Eoghan MacGilleoin, Mr Lachlann Campbell, and Col. Cailean Campbell: Manuscript Production in Kintyre c. 1690-1698

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of the production of four Gaelic manuscripts in Kintyre, Argyll, Scotland from 1690-1698. These were written by scribe Eoghan MacGilleoin (Hugh MacLean) for two patrons, Colonel Cailean Campbell of the Campbells of Kilberry (d. 1714) and Mr Lachlann Campbell (1675-1708), son of Iain Campbell of Kildalloig. The manuscripts were produced at a key moment in the transition of literary production within the classical Gaelic tradition, once shared with Gaelic Ireland, and a modern Scottish Gaelic vernacular tradition. This thesis argues that MacGilleoin, whose skill as a scribe has been dismissed in scholarship, is in fact a quality scribe influenced by the contemporary linguistic and literary transitions between the older classical Gaelic tradition and emerging standards of written Scottish Gaelic. Furthermore, MacGilleoin's manuscripts include unique copies of poems and prose tales and represent a significant portion of the surviving corpus of Early Modern Scottish Gaelic manuscripts.

To understand how and why MacGilleoin's manuscripts were produced, they must be contextualised within details of their patrons' lives and contemporary manuscript culture. The study utilises an interdisciplinary approach. Both literary and historical approaches are used through thematic analysis, close-reading, and comparison of texts alongside use of hitherto unpublished archival materials, including estate papers and Church records, to build a well-rounded picture of the patrons' lives and the manuscripts' contents. The analysis reveals continuing interaction between Gaelic communities in Ulster and Argyll and connections to England, Wales, and the European continent. Mr Lachlann is shown to be an amateur Gaelic scholar, part of a wider European scholarly culture. He participated in the production and transmission of Gaelic texts and manuscripts and corresponded with the pioneering antiquarian and Celtic scholar Edward Lhuyd. Col. Cailean's manuscripts are shown to contain a variety of texts which reflect his political and social cultures, such as poems in support of the Marquis of Argyll, religious and moral poetry, prose tales from the Finn and Ulster Cycles, and poems about women. Altogether, the manuscripts, scribe, and patrons help reappraise and re-evaluate our understanding of late seventeenth-century scribal activity in Gaelic-speaking Kintyre.

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It is to my family and my partner that I dedicate this thesis.

Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Printed Name: Danielle Fatzinger

Signature:

Abbreviations

BDL: Book of the Dean of Lismore

CMCS: *Cambridge/Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*.

Dinneen: Dinneen, Patrick S., *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla = An Irish-English dictionary: being a thesaurus of the words, phrases and idioms of the modern Irish language* (Dublin: 1996).

Dwelly: *Am Faclair Beag*: *Cainnt nan daoine, leis na daoine, airson na daoine*, ed. by Michael Bauer and William Robertson <https://www.faclair.com/index.aspx> [accessed 12 November 2019], incorporating Edward Dwelly, *The illustrated Gaelic-English dictionary : containing every Gaelic word and meaning given in all previously published dictionaries, and a great number never printed before / to which is prefixed A concise Gaelic grammar*, 11th ed (Glasgow: 1994).

eDIL: *eDIL: Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language*, ed. by Gregory Toner, Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, Sharon Arbuthnot, Marie-Luise Theuerkauf and Dagmar Wodtko <www.dil.ie> [Accessed 12 November 2019].

EMLO: *Early Modern Letters Online*, Cultures of Knowledge <emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>.

Fasti: Scott, Hew, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae; the Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, 7 vols (Edinburgh, 1915-1928).

Gadaidhe Géar: Tomás Ó Gallchobhair, *Gadaidhe Géar na Geamhoidhche* (Maynooth and Dublin, 1915).

ISOS: Ó Macháin, Pádraig, *Irish Script on Screen – Meamrám Páipéar Ríomhaire*, Online: School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (1999–present) <https://www.isos.dias.ie/english/index.html> [accessed 3 May 2019].

Kühns: Kühns, Julia Sophie, 'The Pre-19th-Century Manuscript Tradition and Textual Transmission of the Early Modern Irish Tale Oidheadh Con Culainn: A Preliminary Study' (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2009).

Lhwyd Correspondence: The Edward Lhwyd Correspondence Project, *Early Modern Letters Online*, Cultures of Knowledge <emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>.

MacKechnie Catalogue: MacKechnie, John, *Catalogue of Gaelic manuscripts in selected libraries in Great Britain and Ireland*, 2 vols (Boston: 1973).

MacKinnon Catalogue: MacKinnon, Donald, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Gaelic Manuscripts in the Advocates' Library Edinburgh, and Elsewhere in Scotland* (Edinburgh: 1912).

MAUG: Maitland Club (Glasgow) and Cosmo Innes, *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis. Records of the University of Glasgow, from its foundation till 1727*, 4 vols (Glasgow: 1854).

Maynooth: Special Collections and Archives, Maynooth University Library (Maynooth).

NLS Catalogue: Ronald Black, 'Catalogue of Gaelic Manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland', in Pádraig Ó Macháin (ed.), Irish Script on Screen – Meamrám Páipéar Ríomhaire, Online: School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 2011 <https://www.isos.dias.ie/english/index.html>.

NLS Online Catalogue: National Library of Scotland, *Catalogue of Archives and Manuscripts Collections* <http://manuscripts.nls.uk/repositories/2/resources/20140>.

ODNB: Oxford University Press, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <https://www.oxforddnb.com/>.

OED Online: OED Online, Oxford University Press < https://oed.com/>.

RIA Catalogue: Royal Irish Academy Library, *Catalogue of Irish manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy*, 28 vols (Dublin: 1926-1970).

SGS: Scottish Gaelic Studies.

Silva Gadelica: Standish Hayes O'Grady (ed.), *Silva Gadelica (I-XXXI): A Collection of Tales in Irish, with Extracts Illustrating Persons and Places*, 2 vols (London, 1892).

SS: Scottish Studies.

TCD Catalogue: T.K. Abbott, and E.J. Gwynn, *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College*, Dublin (Dublin: 1921).

TCD Online Catalogue: Trinity College Library Dublin, *Manuscripts and Archives Research Library Online Catalogue* <https://manuscripts.catalogue.tcd.ie/CalmView/Default.aspx?> [accessed 17 December 2020].

TGSI: *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*.

Trí Bruidhne: Nessa Ní Shéaghdha, Máire Ní Mhuirgheasa (eds.), *Trí Bruidhne*, Leabhair ó Láimhsgíbhnibh, arna gCur i nEagar Fá Stiúradh Ghearóid Í Mhurchadha, 2 (Baile Atha Cliath/Dublin, 1945).

'UofE Our History': University of Edinburgh, *Our History* <http://ourhistory.is.ed.ac.uk/index.php/Main_Page> [accessed 1 March 2019].

'UofG Story': University of Glasgow, *The University of Glasgow Story* <https://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/> [accessed 1 March 2019].

Wodrow Collection: National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, Wodrow Collection.

ZCP: *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*.

Archives

BL: British Library (London).

BodL: Bodleian Library, University of Oxford (Oxford).

CUL: Cambridge University Library (Cambridge).

EUL: University of Edinburgh Library, Special Collections (Edinburgh).

GUL: University of Glasgow Library, Archives & Special Collections (Glasgow).

ICA: Campbell Family, Dukes of Argyll, Argyll Papers (Cherry Park, Inveraray).

LA: Live Argyll Archive (Lochgilphead).

Maynooth: Maynooth University, Special Collections and Archives (Maynooth).

NLI: National Library of Ireland (Dublin).

NLS: National Library of Scotland (Edinburgh).

NRS: National Records of Scotland (Edinburgh).

RIA: Royal Irish Academy (Dublin).

TCD: The Library of Trinity College Dublin Manuscripts & Archives, Trinity College Dublin (Dublin).

UCD: University College Dublin (Dublin).

Texts

BBA: Bruidhean Bheag na hAlmhaine.

BCC: Bruidhean Chéise Corainn.

CCR: Eachtra an Cheithearnaigh Chaoilriabhaigh.

CG: Eachtra Chonaill Ghulban.

CRR: Cath Ruis na Ríg.

DGP: Murchadh mac Briain agus an Díthreabhach/Díthreabhach Glinne an Phéice.

GKM: Gesta Karoli Magni.

LnC: Laoidh na gCeann.

OCC: Oidheadh Con Culainn .

ScM: Scéla Mucce Meic Da Thó.

SF: Stair Fortibrais.

SMD: Sgéala Muicce Mhic Dá Thó.

TBC: Táin Bó Cúailnge.

Introduction

Manuscript studies are essential to our understanding of past Gaelic society, literature, and culture. The focus of the scholarship is, however, largely on Ireland, due to the far greater number of surviving Gaelic manuscripts of Irish origin, including manuscripts produced in Ireland that were moved to and kept in Scotland.[1] Existing scholarship on individual Gaelic manuscripts in Scotland has gravitated towards manuscripts such as the Book of the Dean of Lismore (BDL, c. 1512-1542),[2] and to a lesser extent the Red and Black Books of Clanranald (seventeenth-eighteenth centuries)[3] and the Fernaig Manuscript (1688-1693).[4] Scholarship on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Gaelic literature in Scotland more broadly has also focused upon Gaelic hereditary

[1] Ronald Black, 'The Gaelic Manuscripts of Scotland', in William Gillies (ed.), *Gaelic and Scotland = Alba Agus a' Ghàidhlig* (Edinburgh, 1989), 146–74, at 154–67; Wilson McLeod, *Divided Gaels: Gaelic Cultural Identities in Scotland and Ireland, c.1200-c.1650* (Oxford, 2004), 55–63.

[2] For example: *NLS Catalogue*, NLS Adv.MS.72.1.37; Thomas Owen Clancy, 'Dean of Lismore, Book of The', in John T. Koch (ed.), *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, 2006); Sìm Innes, 'Gaelic Religious Poetry in Scotland: The Book of the Dean of Lismore', in Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin and Robert Armstrong (eds.), *Christianities in the Early Modern Celtic World* (Basingstoke, 2014), 111–23; Neil Ross (ed.), *Heroic Poetry from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*, Scottish Gaelic Texts, 3 (Edinburgh, 1939); Martin MacGregor, 'The View from Fortingall: The Worlds of the Book of the Dean of Lismore', *SGS*, 22 (2006), 35–85; Martin MacGregor, 'Creation and Compilation: The Book of the Dean of Lismore and Literary Culture in Late Medieval Gaelic Scotland', in I. Brown, T. O. Clancy, and M. Pittock (eds.), *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature Volume One: From Columba to the Union (until 1707)* (Edinburgh, 2007), 209–18; Donald Meek, 'The Corpus of Heroic Verse in the Book of the Dean of Lismore' (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1982); William J. Watson (ed.), *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*, Scottish Gaelic Texts, 1 (Edinburgh, 1937).

[3] William Gillies, 'After "The Backward Look": Trials of a Gaelic Historian', in Theo Van Heijnsbergen and Nicola Royan (eds.), *Literature, Letters and the Canonical in Early Modern Scotland* (Glasgow, 2002), 121–37; William Gillies, 'The Gaelic of Niall MacMhuirich', *TGSI*, 65 (2011), 69–95; William Gillies, 'Oral and Written Effects and Sources in the Clanranald Histories', in Dietrich Scheunemann (ed.), *Orality, Literacy, and Modern Media* (Columbia, SC, 1996), 27–43; William Gillies, 'The Clanranald Histories - Authorship and Purpose', in Geraint Evans, Bernard Martin, and Jonathan M. Wooding (eds.), *Origins and Revivals: Proceedings of the First Australian Conference of Celtic Studies* (University of Sydney, 2000), 315–40.

[4] Fernaig Manuscript, or MS Gen 85/1 and /2 in Anja Gunderloch, *Làmh-Sgrìobhainnean Gàidhlig Oilthigh Ghlaschu/the Gaelic Manuscripts of Glasgow* (University of Glasgow, 2007), 16; Meg Bateman and Colm Ó Baoill, *Gàir Nan Clàrsach/The Harps' Cry: An Anthology of 17th Century Gaelic Poetry* (Edinburgh, 1994), 23; Donald MacKinnon, 'The Fernaig Manuscript', *TGSI*, 11 (1885), 311–39; Calum MacPhàrlain (ed.), *Lamh-Sgrìobhainn Mhic Rath: Dorlach Laoidhean Do Sgrìobhadh Le Donnchadh Mac Rath, 1688* (Dundee, 1923); Black, 'Gaelic Manuscripts Scotland', 150; Damhnait Ni Suaird, 'Jacobite Rhetoric and Terminology in the Political Poems of the Fernaig MS, 1688–1693', *SGS*, 19 (1999), 93–140.

learned families,[5] Gaelic printing (including religious printing),[6] the Ossian controversy,[7] and vernacular folk tradition/collection.[8] The concentration of scholarly attention on such topics has resulted in one important group of manuscripts being overlooked: the four manuscripts written by Eoghan MacGilleoin in the last decade of the seventeenth century (NLS Adv.MS.72.1.36 and MS 14873, and TCD MS 1307 and MS 1362). TCD 1307 was definitely written in Kintyre (see section 3.1.1), but whether the other three manuscripts were written there, as well, cannot be stated definitively. MacGilleoin's location c. 1690-1696 is not known, and he could have written them elsewhere and moved them into Kintyre.[9] The patron of NLS 72.1.36 and TCD 1362 did have a tack for land in Kintyre dated 1691, which suggests the manuscripts may have been written nearby, but this is circumstantial.

The lack of scholarly attention on MacGilleoin's four manuscripts must be remedied for several reasons. Firstly, not only do we know the name of the scribe, but we also know his patrons' identities. One manuscript, TCD 1307, was written for Mr Lachlann Campbell (1675-1707), minister of the Highland (or Gaelic) Congregation of

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[5] John Bannerman, 'Literacy in the Highlands', in Ian B. Cowan and Duncan Shaw (eds.), *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1983), 214–35; William Gillies, 'Gaelic: The Classical Tradition', in R.D.S. Jack (ed.), *The History of Scottish Literature: Origins to 1660 (Mediaeval and Renaissance)*, 1 (Aberdeen, 1988), 245–61; John Bannerman, 'The MacLachlans of Kilbride and Their Manuscripts', *SS*, 21 (1977), 1–34; John Bannerman, *The Beatons: A Medical Kindred in the Classical Gaelic Tradition* (Edinburgh, 1998).

[6] R. L. Thomson (ed.), *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh: The Gaelic Version of John Calvin's Catechismus Ecclesiae Genevensis: A Facsimile Reprint, Including the Prefixed Poems and the Shorter Catechism of 1659, with Notes and Glossary, and an Introduction*, Scottish Gaelic Texts, 7 (Edinburgh, 1962); R. L. Thomson (ed.), *Foirm Na N-Urrnuidheadh: John Carswell's Gaelic Translation of the Book of Common Order*, Scottish Gaelic Texts, v. 11 (Edinburgh, 1970); Ronald Black, 'Gaelic Orthography: The Drunk Man's Broad Road', in Moray Watson and Michelle MacLeod (eds.), *The Edinburgh Companion to the Gaelic Language* (Edinburgh, 2010), 229–61; Sìm Innes and Steven Reid, 'Expressions of Faith: Religious Writing', in Nicola Royan (ed.), *The International Companion to Scottish Literature 1400-1650* (Glasgow, 2018), 60–78.

[7] Henry MacKenzie, *Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland Appointed to Inquire into the Nature and Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian* (Edinburgh, 1805); Valentina Bold, 'Ossian and James MacPherson', in Marco Fazzini (ed.), *Alba Literaria: A History of Scottish Literature*, Calibano, 8 (Venice, 2005), 193–204; Fiona Stafford, 'The Ossianic Poems of James Macpherson', in Howard Gaskill (ed.), *The Poems of Ossian and Related Works* (Edinburgh, 1996), v–xxi; Derick Thomson, 'James MacPherson: The Gaelic Dimension', in Fiona Stafford (ed.), *From Gaelic to Romantic: Ossianic Traditions* (Amsterdam, 1998), 17–26; Derick Thomson, 'Macpherson's Ossian: Ballad Origins and Epic Ambitions', in Lauri Honko (ed.), *Religion, Myth, and Folklore in the World's Epics: The Kalevala and Its Predecessors* (New York, 1990), 115–30.

[8] Colm Ó Baoill, *Scottish Gaelic Vernacular Verse to 1730: A Checklist*, Rev. ed. (Aberdeen, 2001); Allan MacInnes, 'Scottish Gaeldom, 1638-1651: The Vernacular Response to the Covenanting Dynamic', in John Dwyer, Roger A. Mason, and Alexander Murdoch (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1982), 59–94; Anne Frater, 'The Gaelic Tradition up to 1750', in Douglas Gifford and Dorothy McMillan (eds.), *A History of Scottish Women's Writing* (Edinburgh, 1997), 1–14; Bateman and Ó Baoill, *Gàir Nan Clàrsach*; Alexander MacLean Sinclair, *Na Baird Leathanach = The Maclean Bards*, 2 vols (Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, 1898), I; Pádraig Ó Macháin, 'Scribal Practice and Textual Survival: The Example of Uilliam Mac Mhurchaidh', *SGS*, 2006, 95–122.

[9] NLS 14873 was in Kintyre by 1714, and antiquarian Edward Lhuyd acquired TCD 1362 from MacGilleoin in 1700. See Appendix 1.

Campbeltown beginning in 1703 until his death.[10] Two manuscripts—NLS 72.1.36 and TCD 1362—were owned by, and likely written for, a Cailean Campbell whose pedigree is included within each of the manuscripts. This patron will be shown to be Col. Cailean Campbell of the Campbells of Kilberry (pre-1670–1714). Secondly, the literary material in the manuscripts is plentiful and diverse: nine prose tales (four of which are copied twice), fifteen poems, two lays, eleven single stanzas, two metrical glossaries, and two proverbial quatrains. In some cases, MacGilleoin's manuscripts provide the earliest and even the only copy of these poems or tales.[11] Thirdly, although we may surmise that more scribal activity occurred than we now have evidence for, MacGilleoin's manuscripts are, as far as we know, the only surviving example of manuscripts written in a *corra-litir* style Gaelic script in seventeenth-century Kintyre: Uilleam MacMurchy [MacMhurchaidh] (c. 1700-1778), who is connected to Largieside in Kintyre, produced eighteenth-century examples from outside Kintyre.[12] Finally, through the literary material, scribe, patrons, and location, the manuscripts expand upon many topics within Gaelic studies, some of which have been relatively widely explored. These themes include identity,[13] the connections between Gaelic Scotland and Gaelic Ireland,[14] the declining bardic tradition,[15] and the Clan Campbell.[16] MacGilleoin's manuscripts are, then, an important and relatively neglected

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[10] Campeltown had a Highland Congregation with services in Gaelic and a separate Lowland Congregation with services in English due to a Campbell-led plantation of Lowland Scots in Kintyre in the seventeenth century. See Allan MacInnes, *The British Confederate: Archibald Campbell, Marquess of Argyll, 1607-1661* (Edinburgh, 2011), 275; *Fasti*, IV, 47-48.

[11] See Appendices 2 and 3 for lists of manuscripts containing the material.

[12] McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 60; Ó Macháin, 'Scribal Practice', 98–99; Angus Martin, *Kintyre: The Hidden Past* (Edinburgh, 1984), 8.

[13] David Horsburgh, 'When Was Gaelic Scottish? The Origins, Emergence and Development of Scottish Gaelic Identity 1400-1750', in Colm Ó Baoill and Nancy R. McGuire (eds.), *Rannsachadh Na Gàidhlig 2000* (Aberdeen, 2002), 231–42; Colin Kidd, 'Gaelic Antiquity and National Identity in Enlightenment Ireland and Scotland', *The English Historical Review*, 109.434 (1994), 1197–1214; Thomas C. Smout, 'Perspectives on the Scottish Identity', *Scottish Affairs*, 6 (1994), 101–13.

[14] McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 1–13, 107, 193, 214; Fiona A. MacDonald, *Missions to the Gaels: Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Ulster and the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2006), 28–36, 102–32, 178–99, 205–11, 265; Martin MacGregor, 'Làn-Mara 's Mile Seòl: Gaelic Scotland and Ireland in the Later Middle Ages', *A' Chòmhdhail Cheilteach Eadarnàiseanta Congress 99: Cultural Contacts within the Celtic Community: Glaschu, 26-31 July* (presented at the International Celtic Congress, Glasgow, 2000), 77–97, at 23; Allan MacInnes, 'Gaelic Culture in the Seventeenth Century: Polarization and Assimilation', in Steven G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (eds.), *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State, 1485-1725* (New York, 1995), 162–94; MacInnes, 'Scottish Gaeldom, 1638-1651', 59–60.

[15] Bannerman, 'Literacy', 224; MacGregor, 'Làn-Mara', 23.

[16] Alastair Campbell of Airds, *A History of the Clan Campbell*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, 2000); Ronald Black, *The Campbells of the Ark: Men of Argyll in 1745*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 2017); Martin MacGregor, 'The Campbells: Lordship, Literature, and Liminality', *Textual Cultures: Texts, Contexts, Interpretation*, 7.1 (2012), 121–57; David Sellar, 'The Earliest Campbells: Norman, Briton or Gael', *SS*, 17 (1973), 109–25; Henry Paton and Sir Duncan Campbell of Barcaldine and Glenure, *The Clan Campbell: Abstracts of Entries Relating to Campbells in the Sheriff Court Books of Argyll at Inveraray*, 8 vols (Edinburgh, 1913); Patricia Dickson, *Red John of the Battles: John, 2nd Duke of Argyle and 1st Duke of Greenwich, 1680-1743* (London, 1973); Roger L. Emerson, *An Enlightened Duke: The Life of Archibald Campbell (1692-1761), Earl of Ilay, 3rd Duke of Argyll*, Perspectives: Scottish Studies of the Long Eighteenth Century (Kilkerran, 2013); MacInnes, *British Confederate*.

aspect of the extant Scottish manuscript tradition. A study of them can add depth and nuance to our understanding of the cultural and literary environment of seventeenth-century Scotland and provide a window on cultural connections between Gaelic Scotland and Ireland.

This is not to say that MacGilleoin, the two Campbells, and their manuscripts have been disregarded in scholarly literature, but the manuscripts and the texts within them have been considered individually and have not until now been considered altogether. Furthermore, an investigation into the men's lives and relationships to the manuscripts has not been attempted. There are, for instance, editions of some of the works from NLS 72.1.36,[17] and MacGilleoin's copies of some works have been mentioned in scholarship focused upon individual tales or poems.[18] Thomas Owen Clancy has recognized the need for research into the poems in NLS 72.1.36 when he wrote that 'Given its Scottish provenance, I would particularly single out the collection in the Argyll manuscript [NLS 72.1.36] as deserving of some scrutiny...as an intriguing and different poetic anthology', with verse of the same genres contained in the BDL and the Scots Bannatyne Manuscript (sixteenth century).[19] The scribe himself has been discussed as a schoolmaster and appears in the Minutes of the Synod of Argyll and the antiquarian Edward Lhuyd's notes. J.L. Campbell and Derick Thomson in their study of Lhuyd's Scottish travels and connections suggested that MacGilleoin may have been one of Lhuyd's correspondents for information on the Gaelic language.[20] Scholarly consideration of MacGilleoin's scribal abilities has concentrated on his versions of individual poems or tales and has, somewhat unfairly, been largely dismissive in its assessment of his scribal production and lacks appreciation for his specific cultural and literary milieu.[21] I explore the reasons for this scholarly neglect in Chapter 2. MacGilleoin's patron, Cailean Campbell's identity has not previously been

[17] See Appendices 2 and 3.
[18] Caoimhín Breatnach, *Patronage, Politics and Prose: Ceasacht Inghine Guile, Sgéala Muice Meic Dha Thó, Oidheadh Chuinn Chéadchathaigh*, Maynooth Monographs, 5 (Maynooth, 1996); Cecille O'Rahilly, *The Stowe Version of Táin Bó Cúailnge* (Dublin, 1961); Whitley Stokes, 'On the Metrical Glossaries of the Mediaeval Irish', *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 29 (1893), 1–120; Thomas Owen Clancy, 'A Fond Farewell to Last Night's Literary Criticism: Reading Niall Mór MacMhuirich', in Gillian Munro and Richard A.V. Cox (eds.), *Cànan & Cultar/Language & Culture: Rannsachadh Na Gàidhlig 4* (Edinburgh, 2010), 109–25; Alan Bruford, 'Murchadh Mac Briain Agus an Díthreabhach', *Éigse*, 12 (1967), 301–26; Breandán Ó Buachalla, 'Murchadh Mac Briain Agus an Díthreabhach', *Éigse*, 13 (1969), 85–89; *Trí Bruidhne*.
[19] Clancy, 'Fond Farewell', 113.
[20] J.L. Campbell and Derick Thomson, *Edward Lhuyd in the Scottish Highlands 1699-1700* (Oxford, 1963), xvii–xviii, xx, 10, 39; Angus J. MacVicar, 'Education in Kintyre, 1638-1707', *Campbeltown Courier*, 5 April 1930.
[21] Breatnach, *Patronage*, 14; O'Rahilly, *The Stowe Version*, lii–liii; Bruford, 'Murchadh Mac Briain', 303; Stokes, 'On the Metrical Glossaries (1893)', 6.

confirmed, and therefore, details of his life were unknown.[22] Some scholarship has considered Lachlann Campbell,[23] but this has generally focused on his more prominent correspondents: Robert Wodrow, antiquarian and Librarian at the University of Glasgow, and Edward Lhuyd, Welsh antiquarian, pioneering linguist, and polymath.[24]

The overall aim of this thesis is to develop a more complete understanding of Eoghan MacGilleoin, his patrons, and his manuscripts that have been, until now, unexamined together and available only in separate publications and archives. By contextualising existing scholarship and considering topics such as cultural identity and the links between Gaelic Ireland and Gaelic Scotland within the analyses, this research highlights the importance of MacGilleoin's corpus for Gaelic scholarship and explores the following overarching questions:

1. What insights do the contents and context of Eoghan MacGilleoin's manuscripts provide into manuscript production, the use of written language registers in Scotland, patron/scribe relationships, and literary culture in late seventeenth-century Argyll?

2. How did Eoghan MacGilleoin's patrons, Col. Cailean Campbell and Mr Lachlann Campbell, engage with their Gaelic and Clan Campbell identities while also acting in wider British and European contexts, and is this engagement reflected in their manuscripts?

3. What are the connections, points of similarity or divergence, between Gaelic Scotland and Gaelic Ireland revealed through the manuscripts' production and the activities of the scribe and his patrons?

These themes are considered over four main chapters. The contents of the manuscripts are surveyed and some of the major themes arising from them explored against the context of their patrons' lives. However, the tales, poems, and other material within the manuscripts are so numerous and diverse that a full scholarly study of each would run to several volumes to do them justice. This thesis, then, provides a crucial initial evaluation that

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[22] It was suggested by Ronald Black (though not confirmed conclusively and credited to a 'JMB') that he was Cailean Campbell of Kilberry, a crucial starting point to identify the patron as Col. Cailean Campbell of Kilberry, brother to the sixth laird: *NLS Catalogue*, NLS Adv.MS.72.1.36.
[23] Richard Sharpe, 'Lachlan Campbell's Letters to Edward Lhwyd, 1704-7', *SGS*, 29 (2013), 244–81; L.W. Sharp, *Early Letters of Robert Wodrow 1698-1709* (Edinburgh, 1937).
[24] Campbell and Thomson, *Edward Lhuyd*; J.L. Campbell, 'The Tour of Edward Lhuyd in Ireland in 1699 and 1700', *Celtica*, 5 (1960), 218–28; J.L. Campbell, 'Unpublished Letters by Edward Lhuyd in the National Library of Scotland', *Celtica*, 11 (1976), 34–42; Sharp, *Early Letters*.

advances research on these manuscripts and their contents upon which future scholarship can build.

The end of this introduction includes notes on nomenclature, terminology, and editorial approaches to transcription. Appendix 1 provides summary catalogues of MacGilleoin's manuscripts—which include an overview of the contents, provenance, and physical state of the manuscripts. Appendices 2 and 3 are a key resource for those with an interest in MacGilleoin's manuscripts since, for the first time, it combines information on the manuscripts, editions, and translations of the tales, poems, and ballads included in the manuscripts. The listing of the tales includes short summaries as reference for readers who may be unfamiliar with these items. For the poems and ballads, readers are directed to published editions where available. In cases where no edition is available, a full transcription is included.

Chapter 1 is an in-depth discussion of the linguistic and educational context of late-seventeenth century with reference to cultural, political, and religious transitions and MacGilleoin's place within them. The wider linguistic and literary context of late seventeenth-century Argyll is explored here to recognise that the Gaelic speakers discussed in this thesis, as part of the nobility and other privileged groups of society, would have received their education in English and Latin. MacGilleoin's role as a schoolmaster is examined. The chapter then turns to Gaelic language, literacy, and education through the vernacular and Classical Gaelic poetic traditions and the printed religious materials supported by the Synod of Argyll. Finally, MacGilleoin's life and identity are explored by consolidating known information about him and the contextual information explored elsewhere in the chapter. While MacGilleoin remains an elusive figure, some possibilities for his identity are advanced here.

Chapter 2 builds upon the contextual information in the first chapter by focusing on the manuscript context and MacGilleoin's scribal activity. The seventeenth-century literary Gaelic landscape is addressed first, considering the place of MacGilleoin's manuscripts within the context of literary production in Gaelic c. 1690 with a particular focus on Argyll and Scotland more generally. Manuscript collections and libraries and contemporary manuscript production, such as the Red Book of Clanranald and the collection of the MacLachlans of Kilbride, offer a broad view of the availability of written Gaelic as it survives and act as points of comparison to MacGilleoin's manuscripts. One

section explores the literary context of the tales in both Ireland and Scotland. The second half of the chapter focuses on aspects of MacGilleoin's scribal abilities and resources. MacGilleoin's access to other manuscripts and the inclusion of a range of genres and styles of literary material within his manuscripts suggest he was well-connected and well-acquainted with the Gaelic literary landscape in Argyll and Ulster. This along with consideration of dialectal influences and provenance of the material is drawn together to argue that MacGilleoin, although now little known, was a skilled and well-known Gaelic scribe for his time and locality. His work reflects the transitional nature of late-seventeenth century Gaelic literature.

Chapter 3 concentrates on analysis of MacGilleoin's patron Mr Lachlann Campbell, TCD 1307, and Lachlann's scholarly connections. Twenty-eight letters written by Lachlann survive and provide material for expanding his biographical information: most of the letters were written to Robert Wodrow, some to Edward Lhuyd, and others to religious bodies in relation to his work as minister. The letters to Wodrow and Lhuyd offer insight into Lachlann as a sort of amateur scholar and the ways he interacted with the Republic of Letters within Scotland, Britain, and the European continent. Lachlann also wrote about the Gaelic language and Gaelic literature: the second half of this chapter is devoted to evaluating Lachlann's abilities with literary Gaelic and his perspectives on the Gaelic language. This analysis considers his personal work, his support of Gaelic literary and cultural history, the assistance he gave to Edward Lhuyd's Gaelic dictionary, and the glossaries written for him by MacGilleoin. Ultimately, this chapter provides a case study of an individual who was patron of a Gaelic manuscript, a member of the Clan Campbell, and a Scottish minister at a time of cultural transition.

Chapter 4 completes the discussion of MacGilleoin and his patrons by concentrating on Cailean Campbell, who owned two of MacGilleoin's manuscripts: NLS 72.1.36 and TCD 1362. The chapter first reviews new evidence from archives that supports the identification of the patron Cailean as Col. Cailean Campbell of the Campbells of Kilberry. My new archival research advances our knowledge of the patron and expands our understanding of the context for the analysis of the manuscripts as, perhaps, a reflection of his activities, interests, and circumstances. The two manuscripts are then examined thematically at a macro-level, considering the themes found throughout the works. The themes—warriors, women, religion, and morality—are examined alongside details of Cailean's life and contemporary literature and events to contextualise the connections between Cailean and the manuscripts' contents. This analysis of Cailean

and his manuscripts provides a case study showing how a member of the Gaelic elite navigated a rapidly changing environment at a time of revolution, union, and cultural, linguistic, and political transition.

Before notes on transcription, terminology, and nomenclature, I would like to comment briefly on the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on this work in 2020-2021. My plans to visit archives in order to check readings, search for additional relevant documents, view other versions of texts, and visit MacGilleoin's manuscripts in person were disrupted and cancelled. The information I would have gained in these visits and the greater familiarity with MacGilleoin's manuscripts would likely have added to this thesis. However, I consider myself fortunate that I completed a good deal of archival work before restrictions, as that information has significantly shaped the content of this thesis. While it would have been beneficial to have additional archival data for more details or comparison, I am grateful that I was able to write this thesis as it now stands.

Transcription

This thesis contains transcriptions from two languages (English and Gaelic) and two scripts (Scottish secretary hand and the Gaelic script, known as *corra-litir*). Unless otherwise indicated, the transcriptions—and in the case of the Gaelic texts, the accompanying translations—are my own.[25] Orthography of titles and first lines of prose tales and poems in MacGilleoin's work is taken from the manuscripts rather than standardised. All documents in English are, as far as possible, transcribed as they are written, including orthography, punctuation, and abbreviations. Paragraphs have been introduced silently. In instances where words are expanded for clarity, the expansion is indicated by italics. Deletions are marked by a ~~strikethrough~~. Where the reading of the text is uncertain, an interpretation appears in [brackets]. Any formatting notes are in {curly brackets}. Spaces where there is illegible or unreadable text is marked with an ellipsis (...). The character 'yogh' has been transcribed as 'y'.

The same general guidelines have been followed for the Gaelic texts with the use of brackets and italics to indicate expansion, uncertain readings, formatting notes, illegible or unreadable text, and added punctuation. Deletions are also still marked by strikethrough, although they are often marked in the manuscripts by a line of dots

[25] I am grateful for Drs. Sìm Innes and Aonghas MacCoinnich, who reviewed my translations, suggested improvements, and provided clarity where needed.

underneath the words. Poems in the manuscripts are, for the most part, written with two poetic lines across a single line of text, separated by a dot (i.e., line · line). The transcriptions separate the two poetic lines, making two lines of manuscript text into four lines of transcribed text.

Terminology

The term 'Gaelic' is used to refer to the Goidelic languages of Ireland and Scotland, known today as Gàidhlig/Scottish Gaelic and Gaeilge/Irish. 'Classical Gaelic' refers to the literary language developed c. twelfth century and used until the mid-seventeenth century. 'Middle Gaelic' refers to the language used between c. 900-1200, and 'Old Gaelic' refers to the language used pre-900. 'Vernacular Gaelic' refers to contemporary spoken language and, in extension, vernacular literature is that composed in language more akin to the contemporary vernacular than the traditional Classical Gaelic. 'Irish' and 'Scottish' are used when necessary to differentiate between language in and literature from Ireland and Scotland. Both vernacular and Classical Gaelic are found in MacGilleoin's manuscript and in this thesis, with Old/Middle Gaelic discussed in Chapter 3 as part of Lachlann Campbell's activities. Matters of language transition and the different registers of Gaelic are discussed in Chapter 1.

Nomenclature

Although traditional scholarship and new scholars working outwith the Gaelic tradition impose blanket anglicisation, the question of whether to use Gaelic or anglicised names when referring to Gaelic speakers in scholarship has been addressed directly in recent historiography by scholars working within Celtic and Gaelic studies. It has been approached by scholars with different solutions to practicality, maintaining consistency in scholarship, understanding for non-Gaelic speakers, and recognising the Gaelic-ness of the individuals named.[26] These concerns have also been considered and balanced in the

[26] Two such examples are McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, ix–x; Aonghas MacCoinnich, *Plantation and Civility in the North Atlantic World: The Case of the Northern Hebrides, 1570-1639*, The Northern World, 71 (Leiden, 2015), 505–7. One scholar uses Middle Gaelic/Classical Gaelic names: M. Pía Coira, *By Poetic Authority: The Rhetoric of Panegyric in Gaelic Poetry of Scotland to c.1700* (Edinburgh, 2012). Another scholar, Martin MacGregor, has taken various approaches to naming, from Gaelic personal names and anglicised surnames to Gaelic names without anglicised variants provided: Martin MacGregor, 'The Genealogical Histories of Gaelic Scotland', in Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (eds.), *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain, 1500-1850*, Politics, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain (Manchester, 2002), 196–239; Martin MacGregor, 'The Statutes of Iona: Text and Context', *Innes Review*, 57.2 (2006), 111–81.

approach to names in this thesis, although it is not a perfect solution. Placenames, for instance, have been given in their anglicised forms, following official contemporary Ordnance Survey name-forms. When quoting, orthography and forms of names and placenames are taken directly from the source; modern placenames are used otherwise.

Forenames are given in the modern Gaelic form when the individual is or can reasonably be assumed to be a Gaelic speaker, and surnames are primarily anglicised.[27] In some cases, there are multiple possibilities for Gaelic forenames, and one is chosen and used throughout the thesis: for instance, Mr John MacLean could be either Seathan, Eòghann, or Iain, but Iain will be used. Some individuals also appear in records by nicknames or patronymics. In those cases, it will be indicated at the first use of the name, such as Alasdair MacDonald [Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair].

While surnames can be more complex, I have kept my approach as straightforward and easily searchable as possible by primarily using anglicised forms (i.e., Campbell rather than Caimbeul). Surnames such as 'MacLean' and 'MacKenzie' begin with 'Mac' rather than 'Mc'. There are instances, however, where it is more appropriate to use Gaelic surnames because the individuals are widely referred to as such in scholarship, particularly regarding the traditional Gaelic learned families (MacMhuirich, Ó Conchobhair, Ó Muirgheasáin) and individuals (Giolla Brighde Ó hEódhusa, Fear Feasa Ó Duibhgheannáin, Anluan MacAodhagáin) that are well established in scholarly discourse or only recorded by their Gaelic names. In these cases, orthography is taken either from previous scholarship on the individuals, catalogues where they are named, or the modern Scottish or Irish Gaelic form of the name that reflects the location or origin of the family or individual.

One exception to these guidelines is the name of the scribe, who is referred to as 'Eoghan MacGilleoin' without standardising his name. This is primarily how he signs his own name in his manuscripts and how he signed a letter otherwise written in English.[28] In scholarship, the use of 'Hugh MacLean' is almost always accompanied by the Gaelic variant.[29] The English is used as the standard in only a few, primarily older sources.[30]

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[27] This is the method used in MacGregor, 'Statutes of Iona'.
[28] Eoghan MacGilleoin to Edward Lhuyd, 3 January 1700, Lhwyd Correspondence, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fol. 277-278, ref. 401236.
[29] Bruford, 'Murchadh Mac Briain', 303. Exceptions are pre-1980: Bannerman, 'The MacLachlans', 14; Campbell and Thomson, *Edward Lhuyd*, xvii.
[30] John Francis Campbell, *Leabhar na Feinne: heroic Gaelic ballads collected in Scotland chiefly from 1512 to 1871* (London, 1872), xiv; Alan Bruford, 'The Hermit Disturbed and Undisturbed', in Hildegard L.C.

Much scholarship notes the English variant while primarily using 'MacGilleoin'[31] or similar variants ('Mac/mac Gilleoin', 'Mac Ghilleóin', 'Mac Ghilleoin', 'MacGill-Eoin').[32] Four sources use 'Mac Gilleoin' only.[33] This complex use of his name in historiography does not lead to a clear solution with which to treat his name. However, due to the prevalence of the use of the Gaelic variant taking precedence in more recent scholarship and catalogues, and the scribe's use of primarily the Gaelic variant, this thesis uses 'Eoghan MacGilleoin', with no space between 'Mac' and 'Gilleoin' to remain consistent with other names beginning with 'Mac'.

Tristram (ed.), *(Re)Oralisierung* (Tübingen, 1996), 177–206. Martin MacGregor gives Eoghan and Hugh, but uses MacLean in line with the naming conventions of the article: MacGregor, 'Genealogical Histories', 199.

[31] MacKechnie Catalogue, I, 176-179; MacKinnon Catalogue, 116; *NLS Catalogue*, Adv.MS.72.1.36; Kühns, 82–83, 104–5, 371–79; O'Rahilly, *The Stowe Version*, l.

[32] Breatnach, *Patronage*, 14; Clancy, 'Fond Farewell', 113; Ó Buachalla, 'Murchadh Mac Briain', 89; *TCD Catalogue*, 85, 199. The form 'Eóghan Mac Gille Eóghan [sic]' is used in Coira, *By Poetic Authority*, 123.

[33] Richard Sharpe, 'Manuscript and Print in Gaelic Scotland and Ireland 1689-1832', in Wilson McLeod, Anja Gunderloch, and Rob Dunbar (eds.), *Cànan & Cultar/Language & Culture, Rannsachadh Na Gàidhlig 8*, 2014, 31–53, at 37; Sharpe, 'Lachlan Campbell's Letters', 246; *EMLO*; MacGilleoin to Lhuyd, 3 January 1700, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fol. 277-278; TCD Online Catalogue, s.v. 'IE TCD MS 1307-Two Metrical Glosses in Irish'.

Figure 0-1: Map of places mentioned in the thesis.

Chapter 1: Language, Literacy, and Eoghan MacGilleoin in 17th-Century Argyll

1.1 Introduction

While this thesis focuses upon the manuscripts of Eoghan MacGilleoin, his life, and the lives of his patrons, it also considers how they related to their social and cultural environment in late seventeenth-century Kintyre, Argyll. This chapter serves two functions. First, it provides an overview of the manuscripts' context, particularly in terms of language, literature, and literacy. This aids the analysis in later chapters of how the context manifests or is reflected in the manuscripts and their production. The late-seventeenth century was a time marked by dramatic religious, political, and cultural transition. The struggle between Presbyterianism and Episcopalianism seemed to have been settled, at least legally, in 1689-1690 with the Presbyterian church as the Church of Scotland.[34] William of Orange deposed James VII and ascended to the throne in 1688, the first of several Jacobite Rebellions occurred in 1689 as a result, and increasing tensions between Scotland and England led to the Union of the English and Scottish Parliaments in 1707.[35] In Argyll, Gilleasbuig, 9th Earl of Argyll, was executed for his role in the 1685 rebellion (see section 4.3.3), and his son, Gilleasbuig, 10th Earl, who backed the Williamite regime, had his estates restored in 1689 and became the 1st Duke of Argyll in 1701.[36] Finally, it was a time of Gaelic literary transition, from traditional bardic structures to the prominence of the vernacular tradition. Secondly, MacGilleoin is placed into context and some possible identities of the scribe posited. The only definitive knowledge we have of him is that he was a schoolmaster (c. 1697-1699), a scribe (c. 1690-1698), and a correspondent and possible informant of the antiquarian and Celtic scholar Edward

[34] Marilyn Jeanne Westerkamp, *Triumph of the Laity: Scots-Irish Piety and the Great Awakening, 1625-1760* (Oxford, 1988), 23; MacDonald, *Missions to the Gaels*, 178. See Chapter 3 of this thesis for further discussion of the religious atmosphere.
[35] For more information on these matters, see Allan MacInnes, *Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart, 1603-1788* (East Linton, 1996), chapters 6-7; David Findlay, 'Divine Right and Early Modern Gaelic Society', in McGuire and Ó Baoill, *Rannsachadh Na Gàidhlig 2000*, 243–55.
[36] See Emerson, *Enlightened Duke*. See Chapter 4 of this thesis for more discussion of the political atmosphere, particularly relating to the Argyll family.

Lhuyd (see section 1.4 below). His roles as schoolmaster and scribe are explored through his involvement in education in Argyll c. 1695 and his possible role in Gaelic education.

The chapter first addresses the state of education in Scotland, which was dominated by the acquisition of English and Latin, with a focused look at education in Argyll c. 1695.[37] There is relatively sparse evidence for Gaelic schooling in Scotland, but the evidence that exists is considered within a discussion of Gaelic language and literacy. It encompasses Classical Gaelic, Gaelic education, and Classical poetry; vernacular Gaelic and vernacular poetry and poets; and MacGilleoin's probable role as a Gaelic tutor. Section 1.4 explores contemporary sources connected or referring to MacGilleoin: a letter from MacGilleoin to Edward Lhuyd (1700), a mention of MacGilleoin in Lhuyd's notebook (1699), and a reference to him as a schoolmaster in the records of the Presbytery of Kintyre (1697). Finally, the chapter considers who MacGilleoin may have been, using the context gained from the rest of the chapter as a guide. The discussions in this chapter focus primarily upon the educated members of the Gaelic communities for whom records exist.

1.2 Language and Literacy

Before focusing upon the Gaelic language, we must recognise that the Gaelic community, particularly in the upper classes, was surrounded by and interwoven with the English- and Scots-speaking communities in the British Isles as well as the multilingual European continent.[38] The patrons of MacGilleoin's manuscripts, for instance, spent time away from the Gaelic communities in Argyll: Lachlann Campbell attended the University of Glasgow and spent time at the University of Leiden on the continent, and Cailean Campbell was commissioned into the British Army in 1708, stationed in England and almost certainly on the continent with the Duke of Argyll.[39] Cailean also seems to have spoken Spanish.[40] Significantly, formal schooling in the Highlands would have taken place in a combination of English and Latin, with Gaelic learning a separate and additional undertaking (see section 1.3). In other words, these men were immersed in two different cultural

[37] An exploration of education in the Highlands pre-1709 can be found in Jamie Kelly, 'Revisiting the Language Issue: The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) and Highland Education, c. 1660–1754', *Journal of the Northern Renaissance*, 12 (2021), 13–26 <http://www.northernrenaissance.org/revisiting-the-language-issue-the-society-in-scotland-for-propagating-christian-knowledge-sspck-and-highland-education-c-1660-1754/> [accessed 2 February 2021].
[38] English was increasingly used in place of Scots after 1603: MacCoinnich, *Plantation and Civility*, 6.
[39] LA, DR/14/4/1/1; Catherine Bokenham to Campbell Col. Colin, 21 May 1714, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.33, 127-128. For more information on these men, see Chapters 3 and 4.
[40] Bokenham to Col. Colin, 21 May 1714, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.33, 127-128.

environments, one dominated by Gaelic speakers and one dominated by English.[41] This section covers the non-Gaelic educational environments in which MacGilleoin and his patrons came of age. It considers who was being educated, how they were being educated, the major laws affecting the education of the Gaelic elite in Argyll, and the use of English and Latin by the Gaelic elite. It then focuses on the provision of schools in Argyll, where MacGilleoin was a schoolmaster, to explore his more immediate context.

1.2.1 Seventeenth Century Education and Literacy

Latin and English were the primary languages of education in late-seventeenth century Scotland. Latin was taught and used in grammar schools and universities, although the usefulness of Latin over other subjects such as modern geography and history was being questioned at least in urban areas by the beginning of the eighteenth century.[42] Members of the Gaelic learned orders (poets, historians, musicians, physicians, ecclesiastics) would have received education in Latin and English in addition to their Gaelic education to act as scribes, lawyers, or ministers, although such a Gaelic education is harder to find evidence for.[43] Indeed, professional men even before the seventeenth century would use Gaelic, English, and Latin names (such as Malcolm MacBeth/Beaton of Pennycross in Mull in 1587), write in Latin alongside Gaelic, translate Latin works into Gaelic (including medical texts and literary tales), or comment upon Latin texts in Gaelic, rather than working solely with the Latin.[44] Examples include *Stair Fortibrais* (earliest manuscript c.1440), which was translated from the Latin *Gesta Karoli Magni*.[45] Other examples are Richard Ó Conchobhair in 1590, who copied Donnchadh Óg Ó Conchobhair's Gaelic translation of the seventh Book of Valescus de Taranta, a Latin text; and in the second half of the seventeenth century, Christopher Beaton, who later wrote much of the Black Book of Clanranald (c. 1702-1715), wrote in both Latin and Gaelic in Laing MS III.21.[46] In

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[41] MacCoinnich, *Plantation and Civility*, 6–8.
[42] Lindy Moore, 'Urban Schooling in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Scotland', in Robert Anderson, Mark Freeman, and Lindsay Paterson (eds.), *The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2015), 79–96, at 91; Stephen Mark Holmes, 'Education in the Century of Reformation', in Robert Anderson, Mark Freeman, and Lindsay Paterson (eds.), *The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2015), 57–78, at 63.
[43] Bannerman, 'Literacy', 218–19.
[44] Bannerman, *Beatons*, 2–3, 96, 111–12. For information on translations, see Nessa Ní Shéaghdha, 'Translations and Adaptions into Irish', *Celtica*, 16 (1984), 107–24.
[45] Michael Howard Davies, '"Fierabras" in Ireland : The Transmission and Cultural Setting of a French Epic in the Medieval Irish Literary Tradition' (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1995), 4 and Chapter 4.
[46] Bannerman, *Beatons*, 7–9, 16–17, 111–12; The Laing MS can be found at EUL (Edinburgh), Special Collections, Laing Collection, 'La.III.21', <https://archiveshub.jisc.ac.uk/data/gb249-sclaing> [accessed 28 September 2019]. For examples of Latin works translated to Gaelic, see Uáitéar Mac Gearailt, 'Translations

addition to working in Latin, some educated Gaelic speakers—members of the aristocracy or men descended from learned families—wrote genealogical histories in English drawing from a mixture of traditional Gaelic works and Latin, Scots, and English material.[47] These learned and educated men read and wrote Gaelic, Latin, and English, but the languages were used in different ways and did not have the same social standing, particularly outside of Argyll.

Seventeenth-century legislation regarding education of the Highlands and Highland aristocracy reveals limited information about the contemporary educational structure and more about a seeming antipathy towards Gaelic. The Statutes of Iona, passed in 1609, obliged Highland leaders to educate their eldest son or daughter in the Lowlands to learn to speak, read, and write in Scots (and later English).[48] Scots, which is closely related to but distinct from English, slowly lost ground to English over the course of the seventeenth-century in matters of business and governance.[49] The purpose and effectiveness of the Statutes has attracted much scholarly comment and debate: from promoting Lowland connections and the English language, to marginalising the Campbells, to an attempt at reducing the power of chieftains or curbing some Gaelic cultural tendencies of the area.[50] The prevalence of Scots as the established 'language of business' and chiefs sending their sons to Lowland schools pre-1609 suggests that it is possible that literacy in Scots was widespread among the higher social classes throughout the Highlands and Islands well before the Statutes of Iona.[51] Sixteenth-century letters written by and to the Campbells of Glenorchy and others in their social circle in the mid sixteenth-century support this.[52] The number of surviving signatures in Scots increased from the mid-sixteenth century onwards from the Highland aristocracy, particularly among the cadet branches of the Clan Campbell, and educated Gaelic aristocracy could overwhelmingly write in Scots/English due to Lowland-centred governance and trade.[53]

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of Latin Works in the Book of Ballymote', in Ruairí Ó hUiginn (ed.), *Book of Ballymote* (Dublin, 2018), 101–54.

[47] MacGregor, 'Genealogical Histories'.

[48] Holmes, 'Education', 61.

[49] Sara Pons-Sanz and Aonghas MacCoinnich, 'The Languages of Scotland', in Nicola Royan (ed.), *The International Companion to Scottish Literature 1400-1650* (Glasgow, 2018), 19–37, at 19.

[50] See MacGregor, 'Statutes of Iona', 113, 165; Holmes, 'Education', 65; Aonghas MacCoinnich, 'Where and How Was Gaelic Written in Late Medieval and Early Modern Scotland? Orthographic Practices and Cultural Identities', *SGS*, 24 (2008), 309–56, at 320–21; Julian Goodare, 'The Statutes of Iona in Context', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 77.203 (1998), 31–57; MacInnes, *Clanship*, 76–77; Ewen A. Cameron, 'Education in Rural Scotland, 1696-1872', in Robert Anderson, Mark Freeman, and Lindsay Paterson (eds.), *The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2015), 153–70, at 162.

[51] MacCoinnich, 'Where and How', 315, 320–21; Keith M. Brown, *Noble Society in Scotland: Wealth, Family and Culture from Reformation to Revolution* (Edinburgh, 2004), 185.

[52] See Jane Dawson (ed.), *Campbell Letters, 1559-1583*, Publications of the Scottish History Society Fifth Series, 10 (Edinburgh, 1997).

[53] Bannerman, 'Literacy', 216; MacCoinnich, *Plantation and Civility*, 6.

Surviving documents from the Gaelic aristocracy are mostly in Scots/English, but they lived and operated in at least a bilingual and bicultural sphere, having both Gaelic and English names, interacting with Gaelic and non-Gaelic families and communities, reading both Gaelic and non-Gaelic literature, and even attending both Gaelic and English religious services.[54]

The School Establishment Act of 1616 required the aristocracy to send all their children above the age of nine to schools in the Lowlands—which at least the Campbells were already doing—and was obviously hostile to Gaelic in its promotion of English: 'the Inglishe toung shall be universallie plantit, and the Irishe [Gaelic] language...shall be abolisheit and removit'.[55] This did not acknowledge that Highland aristocracy had been sending their children to Glasgow and Edinburgh for education for decades before it was passed.[56] The hostility in the seventeenth century was not, however, uncomplicated or continuous, and may have been a part of wider efforts to bring the Gaelic elite into line with the rest of Scotland.[57] The Synod of Argyll was empowered by an Act of Parliament in 1644 to employ the vacant stipends 'for trayneing up of youths that have the Irische tongue in schools and colledges', particularly in divinity so that they may go and preach to the monoglot Gaelic-speaking communities in the Highlands.[58] Members of the Synod also produced Gaelic translations of religious texts throughout the seventeenth-century and beyond (see section 1.3.1.2).

While there was recognition of the importance of Gaelic speakers, particularly in the Synod of Argyll for the purposes of preaching, there was certainly a privileging of written English over Gaelic.[59] By the sixteenth century, Latin, Scots, and English were the

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[54] MacCoinnich, *Plantation and Civility*, 6–8.
[55] Maitland Club, Alexander MacDonald, James Dennistoun (eds.), *Miscellany of the Maitland Club, Consisting of Original Papers and Other Documents Illustrative of the History and Literature of Scotland*, 4 vols (Edinburgh, 1833–1847), II, 24; Donald Withrington, 'Education in the 17th Century Highlands', in Inverness Field Club (ed.), *The 17th Century in the Highlands* (Inverness, 1986), 60–61; Nigel Grant, 'Gaelic and Education in Scotland - Developments and Perspectives', *SGS*, 17 (1996), 150–58, at 151.
[56] MacInnes, *Clanship*, 76–77.
[57] MacInnes, *Clanship*, 65, 68, 76–77.
[58] Donald MacKinnon, 'Education in Argyll and the Isles - 1638-1709', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, 6 (1938), 46–54, at 48 and 50; MacInnes, 'Scottish Gaeldom, 1638-1651', 63; Keith M Brown and others (eds.), *Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707* (St. Andrews, 2007) <http://www.rps.ac.uk/> [accessed 7 April 2020], 'Act declaring vacant stipends should be employed upon pious uses', 1644/6/211; Salvatore Cipriano, '"Students Who Have the Irish Tongue": The Gaidhealtachd, Education, and State Formation in Covenanted Scotland, 1638–1651', *Journal of British Studies*, 60.1 (2021), 66–87, at 78; Kelly, 'Revisiting the Language Issue', 16.
[59] Victor Edward Durkacz, *The Decline of the Celtic Languages: A Study of Linguistic and Cultural Conflict in Scotland, Wales and Ireland from the Reformation to the Twentieth Century* (Edinburgh, 1983), 6–14, 23–30; MacDonald, *Missions to the Gaels*, 209; Malcolm Bangor-Jones, '"Abounding with People of Dyvers Languages": The Church and Gaelic in the Presbytery of Caithness in the Second Half of the 17th Century', *Northern Studies*, 33 (1998), 55–66, at 55.

primary languages used for written commercial, administrative, legal, and civil purposes.[60] English was used for printing rather than Scots, and by the end of the seventeenth century, letter-writing was also done in English rather than Scots.[61] Eoghan MacGilleoin's and Lachlann Campbell's letters c. 1700-1705 (see section 1.4 below and Chapter 3) are in English, for instance, while sixteenth-century Campbell letters from the Breadalbane collection centred on Cailean Campbell, 6th of Glenorchy, and his wife are in Scots.[62] Additionally, there are examples of the Scottish secretary hand and/or Scots orthography being used to write Gaelic, including in the BDL and the Fernaig Manuscript.[63] The practice of using Scots orthography to write Gaelic was possibly widespread, however, and suggests that the writers may have been more comfortable with using or specifically chose to use Scots rather than Gaelic orthography, even those with a formal Gaelic education.[64] For instance, it is used when Gaelic words appear in Scots poems, for the personal and place names in bonds of manrent for the Campbells with a Perthshire emphasis, and for some poems and charms originally in Gaelic but preserved in Scots orthography.[65]

MacGilleoin and his patrons would have had formal schooling completed in English and Latin, and the majority of the printed and written material they encountered would also have been in those two languages. As shown in section 1.3, an education in Gaelic literacy was declining in prevalence throughout the seventeenth century, and the scribe and his patrons, or their families, would have made the conscious decision to pursue such an education. Before turning to Gaelic education, however, the next section examines the educational environment in Argyll, particularly the Synod of Argyll's education provision, MacGilleoin's role as a schoolmaster, and what this may tell us about MacGilleoin's identity.

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[60] Scots was also the vernacular in the Lowland, south, and east of Scotland; see Bannerman, 'Literacy', 214; Jane Stevenson, 'Reading, Writing and Gender in Early Modern Scotland', *The Seventeenth Century*, 27.3 (2012), 335–74, at 352–53; Holmes, 'Education', 63; MacCoinnich, 'Where and How', 320.

[61] Jane Dawson, 'Anglo-Scottish Protestant Culture and Integration in Sixteenth-Century Britain', in Steven G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (eds.), *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State, 1485-1725* (New York, 1995), 87–114, at 92–95.

[62] For the sixteenth-century letters, see Dawson, *Campbell Letters*. For Lachlann's letters, see Sharpe, 'Lachlan Campbell's Letters'; NLS, Wodrow Collection, Quartos II-III. MacGilleoin's letter can be found in Chapter 2 and at MacGilleoin to Lhuyd, 3 January 1700, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fol. 277-278.

[63] MacCoinnich, 'Where and How', 324–29; *NLS Catalogue*, NLS Adv.MS.72.1.37; Gunderloch, *Làmh-Sgrìobhainnean*, 16.

[64] MacCoinnich, 'Where and How', 324–29.

[65] Donald E. Meek, 'Gàidhlig and Gaylick in the Middle Ages', in William Gillies (ed.), *Gaelic and Scotland = Alba Agus a' Ghàidhlig* (Edinburgh, 1989), 131–45, at 136-138.

1.2.2 Education in Argyll c. 1695 and MacGilleoin as Schoolmaster

In Argyll in the 1640s and 1650s, fourteen out of twenty-five parishes in the Argyll mainland had or might have had English schools, and there were three grammar schools: Campbeltown, Inveraray, and Dunoon.[66] In the 1670s and 1680s, there is evidence for only six parishes with schools, and in the early 1690s, there is evidence of only five.[67] During the mid-1690s provision for schools was again increased: by 1698 there were twenty-five fixed English schools and thirteen ambulatory English schools in addition to the grammar schools, but these numbers, compiled by Rev Donald MacKinnon, are based on the primary school in each parish, which received Synod funds.[68] Kilchenzie, where MacGilleoin was schoolmaster, was not included because it was not the primary parish school, which was located at Killean.[69] It is possible that other parishes had additional schools, as well. This is evidence that the full picture of schooling is not necessarily visible in the surviving records, at least not the records of the Synod of Argyll, even when the schoolmasters were teaching on behalf of the community rather than as private tutors.[70]

The increase in provision for schools in the mid-1690s was part of an effort by the Synod of Argyll and King William to establish schools in every parish, largely motivated by a desire to spread English and a standard religious doctrine.[71] An act passed in 1695 to establish a school and schoolmaster in every parish not provided, with heritors providing a house for the school and salary for the schoolmaster.[72] At the same time, Bishops' rents went to the Crown and were subsequently granted to the Synod of Argyll to be bestowed 'upon the erecting of English schools for rooting out the Irish language and other pious uses'.[73] Many schoolmasters were then hired in 1696-1697, with records of their payment found in unpublished records from the Synod of Argyll's papers, such as John Peter in Southend, Allan McDugald at Killean, and Duncan McCaig at Skipness.[74] Although there

[66] Withrington, 'Education', 63.
[67] Withrington, 'Education', 63.
[68] MacKinnon, 'Education in Argyll', 53–54; J.L. Campbell, *Gaelic in Scottish Education and Life: Past, Present and Future* (Edinburgh, 1945), 46.
[69] Angus J. MacVicar, 'Education in Kintyre, 1638-1707', *Campbeltown Courier*, 5 April 1930.
[70] Kelly, 'Revisiting the Language Issue', 15–16.
[71] Durkacz, *Decline of the Celtic Languages*, 23–30.
[72] Brown and others, *Records of Parliaments of Scotland*, 1695/5/180; Andrew McKerral, *Kintyre in the Seventeenth Century* (Edinburgh, 1948), 157–58.
[73] MacKinnon, 'Education in Argyll', 51.
[74] These examples and more can be found in ICA, NRAS 1209, Bundles 566 and 57.

was not a 'Hugh MacLean' among the papers consulted, he is mentioned in the Presbytery of Kintyre Records on 15 July 1697:[75]

> Compeired Heugh MacLean, schoolmaster of Kilkennie, complaining that there were severals within the said Parish that had children fit for to be sent to school, living at a convenient distance, and did not send them: the said Heugh supplicates the Presbyterie to take some measures to oblidge the said persons to send their children to schools other-ways it will not be worth his while to attend those he hath at present.

The Bailie of Kintyre was called upon to certify that in cases where families were close enough to the school, they would be required pay for their children's schooling whether they attended or not. It seems from this record that MacGilleoin had been a schoolmaster at 'Kilkennie' (Kilchenzie) prior to July 1697, probably as one of the schoolmasters hired in 1696. He was, however, having trouble getting children to come to school and getting parents to pay for their schooling, which was the source of his wages. This was fairly common. Some schoolmasters, without a fixed salary or stipend (such as not having funds from the Synod), had to subsist on students' fees 'where and how and for how long they could'.[76] This was clearly the case with MacGilleoin, who had so few students attending, and thereby received so little in school wages that he had to request help from the Presbytery of Kintyre to have enough students, or at least enough fee-paying families, to earn his living.

MacGilleoin may have been university educated like other contemporary schoolmasters.[77] There are no persons named Hugh MacLean listed in graduate or matriculation lists for the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews or King's College and Marischal College in Aberdeen in the five decades leading up to 1699.[78] There are,

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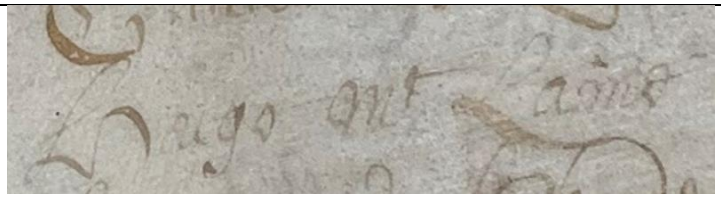
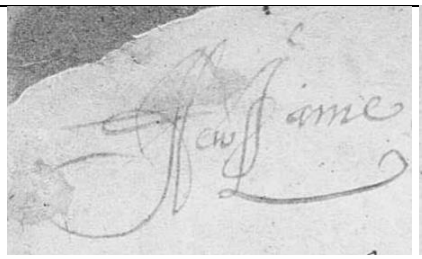
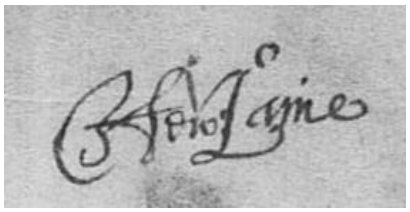
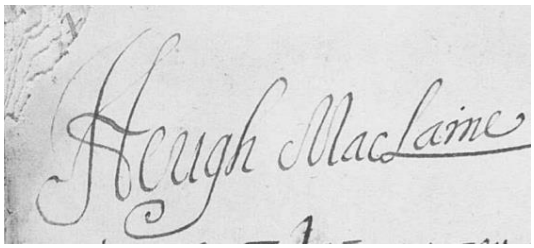
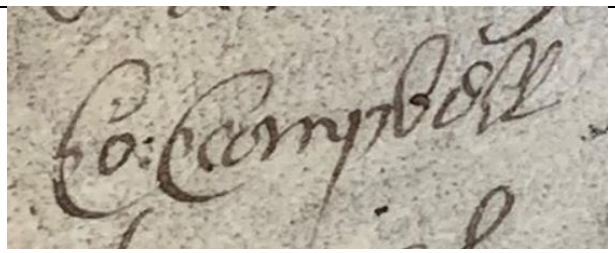
[75] NRS, CH2/1153/1/68. This transcription is taken from MacVicar, 'Education in Kintyre'.
[76] Withrington, 'Education', 67; Kelly, 'Revisiting the Language Issue', 22–23.
[77] There was an aspiration to appoint university graduates as schoolmasters: Withrington, 'Education', 67–68.
[78] There is a 'Joa. Mackklene' who matriculated into Marischal College in 1669-1670, but while John/Joannis are possible English variants of Eoghan, 'Hugh' is used in records when referring to MacGilleoin. David Laing (ed.), *A Catalogue of the Graduates in the Faculties of Arts, Divinity, and Law, of the University of Edinburgh since Its Foundation*, Bannatyne Club Publications (Edinburgh, 1858); University of Edinburgh, 'University of Edinburgh: Historical Alumni Collection', *The University of Edinburgh Collections* <https://collections.ed.ac.uk/alumni> [accessed 1 July 2020]; R. N. Smart, *Alphabetical Register of the Students, Graduates and Officials of the University of St Andrews 1579-1747* (St. Andrews, 2012); King's College (University of Aberdeen) and Peter John Anderson, *Officers and Graduates of University & King's College, Aberdeen MVD-MDCCCLX* (Aberdeen, 1893); King's College (University of Aberdeen), *Roll of Alumni in Arts of the University and King's College of Aberdeen, 1596-1860* (Aberdeen, 1900); Marischal College (University of Aberdeen), *Fasti Academiae Mariscallanae Aberdonensis : Selections from the Records of the Marischal College and University, MDXCIII-MDCCCLX* (Aberdeen, 1889–1898), 236.

however, three persons named Hugh MacLean on record attending the University of Glasgow in the seventeenth century. Two of them can be eliminated as candidates, having matriculated in 1625 and 1628 and therefore unlikely to still have been teaching over 70 years later in 1699.[79] The third one mentioned, 'Hugo McLaine', is on a list of students who matriculated in 1678.[80] The same page lists students from 1679 and includes a 'Colinus Campbell'.[81] It is tempting to speculate that he may have been Col. Cailean of Kilberry or perhaps his cousin Cailean. Evidence indicates that Col. Cailean would have been over the age of nine (born pre-1670), although there is no evidence to indicate how much older. He therefore could have been old enough to start university in 1679: his cousin seems to have been about the same age or older (see Chapter 4). Student signatures survive from the 1678-1679 matriculation lists, so the signatures of 'Hugo McLaine' and 'Colinus Campbell' can be compared to those of MacGilleoin, Col. Cailean, and Cailean's cousin (Table 1-1).

[79] University of Glasgow, *Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis: Records of the University of Glasgow from Its Foundation till 1727*, 4 vols (Glasgow, 1854), III, 17–18 and 78.
[80] *MAUG*, III, 134. 'A. McAlester Gregorri McAlester a Lup [Loup] filius natu maximus' appears on the same list. 'A. McAlester' may be the Alastair MacAlister of Loup, a Kintyre man, from whom Dùghall, 5th of Kilberry borrowed money in 1707: NRS, SC54/12/5.
[81] *MAUG*, III, 134.

Individual	Signatures
'Hugo McLaine'[82] 1678	
Hugh MacLean[83] c. 1692-1696	   
'Colinus Campbell'[84] 1679	

[82] University of Glasgow Archives & Special Collections, University Inventory collection, GB248 GUA 22619
[83] TCD, MS 1362, 3-4, 272-273.
[84] University of Glasgow Archives & Special Collections, University Inventory collection, GB248 GUA 22619

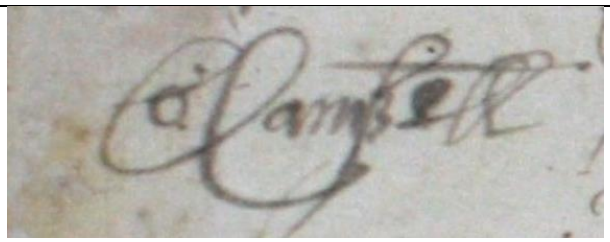
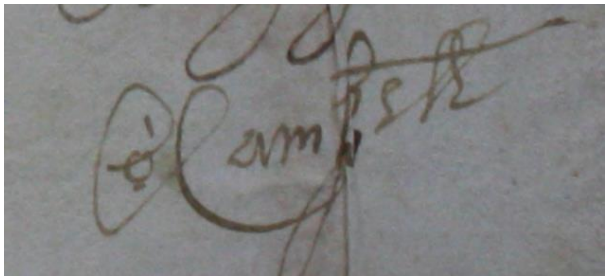
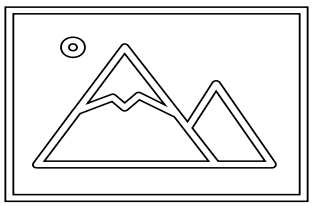
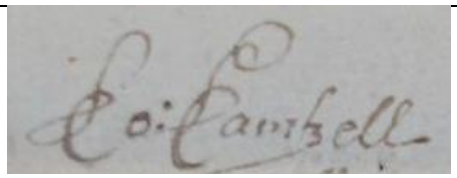
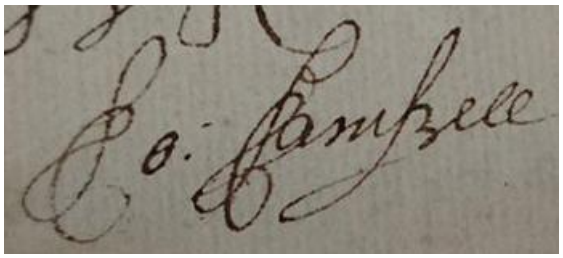
Col. Cailean Campbell[85] 1691, 1694	    Image has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.
Cailean Campbell (cousin)[86] 1701, 1706	 

Table 1-1: Comparison of known signatures from Eoghan MacGilleoin, Col. Cailean Campbell, and Col. Cailean's cousin to the signatures of 'Hugo MacLaine' and 'Colinus Campbell' from the 1678-1679 University of Glasgow Matriculation lists.

