided us with a useful

summary of the long-lasting debate over the term *toisech*. Was he a royal official, the head of a kindred, or both? He concludes that ‘all sightings of *toisig* there can readily be identified with the *toisech clainne*’ – in other words, the head of a kindred.⁴⁰ This, however, applies to twelfth-century Aberdeenshire. It is clear from the evidence I have put forward that later in the middle ages, and further west, the word came to mean some kind of official, responsible for raising taxes in a given geographical area, and variously equated with the ‘thane’ and ‘mair of fee’. In none of these instances is he a *royal* official; we have found *tòisich* serving the earl of Atholl, the Earl of Strathearn and the lord of the Isles, but not the king. Nor is it a kin-based term. We have found the *tòisich* of Glentilt, of Strowan, of Nether Craginish, of South Kintyre, of North Kintyre: always of a district, never of a tribe or kindred.

What is more, other than in onomastics, the term has disappeared. It is absent from traditional verse. The Dewar MSS, an unrivalled source for the Gaelic terminology of the clan era, routinely show *ceann-cinne* or *ceann-feadhna* for a chief, and *ceannaird* for a war-leader. There is no trace of *tòiseach*, other than a mention of the *Tòiseach Bàn* of Craginish.⁴¹ Admittedly, the *HSD* offers *tòiseach*, ‘a leader, a chief: dux, princeps’, attributing it to MacFarlan’s *Vocabulary*, where I have been unable to find it. From the *HSD* it found its way into Dwelly, accidentally losing its lengthmark in the process, as *toiseach* ‘chief of a clan or tribe’. The *HSD* also devotes an entire column to an antiquarian disquisition on *toiseadrach*, ‘a crowner, Mair of Fee, serjeant, or messenger’.⁴² *Toiseadrach* is an odd spelling: it is the *tòiseach-daorraith*, or *tòiseach* for short. The reason for this disappearance, I would suggest, is that the word came to denote the office, and that the office disappeared. One might go further and suggest that the reason why the office disappeared is that its primary function was tax-gathering, which made it unpopular.

Comparators to the surname Mackintosh are provided by MacNab, MacTaggart and MacPherson. In the case of MacNab, *Mac an Aba*, there is assumed descent from a line of hereditary abbots of Glendochart. Since more than one abbot is potentially involved, it seems reasonable that the surname should derive from the title rather than from the name of any particular one of them.⁴³ The case of Farquhar MacTaggart (*Fearchar Mac an t-Sagairt*), an early thirteenth-century earl of Ross, offers a contrasting model. Here we have a warrior who appears out of nowhere to fight for the king of Scots and is rewarded with an earldom. His rise is on a par with that of Somerled or Wallace, and has therefore been described as ‘among the most spectacular in the whole of Scottish medieval history’. His patronymic has given rise to learned speculation that he was coarb of the relics of St Duthac, or of St Maol Rubha, who is described in one source as *an sagart ruadh* ‘the red priest’,⁴⁴ but none of it rings true or can be proven, and it is safer to see *Mac an t-Sagairt* as a kind of nickname – Farquhar’s father’s identity was simply unknown, but he was called a priest because tradition required that great men of humble birth be seen as special gifts of God.⁴⁵ As for the MacPhersons of Badenoch, they are not known to descend either from a succession of parsons or from an unnamed parson’s brilliant son. The parson in question is named by Kinrara as Duncan, but the MacPhersons’ Gaelic name, *Clann Mhuirich*, comes from a different eponym, Muireadhach.⁴⁶ This is perhaps analogical to the Robertsons (who are *Clann Donnchaidh* in Gaelic), but not quite to the Mackintoshes, unless we accept the identification of the original *mac an*

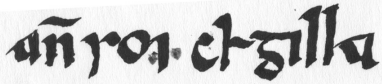
tòisich as Shaw, son of the 3rd earl of Fife, which has been rejected by all historians from Skene onwards. In other words, in seeking to explain the name ‘Mackintosh’ we are forced by lack of evidence to guess that Gille Catáin, the eponym of the Clann Ghille Chatáin, was the original *tòiseach*.

These, then, appear to be our three options: a line of hereditary thanes or *tòisich*; the fictitious descent of a self-made man from a non-existent thane or *tòiseach*; a single thane or *tòiseach* called Gille Catáin. Which of these fits the Mackintoshes of our pedigree?

The pivotal figure in Alasdair Ross’s recent study of the Mackintoshes is a chief whose period falls in the gap between c. 1400 (the presumed era of William and Donald, b56–c1) and 1467. This is Farquhar, who allegedly succeeded his father Lachlan in 1407, passed the chiefship to his uncle Malcolm in 1409, and died in 1417. If William, Donald and Malcolm are all genuine historical figures, and if all that has been said about them in disparate sources is true, they were brothers or half-brothers. But these are big ‘ifs’. Farquhar appears in the Kinrara MS as the 9th chief of the Mackintoshes. In the Latin version of his chronicle Kinrara says that he was of a melancholy, indolent and reserved disposition, and that by his ‘vileness and sloth’ he ‘went down to decay by resigning his heritage’ (*suâ vilitate et ignaviâ pessum ivit hæreditatem suam abdicando*).⁴⁷ The recently-published English version, apparently the original, merely says that Farquhar was ‘of a brown complexion and sullen disposition’ and ‘willingly renounced his Inheritance and birth right’.⁴⁸ This inheritance was of lands in Lochaber and Moray. Ross then points to the above-mentioned ‘Farchard Mctoshy’ who in June 1382 is found in dispute with the bishop of Aberdeen concerning damage done to church lands in the parish of Birse (in north Kincardineshire, two miles south-east of Aboyne on the Dee). It appears that Farchard had some kind of claim with regard to Birse, that there had been a breakdown in his relationship with the Bishop as his landlord, that he may have issued the Bishop with a quitclaim (which suggests that he had property there), and that he was now terrorising the place with his warband to the extent that the inhabitants could not stay in their houses, work their lands or live in peace. As a result of these allegations, Robert II’s son Alexander Stewart, lord of Badenoch, was commanded to visit the area and compel Farchard to give security to ensure that he and his followers behaved themselves in future.⁴⁹

Intriguingly, Birse was an ancient thanage, which is a remarkable clue as to the possible reason why a *Mac an Tòisich* should have interests there.⁵⁰ Alasdair Ross is commendably cautious in making use of this evidence, but in one respect I think his caution is excessive. He finds it ‘difficult, if not impossible’ to reconcile the swashbuckling Farchard Mctoshy of 1382 with Kinrara’s assessment of Farquhar’s behaviour in 1409. Yet history offers countless examples of people whose personalities change or alternate, generally for very good reasons. Stephen Boardman’s portrayal of Robert III is one such case. As earl of Carrick he was ‘intensely ambitious’, then on the throne he was a broken reed.⁵¹ My own study of the 5th earl of Loudoun offers another example: for a person who lost his youthful dynamism and charm I have compared him to Charles Edward Stuart.⁵² I might also have mentioned Jekyll and Hyde. It is very possible, then, that Ross has identified the thanage of which the first Mackintoshes were *tòiseach*.

