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1467 MS: The Green Abbot

This is the third of what we may call the five 'headline' pedigrees in the 1467 MS (NLS Adv. MS 72.1.1, f. 1). We find it at column c, lines 25–42. The manuscript begins with the genealogies of three early kings of Scotland (David I, Lulach, Macbeth), then launches into less exalted kindreds, the first five of which are given a good deal of space – the MacNaughtons, Mackintoshes, Green Abbot, MacGregors and Camerons. It would be legitimate to argue that there was something particularly important about these to the writer, Dubhghall Albanach mac mhic Cathail, or to his master, John, lord of the Isles. All of them are certainly 'new' in the sense that no earlier versions of them are known.

It should be stated straight away that William F. Skene thought that our pedigree was of the MacNabs of Glen Dochart in West Perthshire. As a result, it may be found quoted (albeit without translation or comment) in a history of the MacNabs.[1] Far from dissenting from Skene's opinion, in the 1970s the late John Bannerman incorporated it into his thinking on the cultural influence of the lordship of the Isles. Basing his views on the poems brought together in the Book of the Dean of Lismore, the presence in our manuscript of the MacGregors, and the alleged presence in our manuscript of the MacLarens and MacNabs, Bannerman saw this influence as extending eastwards from Argyll into central Perthshire.[2] All three kindreds have since fallen out of contention: the MacGregors because it has been shown that in 1400–67 they were still restricted to the Glen Strae area of Argyll, the MacLarens because 'MacLaren' appears to be a misreading for 'MacLaverty', the MacNabs because the names of known MacNab chiefs in 1238 and 1296 – Eoin, Maol Colaim, Pádraig – do not correspond to those given by Dubhghall Albanach.[3] There is in fact an Eoin in the Green Abbot's pedigree, as is now revealed (c26), but not at the required date of 1238, nor anywhere near it.

The key to resolving the issue is of course the identity of the Green Abbot, and two such persons are on record. One is Finguine MacKinnon, who was lay abbot of Iona from 1357 to *c*. 1405. He is said to have behaved tyrannically, lived with concubines, wasted the goods of the abbey, used its endowments as dowries for three of his daughters, and allowed the church and monastic buildings to collapse.[4] He was, however, a brother of Neil, the MacKinnon chief, whose pedigree is elsewhere in the 1467 MS, beginning *niall mac gillebrigde mhic eoghain mhic gillabrighde* (1va16–27). This is conclusive evidence that Finguine MacKinnon is not our man.

The other Green Abbot is more obscure and belongs further north, in what is now Ross-shire. Our knowledge of him comes from a tricky passage in Niall MacMhuirich's 'Little Book of Clanranald' which I will cite in full from the original. At this point MacMhuirich is dealing with the offspring of Alexander, who was lord of the Isles from 1423 to 1449. "Clann oile ag al*us*dair .i. huisdiun • inghean ghille pádraig ríaigh [*sic*] mhic ruaighrí mic an aba uaine mic iarrla rois dona rosach*aibh* a shloinneadh ⁊ trían leoghuis a bhetha ⁊ fearuinn oile ar tír mór ⁊ is é do marbhadh sna rannuibh gallolach [*sic*] an gcuide*cht* mic domnuill .i. domhnall a hile oir cethrar do chuadar amach as an arm roimh chuide*cht*a no phártuigh dó [*sic*] tslúagh do chúaidh leó .i. tormód m*a*c leoid ⁊ torcuill a bhrathair • lochluinn mach [*sic*] giolla mhaoil giolla pádruig mac ruaighri do marbh*adh* giolla padruig mac ruaighri ⁊ lochluinn m*a*c giolla maoil ⁊ tainic tormód ⁊ torcuill as an rúaig slán."[5] I would translate this as follows: "Alexander had other children, namely Hugh, [by] the daughter of Gille Pádraig Ruadh, son of Ruairi, son of

the Green Abbot, son of the earl of Ross. His pedigree was from the men of Ross, and he had a third of Lewis and other properties on the mainland for his livelihood. And he was slain in the Garioch(?) in the retinue of MacDonald, namely Donald of Islay, for four men got separated from the army leading a detachment or party of the host which accompanied them, namely Norman MacLeod and Torquil his brother, Lachlan MacMillan and Gille Pádraig son of Ruairi. Gille Pádraig son of Ruairi and Lachlan MacMillan were slain, while Norman and Torquil survived the attack unscathed."[6]

The attack appears, then, to be an incident in the battle of Harlaw (1411). Counting back two generations from Harlaw, we reach this Green Abbot's floruit at 1351. The obvious question that next arises is of course: of what monastery was he the head? Bearing in mind that that he was allegedly a son of the earl of Ross, three options in particular deserve to be explored: Applecross, founded by St Maol Rubha AD 673; Fearn, allegedly founded in the early thirteenth century by the earl of Ross himself; and – just over the border in the neighbouring province of Moray – Beauly, founded by John Bisset in 1230. As it happens, the mid-fourteenth century is precisely the period in which we know of two abbots of Fearn who were kin to the earls of Ross. One was Mark Ross, whose exact relationship to the earls is unknown, but who was abbot from *c*. 1321 to 1338. The other is Donald, whose abbacy appears to have lasted from 1345 to 1371 or 1373; he is said to have been a nephew of William, 5th earl, whose period of rule was from 1333 to 1372.[7] If 'Mark' or 'Donald' appeared at an appropriate point in our pedigree, the identity of the Green Abbot would be confirmed. Unfortunately both names are entirely absent, so either we are barking up the wrong tree, or the matter is more complicated. And it does seem to be more complicated, because Gille Pádraig Ruadh also appears in Hugh MacDonald's history of the MacDonalds, being himself described as an abbot. Speaking, as is MacMhuirich, of Alexander of the Isles and his offspring, MacDonald says: "First, he took to him the concubine, daughter to Patrick Obeolan, surnamed the Red, who was a very beautiful woman. This surname Obeolan was the surnames [*sic*] of the Earls of Ross, till Farqu[h]ar, born in Ross, was created earl by King Alexander, and so carried the name of Ross since, as best answering the English tongue.[8] This Obeolan had its descent of the ancient tribe of the Manapii; of this tribe is also St. Rice or Rufus [= *Maol Rubha*].[9] Patrick was an abbot, and had Carlebay in the Lewis, and the church lands in that country, with 18 merks lands in Lochbroom.[10] He had two sons and a daughter. The sons were called Normand and Austin More, so called from his excessive strength and corpulency . . . Patrick's daughter bore a son to Alexander Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, who was called Austin, or, as others say, Augustine. She was twice brought before the king, as MacDonald could not be induced to part with her, on occasion of her great beauty. The king said, that it was no wonder that such a fair damsel had enticed MacDonald."[11]

In a vague and stuttering way, Hugh MacDonald is pointing us towards Applecross, though once again Applecross is not mentioned. Certain points of detail deserve to be teased out: Austin or Augustine is of course MacMhuirich's *Huisdiun* or Hugh; a priggish annotator of MacDonald's text wishes us to believe that his mother was in fact Alexander's wife, the earl of Huntly's daughter. What must be established, however, is the relationship between the two texts. In Hugh MacDonald's the abbot is no longer described as green, but is named as 'Patrick Obeolan, surnamed the Red', obviously Gille Pádraig Ruadh; then we are promptly told that Obeolan was the original surname of the earls of Ross. Since to the best of our knowledge MacDonald's history was

written before MacMhuirich's, it is likely that MacMhuirich had a copy of it, and when he tells us that the Green Abbot was a son of the earl of Ross, this may have been a misunderstanding of what lay before him. We know that MacMhuirich could read Latin, but his knowledge of English was perhaps limited. On the other hand, it will be noticed that MacDonald says nothing of Patrick Obeolan's descent: conflating the two accounts, he may have been Abbot Patrick, son of Ruairi, son of the Green Abbot, son of the earl of Ross. And when MacMhuirich says that Gille Pádraig's *sloinneadh* was 'from the men of Ross', he may well be referring to the surname Obeolan. The two accounts are in no way incompatible with each other.

One historian who had no doubts whatever about the Green Abbot's association with Applecross was William Cook Mackenzie (1862–1952). In an extraordinary farrago on the subject of Iain Mór's rebellion against his father John, lord of the Isles, in the years before 1386, he informs us: "He who incited John Mòr to rebel against his father was Finnon (Kinnon), a son of the last O'Beolan Earl of Ross, and known as the 'Green Abbot'; he belonged to the powerful Applecross family of lay abbots, from whom the O'Beolan Earls of Ross sprang."[12] Mackenzie's conflation of two Green Abbots into one is unforgiveable. On the other hand, the worst that can be said about his belief that the O'Beolan earls of Ross were descended from lay abbots of Applecross is that it is uncritical, given that only one historian had even mildly contested it, and that the first to do so unambiguously was Alexander Grant in 2000.[13] In fact, beyond the enigmatic statements of Niall MacMhuirich and Hugh MacDonald (just quoted) there is no evidence that a family of lay abbots of Applecross ever existed. If they did exist, however, and if our Green Abbot can be shown to have been one of them, they were certainly powerful, and one small part of Mackenzie's farrago is vindicated.

I will now give the pedigree exactly as it stands in the three editions known to me: W. F. Skene's *Collectanea* of 1839, his *Celtic Scotland* of 1880, and the on-line version published by my wife Máire and myself in 2009. For ease of comparison, the texts are all presented here according to the eighteen-line structure in which they appear in the manuscript. The last line, c42, consists of erased matter, never previously studied. I also provide, as (4), a list of the earls (or, in certain cases, countesses) of Ross.

