

1467 MS: The MacKenzies

The MacKenzie pedigree occupies just three lines of the 1467 MS – National Library of Scotland Adv. MS 72.1.1, f. 1rd21–23. It is not difficult to read, and the task of interpreting it has been further facilitated by the work of the Rev. William Matheson, David Sellar and Aonghas MacCoinnich. David Sellar once described the MacKenzie pedigree in general as the best-known example of the seventeenth-century trend by which ‘families of undoubted Celtic descent began to claim Norman ancestors’ – the Norman in this case being the Anglo-Irishman Colin Fitzgerald who was said to have assisted Alexander III at the battle of Largs. The culprit, says Sellar, was probably ‘that arch-fabricator, the first Earl of Cromartie’.¹ Fortunately the 1467 MS came before all that, but this does not mean that it is necessarily free of fabrication. It reflects the politics of its own age and origins. As we have it, it was written *c.* 1467 by Dubhghall Albanach mac mhic Cathail, presumably a MacMhuirich in the service of John, lord of the Isles, but most of the text seems to have come into being two generations earlier, around 1400. During this entire period, 1400–67, the thoughts and energies of successive lords of the Isles and their followers were focused on the immensely valuable earldom of Ross: fighting for it, especially in the campaign that culminated in the horrific battle of Harlaw in 1411; acquiring it, which was achieved *c.* 1437; and defending it by every possible means, which was still going on in 1467, but which led to losing it in 1476, and forfeiting the lordship of the Isles as well in 1493.²

I will now give the MacKenzie pedigree of 1467 exactly as it stands in the three editions known to me: (1) W. F. Skene’s *Collectanea* of 1839, (2) his *Celtic Scotland* of 1880, and (3) the on-line version published by my wife Máire and myself in 2009. As (4) I will add the MacKenzie/MacLean pedigree that appears in the ‘Black Book of Clanranald’. For ease of comparison, these texts are all presented here according to the three-line structure in which they appear in the 1467 MS.³

(1) *Collectanea*:

d21 *Genelach clann Cainig.*—Muiread ic Cainig
d22 mc Eoin ic Cainig ic Aengusa ic Cristin ic Agam
d23 mc Gillaeon oig ic Gilleon na haird.

d21 THE GENEALOGY OF THE CLAN KENETH.—Murdoch son of Keneth
d22 son of John son of Keneth son of Angus son of Christian son of Adam
d23 son of Gilleoin og son of Gilleoin of the Aird.⁴

(2) *Celtic Scotland*, with Skene’s notes:

d21 GENEALACH CEANN [*sic*] CAINNIG* Murchaid mac Cainnig
d22 mhic Eoin mhic Cainnig mhic Aongusa mhic Cristin mhic Cainnig**
d23 mhic Gillaeoin oig mhic Gillaeoin na hairde

- d21 GENEALOGY OF THE CLAN KENNETH Murdoch son of Kenneth
 d22 son of John son of Kenneth son of Angus son of Cristin*** son of Kenneth
 d23 son of Gilleoin og son of Gilleoin of the Aird.

* From MS. 1467 and MacVurich.

** MS. 1467 has Agad by mistake for Cainnig, correctly given by MacVurich.

*** Gilchrist filius Kinedi appears in 1222 as a follower of MacWilliam.⁵

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

- d21 genelach cloinni cainnig murchadh mac cainnigh
 d22 mhic eoin mhic cainnigh mhic aonghusa mhic cristin mhic agad*
 d23 mhic gilla eoin oig mhic gilla eoin na haird **

- d21 The genealogy of the MacKenzies: Murchadh son of Kenneth
 d22 son of John son of Kenneth son of Angus son of Cristin son of Agad*
 d23 son of young Gilleoin son of Gilleoin of the Aird.

* For Ádhaimh ‘Adam’?

