

## 1467 MS: The MacKays of Ugadale

In the 1467 MS the MacKay pedigree comes towards the bottom of the fourth column (*d*) of the recto, between the Campbells and MacDuffies. These MacKays probably had nothing at all to do with the MacKays of Strathnaver.<sup>1</sup> They were from Ugadale (*Ugadal*), which lies halfway between Campbeltown and Carradale on the eastern shore of Kintyre, about seven miles north of the burgh.<sup>2</sup> They appear in the manuscript because they were prominent in the administration of the lordship of the Isles, and no doubt also because they were friends and colleagues of Dubhghall Albanach mac mhic Cathail, the compiler, who appears to have been a MacMhuirich and himself a native of Kintyre. Presumably the MacKays of Ugadale were connected in some way with the MacKays of Islay, to one of whom – a vicar named Brian – Donald, lord of the Isles, granted a charter of lands in and around the Oa, written in Gaelic, in 1408.<sup>3</sup> There will also be a connection with the MacKays of Kilmahumaig in Knapdale, recipients of an oral charter granted by the selfsame Donald; curiously, one version of this associates MacKay not with Kilmahumaig but with Kilmaluaig in Glen Barr, which brings us back to the MacKays of Ugadale, as we will see.<sup>4</sup> MacKays still held joint title to Kilmahumaig with Leiches (who were hereditary physicians) in the eighteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

This is probably the best place to try and bury the idea that some at least of the Kintyre MacKays were not *MacAoidh* at all but *MacDhàidh* or *MacDhàibhidh*, ‘Davidson’. This idea can be found in two published sources, one of them my own.<sup>6</sup> It emerged from Niall MacMhuirich’s description in the ‘Little Book of Clanranald’ of Alastair mac Colla’s heroics at the battle of Auldearn: *do bhris cloidhemh alusdair 7 fuair se cloidhemh eile na laimh 7 ni roibh cuimhni aige fein cia tug dho é acht daoine ag tabhairt baramla gur be a chliabhain mac cáidh aird na croisi thug do a chloidhimh féin 7 do thuit mac cáigh sa nuair sin . . . ma dhoras an gharrdha.*<sup>7</sup> This was translated, apparently by Alexander Macbain, as: “Alaster’s sword broke, and he got another sword into his hand, and he did not himself remember who gave it to him, but some persons supposed that it was his brother-in-law, Davidson of Ardnacross, that gave him his own sword. Davidson . . . fell at that time at the entrance of the enclosure.”<sup>8</sup> Even now it takes a brave person to contradict Macbain, who savaged W. F. Skene in a new edition of Skene’s own book, *The Highlanders of Scotland*, but he was on shaky ground. As we can see, MacMhuirich had written *mac cáidh* and *mac cáigh*, which could both equally be interpreted as *Mac Aoidh* or as *Mac Dhàibhidh*, though it may well be that in Macbain’s native Badenoch, where Davidsons were well known, the *mac cáidh* pronunciation could only signify the latter. In fact *MacCàidh* or *MacÀidh* is a common pronunciation of *MacAoidh* in the islands to this day, and has deep roots. The variation *ao/à* exists in words and names like *traogh/tràgh* ‘subside’, *Rao’all/Ràghall* ‘Ronald’ and *Gaoidheal/Gàidheal* ‘Gael, Highlander’. The Rev. Donald Tulloch MacKay (1850–1932), a native of Lochalsh who served as Free Church minister of Tìree, was long remembered as an evangelist by the name *MacÀidh Thiridhe*.<sup>9</sup> Writing in 1900, Henry Whyte, a native of Easdale, tells us: “In Islay – and in a less degree in Kintyre – the *a* of Mac is prolonged, the *c* forming a prefix to the surname, thus Mac Aoidh becomes Maa-Caidh. The Maa-Càidhs are on the east side of the island, next to Kintyre; Maa-

Caoidh in the middle, as Laggan; and Mac Aoidh in the Rhinns.”<sup>10</sup> This lengthening of *Mac*, and the concomitant loss of preaspiration (what Whyte calls ‘the *c* forming a prefix to the surname’), clearly belong to the same phenomenon as *Màg’ònaill*, a form of *Mac Dhòmhnail* reserved for the MacDonald chief, usually the lord of the Isles; it has been suggested that it had something to do with the way names were ‘cried’ at banquets and so on.<sup>11</sup> And given the geographical distribution sketched by Whyte, it sounds as if the *Càidh* pronunciation was associated with the MacKays of Ugadale.

After this, it is a little painful to admit that the spelling ‘Clach-Mhich-Dhaidh’ for ‘MacKay’s Stone’, which implies a derivation from *Dàibhidh*, can be found in a Kintyre source.<sup>12</sup> But Angus Martin, Campbeltown, assures me that the name David will have been first brought to Kintyre by Lowland planters in the early seventeenth century, and that it is unlikely to have been borne by any MacKay down to that period.<sup>13</sup>

Having got that off my chest, I will now cite the text of the pedigree in all published versions known to me: first as given by Skene in 1839, then as corrected by him in 1847, then as revised by him in 1880, and finally as given by my wife Máire and myself in 2009. For ease of comparison, the texts are all presented here according to the seven-line structure in which they appear in the manuscript. The curious thing is that there is an interpolation between lines d46 and d47 which was completely ignored by Skene for reasons best known to himself; it is given here as d46a.