(1) *Collectanea* 1839:

c25 *Do Genelach ic an abhane*.—
c26 Gillemare ic Eogan
c27 ic Aengusa ic ic Biad
c28 ic Aengusa ic Gille-
c29 mare Logaig
c30 ic Fearchair ic Fin-
c31 laeic ic Donncsi
c32 ic Firtire
c33 ic Gillafaelan
c34 ic Gillamart
c35 ic Firtead
c36 ic Loairn ic
c37 Fearchair ic Cormaic
c38 mc Oirbertaig
c39 ic Eirc ic Donaill duin
c40 ic Fearchar abradhruaidh

c41 ic Fearadaig.
c42

c25 The Genealogy of M'Nab.—
c26 Gilmour son of Ewen
c27 son of Angus son of Macbeth
c28 son of Angus son of Gil-
c29 mour of Lochy
c30 son of Ferchar son of Fin-
c31 lay son of Duncan
c32 son of Firtir
c33 son of Gillefillan
c34 son of Martin
c35 son of Firtead
c36 son of Lorn son of
c37 Ferchar son of Cormac
c38 son of Orbertaigh
c39 son of Erc son of Donald duin
c40 son of Ferchar of the red eyelid,
c41 son of Feredach.[14]
c42

(2) *Celtic Scotland*, with Skene's footnote:

c25 Do Genealach mhic an Aba egne*
c26 Gillamure mac Eogain
c27 mhic Aengusa mhic Macbethad
c28 mhic Aengusa mhic Gilla-
c29 mure loganaig
c30 mhic Ferchair mhic Finn-
c31 laeic mhic Donnchaich
c32 mhic Firtired
c33 mhic Gillafaelan
c34 mhic Gillamartan
c35 mhic Firtiread
c36 mhic Loairn mhic
c37 Fearchar mhic Cormac
c38 mhic Airbeartaigh
c39 mhic Erc mhic Domnaill duinn
c40 mhic Ferchar abraruadh
c41 mhic Feradaig
c42

* From MS. 1467.

c25 The Genealogy of the MacNabs.
c26 Gillamure son of Ewen
c27 son of Angus son of Macbeth
c28 son of Angus son of Gille-
c29 mure Loganaig
c30 son of Ferchard son of Finn-

c31 laech son of Duncan
c32 son of Firtired
c33 son of Gillafaelan
c34 son of Gillamartan
c35 son of Firtired
c36 son of Lorn son of
c37 Ferchard son of Cormac
c38 son of Airbertach
c39 *son of Erc son of Donald donn*
c40 *son of Ferchar Abraruadh*
c41 *son of Feradach*.[15]
c42

(3) www.1467manuscript.co.uk:

c25 do ghenelach mhic an aba uathne
c26 gilla muire mac eoghain moir
c27 mhic aenghusa mhic mhicbethad
c28 mhic aenghusa mhic gilla
c29 muire longaigh
c30 mhic ferchair mhic fhinn
c31 laeich mhic donnchaidh
c32 mhic firthire
c33 mhic gillafaelain
c34 mhic gillamhartain
c35 mhic fir thead
c36 mhic loairn mhic
c37 ferchair mhic cormaic
c38 mhic oirbertaigh
c39 mhic erc mhic domnaill duinn
c40 mhic ferchair abradruaidh
c41 mhic feradhaigh
c42

c25 Of the genealogy of the son of the Green Abbot:
c26 Gille Muire son of big/great Ewen
c27 son of Angus son of Macbeth
c28 son of Angus son of Gille
c29 Muire Longach (‘of ships’)
c30 son of Fearchar son of Fin-
c31 lay son of Duncan
c32 son of Fear Tíre
c33 son of Gille Faoláin
c34 son of Gille Mártainn
c35 son of Fear Téad
c36 son of Loarn son of
c37 Fearchar son of Cormac
c38 son of Airbheartach
c39 son of Earc son of brown-haired Donald
c40 son of Fearchar Abhradhruadh
c41 son of Fearadhach.
c42

(4) The earldom of Ross:

1. Farquhar: appears 1215, created earl *c*. 1225, dies *c*. 1251.
2. William: son of above, appears 1232, earl *c*. 1251, dies 1274.
3. William: son of above, earl 1274, dies 1323.
4. Hugh: son of above, prob. born by 1290, appears 1307, earl 1323, acquires Strathglass, Strathconon and lordship of Skye, slain in battle of Halidon Hill 1333.
5. William: son of above, earl 1333, dies 1372.
6. Euphemia: dau. of above, marries Sir Walter Leslie *c*. 1370, becomes countess of Ross 1372; in 1382 he dies and she marries Alexander Stewart, earl of Buchan, the so-called 'Wolf of Badenoch', who thus gains the earldom of Ross; he loses it again when they are divorced in 1392; she dies 1394x95.
7. Alexander Leslie: son of above, earl 1394x95, marries Isabel, daughter of Robert Stewart, duke of Albany, regent of Scotland, dies 1402. Alexander's sister Mary marries Donald, lord of the Isles.
8. Euphemia Leslie: dau. of above, *de jure* countess of Ross 1402. In 1411 Donald of the Isles advances his claim to the earldom by marching on Aberdeen, but is checked at Harlaw. In 1415 Euphemia resigns her claim in favour of her maternal uncle, John Stewart, earl of Buchan, son of the regent Albany. She dies unmarried, date unknown. Albany secures the earldom for the Crown.
9. Mary Leslie, wife of Donald of the Isles, heir presumptive to her niece Euphemia 1402, claimant to earldom 1415. Donald dies 1423, Mary 1440.
10. Alexander, son of above, lord of the Isles 1423, becomes earl of Ross *c*. 1437, dies at Dingwall 1449.
11. John, son of above, lord of the Isles and earl of Ross 1449, forfeits earldom of Ross, Knapdale, Kintyre and the sheriffdoms of Inverness and Nairn 1476, forfeits lordship of the Isles 1493, dies in Dundee 1503.[16]

Before discussing our text in detail it will be worth our while to pursue further the question: to what monastery did the 'Green Abbot' belong? Cowan and Easson's *Medieval Religious Houses* lists 360 monasteries in Scotland, classifying them into early religious foundations (mainly Celtic), followed by houses belonging to the Benedictines, Cluniac monks, Tironensians, Cistercians (and their dependencies), Valliscaulians, Carthusians, Augustinian canons and friars, Premonstratensians, Gilbertines, Trinitarians, Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, friars of the Sack, Benedictine, Cistercian, Dominican and Franciscan nuns, Augustinian canonesses, Knights Templars and Hospitallers, hospitals, cathedrals and colleges. Many of these sections contain additional entries on incomplete, unidentified, uncertain, proposed or supposed foundations, and there is also a final section entitled 'Doubtful and Rejected Foundations'. This is a vast array of information, and it is likely that, if used in conjunction with lists of known heads of religious houses in other sources, our 'Green Abbot' fits into it somehow. Given that we have already come across an abbot of St Andrews in the 1467 MS, it is possible that the Green Abbot could have belonged to almost any of the 360 foundations which can be shown to have existed in the period 1000–1467.[17] For present purposes, however, it seems best to focus, at least in the first instance, on what is known about four institutions in or near the province of Ross: Applecross, Beauly, Dornoch and Fearn.

Applecross: founded by Maol Rubha, abbot of Bangor, AD 673. He died there in 722. A successor, Failbhe son of Guaire, was drowned in 737. Mac Oige of Applecross,

abbot of Bangor, died in 802. From that point onwards Applecross was exposed to the full force of Viking onslaught and settlement. No more is heard of the monastery, but its site, extending six miles in all directions, came to be venerated as a sanctuary or 'girth', and by the sixteenth century this was under the supervision of two 'chaplains'. In 1569 Sir William Stewart, 'Chaplain of Applecross', granted half the lands of Applecross to Roderick MacKenzie of Davochmaluag. As an illegitimate son of Colin Mackenzie of Kintail by Davochmaluag's daughter, Alexander MacKenzie of Coul obtained a sasine of these lands dated 10 March 1582; his son Roderick (d. 1646) was the first of the MacKenzies of Applecross. The name appears to be Pictish *Apor Crosan* 'Mouth of the R. Crosan', but to this day the area is known in Gaelic as *a' Chomraich* 'the Sanctuary'. Far from being destroyed by Norse occupation, the cult of St Maol Rubha appears to have fed upon it, leaving its marks not merely in Ross-shire but all over the Highlands and Islands and even beyond, and surviving to the twentieth century in Gaelic custom and belief.[18] With regard to the term 'chaplain', David McRoberts concluded his survey of Scottish hermits and hermitages as follows: "In the lists of different categories of ecclesiastical property, taken over from the medieval church in 1560, hermitages are never mentioned. It is unlikely that hermitages had completely disappeared from Scotland by that year and the explanation may be that hermitages dependent on monasteries are simply included in monastic property and other hermitages are included under 'chaplainries'."[19] It follows from this that if Mgr McRoberts was correct, there was no monastery at Applecross in 1560.