** There may be something illegible here.

(4) National Museum of Scotland MCR 40 (the ‘Black Book of Clanranald’), ff. 88v–89r:

- d21 genelach cloinn choinndidh / murchadh mac coinndidh,
 d22 mhic eoin, mhic coinndidh, mhic aonghuis, mhic cristin, mhic coinndidh,
 d23 mhic giolleoin óig, mhic giolleoin mhóir, mhic murchaidh, mhic donchaidh, mhic murchaidh, mhic donchaidh, mhic murchaidh, mhic coinndigh, mhic cristin, mhic giolleoin na hairde, ciogh be é soin do tighearna cloinne ghiollaeoin, mhic krath, mhic maolsuthin, mhic neill, mhic condulligh, mhic cellaigh, mhic krainc, mhic ferchir abhrarúigh, mhic báigh, mhic fionlaoich, 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 áoca⁶

- d21 The genealogy of the MacKenzies: Murchadh son of Kenneth,
 d22 son of John, son of Kenneth, son of Angus, son of Crístín, son of Kenneth,
 d23 son of Gilleoin junior, son of Gilleoin senior, son of Murchadh, son of Duncan, son of Murchadh, son of Duncan, son of Murchadh, son of Kenneth, son of Crístín, son of Gilleoin of the Aird, whatever he might be to the laird of MacLean, son of [Mac] Raith, son of Maol Suthain, son of Neil, son of Cú Duiligh, son of Ceallach, son of Francis, son of Fearchar of the Red Eyebrows, son of [Báetán], son of Finlay, 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.⁷

I move now to my usual line-by-line discussion of Dubhghall Albanach’s 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).

d21 

gen[e]lach cloinni c[a]innigh murchadh mac cainnigh = “The genealogy of the MacKenzies: Murchadh son of Kenneth”

The second letter of the first *cainnig* is unclear, but there are no palaeographic difficulties here. The difficulties are historical, but William Matheson attempted to resolve them some years ago, and his conclusions are as follows. Firstly, the sources for the events of 1428, when James I summoned the northern chiefs to Inverness to answer for their conduct, refer to the MacKenzie chief as ‘Kennett Moir’ and ‘Kenethe Moire’ (*Coinneach Mór*). Matheson pointed out that *Coinneach Mór* is probably to be identified as the ‘Keneath Murchirson de Rosse’ who had been given £10 from the royal exchequer in 1414 for his services in keeping the peace in his home province. These services may have been connected with the imprisonment of the Matheson chief and his brother in Inverness Castle. ‘Keneath Murchirson’ is *Coinneach mac Murchaidh*, which links with Murchadh of our pedigree. William Matheson identifies him as *Murchadh na Drochaid* ‘Murchadh of the Bridge’, probably so called because he built the bridge of Scatwell in Strathconon.⁸

Murchadh’s father Kenneth is probably to be identified with ‘Kenneth Achiench Mackenzie’ who, according to the Sleat historian Hugh MacDonald, was ‘so called being nourished on a spot of land of that name near the head of Lochaw’, and who married a daughter of John of the Isles and Amy MacRuairi. As John and Amy received a papal dispensation to marry in 1337, this fits very well with Kenneth’s likely floruit of *c.* 1370. Achiench is apparently *Achadh a’ Cheannathaigh* ‘the Field of the Principal Residence’, referring to the home of the MacCorquodale barons. “The MacKenzie historians aver,” says William Matheson, “that some early members of the family took refuge with their mother’s people, the MacDougalls of Lorn, whose vassals the MacCorquodales were.”⁹ In fact, we can go a little further than that. Aonghas MacCoinnich believes that the MacKenzies’ alleged descent from Gilleoin of the Aird (d23) is a fabrication, that their origins are to be sought not in Ross-shire but in Argyll or possibly Banffshire (Rothmackenzie near Aberchirder), and that they first arrived in Kintail in the mid-14th century as mere bailies, working in the MacDonald interest.¹⁰ The suggested Argyll connection, for which Achiench is an important clue, is particularly plausible. It is a curious fact that the MacKenzies’ two most distinctive names, *Coinneach* (Kenneth) and *Cailean* (Colin), both connect them with Argyll. St Cainneach or Coinneach was a companion of Calum Cille; there are many dedications to him in Argyll, but none in Ross. In Argyll the forename *Gille Choinnich* (‘Servant of St Kenneth’) gave rise to little tribes called *Clann Mhic Gille Choinnich* who lived on both sides of Loch Fyne. The secular use of *Coinneach* without *Gille* was shared with the MacLachlans, who lived in the same districts. As for *Cailean*, prior to its adoption by the MacKenzies it had been