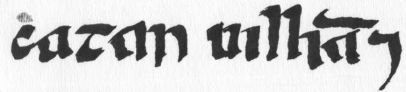
b55



annso .i. clann gilla = “here i.e. the children of Gille”

The line is perfectly clear.

b56



chatan uilliam ȝ = “Catáin. William and”

We have reached the bottom of the page. The line is perfectly clear. The *h* in *chatan* (shown in the manuscript by a dot, as is usual) seems to indicate the double genitive (‘of the devotee of Catán’). I have chosen the form Catán for St Chattan’s name: the lengthmark indicates a long unstressed vowel in Irish (CATawn), a short but more open unstressed vowel in Scottish Gaelic (CAHTan).

c1



domnall = “Donald”

We are now at the top of the page, where the text is difficult to read. Skene applied a chemical reagent to the first couple of lines, which allowed him to read *Donaill* in 1839 and *Domnall* in 1880. Unfortunately it blackened the surface, and by 2009 Máire and I could see nothing. Thanks to spectral imaging, *dom[na]ll* is now visible in some photographs, but not all.

c2



da m[a]c = “two sons of”

By applying his reagent, Skene appears to have been able to read *da mic* in 1839 and *da mhic* in 1880. The Gaelic for ‘two sons’ is however *dá mhac*, not *dá mhic*. In 2009 Máire and I could see only darkness, but spectral imaging now reveals enough for us to be sure of the reading. As the penultimate letter looks like *e*, I put *a* between square brackets.

Martin MacGregor says that this is one of three pedigrees in the 1467 MS for which we have no chronological ‘fix’ (the other two being the Camerons and MacEacherns), meaning that we are unable to assign birth-dates, death-dates or floruits to the persons with whom they begin.⁵³ This is certainly true here. According to Kinrara, William (line c3) was twice married. By his first wife, Florence, daughter of the thane of Calder, he had a son Lachlan, who succeeded him in 1368, and by his second wife Margaret, daughter of Ruairi Mor MacLeod of Lewis, he had a son Malcolm. By his wife Agnes, daughter of Hugh Fraser of Lovat, Lachlan had a son Farquhar, who succeeded him in 1407 (see notes on b54). Farquhar died in 1417 to be succeeded by his uncle Malcolm. There is no trace in the Kinrara MS of William having had legitimate sons called William and Donald, but he did have

illegitimate sons called Angus (Æneas) and Donald.⁵⁴ The question is, with regard to Mackintoshes *c.* 1400, which if any are we to trust – a roughly contemporary source far removed geographically (the 1467 MS) or a local source far removed in time (the Kinrara MS of 1680, based partly on lost materials written in 1502, *c.* 1550 and 1575)?

c3 

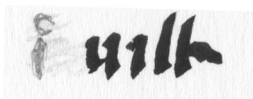
uilliam = “William”

The reading is clear. In this person we can recognise William, said to have been chief of the Mackintoshes from 1345 to 1368. In 1337, before becoming chief, he obtained the barony of Moy in Strathdearn, which later became the principal seat of the Mackintoshes. He is claimed to have fought for David II at Neville’s Cross in 1346, and he got a new lease of Rothiemurchus from the bishop of Moray in 1348. He continued to lose ground to the Camerons in Lochaber, as his father had done, but is understood to have obtained from John, lord of the Isles, a right to the old Clan Chattan lands in Glen Lui and Loch Arkaig. The result was a feud that lasted for centuries. He lived mainly at Connage in Petty, which the Mackintoshes had held in fief from the earldom of Moray since 1314.⁵⁵

c4 

[mhic] ferchair = “son of Farquhar”

Mhic may be assumed, and the rest of the reading is clear. This must be the Farchard Mctoshy who seems to have claimed the thanage of Birse in 1382, see notes on b54. Kinrara makes him the grandfather, not the father, of William, whose father, he says, was Angus.⁵⁶ If we were to take the 1467 MS literally, with a starting-point at 1400 and generations averaging thirty years, Farquhar would have lived *c.* 1340. Skene describes him in *Celtic Scotland* (see above) as ‘mentioned in 1383’, presumably a reference to Farchard Mctoshy.

c5 

mhic uilliam = “son of William”

The reading is clear. William will have lived *c.* 1310.

c6 

mhic gillamichill = “son of Gille Míchil”

Under spectral imaging, the reading is clear. Gille Míchil will have lived *c.* 1280.

c7 

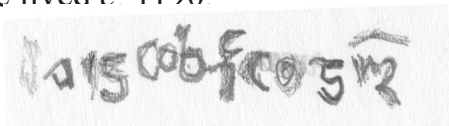
mhic ferchair mhic [ois]iab = “son of Farquhar son of Joseph”

Spectral imaging fails to reveal the beginning of the last name, but Skene read *Disiab* both here and at c11, which leads us to *Oisiab* ‘Joseph’. Farquhar will have lived *c.* 1250 and Joseph *c.* 1220. A Farquhar is mentioned by Kinrara as being married to an Isleswoman and killed by an Islesman. In 1263 he fought for Alexander III at Largs against the Norwegians.⁵⁷

c8 

mhic g[i]lla [c]r[ist] = “son of Gille Críost”

Skene had difficulty with lines c8–c12, and applied more chemical reagent, as a result of which he was able to read *Gillacrist*, but Máire and I were unable to read anything at all in 2009. Spectral imaging now reveals enough to confirm Skene’s reading, though not without slight reservations: *c* of *crist* looks like *e*; why does there appear to be a stroke above *g[i]lla*? If the stroke above *cr/er* is for *ist*, what are the marks that follow? In any event no other reading looks possible. Gille Críost will have lived *c.* 1190

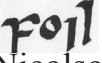
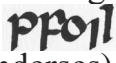


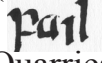
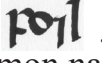
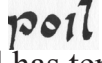
c9 

[mhic] aigcob mhic eoga[i]n = “son of Jacob son of Eoghan”

Mhic is invisible, but *aigcob* is pretty clear, and I agree with Skene that *Eogain* is by far the most likely reading of the last name, although the *i* has a tail that makes it resemble *r* of the type found in c20. I do not know of any other instances of *aigcob*, but I can think of no reason to doubt but that it is derived from ‘Jacob’, presumably in the Latin form *Jacobus* with stress on the middle syllable. The examples cited under *Iacób* ‘Jacob, James’ in the *Dictionary of the Irish Language* are nom. sg. *iacob*, *Iaccop*, voc. sg. *Iacoip*, acc. sg. *Iacób*, gen. sg. *iacuib*, *Iacóibh*, gen. pl. *Iacóbh*. The *-gc-* in our example presumably reflects lack of preaspiration, as we would expect prior to a long or stressed vowel. Jacob (James) will have lived *c.* 1160 and Eoghan *c.* 1130.

