



MacGregor, Martin (2000) *Genealogies of the clans: contributions to the study of MS 1467*. Innes Review, 51 (2). pp. 131-146. ISSN 0020-157X

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Deposited on: 19 February 2014

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Genealogies of the clans: contributions to the study of MS 1467

National Library of Scotland, *Advocates' MS. 72.1.1*,¹ is the Gaelic manuscript, nine folios long, generally known as MS 1467. Folio 1 contains genealogies. These fall into three obvious categories: those which relate to the kings of Scots,² those which relate to Clann Shomhairle (the descendants of the famous Somhairle or Somerled, who died in 1164),³ and those which relate to other lineages or clans, all of them apparently domiciled in Scotland. Folios 2-9 contain religious material, and also provide evidence as to authorship and date and place of composition. At the top of folio 7 we are told that the account of Christ's Passion just completed was written down by Dubhghall Albanach mac mhic Cathail in the presence of Eilís Buitileir (Elizabeth Butler) in 1467, at a location recently identified as Baile Uí Bhuadhaigh, in southern Co. Tipperary.⁴ Folios 4-5 have drawn upon them the measurements of Christ's feet, and a note states that this was done for Dubhghall Albanach by Tanaidhe Ó Maoil Chonaire in the house of MacAodhagáin, *britheamh* (brehon) of Ormond. Thus we may be confident that, 'ff. 2-9 at least were written in the general area of the Butler territories of Ormond in 1467'.⁵ Ronald Black has argued that the way in which the pedigrees are crammed together, 'suggests that until now f.1 had been left blank as a cover for the rest of the MS, and that it was hastily being employed as the only available material on which to write the text', which would place the writing of the pedigrees in or after 1467, conceivably, but not necessarily, following Dubhghall Albanach's return to Scotland.⁶

A modern critical edition of the texts of the genealogies in MS 1467 has yet to be published. The only attempts in this direction to date are those of W.F. Skene, first in *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*,⁷ and

¹ Hereafter MS 1467.

² See n. 92.

³ I use Clann Shomhairle in its fullest sense, ie. Clann Dubhghaill (the MacDougalls), Clann Domhnaill (the MacDonalds) and Clann Ruairi (the MacRuaries).

⁴ C. Ó Baoill, 'Scotticisms in a Manuscript of 1467', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 15 (1988) 122, 124.

⁵ R. Black, *Catalogue of the Classical Gaelic MSS. in the National Library of Scotland* (forthcoming).

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, ed. the Iona Club (Edinburgh 1839) 50-62, 357-360.

then in an appendix to his *Celtic Scotland*.⁸ Skene's primary concern, however, was not to produce a simple edition of MS 1467, but to group all the surviving pedigrees of the so-called 'Highland clans' known to him from the classical Gaelic manuscript tradition of Scotland and Ireland into distinct families, on the basis of the ultimate common origins claimed for certain clans. Hence Skene draws upon a wider range of sources than MS 1467 alone, and, where his sources converge, overlap or disagree, he is happy to conflate or select material without specifying the precise nature of his indebtedness to each source.

While comprehensive analysis of the MS 1467 genealogies can hardly take place until a scholarly edition of the text has been established,⁹ the manuscript's importance has seen it become the subject of increasing academic interest within the past generation. Its importance is a consequence both of its rarity (given the relative dearth of purely genealogical material from the classical Gaelic tradition to have survived on the Scottish side)¹⁰ and the apparent intention behind its compilation. The following notes are offered as a contribution to the ongoing process of elucidating the authorship, purpose, dating and composition of MS 1467. They make no claim to thoroughgoing analysis of the entirety of this genealogical corpus, deriving as they do from research carried out into the origins and early history of one kindred whose genealogy is present therein, namely Clann Ghriogair (the MacGregors). My concern is primarily with the non-Clann Shomhairle clan pedigrees, but I commence with some comments on the Clann Shomhairle material.

The Clann Shomhairle Pedigrees: Dating and Composition

David Sellar's recent valuable researches into the Clann Shomhairle pedigrees, comparing them with Irish compilations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, have demonstrated firstly that the bulk of these pedigrees 'do not stand on their own but belong to a common genealogical tradition'.¹¹ The most striking similarities are with the Clann Shomhairle material in the Book of Lecan, and Sellar postulates

⁸ W.F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland: A History of Ancient Albyn*, 3 vols (2nd edition, Edinburgh 1886-90) iii, 458-90.

⁹ Ronald and Máire Black are currently working upon such an edition.

¹⁰ M. MacGregor, 'The Traditional Histories of Gaelic Scotland' in *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in the British Isles, 1500-1850*, edd. A. Fox and D. Woolf (forthcoming).

¹¹ W.D.H. Sellar, 'MacDonald and MacRuari Pedigrees in MS 1467', *Notes and Queries of the Society of West Highland and Island Historical Research* 28 (March, 1986) 11.

the existence of a common source dating 'to the last decades of the fourteenth century'.¹²

Sellar's researches suggest, secondly, that some of the Clann Shomhairle material in MS 1467 postdates c. 1400, when the original compilation upon which MS 1467 is based was drawn up.¹³ The final section dealing with Clann Shomhairle begins as follows:

Ag Eoin a hIle condregaid clann Domnaill agus clann Raghnaill agus clann Gofruigh.