almost unique to the lords of Lochawe, amongst whom it had been in use since the thirteenth century – in our manuscript it only appears in three pedigrees (Campbells, MacEacherns, ?MacDougalls). And this Loch Fyne / Loch Awe area was much influenced by the MacDonalds, as appears to be demonstrated by the presence of Campbells, MacLachlans and others in the 1467 MS.¹¹

William Matheson’s view was quite different. According to him, the MacKenzie chiefs had been in exile in the south (see d22), but now, probably thanks to the accession of Sir Walter Leslie to the earldom of Ross in 1372, Kenneth was allowed to return – not to Kintail, however, but to Easter Ross. He appears to have been given as his residence the crannog in Loch Kinellan near Strathpeffer, where the Earl’s family could keep an eye on him, and where he could serve as a hostage for the good behaviour of his kinsmen in the west. William Matheson believed that the final breaking of the MacKenzie and Matheson factions into separate clans can be attributed to Kenneth’s settlement in the east and to their divergent political loyalties – the MacKenzies for the King, the Mathesons for the lord of the Isles. This is strongly disputed by MacCoinnich, who prefers to see the MacKenzies, Mathesons and Gillanderses, all incomers perhaps, as the foundation of MacDonald power in Ross – which would explain, he says, why these three clans are represented in the 1467 MS, while the indigenous Munros and MacRaes are not.¹²

d22 

mhic eoin mhic cainnigh mhic aongusa mhic cristin mhic agad = “son of John son of Kenneth son of Angus son of Cristín son of Agaðr”

This line is entirely clear. Little or nothing is known about any of these five individuals except Kenneth, so it is on him that we must concentrate. If William Matheson’s interpretation is correct, he is *Coinneach na Sròine*, who lived in Kintail in the time of the Wars of Independence. With regard to this name, ‘Kenneth of the Nose’, there seems to be no reason to contest Alexander Mackenzie’s remark that he was ‘so called from the great protuberance of that organ’.¹³ Presumably it was based on the statement in one of the earlier histories that Kenneth ‘was called Kenneth Nistroin from his Great Nose’.¹⁴ This man seems to have married a daughter of MacDougall of Lorn (possibly Alexander de Ergadia). According to Matheson, he was hereditary constable of Eilean Donnan Castle, and his master William, earl of Ross, appears also to have given him a charter to the lands of Kinlochewe. In the troubled affairs of the kingdom in this period the Earl began by supporting Edward I, but following Edward’s death in 1307 he went over to Bruce’s side, and became his faithful lieutenant in the north.¹⁵ The result was a revolt amongst the western clans, apparently supported by the constable of Eilean Donnan, who must have seen his principal loyalty as being to his father-in-law MacDougall, Bruce’s arch-enemy. He seems to have held out until 1331, when Randolph, earl of Moray, warden of the kingdom for David II, sent his crowner – possibly the earl of Ross himself – to take forceful possession of the castle. When Randolph arrived on the scene he was greeted by the heads of fifty ‘misdoaris’ set upon its walls. These did not include Kenneth’s, however. Kenneth was imprisoned, and lost both his constableness and Kinlochewe,

which was given to Leòd mac Gille Ainndris, who had taken a leading part in the hostilities against him. In the scenario painted by MacCoinnich, of course, all of this except the marriage derives from the imagination of later MacKenzie historians, aided by oral tradition – the portrait of Coinneach na Sròine and his exploits, if true, relates to a fifteenth-century MacKenzie.