### (1) *Collectanea*, 1839, with Skene’s footnote:

d44 *Genelach clann Aid\* anso.*—Fearchar mc Imair ic Gillacrist  
d45 mc Gilleeasp ic Gille . . . ic Gillacrist ic Cormac  
d46 mc Gillamitel ic Aid ic Gallbuirt ic Gillacatan  
d46a  
d47 mc Domnaill ic Eogan ic Filip ic Disiab ic Eirdi ic  
d48 Angusa ic Finlaeic ic Carla ic Domnaill og ic Domnaill  
d49 duin ic Fearadaig.

d44 THE GENEALOGY OF THE CLAN AODH.\*—Ferchar son of Iver son of Gilchrist  
d45 son of Gillespic son of Gille . . . son of Gillchrist son of Cormac  
d46 son of Michel son of Hugh son of Gilbert son of Gillechatan  
d46a  
d47 son of Donald son of Ewen son of Philip son of Shaw son of Eirdi son of  
d48 Angus son of Finlay son of Charles son of Donald og son of Donald  
d49 duin son of Feredach.

\* This seems to be the genealogy of the Mackays of Kintyre, and differs totally from the most authentic genealogies of the Mackays of Strathnaver, who are in Gaelic called clan Mhorgan.<sup>14</sup>

### (2) *Collectanea*, 1847:

With respect to line d45 Skene says that for ‘Gille . . .’ we should read ‘Gillanaemh’.<sup>15</sup>

### (3) *Celtic Scotland*, 1880, with Skene's footnote:

d44 GENEALACH CLANN AID ANNSO\* Fearchair mac Imair mhic Gillacrist  
d45 mhic Gillaespig mhic Gillananaemh mhic Gillacrist mhic Cormac  
d46 mhic Gillamitel mhic Aid mhic Gallbuirt mhic Gillacatan  
d46a  
d47 mhic Domnaill mhic Eogain mhic Pilip mhic Disiab mhic Eirdi mhic  
d48 Aengusa mhic Finlaeic mhic Carla mhic Domnaill oig mhic Domnaill  
d49 duinn mhic Feradhach

\* From MS. 1467.

d44 GENEALOGY OF THE CLAN AY HERE. Ferchard son of Ivor son of Gilchrist  
d45 son of Gilespic son of Gillananaemh son of Gilchrist son of Cormac  
d46 son of Gillamichael son of Aidh son of Gallbuirt son of Gillacatan  
d46a  
d47 son of Donald son of Ewen son of Philip son of Shaw son of Erdi son of  
d48 Angus son of Finlaech son of Carla *son of Donald og son of Donald*  
d49 *donn son of Feradach*.<sup>16</sup>

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

d44 genelach cloinni aidh annso fearchar mac imhair mhic gilla crist  
d45 mhic gilla easpaig mhic gilla nanaemh mhic gilla crist mhic cormaic  
d46 mhic gilla michel mhic aidh mhic gallbairt mhic --?--rtan  
d46a *.i. in fer eges risinabarta gallb[airt]*  
d47 mhic domnaill mhic eogain mhic filip mhic oisiab mhic eirc mhic  
d48 aengusa mhic fhinnlaeith mhic carla mhic domnaill oig mhic [*domnaill*]\*  
d49 duinn mhic feradhaigh *genelach mhic duibshithi annso*

\* *Not visible, but see Ir(d) 21 (kindred 10) – mhic domnaill iduinn*

d44 The genealogy of the MacKays here: Fearchar son of Ivor son of Gille Críost  
d45 son of Archibald son of Gille na Naomh son of Gille Críost son of Cormac  
d46 son of Gille Míchil son of Aodh son of Gilbert son of ---?---  
d46a i.e. the learned man called Gilbert  
d47 son of Donald son of Eoghan son of Philip son of Oisiab son of Earc son of  
d48 Angus son of Finlay son of Charles son of young Donald son of Domhnall  
d49 Donn son of Fearadhach. *The genealogy of MacDuffie here:*

The reason why Skene italicises the last three names in his translation in *Celtic Scotland* appears to be that he has classified the MacKay and ?MacLavery (in his view MacLaren) pedigrees in an overall heading as ‘Third Group – Clans descended from Donald donn, son of Fearadach Finn of the Tribe of Lorn’. In fact, despite having correctly identified our pedigree in 1839 as that of the ‘Mackays of Kintyre’, by 1880 his thoughts appear to have drifted loose in an eastwardly direction, and he writes of the Clan Aidh: “They cannot be identified with any modern clan, but a Gillamithil, son of Aidh, the eponymus of the clan, falls about the same time with Gillemychel M’Ath, father of Duncan, who, in 1232, excambes a davach of land

in Strathardel, called Petcarene, with the bishop of Moray for the lands of Dolays Michel in Strathspey.”<sup>17</sup>

I now proceed 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 or indistinct text, italics indicate expanded contractions (the less obvious ones, at least).

d44 

**genelach cloinni aidh annso fearchar mac ímhair mhic *gilla crist* = “The genealogy of the MacKays here: Farquhar son of Ivor son of Gille Críost”**

There is no doubt about any of these readings, and in light of my introductory remarks, the spelling *aidh* for the genitive of Aodh or Áedh is worth noting. In line with the usual formula for the 1467 MS, we may assume that Farquhar lived *c.* 1400, Ivor *c.* 1370 and Gille Críost *c.* 1340.<sup>18</sup>