Beauly: this priory appears to have been founded and endowed for monks from the Val des Choux in France (Valliscaulians) by John Bisset in 1230. All three Valliscaulian priories in Scotland were in Gaelic-speaking districts: Beauly, Ardchattan, Pluscarden. They called the place *Beau Lieu*, but in Gaelic it eventually became known as *Manachainn Mhic Shimidh* 'Lovat's Monastery', or *a' Mhanachainn* for short; the Beauly River was *Abhainn nam Manach* 'the River of the Monks'. It should be borne in mind that the Frasers were themselves Norman French in origin. In 1510, following the suppression of the Valliscaulian Order by the Pope, Beauly was transferred to the Cistercians. The known priors to 1467 were Geoffrey (1312), Robert (1341–57), Simon (1362), Maurice (1336–72), Thomas (x1407), Matthew alias Walter (1407–11), Cristin Donaldson (1411), Gilbert Macpherson (1430) and Alexander Fraser (1430–71). Following the Reformation, six monks remained at Beauly in 1568, and four in 1571.[20]

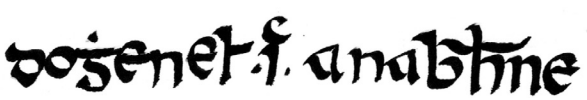
Dornoch: there were monks here during the years 1127–53, and David I ordered Reinwald, earl of Orkney, to respect them. The presence of a writ to this effect in the Dunfermline Abbey register has led to the suggestion that Benedictines from Dunfermline had established a cell at Dornoch. They may, however, have been surviving members of an early community, as the site is sacred to the memory of St Barr and traditionally associated with the Céli Dé. Equally, the first recorded bishop of Caithness, Andrew, had been a monk of Dunfermline, and he appears to have brought fellow monks north with him, perhaps intending to found a monastic cathedral. No cathedral existed, however, until the episcopate of St Gilbert (1222–3–1245). Claims that a Trinitarian or other house was established at Dornoch by Sir Patrick Murray or the earl of Sutherland *c*. 1272, and that it was given the lands of the ministry of

Berwick after that town passed into English possession in 1482, appear to be false. The revenues of the Trinitarian house at Berwick had been made over to the house at Peebles by 1488.[21]

Fearn: this Premonstratensian abbey was founded at 'Farne beside Kincardin in Stracharrin', allegedly by Farquhar earl of Ross (*fl.* 1215–51), who is said to have brought two white canons and relics of St Ninian from the priory of Whithorn in Galloway (also then a Gaelic-speaking district), a process known to historians as 'colonisation'. It is not known whether this act of foundation will have preceded or followed the campaign of 1235 in which Farquhar helped Alexander II put down a rising in Galloway. According to tradition, about 1238 the abbey was transferred eastwards to a site in the parish of Tarbat and renamed New Fearn. The 'known' abbots to 1467 (two of whom, Mark Ross and Donald Pupill, I have already mentioned) are Malcolm of Whithorn (1220s or 1230s), Malcolm of Nigg (before 1251), 'Machabeus Makhersin' (?*Mac-Beatha mac a' phearsain*, 1251x74), Colin (1255x71), Martin of Whithorn (1299x1311), John of Whithorn (1299x1321), Mark Ross (c.1321–38), Donald Pupill (*nepos* of William 5th earl of Ross, 1345x71–73), Adam Monilaw (1380–1407), Thomas Kiethirnathie (?*ceithearnach* 'cateran, kern', 1407x), Finlay (d. 1436) and Finlay McFaed or McFaid (1439–83x86). At the time of the Reformation the community appears to have consisted of five or more canons.[22] In the early nineteenth century the antiquarian Lt.-Gen. George Henry Hutton collected from oral tradition the advice of an unnamed abbot of Fearn to his nephew 'whom he designed to make his heir', taking the form of seven quatrains of Gaelic verse. It presumably relates to Mark Ross (d. 1355) and Donald Pupill, who only succeeded him 'after controversy with the prior and convent of Whithorn, who claimed rights of presentation'.[23]

We may provisionally sum up this evidence as follows. There was never an abbot of Dornoch, at least after the twelfth century. The heads of the house at Beauly, founded in 1230, seem to have been mainly Frenchmen, and were technically priors, not abbots. There is no evidence for monastic life at Applecross after the eighth century, so any argument based on that foundation will be *ex silentio*, but religious activity must have persisted at the sanctuary in our period, perhaps governed by lay abbots. In view of its strong connection with the earls of Ross, Fearn is a likely candidate, and a good deal is known about its abbots. Four of them (Mac-Beatha, Martin and the two Finlays) bear names which also appear in our pedigree, but these have to be shown to fit.

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

c25 

do ghenel*ach* mhic an ab*a uai*ne = "Of the genealogy of the son of the Green Abbot:"

The last two words here are both contracted, but there is no doubt about the reading. The mark of suspension on *ab* gives us the required genitive *aba*. The name of the

letter *h* in the Gaelic alphabet is *uath* 'hawthorn', and from this, with or without a mark of suspension, it came to be used as a standard contraction for *uath*, *uai* (as here) or *ua*. But why should our abbot have been *uaine* 'green'?

Of all the colours in the Gaelic spectrum, *uaine* is the least complex, the least metaphorical. It represents green, pure and simple. The meaning 'raw, inexperienced' is carried by a different word, *glas*, which occupies that part of the spectrum between green and grey: *saighdear glas* 'a raw recruit', for example. The greenness of healthy growth is *gorm*, otherwise 'blue' or 'shiny black': *feur gorm* 'green grass'. We may exclude the possibility that the Green Abbot belonged to an order of monks whose habit was of green cloth, as no such order ever existed.[24] In Scotland we had black monks (Benedictines), white canons (Premonstratensians, whose habit was originally greyish, of unbleached wool), red friars (Trinitarians), black friars (Dominicans, who wore a black cloak over a white tunic), grey friars (Franciscans), white friars (Carmelites), and even grey sisters (Franciscan nuns), but no green monks.[25] And thanks to Finguine MacKinnon, we may also exclude the possibility that the colour green had anything to do with the Céli Dé.

In medieval times the production of green cloth was a complex and unstable process involving combinations of blue and yellow pigments. In the British Isles its manufacture was centred on Lincoln, and most of the green cloth used in Scotland was imported from there. As a result, the wearing of green had sumptuary and liminal associations. It was the colour of the fairies (Celtic as well as Teutonic) and of Robin Hood. In the Highlands, a post-medieval account speaks of a green dye called *ailmeid* being prepared by boiling heather tops with alum.[26] All in all, 'sumptuary and liminal' probably sums up the force of *uaine* in *ab uaine*, which we may tentatively translate as 'lay abbot' (an abbot who has never been a monk). To judge by the examples of Finguine MacKinnon and Gille Pádraig Ruadh, such people were frequently intrusionists who alienated church property, employed it for personal gain, and received or passed on abbatial office by heredity rather than free election. However, given that the term is used in the 1467 MS, it would be a mistake to assume that it is necessarily pejorative. It may well include men of means who have come late to monastic life and are elected to abbatial office on the strength of their endowments.

It will be noticed that the Green Abbot is not specifically identified. We are left to assume that he is the first person named, Gille Moire. This does not exclude other possibilities, however. The pedigree may include an entire dynasty of green abbots. Alternatively, perhaps the Green Abbot is Eoin Óg son of Gille Moire, whose existence is implied by the presence of Eoin Mór at line c26. See also note on line c29.

c26 

gilla m*uir*e mac eoin m*oir* = "Gille Moire son of John senior"

The mark of suspension that gives us *uir* in *gilla muire* should be a wavy line, as in c29, but here it is almost straight. It seems appropriate to 'translate' *gilla muire* as Gille Moire because although the name of the Virgin Mary is *Muire* in Common Gaelic and Irish, in vernacular Scottish Gaelic it is *Moire*. Martin MacGregor does not venture a 'starting date' for this pedigree, but as the bulk of the texts in the 1467 MS appear to have been first written around 1400, I will assign a floruit of *c*. 1400 to Gille Moire. His name was a common one, generally latinised as Mauritius or Mauricius; a Maurice

was prior of Beauly at some point between 1336 and 1372, but there is no reason to imagine that this was the same person.

The second name in this line has caused some trouble in the past. In 1839 Skene read *Eogan*, in 1880 he read *Eogain*, and in 2009 Máire and I read *eoghain moir*. The third letter certainly resembles a slender *g*, but a glance at line c37 reveals it to be an *i*. In 1839 Skene probably misread the suspension stroke as part of the letter, and *.m.* as *an*. In 1880 he appears to have misread *.m.* as *in*. And in 2009 Máire and I wrongly interpreted the suspension stroke as the ending of *eoghain*. There is no doubt about the interpretation of *.m.* as *mór*, or its genitive form *mhóir*, which Dubhghall Albanach would have written *moir*. We have it for example at 1rb52, *mhic loairn .m.* – the same person whose name is written *mhic loairn mair* at 1rb21, using the early spelling *már* for *mór*. The presence of *Eoin mór* ('John senior') of course implies the existence of *Eoin óg* ('John junior'), and it may be that Gille Moire had a son or successor of that name in the period after 1400. John senior will have lived *c*. 1370.

c27 

mhic aengh*us*a mhic mhicb*eth*ad = "son of Angus son of Macbeth"

Apart from the messy initial *mhic* and a ghostly shape resembling *h* above the final *d*, the line is clear. If the superscript shape is really meant to be read as *h*, it would be palaeographically unusual, but *mhicbethadh* would be a very acceptable reading. Angus will have lived *c*. 1340, Macbeth *c*. 1310. It may be worth reminding ourselves that a person of that name was (allegedly) abbot of Fearn 1251x74.

c28 

mhic a[e]ngh*us*a mhic g*illa* = "son of Angus son of Gille"

The *e* of *aenghusa* is oddly shaped. Angus will have lived *c*. 1280.

c29 

m*uir*e longaigh = "Moire of the ships"

Gille Moire Longach will have lived *c*. 1250. If MacMhuirich is right in saying that the Green Abbot was the son of an earl of Ross, and if Farquhar (c30) is that earl, then Gille Moire Longach is the Green Abbot. His epithet can be interpreted in two different ways: (1) of or pertaining to a ship or ships, 'Maurice the Mariner' perhaps; (2) of or pertaining to Loch Long in Kintail or, less likely, Loch Long in the Lennox. See Commentary below.

c30 

mhic f*erch*a*ir* mhic fhinn = "son of Farquhar son of Fin-"

Farquhar will have lived *c*. 1220. This opens up the tantalising possibility of identifying

him as *Fearchar mac an t-sagairt*, 'Farquhar the son of the priest' (*fl.* 1215–51), a mysterious warrior from the province of Ross who was knighted and made earl of Ross by Alexander II in the 1220s. We should also bear in mind that the Green Abbot is described by MacMhuirich as a son of the earl of Ross – though he does not say which one, and the others were all called William or Hugh. There must in fact be a presumption against identifying Farquhar of our pedigree as the earl, because it is hard to believe that a man so famous would not be given his title, nor does the name Beollán appear.