Kenneth was allegedly executed at Inverness in 1346, but seems to have left two sons, Murchadh and John. Murchadh was known as *Murchadh Dubh nan Uamhag*, ‘Black Murdoch of the Little Caves’, which speaks for itself. William Matheson calls him ‘the Robin Hood of the clan’. His exploits in hunting down and killing Leòd mac Gille Ainndris at Kinlochewe were much spoken of in Gairloch tradition. He died, we are told, in 1375. John is the *eoine* of our pedigree; he may have lived his whole life in Argyll, which, as William Matheson points out, made him ‘entirely unknown to the seventeenth century family historians’.¹⁶ Needless to say, this part is endorsed by MacCoinnich. He expresses the essence of the matter like this (I translate): “William Matheson believed that early accounts of the clan were supported by ‘genuine tradition’, and in this he was undoubtedly correct. Nor should it be doubted that such persons as *Murchadh Dubh nan Uamhag*, *Murchadh na Drochaid* and *Coinneach na Sròine* really existed. There is too little information, however, for us to reach a firm decision in every case.”¹⁷

Our pedigree makes Kenneth the son of Angus, son of Crístín. William Matheson disagrees with Dubhghall Albanach. He prefers to make Kenneth the son of Murchadh, son of Kenneth, son of Mathghamhain, who appear in that order in the Matheson pedigree. In other words, as we have seen, the events of the Wars of Independence resulted in a split between the Matheson and MacKenzie factions of Mathghamhain’s kindred, and a fresh descent was concocted for the MacKenzies which was then adopted by the writer of the 1467 MS. Of Angus we can say nothing. On Crístín, William Matheson points to the prevalence of the name (as *Crìstean*, *Gille Crìost* or Christopher) amongst the MacRaes, who have always claimed an ancient kinship with the MacKenzies, and whose tradition was that they came from the Aird to Kintail in the fourteenth century.¹⁸ We may also point to Cristin of the Aird, who appears many times on record between 1296 and 1329. Among other things, he was paid by Edward I for carrying letters to his master the earl of Ross and a number of western chiefs – this was in 1306, a couple of years before the Earl changed sides.¹⁹ He was unlikely to have been Kenneth’s grandfather of our pedigree, but then, according to William Matheson, the pedigree is wrong, which implies that it was composed by plucking the names of descendants of Gilleoin of the Aird out of a hat. In any case his father’s name is given as John of the Aird in a document of 1297.²⁰

Counting back thirty years per generation, we have floruits for John *c.* 1340, Kenneth *c.* 1310 (which would seem to justify William Matheson’s identification), then Angus *c.* 1280, Crístín *c.* 1250 and Agaðr *c.* 1220. Skene says of Crístín that ‘Gilchrist filius Kinedi appears in 1222 as a follower of MacWilliam’, referring to the dynastic struggles by which the men of Moray sought to restore to the throne the descendants of Malcolm III by his first wife, Ingibjorg. The date fits, and no doubt *Crístín* was interchangeable with *Gille Crìost*, but the identification falls down on the implied surname ‘filius Kinedi’. This is clearly *mac Cinaeda*, not *Mac Coinnich*.

The kings' name *Cinaed* gave English 'Kenneth' then fell out of use, after which 'Kenneth' was pressed into service as a translation of *Coinneach*. Had this happened earlier we would no doubt be speaking today of MacKenneths, not MacKenzies. Skene had fallen into a linguistic trap.

The last name in the line, *agad*, is here interpreted as Norse *Agaðr*.²¹ In 1839 Skene transcribed it as *Agam* and translated it as 'Adam'. In 1880 he chose instead to call *Agad* a mistake, pointing out that 'MacVurich' (by which he means the compiler of Christopher Beaton's 'Black Book of Clanranald', no. 4 above) gives another *coinndidh* ('Kenneth') at this point, not *Agad* at all. In 2009 Máire and I gave the 'Adam' interpretation a very hesitant reendorsement. There is certainly nothing implausible about a biblical name here: the 1467 MS throws up many other examples, including Seth, Joseph, Jacob, Paul, etc., and 'John' is itself biblical. The biblical interpretation of *agad* would be on the basis that the Gaelic for 'Adam' is *Ádhamh*, that medial *dh* and *gh* share the same sound, and that as final *-dh* and *-mh* are frequently silent, they are liable to be confused. However, for 'Adam' at f. 1ve53 we have not *agad* but *Adhaim*, much as we would expect.