Gille Críost is the likely subject of a much-told story, the origin-legend of the Kintyre MacKays, about how the future laird of Ugadale met Robert the Bruce. If true, it would have happened in the winter of 1306–07.<sup>19</sup> I will begin by giving the story as it is found in the Dewar MSS, for two reasons – firstly because it is a good rendering of the standard version, and secondly because it is in Gaelic, written down by John Dewar in the 1860s from the telling of an informant who is currently unknown, but who may perhaps be identified when these important manuscripts have been fully subjected to scrutiny. This is a fresh translation, citing the original where it has something unexpected or useful to offer the reader who understands Gaelic. On difficult points I have consulted the translation made by Hector MacLean in 1879–81, which is old-fashioned but helpful.<sup>20</sup> “When Robert Bruce had fled before the king of England’s army he went through Kintyre, and from there to the island of Rathlin. On one occasion he took courage and went to Kintyre in disguise to see what news he could get. There was a poor farmer living near Saddell Castle in a township called Ugadale. Robert Bruce went to the farmer’s house to ask him for a night’s lodging (*fàrdach oidhche*). The farmer was a MacKay (*B’ ann de chlann Aoidh an tuathanach*), a most agreeable man (*na dhuine bha ra shuileabharra*). And when Rob Bruce arrived at the door he said: ‘Can I get a night’s lodging in your house (*’s an tigh agad*) tonight?’ MacKay said: ‘Yes, come in, man (*thig a nios a dhuine*), and you’ll have a night’s lodging, and whatever food is in the house (*tuiteamas an taighe de bhiadh*).’ Robert Bruce went on towards the fireside. MacKay looked at Robert Bruce, and realised that the guest who had descended upon him was a degree (*ceum*) or two higher in rank than a black peasant (*dubh bhodach*); and MacKay got up off the chair he was sitting on, and said to Robert Bruce to sit on that chair. Robert Bruce said, ‘Keep your own chair, man of the house, it’s no custom of mine to be taking his own chair from the man of the house.’ MacKay said, ‘Take the chair (*gabh thusa a chaithir*) I’m giving you, and I’ll find another place to sit, don’t you know (*nach eil fios agad*) that a man is King in his own house?’ Robert Bruce suspected that the man of the house was recognising him, and sat down on the chair MacKay was offering



him. MacKay was most agreeable, and entertained Robert Bruce very hospitably, and they spent the night chatting about the times and swapping old stories.

“Next day after MacKay had given him a good breakfast (*biadachd mhath*) Robert Bruce asked MacKay to come and guide him (*e dhol g’a shaodach*) across the moor. MacKay went with him; and when they were at [*blank*] Robert Bruce asked MacKay, ‘Do you know who I am?’ MacKay said, ‘No.’ Robert Bruce said, ‘Well, I am the man who has the right to be king of Scotland, and if the day comes when I get to become king, what gift would you like me to give you for last night’s hospitality?’ MacKay said, ‘Well, if I could have this very township where I live, it would be enough for me.’ Robert Bruce asked, ‘What are the bounds of the township?’ MacKay showed Robert Bruce the township marches (*iomall taobh-oir an fhearainn*). Robert Bruce said, ‘You have not asked for a lot of land, you’re none too greedy: even if you had asked for seven times as much, you would get it.’ And the king asked, ‘What is the township called?’ MacKay said, ‘The township is called Ugadale.’ Robert Bruce wrote the name of the township in a book, along with the promise he had given MacKay. And when Robert Bruce had succeeded in becoming king and establishing peace, he gave MacKay title to Ugadale for himself and his progeny.”<sup>21</sup>

It will be noticed that Dewar does not mention MacKay’s first name. In some other versions he is called Fearchar, but the late Col. Hector Macneal of Lossit made it ‘Gilchrist (or his father, Ivor) Mackay’.<sup>22</sup> The reason why he is usually called Fearchar will be because the initials F. M. K. are marked on the brooch (which still survives today and is understood to have been given to MacKay by Robert I), and because, as we have seen, the pedigree of the clan in the 1467 MS, beginning with Fearchar, has been in the public domain since 1839.<sup>23</sup> No doubt F. M. K. means Fearchar MacKay, but if the brooch was the gift of a king, that king must have been Robert III, who reigned from 1390 to 1406.

At any rate, charters exist, or are said to have existed, which demonstrate that Bruce or his successors made good his promise. The first was described by the Rev. Edward Bradley in 1866, though he does not claim to have seen it himself. “The original grant is still preserved. It is a piece of sheepskin, three inches square, bearing the words, ‘I, Robert the First, give the lands of Ugadale and Arnicle to McKay and his heirs for ever.’ On this grant the family held the lands till the reign of James IV., when it was formally confirmed by a crown-charter.”<sup>24</sup> Arnicle (*Àirnigil*) is on the west side, in Glen Barr.<sup>25</sup> However, an undated charter, perhaps from the late 1320s, granted Ugadale and other Kintyre lands in King Robert’s name to a ‘Jacobus filius Dunsleph’ (*Seumas mac Dhuinnshléibhe*).<sup>26</sup> Then in 1329, described as the twenty-fourth year of his reign, Robert I issued a charter whose summary is as follows: “Carta Gilcristi Mac ymar Mac ay. Robertus, etc. Sciatis nos, etc., confirmasse Gilchristo Mac ymar Mc ay, pro homagio et servitio suo, duas schan-marcatas terre in Kontyr, videlicet denariatam terre de Arydermede, denariatam terre de Ballostalfis, denariatam terre de Kyllewillane et denariatam terre de Seskamousky. Tenendas et habendas eidem Gillichreist et Gilchrist filio suo minori ac heredibus dicti Gillecris de corpore suo legitime procreatis seu procreandis, et deficientibus illis heredibus, Ymaro filio suo seniori ac heredibus suis de corpore suo legitime procreatis seu procreandis . . . In cujus rei, etc. Apud Mayreth in Galwida, ultimo die Martii anno, etc., vicesimo quarto.”<sup>27</sup> In other words, for his homage and