[85] ICA, NRAS 1209, Bundles 1032, 1036; LA, DR/14/1/3.
[86] Crown Copyright. NRS, SC54/12/4-5.

This comparison does not lead to definitive results, as signatures may change over time, but it seems with a cursory look that the signatures in the University of Glasgow matriculation lists are not from Eoghan MacGilleoin or either of those named Cailean Campbell from the Kilberry family. Differences in the signatures of 'Hugo McLaine' and MacGilleoin can be seen in the forms of some letters. For instance, the 'c' and final 'e' differ, and the 'L' in MacGilleoin's signatures is mostly incorporated with the 'M' and is as rounded as Hugo. Indeed, Hugo's letter forms are generally more rounded than MacGilleoin's: this can be seen in the 'a' and 'in'. As for 'Colinus Campbell', Cailean and his cousin combine P and B in their signatures, unlike 'Colinus', who separates the letters.

1.2.3 Summary

This section has shown that MacGilleoin and his Clan Campbell patrons were surrounded by English and Latin education and non-Gaelic Scottish and European culture as part of the social elite. This is seen especially with Lachlann Campbell in Chapter 3: he attended the University of Glasgow, studied on the European continent, and travelled to Edinburgh and London before settling as a minister in Campbeltown in 1703. Cailean travelled to the Lowlands, England, and the continent, as well, in his case with the Duke of Argyll in a military capacity (see Chapter 4). This was, however, only part of their cultural knowledge and experiences. As individuals born and raised in Gaelic-speaking communities, they were also exposed to and interacted with Gaelic language and culture. The next section turns to that Gaelic cultural heritage.

1.3 Gaelic Language and Literacy

The Gaelic literary tradition had two strands: vernacular/oral (primarily spoken) and Classical/literary (primarily written). While separating the two can mask their similarities, mutual influence, and the occurrence of some poets working in both, it also allows us to explore the ways each strand developed and shifted in the seventeenth century.[87] The literary strand, which is common to both Gaelic Ireland and Gaelic Scotland, has more material surviving in medieval and early modern manuscript sources than the vernacular strand, at least into the beginning of the eighteenth century.[88] Scotland has a richer surviving vernacular than manuscript tradition due to collecting activities that began in the

[87] For more on the ties between the classical and vernacular poetry, see Coira, *By Poetic Authority*, 43.
[88] One reason for this is that the classical verse tended to be committed to manuscript regularly: see Gillies, 'Gaelic', 245.

eighteenth century, such as that done by James MacLagan and the controversial James MacPherson.[89] There was, however, vernacular material contained in manuscripts, sometimes alongside Classical material, of which MacGilleoin's NLS 72.1.36 is an example (see Chapter 2).

A consideration of Ronald Black's 'The Gaelic Manuscripts of Scotland', which focuses upon Classical material, and Colm Ó Baoill's *Scottish Gaelic Vernacular Verse to 1730: A Checklist* illustrates the difference in survival in the two strands of specifically Scottish material.[90] A direct comparison of the two lists is problematic: manuscripts are not the same as verse, although they may contain it; the Scottish manuscripts also contain Irish material; the vernacular poetry mostly circulated orally and was preserved through collecting at a later date than its composition; and the survival of material as well as the difficulties in collating it means the lists are non-exhaustive. Considering the lists together, however, highlights that both classical and vernacular traditions were highly active prior to c. 1730. Black defines the classical material through four factors: the use of Classical Gaelic, the use of the *corra-litir*, its position as part of the learned/bardic tradition, and originating pre-1745.[91] His criteria require some nuance for manuscripts that walk the line between the classical and vernacular, but even with that caveat, it gives an idea of the number of extant pre-1745 manuscripts with Classical Gaelic material that either originated in Scotland or were in Scottish hands: about 138. In contrast, Black predicts that there would be over 400 post-1745 vernacular manuscripts in a similar list from the NLS alone.[92] In contrast, Ó Baoill's list of vernacular verse pre-1730 has 522 entries. Much of the vernacular verse is dated to the seventeenth century: about 41%, with about 4% from pre-1600, and about 15% from the eighteenth century. About 41% is either unknown or could be placed into one of two centuries, and some of those are likely to be from the seventeenth century. This is compared to forty of the manuscripts dating to pre-1730 (about 29%)—most of the remaining manuscripts are from earlier centuries. This highlights that MacGilleoin's manuscripts were not produced in a manuscript-only culture.

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[89] McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 55–63. For more on the collecting of the eighteenth century, see Victoria Henshaw, 'James Macpherson and His Contemporaries: The Methods and Networks of Collectors of Gaelic Poetry in Late Eighteenth-Century Scotland', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 39.2 (2016), 197–209. For more on James MacPherson, see Dafydd Moore (ed.), *The International Companion to James Macpherson and the Poems of Ossian* (Glasgow, 2017). For information on the MacLagan Collection, see Gunderloch, *Làmh-Sgrìobhainnean*, 17–19; Derick Thomson, 'The McLagan MSS in Glasgow University. A Survey', *TGSI*, 58 (1993–1994), 406–24.
[90] Black, 'Gaelic Manuscripts Scotland'; Ó Baoill, *Scottish Gaelic Vernacular Verse*.
[91] Black, 'Gaelic Manuscripts Scotland', 149–51.
[92] Black, 'Gaelic Manuscripts Scotland, 168.

Both the scribe and patrons would have been interacting with the contemporary oral tradition.

Furthermore, as shown below, the seventeenth century marked a transition in Gaelic literary culture, with a decline in the literary tradition and rise in the prominence, or at least survival, of the vernacular. This is explored through an overview of Classical, or bardic, poetry, transitional semi-bardic poetry, and vernacular poetry. Individuals of hereditary learned families who became ministers produced Gaelic translations of religious materials using a form of high register Scottish Gaelic: it retained features of Classical Gaelic while remaining understandable to Scottish Gaelic speakers without Gaelic literacy (see section 1.3.1.2). This transitional context is essential to analysing MacGilleoin's abilities as a scribe and considering it alongside contemporary manuscript production and other copies of the texts in his manuscripts (Chapter 2).

1.3.1 Classical Gaelic and Gaelic Education

Most Gaelic literary material before and during the seventeenth century originated at the hands of members of the professional learned families. It was written in the literary dialect known as Classical Irish/Gaelic or Early Modern Irish/Gaelic using a script called *corra-litir* or 'pointed letter'.[93] Classical Gaelic had an established set of literary and grammatical conventions developed in the twelfth century that remained static in the following centuries, with a strict literary level used by the hereditary bardic families, although it was also taught to aristocracy and other professionals.[94] It was based upon 'a normative of prescriptive grammar' and traditional pronunciation, but it did not change with the Irish and Scottish vernaculars, and due to its origination in Ireland, it 'had little or no Scottish lexical or grammatical input'.[95] Indeed, into the early seventeenth century, Scottish Gaels saw earlier Gaelic literature as rooted in Ireland, and Scottish poets travelled to Irish schools for training.[96] In seventeenth-century Scotland, strict Classical

[93] Black, 'Gaelic Manuscripts Scotland', 167; Damian McManus, 'An Nua-Ghaeilge Chlasaiceach', in Kim McCone and others (eds.), *Stair Na Gaeilge: In Ómós Do Pádraig Ó Fiannachta* (Maigh Nuad/Maynooth, 1994), 335–445.
[94] William Gillies, 'The Classical Irish Poetic Tradition', in D. Ellis Evans, John G. Griffith, and E.M. Jope (eds.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Celtic Studies Held at Oxford, from 10th to 15th July, 1983* (Oxford, 1986), 108–20; Gillies, 'Gaelic'.
[95] Bannerman, 'Literacy', 226; Eleanor Knott, *An Introduction to Irish Syllabic Poetry of the Period 1200-1600* (Cork and Dublin, 1934), 3; MacCoinnich, 'Where and How', 313; Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh, 'Place-Names as a Resource for the Historical Linguist', in Simon Taylor (ed.), *The Uses of Place-Names* (Edinburgh, 1998), 12–53, at 14.
[96] Horsburgh, 'When Was Gaelic Scottish?', 234; McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 84.

Gaelic was replaced with a high-register literary Scottish Gaelic, particularly for the religious translation work undertaken by the Synod of Argyll (see section 1.3.1.2).

There was, however, classical Gaelic schooling in Scotland in the early seventeenth century, and certainly earlier, provided by hereditary learned families under patronage of the Scottish aristocracy. Aonghas Beaton from the Isle of Skye finished writing a manuscript in 1613 that he completed throughout his schooling in Scotland under Donnchadh Ó Conchobhair, physician to the MacDougalls of Dunollie and also known as Donnchadh Albanach (Duncan the Scot).[97] In Ireland, professional bardic families such as the Ó Dálaighs had their own schools.[98] The schooling was peripatetic: a poet's or physician's students would travel with him and complete work wherever they stayed.[99] This was the way Aonghas Beaton completed his manuscript. A poem by Piaras Feiritéar lists all the schools visited by Scottish poet, Maol Domhnaigh Ó Muirgheasáin in the mid-seventeenth century.[100] Both Irish and Scottish students would visit other schools in both Ireland and Scotland, including the seventeenth-century poet An Clàrsair Dall, often searching for access to other manuscripts and texts to copy.[101] The activities of hereditary medical families such as the Ó Conchobhairs and Beatons in Scotland is evidence of movement from Ireland to Scotland and connections between the Gaelic learned classes in the two countries.[102] It was through the copying of texts that students learned to write using *corra-litir*, and students of the same school 'might exhibit similar and characteristic features' in their scripts.[103] Manuscripts were also peripatetic, travelling both with their owners and independently to be loaned to others.[104] Due to the close connection between Irish and Scottish professional orders, manuscript production in Classical Gaelic in Scotland may have been limited primarily to the West Highlands (Argyll and the Hebrides) among kindreds with 'enduring social, cultural and political connections with Gaelic Ireland', such as the MacDonalds, MacLeans, and Campbells, and

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[97] 'Albannach' could signify a Scottish individual or an Irish individual who spent a lot of time in Scotland. Bannerman, *Beatons*, 65, 98.
[98] McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 84–89.
[99] Bannerman, *Beatons*, 98–104; Black, 'Gaelic Manuscripts Scotland', 247–48.
[100] Damian McManus, 'The Bardic Poet as Teacher, Student and Critic', in Donald E. Meek and Cathal G. Ó Háinle (eds.), *Unity in Diversity: Studies in Irish and Scottish Gaelic Language, Literature, and History* (Dublin, 2004), 97–123, at 101.
[101] McManus, 'The Bardic Poet', 99–101; Bannerman, *Beatons*, 98–105; Meg Bateman and Wilson McLeod, *Duanaire na Sracaire: Songbook of the Pillagers*, rev. edn (Edinburgh, 2019), xxviii; William Matheson (ed.), *An Clarsair Dall: Orain Ruaidhri Mhic Mhuirich Agus a Chuid Ciuil = The Blind Harper: The Songs of Roderick Morison and His Music* (Edinburgh, 1970), xxxviii.
[102] Bannerman, *Beatons*, 105, and see Index under Ireland.
[103] Bannerman, *Beatons*, 106–7.
[104] Bannerman, *Beatons*, 98–120, in particular 116. For an example of a peripatetic manuscript, see Martin MacGregor, 'Genealogies of the Clans: Contributions to the Study of MS 1467', *Innes Review*, 51.2 (2000), 131–46.

hereditary families such as the Beatons, Ó Conchobhairs, and MacLachlans.[105] MacGilleoin's manuscripts are a late product of Argyll's manuscript tradition.

The rigorous training with which fluent literacy in Classical Gaelic was gained was an important distinguishing characteristic of the poets, historians, musicians, physicians, ecclesiastics, and other professional men of the Gaelic learned orders.[106] The aristocracy and elites, including some women, were also literate through instruction in 'the rudiments of reading, writing and poetic composition'; the 9th Earl of Argyll had a Gaelic tutor and a seemingly educational grammatical tract survives that possibly belonged to him in his childhood.[107] The aristocracy would need such instruction to fully appreciate the outputs of the professionals, to communicate across spoken dialects that increasingly diverged over time, and to compose their own verse either for entertainment or in response to their poets.[108] Campbell and MacLean aristocracy are among those with surviving poems attributed to them.[109] Classical Gaelic was an understandable and useful dialect for travelling professionals and aristocracy, both in letters and in person, because it did not reflect regional vernacular language. The two examples of letters written in Gaelic using *corra-litir* include one by Lachlann Mór MacLean, chief of the MacLeans of Duart c. 1573-1598, during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, and one by Sir James MacDonald of Islay (d. 1626) written in 1604. There are likely more that did not survive.[110] There is also an extant 1560 treaty between the Earl of Argyll and An Calbhach O'Donnell written in Gaelic and *corra-litir*.[111] In addition, late sixteenth-century Latin and Scots legal documents were sometimes signed in the Gaelic language and script into the beginning of the seventeenth century.[112] The literacy of the learned classes and aristocracy

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[105] MacCoinnich, 'Where and How', 313–16.
[106] Gillies, 'Oral and Written Effects', 29; Brian Ó Cuív, 'The Linguistic Training of the Mediaeval Irish Poet', *Celtica*, 10 (1973), 114–40; Derick Thomson, 'Gaelic Learned Orders and Literati in Medieval Scotland', *SS*, 12 (1968), 57–78.
[107] Gillies, 'Oral and Written Effects', 29; Coira, *By Poetic Authority*, 37–38; Peter MacKay, 'Love and Erotic Poetry', in Carla Sassi (ed.), *International Companion to Scottish Poetry* (Glasgow, 2016), 169–78, at 172; William Gillies, 'Some Aspects of Campbell History', *TGSI*, 50 (1976–1978), 256–95, at 258; John Bannerman, 'Gaelic Endorsements of Early Seventeenth-Century Legal Documents', *Studia Celtica*, 14 (1979), 18–33, at 18, 25, 26; John Bannerman and Ronald Black, 'A Sixteenth-Century Gaelic Letter', *SGS*, 13.1 (1978), 56–65; Ronald Black, 'A Scottish Grammatical Tract, c.1640', *Celtica*, 21 (1990), 3–16, at 4–5; MacGregor, 'Làn-Mara', 6–7.
[108] William Gillies, 'Clan Donald Bards and Scholars', in Gillian Munro and Richard A.V. Cox (eds.), *Cànan & Cultar/Language & Culture, Rannsachadh Na Gàidhlig 4* (Edinburgh, 2010), 91–108; MacGregor, 'Làn-Mara', 6–7; Gillies, 'Oral and Written Effects', 29.
[109] Gillies, 'Clan Donald', 93–94.
[110] Richard A.V. Cox, Colm Ó Baoill (eds.), *Ri Linn Nan Linntean Taghadh de Rosg Gàidhlig* (Ceann Drochaid, 2005), 17–19.
[111] Cox and Ó Baoill, *Ri Linn*, 11–15; John MacKechnie, 'Treaty Between Argyll and O'Donnell', *SGS*, 7 (1953), 94–102.
[112] There was also a note by Mr Iain MacLean saying that in Mr Iain Beaton's first memory, it was customary among nobility to correspond in Gaelic. Bannerman and Black, 'Gaelic Letter', 58–59, 62–63; MacCoinnich, 'Where and How', 320–21; Dawson, *Campbell Letters*.

affected the wider Gaelic community through exposure to their work, such as public and private or household readings of romantic tales (or their entrance into oral tradition) and the verse of bardic poets.[113] Vernacular verse was also influenced by the literary devices and cultural milieu of the bardic poets.[114] Public readings would not have been unusual and were not a specifically Gaelic endeavour: they extended to other types of texts and languages, such as religious material and historical texts.[115]

It was during the seventeenth century that—despite continued scribal activity by some into the eighteenth century—there was the demise of the traditional bardic schools; a decline in the ability to write Gaelic using *corra-litir*; and the fading, though not the extinction, of the learned orders and the use of the literary dialect.[116] Throughout the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century, as the aristocracy of Highland society were increasingly aligned with the economic imperatives of England and Lowland Scotland, patronage for the bardic schools and learned orders gradually stopped. The MacEwens, who were 'poet-historians and genealogists to the MacDougals of Dunollie and the Campbells of Argyll in the sixteenth century', produced work for the Campbells into the early seventeenth century, when their patronage ended.[117] While Cathal MacMhuirich (fl. ante-1618 to c. 1650), a member of the MacMhuirich bardic family, stated that there was 'a forest of learned men' in the Hebrides, he also warned 'his patrons of the danger to themselves in allowing the bardic system to run down' after the death of Iain son of Brian MacMhuirich, who Cathal hoped would be his successor.[118]

Along with the fading of bardic tradition and schools was a weakening of the connections between Gaelic Ireland and Gaelic Scotland. The breaking of these ties was complex, but the Statutes of Iona (1609) have often been credited as a blow that fractured the unity, alongside the English conquest of Ireland and the plantation of Ulster.[119] The Statutes of Iona, as mentioned previously, may not have had a significant impact on changing the behaviour of Highland and Hebridean aristocracy, because they were already

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[113] For more on romantic tales, see section 2.2.3. For specifics of bardic poetry, see Knott, *An Introduction*.
[114] Gillies, 'Oral and Written Effects', 29.
[115] See Donald E. Meek, 'The Pulpit and the Pen: Clergy, Orality and Print in the Scottish Gaelic World', in Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (eds.), *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain, 1500-1850*, Politics, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain (Manchester, 2002), 84–118; Daniel Woolf, 'Speaking of History: Conversations about the Past in Restoration and Eighteenth-Century England', in Daniel Woolf and Adam Fox (eds.), *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain 1500-1850*, Politics, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain (Manchester, 2002), 119–37.
[116] Bannerman, 'Literacy', 224; MacGregor, 'Làn-Mara', 23; Michelle O Riordan, *The Gaelic Mind and the Collapse of the Gaelic World* (Cork, 1990), 215–17.
[117] Bannerman, 'Literacy', 227; Gillies, 'Some Aspects', 258.
[118] Ronald Black, 'The Genius of Cathal MacMhuirich', *TGSI*, 50 (1979), 327–66, at 340, 357.
[119] MacCoinnich, 'Where and How', 310.

sending their children to the Lowlands for education. The conquest of Ireland by the Tudors was achieved in the early seventeenth century through the Battle of Kinsale (1601), the Treaty of Mellifont (1603), the Flight of the Earls (1607), and English/Lowland Scottish plantations in Ulster (beginning 1609).[120] Together, these events meant the weakening of the Irish Gaels in some areas and the weakening of their relationship to Scottish Gaels: from an Irish perspective, settlers from Scotland, even Gaelic-speaking ministers, were associated with English institutions.[121] These events did not end the connections between the Gaelic communities in the two countries, however: Scottish ministers worked in Ireland, including Lachlann Campbell's grandfather, and Lachlann himself had connections in Ireland whom he visited and acquired Gaelic manuscripts from (see Chapter 3). The discussion of MacGilleoin's manuscripts below also attests to continuing connections, as does continuing travel for poetic training after the Ulster plantations.[122]

The focus upon the political impact of the Statutes of Iona, conquest of Ireland, and plantation of Ulster as catalysts of the downfall of the Classical Gaelic tradition reflects the reality that the Gaelic language was a political matter particularly beginning c. 1600.[123] In 1687, Mr James Kirkwood (c.1650-c.1709), known for distributing the Bible in Gaelic to Highland parishes, identified four ways that Gaelic language and society were under attack via political, or at least semi-political, manoeuvres: colonies of English speakers (planted settlements in Kintyre, Lochaber, and Lewis), the scattering of Highlanders all over the nation, English schools, and sending children to learn English and serve outside of the Highlands.[124] We shall see in later chapters that Lachlann and Cailean Campbell were both connected to wider British and even European communities. This was usual for the Campbells, who successfully navigated multiple frontiers since the sixteenth century: 'between Highlands and Lowlands, between Gaelic Scotland and Ireland, and, especially after the Reformation, with England and the matter of Britain'.[125]

The sixteenth century and the regal Union of Scotland and England in 1603 were a turning point in the treatment of Scottish Gaelic by authorities outside of the Highlands. The central government was more assertive in trying to control the region, a new strain of

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[120] Bateman and Ó Baoill, *Gàir Nan Clàrsach*, 6–8; Westerkamp, *Triumph of the Laity*, 19; MacDonald, *Missions to the Gaels*, 2–3; McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 54, 202–3.
[121] McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 190.
[122] Matheson, *An Clarsair Dall*, xxxviii.
[123] Charles W. J. Withers, 'On the Geography and Social History of Gaelic', in William Gillies (ed.), *Gaelic and Scotland = Alba Agus a' Ghàidhlig* (Edinburgh, 1989), 101–30, at 109.
[124] Withers, 'On the Geography', 109; Murray C. T. Simpson, 'Kirkwood, James', *ODNB*, ref: 15682.
[125] MacGregor, 'The Campbells', 121–22.

violent antipathy came to dominate government policy under James VI, and many of the measures taken were 'usually carried out by local proxies such as the Caimbeuls [Campbells]', who could be licensed to use violence, although the actions of the Campbells and others were also in their own self-interest.[126] These activities were in addition to the previously mentioned activities in Ireland, particularly in Ulster. This, at least for some poets, both Classical and vernacular, caused a resentment in the Gaels that the nation 'had been stolen by outsiders or betrayed by traitors who abandoned Gaelic language and culture', a theme that appears in a 1707 semi-bardic poem composed by Mr Iain MacLean, minister of Kilninian, found in the preface of Edward Lhuyd *Archaeologia Britannica* (see Chapter 3). It is titled *Air teachd an Spáin, do shliochd an Gháoidhil ghlais*:[127]

> Reic iád san chúirt í, air cáint úir o Nde
>
> 's do thréig le hair [.i. tàir] budh nár leo ncán'mhain fein.
>
> *They sold it [Gaelic] in the court for a new speech dating from only yesterday*
>
> *and scornfully abandoned it: they were ashamed of their own language.*

The Campbells were often the target of such criticisms in poetry, which was in part a result of the connection between the Campbells and the central governments of Scotland and England, as well as the Argyll family's seizure of land.[128] However, the Campbells had a strong sense of Scottish patriotism (although with a wider British dimension to their political thinking) and a sincere investment in Protestantism, which led to the clan's suffering, particularly with the execution of the clan's leaders in 1660 and 1685.[129] Additionally, members of the Clan Campbell 'preserved a Gaelic consciousness for as long as their counterparts in other important Highland families', and semi-Classical Gaelic poetry was written for them into the eighteenth century, such as *Tuirseach an diugh críocha Gaoidhiol* (Sorrowful today are the bounds of the Gaels) by Uilleam MacMurchy

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[126] Bateman and McLeod, *Duanaire*, xviii.
[127] Bateman and McLeod, *Duanaire*, xxi. See also John MacInnes, 'The Gaelic Perception of the Lowlands', in Michael Newton (ed.), *Dùthchas Nan Gàidheal: Selected Essays of John MacInnes* (Edinburgh, 2006), 34–47, at 42–44.
[128] For an in-depth look at the idea of the Campbells being un-Gaelic, see Gillies, 'Some Aspects'. The MacLeans lost land to the Campbells of Argyll in the 1670s during a lengthy dispute: see Paul Hopkins, *Glencoe and the End of the Highland War* (Edinburgh, 1986), Chapter 2.
[129] MacGregor, 'The Campbells', 122–23; Jane Dawson, *The Politics of Religion in the Age of Mary, Queen of Scots: The Earl of Argyll and the Struggle for Britain and Ireland*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History (Cambridge, 2002). Although Dawson's work focuses upon the 5th Earl of Argyll in the sixteenth century, she discusses how his policies and thinking affected that of his clan in the seventeenth century.

in 1743.[130] The Gaelic-ness of the Campbells is, however, contested in some poetry, and their ancestry is traced in part to the British Arthur in traditional poetry, including *Triath na nGaoidheal* found in NLS 72.1.36: this is discussed further in section 4.3.3.[131]

In addition to Classical Gaelic fading from use for the multitude of reasons outlined above, the language was retooled by Protestant, particularly Presbyterian, Scottish Clergy. It was their activities, patronised by the likes of the Earls of Argyll and the Synod of Argyll, that brought Gaelic texts into print in Gaelic orthography.[132] To achieve this, the Synod of Argyll employed ministers who were descendants of or shared surnames with hereditary professional families, such as the MacMhuirichs, to translate religious material (i.e. psalms and catechisms) into semi-classical, high-register Scottish Gaelic.[133] Significantly, it used type based on roman script, which the ministers found much easier to read than the type based on *corra-litir* used in an Irish Bible published in 1685.[134] It also used Gaelic orthography, and the printing of these materials helped the Scottish Gaelic orthography to become normalised rather than follow the Scots orthography of the BDL and the Fernaig Manuscript.[135] The Gaelic-speaking clergy, including Lachlann Campbell, also interacted with the secular oral and literary traditions of their communities, and some of them went on to preserve aspects of Gaelic tradition by collecting vernacular ballads, songs, and tales: Roibeard Kirk of Aberfoyle, an Episcopalian, (1644-1692) collected materials in the seventeenth century, and there was more activity in the eighteenth century with the likes of Dòmhnall MacNicol of Lismore (1735-1802) and Seumas MacLagan (1728-1805).[136]

The acquisition of literacy in Gaelic, and in particular literacy in *corra-litir* and Classical Gaelic, was a less documented and less widespread affair than English and Latin education. Traditional structures of learning, such as bardic schools and hereditary learned families, faded throughout the seventeenth century, records for private tutelage were

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[130] Gillies, 'Some Aspects', 257; MacGregor, 'The Campbells', 124–25.
[131] *NLS Catalogue*, NLS Adv.MS.72.1.36; William J. Watson, 'Unpublished Gaelic Poetry IV, V', *SGS*, 3 (1929), 139–59, at 142–51; MacGregor, 'The Campbells', 124.
[132] Donald E. Meek, 'The Gaelic Literature of Argyll' (presented at the 'Neil Munro and writers of Argyll', held by The Association for Scottish Literary Studies, Inveraray, 1997) <http://asls.arts.gla.ac.uk/Laverock-Gaelic_Literature.html> [accessed 5 June 2020]; Pons-Sanz and MacCoinnich, 'The Languages of Scotland', 28; Meek, 'The Pulpit', 94.
[133] Bannerman, 'The MacLachlans', 13; Thomson, *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh*, xxxiii, xxxvii–xli; Thomson, *Foirm Na N-Urrnuidheadh*, 183–86; Meek, 'The Pulpit', 91. Members of professional hereditary families moved towards the church as patronage disappeared, allowing them to act as bridges between the Gaelic communities and the wider British Protestant community; see McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 202.
[134] Kelly, 'Revisiting the Language Issue', 10–11.
[135] Pons-Sanz and MacCoinnich, 'Languages of Scotland', 28.
[136] Meek, 'The Pulpit', 109–11; Gunderloch, *Làmh-Sgrìobhainnean*, 17–20; Robert Kirk, *The Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fauns, and Fairies*, ed. by Marina Warner (London, 1893; repr. New York, 2006).

largely lacking (though not non-existent), and the knowledge continued, though it was adapted, by the Presbyterian/Protestant church.[137] Instruction in Gaelic must have continued, however, through at least the seventeenth century, as revealed by the late-seventeenth/early-eighteenth century work of the likes of Niall MacMhuirich, Cailean Campbell of Ardchattan (see Chapter 2), Mr Iain MacLean, and MacGilleoin, sometimes in *corra-litir* but increasingly in roman script. This was a compromise between using *corra-litir* with Gaelic orthography (used in MacGilleoin's manuscripts and the Books of Clanranald) and using roman script with Scots orthography (used in the BDL and the Fernaig manuscript).[138] Mr Cailean Campbell of Ardchattan was 'exhorted to study more exactnes in the pronunciatione of the Irish tongue' by the Presbytery of Lorne in 1678, and that presbytery's clerks appeared 'thoroughly conversant with literary Gaelic' as late as 1677.[139] The King's historiographer, Mr Daniel Campbell, contacted Mr Iain Beaton (d. 1714), considered the last member of his hereditary medical family, so Beaton could teach Daniel to read and understand Gaelic manuscripts, although it is unclear if this took place.[140] There is also evidence of eighteenth-century individuals in Ireland and Scotland who were not traditionally trained in bardic schools but still worked as scribes, such as Dr. Donald Smith in Ireland in 1798, further evidence for continued instruction.[141] The ministers who worked on the Gaelic translations of psalms and scriptures in Argyll must have received a similar type of informal tutelage.[142] Lachlann and Cailean's ability to read, and in Lachlann's case write, Gaelic using *corra-litir* would have been something they were tutored for outside of their formal schooling, and it is possible that MacGilleoin was the one to teach them, given the connection the manuscripts establish between MacGilleoin and each of his patrons.

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[137] Discussed below, sections 1.3.1.2. For more detailed discussion of these general matters of education and the survival/decline of the Classical Tradition, see also: Bannerman, *Beatons*, 65, 98–120; MacCoinnich, 'Where and How', 313–16; Thomson, 'Gaelic Learned Orders'; McManus, 'The Bardic Poet', 101; Gillies, 'Clan Donald', 93–94; Bannerman, 'Literacy', 224, 227; Black, 'Genius of Cathal', 340, 357; Bannerman, 'Gaelic Endorsements', 25–26; Bannerman, 'The MacLachlans', 13; Thomson, *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh*, xxxiii, xxxvii–xli; Thomson, *Foirm Na N-Urrnuidheadh*, 183–86; Meek, 'The Pulpit', 91, 94; Aonghas MacCoinnich, Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh, and Katherine Forsyth, '17th Century – the Church and Education', *Sgeul Na Gàidhlig Aig Oilthigh Ghlaschu*, 2019 <https://sgeulnagaidhlig.ac.uk/17thc-argyll-the-synod/?lang=en> [accessed 28 September 2019].

[138] Mechanisms of teaching to write in Gaelic also continued in Ireland, although also not in traditi onal bardic schools. Raymond Gillespie, 'Scribes and Manuscripts in Gaelic Ireland, 1400-1700', *Studia Hibernica*, 40, 2014, 9–34, at 23–30; Black, 'Gaelic Orthography', 230; Pons-Sanz and MacCoinnich, 'Languages of Scotland', 28.

[139] Adam E. Anderson, 'Notes from the Presbytery Records of Lorne', *TGSI*, 36 (1941), 112–38, at 133–34.

[140] Bannerman, *Beatons*, 120, 132.

[141] Gillespie, 'Scribes and Manuscripts', 23–24, 29–30; McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 60; MacKinnon Catalogue, 250, 317. There is also evidence of non-traditional orthography, such as UCD MS A 24, which uses a French-based orthography for writing Irish: see Canice Mooney, 'Manutiana: The Poems of Manus O'Rourke (c. 1658-1743)', *Celtica*, 1.1 (1946), 1–63.

[142] See section 1.3.3.

When the sons of chiefs and lairds in the seventeenth-century and earlier learned to read, write, and even compose in Gaelic, it was often under the tutelage of members of the professional men of the Gaelic learned orders.[143] There are records of MacLeans tied to Gaelic literary activity both written and oral in Argyll in the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, including Mr Iain MacLean (minister of Kilninian in Mull beginning 1702), poet Anndra MacLean (b. 1635), his father and Bishop of Argyll, Eachann MacLean, Mairghread nighean Lachlainn (c. 1660-1751), and Mr Alastair MacLean, who worked with other ministers in the Synod of Argyll on the Gaelic metrical Psalms c. 1655.[144] Although the influences on MacGilleoin's Gaelic learning cannot be pinpointed, they may have been tied to a member of his own family, and/or tied to the Gaelic literary network in Argyll, such as those translating religious materials (see section 1.3.1.2). These examples of Gaelic activity by other seventeenth-century MacLeans demonstrate that MacGilleoin's work with Gaelic was probably not uncommon for a MacLean in Kintyre, although the work taking place under patronage almost certainly was, given the decline of patronage in the seventeenth century that was discussed above.

This section has provided an overview of the Classical Gaelic tradition and economic, cultural, and political factors which contributed to its decline. It considered Gaelic education and MacGilleoin's place within it: evidence certainly indicates a continued educational provision into the late-seventeenth century, although in a different form and with different intent than the bardic schools. Additionally, much like the production of manuscripts, this educational provision may not have been equal across Gaelic Scotland, centred largely in Argyll and often related to the work of the Synod of Argyll. The following two sections provide more detail relevant to the seventeenth century. Section 1.3.1.1 explores poetic individuals and learned families active in the seventeenth century to the early eighteenth century. Section 1.3.1.2 turns to the religious translations produced by the Synod of Argyll. Both sections add nuance to the complex transitional environment of language use, including the development of a high-register Scottish Gaelic and the composition of semi-bardic poetry. A discussion of the Classical Gaelic manuscripts, manuscript collections, and libraries of manuscripts located and/or

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[143] Gillies, 'Clan Donald'; MacGregor, 'Làn-Mara', 6–7; Gillies, 'Oral and Written Effects', 29.

[144] More examples of MacLeans connected to Gaelic literature can be found in section 2.3.2.2. For information about Mr Alastair MacLean, whose son Gilleasbaig MacLean was a minister who worked in both Scotland and Ireland, see Black, 'Gaelic Orthography', 231; James McConnell and others, *Fasti of the Irish Presbyterian Church* (Belfast, 1937), 116; *Fasti*, IV, , 34, 44, 56, 60, and 62. For more information about the other MacLeans and examples of their poetry, see Colm Ó Baoill, *Eachann Bacach and Other Maclean Poets* (Edinburgh, 1979); MacLean Sinclair, *Na Baird Leathanach*, I; Alexander MacLean Sinclair, *The Gaelic Bards: From 1715 to 1765* (Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, 1892), 1–8.

produced in Scotland is in the next chapter, where MacGilleoin's manuscripts and their contents are compared to manuscript circulation and contemporary production.

1.3.1.1 Classical Register Poetry

The poetry taught to and written by the professional poets followed strict rules regulating rhyme, consonance, alliteration, and syllabic structure.[145] This syllabic (or bardic) poetry was written exclusively using Classical Gaelic, with regularity in number and distribution of syllables via four styles of poem: *dán díreach, brúilingeacht, óglách*as, and *droighneach*.[146] This type of poetry was found in both Gaelic Scotland and Ireland, although Ireland was systematically dominant in the cultural milieu.[147] By the end of the seventeenth century, there were not many poets who could compose verse in these strict syllabic styles, although there was still knowledge of the poetic forms. In 1658, for instance, the men working on the Gaelic translation of the metrical Psalms were instructed to take them to an Iain MacMarcus in Campbeltown to improve the metre and rhythm of some of the psalms. Just a year later Cailean Campbell, son of Mr Ninian Campbell, was sent to the same man to improve his Gaelic.[148] There were also examples of bardic, or semi-bardic, poetry produced c. 1700, and this style of poetry was still circulating, at least among some of the upper class and educated members of Scottish Gaelic society.[149]

The MacMhuirich hereditary bardic family held lands in Kintyre in the fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century, first under the Lord of the Isles and later the Campbells of Argyll. A 'Gillecallum McMurrich' held Kintyre lands from 1502 to 1505, possibly the poet 'Giolla Caluim mac an Ollaimh'; 'Johannes McMurich (McMurin and McMuryne)' held lands in southern Kintyre, north of Southend, from 1505 to 1541; 'Donaldus McMurrich' held Kintyre lands in 1505; and 'Johannes McMurech Albany' (implying 'that he was the chief living poet'), possibly the same John MacMhuirich, held lands in 1541.[150] There are mentions of individuals with a surname that was a variant of MacMhuirich in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well: Muireadh ('Kintyre, Islay, Colonsay, Jura, etc.') in 1624; McMuireach, Mhuiridh, and McWirrich in Uist in

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[145] Knott, *An Introduction*, 1.
[146] For more detailed information about these styles, see Knott, *An Introduction*.
[147] Bateman and McLeod, *Duanaire*, xxxviii; McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 84–85.
[148] Colm Ó Baoill, 'Domhnall Mac Mharcuis', *SGS*, 12.2 (1976), 183–93, at 184-85; *MAUG*, III, xiv; Duncan C. MacTavish (ed.), *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll*, Publications of the Scottish History Society, 37–38, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1943), II, 204, 212; MacCoinnich, Ó Maolalaigh, and Forsyth, 'Sgeul Na Gàidhlig: 17th Century – the Church and education'.
[149] For a discussion of poetry among the upper classes of Gaelic society and examples of the poetry, see Gillies, 'Clan Donald'.
[150] Derick Thomson, 'The MacMhuirich Bardic Family', *TGSI*, 43 (1960–1963), 276–304, at 291-92.

1707, 1647, 1622, and 1669; and McUrich in Mull in 1675.[151] There are other possible surname variants, including the lands of 'Kildallage, Knockquhirk and Achuquhonis', held by a 'Johannes McMurthe' or 'McMurchie': 'McMurchie' may have been a variant of MacMhuirich, although it also may have been a different family.[152] Kildalloig (Kildallage) was where Lachlann's father held land in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Sometime during the sixteenth century, between 1541 and 1596, the MacMhuirich hereditary bardic family moved to Uist and worked under the auspices of the MacDonalds of Clanranald.[153] Members of the MacMhuirich family remained in Kintyre, however, as shown by the names in records mentioned above; members of the family continued to reside in Kintyre and Argyll.

The MacMhuirich bardic family produced classical poetry through the seventeenth century, and a look at the succession of poets from the beginning of the seventeenth century through to the early eighteenth century offers a glimpse at the transformation of the profession.[154] Niall Mór MacMhuirich was likely the first of his branch of the family to be born under the Clanranalds, and he was contemporary with Ruairi Mór MacLeòid of Harris and Dunvegan (d. 1626).[155] Four poems ascribed to him survive, one of which is *Soraidh slán don aoidhche a-réir* (A Fond Farewell to Last Night), which is found in NLS 72.1.36.[156] His successor was Cathal MacMhuirich (fl. ante-1618 to c. 1650), followed by Niall MacMhuirich (c. 1635-1726), both of whom participated in compiling a manuscript known as the Red Book of Clanranald, although Niall was the primary compiler. The three MacMhuirichs were all the products of the classical schooling system, indicating that it survived in their family into the mid- to late-seventeenth century.[157]

Niall MacMhuirich composed in both the classical and vernacular Scottish Gaelic dialect and verse metres, and as a result, his work survived both in manuscript and oral tradition.[158] His skill in both classical and vernacular styles is demonstrated by two elegies written for Ailean MacDonald of Clanranald (d. 1715), one in the vernacular and one in classical.[159] Niall was aware of the changes occurring in the seventeenth century with the

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[151] Thomson, 'MacMhuirich', 294.
[152] Thomson, 'MacMhuirich', 291-95.
[153] Thomson, 'MacMhuirich', 295-96.
[154] Thomson, 'Gaelic Learned Orders', 73–74.
[155] Thomson, 'MacMhuirich', 298.
[156] Thomson, 'MacMhuirich', 298; Alexander MacBain, John Kennedy (eds.), 'The Book of Clanranald', *Reliquiae Celticae*, 2 (Inverness, 1894), 138–309, at 284; Clancy, 'Fond Farewell'; Katherine Simms and Mícheál Hoyne, 'Bardic Poetry Database', s.v. #598, #1679, and #1741 <https://bardic.celt.dias.ie/> [accessed 15 May 2020]; John Gillies (ed.), *Sean dain, agus orain Ghaidhealach* (Perth, 1786), 291–92.
[157] Thomson, 'MacMhuirich', 298–99.
[158] Thomson, 'MacMhuirich', 299–300.
[159] Gillies, 'Gaelic of Niall MacMhuirich', 75–77; Thomson, 'MacMhuirich', 300.

decline of classical and rise of vernacular. It appears that with the Red Book, Niall was compiling a text for 'a future in which there were no bardic schools to provide a rigorous training in the Classical Gaelic language, metrics, mythology and lore.'[160] Participating in both the classical and vernacular tradition was a necessary step on Niall's part: continuing the classical tradition as he was able, but also composing in the vernacular tradition that was growing in prominence.[161] NLS 72.1.36 contains poetry that is both classical and vernacular, so Cailean and MacGilleoin had knowledge of both traditions, and such cultural literary knowledge likely extended to Lachlann.

Another Kintyre-based hereditary learned family was the MacMarcus [MacMharcuis] family, successors of a poet who held the lands of 'Kyram Mor' (Keranmoir, about three miles north-east of Southend) and Laggan (about four miles north of Campbeltown) in North Kintyre in 1505/1506: 'MacMurche' or 'John McMarkisch'.[162] In 1541, 'Gilnow McMarkische' was tenant of Laggan and 'Gilnow McMarcus' tenant of Keranmoir, probably the 'Giolla Naomh Mac Mharcuis' who has two stanzas in the Book of the Dean of Lismore.[163] 'Donald MacMarkie'or 'Donald M'Varchis' held the lands in 1596, but both were unoccupied in 1605.[164] In two seventeenth century maps from c. 1620-1654, Laggan is labelled with 'Balamik Marquis' and 'Balamack/markish'.[165] Members of the family may also have moved from Scotland to Ireland, such as 'Ainnrias Mac Marcuis', on record in Co. Antrim in 1601 and 1602.[166] A Dòmhnall MacMarcus, from just north of Campbeltown in Kintyre, lived around 1700, when he replied to queries about Gaelic from Robert Wodrow and wrote a poem in Gaelic praising the Synod of Argyll, which survives in the collection of Mr Cailean Campbell of Achnaba.[167] He described himself as 'a friend to the Irish language as being somewhat taught there in letter and language'.[168] MacMarcus was said to be the son or grandson of Iain MacMarcus (fl. 1658-1659) and 'was employed in Lochaber by the Synod of Argyll' as a catechist and

[160] Gillies, 'Oral and Written Effects', 31; Gillies, 'Gaelic of Niall MacMhuirich'.
[161] The vernacular and classical traditions were not separate; rather, they were interlinked and influenced each other. Later poets, such as Uilleam MacMurchy in the early- to mid-eighteenth century, wrote in a classical-inspired vernacular with the fading nobility as his preferred audience. See Maolcholaim Scott, 'Poetry and Politics in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Argyll: Tuirseach Andiugh Críocha Gaoidhiol', in McGuire and Ó Baoill, *Rannsachadh Na Gàidhlig 2000*, 149–62.
[162] Thomson, 'MacMhuirich', 293; Ó Baoill, 'Domhnall', 183.
[163] Ó Baoill, 'Domhnall', 183.
[164] Ó Baoill, 'Domhnall', 184.
[165] Ó Baoill, 'Domhnall', 183.
[166] Ó Baoill, 'Domhnall', 184. For the MacMarcus family, see also McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 78.
[167] Ó Baoill, 'Domhnall', 185–87, 190–91; Colm Ó Baoill, 'Gaelic Manuscripts in the Colin Campbell Collection', *SGS*, 14.1 (1983), 83–99, at 84.
[168] Ó Baoill, 'Domhnall', 186.

schoolmaster from at least 1697-1701.[169] Iain MacMarcus assisted with the translation of the first 50 metrical psalms, and Dòmhnall MacMarcus worked on the Gaelic metrical Psalms published in 1694.[170] In 1660, a student named Coline Campbell studied the Irish language with one 'mc Marquesse in Kintyre'.[171] MacGilleoin was also a schoolmaster, on record from 1697-1699, in Kilchenzie, not far to the northwest of Campbeltown; he and Dòmhnall MacMarcus would likely have known each other.

There are a few other poets worth mentioning at this time, the earlier of whom would have been known to MacGilleoin, Lachlann, and/or Cailean. The first is Niall MacEwen (fl. c. 1630-52), a member of the MacEwen bardic family, which were patronised by the Campbells of Argyll until c. 1635.[172] Angus Matheson has suggested that he may have composed the anonymous bardic poem *Maith an chairt ceannas na nGaoidheal* (A good charter is the headship of the Gael), which is conventional in style, as well as *Triath na nGaoidheal Giolla-easbuig* (Giolla-easbuig is the Lord of the Gaels) and *Rug eadrain ar iath nAlban* (He has made an intervention upon the land of Alba), both of which are located in NLS 72.1.36 and so are explored further in Chapter 4.[173] He may also have written NLS 1745 c. 1640, containing bardic grammatical material, and helped in the translation into Gaelic of the Shorter Catechism c. 1652.[174] Secondly, Mr Iain MacLean, minister of Kilninian, composed semi-bardic poetry, including an ode in praise of Edward Lhuyd's *Archaeologia Britannica* (see Chapter 3).[175] Finally, one of the latest extant bardic, near-syllabic poems to 'survive anywhere' was *Tuirseach an diugh críocha Gaoidhiol* (Sorrowful today are the bounds of the Gaels) was composed in 1743 for Iain, 2nd Duke of Argyll by Uilleam MacMurchy, a poet and harper associated with Kintyre.[176]

In conclusion, Classical Gaelic bardic verse was still being written somewhat regularly in the first half of the seventeenth century, including to the Earl/Marquis of Argyll whose son may have possessed a Gaelic grammatical tract.[177] As the century progressed, purely classical poetry became less common in correlation with the decline of the hereditary learned families, and the semi-classical style, or a classical-influenced high

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[169] Ó Baoill, 'Domhnall', 184, 187–88; McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 78.
[170] Ó Baoill, 'Domhnall', 184; MacCoinnich, Ó Maolalaigh, and Forsyth, 'Sgeul Na Gàidhlig'; Black, 'Gaelic Orthography', 232.
[171] Ó Baoill, 'Domhnall', 185.
[172] Black, 'Scottish Grammatical Tract', 6; MacInnes, *British Confederate*, 67.
[173] Black, 'Genius of Cathal', 329; Angus Matheson, 'Bishop Carswell', *TGSI*, 42 (1965), 183–205, at 202–3; McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 65.
[174] Black, 'Scottish Grammatical Tract', particularly at 5.
[175] Bannerman, *Beatons*, 131–32. It can be found with MacLean's other work in Ó Baoill, *Eachann Bacach*, 90–121.
[176] MacGregor, 'The Campbells', 124–25; Gillies, 'Some Aspects', 259; Scott, 'Poetry and Politics'.
[177] Black, 'Scottish Grammatical Tract'.

register of Scottish Gaelic, became more common. Some of the classical poetry was still culturally known in the late-seventeenth century, however, as evidenced by its appearance in MacGilleoin's NLS 72.1.36, both standalone and embedded into a prose tale, and its inclusion in Niall MacMhuirich's Red Book of Clanranald. There were also still some people who could compose poetry in the classical style, or near to it, such as Dòmhnall MacMarcus and Mr Iain MacLean. The ability to compose semi-classical verse survived a little into the mid-eighteenth century with Uilleam MacMurchy. Nevertheless, as explored in section 1.3.2, vernacular language poetry grew in prestige with the decline of the classical and was an important part of the literary landscape of the late-seventeenth century.

1.3.1.2 Gaelic Printing and Religious Translations

Printing had a limited role in Scottish Gaelic literature in the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries: the first secular, vernacular printed literary work was by Alasdair MacDonald [Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair] and published in 1751.[178] The printing of translations of religious texts into Gaelic, however, began with Bishop Iain (Seon) Carswell's translation of John Knox's *Book of the Common Order, Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh* (The Form of Prayers) in 1567.[179] Carswell, superintendent of Argyll and first reformed Bishop of the Isles with Gilleasbaig, 5th Earl of Argyll as his patron, was active in Scots, Latin, and Gaelic linguistic and literary cultures in the sixteenth century, having translated from both Latin and English versions of Knox's text.[180] Carswell's book was written using Classical Gaelic language and orthography, not the vernacular, so it could be used in both Ireland and Scotland, but it was printed in Roman font. Subsequent Gaelic books in Scotland also used Roman characters, 'as have almost all hand-written texts produced after the end of the seventeenth century'.[181]

The Synod of Argyll, with the sponsorship of the Argyll family, translated catechisms and Psalms in the seventeenth century using a language that was a mix between the classical and vernacular: in other words, a high-register Scottish Gaelic.[182]

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[178] Bateman and McLeod, *Duanaire*, xxii; Pons-Sanz and MacCoinnich, 'Languages of Scotland', 23. A decade earlier, a Gaelic-English dictionary compiled by Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair was published: Alasdair MacDomhnuill, *Leabhar a Theagasc Ainminnin: No, A Nuadhfhocloir Gaoidheilg & Beurla* (Edinburgh, 1741).
[179] Meek, 'Gaelic Literature'.
[180] MacGregor, 'The Campbells', 127, 141–43; Bannerman, 'Literacy', 221.
[181] Bateman and McLeod, *Duanaire*, xxiii; Pons-Sanz and MacCoinnich, 'Languages of Scotland', 25. Gaelic books printed in Ireland used a font designed to resemble *corra-litir*.
[182] Pons-Sanz and MacCoinnich, 'Languages of Scotland', 25–26; Thomson, *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh*, xxv–xxxix.

These translations came with challenges, as the General Assembly and Church of Scotland were not as keen as the Synod of Argyll to produce and circulate them, and at times this impeded the work and distribution.[183] Still, John Calvin's Catechism was published by the Synod in translation in 1631, the first fifty metrical Psalms in 1659, and the full hundred Psalms in 1694.[184] Robert Kirk's translation of the Psalter was published in 1684, although this was not connected to the Synod.[185] Kirk also transliterated a printed Irish translation of the Bible into roman characters from a type resembling *corra-litir*, but it still was not 'readily understandable to the general population in the way a Scottish Gaelic Bible would be'.[186] The Synod's translations were done by ministers and members of hereditary learned families, such as the MacLachlans and MacEwens, to promote the provision of religious material in Gaelic for Gaelic-speaking Scottish audiences.[187] These individuals included Niall MacEwen; Dùghall Campbell, minister of Knapdale; and Alastair MacLean, minister of Strachur and Strathlachlan.[188] The intended audience included Lachlann Campbell and also likely included MacGilleoin and Cailean. The translation and printing work by the Synod of Argyll greatly aided the continuing of Gaelic as a literary medium in Gaelic orthography into the eighteenth century, establishing a tradition upon which later Gaelic published works could draw.[189] Later works like Alasdair MacDonald's 1751 publication contained vernacular material, and it is to the vernacular that we now turn.

1.3.2 Vernacular Gaelic

In the seventeenth century, Gaelic was the 'predominant language in the south-west Highlands, though less exclusively so in parts of Cowal and in parishes like Inveraray and Campbeltown'.[190] This was due to Inveraray being the seat of the Campbells of Argyll and Campbeltown having had Lowland settlement/plantation in the early- to mid-seventeenth

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[183] Durkacz, *Decline of the Celtic Languages*, 15–23.
[184] Thomson, *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh*; R. L. Thomson, 'The Language of the Caogad (1659)', *SGS*, 12.2 (1976), 175–82; R. L. Thomson, 'The Language of the Shorter Catechism (1659)', *SGS*, 12.1 (1971), 34–51.
[185] MacPhàrlain, *Lamh-Sgrìobhainn Mhic Rath*, 290.
[186] Black, 'Gaelic Orthography', 233; Donald E. Meek, 'Language and Style in the Scottish Gaelic Bible (1767-1807)', J. Derrick McClure (ed.), *Scottish Language*, 9 (1990), 1–16, at 2–3.
[187] Bannerman, 'The MacLachlans', 13; Thomson, *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh*, xxxiii, xxxvii–xli; Thomson, *Foirm Na N-Urrnuidheadh*, 183–86; Innes and Reid, 'Expressions of Faith', 69.
[188] Other individuals were John MacMarcus; David Simpson of Killean; Cailean MacLachlan, minister of Lochgoilhead; John MacLachlan, minister of Kilbrandon; Martin MacLachlan, minister in Islay; Ewen Cameron, minister of Dunoon; and John Stewart, minister of Kingarth. Bannerman, 'The MacLachlans', 13; Black, 'Scottish Grammatical Tract', 6; MacInnes, 'Scottish Gaeldom, 1638-1651', 63–64; Duncan C. MacTavish, Synod of Argyll (eds.), *The Gaelic Psalms, 1694: Being a Reprint of the Edition Issued by the Synod of Argyll in That Year* (Lochgilphead, 1934), vii–ix; Black, 'Gaelic Orthography', 231–32.
[189] Meek, 'Gaelic Literature'; Meek, 'The Pulpit', 91.
[190] Withers, 'On the Geography', 105.

century (leading to two congregations, one English/Lowland and one Gaelic/Highland).[191] There was no distinct demarcation between Gaelic-speaking communities and English-speaking communities; rather, the population had varying combinations of language knowledge ranging from full bilingualism to only fluency in either English or Gaelic.[192] Lachlann Campbell, whose family was from Campbeltown parish, would have grown up around both Gaelic and English speakers. Furthermore, Cailean Campbell and Eoghan MacGilleoin would have had exposure to both languages as well, as demonstrated by their ability to read and/or write both languages, a skill that was common among their class in English but less so in Gaelic.[193] The Gaelic dialects varied throughout Argyll, but they were distinctly Scottish dialects, although the Gaelic spoken in Southend, at the southern most point of Kintyre (and less than seven miles from Kildalloig, where Lachlann's father lived), was said in the twentieth century to have more features in common with Irish Gaelic than other parts of Kintyre.[194] The Gaelic-speaking communities in Argyll did not decline at the same time as the classical tradition: the extent of the Gàidhealtachd (i.e., Gaelic-speaking areas) in the 1760s was similar to the 1690s, although English had made further inroads during the eighteenth century.[195] There was, then, an audience for Gaelic literature and performance, and it was the increasingly prominent vernacular tradition that filled the gap left by the decline of the learned orders.

Throughout the seventeenth century, vernacular tradition without the strict metres of the professional bardic poets became more popular, or at least more prevalent in surviving records, and poets without bardic school training emerged with more prominence.[196] This poetry may have been more accessible to ordinary Gaelic speakers. By the seventeenth century, and likely earlier, Classical Gaelic was significantly different from the Scottish vernacular dialects.[197] The Skye writer Martin Martin, c. 1695,

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[191] Withers, 'On the Geography', 105; *Fasti*, IV, 4, 48.
[192] Withers, 'On the Geography', 105; G.W.S. Barrow, 'The Lost Gàidhealtachd of Medieval Scotland', in William Gillies (ed.), *Gaelic and Scotland = Alba Agus a' Ghàidhlig* (Edinburgh, 1989), 67–88, at 69.
[193] For examples of this, see chapters 2 and 4.
[194] Nils M. Holmer, *The Gaelic of Kintyre* (Dublin, 1962), 1-2. Discussion of the continuum of dialects across the North Channel can be found in Colm Ó Baoill, 'The Gaelic Continuum', *Éigse*, 32 (2000), 121–34; Colm Ó Baoill, *Contributions to a Comparative Study of Ulster Irish & Scottish Gaelic*, Studies in Irish Language and Literature, 4 (Belfast, 1978). For additional information on Gaelic in Argyll, albeit the Gaelic of the early twentieth century, see Nils M. Holmer, *Studies on Argyllshire Gaelic* (Uppsala, 1938). The dialect spoken in County Antrim was known as a 'Highland Irish', a reflection of the closeness of the MacDonald/MacDonnell Gaelic worlds in Ireland and Scotland by sea: see Jane H. Ohlmeyer, *Civil War and Restoration in the Three Stuart Kingdoms: The Career of Randal MacDonnell, Marquis of Antrim, 1609-1683*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History (Cambridge, 1993), 6–7.
[195] Withers, 'On the Geography', 105–6.
[196] Coira, *By Poetic Authority*, 40–43.
[197] Bateman and McLeod, *Duanaire*, xxx; O Riordan, *The Gaelic Mind*, 215–16; McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 47; Meek, 'Language and Style', 5–6.

commented that the panegyric of the remaining Classical Gaelic poets was 'understood by very few'.[198] This does not necessarily mean that work in Classical Gaelic was not culturally significant, however, similar to the way English-speaking individuals today think highly of works by the likes of Chaucer and Shakespeare even if they cannot fully understand it. Chapter 3 explores the intelligibility of Classical Gaelic more through the discussion of TCD 1307 and Lachlann Campbell. The themes and preoccupations of the vernacular poetry did not diverge substantially from that of the bardic poetry: both contemporary vernacular and formal, syllabic compositions are 'rooted in the bardic field of reference', that is, the panegyric code and related literary devices.[199]

The decline of the classical tradition happened alongside a shift in identity among Scottish Gaels, both an internal and external identity, at least as expressed in English. The use of 'Irish' to mean 'Gaelic', which began in the fifteenth century, was evolving in the seventeenth century, and terms such as 'Scottish-Irish' were used to distinguish the Scottish form of the Gaelic language.[200] Spellings such as 'Gàilig' and 'Gàilic' also began to emerge in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, using *à* rather than the Classical Gaelic *aoi*.[201] Lachlann Campbell notes the distinction. He refers specifically to 'our Scotch Irish words' that he added to Edward Lhuyd's Gaelic dictionary in *Archaeologia Britannica*, marking them as '(Scot)' because he knew they were used in Scotland, although he notes that many of the words were also used in Ireland.[202] Indeed, at the end of the sixteenth century, Irish speakers 'perceived Scottish Gaelic as a distinct (though perhaps still intelligible) variety.'[203] By the mid-eighteenth century, 'Scottish Gaels manifestly considered themselves to be distinct in identity and language'.[204] Before that, in the seventeenth century, Scottish Gaels also developed a stronger sense of belonging not

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[198] Martin Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland*, 2nd edn (London, 1716), 116.
[199] O Riordan, *The Gaelic Mind*, 240; Coira, *By Poetic Authority*, 42–43; John MacInnes, 'The Panegyric Code in Gaelic Poetry and Its Historical Background', *TGSI*, 50 (1976–1978), 435–98.
[200] Wodrow, for instance, used the 'Scottish-Irish' in 1700: Horsburgh, 'When Was Gaelic Scottish?', 233–35. The use of 'Irish' by Scots speakers replaced 'the Scottish tongue' around the fifteenth century, possibly around the time 'Inglis' was rebranded as 'Scots'; see Pons-Sanz and MacCoinnich, 'Languages of Scotland', 21; Martin MacGregor, 'Gaelic Barbarity and Scottish Identity in the Later Middle Ages', in Dauvit Broun and Martin MacGregor (eds.), *Mìorun Mòr Nan Gall, 'The Great Ill-Will of the Lowlander'? Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands, Medieval and Modern*. (University of Glasgow, 2009), 7–48, at 37–38.
[201] See titles of works listed in Mary Ferguson and Ann Matheson, *Scottish Gaelic Union Catalogue: A List of Books Printed in Scottish Gaelic from 1567 to 1973* (Edinburgh, 1984), such as p.33, #556 and #557.
[202] Sharpe, 'Lachlan Campbell's Letters', 258. See Chapter 3 for more on Lachlann's relationship with the Gaelic language. The main dictionary includes at least one Scottish Gaelic word (*suachgan*, a variant of *suacan*), and it is possible Lhuyd acquired this entry from a Scottish source, possibly even MacGilleoin or Lachlann. See Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh, 'A Gaulish-Gaelic correspondence: s(o)uxt- and suac(hd)an', *Ériu*, 55 (2005), 103–17, at 104.
[203] Bateman and McLeod, *Duanaire*, xxix.
[204] Horsburgh, 'When Was Gaelic Scottish?', 231–36.

just in Scotland but also in Britain, with an increased interest in wider British politics, which oriented them more towards England, the primary centre of power.[205]

1.3.2.1 Vernacular Poetry and Poets

Although the language and metre of vernacular Gaelic poetry may differ from that of classical poetry, there is continuity of the types of themes, imagery, and rhetoric used.[206] For example, clan poetry reflected clan politics, including alliances, victories, and defeats, whether the poetry was classical or vernacular.[207] We have seen some poets who have walked the line between classical and vernacular, such as Niall MacMhuirich, but from the early-seventeenth century there were a growing number of known accomplished poets untrained in the classical tradition whose work was preserved in oral tradition as songs. Songs in the classical language from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were also preserved in the oral tradition, but these songs 'almost certainly reflect linguistic adaption and modernisation' over time and are therefore semi-classical and can be difficult to date.[208] Over 500 vernacular songs that circulated orally have been recovered pre-dating 1730, some of which fall under the genres of clan poetry, elegiac works (Eachann Bacach and An Clàrsair Dall), political response (Iain MacDonald [Iain Lom]), and some waulking or rowing songs.[209] Additionally, female poets are represented in the corpus of vernacular Scottish Gaelic poetry to a much greater degree than in the classical tradition.[210]

Some of the poets were members of hereditary poetic families who had not, as far as we know, received any training. For instance, it seems that Cathal MacMhuirich had a son, Maol Moire, who was living in mainland Clanranald territory in 1694 and was 'put forward as a poet to deliver public censure by Maighstir Alasdair', father of the eighteenth-century poet Alasdair MacDonald.[211] Other poets were members of aristocratic families. There are a substantial number of MacLean poets, some of them connected to high-ranking members of the clan: Anndra MacLean [Anndra Mac-an-Easbuig] (born c. 1635, a son of Bishop Eachann MacLean); Iain mac Ailein (born as early as 1665 to c.

[205] Coira, *By Poetic Authority*, 47.
[206] Pons-Sanz and MacCoinnich, 'Languages of Scotland', 25; MacInnes, 'Panegyric Code'.
[207] Gillies, 'Some Aspects', 264.
[208] Bateman and McLeod, *Duanaire*, xxx.
[209] Pons-Sanz and MacCoinnich, 'Languages of Scotland', 30. Songs, particularly anonymous songs, can be difficult to date, and there may be more originating in the seventeenth century than can be said for certain; see Bateman and Ó Baoill, *Gàir Nan Clàrsach*, 25–33.
[210] Ó Baoill, *Scottish Gaelic Vernacular Verse*; Anne Frater, 'Scottish Gaelic Women's Poetry up to 1750' (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1994).
[211] Black, 'Genius of Cathal', 342.

1738, descendant of Ewen, 6th MacLean of Ardgour); Mairghread MacLean [Mairghread nighean Lachlainn] (c. 1660-1750, Mull); Dòmhnall MacLean [Dòmhnall Bàn] (Mull), and Mr Iain MacLean, minister of Kilninian.[212] Mairghread MacLean and two other female poets, Sìleas MacDonald [Sìleas na Ceapaich] (c. 1660-c. 1729; daughter of Gilleasbuig, the 15th chief of the MacDonalds of Keppoch) and Màiri MacLeod [Màiri nighean Alasdair Ruaidh] (c. 1615-c. 1707), have a substantial corpus of work that survives.[213] A few other examples of seventeenth-century vernacular poets are An t-Aos dàna Mac Shithich, who wrote a lament for Gilleasbuig, 9th Earl of Argyll, in 1685 titled 'Cumha do Ghille-Easpuig Caimbeul Iarla Earra-Ghaidheal' (Lament for Gilleasbaig Campbell, Earl of Argyll); Gilleasbuig na Ceapaich; Iain MacDonald [Iain Lom]; and Roibeard Campbell, who wrote a poem for the preface of Edward Lhuyd's *Archaeologia Britannica*.[214] Uilleam MacMurchy embodied the mixing of classical and vernacular: he is a later reflex of the same Argyll manuscript and poetic tradition being explored in this thesis, with some of his poems referencing Kintyre, and given his dates and location, it is possible he was taught by MacGilleoin.[215]

Vernacular poetry, then, was created by a more diverse range of individuals than classical poetry, including people from all classes, both sexes, and people without any formal training in the classical tradition. Due to the largely oral nature of the vernacular poetry, it was not necessary to know how to read or write Gaelic. At the same time, Niall MacMhuirich, who had classical training, also composed in the vernacular, and Uilleam MacMurchy composed in the vernacular but worked with and copied classical texts, even editing and vernacularising at least one poem.[216] The vernacular tradition, which shares imagery and rhetoric with the classical tradition, is a continuation from listening to and composing poetry among all levels of Gaelic-speaking communities. Due to the decline of

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[212] For more information about them and examples of their poetry, see Ó Baoill, *Eachann Bacach*; MacLean Sinclair, *Na Baird Leathanach*, I.

[213] Pons-Sanz and MacCoinnich, 'Languages of Scotland', 23; Colm Ó Baoill (ed.), *Mairghread Nighean Lachlainn Song-Maker of Mull: An Edition and Study of the Extant Corpus of Her Verse in Praise of the Jacobite Maclean Leaders of Her Time*, Scottish Gaelic Texts, 19 (Wales, 2009); Colm Ó Baoill (ed.), *Poems and Songs by Sileas MacDonald c. 1660-c. 1729*, Scottish Gaelic Texts, 13 (Edinburgh, 1972); Colm Ó Baoill (ed.), *Màiri Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh: Song-Maker of Skye and Berneray*, Scottish Gaelic Texts, 22 (Glasgow, 2014).

[214] Gillies, 'Some Aspects', 261. For poems by Gilleasbuig na Ceapaich and Iain Lom, see Bateman and Ó Baoill, *Gàir Nan Clàrsach*. For information on Robert Campbell, see Colm Ó Baoill, 'Robert Campbell, Forsair Choire an t-Sìth', *SGS*, 23 (2007), 57–84. For An t-Aos dàna Mac Shithich's lament, see William J. Watson, *Bardachd Ghaidhlig: specimens of Gaelic poetry, 1550-1900* (Glasgow : An Comunn Gaidhealach, 1918), 172–76.

[215] MacKinnon Catalogue, 278; Martin, *Kintyre*, 12; *NLS Catalogue*, NLS Adv.MS.72.1.12; Ó Macháin, 'Scribal Practice'; Scott, 'Poetry and Politics'; Thomas Owen Clancy, 'Mourning Fearchar Ó Maoilchiaráin: Texts, Transmission and Transformation', in Wilson McLeod, James E. Fraser, and Anja Gunderloch (eds.), *Cànan & Cultar/Language & Culture, Rannsachadh Na Gàidhlig 3* (Edinburgh, 2006), 57–71, at 58–59.

[216] Clancy, 'Mourning', 59-61; Gillies, 'Gaelic of Niall MacMhuirich', 75-76.

the classical tradition, however, the vernacular tradition grew in prestige and prominence, and by the end of the seventeenth century, more new poetry was being composed in the vernacular than in the classical language. Some vernacular poetry and/or poetry from oral tradition can be found within MacGilleoin's manuscripts (see Chapter 2).

1.3.3 Summary

Eoghan MacGilleoin and his Campbell patrons produced their manuscripts towards the end of a transitional time in Gaelic literary history. The above overview of the context of Gaelic literacy and poetry with a particular focus on Argyll was necessary to begin to understand the milieu in which the manuscripts were produced. The classical bardic tradition, already weakened by the 1690s, faded out during the early- to mid-eighteenth century, social ties to Ireland were weaker than they had been the previous centuries, and upper-class Gaelic speakers were increasingly drawn into wider Scottish and British politics, which largely had a negative view of the Gaelic language and promoted English education. The three men participated in the classical tradition while their educations and professional lives were otherwise dominated by English. MacGilleoin, a schoolmaster, taught in English; Cailean Campbell, who later joined the British military, was stationed in England (see Chapter 4); Lachlann Campbell, although minister to a Gaelic-speaking congregation, used English for his university studies and interacting with other ministers (see Chapter 3); and all three men would have conducted business and, as far as we know, correspondence, in English. Their endeavours with Gaelic manuscripts, while a part of their cultural environment, were unusual for the time, when oral vernacular literature was rising in prestige and members of the Gaelic elite were writing genealogies in English based at least in part upon the Gaelic literary heritage. MacGilleoin's Gaelic manuscripts can offer a glimpse into this transitional period and the circumstances which led to the production of the manuscripts, particularly when considered alongside poetry and oral literary traditions and activity, discussed in this section, and contemporary manuscript production, discussed in the next chapter. Indeed, Gaelic manuscript activity in Kintyre represents some of the latest use of Classical Gaelic through *corra-litir* in Scotland—via the work of MacGilleoin and the eighteenth-century Uilleam MacMurchy—which is one reason this study of MacGilleoin's manuscripts is so vital.

1.4 Who was Eoghan MacGilleoin?

There are three things known with certainty about Eoghan MacGilleoin: his name (including its English variant, Hugh/Heugh/Hew MacLean), his work as a scribe, and his occupation as a schoolmaster of Kilchenzie c. 1697-1699. He uses the Gaelic name in all four of his manuscripts, but the English variant is found only in TCD 1362: this includes 'Hew McLaine w^{t} my hand & evermore at Gods Comand', 'Eoghan m*ac* gilleoin le mo laimh aig an phend' ('Eoghan MacGilleoin with my hand at the pen').[217] Mentions of him as a schoolmaster are found in church records and the notes of antiquarian Edward Lhuyd. These sources, and their implications, are considered in this section.