Earl Farquhar's 'surname' Obeolan has resulted in a great deal of speculation about his origins ever since Reeves pointed out in the 1850s that 'the O'Beollans were herenachs of St Columba's church of Drumcliff, near Sligo'.[27] On the face of it, Obeolan is the widespread Irish surname Ó Beolláin or Boland. However, it is derived from a Norse forename, *Bjolan* or *Biólan*, so there is no need to look further for an explanation than Wester Ross, where Norse was giving way to Gaelic in Farquhar's day – it will be *ó Beolláin* 'the grandson of Bjolan', and it is little wonder that he was named after his grandfather if his father was a priest.[28] The same linguistic progression may be found in the name of a cleric at Abernethy *c*. 1100, Maol Nethte son of Beollan (*Malnethte filii Beollani*).[29] Gaelic *ó*, *ogha* or *ua* 'grandson' passed into Scots as *o*, *oe* or *oy* with the additional meaning 'nephew'. The name Beollán appears to have been held by at least one other recorded thirteenth-century native of Ross, 'Bochly' or 'Bolan Beg'. It has been claimed that it was a Gaelic word meaning 'little mouth', but I know of no evidence for this.[30] Finally, Sir Robert Gordon (1580–1656) anglicised Obeolan as Builton: "The Earles of Ross wes first of the surname of Builton."[31]

c31 laeic·f donch

laeich mhic donnch*aidh* = "lay son of Duncan"

Finlay will have lived *c*. 1190 and Duncan *c*. 1160. As we have noted, two successive Finlays were abbots of Fearn in the fifteenth century, but that is hardly relevant here.

c32 f·fir tire

mhic firthire = "son of Fear Tíre"

Fir Thíre is the genitive case of *Fear Tíre*, an otherwise (to my knowledge) unrecorded baptismal name which means literally 'Man of Land'. Fear Tíre will have lived *c*. 1130. His name is clearly antonymous to *Fear Mara* 'Man of Sea', which receives two citations in the *Corpus Genealogiarum*. There were many names of this kind in early Ireland, ranging from *Fear Dá Thonn* 'Man of Two Waves' and *Fear Dá Chrích* 'Man of Two Territories', through *Fear Gráidh* 'Man of Love' and *Fear Dia* 'Man of a God' (or 'God-Man'), to *Fear Dorcha* 'Dark Man' and *Fear Glan* 'Clean Man'. One notable example, *Fear Tlachtga*, contains the name of the goddess of Samhain (Hallowe'en) and the hill upon which her festival was celebrated.[32] This appears to be analogous to *Fear Téadh* (c35), but more research is required to establish the precise link between *Fear*-names (many of which appear to be pre-Christian) and place-names. On the other hand Maol Nethte of Abernethy, mentioned above in the notes to c30, provides a good example of the link between *Maol*-names and place-names.

c33 

mhic gillafhael*ain* = "son of Gille Faoláin"

Gille Faoláin will have lived *c*. 1100. His name pertains to the cult of St Fillan, whose two principal centres in Scotland were around Loch Long in Kintail (cf. c29) and in the area of south Perthshire stretching from Strathfillan in the west to St Fillans in the east (cf. c35). See Commentary below.

c34 

mhic gillamhar*tain* = "son of Gille Mártainn"

Gille Mártainn will have lived *c*. 1070. As mentioned above, a Martin was abbot of Fearn in 1299x1311, but again, that does not seem relevant here.

c35 

mhic fir theadh = "son of Fear Téadh"

The reading is very clear, and Fear Téadh will have lived *c*. 1040. For names in *Fear* see c32, but this particular one rings alarm bells. Its only possible meaning is 'Man of Teith' – the river in Perthshire and/or the goddess from whom it derives.[33] It is a very distinctive name, clearly identifiable with that of Ferthed or Ferteth, 2nd earl of Strathearn, who died in 1171, and of one of his grandsons, Ferthed or Ferteth son of Gilbert (*Gille Brighde*), 3rd earl of Strathearn.[34] In charters it takes the forms Ferthed, Ferthead, Ferthet, Fertheth, Fertet, Ferteth, Fertethe, fferthet, fferteth.[35] One recent historian has misinterpreted it as 'Fearchar'.[36] Curiously perhaps, it is not known to have occurred in the family of the neighbouring earls of Menteith.[37] The territory of Strathearn included Loch Earn, an area suffused with the cult of St Fillan, whose name is reflected at c33. The occurrence of Fear Téadh at c35 therefore raises a number of fundamental questions. If we are still satisfied that our pedigree relates to the province of Ross, why does it include a name associated with Strathearn and Menteith? If the intention is to forge a plausible link with Loarn at c36, why does the author choose a name which bypasses Lorn and Argyll completely, bringing us further east towards the heart of the Scots kingdom? If our pedigree is to be viewed as a list of the abbots of Applecross, how likely is it that a monk from Strathearn or Menteith will have found his way there? Alternatively, is it possible that our fundamental thesis is wrong? That in the 1467 MS we have stumbled across a *third* Green Abbot, one unknown to our sources? That our text has nothing to do with the province of Ross after all, but instead with the Strathearn/Menteith area, or, heaven forfend, with the MacNabs?

In terms of theory, these questions bring us back to issues relating to the purpose of the 1467 MS. Does it or does it not, as Bannerman said, consist of 'genealogies of the important clan chiefs who recognized the authority of the Lords of the Isles'?[38] But we must keep an open mind, so, in terms of practice, we are obliged to ask what is known about four more monastic houses in particular, those of Inchaffray, Inchmahome, Muthill and Strathfillan/Glendochart, which might be relevant to our case – especially around the years 1040–1100, the time of Fear Téadh and Gille Faoláin.

Inchaffray: this is at Madderty, between Perth and Crieff. The name is *Innis Aifreann* 'the Meadow of Masses'. At first it housed a community of the brothers of St John (the Evangelist) of Strathearn, presumably not Céli Dé but ordinary clerics. In 1200 Gilbert, 2nd earl of Strathearn, founded an Augustinian priory there. Malise (*Maol Íosa*), presbyter and hermit, agreed to govern it, and to persuade his associates to accept instruction in the service of God according to the rule of St Augustine. It is possible, of course, that some of them refused, and indeed it is said to have been colonised from Scone. It became an abbey in 1220 or 1221. At the Reformation the community consisted of about fourteen canons.[39] The names are known of most of the priors and abbots who succeeded Malise: until 1467 these are John (1212x14), Elphin (?*Ailpein*, Alpine, 1219–20), Innocent (1220–35), Nicholas (1239–40), Alan (1258–71), Hugh (1284–92), Thomas (1296), Maurice (1305–22, later bishop of Dunblane), Cristin (1326), John (1358–63), William (1363), Simon de Scone (x1365), John (1365), William (1370), John de Kelly (1373), William de Culross (1380–87), William Franklyn (1399–1414), Patrick de Lorne (1414), Donald de Dunfermline (1417–30), John Lang (1429), John de Tulach (1429–30), Robert Betoun (1430), William de Crannach (1430–33), John de Murray (1435–45), Nicholas Fethkill (1458–62), and George Murray (1458–92).[40] By far the best known of these is Maurice (*Muireadhach*? *Gille Moire*?), who, if Boece be believed, brought with him St Fillan's arm, encased in silver, when he joined Bruce's army in 1314.[41] On the morning of Bannockburn, according to Bower, he heard Bruce's confession, celebrated mass on a prominent spot, delivered a homily on freedom and the defence of rights, passed barefoot before the troops bearing a crucifix like a commander, and told them to kneel and pray. Seeing this, some of the English cried: "Look! The Scots have surrendered!" Upon which an older knight, Ingram de Umfraville, remarked: "You are right that they are surrendering, but to God, not to you."[42]

Inchmahome: this is *Innis Mo Cholmaig*, an island in the Lake of Menteith, known in Gaelic as *Loch Innis Mo Cholmaig*. By *c*. 1210 there was apparently a parish church on the site, a parson of *insula Macholem* being mentioned at that date. Soon after 1238 an Augustinian priory was founded there by Walter, earl of Menteith, independent of any monastery of regulars. The names of some of the priors are known from 1296 onwards. Until 1467 they are: Adam (1296), Maurice (?*Muireadhach* or ?*Gille Moire*, 1297x1309), Cristin (x1309–19x), Patrick de Port (?Port of Menteith, x1419), Patrick de Cardross (1419–45), Thomas de Arbroath (1419–20), Maurice de Cardross (1445), and Gilbert de Camera or Chalmers (1450–68x69). At the Reformation the community may still have included as many as eleven canons.[43]

Muthill: this place (Gaelic *Maothail* 'Soft Space') is just five miles south-west of Inchaffray.[44] There are references to a community of Céli Dé there between 1178 and 1236. The names of some of the brethren in this period are known: in 1178x95 Maol Póil (prior), Sitheach, Maol Colaim; 1213x23 Maol Domhnaigh (*rex scolarum*); 1235 Mauricius (*Muireadhach*). A certain Donald is on record as dean of Muthill at some point (probably early) between 1266 and 1287; between 1284 and 1296 Donald, 'prior' of Muthill, witnesses a charter for the bishop of Dunblane, but by then the title will have been held by a layman.[45]

Strathfillan/Glendochart: in the reign of William the Lion (1165–1214) an 'abbot of Glendochir (or Glendocheroch)' is mentioned as a local magnate, clearly a layman, along with the earl of Atholl. There is no record of such a community, but the later presence in the area of a powerful family called MacNab shows that there was

one. There is good reason to suppose that it was founded by the mysterious St Fillan himself (a sixth-century figure, presumably), given the remarkable strength of his cult in the district. By the time of Robert Bruce the heir of the abbots was Patrick, lord of Glendochart, apparently the king's enemy. On 26 February 1318 Robert granted the patronage of the church of Killin to Inchaffray Abbey so that it might provide a canon to celebrate mass in the church of Strathfillan, and on 28 October that year the bishop of Dunkeld turned the church over in its entirety to the abbot and canons of Inchaffray for use as a priory. Despite its identity as a 'chapel royal' it remained a small and poor foundation, however, and there is difficulty in establishing the succession of priors until 1498. Its revenues were apparently granted by the crown to Archibald Campbell of Glencarradale in 1607.[46]