service, Gille Críost son of Ivor MacKay is to be confirmed in two merklands of old extent (*sean-mhargadha*) in Kintyre, namely the four pennylands of Arydermede, Ballostalfis, Kyllewllane and Seskamousky, to be held also by his younger son, Gille Críost, in heritage, and, failing heirs, by Ivor, his elder son, and his heirs. This was dated at Monreith, Galloway, in the twenty-fourth year of Bruce's reign.<sup>28</sup> Assuming that 'Kyllewllane' is Killellan (*Cill Fhaolain, Cill Fheòlain*), which seems likely, these four pennylands are a few miles south of Campbeltown.<sup>29</sup> Arydermede will be *Airigh Diarmaid* ('Diarmad's Shieling'), Ballostalfis is perhaps *Baile Apostoluis* (? a nickname, 'Apostolus's Township'), and Seskamousky is probably something like *Seasga Mobhsgaid* ('Reedy Place of Neglect').<sup>30</sup> The curious thing about this is that the MacKays of Ugadale later appear as crowners (royal tax-gatherers) of North Kintyre, while Killellan became the seat of the MacEacherns, crowners of South Kintyre, whose pedigree is also in the 1467 MS.<sup>31</sup> Were MacKay's holdings of Ugadale and 'Kyllewllane', the former to go to his elder son and the latter to his younger son, a way of bringing into the family the crownership of all Kintyre?

Let us be clear. The purpose of the grant of 1329 is not to give Gille Críost title to Ugadale but to confirm him in other lands for his younger son to inherit. This contrasts with the view of the late Andrew McKerral that the charter was to four farms in Ugadale whose names are now lost. He pointed out, incidentally, that it offers the only authentic instance of the use of the pennyland as a practical measure of land in Kintyre; it remained valid elsewhere in Argyllshire until the eighteenth century, but in Kintyre its former existence is otherwise only recorded in placenames such as Pennygown (*Peighinn a' Ghobhainn*) or Lephenstrath (*Lethpheighinn an t-Sratha*).<sup>32</sup>

The fact that Gille Críost's elder son's name is given as Ivor is entirely in line with our manuscript, but the fact that his father's name is also given as Ivor is not. John Bannerman explained this away by saying that 'if the charter of 1329 has not erred in making Gille-Críst's father Ivor, then his name has been omitted from the genealogy, a not uncommon happening when a name occurs more than once'.<sup>33</sup> By this Bannerman meant that the name Ivor should be inserted into the pedigree between Gille Críost and Gille Easpaig, thus extending it by one step, but it is equally possible that Gille Easpaig is in error for Ivor, and that the pedigree should not be extended at all. This becomes particularly relevant at line d46a.

In 1542 a charter of James V to Ewir (Ivor) M'Cay confirmed him in the office of crouner of North Kintyre and in the four merklands of Arnicle and Ugadale pertaining to it (all of which had belonged to Ewir and his forebears 'beyond the memory of man'), as long as he continued to render 'the customary guard and service at the courts of the sheriffdom of Tarbert, with the service of wardship, etc.'<sup>34</sup> This was renewed in 1615 by a charter of James VI to Ewir's grandson Donald and his son, also Ewir.<sup>35</sup>

In speaking of the pedigree, the origin-legend and the charters, we are of course operating at the boundary between folklore and history, where things are often not quite what they seem. Folklore usually carries a kernel of truth wrapped in layers of metaphor. For example, if MacKay really was a 'poor farmer', he was one with a fine pedigree that stretched back through twenty generations. This was typical of the 1800s, but was it typical of the 1300s?

In fact, in other versions of the origin-legend MacKay seems to drift up the social scale, becoming a little greedier each time. In one, collected by Bradley in 1860, Bruce is wandering in Kintyre when he meets a man who will not give his name. They fight, and the man turns out to be his friend Douglas. “Then they came down to Ugadale, on the eastern shore, and gained admittance at the house of one Mackay, who was entertaining his friends at a merry-making, and who welcomed them with Highland hospitality, compelling Bruce to drink a quaigh of usquebaugh, saying, ‘I am king in my own house.’ Then Mackay gave them their beds and breakfasts, and took them up Beinn-an-tuirc, in order to show them the way to the western coast of Cantire. Then Bruce disclosed himself, and promised that when he had regained his throne he would grant Mackay any favour that he should ask of him; whereupon Mackay replied, that if he had the two farms of Ugadale and Arnicle, he should be as happy as a king. Bruce promised him this, and bade him farewell at the spot still called *Cross Mhic Caidh*, or ‘the Cross of Mackay,’ telling him to come and see him in Edinburgh whenever he should perceive a bonfire blazing on a certain hill in Galloway. Mackay did so, and received from the King the title-deeds of the two farms; and when he declined drinking a goblet of wine, Bruce constrained him, reminding him that he, in his turn, was king in his own house.”<sup>36</sup>