Outside of his manuscripts, the earliest reference to MacGilleoin is in the Presbytery of Kintyre records, 15 July 1697: 'Compeired Heugh MacLean, schoolmaster of Kilkennie…' (longer quote in section 1.2.2).[218] Edward Lhuyd, Second Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, wrote the following note in 1699:[219]

> Eogain MacLên School m^{r} at Kilchynni near Campbelstown in Cintire writes ye language and understands it very well.

Lhuyd refers to the same man as 'Hugh Mac Gilleogain' in his notes on the Gaelic manuscripts of Mr Iain Beaton (see Chapter 2):[220]

> **Tórick Tanyg ba Kŵalŷn**. Membr. *Ai hwn a gevais gan* Hugh Mac Gilleogain?
>
> **Tóraigheachd Táineadh Bó Cúailnge** (the Pursuit of the Cattle Herd of Cooley). Parchment. Is this the one I got from Hugh MacLean?

More about Edward Lhuyd can be found in Chapter 3 of this thesis, where the connections between MacGilleoin's patron Mr Lachlann Campbell and Lhuyd are examined. MacGilleoin's connection to both men is supported by a letter sent by MacGilleoin in Campbeltown to Lhuyd in Machrimore in Southend, Kintyre (less than ten miles). This letter has yet to be considered in scholarship on the scribe or scholar, although it is included in *EMLO*. The letter states:[221]

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[217] TCD, MS 1362, 273; O'Rahilly, *The Stowe Version*, li–lii.
[218] NRS, CH2/1153/1/68. This transcription is taken from MacVicar, 'Education in Kintyre'.
[219] Campbell and Thomson, *Edward Lhuyd*, 10.
[220] Campbell and Thomson, *Edward Lhuyd*, 39.
[221] MacGilleoin to Lhuyd, 3 January 1700, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fol. 277-278. The transcription provided here is mine, although the letter has also been transcribed, digitised, and published online via *EMLO*.

> Endorsed: 'To Mr Edward Lhuyd, for present at Machrimor, these'
>
> Campbeltoun the third
>
> Jan[ua]r ~~1699~~ 1700
>
> Sir,
>
> I came to Campbeltoun this night & have mett with Mr Lauchlan Campbell who did present to me yo^{r} directions in a memorandum you left w^{t} him & requires y^{t} I might asist him in what I can doe qch sall not be wanting: this gentleman who is the bearer of which I was telling of before called Henrie M^{c}Neill q^{r} you might have had yor co[nv]yeing heir more c[on]venient y^{n} befoir had moreover M^{r} Lauchlan told that he expected with me a line from you to Glasgow qch you promised to send to him w^{t} me (if it be ane omission by oblivion you may send it now)
>
> You know Sir I spoke to you something anent the old alphabets, if yo^{r} time or laizure permitt you there I require it be done & inclosed in a line to me it might be possible a help to me in going on the better in performing my promise to you
>
> And M^{r} Lauchlan tells me if I send any of these things you require of me to himself to Glasgow he will gett them conveyed to you
>
> my humble service to your self & devoted I remaine Sir
>
> Your humble servant
>
> Eog*h*an M*acgh*illeoin

While most of the letter is written in secretary hand, MacGilleoin's signature is written in *corra-litir*. There is also a stanza of poetry written up the side of the poem, once in Gaelic and in *corra-litir* and once in English and secretary hand, which is discussed in the next chapter. The use of *corra-litir* to write Gaelic in his personal correspondence suggests that MacGilleoin may have viewed the script as the appropriate one for writing Gaelic, at least when the recipient was able to read it, similarly to Lachlann's preference to use *corra-litir* for Gaelic words (see section 3.3.1).[222] Aspects of this letter related to Lachlann are discussed in Chapter 3.

[222] Lachlan Campbell to Edward Lhuyd, 3 January 1707, Lhwyd Correspondence, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 298-299, ref. 400228.

The letter suggests that MacGilleoin met with Lhuyd, who was searching for and working with Gaelic language materials, and that the two had previously been in contact. Indeed, Lhuyd's request for help from MacGilleoin places him as an expert of sorts, working with the 'old alphabets', presumably *corra-litir*. Furthermore, this correspondence with Lhuyd supports the suggestion of John Lorne Campbell and Derick Thomson that MacGilleoin was one of Lhuyd's informants providing words for a south Argyll Gaelic dialect translation of John Ray's *Dictionariolum Trilingue*—a trilingual dictionary containing English, Latin, and Greek—which Lhuyd had previously had translated into an Ulster Irish dialect.[223] The translation was completed when Lhuyd was delayed in Kintyre on his way to Ireland in December 1699 and January 1700. MacGilleoin's letter indicating a scholarly relationship with Lhuyd was written on 3 January 1700, so MacGilleoin was almost certainly one of Lhuyd's informants for the translation of the *Dictionariolum*. MacGilleoin's reputation as a knowledgeable scribe, a schoolmaster, and possibly even a Gaelic tutor (see next section) may have been the reason Lhuyd knew to visit him. One of their mutual associates, possibly even Lachlann himself, would have connected them.

1.4.1 MacGilleoin's Probable Role as a Gaelic Tutor

There is no definitive evidence for MacGilleoin teaching others to read and write Gaelic using *corra-litir*, but there is circumstantial evidence. With a limited number of people able to teach the skills, MacGilleoin, who was resident in Kintyre and acquainted with both Cailean and Lachlann, would have been a logical choice to have tutored them, although it is certainly possible that they were taught by another individual. Comparison of Lachlann's and MacGilleoin's Gaelic scripts reveal both similarities and differences, and this does not help in determining if MacGilleoin was Lachlann's tutor. Students of the same traditional bardic school 'might exhibit similar and characteristic features', but that may not have been the case in more informal instruction, and personal writing style did cause differences.[224] Similarity of hand is the reasoning for Ronald Black's theory that MacGilleoin taught the eighteenth-century poet Uilleam MacMurchy: he 'may have been a pupil of Hugh MacLean...as his Gaelic hand, typical of its period for Irish manuscripts, bears at times a strong resemblance to that of the latter'.[225] MacMurchy was also in

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[223] Campbell and Thomson, *Edward Lhuyd*, xvii–xviii and xx; Scott Mandelbrote, 'Ray [Formerly Wray], John', *ODNB*, ref: 23203; Anne O'Sullivan and William O'Sullivan, 'Edward Lhuyd's Collection of Irish Manuscripts', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1962, 57–76, at 70.
[224] Bannerman, *Beatons*, 107.
[225] *NLS Catalogue* NLS Adv.MS.72.2.12.

possession of one of MacGilleoin's manuscripts in the first half of the eighteenth century, and both men have connections to Largie (see Chapter 2).[226]

One of the comments in *corra-litir* in the margins of TCD 1362 suggests that Cailean wrote some of the Gaelic material: 'Caillain Caimpbel leis mo laimh ag an peand in cuig*eadh* la do mi nouemb*er* aon mile se ced ceit*er*e fithid 7 aon deg 1691' (Cailean Campbell with my hand at the pen on the fifth day of November 1691).[227] The script of this statement and that of the text preceding it seem to be MacGilleoin's, however, as it is not similar but rather virtually identical to MacGilleoin's writing of Cailean's name earlier in the manuscript:[228]

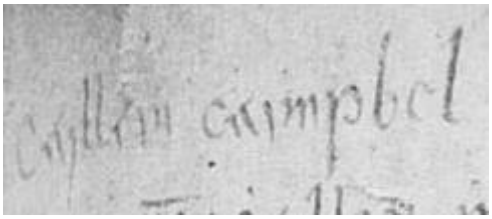
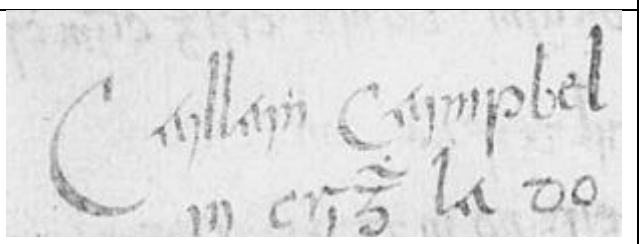
TCD 1362, p.161, after MacGilleoin's signature	TCD 1362, p.270
	

Table 1-2: Comparison of the writing of 'Caillain Caimpbel' in TCD 1362.

Additionally, it is MacGilleoin who signs as the scribe throughout the manuscript and indicates Cailean's ownership of it (see Appendix 1). It is possible that a mistake was made when writing that Cailean was 'at the pen' on one of the last pages of the manuscript, two pages before MacGilleoin writes that he is the 'writter of this book', or that this was done purposely to make it look at surface level that Cailean himself wrote it.[229] Cailean may have contributed to the manuscript, however, and had a Gaelic hand basically identical to MacGilleoin's, although this seems unlikely. The only instance in which Cailean's hand is almost certainly found in the manuscripts is his signature in secretary hand in NLS 72.1.36, f. 95r. The ink used for this signature appears to match that used for the foliation at the top of the page, which was added initially at or after the binding together of the manuscript. It is possible, then, that the foliation, attributed to MacGilleoin, was added by Cailean, but only a more scientific and detailed analysis would

[226] NLS, 'Manuscript of "Táin Bó Cuailnge" and Other Tales, Written by Eoghan Mac Gilleoin.', *Catalogue of Archives and Manuscripts Collections* <http://manuscripts.nls.uk/repositories/2/resources/20140> [accessed 4 April 2020]; MacKinnon Catalogue, 278; Martin, *Kintyre*, 8 and 12; Ó Macháin, 'Scribal Practice'; *NLS Catalogue*, NLS MS 72.2.12.
[227] TCD, MS 1362, 270.
[228] TCD, MS 1362, 161 and 270.
[229] TCD, MS 1362, 272.

determine anything conclusively. Furthermore, given the evidence that MacGilleoin wrote the manuscript and not Cailean, it is safe at the time of writing to consider the manuscript to be written entirely by MacGilleoin. Still, the implication of Cailean's ownership/patronage is that he was able to read *corra-litir*, even if there is not evidence that he could write it. Like Lachlann, then, it is possible that MacGilleoin participated in his tutelage.

1.4.2 Possible Identifications for MacGilleoin

It is difficult to further identify Eoghan MacGilleoin (Hugh/Ewen/Hew, or possibly Ewen, MacLean) and gain insight into his immediate kin and affinity networks.[230] Locating this particular man among the numerous mentions of Hugh MacLeans in archival records c. 1690-1700 is an arduous task. This section lists the more likely candidates for identification rather than providing a full list of mentions from Argyll and elsewhere in the Highlands that I have located. This will not lead to a definitive identification but does set the stage for possible future identification in the event of the discovery of further evidence. The individuals included appear in archival records c. 1680-1700, could have or did live past 1700, were of adult age by c. 1690, and were a member of the noble or learned MacLean families (to account for MacGilleoin's English and Gaelic education). All were English educated as we would expect but, in some cases, family members of the individuals mentioned did or may have had knowledge of reading and writing Gaelic. The most likely candidates are as follows.

1. Hugh/Ewen (fl. 1662-1704), brother to Mr/Bishop Eachann MacLean and uncle to Gaelic poet Anndra MacLean.[231]
2. Hugh MacLean in Kilmaluag in 1677, either Kilmaluag in Kintyre or Tiree; if Kintyre, he is a likely candidate, one of MacGilleoin's manuscripts having

[230] MacGilleoin consistently uses a variant of Hugh, but the name Eoghann is also anglicised as Ewen. 'In the north or northwest it is correctly Englished Evan or Ewan, but in Argyllshire it is erroneously used as equivalent to Hugh': George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland: Their Origin, Meaning, and History* (New York, 1946) 246.

[231] Nicholas MacLean-Bristol, *Castor & Pollux: Two Jacobite Maclean Knights from the Sound of Mull at War in the Hebrides, the Highlands of Scotland, Ireland & Mainland Europe, 1674-1716* (Isle of Coll, 2012), 76 and 82; Alexander MacLean Sinclair and David Robertson, *The Clan Gillean* (Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, 1899), 326.

remained in Kilmaluag, Kintyre, which is near Kilchenzie.[232] If Tiree, it may be the same Hugh MacLean in Treshnish, Kilmaluag, who was sick and old in 1716.[233]

3. Hugh MacLean, an attendant to the Laird of Lochbuy alongside a John MacLean who raided the lands of 'Evir Campbell of Ashkenish' in 1685.[234] These may be the same Hugh and John Mclean 'brethren reseiding in Scalastermore avis' on a 1685 'list of the persones who are to be sumond to Arras at the pror fiscalls instance'.[235]
4. Hugh, the third son of Iain, 2nd of Grishipol. Hugh would have been alive about the right time and was likely an educated Gaelic speaker, like his brother Iain, who was born c. 1652, a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, and minister of Kilmorie in Arran starting in 1688.[236]
5. Hugh MacLean, the son of Ailean MacLean, 4th of Inverscaddel (d. 1686).[237]
6. Ewen MacLean received a tack for land in Kilmichael Glassary in 1670 and was cautioner for one party in a marriage contract there in 1673.[238]
7. Ewen MacLean, 7th son of Niall Bàn of Boreray. This Ewen's brothers included Iain, a tacksman of Boreray in 1695 and Dòmhnall (b. 1638), a minister in North Uist. A third brother, Teàrlach, had five sons, including Gilleasbaig (b. 1683), minister of Kilfinichen, who preached to Gaelic-speaking congregations in Ulster in 1717; Dòmhnall, who was known as 'Fear Chillmoluthaig (Goodman or Laird of Kilmaluag); and Iain, minister at Killean in Kintyre in 1723.[239] Ewen could very well have been active in Kintyre c. 1690-1700, and as the member of a family that is clearly well-educated and Gaelic speaking, it is possible he also received a Gaelic education.
8. Ewen, 9th of Treshnish, Mull, had two legitimate sons and two illegitimate sons, including Iain MacLean, Minister of Kilninian and Kilmore in Mull in 1702

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[232] NLS, 'Manuscript Written by Eoghan Mac Gilleoin'.
[233] ICA, NRAS 6 v 19-1, Folder 5, a 1677 list of tenants; Nicholas MacLean-Bristol (ed.), *Inhabitants of the Inner Isles, Morvern and Arnamurchan 1716*, Publications (Scottish Record Society), 21 (Edinburgh, 1998), 11.
[234] Campbell (Clan), *An Account of the Depredations Committed on the Clan Campbell, and Their Followers, during the Years 1685 and 1686 by the Troops of the Duke of Gordon ... and Others ... with an Estimate of the Losses Sustained, and the Names of the Sufferers* (Edinburgh, 1816), 63.
[235] NRS, SC54/17/2/12/37.
[236] MacLean Sinclair and Robertson, *Clan Gillean*, 402; *Fasti*, IV, 62.
[237] NRS, CC2/3/3/12-13, 1686/9/7 Testament of Allan McLean of Inverscaddell; J. P MacLean, *A History of the Clan MacLean from Its First Settlement at Duard Castle, in the Isle of Mull, to the Present Period: Including a Genealogical Account of Some of the Principal Families Together with Their Heraldry, Legends, Superstitions, Etc*. (Maryland, 1889), 278.
[238] NRS, RD 4/059/249; ICA, AT Volume 15, 3, #11.
[239] MacLean Sinclair and Robertson, *Clan Gillean*, 317; MacLean, *History of the Clan MacLean*, 273; *Fasti*, IV, 60, 112 and VII, 191.

(number 9 on this list), a Gaelic poet.[240] It is possible that Mr Iain's father had received a Gaelic education like his son.[241]

9. It is tempting to consider Mr Iain MacLean himself on this list, but there is more evidence against the possibility that he is MacGilleoin than for it. Mr Iain MacLean may have been one of Lhuyd's informants in 1699-1700, and he was a student at the University of Glasgow in 1700.[242] He uses 'Mr Eoin Mc Ghilleóin' as his Gaelic name in a poem prefaced to Edward Lhuyd's *Archaeologia Britannica*. While 'Eoin' and 'Eoghan' could be confused, at least on paper, he is referred to elsewhere as 'Seathan', 'Seothain', 'Iain', or 'Eoin', but not 'Eoghan'.[243] Futhermore, MacGilleoin uses 'Hew/Heugh' for his anglicised name and consistently uses 'Eoghan' for his Gaelic forename; Iain was only about ten years old at the writing of the first manuscript; it is thought that he met Lhuyd in Mull, not Kintyre; and Iain and MacGilleoin's handwriting do not appear to be similar, although writing samples from them both survive from within two years of each other (MacGilleoin in 1700 and Iain in 1702).[244] A few examples will suffice.

[240] MacLean Sinclair and Robertson, *Clan Gillean*, 333.
[241] Mr Iain MacLean may have been one of Lhuyd's informants in 1699-1700, and he was a student at the University of Glasgow in 1700
[242] *MAUG*, III, 247; Ó Baoill, *Eachann Bacach*, lxii; *Fasti*, IV, 114; Campbell and Thomson, *Edward Lhuyd*, xiv.
[243] Ó Baoill, *Eachann Bacach*, lxii; Edward Lhuyd, *Archaeologia Britannica, Giving Some Account Additional to What Has Been Hitherto Publish'd, of the Languages, Histories and Customs of the Original Inhabitants of Great Britain: : From Collections and Observations in Travels through Wales, Cornwal, Bas - Bretagne, Ireland and Scotland.* (Oxford, 1707), Preface.
[244] TCD, MS TCD 1362, 3-4, 272-273; MacGilleoin to Lhuyd, 3 January 1700, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fol. 277-278; Rev John MacLean to Robert Wodrow, 20 April 1702, NLS, Wodrow Collection, Quarto II, n.6, 12-14; Ó Baoill, *Eachann Bacach*, lxiii.

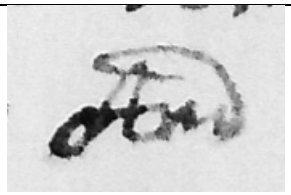
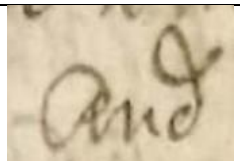
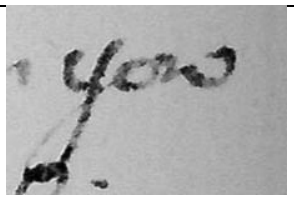
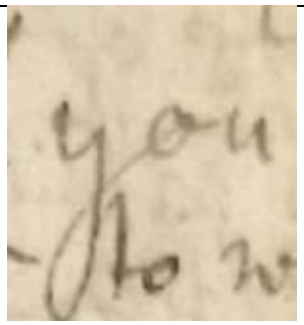
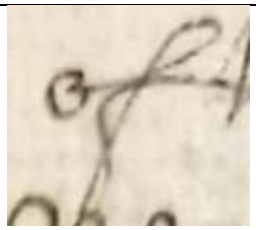
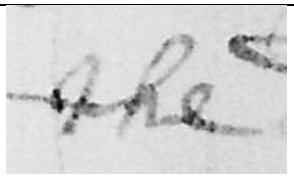
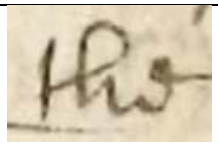
Eoghan MacGilleoin[245]	Mr Iain MacLean[246]
	
 	
	
	

Table 1-3: Comparison of the hands of Mr Iain MacLean and Eoghan MacGilleoin c. 1700-1702.

10. Ewen, son to Teàrlach, son of Ailean mac Iain Dubh, a descendant from the Duart MacLeans, was listed in the 'informatione anent the invading of Tirie' by a group of MacLeans in 1680.[247]

The information available about these individuals, when compared with what is known about MacGilleoin, suggests that they could, in theory, have been schoolmasters in Kintyre c. 1697-1699, as I have not found evidence of their whereabouts elsewhere, but there also is not sufficient evidence to definitively tie them to MacGilleoin. The list included here highlights some of the extent of MacLean involvement in literary and ecclesiastical affairs in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century, which can be particularly seen in numbers 1, 4, 7, and 9. It is also clear in the number of contemporary vernacular MacLean poets whose work survives (see section 1.3.2.1) and who were

[245] MacGilleoin to Lhuyd, 3 January 1700, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fol. 277-278, via *EMLO* under CC-BY-NC 4.0.
[246] MacLean to Wodrow, 20 April 1702, NLS, Wodrow Collection, Quarto II, n.6, 12-14.
[247] ICA, NRAS 1209, Bundle 472, 19 April 1680.

involved in Gaelic translation as ministers (section 1.3.1.2). It seems, then, that MacGilleoin would not have been out of place as a Gaelic scribe, being part of a clan that was still involved in Gaelic literary activity. Further information is needed to resolve the question of MacGilleoin's precise identity. It is enough for this thesis to note that our scribe was deeply rooted in Kintyre society, well-regarded as a scribe and schoolmaster, and an informant or at least consultant for Edward Lhuyd.

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter has laid the foundations for this study by presenting educational and linguistic context for MacGilleoin, his patrons, and their manuscripts. The three men were surrounded by English and Latin education as part of the social elite, but this was only part of their experience. They also participated in a Gaelic education that was fading in prevalence and for which there is very little evidence, although the evidence available indicates its presence, and an associated manuscript production. MacGilleoin seems, for instance, to be well-educated and well-connected, perhaps a member of a prominent or upper-class MacLean family, although there does not appear to be surviving evidence of his attending university. He must have had a good reputation for his work with Gaelic manuscripts, and possibly Gaelic education, to be put into contact with Edward Lhuyd regarding the topic.

Furthermore, the synthesis of information in this chapter has situated Argyll, and particularly the bounds of the Synod of Argyll, as a strong centre of late-seventeenth century Gaelic literary activity. This was shown through the translation of religious materials, poetic activity, and the production of manuscripts. Indeed, MacGilleoin and the eighteenth-century Uilleam MacMurchy, both working in Kintyre, represent some of the last vestiges of the Classical Gaelic manuscript tradition. Their works are some key sources of evidence for the transition between Classical and vernacular Gaelic literature. In the next chapter, further examination of the seventeenth-century Gaelic literary landscape and the language and literary material within MacGilleoin's manuscripts demonstrates more fully the significance of MacGilleoin's work in the extant corpus of Scottish Gaelic manuscripts.

Chapter 2: MacGilleoin's Scribal Activity, Influences, and Place Within the Tradition

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 presented and explored the complex linguistic and poetic environment of late-seventeenth century Argyll to provide context for Eoghan MacGilleoin as a scribe and the production of his manuscripts. This chapter continues the discussion by first focusing on the seventeenth-century literary landscape and production and survival of manuscripts in Scotland. This includes an overview of manuscripts produced or known to have existed in Scotland c. 1690-1700 (individual manuscripts, collections, and libraries) to understand how MacGilleoin's scribal activities fit into contemporary literary activity. The chapter then turns to the literary context of the prose tales and the tales' prevalence in manuscripts in Ireland and Scotland. It shows that MacGilleoin's manuscripts represent a significant number of surviving Scottish copies of included tales, and in some cases the only Scottish copy.

The second half of the chapter explores Eoghan MacGilleoin as a scribe: the literary and linguistic context that can be gleaned from evidence of MacGilleoin's life, his resources, and his scribal practice. It considers specific resources at MacGilleoin's disposal and evidence for his awareness of Gaelic literature, which speaks to his knowledge and reputation as a Gaelic scribe. A stanza MacGilleoin wrote on the side of his letter to Edward Lhuyd reveals knowledge of Irish poetic debates. Comparison between MacGilleoin's manuscript TCD 1362 and its known exemplar, NLS 72.2.9, allows us to consider how faithful, or not, he may have been to other unknown exemplars. Discussion of NLS 72.2.9 also shows that he likely had multiple manuscripts at his

disposal. Analysis of two vellum folios of TCD 1307 indicates they were written by another scribe. Finally, consideration of dialectal influences and provenance of some of the material in his manuscripts shows that he was working with both Irish and Scottish sources. These discussions offer an in-depth exploration of MacGilleoin's scribal ability and highlights how he was influenced by contemporary literary and linguistic culture. For details of MacGilleoin's manuscripts to supplement the chapter, please see Appendix 1.

2.2 Seventeenth-Century Literary Gaelic Landscape

There are three aspects of the seventeenth-century Gaelic literary landscape to be explored in this section: individual manuscripts dating from c. 1690-1700, personal manuscript collections, and personal libraries which are known to have included Gaelic manuscripts. There are a few known collections of manuscripts from the Highlands of Scotland at the end of the seventeenth century. The literature within such manuscript collections varies from prose and poetry to religious, medical, and law tracts, and they reflect the multilingual nature of Scottish and wider European society. Some of the more prominent personal collections/libraries of manuscripts are explored in section 2.2.1: these were not the only collections/libraries, and some manuscripts which must have included similar material did not survive. Section 2.2.2 considers Scottish and contemporary manuscript production. It first focuses on individual Gaelic manuscripts produced in seventeenth-century Scotland and consider the types of texts/documents included and whether MacGilleoin's work was unusual or in line with contemporary production, then takes a longer view, considering literary and manuscript production in Argyll and Kintyre in the centuries prior to MacGilleoin's manuscripts. Finally, section 2.2.3 focuses on the prose tales included in MacGilleoin's manuscripts, providing literary context, and considers their prevalence within manuscripts from both Ireland and Scotland.

2.2.1 Gaelic Manuscript Collections and Libraries

Three prominent contemporary manuscript collections/libraries are those of Mr Cailean Campbell of Achnaba (1644-1726), Mr Iain Beaton (d. 1714), and the MacLachlans of Kilbride. These were not the only ones, and evidence exists of collections/libraries that are not extant. There is indication in Lachlann's letters, for instance, that he had his own small collection of Gaelic language material, aside from TCD 1307, that has not survived (see Chapter 3). A c. 1660 list of the fifty-three item library of Mr Seumas Fraser (1634-1709), a Gael from outside Inverness (an area with no known tradition of Gaelic scribal practice)

and minister of Kirkhill, reveals eclectic interests with a religious focus, with ten items that may have been in Latin, two Gaelic items (a volume of verse and a dictionary, both lost), and the rest in English.[248] The eighteenth-century poet Alasdair MacDonald obtained Classical Gaelic manuscripts, and in 1695 Martin Martin noted Classical Gaelic manuscripts among the MacNeils of Barra and MacDonalds of Clanranald in the southern Hebrides.[249] Martin also met Fergus Beaton, physician in South Uist c. 1695, and reported that he had some Gaelic manuscripts written in *corra-litir*.[250]

Mr Cailean Campbell of Achnaba's collection of Gaelic books and manuscripts includes a diversity of material: metrical Psalms, 'Brief and plain Rules for the reading of the Irish Tongue', letters, Gaelic folklore/charms, a sermon, lists of place names, and a Gaelic poem and an English letter by Dòmhnall MacMarcus.[251] Campbell of Achnaba and his collaborators used roman script rather than *corra-litir* for writing Gaelic.[252] He was one of a circle of men interested in Gaelic, including Daniel Campbell (a poet), Bishop Eachann MacLean, and Mr Iain MacLean (poet and minister of Kilninian).[253] He also met with Edward Lhuyd in 1699 in Inveraray to assist him in his research.[254] Mr Cailean Campbell of Achnaba and Mr Lachlann Campbell either knew each other through the Church or at least knew of each other, and Campbell of Achnaba may have known or known about Eoghan MacGilleoin, as well: as is shown in Chapter 3, Lachlann, MacGilleoin, and Lhuyd were all in correspondence c. 1699-1700 around the time Campbell of Achnaba met Lhuyd. Campbell of Achnaba's collection likely offers insight in the sort of things we may have found in Lachlann's papers, were they to be extant, such as sermons, printed Gaelic religious materials, and notes on things of interest.

Like Mr Cailean Campbell, Mr Iain Beaton, minister of Kilninian at the end of the seventeenth century, was part of a social network interested in Gaelic: he had possession of his family's collection of manuscripts after 1699 upon the death of his nephew, wrote at least one poem, and met with Edward Lhuyd in early 1700.[255] Lhuyd made a list of Beaton's collection, which consisted of books originating in both Ireland and Scotland from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries.[256] The collection includes medical

[248] Pons-Sanz and MacCoinnich, 'Languages of Scotland', 37, 282.
[249] Black, 'Genius of Cathal', 342; Pons-Sanz and MacCoinnich, 'Languages of Scotland', 26.
[250] Bannerman, *Beatons*, 85, 89; Martin, *Description of the Western Islands*, 89.
[251] Ó Baoill, 'Gaelic Manuscripts', 93–96; EUL, Colin Campbell of Achnaba, Colin Campbell Collection, 'GB 237 COLL-38'.
[252] Colm Ó Baoill, 'Colin Campbell, Minister of Ardchattan', *TGSI*, 52 (1985), 464–90, at 482; Ó Baoill, 'Gaelic Manuscripts', 84.
[253] Ó Baoill, 'Colin Campbell', 483.
[254] Ó Baoill, 'Colin Campbell', 482.
[255] Bannerman, *Beatons*, 37–39.
[256] Campbell and Thomson, *Edward Lhuyd*, 37.

texts, poetry, prose tales, religious material, and genealogies and pedigrees of literary and historical figures.[257] Much of the language of the collection is classical in character. Many of Beaton's manuscripts, medical and non-medical, were preserved by the MacLachlans of Kilbride after his death, the same family that acquired MacGilleoin's NLS 72.1.36, which is an indication of the shared culture among the learned classes in the Argyll area, whatever the profession.[258] While Beaton was a minister, he was from a hereditary family of physicians, and the MacLachlans of Kilbride had been an ecclesiastical family from at least the mid-sixteenth century.[259]

The MacLachlans of Kilbride were particularly associated with the Isle of Seil, near Oban, and the church of Kilbrandon, a connection that had been long-established by the end of the sixteenth century. Their connection to the church diminished after 1690 due to the family remaining Episcopalian, but their involvement in the church, and their Gaelic ability, was strong in the seventeenth century.[260] Of the seven ministers appointed to translate the *Shorter Catechism* into Gaelic for the Synod of Argyll (published in 1659), no fewer than three were MacLachlans: Cailean, minister of Lochgoilhead; Iain, minister of Kilbrandon; and Martin, minister in Islay.[261] Their collection as it stands now consists of 33 manuscripts: NLS 72.1.5-36 and 72.2.3. Five of these items, including NLS 72.1.36, were loaned to the Highland Society of Scotland during the preparation of their report on James MacPherson's *Ossian,* published 1805.[262] The manuscripts of the collection date from as early as the fourteenth century to the seventeenth century, with the majority dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Many of them could not have been acquired before the lifetime of Patrick MacLachlan (1683-1719), such as those of Mr Iain Beaton (likely acquired after his death in 1714) and NLS 72.1.36, which would have been in Cailean Campbell's possession for a time after its writing in 1690-1691. The collection was at one time larger than it is at present. The MacLachlans, in particular the eighteenth-century Major John MacLachlan, were generous with lending their manuscripts: Dr John Smith noted in 1777 that much of the collection was dispersed, and Lord Bannatyne tells of multiple manuscripts loaned out by Major MacLachlan to James MacIntyre of Glenoe

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[257] Bannerman, *Beatons*, 113–16.
[258] Bannerman, *Beatons*, 130. The Beatons were a medical family and the MacLachlans of Kilbride were an ecclesiastical family.
[259] Bannerman, 'The MacLachlans', 2–7.
[260] Bannerman, 'The MacLachlans', 2–11.
[261] Bannerman, 'The MacLachlans', 13.
[262] See MacKenzie, *Report*; Dafydd Moore, *Enlightenment and Romance in James MacPherson's* The Poems of Ossian (New York, 2017); Celestina Savonius-Wroth, 'Bardic Ministers: Scotland's Gaelic-Speaking Clergy in the Ossian Controversy', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 52.2 (2019), 225–43; Fiona Stafford, Howard Gaskill (eds.), *From Gaelic to Romantic: Ossianic Translations* (Amsterdam, 1998); Stafford, 'The Ossianic Poems'.

(d. 1799), Sir Adolphus Oughton, and Sir James Foulis of Colinton which were not returned.[263] Some of their manuscripts were also destroyed during the mid-seventeenth century wars.[264] The contents of the manuscripts are varied, including verse, religious and secular prose tales, genealogies, law tracts, and medical texts.[265] Given the translating and manuscript collecting activities of the MacLachlans outlined above, it is likely that MacGilleoin and/or his patrons either knew members of or were aware of the family. In any case, the translating, manuscript collecting, and loaning of manuscripts done by the MacLachlans place them firmly in the Gaelic literary culture of the late-seventeenth century. Indeed, this section has highlighted some of the Gaelic literary activity by which MacGilleoin and his patrons were surrounded.

2.2.2 MacGilleoin's Manuscripts in Context: Scottish and Contemporary Manuscript Production

When focusing on the seventeenth century, looking at individual manuscripts rather than collections can give an idea of what was being produced and where. As mentioned previously, Ronald Black says there are forty Classical manuscripts with Scottish connections from the seventeenth century from about twenty archives: manuscripts containing Classical material that either originated in Scotland, were produced by a Scottish scribe, or were in Scottish hands.[266] This is, however, a broad range of manuscripts, and looking at the origins of the manuscripts offers more insight: of the forty manuscripts, three probably originated on the European continent, and nine originated in locations in northern Ireland, primarily Ulster (Antrim, Fermanagh, Armagh). That leaves twenty-eight Classical manuscripts originated, or most likely to have originated, in Scotland, to which we can add the Fernaig manuscript (considered by Black to be vernacular but produced c. 1690).

Some things are immediately noticeable about the twenty-nine manuscripts.[267] First, some manuscripts as currently catalogued consist in whole or in part of sections that were once separate manuscripts, in some cases even manuscripts which are still extant. This includes TCD 1362a, which in part contains the original binding from TCD 1362,

[263] Bannerman, 'The MacLachlans', 14–15.
[264] Bannerman, 'The MacLachlans', 15.
[265] Details of the manuscripts can be found in *NLS Catalogue*, NLS Adv.MS.72.1.5-36 and Adv.MS.72.2.3.
[266] Black, 'Gaelic Manuscripts Scotland', 154–67.
[267] An in-depth comparison of the seventeenth-century manuscripts from both Ireland and Scotland would be a beneficial endeavour, but it is outside the remit of this thesis. For information about the manuscripts, I have used catalogues and databases as available for the archives and collections: see the bibliography under 'Archives and Special Collections' for references. Where unavailable, I have relied on Black, 'Gaelic Manuscripts Scotland'.

and TCD 1337, a composite manuscript with sections of various page sizes and ages.[268] Second, many of the same names and families were scribes and/or owners of these manuscripts: Mr Iain Beaton and other Beatons, Eoghan MacPhail (who probably studied under Iain Ó Conchobhair, father of Donnchadh Ó Conchobhair, in the early seventeenth century), and the MacMhuirich family are well represented.[269] The same locations are also connected to many of the manuscripts: South Uist and Mull, for instance, as well as Lorne and locations in the north and northwest, such as Duntulm (Isle of Skye) and Dunvegan (Isle of Skye). MacGilleoin's work represents the only manuscripts from Kintyre. Finally, the contents of the manuscripts are varied, including medical texts, contracts, genealogies/pedigrees, prose, and poetry. Poetry is the most common type of material in the manuscripts, with poems by the Scottish MacMhuirichs and Irish poet Tadhg Dall Ó hUiginn (c. 1550-1591) well represented; NLS 72.1.36 also includes a MacMhuirich poem.[270] MacGilleoin's manuscripts represent the majority of the literary prose, with NLS 72.1.34 also including 2 tales; the other prose consists of histories, genealogies, and 4 of the tales from the Seven Wise Masters, a translation from a Latin tale.[271] MacGilleoin's TCD 1307 is the only Scottish manuscript to contain metrical glossaries, although NLS 1745, which may have been written c. 1640 by a MacEwen for Gilleasbuig, 8th Earl of Argyll, contains material drawn from bardic grammatical convention including word lists and declensional material.[272]

There are two manuscripts whose production are roughly contemporaneous with the production of MacGilleoin's manuscripts: the Fernaig Manuscript and the Red Book of Clanranald. These two manuscripts also highlight that the distinction between classical and vernacular manuscripts is not always clear-cut due to the traditions overlapping, a complexity examined by Ronald Black in his categorisation of classical manuscripts.[273] The Red Book was written largely by Niall MacMhuirich (c. 1637-1726) with portions written by Niall's predecessor, Cathal.[274] As discussed in section 1.3.1.1, the MacMhuirich bardic family lived in Kintyre until the mid- to late-seventeenth century, at which time they moved to Uist and were associated with the MacDonalds of Clanranald.

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[268] TCD Online Catalogue, s.v. 'IE TCD MS 1362a-The original binding of TCD MS 1362' and 'IE TCD MS 1337-Irish miscellanea'.
[269] For more about these individuals, see Bannerman, *Beatons*.
[270] For more information, see Eleanor Knott, *The Bardic Poems of Tadhg Dall Ó HUiginn* (London, 1922).
[271] For more on the Seven Wise Masters, which is found in NLS MS 72.1.39, see David Greene, 'A Gaelic Version of "The Seven Wise Masters"', *Béaloideas*, 14 (1944), 219–36.
[272] For more on this, see Black, 'Scottish Grammatical Tract'.
[273] Black, 'Gaelic Manuscripts Scotland', 150.
[274] Thomson, 'MacMhuirich', 298; Gillies, 'Oral and Written Effects', 27.

The Red Book contains material from both literary and vernacular/oral sources (genealogical material, romantic prose, clan legends, eye-witness accounts), was written under patronage, and is 'ambiguous as regards the primacy of the written or the spoken word'.[275] In the Red Book, Niall wrote about the Civil Wars from a Gaelic perspective because the writers in English were not writing about the Gaels. He utilised primarily Classical Gaelic but also vernacular and high-register Scottish Gaelic language, verse, and metre while drawing upon information available in multiple languages (English, Latin, Gaelic).[276] The Red Book was, then, largely classical, but with vernacular elements.

The Fernaig manuscript, a collection of some fifty-nine Gaelic poems, was compiled between 1688 and 1693 by Donnchadh MacRae of Inverinate, Kintail.[277] It was written phonetically using a Scots-based orthography by a Gael who was either unfamiliar with Gaelic orthography or found Scots orthography easier or preferable. It contains a wide selection of poetry in a dialect between the literary and the vernacular: Black categorises the manuscript as vernacular because of the semi-bardic/vernacular language and Scots orthography.[278] The manuscript has been called 'the only collection of Scottish Gaelic [vernacular] verse we have which was actually committed to paper in the seventeenth century', rather than collected later from oral tradition.[279] Of the fifty-nine pieces of verse it contains, ten are anonymous, twelve are ascribed to the compiler, and the rest are ascribed to seventeen different authors, all seemingly sixteenth- and seventeenth-century men.[280] The most strongly represented poets are rooted in seventeenth-century Ross-shire and/or connected to the Episcopalian/Catholic Clan MacKenzie, the politically dominant clan in the area with whom MacRae had close ties.[281] There are a few outliers, including two pieces attributed to Iain Carswell (one wrongly) and one poem by the early seventeenth century Irish poet Giolla Bríghde Ó hEódhusa, an Irish Franciscan friar in Louvain, suggesting that MacRae had familiarity with the learned poetic tradition.[282] The verse is largely religious and political, such as songs commenting upon the Jacobite revolution of 1688-1689 (the MacKenzie chief fought on the Jacobite side).[283] In the religious poetry, there's a continuation of pre-Protestant Reformation themes, and Ó

[275] Gillies, 'Oral and Written Effects', 27.
[276] Thomson, 'MacMhuirich', 299; Gillies, 'Gaelic of Niall MacMhuirich', 69–74, 86–87.
[277] Gunderloch, *Làmh-Sgrìobhainnean*, 16; MacPhàrlain, *Lamh-Sgrìobhainn Mhic Rath*; MacKinnon, 'Fernaig Manuscript'.
[278] Black, 'Gaelic Manuscripts Scotland', 150.
[279] Bateman and Ó Baoill, *Gàir Nan Clàrsach*, 23.
[280] Derick Thomson, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland* (Glasgow, 1994), 72.
[281] Thomson, *Companion*, 70, 72, 176, 191.
[282] Thomson, *Companion*, 72.
[283] Thomson, *Companion*, 72; Ni Suaird, 'Jacobite Rhetoric'.

hEódhusa's poem *Truagh cor chloinne Ádhaimh* ('Sad is the state of the children of Adam') is from a counter-Reformation (i.e. Catholic) context.[284] A single stanza found in MacGilleoin's NLS 72.1.36 is very similar to stanza 8 of Ó hEódhusa's poem *Truagh liom-sa a chompáin do chor* ('Pity with me, oh companion, your condition'), and the appearance of two of his poems, in whole or part, in two Scottish manuscripts c. 1690 suggests that his work had spread in Scotland in some form, even across Protestant boundaries.[285]

The relatively small number of Gaelic manuscripts of Scottish provenance in the seventeenth century and their varied contents means that every manuscript is important for piecing together the literary landscape. MacGilleoin's manuscripts have been, until now, an understudied piece of the puzzle, despite being the only surviving manuscripts from Kintyre, the primary representatives of Gaelic prose tales copied in Scotland (see below), and the only surviving Scottish instance of the metrical glossaries. The manuscripts are also similar to contemporary manuscript production. As discussed in section 4.3.3, there is a political aspect to the manuscripts with the poems about the Marquis of Argyll, just as there are political aspects in the Fernaig manuscript and the Red Book of Clanranald. MacGilleoin also drew from a variety of sources like Niall MacMhuirich, although to a lesser degree and with a different style of output (i.e., a clan history compared to a collection of prose and verse). Significantly, like with the Fernaig and the Red Book, we know who the scribe is, and we have the added benefit of knowing the identity of his patrons, and details about those patron's lives, which enables us to consider the contents of the manuscripts within their socio-historical context. MacGilleoin's manuscripts are not the only ones for which that is possible, but given the distinctive features of MacGilleoin's output, as mentioned above, they are key to understanding manuscript production in Scotland, particularly in Kintyre, in the late-seventeenth century.

Taking a longer view and considering material outside of manuscripts, MacGilleoin's work was not the only literary and manuscript production in or associated with Kintyre or Argyll. Previously mentioned material and activity associated with Kintyre include the MacMhuirich and MacMarcus bardic families and religious translations, with which members of the MacMarcus families were involved (see sections 1.3.1.1 and 1.3.1.2).. The MacMarcus family had members who were poets or considered

[284] Innes and Reid, 'Expressions of Faith', 66–67; Ailbhe Ó Corráin, *The Dark Cave and the Divine Light: Verses on the Human Condition by Giolla Brighde Ó HEóghusa* (Oslo, 2016), Appendix 2.
[285] See Chapter 4 for a more in-depth discussion of the poetry in NLS 72.1.36. The poem is discussed in Ó Corráin, *The Dark Cave and the Divine Light*, beginning at 6.

knowledgeable in matters of the Gaelic language in Kintyre in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and even into the eighteenth century. While the primary poetic line of the MacMhuirich bardic family moved to Uist in the sixteenth century, members of the family remained in Kintyre and may have passed along some knowledge or participated in the composition of vernacular poetry: although there is no evidence to support this, there is also not evidence against it, and so it is worth noting the possibility. In terms of manuscripts, Seanchán mac Giolla Críost Mac Eóin at Minard in Argyll in 1538 copied the only surviving complete version of *Mesca Ulad* into NLS Adv.MS.72.1.40, and Éamonn Mac Pháil at Dunstaffnage in Argyll in 1603 copied the earliest instance of *An Bhruidhean Chaorthuinn*.[286] Finally, we know some surviving vernacular verse either originated in or was written about an individual from Kintyre. *A Dhòmhnaill nan Dòmhnall* is 'an all-too-rare example of surviving Gaelic song from the Mull of Kintyre' in the early-eighteenth century, set around Machrihanish.[287] *Marbhrann mhic Alasdair Triath na Lùibe*, an elegy on MacAlister of Loup, may have been addressed to Alasdair, who was a Jacobite and present at the Battle of Killiecrankie in 1689, and *Òran do Thighearna na Leirge an Cinn-tire*, a song addressed to the Laird of Largie, which cannot be dated, are both about lairds in Kintyre.[288] The elegy for MacAlister of Loup would have been roughly contemporaneous with MacGilleoin's manuscripts. The examples in this paragraph highlight that while MacGilleoin's work does have some distinctive features and relation to contemporary production further north in the Highlands, mentioned above, his work was also part of a literary tradition in Argyll and Kintyre, where members of and descendants of hereditary bardic families lived and worked with Gaelic material, where prose tales were copied into manuscripts (including the earliest copy of a *bruidhean* tale), and where vernacular literature was composed and shared.

2.2.3 Literary Context of the Prose Tales

There is one last aspect of contextualising MacGilleoin's manuscripts to explore before turning to his resources and scribal activity: the literary context of the prose tales. All the extant prose tales copied by MacGilleoin can be found in Cailean's manuscripts, and the copies represent a significant number of the Scottish copies of the tales. Like the poetry discussed in Chapter 1, the prose tales come from a shared tradition in Ireland and

[286] McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 101; James Carmichael Watson, *Mesca Ulad* (Dublin, 1941), viii-ix; MacKinnon Catalogue, 155-56; Dáithí Ó hÓgáin, *Fionn Mac Cumhaill: Images of the Gaelic Hero* (Dublin, 1988), 212-216.
[287] Anna Lathurna NicGilliosa, *Songs of Gaelic Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2005), 339-341.
[288] Watson, *Bardachd Ghàidhlig*, 165-168, 176-178, 306, 310.

Scotland that diverged over time. The same characters and even the same stories can be treated differently or have changes largely specific to either Scotland or Ireland, such as *Murchadh Mac Brian 7 an Dirioch* (DGP; the Scottish versions contain incidents not found in Irish versions) and *Sgéala Muice Meic Dhá Thó* (SMD; the copy in NLS 72.1.36 has omitted and corrupted Irish placenames).[289] More of the prose tales survive in manuscript in Ireland than Scotland, and for some of the texts in MacGilleoin's manuscripts, his copy or copies are the only surviving with a known Scottish origin.

In Alan Bruford's survey of Gaelic Romantic tales, he presented a chart indicating the number, location, and dates of manuscripts containing the tales discussed: five of these tales are found within MacGilleoin's manuscripts. This chart is not perfect: Bruford's work was published in 1966, so the numbers do not reflect the entire current corpus of extant Gaelic manuscripts, and some of the manuscripts included may now be missing. It does not, for instance, include MacGilleoin's NLS 14873, which contains four prose tales that are also found in Cailean's manuscripts [*Táin Bó Cúailnge* (TBC), *Cath Ruis na Ríg* (CRR), *An Ceithirneach O Domhnullan* (CCR), and DGP], and so it should be read at least with this addition in mind. Bruford's discussion is, however, the only publication of its kind with the sweeping level of detail, tales, and consolidation from both manuscript and oral tradition, and so it is used here to show the prevailing manuscript trends for the five tales it includes that are also found in MacGilleoin's manuscripts [*Bruighion bheg na halmunn* (BBA), *Bruighion Cheisi Coruin* (BCC), CCR, DGP, and *Eachtra Conaill Gulban* (CG)].[290]

The following chart lists the number of manuscripts for these five tales as given by Bruford, with my having added 1 to both DGP and CCR to account for NLS 14873. I have also compiled and included the same information for the other prose tales in NLS 72.1.36, TCD 1362, and NLS 14873 [SMD, TBC, CRR, *Oidheadh Con Culainn* (OCC)].[291] The table also includes the poem *Laoidh na gCeann* (LnC) from OCC, which is found independently in manuscript, and provides details for Recension II of TBC, which is the version found in MacGilleoin's manuscripts. See Appendix 2 for detailed information about the prose tales and their manuscripts. The tales are listed in the order in which they

[289] Alan Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales and Mediaeval Romances: A Study of the Early Modern Irish 'Romantic Tales' and Their Oral Derivatives* (Dublin, 1966), 60, 139; Bruford, 'Murchadh Mac Briain', 325; Breatnach, *Patronage*, 14.
[290] Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales*, 70.
[291] Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales*, 70.

appear in MacGilleoin's manuscripts using their abbreviations, and dates refer to the writing of the manuscript, not the composition of the tales.[292]

Tale	# of MSS	# of pre-1700 MSS	# of Scottish MSS	# of MacGilleoin's MSS
BBA	45	3	2	1
BCC	66	2	1	1
CCR	51	4	2	2
DGP	4	2	2	2
CG	59	2	1	1
SMD	4	2	1	1
OCC <LnC>	100 <20>	7 <2>	1 <2>	1 <1>
TBC <II>	12 <5>	12 <5>	2 <2>	2 <2>
CRR	10	6	2	2

Table 2-1: The number of manuscripts containing the prose tales.

As the table shows, few of the surviving copies of the tales are from pre-1700, and even fewer have a Scottish origin: for seven of the nine tales (excluding BBA and OCC), MacGilleoin's copy or copies are the only examples of known Scottish origin (although CCR, DGP, and CG are also found in Scottish oral tradition).[293] The earliest manuscript of BCC and DGP are NLS 72.1.36. As the table shows, the majority of surviving manuscripts containing the tales occur from post-1700 in Ireland: to take BBA as an example, only 3 out of 45 manuscripts were from pre-1700 (before MacGilleoin wrote his manuscripts), 2 of those being of Scottish provenance, while 42 manuscripts, all of Irish provenance, survive from post-1700 (after MacGilleoin wrote his manuscripts). TBC is the main exception, with all manuscripts, regardless of recension, dating from pre-1700; only two of the twelve are of Scottish origin. Indeed, there are only one or two manuscripts of Scottish origin for each of the tales.[294]

The extent of manuscript production is one explanation for this difference in survival between Ireland and Scotland. Ireland produced more manuscripts than Scotland both pre- and post-1700, but more surviving Irish manuscripts were copied in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries than the centuries proceeding (only about 400 of about 4,250 Irish manuscripts were written before the mid-seventeenth century).[295] The at least

[292] The abbreviations are: *Bruighion bheg na halmunn* (BBA), *Bruighion Cheisi Coruin* (BCC), *An Ceithirneach O Domhnullan* (CCR), *Murchadh Mac Brian 7 an Dirioch* (DGP), *Eachtra Conaill Gulban* (CG), *Sgéala Muice Meic Dhá Thó* (SMD), *Oidheadh Con Culainn* (OCC), *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (TBC), and *Cath Ruis na Ríg* (CRR).
[293] Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales*, 71.
[294] The other Scottish manuscripts are NLS Adv.MS.72.1.34, written by 'Eoghan Mac Pháill, Dunstaffnage' (c. 1603), which contains BBA, and the Book of the Dean of Lismore, or NLS Adv.MS.72.1.37, assembled by James MacGregor and others in Fortingall, Perthshire (1512-1542), which contains LnC: *NLS Catalogue*, s.v. 'Adv. MS 72.1.37' and 'Adv. MS 72.1.34'.
[295] McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 61–62; MacCoinnich, 'Where and How', 315–16.

400 manuscripts from pre-1700 Ireland is a good deal more than the 128 listed by Ronald Black as either originating in Scotland or passing through Scottish hands.[296] MacGilleoin's copies of the tales being some of the few of definitive Scottish origin is, then, partly a reflection of this difference in Gaelic manuscript production, and also likely due to continuing connections between Kintyre and Ulster (discussed in section 2.3 below and Chapter 3). It is also important to note, however, that MacGilleoin's copies of tales are often not only unusual in a Scottish context, but also in a pan-Gaelic context, for their date pre-1700 [BBA, BCC, CCR, DGP, CG, SMD]. It is unclear what implication this has for scholarship, but it further reinforces the significance of MacGilleoin's work.

This is not to say that these prose tales were not more widespread in Scotland: some manuscripts have not survived to be considered in the above numbers, although the extent of manuscript destruction is still debated, and the popularity of the tales is reflected in their circulation in oral tradition until the twentieth century.[297] The above table did not take into account the later appearance of the tales in recorded oral tradition or allusions to the tales and their characters in bardic and vernacular Gaelic poetry. *Rug eadrain ar iath nAlban*, for instance, references characters in both the Finn and Ulster Cycles (see below). The strength of the oral tradition should not be underestimated, even though it cannot be precisely determined. The following table includes information from Bruford on the number of Scottish and Irish eighteenth-twentieth century oral versions for the tales on which he provides information:[298]

Text	total # of oral versions	# of Scottish oral versions
BBA	-	-
BCC	3	-
CCR	2	2
DGP	11	8
CG	57	11

Table 2-2: The number of oral versions of BBA, BCC, CCR, DGP, and CG.

Like the manuscript numbers, these numbers are incomplete, but they do demonstrate the continued circulation of some of these tales in Scottish Gaelic oral tradition in the centuries after MacGilleoin wrote his manuscripts in Kintyre. They were also likely to

[296] Black, 'Gaelic Manuscripts Scotland', 154–58.
[297] McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 58–61; Gillies, 'Gaelic', 250; Bannerman, 'The MacLachlans', 16.
[298] Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales*, 71. This information includes tales from Campbell, *Leabhar na Feinne*; John Francis Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, 4 vols (Edinburgh, 1860).

have been circulating before the writing of MacGilleoin's manuscripts. Although there has been some debate about whether the tales originate in the oral or manuscript tradition,[299] it is now generally accepted that the relationship between speech, writing, and later, print were overlapped and often circular, with tales moving from spoken to written or written to spoken and back again.[300] One example of this interplay is DGP. A telling of the tale in 1951 by a Donnchadh MacDonald of Snishaval, South Uist (1883-1954) was remarkably similar to the surviving text contained in NLS 72.1.36. Donnchadh's wording of the tale was more consistent between tellings than his wording was for other tales in his repertoire, perhaps an indication of an originally literary source, although he learned the tale through oral tradition. Additionally, both the Scottish manuscript and oral versions contain incidents not found in the Irish versions.[301] It is possible that the manuscript and oral versions ultimately derive from closely related sources, although the reasons for the similarities between MacDonald's and MacGilleoin's versions has not yet been explored, and such an exploration is limited by the fragmentary state of the tale in NLS 72.1.36. The purpose here in acknowledging the oral tradition and the similarities that can and do exist between spoken and written tradition is not to suggest a direct connection between MacGilleoin's manuscripts and later oral tradition. It is, instead, to recognise that the manuscript tradition was not the only literary influence, with the oral tradition existing alongside it. Therefore, the tales included in MacGilleoin's manuscripts may have been influenced not only by the manuscripts at his disposal but also by the surrounding oral culture.

Discussion of the Gaelic prose tales has, up to this point, been as a homogenous group, but the tales fall into different genres and classifications which are necessary to understand the connections between them. There are two ways that Gaelic literary prose

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[299] Gerard Murphy believed the literary tradition was drawn from the oral one, while Alan Bruford believed the tales spread into oral tradition from a literary original: Gerard Murphy, *Duanaire Finn: The Book of the Lays of Fionn*, Irish Texts Society, 28, 3 vols (London, 1933), II, xxx; Gerard Murphy, *The Ossianic Lore and Romantic Tales of Medieval Ireland*, Irish Life and Culture, 11 (Dublin, 1961), 44; Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales*, 4.

[300] Adam Fox, Daniel Woolf (eds.), *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain, 1500-1850*, Politics, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain (Manchester, 2002), Introduction, 7.

[301] There are two versions of the tale from the collector Donald John MacDonald (1919-1986; Duncan's son) ascribed to Duncan MacDonald and his brother Neil; these two versions were copied almost word-for-word from Duncan's version in K.C. Craig, 'Sgialachdan ó Uibhist', *Béaloideas*, 17 (1947), 231–50. However, without considering the copies from Donald John, Duncan's tellings of the tale are still more consistent than his tellings of other tales. Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales*, 60, 139; Bruford, 'Murchadh Mac Briain', 325; William Lamb, 'Recitation or Re-Creation? A Reconsideration: Verbal Consistency in the Gaelic Storytelling of Duncan MacDonald', in Katherine Campbell and others (eds.), *'A Guid Hairst': Collecting and Archiving Scottish Tradition: Essays in Honour of Dr Margaret Mackay* (Shaker Verlag, 2013), 6–7. For an in-depth comparison of the text in NLS 72.1.36 with the oral versions, see Bruford, 'Murchadh Mac Briain'.

tales are generally classified: cycles and types. The types of tales refer to whether it is a *Táin* (cattle raid), *Cath* (battle), *Eachtra* (journey/adventure), *Oidheadh* (death), etc. This is a classification system used by Gaelic scribes: examples include a list in TCD 1339 (H.2.18; The Book of Leinster, twelfth century), which lists, among others, destructions, cattle raids, courtships, battles, death-tales, feasts, elopements, and expeditions.[302] The tales in MacGilleoin's manuscripts consist of the more militaristic genres, including a battle (CRR), cattle raid (TBC), death tale (OCC), and adventure (CG), and does not include a representative of the more personal tales, like courtships or elopements. The classification into cycles is used by modern scholars, and the cycles are based around a common cast of characters and narrative universe at a specific time in Ireland's history.[303] The four cycles are as follows: Ulster Cycle (c. the birth of Christ), Finn Cycle (c. third century AD), King Cycle (c. third-eighth century AD), and Mythological Cycle (supernatural beings of Irish prehistory).[304]

MacGilleoin's manuscripts for Cailean include prose tales from all cycles except the Mythological Cycle. Finn Cycle ballads and prose tales, known as *Fianaigheacht*, [BCC, BBA, LaD] revolve around Fionn mac Cumhaill and his *fiana*, a roaming band of professional warriors.[305] The Ulster Cycle [CRR, TBC, OCC, LnC, SMD] is the most dominant corpus of Irish tales from the pre-Norman period, 'consisting of roughly 100 items extending over a period of some 1200 years.'[306] The presence of an Ulster Cycle ballad and four Ulster Cycle tales in MacGilleoin's manuscripts, representing almost half of the prose tales spread between the two manuscripts written for Cailean Campbell, supports their popularity, or at the very least their presence, in Kintyre c. 1690. King Cycle literature [CG, DGP] focuses upon Irish kings who were, according to tradition, alive from roughly the third century through the eighth century.[307] CG features Conall Gulban, son of Niall Naoighiallach (of the Nine Hostages; fourth century), one of the traditional kings. DGP's main character, Murchadh mac Brian, is the son of Brian Boru/Bóroimhe (d. 1014),

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[302] Eugene O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History* (Dublin, 1861), 584–92.
[303] Breatnach, *Patronage*, 1. For a history of scholarship establishing 'cycles' within Irish/Gaelic literature, see Erich Poppe, *Of Cycles and Other Critical Matters. Some Issues in Medieval Irish Literary History and Criticism* (Cambridge, 2008).
[304] Poppe, *Of Cycles*, 45–47.
[305] Murphy, *Ossianic Lore*, 6–29.
[306] Ruairí Ó hUiginn, 'Ulster Cycle of Tales', John T. Koch (ed.), *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, 2006), 1708–17, at 1709.
[307] For more information about king tales, see Dan Wiley (ed.), *Essays on the Early Irish King Tales* (Dublin, 2008); Myles Dillon, *The Cycles of the Kings* (Dublin, 1994).

another Irish king. Both Niall Naoighiallach and Brian Boru are mentioned in the poem *Na maoi h-uaisle,* found in NLS 72.1.36.

In addition to defining the prose tales by type and cycle, some of the tales [CG, BCC, CCR, DGP, BBA, SMD] can be defined as *rómánsaíocht,* or Gaelic Romantic tales: late medieval and early modern romances written in Classical Gaelic that can be found in Irish and Scottish Gaelic manuscripts from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, and their related folktales.[308] The *rómánsaíocht* is not an isolated genre: medieval romance was popular across Europe beginning after about 1300 AD, and there are Gaelic translations of romantic tales from other languages (Latin, English, French), including *Stair Fortibrais* (SF) discussed below and in Chapter 3.[309] Romantic tales were an episodic adventure, often with a quest theme, meant to be read aloud.[310] *Rómánsaíocht* had some distinctly Irish characteristics, such as local characters, locations, and literary influence, and an ethos drawing upon existing Gaelic literature and folklore rather than the religious sentiment and knightly virtues of continental romances.[311] *Rómánsaíocht* were not the only romances that the multilingual Gaelic elite would have been exposed to, as there were also thriving romance traditions in other European languages and cultures, including English and Scots.[312] One such romance was the fifteenth-sixteenth century 'Sir Colling the Knycht', about Cailean Campbell, an ancestor of the Campbells of Argyll, who at times were strong patrons of romantic tales in Latin, Scots, and English.[313]

The list of tales considered to be *rómánsaíocht* is not stable. From the tales in MacGilleoin's manuscripts, Gerard Murphy lists only CG as *rómánsaíocht* and categorises

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[308] Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales*, 1, 33.
[309] For information on other texts of the French tradition translated into Irish, see Davies, '"Fierabras" in Ireland', 12–46. For a discussion of romances translated into Gaelic from England, see Aisling Byrne, 'The Circulation of Romances from England in Late-Medieval Ireland', in Nicholas Perkins (ed.), *Medieval Romance and Material Culture* (Cambridge, 2015), 182–98.
[310] Murphy, *Ossianic Lore*, 39–40; Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales*, 1–2, 55–68; H.J. Chaytor, *From Screen to Print: An Introduction to Medieval Literature* (Cambridge, 1945), 12.
[311] Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales*, 8, 17, nn.1, 24–26; Chaytor, *From Screen to Print*, 3; Breatnach, *Patronage*, 2.
[312] Anne Kelly, 'Rhiannon Purdie (Ed.), Shorter Scottish Medieval Romances: Florimond of Albany, Sir Colling The Knycht, King Orphius, Roswall and Lillian .', *Notes and Queries*, 63.1 (2016), 116–17; Byrne, 'Circulation of Romances'; Aisling Byrne, 'The King's Champion: Re-Enacting Arthurian Romance at the English Coronation Banquet', *English Studies*, 94.5 (2013), 505–18; Aisling Byrne, 'A Lost Insular Version of the Romance of Octavian', *Medium Aevum*, 83.2 (2014), 288–302; Aisling Byrne, 'Irish Translations and Romances', in Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan and Erich Poppe (eds.), *Arthur in the Celtic Languages: The Arthurian Legend in Celtic Literatures and Traditions*, Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages (Cardiff, 2019), IX, 344–57; Rhiannon Purdie (ed.), *Shorter Scottish Medieval Romances: Florimond of Albany, Sir Colling the Knycht, King Orphius, Roswall and Lillian*, The Scottish Text Society, Fifth Series, no. 11 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Scottish Text Society, 2013).
[313] Kelly, 'Review of Shorter Scottish Medieval Romances'; Purdie, *Shorter Scottish Medieval Romances*; MacGregor, 'The Campbells', 135–36.

Finn Cycle tales separately; Alan Bruford considers CG, DGP, CCR, and the Finn Cycle tales BCC and BBA to be *rómánsaíocht*, but not SMD; and Caoimhín Breatnach considers SMD to be *rómánsaíocht*.[314] For the sake of this thesis, a composite list is considered as *rómánsaíocht*: CG, BBA, BCC, DGP, CCR, and SMD. This means that some tales are considered both a romance and, for example, a Finn Cycle or Ulster Cycle tale.

The prose tales within MacGilleoin's manuscripts for Col. Cailean Campbell represent content from across the spectrum of Gaelic narrative prose, including texts from three of the four cycles of Gaelic literature, some of which are considered *rómánsaíocht*. Indeed, MacGilleoin's manuscripts represent one of the few, and in most cases the only, pre-1700 manuscript copies of these texts with a known Scottish origin. This is significant: without MacGilleoin's manuscripts, evidence of the tales in Scotland would be limited to the later oral tradition. This is similar to the situation for the sixteenth-century Book of the Dean of Lismore, without which the picture of bardic poetry in Scotland 'would consist of shards'.[315]

2.2.4 Summary

The manuscripts and manuscript collections discussed above reflect the complexities of the language landscape discussed in Chapter 1 with the inclusion of both literary and vernacular Gaelic and material in English/Scots. They also include a variety of types of material, drawing from most areas of learned and vernacular tradition: folklore, charms, prose tales, verse, medical texts, religious material, and law tracts. The Red Book of Clanranald and the contemporary genealogical histories produced in English suggest an attempt to preserve aspects of Gaelic history and knowledge, even if in English and with influence from material in other languages. The Fernaig manuscript is different in that it is a personal collection of verse in Scots orthography, mostly vernacular Scottish Gaelic, one of the few sources of such poetry from the seventeenth century. There is, however, vernacular verse found in MacGilleoin's NLS 72.1.36 (see section 2.3.4); unlike the Fernaig manuscript, though, this verse is not attributed to its authors within the manuscript and much of it cannot be definitively located in time or place. MacGilleoin's manuscripts are both unique and in line with contemporary manuscripts. As shown in section 2.2.3, some of the prose tales are not found in other Scottish Manuscripts, or are found in few Scottish manuscripts, and MacGilleoin's copies represent a significant portion of pre-1700

[314] Murphy, *Ossianic Lore*; Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales*; Breatnach, *Patronage*, 2–3.
[315] MacGregor, 'Creation and Compilation', 209.

copies of many of the prose tales in his manuscripts. Still, the material in MacGilleoin's manuscripts is of the same type—verse and prose—as found in the MacLachlan and Beaton collections, and like Niall MacMhuirich's Red Book, includes both classical and vernacular material written in *corra-litir*.

2.3 MacGilleoin's Resources and Scribal Activity

Existing scholarship on Eoghan MacGilleoin does not have much good to say about him as a scribe. He has been called 'an inveterate scribbler' who 'sometimes copies mechanically what he does not understand', wrote 'abridged and corrupt' or 'very much less correct' versions of works, had 'peculiarities' and was 'eccentric' in orthography, and in the words of Whitley Stokes, was 'grossly ignorant'.[316] These perspectives are in part a result of the critical approach taken by many scholars in the early- to mid-twentieth century which desired to identify or reconstruct an original, authorial text for a given tale.[317] Such an 'original' text would be based on correct prescriptive spelling and grammar and primarily older and Irish sources of the tale's content, a standard from which MacGilleoin's texts differ. MacGilleoin's versions of SMD (a prose tale) and *Forus Focal* (a metrical glossary; see Chapter 3) are different than copies in other, Irish manuscripts, including grammar, orthography, some word choices, and even the events of the tale.[318] It is also true, however, that MacGilleoin was a knowledgeable scribe, and as discussed previously, was an informant on Gaelic matters and possibly also a Gaelic tutor. He could also be playful, using *corra-litir* to write a short phrase in English and sometimes using wordplay and codes, such as writing five Gs for chuige (ggggg = coig/five G = chuige) and replacing all the vowels in his name with sets of consonants.[319]

Some of the peculiarities and differences in texts may come down in part to Scottish Gaelic vernacular influence, such as variable use of eclipsis/lenition, confusion of the present and future tenses, and the reduplication of do > a d(h)' (such as *ad'iallaibh* for *d'iallaibh*: see section 2.3.4).[320] They also could have been in part copied from exemplars:

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[316] Breatnach, *Patronage*, 14; O'Rahilly, *The Stowe Version*, lii–liii; Bruford, 'Murchadh Mac Briain', 303; Stokes, 'On the Metrical Glossaries (1893)', 6.
[317] Nadia Altschul, 'The Genealogy of Scribal Versions A "Fourth Way" in Medieval Editorial Theory', *Textual Cultures*, 1.2 (2006), 114–36, at 115–23; Richard Trachsler, 'How to Do Things with Manuscripts: From Humanist Practice to Recent Textual Criticism', *Textual Cultures*, 1.1 (2006), 5–28, at 9, 18–20.
[318] Breatnach, *Patronage*, 13–15; Rudolf Thurneysen (ed.), *Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó*, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series, 6 (Dublin, 1935), ii; Stokes, 'On the Metrical Glossaries (1893)', 5.
[319] NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, f. 127a; TCD, MS 1362 ; Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales*, 53, n. 22; *NLS Catalogue*, NLS Adv.MS.72.1.36, f. 127r: 'scdlgbhn Mac gngllscdlngn ddl scrngb sdl [i.e. Eoghan Mac Gilleoin do scribh so]'.
[320] Bruford, 'Murchadh Mac Briain', 303; O'Rahilly, *The Stowe Version*, lii and 39, l.1194.

it is known that in some instances, such as TCD 1362 and TCD 1307, he was copying from existing manuscripts, and it is likely that he was doing the same for other texts. Section 2.3.2.2 compares MacGilleoin's copy of TBC to its exemplar in NLS 72.2.9 as much as is possible, and it reveals that while MacGilleoin was changing some aspects of orthography and other features, these instances are relatively limited. Therefore, the 'poor spelling and general carelessness of the scribe' noted by Cecile O'Rahilly are a result of a combination of faithful copying from his exemplar and small changes he made himself.[321] Making such changes, and even more dramatic ones, was part of a scribe's work.[322] MacGilleoin, arguably, was much more accomplished than some scholars have given him credit for.

This section examines MacGilleoin's resources, connections, and abilities as a scribe. A closer look at the language of his manuscripts' texts (section 2.3.4) shows that there may have been some Scottish Gaelic influence on his writing, and that some of the dialect features seen in his work are found in both Scottish Gaelic and Ulster Irish. Consideration of a stanza in a letter to Edward Lhuyd (section 2.3.1) and *Stair Fortibrais* in TCD 1307 (section 2.3.3) explores some of his resources and exposure to Gaelic literature. Section 2.3.2 considers NLS 72.2.9, the exemplar for TCD 1362, the relationships of individuals connected to the manuscripts, and what is revealed by comparing the two copies of TBC. Altogether, this section aims to assess MacGilleoin's work as a scribe by considering aspects of all his manuscripts together. It is argued that he was not a 'grossly ignorant' scribe, but rather one who was a product of his environment in late-seventeenth century Kintyre: operating at and influenced by the interface of several registers and dialects of the Gaelic language (contemporary vernacular, high-register literary) and drawing from both Irish and Scottish materials.