For further discussion see Commentary below.

c36 

mhic loairn mhic = "son of Loarn son of"

From this point on we must cease to take the pedigree seriously. Loarn, known to historians only as the eponym of the Cenél Loairn of Dál Riada, is present here but missing from his more usual place (1rb21, 1rb52) as son – or in one case (1rd37) father – of Earc (c39). This Loarn, if historical, would have lived *c*. 1010. Loarn of Dál Riada, if historical, will have lived in the fifth or sixth century. We seem to be witnessing a rather painful attempt to jerk the pedigree in a direction that will link the Green Abbot's ancestors with those of the lords of the Isles.

c37 

f*erchair* **mhic corm*aic* = "Farquhar son of Cormac"**

If historical, Farquhar will have lived *c*. 980 and Cormac *c*. 950. The sequence Farquhar son of Cormac son of Airbheartach also appears in the Gillanders and MacDuffie pedigrees.

c38 

mhic oirb*er*taigh = "son of Airbheartach"

If historical, Airbheartach will have lived *c*. 920. John Bannerman saw Airbheartach and his son Cormac as wholly historical figures who lived in the twelfth century. For discussion see my Gillanders article.[47]

c39 

mhic erc mhic domn*aill* d*ui*nn = "son of Earc son of Brownhaired Donald"

If historical, Earc will have lived *c*. 890 and Donald *c*. 860. Airbheartach's father is usually given as Fearadhach, who here appears as his great-great-grandfather (c41). As a semi-historical figure, Earc is best known as father of Fergus, founder of the Dalriadic colony in Scotland. Earc's father's name is usually given as

Eochaidh Muinreamhar (1rb23, 1rb53).[48] Domhnall Donn also appears in the (?)MacLaverty and MacKay of Ugadale pedigrees (1rd19, 1rd48–49), in both of which he is son (not, as here, grandson) of Fearadhach.[49]

c40 

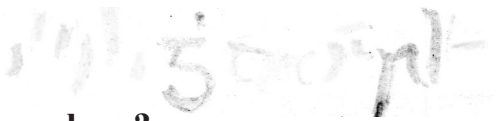
mhic f*erchair* abradr*uadh* = "son of Farquhar of the Red Eyebrows"**

If historical, Fearchar Abhradhruadh would have lived *c*. 830. He also appears in the MacLean pedigree (1re50). He was allegedly a brother of Fearchar Fada, a historical king of Dalriada who died AD 697.[50]

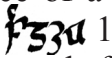
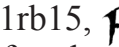
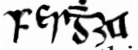
c41 

mhic f*er*adhaigh [. . .] = "son of Fearadhach [. . .]"

It appears that the scribe erased the conclusion of the pedigree shortly after writing it. It would be tempting to read the surviving marks following *feradhaigh* as *finn*, but it cannot honestly be said that there is enough to enable us to do so. The father of Fearchar Fada, of Fearchar Abhradhruadh or of Domhnall Donn is cited as Fearadhach eight other times in the 1467 MS (1rb14, 1rb45, 1rc49, 1rd20, 1rd49, 1rd53, 1re51, 1va14), but in only two of these cases is he given the epithet *Finn*. If historical, he would have lived *c*. 800.

c42 

. . . g . . . rl– = ?

This line is illegible. Only three letters can be read with reasonable certainty, *g*, *r* and *l*. On three occasions in our manuscript (1rb15, 1rb46, 1va15) the father of Fearadhach is given as Fergus. On a fourth occasion (1re51, in the MacLean pedigree), the name is illegible but may be inferred from its presence in Irish versions of the text.[51] In no other case is Fearadhach's father named. Despite the presence of a *g*, it cannot be said that *fergusa* is a likely reading here. Compare  1rb15,  1rb46,  1va15. There are too many marks, both before and after the *g*, which indicate something else. The final marks may perhaps represent *7rl—* (*et reliquae*, i.e. 'etc.'). If so, it is the only occurrence of this usage in Dubhghall Albanach's work. It is of course possible that this line has nothing to do with the Green Abbot's pedigree, but it does not look like a false start to the MacGregor text that follows.

Commentary

We must now review the evidence which we have compiled in answer to our key question – to what foundation did the Green Abbot belong? With regard to Fearn it is unconvincing. Abbots Macbeth, Martin and Finlay do not appear at the same point or in the same order as in our pedigree; it is hard to believe that Farquhar of c30 could be the earl of Ross; there is nothing in the history of Fearn that would explain the

presence of Fear Téadh. The evidence with regard to Applecross looks more promising. Perhaps when Earl Gilbert turned Inchaffray into an Augustinian priory in 1200, some of the Céli Dé, including Fear Téadh, declined to accept the new dispensation, and fled to Applecross to help run the sanctuary there. Perhaps by 1400 the sanctuary was governed by lay abbots. But it is uncomfortably easy to pile speculation upon a *tabula rasa*, and these words *tabula rasa* describe the history of Applecross from AD 800 to 1569.

Turning now to foundations which could have harboured a Fear Téadh along with a 'Green Abbot' unknown to history, the only potential names in common between our pedigree and the lists of abbots of Inchaffray and Inchmahome appear to be Donald, Maurice and John. The Donalds do not correspond in date (*c*. 860, 1417–30). We may exclude Maurice, abbot of Inchaffray, mainly because his career is well known. There is a possible match between our Maol Moire (*c*. 1250) and Maurice, prior of Inchmahome 1297x1309, but again we do not know if Maurice conceals a Gaelic name, or if so, which one. There are plenty of possible matches for our one or two Johns *c*. 1400 amongst the six Johns who were abbots of Inchaffray between 1358 and 1445, but an argument based on such a common name would be weak. That makes Muthill (another *tabula rasa*, more or less) a possibility, but we would still have to contend with Bannerman's argument that the 1467 MS consists of 'genealogies of the important clan chiefs who recognized the authority of the Lords of the Isles'. Muthill is three miles south of Crieff, and certainly had no connection with the lords of the Isles. This brings us to Strathfillan/Glendochart and the MacNabs, an answer which Bannerman accepted but MacGregor rejected.[52] Of all the solutions proposed so far, it makes the best geographical sense of the fact that Dubhghall Albanach places our pedigree between those of the Mackintoshes and MacGregors. But are the arguments in its favour really strong enough to allow us to dismiss all connection with the Green Abbot of the north, and postulate instead a third Green Abbot, one unknown to history?

At this point we hesitate, pause, and look around for other candidates which may better fulfil our criteria. Fortunately, one comes to hand. Long ago Cosmo Innes, speaking of Stornoway, wrote: "At the same place stood a priory or cell of Inchaffray, from which it had its first prior. It was said to have been the residence of Saint Catan, to contain the remains of its founder and other illustrious men, to be famous for miracles, and to have had so great wealth that it was twice rebuilt after being burned."[53]

It will come as a surprise to many, for a variety of reasons, that Stornoway was ever the seat of an abbey or priory. But Innes's statement makes a very good fit with MacMhuirich's that Gille Pádraig son of Ruairi son of the Green Abbot had a third of Lewis and other properties on the mainland, and was slain at Harlaw in the company of Norman MacLeod and Torquil his brother – along with Hugh MacDonald's that 'Patrick was an abbot, and had Carlebay in the Lewis, and the church lands in that country, with 18 merks lands in Lochbroom'. It also makes a good fit in another way: St Catán was the patron of the parish church of Aberuthven in Strathearn; it received its dowry land from none other than Earl Ferteth and his wife Eithne, and was given to the monks of Inchaffray *c*. 1198 by their son Earl Gilbert.[54] What we have to contend with is not the nature of the evidence, which serves our purpose extremely well, but its authenticity, which (as I will show) has been challenged. We must therefore interrogate the sources for the existence of an abbey or priory in Lewis. They are as follows:

- A version of 'Scotichronicon' by Abbot Walter Bower (*c*.1385–1449) found in a Cambridge manuscript, Corpus Christi College MS 171, includes, in a list of priories, 'Scarynch in Lewis, cella de Insula Missarum'.[55]
- In 'An Account of all the Religious Houses, that were in Scotland, at the Time of the Reformation' by John Spottiswoode (1565–1639) is the entry: "SCARINCHE, in the isle of Lewis and shire of Ross, founded by the Macleods of the Lewis, in honour of St Catan,—'in honorem Sti Catani, cujus exuvias ibidem asservari traditione acceptum est.'"[56]
- In a list of monasteries and priories in the 'Rolment of Courtis' by Habbakkuk Bisset (*fl*. 1582–1626) is: "The priorie and place of Starnewath in Lewis cell of the Ilis of Missarum alias called the priorie of Ardquhattan foirsaid."[57]
- The Lewis historian W. C. Mackenzie (1862–1952) informs us that 'Skairinche' appears in a list of religious houses transcribed from an original manuscript in 1650 by John Adamson (1576–?1651), principal of Edinburgh College.[58]
- Innes's immediate source is 'Scotia Sacra', written in 1700 by Richard Augustine Hay (1661–?1736). First he lists, amongst the abbeys and priories of Scotland, 'Scarinch in the isle of Lewis. *Cella de Inchaffry. Incolatu Sancti Catani . . .*' Then he describes at length the sepultures, miracles, wealth, burnings and rebuildings summarised by Innes, ending with the first prior. (*Primus prior ex Insula Missarum eo transmissus sanctitate claruit.*)[59]