It will be noticed that MacKay’s desire to hold Ugadale, where he already lives, now clearly extends to Arnicle as well. This is twice as much land. The third version, which Bradley got from John MacDougall, Kilmaluag, Glen Barr, reverses the direction of travel and has a hard political edge to it. “The king slept at Killmaluaig, a farm (now belonging to Glencreggan) of which MacKay was then tenant. The King was in disguise, and was hospitably entertained by MacKay, who spoke strongly against the Bruce. The King asked MacKay if he could direct him to the ferry for Arran. MacKay not only could do so, but offered to escort him on his way in the morning. They started accordingly, and rested where a stone now marks the spot on the hill of Arnicle, which is still the property of the Ugadales. From this spot, MacKay pointed out to the King certain crown-lands; namely, the lands of Arnicle. They proceeded on their journey, and came to Ugadale, which was also pointed out as crown-lands. At length they came to the ferry, where the King sat down on a stone – which is still shown – and where, after thanking MacKay for his hospitality, and giving him his brooch as a farewell token, he declared to him who he was. This put poor MacKay in a great fright, from which, however, he was soon relieved by the King telling him that he need not fear, for that he had entertained him hospitably as a stranger, and that if he should succeed in obtaining his rights, he would give unto him those crown-lands of Ugadale and Arnicle. The King afterwards carried his promise into effect, and the lands are now held on the obligation of entertaining the Sovereign on coming to Cantire.”<sup>37</sup>

So in this version MacKay is a tenant at Kilmaluag, but wishes to hold Arnicle and Ugadale for himself – in fact, all the land that they can see on their walk across Kintyre. And the ‘obligation of entertaining the Sovereign’ appears to be confirmed by an entry in the Exchequer Rolls of 1326 which shows Gilchrist MacKay paying £13 6s 8d to the Constable of Tarbert Castle. At one time it was thought that these accounts were for the building of the castle, and that MacKay had been assessed for that amount, but a more recent view is that the payment was ‘probably in connection with Robert I’s recent sojourn at Tarbert’.<sup>38</sup>

There is a cross-shaft in Kilkerran Cemetery, Campbeltown, the former churchyard, bearing the inscription *Hec est crux Cristini M[ac]ayg et uxor[is] eiuss* ('This is the cross of Cristinus MacKay and his wife'). It has been assumed to be that of our Gille Críost, but has been dated on stylistic grounds to the second half of the fifteenth century. There is a gap in the record of MacKay chiefs between Farquhar of our pedigree and John, who was chief at least between 1507 and 1509. It therefore seems likely that Cristinus of the cross was an otherwise unknown chief from the period 1450–1500.<sup>39</sup>

d45 

**mhic gilla easpaig mhic gilla nanaem mhic gilla crist mhic cormaic** = “son of Archibald son of Gille na Naomh son of Gille Críost son of Cormac”

Again, all these readings are clear. Arguably the translation ‘Archibald’ is anachronistic and should be replaced by Celestine, the usual medieval translation of Gille Easpaig. In any case, it has been argued above that the appearance of Gille Easpaig in the pedigree may be in error for Ivor. Gille na Naomh (‘the Servant of the Saints’) was quite a common name in early Ireland, being perhaps given in baptism to children born around 1 November, All Saints’ Day. As far as *Gille* names are concerned, in the *Corpus Genealogiarum* Gille na Naomh comes third equal to Gille Brighde in number of citations (six) after Gille Críost (seven) and Gille Pádraig (fifteen).<sup>40</sup> Gille Easpaig is practically unknown in Ireland, but common in Scotland. To take account of the possibility that an Ivor of *c.* 1310 was accidentally omitted from the pedigree between Gille Críost and Gille Easpaig, we may say that ‘Archibald’ will have lived or flourished *c.* 1280–1310, Gille na Naomh *c.* 1250–80, Gille Críost *c.* 1220–50, and Cormac *c.* 1190–1220.

The name Gille na Naomh continued in the family. By a charter of 16 August 1506 Gilnew Mackaw held North Garachach in Bute, while Gilpatrik Makkaw held half of South Garachach, and John Makkaw the other half.<sup>41</sup> These farms (at the southern tip of the island) are now North and South Garrochy.

d46 

**mhic gilla mhichel mhic áidh mhic gallbairt mhic gilla [ch]atan** = “son of Gille Míchil son of Hugh son of Gilbert son of Gille Catáin”

The middle letter of *mhichel* looks like a *t*, but is probably intended to be a *c*. The spelling *áidh*, genitive of Aodh/Áedh, may once again be noted. For *gallbairt* see d46a. Gille Catáin is the only slightly doubtful name in the entire pedigree; *g*. and *atan* can be read, and the spectrally-imaged photographs reveal what could be a *c* and an *h* in between them. Skene read *Gillacatan* with no apparent difficulty. There are no citations of the name in the *Corpus Genealogiarum*, but it is familiar to us in Scotland from its appearance in the Mackintosh pedigree. The clinching argument in its favour is the presence of a cult of St Catán in Kintyre, evidenced by the surname McIllechatan and the place-name Kilchattan in Southend. Interestingly, St Catán



was said to have been uncle and tutor of St Bláthán, who is also commemorated in Southend (Kilblaán).<sup>42</sup> If historical, Gille Míchil will have lived or flourished *c.* 1160–90, Aodh *c.* 1130–60, Gilbert *c.* 1100–1130 and Gille Catáin *c.* 1070–1100.

