

XIII.

ARGYLL AND THE ISLES IN THE EARLIER MIDDLE AGES.

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¹ The many histories of the Vikings and Norway, of Scotland, the western seaboard, and the families which came to dominate that area, have ploughed and cross-ploughed the events of the years between the expeditions of Magnus Barelegs (1098) and Hakon Hakonson (1263). Few of these accounts, however, have used critically narrative sources, both Latin and Icelandic, and documentary evidence, and we therefore venture to offer yet another survey, which takes as its theme the lordship of Somerled and his descendants.

In this survey we have used "the Isles" as a political term to include Man and that part of the western seaboard subject to the Manx king;² we have used "the Hebrides," "the isles," and "the Sudreys" as geographical terms for the islands from the Mull of Kintyre to the Butt of Lewis together with the Isle of Man in the case of "the Sudreys." Bute, Arran, and the Cumbraes might be included in "the Isles" but not in the other terms.

Our starting point is the great Norwegian expedition to reduce the Isles at the close of the 11th century, an expedition which also achieved a territorial settlement with the king of Scots. Most probably this took place in 1098, though 1093 has been suggested. It is known that king Magnus Barelegs made two expeditions to the isles, in 1098 and 1102, but it is commonly held that compounded in the saga narratives of the 1098 expedition are the events of an earlier expedition in 1093.³ There are two major pieces of evidence for this theory. First, the confused account of the expedition contained in the *History* of Ordericus Vitalis, which places the expedition in 1098 and in the fifth year of the reign of William Rufus, *i.e.* in 1091-2.⁴ And, second, the plentiful evidence that Magnus dealt with Logmann, king of Man, and Malcolm, king of Scots, on his first expedition. But the events described by Ordericus are a travesty of those described in other sources under 1098, and his chronology is known to be poor. The

¹ The following works are referred to by abbreviations: *A.E.S.* = A. O. Anderson, *Early Sources of Scottish History*; *A.S.A.* = A. O. Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chronicles*.

² As we shall show, this was a variable area.

³ This seems to have been first argued by Munch, *Chron. Man*, 54-7.

⁴ Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 188, cols. 727-8. It is possible that the text of Ordericus should be emended to read "anno X" for "anno V."

seven-year reign of Logmann began not in 1087 as the *Chronicle of Man* implies, but in 1095,¹ and his imprisonment by Magnus is correctly placed in 1098 by the sagas.² Moreover, an expedition in 1093 is inherently improbable. Olav the Peaceful died in September 1093, and was succeeded by his son Magnus Barelegs and his nephew Hakon in uneasy and distrustful joint rule until the death of Hakon two years later. It is unlikely that Magnus would have set out on an expedition to the W. in 1093, and had he done so at once, which the sagas imply that he did not do, he would have found that Malcolm III had been killed at Alnwick on 13th November 1093. The repeated statement in the sagas that Magnus made a treaty with Malcolm, king of Scots, seems to be impossible, and it is more plausible to amend the name of the Scottish king than to plunge into the chronological difficulties of a 1093 expedition. The 1098 expedition is mentioned by the *Chronicles of Man* and *Melrose*—in different terms, and therefore independently; by Symeon of Durham and Florence of Worcester; and indirectly by the *Annals of Ulster* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*;³ and their evidence is to be preferred to the evidence of Ordericus Vitalis.

In 1098 Magnus sailed from Orkney, where he had seized the earls, to Lewis, and thence to Skye, Uist, Tiree, Iona, Mull, Sanday, Islay, down the west coast of Kintyre to Man, whose king, Logmann, he had already captured. From Man he sailed to Anglesey, where he defeated the earls of Chester and Shrewsbury, killing the latter, and where he took possession of the island. He then returned directly to Scotland where he entered into negotiations with the king of Scots and made a treaty with him "to the effect that King Magnus should possess all the islands that lie to the west of Scotland."⁴ The *Chronicle of Man*, which is not entirely reliable, states that at this time "he held the Galwegians under restraint" and it is possible that Magnus made a landing in Galloway.⁵

This treaty of 1098 is the first known agreement between the Scottish and Norwegian kings delimiting their territories and formally acknowledging the Norse conquest of the isles. Its significance however is not simply as a

¹ *A.E.S.*, II, 98.

² *A.E.S.*, II, 108. Early Manx chronology is wildly confused by the arbitrary year numbers of the *Chronicle of Man*. Godred died in 1095, and Logmann reigned seven years, dying a Crusader, presumably c. 1102. The statement that Magnus Barelegs reigned in Man for six years probably refers only to lordship over Logmann. Olaf the Red died in 1153 after a "forty year" reign (*Chron. Man*), i.e. began to rule c. 1113, and not 1102 as *Chron. Man* states. *Chron. Man* states that on the death of Logmann, Donald, Tadc's son, was regent for three years, and that in this period, the king of Norway sent one, Ingemund, to seize the kingdom of the Isles. The *Annals of Innisfallen* say that Donald, Tadc's son, took kingship of the Hebrides by force, apparently in 1111, and this may be the true date at which his regency began. The difficulty is not to squeeze these reigns into a limited period, as Dr Anderson suggests (*A.E.S.*, II, 98 n.), but to stretch them out to cover a longer period.

³ *A.E.S.*, II, and *A.S.A.*, sub anno. See also *Heimskringla*, trans. Erling Mommsen, pp. 595-6; Macdonald, *History of Argyll*, p. 296, n. 173; *Orkneyinga Saga*, trans. Taylor, 371; Bremner, *Norsemen in Alban*, 163-4.

⁴ *A.E.S.*, II, 105-13.

⁵ *A.E.S.*, II, 103; *Chron. Man*, 6.

Scottish surrender, for Magnus and Edgar were partitioning territories which neither had effectively controlled. The Norwegian king yielded all claim to the mainland of Argyll, Ross, and Caithness, but it is highly unlikely that these lands then became obedient to king Edgar. Magnus, for his part, carefully perambulated the bounds of his territories by sailing inshore between the mainland and the islands on his journey north, and by sending his men there, taking formal possession of all the islands, inhabited and uninhabited.

On this perambulation after the peace there occurred the famous incident when Magnus was drawn from East to West Loch Tarbert, across the isthmus of Kintyre, in a skiff with its rudder set. His intention may have been, as the sagas state, to claim possession of Kintyre, but, if so, the claim did not succeed.¹ The boundaries of the diocese of Sodor, founded about 1100, and later suffragan to Trondhjem, prove this. The diocese included precisely the area stated to have been ceded in the treaty, islands such as Bute, Arran, the Cumbraes, Gigha, but not Kintyre;² good evidence that in the early 12th century Kintyre was not in Norse hands. And further confirmation is found in charters of David I alienating part of his revenues from Argyll and Kintyre.³ These alienations are conditional, on terms whose meaning is not absolutely clear, but it is certain that David I regarded Kintyre as part of his kingdom, and that he was in expectation of reasonably early revenues from it. It is perhaps also worth noting that, according to Barbour, in 1315 Robert I made a similar crossing of the isthmus with sails rigged, and that the Islesmen submitted to him because of ancient prophecy that he who did so would conquer the Isles.⁴ Barbour's "ald prophesy" is not very convincing as it seems likely that boats with furled sails not infrequently took this short cut; but it may have been a feat demanded of the man who would master the Isles.

Magnus Barelegs died in Ireland in 1103 on his second western expedition and his successors were left with sovereignty over the kingdom of the Isles, but with little detailed and effective control over the area. King Eystein sailed west in 1151 to attack Aberdeen and other eastern towns, but no Norwegian king came to the Sudreys until Hakon's great expedition of 1263, a century and a half after the death of Magnus Barelegs. The kings of the Isles paid, perhaps irregularly, a money tribute and acknowledged the overlordship of Norway, but the kings of Norway were too much occupied by their domestic problems to interfere personally in the far west.

During the reign of David I, king Olaf the Red of Man, whose authority

¹ *A.E.S.*, II, 113.

² *Map of Monastic Britain, North Sheet*, 2nd edition, where Gigha is erroneously shown in the diocese of Argyll.

³ See *infra*, p. 195.

⁴ Barbour, *The Bruce*, ed. W. Mackay Mackenzie, pp. 269-70 (bk. xv), lines 277-98. This was pointed out to us by Professor W. Croft Dickinson.

stretched as far north as Lewis, had to watch in Argyll, without the ability to intervene, the rise of the power of Somerled. We should probably distrust the accounts of Somerled's descent given by Macdonald family historians; his father, we know, was Gillabrigte, but the rest of his ancestry is known only from very late sources, and we have no reliable account of his rise to power.¹ He married a daughter of Olaf the Red, probably before 1150, perhaps well before that date, while his sister seems to have married Malcolm Macheth, illegitimate son of Alexander I.² This marriage presumably took place about 1130 or earlier, for Malcolm was imprisoned in 1134, leaving sons at large.³ It is often assumed that Somerled was the enemy of David I, and seized Argyll in despite of the king. The marriage alliance with Malcolm Macheth however may originally have been an honourable link between the royal family and Somerled, just as Alexander I had married an illegitimate daughter of Henry I of England. No chronicler mentions warfare between David I and Somerled. On the contrary, the chronicles seem to regard the latter's rebellion in 1154 as a new situation.⁴ It is known that Argyllsmen fought with the Scottish king at the battle of the Standard in 1138,⁵ while the grant by David I to Dunfermline Abbey of "the half part of my tenth from Argyll and Kintyre in that year namely when I myself shall have received cain thence"⁶ may represent a division of the revenues of Argyll between the king and Somerled. The monks of Urquhart priory, a cell of Dunfermline, had from the king a tenth of all revenues from Argyll of Moray,⁷ and the canons of Holyrood Abbey "a half of my tenth from my cain and from my pleas and *lucra* from Kintyre and Argyll."⁸ The king's revenues from Argyll, which amounted to a tenth of cain pleas and "fines," were thus wholly alienated to religious houses. It is difficult to believe that these grants were meaningless gestures.

There is thus much to suggest that Somerled held in Argyll a position like that of his relative, Fergus, in Galloway, and that David I was willing to allow those two to govern their provinces in near independence. The king

¹ The *Book of Clanranald* has little to say of him; Cameron, *Reliquiæ Celticæ*, II, 155. Hugh Macdonald, the Sleet historian, wrote c. 1680 and gives a circumstantial account of his prowess. Its worth is highly dubious since any "traditions" it might include are unknown to other Macdonald historians; MacPhail, *Highland Papers*, I, 5-11. Cf. A. and A. Macdonald, *The Clan Donald*, I, 39-43. There is an attempt to construct an ancestry for Somerled in Bremner, *Norsemen in Alban*, 171-2, and this seems to have more probability than the one given in the *Book of Clanranald*.

² *A.E.S.*, II, 223-4; *Chron. Holyrood*, ed. M. O. Anderson, 125. ³ *A.E.S.*, II, 183, 232.

⁴ The Melrose chronicler (*A.E.S.*, II, 254) says that in 1164 Somerled had been wickedly rebelling against Malcolm IV for twelve years (*i.e.* since his accession). This is surely meant to state the maximum length of Somerled's rebellion, but "twelve years" would place the beginning of it under David I in 1152. Since the Melrose chronicler speaks of rebellion against Malcolm IV, and the Holyrood chronicler tells us that it began after Malcolm IV's accession in 1153, we take the "twelve years" to be a rough estimate.