[At Eoin of Islay converge the descendants of Domhnall and the descendants of Raghnaill and the descendants of Gofraidh].¹⁴

These three entities are then dealt with in turn,¹⁵ commencing with the sons of Raghnaill (d. c. 1389) and their sons.¹⁶ Dating criteria have not yet been established for these particular pedigrees, but clearly they come down beyond c. 1400, possibly to c.1467 itself.¹⁷

Clann Ghofraidh is then dealt with as follows:

Aengus agus Eoin agus Somhairle agus Raghnaill. Aengus trath nìr fagaib clann mac agbat a shìl.

[Aonghas and Eoin and Somhairle and Raghnaill. Aonghas died young and left no male children who had offspring].¹⁸

Since Aonghas was apparently still alive in 1420,¹⁹ this information probably postdates this point. Yet the treatment of Clann Ghofraidh is perfunctory in comparison to that of Clann Raghnaill, and, as it ends a

¹² W.D.H. Sellar, 'MacDougall Pedigrees in MS 1467', *Notes and Queries of the Society of West Highland and Island Historical Research* 29 (August, 1986) 16.

¹³ See below, pp. 141, 143.

¹⁴ MS 1467, f. 1v bc51-2.

¹⁵ The methodical nature of the treatment here leaves me in no doubt that the pedigree headed *Clann Gofraigh* relates to the descendants of Gofraidh, son of Eoin lord of the Isles (d. 1387). Cf. Sellar, 'MacDonald and MacRuairi Pedigrees', 11.

¹⁶ MS 1467, f. 1v bc53-c10.

¹⁷ Sellar, 'MacDonald and MacRuairi Pedigrees', 11. The *Clanranald Histories* give the death of one of Raghnaill's grandsons under 1460, but their chronology has to be treated with caution. A. Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticae*, edd. A. MacBain and J. Kennedy, 2 vols (Inverness 1892-4) ii, 166-9; W. Gillies, 'The Clanranald Histories - Authorship and Purpose', in *Proceedings of the First Australian Conference of Celtic Studies* (forthcoming). My thanks to Professor Gillies for giving me access to this article.

¹⁸ MS 1467, f. 1v c11-16.

¹⁹ *Acts of the Lords of the Isles, 1336-1493*, edd. J. and R.W. Munro (Scottish History Society: Edinburgh 1986) 32, 291.

generation earlier, may not come down to c. 1467.²⁰ Finally, under the headings *Clann Domnail* and *Genelach mhic Domnail* ('the genealogy of MacDomnail'), the pedigree of the MacDonald main line is given commencing with Eoin, who succeeded as lord of the Isles in 1449, and remained as such in 1467.²¹

As far as the Clann Shomhairle pedigrees are concerned, then, Sellar has argued that MS 1467 embodies at least three layers of composition:²² firstly, the material held in common with the Book of Lecan, dating to the late fourteenth century;²³ secondly, five MacDougall pedigrees, apparently of *gall-óglach* in Ireland, which are not found in the Book of Lecan, and appear to be 'of slightly later date than the material common to MS 1467 and Lecan',²⁴ and thirdly, the post-1400 stratum, whose main component is the Clann Raghnaill pedigrees.

The Clann Shomhairle Pedigrees: Discussion

With respect to Sellar's first phase, we might note here that the common stock of Clann Shomhairle material may itself contain distinctive horizons. MS 1467 and the Book of Lecan contain identical treatments of the descendants of Alasdair brother of Aonghas Mór, and of Clann Ruairi. They also contain the pedigree of Eoin Dubh son of Alasdair Óg. Chronological 'fixes' are available for these pedigrees which refer their last generations to before 1343, 1346 and 1349 respectively.²⁵ If we take Somhairle, the ultimate common ancestor of these men, as the first generation, then all these pedigrees cease in the sixth generation beyond him. Another horizon may be represented by the pedigrees of the remaining descendants of Alasdair Óg, which would seem to be referable to a point after 1366, and which cease in the seventh and eighth generations beyond Somhairle. There are discrepancies between MS 1467 and Lecan in the treatment of these pedigrees.²⁶ The dating criteria we currently possess are insufficient to

²⁰ Thus Raghnaill son of Gofraidh seems to have had a son called Eoin, on record in 1463, whom (assuming that his father were dead by then) we might have expected to be included within MS 1467 had it been adopting an even-handed approach to Clann Raghnaill and Clann Ghofraidh. *Ibid.*, 123, 291-3, and below, p. 136.

²¹ MS 1467, f. 1v d1. On these headings, see below, n. 37.

²² Sellar, 'MacDougall Pedigrees', 16.

²³ Since the Clann Shomhairle material in the Book of Lecan comes down no further than Eoin lord of the Isles, who died in 1387, it could be argued that the common source predates this point. Domhnall, who succeeded his father Eoin as lord, is styled *Oigri*, 'the heir', in Lecan; *The Book of Lecan*, facsimile ed. K. Mulchrone (Dublin 1937) f. 81b.

²⁴ Sellar, 'MacDougall Pedigrees', 13-16.

²⁵ Sellar, 'MacDonald and MacRuairi Pedigrees', 4, 6, 8.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 7-8.

determine whether the remaining Clann Shomhairle material held in common by MS 1467 and Lecan, namely the pedigrees of the MacDougalls²⁷ and of the Maclains of Ardnamurchan, might belong to the first or second of these putative horizons.²⁸

Further research into the issue of the common source, and these horizons, might profitably begin with the pedigree of Eoin Dubh son of Alasdair Óg. In MS 1467 it is given well out of sequence, separated from the pedigrees of the other descendants of Alasdair Óg by the pedigrees of the sons of Alasdair brother of Aonghas Mór, of the Maclains of Ardnamurchan, and of the MacDougalls and MacRuaries.²⁹ This, coupled with the rubric it bears, suggests it may not have been recognised as a pedigree of a son of Alasdair Óg. In Lecan the pedigree is given twice.³⁰ Eoin Dubh died in 1349, and his son Somhairle in 1365,³¹ yet neither MS 1467 nor Lecan includes Somhairle, despite the fact that their treatment of the other descendants of Alasdair Óg seems to postdate 1366.