c10 

[mhic poi]l mhic neill lachlannaigh = “[son of Paul] son of Niall Lachlannach”

The beginning of the line is not legible, but it is possible to say that the first name ends in single (not double) *l*. There is only one name ending *-l* which would fit into the space available, and that is *Pól* or *Pál*, genitive *Phóil* or *Pháil*. In vernacular Scottish Gaelic *Pól* is reserved for St Paul, and *Pál* is the secular form; in the classical language, and in Modern Irish, *Pól* is used indiscriminately. The following is the usage elsewhere in our manuscript: 1rc53  *foil* (Camerons), 1rc55–56  *pfoil* (Camerons), 1rd31  *poil* (Nicolsons), 1rd34  *pal* (Gillanderses), 1rd35  *pail* (Gillanderses), 1rd36  *foil* (Gillanderses), 1va2  *poil* (MacQuarries). It has never been a common name in the Highlands, and has tended

to be concentrated in particular families – Camerons and Gillanderses, obviously; also MacPhails (Polsons, *Clann Mhic Phàil*), who were themselves Gillanderses, but branched into two tribes, one linked to the MacKays, the other to the Clan Chattan; and MacPhersons, similarly linked to the Clan Chattan. (The Lochfyneside MacPhersons will be descended from a different parson, but, *pace* Bannerman, the MacPhails in Ardchattan and Muckairn probably came from Nairnshire with the Campbells of Calder, in which case they, too, will be of the Clan Chattan.)⁵⁸ For the likelihood of a biblical name appearing here at c10, we may note that Jacob appears at c9, Joseph at c11 and Seth at c12.

With regard to the other name in the line, the adjective *Lachlannach* is potentially ambiguous, meaning either ‘Scandinavian’ or ‘of or pertaining to the MacLachlans’. However, in Ireland both the place-name and the personal name are *Lochlann*, while in Scotland there is a clear distinction between *Lochlann*, the place-name, and *Lachlann*, the personal name. As a personal name, *Lachlann* is very common in the 1467 MS. I am therefore reasonably sure that Niall Lachlannach is a person with MacLachlan connections – fostered amongst the MacLachlans, for example. If historical, Paul will have lived *c.* 1100 and Niall Lachlannach *c.* 1070. There appear to have been no MacLachlans in Lochaber until 1502.⁵⁹

c11 

[mhic s]uibhne mhic [a]isiab = “son of Suibhne son of Joseph”


The beginning of the line is illegible, but Skene read *Suibhne*, as at c17, and that is certainly the best way to make sense of what remains. Suibhne would generally be thought of as an Argyllshire name, thanks mainly to Castle Sween and the MacSweens. For *Oisiab* ‘Joseph’ see my article on the MacKays of Ugadale.⁶⁰ It is difficult to be entirely sure whether the reading here is *aisiab* or *oisiab*. This underlines the point made in that article that the stress appears to be on *ia*, giving a pronunciation ‘oshEEav’ and rendering the initial vowel unstable (*aisiab*, *eisiab*, *oisiab*). Suibhne will have lived *c.* 1040 and Joseph *c.* 1010.

c12 

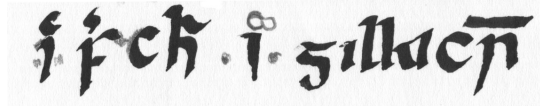
mhic leoid mhic tsead = “son of Leod son of Seth”

The beginning of the line is faint but perfectly legible, at least in one of the spectrally-imaged photographs. If historical, Leod will have lived *c.* 980 and Seth (‘Shaw’) *c.* 950. Against this line Skene writes in *Celtic Scotland* ‘mentioned in 1338’. Leod is of course a Scandinavian name (*Ljótr*), but we need not be surprised to find it in the Mackintosh pedigree, nor does it necessarily signify west over east: Professor Barrow speaks of two individuals called Leod, one whose *nepos* (grandson?) Donald was a leading cleric in western Fife in the early twelfth century, and another who was a lay abbot of Brechin in the same period.⁶¹ Still, the fact remains that it is the only Norse name in the pedigree.

This is the first of two appearances of the name Seadh or Shaw in our text, the other being in c17. Curiously, three persons named Shaw ('Shaus') also appear in the Mackintosh pedigree as it is given in the Kinrara MS. The first is claimed to have fought for Malcolm IV against the 'Moravians' in 1163, the second for William I against Donald of the Isles at an unknown date.⁶² William I reigned from 1165 to 1214, and the floruit of Donald son of Ronald son of Somerled was towards the end of that period, c. 1185–1214.

Alexander Macbain has a good deal to say on the forename 'Shaw'. He takes it from Gaelic *Sitheach*, and points to numerous anglicised spellings of this – Sythach, Scheoch, Schiach and so on, ranging in date from 1224 to 1638. He also remarks that 'the modern Gaelic of the name is Seaghdh, Na Sè'ich; but it is clear that this pronunciation was influenced by the English spelling Shaw, which itself had been adopted from the great Ayrshire and Stirlingshire families of Shaw, *de Schaw* of the Ragman Roll, from *shaw*, wood'.⁶³ My first reaction to this is that it seems a little strange that Dubhghall Albanach's 1467 spelling should be *sead[h]*, which clearly has nothing to do with *Sitheach*, and everything to do with what Macbain calls 'the modern Gaelic of the name'; but then, I have ceased to be surprised at the modernity of Dubhghall's Gaelic. On further reflection, however, I feel that in view of the fondness for biblical names that is so evident in our manuscript, the roots of *Seaghdh* and *Na Sè'ich* may not be in the English name Shaw at all but in Seth of the Old Testament; indeed he appears at lve50–54 in the sequence *mhic canain mhic enois mhic séth mhic adhaim mhic de bí*, 'son of Cain son of Enos son of Seth son of Adam son of the Living God'. The lengthmark is curiously placed, , but it must mean something. I think *Séth*, *Sè*, *Seadh* and *Seaghdh* are alternative spellings of the same name. I accept, of course, that 'Shaw' is the usual spelling of the forename in historical sources, but that is because according to English phonetics 'Shaw' is a better rendering than 'Seth' of *Séth*, *Sè*, *Seadh* or *Seaghdh*.