⁵ *A.S.A.*, 200.

⁶ Laurie, *Early Scottish Charters*, No. CCIX.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. CCLV. Argyll of Moray is approximately the western mainland strip of the modern county of Inverness.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. CLIII.

had thereby two advantages; he had from Galloway and Argyll military contingents when he needed them; and he had two powerful marcher lords protecting the kingdom from the attacks of the Islesmen. Fergus and Somerled were in fact though not in name "normaers," governors of sea-board provinces, although their provinces were not those traditionally associated with this office. It may be coincidence, but it is surely significant that Fergus was styled prince of Galloway¹ and Somerled kinglet (*regulus*) of Argyll;² there is no evidence that either was the enemy of David I.

So long as Olaf the Red lived, the western seas seem to have been at peace. Olaf married Affrica, a daughter of Fergus, and Somerled a daughter of Olaf (but not by Affrica). But in 1153 David I died and Olaf was murdered. The accession of Malcolm IV brought an immediate rebellion by the sons of Malcolm Macheth in alliance with their uncle, Somerled, while Godfrey of Man succeeded only after he had defeated his father's murderers. A situation which had been held stable by the might of David I and Olaf the Red, was disturbed by the weakness of their successors. In these troubled waters Somerled fished assiduously. In 1155 or 1156, a dissatisfied Isleman deserted Godfrey on account of his tyranny and asked Somerled to give his son Dugald to be king "over the islands," *i.e.* presumably the whole kingdom of the Isles. Somerled agreed, and perhaps abandoned his Scottish venture, for the sons of Malcolm Macheth were imprisoned with their father in 1156. The submission of the Hebrides to Dugald does not seem to have been voluntary for we are told that hostages were taken from each island, but that one chief escaped secretly to Godfrey and told him what had happened.³

The choice of a son of Somerled may mean that the father himself was not acceptable to the rebellious islemen, but on 5th January 1156 Godfrey was defeated in a naval battle by Somerled "and when day dawned they made peace; and they divided the kingdom of the islands between them, and the kingdom became bipartite from that day to the present time."⁴ Yet this peace was short-lived, for two years later, in 1158, Somerled again defeated Godfrey who, according to the *Chronicle of Man*, went to Norway seeking aid against his enemy.⁵ At Christmas 1160 Somerled made his

¹ *Chron. Holyrood*, ed. M. O. Anderson, 137, 139.

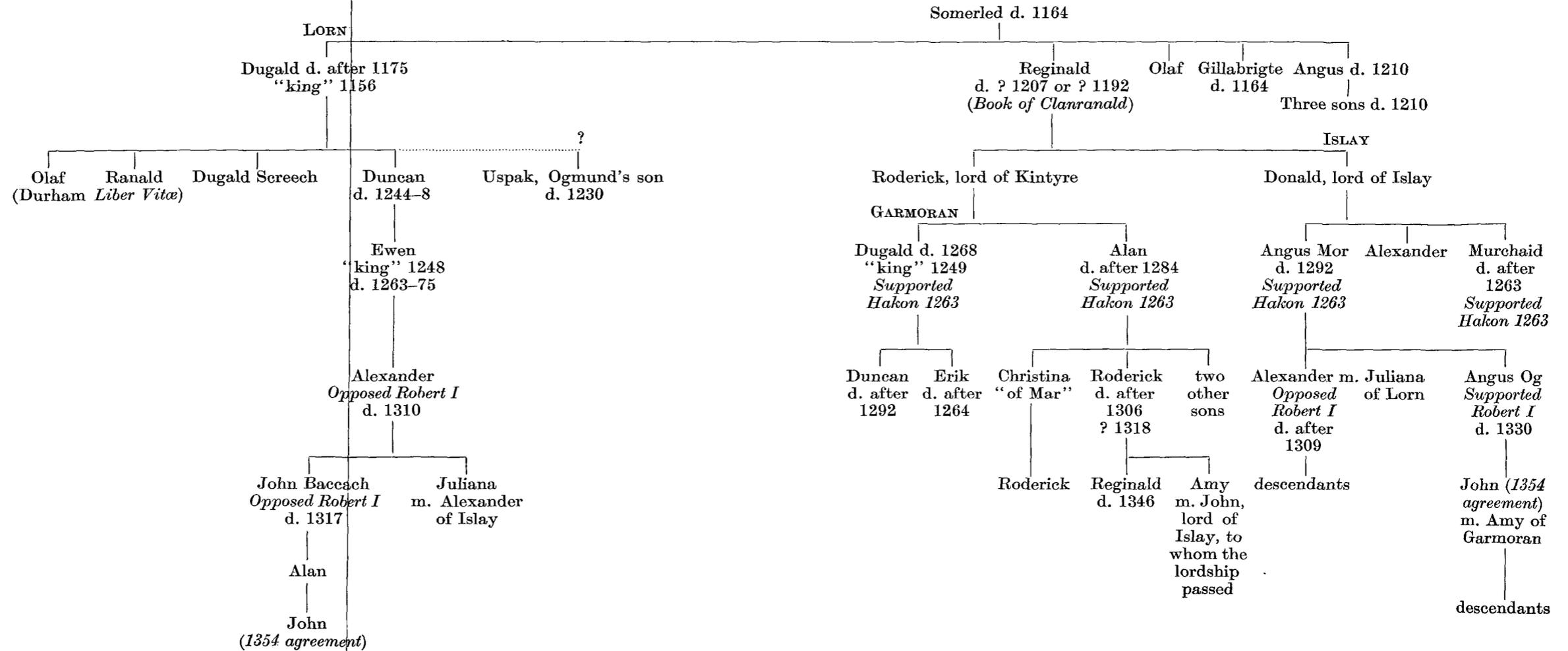
² *Chron. Man*, 7; *Chron. Melrose*, eds. A. O. and M. O. Anderson (facsimile), 36-7; *A.E.S.*, II, 254.

³ *A.E.S.*, II, 231; *Chron. Man*, 10.

⁴ *A.E.S.*, II, 232; *Chron. Man*, 10. The *Chronicle of Man* was compiled in the mid-13th century.

⁵ *A.E.S.*, II, 239; *Chron. Man*, 10. In accounts for the year ending 29th September 1158, the sheriffs of Worcester and Gloucester received allowances for payments made to the king of the Isles for arms and equipment (*Pipe Roll 4 Henry II*, ed. Hunter, 155, 168. The date given in *A.E.S.*, 246 n. is incorrect), while in 1159 Godfrey witnessed at Roxburgh the great charter of Malcolm IV to Kelso Abbey (*Kelso*, I, vi) probably early in the year before the Scottish king went to Toulouse with Henry II. Failing to obtain the needed assistance from these two kings, Godfrey presumably went to Norway. The Icelandic *Annals* say that he "took kingship" in the Isles in 1160 but the *Chronicle of Man* places his return from Norway with an army in 1164, after the death of Somerled (*A.E.S.*, II, 246, 258-9). The latter is more probably correct, as he was in Norway in February 1161 (*A.E.S.*, II, 248-9).

TABLE I.—SOME OF THE DESCENDANTS OF SOMERLED.



[The order of brothers in the table is in no case to be taken as the order in which they were born. Evidence on this matter does not exist.]

peace with Malcolm IV,¹ perhaps because Malcolm Macheth had been released in 1157 and given the earldom of Ross.² In 1164 Somerled again rebelled, and met his death near Renfrew along with one son and many of his army of men from Argyll, Kintyre, the Isles, and the Norse kingdom of Dublin.³

Some conjecture may be offered about Somerled's position in the Isles. The sources of his army in 1164 suggest that he had usurped authority over the Hebrides and perhaps also over Man, if Godfrey did not return to his kingdom with Norwegian help until after his enemy's death. The rapid re-establishment of Godfrey as king of the Isles in 1164-5 seems to be implied by the sources, though it is not certain. More permanent than Somerled's dominion was the partition arranged in 1156. The *Chronicle of Man*, mentioning the marriage of Somerled to a daughter of Olaf the Red, states that "she was the cause of the downfall of the whole kingdom of the islands; for he begot by her four sons . . ." while under 1156 it states that the kingdom was divided from 1156 until the time of writing, "and this was the cause of the downfall of the kingdom of the islands from the time when the sons of Somerled took possession of it."⁴ It is clearly implied that not Somerled but his sons took possession of part of the kingdom, and that their descendants continued to rule that part independently of the kings of Man, until the mid-13th century when the *Chronicle of Man* was composed. Their position after 1164 was less than that of Somerled who dominated all the Isles between 1158 and 1164, but it was based on the treaty of 1156. So late as 1231 the kingdom of the Isles excluded those islands "that Somerled's sons held."⁵

Unfortunately, the sixty years after 1164 are a dark period in the history of the western seaboard. Somerled had five sons, Dugald, Reginald, Angus, Olaf and Gillabrigte who was slain with his father.⁶ Nothing further is known of Olaf, while of Angus we know that he defeated Reginald in 1192 and was slain with his three sons in 1210,⁷ probably by Norse raiders who pillaged the Isles in that year. Dugald and Reginald, however, founded important families. Dugald was chosen king of the Isles in 1156, and may therefore have been the oldest brother.⁸ In 1175 at Durham he promised an

¹ *Moray*, Appendix No. 1; *A.E.S.*, II, 239 n.

² *Chron. Holyrood*, ed. M. O. Anderson, 129-30 and references there given.

³ *A.E.S.*, II, 253-8.

⁴ *Chron. Man*, 7, 10; *A.E.S.*, II, 137, 232.

⁵ *A.E.S.*, II, 472.

⁶ *A.E.S.*, II, 254, from the *Carmen de morte Somerledi*. Macdonald, *The Clan Donald*, I, 57, followed by *Scots Peerage*, v, 31, gives other sons, whom we reject because they are taken from the 17th-century Macdonald historians or, in the case of Gille-Callum, from the "*Chronicles of Man*." *Chron. Man* knows nothing of him.

⁷ *A.E.S.*, II, 327, 387; *Chron. Man*, 15.

⁸ As Dr Colin Macdonald argues, *History of Argyll*, 89-90. There is an attempt to show that the Macdougalls were not derived from this Dugald, and that he was a younger son, in Macdonald, *Clan Donald*, I, 64-7. It is contrary to all the evidence but is followed in *Scots Peerage*, v, 32.

annual payment to the monks, and received their prayers, *i.e.* he entered their confraternity.¹ Since this happened a fortnight after king William and his barons had done homage to king Henry II at York,² we may surmise that Dugald was one of those barons and that he was at king William's faith and peace. But nothing further is known of him after 1175, and even the approximate date of his death is unknown. Reginald, his brother, was defeated by Angus in 1192; the sons of Reginald attacked Skye in 1209³ and Derry in 1212 and 1214,⁴ when presumably their father was dead.⁵ We also have a notice of a charter by Reginald as king of the Isles, lord of Argyll and Kintyre, granting what were probably its earliest endowments to the abbey of Saddell in Kintyre,⁶ and the text of a charter by him as lord of Inchgall, making a grant to Paisley Abbey.⁷ It is possible that the latter charter⁸ is later than the former, and we might connect the dropping of the style king of the Isles in favour of the more modest lord of the Hebrides with Angus's victory over Reginald in 1192. But it is not now possible to explain how or when Dugald's kingship yielded to that of Reginald. We can determine neither the boundaries of their individual lordships, nor the total of their possessions. It seems not unlikely that Reginald, king of the Isles (1188-1226), reduced the power of the sons of Somerled to some degree and that they dropped the title of king, though retaining most of their lands.