With respect to his third stage, Sellar's surmise that the addition of the Clann Raghnaill section 'may indicate a Clan Ranald connection in the compiler',³² has taken strength from Colm Ó Baoill's recent important identification of the likely scribe of the MS 1467 genealogies, as we possess them, as Dubhghall Albanach mac mhic Cathail. As Ó Baoill points out, the forename *Cathal* was characteristic of the MacMhuirichs, and may indicate that Dubhghall belonged to that lineage.³³ It is well known that the MacMhuirichs became hereditary poets and genealogists to Clann Raghnaill in succession to the MacDonald lords of the Isles following the second and ultimately successful forfeiture of the latter c.1493.³⁴ On the basis of a conjectural restoration of part of the text of the Clann Raghnaill section in MS

²⁷ Not, of course, the *gall-óglaich* already mentioned, but their parent kindred in Argyll.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 8-9; Sellar, 'MacDougall Pedigrees', 10-13. For distinctions between MS 1467 and Lecan in their treatment of the MacDougall main line, see below, p. 145.

²⁹ MS 1467, f. 1v bc48-50.

³⁰ f. 81a, c.

³¹ *Annals of Ulster*, edd. W.M. Hennessy and B. MacCarthy (Dublin 1887-1901).

³² Sellar, 'MacDonald and MacRuairi Pedigrees', 11.

³³ Ó Baoill, 'Scotticisms', 122-4. *Dubhghall* is otherwise unattested as a MacMhuirich forename. For the MacMhuirich tradition of sending members of the kindred to Ireland for training, see D.S. Thomson, 'The MacMhuirich Bardic Family', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* [hereafter *TGSJ*] 43 (1960-63) 301; Gillies, 'The Clanranald Histories'.

³⁴ D.S. Thomson, 'Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati in Medieval Scotland', *Scottish Studies* 12 (1968) 73.

1467, Ó Baoill has further argued that Dubhghall Albanach may have been in the service of that kindred by the mid-fifteenth century.³⁵

All this would plausibly explain the presence of the Clann Raghnaill section in MS 1467. Dubhghall Albanach's additions must begin with the statement, 'At Eoin of Islay converge the descendants of Domhnall and the descendants of Raghnaill and the descendants of Gofraidh' already quoted. Almost certainly, the Domhnall referred to here is not the ultimate eponym of Clann Domhnaill, but Domhnall, eldest son of Eoin of Islay by his second marriage to Margaret Stewart, and lord of the Isles from 1387 to c.1423.³⁶ In other words, Dubhghall Albanach is posting his intent to focus upon the descendants of only three of the sons of Eoin of Islay.³⁷ That he should commence with Raghnaill, the eponym of Clann Raghnaill, would be natural enough if this kindred were his employers. Since Gofraidh was, like Raghnaill, a son of Eoin of Islay by his first marriage to Amy MacRuairi, and since the lives of the two brothers were closely interwoven,³⁸ it would seem a reasonable assumption that Dubhghall Albanach was at once interested enough in Gofraidh to include a list of his sons, yet not interested enough to develop this material or bring it down to the present. Finally, that Dubhghall should bring the pedigree of the lords of the Isles up to date by adding on Domhnall's son and grandson is unsurprising. Yet his treatment of Domhnall's descendants extends no further, while he ignores altogether the descendants of Eoin of Islay's three other sons by Margaret Stewart. This may reflect the fact that it was Eoin of Islay's second marriage which resulted in the eclipse of Raghnaill's position as his father's likely successor as lord of the Isles.³⁹

³⁵ Ó Baoill, 'Scotticisms', 123-4. The earliest surviving poem by a MacMhuirich on behalf of the chiefs of Clann Raghnaill is an elegy of the early sixteenth century; *Reliquiae Celticae* ii, 216-25. The MacMhuirich prose historical account in the *Clanranald Histories* includes information on the Clann Raghnaill lineage from its inception, but the fifteenth-century material could all derive from an annalistic compilation composed at Iona, and hence is of no assistance in pinning down the point at which the MacMhuirichs first entered the service of Clann Raghnaill. *Ibid.*, 160-1, 167-9; MacGregor, 'Traditional Histories'.

³⁶ I am grateful to Professor Gillies for clarification here.

³⁷ In this light, the fact that the MacDonald main line pedigree in MS 1467 should bear two rubrics (above, p. 134) becomes intelligible. Doubtless *Genelach mhic Domnaill* was that used within the original compilation, c. 1400, and *Clann Domnaill* an addition made by Dubhghall Albanach in consequence of his aim of tracing the descendants of these three sons.

³⁸ K.A. Steer and J.W.M. Bannerman, *Late Medieval Monumental Sculpture in the West Highlands* (Edinburgh 1977) 127.

³⁹ For the account in the *Clanranald Histories* of how Raghnaill resigned his own claims in favour of Domhnall, 'contrary to the opinion of the men of the Isles', see *Reliquiae Celticae* ii, 160-1. Raghnaill perhaps bore the title *an tánaiste*, 'the designated successor': *ibid.*, 166. Alternatively, as Professor Gillies suggests to me, Dubhghall

The ‘Clan Pedigrees’: Dating

In addition to material known to relate to Clann Shomhairle, the legible section of MS 1467 contains the pedigrees of 24 clans, of which 22 have been securely identified.⁴⁰ We currently possess some kind of chronological ‘fix’ for 19 of these 22,⁴¹ which can be grouped as follows.