2.3.1 Stanza in His Letter to Lhuyd

A stanza of a poem written up the side of MacGilleoin's letter to Edward Lhuyd is one piece of evidence indicating the extent of the Gaelic literary resources at MacGilleoin's disposal. It is written first in *corra-litir* and Gaelic and secondly in secretary hand and English, a translation probably for Lhuyd's benefit:[323]

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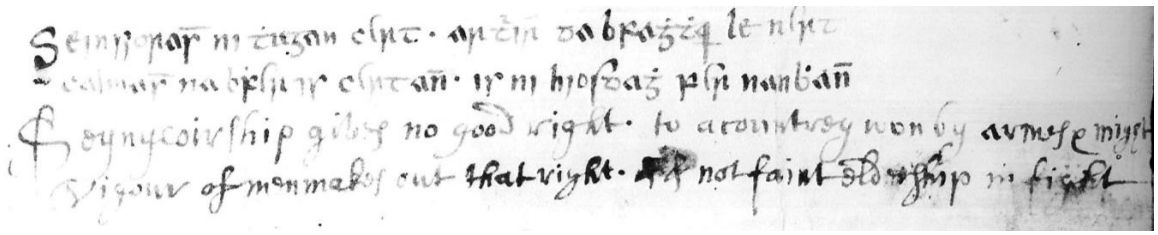
[321] O'Rahilly, *The Stowe Version*, lix.
[322] Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (London, 2007), 119; Gillespie, 'Scribes and Manuscripts', 12–14; Ó Macháin, 'Scribal Practice', 95.
[323] MacGilleoin to Lhuyd, 3 January 1700, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fol. 277-278, image via *EMLO* under CC-BY-NC 4.0.

Seinsiora*cht* ni t*h*ugan cert / ar t*h*ir do bfag*ht*h*air* le nert

calma*cht* na bf*h*er is cert an*n* / is ni hiosdag*h*[324] fer nanb*h*an*n*

*Seynyeoirship [*sic*] gives no good right / to a country won by armes & might*

Vigour of men makes out that right / & not faint eldership in fight



This stanza is stanza 19 in the poem *Measa a Thaidhg do thagrais féin* (Worse, Tadhg, on your own argument) probably by Roibeard MacArthur (MacArtúir), O.S.F. (Order of St Francis) and Doctor of Theology—possibly an alias for Dr Roibeard Chamberlain, O.S.F., who was from the north of Ireland and taught Theology in Louvain from 1608-1626—although it is also atributed to an 'Aodh O Domhnaill'.[325] MacArthur's poem was produced in the early-seventeenth century as part of *Iomarbhágh na bhFileadh* (the Contention of the Bards), a series of poems in which some Irish poets debated aspects of Gaelic lore, poetic etiquette, and 'the respective merits of the two Halves of Ireland' (the northern half and the southern half).[326] *Measa a Thaidhg* refers to Tadhg (mac Dáire) Mac Bruaideadha, the official poet of the O'Briens, who were from the southern half of Ireland and helped the English defeat chiefs from the northern half at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[327] Mac Bruaideadha wrote the first poem of the Contention, *Olc do thagrais, a Thorna* (Evil is your argument, Torna), in which he accused Torna, a legendary

[324] Roibeard O Maolalaigh has suggested this spelling (*iosdagh* for *aosdachd/aostacht*) is an influence from the north of Ireland. It would be worth comparing with RIA, B iv 1a, an Ó Duibhgeannáin manuscript and therefore the same source as MacGilleoin's exemplar NLS, 72.2.9.

[325] Lambert McKenna, *Iomarbhágh na bhFileadh = The Contention of the Bards*, Irish Texts Society, 20 (London, 1918), xi, with an edition and translation of the poem found at 120-125; Simms and Hoyne, 'Bardic Poetry Database', s.v. #1346.

[326] Sharpe, 'Manuscript and Print', 37; Joep Leerssen, *The Contention of the Bards (Iomarbhágh na bhFileadh) and Its Place in Irish Political and Literary History*, Irish Texts Society, Subsidiary Series, 2 (London, 1994), 6; see this publication for more information about the Contention. See also Ann Dooley, 'Literature and Society in Early Seventeenth-Century Ireland The Evaluation of Change', in Cyril J. Byrne, Margaret Harry, and Pádraig Ó Siadhail (eds.), *Celtic Languages and Celtic Peoples: Proceedings of the Second North American Congress of Celtic Studies* (Halifax, 1992), 513–34.

[327] Leerssen, *Contention*, 14–16, 33–35.

Irish poet, of being unable to weigh the merits of figures from the southern half of Ireland because he was from the northern half of Ireland.[328]

MacArthur was one of the poets accusing Mac Bruaideadha of turning his back on tradition and reproaching him for creating friction between the two halves of Ireland. *Measa a Thaidhg* was the first of MacArthur's two poems in the Contention; the second is *Gé shaoile a Thaidhg nach dearnas* (Though you think, Tadhg, that I did not make). In *Measa a Thaidhg*, MacArthur states that Tadhg should not revile Torna, who was doing his duty as an honourable poet. The two stanzas preceding stanza 19 (the one written on MacGilleoin's letter) are in response to a specific claim by Tadhg in *Olc do thagrais*: that Torna was incorrect when he said Éibhear received land in Ireland from his younger brother, Éireamhón.[329] Éibhear and Éireamhón, sons of Míl, are associated with the northern and southern halves of Ireland, and with legendary figures descended from them: Éibhear with the southern half and the Munster king Mugh Nuadhat, and Éireamhón with the northern half and Conn Céadchathach (Conn of the Hundred Battles).[330] MacArthur's response to Tadhg's claim insists in stanzas 17 and 18 that Tadhg's argument is false, because the brothers did not receive Ireland via inheritance, so Éibhear's status as eldest is irrelevant.[331] Stanza 19 of MacArthur's poem, quoted by MacGilleoin, makes the distinction clear: when land is seized by force, it is the heroic deeds of men that gives right to it, not seniority or ancestry (i.e. primogeniture or inheritance).[332]

Knowing part of the context of this stanza does not make it any clearer why MacGilleoin would have included it on the edge of his letter to Lhuyd, as the letter discusses meeting Lachlann Campbell and the 'old alphabets', and offering to pass along messages, with no overt reference to seniority or similar (see section 1.4). It is possible that the stanza had something to do with the promise he made to Lhuyd regarding the 'old alphabets', perhaps a translation exercise for Lhuyd to learn from. There may also have been a contemporary meaning to the stanza: although the letter does not include anything particularly political within, it may be a general commentary on the conquering and control of land. This would have reflected upon many seventeenth-century events, including Argyll's taking of MacLean lands in the 1670s. The contemporary political and religious tensions tied to the taking of the English and Scottish throne by William of

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328 Leerssen, *Contention*, 52–54.
329 McKenna, *Iomarbhágh na bhFileadh*, 12–13.
330 Leerssen, *Contention*, 18–19.
331 McKenna, *Iomarbhágh na bhFileadh*, 120–23.
332 'Sinnseardhacht' is defined in Classical Gaelic dictionary as 'seniority, eldership, antiquity, superiority' or 'a long period, generations': Dinneen, s.v. sinnseardhacht. 'Sinnsireachd' also means genealogy, ancestry, and pedigree in vernacular Scottish Gaelic: Dwelly, s.v. sinnsireachd.

Orange and his followers c. 1690 may also have been a catalyst for including the stanza. The Stuarts' hereditary/divine right to rule was an ideology expressed in contemporary Gaelic Jacobite poetry, and the stanza's insistence that seniority/primogeniture is not the ultimate claim to land/rule is anti-Jacobite and pro-Williamite rhetoric.[333] It could also have been a reference to a conversation MacGilleoin had with Lhuyd. The ultimate purpose of the stanza cannot be known for certain.

It does, however, indicate MacGilleoin's exposure to and familiarity with MacArthur's poem and the Contention of the Bards, and therefore MacGilleoin's knowledge of and access to seventeenth-century bardic poetry from Ireland, with the translation a testament to his ability to understand it. The Contention of the Bards was a popular group of poems, copied into many Irish manuscripts in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[334] One of the Irish manuscripts, RIA MS B iv 1a, is a seventeenth-century Ó Duibhgeannáin manuscript, the same family from which MacGilleoin's exemplar NLS 72.2.9 originated.[335] Although it cannot be said that MacGilleoin received the poems from the same route as NLS 72.2.9, he certainly had connections that would have allowed him to obtain a copy of the poems from the Contention, which was circulating in at least part of Scotland. A later poetic dispute known as the 'Contention of the Red Hand' is another example of Irish poetry circulating in Scotland: Niall MacMhuirich, poet of Clanranald, responded to two recent Ulster Irish poems in 1689.[336]

2.3.2 NLS 72.2.9

For most of MacGilleoin's manuscripts, there is no surviving evidence of the resources he drew upon, although it is certain that he was copying from other manuscripts for at least some of the material.[337] There are two cases where there is evidence for exemplars. First, the letters of Lachlann Campbell, covered in Chapter 3, indicate that the metrical glossaries within TCD 1307 were copied from another book, but this exemplar does not seem to have survived.[338] Secondly, TCD 1362 is a copy of a surviving Irish manuscript: NLS 72.2.9. Having both the exemplar and MacGilleoin's copy allows for consideration

[333] Findlay, 'Divine Right'; Ni Suaird, 'Jacobite Rhetoric', 93–99.
[334] McKenna, *Iomarbhágh na bhFileadh*.
[335] Simms and Hoyne, 'Bardic Poetry Database', s.v. #1346.
[336] A.J. Hughes, 'The Seventeenth-Century Ulster/Scottish Contention of the Red Hand: Background and Significance', in Derick S. Thomson and University of Glasgow (eds.), *Gaelic and Scots in Harmony: Proceedings of the Second International Conference on the Languages of Scotland, University of Glasgow, 1988* (presented at the International Conference on the Languages of Scotland, Glasgow, 1990), 85–90.
[337] Gillespie, 'Scribes and Manuscripts', 20–21.
[338] Both TCD 1307 and the other book were sent to Edward Lhuyd; see section 3.3.2.3.

of changes, both orthographic and structural, that he did or did not make. This section considers these changes and what it reveals about MacGilleoin as a scribe.

2.3.2.1 NLS 72.2.9: Background and Connections between Ireland and Scotland

NLS 72.2.9 was written by the Irish scribe Fear Feasa Ó Duibhgeannáin c. 1650 and was in MacGilleoin's possession by 1691. Ronald Black states that, 'The MS. passed to the Kintyre scribe Eoghan MacGilleoin, who copied the 3 tales from it into TCD 1362 (H.4.21) in 1691-2, and TBC and "Cath Rois na Riogh" into NLS MS.14873 immediately after.'[339] The Ó Duibhgeannáin learned family were connected to the MacDonnells of Antrim in Ireland (patrons of poets and harpers into the early-eighteenth century), with Fear Feasa seemingly patronised by Raghnall (Aranach) MacDonnell, created Viscount Dunluce in 1618.[340] Caoimhín Breatnach argues that the tale SMD originated in its modern form under MacDonnell patronage, which raises the possibility that other Ó Duibhgeannáin/MacDonnell manuscripts were the exemplars for other material in MacGilleoin's manuscripts, such as his copy of SMD.[341] There is an English elegy for Gilleasbaig MacDonald of Largie (died c.1689) which was written into NLS 72.2.9: the MacDonalds of Largie were related to the MacDonnells of Antrim, which may have led to manuscripts being moved into Kintyre.[342] O'Rahilly thought—presumably on the basis that MacGilleoin was in possession of the manuscript soon after MacDonald's death, although he does not say so explicitly—that it may have been MacGilleoin who wrote the elegy, which would make him a poet as well as a scribe, but this cannot be determined for certain.[343]

Gilleasbaig of Largie was laird by 1675 and died c.1689.[344] The MacDonalds of Largie traditionally had lands in Kintyre, including Gilleasbaig's 1687 rental for land just to the north of the locations of tacks from 1691 to the Campbells of Kilberry (see section 4.2.2). The Largie family residence at the time was likely situated at Tayinloan, less than fifteen miles from Kilchenzie where MacGilleoin was schoolmaster 1697-99, and about four miles from Belloch, where Col. Cailean Campbell had a tack. There are also ties of

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[339] *NLS Catalogue*, NLS MS. 72.2.9; NLS, 'Manuscript Written by Eoghan Mac Gilleoin'. Due to the damage to NLS 14873, a close comparison of the three copies of TBC and CRR has not been done.
[340] Hector McDonnell and Jane Ohlmeyer, 'New Light on the Marquis of Antrim and the "Wars of the Three Kingdoms"', *Analecta Hibernica*, 41, 2009, 11–66, at 26–28; Breatnach, *Patronage*, 17.
[341] Breatnach, *Patronage*, 17; Brian Ó Cuív, 'Some Items Relating to the MacDonnells of Antrim', *Celtica*, 16 (1984), 139–56, at 139–40.
[342] Rev. George Hill, *An Historical Account of the MacDonnells of Antrim* (Belfast, 1873), 27.
[343] O'Rahilly, *The Stowe Version*, l and lii–liii.
[344] NRS, GD92/24, 35-6; *NLS Catalogue*, NLS MS. 72.2.9; O'Rahilly, *The Stowe Version*, l.

kinship and probably affinity between the MacDonalds of Largie and Campbells of Kilberry: Cailean Campbell's grandfather Dùghall, 3rd of Kilberry, is said to have been married to 'Largys Daur' (Largie's daughter), this may be the sister to either Alastair, 8th of Largie (d. 1639), or Gilleasbaig's father Aonghas, 9th of Largie (d. pre-1675).[345] Furthermore, in 1618, while Kilberry was temporarily in charge of Kintyre, Largie was one of the lairds who helped him, and in 1679, Aonghas Campbell of Kilberry, his brother Donnchadh, and Gilleasbaig MacDonald of Largie all commanded companies which went with the Earl of Argyll to Mull.[346] Assuming accuracy of the familial connection, Col. Cailean would have been the first cousin once removed to Gilleasbaig of Largie, whose English elegy is found in NLS 72.2.9. The bonds between Largie, Kilberry, MacGilleoin, Ó Duibhgeannáin, and Antrim will have been a factor in the circulation of Gaelic manuscript material between Ireland and Scotland, or at least from Ireland to Scotland, and within Kintyre.

It also, therefore, would not be a stretch for MacGilleoin to have composed, or at least copied, an English elegy for Gilleasbaig MacDonald of Largie into NLS 72.2.9.[347] A cursory comparison of the hand used in MacGilleoin's letter and that used for the poem in the manuscript mostly suggests that they are different, but not to an extent to be sure: the script of the elegy has more flourishes and is neater than MacGilleoin's script in his letter to Lhuyd, and letterforms appear at times similar but other times different. These different circumstances of writing (a letter versus a poem in a manuscript) may well have warranted a change in style, even if it were the same person writing. A close examination by an individual more expert in hands and scripts than myself may be able to put this question to rest. At the very least, the inclusion of the poem in the manuscript does suggest that the manuscript may have been in the possession of someone who would want to include an elegy for Largie c. 1689, and MacGilleoin may either have been that person or received the manuscript from them. After MacGilleoin parted with the manuscript, NLS 72.2.9 'probably passed to the roving harper William MacMurchy', who was a piper for the MacDonalds of Largie in the eighteenth century. This would not be surprising if the theory

[345] J. R. N. MacPhail (ed.), *Highland Papers Volume IV*, Publications of the Scottish History Society Third Series, 22 (Edinburgh, 1934), 81; Angus MacDonald and Archibald MacDonald, *The Clan Donald*, 3 vols (Inverness, 1896–1904) III (1904), 383-384.
[346] Campbell of Airds, *History of Clan Campbell*, II, 175 and III, 73.
[347] Members of Gaelic communities also worked in English, such as with the English-language genealogies: MacGregor, 'Genealogical Histories'.

that MacGilleoin taught MacMurchy were true, or if the manuscript indeed belonged to MacDonald of Largie before MacGilleoin.[348]

2.3.2.2 NLS 72.2.9 as Exemplar: A Comparison of *Táin Bo Cuailnge*

The previous section explored the context of NLS 72.2.9 and the connections between Irish and Scottish individuals and families which may have played a part in the circulation of the manuscript. This section examines the texts of TBC contained in TCD 1362 and its exemplar, NLS 72.2.9. The texts in the two manuscripts were copied in the same order (CRR, OCC, and TBC), but TCD 1362 was bound in the order TBC, CRR, OCC. This re-ordering may have been to put the texts in chronological order ending with the death of Cú Chulainn (OCC).[349] While TCD 1362 is a complete copy, the text of NLS 72.2.9 is now incomplete due to damage, and so comparison is limited to the segments which survive. The passages that can be compared are equivalent to the following and equated with corresponding lines in Cecile O'Rahilly's edition of TBC, which is primarily based upon RIA, MS Stowe 984 (c. 1633):[350]

O'Rahilly's Edition	NLS 72.2.9	TCD 1362
l.1508-1547	f.38	p.50, l.5-p.51, l.14
l.1587-1628	f.39	p.52, l.23-p.54, l.10
l.1876-1915	f.40	p.61, l.23-p.63, l.3
l.2598-2634	f.41	p.83 l.6-p.84, l.9
l.2897-2950	f.42	p.91, l.2-p.92-l.11
l.4551-5099	f.43r-54r	p.141, l.3-p.160, l.15

Table 2-3: Corresponding sections of TBC in O'Rahilly's edition, NLS 72.2.9, and TCD 1362.

According to O'Rahilly, 'In the passages that we can compare we note that peculiarities of spelling, small omissions and occasional misreadings are identical in both manuscripts'.[351] However, while the two copies are extremely similar, there are differences between them. Some examples of how MacGilleoin's copy differs from his exemplar are provided below.

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[348] *NLS Catalogue*, NLS MS. 72.2.9; Martin, *Kintyre*, 8. For more information about harpers in the Scottish Highlands, see Thomas Brochard, 'Harpers in Scotland's Outlying Communities Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Wirestrungharp*, 2013 <https://www.wirestrungharp.com/harps/harpers/scottish_harpers_brochard/> [accessed 16 July 2020].
[349] O'Rahilly, *The Stowe Version*, li. NLS 72.1.36 was also re-ordered when it was bound.
[350] O'Rahilly, *The Stowe Version*.
[351] O'Rahilly, *The Stowe Version*, lii.

1. Changing b to p, sometimes p to b, and one instance of p to m, in cases where these letters are followed with h (bh, ph, mh): *'*t*air*p*h*' to 'tarb*h*', 't*ar*b*h*' to 't*ar*p*h*', 'duiblia' to 'dup*h*lia', 'df*ear*uib*h*' to 'df*ear*oip*h*', 't*h*oep*h*' to 't*h*oeb*h*', 'i*ar*iop*h*' to 'i*ar*om*h*', 'gab*hus'* to 'gap*hus*', 'g*h*ap*hus*' to 'g*h*ab*hus*'.[352]

2. Changing some instances of 'oe' to 'ao': 'oen' to 'aon', 'oen*ar*' to 'aon*ar*', 'aon loech' to 'aon laoch', 'loec*h*d*h*a' to 'laoc*h*a', 'loeg*h*' to 'laog*h*'.[353]

3. Ommission of and re-ordering of words and lines:

    a. 'tiag*h*ait do m*har*b*hadh*' to 'do m*har*b*hadh*'[354]

    b. 'a t*r*oigt*h*iph 7 talm*h*uin Mat lorg' to 'a t*h*roig*h*t*h*ip*h* Mat lorg'[355]

    c. 'cie rac*us* frisin com*h*a da iondsi*n* ar me*abh*' to 'cie rac*hus* da iondsi*n* frisin com*ht*h*a* ar me*abh*'[356]

    d. Line missing in TCD 1362: 'air*m* i bfuilit na lait g*h*aile ani*ar* b*(?)*id tolg t*r*e san c*h*at*h* sair'[357]

    e. Missing line in TCD 1362: 'gabait na maine an *air*m 7 tangat*ar* isi*n* cat*h* 7 tangat*ar*'[358]

4. Changing 'co' to 'go'[359]

5. Adding or removing eclipsis and other initial consonants: 'ro s*h*ait' to 'ro ts*h*ait*h*', 'ni f*eadar*' to 'ni bf*eadar*', 'co b*r*uinde' to 'co mbruinde', 'isin mbrat' to 'isin brat', 'm*un*a mbere fior' to 'muna bera fior'.[360]

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[352] NLS 72.2.9, f.39v, l.11; f.51v, l.2, 17, 19, 20, 22; f.53r, l.3, 19-22; f.54r, l.6 and 11; and TCD 1362, p.53, l.25; p.154, l.24; p.155, l.12, 14-15, 18, 23; p.157, l.19; p.158, l.11-2, 14-15; p.160, l.2-3 and 9.
[353] NLS 72.2.9, f.38r, l.11, 14; f.38v, l.1, 10; f.51r, l.14; and TCD 1362, p.50, l.14, 16, 22; p.51, l.6; p.154, l.11.
[354] NLS 72.2.9, f.53v, l.6; and TCD 1362, p.158, l.22.
[355] NLS 72.2.9, f.38v, l.5; and TCD 1362, p.51, l.2.
[356] NLS 72.2.9, f.39r, l.17; and TCD 1362, p.53, l.12-13.
[357] NLS 72.2.9, f.47r, l.17-18; and TCD 1362, p.147, l.11.
[358] NLS 72.2.9, f.49r, l.10-11; and TCD 1362, p.150, l.23.
[359] NLS 72.2.9, f.43v, l.2; f.49r, l.13; f.53v, l.22-3; and TCD 1362, p.141, l.23; p.150, l.25; p.159, l.16 and 19.
[360] NLS 72.2.9, f.38r, l.9; f.38v, l.3; f.49r, l.8; f.49v, l.1; f.53r, l.3; and TCD 1362, p.50, l.12; p.51, l.1; p.150, l.21; p.151, l.9; p.157, l.19.

6. ‘gus amu *ar* se’ to ‘gus andeud*hgh ar* se’[361]

O’Rahilly’s edition also contains a short passage omitted from TCD 1362, and the manuscript has an added quatrain to one of the poems, but the corresponding sections of NLS 72.2.9 do not survive, so it is impossible to determine if the omission and addition were Ó Duibhgeannáin’s doing or MacGilleoin’s.[362] Some of these changes reflect wider trends in written Gaelic: ‘co’ became ‘go’ (later ‘gu’ in Scottish Gaelic), and ‘óen’ and ‘lóech’ are Old Gaelic spellings of ‘aon’ and ‘laoch’.[363] Published religious translations into Gaelic may have had an influence: ‘m*un*a mbere fior’ changing to ‘muna bera fior’ is similar to what is done in *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh* (c. 1630) in which ‘muna’, for the most part, does not cause mutation: in instances where mutation does occur, it is lenition, not eclipses.[364] The lenition of s is mostly written as ts (similar to ‘ro ts*h*ait*h*’ in #5), a phenomenon also noted in the second edition of *Foirceadul Aithghearr Cheasnuighe* (1659), a translation of the *Shorter Catechism*, although it also appears in other Gaelic manuscripts such as an earlier Scottish seventeenth-century manuscript, NLS 72.1.34.[365] *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh* is also similar in that it is not ‘attached to consistency’: similarly, MacGilleoin’s changes while copying are not consistent (such as in the changes between bh, ph, and mh in #1 above, and whether he adds or removes eclipsis in #5).[366] These changes may be evidence of emerging and transitioning Scottish and shared Irish and Scottish norms for Early Modern Gaelic orthography. Other changes may be the result of hypercorrection, scribal mistake or even scribal preference.[367]

It has been suggested by O’Rahilly that MacGilleoin ‘copied mechanically what he did not understand, as is obvious from wrong division of words and incorrect expansion of contracted forms’ from NLS 72.2.9.[368] However, MacGilleoin’s expansions of the symbols are not necessarily the result of misunderstanding even if they are not strictly grammatically or orthographically correct: he expands the symbol for *ar* also to *air* and

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[361] That is, ‘*ar* se bliad*na* gus amu *ar* se o tug*us* an cloid*h*em*h* sin’ to ‘*ar* se bliad*h*na gus andeud*hgh ar* se o tug*us* an cloid*hemh*’: NLS 72.2.9, f.48v, l.20; and TCD 1362, p.150, l.10. It seems that *amu* is a mistake for *aniu* (‘today’), replaced by MacGilleoin with *andeudhgh* for the modern Scottish Gaelic *an-diugh* (‘today’).
[362] O’Rahilly, *The Stowe Version*, lii–liii.
[363] Patrick S. Dinneen, *Foclóir Gaedhilge Agus Béarla*, Irish Texts Society (London, 1904), s.v. co; *EDIL*, s.v. lóech, láech, and óen.
[364] Thomson, *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh*, xxx.
[365] Thomson, ‘Language of the Shorter Catechism’, 35; Innes and Reid, ‘Expressions of Faith’, 69; *Trí Bruidhne*, 26.
[366] Thomson, *Foirm Na N-Urrnuidheadh*, xi.
[367] Some hypercorrections found in NLS 72.1.36 identified by Professor Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh are *gnaidh* for *gràidh* (*Ni me tenga lem let*, 1.3; *Innis disi*, f.114v, 2.3; *Go mbenuigh Dia*, l.7), *cnann* for *crann* (*Go mbenuigh Dia*, l.21), *cneidhim* for *creidimh*.(*Rug eadrain*, 6.2: see section 4.4.4).
[368] O’Rahilly, *The Stowe Version*, lii.

the symbol for *us* also to *uis*, but these slight orthographical differences probably did not affect his understanding. Occasional 'wrong division of words' may also be the result of writing style or not focusing on the spaces between words rather than a lack of understanding the text. Indeed, other evidence points to MacGilleoin being familiar with the prose tales contained in TCD 1362 and perhaps having access to another copy of some of them. In his copy of OCC, for which NLS 72.2.9 was also the exemplar, MacGilleoin adds a missing line to the poem *Ataid sunna bhur n-airm aigh* in NLS 72.2.9. In the following quote, the line he added on f.14v of NLS 72.2.9 is shown in bold:[369]

Do foet*h* lib*h* an cú cruad*ar* cnead*ar* cre*ch*tac*h* cat*h*buad*ar*

Aon m*ac* deitc*h*ine g*an* on ar bur ccion*n* tuaid*h* atason

The line which was added to NLS 72.2.9 is incorporated smoothly into the text on p.191 of TCD 1362, suggesting that MacGilleoin either knew that there was a line missing from the poem and added it himself from memory or that he had another copy of the text to consult.

Altogether, the evidence in this section suggests that as a scribe MacGilleoin was mostly a faithful copier, but he was not averse to changing orthography, word order, and even some grammatical features while he was copying. This was probably not a result of misunderstanding the material, but it may have been an indication of the influence of modern Irish/Scottish norms and contemporary language usage. The vernacular influence could have stemmed from his own pronunciation of words and/or the orthographical and grammatical use of the high-register Gaelic language in printed religious materials such as the *Caogad* and *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh*.[370] A partial modernisation of language can also be seen in the work of Niall MacMhuirich in the Red Book of Clanranald, whose language is a formal early modern Classical Gaelic with Scottish Gaelic influence that conforms more to a restrained register when copying from an exemplar.[371] As argued by Gillies, the presence of non-Classical usage and influence of Scottish Gaelic indicates 'the presence of (educated) Early Modern Scottish Gaelic'.[372] MacGilleoin was, then, arguably a capable scribe by the standards of his own place and time.

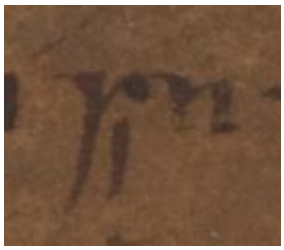
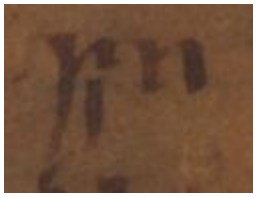
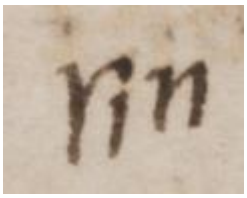
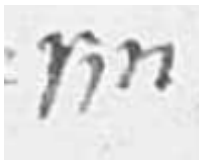
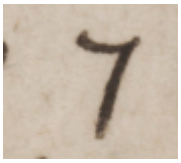
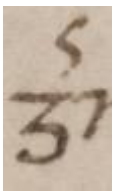
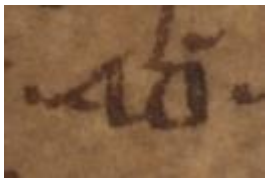
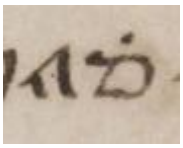
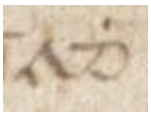
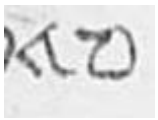
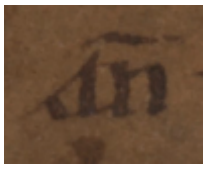
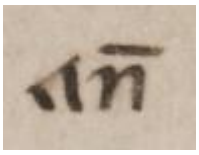
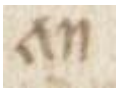
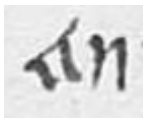
[369] A discussion of this poem and transcriptions of other copies can be found in Kühns, 243.
[370] Thomson, 'Language of the Caogad'; Thomson, *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh*; Thomson, 'Language of the Shorter Catechism'.
[371] Gillies, 'Gaelic of Niall MacMhuirich', 86–87; Thomson, 'MacMhuirich', 299–300.
[372] Gillies, 'Gaelic of Niall MacMhuirich', 87.

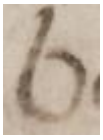
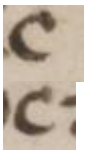
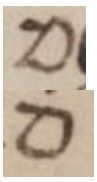
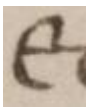
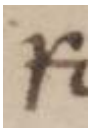
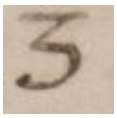
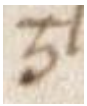
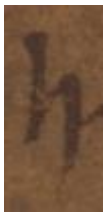
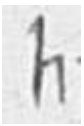
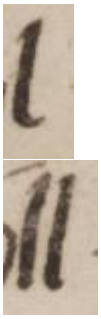
2.3.3 *Stair Fortibrais* (SF) in TCD 1307

TCD 1307 is considered in detail in Chapter 3, including discussion of the history of glossaries and metrical glossaries in the Gaelic literary tradition, but one aspect of the manuscript requires a detailed look in this section: whether MacGilleoin wrote the two vellum folios. These two folios differ in material and script from MacGilleoin's other work: besides the two vellum folios, MacGilleoin's manuscripts are written on paper. This section establishes that MacGilleoin was unlikely to have been the one who copied the vellum folios and was, instead, using an older manuscript written by another scribe to cover the paper folios. There are two pieces of evidence to support this: the material used and the hand of the writer.

Regarding the first point, all four of MacGilleoin's manuscripts are written on paper, which was the more common material to write on in the seventeenth century.[373] It was also cheaper and easier to obtain, with vellum reserved for high-status documents.[374] As for the second point, the hand used to write the vellum folios in TCD 1307 seems to be different than MacGilleoin's. This is best demonstrated in a comparative table. NLS 14873 is not considered in the table due to damage to the manuscript.[375] The vellum folios containing SF have been compared with the scripts of NLS 72.1.36, TCD 1362, and the metrical glossaries in TCD 1307.

[373] Black, 'Gaelic Manuscripts Scotland', 161.
[374] Clemens and Graham, *Introduction*, 9.
[375] Images from the microfilm are not very clear, particularly for close photos, and I have been unable to view the manuscript itself.

	Stair Fortibrais	Glossaries	72.1.36	1362
sin	 			
7				
vertical tilde (er, ar)				
ad(h)				
an(n)				
a				

b				
c				
d				
e				
f				
g				
h				
i				
l				

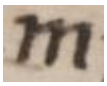
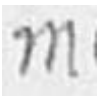
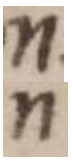
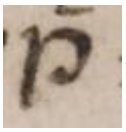
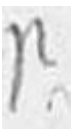
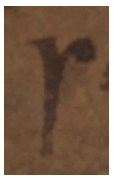
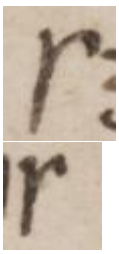
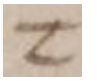
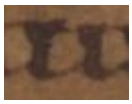
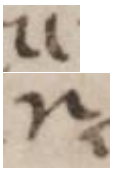
				
m				
n				
o				
p				
r				
s				
t				
u				

Table 2-4: Comparison of MacGilleoin's hand with the hand of the vellum folios of TCD 1307.

As can be seen in the images, there are differences in formation of letters and symbols, and even of the placement of the baseline compared to the descenders of the letters, between MacGilleoin's script and the script on the vellum folios. Using 'sin' as an example, MacGilleoin's placement of the top of the i is consistently above the baseline, whereas the vellum folios have the top in line with the baseline. MacGilleoin's vertical tilde is curvier and his G is pointier than that of the vellum folios. While it is possible that MacGilleoin wrote the vellum folios earlier in his life, I argue that it is more likely they were taken from an earlier, probably already damaged manuscript originally by another scribe.

2.3.4 Scottish Influences and Probable Provenance of the Texts

The form of Gaelic and provenance of the texts found in MacGilleoin's manuscripts is a complex matter. As has been shown, there was a mixing of registers of Gaelic in literature at the end of the seventeenth century. This blending and MacGilleoin's drawing from largely unknown sources mean that the texts in the manuscripts are not one register of language (Classical, high-register Scottish Gaelic, vernacular Scottish Gaelic), but rather a blend.[376] Additionally, the texts' sources would have an influence on the language, and while there are some texts for which the provenance is known, there is no clear indication for most. Evidence indicates TCD 1362 and 1307 were both copied from Irish manuscripts, and NLS 14873 is largely difficult or impossible to read, so this section focuses upon NLS 72.1.36. Scholarship has been carried out on the language of *Murchadh Mac Briain 7 an Dirioch* (DGP) and *Sgéala Muice Meic Dhá Thó* (SMD), so these tales are a good starting point to the consideration of the dialectal influences within the manuscript and the discussion of provenances of the manuscripts' texts.

In his discussion of DGP, Alan Bruford claims the NLS 72.1.36 text has some identifiable Scottish Gaelic forms within language based upon Classical Gaelic: a variable usage of eclipsis with lenition sometimes appearing instead, the confusion of the present and future tenses, and the use of analytical forms of the verb, rather than synthetic forms.[377] Further instances of features marked as Scottish Gaelic are found in the textual notes: the lenition of a preterite passive; different forms of some words (Gaisgeach, bethach, trocc/trog, and bagradh for gaisgidheach, bethadhach, tog, and bagairt); and 'am

[376] See section 1.3 for detail on the language dynamics.
[377] Bruford, 'Murchadh Mac Briain', 303.

ball' probably being a Scottish form of the article (rather than 'i mball').[378] Breandán Ó Buachalla's response to these points is that only three of these things can be labelled as 'specifically Scottish Gaelic', namely trocc/trog/tog, am ball, and bagradh/bagairt. The others are either vague (in the case of the eclipsis/lenition) or apply to other dialects, in particular that of Ulster Irish, and even more specifically South East Ulster Irish.[379] Ó Buachalla lists further features found in DGP that are attested in Ulster Irish but not Scottish Gaelic (see below).[380] As a result, Ó Buachalla and Bruford come to differing conclusions: Bruford believes the text of DGP could be Scottish, while Ó Buachalla, although recognising the Scottish origin of the scribe and manuscript, states that not only DGP, but the whole manuscript, derives from South East Ulster through copying from Irish manuscripts.[381]

It seems most likely that both scholars are in part correct: while DGP may not be a 'Scottish' text, other texts in the manuscript are (some of the poems, although not the prose), and at the same time, some of the texts were probably copied from manuscripts originating in Ireland, as is the case with his two TCD manuscripts. It is also possible that MacGilleoin made changes while copying, as he did with TBC (see section 2.3.2.2), although without the exemplars we cannot be certain. MacGilleoin's manuscripts, particularly NLS 72.1.36, offer an overlapping of the Scottish and Irish traditions: written in Scotland with the inclusion of Scottish poems on behalf of Scottish patrons, but drawing in part from existing material written in Ireland and transported to Scotland. It is likely that MacGilleoin and his patrons' own vernacular Argyll Gaelic used or allowed them to easily understand some of the features of Ulster Irish. Gaelic dialects were a spectrum without clear boundaries, and the dialects of Kintyre, particularly in/near Southend, have been noted to be 'more like Irish' even as late as the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[382] Regardless, the Irish influence on MacGilleoin's manuscripts cannot be denied due to the evidence regarding TCD 1362 and its Irish exemplar, which leads to the question of whether or not it is possible to distinguish the more Scottish texts from the Irish ones.

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[378] Bruford, 'Murchadh Mac Briain', 305, 307, 309, 312; Ó Buachalla, 'Murchadh Mac Briain', 85.
[379] Ó Buachalla, 'Murchadh Mac Briain', 85–86. Ó Baoill discusses the lenition of a preterite passive as 'a mainly Scottish feature': Ó Baoill, Colm, 'Scotticisms in a Manuscript of 1467', *SGS*, 15 (1988), 122–39, at 126-127.
[380] Ó Buachalla, 'Murchadh Mac Briain', 86–89.
[381] Bruford, 'Murchadh Mac Briain', 303; Ó Buachalla, 'Murchadh Mac Briain', 88–89.
[382] Holmer, *Gaelic of Kintyre*, 1-2; Ó Baoill, *Contributions*; Ó Baoill, 'Gaelic Continuum'.

The eight Ulster Irish features noted by Ó Buachalla, the texts in which he identified them, and some examples are:[383]

1. Nominative plural ending in *-adh* (DGP, CG, BCC): f.68r (CG), *leigadadh an impire*, f.105a (BCC) *tri hinghanadh*, f.132v (DGP) *deochanadh mine misgamhla*
2. Genitive singular ending in *-a* (DGP, CG): f.132r (DGP) *for trelaimh caomha na cathracha*, f. 67a (CG) *iathuid doirsi na cathracha*
3. Second person singular of s-preterite ends in *-us* (DGP, CG, CCR): f.129r (DGP) *no ga tir asa ttangus*, f.123r (CCR) *ca hait a rabhas anois a Chein ar Taoidhgh O Ceallaigh*, f.32r (CG) *a ridire...ar Conall, a rabhas a ccuntabhairt ba mo no sin riamh*
4. First person singular future ends in *-id* (DGP, CG, *Na maoi h'uaisle*, CCR): f.129v (DGP) *do raidh Murchadh*, f.24r (CG) *Cia tu fein ar in draoi. Ni ionnsaid bur Conall*, f.85r (*Na maoi h'uaisle*) *sgreibhid le pean dubh go luath*, f.121r (CCR) *tiocfad chugad agus brisfaid an chos sin*
5. Final position *rr*, *ll*, *nn*, reduced to *r*, *l*, *n* (DGP): f.124r *is fer[r]*, f.130v *do ghear[r] se*
6. Intervocalic *thr/rth* reduced to *r* (DGP): f.127v *dirioch* (díthreabhach), f.132v *briara* (briathra)
7. The compound preposition *as coinne* (DGP): f.132v *suidhus Murchadh asa choinne*
8. First person plural ending *-muinn* (CG, *Na maoi h'uaisle*, BBA): f.61v (CG) *cread do deanmuine uime sin ar Conall*, f.85r (*Na maoi h'uaisle*) *ar gach taobh a deannmuinn feail*, f.103r (BBA) *saormuine clainne Baoisgne*

At least one but as many as all the features were found in each of DGP (7), CG (5), CCR (2), BCC (1), BBA (1), and the poem *Na maoi h-uaisle* (2). This is five out of six of the prose tales and only one of the almost twenty poems and ballads. Therefore, even if these are said to be Irish, there are plenty of other poems, lays, and tales found in the manuscript left to consider. There are some poems for which the provenance can be determined, while others are more ambiguous. One of the single stanzas is Irish, written by Giolla Brighde Ó

[383] Ó Buachalla, 'Murchadh Mac Briain', 86–89.

hEódhusa (d. 1614), a traditionally trained Irish poet and Franciscan in Louvain.[384] The fact that another of Giolla Brighde Ó hEódhusa's poems turned up in a contemporary collection in the north of Scotland, the Fernaig Manuscript (1688-1693) by Donnchadh MacRae of Inverinate, Kintail, suggests that some Irish poetry had currency more widely than we might think in Gaelic Scotland, transcending dialect barriers and permeating through religious divides (Presbyterianism for MacGilleoin, Episcopalianism for MacRae, and Catholicism for Ó hEódhusa).[385] *Bregach sin, a bhean*, found in four eighteenth-century Irish manuscripts, is attributed to Anluan MacAodhagáin (fl. early seventeenth century), an Irish poet.[386] The two lays, LnC and LaD, are found in manuscripts in both Ireland and Scotland, particularly LaD.[387] For one poem, *Súd í in tshlatog*, I have not been able to locate other copies, so its provenance as Irish or Scottish is uncertain. Five poems, all of which are in the literary Gaelic register, were definitely composed in Scotland: four of these are *Triath na nGaoidheal Giolla Espag*, *Rug eadrain ar iath nAlban*, *Is maith mo leaba is olc mo shuain*, and *Soraidh slan don aoidhche reir*.[388]

The fifth poem, *Mairg ni uaill as óige*, was printed in nine quatrains in the preface to *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh* in 1631, attributed to Scottish poet 'Arne Mc-kéuín' (Athairne MacEwen), around the time it was copied in eight quatrains into an Irish manuscript from the continent, the Book of O'Conor Don (c. 1631).[389] The copying of the poem into an Irish manuscript around the same time as it was printed into a Scottish book

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[384] Eleanor Knott, 'A Poem by Giolla Brighde Ó Heoghusa', in Osborn Bergin and Carl Marstrander (eds.), *Miscellany Presented to Kuno Meyer by Some of His Friends and Pupils on the Occasion of His Appointment to the Chair of Celtic Philology in the University of Berlin* (Halle, 1912), 241–45, at 241; Innes and Reid, 'Expressions of Faith', 67.

[385] However, the clan chief of the scribe of the Fernaig manuscript, Donnchadh MacRae, was Coinneach Òg MacKenzie, 4th Earl of Seaforth, who campaigned with the Catholic James VII/II in Ireland c. 1690: Alexander MacKenzie, *History of the Mackenzies with Genealogies of the Principal Families of the Name* (Inverness, 1894), 281–83; MacPhàrlain, *Lamh-Sgrìobhainn Mhic Rath*, 1–7, 299–300.

[386] It is said to be by 'Hanlon Mac Egan' in *TCD Catalogue*, MS 1291; 'Anluain Mac Aodhaccain' in *RIA Catalogue*, XI-XV (1933), 1462; 'Anluain Mac Aodhaccáin' in British Museum and others (eds.), *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols (London, 1926), II, 361; and 'Anluan Mac Aodhagáin' in 'Bréagach Sin a Bhean', *CELT: The Corpus of Electronic Texts* <https://celt.ucc.ie//published/G402027/index.html> [accessed 8 April 2020].

[387] Kühns, 56; Murphy, *Duanaire Finn*, II, 298–317; Henry Wilson, *Anecdotes of Eminent Persons: Comprising Also Many Interesting Remains of Literature and Biography with Some Original Letters of Distinguished Characters*, 2 vols (London, 1813), I, 184–99; John Bulloch and John Alexander Henderson, *Scottish Notes and Queries* (Aberdeen, 1888), 120–22; Mícheál Mac Craith, '"We Know All These Poems": The Irish Response to *Ossian*', in Howard Gaskill (ed.), *The Reception of Ossian in Europe*, The Athlone Critical Traditions Series, 5 (London; New York, N.Y, 2004), 91–108, at 100–108.

[388] For more information about these poems, see Chapter 4. Knott, 'Poem by Ó Heoghusa', 241.

[389] *ISOS*, Clonalis House, The Book of the O'Conor Don; Pádraig Ó Macháin (ed.), *The Book of the O'Conor Don: Essays on an Irish Manuscript* (Dundalk, Co. Louth, 2010); Mícheál Mac Craith, 'Literature in Irish, c.1550–1690: From the Elizabethan Settlement to the Battle of the Boyne', in Margaret Kelleher and Philip O'Leary (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Irish Literature*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 2006), I, 216–17; John Calvin, *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh Comhaghalluidhedar an Maighiser, Agas an Foghluinte* (Edinburgh, 1631), Preface. The poem can also by found in the seventeenth-century Scottish manuscript NLS MS 72.1.48: *NLS Catalogue*, NLS MS 72.1.48.

demonstrates persisting connections between the Irish and Scottish Gaelic learned communities.[390] The copy of the poem in MacGilleoin's manuscript is only four quatrains long, consisting of the first three and last one of the other copies. MacGilleoin's copy shares more similarities with the copy in *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh* because the copy in the Book of O'Conor Don is missing the second stanza. Otherwise, the two manuscript copies are very similar, with differences in orthography and some words, such as 'Mairg' and 'caomhuin' in MacGilleoin's copy compared to 'Maircc' and 'chaoimhfhinn' in the Book of O'Conor Don. MacGilleoin's copy and that in *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh* also differ with some word choice and orthography, although less so than the two manuscripts, with the biggest differences being MacGilleoin's use of 'Da ttugadh', 'baoghlach', 'ria ioc', and 'eagla duine chuir os nairdʼ ('if given', 'dangerous', 'with tax/payment', 'fear, a person puts on heaven/on high'[391]), compared to the printed 'Da diobhradh',[392] 'baoghal', 'ren ioc', and 'Eagal d'uinn adhul os aird' ('if given', 'danger', 'before tax/payment', 'we are afraid of going to heaven'). It seems, then, that MacGilleoin was not copying directly from the print source. He would have been copying from another source now lost, or perhaps copying as someone read or recited the text for him.

Some of the texts seem to have a vernacular or Scottish origin or at least influence. *Ni me tenga lem let* is one text that is difficult to pinpoint, but the version contained in NLS 72.1.36 is found in other Scottish sources. Single-quatrain poems with the same first line first appear in 1688 in a manuscript written in Dublin and in another Irish manuscript in 1745: these manuscripts are probably the source of the quatrains published in Thomas O'Rahilly's *Dánfhocail*.[393] In each of these manuscripts the poem is only one quatrain, whereas MacGilleoin's copy has 3 quatrains, and while the first lines are the same, the other three are not. There are two published sources of Scottish Gaelic proverbs which include a single quatrain with almost the same first line, and in this case, the rest of the quatrain is very similar to MacGilleoin's. MacGilleoin's copy does, however, seem to mean the opposite of the other copies (being deceitful rather than not being deceitful), and

[390] Mac Craith, 'Literature in Irish, c.1550-1690', I, 217.
[391] In other words, 'a person has fear of going to heaven'.
[392] Probably the conditional form tiubhradh of the verb do-bheirim, to give: Dinneen, s.v. Paradigms of the Irregular Verbs, IV. do-bheirim, I GIVE.
[393] RIA, MS 23 D 38, 68 and MS 23 A 45, 68. See *RIA Catalogue*, I, 75-76, XVI, 1974-1982. O'Rahilly does not state the specific manuscripts from which he drew his texts, but with the RIA manuscripts each including a single quatrain and being the only instances of the poems I have found in manuscript outside of MacGilleoin's, it seems that they would be his sources: Thomas F. O'Rahilly, *Dánfhocail: Irish Epigrams in Verse* (Dublin, 1921), 47 and Preface.

the published texts are Scottish Gaelic grammatically and orthographically and include translations that are somewhat more literary than literal:[394]

NLS 72.1.36, f.79r	Nicolson's Collection	MacKintosh's Collection
Ni me tenga lem let C*h*o b*h*eit*h*im la uait is c*h*ugad*h* C*h*o ransuim g*r*innel mo gn*a*id*h* 's c*h*o c*h*oigl7[395] cul mo c*h*ompan	Cha bhìnn teanga leam leat Cha bhithinn latha bhuat 'us agad Cha ruiginn grinneal mo ghràidh 'S cha chagnainn cùl mo chompanaich	Cha bhinn teanga leam leat Cha biodhain la uat, is la agad Cha ruigin grinneal mo ghraidh 'S cha chagainin cùl mo chompanaich
I will use a deceitful tongue *I will not be a day from you, and to you* *I will not scrutinise my love* *And will not spare my companion's back*	*The double tongue I love it not* *I would not be now cold no hot* *Nor put my love upon the rack* *Nor bite my friend behind his back*	*I would not be of a deceitful tongue* *I will not be one day for you, and another against you* *Neither would I torment my love* *Nor would I backbite my companion*

It seems from the similarity between MacGilleoin's quatrain and the proverbial quatrains that the three quatrains of *Ni me tenga lem let* are a set of proverbial quatrains filling the space at the bottom of f.79r, or that the first stanza of the poem was or became a proverbial quatrain. Either way, its appearance in collections of Scottish proverbs suggests a Scottish provenance for the poem or an accident of survival leading to only extant Scottish copies.

Go mbenuigh Dia in tighe 's a mhuintir is a house blessing, a genre that seems to be a Scottish one.[396] The earliest manuscript containing *Ni bfuigheadh misi bas duit* is NLS 72.1.2 (sixteenth-seventeenth century), fourth section, a manuscript belonging to the Mull Beatons, although the poem itself may have been written by a traveling Irish scribe.[397] It is also found in two nineteenth-century Irish manuscripts: RIA 23 Q 3 and 23 P 14.[398] *A dhuine, cuimnidh an bas* may be a Scottish composition, as it is found only in the Scottish manuscripts NLS 72.1.36 and NLS 72.1.48 (seventeenth century; post-1660),

[394] Donald MacKintosh, *Collection of Gaelic Proverbs and Familiar Phrases* (Edinburgh, 1785), 20–21; Alexander Nicolson (ed.), *Collection of Gaelic Proverbs and Familiar Phrases Based on Macintosh's Collection* (Edinburgh, 1881), 85.
[395] Coglim is to spare, reserve, hide, or cover over. It is possible but unlikely that a form of 'cognaim' (to chew, bite, gnaw) is meant, as appears in the other copies: Dinneen, s.v. cognaim and coiglim.
[396] For details on other instances of the genre in Scotland, please see Appendix 2, section 5.
[397] *NLS Catalogue*, NLS MS 72.1.2.
[398] *RIA Catalogue*, XI-XV (1933), 1768-1774, and XVI (1936), 2115-2121.

a manuscript of MacMhuirich provenance.[399] *Is fuath liom* seems to be Scottish. Although there are both Irish and Scottish versions of poems in the genre of lists of hateful things, there appears to be separate Scottish and Irish strands circulating in both manuscript and oral tradition at least through the early-eighteenth century: the poems from Scotland share lines and quatrains that the earlier poems from Ireland do not (see section 4.3.1). MacGilleoin's copy of the poem also contains some Scottish features: *adh* > *aodh*, such as *aodhbhar* (8.1) and *aodhart* (10.3), and plural *-an*, *ciochan* (13.4) and *neithanan* (27.1).[400] Therefore, the NLS 72.1.36 copy of *Is fuath liom* will be considered Scottish.

There are three prose tales that have yet to be considered: BCC, BBA, and SMD. BCC and BBA have yet to undergo a linguistic analysis, although they have been published in an edition by Nessa Ní Shéaghdha and Maire Ní Mhuirgheasa, and it is outside the remit of this thesis to complete such analysis.[401] The tales both survive primarily in Irish manuscripts, although the earliest copies are both Scottish: NLS 72.1.36 for BCC and NLS 72.1.34 for BBA. O'Rahilly notes some Ulster or Argyll influence on orthography in MacGilleoin's copy of BCC: pronouncing '*-agh-*' as '*-ao-*' as reflected in *aodhairc, gaodhair, aoghrum* for *adhairc, gadhair, adhraim*.[402] Without an exemplar, we cannot say if this was MacGilleoin's doing. Ó Buachalla, as noted above, recognised an Ulster Irish feature in both tales, and therefore, although their provenance is not certain, they will be considered Irish. The language and text of SMD has already been considered by scholars, with the suggestion that in NLS 72.1.36 there is Scottish influence in the addition of some place names not found in the Irish texts and in writing the name of the main character as 'Mac Da Shogh'.[403] The text is described as 'obviously corrupt' by Caoimhín Breatnach due to its omission of most placenames and two of the contests, and it is therefore not used in his edition, which utilises the other three manuscripts, all Irish: RIA 24 P 12 (pre-1648), NLI G448 (1712), and TCD 1412 (H.6.8; 1777).[404] The Irish

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[399] There is also a transcript of the text from NLS 72.1.36 in NLS 72.3.11 (19th century): *NLS Catalogue*, NLS MS 72.1.48; NLS, 'Transcripts of Gaelic Manuscripts Written by the Reverend Donald Mackintosh.', *Catalogue of Archives and Manuscripts Collections* <http://manuscripts.nls.uk/repositories/2/resources/20222> [accessed 9 April 2020].

[400] These Scottish features were identified by Professor Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh. According to Ó Baoill, this plural ending is also found in a fifteenth-century manuscript written by a Scottish scribe: Ó Baoill, 'Scotticisms', 130-31.

[401] An edition from NLS 72.1.36 for BCC can be found in *Trí Bruidhne*, and the same source uses NLS 72.1.36 as a secondary copy for BBA.

[402] O'Rahilly, *Stowe Version*, lii; *Trí Bruidhne*, 5, 6, 9. Professor Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh has similarly pointed out to me *adh* > *aodh* in other texts copied by MacGilleoin, e.g., raodharc in *Go mbenuigh Dia* (l.9) and in *Is fuath liom*, aodhbhar (8.1) and aodhart (10.3).

[403] Nora K. Chadwick (ed.), *An Early Irish Reader* (Cambridge, 1927), 54–55.

[404] Chadwick notes differences that verbal, in narrative, and in the poems quoted. Breatnach, *Patronage*, 13–14; Chadwick, *Early Irish Reader*, 54.

manuscripts are very similar, with both the TCD and NLI manuscripts possibly copied from the RIA manuscript.[405] It may be significant that of the four surviving manuscripts containing the tale, the outlier is the only one copied in Scotland; it may also, however, be a result of the loss of other manuscripts containing the tale. According to William J. Watson, the text of MacGilleoin's NLS 72.1.36 'has some distinctive features', but 'the version agrees on the whole with that printed by Kuno Meyer' in *Hibernica Minora*, which is based upon BL Rawlinson B 512 (fifteenth/sixteenth century), a text of the older version of the tale.[406] It is worth noting, however, that while the there are similarities, NLS 72.1.36 still differs from the Rawlinson text in some of the same ways it does from the later Irish manuscripts: orthographic differences (such as 'Mac Da Shogh' instead of 'Mac Da Tho') and differences in narrative.[407] Furthermore, Watson notes two features of the NLS 72.1.36 text as the influence of the Scottish vernacular: the reduction of *do* to *a*, and the reduplication of *do* as *a do*, a feature found also in the BDL: do > a d(h)' (such as *a d'alla* for *d'alladh* and *a tanic* for *tanic*).[408] This feature is also found in TBC in TCD 1362 (*ad'fertsiph 7 ad'iallaibh* for *d'fertsib 7 d'iallaibh* and *ad'fearaibh* for *d'feraibh*), although the examples noted by O'Rahilly come from places in the text where the exemplar text does not survive, and so the two cannot be compared.[409] SMD, then, appears to be the product of a Scottish Gael influenced by vernacular Scottish Gaelic which may suggest an exemplar of Scottish provenance, although this cannot be said for certain, and the tale itself is of Irish provenance.

Considering all the texts together, with their differing provenances and surviving copies, supports the idea of MacGilleoin's manuscripts, though particularly NLS 72.1.36, as a reflection and mixture not just of differing registers of the Gaelic language but also of material available in both Ireland and Scotland. The probable Irish or Scottish provenance of the texts, as it has been discussed in this section, are detailed in the table below: the only texts for which this is definitive are those copied from NLS 72.2.9 (TBC, OCC, and CRR). Included in this table are the two metrical glossaries contained in TCD 1307, which

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[405] Breatnach, *Patronage*, 14–15. The TCD manuscript appears to be a direct copy, while the NLI manuscript has readings that differ from the RIA manuscript, although these are minor.
[406] William J. Watson, 'The Edinburgh Version of Scel Mucci Mic Da Tho', *ZCP*, 17 (1928), 213–22, at 213; Kuno Meyer, *Hibernica Minora, Being a Fragment of an Old-Irish Treatise on the Psalter with Translation, Notes and Glossary and an Appendix Containing Extracts Hitherto Unpublished from MS. Rawlinson, B. 512 in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1894), 51–56; Chadwick, *Early Irish Reader*, 56.
[407] Chadwick, *Early Irish Reader*, 54–56; Ernst Windisch, *Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch*, 4 vols (Leipzig, 1880), I, 93–112.
[408] Watson, 'The Edinburgh Version of Scel Mucci Mic Da Tho', 214–15; NLS 72.1.36, ff. 86r, l.7 and 90v, l.16.
[409] O'Rahilly, *The Stowe Version*, lii, 39 ll.1193-1194, and 56 l.1738.

are discussed in section 3.1.1.1 and appear to be Irish. Also included are *Innis disi*, the single stanzas, and the proverbial quatrains, most of which are of uncertain provenance.

Irish Provenance (13/29)	**Scottish Provenance (9/29)**	**Uncertain (7/29)**
TBC	*Triath na nGaoidheal*	SMD
OCC	*Rug eadrain*	LnC
CRR	*Is maith mo leaba*	LaD
DGP	*Soraidh slan*	*Súd í in tshlatog*
BCC	*Mairg ni uaill*	*Innis disi*
BBA	*Ni me tenga lem let*	10 Single Stanzas
CG	*Go mbenuigh Dia*	Proverbial Quatrains
CCR	*A dhuine, cuimnidh an bas*	
Na maoi h-uaisle	*Is fuath liom*	
Ni bfuigheadh misi bas duit		
Derbhsiur glossary		
Forus Focal		
1 Single Stanza		

Table 2-5: Probable Provenance of the texts contained in NLS 72.1.36: Irish, Scottish, or Uncertain.

This information places the probable provenance of the texts in MacGilleoin's manuscripts at about 45% Irish, 31% Scottish, and 24% uncertain, with the majority of the prose tales (8/9) having Irish provenance and the poems (9/13) having Scottish provenance (and one of the uncertain poems found only in MacGilleoin's manuscript; see Appendix 3). Even with this consideration of provenance, however, there is the possibility of MacGilleoin having copied poems originally from Ireland from a Scottish source, or vice versa, or that he acquired some of the poems from an oral source; this cannot be definitively determined. Still, MacGilleoin's manuscripts demonstrate continued literary connection in the late seventeenth-century between Gaelic Ireland and Gaelic Scotland, at least in Ulster and Kintyre/Argyll. That is also reflected in MacGilleoin's acquiring of manuscripts and copies of texts originating in Ireland. This does not support full continuity or homogeneity of Gaelic literary and cultural traditions on both sides of Sruth na Maoile. As has been explored in recent scholarship, the literary, political, religious, and cultural connections between Ireland and Scotland, rather than being homogenous, were not consistent between themselves or over time.[410] MacGilleoin had connections to Gaelic Ireland, and he was influenced by Gaelic Scotland. His situation with continued access to Irish tradition and resources cannot be extrapolated to all of Gaelic society, but this in consideration with Lachlann Campbell's Irish connections (see Chapter 3), suggests that such Irish-Scottish connections persisted among the literary and learned communities in Ulster and Argyll.

[410] McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 1–13, 107, 193; MacDonald, *Missions to the Gaels*, 28–36, 102–32, 178–99, 205–11, 265; MacGregor, 'Làn-Mara', 23.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has explored MacGilleoin as a member of the scribal and literary structures of late-seventeenth century Kintyre and Argyll, including connections to Ireland. He was a well-connected member of the Gaelic literary community, able to access, use, and add to manuscripts and literary material from both Ireland and Scotland. His manuscripts are not simply 'of interest in that they show that as late as the end of the 17th century the literary classes of Gaelic-speaking Ireland and Scotland shared the same written language'.[411] Indeed, they are one of the later examples of continued use of Classical Gaelic and provide some evidence of vernacularisation and the transition away from the pure literary language, akin to the use of the language by members of the Synod of Argyll. They show that some of the contemporary Gaelic nobility in Argyll were interested in, engaging with, and learning Classical Gaelic and Classical literary material, although the extent of that interest cannot be determined with the examples of MacGilleoin's manuscripts alone. Similar contemporary manuscripts like the Red Book of Clanranald and the Fernaig manuscript indicate interest elsewhere in the Highlands, but there is other evidence, such as English genealogies of traditionally Gaelic clans and emphasis on English-medium education, that indicate a turn among the nobility and learned families towards English.[412]

It has also been shown that MacGilleoin has been unfairly criticised as sub-standard by scholars, likely due to the Scottish influence on his copying, and was in fact a capable scribe with a good command of literary Gaelic. The linguistic environment in which he operated was complex, and while his texts do show orthographic peculiarities, he was clearly familiar with a range of linguistic registers and a variety of Gaelic literary materials from both Ireland and Scotland. This is evident through the resources he had at his disposal, which included at least one Irish manuscript, as well as Scottish material. His ability in literary Gaelic is also evident in his mostly faithful copying from a known, surviving exemplar, NLS 72.2.9. Although he made some orthographic and word order changes and expanded or contracted words differently than his exemplar, most of the text is the same. This example suggests that MacGilleoin's other surviving texts that were probably copies from other manuscripts—a scenario more likely for material dependent on written sources such as prose or Classical poetry—and were probably copied in a similar, mostly accurate manner.

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411 O'Rahilly, *The Stowe Version*, liii.
412 MacGregor, 'Genealogical Histories', 196, 201.

The connections implied by MacGilleoin's use of both Irish and Scottish source material, covered in sections 2.3.2.1 and 2.3.4, indicate that Gaelic Scotland and Gaelic Ireland, including Irishmen in exile on the continent, were still somewhat linked via Gaelic literary endeavours at the end of the seventeenth century. Other links through literary and religious channels can be seen in Chapter 3 through Lachlann Campbell's acquiring Gaelic works from Ireland and transfer from the Presbytery of Kintyre to a church in Dublin with the help of the Synod of Ulster. MacGilleoin was receiving Gaelic manuscripts originating in Ireland, either directly from there or through an intermediary. That intermediary may have been the MacDonalds of Largie, who have a connection to NLS 72.2.9 and to the MacDonnells of Antrim in Ireland, who patronised the manuscript's scribe, Fear Feasa Ó Duibhgeannáin, as well as other scribes and poets.[413] The MacDonald/MacDonnell foothold in Gaelic manuscript production is further demonstrated by the Books of Clanranald and the Book of O'Conor Don, which was produced for Captain Somhairle MacDonnell (c. 1586-1632), who was in exile on the continent and also responsible for the collection of poems known as *Duanaire Finn*.[414] While Gaelic Ireland and Gaelic Scotland do not make a single, homogenous cultural grouping, they were connected throughout much of their known history, although the extent of that connection varies depending on factors such as geography, class, and religious and political circumstances.[415] It was in the mid-seventeenth century (and the years leading up to it) that we can see distinctive shifts in that connection, such as the recognition of a distinct Scottish Gaelic, the beginnings of Scottish Gaelic translations of religious texts, and less references to Irish geography in Scotland (which is a feature of SMD in NLS 72.1.36).[416] MacGilleoin's work demonstrates that in Kintyre, which was closely geographically connected to Ulster via the sea, there was still intellectual connection to Gaelic Ireland.

MacGilleoin's views on and relationship to Gaelic and the changing cultural landscape cannot be determined from his manuscripts, although it is almost certain that he was aware of current debates around the status of Gaelic education and religious provision.[417] Without a definitive identification, further, more detailed perspectives are not

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[413] Brian Ó Cuív, 'The Family of Ó Gnímh in Ireland and Scotland: A Look at the Sources', *Nomina*, 8 (1984), 57–71, at 59–61.
[414] Diarmuid Breathnach and Máire Ní Mhurchú, 'MAC DOMHNAILL, Somhairle (c.1586–1632)', *ainm.ie* <https://www.ainm.ie/Bio.aspx?ID=1355> [accessed 1 October 2020]; Ruairí Ó hUiginn, '*Fiannaigheacht*, Family, Faith and Fatherland', in Sharon J. Arbuthnot and Geraldine Parsons (eds.), *The Gaelic Finn Tradition* (Dublin, 2012), 151–62, at 161.
[415] McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 1–13, 107, 193; MacDonald, *Missions to the Gaels*, 28–36, 102–32, 178–99, 205–11, 265; MacGregor, 'Làn-Mara', 23; MacInnes, 'Gaelic Culture'.
[416] McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 1–6 and 214; MacInnes, 'Gaelic Culture', 164–69; MacInnes, 'Scottish Gaeldom, 1638-1651', 59–60.
[417] Durkacz, *Decline of the Celtic Languages*, 6–30; Withers, 'On the Geography', 1–9.

possible. There is, however, contextual information about his patrons surviving in the form of letters, church records, tacks, and bonds which allows for more in-depth examination of his patrons' relationship to Gaelic, the manuscripts themselves, and the growing Highland interest and involvement in English and wider British politics. The next two chapters contain such analysis through the lens of a minister involved in Gaelic scholarship and a military man who spent a large part of his later life in England.

Chapter 3: Lachlann Campbell and TCD 1307

3.1 Introduction

The first two chapters of this thesis explored MacGilleoin's place within the Argyll and Gaelic educational, social, and literary communities and considered the provenance of the texts contained in his manuscripts and the resources at his disposal. This chapter is the first to turn attention to one of his patrons: Mr Lachlann Campbell. It explores similar themes and ideas, including Lachlann's place within the social, cultural, and literary communities of which he was a part, connections to the Gaelic community in Ireland, his motivations for wishing to have TCD 1307, and resources at his disposal.

TCD 1307 was written for Mr Lachlann Campbell, a Presbyterian minister in the Synod of Argyll and minister of the Highland Congregation of Campbeltown from 1703-1707. It is a small manuscript consisting of eight paper folios containing two metrical glossaries and two vellum folios containing sections of *Stair Fortibrais* (*SF*, discussed in section 2.3.3). Surviving letters written to or from Lachlann provide insight into the motivations behind the copying of TCD 1307 and Lachlann's connections to other literary activities within the Gaelic community. Lachlann's personal archive does not survive, and the letters, which post-date the manuscript, are in the surviving correspondence of Edward Lhuyd and Robert Wodrow. Lachlann addresses, both directly and indirectly, the resources and manuscripts at his disposal (including TCD 1307), the ways he engages with the Gaelic community and Gaelic literature, and his motivations behind studying and working with the language. This includes his religion and interactions with other ministers in both Scotland and Ireland.

This chapter examines Lachlann's letters, focusing on his relationship to Gaelic through his intellectual network, scholarly pursuits, glossaries, and activities related to Edward Lhuyd's Gaelic dictionary, to which Lachlann contributed. First, details regarding TCD 1307, its contents, and Lachlann's life are given to provide necessary context for understanding Lachlann's letters. Then, an overview of Lachlann's intellectual network and primary correspondents supplies a general context for Lachlann's scholarly activity.

Finally, Lachlann's relationship with the Gaelic language are explored using examples from his letters, and the usefulness of the glossaries of TCD 1307 to Lachlann within this context are considered.

3.1.1 TCD 1307

TCD 1307 consists of 8 paper folios with a title page followed by two Gaelic metrical glossaries known as *Forus Focal* ('Knowledge of Words') and the *Deirbhsiur* ('Sister') glossary.[418] The paper folios were enclosed in two leaves of vellum, now fols. 36-37 of TCD MS 1303, containing part of *SF*, the Gaelic translation of a prose tale about Charlemagne. Information about the manuscript is on the first page (fol. 1r) and back page (fol. 8v) of the paper folios, written in a high register of Gaelic with some Scottish Gaelic features (e.g., *iona*), which say:

> [Fol. 1r]
>
> Forus Focal *etc*
>
> Iod*h*on
>
> Miniug*h*ad*h* na sen f*h*ocal cruaid*h* do-t*h*uigsi na teng*h*a gaoig*h*lig*h*
>
> Do sgriob*h*ad*h* iona Caimpbeltoun le Eoghan M*a*c Gilleoin c*h*um fog*h*naimh M*h*aistir loc*h*lain Caimpbeil 1698 [etc]
>
> *Forus Focal [et cetera]*
>
> *That is*
>
> *An explanation of the old, difficult, hard to understand words of the Gaelic language*
>
> *Written in Campbeltown by Eoghan MacGilleoin for the use of Mr Lachlan Campbell, 1698 [and so forth]*
>
> [Fol. 8v]
>
> Lochlan Caimbel leis an leis an leabhran so
>
> Noc*h* do sgriobh*adh* le Eog*h*an M*a*c G*h*illeoin in tres la do m*hí* Octob*er*, aon m*h*ile se ceud o*cht* bliag*h*na dég 7 ceit*h*re fic*h*id *etc*
>
> FINID

[418] Sources for information about the manuscript are *TCD Catalogue*, 83, 338; TCD Online Catalogue, s.v. 'IE TCD MS 1307' and 'IE TCD MS 1303-Religious manuscript in Irish'.