It is possible to determine the distribution of lands between the descendants of these sons, but it would be rash to argue that the same divisions existed in the 12th century, particularly because of the apparent eclipse of Dugald by Reginald, the warfare between Reginald and Angus, and the redistribution of Angus's lands in 1210. The most likely suggestion, though it can be only a suggestion, is that the sons of Somerled ruled from Glenelg to the Mull of Kintyre, and perhaps even more extensively—Angus in the north, Dugald latterly only in Lorn, and Reginald in Kintyre and the more southerly isles, and that the territories of Angus passed to the sons of Reginald on the former's death in 1210.

The most striking feature of these ill-recorded years is the absence of any known intervention in western affairs by king William. Dugald may have

¹ *A.S.A.*, 264.

² *A.S.A.*, 259-63.

³ *A.E.S.*, II, 378.

⁴ *A.E.S.*, II, 393, 395. These might be two accounts of one expedition.

⁵ The *Book of Clanranald* places the death of Somerled in 1180 and that of Reginald in 1207. The former date is sixteen years out; a corresponding emendation would put Reginald's death about 1191, which may mean that he was slain in battle with the forces of Angus in 1192.

⁶ *R.M.S.*, II, 3170; cf. *A.E.S.*, II, 247, A. McKerral, "A Chronology of . . . Saddell" in *P.S.A.S.*, LXXXVI, 115-16. Inchgall = Hebrides.

⁷ *Paisley*, p. 125; Macdonald, *Clan Donald*, I, 485-6. The seal of Reginald is described in *Paisley*, p. 149, whence presumably the illustration in Macdonald, *Clan Donald*, I, 64-5. The legend in this work of imagination has no authority.

⁸ At the same time Donald, son of Reginald, and his wife drew up a charter in similar terms. This would seem to put Reginald's charter towards the end of his life. *Paisley*, p. 126; Macdonald, *Clan Donald*, I, 486.

followed his father's early policy of loyalty to the king, but the west does seem to have been in a disturbed condition, and it may have been partly as a protection against king Reginald of Man and the sons of Somerled that the Scottish king built his new castle between the Doon and Ayr in 1197.¹ Between 1130 and 1204 Norway was the scene of bitter civil war, and there was little danger of an expedition to the west from that source. Perhaps for this reason, as well as growing ill-health, king William left the west to its own troubles.

Not until 1221 did the Scottish king turn his attention to Argyll. According to Fordun a naval expedition by Alexander II in that year was abortive but another in the following year brought the submission of the province apparently without any engagement.² Fordun adds that the king gave confiscated lands to his followers, while Wyntoun, who mentions only a successful expedition in 1222, says that he gave them to loyal Argyllsmen.³ We need not wholly reject the expeditions as Dr Macdonald has done on the grounds of discrepancies.⁴ It is true that these chroniclers speak in vague terms but their accounts have the mark of being "worked-up" from brief annalistic entries now unknown. A statement that the king rewarded "suos complices" for example might well have yielded the two different statements of those who received confiscated land. Moreover, what we know of Fordun's methods of composition makes it likely that he had notes from two different sources recording a single Argyll expedition, one under 1221, the other under 1222, and that he made two expeditions of these entries, glossing the first as a failure. The fact that Wyntoun gives a slightly different account of a single expedition shows that his authority was not Fordun, but perhaps one of the sources also used by Fordun. The *Melrose Chronicle* knows nothing of this expedition, just as Fordun knows nothing of the 1249 one, and the *Melrose Chronicle* mentions the 1249 expedition only in passing and to explain the king's death in Kerrera. Detailed knowledge of Argyll affairs is clearly not to be expected in Scottish chronicles, but this is no ground to discount king Alexander's expedition. Unfortunately, we do not know the motives for it, though its consequences seem to have been important.

One important consequence may well have been a redistribution of part of Somerled's inheritance. From Roderick, son of Reginald, descended the lords of Garmoran (the area from Ardnamurchan to Glenelg) and from his brother Donald the lords of Islay. Roderick, however, twice appears in the

¹ *A.E.S.*, II, 348.

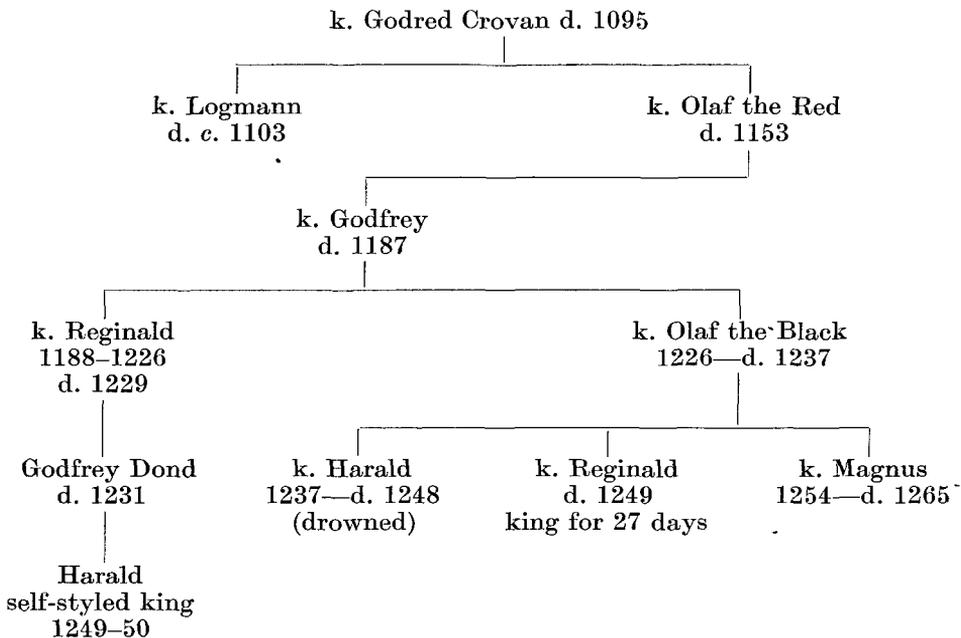
² *Fordun*, ed. Skene, I, 288-9.

³ Wyntoun, *Original Chronicle*, ed. Amours, v, 84-7.

⁴ Macdonald, *History of Argyll*, 101, and his notes on 305. Dr Macdonald has here made one of his rare errors, for Fordun begins his chapter "anno MCCXX," places the king's visit to York and first expedition to Argyll "anno sequenti" [1221] and his second expedition "anno sequenti" [1222]. Dr Macdonald makes Fordun put the expeditions in 1220 and 1221, and then calls in "calendar adjustments" to turn 1221 into 1222—the date correctly given in the sources and in other secondary works.

charters of the early 13th century as holding land in Kintyre,¹ while Angus, son of Donald of Islay, between 1241 and 1249 gave to Paisley Abbey the church of Kilkerran "in my land which is called Kintyre."² The Macdonalds of Islay were extensive landholders in Kintyre later in the century, but nothing is heard of the descendants of Roderick in Kintyre. There must have been a forced transfer of land, and the explanation may well be that Kintyre was taken from Roderick and given to Donald or his son by Alexander II, in 1221-2, and that Kintyre was the chief area affected by the expedition of that time.

TABLE II.—THE KINGS OF MAN.



There is nothing to show that Duncan of Argyll, whose father Dugald must by now have died, was affected by this Scottish campaign, but in 1229 we are told that the sons of Dugald were responsible for a "great dispeace" in the isles and that these sons, Dugald Screech and his brother Duncan, were "very unfaithful to king Haakon."³ Presumably they were attacking that part of the Hebrides subject to the Manx kingdom of the Isles. As a result, in the summer of 1229, king Hakon of Norway gave to Uspak, son of Ogmund (renamed Hakon in his patron's honour), the title

¹ *R.M.S.*, II, 3136 (=Appendix No. III), 3170.

² *Paisley*, p. 128. This can be dated from its reference to Alexander, son of king Alexander II.

³ *A.E.S.*, II, 464-5. If the descent had not been well attested we should be inclined to doubt that Dugald, made "king over the islands" in 1156, had a son Duncan who did not die until after 1244, and to suggest that a generation had somehow been omitted.

of king. Uspak was "of royal lineage," a man who had fought for long with the Birchlegs, the supporters of king Hakon, and of whom it "came out" that he was a son of Dugald and grandson of Somerled. There may have been fosterage in this relationship, though the Hakonar saga, which tells us these facts, calls Uspak the brother of Duncan and Dugald Screech.¹ In the spring of 1230 the fleet with which Uspak was to sail west was equipped and ready to sail when there arrived from Man its king, Olaf, seeking help against Alan of Galloway.² Alan had formed an alliance with Reginald, formerly king of the Isles, and had attacked Man in 1228, when Olaf was absent in the Hebrides, and Reginald had repeated the exploit in 1229, but met his death.³ Now a further attack by Alan was imminent.

It seems clear that the kingdom of Olaf was disintegrating under the attacks of Somerled's descendants and those of king Reginald and Alan of Galloway. There had long been a tendency for the kingdom to split in two. King Godfrey had sent his son Reginald to the Hebrides, and when Reginald succeeded in 1188 his brother Olaf ruled the northern Hebrides under him.⁴ In 1224 Olaf seems to have won an independent position,⁵ and in 1226 he seized Man itself, and became sole king.⁶ The Hebrides were now left undefended and the "grave dispeace" which troubled them apparently decided king Hakon to make Uspak king. But Man too was now threatened with conquest by Alan of Galloway. The Latin chronicles of Man⁷ and Lanercost⁸ which are not here independent and the Icelandic *Annals*⁹ say that Uspak was to be king over the Hebrides, but the Hakonar saga is not so definite: Uspak as king was to have a force "to go west beyond the sea."¹⁰ He sailed four days after the arrival in Bergen of king Olaf, taking Olaf with him. With Orcadian reinforcements the fleet numbered about forty ships.¹¹ It sailed by Skye to Islay sound and there its leaders met Duncan and Dugald Screech and their cousin Somerled. The two sides joined in a distrustful feast, and Duncan slept on Uspak's ship. The following morning, in the absence of these two, the Norwegians attacked Dugald Screech and Somerled, imprisoning the former and killing the latter. Uspak returned, allowed Duncan to escape, and took Dugald Screech under his protection. The fleet then sailed on round the Mull of Kintyre to Bute which was garrisoned by the Scots, and attacked and took its castle, but withdrew on hearing of the approach of a fleet of 200 ships under Alan of Galloway. During a circuitous journey to Man, Uspak, who had been wounded on Bute, died, and Olaf took command of the fleet.¹² In the spring of 1231 the Norwegians sailed away from Man leaving Olaf as king but conveying Godfrey Dond, son of Reginald king of the Isles, to whom Olaf had agreed to entrust the Hebrides. The fleet plundered Kintyre and then returned to Norway.

¹ *A.E.S.*, II, 465, 475.

⁴ *A.E.S.*, II, 313, 359, 454-60.

⁷ *A.E.S.*, II, 472.

¹⁰ *A.E.S.*, II, 473.

² *A.E.S.*, II, 472, 474.

⁵ *A.E.S.*, II, 459.

⁸ *A.E.S.*, II, 471.

¹¹ *A.E.S.*, II, 474.