Category 1: the MacNaughtons, Campbells, earls of Lennox, MacLeans and MacKinnons.

<u>Pedigree</u>	<u>Headed by</u>	<u>Dating</u>
MacNaughton (f. 1r b29-53)	Muiris mac Malcolm	1394 x 1413 ⁴²
Campbell (f. 1r d40-44)	Cailin og mac Gille-easpuig	1394 x 1413 ⁴³
Earls of Lennox (f. 1r e11-18)	(illeg.) ⁴⁴ mac Baltar	1385 x 1425 ⁴⁵
MacKinnon (f. 1v a16-27)	Niall mac Gilla-Brighde	1387 x 1409 ⁴⁶
MacLean (f. 1r e42-end)	Laclainn mac Eoin	1390 x 1409 ⁴⁷

Albanach’s selectivity may be geographical at root, and indicate a growing divergence between northern and southern branches of Clann Domnail.

⁴⁰ The clear exceptions are the so-called ‘MacNab’ and ‘MacLaren’ pedigrees; see below, p.144. While the kindred represented by the pedigree of Clann Gill-Adhamhnain can be placed in a convincing twelfth-century context, its identity come the time of the compilation of MS 1467 c.1400 is less certain, although the MacLennans of Ross have been suggested; Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, 104, 105, n. 5.

⁴¹ The exceptions are the pedigrees of the Macintoshes, Camerons and MacEacherns.

⁴² Undated charter by Cailean Campbell, lord of Lochawe, to Muiris MacNaughton (*Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, edd. J.M. Thomson *et al.* (Edinburgh 1882-1914) [hereafter *RMS*] i (1306-1424), App. ii, no. 1940). Some of the surrounding charters bear dates c.1400; Cailean was lord of Lochawe 1394 x 1413 (see next item).

⁴³ *Argyll Transcripts* made by 10th Duke of Argyll, in Glasgow University Scottish History Department, 13 January 1394, 19 January 1413.

⁴⁴ David Sellar kindly informs me that here he reads *doch*, i.e. Donnchadh, as one would expect.

⁴⁵ Donnchadh, son of Bhaltair of Faslane, granted the earldom on 8 May 1385; executed 25 May 1425: *Cartularium Comitatus de Levenax* (Maitland Club, Glasgow 1833) 6-8; *The Scots Peerage*, ed. J. Balfour Paul, 9 vols (Edinburgh 1904-14) v, 340.

⁴⁶ Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, 101, 103-4, 162.

⁴⁷ Royal confirmation of charters by Domhnall, Lord of the Isles, to Lachlann (12 July 1390) and Eachann (1 November 1409); *RMS* ii (1424-1513), no. 2264.

Comment

These five pedigrees could all have been written down between 13 January 1394 and 1 November 1409.

Category 2: the MacKenzies, Mathesons, MacDuffies, MacMillans, MacKays of Ugadale, Nicolsons, Clann Gill-Adhamhnain, MacQuarries and Clann Gill-Ainnrias.

<u>Pedigree</u>	<u>Headed by</u>
MacKenzie (f. 1r d22-4)	Murchadh mac Cainnigh ⁴⁸
Matheson (f. 1r d25-7)	Murchadh mac Donnchaigh ⁴⁹
MacDuffie (f. 1r d50-54)	Domhnall agus Niall agus Gilla-colaim tri mic Gilla-espaign ruaidh ⁵⁰
MacMillan (f. 1r e30-34)	Gilla-Colaim mac G[illa]-colaim moir ⁵¹
MacKay of Ugadale (f. 1r d45-9)	Fearchar mac Imair ⁵²
Nicholson (f. 1r d28-34)	Eoin mac Eogain ⁵³
Mac Gill-Adhamhnain (f. 1r e35-41)	(?) ⁵⁴ mac (illeg.) ⁵⁵
MacQuarrie (f. 1v a1-15)	Ceallach mac Poil ⁵⁶
Mac Gill-Ainnrias (f. 1r d35-9)	Pal mac-tire mac Eoghain ⁵⁷

Comment

Though as yet we lack precise dating criteria for these nine pedigrees, known dates relating to the predecessors or successors of the chiefs who head them enable us to say with some confidence that they could all have been written down c. 1400.

⁴⁸ Kenneth Murchison on record in 1414 (*TGSI* 39-40 (1942-50) 197).

⁴⁹ Alexander Murchison on record in 1414 (*ibid.*, 197).

⁵⁰ Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, 119-20. The reading *ruaidh* is uncertain.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 103-5, 151-2.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 157.

⁵³ W.D.H. Sellar, 'John Mak Nakyl - an early Hebridean Nicolson?', *West Highland Notes and Queries*, Series 2 No. 7 (May, 1991) 5.

⁵⁴ For readings, see Black, *Catalogue*.

⁵⁵ Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, 103-5.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ W. Matheson, 'The Pape Riot and its Sequel in Lewis', *TGSI* 48 (1972-4) 424, 426-7.