Unfortunately these references dovetail in our sources with a grant of the chapel of the Holy Trinity in Uist, together with the whole land of 'Karynich' (Carinish), and four pennylands in 'Ylara' (Illeray), between Hussaboste and Kanusorrarath, made to the abbey of Inchaffray by Christina, daughter of Alan, and Ronald MacRuairi. Here there is charter evidence. The grant was confirmed by Godfrey of Islay, lord of Uist, on 7 July 1389, and again by his brother Donald of Islay, lord of the Isles, on 6 December 1413. This church in North Uist is well known locally as *Teampall na Trianaide*. Godfrey's confirmation contains the rather peculiar provision that his beloved and special friend Sir Thomas, canon of Inchaffray, should fully and peaceably possess the said chapel with its lands and all its pertinents. Curiously, 'Cairenische', obviously the same Uist church, appears in 1561 in a 'Rentale of the Bishoprick of the Ilis and Abbacie of Ecolmkill' under the sub-heading 'The Abbatis landis within Donald Gormis' boundis'. Ownership must have been transferred.[60]

William Lindsay, co-editor of the Inchaffray charters, did not believe that the evidence about Carinish in Uist cancelled out the evidence about Scarinche/Stornoway in Lewis. He concluded that 'there seems to have been some place connected with Inchaffray and associated with St. Cathan at Stornoway, and Spottiswoode seems to have confused the two places'. Convinced however that there could not be a Scarinish in Lewis as well as a Carinish in Uist, he remarked that 'it is possible that Spottiswoode derived his error from Hay', ignoring the fact that Spottiswoode was dead before Hay was born.[61] The whole of the evidence was reviewed in 1976 by Cowan and Easson, who pointed to the fact that in his description of the Western Isles (1549), Dean Monro had mentioned five parish churches in Uist but no monastery, nor did he mention Scarinche in Lewis at all. They concluded: "This 'cell' is apocryphal."[62]

So is it possible to retrieve Stornoway Abbey from the dustbin of history? Somewhat to my own surprise, it appears that it is, provided we interpret 'Stornoway' loosely as 'somewhere in Lewis' (which many people do, to this very day). It is already a little

suspicious that St Catán is nowhere mentioned in connection with Uist, and it is also noticeable that only one of our five sources specifies Stornoway (Bisset's 'Starnewath'). What is required above all is an identification of 'Scarinche' as a place in Lewis, ideally in proximity to a known ecclesiastical site. This is forthcoming. *Teampall Eoin*, St John's Chapel in the old graveyard at Bragar on the west coast (seven miles from Carloway), is also known as *Cill Sgàire*. It is relatively well preserved, twenty-nine feet long, with two rooms (the nave and chancel), and is believed to date from the fifteenth century.[63] Gaelic *Sgàire*, commonly anglicised 'Zachary', is the Norse name *Skári*, which means 'young seagull'.[64] Scarinish in Tiree is *Sgairinis* 'Seagull Point', and the peninsula on which the chapel at Bragar stands must have borne the same name.[65] The ensuing process will have been as follows: when Norse ceased to be spoken in Lewis the word disappeared but the name survived, *Sgáirinis* was reinterpreted as 'Sgàire's Point', Sgàire was wrongly assumed to have been a saint, and his name was attached to the chapel as *Cill Sgàire*, even though it was already *Cill* (or *Teampall*) *Eoin*. Incidentally, this argument reduces the number of 'Norse' saints commemorated in Lewis from two to one, St Olaf (Aulay) of Gress.

I invited Dr Finlay MacLeod, Shawbost, author of *The Chapels in the Western Isles* and a great deal else, to comment on my *Sgàirinis* theory. He replied (two e-mails, 5 January 2019) that he had known the old people in Bragar very well for many years but had never heard mention of *Sgàirinis*. He kindly spoke on my behalf to the two eldest and best-informed individuals in Bragar, and reported that neither of them had heard it either. He pointed out that the meadow around the graveyard is known as Lìonacuidh, and concluded: *'S e ainm brèagha is furast' a ràdh th' ann an Sgàirinis: shaoileadh tu nach bitheadh e air a dhol an dì-chuimhn' mar sin, ach cò aig' tha fios.* ("Sgàirinis is a lovely name and easy to say: you would think it wouldn't have been forgotten therefore, but who knows.")

It has since been pointed out to me that as seagulls are scavengers, nothing was more likely to lead to the name 'Seagull Point' than the presence of a well-endowed abbey.

What then of St Catán? The foremost Lewis church, at Eye near Stornoway, was dedicated to him, and is understood to have been built by one of the MacLeod chiefs. Again there is confusion about the name, as it is generally known as *Eaglais Chaluim Chille*. The most probable explanation is that the site was traditionally dedicated to St Columba, but subsequently rededicated to St Catán of Aberuthven. There is also said to have been a shrine to St Catán at Mealasta or Molista in Uig, in the immediate vicinity of *Taigh nan Cailleachan Dubha* ('the Nuns' House).[66] Cowan and Easson are very quick to deny as 'fanciful' the possibility that this could have been the site of a convent, just as they pour scorn on the identical belief about *Baile nan Cailleach* (Nuntown) in Benbecula, despite the existence of nearby *Baile a' Mhanaich* (Balivanich, 'Monk's Town') and the curious prevalence of the surname 'Monk' in the island.[67] At any rate, we have evidence that the cult of St Catán of Aberuthven put down roots both at Stornoway and on the west side of Lewis.

The overall picture conveyed by the above findings is that one at least of the MacLeods of Lewis was anxious to bring his island into the mainstream of Gregorian reform. This may have been Roderick (*Ruairi Mór*), 5th of Lewis, who fought at Harlaw in the main battle, and whose sons Norman and Torquil are represented by MacMhuirich as taking part in the secondary engagement which resulted in the death of Gille Pádraig son of Ruairi son of the Green Abbot. All three MacLeods survived.

Ruairi Mór appears to have been much in correspondence with the Pope: on 15 May 1403 a papal indult is granted to one of his sons, also Roderick, to choose a suitable and discreet priest as his confessor; on 27 May 1403 a papal document mentions his (or his son Roderick's?) former betrothal to Anna, daughter of William MacLeod; on the same date the Pope grants an indulgence to visitors to 'the church of St Mary in Barwas in the isle of Lewis' on certain feast days, and to those who contribute to its repair; on 9 June 1405 he secures an indult to have a portable altar.[68] If it was Ruairi Mór who brought the Green Abbot or his kindred to Lewis, however, it is difficult to see how they could have been of sufficient importance to eclipse the MacLeods themselves in the 1467 MS – unless, of course, our pedigree dates from *c*. 1467 rather than *c*. 1400.

Another way to approach this problem is to consider the evidence provided by the pedigree itself, the history of Aberuthven, and the history of Lewis. What stands out from our pedigree is that one figure, and one only, is given a distinctive nickname – Gille Moire Longach (c28–c29). If we are speaking of a dynasty which migrated across the ocean from Aberuthven to Lewis, that migration clearly took place in the person of this man, who lived *c*. 1250. At the same time we must not lose sight of the evidence that the Green Abbot's family brought the cult of St Catán to Lewis. This does not sound like an instance of Gregorian reform. It is specific to Aberuthven rather than to Inchaffray or to Strathearn as a whole, and has a whiff of 'persecuted Gaelic-speaking minority' about it. Fortunately, thanks to charter evidence, we know a good deal about events at Aberuthven. As we have seen, the church of St Catán in that place was given its dowry land by Earl Ferteth prior to his death in 1171. Aberuthven was a clear outlier of the saint's cult, which was otherwise practised only in the circumscribed area of Bute, Colonsay, Islay, Gigha, Luing and Kintyre, in what was to become known as the lordship of the Isles. We may assume that, in the manner of the so-called Celtic church, there were clerics and laymen at Aberuthven whose livelihoods depended upon the keeping of the saint's relics. Thanks to Earl Ferteth, their position had been made secure. Indeed, for the way in which he held out against Anglo-Norman monasticism and the pro-English policies of the crown, Ferteth was dubbed 'that staunch Scottish nationalist' by one early twentieth-century historian.[69] In 1198, however, his son Earl Gilbert gave the church and its dowry land to the monks at Inchaffray. In 1200 Earl Gilbert founded the Augustinian priory there, and Malise (*Maol Íosa*), presbyter and hermit, agreed to be its first prior, as we have seen. The bishop of Dunblane backed up the foundation by listing four of the churches which had been given to it (beginning *Ecclesiam sancti kattani de Aberruotheuen*), prohibiting all interference with the new priory's possessions, and threatening excommunication upon those who, urged by the devil, might act contrary to its charter. It can be imagined how the heirs of St Catán at Aberuthven must have felt deceived. In 1202 the arrangements regarding their church were confirmed by the King (William the Lion). In 1203 the founding of the priory was confirmed in turn by a bull of Pope Innocent III: once again Aberuthven headed the list of pertinent churches. A co-editor of these charters, William Lindsay, conjectured that the long delay in issuing the bull was the result of a supplication to the Apostolic See by those of the brethren who 'disliked the change, . . . anticipated being ousted from their home and possessions', and 'had sought to defend themselves'. Then *c*. 1211 the bishop of Dunblane, while confirming Earl Gilbert's gift of St Catán's to Inchaffray, asserted his own rights to it as feudal superior.[70]

By 1219 Earl Gilbert was anxious for his priory to be given the status of an abbey.