³ *A.E.S.*, II, 465-6.

⁶ *A.E.S.*, II, 460.

⁹ *A.E.S.*, II, 472.

¹² *A.E.S.*, II, 1, 475-7.

Godfrey Dond was killed soon afterwards in Lewis, and Olaf "reigned in Man and over all the islands of the Hebrides excepting those that Somerled's sons held."¹

This expedition restored Olaf, but it is clear that this was only a secondary aim, adopted at the last minute; the main purpose was to stabilise the western isles by creating there a kingdom for Uspak. The situation of this kingdom is nowhere specified but it is important to try to place it. The Hakonar saga is explicit that in contrast to the grandsons of Somerled, Olaf, king of Man, had "held manfully under Norway's kings,"² and it is clear that Olaf was to be restored to Man, and not deprived of it. Uspak might have been given kingship over the Manx Hebrides (*i.e.* Lewis and Skye), subject to Olaf, as Olaf had once been subject to his brother Reginald. The avowed aim of Hakon, however, was to deal with the troublesome grandsons of Somerled, who for their island possessions owed fealty to the Norwegian kings, but who were independent of the king of the Isles. It is possible therefore that Uspak was given kingship over the lands of Somerled and his descendants, and that his aim was to secure the allegiance of his brothers and cousins; he would thus become under the Norwegian king, king over the unruly lords of Argyll, the inner isles, and Kintyre, a position analogous to that of the king of the Isles. The events of 1230 give added likelihood to this suggestion. Uspak did not seek to establish himself in Lewis, but immediately approached his brothers and negotiated with them. From this encounter he sailed to Bute to conquer territories for himself, to be held of the Norwegian king; there is a clear implication that his kingdom was to lie in the south and not in the Outer Hebrides. Although none of the Hebridean rulers was dispossessed by this new bearer of king Hakon's commission, the fleet was inadequate, the kinsmen of Uspak reluctant, and the leader himself died, so that this ambitious scheme came to nothing.

The expedition brings into prominence two grandsons of Somerled, Duncan and Dugald Screech, sons of Dugald, and both described as kings in the Hebrides. Nothing further is known of Dugald Screech, but Duncan of Argyll is comparatively well known. His principal stronghold was probably Dunstaffnage, where the present castle is partly of 13th-century construction and is on or near earlier fortifications.³ The site guards an ideal anchorage for the galleys of the Macdougalls which were the power of an important lordship. Duncan moreover had wider interests than those of an Argyll chief. He was the founder of the Valliscaulian priory of Ardehatten on the other side of Loch Etive from Dunstaffnage. And he seems to have been a faithful baron of king Alexander II, one of those who wrote with him to the pope in 1244.⁴

¹ *A.E.S.*, II, 472, 477-8.

² *A.E.S.*, II, 464.

³ In 1249 the fleet of Alexander II made for Loch Linnhe in an attempt to bring the lord of Argyll to book. His principal stronghold must have been nearby.

⁴ Macdonald, *History of Argyll*, 98; Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland*, 70; *Fœdera*, I, I, 377.

From this period the Scottish king took an increasing interest in the western seaboard, moving, perhaps gradually, to the design of incorporating the area once more in the Scottish kingdom. It is therefore worth while setting out what we know of the territorial division of Argyll and the isles at this period.

In spite of many statements to the contrary there is no evidence that Bute was ever held by any of the sons of Somerled.¹ It had probably passed to the Stewart family before 1204, for Alan, son of Walter, who died in that year, gave the church of Kingarth in Bute, and "the whole parish of the same island" to Paisley Abbey.² In 1230 the Scots were garrisoning its castle,³ and in 1263 Alexander III refused to give up Bute, Arran, and the Cumbraes to king Hakon.⁴ Later Hakon gave the island to one of his captains, Roderick, who had some claim on it, but this was an empty gesture made after the battle of Largs.⁵ It may have been at the same time that the overlordship of this island and others unnamed was given by the Norwegian king to the kings of Man, for the charter was later surrendered to Alexander III, presumably because invalid.⁶ Since Bute lay in the diocese of Sodor, it must have been in Norse hands in the early 12th century, and the Norse maintained their claim to it; possibly it passed to the Scottish crown in 1160 when a peace was made between Somerled and Malcolm IV who held the Stewart family in high favour.⁷ The claim of Roderick remains a mystery.

The history of Arran is even more fragmentary, for after Reginald, the son of Somerled, gave twenty merklands of Shisken to Saddell Abbey,⁸ nothing is known of its lords until 1357 when John of Menteith was lord of Arran and Knapdale.⁹ In 1263 Alexander III had refused to give it up, and king Hakon purported to give it to Murchaid, brother of Angus of Islay, but this gift would not be effective.¹⁰ It is therefore reasonably certain that the withdrawal of the Norse expedition of 1230 left Bute and Arran in Scottish hands.

¹ e.g. Macdonald, *Clan Donald*, II, 8.

² *Paisley*, p. 15. Cf. *Scottish Historical Review*, xxx, 8.

³ *A.E.S.*, II, 471, 476.

⁴ *A.E.S.*, II, 623.

⁵ *A.E.S.*, II, 620-1, 635. Roderick is assumed, e.g. by Macdonald, *Clan Donald*, I, to have been Roderick, son of Reginald, and lord of Garmoran. But there is no evidence for this view. Was he perhaps a son of Uspak?

⁶ *A.P.S.*, I, 109.

⁷ Parochial tithes in Sodor diocese were probably originally divided into four parts, of which the bishop received one. In the later 12th century, however, a new division into three parts was agreed. The bishop's third was paid throughout the diocese, from Man to Lewis, with the exception of Bute, where a fourth was paid. This would seem to lend some support to our view that Bute changed hands politically during the 12th century.

⁸ *R.M.S.*, II, 3170.

⁹ *R.M.S.*, I, 182. It is not mentioned in the scheme of sheriffdoms of 1293 when Bute was included in the sheriffdom of Kintyre; *A.P.S.*, I, 447b.

¹⁰ *A.E.S.*, II, 623, 635.

The modern county of Argyll was divided between two main families: in the south, Kintyre was probably already in the hands of Angus Mor of Islay; in the north, Duncan of Lorn held Lorn. But both held wider lands than these, and a document known only from a confused printed version indicates where the frontier ran. In the wars of independence the descendants of each incurred forfeiture and secured restoration from David II,¹ but restoration of the lords of Lorn was considerably prejudiced by previous grants of their island territories to the lords of Islay, and seems to have been limited almost to Lorn itself.² On 8th September 1354, John of Lorn quitclaimed to John of Islay the Treshnish islands, Mull, the Garvellach islands, northern Jura and part of Tiree, reserving to himself Coll and the rest of Tiree.³

This attempt to settle the disputes arising from the political upheaval of the preceding seventy years makes no mention of Morvern or Ardnamurchan. To the north of these lay the lordship of Garmoran which certainly included Castle Tirrim in Moidart,⁴ and this lordship passed from the descendants of Roderick to the Macdonalds of Islay between 1346 and 1372.⁵ Robert I had conferred Morvern and Ardnamurchan on the Macdonalds or confirmed it to them,⁶ and their possession was confirmed by Edward Balliol in 1335.⁷ In 1302 John Macdougall of Lorn is styled "lord of Lorn, Benderloch and Lismore,"⁸ a fact which taken in conjunction with the failure of the 1354 agreement to mention Morvern and Ardnamurchan strongly indicates that the Macdougalls had no claim on these districts. They therefore belonged either to the lordship of Garmoran or to that of Islay; geographical probability would link them with the former, for the Macdonalds of Islay had no other territories north of Loch Linnhe before the mid-14th century, while Morvern was separated from their other possessions by the Macdougall lordship of Lorn.

The relevance of this evidence from 14th-century sources to the conditions of the 13th must be established. The charters granted by David II and Edward Balliol to both Macdougalls and Macdonalds show clearly that the power of the former was yielding to that of the latter, largely because John Baccach of Lorn supported Edward I and Edward II of England, while Angus Og of Islay supported Robert I, and that the 1354 agreement was an acknowledgment of the territorial changes which had taken place since 1306. Between 1286 and 1306, although there was a territorial dispute between

¹ Summarised in *Scots Peerage*, v, 37-8; Macdonald, *History of Argyll*, chs. xi-xii. See *A.P.S.*, xii, 6, No. 9; *Cal. Docs. Scot.*, iii, 1182.

² *R.M.S.*, i, Appendix 2, 1136, 1182.

³ *Highland Papers*, ed. MacPhail, i, 75-8; Macdonald, *Clan Donald*, ii, 745-6.

⁴ *R.M.S.*, i, 520.

⁵ Macdonald, *Clan Donald*, ii, 23-4.

⁶ *R.M.S.*, i, Appendix 2, 56. The date of this charter cannot be fixed more closely than 1306 x 1329, and there is no evidence for the date 1309 often attributed to it.

⁷ *Rotuli Scotiæ*, i, 463-4.

⁸ *R.M.S.*, ii, 3136.

the two families,¹ and a certain amount of disturbance in Argyll, our evidence is full enough to entitle us to say that there was no important territorial change.² During the invasion of king Hakon of Norway in 1263, Ewen of Lorn refused to join him, while Angus Mor of Islay did so only on condition that his inheritance should not be affected. In 1264 Angus Mor submitted to the Scottish king,³ and was forced to give up his son as a hostage,⁴ while the barons of Argyll swore to rise against him if under pain of forfeiture he did not do the king's will.⁵ These stringent words and actions show that he had not in fact suffered forfeiture; the treaty of Perth in 1266 embodied a condition that the supporters of king Hakon were not to be punished nor impleaded in their inheritances,⁶ and it is evident that this condition was observed. In 1249 Ewen of Lorn had temporarily lost his lands, but they were restored in 1255 in terms which make it clear that they had not been forfeited formally.⁷

The territorial division revealed by the evidence of the 14th century can therefore be taken back to the eve of king Alexander II's expedition of 1249. The lord of Lorn held Lorn, Benderloch and Lismore,⁸ the Garvellach islands, northern Jura, Mull, the Treshnish islands, Coll and Tiree. The lord of Islay held Kintyre, Islay, southern Jura, and probably Colonsay and Oronsay. The lord of Garmoran held Moidart, Arisaig, Morar, Knoydart, probably Rum and Eigg, and perhaps Barra, Uist, and Harris; these last three islands certainly belonged to him in the 14th century.⁹ The lords of Islay were the descendants of Donald, son of Reginald, those of Garmoran the descendants of Roderick, son of Reginald, who had apparently lost Kintyre in the early 13th century.¹⁰ It would seem to be implied that Reginald had been master of two great territories, each of which ultimately passed to one of his sons. If this were so, the line of division may have been drawn so as to give Morvern and Ardnamurchan to Donald of Islay, even though these provinces lay beyond the lands of the lord of Lorn.

Between the lordships of Lorn and Kintyre lay the territories of lesser men in Knapdale and Glassary, Swein and his son Dugald around Loch Sween, the Lamont family, and the descendants of Gilchrist whose lands passed c. 1290 to Master Ralph of Dundee, and thence to the Scrymgeours.¹¹

¹ *Fœdera*, I, II, 761; *Rotuli Scotiae*, I, 21b.

² See the account in Macdonald, *History of Argyll*, chs. ix-x, and the evidence cited there.

³ *A.E.S.*, II, 649.

⁴ *Exch. Rolls*, I, 5.