Apart from phonetic plausibility, the decisive factor in interpreting *agad* as 'Agaðr' in preference to 'Adam' is that the occurrence of a Norse name at this point in our pedigree is consistent with both of the main theories of MacKenzie origins that have been put forward. William Matheson saw them as a junior branch of the Aird family who, following the grant of the Aird to the Bissets *c.* 1190, were sent as pioneers into Kintail, one of the west-coast districts which Norse settlers were beginning to abandon (see notes on d23). He tentatively interpreted *agad* as 'Gille Adhamhnain?' but that is a name derived from *Ádhamh* in any case, so it does not help.²² Aonghas MacCoinnich would prefer to place the MacKenzies alongside the MacCorquodales in the Loch Awe area, and here, too, there is a potential Norse connection, given that the MacCorquodales' eponym was Þórketill. But that is not all. Intriguingly, MacCoinnich draws our attention to a figure named in the Melrose Chronicle as *Kennauh mac aht*, who appears in Ross in 1215. This presents us not only with the first Kenneth ever to appear on record in Ross-shire, but also with his father in the shape of a man whose name looks very like Agaðr – and this at precisely the point in time, *c.* 1220, when the chronology of our pedigree suggests that Agaðr should have lived.²³

Finally, MacMhuirich's *coinndidh* may perhaps be noted as another example of the anti-Norse bias which appears here and there in our manuscript.

d23 

mhic gilla eoin oig mhic gilla eoin na haird = “son of Gilleoin junior son of Gilleoin of the Aird.”

This line is also clear, except that there is something illegible at the end. It is probably ‘etc.’, meaning that the descent of *gilla eoin na haird* is to be found in another pedigree – which it is, in that of the Gillanderses, further down the same column.

The Aird is the fertile territory south of the Beaully Firth, between the rivers Beaully and Ness. In the twelfth century it was part of the earldom of Moray. For centuries

the Beaully had served as the effective border between the territories of the kings of Scots and of the semi-independent Norse earls of Orkney. Since 1050, however, the authority of the Scots kings in the province of Ross had been growing steadily, despite being punctuated by periodic rebellions, both there and in Moray. Following two such rebellions in 1179 and 1187, William the Lion made the Aird a fief of the crown and gave it to a Norman called John Bisset.²⁴ If we regard our pedigree as historically accurate, the native leader whom Bisset was replacing will have been the offspring of Gilleoin of the Aird, presumably our Gilleoin junior (fl. c. 1190). William Matheson suggests that the grant to Bisset may have been preceded by the removal of members of Gilleoin's clan – the future MacKenzies and Mathesons – to Kintail, but it could be argued that many of them stayed put to become the semi-normanised family of del Ard.²⁵ It is interesting to note that when Christopher Beaton comes to Gilleoin of the Aird in his 'Black Book of Clanranald' version of the MacKenzie pedigree (no. 4 above), he first says *ciogh be é soin do tighearna cloinne ghiollaeaoin* ('whatever he might be to the laird of MacLean'), obviously unsure as to whether he should be identified with the MacLeans' eponym Gilleoin na Tuaighe; then he proceeds with Gilleoin na Tuaighe's pedigree, beginning *mhic krath, mhic maolsuthin*. It is clear why he was confused, because *mhic krath* brings to mind the MacRaes, who were understood to have come from the Aird with the MacKenzies (see notes at d22). Aonghas MacCoinnich expresses scepticism at the alleged descent of the MacKenzies from the del Aird family, and concludes by stating categorically (I translate): "Tempting though it may be to accept the 1467 MS evidence of MacKenzie descent from Gilleoin of the Aird, it is entirely unsafe."²⁶

As stated above, the descent of Gilleoin of the Aird is given in the Gillanders pedigree, though Sellar thinks that it is 'probably a fabrication'.²⁷ He is said to be *mac eirc mhic loairn mhic ferchair mhic cormaic mhic airbertaigh mhic feradhaigh* 'son of Earc son of Loarn son of Farquhar son of Cormac son of Airbheartach son of Fearadhach' – in other words, a fully-fledged member of the Cenél Loairn of Dalriada who, as is well known, moved up the Great Glen to occupy Moray during the four centuries from AD 600 to 1000.