*Category 3: the MacEwens of Otter, Lamonts, MacLachlans, and MacSorleys of Monydrain.*⁵⁸

<u>Pedigree</u>	<u>Headed by</u>	<u>Dating</u>
MacEwen of Otter (f. 1r d9-13)	Baltair mac (?)Eoin	(?)x29 November 1410
Lamont (f. 1r e19-29)	Roibeart mac Donnchaidh	19 June 1396 x (17 February 1433 x 29 August 1448)
MacLachlan (f. 1v a28-51)	Caineac mac Eoin mhic Lachlainn	(?)29 Nov. 1410/20 October 1436x (?)
MacSorley of Monydrain (f. 1v b11-15)	Domnall m. G[illa]-espuig mhic Aengus	4 June 1414 x (6 July 1450 x 12 July 1451)

Comment

The principal source for the dating of these pedigrees is a charter involving the chiefs of all four kindreds, dated 29 November 1410.⁵⁹

Their names are rendered as follows:

- (1) *Eugenius Walteri dominus de Otirinanerayne* (witness).
- (2) *Robertus Duncani Lagmanni de Inneryne* (granter).
- (3) *Johannes Lachlani dominus de Straithla(ch)on* (witness).
- (4) *Celestinus Angusii dictus MakSowirle* (grantee).

(1) Clearly B(h)altair (Lat. *Valterius*; here *Walterus*) had died at some point before 29 November 1410 and been succeeded by his son Eoghan (Lat. *Eugenius*). Thus the MacEwen pedigree belongs with those in categories 1 and 2 above as far as its dating is concerned.

(2) Raibeart (Lat. *Robertus*) was chief of his kindred by 19 June 1396.⁶⁰ He last appears as such in an indenture dated 17 February 1433.⁶¹ The next reference we have to a Lamont chief seems to be to *Duncan Lawmondson*, who was already dead by 29 August 1448.⁶² Clearly Raibeart himself died between 1433 and 1448.

(3) Here we are faced with a possible ambiguity, depending on whether we take *Lachlani* of the 1410 charter as a surname or

⁵⁸ The rationale for treating these pedigrees as a distinct grouping is given below, p. 140. The eponym of the MacSorleys of Monydrain, of course, was quite distinct from the Somhairle who died in 1164.

⁵⁹ *Highland Papers*, ed. J.R.N. Macphail, 4 vols (Scottish History Society: Edinburgh 1914-34) iv, 233-6.

⁶⁰ *Argyll Transcripts*, at date.

⁶¹ *An Inventory of Lamont Papers (1231-1897)*, ed. N. Lamont (Scottish Record Society: Edinburgh 1914) 13.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 15.

patronymic. The former might support a c. 1400 date for the pedigree, for one could then argue that the *Caineac* (Coinneach) who heads it could have had a son called Eoin (Lat. *Johannes*), who had succeeded his father by 1410, and is then styled *Johannes Lachlani* (Eoin MacLachlan), lord of Strathlachlan. But analysis of the naming techniques in use in the late-medieval west highlands, in documents and monumental inscriptions, shows that the forename followed by the father's forename in the genitive was the common formula. Only exceptionally rarely do we find such genitives representing surnames.⁶³ This, coupled with the fact that the MacEwen, Lamont and MacSorley chiefs all bear patronymics represented by Latin genitive forms in the charter, makes it far more probable that *Johannes Lachlani* likewise means 'Eoin, son of Lachlan'. This would imply that Coinneach had still not succeeded his father in 1410, and that the pedigree must be later than that date—perhaps, in fact, later than 20 October 1436, if Eoin MacLachlan, lord of Strathlachlan, who issued a charter on that day, is the same man.⁶⁴

(4) Since *Celestinus* was the normal Latin equivalent for Gaelic Gill-easbuig,⁶⁵ we can be sure that *Celestinus Angusii*, MacSorley chief in 1410, is the man whose son Domhnall heads the pedigree in MS 1467. Thus the pedigree must be later in date than 1410. It must also be later than 4 June 1414, when *Celestinus McSowerle* and his son Domhnall together witness a charter.⁶⁶ Our next definite reference to a MacSorley chief is to *Donald McCowirlee*, mentioned in an exchequer account drawn up between 6 July 1450 and 12 July 1451.⁶⁷ This might well be Gill-easbuig's son, but we cannot be more precise about when he succeeded his father. The temptation to equate Gill-easbuig with the *Gyllaspic Angusson*, and *Celestinus Angusii*, who appear as witnesses to documents of 17 February 1433 and 13 May 1439 respectively,⁶⁸ should be resisted. The latter are probably one and the same as *Celestinus Angusii Cambell de Barbrek*, who is addressed as seneschal of Ardskeodnish and Lochawe in a precept dated 1 December 1448,⁶⁹ for there is a heavy Campbell presence in all these documents.

⁶³ Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, 87, 122 and n. 14; M.D.W. MacGregor, 'A Political History of the MacGregors before 1571' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Edinburgh 1989) 23-4.

⁶⁴ *Argyll Transcripts*, at date.

⁶⁵ Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, 119.

⁶⁶ *Argyll Transcripts*, at date; *Highland Papers* iv, 234.

⁶⁷ *Lamont Papers*, 16.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 13; *Argyll Transcripts*, at date.

⁶⁹ *Argyll Transcripts*, at date.