⁵ *A.P.S.*, I, 109.

⁶ *A.P.S.*, I, 462a.

⁷ Below, pp. 211-12.

⁸ John Baccach Macdougall's charter of 1302 (*R.M.S.*, II, 3136) suggests that "Lorn" was the area between Loch Etive and, say, Loch Craignish. Clearly it did not include Benderloch and Appin.

⁹ *R.M.S.*, I, 412. It is universally held that the Roderick of Islay forfeited in parliament in 1325 was lord of Garmoran (*R.M.S.*, I, Appendix 2, 699). But Roderick, lord of Garmoran, was always styled "son of Alan;" his death probably took place in 1318 (*Annals of Ulster*, Macdonald, *Clan Donald*, II, 21); there was no possible reason for calling him "of Islay."

¹⁰ Above, p. 200.

¹¹ *Scottish Historical Review*, XXX, 5-6; Paisley, pp. 120-2; *A.P.S.*, I, 447b; *Inventory of Lamont Papers* (Scottish Record Society); *Highland Papers*, ed. MacPhail, II, 114-25; *R.M.S.*, II, 3136.

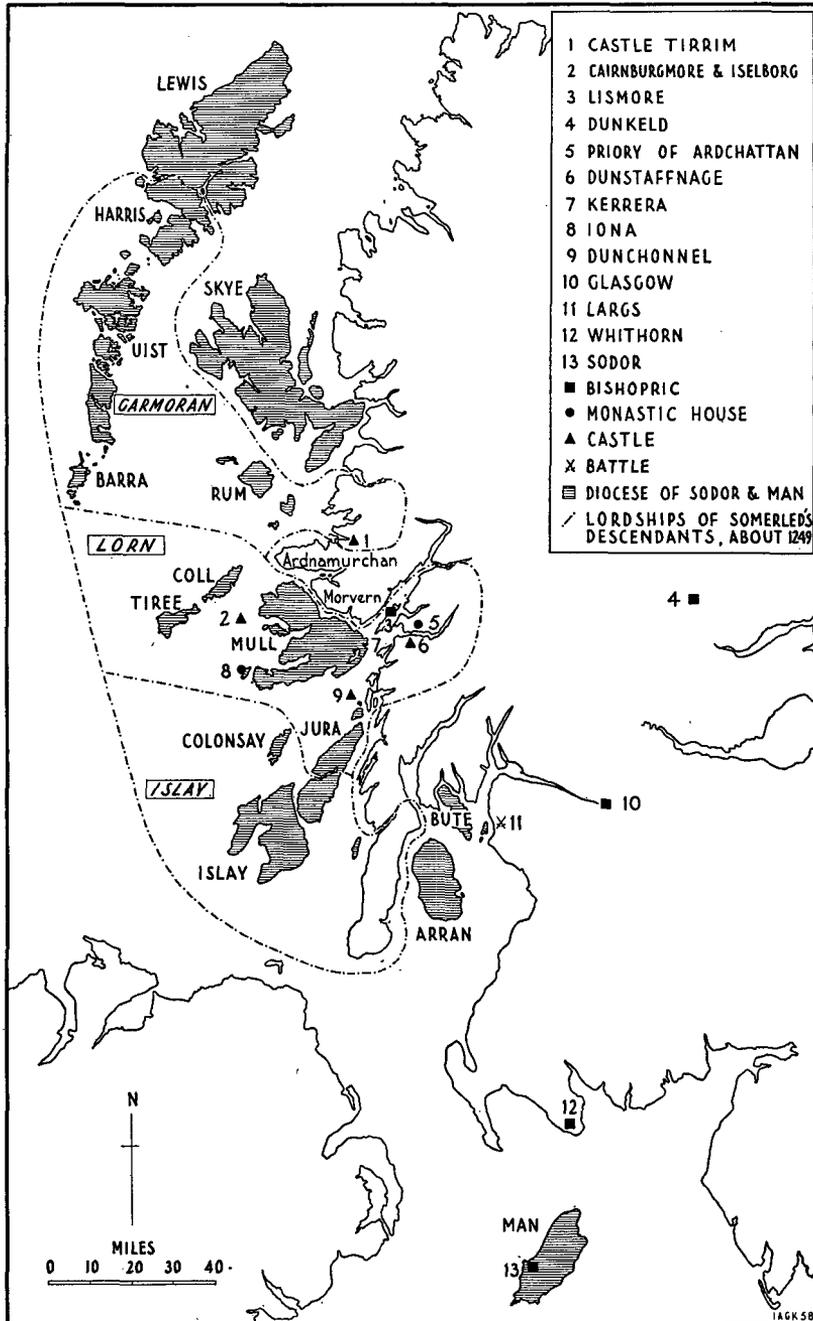


Fig. 1. The western seaboard in the 13th century.

(We wish to acknowledge the help of Mr Ian A. G. Kinniburgh who drew this map.)

Duncan of Lorn or Argyll was still alive in 1244 when the Hakonar saga suggests king Alexander first seriously demanded the return of the Hebrides to Scotland, even offering to buy them from king Hakon.¹ Duncan died within the next few years, for early in the summer of 1248 "Ewen, Duncan's son, and Dugald, son of Roderick" [lord of Garmoran], came to Norway and sought "that the king would give them the title of king over the northern part of the Sudreys. They remained with the king during the summer,"² and at the end of the summer Ewen was given the title of king.³

Harald, king of the Isles, had done homage to Hakon in 1241 or 1242,⁴ but was apparently summoned to Norway once more to do homage after Hakon had been crowned and anointed (27th July 1247),⁵ and a summons for a similar reason may have been sent to Ewen. Harald was betrothed to king Hakon's daughter before the arrival of Ewen and Dugald, with their claims to kingship over the "northern Sudreys." After the marriage of Harald in the summer of 1248, Ewen was given the title of king and he and Dugald were to return with Harald, but did not do so.⁶ In these circumstances the "northern Sudreys" can scarcely have included Lewis and Skye, which were part of Harald's kingdom of the Isles. It therefore seems that Ewen and Dugald were competing for a kingship which would have given one a lordship over the other, *i.e.* which would be limited to some or all of the insular territories of Somerled, roughly the Inner Hebrides. If this were so, then the kingdom would have corresponded to that which, we suggest, was given to Uspak in 1230. Whatever the plan, it came to nothing when king Harald and his bride were drowned off Shetland in September 1248.⁷

News of this tragedy did not reach king Hakon until early in 1249, when he at once ordered Ewen to "go west as quickly as possible, and be [ruler] over the Sudreys until he [king Hakon] made another plan for them."⁸ Ewen returned to Scotland, probably in the early spring, to find that his actions, which pointed towards a revival of the lordship of Somerled, and which had given him a temporary commission to rule the Isles as well, had exasperated Alexander II. The negotiations for a Scottish purchase of the Hebrides were abandoned, and an expedition was planned against Ewen, who now ruled them in the name of king Hakon.⁹ The difficulty of the Scottish king lay in the nature of these domains, whose absentee king could not be brought to battle, and which, as a multitude of scattered islands, might be taken, but could not be held without a naval power such as Alexander II had not possessed. Since 1222 he may have been striving to create the fleet with which he forced an issue in 1249.

The relationship between Ewen and king Alexander is fully described in two places, the Hakonar saga and the greater chronicle of Matthew Paris.

¹ *A.E.S.*, II, 539-40.

⁴ *A.E.S.*, II, 512, 533.

⁷ *A.E.S.*, II, 549-50.

² *A.E.S.*, II, 548.

⁵ *A.E.S.*, II, 546.

⁸ *A.E.S.*, II, 551, 554-5.

³ *A.E.S.*, II, 549.

⁶ *A.E.S.*, II, 548-9.

⁹ *A.E.S.*, II, 555.

According to the former, Ewen met the king after four Scottish earls had guaranteed his safety, and refused a demand for Cairnburgmore and three other castles, and "the rest of the dominion which the king of Norway had assigned to him," although offered a much larger dominion in Scotland. The saga goes on to narrate a dream of king Alexander as he lay in Kerrera sound, and his death.¹ It does not, therefore, place the interview with Ewen. Some suggestion about the identity of the three castles may be offered. One is likely to have been Dunstaffnage. Cairnburgmore is found associated with two other castles in 14th-century charters—"Iselborg" and "Dunchonnell." Dunchonnell is the northernmost island of the Garvellach group, at the mouth of the firth of Lorn and has extensive remains of what Fordun called "the great castle of Dunchonnell."² "Iselborg" has never been satisfactorily identified, but it certainly lay, with Cairnburgmore, in the Treshnish group.³

The *Chronicle of Man* agrees with the Hakonar saga that king Alexander II sought all the Hebrides, and states explicitly that the expedition was a naval one,⁴ while the *Melrose Chronicle* says that he was taken ill "when upon his way to pacify the districts of Argyll, and was conveyed to the island of Kerrera."⁵ Thus he would seem to have sailed up the firth of Lorn and been conveyed from his ship to his deathbed upon Kerrera. Matthew Paris, the chronicler of St Alban's, describes the enmity of the king against "Oenus de Argethel" whom he sought to disinherit by a charge that in the previous year he had treasonably done homage to king Hakon for an island lying between Orkney and Scotland, long held by his father of the Norwegian king. Ewen—for Oenus can be no other—negotiated with the king by letter, but in vain, for Alexander would not even grant him a truce in which to resign the island and his homage to Hakon, and thereby incurred the anger of St Columba. "The king therefore declared Oenus unfaithful and pursued him hostilely by ship to near Argyle; urged, as is said, by the vehement promptings of a certain indiscreet bishop of Stratherne, a friar namely of the order of Preachers. The king, therefore leaving his ship before he could mount his horse was struck by a sudden and mortal disease and

¹ *A.E.S.*, II, 555-7. The manuscripts of the saga read Biarnaborg, with the exception of one which reads Kiarnaborg. Dr Anderson prefers the former because of the number of manuscripts containing it (which is not a sound critical reason) and because Scandinavian Kiarnaborg could not be phonetically identical with the Celtic name. We are assured by Mr Hermann Pálsson, lecturer in Icelandic, Edinburgh University, that the latter argument has no validity. One of the manuscripts which has Bianaborg (sic) has Biarkreyriarsundi for Kerrera sound (Kiarbareyriarsundi).

² The island is inaccessible and landing is difficult; the only description of the remains, which have never been planned, is in *P.S.A.S.*, XXIII (1888-9), 408-9. They do, however, bear out Fordun's description, and a thorough investigation of them is much to be desired. *Fordun*, ed. Skene, I, 43.

³ *Origines Parochiales*, II, I, 322. See Erskine Beveridge, *Coll and Tiree*, pp. 61-6, where there are fine illustrations of the massive walls completing the defences of Cairnburgmore. In *R.M.S.*, II, 2264, the Treshnish group is listed as Kernaborg, Isleborg, Floda, Lunga. "Isel-" may be Gaelic *iosal*, low, but this does not help to identify the castle.

⁴ *A.E.S.*, II, 557.

⁵ *A.E.S.*, II, 558.

while wishing to disinherit an innocent man he unexpectedly breathed out with that ambition the breath of life in the hands of his nobles.”¹

The name forms—Oenus for Ewen, Argethel for Argyll, Columkille for Columba, Stratherne for Dunblane²—all indicate a source of Scottish origin and command respect for the narrative. It may further be remarked that in 1248 Matthew Paris had been in Norway at the court of king Hakon where he may well have met Ewen.³ If so the anti-royal tone of this account may have come from his source rather than from his prejudices.