d46a 

**.i. in fer leginn risinabarthagallbairt = “(i.e. the professor called Gilbert)”**

This is an interpolation by the text hand, Dubhghall Albanach’s. It was not read at all by Skene, and was misread by Máire and myself in 2009, but is perfectly clear in the spectrally-imaged photographs. It refers, obviously, to Gilbert of d46. The form of the name is worthy of note. It can only, I think, be a gaelicised derivative of Gilbert, a name of Germanic origin introduced to Britain by the Normans. As is well known, the element *Gall* means a Viking or Norseman. The first Normans were brought to Scotland by David II, whose reign was from 1124 to 1153, which suggests that if Gilbert was a historical character, he was much more likely to have flourished *c.* 1130 than *c.* 1100 (see notes on d44). It is tempting to hypothesise that Gilbert had something to do with the foundation of the Cistercian abbey of Saddell (which is only two miles north of Ugadale), as it was perhaps planned by Somerled himself before his death in 1164, and was certainly in existence by 1207.<sup>43</sup> However, there is something peculiar about our text at this point, as the Mackintosh pedigree (1rb54–56, 1rc1–24) has *mhic gillachatain o fuilid clann gilla catain mhic gallbrait mhic diarmada renabarthan an fer leiginn mhic ere* (‘son of Gille Catáin from whom are the Clan Chattan, son of Gilbert, son of Diarmad who is called the professor, son of Earc’). The number of correspondences between the two pedigrees is beyond the realms of coincidence, and can only be described as confusion in the text – the sort of thing that might happen if part of it were transmitted orally, or recalled from memory rather than being copied. It seems likely, therefore, that either the MacKay pedigree or the Mackintosh one is untrustworthy at this point.

This untrustworthiness is perhaps underlined by the term *fer léiginn* itself. As Bannerman points out, the *fer léiginn*, literally ‘reader’, was a professor or teacher in the monasteries of the Celtic Church in both Scotland and Ireland, and the last certain Scottish record of the application of the title was to Laurence, archdeacon of St Andrews from 1209 to *c.* 1240; at Iona, the office probably continued to exist until the Benedictine order was introduced *c.* 1203.<sup>44</sup> The presence of a *fer léiginn* in mid-twelfth-century Kintyre fits perfectly well with this; the problem is that while his name is appropriate to Saddell Abbey, his title is not. The ‘professor called Gilbert’ is therefore a mystery man in more ways than one.

d47 

**mhic domnaill mhic eogain mhic filip mhic oisiab mhic eirc mhic = “son of Donald son of Eoghan son of Philip son of Joseph son of Earc son of”**

Once again, the line is perfectly clear. The *mhic*-compendium at the end is oddly written, but that is of no importance. The greatest point of interest is the name

Oisiab. It appears in the same spelling twice in the Mackintosh pedigree and twice in the MacEachern pedigree, and as Eisiab once in the MacLavery pedigree. It does not correspond to any known name in Gaelic or Norse. It can only, I think, be an otherwise unrecorded derivative of the biblical Hebrew name Joseph or Yosef, coming into Gaelic via Latin *Josephus*, the stressed middle syllable of which would account for the lengthening and diphthongisation suggested by *-ia-*. In other words the first syllable is unstressed and therefore unstable, as shown by the variation *Eisiab*, and the pronunciation is ‘oshEEav’. It is worthy of note that Oisiab’s son was Philip, another biblical name. Philip was sometimes used as a translation of Finlay, which was the name of our Philip’s great-great-grandfather.<sup>45</sup> I recall John Bannerman remarking to me that there was clearly a fashion for biblical names in the medieval Highlands at certain points. The approach to the millennium may well have been such a point.

If historical, Donald would have lived *c.* 1040–70, Eoghan *c.* 1010–40, Philip *c.* 980–1010, Joseph *c.* 950–80, and Earc *c.* 920–50.

d48 

**aengusa mhic fhinnlaeith mhic carla mhic domnaill oig mhic domnaill** = “Angus son of Finlay son of Karl son of Donald junior son of Donald”

Again the line is clear. The only name of interest is *carla*. It appears to be the Norse name Karl or its diminutive Karli. Scandinavian settlement in the Isles began *c.* 800 or even a little earlier, and by the middle of the ninth century Norse domination of the western seaboard was an established fact.<sup>46</sup> If historical, Angus would have lived *c.* 890–920, Finlay *c.* 860–90, Karl *c.* 830–60 and Donald junior *c.* 800–30. With Karl we find once again that the later date is more plausible than the earlier one – further evidence that at d45 ‘Ivor’ should be substituted for ‘Archibald’ rather than being simply added to the pedigree. There is a qualification to make, however: as shown below, the same final sequence of four names appears in the MacLavery pedigree (1rd13–20) in the form *mhic carlusa mhic domnaill oig mhic domnaill iduinn mhic fearadhaigh finn*. The form *carlusa* looks like a Gaelicised genitive of Latin *Carolus*. By far the most celebrated Carolus of the day was Carolus Magnus, Charlemagne, who lived from AD 747 to AD 814.

d49 

**duinn mhic feradhaig genelach mhic duibshithi annso** = “the Brownhaired son of Fearadhach. The genealogy of MacDuffie here:”

This is the whole of line d49, including the heading for the MacDuffie pedigree (1rd49–53). The only odd thing, revealed by the spectrally-imaged photographs, is the faint presence of an extra *g* in the space between *adh~* and *gēl~*. I take it that Dubhghall Albanach wrote *adh~g*, then realised that *~* (*aigh*) had taken care of *g*, so he rubbed out *g*, and began his next pedigree after what now looked like an empty space. I have chosen to show this as ‘feradhaig’, as this looks better than ‘feradhaigh’.