Lachlann Campbell owns this book

Which was written by Eoghan MacGilleoin on the third day of the month of October, one thousand six hundred and ninety eight [and so forth]

Finished

It is clear from the above that the manuscript was written in October of 1698 for Lachlann's use. Furthermore, the information is on the first and last page of the paper folios, suggesting that they were the focus of the manuscript, and that the vellum folios enclosing them were not of importance to scribe and patron, but rather used as a protective cover (see section 3.1.1.2). The usefulness of the metrical glossaries to Lachlann is explored in section 3.3.2.3, after establishing Lachlann's motivations and relationship with the Gaelic language and community. Before that, an overview of Gaelic glossaries and *Stair Fortibrais* is necessary to provide context for the contents of TCD 1307 and the analysis of Lachlann's relationship to the manuscript.

3.1.1.1 Glossaries in Gaelic Literature

The two Irish metrical glossaries contained in TCD 1307, *Forus Focal* and *Deirbhsiur*, are contained in manuscripts as early as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, respectively. They are part of a larger practice in the Gaelic literary tradition of compiling glossaries which provide glosses in the same language as the text: that is, Gaelic glosses on Gaelic texts.[419] Gaelic glossaries began with collections of glosses taken from interlinear glosses added to manuscripts, such as glossaries contained in TCD 1337/1 (H.3.18), which were compiled in the order in which they appear for easy consultation while reading.[420] These were later grouped by the first letter of the words and combined with glossaries based on other texts. This created glossaries with a mixture of explanation types (etymological or explanatory) and source material (legal, religious, literary).[421] The earliest of these glossaries is *Sanas Cormaic* (Cormac's Glossary), with the earliest copy from the twelfth century.[422] The glossary is ascribed to Cormac mac Cuilennáin, king and bishop in Cashel,

[419] Editions of both metrical glossaries may be found in Whitley Stokes, 'On the Metrical Glossaries of the Mediaeval Irish', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 22 (1891–1894), 1–103; Stokes, 'On the Metrical Glossaries (1893)'.
[420] Paul Russell, 'The Sounds of a Silence: The Growth of Cormac's Glossary', *CMCS*, 15 (1988), 1–30, at 27; Paul Russell, 'Glossaries', John T. Koch (ed.), *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, 2006), 821–22, at 821. TCD 1337 includes fragments from books of different size and age: TCD 1337/1 was signed by Edward Lhuyd, so is pre-18th century. See *TCD Catalogue*, 140–58.
[421] Russell, 'The Sounds', 27; Russell, 'Glossaries', 821.
[422] The earliest manuscript is the Book of Leinster, TCD 1339 (H.2.18) dated to the twelfth century: see *TCD Catalogue*, 158–61.

Ireland between 896 and 908.[423] There are four other glossaries contained in manuscripts from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries which, along with Cormac's Glossary, use etymological explanations: O'Davoren's [Ó Duibhdábhoireann's] Glossary, O'Mulconry's [Ó Maolchonaire's] Glossary, a medieval glossary in TCD 1337/19 (H.3.18), and *Dúil Dromma Cetta*.[424] Glossaries continued to be used and to grow, and blocks of material common to multiple glossaries are evidence of borrowing from existing work.[425] The first glossary to be printed was *Foclóir no Sanasan Nua* by Mícheál O'Clery [Ó Cléirigh], chief of the Four Masters, published at Louvain in 1643, which drew upon existing glossaries including *Forus Focal* and *Deirbhsiur* (discussed below).[426]

The glossary entries can be simple words 'expanded and disguised by the insertion of syllables', but they are more so meant to explain difficult words, such as the obscure language of the poets, although the glossary entries do not always provide suitable explanations.[427] One reason for this is the often etymological nature of the explanations, attributing Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Welsh, and 'Pictish' origins to words.[428] These etymological explanations could mean a limited usefulness for the glossaries as a reference for someone trying to understand the meaning of a word, but some of the later glossaries used single word explanations in more contemporary Gaelic. These had the potential to be more useful in identifying the meaning of an obscure word. Glossaries using this style of explanation include the Lecan Glossary (in manuscripts from c. 1300-1600) and the metrical glossaries.[429]

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[423] There are 3 complete and 4 incomplete copies of Cormac's Glossary; for more information, see Russell, 'The Sounds'. For an edition, see Kuno Meyer, 'Sanas Cormaic: An Old-Irish Glossary Compiled by Cormac Úa Cuilennáin, King-Bishop of Cashel in the Tenth Century', in Osborn Bergin and others (eds.), *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts* (Dublin, 1912), IV, 1–128.

[424] Russell, 'Glossaries', 821–22; Russell, 'The Sounds', 4–7; A.I. Pearson, 'A Medieval Glossary', *Ériu*, 13 (1942), 61–83; Whitley Stokes, *Three Irish Glossaries* (London, 1862); Whitley Stokes, 'O'Mulconry's Glossary', *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie*, 1 (1900), 232–324 and 473–81; Whitley Stokes, 'O'Davoren's Glossary', *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie*, 2 (1904), 197–504.

[425] Russell, 'Glossaries', 821; Paul Russell, '*Dúil Dromma Cetta* and Cormac's Glossary', *Études Celtiques*, 32 (1996), 147–74, at 155–61.

[426] E.J. Gwynn, 'On a Source of O'Clery's Glossary', *Hermathena*, 14.33 (1907), 464–80, at 464; Eleanor Knott, 'O'Clery's Glossary and Its Forerunners. A Note on Glossary-Making in Medieval Ireland', in Sylvester O'Brien (ed.), *Measgra i Gcuimhne Mhichíl Uí Chléirigh .i. Miscellany of Historical and Linguistic Studies in Honour of Brother Michael Ó Cléirigh, O.F.M., Chief of the Four Masters, 1643-1943* (Dublin, 1944), 65–69; Arthur W.K. Miller, 'O'Clery's Irish Glossary', *Revue Celtique*, 4 (1879–1880), 349–428, 479–80; Arthur W.K. Miller, 'O'Clery's Irish Glossary', *Revue Celtique*, 5 (1881–1883), 1–69.

[427] Russell, 'The Sounds', 7–8; Whitley Stokes, *Goidelica: Old and Early Middle Irish Glosses* (London, 1872), 71–72; Kuno Meyer, 'Three Poems in *Bérla Na Filed*', *ZCP*, 5 (1905), 482–94; Knott, 'O'Clery's Glossary'.

[428] Russell, 'Glossaries', 821.

[429] Whitley Stokes, 'The Lecan Glossary', *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie*, 1 (1900), 50–100.

The metrical glossaries differ from the glossaries mentioned above because instead of being lists of words in prose, they give explanations of words in verse, usually with one-word explanations of each word (see section 3.3.2.3 for an example stanza). There are three metrical glossaries: *Forus Focal*, the *Deirbhsiur* glossary, and the Egerton Glossary (c. 1300-1600). Their entries can be found in prose glossaries, and the Egerton glossary acts as a clear example of this: it is a metrical version of the Lecan Glossary.[430] *Forus Focal* (beginning *forus focal lúaidhter libh*, Knowledge of words is proclaimed with you) first appears in the Book of Uí Mhaine (RIA MS D ii 1; late 14th century), also known as the Book of Ó Dubhagáin [O'Duvegan], with fifty-eight quatrains, although it has seventy quatrains in TCD 1307 and seventy-five quatrains in Whitley Stokes' edition of the text.[431] There are eleven manuscripts containing all or part of the text, all except the Book of Uí Mhaine spanning the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries.[432] The *Deirbhsiur* glossary (beginning *Deirbhsiúr don eagna an éigsi*, Poetry is sister to wisdom) is found in six manuscripts spanning the fifteenth/sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. We will return to the metrical glossaries in section 3.3.2.3 below.

3.1.1.2 Stair Fortibrais (SF)

Enclosing the eight paper folios of TCD 1307 are two vellum folios containing part of 'a story of Charlemagne [c. 742-814] a-following Christ's crown and the saints' relics', given the title *Stair Fortibrais* (SF) by Whitley Stokes in his edition.[433] SF is derived from *Gesta Karoli Magni* (GKM), which is incomplete and found only in a single Irish manuscript, TCD 667 (c. 1450-1499), a Latin translation of *Chanson de Fierabras*, a twelfth-century Old French verse epic.[434] GKM originated before the first manuscript witness, however, probably in the fourteenth century.[435] It has been reported that Robert the Bruce (1274-1329) was able to recite *Fierabras* from memory, indicating that the tale was known in Scotland, although that does not speak to the popularity/circulation, or lack thereof, of the later Gaelic translation, SF.[436] The Gaelic translation, SF, was likely written around 1400 and is found in whole or part in nine manuscripts, eight of which are either certainly or likely from Ireland, seven from the fifteenth century, and the earliest dated

[430] Russell, 'The Sounds', 7–8, 16–27.
[431] Stokes, 'On the Metrical Glossaries (1893)', 5–6; *RIA Catalogue*, 3314–56.
[432] See Appendix 2 for details.
[433] Whitley Stokes, 'The Irish Version of Fierabras', *Revue Celtique*, 19 (1898), 14–57, 118–67, 252–91, 364–93.
[434] *TCD Catalogue*, 323–25; Byrne, 'Lost Insular Version', 297. For an in-depth look at GKM and its relationship to SF, please see Davies, '"Fierabras" in Ireland'.
[435] Davies, '"Fierabras" in Ireland', 102.
[436] Michael A. Penman, *Robert the Bruce: King of the Scots* (New Haven, 2014), 16.

1437: a full list of the manuscripts can be found in Appendix 2.[437] The popularity of SF in Ireland in the fifteenth century is, according to Michael Davies, due to it providing the history of the Relics of the Passion and possible, though conjectural, Irish-unity and anti-English interpretations.[438] The latest manuscript dates from 1514, so the text's fragmentary appearance on two folios of TCD 1307 almost two hundred years later is worthy of note and exploration. Was the content of the folios of interest to Lachlann, or were the folios a convenient protective vellum cover for the paper folios containing the metrical glossaries?

There are two aspects to consider when approaching the importance of the SF folios to Lachlan. The first is the scribe: the metrical glossaries were written specifically by MacGilleoin for Lachlann's use in 1698, but as has been shown in section 2.3.3, the vellum folios appear to be written by another scribe, possibly from a manuscript of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries like the other manuscripts containing SF. The folios were not, then, copied for Lachlann himself. The second thing is the number of folios and the text they contain. There are only two vellum folios, enough to provide a cover for the paper folios of TCD 1307 but not to contain a significant portion of SF.[439] Additionally, the text contained on the folios is not a single excerpt from the complete work. It is two non-consecutive sections which equate to §§117-136 and §§206-228 in Whitley Stokes' edition of the text.[440] A summary of the tale can be found in Appendix 2: in short, it is about Charles' (Emperor Charlemagne's) quest to reclaim the relics of the saints and the Crown of Christ from Admirandus, who is said to have dominion over the Jews.

The events correlating to the vellum folios of TCD 1307 do not seem to have been specifically chosen. The first section, §§117-136, begins with Admirandus asking for counsel about what to do with a group of captured knights, and his daughter Floripas uniting the knights with the another group who are hiding in her chambers. Floripas is reunited with the knight she loves, and he agrees that they will marry. One of Admirandus's men, Lucafer, checks on them, so they kill him, and knowing they would soon be discovered, take over the palace. Admirandus escapes, gathers his army, and sends a thief, Malpin, to steal Floripas's magic girdle, which makes people feel no hunger. The section ends with Malpin successfully stealing the girdle. The second section, §§206-228, begins with Richard, one of the knights, describing the appearance of his comrades Roland

[437] Davies, '"Fierabras" in Ireland', 122.
[438] Davies, '"Fierabras" in Ireland', 123–28.
[439] Stokes' edition of the text contains 258 sections, while the vellum folios of TCD 1307 contain 43 sections total: Stokes, 'Irish Version'.
[440] Stokes, 'Irish Version', 142–55, 280–90; *TCD Catalogue*, 338.

and Oliver and thousands of men with them after part of Charles' army made it inside Admirandus's palace walls. Admirandus is angry at the success of the Christians, and he destroys an idol of the sacred figure 'Mahomet'. His advisors convince him to repent, which he does, and then makes it inside the tower being held by the Christians. Floripas brings the Christian relics to the knights to revive their spirits. Admirandus again repents, and Floripas grows worried about his attack, but then Charles arrives with his armies.

It is possible to say that both sections focus upon the group of knights with Floripas in the tower and their interactions with Admirandus. On the other hand, those are not the only instances of Floripas or Admirandus interacting with the Christian knights, Admirandus interacting with his advisors, or of Charles' army succeeding or getting ready for battle: those activities occur throughout the text. The instances that stand out in the sections on the vellum folios of TCD 1307 are Floripas's plan to be wed, Malpin getting the girdle, and Admirandus destroying an image of Mahomet. None of these instances are central to the story: at the end, Floripas must remind them to marry her to her chosen knight; it is not the final battle fought over the girdle; and Admirandus ultimately stays loyal to his religion. Similarly impactful events could be found by choosing almost any two sections of similar length. Additionally, Malpin acquiring the girdle is not the end of that scene: he is discovered by one of the knights while trying to rape Floripas, killed, and flung into the sea.[441]

Furthermore, why would Lachlann Campbell, a Presbyterian minister with, as we shall see later in this chapter, an interest in contemporary scholarship and the Gaelic language, be interested in these sections of the text specifically, to the detriment of the rest of the text? This does not appear to be the case. Indeed, the damaged nature of the vellum folios in comparison to the almost pristine paper folios suggests that Lachlann was not concerned with the vellum folios, treating them as a protective cover. It was not uncommon to re-use leaves of older, redundant manuscripts for the binding or covering of new ones.[442] It is not even a certainty that the vellum folios were with the paper folios at the time of their writing or Lachlann's possession of them. There are four possibilities for when the vellum may have been added as a cover for the glossaries:

1. Added by MacGilleoin after having written the glossaries.

2. Added by Lachlann while in possession of the manuscript from c. 1698-1702.

[441] Stokes, 'Irish Version', 154–55.
[442] Clemens and Graham, *Introduction*, 51.

3. Added by Lhuyd after he received the manuscript from Lachlan.

4. Added after Lhuyd's death in 1709.

Due to the well-preserved nature of the paper manuscript, it seems the first option is most likely: that it was covered by MacGilleoin to give to Lachlann, rather than at a later point. It is known that MacGilleoin had other manuscripts at his disposal: NLS 72.2.9, discussed in section 2.3.2, was used as his exemplar for MacGilleoin's TCD 1362, and it will be seen below that he had a manuscript from which he copied the metrical glossaries. It is also likely, as explored in Chapter 2, that he owned or had access to other manuscripts from which he copied the texts in NLS 72.1.36 and NLS 14873. It would be within reason for him to have a vellum manuscript, or part of one, containing SF, possibly already damaged, from which he pulled pages to cover the paper folios. It is also possible that Lachlann himself had the vellum folios. In his correspondence, among mentions of books and manuscripts, he writes about struggling with 'the old parchm*ent* books', being promised some books from Ireland (possibly Gaelic manuscripts), and sending Lhuyd a Latin-Irish manuscript he had in his possession.[443] This demonstrates that Lachlann had access to older vellum, but not, of course, that it was he who provided the paper folios with a vellum cover. The next and least likely option would be for the vellum folios to have been added by Edward Lhuyd, who had a large collection of Gaelic manuscripts gathered during his travels through Ireland and Scotland.[444]

If the vellum folios from TCD 1307 were not written by MacGilleoin or chosen specifically for Lachlann, but rather acted as a cover for the paper folios, then a question is raised about the origins of the folios. They could be folios missing from one of the eight other extant manuscripts containing SF, many of which are missing folios or consist strictly of fragments of text. However, the sections of text missing from these manuscripts indicate that the two vellum folios of TCD 1307 could not have come from them: TCD 1298 (fifteenth century), for instance, is missing only one leaf from SF, not two, and King's Inn MS 10 still contains some of the text of SF found in TCD 1307.[445] It is likely, then, that the folios were taken from another manuscript that did not otherwise survive,

[443] Lachlan Campbell to Edward Lhuyd, 16 April 1705, Lhwyd Correspondence, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 292-293, ref. 400230; Lachlan Campbell to Edward Lhuyd, 11 July 1704, Lhwyd Correspondence, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 288-289, ref. 400228; Lachlan Campbell to Robert Wodrow, n.d., Wodrow Collection, Quarto III, n.73.
[444] O'Sullivan and O'Sullivan, 'Edward Lhuyd's Collection'.
[445] *TCD Catalogue*, 79–80. *ISOS*, King's Inns MS 10. Additionally, RIA 23 O 48a is missing roughly §41-52, while TCD 1307 contains §§117-136 and §§206-228: *ISOS*, RIA 23 O 48 (a).

one that was already damaged and missing folios, perhaps from neglect or its being at some time well read. This is further suggested by the non-sequential nature of the sections of parts of the tale from TCD 1307. With such limited information, the question of who wrote the folios and when they were written is difficult to answer and outside the remit of this thesis.

SF in TCD 1307 is, then, a fragmentary, non-sequential copy of the tale written upon vellum folios that were not written by MacGilleoin for Lachlann's use but rather originated earlier, perhaps in Ireland in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. Lachlann's failure to mention SF in any of his letters and the significant damage to the folios compared to the paper folios containing the metrical glossaries, combined with the evidence presented, indicates that the vellum folios were used as a convenient protective cover. The text and story of SF, then, seems to be inconsequential to its inclusion in TCD 1307, while the metrical glossaries were clearly of importance to Lachlann. For these reasons, the analysis of Lachlann's correspondence, his relationship to Gaelic, and their connections to TCD 1307 focuses upon the metrical glossaries.

3.1.2 Lachlann Campbell, His Family, and Background

Lachlann Campbell was born in 1675, the son of Iain Campbell of Kildalloig and Elizabeth MacNeill, the daughter of Lachlann MacNeill Buidhe of Lossit House.[446] Kildalloig (*Cill Dallaig*, or 'Dalaig's church')[447] is located near Campbeltown in southern Kintyre. Lachlann's father was the chamberlain of Kintyre to the Earl, later the Duke, of Argyll, which means he was trusted and skilled enough to be responsible for managing the affairs of Kintyre.[448] Lachlann himself was a tutor in the household of Gilleasbaig, 10th Earl and later 1st Duke of Argyll.[449] It has been suggested by Ronald Black that Lachlann took over from Walter Campbell in 1695, but Richard Sharpe has suggested that the tutoring took place when Lachlann was in Edinburgh c. November 1700-c. April 1701; it is possible that both of these suggestions are true.[450] Roger Emerson believes that the future 2nd and 3rd Dukes of Argyll never learned any Gaelic at all, but this seems unlikely due to their leading a Gaelic-speaking clan.[451] The future Dukes' tutor, Walter Campbell,

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446 Sharpe, 'Lachlan Campbell's Letters', 244.
447 'Ainmean-Àite Na h-Alba', s.v. Kildalloig <https://www.ainmean-aite.scot/> [accessed 9 October 2020].
448 *OED Online*, s.v. chamberlain, ref. 30337; Brown, *Noble Society*, 40; Islands Book Trust (ed.), *Martin Martin: 300 Years On* (Callicvol, 2003), 5.
449 *Fasti*, IV, 50; Sheriff Duncan Campbell to Hugh Mackay, 29 December 1818, ICA, Anne Campbell Collection.
450 Sharpe, 'Lachlan Campbell's Letters', 245; Black, *Campbells of the Ark*, II, 573.
451 Emerson, *Enlightened Duke*, 20–21.

and his successor, Lachlann Campbell, may have taught the young men Gaelic during their tenure.[452]

While we can only speculate about Lachlann's actions as a tutor, we can say more about his family connections within the Clan Campbell. A Bible in the possession of one of Iain of Kildalloig's descendants, a Captain James Campbell, gives his pedigree as follows:

> Archibald of Auchinbreck, father to Donald Campbell of Kilmory, father to Duncan Campbell, vicar of Kilfinan, father to Dugald Campbell, parson of Letterkenny, father to John Campbell of Kildaloig, father to Collector Daniel Campbell, father to Collector Dugald Campbell, father to Captain James Campbell.[453]

Daniel Campbell, son of Iain of Kildalloig, was a Collector of Excise in Kintyre and youngest brother to Lachlann.[454] This pedigree matches one found in the 'Genealogie of the Family of Auchinbreck': Lachlann is therefore Lachlann son of Iain of Kildalloig, son of Dùghall parson of Letterkenny (in County Donegal, Ireland), son of Donnchadh vicar of Kilfinan (in Cowall, Argyll), son of Dòmhnall of Kilmory, son of Gilleasbaig of Auchinbreck.

Lachlann matriculated into the University of Glasgow in 1690-1691, the year the Williamite regime and Presbyterian Scottish Church were established.[455] The name 'Lachlan Campbell' and its variants occur at three other places within the published university records, none of them a list of graduates: 'Mr Lauchlane Campbell' under a record of the presentations of bursars, as King William's bursar of theology, on 28 February 1698; 'Lachlan Campbell' under a separate record of students of theology from 2 April 1700; and 'Mr Lachlane Campbell student of theologie' as donating books to the university library in January 1704.[456] It is likely that some, if not all, of these entries refer to the man under discussion. The specifics of Lachlann's whereabouts from 1690-1700 are mostly unknown, but it seems that he travelled between Glasgow, where he was a student and bursar of theology in February 1698, and Kintyre, where TCD 1307 was written for

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[452] Black, *Campbells of the Ark*, II, 573.
[453] Major Sir Duncan Campbell of Barcaldine, *Records of the Clan Campbell in the Military Service of the Honourable East India Company 1600-1858* (London, 1925), 107.
[454] Daniel Campbell's profession and place in the birth order of his family are included in a Procuratory of Resignation by his elder brother Gilleasbaig Campbell of Danna registered on 23 September 1749: Paton and Campbell of Barcaldine and Glenure, *The Clan Campbell*, I (1913), 226.
[455] *MAUG*, III, 148-149. See MacDonald, *Missions to the Gaels*, 178.
[456] *MAUG*, III, 284, 247, and 446-447, respectively.

him in October 1698.[457] With his upbringing at Kildalloig, near Campbeltown, and his education at the University of Glasgow, this would not be surprising.

More information is available about Lachlann's life after 1700 due to correspondence dated between November 1700 and July 1707 with two well-known figures in scholarly circles, Robert Wodrow and Edward Lhuyd. After attending the University of Glasgow, Lachlann was in Edinburgh from c. November 1700 to c. April 1701.[458] In 1702, he studied at the University of Leiden in the Netherlands, a popular destination for Scottish students.[459] From there, he spent some time in London, then travelled to Kintyre, where he was licensed by the Presbytery of Kintyre on 4 February 1703 and ordained at Campbeltown on 28 September 1703.[460] *Fasti* states that Lachlann was licensed by the Presbytery of Dunoon, but his trials and licensing are recorded in the minutes of the Presbytery of Kintyre under which he ministered at Campbeltown.[461] In 1706, he became the moderator of the Synod of Argyll.[462] He was called to become minister of Capel Street in Dublin in 1706-1707: while he was ordered not to go by the General Assembly, the General Synod of Ulster installed him there on 16 September 1707.[463] His tombstone indicates that he had tuberculosis and spent a year in Dublin before returning to Kintyre, where he died on 6 October 1707, at the manse of his brother, Dùghall Campbell, minister of Southend.[464]

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[457] This information is written on the first page of TCD 1307; see section 3.1.1 of this chapter.
[458] Lachlann's time in Edinburgh was when Richard Sharpe suggests Lachlan was a tutor in Argyll's household on the basis of a line in a letter from Robert Wodrow to Lachlan dated 7 December 1700: 'I need not speak of neuse to you, who lye at the fountain of all kinds of them.' See Sharp, *Early Letters*, 133–34; Sharpe, 'Lachlan Campbell's Letters', 270, n 2.
[459] He corresponded with Robert Wodrow while there: see Lachlan Campbell to Robert Wodrow, 30 March 1702, Wodrow Collection, Quarto II, n.13; Sharp, *Early Letters*, 202–3. For more about the University of Leiden, see section 2.2 below.
[460] *Fasti*, IV, 50.
[461] NRS, CH2/1153/1/135-7.
[462] Sharpe, 'Lachlan Campbell's Letters', 245.
[463] NRS, CH1/2/26/2, fol. 181 and CH1/2/27/2, fols. 138-141 and 157-159; Synod of Ulster, *Records of the General Synod of Ulster, from 1691 to 1820*, 3 vols (Belfast, 1890–1898), I (1890), 131-132, 144.
[464] *Fasti*, IV, 50; MacDonald, *Missions to the Gaels*, 198–99. The Synod of Ulster state that they installed Lachlann in their records of 1 June 1708 and do not mention his death: Synod of Ulster, *Records*, I, (1890), 144. A translation of the Latin text inscribed on Lachlann's tombstone in Kilkerran, near Kildalloig, can be found within ICA, Anne Campbell Collection, from notes of a 1953 tour of Argyllshire undertaken by Anne Campbell's descendants: 'Lachlan Campbell, Minister of Campbeltown for 4 years, from which place he was called to Dublin. Smitten by tuberculosis. After 1 year he returned to his native land and died on 6th September 1705, in the 33rd year of his life'. It seems there was some confusion of the month and 1708 was mistaken for 1705. Many thanks to Caroline Clark for bringing this to my attention.

3.2 Lachlann Campbell's Intellectual Network and Scholarly Pursuits

As a minister in Campbeltown, graduate of the University of Glasgow, and student at the University of Leiden, Lachlann was a scholar with a wide range of interests and connections. This is reflected by some of his surviving correspondence, letters written c. 1700-1707 to Robert Wodrow, ecclesiastical historian and librarian of the University of Glasgow beginning in 1700, and Edward Lhuyd, second Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, naturalist, and philologist. These letters show us that Lachlann was acquainted with scholars and ministers from Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and the continent, and that he was interested in political events, religious affairs, and the natural world in addition to the Gaelic language. Lachlann can be considered a participant in the 'Republic of Letters', an international group of intellectuals who used letters to share ideas and experiences (see section 3.2.2). His relationship with the Gaelic language was framed through his experiences in the wider intellectual culture c. 1700. This section considers Lachlann's correspondence, his contacts (particularly Edward Lhuyd), and the international Republic of Letters to provide context for the discussion of Lachlann's relationship with Gaelic.

3.2.1 Lachlann's Correspondence and Network

There are thirty-seven letters surviving in whole or part written by or to Lachlann Campbell at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Twenty-three are addressed to Robert Wodrow (1679-1734) between November 1700 and September 1703, after Lachlann graduated from the University of Glasgow, and nine of Wodrow's letters to Lachlann are extant from between December 1700 and February 1706.[465] Not all their correspondence has survived. Five letters written by Lachlann to Edward Lhuyd (1660-1709) are extant from between the years 1704 to 1707, but none of Lhuyd's letters to Lachlann survive, and there were probably more that have been lost.[466] Wodrow and Lhuyd were also in correspondence with each other, with eight letters between them from April 1700 to August 1709.[467] The following list of letters is colour-coded for ease of reference: letters

[465] RW Collection, Quarto II, 33, nn.13, 33, 38, 39, 55, 55B, 56, 60, 61, 67, and Quarto III, nn.11, 12, 15, 16, 20, 24, 25, 30A, 30B, 41, 42, 73.; Sharp, *Early Letters*, 202–3, 224–28, 234–38, 246–51, 254–61, 283-286.
[466] Sharpe, 'Lachlan Campbell's Letters', 253–67; Brynley F. Roberts, 'Lhuyd [Lhwyd; Formerly Lloyd], Edward', *ODNB*, ref: 16633.
[467] Wodrow's last letter to Lhuyd was sent just weeks after Lhuyd's death.

from Lachlann to Wodrow are blue, from Wodrow to Lachlann are green, from Lachlann to Lhuyd are orange, and those between Lhuyd and Wodrow are yellow.

Date	**From**	**To**	**Lachlann's Location**
1700-04-02	Lhuyd	Wodrow	
1700-11-21	Lachlann	Wodrow	Edinburgh
1700-12-02	Lachlann	Wodrow	Edinburgh
1700-12-07	Wodrow	Lachlann	Edinburgh
1700-12-12	Lachlann	Wodrow	Edinburgh
1700-12-17	Lachlann	Wodrow	Edinburgh
1700-12-28	Lachlann	Wodrow	Edinburgh
1701-01-16	Lachlann	Wodrow	Edinburgh
1701-01-30	Lachlann	Wodrow	Edinburgh
1701-03-22	Lachlann	Wodrow	Edinburgh
1701-04-22	Lachlann	Wodrow	Edinburgh
1701-06-24	Lhuyd	Wodrow	
1702-03-30	Lachlann	Wodrow	Leiden
1702-01-12	Wodrow	Lhuyd	
1702-04-27	Wodrow	Lachlann	Leiden
1702-05-04	Lachlann	Wodrow	London
1702-05-29	Wodrow	Lachlann	London
1702-06-06	Lachlann	Wodrow	London
1702-06-18	Lachlann	Wodrow	London
1702-06-25	Lachlann	Wodrow	London
1702-10-02	Lachlann	Wodrow	Campbeltown

1702-10-05	Wodrow	Lachlann	Kintyre
1702-10-10	Lachlann	Wodrow	Campbeltown
1702-10-21	Lachlann	Wodrow	Campbeltown
1702-11-09	Wodrow	Lachlann	Kintyre
1702-12-18	Lachlann	Wodrow	Campbeltown
1703-01-13	Lachlann	Wodrow	Campbeltown
1703-01-14	Wodrow	Lachlann	Kintyre
1703-02	Wodrow	Lachlann	No location
1703-02-10	Lachlann	Wodrow	Campbeltown
1703-03-23	Lachlann	Wodrow	Campbeltown
No date[468]	Lachlann	Wodrow	Campbeltown
1703-04-01	Wodrow	Lachlann	No location
1703-09-10	Wodrow	Lhuyd	
1703-09-07	Lachlann	Wodrow	Campbeltown
1703-12-10	Lhuyd	Wodrow	
1703-12-22	Lhuyd	Wodrow	
1704-07-11[469]	Lachlann	Lhuyd	Campbeltown
1704-10-30	Lachlann	Lhuyd	Belfast
1705-01-17[470]	Lachlann	Lhuyd	Campbeltown
1705-04-16	Lachlann	Lhuyd	Campbeltown

[468] While there is no date on this letter, Lachlan finished it with 'You have not yet oblidged me [of] yo*u*r sentiments about the le*tte*r I sent you a Copy of': therefore, this letter was sent after that dated 23 March 1703, which contained a copy of a third letter. Lachlan Campbell to Robert Wodrow, 23 March 1703, Wodrow Collection, Quarto II, n.61; Campbell to Wodrow, n.d., Wodrow Collection, Quarto III, n.73.
[469] This letter is a reply to a letter Lhuyd sent Lachlan on 13 May 1704; that letter does not survive. Campbell to Lhuyd, 11 July 1704, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 288-289.
[470] Lhuyd sent Lachlan a letter dated 26 December 1704 which was received after Lachlan sent th is letter on 17 January 1705; Lhuyd's letter does not survive. Lachlan Campbell to Edward Lhuyd, 17 January 1705, Lhwyd Correspondence, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 294-297, ref. 400227.

1706-02-04	Wodrow	Lachlann	Campbeltown in Kintyre
1707-01-03	Lachlann	Lhuyd	Campbeltown
1709-05-15	Lhuyd	Wodrow	
1709-08-26	Wodrow	Lhuyd	

Table 3-1: Correspondence between Lachlann Campbell, Edward Lhuyd, and Robert Wodrow.

These letters provide information about Lachlann's whereabouts, network of acquaintances, and intellectual pursuits, which were, as shown below, modern and varied. Regarding his whereabouts, Lachlann was in Edinburgh at the end of 1700, at the University of Leiden at the beginning of 1702, and through the rest of that year, travelled to London before going to Kintyre, where he was settled at Campbeltown by 1703. He remained in Campbeltown and Argyll except for a trip to Belfast around the end of October 1704.

Lachlann's relationship with Wodrow probably began while they were studying at the University of Glasgow. Their letters are about a variety of topics, from Lachlann acquiring books for Wodrow and others, debts between the two men, and Wodrow gathering books and maps for Lachlann, to current events in England and Scotland, natural curiosities,[471] and their licensing as ministers in 1703. Wodrow was licensed by the Presbytery of Paisley on 6 January 1703 and ordained to the parish of Eastwood outside Glasgow on 28 October that year, and Lachlann was licensed by the Presbytery of Kintyre on 4 February 1703 and ordained as minister of the Highland/Gaelic Congregation of Campbeltown on 28 September 1703.[472] The friendship between the two men seems to be one based upon intellectual curiosity, religious pursuits, and mutual interests, having attended the University of Glasgow almost concurrently and both coming from families with strong Presbyterian ties. They would also have travelled in similar networks while completing their studies, which is reflected in their common friends and acquaintances.

These mutual friends and acquaintances are mentioned in Lachlann's letters. Lachlann often asked Wodrow to pass his respects to James Wodrow (professor of

[471] A quick note on this suffices here as this is discussed later in this section. The gathering of natural curiosities was not limited to Lachlan Campbell and Robert Wodrow. Indeed, Martin Martin collected curiosities, mostly shells, for Sir Robert Sibbald, Geographer Royal of Scotland, during his travels in the Hebrides in the 1690s. For more information on Martin Martin, see: Domhnall Uilleam Stiubhart, 'The Life of Martin Martin', in Islands Book Trust (ed.), *Martin Martin: 300 Years On* (Callicvol, 2003); Lizanne Henderson, *Witchcraft and Folk Belief in the Age of Enlightenment: Scotland, 1670-1740* (Houndmills, Hampshire, 2016), 39–41.
[472] *Fasti*, III, 135; NRS, CH2/1153/1/135-7.

Divinity at the University of Glasgow and Robert's father),[473] Alexander Wodrow (minister of Tron Church in Glasgow and Robert's elder brother),[474] and William Jamieson (lecturer in History at the University of Glasgow).[475] The letters mention others that Lachlann knew, or seems to have known, personally: William Hamilton (who travelled to Leiden with Lachlann),[476] Mr Cumming professor of Ecclesiastical history (presumably John Cumming),[477] Mr Loudoun (probably John Loudon, regent at Glasgow University in 1699),[478] Mr Simson (likely Mr John Simson, Professor of Divinity at the University of Glasgow beginning 1708),[479] and various booksellers and merchants in Edinburgh and London.[480] Simson had suggested that Lachlann would be more fit to take the position as Professor of Divinity after James Wodrow's death in September 1707, and Roger Emerson states that Lachlann had more celebrity than Simson did at this point, but Lachlann went to Dublin in 1707, died in October 1708 and was never approached about the position.[481] Lachlann also knew, at least through letters and acquaintances, James Sutherland (Professor of Botany at the University of Edinburgh),[482] Sir Robert Sibbald (first Professor of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh),[483] William Nicolson (bishop first of Carlisle and second of Derry, who wrote *The Irish Historical Library*, which included Gaelic sources),[484] and Edward Lhuyd.[485] It is likely Lachlann's intellectual connections were even wider than the surviving letters indicate; they certainly included

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[473] Martin Fitzpatrick, 'Wodrow, James', *ODNB*, ref: 64383; Roger L. Emerson, *Academic Patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment: Glasgow, Edinburgh and St Andrews Universities* (Edinburgh, 2008), 30–31.
[474] *Fasti*, III, 477; Emerson, *Academic Patronage*, 51–52.
[475] 'UofGStory', s.v. William Jamieson; Emerson, *Academic Patronage*, 31–32.
[476] Possibly the minister of Bothwell beginning 1709, the minister of Cramond beginning 1694 and Professor of Divinity at University of Edinburgh beginning 1709 (graduated from Edinburgh), or the minister of Bolton beginning in 1708: *Fasti*, I, 11, 146, 357.
[477] Laing, *Catalogue of the Graduates*, xiv; Emerson, *Academic Patronage*, 239.
[478] Emerson, *Academic Patronage*, 35; Thomson, *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh*, xi.
[479] 'UofGStory', s.v. John Simson; Emerson, *Academic Patronage*, 52–53.
[480] Booksellers mentioned in Lachlann's letters include Andrew Bell, Robert FreeBairn, and John Vallange. More information about them can be found in Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (Oxford, 1922), 28, 121–22, 296–197.
[481] Emerson, *Academic Patronage*, 53, 75 n.30.
[482] Laing, *Catalogue of the Graduates*, xxi; Emerson, *Academic Patronage*, 273–74; 'UofE Our History', s.v. James Sutherland (c1639-1719).
[483] Roger L. Emerson, 'Sir Robert Sibbald, Kt, The Royal Society of Scotland and the Origins of the Scottish Enlightenment', *Annals of Science*, 45.1 (1988), 41–72; Emerson, *Academic Patronage*, see index under 'Sibbald, Sir Robert'; 'UofE Our History', s.v. Sir Robert Sibbald (1641-1722).
[484] He wrote English, Scottish, and Irish Historical Libraries, and the Irish Historical Library draws upon Gaelic sources in addition to sources in English, Latin, and French: Dewi W. Evans and Brynley F. Roberts, *Edward Lhuyd* Archaeologia Britannica*: Texts & Translations* (Aberystwyth, 2009), 20–22; D.W. Hayton, 'Nicolson, William', *ODNB*, ref: 20186; William Nicolson, *The Irish Historical Library: Pointing at Most of the Authors and Records in Print Or Manuscript, Which May Be Serviceable to the Compilers of a General History of Ireland* (Dublin, 1724).
[485] Evans and Roberts, *Edward Lhuyd*; Roberts, 'Lhuyd'.

other ministers both within and outwith the Synod of Argyll, and he was known by ministers in the Synod of Ulster.[486]

The importance of these connections lies in their demonstration of Lachlann's entrenchment within current scholarship and ideas in religious, political, and even scientific matters while in Glasgow, Edinburgh, London, and Leiden. His letters to Wodrow reveal a continued interest in these matters, from comments on a tumult in Glasgow with a religious cause to the collecting, commentary on, and debate about natural curiosities.[487] A detailed look at the connections between these men and others is outside the remit of this thesis, but as shown below, Lachlann was self-aware of being a member of the intellectual community of which they were a part, the Republic of Letters. It influenced his intellectual pursuits, including his interest in Gaelic writing and literature. It is, therefore, necessary to briefly discuss the community, its general interests, Lachlann's identity as a member, and some of its major players in or related to Scotland, particularly Edward Lhuyd.

3.2.2 The Republic of Letters and Edward Lhuyd

The Republic of Letters was a term that first appeared in 1417, and by the end of the seventeenth century, it had come to a specific meaning: the intellectual world as a state of its own 'which gathers a specific population together beneath the standard of equality, freedom, truth and reason'.[488] In other words, it is an international population connected by shared intellectual interests in which, ideally, members are equal and religion is unimportant. In reality, national interests and religious affiliations influenced men who considered themselves members of this group, Lachlann included. Those who considered themselves to be within the Republic of Letters exchanged letters to share thoughts, ideas, and news, a phenomenon which we see in the correspondence of Lachlann, Wodrow, and

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[486] At their meeting on 3 June 1707, 'Many Brethren gave a desireable Character of the said M' Lagln Campbell': Synod of Ulster, *Records*, 131.

[487] See Campbell to Wodrow, 23 March 1703, Wodrow Collection, Quarto II, n.61. The letter mentions a disturbance at Wodrow's location (Glasgow): 'I could have wished you had given me an *account* of that tumult that happened there while the bearer of *your* letter was there.' The following commentary indicates that Lachlan thinks 'them people' are trying to make 'our people' odious at court. Wodrow gives details of the incident in his letter of 1 April 1703; see Sharp, *Early Letters*, 257–61. They are referring to two instances in which the house of Sir John Bell, a former magistrate of Glasgow who was hosting an Episcopalian minister for worship, was assailed by a group of Presbyterians. This occurred in the same year as Episcopalian clergy used addressing for greater religious freedoms and the Presbyterian Church responded by addressing against toleration. See Karin Bowie, 'Scottish Public Opinion and the Making of the Union of 1707' (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2004), 190. There's an account of incidences at Bell's house in Robert Chambers, *Domestic Annals of Scotland from the Revolution to the Rebellion* (Edinburgh, 1861), 273–74.

[488] Françoise Waquet, 'The Republic of Letters', in Victoria Moul (ed.), *A Guide to Neo-Latin Literature* (Cambridge, 2017), 66–80, at 67.

Lhuyd. The Republic of Letters was not a fixed entity: rather, it was created and recreated by its individual members.[489] Seventeenth-century Scottish scholars engaged with intellectual changes taking place on the continent and brought the ideas back to Scotland, introducing changes to teaching systems, creating intellectual societies, and appointing Professors of new subjects.[490] After the Williamite Revolution, in addition to philosophy, law, and medicine, other scientific interests and historical and antiquarian concerns became an integral part of the education of the Scottish elite. For Scottish students, Dutch universities such as Leiden and Utrecht were popular destinations for continuing education abroad, partially for their Protestant but latitudinarian approach to religion.[491] Scottish students, like Lachlann, were a bridge to the ideas and books available in mainland Europe but not yet readily available in Scotland.[492]

Lachlann's network includes connections to the European and British Republic of Letters, and his letters reveal active involvement in and awareness of being a member of this group. Lachlann's gathering of natural curiosities such as nuts, stones, and even a large tooth to send to Wodrow was part of a popular scholarly interest in nature, and Wodrow and Lhuyd discussed, exchanged, and collected samples and information about samples as well.[493] Lhuyd was the second Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, founded in 1683 with an eye to nature and the experience of humanity across time and cultures.[494] Sir Robert Sibbald (1641-1722), a mutual acquaintance of Lachlann and Wodrow, attended the University of Leiden, helped found the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh, was one of the first Professors of Medicine at the University of Edinburgh, and was heavily interested, as were others in Scotland and abroad, in natural philosophy.[495] As part of his interest, Sibbald encouraged Martin Martin to undertake his fieldwork in the Western Isles of Scotland and also corresponded with Wodrow regarding the natural sciences.[496]

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[489] April G. Shelford, *Transforming the Republic of Letters* (Rochester, New York, 2007), 5.
[490] Esther Mijers, *'News from the Republick of Letters': Scottish Students, Charles Mackie and the United Provinces, 1650-1750*, Studies in Medieval and Transformation Traditions, 161 (Leiden, 2012), 8.
[491] Mijers, *'News from the Republick of Letters'*, 1.
[492] Mijers, *'News from the Republick of Letters'*, 8–9.
[493] RW Collection, Quarto II, nn. 55, 55B, 60; RW Collection, *EMLO*, Quarto I, ff.121, 168-169, Quarto II, ff.101-102, 119-120, Quarto III, ff.102-103, Octavo II, ff.6-7; EUL, La.III.355, ff.137-138; Michael Hunter and Robert Kirk, *The Occult Laboratory: Magic, Science and Second Sight in Late Seventeenth-Century Scotland. a New Edition* (Suffolk, 2001), 48–49, 205–15.
[494] Campbell and Thomson, *Edward Lhuyd*, xiii; University of Oxford, 'History of the Ashmolean', *Ashmolean Museum Oxford* <https://www.ashmolean.org/history-ashmolean> [accessed 10 October 2020].
[495] Mijers, *'News from the Republick of Letters'*, 43, 188.
[496] Islands Book Trust, *Martin Martin*, 6–8; MacGregor, 'Genealogical Histories', 199–200; Sharp, *Early Letters*, 21–22, 27–28, 85–86, 108–10, 113–15, 191–92, 218–20, 230–32, 238–39, 251–54, 261-2.

Within this wider intellectual community was a smaller community of scholars interested in the Gaelic language and literature as well as life in the Highlands. Lachlann, Wodrow, Sibbald, Martin, and Lhuyd were members of this group, as were some of the individuals mentioned in Chapter 1 such as Cailean Campbell of Achnaba, Mr. Iain Beaton, and Robert Kirk. Other individuals could be considered part of this group as well, such as John Toland (1670-1722), who published a Breton/Irish/Latin dictionary and was in some contact with Lhuyd in the 1690s, and historian Ruaidhrí O'Flaherty [Ó Flaithbheartaigh] (1627/30 – 1716/18).[497] The most important of these figures is Lhuyd, for whom Lachlann was an informant on the Gaelic language. From 1697 to 1701, Lhuyd and his assistants were on a journey to survey all the Celtic countries' natural history, geology, flora, and antiquities, and the language, folklore, customs, history, and literatures of their people: 'Wales, Ireland, part of Scotland, Cornwall, and Brittany (where his work was frustrated by French officialdom)'.[498] Lhuyd's interests in languages and history had started with Wales, then grew to encompass the whole of Britain, at which time he focused upon the Celtic-speaking peoples.[499] During his travels, Lhuyd used the Republic of Letters to meet local experts, including Wodrow, Sibbald, and Campbell of Achnaba, and in Scotland, he also had a presumably Gaelic-speaking traveling companion named 'Mr Murdagh' who joined him in Inveraray.[500] Lhuyd originally envisioned at least two but as many as six volumes of his work, *Archaeologia Britannica*, but only the first volume, a comparative study of the Celtic languages and *Glossography*, appeared, printed in sections from 1703-1707.[501] It included the first printed Irish Gaelic dictionary—apart from Mícheál O'Clery's *Foclóir no Sanasan Nua* printed at Louvain in 1643—and a Scottish Gaelic supplement to which Lachlann contributed.[502] Although it was the last part of the book, the Gaelic dictionary was printed first, allowing Lhuyd to send the pages to his

[497] Nollaig Ó Muraíle, 'O'Flaherty, Roderic [Roger] [Ruaidhrí Óg Ó Flaithbheartaigh]', *ODNB*, ref: 20574; Alan Harrison, 'John Toland (1670-1722) and Celtic Studies', in Cyril J. Byrne, Margaret Harry, and Pádraig Ó Siadhail (eds.), *Celtic Languages and Celtic Peoples: Proceedings of the Second North American Congress of Celtic Studies* (Halifax, 1992), 555–76, at 558–60, 564–66; John Toland, *The History of the Celtic Religion and Learning Containing an Account of the Druids* (174-?; repr. London, 1974); Justin Champion, *Republican Learning: John Toland and the Crisis of Christian Culture, 1696-1722* (Manchester, US, 2003), 191, 218.

[498] Campbell and Thomson, *Edward Lhuyd*, xiii; Evans and Roberts, *Edward Lhuyd*, 1.

[499] Evans and Roberts, *Edward Lhuyd*, 2–5, 12–20.

[500] R.T. Gunther, *Life and Letters of Edward Lhwyd*, Early Science in Oxford, 14 (Oxford, 1920); Edward Lhuyd to Robert Wodrow, 15 May 1709, Lhwyd Correspondence, Wodrow Collection, Quarto II, ff.119-120, ref. 401074.

[501] Evans and Roberts, *Edward Lhuyd*, 6–7; Campbell and Thomson, *Edward Lhuyd*, xiii–xiv; David Cram, 'Edward Lhuyd's Archaeologia Britannica: Method and Madness in Early Modern Comparative Philology', *The Welsh History Review*, 25.1 (2010), 75–96.

[502] Campbell and Thomson, *Edward Lhuyd*, xiii–xiv.

correspondents, including Lachlann and Bishop William Nicolson; only two responded (Lachlann from Scotland and Ruaidhrí O'Flaherty from Ireland).[503]

Lachlann's relationship with Lhuyd and contributions to Lhuyd's work is explored in the following sections. For now, it is important to note that Lachlann's Gaelic intellectual endeavours were part of a larger intellectual culture, simultaneously local and international, and he was influenced by forces both internal and external to the Gaelic community. The external forces, while generally interested in matters of natural history, antiquities, history, and other such topics, could also be critical of the interest in studying and working with Gaelic and other languages. Maurice Jones, a friend and collaborator of Lhuyd, had a difficult time attracting purchasers for Lhuyd's book and wrote that it 'is generally judg'd to be but too useless in that it gives light into those old languages, y^{t} are in this age of little use & obsolete'.[504] Still, Lachlann enjoyed being a part of the larger intellectual community and referred to being a part of the Republic of Letters when writing to Lhuyd in 1705: 'I have a great deal of satisfaction in getting news from the Republique of Letters'.[505] He also lamented being less connected to it after taking up his post as minister in Campbeltown. Upon first arriving there, he wrote in a letter to Wodrow: 'I can assure you I am a great object of charity being destitute of all commerce w*ith* the rest of mankind or any knowledge of their affairs'.[506] Twenty days later, he wrote: 'pray send me yo*ur* news of all sorts; in commiseration of my solitary condition in this place'.[507] Half a year later, on 23 March 1703, his sense of being cut off from the world had not faded: 'pray let me have all yo*ur* news as particularly as you can have leasure to do. pity a body seperate from the world in such a corner'.[508] Lachlann's feeling of separation from events in Argyll was not a unique sentiment. Some of Cailean Campbell, minister of Ardchattan's contemporaries, such as a Professor Campbell Fraser, were surprised that he lived far from the centre of things, and Gilleasbuig, Lord Lorne and future 9th Earl of Argyll, wrote in the mid-seventeenth century that he lived at such a distance that he knew 'nothing of what is doing at London scarce at Edinburgh'.[509]

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[503] Evans and Roberts, *Edward Lhuyd*, 9.
[504] Evans and Roberts, *Edward Lhuyd*, 10; Rev Maurice Jones to Edward Lhuyd, 24 January 1709, Lhwyd Correspondence, BodL, MS Ashmole 1815 fol.285, ref. 29392.
[505] Campbell to Lhuyd, 16 April 1705, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 292-293.
[506] Lachlan Campbell to Robert Wodrow, 1 October 1702, Wodrow Collection, Quarto III, n.41.
[507] Lachlan Campbell to Robert Wodrow, 21 October 1702, Wodrow Collection, Quarto II, n.55.
[508] Campbell to Wodrow, 23 March 1703, Wodrow Collection, Quarto II, n.61.
[509] Allan Kennedy, *Governing Gaeldom: The Scottish Highlands and the Restoration State, 1660-1688*, The Northern World, 66 (Leiden, 2014), 17–19; Ó Baoill, 'Colin Campbell', 485.

Lachlann's letters and his involvement in Lhuyd's work indicate that he engaged with the Republic of Letters discussed in this section both before and after becoming minister of Campbeltown. He did this through visiting Leiden, bringing or sending books back to Scotland from London and the continent, and collecting natural curiosities for Wodrow. As shown below, he also engaged with the Gaelic scholarly community in both Scotland and Ireland after taking the charge at Campbeltown. With this context in mind, the remaining sections of the chapter focus upon Lachlann's relationship with the Gaelic language as demonstrated through his letters and how the metrical glossaries within TCD 1307 fit into that relationship.

3.3 Lachlann Campbell and the Gaelic Language

Lachlann Campbell was a native Gaelic speaker. His father, Iain Campbell, was chamberlain of Kintyre beginning c. 1675 through at least 1697, and in 1697 Iain was also commissioner for the Highland Congregation of Campbeltown.[510] During Lachlann's lifetime, Gaelic was still the predominant language in Campbeltown and surrounding areas, despite a Lowland plantation in the early-seventeenth century; the Highland Congregation was adhered to by roughly two-thirds of the population, with the remaining population being part of the Lowland (i.e. English-speaking) congregation. Lachlann must have had a high register of spoken Gaelic to preach in the language, which he did after being ordained to the Highland Congregation in 1703.[511] It is not clear, however, when he was taught to read Gaelic, either his vernacular or a literary dialect. MacGilleoin may have been teaching him c. 1698, and he must have acquired a Gaelic education as he could write using *corra-litir* by 1703.[512] It is also possible, as mentioned in section 3.1.2, that

[510] He is mentioned as chamberlain of Kintyre in 1675: ICA, NRAS 6, vol 67. For a 1697 petition from and act in favour of the Irish Congregation of Campbeltown with John Campbell in the role of commissioner, see ICA, NRAS 1209, Bundle 540.

[511] *Fasti*, IV, 50. In 1726, ministers in Highland or mixed congregations were still expected to, and did, preach in both English and Gaelic, including at Killean and Kilchenzie and Kilcalmonell and Kilberry: MacTavish, *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll*, I, 147-148, n.1. In the mid-seventeenth century, the Synod was seeking out ministers with the ability to speak Gaelic, some ministers were learning the language, and at least one minister was removed from his charge in part on the basis that he could not speak Gaelic: MacTavish, *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll*, I, 17, 152-153, 161. It attracted comment when ministers were not skilled enough in the language, such as when the Rev. Cailean Campbell of Achnaba was 'exhorted to study more exactnes in the pronunciatione of the Irish tongue' in 1678, though it is unclear what the presbytery found lacking with his Gaelic: Ó Baoill, 'Colin Campbell', 482.

[512] Lachlan used *corra-litir* to write the words 'Forus Focul' in a letter to Robert Wodrow and used it to comment on Lhuyd's dictionary: Lachlan Campbell to Robert Wodrow, 7 September 1703, Wodrow Collection, Quarto II, n.67; Campbell to Lhuyd, 17 January 1705, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 294-297. Martin Martin wrote in a letter to Lhuyd that he had not been taught to read Gaelic although it was his native language, and it is possible Lachlan was in this position until he started studying himself: Martin Martin to Edward Lhuyd, 22 December 1702, Lhwyd Correspondence, BodL, MS Ashmole 1816, fols.330-331, ref. 401261.

Lachlann taught Gaelic when he was a tutor in the household of the 10th Earl (and 1st Duke) of Argyll.[513] To understand his grasp of written Gaelic as well as his views on the language, then, it is necessary to examine his letters to Robert Wodrow and Edward Lhuyd, in which he mentions or discusses Gaelic, his abilities in the language, and his perception of it.

As the discussion in Chapter 1 demonstrated, Lachlann could be referring to multiple registers and either spoken or written when mentioning the Gaelic language: the terminology he uses can reveal which he is referring to. In his letters, he calls it 'the Language', 'that Language', 'Irish', 'Good Irish', 'very old Irish', 'the old Irish', 'obsolete Irish', 'Earsh', 'Scotch Irish', 'the Irish language', and 'our Language'.[514] These terms are primarily used for written Gaelic within the context of discussing Edward Lhuyd's Irish/Gaelic dictionary (see below) or manuscripts. It also seems clear from this list that he uses 'Irish' as a broad term meaning 'Gaelic'. He adds adjectives to indicate quality ('Good Irish', perhaps Classical Gaelic), age ('very old Irish', 'obsolete Irish', 'the old Irish', perhaps Old Gaelic, Middle Gaelic and/or Classical Gaelic), and dialect/geography ('Scotch Irish', or referring specifically to 'Irish' in Scotland or Ireland). When referring to contemporary language, such as the 'Scotch Irish' words he supplied Lhuyd which were in part also used in Ireland, he is likely to have been referring to spoken language as well as written. He probably did not struggle to understand the spoken languages, however, as he was able to recognise differences in usage and had Gaelic-speaking friends and acquaintances in the north of Ireland and the Synod of Ulster.[515] Secondly, Lachlann was able to identify words that are distinctly Scottish, indicating a familiarity with Irish Gaelic.[516] Evidence suggests that he was learning to read manuscripts in Classical Gaelic (rather than a high-register Scottish Gaelic) and Old/Middle Gaelic. This evidence includes not only the aforementioned terminology he uses to refer to Gaelic, but also mention of orthographic, lexical, and grammatical differences (the suggestions and corrections he notes about Lhuyd's Gaelic dictionary); access to and possession of

[513] Black, *Campbells of the Ark*, II, 573; *Fasti*, IV, 50. Richard Sharpe suggests that Lachlan was a tutor during his time in Edinburgh in the autumn of 1700: Sharpe, 'Lachlan Campbell's Letters', 245, 270, n.2.
[514] Campbell to Lhuyd, 11 July 1704, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 288-289; Lachlan Campbell to Edward Lhuyd, 30 October 1704, Lhwyd Correspondence, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 290-291, ref. 400229; Campbell to Lhuyd, 17 January 1705, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 294-297; Campbell to Lhuyd, 16 April 1705, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 292-293; Campbell to Lhuyd, 3 January 1707, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 298-299; Campbell to Wodrow, n.d., Wodrow Collection, Quarto III, n.73; Campbell to Wodrow, 7 September 1703, Wodrow Collection, Quarto II, n.67.
[515] Campbell to Lhuyd, 30 October 1704, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 290-291.
[516] This is explored further later in the chapter. Campbell to Lhuyd, 16 April 1705, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 292-293; Campbell to Lhuyd, 3 January 1707, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 298-299.

manuscripts; the metrical glossaries in TCD 1307; and Lachlann's creation of his own vocabulary using words taken from books and manuscripts. In the remainder of this section, each of these aspects are considered alongside examples from Lachlann's letters through the lens of two wider themes: the assistance Lachlann gave Lhuyd on his dictionary and Lachlann as a scholar, and in some ways promoter, of the Gaelic language.

3.3.1 Lachlann's Relationship with Edward Lhuyd and the Gaelic Language

Lachlann's letters to Edward Lhuyd reveal details about Lachlann's relationship with and abilities regarding Gaelic from 1704-1707. In the process of assisting Lhuyd with his dictionary, including providing a list of Scottish Gaelic words and their meanings, Lachlann commented on Gaelic orthography and complained about the grammar of the older language (Classical Gaelic and/or Old/Middle Gaelic). The letters demonstrate that Lachlann had developed, certainly through self-study but also perhaps through formal or informal tutelage, a knowledge of and familiarity with the written language that others could learn from, although he may not have recognised his own skill.

Lachlann and Lhuyd may not have met in person, although they were aware of each other c. 1700, when Lhuyd was traveling in Scotland. It is possible they met at Inveraray in 1699, when Lhuyd met Cailean Campbell of Achnaba.[517] They hoped to meet a few years later in Oxford, as revealed by a letter from Wodrow to Lhuyd dated 12 January 1702: 'Mr La. Campble is gone for Holland and desings to wait on you this summer at Oxford.'[518] A letter from James Sutherland—Professor of Botany at the University of Edinburgh[519]—to Wodrow dated 24 December 1702 reveals that this meeting did not occur. In it, Sutherland tells Wodrow that Lhuyd indicated by letter that he did not see Lachlann but did receive a manuscript from him.[520] This is undoubtably the same manuscript that Lachlann refers to almost a year after Sutherland's letter. Lachlann wrote to Wodrow on 7 September 1703: 'The only thing I had formerly to supply the want of a dictionary was a vocabulary in Metter [i.e. a metrical glossary] w*hi*ch I sent Mr Lhuyd about 18 months ago'.[521] This would be c. March 1702, and assuming Lachlann may have estimated the '18 months ago', he could have sent Lhuyd the manuscript just before or

[517] Campbell and Thomson, *Edward Lhuyd*, xix–xx; Ó Baoill, 'Colin Campbell'.
[518] Sharp, *Early Letters*, 189.
[519] Emerson, *Academic Patronage*, 273–74; 'UofE Our History', s.v. James Sutherland (c1639-1719).
[520] Sharpe, 'Lachlan Campbell's Letters', 246.
[521] Campbell to Wodrow, 7 September 1703, Wodrow Collection, Quarto II, n.67.

after going to Leiden: his first letter from there was dated 30 March 1702, and he was back in England by May 1702. In either case, the manuscript containing a vocabulary in metre, or a metrical glossary, is almost certainly TCD 1307.

There were two other possible meetings between Lachlann and Lhuyd. Richard Sharpe, who has examined the five letters that Lachlann wrote to Lhuyd (which seems to be all that survives of their correspondence), states that:[522]

> Campbell and Lhwyd might have been able to meet, either in Glasgow towards the end of 1699 or when Lhwyd stayed near Campbeltown at the beginning of 1700, but Campbell's whereabouts at this time are unknown, and the indications are that no meeting took place.

Although Lachlann's whereabouts towards the end of 1699 are unknown, he was in Campbeltown at the very beginning of 1700. He met with Eoghan MacGilleoin the night of 3 January 1700, as revealed by a letter from MacGilleoin to Lhuyd, and it seems to indicate that Lachlann did, indeed, meet with Lhuyd: 'I came to Campbeltoun this night & have mett with M*r* Lauchlan Campbell who did present to me yo*ur* directions in a memorandum you left w*ith* him'.[523] Although it is possible that Lhuyd left the memorandum with someone who subsequently gave it to Lachlann, this letter implies that Lachlann met Lhuyd while Lhuyd was staying in Machrimore just north of Southend in Kintyre. This is certainly possible: Lachlann's elder brother Dùghall was minister of Southend beginning in 1696, so Lachlann may have visited his brother in Southend and met with Lhuyd while there (Figure 1).

[522] Sharpe, 'Lachlan Campbell's Letters', 244.
[523] MacGilleoin to Lhuyd, 3 January 1700, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fol. 277-278.

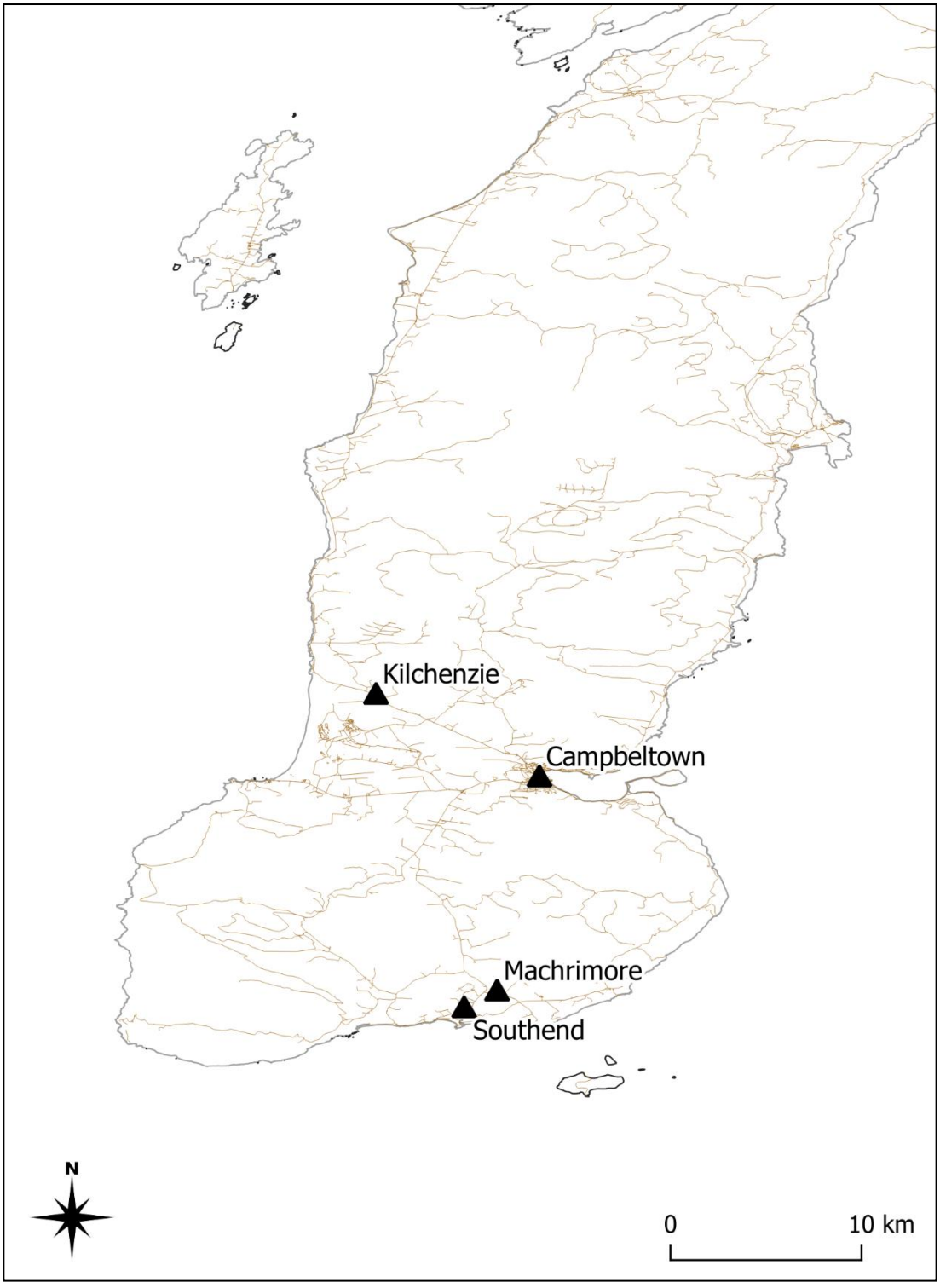

Figure 3-1: Map of southern Kintyre showing Kilchenzie, Campbeltown, Machrimore, and Southend.

Whether or not they met, MacGilleoin's letter provides evidence of early investment on Lachlann's part in Lhuyd's work and the possibility of previous correspondence between the three men, although the extent of that correspondence is not clear: 'Mr Lauchlan told that he expected with me a line from you to Glasgow which you promised to send to him with me (if it be ane omission by oblivion you may send it now)'.[524] This may imply that MacGilleoin was going to Glasgow or that Lhuyd was to send a message to Lachlann in Glasgow, and Lachlann was certainly acquainted enough with Lhuyd to be expecting a message from him, which was not received. Further correspondence between the three is also expected: 'Mr Lauchlan tells me if I send any of these things you require of me to himself to Glasgow he will gett them conveyed to you'.[525] Lachlann's presence in Glasgow supports him being the 'Lachlan Campbell' listed as a student of Theology at the University of Glasgow four months after MacGilleoin's letter, on 2 April 1700.[526] Whether or not Lachlann and Lhuyd met, it is evident from MacGilleoin's letter that Lhuyd was part of Lachlann's intellectual network from before 1700.

Lachlann mentions Lhuyd in three of his letters to Robert Wodrow. The first is dated 12 December 1700 from Edinburgh, in which he asks to hear 'what acc*oun*ts you have had from Mr Lluyd since I saw you & what advances you have made in the matter of yor correspondence w*ith* him'.[527] There is no indication of exactly how long Lachlann had been away from Glasgow, but he was using his network to try to stay up to date about Lhuyd's affairs.[528] The second mention of Lhuyd is the letter from Campbeltown dated 7 September 1703, in which Lachlann wrote that he had sent 'a vocabulary in Metter' (TCD 1307) to Lhuyd 18 months prior and that Lhuyd had two other vocabularies: 'another vocabulary of the same nature he got in Ireland' (presumably another metrical glossary) and the printed glossary of Mícheál O'Clery.[529] The final mention of Lhuyd is not until an undated letter written from Campbeltown in which Lachlann wrote that he is 'promised some books from Ireland of various sorts' (possibly Gaelic manuscripts) and while he is unsure what he will learn from them about history, 'the deference I have since judged of

[524] MacGilleoin to Lhuyd, 3 January 1700, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fol. 277-278.
[525] MacGilleoin to Lhuyd, 3 January 1700, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fol. 277-278.
[526] *MAUG*, III, 247.
[527] Lachlan Campbell to Robert Wodrow, 12 December 1700, Wodrow Collection, Quarto III, n.15.
[528] Lachlann's first letter to Wodrow from Edinburgh is dated 21 November 1700, so he left Glasgow before then: Lachlan Campbell to Robert Wodrow, 21 November 1700, Wodrow Collection, Quarto III, n.11.
[529] Campbell to Wodrow, 7 September 1703, Wodrow Collection, Quarto II, n.67.

Mr Lhuyd permits me not to doubt, but something may be gleaned that way'.[530] This speaks to his motives, explored in section 3.3.2.1.

It has thus far been established that Lachlann had been in correspondence with Lhuyd for at least four years before the first extant letter between them.[531] It is also possible, as indicated by MacGilleoin's letter, that the two met in or near Campbeltown at the very beginning of 1700. Whether they did or not, Lachlann was clearly invested in Lhuyd's work on Gaelic from the time of Lhuyd's travels at the end of the seventeenth century. Indeed, he may have assisted Lhuyd in his Gaelic translation of John Ray's *Dictionariolum trilingue* (published in 1675), which Lhuyd seems to have undertaken while stuck in Kintyre due to bad weather in December 1699 and January 1700.[532] If so, this speaks to a possible motivation for Lachlann's desire for TCD 1307: he was interested in Gaelic and its history, but as his letters to Lhuyd reveal (see below), he struggled to understand at least Classical Gaelic and Middle/Old Gaelic texts. Therefore, he understood the importance of Lhuyd's dictionary as a resource both for himself and others. There are five extant letters from Lachlann to Lhuyd, dated as follows:

1. 11 July 1704 – Campbeltown
2. 30 October 1704 – Belfast
3. 17 January 1705 – Campbeltown
4. 16 April 1705 – Campbeltown
5. 3 January 1707 – Campbeltown

The letters discuss aspects of Lhuyd's Irish Dictionary, which he began printing near the end of 1703. In the first part of the next year, he sent printed sheets of the dictionary to Lachlann for comment along with proposals for subscriptions to *Archaeologia Britannica*; sheets were sent to others, such as Robert Wodrow, but only Lachlann and Ruaidhrí O'Flaherty responded with comments.[533] The subscriptions are discussed in the next section regarding Lachlann as a scholar and promoter of Gaelic, while Lachlann's interaction with the sheets of Lhuyd's dictionary are discussed here.