*Category 4: the MacGregors***Headed by**

Maelcolaim mac Padraic mhic Eoin
(f. 1r c42-8)

Comment

In addition to that given in MS 1467, we are fortunate in possessing two other pedigrees of the MacGregor lineage, datable to the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, as well as annalistic evidence, apparently being set down at Fortingall in Perthshire from the early fifteenth century onwards, which provides us with the obits of MacGregor chiefs from 1390 until 1570. Comparison of this material with the pedigree in MS 1467 reveals that, in the latter, the names of the two chiefs with whom the pedigree commences have been mistakenly inverted. The pedigree comes down as far as the chiefship of Pádraig (d. 1461), son of Maol-Coluim (d. 1440), and is thus datable to 1440 x 1461.⁷⁰

The 'Clan Pedigrees': Discussion

John Bannerman, following William Matheson, has suggested that the 'clan pedigrees in MS 1467 all date from c. 1400'.⁷¹ The foregoing analysis has shown that such a date could apply to the pedigrees of the MacNaughtons, Campbells, earls of Lennox, MacLeans, MacKinnons, MacKenzies, Mathesons, MacDuffies, MacMillans, MacKays of Ugadale, Nicolsons, Clann Gill-Adhamhnain, MacQuarries and Clann Gill-Ainnrias or Gillanders; and to those of the Lamonts and MacEwens of Otter. However, those of the MacGregors, MacSorleys of Monydrain, and, almost certainly, the MacLachlans of Strathlachlan, must postdate c. 1400, although they have not been brought down to c. 1467 itself. Hence, and assuming that these pedigrees were part of the original compilation made c. 1400,⁷² the probability is, not that Dubhghall Albanach himself made direct additions to them c.1467, but rather that there were one or more intermediate phases of addition

⁷⁰ MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 13-21, 28-35. For another error in the top segment of the MacGregor pedigree in MS 1467, and evidence of carelessness and errors elsewhere in the manuscript, see MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 20-1; Black, *Catalogue*; Sellar, 'MacDonald and MacRuairi Pedigrees', 'MacDougall Pedigrees', *passim*. Some of these errors may be attributable to the role of dictation in the process of compiling the manuscript; MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 21, n. 34; N. Ní Shéaghda, 'Notes on some scribal terms', in *Celtic Studies: Essays in memory of Angus Matheson*, edd. J. Carney and D. Greene (London 1968) 88-9.

⁷¹ Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, 104.

⁷² For reasons in favour of this assumption, see MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 21, and below, p. 143-4.

between c.1400 and 1461 (the death of the MacGregor chief Pádraig), which were embodied in Dubhghall's source.

One of these intermediate phases, and perhaps the only one, was what we might call a 'MacLachlan phase'. As Skene first pointed out,⁷³ the MacLachlan pedigree in MS 1467 is unique in that it systematically details the mothers of several of the chiefs it mentions.⁷⁴ The MacLachlans were not a major kindred within the lordship of the Isles, and it is wholly unlikely that the genealogist responsible for the original compilation of the clan pedigrees in MS 1467 was an employee of theirs, or that he would have singled them out for special treatment.⁷⁵ Hence we need to assume that at some point after c.1400 a MacLachlan genealogist updated and expanded the MacLachlan pedigree and updated that of the MacSorleys also.

Since the MacLachlans and MacSorleys shared a common and relatively recent Irish origin with the Lamonts and the MacEwens of Otter,⁷⁶ and remained closely associated with them, one might have expected the pedigree of the latter two kindreds to receive similar treatment. However, we should note firstly that by 1432 the ruling MacEwen lineage, in the person of Suibhne son of Eoghan, was in serious difficulties, with the Campbells poised to benefit. At some point between 1432 and 1466 the title of lord of the barony of Otter passed from the MacEwens to the Campbells. For a MacLachlan genealogist active between these dates, the eclipse of the MacEwen ruling lineage may have given sufficient cause to leave its pedigree unaltered.⁷⁷ Secondly, Raibeart, who heads the Lamont pedigree in MS 1467, was not only chief c.1400 but remained as such until 1433 x 1448. Thus the

⁷³ *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, 60.

⁷⁴ MS 1467, f. 1v a39-51. The only other trace of such an approach comes in the Clann Raghnaill section where Dubhghall Albanach names the two mothers of the sons of Domhnall, one of the five sons of the eponymous Raghnaill (MS 1467, f.1v bc57 ff.). On the evidence of MS 1467, content of this order is thus akin to a 'signature' by which a genealogist reveals his particular kin-affiliation.

⁷⁵ See below, p. 145.

⁷⁶ *Lamont Papers*, 31, no. 85; W.D.H. Sellar, 'Family Origins in Cowal and Knapdale', *Scottish Studies* 15 (1971) 27-8, 32-3.

⁷⁷ *Argyll Transcripts*, 20 March 1432, 7 June 1432, 10 April 1466. See also *Highland Papers* ii, 96. For possible evidence of the extent of the decline of these MacEwens by the sixteenth century, see *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society* iv (Scottish History Society: Edinburgh 1926) 222. Gill-easbuig, son of Eoghan, of Otter, on record in 1447 (*Argyll Transcripts*, 20 February), was presumably a brother of Suibhne; it may be significant that he is not styled *lord* of Otter. If we accept the assumption others have made, that Gill-easbuig, first Campbell lord of Otter, was one and the same as the Gill-easbuig Campbell who appears without territorial designation in a series of documents up to 1462, then it may follow that formal Campbell title to Otter was not finally secured until 1462 x 1466. *Argyll Transcripts*, 6 July 1452; *Lamont Papers*, 17-19.

genealogist could have been active within that period without leaving any mark upon the Lamont pedigree. The admittedly limited dating criteria we currently possess would therefore assign this ‘MacLachlan phase’ to between 1436⁷⁸ and 1448.