If historical, Donald the Brownhaired would have lived *c.* 770–800, and Fearadhach *c.* 740–70. However, we must take account of some correspondences between this part of our text and certain other pedigrees in our manuscript. The MacNaughton pedigree (1rb29–53) ends *mhic nechtain mhoir mhic domnaill duinn mhic ferchair fhada mhic feradhaigh mhic ferghusa* (‘son of Neachtán senior son of Donald the Brownhaired son of Long Farquhar son of Fearadhach son of Fergus’). This appears to insert Fearchar Fada between Domhnall Donn and his alleged father Fearadhach. The Green Abbot’s pedigree (1rc25–41) ends *mhic loairn mhic ferchair mhic cormaic mhic oirbertaigh mhic erc mhic domnaill duinn mhic ferchair abradruaidh mhic feradhaigh* (‘son of Loarn son of Farquhar son of Cormac son of Airbheartach son of Earc son of Donald the Brownhaired son of Farquhar of the Red Eyebrows son of Fearadhach’). This appears to insert Fearchar Abhradhruadh between Domhnall Donn and his alleged father Fearadhach. Loarn and four of his antecedents also appear in the Ross pedigree (1rd34–38), so we can assume that Domhnall Donn is there in spirit too. Finally, the MacLaverty(?) pedigree (1rd13–20) ends *mhic aeid mhic eogain mhic aig mhic eisiab mhic gille crist mhic gillamhichel mhic pilip mhic finnlæith oig mhic finnlæith moir mhic(?) dubghaill mhic baltuir mhic carlusa mhic domnaill oig mhic domnaill iduinn mhic fearadhaigh finn* (‘son of Hugh son of Eoghan son of Hugh son of Joseph son of Gille Críost son of Gille Míchil son of Philip son of Finlay junior son of Finlay senior son(?) of Dugald son of Walter son of Car(o)lus son of Donald junior son of Donald the Brownhaired son of Fair Fearadhach’). In other words, the last four steps are basically identical to ours, and the previous eleven consist almost entirely of names which also appear in ours. This tells us a little more about our Karl and our Fearadhach; more importantly, it strengthens the case made in [www.1467manuscript.co.uk](http://www.1467manuscript.co.uk) for the pedigree at 1rd13–20 being that of the MacLavertys rather than the MacLarens, as was claimed by Skene. Indeed, Andrew McKerral described the MacLavertys (MacLartys) as ‘another old Kintyre family tracing its descent from Reginald the son of Somerled who founded Saddell Ab[b]ey’.<sup>47</sup> But that argument will keep for another day.

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**Ronald Black**

## Notes

- 1 For a different view see Angus Mackay, *The Book of Mackay* (Edinburgh, 1906), pp. 360–61.
- 2 Angus Martin, *Place-Names of the Parish of Saddell and Skipness* (Kintyre Antiquarian and Natural History Society, Campbeltown, 2014), p. 71.
- 3 Jean Munro and R. W. Munro, *Acts of the Lords of the Isles 1336–1493* (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1986), pp. 21–27.
- 4 Ronald Black, ‘Gaelic Law as Literature’, in *Scottish Life and Society: A Compendium of Scottish Ethnology: The Law*, ed. by Mark A. Mulhern (Edinburgh, 2012), pp. 11–46: 19–22.