Sellar and Matheson disagreed with regard to the claim that the MacKenzies share a common ancestry with the MacLeans. Matheson went to strenuous efforts to justify it, but Sellar felt that 'the case has still to be made out'. It hinges upon the long-standing identification of the MacKenzies' Gille Eoin na h-Àirde with the MacLeans' Gille Eoin na Tuaighe. Matheson accepted that this identification was wrong, but believed that the fact that it had been made reflected an underlying tradition of kinship. Sellar thought that it is more probable that the false identification came first, and tradition of kinship followed.²⁸ With this I agree.

Conclusion

If we accept our pedigree as historically correct in all its steps, we discover what its author probably wished us to think – that the MacKenzies, along with the Mathesons, were a junior branch of the Aird family who, perhaps at the time of the grant of the Aird to the Bissets c. 1190, were sent as pioneers into Kintail, one of the west-coast districts which the Norse settlers were beginning to abandon. According to

this scenario, following the battle of Largs (1263) and the Treaty of Perth (1266) their position was strengthened, their superior, the earl of Ross, making them constables of Eilean Donnan Castle. By the late fourteenth century their Aird descent associated them with Weland del Ard, who married Matilda, daughter of Malise, earl of Strathearn, Orkney and Caithness, and with their son Alexander (fl. 1368), who was at one time a claimant to the Caithness earldom. This Alexander appears to have died without issue, and his sister married a Chisholm.²⁹ William Matheson reckoned that by 1400 the MacKenzies were firmly on the side of the Stewart kings and their appointees as earls of Ross, the Leslie family (see notes on d21); yet the author of our pedigrees seeks to remind his readers that, thanks to their Aird origins, the MacKenzies and Mathesons were from Dalriadic stock of the Cenél Loairn, and therefore kin to the lords of the Isles.

The Aird family had been staunch supporters of the original earls of Ross, whose line died out in 1372.³⁰ If we prefer, like Aonghas MacCoinnich, to see the MacKenzies as strangers from the south or east, brought into Kintail (then regarded as part of northern Argyll) as bailies by the MacDonald lord of the Isles in the mid-fourteenth century, and deployed from *c.* 1372 in pursuit of the MacDonald claim to the earldom, we begin to perceive the advantages of claiming for them a spurious twelfth-century Aird connection, using the very names, Cristin and John, which were characteristic of that family in the time of Robert Bruce. It is precisely at this point in the pedigree that Agaðr is thrown into the mix, and it may very well be that it was done in full awareness of the presence of a *Kennauh mac aht* in Ross *c.* 1215 – in other words, Agaðr is the link between the genuine and fictitious parts of our pedigree.³¹

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NOTES

- 1 David Sellar, ‘Highland Family Origins – Pedigree Making and Pedigree Faking’, in *The Middle Ages in the Highlands*, ed. by Loraine Maclean of Dochgarroch (Inverness Field Club, Inverness, 1981), pp. 103–16: 108.
- 2 For the part played by the MacKenzies at Harlaw see David Kyle Cochran-Yu, ‘A Keystone of Contention: the Earldom of Ross, 1215–1517’ (PhD thesis, Univ. of Glasgow, 2015), p. 128.
- 3 For the controversy generated amongst MacKenzie historians by Skene’s publication of the 1467 MS, and for tables showing how it compares with ‘traditional’ MacKenzie pedigrees, see Aonghas MacCoinnich, ‘Tùs gu Iarlachd: Eachdraidh Clann Choinnich c.1466–1638’ (PhD thesis, Univ. of Aberdeen, 1999), pp. 13–14, 17–18, 64–70, 361–67.
- 4 The Iona Club, *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* (Edinburgh, 1839), pp. 52–55.
- 5 William F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1876–80), vol. 3, p. 485.
- 6 Cf. Rev. Alexander Cameron *et al.*, eds, *Reliquiæ Celticæ*, vol. 2 (Inverness, 1894), p. 300.
- 7 The translation is my own.
- 8 William Matheson, ‘Traditions of the MacKenzies’, *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, vol. 39/40 (1942–50), pp. 193–228: 199, 212, 228. On Murchadh and Kenneth see also MacCoinnich, ‘Tùs gu Iarlachd’, pp. 94–101, and Cochran-Yu, ‘A Keystone of Contention’, pp. 130–31.