In his letters to Lhuyd, Lachlann often comments on his own understanding of Gaelic. Richard Sharpe believed that Lachlann 'comes across as diffident about his

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[530] Campbell to Wodrow, n.d., Wodrow Collection, Quarto III, n.73.
[531] Lachlan wrote in a letter to Wodrow that Lhuyd had sent him a letter after he left Scotland in 1700: Campbell to Wodrow, 7 September 1703, Wodrow Collection, Quarto II, n.67.
[532] Campbell and Thomson, *Edward Lhuyd*, xv–xvi, xx; Mandelbrote, 'Ray, John'; Gunther, *Life and Letters*, 426, 428.
[533] Sharpe, 'Lachlan Campbell's Letters', 246–47; Evans and Roberts, *Edward Lhuyd*, 9.

knowledge of Gaelic' and that because Lachlann is a native Gaelic speaker, it is possible he was 'chiefly concerned to lower Lhwyd's expectations' of Lachlann's comments on the Irish Dictionary.[534] Sharpe saw this diffidence in regard to both written Gaelic found in older texts and Lachlann's native vernacular Gaelic and suggested that Lachlann became unfamiliar with Gaelic during his travels, but this is highly unlikely.[535] While it is true that Lachlann travelled and he and his family had contact with English-speaking Lowland populations both in and outwith Kintyre, he and his family were also involved in the Gaelic community and Highland Congregation of Campbeltown.[536] Furthermore, by 1703 Lachlann was, like his elder brother, educated enough in high-register Scottish Gaelic to preach to a Gaelic-speaking population. In the letter to Lhuyd from July 1704, he refers to 'our vulgar pronunciation'; writes that 'Irish writers in these last ages' would do 'all they could to make the Language obscure and mysterious to the vulgar'; and states that the writing of the language varied when taken 'from authors who lived at some distance of time & place from us who rather speak a Dialect of the Irish than Good Irish'.[537] I argue that these quotes are not commenting on his grasp of the contemporary vernacular (the 'vulgar', or common, language), but rather comparing that vernacular with written Gaelic: Classical Gaelic and Middle/Old Gaelic. In his letter from January 1705, Lachlann writes about his comments on the first set of sheets Lhuyd sent him:

> ...some of our Scotch Irish words which according to your desire I inserted in their order as they ocurred to me: most of them are also used in Ireland, but because I was sure that they are a part of the language of our Country and omitted in your dictionary I wrote them down with this distinction (Scot) and could have added many more if your sheets had come to me in time.[538]

This indicates a strong enough grasp of his vernacular to add words to Lhuyd's dictionary, differentiate them as Scottish Gaelic ('Scotch Irish'), and know if the words were also used in Ireland. The 'Good Irish' to which Lachlann refers, therefore, is more literary Gaelic and Middle/Old Gaelic than a dialect of vernacular Scottish Gaelic. An alternative, though less likely, reading could be that Lachlann was referring to a high-register contemporary Irish, therefore privileging Irish dialects above Scottish ones. Contemporary Irish and Scottish Gaelic differed enough at the end of the seventeenth century that Irish

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[534] Sharpe, 'Lachlan Campbell's Letters', 250–51.
[535] Sharpe, 'Lachlan Campbell's Letters', 250–51.
[536] 'Act in favour of the Irish Congregation of Campbeltoun', 4 June 1697, and 'Petitione Campbell to the Synod of Argyll', October 1697: ICA, NRAS 1209, Bundle 540.
[537] Sharpe, 'Lachlan Campbell's Letters', 255.
[538] Sharpe, 'Lachlan Campbell's Letters', 258.

Bibles were insufficient for use in Scottish Gaelic communities, and as shown above, Lachlann could identify such differences.[539]

Other evidence supports the suggestion that Lachlann was referring to Classical and Middle/Old Gaelic. Lachlann complains about the grammarians of the past and notes differences between older language and his vernacular throughout his letters to Lhuyd. On 11 July 1704, he noted that for 'old parchment books', using Lhuyd's dictionary should require allowances for variation in syllabication:[540]

> partly owing to the negligence & unskilfulnes of Copiers, which you know has bred much trouble to critiques of all sorts: and partly because the Language itself seems not to have been reduced to any constant rule, or at least that their Grammarians have allowed themselves such a Latitude therein that the design thereof cannot be obtained

By writing that it is 'their' grammarians, or grammarians of the past, rather than 'our' grammarians, or contemporary grammarians, Lachlann recognizes a distinction between his language and that of the books/manuscripts he has read. He gives examples of orthographic differences or difficulties of such grammarians:[541]

> you shall observe not only the vowels a, o, u & e & i often interchanged & put for one another in the same words...but also oe & ae for ao, ea for e & the simple vowels for the diphthongs...and likeways bh for mh, gh for dh, and vice versa & th for gh or dh in the end of a word or left out altogether. And in an old parchment (which I am scarce master of yet) I observe c put always for g...& neither the letter h nor the mark of it, written but very seldom

He discussed orthographical differences in his 1707 letter, as well, including mostly the same points, but adding that 'b and f are used promiscuously as *binnealta* and *finnealta*' and recognising that some of these differences are between 'ancient and modern syllabing' and variation is found within an individual manuscript.[542] MacGilleoin's manuscripts include some of the orthographic differences, particularly the interchanging of vowels: *ben* for *bean, cen* for *ceann, baintigerna* for *bain-tighearna*, *abhuil* for *abhail*, *bruidoil* for *brùideil*, *iorna gan chonn* for *iarna gan chonn, chosg* for *chosc*.[543] It was not only the

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[539] Meek, 'Language and Style', 2–3.
[540] Campbell to Lhuyd, 11 July 1704, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 288-289.
[541] Campbell to Lhuyd, 11 July 1704, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 288-289. As Lachlan suggested in his letter, Lhuyd included this information in his preface as assistance for learners who would face that difficulty: Lhuyd, *Archaeologia Britannica*, Preface.
[542] Campbell to Lhuyd, 3 January 1707, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 298-299.
[543] NLS Adv.MS.72.1.36, f.85r, 92v-93r: *Na moai h'uaisle* 4.1, *Is fuath liom* 6.3-4, 7.2, 8.3, 19.1.

separation of time (Old/Middle Gaelic) or place (Ireland or Scotland), but also a lack of standardisation that presented difficulties. Lachlann was able to note them for Lhuyd, suggesting familiarity, but he also still seems to struggle with some texts, being 'scarce the master of' an old parchment.[544] Lachlann also noted 'droidheanacht', 'a silly piece of affectation in the Irish writers in these last ages especially the poets of doing all they could to make the Language obscure and mysterious to the vulgar'.[545] This could be 'droighneach', which generally refers to a specific metre of poetry.[546] It could also be a variant of 'draoidheachd' (drùidhneach, druidneach, draoidhneach), meaning druid or craftperson.[547] Finally, it could be a contamination product of 'draoidh' and 'druin', with druin meaning 'clever, skilful'.[548] The common element in these comments is the obscure or difficult language used by writers of Gaelic, particularly poets, in the past, suggesting as argued here that Lachlann was struggling not with his vernacular, but with Classical Gaelic and Middle/Old Gaelic, which differed significantly from both the contemporary Irish and Scottish Gaelic vernaculars.[549]

Lachlann, then, had an awareness of Gaelic changing over time and being more difficult for him to read when 'from authors who lived at some distance of time & place from us'.[550] He remarks on the age of texts he encounters, and he is also able to highlight differences in orthography. When in Belfast on 30 October 1704, he wrote to Lhuyd:[551]

> I met here with two very old Irish remains. Both in medlie. The one the life of St Patrick written by St frecus his contemporary and the o*ther* that of St Brigide written about the same time according the publisher Colganus in a Collection of the Lives of the Irish Saints printed in 2 vol. fol. at Lovain 1645 & 1647. in the last of which are those in Irish. I truly beleive them to be very ancient, for not only the words are generally obsolete, but the construction is such as I should never understand them by it were it not for the Latine version printed over against then in the same page.

For Lachlann, the language of the texts is 'the oldest Irish' he had seen, and he finds himself unable to read it.[552] This is unsurprising: he is referring here to *Acta Sanctorum*

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[544] Campbell to Lhuyd, 11 July 1704, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 288-289.
[545] Campbell to Lhuyd, 11 July 1704, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 288-289.
[546] Knott, *An Introduction*, 2.
[547] eDIL, s.v. druídecht; Dwelly, s.v. drùidhneach, druidhneach, and draoidhneach.
[548] eDIL, s.v. druin; William J. Watson, *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty* (Inverness, 1904).
[549] MacCoinnich, 'Where and How', 309; Sìm Innes, 'Tromdámh Guaire and Obscuritas in Late-Medieval Irish Bardic Poetry', in C. Croizy-Naquet and M. Szkilnik (eds.), *Rencontres Du Vers et de La Prose: Conscience Théorique et Mise En Page* (Paris, 2017), 281–300, at 291.
[550] Campbell to Lhuyd, 11 July 1704, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 288-289.
[551] Campbell to Lhuyd, 30 October 1704, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 290-291.
[552] Campbell to Lhuyd, 17 January 1705, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 294-297.

Hiberniae: Acta Triadis Thaumaturgae by John Colgan (1592?-1658), which includes *Génair Pátraicc* and *Ní car Brigit*, two Old Gaelic texts found in *Liber Hymnorum,* a late eleventh or early twelfth century Irish manuscript, and dated to the Old Gaelic period.[553] This demonstrates that while he was trying to learn to read Classical Gaelic, he was interested in and engaging with texts with even older language.

While Lachlann in some ways struggled to learn and understand Classical, Middle, and Old Gaelic, he was familiar enough from his studies to comment in some detail upon Lhuyd's Irish-English Dictionary. Lhuyd sent Lachlann's first set of comments, which came with the letter of January 1705, to Ruaidhrí O'Flaherty, a historian in Ireland and another of Lhuyd's informants.[554] About those comments, O'Flaherty wrote on 29 August 1705: 'I find Mr Campbell to be very judicious, & skillfull in the language, & doe concur with his Judgement towards you & your design'.[555] While Lachlann himself might not have had confidence in his Gaelic ability, O'Flaherty appeared to consider him to be competent. Indeed, Lhuyd's inclusion of Lachlann's suggestions of Scottish Gaelic words in his appendix demonstrates his trust in Lachlann's Gaelic ability. After the first set of comments, Lachlann sent another, more detailed set to Lhuyd, and he paired these with lists of what he called 'errors' that he noticed in Lhuyd's work. The first such group of errors is from 16 April 1705: [556]

1. 'h is deficient' (no h when there should be): *sgioptaidh* for *sgiopthaidh.*
2. 'h often redundant' (an h where it is not necessary): *do shluigh* for *do shluig.*
3. 'a Consonant doubled where it should be single, and vice versa': *treann* for *tréan, bin* for *binn.*
4. 'a noun or verb beginning with a vowel is set down sometimes under [the letters] *t* which only stands for the article and *d* which is a mark of the tense: [*toireamh*] for [*oireamh*].
5. 'some words in the Irish examples and explications are not to be understood except by making one word of two': *naoid eana* for *naoidheana*.
6. 'words explained in the Glossary by other Irish words which are homonymous or of two or more significations are rendered into English

[553] Richard Sharpe, 'Génair Pátraicc: Old Irish between Print and Manuscript, 1647–1853', *Ériu*, 68 (2018), 1–28, at 5–7.
[554] Ó Muraíle, 'O'Flaherty, Roderic'.
[555] Richard Sharpe (ed.), *Roderick O'Flaherty's Letters to William Molyneux, Edward Lhwyd, and Samuel Molyneux, 1696-1709* (Dublin, 2013), 248.
[556] The errors and examples come from Campbell to Lhuyd, 16 April 1705, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 292-293.

according to one of those significations only, without any reason given for the determination' *corbhadh, caitheamh*, a cast or throw. 'why not wearing, wasting'

7. 'words confounded which are different': *fuigim* and *fuighim*; *ball, ballach*, and *bealach*.
8. 'the same words occur sometimes twice as *bann pila* and *bann liatroid* which also signify a ball &c'.

A very similar list of errors and variations was sent on 3 January 1707:[557]

1. 'h deficient': *sgioptaidh* for *sgiopthaidh, coblach* for *cobhlach*.
2. 'h redundant': *do shluigh* for *do sluig, taithneamhac* for *taitneamhac*.
3. 'errata Typographica' (errors, perhaps in printing, leading to misspelling): *soogal* for *saogal, duan* for *dunn*.
4. 'words beginning with a vowel, set down as beginning in t which is the article': *toireamh* for *oireamh*.
5. 'a consonant doubled where it should be single which alters the sound very much': *treann* for *tréan*.
6. '2 words joined as one': *anuair* for *a nuair*.
7. 'the same word twice over': *bann liathroid* and *bann pila*.
8. 'different words confounded': *ballach* and *bealach*.
9. 'consonants single where they ought to be double': *bin* for *binn, broin* for *broinn*.
10. Examples that must be read 'in one word which is divided': *naoid eana* for *naoidheana, na barthar* for *nabarthar*.
11. 'some words translated in the Glossary by a homonymous Irish word, which is suggested again according to one of its significations, with no reason given of the difference': *cobh, buaidhe* English victory.
12. 'the metaphoric signification put instead of the proper' signification: '*fuasglaim* to redeem, properly to loose'.

In addition to these 'errors', he commented upon orthographic differences between Classical Gaelic and contemporary Gaelic, such as *cech* (Classical Gaelic) and *gach* (Modern Gaelic), meaning 'each'.[558] He was also familiar with and able to write using

[557] The errors and examples are from Campbell to Lhuyd, 3 January 1707, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 298-299.
[558] Campbell to Lhuyd, 3 January 1707, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 298-299.

corra-litir letter forms, which he referred to as 'Irish characters'. In the January 1705 letter, he wrote: 'I hope my using the Irish characters will occasion no mistake to you, as the changing of them would have done to me after having now for some time accustomed my self unto them'.[559] This is meaningful in itself, as it shows that Lachlann had for some time been reading manuscripts written in *corra-litir* and even writing in the script.

Taken together, Lachlann's letters reveal that despite his reservations, he had a good grasp of written Gaelic, although he struggled with some of the grammar and vocabulary. He had been studying Gaelic at least casually since c. 1698 when MacGilleoin wrote TCD 1307 for his use: the manuscript was only in Lachlann's possession for about four years before he sent it to Lhuyd in 1702. Despite struggling to read and fully understand Classical Gaelic, Lachlann persevered and was able to gain familiarity and assist Lhuyd with his work, although he himself may have underestimated his abilities or taken a modest approach to discussing them. He was not the only scholar working with and/or composing/producing Gaelic language texts c. 1700. Individuals both from and not from hereditary Gaelic learned families were also doing so: the Beatons, Cailean Campbell of Achnaba, Robert Kirk, Iain MacLaurin minister of Kilmodan in Glendaruel, Niall MacMhuirich, and others.[560] Many of these men were contemporary with Lachlann's life, although there is no evidence that Lachlann worked directly with them, except for perhaps Mr Iain MacLean and Roibeard Campbell (see section 3.3.2.2 below). Having considered Lachlann's relationship with Lhuyd and the form of Gaelic with which he was working, however, it is necessary to turn to the wider question of Lachlann's motivations, resources, and interaction with the wider Gaelic community in both Scotland and Ireland.

3.3.2 Lachlann as Scholar and Promoter of Gaelic

The previous section established that Lachlann was struggling with and studying Classical Gaelic and Middle/Old Gaelic rather than contemporary Irish or Scottish Gaelic. This section considers why and how he was studying and engaging with the language: his resources, motivations, and interaction with the Gaelic community. Additionally, Lachlann invested in Gaelic to a greater degree than he needed for preaching, acting as a promoter of and informant for Gaelic at a time when English and Latin were the more common

[559] Campbell to Lhuyd, 3 January 1707, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 298-299.
[560] Ronald Black, 'The Gaelic Manuscripts at Inveraray Castle', in Wilson McLeod, Anja Gunderloch, and Rob Dunbar (eds.), *Cànan & Cultar/Language & Culture*, Rannsachadh Na Gàidhlig, 8 (Edinburgh, 2016), 55–70, at 56–58; Bannerman, *Beatons*; Kirk, *Secret Commonwealth*; Ó Baoill, 'Colin Campbell'; Gillies, 'Gaelic of Niall MacMhuirich'. Also see Chapter 1.

languages of literacy even in Highland Scotland.[561] This is shown through his effort to spread Lhuyd's work and through scholarly activity such as creating a personal vocabulary, possessing manuscripts, and drawing together Gaelic poems to send to Lhuyd.

By the end of the seventeenth century, understanding Classical Gaelic required teaching, either by another person or through self-study, and such education was largely reserved for the nobility who chose to study it or whose parents chose for them to learn it. One such example is Gilleasbaig, 9th Earl of Argyll, whose parents were determined that their son speak Gaelic and had a tutor capable in both Gaelic and English; a c. 1640 grammatical tract may have been written for him.[562] Col. Cailean Campbell of the Kilberry family must have received a Gaelic education to understand MacGilleoin's manuscripts, although there is no evidence to suggest who tutored him. There is evidence that Gaelic tutelage continued into the late-seventeenth century, with the Synod of Argyll playing a role in Gaelic education among ministers: more details can be found in section 1.3.1. Lachlann's Gaelic education included self-study, as discussed in this chapter, but he was also likely to have benefited from tutelage, possibly from MacGilleoin. He also could have been working with or receiving tutelage from others as a minor or young adult: a lack of evidence does not mean evidence of absence. While we cannot establish the exact circumstances of his education, Lachlann's letters allow for insight into the motivations behind his Gaelic study.

3.3.2.1 Motivations for Study

Identifying Lachlann's motivations to learn to read Gaelic, including Classical Gaelic and even Old Gaelic, requires looking at evidence in his letters, his activities, and contemporary Gaelic literary activity with which he may have been familiar. Taken together, it becomes clear that Lachlann prized the language both for its cultural and historical heritage and its role in the Presbyterian Church in the Highlands, and he was also interested in it out of scholarly curiosity. The religious aspect to his motivations is both personal and familial. He entered the University of Glasgow to study theology in 1690-1691, about seven years before MacGilleoin wrote TCD 1307 for him. He had at least five paternal family members who were or who had been clergymen in Ireland and Scotland and three who were connected to the clergy. Some of these individuals were

[561] MacCoinnich, 'Where and How', 317.
[562] Black, 'Scottish Grammatical Tract'; John Willcock, *A Scots Earl in Covenanting Times: Being Life and Times of Archibald 9th Earl of Argyll (1629-1685)* (Edinburgh, 1907), 6–8.

involved in the translation of religious material into Gaelic.[563] Indeed, Lachlann's family can be considered a hereditary ecclesiastical family in the seventeenth century.[564]

To understand Lachlann's family's religious position, as well as the position of Gaelic within the Synod of Argyll, it is necessary to understand the religious atmosphere c. 1690. Since the Scottish Reformation, Protestantism was the main religion in Scotland, but there was a dispute about whether the church would be Episcopalian (governed by bishops) or Presbyterian (governed by the ministers and a group of elders). The Presbyterian Marquis of Argyll was a leading figure in the Covenanting movement c. 1639-1660.[565] In 1660, Presbyterianism was suppressed and was persecuted until 1689-1690, when Presbyterianism was re-established after Catholic James VII was overthrown and the Protestant William and Mary took the throne.[566] The Presbyterian establishment in Ulster (previously the Army Presbytery in Ulster and renamed the Presbytery of Ulster in 1646) became the Synod of Ulster in 1690 and held their first meeting in Belfast.[567] Lachlann's studies at the University of Glasgow began just after the re-establishment of Presbyterianism, and his elder brother Dùghall was ordained to the parish of Southend in 1696, which required both English and Gaelic preaching.[568] In 1704, he tried to leave the parish in part due to the difficulty of managing what was, essentially, two congregations.[569]

It was not a simple matter of one religion replacing another, however, or even a simple matter of supplying ministers for parishes. There was adherence to the Catholic faith and/or opposition to Protestantism in some places, such as among the Clanranald, in mainland areas such as Moidart, Arisaig, Morar, and Knoydart, and on the islands of South Uist and Barra.[570] Due to a lack of ministers, particularly Gaelic-speaking ministers,

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[563] Lachlann's great-grandfather, Donnchadh Campbell, was vicar of Kilfinan in Cowal beginning in 1575. His son and Lachlann's grandfather, Dùghall Campbell became parson of Conwal (later Letterkenny) in County Donegal, Ireland in 1615; he returned to Scotland in 1653. Dùghall Campbell's second son married the daughter of Dùghall Campbell minister of Knapdale (who served for a time in Ireland and translated Psalms into Gaelic), his eldest daughter married minister John Lindsay, his third daughter married Robert Duncanson (Lachlann's predecessor as minister of the Highland Congregation of Campbeltown), and his sons John (probably a different John than Lachlann's father John of Kildalloig) and Donnchadh were probationers in Scotland. Lachlann's brother, Dùghall, was also a minister in Southend, Kintyre. MacDonald, *Missions to the Gaels*, 119–22, 307 n144; *Fasti*, IV, 28, 66-67.
[564] MacDonald, *Missions to the Gaels*, 119.
[565] MacInnes, *British Confederate*, see 1-12 for an overview and 18-43 for a consideration of his reputation.
[566] MacDonald, *Missions to the Gaels*, 11, 178–84; 'Act of Supremacy (Ireland) 1560', (2 Eliz 1 c. 1) <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/aip/Eliz1/2/1> [accessed 8 March 2019].
[567] Barry Vann, 'Presbyterian Social Ties and Mobility in the Irish Sea Culture Area, 1610-1690', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 18.3 (2005), 227–54, at 227.
[568] *Fasti*, IV, 66-67.
[569] NRS, CH2/1153/1/149, 150-52.
[570] MacDonald, *Missions to the Gaels*, 25–26; Kennedy, *Governing Gaeldom*, 63.

some clergymen in Argyll and the Isles had to cover multiple parishes, the Church was unable to replace a Gaelic-speaking Jacobite minister in Inverness in the 1690s, and after the establishment of the Synod of Argyll in 1638, they struggled to fund the training up of ministers, although they used vacant stipends to fund bursaries to Inveraray Grammar School before 1660 and after 1690.[571] Scottish ministers were also sent to Ireland to support Protestantism there, even without all the Scottish vacancies being filled.[572] Lachlann's grandfather Dùghall, parson of Letterkenny, was one such minister.[573] Due to the need for Gaelic-speaking ministers within the Synod of Argyll, then, it is in some ways unsurprising that Lachlann and his brother joined the ministry and were ordained to Gaelic-speaking parishes: Dùghall at Southend and Lachlann at Campbeltown, both near their childhood home in Kintyre.[574]

The question remains, however, of the place Gaelic had within the Synod of Argyll, and whether that influenced Lachlann's interest in improving his ability to read and possibly write Gaelic. In the seventeenth century, the Synod of Argyll recognised the need for more Gaelic translations of religious material to use in the Gaelic-speaking communities of Ireland and Scotland, leading to *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh*, the Gaelic translation of John Calvin's *Catechismus Ecclesiae Genevensis* printed c. 1630 and other Gaelic translations of religious materials throughout the century.[575] Two thousand copies of the complete Psalms printed in 1694 with the shorter catechism were bought by the King in 1696 to be distributed. The same year, 34 copies were sent to each of the ministers within the bounds of the Synod, very likely including Lachlann's brother Dùghall in Southend.[576] Lachlann himself would not have received these translations, but he likely would have known about them, and they may have still been available to him or passed to him when he became a minister in 1703. Although they had access to Irish/Classical Gaelic translations of the Bible, this was different enough from contemporary vernacular

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[571] MacKinnon, 'Education in Argyll', 47–48, 50–51; Durkacz, *Decline of the Celtic Languages*, 10–23.
[572] MacDonald, *Missions to the Gaels*, 29–35, 197; Vann, 'Presbyterian Social Ties', 245–46; Bannerman, 'The MacLachlans', 11.
[573] Roger Blaney, *Presbyterians and the Irish Language* (Belfast, 1996), 7; MacDonald, *Missions to the Gaels*, 35–36.
[574] The need for Gaelic-speaking ministers extended to other areas, as well, including Inverness, although Argyll ministers called to Inverness resisted partially on the grounds that Inverness could be supplied by English-speaking ministers, as well: see Black, 'Gaelic Manuscripts Inveraray Castle', 56–58.
[575] Durkacz, *Decline of the Celtic Languages*, 6–14; Anderson, 'Notes', 133; Bangor-Jones, '"Abounding with People"', 55; Nicholas Hudson, 'Constructing Oral Tradition: The Origins of the Concept in Englightenment Intellectual Culture', in Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (eds.), *The Spoken Word: Oral Culture in Britain, 1500-1850*, Politics, Culture, and Society in Early Modern Britain (Manchester, 2002), 240–55, at 242; MacDonald, *Missions to the Gaels*, 209; Meek, 'The Pulpit', 90.For more information about the translation and printing of Gaelic religious material, see section 2.3.3. See also the MacTavish, *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll*, I, 127, 185-186.
[576] MacTavish and Synod of Argyll, *The Gaelic Psalms, 1694*, xvi–xvii.

Scottish Gaelic that it was difficult to understand for most in the congregation, so the Synod had been trying to get a Scottish Gaelic translation completed since the mid-seventeenth century, a feat that was not accomplished until over a century later.[577]

As stated previously, Lachlann would have been familiar with the Gaelic translations, and as a member of the Gaelic-speaking community, he may have seen the necessity for translation work to continue. It is a mere two years after the distribution of the Gaelic Psalms that TCD 1307 was written for him. Lachlann may have seen it as his duty to study Classical Gaelic for a better understanding of the high-register Scottish Gaelic used in the religious translations.[578] Indeed, one of Lachlann's letters supports the idea that he saw his learning as necessary for fulfilling his role as a Gaelic-speaking minister. In an undated letter written in Campbeltown c. 1703, he wrote: 'I am much teased w*ith* the Irish wh*ich* coasts [*sic*] me a great deal of pains in learning of it w*ith*out either Dictionary or Grammar; so that indeed, if I thought it arbitrary for one that designs the ministry, which way to dispose of himself; I would have quit it before now.'[579] He believed that the learning of 'Irish' was not 'arbitrary', or optional, to those in the ministry, but rather a necessity worth the effort of learning even without resources and with difficulty.[580] Indeed, the language ultimately used for the translation of the Bible into Scottish Gaelic (1767-1807) was a Scottish Gaelic influenced by Classical Gaelic.[581]

Another letter indicates that in addition to recognizing the importance of learning Classical Gaelic to his role in the ministry, he also saw his study as part of a long tradition of learning among Gaelic-speaking peoples. On 7 September 1703, he wrote:

> However not w*ith*standing this difficulty (for want of tools to work w*ith* & those of so universall use) I am resolved to be always going on: nor do I believe my labour will be altogether to no purpose for I am confident for a body could fall upon them there {*one word scribbled out*} or at least have been very ancient books of history in the Irish Language, & these of as good credit for truth as any of their neighbors had, with anybody that will read Ushers preface to his Epistolary Hibernicacy Sylloge[582] will we call in

[577] MacTavish, *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll*, I, 127; Donald E. Meek, 'The Gaelic Bible', in David F. Wright (ed.), *The Bible in Scottish Life and Literature* (Edinburgh, 1988), 9–23; Kelly, 'Revisiting the Language Issue', 11.
[578] The translations, while adhering to the Classical Gaelic heritage, were written in a high-register literary standard of Scottish Gaelic. See Gillies, 'Gaelic of Niall MacMhuirich'; Meek, 'The Pulpit', 91.
[579] Campbell to Wodrow, n.d., Wodrow Collection, Quarto III, n.73.
[580] *OED Online*, s.v. 'arbitrary', entry 10180. There were seventeenth-century ministers that were not native speakers who learned Gaelic as well, such as Mr David Simson in 1651: MacTavish, *Minutes of the Synod of Argyll*, I, 211.
[581] Meek, 'Language and Style'.
[582] James Ussher, *Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge* (Dublin, 1632).

> question: when he maks it plain out of Bede. Galillin. Malsnsb.[583] &c that in the 7,8,10 & 11 centurys thats from the beginings of Christianity among them almost, till the conquest of their country by the English; learning flourished w*ith* them more than in any neighbouring Kingdom & that multituds flockd thither both from brettain & the countinent of Europe, as formerly from Italy unto greece for improvend in Learning: w*ith* a great deal more to this purpose w*hi*ch you may see [vewing] no doubt the book by you.[584]

It seems by this that Lachlann had an appreciation for the extent of learning that was composed and copied in Ireland prior to the twelfth century. This is further evidence that his studies were interested in Old/Middle Gaelic as well as the more recent Classical Gaelic. In the same letter, Lachlann wrote:[585]

> Tho I am not capable to open any new field in the comonwealth[586] of Letters or to making any considerable discoverys in our history or antiquitys by presenting the study of the Irish Language yet the small knowledg I have already acquired of it makes me in love with it Enough to engadge me to proceed

Lachlann seemed to have an interest in using his Gaelic study as a window to history, although he did not think he would make any 'considerable discoverys' by doing so. This desire is echoed in the undated letter to Wodrow from c. 1703:[587]

> I hope (besides the main thing I should aim at) the story of that Language, may in process of time afford me some agreeable divertisement; being promised some books from Ireland of various sorts. What light may be had from these to our History & antiquity I know not; but the deference I have since judged of Mr Lhuyd permits me not to doubt, but something may be gleaned that way

Here, while writing that studying Gaelic may offer him entertainment or diversion from his other work, Lachlann mentions being unsure what books from Ireland (probably in Gaelic) may reveal about 'our' history and antiquity. He may be referring to the history of Scotland, as his letter is to the non-Gaelic Wodrow, or perhaps historical linguistics related

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[583] Lachlan refers here to the sources from Bede and Guilielmus Malmesburiensis (William of Malmesbury) used by Ussher in his preface: Venerable Saint Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, ed. by Bertram Colgrave, R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969); William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. by Rodney M. Thomas, R.A.B. Mynors, Michael Winterbottom (Oxford, 1998–1999).
[584] Campbell to Wodrow, 7 September 1703, Wodrow Collection, Quarto II, n.67.
[585] Campbell to Wodrow, 7 September 1703, Wodrow Collection, Quarto II, n.67.
[586] This is usually referred to as the Republic of Letters, which Lachlan does himself in another letter: Campbell to Lhuyd, 16 April 1705, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 292-293. It is possible, however, that the terminology for the group of individuals who stayed in contact via letters was not fixed at that time.
[587] Campbell to Wodrow, n.d., Wodrow Collection, Quarto III, n.73.

to Gaelic ('the story of that Language'). He could also be referring to the history of Gaelic Scotland, or Gaelic communities in Ireland and Scotland.[588] Lachlann's engagement with the ideals of the Republic of Letters—which is concerned with history, archaeology, and the natural world—extends here to Gaelic. Not only is he interested in its various forms (Classical Gaelic, Old/Middle Gaelic), but he is also interested in what texts in Gaelic may reveal about the history of Scotland and perhaps the British Isles more generally. The importance of looking to archival and primary sources for insight into history grew in prominence in Scotland in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, a time that has been called the First Scottish Enlightenment.[589] It appears, then, that Lachlann was not only involved in the Republic of Letters, but was also a relatively early adopter of, or at least believer in, what became, and still is, a central activity in the study of history: drawing upon archival documents.

There are, then, three strands to Lachlann's motivation that are evidenced by his letters: religion, history, and intellectual culture. His family was an ecclesiastical one for generations before he joined the ministry, and as such it would have been one of the driving forces of his life. The intellectual culture of the Republic of Letters encouraged interest in history, antiquity, and the natural world, and this in turn influenced his relationship with Gaelic. It was the language of his community, but it was also a language whose literature could shed light on history from the community's perspective. It is difficult to say when his interest in written Gaelic developed, but it is safe to say that Lachlann was trying to learn it by 1698 when MacGilleoin wrote TCD 1307 for his use, and perhaps as early as 1690-1691 when he started his studies for the ministry.

3.3.2.2 Scholar and Promoter of Gaelic

The previous section suggested that the practical need to better his Gaelic for use in the church, intellectual curiosity, and the culture of the Republic of Letters influenced Lachlann's relationship with the Gaelic language. This section focuses upon his scholarly connection to the language by examining his non-glossarial resources and promotional activities acquiring subscriptions for Lhuyd's Gaelic dictionary before the next section that focuses upon his glossarial resources. Lachlann mentioned in letters that he had manuscripts in his possession, one of which contained the Aphorisms of Hippocrates and

[588] Campbell to Lhuyd, 11 July 1704, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 288-289; Lachlan Campbell to Robert Wodrow, 18 December 1702, Wodrow Collection, Quarto II, n.55B.
[589] Kelsey Jackson Williams, *The First Scottish Enlightenment: Rebels, Priests, and History*, *The First Scottish Enlightenment* (Oxford Scholarship Online, 2020), Chapter 6: Enlightenment in the Archive, 162-193.

was sent to Lhuyd. Additionally, he sent poems of praise to Lhuyd for the preface of his *Archaeologia Britannica*. These activities reveal that he was an active member of the group of Gaelic scholars spread across Ireland and Scotland, and he was acquiring materials from across that community, as well.

Lachlann's activity collecting subscriptions for Lhuyd's *Archaeologia Britannica*, with particular interest in the Gaelic Dictionary, was in some ways promotional activity for Gaelic scholarship: he shared Lhuyd's proposal with fellow Gaelic-speaking ministers and acquaintances in both Scotland and Ireland, thereby promoting the work and aiming to contribute to its funding. Lhuyd sent Lachlann his proposals in 1704, and Lachlann replied on 11 July 1704 that Lhuyd gave 'so full and satisfying an account of that part of your book which concerns our Language, which has made all those to whom I shewed it conceive no small hopes of the performance and would have made more of our Clergy forward in subscribing if I had had it when I was with them'.[590] Lachlann acquired 14 subscriptions from the clergy, amounting to more than half of the Synod of Argyll, and he wrote that 'many of them will not be curious of books of that nature'. The men who subscribed may have been, like Lachlann, interested in the Gaelic dictionary, probably for the purposes of familiarity with the high-register Gaelic they would use in their preaching and read in Gaelic translations of religious texts. They may also have been interested in Lhuyd's proposed second volume about natural history. There is no list of the ministers which subscribed, however.

Lachlann also shared information about Lhuyd's proposed book with men in the north of Ireland. In the 11 July 1704 letter, he wrote: 'I would have got some subscriptions also in the North of Irland if I had thought yo*u*r advertisment and proposals had not reached that length as I am lately informed they have not: for neither Coll. O Neale nor Mr Brumlo of Lurgan, the only persons there that are any way curious in that language, so far as I understand have heard of them'.[591] As pointed out by Richard Sharpe, it is unclear by which criteria these two men have been singled out as having interest in Gaelic, but Lhuyd had met one of them, Arthur Brownlow of Lurgan, County Armagh, during his travels in 1699.[592] In 1695, a Patrick Logan commissioned a copy of Geoffrey Keating's *The History of Ireland* from Séamus Ó Gruibín, who probably had access to an exemplar from

[590] Campbell to Lhuyd, 11 July 1704, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 288-289.
[591] Campbell to Lhuyd, 11 July 1704, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 288-289.
[592] Colonel O'Neill has not yet been identified, and there is an extant letter from Brownlow to Lhuyd: Arthur Brownlow to Edward Lhuyd, 10 June 1704, Lhwyd Correspondence, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fol. 285, ref. 400220; Sharpe, 'Lachlan Campbell's Letters', 273, n.20.

Brownlow, his landlord, indicating Brownlow's ownership of at least one Gaelic manuscript.[593] Lachlann also mentioned Brownlow in his letter to Lhuyd from 16 April 1705, writing that Brownlow could assist Lhuyd with 'an exact version' of the Lives of St Patrick and St Brigid with notes of difficulties.[594] Lachlann made his own copies of these two works while in Belfast, raising the possibility that Brownlow was Lachlann's source of exposure to the texts.[595] Even if Lachlann did not know Brownlow personally, his comments indicate that he certainly knew him by reputation. Lachlann's mention of Ireland from 11 July 1704 indicates that he met with or received letters from Irish companions or companions living in Ireland after receiving Lhuyd's account of his work on 13 May.[596] Presbytery of Kintyre records place him in Kintyre in the months between receiving Lhuyd's letter and replying to it: although absent from Killean on 26 April, he was at Killean 22 May, Inveraray 27 May, Drumnamuckloch 9 June, and Campbeltown 5 July.[597] It is likely that if he travelled to Ireland, he did so between 9 June and 5 July 1705.

Lachlann was definitely in the north of Ireland in the autumn of 1704, writing a letter from Belfast on 30 October. Lachlann was at the Presbytery of Kintyre meeting at Kilcalmonell on 9 October, but absent from Inveraray on 16 October; he was present again on 22 November in Campbeltown.[598] He must have left Kintyre after 9 October and returned in the first half of November. While there, he shared Lhuyd's proposals for *Archaeologia Britannica*: 'I communicated the proposals for your Archæol. to severall here in the north of Ireland who never heard of them before. They were all so well pleased with the design of your Book cheifly that part of it that concerns the Language of this country, that the few men of letters there understand any thing of it subscribed'.[599] It is likely that Lachlann was visiting acquaintances in Belfast:[600] he names one of the subscribers later in the letter as Mr John McBride, a Scottish minister who was in Belfast from 1694-1705 and 1709-1718.[601] At least some of his acquaintances were interested in Gaelic literature. As mentioned above, in Belfast, Lachlann met with the Old Gaelic

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[593] Gillespie, 'Scribes and Manuscripts', 28–29.
[594] He may also, however, be basing his assessment off the words of his acquaintances. Campbell to Lhuyd, 16 April 1705, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 292-293.
[595] Campbell to Lhuyd, 30 October 1704, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 290-291; Sharpe, 'Lachlan Campbell's Letters', 275, n.32.
[596] Lachlan reveals the date of Lhuyd's communication in his next letter: Campbell to Lhuyd, 30 October 1704, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 290-291.
[597] NRS, CH2/1153/1/155-158.
[598] NRS, CH2/1153/1/160-161.
[599] Campbell to Lhuyd, 30 October 1704, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 290-291.
[600] Social interaction was a common reason for travel between Scotland and Ireland: MacDonald, *Missions to the Gaels*, 199.
[601] Campbell to Lhuyd, 30 October 1704, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 290-291; *Fasti*, III, 399; Sharpe, 'Lachlan Campbell's Letters', 275, n.34.

Génair Pátraicc and *Ní car Brigit* in John Colgan's printed book, which he copied for himself, although these copies do not seem to have survived.[602]

Indeed, there are multiple times when Lachlann indicated in letters that he engaged with or had possession of manuscripts. He wrote that he was 'promised books from Ireland of various sorts' after writing about learning Gaelic, and these may have been Gaelic manuscripts.[603] He also mentions old parchment books, clearly Gaelic manuscripts, that he is 'scarce the master of yet', and that he has seen books of medicine and philosophy.[604] One of the medical manuscripts can be identified with relative certainty from a letter to Lhuyd:[605]

> I have sent therin the Latin-Irish MS I told you I had of Hypocrat's Aphor*isms* according to your desire, it being legible enough to one that understands the characters: only I find that instead of 7 sections I have but 4 & the last of these not complete, the rest having been unluckily cut out before I had the book

This could very well be TCD 1388 (H.5.16), dated to the sixteenth or seventeenth century, which contains the Aphorisms of Hippocrates and breaks off at the fourth part of the work.[606] He does not state where he got the book. It is possible that this manuscript was one of the books sent to him from Ireland. TCD 1388 also could initially have belonged to a member of the Beaton medical family. Martin Martin wrote in a letter to Lhuyd and in his *Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* that Fergus Beaton (fl. 1683-1700) had in his possession 'several volums of Hyppcrotess's in Fine vellum, the Chapiters having the first letters in Fine red Capitals'.[607] This description also fits TCD 1388. It is possible that between Martin's mention of Fergus Beaton in 1695 and Lachlann's letter in 1705, the manuscript in question found its way into Lachlann's hands. This is speculative, but Lachlann's possession of this Latin-Irish manuscript does suggest that he had cultivated acquaintances or friendships through which he received access to the manuscript, such as with MacGilleoin and members of traditionally learned families like the Beatons.

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[602] In his letter, Lachlan offers to copy them for Lhuyd, as well, but if he did, it did not survive amongst Lhuyd's papers. Campbell to Lhuyd, 30 October 1704, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 290-291; Sharpe, 'Lachlan Campbell's Letters', 275, n.32; John Colgan, *Acta Triadis Thaumaturgae* (Louvain, 1647).
[603] Campbell to Wodrow, n.d., Wodrow Collection, Quarto III, n.73.
[604] Campbell to Lhuyd, 11 July 1704, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 288-289.
[605] Campbell to Lhuyd, 16 April 1705, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 292-293.
[606] This was initially pointed out by Sharpe, 'Lachlan Campbell's Letters', 278, n.53. See *ISOS*, TCD MS 1388; *TCD Catalogue*, 255.
[607] Martin Martin to Edward Lhuyd, 17 November 1702, Lhwyd Correspondence, BodL, MS Ashmole 1816, fols.328-329, ref. 401260; Martin, *Description of the Western Islands*, 89. This mention of Fergus Beaton having a copy of the Aphorisms of Hippocrates was mentioned by Sharpe, 'Lachlan Campbell's Letters', 278, n.52. For more on Beaton, see Bannerman, *Beatons*, 41–43.

Before turning to glossaries as part of Lachlann's scholarship, there is one further instance of Lachlann's connections and contribution to the Gaelic literary and learned community that is worthy of comment. In a letter to Lhuyd dated 3 January 1707, Lachlann wrote:[608]

> I wrote a line to you two dayes ago acquainting you of the miscarriage (as I hear) of mine of June 3. wherein I sent some Irish verses in praise of your work, additional remarks on your Dictionary, and more Irish words together with what is here at more large: which Mr Campbell at Edinburgh assures me he put in the black box but tells me by a letter I received January 1, that he hears tis miscarried. I beleeve 'tis to be found however at Mr D Browns or the Scotch office at London. I have sent you in mine of January 2. some of the verses as they came from their authors not having had the time to abrige or explain them or write them over again as I did in my last.

Lhuyd's *Archaeologia Britannica* was published in 1707, and its preface contained poems in praise of the work.[609] The 'Irish verses' to which Lachlann refers here were clearly meant to be among those in the preface, having been sent originally a year before the publishing of Lhuyd's work. The verses appear to be from other authors rather than himself, although he does not specify who in the letter itself, and after first having sent rewritten copies, Lachlann sent the originals as he received them from the authors. Richard Sharpe suggests that Lachlann solicited poems for Lhuyd from his contacts, and three of the verses in the preface to *Archaeologia Britannica* came via Lachlann: those of Roibeard Campbell (described as a forester in Argyll), Mr Seumas Currie [MacMhuirich], and Mr Iain MacLean. The Gaelic verse of Anndra MacLean is, according to Sharpe, 'less likely to have come through' Lachlann, though he does not suggest another route.[610] In a letter to John Urry on 21 December 1706, Lhuyd wrote that the verses sent by Lachlann in June had miscarried.[611] This indicates that the verses from the original authors sent in Lachlann's letter of 3 January 1707 were those used by Lhuyd for *Archaeologia Britannica*. Sharpe is very likely correct that Lachlann was the route through which the verses of Campbell, Currie, and Iain MacLean reached Lhuyd. Campbell and Currie's verses are preserved among Lhuyd's papers in TCD 1392/2, fol 8r and 7r respectively:

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608 Campbell to Lhuyd, 3 January 1707, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 298-299.
609 Lhuyd, *Archaeologia Britannica*, Preface; Evans and Roberts, *Edward Lhuyd*, 74–78, 100–104; Ó Baoill, 'Robert Campbell', 57.
610 Sharpe, 'Lachlan Campbell's Letters', 280–81, n.79. Mr Iain MacLean's poem is quoted in Chapter 1. Lhuyd, *Archaeologia Britannica*, Preface; Evans and Roberts, *Edward Lhuyd*, 66–67, 88–99; Ó Baoill, 'Robert Campbell'; *Fasti*, IV, 75; Ó Baoill, *Eachann Bacach*.
611 Sharpe, *Roderick O'Flaherty's Letters*, 138–39.

evidence supports these being written by the poets themselves.[612] Mr Iain MacLean's poems have not survived among Lhuyd's papers, but he and Lachlann would have been in contact through the Synod as ministers. Anndra MacLean, like Lachlann, moved in the network of minor gentry in Argyll. It is possible for Lachlann to be the route by which Anndra's verses reached Lhuyd, although this cannot be confirmed. It is certain, however, that Lachlann collected Gaelic verses for Lhuyd's preface, probably from Roibeard, MacMhuirich, and at least one of the two MacLeans.

3.3.2.3 Lachlann and his Glossaries

Lachlann was clearly a well-connected and active member of the community of Gaelic scholars and writers in Argyll at the beginning of the eighteenth century. He possessed and shared manuscripts, passed original poetry on to Lhuyd, and promoted and collected subscriptions for Lhuyd's *Archaeologia Britannica*. This is in addition to having TCD 1307 written for his use and creating his own resources to assist in his reading of Gaelic. It is necessary to consider the utility of these resources (the metrical glossaries in TCD 1307 and his self-created vocabulary).

On 7 September 1703, Lachlann wrote to Wodrow regarding his lack of resources to help with his studies. As mentioned previously in the chapter, Lachlann had sent TCD 1307 to Lhuyd around the summer of 1702, so the manuscript was in Lachlann's possession for only four years.[613] It is appropriate to wonder why Lachlann would send the manuscript to Lhuyd when he himself would need the resource. Besides wanting to be helpful towards Lhuyd's work, Lachlann thought TCD 1307's exemplar was still available in Kintyre. He wrote: 'since I came home I am told that the book it was copyed of was given him when here: so that now I can not get it recovered'.[614] Besides indicating an exemplar for TCD 1307 that was at one time in Lhuyd's collection, this reveals that Lachlann sought the manuscript out upon his return to Kintyre, probably from MacGilleoin. The scribe would have had to send a messenger with the manuscript or met with Lhuyd to give it to him c. 1699-1700 when Lhuyd was there.[615] It is likely that Lachlann had been using the metrical glossaries while he was still in possession of TCD

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[612] *TCD Catalogue*, 260–61; Ó Baoill, 'Robert Campbell', 64; Black, 'Gaelic Manuscripts Scotland', 172, n.66.
[613] Campbell to Wodrow, 7 September 1703, Wodrow Collection, Quarto II, n.67.
[614] Campbell to Wodrow, 7 September 1703, Wodrow Collection, Quarto II, n.67.
[615] There does not seem to be copies of *Forus Focal* or the *Deirbhsiur* glossary among Lhuyd's papers: see O'Sullivan and O'Sullivan, 'Edward Lhuyd's Collection'. For more about MacGilleoin and Lhuyd, see Chapter 3.

1307, and that he found them useful: he would not have sought out the exemplar if they did not help him. Indeed, the headwords were almost certainly obscure by the copying of the glossaries in 1698, and Lachlann would have been able to understand the glosses used to clarify the obscure headwords.

It is also possible that Lhuyd used TCD 1307 and the metrical glossaries contained therein as a source for his Gaelic dictionary in *Archaeologia Britannica*. To explore this, I will use stanza 5 of *Forus Focal*, which appears in TCD 1307 on fol. 3r (commas in the manuscript):

> Éo ~~dealb*h*~~ dealg - eó is b*hair*,[616]
>
> eó eigne nac*h* eis od*h*án
>
> aót*h* 7 tnúth tin*n*e trá,
>
> bolg berna is ládh snec*ht*a
>
> *'Éo' a pin/brooch, 'eó' a yew-tree*
>
> *'eó' a salmon that's not defiled*
>
> *'aóth' and 'tnúth' a speedy fire,*
>
> *'bolg' a gap and 'ládh' snow*

In *Archaeologia Britannica*, Lhuyd marks 'balg' as obscure and uses 'bearna' as the definition, just as is done in the stanza, and 'ladhg & ladg' (MacGilleoin's 'ládh') is marked obscure and includes 'sneachda' in the definition. The same is true of 'eó' and 'tnu' (MacGilleoin's 'tnúth'): tnu is marked obscure, and teine included in the definition, and for 'eó', the meaning 'salmon' is not marked obscure, but 'pin' and 'yew-tree' are, with 'dealg' and 'iubhar' included in the definitions. 'Aodh' (MacGilleoin's 'aóth') is the only one not marked as obscure, with the only definition given being 'fire'.[617] Lhuyd may have used *Forus Focal* as a basis for marking some of the words obscure and/or including some of the definitions, but the orthographic differences between *Archaeologia Britannica* and MacGilleoin's copy ('tnu' vs 'tnúth', 'ladhg & ladg' vs 'ládh') indicates Lhuyd would also have been using other sources.

Although the metrical glossaries would have been useful, it is worth remembering that Lachlann was only in possession of the metrical glossaries in TCD 1307 from 1698-1702, while most of his letters indicating sustained study of Gaelic are from after this

[616] This may be a mistake by MacGilleoin, as it should be 'iubhar' or 'iubhair'.
[617] Lhuyd, *Archaeologia Britannica*, s.v. Eó, Aodh, Tnu, Balg, and Ladhg.

period. What, then, was he using as a reading aid after 1702? On 7 September 1703, in the same letter in which Lachlann wrote about sending TCD 1307 to Lhuyd, he asked Wodrow to see if Lhuyd would return the manuscript or the original for him to copy. He then wrote that Lhuyd told him about 'another vocabulary of the same nature' as *Forus Focal* (i.e., a metrical glossary) and 'another printed at Louvain by Fr: Michelo Clerigh' (Mícheál O'Clery), published in 1643.[618] Lachlann had not heard of these, and it is likely he did not have any glossarial resources at his disposal in the years after 1702. He did ask if Lhuyd would send him resources, even briefly, but there is no indication Lhuyd did so:[619]

> if he could adventure any or both of these to far abroad, I could promise a certain return, & perhaps with interest. I would at least copy them over & as I come to the understanding of them; insert the contents of them into an Index of the hardest words I have cast together in an alphabetical order for mine oun use out of & am doing dayly out of the books I can get read

This 'Index of the hardest words' for personal use would have been, over time, a valuable resource. It also highlights the seriousness of his commitment to studying Gaelic: he continued without the assistance of any sort of dictionary and created his own resource as a response to this problem.

3.3.3 Summary

Lachlann's surviving correspondence contextualises his engagement with the Gaelic community, literature, and resources, including TCD 1307. He was a self-motivated scholar working with Gaelic texts from the Old Gaelic and Classical Gaelic periods, and his knowledge was recognised by at least one other figure in the Gaelic community (Ruaidhrí O'Flaherty), who wrote to Lhuyd saying as much.[620] He was also a key informant for Edward Lhuyd's Irish/Gaelic dictionary, in particular contributing much of the published Scottish Gaelic supplement and advice for beginners regarding orthography. He possessed or borrowed manuscripts, at least two of which (TCD 1307 and the Latin-Irish manuscript of the Aphorisms of Hippocrates) he sent to Lhuyd. Lachlann's correspondence suggests multiple motivations for his work with and study of Gaelic. These probably encompassed scholarly curiosity, religion, and cultural and historical

[618] Campbell to Wodrow, 7 September 1703, Wodrow Collection, Quarto II, n.67.
[619] Campbell to Wodrow, 7 September 1703, Wodrow Collection, Quarto II, n.67.
[620] Sharpe, *Roderick O'Flaherty's Letters*, 248.

heritage. It is demonstrably not the case, however, as posited by Richard Sharpe, that Lachlann 'gives no sense of being surrounded by a culture of written learning'.[621] Indeed, Lachlann's correspondence shows the strength of his connections to the Gaelic scholarly community on both sides of Sruth na Maoile. Lachlann's usage of TCD 1307, which he might have used as a glossary for his study of Old/Middle Gaelic and Classical Gaelic texts, was the first chronological item of a decade-long engagement with sources which evidence Lachlann's scholarly interaction with the Gaelic learned community.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has for the first time engaged in an in-depth analysis of the correspondence of Lachlann Campbell. Lachlann was a member of the Gaelic scholarly community c. 1698-1707, drawing on the principles he acquired as a member of the Republic of Letters and applying them to Gaelic and the Gaelic community. This analysis has provided additional insights into his role in and contribution to this scholarly community. Lachlann's participation in Gaelic scholarship and the subsequent preservation of some of his manuscripts and letters has made a major contribution to our understanding of manuscript culture in Kintyre. He certainly contributed to Lhuyd's Irish/Gaelic dictionary, one of the earliest printed of such dictionaries, by noting Scottish Gaelic words and orthographic variances found in Gaelic manuscripts, of which users of the dictionary needed to be aware. He was also participating in manuscript culture by possessing manuscripts, sending manuscripts on to another person who could use them (Lhuyd), collating his own glossary, and copying manuscripts using *corra-litir*.

The analysis of his correspondence also considered his motivations for working with and studying Gaelic, which were multi-faceted: religion, scholarly curiosity, and cultural/historical heritage. He was interested in Gaelic as a topic of scholarly endeavour along with topics such as natural curiosities even though it was not a topic of study popular in the Republic of Letters more widely: Maurice Jones, a friend and collaborator of Lhuyd, had a difficult time attracting purchasers for Lhuyd's book and wrote that it 'is generally judg'd to be but too useless in that it gives light into those old languages, y^{t} are in this age of little use & obsolete'.[622]. As minister to a Gaelic-speaking congregation in the Synod of Argyll, Lachlann was aware of the provisions available for Gaelic language religious resources and the necessity of Argyll ministers having Gaelic learning resources

[621] Sharpe, *Lachlan Campbell's Letters*, 252.
[622] Evans and Roberts, *Edward Lhuyd*, 10; Rev Maurice Jones to Edward Lhuyd, 24 January 1709, Lhwyd Correspondence, BodL, MS Ashmole 1815 fol.285, ref. 29392.

at their disposal. This may have been one of the reasons for him supporting and acquiring subscriptions for Lhuyd's *Archaeologia Britannica*. Lachlann's activities demonstrate some ways the Presbyterian communities contributed to the Gaelic literary and scholarly culture beyond creating translations of religious materials: studying the language, creating personal resources, assisting other scholars, and discussing existing Gaelic literature. They also reveal the continuing interconnectedness of the Gaelic world through a Scottish minister's activities and contacts in Ireland: Lachlann travelled between Kintyre and the north of Ireland, participated in the Gaelic scholarly community in Ireland, and was minister in Dublin. This chapter has shown that Lachlann, who died at the relatively young age of thirty-three, was becoming a well-skilled Gaelic scholar. It is a great loss that his papers, which could have given us a fuller picture of his activities, do not survive.

Chapter 4: Seeking Cailean Campbell

4.1 Introduction

The last chapter explored the life, identity, and relationship to the Gaelic language of Lachlann Campbell through his correspondence and connection to TCD 1307 and Gaelic/Celtic scholars. Identity is also considered in this chapter, this time the identity of Col. Cailean Campbell, MacGilleoin's other patron. Unlike with Lachlann, there are no surviving letters or other documents written by Cailean. The resources used to identify and consider the loyalties, life, and activities of Cailean Campbell and their connection, or lack of connection, to NLS 72.1.36 and TCD 1362 are more indirect, such as letters written to Cailean by his great-aunt, tacks, and military records. These reveal the life of a man whose different loyalties and associated identities (Gaelic, Scottish, British, Clan Campbell) took precedence at different points in his life.

Although the identity of MacGilleoin's patron has long been known to be a Cailean Campbell, it has only been suggested, not confirmed, to be Cailean Campbell of the Campbells of Kilberry.[623] Therefore, this chapter first confirms Cailean's identity as Col. Cailean Campbell, brother to the 6th laird of Kilberry, before discussing details of his life and relationship to the manuscripts. This includes his military career, his relation to Catherine Bokenham, Lady Berners, and his and his family's connections to the Campbells of Argyll in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. The second half of the chapter turns to the contents of the manuscripts, first examining some of the more notable aspects of the poetry, followed by a thematic analysis to identify common themes found across the numerous and varied texts from both manuscripts owned by Cailean. Warriors, women, religion, and morality are the most common overarching themes, and these are tied where possible to Cailean's life. It is shown that the manuscripts' themes related to Cailean's life as a man loyal to the Campbells of Argyll living in a religious society, surrounded by contemporary social norms, and a member of the military. For details of the manuscripts, please refer to the mini catalogue in Appendix 1.

[623] *NLS Catalogue*, NLS MS 72.1.36.

4.2 Who was Cailean Campbell?

Until now, MacGilleoin's patron, Cailean Campbell, has not been definitively identified, although Ronald Black has suggested that he is Cailean Campbell 'of Kilberry'.[624] Kilberry is located along the coastline in southern Knapdale, north of Kintyre, in Argyll (see Figure 4-2). As shown below, Cailean was, indeed, of the Campbells of Kilberry, although not the head of the family. This section first considers Cailean's pedigree and then builds his close family tree to provide context for the remaining discussion. This involves new information about his biographical details from documents in the Live Argyll Archive, the National Records of Scotland, and the Inveraray Castle Archive alongside some previously published information. This research has revealed that while Cailean Campbell and his family were Gaelic speakers rooted in the traditional Gaelic culture of Argyll, Cailean spent much of his later life and military career outwith Scotland. His life and career are examined, including his relationship to an Englishwoman, Catherine Bokenham, and his personal and family connections to the Earls/Dukes of Argyll. Cailean received tacks in Kintyre in 1691 and 1694, and he was a member of the Fourth Troop of Horse/Life Guards from 1708 until his death on 25 July 1714. He was, at least late in his life, a companion of Iain Campbell, 2nd Duke of Argyll. His family also had connections to many minor noble branches of Clan Campbell, and they were involved in the Campbell of Argyll family's major political and military initiatives at the end of the seventeenth century, including the 9th Earl's rebellion in 1685. Cailean, in short, had extensive social and political connections in both England and Scotland.

4.2.1 Family and Pedigree

A positive identification for MacGilleoin's patron Cailean Campbell is necessary to provide context for the production of the manuscripts written for him. Establishing his pedigree provides evidence for identifying him and develops a better understanding of his contemporary community and the context within which the manuscripts were commissioned. A definitive pedigree can be determined through the ancestry provided within the manuscripts (Table 4-1) and comparing these to archival documents and other, albeit later, genealogies. This discussion shows that Cailean Campbell belonged to the Campbell of Kilberry family. A family tree is then constructed to show his immediate kin c. 1690-1720 (Table 4-2). Having this information, some of Cailean's whereabouts c.

[624] *NLS Catalogue*, NLS Adv.MS.72.1.36. This suggestion comes from someone Black calls 'JMB'.

1691-1694, which overlaps with the writing of the manuscripts, can be considered alongside scholarship on contemporary life in Kintyre and among the Campbells.

There are four pedigrees for Cailean provided in MacGilleoin's manuscripts, which mostly, though not entirely, agree. The pedigrees are shown in Table 4-1, which begins with Cailean on the left. Orthography is taken directly from the manuscripts.

NLS 72.1.36, f. 79r.					
Caillain	Donch*aidh*	Duighil	Caillain oig		
NLS 72.1.36, f. 104r.					
Caillain	Donch*aidh*	Dughil	Caillain oig		
NLS 72.1.36, f. 110v.					
Caillain	Donch*aidh*	Dughil	Caillain oig	Maighstir Archibald	
TCD 1362, p.161.					
Caillain	Danchaidh	Duphghoill	Cailin oig	Caillin mor	Maigistir archibal .i. mr gilleasbuig

Table 4-1: Col. Cailean Campbell's pedigrees as they appear in NLS Adv.MS.72.1.36 and TCD 1362.

All the pedigrees agree on the first four generations: Cailean mac Donnchaidh mac Dùghaill mac Chailein Òig. They also agree that one of his ancestors was a Maighstir Gilleasbaig—based on the honorific, a university graduate and perhaps a minister or priest—although they do not agree on whether he was the father or grandfather of Cailean Òg. Comparison to another genealogy originating from c. 1741-1744—the 'Genealogie of the Family of Auchinbreck', which was possibly written by Lachlann Campbell's brother or nephew[625]—supports the genealogy provided in TCD 1362: Cailean Òg son of Cailean Mòr son of Gilleasbaig of Danna son of Gilleasbaig, the third laird of Auchinbreck.[626] Evidence indicates that Maighstir Gilleasbaig and Gilleasbaig of Danna are one and the same man: a 'Mr. Archibald Campbell, son to the Laird of Auchinbrek' is mentioned in the Books of Council and Session in 1564-1565; Maighstir Archibald was witness to the ratification by the 5th Earl of Argyll in 1560 of a treaty originally between the 4th Earl of Argyll and An Calbhach O'Donnell in Ireland; and the 3rd laird of Auchinbreck's son Gilleasbaig bought the lands of 'Arinafade Danna Barmore Tontaynish Glennasavill &

[625] That is, by Gilleasbaig Campbell, Sheriff-Clerk of Argyll 1708-1740 and son of Iain of Kildalloig, or Gilleasbaig's son Iain. Martin MacGregor, 'Writing the History of Gaelic Scotland: A Provisional Checklist of "Gaelic" Genealogical Histories', *SGS*, 24 (2008), 357–79, at 370; MacPhail, *Highland Papers (IV)*, 59. Gilleasbaig, Iain, and Iain's elder brother Adam were writers (the equivalent of lawyers/solicitors) in Inveraray, and Gilleasbaig was 'of Danna' from 1726: Black, *Campbells of the Ark*, II, 362.
[626] MacPhail, *Highland Papers (IV)*, 80–82.

Carsaig Carinabade' c. 1560-70.[627] It appears, then, that the pedigree provided in TCD 1362 is the correct one, and that MacGilleoin's patron Cailean Campbell was of the Kilberry family. The following figure shows his immediate family relations c. 1690-1720, beginning with Cailean's grandfather Dùghall, 3rd of Kilberry on the left.

[627] Paton and Campbell of Barcaldine and Glenure, *The Clan Campbell*, VIII, 44; MacPhail, *Highland Papers (IV)*, 212; William Angus (ed.), *Miscellany of The Scottish History Society (Fourth Volume)*, Publications of the Scottish History Society Third Series, 9 (Edinburgh, 1926), 233–34.

Dùghall, 3rd of Kilberry fl. 1631-1643 d. before 1670 m. daughter of MacDonald of Largie	Aonghas, 4th of Kilberry m. Grisel MacAlister fl. 1652-1694 d. 1699	Dùghall, 5th of Kilberry fl. 1685-1716 d. 1716 m. Barbara, daughter of Mr Dùghall Campbell of Lagg	Elizabeth m. Dùghall, 6th of Kilberry
			Grisel m. Gilleasbaig Campbell of Knockbuy
			Florence m. Gilleasbaig Campbell of Ormsary
			Isabel
		Cailean fl. 1699-1707	
		Margaret (natural) m. Robert Murray, Merchant in Inveraray	Aonghas
			Iain
			Dùghall
			Elizabeth
			Sophia
	Donnchadh fl. 1666-1691 d. 1693 m. Elizabeth Campbell	Capt. Dùghall, 6th of Kilberry fl. 1691-1732 d. 1733 m. Elizabeth, daughter of Dùghall, 5th of Kilberry	Cailean, 7th of Kilberry b. after 1718
			Aonghas/Aeneas
			Seumas
			Gilleasbaig
			Barbara
			Susanna
		Col. Cailean (patron) b. before 1670 d. 1714	
		Capt Aonghas/Aneas fl. 1693-1733	
		Seumas fl. 1693	

Table 4-2: Col. Cailean Campbell's Family Tree c. 1690-1720.

As a cadet branch of the Campbells of Auchinbreck, the Campbells of Kilberry had connections to other cadet branches, such as Dùghall, 5th of Kilberry, who married Elizabeth, the daughter of Mr Dùghall Campbell of Lagg, a cadet of both Auchinbreck and Kilberry, sometime before 1685.[628] The cadet branches of the Campbells of Auchinbreck are shown in Figure 4-1: seven of these cadet branches are offshoots of the Kilberry line, and the Kildalloig line bought Danna in 1726.[629]

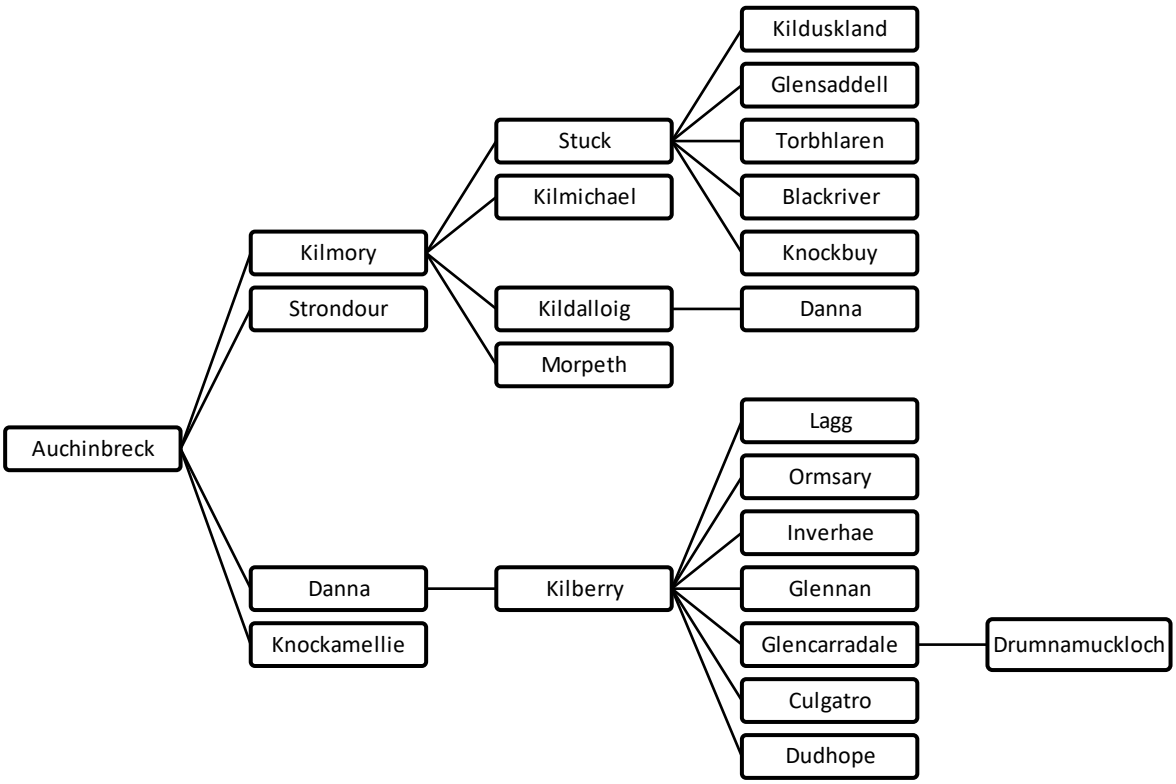

Figure 4-1: The cadet branches of the Campbells of Auchinbreck.[630]

The Laird of Auchinbreck was the hereditary Colonel of Argyll and involved in Argyll's military campaigns, such as commanding Argyll's regiment sent to Ireland in 1642 as part of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, Argyll's rebellion in 1685, and during the first Jacobite rising c. 1689.[631] As a result, many of the cadet branches were also military families, including the Kilberry branch. In October of 1678, a commission of fire and sword was issued to the Earl of Argyll against the MacLeans in his conquest of Mull while claiming MacLean land to settle their debts, which Argyll had systematically bought in the

[628] NRS, CC2/8/9/1, SC54/7/1/2/2, SC54/17/2/12/5; LA, DR/14/1/6.
[629] Danna was sold to Mr Gilleasbaig Campbell after his returning to Scotland from wars in Ireland in the 1560s and was in the family until 1726 when Gilleasbaig Campbell, son of John Campbell of Kildalloig and Lachlan Campbell's younger brother, purchased the feudal superiority of Danna and Downie from Auchinbreck: Campbell of Airds, *History of Clan Campbell*, II, 11; Black, *Campbells of the Ark*, II, 362.
[630] Paton and Campbell of Barcaldine and Glenure, *The Clan Campbell*, I, 210.
[631] Nicholas MacLean-Bristol, *From Clan to Regiment* (Barnsley, South Yorkshire, 2007), 62; MacLean-Bristol, *Castor & Pollux*, 33; Hopkins, *Glencoe*, 64, 98, 102–3.

prior decades.[632] Aonghas Campbell, 4th of Kilberry and Cailean's uncle, was among those in receipt of a commission.[633] In the calculation of Argyll's forces at the time, Aonghas had three boats, fourteen oars, and thirty-five men.[634] A little more than a decade later in 1690, Aonghas commanded Campbell of Auchinbreck's regiment helping to secure King William's power.[635] The regiment included forty-six men of Lt. Col. Kilberry's company and fifty-two men led by Donnchadh Campbell, Kilberry's brother and Cailean's father.[636] Although it does not list the men, it is possible that Cailean and/or one or more of his brothers were in the regiment or company. As shown below, Cailean and his brother Dùghall were at least twenty-one by 1691. Aonghas' son Dùghall, 5th of Kilberry, had a company of fifty-one men and was a subaltern under the command of Colonel Alexander Campbell of Finab (Fonab) during the Jacobite Rising of 1715; Cailean's brother, Aeneas (Aonghas), is also listed on the Muster Roll.[637] Cailean's brother Dùghall is referred to in records as 'Captain' from 1707, and he was commissioned to command the ship the *Mary-Anna Gally* in 1708.[638]

Cailean followed in his family's footsteps and entered into military service. The 'Genealogie of the Family of Auchinbreck' describes him as 'Capn. Colin who died abroad'. This information appears to be only partially correct: Cailean died in England—which could have been considered 'abroad' from Scotland—and while he was not a captain, the rank of captain in the Life/Horse Guards 'held the rank of general or colonel in the army at large'.[639] Another family tree including the Kilberry line lists Cailean as 'Lieut: Colonel 4th Troop of Guards died s.p. Commission 1708'.[640] This is supported by documents in the Campbell of Kilberry Papers: a commission dated 8 March 1708 for Cailean as being 'SubBrigadier and Eldest Cornet of that our Troop of Lifeguard of horse' under Iain Duke of Argyll as Colonel and Captain.[641] The Fourth (or Scottish) Troop came under the British establishment in 1707 and was disbanded after the last Jacobite rebellion

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[632] For more information about this conflict, see MacLean-Bristol, *From Clan to Regiment*, 16–22; Hopkins, *Glencoe*, 44–67.
[633] Campbell of Airds, *History of Clan Campbell*, III, 21.
[634] Campbell of Airds, *History of Clan Campbell*, III, 22.
[635] For a detailed account of this military activity, see Hopkins, *Glencoe*, particularly Chapters 6 and 7, 199-262.
[636] Campbell of Airds, *History of Clan Campbell*, III, 73.
[637] Campbell of Airds, *History of Clan Campbell*, III, 108-9.
[638] LA, DR/14/1/13 and DR/14/1/6. For more examples, see Paton and Campbell of Barcaldine and Glenure, *The Clan Campbell*, I, 170, 171, 174, 185-6, 187, 270-71.
[639] J. N. P. Watson, *Through Fifteen Reigns: A Complete History of the Household Cavalry* (Staplehurst, 1997), 45.
[640] Scottish Genealogical Society, 'Campbell 12 ARG 1500-1900' (Family History Centre, Edinburgh) [accessed 4 April 2020].
[641] LA, DR/14/4/1/1.

in 1746.[642] Cailean was almost certainly 'Colin Campbell to be [Sub-Brigadier]' on the Fourth Troop army list in Kensington on 6 March 1708 and promoted to 'Brigdr. and eldest Lieut.' on 18 November that year.[643] A 'Dugall Campbell' is also listed to be 'Sub-Brigadier' on 6 March 1708; this is unlikely to be Cailean's brother, who was commissioned to command a ship that year, but it may have been their cousin, Dùghall, 5th of Kilberry.[644] Both Cailean and Dùghall were out of the Troop by 1715; Dùghall, 5th of Kilberry is listed among the freeholders and heritors of Argyll on 11 August 1715, but he died before 3 June 1716, and Cailean, as seen below, died in 1714.[645]

There is the complication, however, that there were two Caileans of the Campbells of Kilberry: as shown in Table 4-2, both Aonghas, 4th of Kilberry and his brother Donnchadh named their first son Dùghall and second son Cailean. Cailean's cousin seems to have worked with his brother in or near Kilberry, in part by writing documents, after their father's death in 1699. He wrote the service of his sister-in-law Barbara Campbell to her father in 1700 and was writer and/or witness to bonds involving his brother in 1699, 1701 and 1707.[646] He must have died before his brother, because the lairdship was passed to Cailean's elder brother upon Dùghall, 5th of Kilberry's death in 1716.[647] Chronologically, it is possible that the cousin received the commission: he last appears in documents in 1707, the year before the commission, and his whereabouts after that time are unknown. However, the military commissions are definitely for Donnchadh's son and MacGilleoin's patron Cailean rather than his cousin: evidence within letters contained in the Campbell of Kilberry Papers confirms this.