First he confirmed his grants to it; these now included nine churches, all of them dedicated to Celtic saints (St Bean's of Fowlis and Kinkell, St Bridget's of Kilbride, St Catán's of Aberuthven, St Ethernan's of Madderty, St Kessog's of Auchterarder, St Patrick's of Strageath, St Serf's of Dunning and Monzievaird). Afterwards confirmation of the same grants was obtained from the new king, Alexander II, and abbatial status was obtained. Before he died *c*. 1220 Earl Gilbert added yet another church to the list of endowments, St Serf's of Tulliedene (now Tullykettle). This was confirmed by his son, Earl Robert.[71]

By 1234, a dispute having arisen between the Bishop and the canons of Inchaffray concerning his claim to the tithes of the church of Aberuthven, an attempt at arbitration was made by the bishop of Dunkeld and the abbots of Lindores and Scone. In 1239/40 the dean and chapter of Dunblane agreed with their bishop that the whole revenues of St Catán's should go to the monks of Inchaffray, saving only the vicar's allowance. In 1247 Earl Robert's son Earl Malise decreed that as the monks of Inchaffray had been complaining that his bailies were defrauding them of some of the tithes of the church at Aberuthven, these should henceforth be paid in cash, and that demands for increases should be subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Dunblane. With one exception, St Catán and Aberuthven disappear from the surviving charters of Inchaffray after this, and it is clear that all sense of controversy regarding them has ceased. The exception is a document of *c*. 1609 by which James VI erects Inchaffray into a temporal lordship. Among the abbey lands it includes the kirklands of the kirk of Aberuthven, and among the many parish kirks 'vnit and annexit' to Inchaffray, with 'advocatioun donatioun and richt of patronage' over them, is Aberuthven, but with no mention now of St Catán.[72]

The precise circumstances of the *peregrinatio* of St Catán's followers from Aberuthven to Lewis are unknown, but in the light of the above, it is extremely likely that it took place between 1200 and 1270. It may be assumed that it took years – decades, perhaps – and that in the first instance they will have sought out their fellow devotees in the lordships of the Isles and Argyll. There is in fact a little clue to this in Niall MacMhuirich's account, albeit a circumstantial one, when he tells us that in the Harlaw campaign of 1411 'four men got separated from the army leading a detachment or party of the host which accompanied them, namely Norman MacLeod and Torquil his brother, Lachlan MacMillan and Gille Pádraig son of Ruairi'. Given that the first, second and fourth of these were Lewismen, the third looks distinctly out of place unless he can be shown to have had some kind of relationship to the others. There is no actual proof that 'Lachlan MacMillan' is the correct translation of *lochluinn mac giolla mhaoil*; 'Lachlan son of the Gille Maol' is equally possible, but there is no doubt but that 'the Gille Maol' (*an Gille Maol*) is a characteristic MacMillan forename in any case. The MacMillans' traditional associations are with Knapdale, between Luing and Kintyre. And if we look again at the MacMillan pedigree in the 1467 MS, we are reminded that their eponym of *c*. 1250 was *gille criost dar comhainm in gille mael* 'Gille Críost who was also called the Gille Maol': that is to say, he was given a nickname 'the Bald Lad' which may have implied a monk's tonsure, leading ultimately to the surname *Mac a' Mhaolain*, *Mac a' Mhaoilein*, 'the Son of the Monk'.[73] Curiously, MacMillan historians have adduced an origin for their clan very similar to the one now suggested for the kindred of the Green Abbot, that is, a migration of Gaelic-speaking monks from the east of Scotland to the security of the west, provoked by the ecclesiastical reforms initiated by David I.[74] Not that I am denying that *lochluinn mac giolla mhaoil* is likely

to have been chief of his clan, as has long been assumed – nor am I suggesting that he was necessarily a Lewisman, but simply that he and Gille Pádraig were of the same stock, and natural comrades in arms.

Which brings us to the history of Lewis in the thirteenth century. Until 1266 it was part of the Norse kingdom of Man and the Isles. As the Norse-Gaelic warrior Somerled had carved out a lordship for himself and his progeny in the southern Hebrides, 'Man and the Isles' now consisted *de facto* of only three main islands, Man, Skye and Lewis. The language of Lewis was Norse. If anything else was spoken, it was likely to be Pictish, given the presence of a broch at Carloway.[75] Until his death in 1187 the king was Godfrey son of Olaf the Red. He left two sons, Raghnall and Olaf the Black. These disputed the succession, as a result of which Olaf fled and was taken into custody by William the Lion, king of Scots. Following his release, Raghnall permitted him to rule in Lewis, his descendants being the MacAulays.

Olaf contracted a marriage with Lauon, Raghnall's wife's sister, but the bishop of the Isles objected to it as being within the forbidden degrees, so instead he married Christina, daughter of Farquhar earl of Ross. This was badly taken by Raghnall's wife, who ordered her son Godfrey, *Goiridh Donn*, to seize and kill Olaf, his uncle. Godfrey set off for Lewis, but Olaf escaped to the protection of his father-in-law the earl of Ross. He was joined by Páll Bálkason, the king of Man's governor in Skye, a reputed ancestor of the MacLeods, who is described in the Manx Chronicle as 'a vigorous and powerful man throughout the kingdom of the Isles' (*vir strenuus & potens in omni regno insularum*). In 1223 Olaf and Paul brought their warbands to Skye and took Goiridh Donn by surprise on the fortified island in Loch Chaluim Chille at Kilmuir, now drained. Goiridh Donn was seized, and, against Olaf's wishes, Paul had him blinded and castrated.

Despite this, or because of it, when Raghnall was killed in 1229 King Hakon permitted Goiridh to succeed him as king of the Isles. He and Olaf divided the kingdom between them. Olaf took Man; Goiridh took Skye and Lewis, slew Páll Bálkason, and was himself killed soon after. Hugh MacDonald, the Sleat historian, claimed that Paul's antagonism was due to Goiridh's having murdered his father Bálki. He called Paul 'the hermit MacPoke', in which 'hermit' presumably represents Norse *ármadr* 'governor'.

The kingdom of Man and the Isles was ruled for some time by Olaf's son Harald (d. 1248), followed by Harald's brother Raghnall (d. 1249), Goiridh Donn's son Harald (d. 1250), Olaf's son Magnus (d. 1265), and Magnus's son Godfrey (d. 1275).[76] King Hakon touched on Lewis in 1263 during the voyage that brought him to defeat at Largs. The kingdom of Man and the Isles, including Somerled's lordship, was ceded to the king of Scots by the Treaty of Perth in 1266. As far as the two northern islands were concerned, this was a moment of opportunity for the magnates best placed to take advantage, Angus MacDonald of Islay and William earl of Ross. Lewis was a natural target for the MacDonalds, Skye for the earl of Ross. The picture was, however, by no means so simple. For one thing, the MacDonalds had their MacDougall and MacRuairi cousins to contend with, and all three families were tainted by their previous Norse allegiance. When the lordship of Skye was finally granted to a slightly later earl of Ross (William's son, also William, who ruled 1274–1323) it may have included Lewis as well.[77] For another, the islands had their own magnates. The leading family in Lewis were the Nicolsons of Stornoway Castle, who also held Waternish and other lands in Skye, along with Assynt and Coigeach on the mainland. Their chiefs at this time appear to have been Nicol (*fl*. 1190–1220), Ralph (*fl*. 1220–50) and Ingr (*fl.* 1250–80).

They seem to have been in good odour with the king of Scots. Then there were the families of Olaf in Lewis (later the MacAulays) and of Paul in Skye (later, apparently, the MacLeods). Both were now in disgrace, but the MacAulays were connected to the earls of Ross by Olaf's marriage. It would not be until the mid-fourteenth century that the MacLeods gained a foothold in Lewis and that the MacDonalds' interest in the island was formally recognised by a king of Scots.[78]

This then is the background to the presumed arrival in Lewis of Gille Moire Longach and his warband (for in those days monks had warbands). It is difficult to see what use Norse-speaking Lewismen will have had for a Gaelic-speaking monk from Strathearn in the years before 1266, but in the immediate aftermath of 1266 he would have represented the powerful interests of the MacDonalds, who were no longer to be resisted, and might provide a useful counterweight to the earls of Ross. He will have been welcomed to Stornoway Castle by the Nicolson chief, and given land at Bragar where he might keep the MacAulays at bay. I see no difficulty in Spottiswoode's telling us that the abbey at Sgairinis was 'founded by the Macleods of the Lewis', as subsequent MacLeods were at pains to eliminate the distinction between MacLeods and Nicolsons, to the extent of forging a charter witnessed by 'MacLeod of Lewis' and 'MacLeod of Harris', purportedly issued by Donald, king of the Isles, in 1245, when Leod may not yet have been born.[79]

Clearly Gille Moire's kindred did well. As we have seen, Hugh MacDonald tells us that his descendant Patrick 'was an abbot, and had Carlebay in the Lewis, and the church lands in that country, with 18 merks lands in Lochbroom'. Lochbroom was Nicolson territory. MacMhuirich confirms that Patrick 'had a third of Lewis and other properties on the mainland for his livelihood'. It may be that the fall of the Nicolsons meant the rise of the Green Abbot, for MacMhuirich tells us that Patrick was 'son of Ruairi, son of the Green Abbot, son of the earl of Ross' and that 'his pedigree was from the men of Ross', while MacDonald gives Patrick's surname as Obeolan, which was also, he says, the surname of the earls of Ross. It is difficult to know what to make of this, but if MacDonald's account came first (which appears to be the case) he seems to be saying that Patrick and the earl shared a common surname, and MacMhuirich deduces from this, quite wrongly, that the Green Abbot was a son of the earl of Ross. There is no Beollán in our pedigree, and the Green Abbot was certainly not a son of the earl of Ross, so all that we can say is that by Patrick's time a myth appears to have grown up in Lewis that the Green Abbot and the old earls of Ross were of the same stock. They must have been close.