It is possible that our Seth son of Farquhar could be identified with a person of that name who is mentioned in a stray document of the early fourteenth century which deals with Kinrara and with Dalnavert by the confluence of Feshie and Spey. It contains a grant to Malmoran of Glencharny including, as the 'capital message', the site of the residence of *Scayth filius Ferchardi*. Professor Barrow sees this Scayth as the likely ancestor of the Shaws of Rothiemurchus, and suggests that he was descended from a certain Farquhar son of Seth (*Fercardus filius Seth*) who was steward of Badenoch (*senescallus de Badenach*) under Walter Comyn in the 1230s.⁶⁴ There is indeed another Seth in our pedigree, at c17, but his son's name is given as Suibhne, not Farquhar. More importantly, if the stewardship of Badenoch was in the family, this in itself would be sufficient to explain the name *Mac an Tòisich*.

c13 

mhic ferchair mhic gillacrìst = "son of Farquhar son of Gille Críost"

From this point on the text is much more legible and does not appear to have been polluted by Skene's chemical reagent, except perhaps at c17. If historical, Farquhar will have lived c. 920 and Gille Críost c. 890.


c14 

mhic maeil colaim = “son of Maol Colaim”

If historical, Maol Colaim will have lived *c.* 860. Numerous Mackintoshes named Malcolm appear in the Kinrara MS, of whom the first to attain the chiefship was the tenth of the line, who fought at Harlaw in 1411, against Alexander of the Isles in 1428, and against Donald Balloch in (?)1430. His death is variously placed at 1452, at 1457 and in the 1460s.⁶⁵

c15 

mhic domnaill renabarta = “son of Donald who is called”

c16 

in caimhilla mhic murchaidh = “the Caimghille son of Murchadh”

With respect to Donald’s nickname, Skene did all the work for us long ago in the *Collectanea*: at first he thought it meant ‘of Cowall’, then, no doubt following feedback from a reader, he corrected it to ‘the one-eyed lad’, which is spot on. If historical, the one-eyed lad will have lived *c.* 830 and Murchadh *c.* 800.

c17 

mhic shuibhne mhic sheadh = “son of Suibhne son of Seth”

If historical, Suibhne will have lived *c.* 770 and Seth *c.* 740.

c18 

mhic neachtain § clann gilla caitain = “son of Neachtán § the Clan Chattan”

The symbol in the middle of this line is called in Irish *ceann fá eite*, Scottish Gaelic *ceann fo ite*, ‘head under wing’, as of a bird. It is regularly used in Gaelic manuscripts to flag up a line-filler: when the reader sees it he must proceed to the line below and then come back. On that basis, the text of c18–c19 reads *mhic neachtain mhic gillachatain o fuilid clann gilla caitain* ‘son of Neachtán son of Gille Catáin from whom are the Clan Chattan’. In his genealogies, Dubhghall Albanach uses the symbol on six other occasions (1rb38, 1rb39, 1rb52, 1va26, 1va27, 1vd37) but never correctly, i.e. it appears to perform the function of a modern asterisk, and (like some modern asterisks) it is not always clear to what it refers. In his religious texts he also uses the symbol seven times – curiously, all in the course of two pages, at 8va6, 8va19, 8va36, 8va47, 8vb27, 8vb44 and 9r9. There it is used correctly.

If historical, Neachtán will have lived *c.* 710. It is worth noting here that the

Mackintosh barony of Dunachton (*Dùn Neachdain*), from which the chiefs of the clan have frequently styled themselves ‘of Dunachton’, was not acquired until 1481.⁶⁶ We can therefore make nothing of the fact that a Neachtán appears in their pedigree, written in 1467. It is pure coincidence.

Skene wrote in 1836 that the 1467 MS ‘puts it beyond all doubt that the Macphersons and the Macintoshes are descended from Neachtan and Neill, the two sons of Gillechattan Mor’.⁶⁷ This was three years before he published his first transcript of the text in *Collectanea*, in which lines c18 and c19 are correctly interpreted. Where did the name Neill come from? It beggars belief that our enthusiastic young lawyer could simply have plucked it out of line c10, unless his notes were very muddled. At c18–c19 he must have read ‘*mhic neachtain § cl~.g.c. mhic gillachatain*’ as ‘the son of Neachtan (whose brother was Neill) son of Gillechattan’. Did he think that the *ceann fá eite* symbol meant ‘whose brother was’?

c19 

mhic gillachatain o fuilid = “son of Gille Catáin from whom are”

The contraction for *id* is standard. If historical, Gille Catáin will have lived *c.* 680. This is the ‘Ghille Chattan Mhor’ who, according to the celebrated antiquarian and crofters’ leader Charles Fraser Mackintosh, lived in Lochaber between 1000 and 1100, and owned (or at least enabled his descendants to inherit) Glen Lui and Loch Arkaig under the lords of the Isles.⁶⁸ According to the Kinrara MS, Gillichattan emigrated from Connacht to Lochaber in 1215.⁶⁹

The reality is that we know nothing about Gille Catáin, except that his name means ‘Devotee of St Catán’. The cult of St Catán left its marks on Bute, Colonsay, Islay, Gigha, Luing, Kintyre and Lewis in the west, and on Aberuthven in the east.⁷⁰ Aberuthven is in Strathearn, a little off the road from Crieff to Perth. So there is no evidence for a cult of St Catán in any of the districts traditionally associated with the Clan Chattan (Lochaber, Badenoch, Strathspey, the Inverness area, Moray). The difficulty with this part of the pedigree is that it is very similar to that of the MacKays of Ugadale, in which we find *mhic gallbairt mhic gilla chatan .i. in fer leginn risinabarta gallbairt mhic domnaill mhic eogain mhic filip mhic oisiab mhic eirc*, ‘son of Gilbert son of Gille Catáin (i.e. the professor called Gilbert) son of Donald son of Eoghan son of Philip son of Joseph son of Earc’.⁷¹ Not only does the MacKay pedigree appear to be genuinely rooted in Kintyre, but the MacKays and our scribe Dubhghall Albanach were servants of the same master, the lord of the Isles. The weight of suspicion is on the Mackintosh pedigree, especially as it is far too long. Why should Dubhghall (or his exemplar) have taken a handful of MacKay names, thrown them up in the air, and added them to the Mackintosh pedigree in whatever way they happened to come down? For the answer to this question see ‘East or west?’ below.

The Gaelic for ‘cat’ is *cat*, and *Catán* means ‘Cat-Man’. For the Mackintoshes (*Clann Ghille Chatain, na Catanaich*), there could have been no simpler or more recognisable ‘brand’. At Mulroy a Mackintosh piper went into the fight playing: *Thàinig na cait, thàinig na cait*. “The cats have come, the cats have come.” When


we are told in traditional stories that MacGregors, MacLeods or Camerons of Glen Nevis disliked cats, we need not take it literally. It is code for disliking Mackintoshes, and it is no wonder that the Cameron war-cry is: *A chlanna nan con, thigibh an seo agus gheibh sibh feòil!* “Kindreds of dogs, come here and you will get flesh!”⁷²