The Berners' Letters are an early-eighteenth century collection which originally consisted of sixty-four letters, but letters 1-30 and 61-64 are missing.[648] The surviving letters were written mostly by Catherine Bokenham, who was granted her petition to the title Lady Berners in 1720, Cailean's great-aunt with no direct familial connection to Cailean's cousin Cailean.[649] Their exact familial connection and the contents of the letters are explored in section 0 below. It is enough here to note that she was clearly writing to

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[642] Barney White-Spunner, *Horse Guards* (London, 2006), xii; Charles Dalton, *English Army Lists and Commission Registers, 1661-1714*, 6 vols (London, 1892–1904), IV, 1, 115, and VI, 205.
[643] Dalton, *English Army Lists*, VI, 205.
[644] Dalton, *English Army Lists*, VI, 205.
[645] ICA, NRAS 1209, Bundle 45; NRS, CC2/8/9/1.
[646] Paton and Campbell of Barcaldine and Glenure, *The Clan Campbell*, VIII, 217-19 and I, 40, 74; Campbell of Airds, *History of Clan Campbell*, II, 175 and III, 21-2; MacPhail, *Highland Papers (IV)*, 71, 83; NRS, SC54/12/4-5, SC54/7/1/2/2, RD2/86/1, 655.
[647] NRS, CC2/8/9/1.
[648] LA, DR/14/6/12.
[649] LA, DR/14/6/12, Index, n.13.

the sons of her nephew Donnchadh. She referred to Cailean as 'Col. C. Campbell' and addressed one letter to him as 'of the 4th Troop of Guards under the Command of…the Duke of Argyll'.[650] Four letters to Cailean survive in full dated between 7 March and 4 July 1714. In the last, she wrote that he had fallen ill: July 1714 was around the time of the illness and death of Queen Anne (d. 1 August 1714), and when Argyll was removed from military and state offices, although he remained a Privy Councillor.[651] Cailean was mentioned next in a letter to Capt. Dùghall, Cailean's brother, dated 17 September 1722 as 'Your late Broyr Colin my poor Dear Nephew'.[652] The connections here are clear: her nephew Cailean was Colonel in the Fourth Troop of Horse Guards in 1714, and therefore he is almost certainly the 'Colin Campbell' of the army lists and also the 1708 commission.

This section has explored the identity of MacGilleoin's patron Cailean Campbell and confirmed that he was a colonel in the Fourth Troop of Horse Guards from 1708 until his death in 1714. He was the brother of Capt. Dùghall, 6th of Kilberry and the son of Donnchadh, second son to Dùghall, 3rd of Kilberry. The following sections discuss available details of Cailean's life to provide more context for the consideration of connections that can be drawn between him and his manuscripts.

4.2.2 Cailean's Life c. 1691-1694

Not many records of MacGilleoin's patron, Cailean Campbell, survive from the 1690s, although records for his immediate family hint at his activities, or at least the activities around him, at that time. Cailean is directly mentioned in two tacks (1691 and 1694) and the inventar for his father, who died in 1693.[653] On 30 May 1691, 'Coline Campbell nephew to Angus Campbell of Killberrie' signed a tack from the Earl of Argyll for nineteen years for the three merk land of 'Belloch', on the west coast of Kintyre, which he entered on 15 May 1691.[654] That same year, on 29-30 May, three others in his family signed tacks granted by the Earl of Argyll, all having entered the land on 15 May 1691.[655]

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650 LA, DR/14/6/12, 131.
651 Dickson, *Red John*, 160–63.
652 Catherine Bokenham to Campbell Col. Colin, 4 July 1714, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.34, 129-130.
653 NRS, CC2/5/3/7-8.
654 The tack originally said it was for seven years, but Cailean crossed out 'seven' and replaced it with 'nyntein': ICA, NRAS 1209, Bundle 1032; 'Argyllshire and Buteshire CCXLI.14 (Killean & Kilkenzie)', Ordinance Survey Maps, 1868.
655 Lachlan Campbell's father, John Campbell of Kildalloig, received a tack on 1 June 1691 for the lands of 'Langa Kilmacho Bordadow' (three merk two shilling land total) in Kilchenzie and two merk land of 'Ballwallinachtroch' in Kilmichael. See: ICA, NRAS 1209, Bundle 1035.

- 29 May 1691: Aonghas Campbell of Kilberry for the four merk land of 'Puticantie' (Putechantuy), Kintyre.[656]

- 29 May 1691: Dùghall Campbell, nephew to Aonghas Campbell of Kilberry, for the five merkland of 'Muastell' (Muasdale), Kintyre. It is a copy included in a 4 November 1696 document.[657]

- 30 May 1691: Donnchadh Campbell, brother german to Aonghas Campbell of Kilberry, for the four merk land of 'Cloinegart' (Cleongart), Kintyre.[658]

Cleongart, Putichantuy, and Muasdale are all near Belloch on the west coast of Kintyre and are, significantly, only seven or eight miles north from Kilchenzie where MacGilleoin was a schoolmaster in 1697-1700: see Figure 4-2. Also, significantly, these tacks were written about the same time as Cailean's manuscripts, which are dated c. November 1690 to July 1692. It is possible that the tacks and manuscripts are related, with the manuscripts acting as a personal or household book with poems and tales to entertain Cailean himself and/or those living on the land, or perhaps as an aspect of identity; these hypotheses are considered later in the chapter. Finally, the tacks allow us to narrow down Cailean's likely date of birth, because men had to be at least twenty-one (the end of their minority) to receive their own tacks.[659] The latest year Cailean could have been born, then, is 1670 (i.e., twenty-one years before 1691).

There are two other tacks in Kintyre to members of the Kilberry family in the 1690s. At Inveraray on 28 February 1693, Aonghas Campbell, 4th of Kilberry, signed a tack from Elizabeth, Countess of Argyll, for the four merk land of Carse and one merk land of Ardmenish in 'Kaillislait' (Keillisleat in Southern Knapdale, which includes Kilberry).[660] The latest tack is dated 24 November 1694 at Campbeltown, between the Earl of Argyll and Cailean Campbell, nephew to Aonghas, 4th of Kilberry, for the four merk land of 'Clengart' for fifteen years, Cleongart being the land for which Cailean's father, Donnchadh, signed a tack in 1691.[661] Donnchadh had died in May 1693, survived by his widow Elizabeth and four sons: Dùghall, Cailean, Seumas, and Aonghas, with Aonghas,

[656] ICA, NRAS 1209, Bundle 1035.
[657] ICA, NRAS 1209, Bundle 1034. This is the same place and day of a document including a copy of a 7 November 1693 tack for John Campbell of Kildalloig, Lachlan Campbell's father, for the two merkland and eight shilling land of 'Skeroblinrayd' (Skeroblinraid), Kintyre (just south of Skeroblingarry). See ICA, NRAS 1209, Bundle 1032.
[658] ICA, NRAS 1209, Bundle 1035.
[659] Brown, *Noble Society*, 125, 172.
[660] ICA, NRAS 1209, Bundle 1037; Ian MacDonald, 'Keillisleat or Caolisleat', *The Kist: The magazine of the Natural History and Antiquarian Society of Mid Argyll*, 68 (2004), 20–21.
[661] ICA, NRAS 1209, Bundle 1036; LA, DR/14/1/3.

4th of Kilberry as cautioner.[662] No tacks survive for either of Aonghas, 4th of Kilberry's sons. Dùghall, the future 5th laird of Kilberry, may have been helping to run the estate as fiar: he is on record as such in 1685 and 1695.[663] Dùghall's brother may have been working with him on the estate, as it appears Cailean was in 1699, 1700, 1701, and 1707 when he wrote and/or witnessed documents for his family (see above). Given that Cailean, his father, and his brother would not have expected to inherit from the Kilberry estate, it is perhaps to be expected that they received tacks while Aonghas' sons did not.[664]

The tacks, having begun in 1691, were likely part of the 10th Earl of Argyll's estate re-organisation after his participation in securing the thrones of England and Scotland from James for William and Mary. Members of Clan Campbell, including the Kilberry family, had fought with Argyll on William's side in part to regain things they had lost as a result of legal consequences of the 1685 rebellion (forfeiture) and the plundering of lands in Argyll which occurred during and after it: when Argyll's estates were restored, they were also restored to wealth and power.[665] Argyll wrote to Aonghas, 4th of Kilberry, in 1689 about going to London for the crowning of William, an indication of Aonghas also being on William's side in the conflict.[666] The tacks given to loyal followers of Argyll in 1691 may have rewarded their efforts and ensured their influence in the area: nearby clans such as the MacDonalds of Largie and MacAlisters of Loup fought briefly for the Jacobites.[667]

This section has provided some context for Cailean's life c. 1691-1694, which corresponds roughly with MacGilleoin's writing of Cailean's manuscripts. It indicates that at the time the manuscripts were written Cailean was tacksman of land in Kintyre from 1691, land that was near three tacks for other members of his family and within ten miles of Kilchenzie, where MacGilleoin worked as a schoolmaster in 1697-1700. It can be demonstrated, then, that Cailean was in the area when MacGilleoin was writing his manuscripts and had some input in the process. It has also been established that Cailean

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662 NRS, CC2/5/3/7-8.
663 NRS, SC54/17/2/12/5 and SC54/18/2; MacInnes, *Clanship*, 6. The 1685 record includes 'Barbara Campbell ~~relict of umqll~~ spouse to Dougall Campbell feer of Kilberrie and {*blank*} Campbell his appearand aire' on a list of spouses and relicts of rebels. Dùghall, 5th of Kilberry only had daughters, so the heir to which they refer is probably his brother, Cailean.
664 Brown, *Noble Society*, 37.
665 Hopkins, *Glencoe*, 102–3; Campbell (Clan), *Account of the Depredations*; John Hill Burton and others (eds.), *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1877–1970), XI (1929), 444; NRS, JC39/83/15, JC39/83/17; Paton and Campbell of Barcaldine and Glenure, *The Clan Campbell*; Duncan C. MacTavish, *Inveraray Papers* (Argyllshire, 1939).
666 LA, DR/14/6/1.
667 Hopkins, *Glencoe*, 141–42, 160. An English elegy for MacDonald of Largie, who was killed at the Battle of Killiecrankie in 1689, can be found in NLS 72.2.9, the exemplar for TCD 1362.

would have been born before 1670 to have a tack in 1691: this would have made him no younger than forty-four when he died on 25 July 1714.

Figure 4-2: Map of Kintyre showing Kilberry, Muasdale, Belloch, Cleongart, Putechantuy, Kilchenzie, and Campbeltown.

4.2.3 The Letters of Catherine Bokenham, Lady Berners, c. 1714-1720

Information pertaining to Cailean's life, or the life of his family, in the 1690s reveals little about his interests or activities. Unfortunately, unlike for Lachlann Campbell, there appears to be no surviving documents written by Cailean himself outside of the brief and uninformative scribblings in his manuscripts. There are, however, surviving letters written from Catherine Bokenham, Lady Berners, to Cailean and his brother c. 1714-1720, and these offer some insight into his interests, activities, and whereabouts in later life, while at the same time revealing familial connections to England and the English title of Lord Berners.

Bokenham was Cailean's great-aunt, about seventy years old in 1722 when she recovered the English peerage of the Barony of Berners, Norfolk, and became Lady Berners.[668] She is the sister of Mary Ann Knyvet, a member of the Duke of Monmouth's household and said to be Cailean's paternal grandmother. Knyvet was betrothed to Aonghas, 4th of Kilberry, but eloped with Dùghall, 3rd of Kilberry, and soon thereafter gave birth to Cailean's father Donnchadh.[669] The familial connection as presented in Bokenham's letters is problematic, not least the claim that Donnchadh would have been born c. 1667-1668. This is not just unlikely, but chronologically and biologically impossible: Donnchadh was 'fratre german' to Aonghas, 4th of Kilberry (i.e., shared parents) and had himself fathered his two eldest sons by 1670.[670] Coming to the truth of these genealogical and marital connections would require focused research outside the remit of this thesis, and so it will be left unresolved here. Cailean's relation to Lady Berners will, however, be accepted in this thesis, as it was accepted enough in the early-eighteenth century that the title of Lord Berners passed into the Kilberry family through Cailean's brother, Dùghall, 6th of Kilberry, and Dùghall's son, Cailean, 7th of Kilberry.

The family connection between Cailean and Lady Berners and between the Campbells of Kilberry and Monmouth's household suggests that he had immediate connections to England throughout his life.[671] Lady Berners writes to and about Cailean

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[668] She states her age in a letter from 17 September 1722, when she also mentions having the title reinstated: Catherine Bokenham to Campbell Capt. Dugald, 17 September 1722, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.36, 145.
[669] Details of this narrative can be found in Catherine Bokenham to Campbell Capt. Dugald, 22 February 1723, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.48, 190-192; Catherine Bokenham to Campbell Capt. Dugald, 22 March 1723, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.50, 198-200.
[670] Donnchadh was referred to as 'fratre German' to Aonghas, 4th of Kilberry when he signed a 1671 sasine for 'Tiretican, Kilberry, and Balleviccar' as witness: LA, DR/14/1/2.
[671] In addition to Dùghall and Aonghas, 3rd and 4th of Kilberry, having relationships with Mary Ann Knyvet, Aonghas was one of the Duke of Monmouth's officers and disguised himself to visit the Duke before his death: Bokenham to Capt. Dugald, 22 February 1723, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.48, 190-192.

with great affection in her eighteenth-century letters, implying a long-established relationship.[672] Cailean recommended a secretary for her in March 1714 after she hurt her thumb, and in the same letter, she refers to him as 'good Col.' and enquires after his whereabouts, his having last visited in June of the previous year: 'What in the name of wonder common sense detours you all this time in Northampton'.[673] Cailean was presumably with his troop in Northampton, and certainly with Argyll.[674] Lady Berners also wished for Cailean to spend his final days with her and her husband in Eltham outside London rather than at Kensington, which it appears he did.[675]

This provides motivation for Cailean to be concerned with affairs in England outside of his role in the military and as a loyal follower of the Duke of Argyll (see below). Indeed, when writing to Cailean about her preparation of petitions to succeed to the title of the Barony of Berners in 1714, Lady Berners writes that 'all the world know I had no children, that Col. Campbell was my nearest Relation', although her lawyers have 'instructed not to mention your [Cailean's] name or Intrest in the present Question'.[676] Lady Berners' claim to the title was through her father, and without children, the title would pass to her nearest relative. It is unclear why she would believe this to be Cailean rather than his elder brother, but it seems Cailean was involved somehow in her petitions, and she wrote in March 1714 that she 'hoped Coll Campbill would one day or other be Lord Berners'.[677] The Duke of Argyll was not fond of this endeavour, perhaps trying to save Cailean the expense, and Lady Berners reported that a Capt Peter Campbell told her 'of the Duke of Argylls by no mean permitting your [Cailean] continuing or Intreating yourself more or less, in what His Grace I hear from all Quarters politely calls the idle and vain pursuit of an old … Dame'.[678] Cailean's involvement in the Berners business was

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[672] She writes of him as 'my poor Dear Nephew your [Dùghall 6th] little Brother Colin', 'My Dear Colin', and 'My dearest nephew', for some examples: Bokenham to Col. Colin, 21 May 1714, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.33, 127-128; Bokenham to Col. Colin, 4 July 1714, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.34, 129-130; Bokenham to Capt. Dugald, 22 February 1723, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.48, 190-192.

[673] Catherine Bokenham to Campbell Col. Colin, 7 March 1714, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.31, 123-124.

[674] Lady Berners writes in May 1714 for Cailean to 'Give you my Love to the Duke of Argyll': Catherine Bokenham to Campbell Col. Colin, 5 May 1714, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.32, 125-126.

[675] Bokenham to Col. Colin, 4 July 1714, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.34, 129-130.

[676] She could not have been writing about Capt. Dùghall's son Cailean, because he was not yet born in 1714. Bokenham to Col. Colin, 7 March 1714, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.31, 123-124; Bokenham to Col. Colin, 5 May 1714, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.32, 125-126.

[677] Her claim to the title is presented in 'House of Lords Journal Volume 21: March 1720, 11-20', *Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 21, 1718-1721* (London, 1767), 264–76, at 266–67 <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/lords-jrnl/vol21/pp264-276#p29> [accessed 30 April 2020]; originals at Parliamentary Archives (London), HL/PO/JO/10/6/306.

[678] Bokenham to Col. Colin, 7 March 1714, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.31, 123-124.

ultimately a moot point when he died in July 1714. This was six years before Catherine acquired the title.[679]

The Berners' Letters (1711-1726), which survive among the Kilberry estate papers, also provide some insights into Cailean's interests and activities in the years before his death.[680] As mentioned above, the Berners' Letters originally consisted of sixty-four letters bound together and indexed, but only thirty letters survive. The complete index survives, however, which provides some idea of the contents of the missing letters. Of the letters that do not survive, the index lists four letters from Cailean to Lady Berners, dated between 4 August 1711 and 7 June 1714. Three of these discuss business and debt related to Lady Berners, and the fourth his relationship to and possible child with a Mrs Oldfield. One letter after his death discusses Mrs Oldfield and her child, and two others discuss his death and will.[681] Cailean's involvement in the affairs of Lady Berners in England was mentioned in the last section, but the matter of his possible legitimate or illegitimate child with Mrs Oldfield has not previously been discussed.

Cailean's relationship with Mrs Oldfield is mentioned in one of the surviving letters. The Duchess of Monmouth reported to Lady Berners c. 5 May 1714, after seeing Mrs Oldfield, that 'their has been some difference twixt her & your nephew & that their marriage or intended match is intirely Broak off'. Oldfield had 'his son', meaning Cailean's son, with her, and the boy, according to the Duchess, 'has all the Elegance of ye Mother & the Forehead & Eyes of my poor Mary Knyvet'.[682] Were Cailean to be Lady Berners' nearest relation and heir to her title, Oldfield's son, if Cailean's, could have a right to claim the title. Lady Berners seems to have come to support Oldfield's claim in 1724, according to letter 22 in the index of Berners' Letters.[683] The index of the Berners' Letters indicate that Cailean wrote to Lady Berners about his child/children with Oldfield, although without that surviving, we do not know if he accepted that the child was his or if he may have gone on to legally claim the boy at a later date, had he lived past 1714.[684]

The surviving letters from Lady Berners to Cailean reveal some other details about him besides his unclear relationship with Oldfield. For instance, it seems that he and his

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[679] LA, DR/14/6/12, Index, n.13; Bokenham to Capt. Dugald, 17 September 1722, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.36, 145.
[680] LA, DR/14/6/12.
[681] Cailean's will has not been discovered. LA, DR/14/6/12, Index.
[682] Bokenham to Col. Colin, 5 May 1714, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.32, 125-126.
[683] 'A Letter from Dio [Mr Jon Campbell] wt some accott of a scheme of Lady Berners & Mrs Oldfield proving a Marriage wt Col C. Campbill in order to Legitimate her Children by the Col to Intitle them to succeed to her Ladyships Title & Peerage 15th May 1724': LA DR/14/6/12, Index, n.22.
[684] LA, DR/14/6/12, Index, n.5.

brother had some interest in paintings of 'naked Beautys', which were sent to Lady Berners with chests of wine and carpets.[685] Also sent to her were 'a large Quantity of crimson and Black velvet intended I suppose for some of your Friends in Scotland'.[686] Although she does not name these friends, the mention does indicate connection to Scotland, unsurprising given his birthplace in Argyll, but confirming that Cailean was still interacting with individuals in Scotland rather than being solely focused on affairs in England. Finally, the letters suggest that Cailean was involved with the Duke when he went to Spain during the War of the Spanish Succession: not only does Cailean 'speak Spanish and understand a little of French and Italian Language', but Lady Berners remembers 'to have heard you say you had been once and again to Sea with the Duke ... when he Commanded the Army in that Kingdom [Spain]'.[687] The Duke of Argyll was in Spain in 1711-1712 and was appointed Governor of Edinburgh Castle and Governor of Minorca.[688] Cailean was, then, definitely part of Argyll's military circle and one of his officers for at least three years before his death, though his commission in 1708 indicates six years of service under Argyll. This is a continuation of the loyalty to Argyll shown by others in his family, such as his uncle Aonghas in Argyll's dispute against the MacLeans and his cousin Dùghall, 5th of Kilberry in the 1685 rebellion (see above).

While limited, the information gleaned from the Berners' Letters considerably advances our understanding of the life of Col. Cailean Campbell, the patron of two of MacGilleoin's manuscripts. They confirm his involvement in Argyll's military activities and suggest loyalty to the leader of his clan. They reveal a man who may or may not have had an illegitimate son, and who quarrelled with the boy's mother. It shows the international horizons and British perspectives of the Highland elite, a feature also seen in the Chapter 3 discussion of Lachlann Campbell, a well-travelled participant in the Republic of Letters. These new, fragmentary details of Cailean's life can be considered alongside the manuscripts to see if there is a reflection of or connection between the contents of the manuscripts and the life of their patron, which is considered in sections 4.3 and 4.4.

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[685] Bokenham to Col. Colin, 5 May 1714, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.32, 125-126.
[686] Bokenham to Col. Colin, 5 May 1714, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.32, 125-126.
[687] Bokenham to Col. Colin, 21 May 1714, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.33, 127-128.
[688] Dickson, *Red John*, 135–55.

4.2.4 Summary

From the information provided above, there are a few things that must be kept in mind when considering the prose literature and verse found in NLS 72.1.36 and TCD 1362. First, the identity of MacGilleoin's patron Cailean Campbell is almost certainly Col. Cailean Campbell (pre-1670-25 July 1714) of the Fourth Troop of Horse Guards, companion of Iain, 2nd Duke of Argyll, brother to Capt. Dùghall, 6th of Kilberry, and great-nephew to Catherine Bokenham, Lady Berners. While most information available about him is from his later life, which took him far from Argyll, it is likely that he grew up in a Gaelic environment in Argyll either at Kilberry or nearby, perhaps fostered with relatives or acquaintances.[689] He received tacks for land in Kintyre in 1691 and 1694. He next appears on record with his commission for the Fourth Troop of Horse Guards in 1708, and he spent the last years of his life in England.

Secondly, Cailean's loyalties, much like those of the Campbells of Argyll, straddled England and Scotland, and his activities took him even further afield. The involvement of the Campbells of Argyll in English and wider British affairs can be seen in the life of Iain, 2nd Duke of Argyll, whose service in the military supporting William's reign on the continent began in the 1690s and continued through the War of the Spanish Succession, in which Cailean was involved under Argyll.[690] The Duke went on to be involved as a Privy Councillor in the Parliament in London, supported the Union between England and Scotland (which he later tried to dissolve), and received the English titles of Baron Chatham and Earl of Greenwich in 1705.[691] Cailean may have come from Gaelic-speaking Argyll, but after he left that area, he had close ties to Lady Berners and her family and acquaintances in and around London in addition to serving in the Fourth Troop of Horse Guards under Iain, 2nd Duke of Argyll, in Spain and England. In some ways, the trajectory of his life is the opposite of Lachlann's: whereas Lachlann travelled to the continent, the Lowlands, and England but then returned to Argyll and Gaelic texts, Cailean was involved with Gaelic literature in Argyll, but then parted with his Gaelic manuscripts before becoming heavily involved with military affairs outside of Scotland.

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[689] Fosterage was a common practice in Gaelic society that survived into the seventeenth century: Lachlan Campbell's father John Campbell of Kildalloig and mother Elspeth McNeill entered a fosterage contract in 1678 to foster their daugher Marie with 'Ewin O Brolochan' in Bordadow (near Saddell, north of Campbeltown, in Kintyre) and Effrick McLaurine his spouse. See ICA, AT Volume 15, p. 205, number 481; Janay Nugent, '"Your Louing Childe and Foster": The Fostering of Archie Campbell of Argyll, 1633-39', in Janay Nugent and Elizabeth Ewan (eds.), *Children and Youth in Premodern Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2015), 47–64, at 47–48; Brown, *Noble Society*, 183.

[690] Dickson, *Red John*, 22–33.

[691] Dickson, *Red John*, 43, 60, 79, 126–27, 160-62.

Without Cailean's own accounts, his motivations cannot be pinpointed. Yet it is likely that there were multiple forces influencing his decisions. The idea of concentric loyalties, wherein an individual has intertwined loyalties that influence their decisions and identities, was first posited by T.C. Smout in relation to modern Scottish identity and has been taken further by individuals such as Ruairidh MacIver on responses to the military in Gaelic Women's poetry, Colin Kidd on Gaelic antiquity and national identity, and in a non-Scottish context, Reem Abou-Samra regarding identities and their effect on the Arab Spring.[692] Concentric loyalties must have influenced Cailean's life: loyalty to family, clan, nation, state, and empire, intersecting with language, religion, and military tradition, may at times have involved tension and prioritisation between loyalties and identities, and at other times overlapping, and even conflicting, priorities.[693] His Gaelic cultural identity is displayed in his ownership and assumed patronage of Gaelic manuscripts and in his family heritage. His being a tacksman in Argyll and the member of a Scottish troop connect to both his Scottish and Gaelic identities. His Clan Campbell identity is reflected in his loyalty to and military/personal relationship with Iain, 2nd Duke of Argyll; this also connects to his family identity, as his family had historically been military leaders under their chief. His wider British identity also connects to his family and clan loyalty: involvement in the military from his loyalty to the Duke of Argyll and Clan Campbell, and his involvement with Lady Berners from family loyalty, her being his great-aunt.

The appearance of Cailean's various identities in surviving records suggests a shift away from the Gaelic identity and towards a wider Scottish/British one: he had parted with at least one of his Gaelic manuscripts by 1700 and spent the later part of his life in the British military and in pursuits related to Lady Berners. Indeed, at a familial level, upon the death of his uncle Aonghas, 4th of Kilberry in 1699, an elegy was written for him not in Gaelic, but in English (see section 4.3.4).[694] Surviving records about Cailean are, however, limited, and those that do survive do not create a complete picture. It is possible that Gaelic was still an everyday, or at least common, part of Cailean's later life among some of his friends and acquaintances, even if English was the language of much of his business and relationships.

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[692] Smout, 'Perspectives'; Ruairidh MacIver, 'Concentric Loyalties: Responses to the Military in Gaelic Women's Poetry', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 36 (2016), 105–25; Kidd, 'Gaelic Antiquity'; Reem Abou-Samra, 'A Spring of Concentric Circles: Overlapping Identities in Kuwait and Bahrain and Their Effect on the Arab Spring', in May Seikaly and Khawla Mattar (eds.), *The Silent Revolution*, The Arab Spring and the Gulf States, 2014, 173–202.
[693] Smout, 'Perspectives', 103; MacIver, 'Concentric Loyalties', 106; Abou-Samra, 'Spring of Concentric Circles', 174.
[694] LA, DR/14/6/1.

Circumstantial evidence suggests that identity may have played a role in the production of the manuscripts written for Cailean. The manuscripts were written at a time when the Campbells of Kilberry, like the rest of the clan, were restored to status and power that they had lost after the 1685 rebellion (section 4.2.2). The production of the manuscripts at this time could have been influenced by a desire to reaffirm Campbell identity as a leading force within the Gaelic milieu, in part by referring to the past. Three poems included in NLS 72.1.36 are about the Marquis of Argyll (d. 1661) and praise him as a leader of the Gaels (see section 4.3.3).[695] These poems and other poetic and prose material from the manuscripts originated in the Classical tradition, possibly meant to highlight historic Gaelic identity; some also may have been surviving within the oral tradition, reflecting a contemporary Gaelic identity.[696] The production of the manuscripts in 1690-1692 occurred at approximately the same time as Cailean and members of his family received tacks for land in Kintyre in 1691: this may be a coincidence, but it is also possible that this is connected to identity as well. By using some of his wealth to patronise a Gaelic scribe and Gaelic manuscripts, Cailean may have been asserting his and his clan's Gaelic identity as part of asserting their regained power, because patronage of the arts had been a common aspect of Gaelic elite for many centuries prior to its decline through the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries.[697] More on the Campbells and Gaelic identity can be found in section 4.3.3.

The aspects of Cailean's life, identity, and relationships discussed in this section advance knowledge of the patron of MacGilleoin's manuscripts and provides some context for the production of the manuscripts. It has been demonstrated by Breatnach in the context of early modern Gaelic manuscripts in Ireland that the patron of a manuscript may indirectly influence the texts chosen and even modification of the texts to allude to contemporary circumstances.[698] Other scholars have explored connections between texts within manuscripts that suggest they were deliberately chosen for theme, although not placed in a specific order.[699] A similar dynamic was seen in Chapter 3 with Lachlann

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[695] The three poems are *Triath na nGaoidheal Giolla Espag*, *Rug eadrain ar iath nAlban*, and *Is maith mo leaba, is olc mo shuain*.

[696] Some of the prose tales were found in Scottish oral tradition in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and may have been circulating in oral tradition in the late seventeenth century as well: Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales*, 70–71.

[697] Bannerman, 'Literacy', 227; Gillies, 'Some Aspects', 258; Black, 'Genius of Cathal', 340, 357.

[698] Breatnach, *Patronage*, 24–27.

[699] Dagmar Schlüter, *History or Fable?: The Book of Leinster as a Document of Cultural Memory in Twelfth-Century Ireland* (Münster, 2010); Andy Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the Beowulf-Manuscript* (Cambridge, 1995); Catherine McKenna, 'Angels and Demons in the Pages of Lebor Na HUidre', in Joseph F. Eska (ed.), *Narrative in Celtic Tradition: Essays in Honor of Edgar M. Slotkin*, CSANA Yearbook, 8–9 (New York, 2011), 157–80.

Campbell and TCD 1307, with the metrical glossaries contained in the manuscript chosen to help Lachlann read older Gaelic texts that he struggled to understand. It is possible that Cailean influenced the texts included in NLS 72.1.36 and TCD 1362, and the second half of this chapter considers the themes and topics present in the manuscripts alongside Cailean's activities and profession to explore the extent to which such influence might be seen.

4.3 The Poetry of NLS 72.1.36

Before examining NLS 72.1.36 and TCD 1362 thematically, it is helpful to focus on and discuss some of the poetry in NLS 72.1.36. It represents a range of genre, register, and varieties of the Gaelic language, for reasons which were explored in Chapters 1 and 2. Many of the poems are unattributed, so it is difficult to ascertain if the poem is vernacular or a later remnant of the bardic/Classical poetic system. Additionally, MacGilleoin could have been copying from other manuscripts, drawing upon oral tradition, or a mixture of both. The poems included in this section involve aspects that do not fit neatly into the discussions of the themes in section 4.4 or require more in-depth discussion than an overarching thematic analysis allows: two copies of the same poem (*Innis disi giodh be me*; *Laoidh na gCeann* (LnC)), major differences between extant copies of the poems (*Is fuath liom*; *Mairg ni uaill as óig*), and poems about the Marquis of Argyll (*Triath na nGaoidheal Giolla Espag*; *Rug eadrain ar iath nAlban*; *Is maith mo leaba, is olc mo shuain*). For details of the manuscripts and published editions and translations of the poems, see Appendix 3.

4.3.1 Dissimilar Copies Across Time: *Mairg ni uaill as óig* and *Is fuath liom*

Two of the poems in NLS 72.1.36 differ from other existing copies of the poems. *Mairg ni uaill as óig* is attributed to Athairne MacEwen. It was prefixed to *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh*, a translation of John Calvin's *Catechismus Ecclesiae Genevensis* which may have been translated by Athairne's son, Niall MacEwen.[700] The poem is contained in four other manuscripts; in each case, the poem is either eight or nine quatrains long.[701] In NLS 72.1.36, however, the poem is only four quatrains: first three and last one from the other

[700] This attribution is contested: see Appendix 2. Thomson, *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh*, 216–20; Innes and Reid, 'Expressions of Faith', 69; Bateman and McLeod, *Duanaire*, 59.
[701] For details, see Appendix 2.

copies of the poems. *Mairg ni uaill* is written underneath another poem, *Soraidh slan*, and SMD begins on the next folio. The poem may have been shortened to fit in the space available below *Soraidh slan*. Alternatively, MacGilleoin's exemplar may have contained a shortened copy of the poem, but the relative consistency in the length of the poem in other manuscripts suggests that the copy in NLS 72.1.36 was an anomaly.

Is fuath liom is found in five Scottish manuscripts: the Book of the Dean of Lismore, NLS 72.1.36, NLS 72.3.11, and GUL MS Gen 1042, no.140 and no.145 (heretofore MacLagan 140 and MacLagan 145). NLS 72.3.11 is not of concern here, because it is a copy of NLS 72.1.36. There are also Irish copies of poems beginning with or including sections beginning 'is fuath liom' or similar, but there appears to have been separate Irish and Scottish strands of the list of hateful things poetic convention.[702] A full list of Gaelic manuscripts known to contain this style of poem can be found in Appendix 3, and the following table visualises the distribution of the poems in the manuscripts, with the Scottish manuscripts (discussed in detail below) in one column and Irish manuscripts sorted by first lines. Not included is the defective three lines beginning 'Is fuath liom ró-laigheadh mo spóilín' in RIA, MS 4 A 46. The number of quatrains/stanzas is included when known, and the manuscripts are colour-coded by century: yellow is the sixteenth, green is seventeenth, blue is eighteenth, and grey is nineteenth.

[702] It is also a poetic convention in Welsh, 'cas bethau', which found in two manuscripts: Oxford Jesus College MS. 111 (c. 1400; The Red Book of Hergest) and Aberystwyth, NLW 5267b: Cardiff University, 'TEI Header for Oxford Jesus College MS. 111 (The Red Book of Hergest)', *Welsh Prose 1300-1425* <http://www.rhyddiaithganoloesol.caerdydd.ac.uk/en/tei-header.php?ms=Jesus111> [accessed 19 December 2020]; Rebecca Try, 'NLW MS 5267B; a Partial Transcription and Commentary' (unpublished MPhil Dissertation, Cardiff University, 2015), 6, 15–17 <http://orca.cf.ac.uk/id/eprint/87953> [accessed 6 April 2021].

	Scottish	Fuath liomsa fuatha Chormaic	Fuath liom Domhnach gan Dinnéar	Fuath liom bagún gan arán	Fuath liom fanmhuin o aifrionn[703]
NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.37	6				
RIA, MS 23 E 29		[...]			
NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36	28				
BL, Egerton 174					16
RIA, MS 23 O 64			13		
RIA, MS 23 N 14		18		11	
RIA, MS 4 A 46				11	
RIA, MS 23 E 16		2			
RIA 23 N 11		16	11		
Maynooth, M58(b)			2		
GUL, MS Gen 1042, 140	1				
GUL, MS Gen 1042, 145	11				
NLS, MS 72.3.11	28				
RIA, MS 23 G 25		18		11	8
BL, Egerton 175		16			
RIA, MS 23 O 79					14
RIA, MS 23 O 73		16			
BL, Egerton 111					16

Table 4-3: Poems of the hateful things genre in Gaelic manuscripts, sorted by first line.

On the Irish side, there are thirteen manuscripts. The poems are largely between eight and eighteen quatrains in length, with a couple of incomplete exceptions. *Fuath liomsa fuatha Chormuic* is in seven manuscripts, either sixteen or eighteen quatrains in length, and *Fuathadh Sheaghain Eadroim* (beginning 'fuath liom bagun gan aran') is in three manuscripts. The line 'Fuath liom fanmhuin o aifrionn', which begins four of the Irish poems, is the same as stanza 11, line 1 of *Fuathadh Sheaghain Eadroim*, so further analysis of these Irish poems may reveal a direct connection. None of the lines in *Fuath liomsa fuatha Chormuic* and *Fuathadh Sheaghain Eadroim* match those in NLS 72.1.36 or the BDL: the closest is 'Fuath liom fileadh gan eolus' (*Fuathadh Sheaghain Eadroim,* stanza 11, line 4) and 'Is fuath liom filidh gan tuigsi' (*Is fuath liom,* stanza 28, line 1), both meaning roughly 'I hate a learned poet without intellect'.[704] Three of the Irish poems

[703] This includes the similar first line 'Fuath liom gan dul cum aifrinn'.
[704] See John O'Daly, *The Irish Language Miscellany: Being a Selection of Poems by the Munster Bards of the Last Century* (J. O'Daly, 1876), 86–87; Simms and Hoyne, 'Bardic Poetry Database', s.v. #990.

begin with ‘Fuath liom Domhnach gan Dinnéar’, equivalent to stanza 3, line 1 of NLS 72.1.36, but a direct comparison of these poems has not been possible, and the concern here is the Scottish versions.

There are clear connections between the Scottish poems, although their length differs markedly (see Table 4-3), and more than two hundred years passed between the BDL and collection from oral tradition in the MacLagan manuscripts. The following table highlights lines and quatrains between NLS 72.1.36 and the other Scottish manuscripts. The total number of quatrains in each poem is listed in the headings. If the order of lines is not the same, the line equivalents to match NLS 72.1.36 are given in parentheses (so MacLagan 140, stanza 1 lines 1-2, are equivalent to NLS 72.1.36, stanza 4 lines 3-4). Where the match is not exact, the numbers are italicised.[705]

NLS 72.1.36 [28]	BDL [6]	MacLagan 140 [1]	MacLagan 145 [11]
1			
2		1.3-4 (1-2)	2
3			
4		1.1-2 (3-4)	4
5	2		
6			6.1-2, 3 (3-4, 2)
7			
8			
9			
10			
11			3
12			
13			
14			
15			
16			10.1 (1)
17			
18			10.2, *3-4* (2, 3-4)
19			9
20			*7*
21	1 (lines 3-4, 1-2)		
22			
23			
24			
25			
26			
27			*1*
28			

Table 4-4: Comparison of the Scottish versions of Is fuath liom.

[705] For the Book of the Dean of Lismore, I used Bateman and McLeod, *Duanaire*, 358–63. For GUL, MS Gen 1042, no.140 and no.145, see Rev. John Kennedy, ‘Some Unpublished Gaelic Ballads from the MacLagan MSS.--No. I.’, *TGSI*, 21 (1896–1897), 214–29, at 219, 221–22.

As the table shows, NLS 72.1.36 contains much material not found in the other Scottish manuscripts, but there is significant overlap. Furthermore, MacLagan 145, stanza 11 shares lines with BDL, stanza 3, albeit with the lines in a different order. This speaks to a strong oral tradition.

A direct comparison of the lines in the two earliest Scottish manuscripts reveals that the changes are largely a matter of vocabulary. The differences between the lines are marked in bold:[706]

BDL	NLS 72.1.36
[1, l. 3-4, 1-2] fuath liom dobrón **i dtigh n-óil,** fuath liom baile mór gan ghean. Fuath liom bheith **anmoch** ag triall fuath liom cliar **ara** mbí bean *I hate depression in a pub,* *I hate a homestead without cheer.* *I hate to be out travelling late,* *I hate to see a woman among poets,*	[21] Is f*uath* lio*m* dubrón **a ttec*h* anóil** Is f*uath* liom baile mo*r* gan gean Is f*uath* liom ab*h*eit*h* **maon*a*r** at*r*iall Is f*uath* lio*m* cli*ar* **ga** mbí [bean] *I hate depression in a pub,* *I hate a homestead without cheer,* *I hate to be out travelling alone,* *I hate to see a [...] among poets.*
[2] Fuath liom droichbhean ag fear math, fuath liom flath ara mbí gruaim; fuath liom **deoch anbhfann** 's i daor; fuath liom duine **saor** gan stuaim. *I hate a good man with a bad wife,* *I hate a prince who is depressed,* *I hate drink that is weak but dear,* *I hate a noble who lacks aplomb.*	[5] Is f*uath* liom dr*o*c*h* ben aig fer máit*h* Is f*uath* liom flait*h ar* mbi g*r*uaim Is f*uath* liom **liun tana** *agus* e dáor Is f*uath* lio*m* duine **caoin** g*an* stuaim *I hate a good man with a bad wife,* *I hate a prince who is depressed,* *I hate thin ale that is costly* *I hate a polished person without modesty*[707]

Table 4-5: Comparison of lines of Is fuath liom *found in both the Book of the Dean of Lismore and NLS 72.1.36.*

The changes in word choice do not change the overall meaning of the lines and are likely to be changes made through oral transmission. Some of the themes in *Is fuath liom* from NLS 72.1.36 are explored in the thematic analysis below. The poems of this hateful things genre are worthy of study in their own right but that is outside the remit of this thesis.

[706] The BDL edition is a standardisation and modernisation of the text in the manuscript, which was written with Scots orthography: Bateman and McLeod, *Duanaire*, 358–63. An edition of the original and a modernisation can be found in Thomas MacLauchlan, William F. Skene (eds.), *The Dean of Lismore's Book: A Selection of Ancient Gaelic Poetry from a Manuscript Collection* (Edinburgh, 1862), 78–79.
[707] Alternatively: 'I hate a polished person without sobriety'.

4.3.2 Two Copies for One Man: *Innis disi giodh be me* and *Laoidh na gCeann*

There are two poems which appear in Cailean Campbell's manuscripts twice. One is LnC, which is found with OCC in TCD 1362 and independently (i.e., outside of the prose narrative) in NLS 72.1.36. The two copies, their transmission, and the relationship between them were compared and considered in detail by Julia Kühns: she concluded that the copies of LnC follow the overall trends for copies of the poem/ballad, although they differ from each other and have features indicating some vernacularisation.[708] The copy in TCD 1362 closely follows the 'traditional' version of LnC, while the copy in NLS 72.1.36 exhibits greater variation, usual for independent versions of the poem. Kühns posits that the reason for the differences between texts may be MacGilleoin's resources: they were copied within the same year, 1691, but the TCD copy was from NLS 72.2.9, while it seems the NLS 72.1.36 copy was not.[709] This appears to be an accurate conclusion: we know from the discussion in Chapter 2 that MacGilleoin had access to multiple manuscripts, and it appears that he did not use NLS 72.2.9 as the exemplar for LnC in NLS 72.1.36. It is possible that he did not yet have NLS 72.2.9 in his possession when copying NLS 72.1.36. It is also possible that he chose to focus upon the copy in another manuscript, perhaps one also containing other poems copied into NLS 72.1.36, even with another copy (that of NLS 72.2.9) in his possession. It is worth also considering an oral source for the NLS 72.1.36 copy, although the close similarities between MacGilleoin's copies and with other LnC copies, suggests copying from a written source.

The second poem to appear twice is *Innis disi giodh be me*, a messenger/love poem, which appears twice within NLS 72.1.36, in Part III (f. 85r; c. March 1691) and Part I (f. 114v; c. December 1690). Transcripts of both copies with a preliminary translation are as follows:[710]

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[708] For the full discussion and comparison of MacGilleoin's two copies of LnC, see Kühns, 371–79.
[709] Kühns, 373, 378–79.
[710] A very loose literary translation of the poem can be found in John MacKechnie, *The Owl Remembers: Gaelic Poems Selected and Edited with Notes* (Stirling, 1933), 51. 'Tell this to my lady fair,/ Messenger now on your way, /That for her I pine away / Though for love she may not care. [2] Though for long she may not care, / Tell her (what I must reveal) / That my soul no power can heal, / Since my life she will not spare. [3] Since my life she will not spare, / Say that now all hope is past: / Here my life is ebbing fast, / For I die of love's despair.

NLS 72.1.36, f. 85r	NLS 72.1.36, f. 114v
[1] Innis disi giod*h* be me a the*achtar*a t*h*eid na cean go b*h*fuil misi lan da seirc mas ionan le sa b*h*eit*h* gan c*h*enn [2] Mas ion*n*an le sa b*h*eith gan c*h*ean innis disi dearb*h*a gan c*h*leit*h* go b*h*fuil misi lan *da* grad*h* mas ion*n*an le is bas da br*e*it*h* [2] Mas ionan le is bas *da* breit*h* misi do b*h*eit*h* m*ar* ta sin cuirad*h* asam *air*giod cean cuirad*h* duin *ar* cen mo c*h*inn	[1] Innis disi giod*h* be me a te*achtar*e t*h*eid na cen*n* go b*h*fuil misi lán *da* s*er*c mas ionan le sa b*h*et*h* g*an* c*h*en*n* [2] Mas ion*n*an le is a bet*h* g*an* c*h*en*n* innis disi d*er*b*h*t*h*a g*an* c*h*let*h* go b*h*fuil misi lan *da* gn*a*idh mas ion*n*an le is bas *da* b*r*eit*h* [3] Mas ion*n*an le is bas *da* b*r*eit*h* misi do b*h*et*h* mu*r* ataínn[711] curad*h* asam *air*giod cen*n* curad*h* duine *ar* c*h*ion*n* mo c*h*inn
[1] Tell her that I am, *Messenger that goes towards her,* *that I am full of affection for her* *If being without head/end is the same for her* *[2] If being without head/end is the same for her* *Be sure to tell her, sure not to conceal* *that I am full of love for her* *If for her birth/life and death are one* *[3] If for her birth/life and death are one* *I will be like that too* *Take from me the reward money* *Let a man put an end to/dispatch my head*[712]	

Table 4-6: The two copies of Innis disi giodh be me *in NLS 72.1.36, with translation.*

The copies are extremely similar aside from some differences in orthography, such as *cean/chean* and *cenn/chenn*, *cuiradh* and *curadh*, *bheith* and *bheth*. The similarities between the copies suggests that MacGilleoin may have copied them from the same source: this was probably a written source, but it also may have been an oral source. An oral source may explain the use of *ta sin* rather than *ataínn* in line 3.2, which does not change the meaning. However, the orthographic differences between MacGilleoin's copy and his exemplar for TBC, shown in section 2.3.2.2, indicates that it is just as possible the orthographic variation originated from the same written source, because MacGilleoin did not always copy letter for letter. Given the manuscript resources to which we know he had access, it seems more likely that MacGilleoin had a copy of the poem that was accidentally included in NLS 72.1.36 twice. The two copies were made within half a year of each other, but it is possible that MacGilleoin did not have Part I with him while

[711] This may be a mistake for 'atáim', making this line mean roughly 'I will be how I am'.
[712] This translation is from a modern Scottish Gaelic perspective in which *cuiradh* ('cuireadh') has been taken as the imperative form of the verb. An alternative reading in Classical Gaelic reads 'cuireadh' as the past passive: 'the reward money was taken from me / A man was sent to put an end to/dispatch my head'.

copying Part III and forgot the poem was already included in the collection. The many mentions in the poem of head/end recall the executions of the Marquis and 9th Earl of Argyll: this is discussed in the next section.

4.3.3 Politics and Loyalty: Poems about the Marquis of Argyll

The inclusion of poems about the Campbells of Argyll within NLS 72.1.36 is inherently political, although not surprisingly so. Connections between the Campbells of Kilberry and Argyll existed before, during, and after the 9th Earl's Rebellion and execution in 1685 (see section 4.2.1). The Kilberry family were involved directly in Argyll's rebellion, an overview of which is given below. It is necessary, however, to first note that the three poems about Argyll are not about the 9th Earl. *Triath na nGaoidheal Giolla Espag, Rug eadrain ar iath nAlban,* and *Is maith mo leaba, is olc mo shuain* were all written about the Marquis of Argyll, executed in 1660 by Charles II.[713] Many themes and ideas of these poems can, however, also be applied to the 9th Earl and relate to wider political and religious concerns of the late-seventeenth century. Indeed, the Marquis of Argyll was seen by some as a martyr for the cause of Presbyterianism for many decades after his death, including by Lachlann's correspondent Robert Wodrow.[714] A fourth poem, *Innis disi giodh be me* (quoted and discussed above), also appears to have political undertones.

In 1681, Gilleasbaig, the 9th Earl refused to swear the oath required by the Scottish Test Act, which contained an oath of allegiance to the king and a declaration to adhere to a specific form of Protestantism.[715] As a result of refusing, he had to flee Scotland in December of 1681, and he became a figurehead for the Scottish opposition to King James VII, a Catholic monarch. In the spring of 1685, Argyll began his rebellion in Kintyre, timing it to coincide with one in England led by James Scott, the Duke of Monmouth (illegitimate son of Charles II, and the patriarch of the family which helped raise Col. Cailean's grandmother Mary Knyvet).[716] Shortly after Argyll landed near Dunstaffnage Castle on 13 May, he sent his son Charles to call out the clan: Dùghall, the future 5th of

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[713] *Is maith mo leaba* has incorrectly been referred to as written about Gilleasbuig, 9th Earl of Argyll in Campbell, *Leabhar na Feinne*, 211; John A. MacLean, 'The Sources, Particularly the Celtic Sources, for the History of the Highlands in the Seventeenth Century' (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1939), 219–20 <https://abdn.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/delivery/44ABE_INST/12152480700005941> [accessed 30 March 2021].

[714] MacInnes, *British Confederate*, 18–22.

[715] Hopkins, *Glencoe*, 83–85; Alasdair Raffe, *Scotland in Revolution, 1685-1690* (Edinburgh, 2018), 13; Brown and others, *Records of Parliaments of Scotland*, 'Act anent religion and the Test', 1681/7/29. Findlay, 'Divine Right', 247.

[716] An overview of Argyll's Rebellion can be found in Allan Kennedy, 'Rebellion, Government and the Scottish Response to Argyll's Rising of 1685', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, 36.1 (2016), 40–59.

Kilberry, responded to the call.[717] Dùghall pretended to be loyal to those opposing Argyll under the Duke of Atholl, nearly capturing Inveraray Castle 'by bluff' when Atholl's men were securing castles in Kintyre.[718] Later that year, Dùghall was among those listed as rebels to be executed and had acts of forfeiture against him, although he ultimately was not executed.[719] Both Argyll and Monmouth were, however, executed that summer, and Argyll lost his estates, which had detrimental economic effects on Clan Campbell: many elite were forfeited, Kilberry included.[720] One of Lady Berners' letters states that before the Duke of Monmouth's execution, Aonghas of Kilberry, who was at one point one of the Duke's officers, 'was at last addmitted to the Duke [of Monmouth] in the Town in the disguise of a Clergyman' in the last moments of the Duke's life.[721] Gilleasbaig, eldest son of the 9th Earl, converted to Catholicism to try to gain favour with James VII. Failing to do so, he turned back to Presbyterianism and supported William of Orange in 1688-89; his father's estates were restored to him when William was successful in taking the throne.[722] This restoration of Argyll's estates and the power that came with them also meant the restoration of power and even land to some of his followers.[723]

NLS 72.1.36 was, then, written soon after the successful restoration not only of Argyll's estates and power, but also that of members of the Clan Campbell more generally. It is a logical extension of the loyalty of the Campbells of Kilberry to the Campbells of Argyll for Col. Cailean to include poems about the Argyll family in NLS 72.1.36—poems which reference religion, martial ability, and identity through genealogy. The poems relating to the Marquis raises the question of why poems concerning the 9th Earl were not included.[724] It could have been a matter of availability: MacGilleoin had access to Gaelic manuscripts, as shown in Chapter 2, but he still would not have had access to all Gaelic literature. It has been suggested that at least two of the poems about

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[717] 'The Earle of Argile has commanded Dunmor (MacMillan of Dunmor) and me and some other gentlemen, with ane pairty of men, to this countrey, and commanded us to charge you come in to him for maintaineing the Protestante religionne, our lives and liberty': Dougall Campbell of Kilberry to Laird of Lamont, 20 May 1685, in Norman Lamont, *An Inventory of Lamont Papers (1231-1897)*, Scottish Record Society Old Series, 54 (Edinburgh, 1914), 289.
[718] Dùghall was likely not the only one who had joined Atholl after having been briefly with Argyll: Hopkins, *Glencoe*, 99–100.
[719] Hopkins, *Glencoe*, 102–3; NRS, SC54/17/2/12/5 and JC39/83/2-3, 9, 12, 15, 17.
[720] Raffe, *Scotland in Revolution*, 13–16; Hopkins, *Glencoe*, 102–3; Campbell (Clan), *Account of the Depredations*; Burton and others, *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, XI (1929), 444; NRS, JC39/83/15, JC39/83/17; Kennedy, 'Rebellion', 58.
[721] Bokenham to Capt. Dugald, 22 February 1723, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.48, 190-192.
[722] Hopkins, *Glencoe*, 106; Raffe, *Scotland in Revolution*, 4–8, 58.
[723] Hopkins, *Glencoe*, 85–86, 102–3.
[724] Examples of poems about the 9th Earl of Argyll are *Cha b' e tinneas an fheachda, 'S truagh m' imtheachd o chùirt Mhic Cailéin, Flaitheas Saor le saoghal sean / do sheanadh Earra-ghaidheal*, and *Tha sgeul agam dhuibh ri innseadh*: Coira, *By Poetic Authority*, 363–64; NLS (ed.), *Cumhadh do dh' iarla Earraghaidhail : Cuir a chinn dilis, tharum do lamh* (Inverary, 1815); Ó Baoill, 'Domhnall', 190.

the Marquis of Argyll were written by the MacEwens.[725] If that was the case, then it is possible that some of MacGilleoin's resources/exemplars originated with the MacEwens. The poems about the Marquis were also written at a time more contemporary to the other material in the manuscripts: the exemplar of TCD 1362 was written c. 1640-1660, the prose tales and ballads were likely circulating pre-seventeenth century, and some of the poems (*Soraidh slan don aoidhche reir*, *Mairg ni uaill as óig*, and also *A dhuine, cuimnidh an bas*) are found in manuscripts from the early seventeenth century or at least pre-1685. A further possibility could be an avoidance of difficult topics for Col. Cailean and possibly MacGilleoin himself. Including poems for the Marquis of Argyll reflects a similar situation (executed leader, Presbyterian support) but for a figure for which there were more positive sentiments as a martyr for the Covenanting and Presbyterian cause, rather than the recent negative effects of the 9th Earl's failed rebellion.[726] Indeed, a letter from Cailean's cousin Dùghall towards the beginning of the rebellion seems to indicate that they followed Argyll in 1685 out of clan loyalty,[727] not necessarily agreement: 'Ye need not doubt bot we think this to be hard, and much against our inclination, bot we durst not bot obey orders'.[728]

Innis disi giodh be me seems to speak to the execution of the Clan Campbell chiefs, although that could be either the Marquis or 9th Earl, within the guise of a messenger/love poem.[729] The poem consists of only three stanzas, but there are six uses of the word *ceann* ('head/end') and what looks like a reference to execution: *cuiradh asam airgiod cean / cuiradh duin ar cen mo chinn* ('Take from me the reward money / Let a man put an end to/dispatch my head'). This would have resonated with the Campbells, who had two chiefs beheaded in the three decades prior to the copying of NLS 72.1.36, the Marquis in 1661 and the 9th Earl in 1685. This could be a literary representation of a message to a spouse—or even a love interest standing in for the whole clan—from one of the chiefs, reminding 'her' of their affection and belief in life after death as reassurance.

The other three poems under discussion here may also have been chosen for another reason: to emphasise the identity of Argyll, and therefore Campbells, as Gaels, while embracing their connections to the wider British political arena. There are a diverse set of origin tales that can be found in literature related to the Campbells: Norman-French,

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[725] Watson, 'Unpublished Gaelic Poetry', 139.
[726] MacInnes, *British Confederate*, 18–22.
[727] Clan Campbell in particular maintained a united front: Kennedy, *Governing Gaeldom*, 88–101.
[728] Campbell of Kilberry to Laird of Lamont, 20 May 1685, in Norman Lamont, *An Inventory of Lamont Papers (1231-1897)*, Scottish Record Society Old Series, 54 (Edinburgh, 1914), 289.
[729] This possible political interpretation was originally highlighted to me by Dr Aonghas MacCoinnich.

the Finn Cycle hero Diarmaid Ó Duibhne/the Campbell ancestor Duibhne (Gaelic origins),[730] and Arthur (British origins).[731] The Norman-French origins are not mentioned in the poems, and so will not be discussed here.[732] Of the other two, the Arthurian origin is found in the verse of the learned poets, such as the tracing of the Marquis of Argyll's ancestry through Arthur to Adam in *Triath na nGaoidheal Giolla Espag*, with the Gaelic origin a later development.[733] This British origin was the earliest assigned to the Campbells, although in early genealogies it took the form of tracing back to Fergus Leithderg, son of Nemed, which was 'a genealogical convention which indicated that the family concerned were not of pure Gaelic stock'.[734] The three poems in NLS 72.1.36 emphasise both the Gaelic and British identities.[735] In *Triath na nGaoidheal Giolla Espag*, the Gaelic identity is included by claiming the leadership of the Gaels (as well as Lowlanders) and claiming Duibhne as an ancestor: 'tar bhruath duibhne na gruaidh ngealghlan' (he was the scion of bright-cheeked Duibhne).[736] The same is done in *Rug eadrain*: 'A chodhnuigh chloinne duibhne' (Thou lord of the children of Duibhne).[737] This inclusion of both British and Gaelic identities is also found in *Is maith mo leaba, is olc mo shuain*, with the British origin invoked first: 'Seobhac don eltain a bhfearr / O dreim Artuir bu garg colg' (Hawk of noblest brood, sprung from the race of Arthur of fierce swords) and 'O Dúibhne o dhún na gcúach / ga thiocfadh na sluaigh fad iocht' (Scion of Duibhne from Dùn nan Cuach, to whom the people were wont to make submission).[738]

The inclusion of the poems in the manuscript, then, projects a dual identity as both Gaelic and British, likely with the goal to remain or at least appear to remain within the Gaelic cultural and political sphere even as they continued to work closely with the

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[730] This is a result of confusion between Diarmaid Ó Duibhne and the sixth progenitor beyond Cailean Mór in the Campbell pedigree, Duibhne; references to the Duibhne of the pedigree are found in the Classical tradition and he is the individual referred to in both *Triath na nGaoidheal Giolla Espag* and *Rug eadrain ar iath nAlban*. Gillies, 'Some Aspects', 279–80; McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 123; Sellar, 'Earliest Campbells', 109.

[731] Gillies, 'Some Aspects', 277–80; MacGregor, 'Genealogical Histories', 219; Sellar, 'Earliest Campbells', 109–10; Brown, *Noble Society*, 6; Coira, *By Poetic Authority*, 117–19, 126–27, 132–35, 143–44; David Sellar, 'Highland Family Origins - Pedigree Making and Pedigree Faking', in Loraine MacLean (ed.), *The Middle Ages in the Highlands* (Inverness, 1981), 103–16, at 108.

[732] Sellar, 'Highland Family Origins', 108–9.

[733] Gillies, 'Some Aspects', 280–81; MacGregor, 'The Campbells', 124; MacGregor, 'Genealogical Histories', 211.

[734] Sellar, 'Highland Family Origins', 108.

[735] The Campbells were not the only ones who had multiple identities as Gaelic, Scottish, and British, at least among the elite: Coira, *By Poetic Authority*, 47–52; Kennedy, *Governing Gaeldom*, 64–65.

[736] Mícheál B. Ó Mainnín, '"The Same in Origin and in Blood": Bardic Windows on the Relationship between Irish and Scottish Gaels, c. 1200-1650', *CMCS*, 38 (1999), 1–51, at 45–46; Watson, 'Unpublished Gaelic Poetry', 143–51.

[737] Watson, 'Unpublished Gaelic Poetry', 153–59.

[738] John MacDonald, *Voices from the Hills = Guthan O Na Beanntaibh: A Memento of the Gaelic Rally, 1927* (Glasgow, 1927), 253–55.

English and Scottish governments in ways that turned some other Gaels against Clan Campbell.[739] This was not a new phenomenon within the clan, who had been crossing British borders on literary and political grounds for as long as two centuries before the writing of NLS 72.1.36.[740] Without his direct account, we cannot know how Col. Cailean perceived this sense of dual identities. However, it appears from surviving evidence that, like many other contemporary Scottish Gaels, he was immersed in wider British culture, with the different identities. He owned Gaelic manuscripts pre-1700 and seems to have had some Gaelic education in his native Argyll, while his later life was spent moving in British political, military, and social circles with the entourage of his chiefs, the Dukes of Argyll.

The language and rhetoric of the three poems is connected to the panegyric code and topics that can be found elsewhere in Gaelic poetry and even the Marquis of Argyll's *Instructions to His Son*, ostensibly written while awaiting trial: religion, generosity, hospitality, nobility, leadership, education.[741] Religion is addressed in the discussion of themes below, as are references and comparisons to warriors. Brief examples of the other themes are given here. Leadership and generosity are both addressed in stanza 3 of *Triath na nGaoidheal Giolla Espag*, which also includes one example from the poems of the trope of comparing the subject to a plant ('cnú os crobhuing'):[742]

> [3] Mac mhic cailin cnú os crobhuing
>
> cach fa chanuig conmh*uidh* se
>
> laoch is feile dfheine na halbhan
>
> o freime feine is ardghlan e
>
> *MacCailin's son is the cluster's topmost nut; all others he holds under tribute; he is the most generous warrior of Scotland's soldiery: he is sprung from the root of a lofty and brilliant warrior stock*

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[739] Anti-Campbell rhetoric, and even regarding Campbells as not fully part of the Gaelic world, appeared in poetry in the seventeenth century as a result of political maneuvers, although it was not universal: MacGregor, 'The Campbells', 121–24; Gillies, 'Some Aspects', 256–68, 274, 284; Ó Mainnín, '"The Same in Origin"', 33, 44; Black, *Campbells of the Ark*, 15–16; McKerral, *Kintyre*, 80–81; MacInnes, 'Gaelic Culture', 169–70, 173; MacLean-Bristol, *Castor & Pollux*, 17–18.

[740] MacGregor, 'The Campbells', 152.

[741] Allan MacInnes believes this advice was attributed to but not authored by Argyll: MacInnes, *British Confederate*, 16–17; Archibald Campbell of Argyll, *Instructions to a Son by Archibald, Late Marquis of Argyle ; Written in the Time of His Confinement.* (London, 1661; repr. Early English Books Online Text Creation Partnership, 2015) <http://name.umdl.umich.edu/A25788.0001.001> [accessed 26 November 2020]; Coira, *By Poetic Authority*, 351–62.

[742] Watson, 'Unpublished Gaelic Poetry', 142–43; Coira, *By Poetic Authority*, 359.

The use of fian ('dfheine') to refer to a group of warriors also links to the Finn Cycle and Diarmaid Ó Duibhne. Examples of the other themes/topics can all be found in *Rug eadrain*: [1.4] 'Sáor fher gan labra ar letram' ('that noble of unbiassed utterance'), [6.1-2] 'Leómhan léimneach tar gach toigh, / triath chothuighthe a ccreidimh' ('He is a lion that leaps over every house; he is a lord who defends the faith'), and [26.1-2] 'A Chonaill Chearnaigh ar ghoil, / a fhoghluim Arasdotuil' ('[Thou who are] as Conall Cearnach for valour, [thou] who hast the learning of Aristotle').[743] These poems, then, in addition to connecting to the loyalty of the Campbells of Kilberry to Argyll, also connect to other texts in the manuscript through the themes contained within (see section 4.4).

4.3.4 Elegy to Aonghas Campbell, 4th of Kilberry

It must be noted that an elegy survives in the Kilberry estate papers 'On the Death of the Worthie Angus Campbell of Kilberrie'.[744] Aonghas, 4th of Kilberry, died in 1699, which means that this elegy was written about ten years after the copying of Cailean Campbell's Gaelic manuscripts. The elegy was, however, written in English.[745] The poem also does not include any traditional Gaelic imagery or figures, instead having a heavy focus upon biblical themes and figures we may expect to find in anglophone Scotland: heaven, mournful angels, Jashobeam, Abraham, and Isaac, for example.[746] Aonghas is, however, praised for being virtuous, pious, wise, protective of his friends, generous, brave, courageous, honourable, and hospitable: many of these characteristics are also praised in the Gaelic poems for Argyll discussed above. Unlike the Gaelic poems for Argyll, and Gaelic elegies or panegyric more generally, the elegy for Aonghas does not address his genealogy.[747]

Without knowing the author of the poem and the full context of the poem's writing, there is a limited amount which can be said about it without veering into what-if scenarios. It is the case, however, that less than ten years after Cailean owned and probably patronised Gaelic manuscripts full of poems and traditional literature, an elegy

[743] Watson, 'Unpublished Gaelic Poetry', 152–59.
[744] LA, DR/14/6/1.
[745] This was not necessarily uncommon, but still notable. English and also Latin elegies were written for other Campbells in the seventeenth century: NLS, Wodrow Collection, Folio II, no. 79-81, and Folio III, no. 35.
[746] Biblical and classical figures were utilised in Gaelic elegy, but alongside allusions to wider Gaelic tradition. In section 4.3.3, this was seen in the references to Aristotle and Conall Cearnach in *Rug eadrain*. See also Kate L. Mathis and Joanna Martin, 'Elegy and Commemorative Writing', in Nicola Royan (ed.), *International Companion to Scottish Literature 1400–1650* (Glasgow, 2018), 173–99, at 174, 186–87.
[747] Genealogy is a theme common to Gaelic elegiac verse, but it is not always included: Mathis and Martin, 'Elegy', 186. Genealogical histories in English with some Gaelic elements were also produced in the seventeenth-century: MacGregor, 'Genealogical Histories'.

was written for his uncle that was in English. While TCD 1362, NLS 72.1.36, and the poems on the Marquis of Argyll attest to the continuing importance of Gaelic culture, this elegy for Aonghas of Kilberry, like Cailean's life, reminds us of the complex, layered identities for the Campbells of Kilberry.[748]

4.3.5 Summary

This section has briefly reviewed the more notable aspects of the poetry of NLS 72.1.36, drawing attention to verses unique in this manuscript witness and where possible, comparing versions of this material to material elsewhere. It has been shown that *Is fuath liom* was part of the Scottish arm of a well-established literary genre, which has a parallel yet distinct tradition in Ireland. This genre awaits further investigation which may shed further light on the interconnectivity of and differences between the Scottish and Irish traditions. The poems about the Marquis of Argyll show expected loyalty to the clan leader, but suggest reticence regarding the events of 1685, which had only recently caused hardship among members of the Clan Campbell.

4.4 A Thematic Analysis of the Texts within Cailean's Manuscripts

The texts contained within the two manuscripts MacGilleoin wrote for Cailean Campbell reflect the diverse Gaelic literary landscape discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. While TCD 1362 contains three prose tales, all of which are about the traditional hero Cú Chulainn, NLS 72.1.36 contains poetry from the bardic, Classical tradition and more vernacularized poems covering multiple genres and subjects as well as proverbial quatrains, single stanzas, ballads, and prose tales. Due to the volume and extent of the literature in the manuscripts and the temporal and length restrictions of this project, an in-depth examination of each piece of literature is not practical here, although some material was discussed in Chapter 2 and the previous section. The concern of this section is to consider the themes present in Cailean's manuscripts as a whole and how these themes relate to aspects of what is known about his life.