These “vehement promptings” of the bishop of Dunblane probably relate to an issue in the dispute between Alexander II and Ewen which closely concerned the bishop, namely the affairs of the bishopric of Argyll. This bishopric had been founded probably between 1183 and 1189, and probably at the instigation of Dugald or Reginald, sons of Somerled. From 1225 certainly, and probably from the very first, the cathedral of the diocese was on the island of Lismore in the centre of the lordship of the Macdougalls.⁴ And in 1249 the see was without a bishop, as it had been for almost the whole of the previous twenty years, a condition which cannot but in some way be associated with the local lords and patrons of the see, the Macdougalls. Harald, the first bishop, had died between 1228 and 1232, and sometime thereafter, because of its poverty, the see was given into the charge of the bishop of Sodor. He was relieved of the charge in 1236 when the bishop of Moray was instructed to secure a canonical election. By February 1239 William, the chancellor of Moray, had been postulated to the see, and he was consecrated before May 1240, when Ewen gave fourteen pennylands in Lismore to him and his successors. In the following year bishop William was drowned and the see was still vacant when the dispute of 1249 began. The poverty of the see, given as a reason for these vacancies, was undoubted, but it should not have been insuperable, and possibly lay interference was also responsible. Ewen cannot have been indifferent to the affairs of the diocese which covered so much of his lordship. Sometime after 1241 and before 1249 the diocese was put into the charge of Clement, bishop of Dunblane, and no doubt he was responsible for the action taken about its problems at the turn of 1249. Two papal letters, one dated 23rd December 1248, the other 2nd January 1249, and clearly complementary, were addressed to the bishops of Glasgow and Dunblane and concern the see of Argyll. The first mentioned the seven years’ vacancy and instructed that it should be ended by a canonical election or by a nomination from the two

¹ *A.S.A.*, 360-1.

² *Chronica Majora* (Rolls Series), v, 88-9. In Paris’s account of Columba, he is called Columbanus, *ibid.*, i, 247, 257. Professor Kenneth Jackson has kindly told us, since this was written, that Oenus is more likely to be an attempt to spell the name Angus (Gaelic: Oengus) than Ewen (Gaelic: Eogan). In this case (contrary to the text above) Matthew Paris is in error. His source apparently knew more of the court of king Alexander than of the aim of the expedition.

³ *A.E.S.*, II, 548 n.

⁴ We hope to discuss these matters elsewhere.

mandatories. The second letter expressed papal agreement to the transfer of the cathedral to a mainland site to be chosen by the two bishops, the costs to be met in part by the king.¹ The king's willingness to contribute to the costs of the removal probably reflects not only a zeal for the welfare of the church, but a challenge to the lords of Lorn. When the Scottish fleet sailed into Kerrera sound it was not only to attack the lordship of Ewen, who had retired to Lewis, but also to restore the see of Argyll. Bishop Clement was there himself with the king, and it does appear quite probable that the misfortunes of the see were in some way bound up with the lords of Lorn.

It is tempting to carry the argument even further on the evidence of Matthew Paris. According to him the *casus belli* was an island "inter Orkadem et Scotiam," long held of the Norwegian king by Ewen and his father. Stroma in the Pentland Firth lies in this position, but Stroma is out of the question, and *Orkadem* must be an editing of *Ergadium*, an unfamiliar name often confused in just this way.² If so, then the chronicler's source may have mentioned an island between Argyll and Scotland, or simply an island in Argyll. Matthew Paris's story may relate to the problem of the see of Argyll situated on just such an island, Lismore. But Lismore was clearly not the major issue between Ewen and Alexander II. Lismore was considered to be part of the lands held by Ewen of the Scottish king,³ and there were many islands which Ewen held of the Norwegian king. The major issue was undoubtedly that given by the Hakonar saga, Alexander's demand for the whole Norse dominion of Ewen, and especially for the possession of its castles.

Lismore and bishop Clement recur on the king's very deathbed on Kerrera, when he gave another endowment to the see, the church of Kilbride in Lorn.⁴ His charter is extraordinarily brief, which is probably explicable by the confused circumstances of the day, but significantly it is witnessed by Clement, bishop of Dunblane. It may represent an abortive attempt to move the see to Kilbride; certainly it illustrates the influence of Clement, and the ecclesiastical motives which brought him to Argyll.

The king's death does not seem to have prevented the partial achievement of his aims. In 1250 we hear of Alan, bishop elect of Argyll, and later bishops succeeded without vacancies of inordinate length in the see, although the cathedral remained on Lismore.⁵ This fact, taken in conjunction with the exile of Ewen, seems to confirm the view that the lords of Lorn had been in some measure responsible for previous vacancies, and that the projected transfer to the mainland was a device to remove the see from their domination.

¹ Dowden, *Bishops of Scotland*, 377-8. For Ewen's charter of 1240 see below, Appendix No. IV.

² The Lanercost chronicler states that in 1249 Alexander II was trying to pacify the districts of "Orkney," *A.E.S.*, II, 558 n.

³ See Appendix No. IV, "in regno Scocie."

⁴ *R.M.S.*, II, 3136 = Appendix No. II. Alexander III founded an abortive cell of Coupar Angus Abbey (Cistercian), on Kerrera, as we pointed out to the late Dr Easson. D. E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland*, 69.

⁵ Dowden, *Bishops of Scotland*, 379-80.

It has hitherto been accepted that Ewen, who had fled to Lewis at the approach of king Alexander,¹ returned to Lorn by 1251; his reconciliation with the king in 1255 indicated that he had regained his lands against the royal will, and hence that Alexander II's expedition had been a failure.² But the misdating of a charter of 1240 to 1251 is the only evidence of his return by the later year,³ while other sources tell of an attack by him on Man in 1250,⁴ and of his accompanying king Hakon against the Danes in 1253.⁵ A reference to a royal bailiff in Argyll in September 1250⁶ indicates how the royal council and army tried to consolidate the gains of Alexander II. It was perhaps at this time that the king built or took over the castle of "Frechelan" in Loch Awe to control the route to Argyll through the Pass of Brander; it purports to have been in his hands in 1267.⁷ At the same time the royal gains were partial; the marcher lordship of Argyll had been overthrown, apparently without the striking of a blow, but the isles had not been attacked, and Norwegian sovereignty there was unimpaired. The aims of the Scottish kings were now clear, and they had resorted to arms to achieve them: the total recovery of the isles, and the destruction of the Norse kingdom there.

In September 1255 Ewen was able to take advantage of the political revolution of that month to achieve the restoration of his lordship of Lorn. The Comyn family, which increased steadily in power in the reign of Alexander II and which had dominated the council since, and perhaps before, 1249, aroused considerable opposition among the baronage and from the young king. With the support of Henry III, who had sent the earl of Gloucester and John Mansel to Scotland as his agents, the magnates at Roxburgh on 20th September 1255 ousted the Comyn family and their supporters, including Clement, bishop of Dunblane, and a new council was sworn.⁸ The disgraced barons could be restored to king Alexander's favour only when they had atoned for their misdeeds to king Henry, or if Scotland was invaded by a foreign prince.⁹ Since invasion by Henry III was not in

¹ *A.E.S.*, II, 556 n.

² Macdonald, *History of Argyll*, 105.

³ *R.M.S.*, II, 3136 = Appendix No. IV. The same error was made independently in *Origines Parochiales*, II, I, 109. The date is *millesimo ducentesimo quadragesimo undecimo kal. Junii*, where a comma should go before, not after, *undecimo*.

⁴ *A.E.S.*, II, 567-8.

⁵ *A.E.S.*, II, 577, where king Hakon was accompanied by his son, by king John of the Hebrides and by king Dugald—*i.e.* Dugald, son of Roderick. Munch (*Chronicle of Man*, p. 109) accepted the date 1251 for Ewen's 1240 charter and so had to emend "king John" to "king Magnus Olaf's son." But the latter had a safe conduct to pass through England, dated 30th April 1253, and could not have reached Norway until the expedition had been abandoned. Munch also claims that although he was not created king until 1254, Magnus must have used that style since 1252 because as *king* he was confused with Ewen. But in the safe-conduct he is only *heres Mannie et Insularum*; *Fœdera*, I, I, 289.

⁶ *Paisley*, p. 135.

⁷ *Origines Parochiales*, II, I, 145. The original of this charter is in the Scottish Record Office, and Mr Grant Simpson has kindly given us very weighty reasons for doubting its authenticity.

⁸ F. M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century*, 590-1.

⁹ . . . si principem extraneum regnum Scotie invadere vel impugnare contingat liceat nobis predictos magnates a nostro concilio iam amotos et alios quoscunque ad nostrum auxilium admittere et invocare.

question, only king Hakon can have been meant—a striking testimony to the feeling of active danger from Norway.

On the following day letters patent were issued taking Ewen under the protection of the English king, who promised, should Ewen incur forfeiture, to see it amended. On 23rd September further letters patent to similar effect were issued, but on this occasion the mention of forfeiture was replaced by a condition that if any complaint was made against Ewen, he was to make amends through king Henry's mediation.¹ These letters, and there are no similar ones touching other Scottish subjects, were issued on the warrant of John Mansel who appears to have travelled between the Scottish council at Roxburgh and the English king at Wark, and who may have persuaded the Scots to take a more lenient attitude to Ewen's behaviour over the previous decade.

The terms of Ewen's final restoration are not known,² but are indicated by an entry in the inventory of Scottish records drawn up in 1292: "littera M de Fif, W de Mar, et M de Asteles comitum et [quorundam] aliorum nominatorum per quam obligant seipsos esse plegios pro domino Eugenio de Argadia ad soluendum A regi quolibet anno CCCXX marcas pro quadam firma terrarum."³ This letter, datable 1242 × 1266, indicates that Ewen owed a very heavy annual rent for his lands, guaranteed by the surety of certain magnates of whom three were of the greatest in the kingdom of Scotland. Ewen married his daughter to the earl of Strathearn and seems to have won a place in the community of Scottish barons. He had bought the king's peace for reasons which can only be guessed at. The most probable is that the wealth of his lordship of Lorn compared favourably with the uncertainties of a freebooting existence in the isles and in the service of king Hakon; and a further reason may have been the willingness of the two kings to allow him to resume his double allegiance.

As soon as he came of age, in 1261, Alexander III resumed his father's policy of reducing the isles to obedience. An embassy in that year visited king Hakon, but achieved nothing; its aim was perhaps to buy the Hebrides.⁴ In 1262 "the earl of Ross and Kiarnak, Makamal's son and other Scots" attacked Skye, and the Islesmen warned king Hakon that the Scottish king intended to subdue the Hebrides.⁵ This was perhaps Alexander's reaction to the failure of his embassy. King Hakon took the offensive in a great naval expedition of the following year to the isles "to avenge the warfare

¹ *Cal. Docs. Scot.*, I, 2014, 2017, 2018; *Cal. Patent Rolls, 1247-58*, 426.

² In 1263 Dugald was ruler of the northern Hebrides or some part of them, and it was to Dugald that king Hakon gave the island territories of Ewen in that year. Clearly the Norwegian decision of 1248 in favour of Ewen had been reversed, perhaps in 1255, in favour of Dugald.