Lochaber tradition speaks of cats being roasted alive to summon the devil, who was himself a big cat. It is difficult not to associate this with an exploit attributed to Donald Cameron of Lochiel (*Domhnall Dubh*), who captured three of Mackintosh’s sons at Moy near Inverness and hanged them one by one before their father’s eyes in order to try and persuade him to hand over his own faithful warrior Iain Dileas, who had been captured.⁷³ In one version of the ‘roasting cats’ story the ceremony was performed at *Dail a’ Chait* (‘the Cat’s Field’) on the Lochy by Donald’s son Allan, *Ailean nan Creach*, who was chief c. 1460–80. In another the setting is Pennygown in Mull, and the place of the Mackintosh chief is taken by Lachlann Catanach, who was chief of the MacLeans of Duart from 1496 to 1523. He was so called because he was the illegitimate offspring of his father’s relationship with the daughter of a Mackintosh chief. His father resigned the Duart estate to him on the same day that he was legitimated, 8 October 1496, and he is generally depicted as evil and unpopular. In this case the cat was roasted by two men called Lachann Odhar mac Dhomhnaill mhic Nèill and Ailean mac Eachainn.⁷⁴ Elsewhere I have attempted to interpret the political meaning of the story in the context of the succession to the Lochbuie estate. “By this scenario, Lachann Odhar and Ailean mac Eachainn issue a challenge to the powers-that-be by torturing some captive Mackintoshes at Pennygown. This draws Lachlann Catanach’s puppet, Murdoch MacLaine of Scallastle, into their net and they defeat him at Grulin. The big cat, Lachlann himself, is forced to abandon his claim to Lochbuie.”⁷⁵

The cat-roasting story seems to have followed Lachlann Catanach wherever he went. After the dissolution of the lordship of the Isles in 1493 he became the Crown’s leading agent in the islands. As a reward he expected to receive lands in Tiree and Mull. Instead of this he was given the four-merkland of Scalpay and Pabbay in Broadford Bay (Skye), which the Crown had taken from MacDonald of Sleat. In 1549 Dean Monro, or one of his glossators, called Pabbay ‘a maine shelter for theeives and cutthrots’, and the late Otta F. Swire described, without naming names, how the cat-roasting ceremony was once performed there. Among Lachlann Catanach’s cronies were the MacKinnons of Mishnish, who had held neighbouring Strath in Skye since 1437, when they received it from the lord of the Isles.⁷⁶ Their ‘capital city’ there was *Coire a’ Chatachain*, ‘the Corry of the Little Cat-Man’, now Corry for short. Who was the little cat-man? A loyal member of the Guard?

Of course it is possible for *Catach* to signify ‘a Sutherland’, thus *Catachan* ‘a little Sutherland’. *Cnoc nan Catach* in Ross-shire is associated with the Sutherlands, but I know of no tradition that links them with Corrychatachan, or indeed with any other place in Skye.⁷⁷ Somerled MacMillan quotes a verse about the MacMillans of Locharkaigside with the words *’S fhad’s a mhaireas ni aig Cataich / Cha bhi ac’ach leum air*, which he translates ‘In Sutherland they’re the villains, / So bent are they on stealing’, but in view of the MacMillans’ history (see below, ‘East or West?’), the following literal translation is more plausible: “And as long as Mackintoshes have any cattle / All they have to do is jump on them.”⁷⁸

Finally, cat-roasting is associated with Tote in the north-east of Skye. There are a number of possible reasons for this, but it may have something to do with the struggle between MacLeods of Dunvegan and MacDonalds of Sleat for possession of Trotternish. The MacLeods were finally driven out of that district in a battle on the Snizort river in 1539. From c. 1480 to 1547 their chief was Alastair Crotach. He was Lachlann Catanach's greatest ally, and was married to Lachlann Catanach's sister.⁷⁹ Did Lachlann send him some 'cats' to help in the struggle for Trotternish? Were they about as popular in Skye as the Gestapo in occupied France?

c20 


mhic gallbrait mhic diarm “son of Gilbert son of Diarm-”

If historical, Gilbert will have lived c. 650.⁸⁰ Kinrara calls Gille Catáin's father not Gallbrait or Gilbert but Gille Easpaig Cléireach ('Gillicattan Makgellespick chlerich').⁸¹ This raises the possibility that Gallbrat, Gallbart or Gilbert is intended as a translation of Gille Easpaig. More importantly, since Gilbert is described in the MacKay of Ugadale pedigree as a *fer leinn* or professor, we seem to have confirmation of a tradition that Gille Catáin's father was a learned man, a member of the professional class.⁸² This is reinforced at c21–c22.

c21 

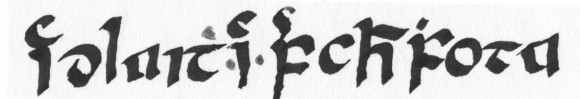
ada renabatha = “ad who is called”

Diarmada is the genitive case of *Diarmad*.

c22 

an fer leighinn mhic erc = “the professor son of Earc”

If historical, Diarmad the professor would have lived c. 620 and Earc c. 590. Dates like these make one think of Adomnán's 'Vita Columbae'. St Columba lived from 521 to 597 and Adomnán c. 625–704. Three persons named Diarmad appear in the 'Vita Columbae', by far the most prominent of whom is Columba's servant. Unfortunately Adomnán does not name his father. One also thinks of Diarmad who became abbot of Iona in 814.⁸³ These are merely mind-games, however: Gilbert the professor in the MacKay pedigree has some credibility, but Diarmad the professor, his Mackintosh *alter ego*, has very little.

c23 

mhic conlaith mhic ferchair fhota = “son of Conlaith son of Fearchar Fada”

The *con* symbol is standard. Conlaith will have lived c. 560 and Fearchar Fada c. 530. In fact, as David Sellar has pointed out, Fearchar Fada was a historical

seventh-century king of Dalriada (d. 697, according to the Annals of Ulster), so we have finally reached a point where the dating is not too far out.⁸⁴ This suggests that Dubhghall Albanach, or his exemplar, had some awareness of annalistic chronology, and filled in the gaps with more or less random names to achieve the desired result. Also according to AU, Fearchar Fada had a son Ainfcellach, but there is no mention of Conlaith at this point in our sources. In fact, the interest of the name Conlaith lies entirely in its apparent presence as the last item in the four-part Cameron pedigree. (I have to say ‘apparent’ because it emerged by deduction out of a *lectio difficilis*, a piece of fabricated-looking nonsense.) The reconstructed reading there, which the interpolator seemingly did not wish us to understand, is *mhic eirc mhic conlaith*. Here it is *mhic erc mhic conlaith mhic ferchair fhotai mhic fearadhaigh*. My conclusion with regard to the fourth part of the Cameron pedigree was that it was that of the Mackintoshes of Torcastle in Lochaber, who were evicted by Cameron of Lochiel c. 1527, and that it had been doctored in an attempt to disconnect the Camerons from the Mackintoshes.⁸⁵

It seems probable, then, that our Mackintosh pedigree is designed to shore up not only the Mackintoshes’ west-coast credentials but also their claim upon the lordship of Lochaber.

c24 

mhic fhearadhaigh = “son of Fearadhach.”