- 5 Ronald Black, *The Campbells of the Ark: Men of Argyll in 1745* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 2017), vol. 2, p. 606.
- 6 David Stevenson, *Alasdair MacColla and the Highland Problem in the Seventeenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1980), repr. as *Highland Warrior: Alasdair MacColla and the Civil Wars* (Saltire Society, Edinburgh, 1994), pp. 189, 237; Black, *Campbells of the Ark*, vol. 2, p. 495.
- 7 National Museum of Scotland MCR 39, pp. 144–45.
- 8 Rev. Alexander Cameron, Alexander Macbain and Rev. John Kennedy, eds, *Reliquiæ Celticæ*, vol. 2 (Inverness, 1894), p. 189.
- 9 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), p. 682.
- 10 Fionn [Henry Whyte], 'The Mackays of Islay', *The Celtic Monthly*, vol. 8 (1900), pp. 11–14: 11–12.
- 11 Black, *The Gaelic Otherworld*, p. 436.
- 12 Col. Hector Macneal, 'The History of the Brotche of Ugadale', *The Kintyre Antiquarian and Natural History Society Magazine*, no. 3 (June 1978), pp. 5–6: 5.
- 13 E-mail, 25 May 2017.
- 14 The Iona Club, *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* (Edinburgh, 1839), pp. 54–55, 62.
- 15 The Iona Club, *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* (Edinburgh, 1847), p. 358.
- 16 William F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1876–80), vol. 3, pp. 483–84.
- 17 Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. 3, p. 344.
- 18 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: 138.
- 19 G. W. S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1976), pp. 232–37.
- 20 Argyll Papers (Inveraray), MacLean MSS, vol. 15, ff. 68–71.
- 21 Argyll Papers (Inveraray), Dewar MSS, vol. 5, ff. 228–29. For a version which throws in Bruce's spider for good measure, see Lord Archibald Campbell, *Records of Argyll* (Edinburgh, 1885), pp. 374–75.
- 22 Macneal, 'The History of the Brotche of Ugadale', p. 5.
- 23 Cuthbert Bede [Rev. Edward Bradley], 'The Brooch of Bruce' (repr. from *The Gentleman's Magazine*, new ser., no. 3, 1 March 1866), p. 4; see also John Mackay (*Ben Reay*), 'The Mackay of Ugadale Brooch', *The Celtic Magazine*, vol. 1 (1893), pp. 46–48: 47.
- 24 Bede, 'The Brooch of Bruce', p. 7; see also Mackay, 'The Mackay of Ugadale Brooch', p. 47.
- 25 Angus Martin, *Place-Names of the Parish of Killeen and Kilchenzie* (Kintyre Antiquarian and Natural History Society, Campbeltown, 2014), p. 15; Angus Martin, *Kintyre Places and Place-Names* (Kilkerran, 2013), p. 185.
- 26 John Maitland Thomson, ed., *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum: The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland [RMS]*, vol. 1, 1306–1424 (Scottish Record Society repr., Edinburgh, 1984), App. 1, no. 105; Cosmo Innes, ed., *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, vol. 2, part 2 (Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1855), p. 819. In typescript notes sent to Capt. Hector Macneal of Lossit in 1957, Fr James Webb, Campbeltown, writes: "Cosmo Innes . . . gives the date of the Dunsleph charter as between 1306 and 1309. The Reg. Mag. Sig. assigns no date, but from its position in the Haddington Ms and its order in the printed editions of the Reg. Mag. Sig. it would appear to be of about the same date as the Mackay charter. In the political and military circumstances of the period 1306–1309 it is difficult to see how Bruce was in a position to grant charters to anybody."
- 27 *RMS* vol. 1, App. 1, no. 99, cf. App. 2, no. 608, and Innes, *Origines Parochiales Scotiae*, vol. 2, part 2, p. 819, cf. Mackay, *Book of Mackay*, p. 370, and Martin, *Kintyre Places and Place-Names*, p. 240.
- 28 K. A. Steer and J. W. M. Bannerman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands* (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1977), p. 157.
- 29 Note the tendency in Kintyre for MacLellan to be pronounced MacLeolan, see Black, *Campbells of the Ark*, vol. 1, p. 376.



- 30 The Diarmad of Arydermede is probably the Fingalian hero of that name, for whom see Black, *Campbells of the Ark*, vol. 1, pp. 8–12. As the Rev. Edward Bradley pointed out (Bede, ‘The Brooch of Bruce’, p. 5), the highest hill in Kintyre, Beinn an Tuirc, will be so called because it was reputed to be where Diarmad slew the boar. On the other hand, for evidence that Diarmad was not unknown as a given name in the medieval Highlands, see notes on line d46a.
- 31 John Mackay, ‘The Real Mackay’, *The Celtic Monthly*, vol. 12 (1903–04), pp. 74–75: 74; Andrew McKerrall, ‘The MacEachrans of Killellan’, *The Campbeltown Courier*, 2 Nov. 1940.
- 32 Andrew McKerrall, *Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1948), p. 180.
- 33 Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, p. 157.
- 34 *RMS* vol. 3, 1513–46, no. 2756, cf. Mackay, *Book of Mackay*, pp. 361, 394–95.
- 35 *RMS* vol. 7, 1609–20, no. 1361, cf. Mackay, *Book of Mackay*, pp. 361, 417–18.
- 36 Bede, ‘The Brooch of Bruce’, p. 5, condensed from longer version in Bede, *Glencreggan: or, A Highland Home in Cantire*, vol. 2 (London, 1861), pp. 17–19; see also Mackay, ‘The Mackay of Ugadale Brooch’, p. 47.
- 37 Bede, ‘The Brooch of Bruce’, p. 6.
- 38 Typescript notes sent by Fr James Webb to Capt. Hector Macneal of Lossit, 26 July 1957 (Lossit Papers); Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, p. 157.
- 39 Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, pp. 156–57.
- 40 M. A. O’Brien, ed., *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* (Dublin, 1976), pp. 660–61.
- 41 *RMS* vol. 2, 1424–1513, no. 2987, cf. Mackay, *Book of Mackay*, p. 362.
- 42 William J. Watson, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1926), pp. 164–65; Martin, *Kintyre Places and Place-Names*, p. 65.
- 43 Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, pp. 13, 39, 45.
- 44 Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, p. 123, cf. p. 208.
- 45 Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, p. 154.
- 46 R. Andrew McDonald, *The Kingdom of the Isles: Scotland’s Western Seaboard, c.1100–c.1336* (E. Linton, 1997), pp. 27–30.
- 47 Andrew McKerrall, ‘The McOshenags of Lephenstrath. And the Omeys of Kilcolmkill’, *The Campbeltown Courier*, 25 Jan. 1941.