The name Patrick is of interest. Speaking of the Morrisons of Ness, who were brieves (judges) to the lords of the Isles, William Matheson commented that 'they did not use the name Patrick, so far as known, in Ness, at least not from the sixteenth century onwards, but in Harris it was a constantly recurring name among the Morisons; while William, not a common name in the Isles in the fifteenth century, was favoured by the Morisons of Ness from an early date'. William, as we have seen, was the characteristic name of the earls of Ross. But it is Gille Moire (lines c26, c28–29) that leads us finally to the identity of the Green Abbot's kindred. The Morrisons of Ness were *Clann Mhic Gille Mhoire*. Nothing would have been more natural than for an incoming tribe to take its identity from the first settler, in this case Gille Moire Longach. On the basis of a tradition that John Morrison, *Iain mac Ùistein*, last of the judges (assassinated *c*. 1600), was the twelfth of their number, William Matheson has calculated that 'their presence in Ness dated back to about 1300–1350'.[80] Moreover, it will be recalled that,

according to MacMhuirich and the Sleat historian, Patrick had a son Hugh (*Ùistean*, Austin, Augustine), and that when Patrick's beautiful daughter bore a son to Alexander, lord of the Isles and earl of Ross, he too was called Hugh.[81]

William Matheson has remarked that the Morrison brieves were not so much judges as jurisconsults and arbiters (a role that fits well with ecclesiastical origins). On the matter of why they should reside at the extreme northern limit of the Lordship, however, he perhaps missed a couple of points. One is that jurisconsults to the lords of the Isles, under whatever name, do not appear on historical record until precisely the point (1408) when Donald of the Isles first laid claim to the earldom of Ross, and that (as we now know) after *c*. 1437 the administrative seat of the Lordship moved north, most charters being issued at Dingwall or Inverness.[82] The other is that, arguing as he does that references such as 'Pat Mc a Bhriun' (1408), 'Donald Brehiff' (1456) and 'Hullialmus archiiudex' (1485) could well be to brieves of Lewis, the history of the Argyllshire family of MacBrayne/Brown should be taken into consideration as a possible offshoot of the family, implying a wide distribution through all the territories of the lordships of the Isles, Ross and Argyll – from Ness and Lochbroom in the north to Islay and Cowal in the south.[83]

In recent years work on the Morrisons has been pulled forward by archaeological investigation at Dùn Éistein, the island fortress a mile east of the Butt of Lewis which tradition claims as theirs. It dates, apparently, from *c*. 1440, and its construction must therefore be viewed in the context of the transfer of the Lordship's *caput* from Finlaggan to Dingwall and Inverness.[84] Its primary function may have been as a maritime lookout post. It is well known that the Morrisons' principal seat was the *Taigh Mór* at Habost, a mile inland on the Ness machair, where their presence is on record from 1572, although, as Aonghas MacCoinnich has pointed out, there is no reason to doubt that they were there long before.[85]

Just how long before is a moot point. MacMhuirich and the Sleat historian tell us that abbot Gille Pádraig Ruadh had a third of Lewis, centred in Carloway, and I have suggested that his abbey was at Bragar. He was killed in the Harlaw campaign of 1411, while his MacLeod companions survived. This suggests that the retreat of the Morrison leadership from the west side to Ness took place in the face of MacLeod aggression after 1411. Bearing in mind Bannerman's dictum that the intention of the compiler of the 1467 MS 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', it is of fundamental importance to the history of Lewis to observe that the Nicolsons and Morrisons are present in the manuscript, while the MacLeods are excluded.[86]

There are contrasting points of view with regard to the jurisprudence practised by such monks-turned-lawyers, but the difference between them is more apparent than real. Cynthia Neville sees thirteenth-century Strathearn as an engine-room of cultural interaction in which the strength of kin-based feudal law is due to the 'enduring influences of offices such as that of the *breitheamh*'.[87] William Matheson, on the other hand, was at pains to emphasise the Morrisons' possible points of contact with the law schools of Ireland, mentioning Iain mac Ùistein's Irish wife and the presence in Ness of a group of families called Mackiegan ('but now known as MacKenzies'). Under the spelling *Mac Aodhagáin*, the Mackiegans, as Matheson pointed out, were the most famous dynasty of legal scholars in the whole of Ireland.[88] They served, for example, as brehons to the earls of Ormond. Irish origins and contacts were *de rigeur* for West Highland professional families (the Morrisons' apparently spurious surname Obeolan

may be seen in this light). And here lies a curious coincidence, assuming it is no more than that. In the lower margin of f. 4r in the 1467 MS, where Dubhghall Albanach's text is not genealogical but religious, is a thick line 14.5 cms long, alternately red and black, with the following words in a different hand: *Hic samail d'fhot troigheadh Crist ina macaemh iar fagbhail a fhuillichta for aroile leac marmaire.* "This is the likeness of the length of Christ's foot when a child, having left his footprint on a certain marble slab." In the upper margin of ff. 4v–5r is a longer line, 29 cms long, with words explaining that this is the length of Christ's foot when fully grown, ending *Tánaighe O Mael-Conaire qui sgripsit do Dubhgall Albanach mac mhic Cathail. A Tigh Mhic Aodhagain Urmuman sin 7 beannacht leis*. "Tánaighe Ó Maol Conaire inscribed this for Dubhghall Albanach, son of the son of Cathal, in the house of Mac Aodhagáin of Ormond. May a blessing go with it (or him)."

Conclusion

I believe that it has been successfully argued that the Green Abbot's kindred were the Morrisons of Ness, that their origins were at Aberuthven in Strathearn, and that this explains the appearance of the cult of St Catán in Lewis. It would be possible to argue that the position of the pedigree in the manuscript (between the Mackintoshes and MacGregors) suggests that Dubhghall Albanach thought wrongly that it was of the MacNabs. Against this I have suggested that it is a 'headline' pedigree whose precise position is irrelevant. It would also be possible to speculate that the descent of Maol Moire Longach was unknown to the redactor, that he, too, assumed that it was the pedigree of the MacNabs, and that he therefore inserted Gille Faoláin and Fear Téadh as appropriate names to link Fearchar with Loarn. But I am reluctant to take such a sceptical approach, and to accuse our redactor and scribe of stupidity or ignorance.

Ronald Black

Notes

1 John McNab, *The Clan Macnab: A Short Sketch* (Edinburgh, 1907), p. 5.

2 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), pp. 205–06.

3 Ronald Black, 'The Gaelic Manuscripts of Scotland', in *Gaelic and Scotland: Alba agus a' Ghàidhlig*, ed. by William Gillies (Edinburgh, 1989), pp. 146–74: 165; 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: 144.

4 Rev. A. Maclean Sinclair, 'The Clan Fingon', *The Celtic Review*, vol. 4 (1907–08), pp. 31–41: 33–34; J. R. N. Macphail, *Highland Papers*, vol. 1 (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1914), pp. 32–33, 83–86; Alan Macquarrie, *Iona through the Ages* (SWHIHR, Coll, 1983), pp. 16–18; Alan Macquarrie, 'Kings, Lords and Abbots: Power and Patronage at the Medieval Monastery of Iona', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* [*TGSI*], vol. 54 (1984–86), pp. 355–75: 362–66.

5 National Museum of Scotland MCR 39, pp. 235–37, cf. Rev. Alexander Cameron *et al.*, eds, *Reliquiæ Celticæ*, vol. 2 (Inverness, 1894), p. 212.

6 The reading *sna rannuibh gallolach* is very clear. Macbain translates it in *Reliquiæ Celticæ* as 'in the parts of Garioch'. The usual Gaelic for the battle of Harlaw is *an Cath Gairbheach*, in which *Gairbheach* is adjectival. Here, too, *gallolach* is adjectival. I know of no word or name *gallolach*. It could be a corruption of *Gairbheach*, or a copying error for *Gallach*, which would usually

imply Caithness (not historically relevant here), or for *Galldach* (usually *Gallda*), implying in this case the Lowlands of Moray, which were plundered by Donald's army on the way to Harlaw. My thanks to Ian Olson for discussing this point with me.

7 Alexander Grant, 'The Province of Ross and the Kingdom of Alba', in *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Edward J. Cowan and R. Andrew McDonald (2nd edn, Edinburgh, 2012 [1st edn E. Linton 2000]), pp. 88–126: 119–20. Donald may have been a son of Hugh of Rarichies, 1st laird of Balnagown, see Sir James Balfour Paul, ed., *The Scots Peerage* (8 vols, Edinburgh, 1904–14), vol. 7, p. 236.

8 For the name Obeolan see notes on line c30.

9 By the Manapii (a term first used by Ptolemy) MacDonald perhaps means *Fir Mhanach*, the men of Fermanagh. The saint was certainly an Ulsterman, see William Reeves, 'Saint Maelrubha: His History and Churches', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. 3 (1857–59), pp. 258–96: 259.

10 Reeves claimed that this description of Patrick 'surnamed the Red' makes him the obvious candidate for identification as the 'red priest of Applecross', and added a number of tales about the latter from oral tradition ('Saint Maelrubha', pp. 276–78, 280). The original source for the 'red priest' is the Old Statistical Account of the parish of Applecross: "Close by the parish church, are the remains of an old religious house, where the standard and soles of crucifixes are still to be seen. It was richly endowed with landed property, which tradition relates to have been conveyed, by the last Popish missionary, in the place known by the designation of the *Red Priest of Applecross*, to his daughter." See Rev. John McQueen, 'Parish of Applecross', in *The Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. 3, ed. by Sir John Sinclair (Edinburgh, 1790–91), pp. 369–82: 379 = new edn, vol. 17 (Wakefield, 1971), pp. 284–97: 294.

11 Macphail, *Highland Papers*, vol. 1, pp. 34–35.

12 W. C. Mackenzie, *History of the Outer Hebrides* (Paisley, 1903), pp. 92–93.

13 E. William Robertson, *Scotland under her Early Kings: A History of the Kingdom to the Close of the Thirteenth Century* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1862), vol. 2, p. 4; Grant, 'The Province of Ross', pp. 117–22.

14 The Iona Club, *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis* (Edinburgh, 1839), pp. 52–53.

15 William F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1876–80), vol. 3, pp. 486–87. The reason why Skene italicises the last four names in his translation appears to be that he has given this pedigree an extra heading: "Clans said to be descended from Fearchair Abraruadh through Cormac mac Airbeartach."

16 Paul, *Scots Peerage*, vol. 5, pp. 41–47, and vol. 7, pp. 231–43; Alexander Grant, 'The Wolf of Badenoch', in *Moray: Province and People*, ed. by W. D. H. Sellar (Scottish Society for Northern Studies, Edinburgh, 1993), pp. 143–61: 144–45, 151, 153, 155–56; Richard Oram, 'The Lordship of the Isles', in *The Argyll Book*, ed. by Donald Omand (Edinburgh, 2004), pp. 123–39: 131–37.

17 Ronald Black, '1467 MS: The MacEacherns', *WHN&Q*, ser. 4, no. 5 (Nov. 2017), pp. 5–18: 12.

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