- 9 J. R. N. Macphail, *Highland Papers*, vol. 1 (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1914), p. 27; Matheson, 'Traditions of the MacKenzies', pp. 199–200, 210; MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd', pp. 101–04.
- 10 MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd', pp. 22–23, 67–69, 106, 109–13, 116, 353.
- 11 For further discussion of the names *Coinneach* and *Cailean* see MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd', pp. 29, 574–78.
- 12 Matheson, 'Traditions of the MacKenzies', pp. 199–200, 210, 211; MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd', pp. 69, 108; cf. Cochran-Yu, 'A Keystone of Contention', p. 107.
- 13 Alexander Mackenzie, *History of the Clan Mackenzie; with Genealogies of the Principal Families* (Inverness, 1879), p. 31.
- 14 James T. Clark, ed., *Genealogical Collections concerning Families in Scotland, made by Walter Macfarlane*, vol. 1 (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1900), p. 58.
- 15 G. W. S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (2nd edn, Edinburgh, 1976), p. 252.
- 16 John H. Dixon, *Gairloch* (Edinburgh, 1886, repr. by Ross and Cromarty Heritage Society, Gairloch, 1974), pp. 12–13; Matheson, 'Traditions of the MacKenzies', pp. 200–01, 205, 209–10; Stephen I. Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings: Robert II and Robert III 1371–1406* (E. Linton, 1996), p. 310; MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd', pp. 93–96; Cochran-Yu, 'A Keystone of Contention', pp. 93–94.
- 17 MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd', p. 53.
- 18 Matheson, 'Traditions of the MacKenzies', pp. 207, 214, 216.
- 19 Sellar, 'Highland Family Origins', p. 112; W. D. H. Sellar, 'John Mak Nakyl – An Early Hebridean Nicolson?', *WHN&Q*, ser. 2, no. 7 (May 1991), pp. 3–6: 3–4; W. David H. Sellar, 'History of the Clan', in W. David H. Sellar and Alasdair Maclean, *The Highland Clan MacNeacail (MacNicol): A History of the Nicolsons of Scorrybreac* (Lochbay, Waternish, 1999), pp. 3–41: 6–7; Cochran-Yu, 'A Keystone of Contention', pp. 54, 72, 81; Ronald Black, '1467 MS: The Gillanderses' (*WHN&Q*, forthcoming), where Cristin's exploits will be fully listed.
- 20 Sellar, 'Highland Family Origins', p. 112.
- 21 E. H. Lind, *Norsk-Isländska Dopnamn ock Fingerade Namn från Medeltiden* (Uppsala, 1905–15), col. 5.
- 22 Matheson, 'Traditions of the MacKenzies', p. 214.
- 23 Joseph Stevenson, ed., *Chronica de Mailros* (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1835), p. 117; MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd', p. 577.
- 24 According to George Henderson the name Bisset was spelt 'Buset' in 1294 and was still being pronounced *Buiseid* in Gaelic in the early twentieth century, see his *The Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland* (Glasgow, 1910), p. 62.
- 25 Matheson, 'Traditions of the MacKenzies', p. 215.
- 26 MacCoinnich, 'Tùs gu Iarlachd', pp. 105, 114, 354.
- 27 Sellar, 'Highland Family Origins', p. 110.
- 28 Matheson, 'Traditions of the MacKenzies', pp. 217–24; Sellar, 'Highland Family Origins', pp. 111–12.
- 29 Sellar, 'Highland Family Origins', p. 112; Cochran-Yu, 'A Keystone of Contention', pp. 102–04, 122–23, 153–54, 162, 246.
- 30 Cochran-Yu, 'A Keystone of Contention', pp. 102, 103, 122, 246.
- 31 I am grateful to Dr MacCoinnich for his help and advice in the preparation of this article. All errors are of course my own.