The dot over *f* is faint, but it makes no difference to the meaning anyway. We may place the death of the historical Fearadhach at c. AD 670, not too far from his place in this pedigree, which would put him a little earlier, c. AD 500. He is given as the father of Fearchar Fada in the pedigree of the Cenél Loairn – *anbcellach mc fherchair fhotai mc fheradaig mc fhergusa mc cholmán mc bóetáin mc echdach mc muredaig mc loairnd máir mc eirc mc echach munreimair*.⁸⁶ In fact, if we were to lower the average generation-span applied throughout this article from thirty years to twenty-five, we would reach Fearadhach’s floruit at AD 650 rather than AD 500. Unfortunately, while an average span of twenty-five years over thirty generations is theoretically possible, it would conflict with David Sellar’s dictum that ‘averages of 35 to 40 years per generation occur so frequently in Irish and Highland genealogies that one is almost tempted to regard them as the norm’.⁸⁷ We must conclude, therefore, that if we are to accept as genuine the tradition cited in the ‘Black Book of Clanranald’ that the Mackintoshes are descended from Fearchar Fada, our text contains too many steps for it to be historically credible. Something like five to ten names are surplus to requirements, and the most obvious suspects are those shared with the MacKay and Cameron pedigrees, i.e. lines c19–c23.

East or west?

The Sleat historian Hugh MacDonald, who lived in the reign of Charles II, has much on Angus of the Isles, the Clan Donald leader who died c. 1295. Angus had a concubine, he says, a daughter of John Gruamach Mackay. “He had by the daughter of John, the mother of the first laird of MacIntosh; for a son of MacDuff, Thane of

Fife, coming after manslaughter to shelter himself in Macdonald's house, got his daughter with child, went to Ireland with Edward Bruce, where he was killed; by which means, MacIntosh is of a natural descent, his progenitor being got in that manner. MacIntosh in the ancient language signifies a Thane's son. The boy was brought up by Macdonald, who, in process of time, procured a competent estate for him in the Braes of Lochaber, and in the Braes of Murray."⁸⁸ In other words, Hugh endorses the fiction (derived from Fordun, Wyntoun and Shakespeare) that MacDuff, earl of Fife, was a thane, and accepts Kinrara's story that the Mackintoshes are descended from his son.⁸⁹ But instead of having MacDuff's son marry Eva, heiress of Gille Catáin, he puts him into an illicit relationship with a woman who is the illegitimate offspring of Angus of the Isles and a daughter of John Gruamach Mackay; describing the result of this union as 'the first laird of MacIntosh', MacDonald claims that Angus, the young man's indulgent grandfather, sets him up with lands in Lochaber and Moray. This represents an epitome of competing east-west claims about the origin of the Mackintoshes, while portraying them emphatically as MacDonald clients. It shows the point which the debate had reached by the 1660s, and contains equal weaknesses on both sides: MacDuff is a thane, Angus has lands in Moray.

Alasdair Ross casts doubt on the historicity of a royal confirmation of William Mackintosh's rights to lands in Glenloy and Loch Arkaig, dated 28 February 1359. He also points out that 'it is only in 1444 that incontrovertible proof emerges to confirm a relationship between the chief of *Clann Mhic an Tòisich* and the Lord of the Isles'. This is a reference to Alexander of the Isles' grant of forty merks worth of land in the Braes of Lochaber to Malcolm Mackintosh in 1443–44, and his further grant of stewardship of the whole lordship of Lochaber in 1447. Richard Oram describes Mackintosh power in Lochaber as 'deeply entrenched' by the 1440s, and Ross's final conclusion that the confirmation in 1476 and 1494 of Mackintosh interest in Lochaber under Huntly is 'a remarkable example of deft political manoeuvring with no loss of land and/or prestige for *Clann Mhic an Tòisich*' shows the sheer strength of Mackintosh influence in the west by that time.⁹⁰ There is in fact no need to assume an early relationship with the MacDonalds: with or without them, the presence of Mackintoshes in Lochaber throughout the fourteenth century can fairly be deduced from circumstantial evidence. The traditional memory of it goes a long way to explaining Charles Fraser Mackintosh's placing of Gille Catáin Mór in Lochaber in the eleventh century, and the suspicious plethora of lost deeds and charters with which he chooses to back up his narrative; also Hugh MacDonald's story about 'the first laird of MacIntosh' c. 1295, and his repeated listing of Mackintoshes amongst the western clans.⁹¹ Then there is the little matter of the battle on the North Inch of Perth in 1396, in which an alleged feud between the Clan Kay and the Clan Qwhewyl was settled by gladiatorial combat, thirty men on each side, in the presence of Robert III.⁹² I fully endorse Somerled MacMillan's views on the identity of these kindreds, not least because I had reached the same conclusions about the Clan Qwhewyl before coming across them.⁹³ Briefly, the Clan Kay are the *Clann 'c Dhàibhidh* or Davidsons and the Clan Qwhewyl (Clankauel, Clankavel) are the *Clann 'c a' Mhaoil* or MacMillans. These are client tribes of the Mackintoshes and Camerons respectively, and presumably their role in each case was as a sort of praetorian guard or elite battalion, comparable to the Campbells' later use of the MacGregors

as shock troops during their eastward penetration into Perthshire.⁹⁴ The battle on the North Inch, then, was King Robert's way of putting an end to a major feud that was threatening to destabilise the Highlands, arising from competing claims to lands in Lochaber. It is hardly a coincidence that the MacMillans won the battle, and that their traditional homeland in Lochaber is on Locharkaigside, precisely the territory associated with the Mackintoshes. But the feud went on for another 300 years, as we have seen, so its roots must have been deep.

The 1467 MS pedigree of the Mackintoshes emerges from the period that spanned the battle on the North Inch and Alexander of the Isles's grants of land and stewardship in Lochaber to Malcolm Mackintosh. Also at this point we may remind ourselves of the prominent place accorded to the Mackintoshes in the manuscript, two places after the kings of Scotland and three before the Camerons. To Dubhghall Albanach, then, the Mackintoshes were topical and relevant, and to his master, John of the Isles, they were important clients. The fact that the pedigree begins with two brothers suggests that at the moment of writing (whenever that was) no one could be sure which of them was going to succeed.

I am very willing to concede that the Mackintoshes' possible connections with the thanage of Birse and/or stewardship of Badenoch could be what gave them their name *Mac an Tòisich*. The writer of our pedigree probably knew nothing of these things, however, and instead his thoughts appear to have focused on a family of *tòisich* (mairs of fee) which he knew much better, the MacKays of Ugadale. This part, c20–c22, is certainly 'tosh'. He also took care to insert Conlaith, the apparent progenitor of the Mackintoshes of Torcastle in Lochaber (though we must not make too much of this either as it involves a good deal of speculation). Gille Catáin was said to have arrived in the north from Ireland, but the distribution of the cult of St Catán suggests that for 'Ireland' we read 'South Kintyre'. In the end, then, what our text appears to describe is a Gaelic-speaking family of clear Dalriadic origin which made a name for itself as royal stewards of land on Deeside in the eleventh century, then fell back westwards under the pressure of Norman feudalism, gaining fresh footholds in Moray, Strathdearn and Lochaber, including perhaps the stewardship of Badenoch in the thirteenth century as well as of Lochaber in the fifteenth, and leaving an indelible mark on the history and traditions of the West Highlands and Islands. There is no need to choose between east-coast and west-coast origins: as we have seen in the case of the MacLeans and MacEacherns, the story of the Mackintoshes contains elements of both, depending on how far back we wish to go.