The updating of the MacGregor pedigree could conceivably belong to a later, independent phase. But since the MacGregor chief Eoin Dubh (d.1415) apparently married a MacLachlan, and his son Maol-Coluim married a Lamont,⁷⁹ it would seem more likely that the additions to the MacGregor pedigree should also be assigned to the ‘MacLachlan phase’ and explained on the basis of these kin ties with southern Argyll. Acceptance of such an hypothesis would narrow the bounds within which the MacLachlan genealogist was at work to 1440 x 1448. We might tentatively conclude then, that possibly three, but more probably two stages of composition lie behind the ‘clan pedigrees’ in MS 1467 as we have them.

Conclusions: Authorship, Composition, Dating, Purpose

With specific reference to the ‘clan pedigrees’ in MS 1467, Bannerman has argued that ‘the form and content of this material leave no doubt that its compiler’s intention was to set down the pedigrees of the chiefs of important clans who, in his opinion, recognised the authority of the Lord of the Isles’, c.1400.⁸⁰ On this basis he employs these pedigrees as one means by which the sphere of influence of the MacDonald Lords at that time can be delimited. He suggests that, in addition to clans inhabiting ‘heartland’ territories which we know to have been in the possession of the lord of the Isles c.1400, MS 1467 contains the pedigrees of clans settled in three other areas, namely Argyll, Ross and Perthshire. There is a notable clutch of kindreds from Argyll: the Campbells, and MacNaughtons, along with the Cowal grouping (MacLachlans, Lamonts, MacEwens and MacSorleys) already discussed.⁸¹ Independent evidence exists for the close ties between kindreds in these areas and Eoin lord of the Isles in the later fourteenth century.⁸² This also lends support to the view that the pedigrees of the Cowal clans were part of the original compilation c.1400. The presence in MS 1467 of three Ross kindreds—the MacKenzies, Mathesons and Clann Gill-Ainnrias or Gillanders—‘is consistent with the intentions of Donald, Lord of the Isles, towards the earldom of Ross at this time’.⁸³

⁷⁸ See above, p. 140.

⁷⁹ MacGregor, ‘MacGregors’, 71 and n. 8, 74 and n. 14.

⁸⁰ Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, 205.

⁸¹ The MacDougalls, although of Clann Shomhairle, were also an Argyll kindred.

⁸² Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, 204.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 205.

The evidence for Lordship influence in Perthshire rests on the pedigree of the MacGregors, and others which Skene identified as those of the MacNabs of Glen Dochart and the MacLarens of Balquhiddel.⁸⁴ However, the names of the MacNab chiefs *c.*1400 are now known.⁸⁵ They do not correspond with the names in the upper segment of Skene's 'MacNab' pedigree, which indeed are wholly atypical of the forenames used by the MacNab ruling lineage either before or after *c.*1400.⁸⁶ Although the MacGregors later came to be strongly associated with Perthshire, particularly Breadalbane and Rannoch, their rapid expansion into these territories had yet to begin *c.*1400, when they were still overwhelmingly confined to Glen Strae and its environs, in Lorn in northern Argyll. In geographical terms then, the MacGregor pedigree in MS 1467 properly belongs with the Argyll grouping. As other evidence bears out, it was while they were still largely settled there that the MacGregors came under the influence of the lordship of the Isles.⁸⁷ Deprived of the support of these two pedigrees, that of the 'MacLarens' begins to look decidedly isolated, and we should note both that this pedigree has yet to be fully analysed, and that Skene's identification of it has been questioned.⁸⁸ We can conclude that MS 1467 provides little or no evidence for Lordship penetration of Perthshire. This is consistent with the lack of other convincing evidence to this effect,⁸⁹ and with the clear case that can be made for the political domination of much of western Perthshire *c.* 1400 by Robert Stewart duke of Albany, and his son Murdoch.⁹⁰

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 206; Skene, *Celtic Scotland* iii, 343-4, 361-2, 483, 486-7.

⁸⁵ Eoin, son of the deceased Alasdair MacNab, received sasine as heir to his father on 20 September 1407 (National Archives of Scotland, *Breadalbane Muniments*, GD112/2/34), following precept of sasine by Robert duke of Albany. An undated charter by Albany to Alasdair MacNab (*ibid.*) can be assigned to the period between 28 April 1398, when Robert was created duke of Albany (*Scots Peerage* i, 147), and 20 September 1407.

⁸⁶ The pedigree (MS 1467, f. 1r c25-41) begins, *Gilla-Muire mac Eoghan mhic Aenghusa mhic Mhic-bethad*. Earlier individuals on record (*Highland Papers* iv, 4) probably to be identified as members of the MacNab ruling lineage are Eoin (1238) and Maol-Coluim and Pádraig (1296). Between 1407 and 1600, the MacNab chiefs used the forenames Eoin, Pádraig, Alasdair and Fionnlagh: W. A. Gillies, *In Famed Breadalbane* (Perth 1938) 92-8. The fact that this cannot be the pedigree of the MacNabs of Glen Dochart weakens the case for tying the motives for the compilation of MS 1467 too closely to the person and power of Robert duke of Albany; see S. Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings: Robert II and Robert III, 1371-1406* (East Linton 1996) 208, 220.

⁸⁷ MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 71-2.

⁸⁸ Black, *Catalogue*, suggests it may be the pedigree of the MacLavertys.

⁸⁹ MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 54.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 54-61; Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings*, 71-2, 168-70, 181-5, 257-8.