³ *A.P.S.*, I, 115. William became earl of Mar 1242 × February 1244, and Malcolm, earl of Fife, died in 1266. Within these years there was no "M earl of Atholl," and after 1255 that earldom was in wardship. We suggest therefore emending not the *M* but rather that *Strathearn* should be read for *Asteles*.

⁴ *A.E.S.*, II, 601-2.

⁵ *A.E.S.*, II, 605. Kiarnak is to be identified with Kermac Macmaghan of *Exch. Rolls*, I, 19.

that the Scots had made in his dominions." The history of that expedition is well enough known. The ruler of the Outer Hebrides was Ewen's cousin, Dugald, who actively supported king Hakon. From Orkney the king sailed during August to Kerrera and then to Gigha off Kintyre. Here Ewen of Lorn came to him and refused to join the expedition because of his fealty to king Alexander, of whom he held larger domains than of the Norwegian king. Ewen offered to give up these insular territories, but king Hakon apparently detained him with the fleet in an effort to change his attitude. Ewen's cousins, Angus Mor and Murchaid, sons of Donald of Islay, gave way to king Hakon's threat to plunder their lands and joined his fleet on the understanding that they should not suffer in any peace with king Alexander.

Negotiations were carried on during the summer with the Scottish king but they broke down at the end of it because Alexander would not give up Bute, Arran, and the Cumbraes, and because the change of season strengthened the Scottish hand. Hakon had been anxious for peace, just as he had been anxious to win over the descendants of Somerled, and it was only at this point that he allowed his fleet to attack Scottish territory; earlier raids had been made on islands which the Scots occupied but to which Hakon had a claim. Ewen was released and given valuable gifts probably to act as intermediary with king Alexander. There is no doubt that he had successfully resisted the blandishments of Hakon. The latter moved his fleet to the Cumbraes and, after a storm which wrecked some of their ships, a force which the Norwegians had landed to salvage their contents was attacked and driven off by the Scots at Largs on 2nd October. Sailing northward, Hakon again vainly tried to tempt Ewen to join him; to the Islesmen who had supported him he gave the lands which had been nominally recovered—Bute and Arran—and also the insular territories of Ewen. By the end of October he was back at Kirkwall, and on 16th December he died there after some weeks' illness.¹

Between the lines of the Hakonar saga may be read a tale of disappointment and failure. The failure was not at Largs, where only one section of Hakon's forces was driven off, but in the fact that in spite of blustering, cajoling, and perhaps even generosity, king Hakon and his huge fleet did not impress king Alexander by the argument that he must yield or fight. Instead the Scottish king allowed king Hakon to take the islands which were in dispute, rightly confident that they could be won back as soon as lack of supplies caused the Norwegians to withdraw. He would negotiate, and had always been willing to do so, but he would not risk a sea battle, and king Hakon could not risk a major conflict on land.

Within three months of king Hakon's death his followers were making overtures for peace to Alexander III, overtures which were indignantly rejected because of the damage done by Hakon's fleet.² In the autumn of

¹ *A.E.S.*, II, 607-42. Ewen's island territories were given to king Dugald. ² *A.E.S.*, II, 647.

1264 king Alexander was more favourably disposed,¹ and thereafter ambassadors passed frequently across the North Sea.² In 1264, according to Fordun, the threat of a Scottish expedition brought (Magnus), king of the Isles, to capitulation at Dumfries; he acknowledged Alexander III as his lord and promised the service of five galleys of twenty-four oars, five of twelve oars.³ Magnus himself died in November 1265, and the Scottish king governed Man through bailiffs; ⁴ the exchequer accounts for 1266 include an allowance to the sheriff of Dumfries for the expenses of the seven hostages of Man.⁵ In the same year, 1264, according to Fordun, the earls of Buchan and Mar, and Alan Durward, on royal orders, attacked the western isles, killed those who had urged king Hakon to come to Scotland, expelled some, hanged others and returned with great booty.⁶ This account is confirmed by the saga of Magnus Hakonson: ". . . the Scots went out to the Hebrides with an army; and then Angus in Islay submitted to the Scots and many of those that had followed king Hakon . . .; they went as far south as Man and compelled king Magnus to give them oaths. But lord Dugald defended himself in ships and they took no hold of him."⁷ Turning to the exchequer accounts we find that the son of Angus Mor of Islay was a hostage at Ayr with his nurse, and that the royal farmer of the Cumbraes had been ousted, made a fine of eighty cattle beasts with the king, and for this had given his son as a hostage.⁸ The earl of Mar was allowed £30 for 200 serjeants which he had taken to the isles on royal orders in the summer of 1264.⁹ The sheriff of Inverness was collecting annual instalments of fines made by the earls of Caithness and Sutherland, and had in his wardship for sixteen months twenty-one hostages from Caithness, and for ten months two from Skye;¹⁰ he had to collect a fine of 200 cattle beasts made with the men of Caithness, and send them to the king's use at Leith.¹¹ A fine of 180 cattle beasts made with the earl of Ross was in part assigned to a baron of his earldom by the earl of Buchan and Alan Durward "commissioned by the king at the time of the coming of the king of Norway."¹² Moreover there are payments for a journey made by the king himself to Inverness, apparently in 1264 or 1265.¹³ It is clear that a strong effort was made by the Scottish government to reduce the rebellious to submission by heavy amercements and the taking of hostages. So far as the evidence goes it suggests that in addition to the planned royal expedition against Man, the earl of Mar led a naval expedition to the southern Hebrides perhaps from Ayr, for we find that the sheriff of Ayr had ships built for the king and received Alexander Macdonald as a hostage, that the earl of Mar went to the Isles, and that he "received from the farms of Kintyre for Whitsun term 1264, twenty cattle

¹ *A.E.S.*, II, 648.

⁴ *A.E.S.*, II, 653, 657.

⁷ *A.E.S.*, II, 649.

¹⁰ *Exch. Rolls*, I, 13.

¹³ *Exch. Rolls*, I, 14.

² *A.E.S.*, II, 648-57.

⁵ *Exch. Rolls*, I, 17.

⁸ *Exch. Rolls*, I, 5.

¹¹ *Exch. Rolls*, I, 20.

³ *Fordun*, ed. Skene, I, 300-1.

⁶ *Fordun*, ed. Skene, I, 301.

⁹ *Exch. Rolls*, I, 11.

¹² *Exch. Rolls*, I, 20.

beasts for £3 and gave them to the men of Galloway for shortage of victuals.”¹ Durward and the earl of Buchan led the force which reduced Ross, Sutherland and Caithness, and threatened or attacked the island of Skye.

The Norwegian expedition of 1263 was on an unprecedented scale and could not be repeated easily; it had failed not because of the defeat at Largs, but because Ewen of Lorn would not join it, and Angus of Islay did so unwillingly, because king Alexander would make no terms, and because, when it withdrew, Man and the Hebrides were cowed by the Scots in two energetic years. The Norwegian king was in a position made hopelessly weak by the Scottish hold over Argyll established in 1222 and 1249, and he was brought to recognise this weakness by the events of 1264 and 1265. In 1266 Magnus sold the isles to the Scottish king for 4000 merks to be paid over four years, and an annual sum of 100 merks.²

In Scotland, as in other western European kingdoms, there emerged in the 12th and 13th centuries a strong centralised monarchy. It was guided by five able kings—David I, Malcolm IV, William, Alexander II and Alexander III—who steadily created a community of the realm, sharing their ideals of a governed and prosperous society. In some degree this development was mirrored in each province and fief of the kingdom, for the community of the realm was an aggregate of many smaller communities. The lords of Argyll and the Hebrides owed an allegiance to the Norwegian king which until the accession of Hakon Hakonson seems to have been nominal. The attempt of king Hakon to draw them under his rule coincided with the attempts of Alexander II and Alexander III to bring them into the community of the Scottish realm, and geography gave success to the Scottish monarchy. The turbulent society of the western seaboard could no longer be tolerated within the orderly Scottish kingdom. Attempts in 1222 and earlier to reduce Scottish Argyll showed the impossibility of observing the frontier of 1098; Argyll and the Hebrides were one, and from a campaign against the disorderly descendants of Somerled, the Scottish kings were led to a war against the Norwegian kings.

It is likely that the domination of a Reginald or Ewen brought order to part of the Hebrides, but such domination was transient and never complete. Somerled and his descendants were an advance from the chaos of Viking society in the isles towards a more coherent political order. Yet it was not merely the absence of a strong over-king which delayed that order; this was the symptom, not the cause. We shall probably never be able to recover any general account of the social organisation of the area before the 16th century. The status of the peasantry and their relationship to the aristocracy are problems which may never be solved.³ We do, however, know that there was an aristocracy, described in documents as the barons

¹ *Exch. Rolls*, I, 5-6, 11.

² *A.E.S.*, II, 655; *A.P.S.*, I, 420-1.

³ See, however, the important discussion of land denominations by Mr A. McKerral in *P.S.A.S.*, LXXXVIII, 39-80, and LXXXV, 52-64.

of Argyll and the Isles,¹ while sagas and charters reveal that they lived in a society organised for war. Although these men had castles and their battles were usually land battles, yet the sea was their road, and the oarsmen and galleys they disposed of were their power.² They were a militant aristocracy, militant not because of Viking tradition or Celtic blood, but because a poor soil and a poorer hinterland gave no outlet for expansion other than war.

The treaty of Perth, of 1266, was no sudden political reversal brought about by the defeat at Largs in 1263. It was the culmination of the Scottish expeditions of 1222, 1249 and 1264-5. The battle of Largs was one unsuccessful episode in a futile campaign, where it became clear to the Norwegian king that some of the Islesmen would not join him, and that while he might force others to do so, this would give him no secure hold on the region. Following king Hakon's withdrawal, the Scottish king drove home his advantage, raiding and taking hostages from the whole of the western seaboard, so that had the new Norwegian king returned to the scene of his father's exploits in 1266, he would have found few to join him. King Alexander won in the treaty of 1266 the sovereignty of the isles which Norway could no longer maintain. Yet the Scottish hold was precarious, for hostages could not be detained for ever, nor would they reconcile the Islesmen to their new king. It is clear that after 1266 the lords of Lorn and Islay were faithful to king Alexander, and that they found a place in the community of the Scottish realm. The daughter of Ewen married an earl of Strathearn, and his son married a daughter of the Red Comyn; Alexander of Argyll, Angus Mor of Islay, and Alan of Garmoran were among those magnates who recognised the Maid of Norway as heir to Alexander III in 1284.³ If the Scottish king could rely upon these three, then he had at his disposal naval resources adequate to maintain his hold upon the Isles. Time would perhaps make the need for such resources less; the barons of the Isles might become part of the community of the Scottish realm, just as the barons of Argyll were being drawn in, in the years after 1222.

In 1293 the parliament of king John laid down a scheme of sheriffdoms for the W.⁴ In the northern isles the earl of Ross was given a sheriffdom of Skye which included Lewis and was perhaps taken over from the time of the Manx kingdom;⁵ Alexander of Argyll was sheriff of an area stretching from Ardnamurchan to Knapdale called the sheriffdom of Lorn, while the Steward had a sheriffdom of Kintyre (including Bute). This scheme

¹ *A.P.S.*, I, 109, 459a; *Highland Papers*, II, 138, 155 n., 241; *R.M.S.*, I, Appendix 1, 106; Appendix 2, 692.