What is certainly 'tosh' is the excessively large number of names and the order in which they are placed. No doubt the first few steps are accurate, but in the middle part of the pedigree (let us say c10–c19) it looks as if the author has plucked some names at random from Mackintosh tradition and rearranged them into a string without regard to chronology, just as he does with his MacKays at c20–c22. We should bear in mind the wise words of modern Mackintosh historian Alison Cathcart and reapply them to the 1467 MS: "The apparent strict father-to-son succession recounted in clan histories betrays the author's agenda while in reality, the adoption of primogeniture within Highland society would appear to have been gradual."⁹⁵

Ronald Black

NOTES

- 1 Alasdair Ross, ‘*Ghille Chattan Mhor and Clann Mhic an Tòisich* Lands in the Clann Dhomhnail Lordship of Lochaber’, in *The Lordship of the Isles*, ed. by Richard D. Oram (Leiden, 2014), pp. 101–22: 112.
- 2 The Kinrara MS was first published in a Latin version, with an English translation, in James Toshach Clark, ed., *Genealogical Collections Concerning Families in Scotland, Made by Walter Macfarlane 1750–1751*, vol. 1 (Scottish History Society [SHS], Edinburgh, 1900), pp. 144–407. It has now been published from a copy dated 1761, believed to be closer to the original English version, in Jean Munro, ed., *A Chronicle of the Family of Mackintosh to the Year 1680 by Lachlan Mackintosh of Kinrara* (Clan Chattan Association, Penicuik, 2009).
- 3 Ross, ‘*Ghille Chattan Mhor*’, pp. 101, 104, 117.
- 4 Alexander Mackintosh Shaw, *Historical Memoirs of the House and Clan of Mackintosh and of the Clan Chattan* (London, 1880), pp. 7–11; A. M. Mackintosh, *The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan* (Edinburgh, 1903), pp. 5–9.
- 5 National Museum of Scotland MCR 40, f. 89r, cf. Rev. Alexander Cameron *et al.*, eds, *Reliquiae Celticae*, vol. 2 (Inverness, 1894), p. 300.
- 6 Ross, ‘*Ghille Chattan Mhor*’, p. 106.
- 7 The Iona Club, *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* (Edinburgh, 1839), pp. 50–53, 62. Skene’s translation was reproduced (with some curious omissions and some comments) in Rev. Alexander D. Murdoch, ed., *The Loyall Dissuasive and Other Papers Concerning the Affairs of Clan Chattan: by Sir Aeneas Macpherson, Knight of Invereshie 1691–1705* (SHS, Edinburgh, 1902), p. lxxxix.
- 8 The Iona Club, *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* (Edinburgh, 1847), p. 357.
- 9 William F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1876–80), vol. 3, pp. 478–79. The reason why Skene italicises the last four names in his translation appears to be that his overall heading for the ‘Clan Duff’, the MacNaughtons, the Mackintoshes and the Camerons is: “First Group—Clans descended from Fearchar fada, son of Fearadach of the Tribe of Lorn, King of Dalriada; died 697.”
- 10 William Gillies, ‘Some Thoughts on the Toschederach’, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* [SGS], vol. 17 (1996), pp. 128–42: 134.
- 11 Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. 3, pp. 270–74; W. J. Watson, *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty* (Inverness, 1904), p. 114; G. W. S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots: Government, Church and Society from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century* (London, 1973), pp. 7–68; Alexander Grant, ‘Thanes and Thanages, from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Centuries’, in *Medieval Scotland: Crown, Lordship and Community, Essays Presented to G. W. S. Barrow*, ed. by Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer (Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 39–81: 42, 50, 51; Alexander Grant, ‘The Province of Ross and the Kingdom of Alba’, in *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Edward J. Cowan and R. Andrew McDonald (2nd edn, Edinburgh, 2012 [1st edn E. Linton 2000]), pp. 88–126: 104, n. 74.
- 12 Grant, ‘Thanes and Thanages’, p. 42.
- 13 Somerled MacMillan, *The MacMillans and their Septs* (Glasgow, 1952), p. 31.
- 14 Grant, ‘The Province of Ross’, p. 107, n. 88.
- 15 R. W. Munro, ed., *Monro’s Western Isles of Scotland and Genealogies of the Clans 1549* (Edinburgh, 1961), p. 102; John Bannerman, ‘The Lordship of the Isles’, in *Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Jennifer M. Brown (London, 1977), pp. 209–40: 222.
- 16 J. R. N. Macphail, *Highland Papers*, vol. 1 (SHS, Edinburgh, 1914), p. 45.
- 17 Macphail, *Highland Papers*, vol. 1, p. 27.
- 18 Gillies, ‘Some Thoughts on the Toschederach’, pp. 137–38.
- 19 Munro, *Monro’s Western Isles*, pp. 102–03, cf. Macphail, *Highland Papers*, vol. 1, p. 24.
- 20 Alexander Macbain, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* (Inverness, 1896), p. 19; William J. Watson, *Bardachd Ghaidhlig: Gaelic Poetry 1550–1900* (3rd edn, Inverness, 1959), p. 345.
- 21 Macphail, *Highland Papers*, vol. 1, pp. 6, 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17.
- 22 Walter Scott, *Saint Ronan’s Well* (Edinburgh Edn, Edinburgh, 1995), p. 180.