The above represents a modification to the detail of Bannerman's argument, and leaves unaffected the accuracy of his conclusion concerning the intention of the original compiler of MS 1467, *c.*1400. He must have been in the employ of the MacDonalds, presumably Domhnall lord of the Isles himself. His affiliations permeate his work, nowhere more clearly than in his denigratory treatment of the main MacDougall lineage, in which he may have set a precedent for later MacDonald historians in Scotland. In disagreement with the Book of Lecan, he makes the eponymous Dubhghall a son of Ragnhall son of Somhairle, rather than of Somhairle himself, thereby reducing Clann Dubhghaill to the same status as Clann Domhnaill and Clann Ruairi in terms of their relationship to Somhairle.⁹¹

We may now attempt to summarise the making of MS 1467.⁹² Working *c.*1400, the original compiler had available to him a source containing MacDonald, MacRuairi and MacDougall pedigrees which also surfaces in the Book of Lecan, and which was apparently composed earlier than *c.* 1387, perhaps closer to 1350. In at least two places he amplified that common source, adding a generation to one of the pedigrees of the descendants of Alasdair Óg, and bringing the MacDougall main line up to date.⁹³ We may fairly surmise that he also fleshed out the list of the sons of Eoin of Islay (incomplete in Lecan), updated the MacDonald main line by adding Domhnall's name before his father Eoin (with whom Lecan's pedigree begins), and substantially lengthened and elaborated this pedigree (which is much briefer in Lecan).⁹⁴ He also doctored the pedigree of the MacDougall chiefs. To this common core he then added the genealogies of five apparently contemporary heads of MacDougall *gall-óglaich* lineages.⁹⁵ Finally, he set down the 'clan pedigrees'.

This manuscript, or a copy of it, then passed through the hands of a MacLachlan genealogist, who made a copy perhaps between 1440 and 1448, at the same time updating and enhancing several of the 'clan

⁹¹ Sellar, 'MacDougall Pedigrees', 3-4, where it is noted that the Book of Ballymote agrees with MS 1467 in its treatment of MacDougall origins. The *Sleat History*, a seventeenth-century MacDonald text, makes Dubhghall a natural son of Somhairle, and treats pejoratively of him throughout; *Highland Papers* i, 11-13, 15-16.

⁹² No analysis of the pedigrees of the kings of Scots in MS 1467 has been undertaken for this paper, and hence no comment is offered on whether or not these were part of the original compilation *c.* 1400 (as seems probable), or on their source.

⁹³ The ruling lineage of Clann Ruairi died out in the mid-fourteenth century, and thus required no updating.

⁹⁴ Sellar, 'MacDonald and MacRuairi Pedigrees', 7, 9-10; 'MacDougall Pedigrees', 3, 6-8, 16. It should also be noted that Lecan names Robert Stewart, the father of Eoin of Islay's second wife, simply as 'the son of Walter', whereas MS 1467 adds the fact that he was 'king of Scotland'. Robert Stewart became king of Scots in 1371.

⁹⁵ Sellar, 'MacDougall Pedigrees', 15.

pedigrees' which were of greatest moment to him.⁹⁶ Third and last, Dubhghall Albanach made his copy from a version incorporating this 'MacLachlan phase', either in Ireland in or after 1467, or on his return to Scotland, inserting the Clann Raghnaill and Clann Ghofraidh pedigrees, and updating the MacDonald main line.

Once the fundamental need for a critical edition of the text has been met, much work still remains to be done on MS 1467.⁹⁷ Apart from the identification and dating of the remainder of the 'clan pedigrees', three obvious priorities are investigations of the source(s) both of the Clann Shomhairle material and of the genealogies of the kings of Scots, and further analysis of the older segments of the 'clan pedigrees' in order to explore the reasons for the ultimate origins claimed for these kindreds. Progress with this last question in particular⁹⁸ may thus help to shed light on the immediate motives of the original genealogist in making this specific compilation at this specific time, c.1400. Could the prominence of *gall-óglaich* pedigrees within it suggest that MS 1467 was in part a census of the military resources theoretically available to Domhnall lord of the Isles in a period when he was seeking to make good his wife's claim to the earldom of Ross, culminating in the battle of Harlaw in 1411?⁹⁹

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⁹⁶ In terms of the order in which pedigrees occur within MS 1467, it may be significant that those of the MacLachlans and MacSorleys of Monydrain, both of which were added to in the 'MacLachlan phase', come at the end of the section of 'clan pedigrees', but separated by the MacDougall *gall-óglaich* pedigrees. The MacSorley pedigree stands between these MacDougall pedigrees and the commencement of the Clann Shomhairle section proper, with which the manuscript concludes.

⁹⁷ Royal Irish Academy MS 23 H 22, apparently written down in the nineteenth century, contains (p. 48) a genealogy of the MacLeods of Lewis, commencing with Ruairi, on record in 1405 (W Matheson, 'The MacLeods of Lewis', TGS 51 (1978- 80), 324-5, 332, nn. 24, 26). Hence it is conceivable that the ultimate source of this genealogy is MS 1467, or its original. That the pedigrees of the MacLeods of Lewis (and indeed of Harris) would be included therein is wholly to be expected; it has been suggested that they form part of the section of MS 1467 which is now illegible (Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, 205, n. 2).

⁹⁸ For existing discussion see Skene, *Celtic Scotland* iii, 339-46, 458-90; Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, 103-5; D. Sellar, 'Highland Family Origins – Pedigree Making and Pedigree Faking', in *The Middle Ages in the Highlands* (The Inverness Field Club: Inverness 1981) 103-16; MacGregor, 'MacGregors', 70, n. 1.

⁹⁹ Steer and Bannerman, *Monumental Sculpture*, 148-50; Boardman, *The Early Stewart Kings*, 258-9, and cf. *ibid.*, 208. My warmest thanks to Dauvit Broun, Thomas Clancy, William Gillies and David Sellar for their most helpful comments on a draft of this paper.