² There is a very valuable paper, unfortunately inconclusive for the Hebrides, by Dr Hugh Marwick in *Scottish Historical Review*, XXVIII, 1-11. For charters prescribing naval service to the crown see *R.M.S.*, I, Appendix 1, 9, 32, 105, 106; Appendix 2, 351, 352; *A.P.S.*, XII, 11-14.

³ *A.P.S.*, I, 424a.

⁴ *A.P.S.*, I, 447b.

⁵ *A.E.S.*, II, 458.

suggests a steady consolidation of royal power in the W. in the years between 1266 and 1293. In two law collections of a much later date there are tucked away two royal writs evidently concerning Alexander of Argyll. The first writ is addressed to the men of the parts of Argyll, Kintyre, and *Laudonia*, ordering them to help A. de Ergadia to whom the king had committed the care and custody of the isles and his other lands there, in protecting and defending and collecting royal debts in these islands and lands. It is valid for a period of less than a year. In the 1293 list of sheriffdoms Lewis appears as *Lodoux*, which we should read for the clearly erroneous *Laudonia*, Lothian, of this writ.¹ The second appoints "A de C sheriff of L" to take the king's peace to all those willing to receive lands at farm in that sheriffdom provided that they give pledges, and offers a safe conduct to such persons. Since the writ is headed "potestas assedandi terras insularum" we are justified in identifying the initials with Alexander de Ergadia, sheriff of Lorn.² The first writ, since it mentions the various "parts" of the west, and not the sheriffdoms created there in 1293, seems to be datable between 1264 and 1293 (but not 1286-92). For the same reason the second belongs to some year after 1293, and since Alexander Macdougall of Argyll was not obedient to Edward I who preferred to trust Alexander Macdonald of Islay, it must belong to the years 1293 × 6, during the reign of king John.

The first writ suggests that Alexander III or John created a wardenship or lieutenancy for Alexander of Argyll extending over the three later sheriffdoms probably with powers wider than those of a sheriff. The king was clearly impelled to rely upon his principal supporter in the area in order to secure the obedience of the landlords of the west whom he was forbidden to oust by the treaty of Perth. But the administrative arrangements of 1293 show that a great step forward towards the solution of the problem of the isles had been taken. The second writ seems to empower the sheriff of a remote province to take oaths of fealty from landholders to their new king, and to confirm them in their holdings. It is unlikely that the royal hold took the form of active interference in the affairs of Argyll, and the isles, but the authority was there, and it was strong enough to secure the payment of royal revenues. A century of peaceful development might have strengthened royal authority in the west beyond the point where it could be overturned by centrifugal forces. But royal authority weakened and vanished.

All the letters concerning Argyll and the isles in English sources show that Edward I had no hold over the magnates of the W. Their internecine struggle was temporarily halted by the forfeiture of the Macdougalls and the alliance of Robert I with the Macdonalds; but in the struggle the sheriffdoms

¹ *Laudonia* = *Lodonia* = *Lod'* = *Lodoux* = *Lewis*.

² Both writs are in Edinburgh University Library MS. Borland No. 207, and the second is also in the Bute MS. We print them below, Appendix Nos. V, VI, from the former manuscript, which is of late 15th- or early 16th-century date. In the hand of this and many contemporaneous manuscripts the letter *C* is very close to both *E* and *S*.

of Lorn and Skye disappeared, the former merged with Kintyre, the latter with Inverness. After 1330, the process of disintegration was resumed, even hastened. The first Stewart king began the policy of his house in allying with the power of Campbell to whom was given in 1382 the first commission of lieutenandry granted to a subject for a particular area.¹ Gradually the Campbells ousted the Macdonalds, as the latter had ousted the Macdougalls. Each of these families had royal authority for its aggressive policy, each wielded royal authority, but none brought the isles within the kingdom since none was held accountable by a monarchy weakened by minorities, senility, and the running sore of the English war. The problem was continued, not solved.

APPENDIX.²

I.

Source: Scottish Record Office. *Registrum Magni Sigilli*, xiv, No. 389.

Date: Edinburgh, 10th November 1243.

Alexander Dei gratia Rex Scottorum omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue salutem. Noueritis nos compaciendo paupertati episcopatus Ergadensis diuine caritatis intuitu dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse Deo et episcopatu Ergadie et episcopis ibidem canonicis elegandis ecclesiam de Kilican' in Kentyr cum omnibus terris obuentionibus libertatibus et aliis pertinenciis ad eandem ecclesiam iuste spectantibus. tenendam et habendam eisdem in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam ita libere quiete plenarie et honorifice sicut aliqua ecclesia alicui episcopatu in regno nostro collata liberius quocius plenius et honorificius tenetur vel possidetur. Testibus venerabilibus patribus Willelmo et Galfrido Glasguense et Dunkeldense episcopis Waltero Cumyn comite de Meneteith Dauid de Lyndesay iusticiario Lawdonie Johanne de Wallibus. Apud Edinburgh decimo die mensis Nouembris anno regni domini Regis vicesimo nono.

II.

Source: as I.

Date: Kerrera, 8th July 1249.

Alexander Dei gratia Rex Scottorum omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue salutem. Noueritis nos ad honorem Dei et beate Marie virginis caritatis intuitu dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse sedi episcopatus nostri Ergadensis mensam episcopalem ecclesiam parochialem beate Brigide virginis in Lorn cum terris et omnibus aliis ad dictam ecclesiam iuste pertinentibus. Testibus venerabili patre C episcopo Dunblanense A Hostiario iusticiario Scocie Dauid de Lyndesay iusticiario de Lawdonia Alexandro senescallo W de Morauia W de Breyhyn' W Byseth et R de Meyners apud Kernerhey octauo die Iulii anno regni domini regis tricesimo quinto.

¹ *Historical Manuscripts Commission Fourth Report*, p. 485, No. 235.

² Nos. I-IV are calendared in Latin in *Registrum Magni Sigilli, 1424-1513*, No. 3136, (1), (2), (4), (5).

III.

Source: as I.

Date: probably before 1222.

Vniuersis sancte matris ecclesie filiis has litteras visuris vel audituris Rochericus Reginaldi filius domini de Kyntyre salutem in salutis Auctore. Sciatis me dedisse concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse quinque denariatas terre scilicet tres de ecclesia sancti Iohannis et duas de ecclesia sancte Marie in honorem sancte Marie et beati Iohannis ad seruiendum eidem ecclesie sancti Iohannis in Kyntire in puram et perpetuam elemosinam vt melius liberius quocius honorificencius aliqua elemosina datur conceditur et carta confirmatur. Hiis testibus Gilberto persona de Kilehiaran Eugenio Macgillemayrtin Cristen' Maccormoch Gillifelan' decano de Kyntire Mauricio persona de Chillmacdachormes et multis aliis.

IV.

Source: as I.

Date: Lismore, 22nd May 1240.

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis has litteras visuris vel audituris Eugenius miles filius Duncani de Erregeithill eternam in Domino salutem. Noueritis vniuersi me caritatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee et animarum patris mei et matris mei [sic] antecessorumque meorum dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse Deo et ecclesie Ergadensi et venerabili patri Willelmo episcopo Ergadensi successorumque suis Ergadensis ecclesie decem et quatuor nummatas terre de libere in Lesmor viz Barmaray et duas nummatas terre de Achacendune cum oblato at quinque nummatas terre de Tyrchulen' et duas nummatas terre de Tyrknanen' cum tribus oblatiis terre de Tenga et vna nummata terre de Drumchulochir et vna nummata terre de Craganas per rectas diuisas suas et terminos in plano et bosco in montibus et marasiis in rinis et stagnis in molendinis et piscariis in pratis pascuis et pasturis et in omnibus aliis asiamentis et rectitudinibus ad predictas terras pertinentibus. Tenendas et habendas sibi et successoribus suis Ergadensis ecclesie episcopis de me et heredibus meis in puram liberam et perpetuam elemosinam. Quare volo et concedo vt predictus episcopus et successores sui Ergadensis ecclesie episcopi teneant percipiant et possideant supra dictas terras cum omnibus ad eiusdem pertinentes sicut superius expressum est de me et heredibus meis in puram liberam perpetuam elemosinam libere quiete plenarie et honorifice ab omni exactione seculari et demanda a can et coneueth feact slagad et ich et ab omni seruicio seculari adeo libere quiete plenarie et honorifice sicut liberius quocius plenarius et honorificencius aliqua elemosina in regno Scocie datur conceditur et carta confirmatur. Ego vero Eugenius miles et heredes mei warantzabimus predictas terras sepedicto episcopo et successoribus suis Ergadensis ecclesie episcopis in omnibus et contra omnes homines. In huius donacionis et confirmacionis firmium et indubitabile testimonium presens scriptum sigilli mei appensione feci coroborari. Testibus domino Cristino archidiacono Ergadense domino Gillemoluoc decano de Lesmor et toto capitulo domino Daniele officiali Ergadense domino Maluine decano de Glassered domino Iohanne decano de Lorn domino Gillecund decano de Kyntire Therthelnae Makdouenald Gillecolm Makgillemichell Dunedall Makgilascop Kennach Makgillemichell Giliso Macmollrenni et multis aliis. Datum apud Lesmor anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo quadragesimo vndecimo kalend' Iunii.

V.

Source: Edinburgh University Library MS. (Borland) 207, fo. 141r.

Date: 1264 × 96.

Protectio specialis pro terris insularum.

Jacobus¹ etc. omnibus et singulis baronibus liberetenentibus et ceteris probis hominibus suis partium Kyntir Ergadie Laudonie dilectis et fidelibus suis ad quos presentes littere peruenerint salutem. Mandamus vobis [et] firmiter precipimus quatinus A de Ergadia dilecto et fideli nostro cui curam et custodiam insularum et aliarum terrarum nostrarum ibidem existencium commisimus sitis fideliter intendentes respondentes confundentes auxiliantes ad protegendum et defendendum insulas illas et terras nostras predictas. Et similiter ad distringendum arcius omnes illos qui nobis aliqua debita debent ad eadem debita in cameram nostram sine aliqua dilacione soluenda et eciam ad leuandum eadem debita de bonis suis si necesse fuerit quocienscumque et quantumcumque per eundem A fueritis vocati premuniti ad premissa faciendum et in hoc in fide et fidelitate quibus nobis tenemini et sicut graue dampnum vestrum euitare volueritis nullatenus omittatis presentibus post festum beati Michaelis minime valituris.

VI.

Source: as V, fo. 145r.

Date: 1293 × 6.

Potestas assedandi terras insularum.

Jacobus¹ omnibus etc. Sciatis quod constituimus A de E vicecomitem nostrum de L delectum et fidelem nostrum loco nostro ad recipiendum ad pacem nostram omnes illos qui terras nostras vicecomitatus predicti ad firmam recipere voluerint ab eodem A dum tamen sufficientem securitatem eidem A inuenerunt de firmis nostris soluendis et concessimus eisdem saluum et securum conductum nostrum veniendi ad ipsum A quibuscumque diebus et locis eis per eundem statuendis ad predictas terras nostras ad firmam recipiendas et ipsos sub firma pace et protectione nostra iuste suscipientes firmiter inhibemus ne quis contra hanc concessionem nostram eos vexare presumat iniuste super nostram plenariam etc.

¹ All texts in this formulary run in the name of *Jacobus* or simply *Rex*, though several can be shown (as Nos. V and VI here) to be much earlier in date than 1406.