- 23 Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. 3, pp. 272–74; George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland: Their Origin, Meaning, and History* (New York, 1946), p. 518.
- 24 See Ronald Iain Black, ‘The Gaelic Academy: The Cultural Commitment of the Highland Society of Scotland’, *SGS*, vol. 14, part 2 (winter 1986), pp. 1–38: 12.
- 25 Alexander Campbell, ed., *Mackintosh’s Collection of Gaelic Proverbs, and Familiar Phrases* (Edinburgh, 1819), pp. 67, 206.
- 26 Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. 3, p. 270; William Alexander Lindsay *et al.*, eds, *Charters, Bulls and Other Documents Relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray* (SHS, Edinburgh, 1908), pp. 15, 18, 181, 183; Black, *Surnames of Scotland*, p. 776.
- 27 Campbell, *Mackintosh’s Collection of Gaelic Proverbs*, pp. 32, 204.
- 28 Angus Martin, *Kintyre Families* (Campbeltown, 2010), p. 40.
- 29 Ronald Black, ‘1467 MS: The MacKays of Ugadale’, *WHN&Q*, ser. 4, no. 4 (July 2017), pp. 3–15: 8; Ronald Black, ‘1467 MS: The MacEacherns’, *WHN&Q*, ser. 4, no. 5 (Nov. 2017), pp. 5–18: 7–9.
- 30 A. I. B. Stewart, ‘Some Descendants of Lachlan McNeill Buidhe’, *The Kintyre Antiquarian and Natural History Society Magazine*, no. 21 (1987), pp. 7–10: 9; Martin, *Kintyre Families*, p. 41.
- 31 Dewar MSS, vol. 4, ff. 129–36 (translated in Hector MacLean MSS, vol. 12, ff. 58–68). The Dewar and MacLean MSS are in the Argyll Papers, Inveraray Castle. Dewar wrote a shorter version of this story in what is now NLS Adv. ms 50.2.19, ff. 191v–192r, published with a translation by Angus Matheson, ‘Traditions of Alasdair Mac Colla’, *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Glasgow*, vol. 5 (1958), pp. 9–93: 78–83.
- 32 Dewar MSS, vol. 4, f. 131r.
- 33 Dewar MSS, vol. 4, ff. 20r, 21r, 34r, and vol. 6, p. 533; NLS Adv. ms 50.2.19, f. 163r, trl. by Matheson, ‘Traditions of Alasdair Mac Colla’, pp. 12–13.
- 34 Cameron, *Reliquiæ Celticæ*, vol. 2, p. 172, cf. p. 301; Revs A. and A. Macdonald, *The Clan Donald* (3 vols, Inverness, 1896–1904), vol. 3, p. 277; Ronald Black, ‘Colla Ciotach’, *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness [TGSi]*, vol. 48 (1972–74), pp. 201–43: 219.
- 35 Lord Archibald Campbell, *Records of Argyll* (Edinburgh, 1885), pp. 225–26.
- 36 Dewar MSS, vol. 4, f. 162r; David Stevenson, *Alasdair MacColla and the Highland Problem in the Seventeenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1980, repr. Edinburgh 1994 as *Highland Warrior: Alasdair MacColla and the Civil Wars*), p. 237; Angus Martin, *The Place-Names of the Parish of Campbeltown* (Campbeltown, 2009), p. 46.
- 37 Dewar MSS, vol. 4, ff. 131r, 132r, 134r, 135r, 136r; NLS Adv. ms 50.2.19, ff. 195r, 207r, 208r.
- 38 Dewar MSS, vol. 6, p. 455.
- 39 Dewar MSS, vol. 6, p. 335.
- 40 Dauvit Broun, ‘The Property Records in the Book of Deer as a Source for Early Scottish Society’, in *Studies on the Book of Deer*, ed. by Katherine Forsyth (Dublin, 2008), pp. 313–60: 315–26, 355.
- 41 Dewar MSS, vol. 2, f. 257r.
- 42 Robert MacFarlan, *A New Alphabetical Vocabulary* (Edinburgh, 1795); Highland Society of Scotland, *Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* (Edinburgh, 1828), vol. 2, p. 210; Edward Dwelly, *The Illustrated Gaelic–English Dictionary* (9th edn, Glasgow, 1977), p. 960.
- 43 John Macnab, *The Clan Macnab: A Short Sketch* (Edinburgh, 1907), pp. 1–2; Sir Iain Moncreiffe, *The Highland Clans* (London, 1967), p. 212. When such sources cite ‘old Gaelic MS. genealogies’ this means Skene’s *Celtic Scotland*, vol. 2, pp. 486–87, where Skene misunderstands the pedigree of the Green Abbot to be that of the MacNabs. There is no medieval pedigree of the MacNabs.
- 44 Grant, ‘The Province of Ross’, pp. 117–22.
- 45 See for example 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. 400–01.
- 46 Clark, *Genealogical Collections*, vol. 1, pp. 179–80; Munro, *Chronicle*, pp. 17–18; cf. Alan G. Macpherson, ‘An Old Highland Genealogy and the Evolution of a Scottish Clan’, *Scottish Studies*, vol. 10 (1966), pp. 1–43: 34, 37.

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- 48 Munro, *Chronicle*, p. 18.
- 49 Stephen Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings: Robert II and Robert III, 1371–1406* (E. Linton, 1996), pp. 85–86; Ross, ‘*Ghille Chattan Mhor*’, pp. 113–15.
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- 53 Martin MacGregor, ‘Genealogies of the Clans: Contributions to the Study of MS 1467’, *The Innes Review*, vol. 51, no. 2 (Autumn 2000), pp. 131–46: 137.
- 54 Clark, *Genealogical Collections*, vol. 1, pp. 169, 170, 174–75, 179, 182; Shaw, *House and Clan*, pp. 83–84, 131–33; Mackintosh, *Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan*, pp. 38–68; Munro, *Chronicle*, pp. 14–19.
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- 57 Clark, *Genealogical Collections*, vol. 1, pp. 164–65; Munro, *Chronicle*, pp. 12–13; Ross, ‘*Ghille Chattan Mhor*’, p. 104.
- 58 For the MacPhails see Shaw, *House and Clan*, pp. 542–44; Mackintosh, *Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan*, pp. 494–96; John Bannerman, *The Beatons: A Medical Kindred in the Classical Gaelic Tradition* (Edinburgh, 1986), pp. 150–51; William Matheson, ‘The Pape Riot and its Sequel in Lewis’, *TGSI*, vol. 48 (1972–74), pp. 395–434: 425–27. Andrew MacPhail, parson of Croy, was the author of one of Kinrara’s lost sources (Clark, *Genealogical Collections*, vol. 1, p. 148; Shaw, *House and Clan*, pp. 26, 543; Mackintosh, *Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan*, pp. 6, 8, 494; Munro, *Chronicle*, p. 5 and note). See also Martin MacGregor, ‘The Genealogical Histories of Gaelic Scotland’, in *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain 1500–1850*, ed. by Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (Manchester, 2002), pp. 196–239: 209, and ‘Writing the History of Gaelic Scotland: A Provisional Checklist of “Gaelic” Genealogical Histories’, in *SGS*, vol. 24 (2008), pp. 357–79: 364.
- 59 Somerled MacMillan, *Bygone Lochaber: Historical and Traditional* (Glasgow, 1971), p. 102.
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- 79 I. F. Grant, *The MacLeods: The History of a Clan 1200–1956* (London, 1959), pp. 107–08; Swire, *Skye*, pp. 51, 73–74; Maclean-Bristol, *Warriors and Priests*, p. 84; MacilleDhuibh, 'The Cats of Skye'; Black, *Gaelic Otherworld*, pp. 167, 169.
- 80 Alasdair Ross's statement ('*Ghille Chattan Mhor*', p. 106) that the 1467 MS refers to 'Gille Brátha' is based on an interpretation (now superseded) of *gallbrait* that was suggested in www.1467manuscript.co.uk. The interpretation was founded on the guess that *gallbrait* was a mangling of the MacGillivray eponym.
- 81 Clark, *Genealogical Collections*, vol. 1, p. 163; Munro, *Chronicle*, p. 11, where 'chlerich' is omitted.
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- 83 Adomnán of Iona, *Life of St Columba*, trl. by Richard Sharpe (London, 1995), p. 396.
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