A subject-based thematic approach to the manuscripts is taken to accomplish this task. 'Themes' are difficult to define from a theoretical standpoint due to the multiplicity

[748] More research can be done into this elegy and its context among English poetry produced for the Clan Campbell c. 1700, but that is outside the remit of this thesis.

of perspectives from which to consider themes in texts and the complexity of using themes alongside other methods of literary analysis, like cultural studies and New Historicism.[749] Multiple scholars can also interpret the same themes in different ways: one may consider travel a topic and isolation a theme, while another scholar would consider travel, or the specific type of travel, to be a theme (or a motif, a smaller thematic element).[750] The thematic approach used here is a subject-based analysis, considering themes to be the subject, or topic, of the literature, with related sub-themes. For example, consideration of TBC centres upon the broader themes of warriors (battle, valour, traditional heroes, pursuit), women (boasting women, supernatural women), and even sexuality (danger of sexuality), rather than delving into very specific themes such as the character of Cú Chulainn as a challenge to masculine heroic ideals.[751]

This subject-based thematic approach allows for consideration, grouping, and comparison of all texts within the manuscripts while drawing upon existing scholarship about those texts. It considers the texts within their 1690s context and analyses the manuscripts in their entirety for common subjects and preoccupations (or themes) to shed light on the possible motivations or interests of Cailean and even MacGilleoin. The discussion is structured around the four primary themes of warriors, women, religion, and morality, and texts which relate to multiple themes are discussed in each relevant section. For example, some lines from *Is fuath liom* are discussed under both the themes of women and religion. At the same time, I consider how the placement of the texts may impact the analysis or meaning. This is similar to what has been done by scholars with other manuscripts: Andy Orchard with the Beowulf-manuscript, Catherine McKenna with Lebor na hUidre, and Dagmar Schlüter with the Book of Leinster.[752] The thematic approach utilised here has yielded a varied set of themes related to common aspects of life, which suggests that the manuscript may have had instructional purposes or was produced for entertainment.

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[749] Max Lauwerse and Willie van Peer, *Thematics: Interdisciplinary Studies* (Amsterdam, 2002), 8–9; Bo Pettersson, 'Seven Trends in Recent Thematics and a Case Study', in Max Lauwerse and Willie van Peer (eds.), *Thematics: Interdisciplinary Studies* (Amsterdam, 2002), 237–52, at 247; Willie van Peer, 'Where Do Literary Themes Come From?', in Max Lauwerse and Willie van Peer (eds.), *Thematics: Interdisciplinary Studies* (Amsterdam, 2002), 253–63, at 256.

[750] van Peer, 'Where Do Literary Themes Come From?', 256; Lauwerse and van Peer, *Thematics*, 3–5.

[751] This theme of the text is discussed in detail in Jennifer Dukes-Knight, 'The Wooden Sword: Age and Masculinity in "Táin Bó Cúailnge"', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*, 33 (2013), 107–22.

[752] Orchard, *Pride and Prodigies*; McKenna, 'Angels and Demons'; Schlüter, *History or Fable?*

4.4.1 Themes of the Manuscripts' Texts

Although considering both manuscripts together, most of the material written for Col. Cailean is in NLS 72.1.36. TCD 1362 contains a relatively homogenous group of prose texts: TBC, OCC, and CRR, all three tales from the Ulster Cycle. NLS 72.1.36, on the other hand, contains a greater number and variety of poems and prose tales, and therefore, less homogeneity within the manuscript. NLS 72.1.36 will, then, receive most of the focus throughout this section. Furthermore, when considering themes within NLS 72.1.36, there are two ways in which to view the manuscript: the order in which it was written c. 1690-91 (Part I, Part II, and Part III), which is evidenced by dates in the manuscript, and the order in which it was bound after writing (Part III, Part I, and Part II), which is evidenced by the pagination and foliation of the pages, both done by MacGilleoin.[753]

The order of material does not necessarily affect the interpretation or connection between texts due to individuals often including material when they received it, rather than in a specific order.[754] It can, however, obscure observations about the copying order and framing of the manuscript. For instance, the two King Cycle tales, DGP and CG, were copied one after the other, suggesting they may have been copied from the same source, but they were separated when the manuscript was bound. While these two tales contain different characters, they both have themes of pursuit/rescue and women (see below). Additionally, considering the texts by the copying order frames the manuscript differently than the binding order. In the order in which it was written, the manuscript would begin with the proverbial quatrains and most of the prose tales would come before most of the poetry. In contrast, in the binding order, the manuscript begins with CG and most of the poems come before a majority of the prose tales. Both perspectives are potentially useful. The copying order may represent the order in which MacGilleoin (and Cailean as patron) had access to and perhaps interest in the material, while the binding order may indicate a preference on the part of the scribe or patron for that sequence of material.

NLS 72.1.36 is usual in that it is not written into clearly distinguishable groups of texts based around a common theme (i.e., love poems together, political poems together, etc.); it seems likely that this is due to the order of access to the texts, as was common when copying manuscripts.[755] Still, four over-arching themes are repeated in the texts:

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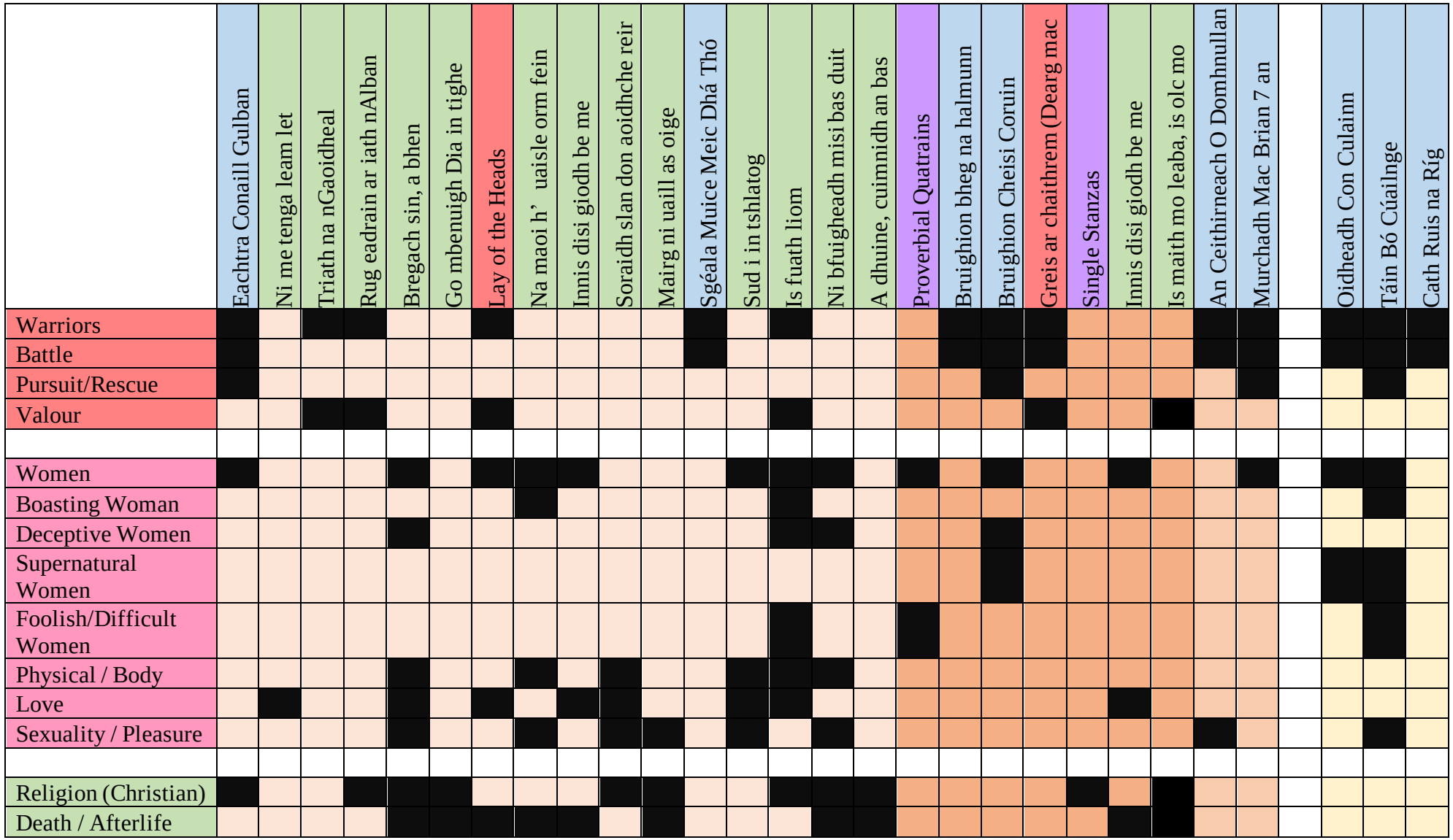
[753] Please refer to Appendix 1 for details on the provenance of the manuscript.
[754] This can be seen with collectors of verse about the Stuarts: Marcy L. North, 'Twice the Effort: Tracing the Practices of Stuart Verse Collectors through Their Redundant Entries', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 77.3 (2014), 257–85, at 258–59.
[755] The organising principles of manuscripts are discussed in Schlüter, *History or Fable?*, 16–19, 22, 224–25; McKenna, 'Angels and Demons', 165.

warriors, women, religion, and morality. There are, of course, nuances to these categories, which is explored in the sections below. The theme of 'warriors' covers most of the prose tales, the poems about the Argyll family, and the ballads (LnC, LnD). Women, religion, and morality are the primary themes of the remaining poetry, proverbs, and single stanzas. Poems about women feature love and talkative, deceptive, foolish, and supernatural women. Religious poems are overwhelmingly about death, the afterlife, and the impermanence of life in the body. Poems of morality overlap with those about women and religion, warning about the dangers of pride and sexuality as well as encouraging restraint and even responsible drinking.

The four overarching themes as well as related themes can be seen in Table 4-7. The texts are listed across the top in the order of binding and colour-coded by type, with poetry in green, prose texts in blue, ballads in red, and the single stanzas/proverbs in purple. The shades of orange indicate the parts of NLS 72.1.36, and the yellow indicates the texts in TCD 1362. The themes are grouped together by the overarching theme (i.e., warriors, women, religion, and morality) but also provide some nuance through more specific themes. Other, miscellaneous themes have been included under a fifth group, as well, to provide a more complete picture of the subjects and themes within the texts. This fifth group includes identification of the prose texts as part of cycles or as *rómánsaíocht*. The table may be used for reference in the following discussion. The appendices are also useful reference points for readers: they contain summaries of the prose tales, further information regarding the poems, and mini catalogues of the manuscripts. The number of texts which contain each of the four overarching themes are fourteen warriors, fourteen women, eleven religion, and eight morality.


Eachtra Conaill Gulban
Ni me tenga leam let
Triath na nGaoidheal
Rug eadrain ar iath nAlban
Bregach sin, a bhen
Go mbenuigh Dia in tighe
Lay of the Heads
Na maoi h' uaisle orm fein
Innis disi giodh be me
Soraidh slan don aoidhche reir
Mairg ni uaill as oige
Sgéala Muice Meic Dhá Thó
Sud i in tshlatog
Is fuath liom
Ni bfuigheadh misi bas duit
A dhuine, cuimnidh an bas
Proverbial Quatrains
Bruighion bheg na halmunn
Bruighion Cheisi Coruin
Greis ar chaithrem (Dearg mac
Single Stanzas
Innis disi giodh be me
Is maith mo leaba, is olc mo
An Ceithirneach O Domhnullan
Murchadh Mac Brian 7 an
Oidheadh Con Culainn
Táin Bó Cúailnge
Cath Ruis na Rig
Warriors
Battle
Pursuit/Rescue
Valour
Women
Boasting Woman
Deceptive Women
Supernatural Women
Foolish/Difficult Women
Physical / Body
Love
Sexuality / Pleasure
Religion (Christian)
Death / Afterlife

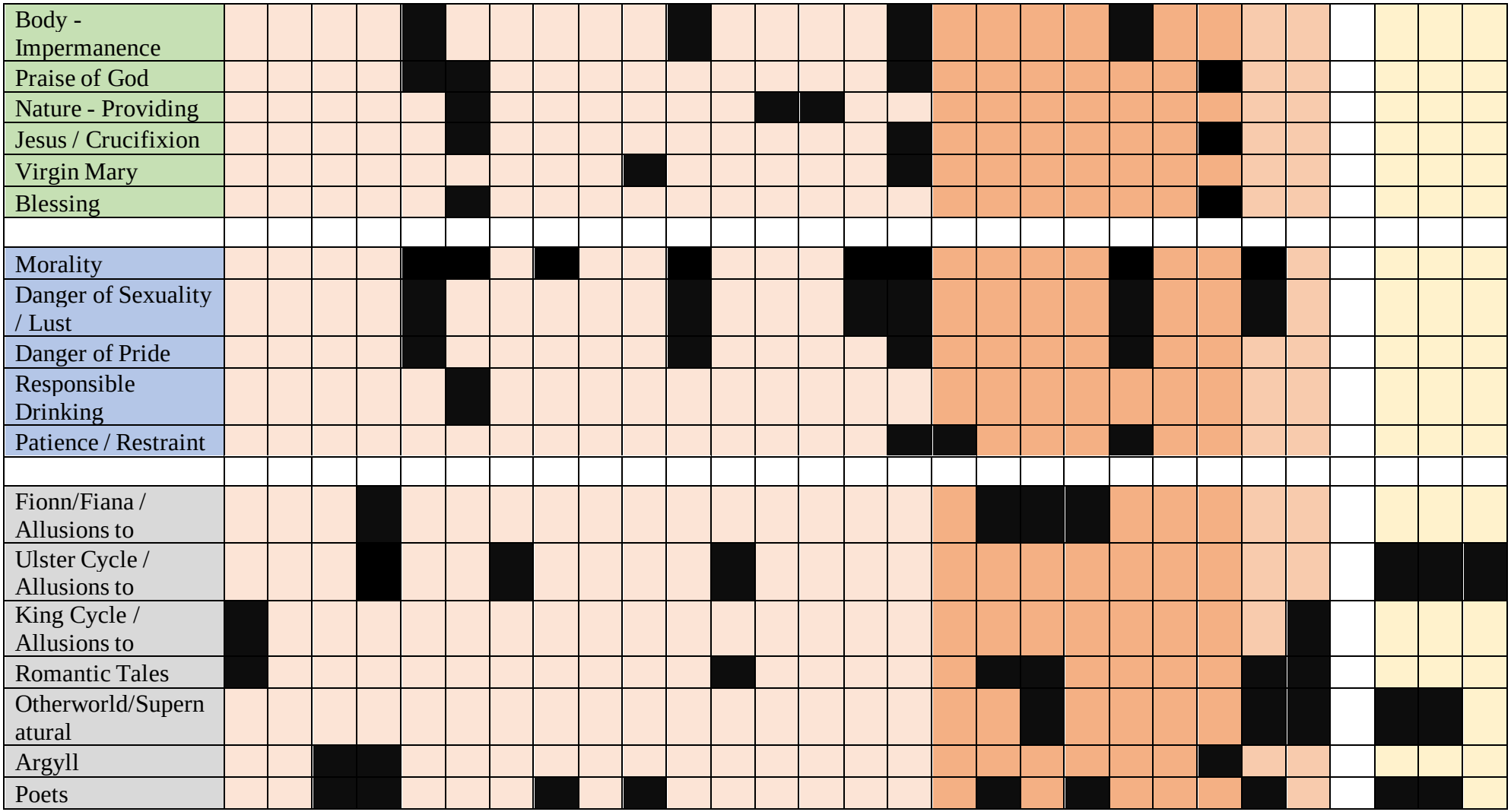


Table 4-7: Themes of NLS 72.1.36 and TCD 1362.

4.4.2 Warriors

The overarching theme of 'warriors' will not be surprising to anyone familiar with Gaelic literature. The popular traditional figures of Fionn, Cú Chulainn, Conall Gulban, and others are all warriors, and military prowess was a valuable characteristic for chiefs. This can be seen throughout Gaelic literature praising the nobility.[756] All of the prose tales and both ballads incorporate themes related to warriors, as does some of the poetry, but the role and portrayal of warriors within the texts vary. For some of the texts (LaD and all prose tales except DGP), warriors are the main characters, and they are facing battle, supernatural beings, rescues, and pursuit. A more detailed thematic interpretation of the treatment of warriors would require in-depth analysis of each of the individual texts, an analysis which, as previously mentioned, is not the aim of this thesis. It is also possible that some of the texts could serve an allegorical purpose: the manuscripts were written after (and even during) both political and religious upheaval in Scotland, England, and Ireland c. 1690, and further analysis of the texts with comparison to other versions, and perhaps similar literature in English and Scots, may reveal parallels, but again, that is for further research.[757]

Warriors are used in other ways in other texts. LnC, for instance, is a conversation between Conall Cearnach and Emer, Cú Chulainn's wife, after Conall Cearnach takes revenge for Cú Chulainn's death. In the lay, Emer and Conall Cearnach converse about various warriors and their prowess, but it is their deaths that are the primary subject. As a result, it is more specifically the mourning of the warriors, rather than the warriors themselves, that is the primary theme of the text, a tone relatively common in Gaelic literature.[758] In the context of NLS 72.1.36, such elegiac memorialising may have acted as a reminder and way of mourning the loss of men from the decade preceding the copying of the manuscript, in Argyll's 1685 rebellion and William's taking of the English and Scottish thrones.

In the poems, warriors are used as points of comparison for the subject of the poem and as part of the subject's genealogy. The use of warriors as a point of comparison for the poem's subject can be found in the poems about Argyll and *Na maoi h'uaisle orm fein*. In

[756] Coira, *By Poetic Authority*, 353, 359, 361; MacInnes, 'Panegyric Code', 450–51, 454–55.
[757] An allegorical purpose has been noted previously about SMD and other romantic tales in Breatnach, *Patronage*.
[758] Donald E. Meek, 'The Gaelic Ballads of Medieval Scotland', *TGSI*, 55 (1986–1988), 47–72, at 47–48.

Triath na nGaoidheal Giolla Espag, Argyll is not only referred to directly as a warrior (or 'laoch'); he is also compared to King Arthur, such as in stanza 23:[759]

> Ger iomdha triath a ttigh artuir
>
> oig alban an aignidh shaor
>
> do bheith ni as lia asdigh ad theghlach
>
> do bheir dia do dheghrath dhaoibh
>
> *Though many a lord was in Arthur's house, Alba's youth of free-born spirit, God of his good grace will grant thee to have still more within thy household.*

In the same poem, warriors are used to identify Argyll's genealogy: King Arthur and Duibhne are both referenced, each of them being used to emphasise a different aspect of Argyll's identity (i.e., as Gaelic and as British; this is discussed in section 4.3.3). In *Rug eadrain ar iath nAlban*, Argyll is compared to Cú Chulainn and the Greek and Roman hero Hector:[760]

> [3] Madh sióth madh cogadh do chách
>
> Mac cailin is é ar nursgath
>
> Lamh lentar m*ur* thuinn ttoruidh
>
> E*ach*ain an fhuinn albanuidh
>
> *Whether others be at peace or at war, MacCailin is our firm defence; his hand is followed as a wave of fruitfulness; he is the Hector of the land of Scotland.*
>
> [5] Fear ar ccoimhéid-ne a ccúirt ríogh,
>
> chonmhas síoth 's nach ob eisíoth;
>
> fuilngidh soin créchtfhoghuil ccuim,
>
> mar Choin ccédfadhuigh cCulainn.
>
> *He is our guardian in the king's court, who maintains peace and who refuses not dispeace; he endureth warwounding of his body like the intrepid Hound of Culann.*

Na maoi h'uaisle uses warriors to indicate genealogy, but they are ultimately being used to establish status and hierarchy:

> [3] Ona is fiosrac*h* misi araon

[759] The translation here is taken from Watson, 'Unpublished Gaelic Poetry', 147.
[760] The translation here is from Watson, 'Unpublished Gaelic Poetry', 153.

Ar g*ach* taob*h* a dean*n*muin*n* feail

Liog*h*t b*h*rian b*h*anfa ma ta taoi

Taimsi *ar* sliog*h*t niall .n.g.

[4] Ata sin mu*r* c*h*osg agam ort

A ben na rosc c*h*o c*h*li c*h*ruin*n*

Ma ta tu a liog*h*t c*har*bre c*h*ais

Ataimsi *ar* slioc*h*d *ar*t m*h*ic c*h*uin*n*

Oh, and I know for each of us two

On each side, who made a gift of flesh:

You are descended of good Brian of Banba;

I am the offspring of Niall of the Nine Hostages.

[That is, even as I have chastised you,]

woman of the so clever, round eyes;

If you are the offspring of Cairbre Cais,

I am descended of Art son of Conn.

There are four warriors mentioned here, establishing degrees of genealogy: Brian Bórama/Boru (941-1014) was a later king than Niall Noígíallach (of the Nine Hostages), who was progenitor of the Uí Néill, a family that held the kingship of Tara (i.e., the high-kingship) through most of the seventh-tenth centuries.[761] The poet is saying that the woman, as a descendent of Brian Boru, is noble, but he himself is nobler, because he can trace his descent from even further back. The references to Cairbre and Art serve the same purpose: the woman is noble by being able to trace her ancestry to Cairbre (probably Cairbre Lifechair), but he is nobler because he can trace his ancestry to Art son of Conn Cétchathach (Cairbre's grandfather).[762] The only other copy of the poem is an eighteenth century manuscript, GUA MS Gen 1042/30, in which 15 of the 26 lines have a counterpart in NLS 72.1.36; this gives us no further insight into the history of the poem. We may expect, due to the location of the poem in a book owned by a Campbell, that the narrator and/or the woman addressed are Campbells. However, the Campbells generally traced their genealogy back to Duibhne or King Arthur (see section 4.3.3), not the figures

[761] T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge, 2000), 442, 483, 515; Sellar, 'Highland Family Origins', 103–4; Donncha Ó Corráin, 'Dál Cais-Church and Dynasty', *Ériu*, 24 (1973), 52–63, at 52.
[762] Charles-Edwards, *Early Christian Ireland*, 601.

mentioned in this poem, although other clans have historically claimed descent from such Irish figures.[763] It is, perhaps, that the poet was using the figures as examples of the ability to trace ancestry and chose figures for their meaning in terms of hierarchy and status in the conventions of Gaelic praise.[764]

The inclusion of themes around warriors is particularly appropriate for Cailean. After the copying of the manuscripts, he went on to join military life under Argyll. Cailean's father, uncle, and cousin had seen military service in their chief's regiments, and it is possible that Cailean himself and/or his brother Dùghall also served in the regiments raised by the Campbells of Argyll c. 1685-1690.[765] This theme would have connected to and/or entertained Gaelic-speaking readers or listeners more broadly. The Highlands were a militarised culture in the seventeenth century, and warrior themes have a long history within Gaelic literature.

4.4.3 Women

Themes around women can be found in both poetry and prose. TBC, for instance, has the female character of Medb—who has received much scholarly attention[766]—while LnC is a conversation between Cú Chulainn's wife Emer and Conall Cearnach. The focus here will, however, be on the portrayal of women in the poetry, which includes both positive (3) and negative (4) portrayals, plus a proverbial quatrain. The more positive poems are all love poems. *Sud i in tshlatog* seems to be a straightforward love poem praising parts of the woman's body.[767] *Soraidh slan* is one of the positive love poems, although it does not outright mention or reference a woman, referring instead to two secret lovers.[768] Finally, *Innis disi giodh be me* is a messenger love poem that may also be a metaphor for political

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[763] Richard Mark Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála Part II: The Growth of the Tradition', *Ériu*, 39 (1988), 1–66, at 12; Ó Mainnín, '"The Same in Origin"', 8; MacBain and Kennedy, 'Book of Clanranald', 150–51; McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 117–19; Ronald Black and Máire Black, 'Verso Complete Transcription', *1467 Manuscript* <https://www.1467manuscript.co.uk/index.html> [accessed 6 April 2021].
[764] MacInnes, 'Panegyric Code', 450; Coira, *By Poetic Authority*, 356.
[765] See sections 4.2.1 and 4.3.3 for more on the Campbells of Kilberry's relationship to the Campbells of Argyll.
[766] Some examples are Muireann Ní Bhrolcháin, 'Women in Early Irish Myths and Sagas', *The Crane Bag*, 4.1 (1980), 12–19, at 13; J. P. Mallory (ed.), *Aspects of the Táin* (Belfast, 1992), 77–85; Ann Dooley, 'The Invention of Women in the Táin', in J. P. Mallory and Gerard Stockman (eds.), *Ulidia: Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales, Belfast and Emain Macha, 8-12 April 1994* (Belfast, 1994), 123–34; Doris Edel, *Inside the Táin: Exploring Cú Chulainn, Fergus, Ailill, and Medb* (Berlin: curach bhán publications, 2015); Alan Bruford, 'Why an Ulster Cycle?', in J. P. Mallory and Gerard Stockman (eds.), *Ulidia: Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales, Belfast and Emain Macha, 8-12 April 1994* (Belfast, 1994), 23–30; Erica Sessle, 'Misogyny and Medb: Approaching Medb with Feminist Criticism', in J. P. Mallory and Gerard Stockman (eds.), *Ulidia: Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Ulster Cycle of Tales, Belfast and Emain Macha, 8-12 April 1994* (Belfast, 1994), 135–38.
[767] See Appendix 2 for more information on this poem.
[768] Clancy, 'Fond Farewell', 119.

events (see sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3), in which the narrator instructs the messenger to share his words of affection with a woman.

The poems with a negative tone are largely targeted at women who are deceptive, among other things. *Is fuath liom*, a twenty-eight stanza poem consisting of a list of hated things (see section 4.3.1), is direct with the sort of women and women's behaviour that are disliked. Due to the premise of the poem (a list of hated things), it is not surprising that there is not a more positive portrayal. The BDL, containing an earlier, shorter version of the poem, has been described as having a misogynistic tone; the same can be said of the later version.[769] Lines from the poem include:

[6.3] Is f*uath* liom baintig*er*na lab*har*

I hate a speaking (i.e., an outspoken) lady.

[9.3] Is f*uath* lio*m* ben m*h*áit*h* gan ear*rad*h

I hate a good wife without property.

[13.4] Is f*uath* lio*m* cioc*h*an gan b*h*aine

I hate breasts without milk.

[17.3] Is f*uath* lio*m* maig*h*dion gan náire

I hate a maiden without modesty.

It is possible (perhaps likely) that this poem, these lines included, were meant as a humorous, entertaining text, but that does not diminish the misogynistic tone. It may, in fact, reinforce it. The proverbial quatrain also has this potentially humorous, though misogynistic, tone, by saying that instructing haughty or ignorant women is impossible, 'Mur f*h*ado tin*n*e fuid*h* loc*h* / Mar t*h*iormac*h*ad*h* cloch an gcuan' (like a [long-time fire/flaming peat] under a lake / like a stone in the ocean drying). 'Baintigerna labhar' may also refer to the Lady of Lawers, a woman who appears to have married a son of Campbell of Lawers c. 1645, known for her prophetic gifts.[770] If this is the case, there would not be a humorous aspect to this line, but a rather serious tone: it is possible the line is meant to have a dual interpretation, as well.

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[769] Bateman and McLeod, *Duanaire*, 358–59.

[770] Michael Newton, 'Prophecy and Cultural Conflict in Gaelic Tradition', *SS*, 35 (2010), 144–73, at 153, 158; John Gregorson Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1900), 274–76; William Alexander Gillies, *In Famed Breadalbane: The Story of the Antiquities, Lands, and People of a Highland District* (Perth: Munro Press, 1938), 250; John Gregorson Campbell and Ronald Black, *The Gaelic Otherworld: John Gregorson Campbell's Superstitions of the Highlands & Islands of Scotland and Witchcraft & Second Sight in the Highlands and Islands* (Edinburgh, 2005), 151, 408 n513.

In *Na maoi h'uaisle*, the first line and a bit of the poem is not a request but an order for a woman to not be boastful: 'Na maoi huaisle oruim fein / A bhean' (Boast not your nobility with myself, woman). The rest of the poem is a sequence with the same tone as the song 'Anything You Can Do I Can Do Better' from the musical *Annie Get Your Gun*: the narrator compares the woman to himself and repeatedly concludes that he is better than her. He does this with their genealogy (see the previous section), nobility, skills in writing & performance, and even genitalia/sexual performance:

> [5] Mar sin ni b*h*eira tu geall
>
> A b*h*en na mallac*h* seng reit*h*
>
> Mas as do p*h*eit ata t[']uail
>
> Ata boad c*r*uaid*h* agum fein
>
> *So, that you will not excel,*
>
> *O woman of slender, smooth eyebrows,*
>
> *If all your pride is in your vulva*
>
> *I have a hard penis myself*

There are two other copies of this poem, one of which is a copy of NLS 72.1.36, and the other is from the eighteenth century and differs from NLS 72.1.36: GUL, MS Gen 1042/30 (see Appendix 3). The bawdy references in the poem have been censored in the GUL copy: Helen O'Sullivan has noted that 'two words are omitted from the final quatrain', because 'evidently the eighteenth century scribe regarded them as too indecent for inclusion'.[771] The bawdy stanza has also not been included in the edition and translation published in *The Owl Remembers* in 1933.[772] Bawdy poems of this nature and negative poems towards women (such as the 'Argument about Women' genre) were not unusual and are found in Gaelic, Scots, and English, including the Scottish BDL.[773] *Is fuath liom* contains two lines that mention a 'peit' (vulva), one bawdy and one about procreation: 'Is f*uath* liom d*r*oc*h* p*h*eit*h* ga daorad*h*' (I hate a bad vulva being

[771] Helen Jane Theresa O'Sullivan, 'Developments in Love Poetry in Irish, Welsh, and Scottish Gaelic, before 1650' (unpublished MLitt(R), University of Glasgow, 1976), 109.
[772] MacKechnie, *The Owl Remembers*, 75–76.
[773] For more, see MacKay, 'Love and Erotic Poetry'; William Gillies, 'Courtly and Satiric Poems in the Book of the Dean of Lismore', *SS*, 21 (1977), 35–53, at 39–47; Kennedy, *Governing Gaeldom*, 59; Peter MacKay, Iain S. MacPherson (eds.), *An Leabhar Liath = The Light Blue Book: 500 Years of Gaelic Love and Transgressive Verse* (Edinburgh, 2016), 36–51.

expensive)[774] and 'Is p*h*eit nac béradh a c*h*lan' (And a vulva that would not beget children).[775]

The 'Argument about Women' genre can also apply to two other negative poems in NLS 72.1.36, both related to the dangers of sexuality and the deception not just of a woman, but of a woman's body. *Bregach sin, a bhen* is a poem accusing a woman of using her physical appearance to deceive the narrator, who spends the poem discussing the afterlife and death among comments upon her appearance. In *Ni bfuigheadh misi bas duit*, the narrator says that he is not foolish enough to fall for, and then die for, a woman's appearance. This poem is found after *Is fuath liom* in the manuscript. In the space at the bottom of the page, directly underneath *Ni bfuigheadh misi bas duit*, is another 'Is fuath liom' couplet in a 'coarse contemporary hand' and secretary script (not *corra-litir*) that uses orthography based on English:[776]

is fuve lem ben losc ge laver

is fuve lem eg avell gan uvla

i.e. Is fuath liom bean leasg[777] go labhar

is fuath liom ag abhall gan ubhla

I hate a lazy chattering woman

I hate an orchard without apples

Both lines are found also in *Is fuath liom* at stanza 6, lines 3-4, possibly making this couplet another variation: 'Is f*uath* liom baintig*er*na lab*har* / Is f*uath* liom ab*h*uil gan ud*h*lan' (I hate a speaking (i.e., an outspoken) lady/ I hate an orchard without apples). It is unclear if these lines are meant to complete the additional couplet at the end of *Is fuath liom* or are attempting to be an additional commentary on *Ni bfuigheadh misi bas duit*. There is also no indication of who wrote those lines. It seems, however, that they were written by somebody unfamiliar with writing Gaelic script and using Gaelic orthography, although their place in the manuscript suggests that the writer may have been able to read such script: a Gaelic speaker, but only English educated. It is possible that this could have

[774] Alternatively, 'being condemned' or 'being enslaved'.
[775] MacKechnie notes that 'is dòn ph..t nach beirigh a chlann' is crossed out and replaced in GUL , MS Gen 1042, no.145, although it is unclear if 'pheit' was censored to 'ph..t' by MacKechnie or in the manuscript itself. The line is not included in the published edition by Rev John Kennedy, although it is noted that there it is a variant. See MacKechnie Catalogue, s.v. GUL, MS Gen 1042, no.145(a); Kennedy, 'Unpublished Gaelic Ballads', 221.
[776] Transcription and standardisation of these lines was done by Ronald Black: *NLS Catalogue*, NLS Adv.MS.72.1.36.
[777] An alternative reading is losc (lame, disabled): 'I hate a disabled chattering woman'. Dinneen, s.v. losc; eDIL, s.v. losc.

been added by Col. Cailean, a member of his household, or a later owner of the manuscript, although almost certainly not by MacGilleoin.

Some details of Cailean's life indicate that, while he may not have been married, he was a sexually active man who enjoyed bawdy creative arts. To the first point, he may have had an illegitimate son.[778] To the second, Lady Berners wrote to Cailean about paintings of 'naked Beautys' which were sent to her by his brother.[779] He also would have been surrounded throughout his life by the sort of misogynistic sentiments mentioned in this chapter, such as the 'Argument about Women' genre. Indeed, 'Kilberries Lady' in 1704 (which would be Dùghall, 5th of Kilberry's wife Barbara) found an unmarried young woman in her service to be 'with chyld and telling and challenging her thereupon she stiffly denyed yet she put her away from her service', a situation made possible by contemporary societal norms and expectations around women and marriage.[780] The theme of women in the manuscripts would, then, have resonated with Cailean's lived experience and provided some entertainment and humour.

4.4.4 Religion

Religion, specifically the Christian religion and sometimes Presbyterianism, is a common theme, and the religious poems often overlap with the poems about women. This is the case for *Bregach sin a bhen*, *Ni bfuigheadh misi bas duit*, and *Soraidh slan don aoidhche reir*. In the first two poems, the religious elements are tied to death and the afterlife, and in the last poem, the poet calls upon Mary for guidance. Both of these religious elements, death/the afterlife and the Virgin Mary, are found in another poem, *A dhuine, cuimnidh an bas,* which is, in its entirety, a call for man to remember his death, afterlife, and God's judgement, with a final request not to be vain, for the sake of the Trinity.[781] Mary is used to refer to Jesus, i.e., the son of the Virgin. The preoccupation with death and the afterlife, and in some cases the impermanence of the body, are also a feature of poems that are not overtly religious: *Na maoi h'uaisle,* LnC, and *Innis disi giodh be me*.

There are 5 more poems with religious themes. *Go mbenuigh Dia in tighe 's a mhuintir* is a house blessing, which is a distinct genre of poetry (see Appendix 3). It also mentions death, but its primary purpose is to request God's blessing. With the manuscript

[778] Bokenham to Col. Colin, 5 May 1714, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.32, 125-126.
[779] Bokenham to Col. Colin, 5 May 1714, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.32, 125-126.
[780] Court of Justiciary, Scotland, *The Justiciary Records of Argyll and the Isles, 1664-[1742]*, ed. by John Cameron, John Imrie, Publications (Stair Society), 12, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1949), I, 196; Brown, *Noble Society*, see Part 2 Family, 111-177.
[781] 'Iaruim ort as ucht na trionoid / Na bi go dimhaoin a dhuine [...]' (I ask you for the sake of the Trinity Don't be vain, o man).

being written about the time that Cailean signed tacks for land in Kintyre in 1691, it is possible that it was a blessing composed and/or recited at his own homestead and/or that of his family who acquired tacks at the same time. Although this stems from a tradition of a poet's blessing, a specific genre of poetry (see Appendix 3),[782] it is included here due to the religious aspects of the poem, such as asking God to bless the house in the first line. *Mairg ni uaill as oige* invokes God as a warning against lust and pride, and so it is discussed in section 4.4.5. *Is maith mo leaba, is olc mo shuain* has much religious content, particularly praising some of God's previous works to protect his followers and praying that God does the same for Campbell of Argyll.

The final two poems have unique inclusions of the religious theme when compared with the other texts in the manuscript. In *Rug eadrain ar iath nAlban*, Argyll is praised for defending the faith (Presbyterianism; the poem was written for the Marquis of Argyll), and the poet refers to prayers for Argyll's safekeeping:[783]

> [6] léomhan léimnech tar gach toigh
>
> Tríath chothuighthe a ccneidhim
>
> Aníath alban na phosda tríath
>
> Go nardbhladh neglasda
>
> [7] Go bfuil na mharcas ar medh
>
> Tre itche cliar *da* choimhed
>
> Doig le các[h] tuáidh 7 thes
>
> Gu*r* na tráth fuar gach flaithes
>
> [*He is]* *a lion leaping over every house*
>
> *[He is]* *a lord maintaining the faith*
>
> *In Scotland's land, [he is] a pillar of lords*
>
> *Whose fame is high in the Church*
>
> *He is a Marquis in greatness,*

[782] Cosmo A. Gordon, 'Letter to John Aubrey from George Garden', *SGS*, 8 (1955), 18–26; Alexander Carmichael (ed.), *Carmina Gadelica: Hymns and Incantations with Illustrative Notes on Words, Rites, and Customs, Dying and Obsolete: Orally Collected in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1900), I, 104; Ó Baoill, *Scottish Gaelic Vernacular Verse*, 22.

[783] The translation is mostly taken from Watson, 'Unpublished Gaelic Poetry', 152–59. Watson provides a loose translation, however, so where I have more literal translations have been identified, they have been edited and underlined.

all the offerings/prayers of poets protecting him;

An example to all other men of north and south

deem all his honours won when due

This use of the religious theme, particularly the indication that the poet is referring to Presbyterianism, ties the religion of Argyll's supporters to their loyalty to him, like Catholicism could be, but was not always, tied to anti-Campbell rhetoric.[784]

In *Is fuath liom*, the religious theme emerges in individual lines about priests, prayer, and church:

[7.3] Is f*uath* lio*m* sag*air*t g*an* m*h*enmna

I hate a priest without courage.

[12.3] Is f*uath* liom duth*aich* gan sag*air*t

I hate a country/region without a priest.

[15.2] Is f*uath* liom ímpid*h* nac gab*h*ta

I hate a prayer not taken.

[20.3] Is f*uath* liom fu*iracht* fada a ccíll

I hate waiting long in a church.

The use of *sagart* rather than *ministear* (minister or clergyman) may be a result of the lines originating pre-Protestantism or from an area that remained Catholic or even Episcopalian. It may also have been a result of trying to stay within the syllables of the lines, since the lines of the poem are for the most part 8 syllables, only occasionally straying to 7 or 9, and using *ministear* would have made these lines to 9 syllables. Whatever the reason, these lines indicate that while the poet, or poets, could be critical of priests/churchmen, they also valued their presence, and while they may not enjoy a long time spent in a church, they do value prayer. It suggests a complex relationship with the requirements of a religious life.

The single stanzas also contain themes with religious aspects. This includes a couplet with reference to the Trinity and a stanza about the importance of restraint against weaknesses before death, implying that one should think about their afterlife. The most notable of these is one that can be identified from another poem: *Truagh liomsa, a*

[784] Raffe, *Scotland in Revolution*, 15–16; Gillies, 'Some Aspects', 268–73.

chompáin, do chor by Giolla Brighde Ó hEódhusa. Stanza 8 of this poem is very similar to, although not exactly the same as, single stanza (e) in NLS 72.1.36:[785]

[8] Más í an tuigsi, más í an toil,

is ciontach read chor tar céill,

bíodh ormsa an tuigsi **dho** chosg,

's bíodh cosg **na** toile ort féin.

If the intellect, if the will,

is responsible for your senseless state,

Let me correct your intellect

And let you correct your will[786]

(e) Mas i an tuigsi mas í an toil

Ata go do c*huir*si t*ar* ro c*h*eil

Leig ormsa an tuigsi c*h*osg

Is biad*h* c*h*osg **do** t*h*oile ort fein

If it is the intellect, if it is the will,

that is putting you in disorder,

Allow me to correct the intellect,

And do correct your will yourself

The differences present between the stanzas, marked in bold, result in different literal translations of the stanzas, but the basic meaning remains, and it is clear the single stanza is connected to the original from *Truagh liomsa*. Giolla Brighde (Bonaventure) Ó hEódhusa (died 1614) was a traditionally trained Irish poet born in the latter half of the sixteenth century who became a Franciscan at the convent of St. Anthony of Padua in Louvain in 1607.[787] The transmission into Scotland may have been via Ó hEódhusa's home country of Ireland, and it is not limited to Argyll: work by Ó hEódhusa also appears

[785] The transcription of stanza 8 from *Truagh liomsa* is taken from Cuthbert McGrath, O.F.M, 'Three Poems by Bonabheantúra Ó hEódhasa, O.F.M.', *Éigse*, 4.3 (1945), 175–96, at 179–90. This stanza is also in print in O'Rahilly, *Dánfhocail*, 43.

[786] An alternative translation is 'If it be the intellect that is responsible for your madness, let it be my task to correct it—if it be the will, let it be your task to correct it': Cuthbert MacCraith, *Dan na mBráthar Mionur*, Scribhinni Gaeilge na mBráthar Mionur, 8, 2 vols (Baile Átha Cliath, 1967–1980), II, 17.

[787] Knott, 'Poem by Ó Heoghusa', 241; Innes and Reid, 'Expressions of Faith', 67; Seamus Deane, Andrew Carpenter, and Jonathan Williams, *The Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing*, vol 1 (London, 1991), 280–81.

in the Scottish Fernaig manuscript, which includes similar religious themes as NLS 72.1.36, such as the transience of earthly things.[788] It may be tempting to read into the inclusion in NLS 72.1.36 of a stanza from a poem written by a Catholic, but some religious ideas permeated denominational barriers after the Reformation.[789]

Finally, an overtly Christian religious element appears in CG. Alan Bruford states that native Irish tales and *rómánsaíocht* lack interest in Christianity and instead focus on traditional heroes, but one copy of CG (MacGilleoin's copy) includes a Christian scribal interpolation.[790] The text uses the phrase 'an Coimdhe cumhachtach' (the powerful protector/Trinity) to refer to God: Macaomh Mór states that it was thanks to God that he fell into a griffin's nest and was saved after being thrown off a cliff.[791] If this is MacGilleoin's interpolation, it suggests that he may have been highly religious, enough to include a reference to God where there was not one in a traditional Gaelic tale. It is just as likely, however, that MacGilleoin's exemplar included the phrase, and he was copying it as he did other prose tales. Without knowing his exemplar, which probably has not survived, the origin of the phrase cannot be determined.

As for Col. Cailean, documents related to his life do not specifically point towards a religious individual, although the poem for his uncle Aonghas contains a quantity of religious themes (section 4.3.4). Additionally, religion and related issues were an everyday part of early modern society. Therefore, the ideas, references, and religious culture found throughout the poems would have been familiar to him and likely part of his belief system.

4.4.5 Morality

Aspects of morality in the texts overlap with almost all other themes and relate to sexuality, pride/vanity, patience/restraint, and in one case, responsible drinking. Religious poems and poems about women are often also about the dangers of sexuality, pride, and vanity, as can be seen in Table 3-4. A few examples suffice here. In *Bregach sin, a bhen*, the poet is concerned that the beauty (and by extension sexuality) of a woman is dangerous for his afterlife, and also for hers.[792] *A dhuine, cuimnidh an bas* ends with a request that

[788] Donald C. Fraser, 'Gaelic Religious Verse from the Fernaig Manuscript', *TGSI*, 57 (1993), 73–99, at 77–94.
[789] Innes and Reid, 'Expressions of Faith', 66–69, 78.
[790] Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales*, 25.
[791] Many thanks to Dr Sìm Innes for assistance with understanding this passage. NLS, MS.72.1.36, f.33v. This corresponds to H3 and H4 in Alan Bruford, 'Eachtra Chonaill Gulban: An Irish Hero-Tale in Manuscript and Oral Tradition', *Béaloideas*, 31 (1963), 1–50, at 8.
[792] The danger of desire is also a theme in the twelfth century manuscript Lebor na hUidre: McKenna, 'Angels and Demons', 163.

the person addressed not be vain. Similarly, in *Mairg ni uaill as óige*, the opening line is a warning against taking pride in youth and youthful beauty, and it warns that pleasure and pride of the body will not last. Such moral themes were common in Scottish courtly love poetry.[793]

It is in *Go mbenuigh dia in tighe 's a mhuintir* that there is a call for responsible drinking:

> [2] Go benaig*h* dia in tól subac*h* is e samhac*h*:
>
> gan t*ar*uing sgine no claoid*h*iom gan luais laim*h*e
>
> [3] Aon duine ni bruig*h*ion no trodan *ar* bh*ar* meisge
>
> cuirt*hair* amac*h* e *ar* in dor*as*: dol uisce
>
> *May God bless the happy quiet drinking*
>
> *without the pulling out of knives or swords or the throwing of fists.*
>
> *Anyone who fights or argues through drunkenness*
>
> *will be put out the door: to drink water.*

This seeming diversion from a blessing and praise of God to warn listeners that anyone who cannot handle their drink will be removed comes across as a sort of house rule. Whether the blessing was taken directly from another source or the poem was modified by Col. Cailean, MacGilleoin, or even a member of one of their social circles, it indicates that there was a standard of behaviour that was expected.[794]

Finally, patience and restraint are referred to in the single stanzas, *A dhuine*, *cuimnidh an bas*, and one of the proverbial quatrains. The proverbial quatrain is as follows:

> Nech sin b*h*ios corac*h* do g*h*nat*h*
>
> Is iónan[795] gné d*h*o is don dris
>
> An tí sin nac*h* bfúit*har* a*chd* cearr
>
> Fóig*h*dne[796] is is fer*r* a d*h*enam*h* leis
>
> *The person who is always angry,*

[793] Brown, *Noble Society*, 122, 128.
[794] Martin Martin mentions social standards related to drinking and drunkenness in Martin, *Description of the Western Islands*, 106.
[795] This accent appears to be displaced to the right: ionon or íonan is more common.
[796] This accent appears to be displaced to the left for foíghdne (foighne in Dinneen).

It is the same disposition to him and to the bramble,

The one that you always find to be wrong,

Should be dealt with patience.[797]

In other words, an unstable, prickly individual will remain so, and the best response is to be patient. Single stanza (f) calls for having patience rather than pride while you are alive ('Is do c*h*aide tir abet*h* let / Sín tf*h*oig*h*idin le tuab*har*'), and single stanza (e), quoted in section 4.4.4 above, calls for restraining your will.

These examples of the theme of morality relate not just to Col. Cailean but also to living in society more generally. They contain advice about how to live: not fighting while drunk and showing patience to a prickly man can avoid unnecessary conflict. Cailean may have been a young man at the time of the writing of the manuscripts, perhaps not much more than twenty-one years old. In that case, he may still have found such advice or reminders useful to guide his behaviour. Such moral themes are also not limited to NLS 72.1.36, as such themes are part of long-standing Gaelic literary tradition.

4.4.6 Summary

In NLS 72.1.36 and TCD 1362, both written within a roughly three-year time span, c. 1690-1692, there seems not to have been a single, unifying theme or idea. TCD 1362 is more cohesive in that all three texts are from the Ulster Cycle, and therefore connected through their characters and ethos. NLS 72.1.36 is, on the other hand, a miscellany rather than an anthology, with no clear dividing lines between themes and ideas or texts, and no single theme or idea to connect all texts. Prose and poetry are mixed, as are the types of poetry and the primary themes. There is, however, some grouping: the three Finn Cycle texts of BBA, BCC, and LaD appear beside each other, as do two of the poems about Argyll, and the two prose tales from the King Cycle were written one after the other, although they are separated in the bound manuscript. The poems about the Marquis of Argyll and *Soraidh slan don aoidhche reir* (all from the first half of the seventeenth century) are likely to have been copied from written sources; indeed, in the case of *Rug eadrain ar iath nAlban*, we know this is the case due to the attached colophon. The colophon—originally by an Irish soldier and possible scribe, 'Muris O Mhuilghirigh' ('Muiris Ó Maoilghirigh'), fighting in the Wars of the Covenant (1638-1651) who

[797] An alternative translation can be found in MacKechnie, *The Owl Remembers*, 21: 'The man of ever-changing mood / is like the painful prickly thorn / while he, whose manner's gruff and rude, / with ceaseless patience must be borne.'

addresses the recipient of the poem, possibly the Marquis of Argyll himself, as 'My Lord'[798]—may indicate that MacGilleoin had access to some of Argyll's papers. The compilation of the manuscripts was likely a result of MacGilleoin and/or Col. Cailean having access to multiple manuscripts from which to pull the poems and tales, although some of the texts may have been taken from the oral tradition of Kintyre and Gaelic Scotland (such as *Is fuath liom*).

The texts being a result of copying from multiple manuscripts, and perhaps drawing from oral tradition as well, indicates an active compilation of the texts with choices to accept and reject additions to the manuscripts (and therefore the themes and ideas of those texts). There is not a clear indication, however, of whether it was Cailean or MacGilleoin who were making these decisions and why they were choosing these texts. Without any records or other notes in the manuscript, it is difficult to determine with certainty the level of agency displayed by each man in choosing these texts.

Nevertheless, the themes of the text can be connected to some aspects of Col. Cailean's life, although not exclusively: many of the connections can apply to other contemporary men, particularly Campbell men. The literature involving warriors ties to Cailean's time in the military and his experience with various military campaigns such as Argyll's 1685 Rebellion and William and Mary's taking of the English and Scottish throne (1688-1690), but many men were involved in such military campaigns with military careers. The loyalty of the Campbells of Kilberry to the Campbells of Argyll is seen in the poems about the Marquis, but the same can be said of other loyal Campbells and individuals. The idea that the themes of the texts can be connected to Cailean, but are not specific to him, also applies to the other major themes. The themes and ideas surrounding women, religion, and morality cannot be tied to specific events in Cailean or his family's lives, but they were generally a part of their society and culture, and Cailean would have recognised them. It is, then, possible that the manuscripts were for Cailean's private use, but it is also possible that the household, and even the households of his close family, would have had access to the manuscripts or been read texts from them for entertainment and/or instruction (in the case of some of the religious or moral poems). They would have been familiar with and identified with the themes and ideas and perhaps even known individual texts themselves. It is significant, however, that Col. Cailean was the one who

[798] This colophon can be found in Appendix 1. NLS, MS.72.1.36, f. 81r; McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 72–73; MacKinnon Catalogue, 117.

owned NLS 72.1.36 and TCD 1362, even briefly, and as such, he had an interest in the medieval and early modern literary material.

4.5 Conclusion

The identity of Cailean Campbell, whose name appears in NLS 72.1.36 and TCD 1362, has been subject to speculative comment and can now be confidently confirmed as Col. Cailean Campbell of the Fourth Troop of Horse Guards, brother to Capt. Dùghall Campbell, 6th laird of Kilberry. We now know some of his personal and family connections and whereabouts, that he received tacks for land in Kintyre in 1691 and 1694, and that there are surviving letters to him and his brother from his great-aunt. Col. Cailean was military minded, loyal to the Campbells of Argyll, and a person who straddled Gaelic and British identities. Although he had two Gaelic manuscripts written for him, he spent much of his later life in England. He was also aware of wider European concerns. He went with Iain, 2nd Duke of Argyll to serve in the War of the Spanish Succession, and his great-aunt wrote in one letter that he spoke Spanish and understood some French and Italian.[799] Unlike Lachlann Campbell, who went to Europe, returned to Kintyre, and then spent his time between Argyll and Ireland, Col. Cailean seems to have first settled in Kintyre and then spent his time outside of Argyll and Scotland through his position in the military, and as revealed in his great-aunt's letters, even as a companion to the 2nd Duke of Argyll.

At the time of the writing of his manuscripts, however, he was in Kintyre. The ambiguity of who was choosing which texts to include in his manuscripts makes it difficult to determine the motivation for choosing them and the intended use of the manuscript, although there is one use that is suggested by the circumstances around the compilation of the manuscripts. The manuscripts were written shortly before Cailean and his immediate family received tacks of land in Kintyre, and after William of Orange ascended to the English and Scottish throne and Argyll's estates were restored. The land of the tacks was along one of the primary roads leading down to Campbeltown, a key route through Kintyre, and Argyll may have wanted to reward Campbells who were loyal with land and simultaneously place those loyal Campbells along a strategic travel route. It is possible that these manuscripts were meant as private books or household books of a soon-to-be/new tacksman, and even perhaps a way for Cailean to demonstrate his status within the Gaelic elite by participating in the tradition of manuscript production. This contextual information is not enough to concretely determine the purpose and intent of the

[799] Bokenham to Col. Colin, 21 May 1714, LA, DR/14/6/12, n.33, 127-128.

manuscripts, however, and we can only speculate. Indeed, MacGilleoin had TCD 1362 in 1700 when he passed it onto Lhuyd, less than ten years after the manuscript was written, although it is unclear when it returned to MacGilleoin's possession. MacGilleoin may have retrieved the manuscript from Cailean in 1700 for the purpose of passing it to Lhuyd, or Cailean may have given the manuscript back to its copier prior to 1700: it is not possible at this time to be certain about when it exchanged hands and the motivation behind it.

The contents of the manuscripts, particularly NLS 72.1.36, support the suggestion that the manuscripts were probably for personal and household use, both as instruction and entertainment: it was not unusual for elites/aristocracy/tacksmen to provide such entertainment.[800] The tales of legendary Gaelic warriors would interest Cailean and his family, who were all military minded, and others around them would also have recognised and emotionally connected with those themes after almost a decade of struggle and military action.[801] The religious and moral texts would provide guidance, or at least an ideal, and a warning against excessive pride, vanity, and sexuality.[802] The texts about women reflect an often negative or misogynistic tone that is found in other Gaelic manuscripts, such as the BDL, which includes poems on the 'Argument about Women' as well as texts on the impermanence of life and the body and placing God above the physical form.[803] They act simultaneously as a warning to men not to be deceived and a message to women not to have too much pride in or boast about their looks or activities. These overarching themes, then, as well as the poems about Argyll, reflect some of the socialisation and high Gaelic literary culture to which Cailean, his family, and their households would have been exposed, although certainly not the entirety of it.[804] Indeed, Cailean's ownership of and probable patronage of NLS 72.1.36 and TCD 1362 demonstrates Scottish Highland engagement with pan-Gaelic legendary prose narrative and other literature. Whether or not he monetarily patronised the manuscripts, he invested energy into engaging with the material in *corra-litir* at a time when such engagement was

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800 Gillies, 'Clan Donald', 92, 106.
801 Brown, *Noble Society*, 2.
802 Anthony J. Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England, 1500-1800* (London, 1995), 3–29; Rosalind Carr, *Gender and Enlightenment Culture in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2014), 38.
803 Clancy, 'Fond Farewell', 113–14; Brown, *Noble Society*, 122, 128, 138–45, 201, and see the index under 'women' and 'wives'.
804 Some scholarship which considers family, marriage, and society in Britain, see Brown, *Noble Society*; Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination*; Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800* (New York, 1977).

uncommon, much like MacGilleoin copied the manuscripts at a time when such Gaelic manuscript production in *corra-litir* was not common (see Chapters 1 and 2).

Conclusion

From a cultural history perspective, the seventeenth century was described by Derick Thomson as 'the crucible of Scottish Gaelic poetry'.[805] It is a significant period of transition for the Scottish Highlands with a shifting Gaelic culture and changing relationships with Gaelic Ireland and the rest of Scotland following the plantations of Ulster and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms. This thesis has spotlighted underutilised and understudied manuscripts from this period: the manuscripts of Eoghan MacGilleoin. It also highlighted important aspects of MacGilleoin's scribal activity, the contents of the manuscripts, and the lives of his two Clan Campbell patrons, Mr Lachlann Campbell and Col. Cailean Campbell. The inclusion of both Classical and vernacular material in Eoghan MacGilleoin's manuscripts embodies the transitional nature of the Highlands in the seventeenth century, when Classical written Gaelic was eclipsed in prominence in surviving material by vernacular Scottish Gaelic. Primarily Scottish archival material was consulted from the NRS, NLS, Live Argyll Archive, and Inveraray Castle Archive to confirm and expand upon the identities of MacGilleoin and his patrons. This archival work was essential to the analyses completed in this thesis.[806] The ability to understand the forces impinging on the production of these Gaelic manuscripts is greatly enriched by work on non-Gaelic sources that provide an avenue for consideration of identity and necessary context to wider cultural and political concerns.

As stated in the introduction, this thesis has considered three broad questions related to the contents and context of MacGilleoin's manuscripts. Firstly, this thesis explored what insights the contents and context of MacGilleoin's manuscripts provide into manuscript production, written language, patron/scribe relationships, and literary culture in late seventeenth-century Argyll. In the first two chapters, it was demonstrated that, despite the criticism of Celtic scholars, Eoghan MacGilleoin was far from being a 'grossly ignorant' scribe who 'sometimes copies mechanically what he does not understand'.[807] Rather, he was a capable scribe within the standards and realities of late-seventeenth

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[805] Derick Thomson, 'The Seventeenth-Century Crucible of Scottish Gaelic Poetry', *Studia Celtica*, 26 (1991), 155–62.

[806] As is true for much historical work, further archival research may shed more light on the lives and activities of MacGilleoin and his patrons. Lachlan had direct and MacGilleoin indirect connections to Ireland, and Cailean's whereabouts from c. 1694-1707 are unknown.

[807] Stokes, 'On the Metrical Glossaries (1893)', 6; O'Rahilly, *The Stowe Version*, lii–liii.

century Argyll, influenced by a variety of dialects and registers of Gaelic from vernacular to high-register and Scottish Gaelic to Irish Gaelic and Classical Gaelic (see section 2.3). His production of literary manuscripts in *corra-litir* in Kintyre, while not usual so late in the decline of the traditional scribal activity, was still in line with contemporary production, such as the Red Book of Clanranald, also written in *corra-litir* and a mixture of Gaelic literary dialects; the Fernaig Manuscript, which contained both religious and political poems, including from the Classical tradition, like MacGilleoin's NLS 72.1.36; and the Gaelic religious translations by ministers of the Synod of Argyll (see sections 1.3.2.1 and 2.2). The discussions of MacGilleoin's and Lachlann's resources demonstrate that Gaelic manuscripts were still circulating and being produced in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries in Argyll and Ulster. Both MacGilleoin and Lachlann had manuscripts at their disposal from which to copy, and Lachlann was producing his own copies of texts and compiling a personal glossary of difficult words. Lachlann's work and the resources at his and MacGilleoin's disposal have not survived, so it is impossible to know how much activity, in manuscripts or loose leaves, *corra-litir* or roman script, was produced and lost to history. However, a comparative analysis of items in MacGilleoin's manuscripts with copies of the same texts from other manuscripts might provide more information about exemplars or similar lines of transmission.

This thesis has also presented evidence of a Gaelic literary culture in Kintyre/Argyll in the late-seventeenth century that persisted in the face of pressures influencing its decline, such as reduced noble patronage and the growing prioritisation of education in English. A community of Gaelic scholars is suggested by the activities of MacGilleoin, Lachlann, and other figures such as Edward Lhuyd, Cailean Campbell of Achnaba, the MacLachlans of Kilbride, and the ministers translating religious work, among others, who all worked with Gaelic and Gaelic-language material. Lachlann and MacGilleoin were certainly working together somehow in 1698 when the metrical glossaries in TCD 1307 were copied for Lachlann's use. It was established in this thesis in section 3.1.1.2, that the vellum folios containing *Stair Fortibrais* included with TCD 1307 were not of interest for their contents, but rather used as a protective cover for the paper folios containing the glossaries. The two men were likely working together again in 1700 when they met in Campbeltown and discussed Edward Lhuyd.[808] Indeed, MacGilleoin seemed to be a well-known and connected individual within the landscape of Gaelic scholarship and literary activity. He was able to acquire manuscripts, with the support of

[808] MacGilleoin to Lhuyd, 3 January 1700, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fol. 277-278.

local elite (Cailean and Lachlann) and was introduced to Edward Lhuyd during Lhuyd's travels through Argyll.

The second question under consideration in this thesis revolves around the patrons, their identities, and whether their activities are reflected in their manuscripts. The new syntheses of letters, tacks, church records, and other archival material, both published and unpublished, has allowed this thesis to firmly establish Col. Cailean Campbell, one of the Campbells of Kilberry, as MacGilleoin's patron. It has also allowed for greater appreciation of the significant role Lachlann Campbell played in the Gaelic literary and intellectual world of the south-western Scottish Gàidhealtachd. Considering the contents of the manuscripts in tandem with details of the patrons' lives has indicated that the patrons influenced, either directly or indirectly, the manuscripts' contents to varying degrees. Lachlann's connection to MacGilleoin was in part a scholarly one, with TCD 1307 assisting, albeit briefly, with his Gaelic-learning activities, and MacGilleoin and Lachlann both interacting with—and at least in the case of Lachlann, even advising—Edward Lhuyd in matters of written Gaelic language (see Chapter 3 and sections 1.4 and 2.3.1). Indeed, Lachlann saw himself as part of a British and European intellectual community, the Republic of Letters, and those intellectual interests are closely related to his self-study and scholarly activities around the Gaelic language (see sections 3.2 and 3.3).

Cailean's motivations behind his patronage and ownership of Gaelic manuscripts and his relationship with MacGilleoin are less clear, and his role in Gaelic literary culture was more limited and possibly primarily transactional. Indeed, his patronage of MacGilleoin from 1690-1692 is the only evidence of his interaction with Gaelic literary culture. While this may seem unimportant, it is nonetheless significant evidence in the Scottish Gaelic context for engagement with mostly secular Gaelic literature otherwise not often seen in the historical record at the time. The reasons for Cailean's interest in this material are not immediately obvious, although it may relate to a combination of his identities as a military man, a member of the Clan Campbell, a tacksman, and a part of the Gaelic community. His patronage of the manuscripts may have been to create a personal/household collection of poems and tales and/or to assert a political or Gaelic cultural status after the Clan Campbell regained power with the installation of King William and Queen Mary to the throne c. 1689-1690. This restoration of a Campbell-friendly regime to power would have consolidated the position of Campbell landed gentry in Argyll and Kintyre after the difficult years of the later 1680s and given him the

resources needed for the Gaelic manuscript patronage, a symbol of prestige. The contents of the manuscripts do connect to Cailean's life and activities: the themes of warriors and the Campbells of Argyll tie to Cailean's military activities as a companion of the 2nd Duke of Argyll (Chapter 4). This connection is, however, more tenuous and more general than the more direct influence between Lachlann's activities and the metrical glossaries in TCD 1307.

Although Cailean's participation in the Gaelic literary culture of late-seventeenth century Argyll was not, as far as we know, as extensive as that of Lachlann, it is the manuscripts written for Cailean that contain the greatest and most diverse amount of surviving material, particularly NLS 72.1.36. This thesis offers the first exploration of the collection of poetry, prose, and proverbs contained within the manuscript. In Chapter 2, the provenance and language of the literature within MacGilleoin's manuscripts was considered, and it was established that it is a mixture of texts of Irish and Scottish origin and that the scribe drew from a wide range of Gaelic registers and dialects, with Irish, Classical, and Scottish influences. His writing shows that vernacular Gaelic features influenced his copying of traditional Classical Gaelic material, though not extensively. The analysis of the contents of MacGilleoin's manuscripts within Chapter 4 focused on the contents of NLS 72.1.36 and determined that there were four overarching themes within the manuscript: warriors, women, religion, and morality. These themes broadly mirrored Cailean's life and activities within late-seventeenth century Gaelic, Scottish, and British society, suggesting that they relate to his life and socialisation in a militarised society and military family. A section devoted to the poems about the Marquis of Argyll also connect to Cailean's life more directly. These poems highlight praise of and loyalty to the Campbells of Argyll.[809] Indeed, Cailean and his family display strong loyalty to their clan leaders throughout the seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. Chapter 4 also highlighted poems with more notable features. First, poems of which there were two copies (*Laoidh na gCeann* and *Innis disi giodh be me*) were discussed and the reasons for multiple inclusion, such as access to exemplars, considered. Secondly, poems which were dissimilar across time or between copies (*Is fuath liom* and *Mairg ni uaill as óig*) were analysed. In the case of *Mairg ni uaill*, it appears the poem may have been shortened to fit into available space. *Is fuath liom*, on the other hand, seems to be a popular, dynamic

[809] In-depth individual analyses of these poems may prove fruitful around the topics of panegyric and political poetry.

poetic style with distinct but parallel Irish and Scottish strands, with the NLS 72.1.36 copy being the longest version by a significant margin.[810]

The final research question of this thesis concerns the connections between Gaelic Ireland and Gaelic Scotland. The analysis of the activities of MacGilleoin and Lachlann support recent scholarship which has increasingly challenged the theory that Gaelic Ireland and Gaelic Scotland were at one time a wholly homogeneous culture that disconnected during the seventeenth century, arguing instead that they were two closely linked groups whose literary, political, religious, and cultural connections were strong, but not consistent over time.[811] It also supports a continuing connection between Gaelic Scotland and Gaelic. Ireland. MacGilleoin acquired at least one Irish manuscript, his exemplar NLS 72.2.9, within fifty years of its copying. He also had other manuscripts at his disposal: there seems to have been a number of families engaged in the production or preservation of manuscripts in seventeenth-century Argyll, but many manuscripts they handled are likely to be Irish in origin (see section 2.2). Lachlann tells as much in his letters in which he discusses the 'old parchment books' and states he is awaiting books, and no doubt manuscripts, from Ireland.[812] Furthermore, the activities of these two men point to potential routes of manuscript transmission and travel across Sruth na Maoile, between Ulster and Kintyre. Personal connections between individuals in Kintyre/Argyll and Ulster, and perhaps even religious connections via the Presbyterian church, were potential points of contact. Lachlann travelled into Belfast in 1704, where he met with acquaintances and saw Gaelic manuscripts; although his contacts there are not identified, they may have been the ones sending old parchment books to Lachlann.[813] Letters from the Synod of Ulster show that Lachlann was well-known among the ministers in Ulster.[814] This thesis has shown that another potential route of manuscript travel involved personal and familial connections which centred on the families of the MacDonalds of Largie and

[810] The development and iterations of these poems of hateful things is worthy of further research to consider the whole corpus of poems, connections between the Irish and Scottish traditions, and change over time.
[811] McLeod, *Divided Gaels*, 1–13, 107, 193; MacDonald, *Missions to the Gaels*, 28–36, 102–32, 178–99, 205–11, 265; MacGregor, 'Làn-Mara', 23; Aonghas MacCoinnich, review of *Divided Gaels: Gaelic cultural identities in Scotland and Ireland, c. 1200-c1650*, by Wilson McLeod, *History Scotland*, 6.5 (2006), 50–53; Martin MacGregor, review of *Divided Gaels: Gaelic Cultural Identities in Scotland and Ireland, c. 1200-c. 1650*, by Wilson McLeod, *The Scottish Historical Review*, 85.220 (2006), 342–44; Mícheál B. Ó Mainnín, review of *Divided Gaels: Gaelic Cultural Identities in Scotland and Ireland, c.1200-c.1650*, by Wilson McLeod, *Speculum*, 81.3 (2006), 889–91; Brendan Smith, review of *Divided Gaels: Gaelic Cultural Identities in Scotland and Ireland c. 1200-c.1650*, by Wilson McLeod, *The American Historical Review*, 109.5 (2004), 1624–25.
[812] Campbell to Lhuyd, 11 July 1704, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 288-289; Campbell to Wodrow, n.d., Wodrow Collection, Quarto III, n.73.
[813] Campbell to Lhuyd, 30 October 1704, BodL, MS Ashmole 1814 fols. 290-291.
[814] Synod of Ulster, *Records*, 131–32.

MacDonnells of Antrim. MacGilleoin's exemplar, NLS 72.2.9, was produced by Fear Feasa Ó Duibhgeannáin, a scribe connected to the MacDonnells of Antrim, and an elegy about the death of a chief of the MacDonalds of Largie was copied into the manuscript c. 1690. MacGilleoin's manuscript NLS 14873 also seems to have been passed to the eighteenth-century harper and collector Uilleam MacMurchy, who was patronised by the MacDonalds of Largie. It follows, then, that in addition to Campbell links with Ireland, the MacDonnells of Antrim and MacDonalds of Largie were forces at least partly driving manuscript transmission between Ireland and Scotland, or at least from Ireland to Scotland, c. 1700. Furthermore, the material within the manuscripts, much of it of an Ulster provenance (see Chapter 2), demonstrates that Gaelic Ulster remained important, culturally, to literary-minded members of the Scottish Gaelic community down to the very end of the seventeenth century, at least in Argyll.

This study is the first extended analysis of Eoghan MacGilleoin, his patrons, and their manuscripts, and provides a strong basis of scholarship about the men and their manuscripts upon which future scholarship can and should build. The methods used were interdisciplinary, involving both literary and historical work, and the wealth of information that can be gained from such an approach has been demonstrated throughout this thesis. It has shone light on wider considerations within Scottish and Celtic studies, including identity, language, and manuscript production, during a crucial period of cultural transition in the history of the Gàidhealtachd. It shows the continued interconnectedness of the Gaelic literary cultures in seventeenth-century Ulster and Argyll, and the ways Gaelic cultural production and transmission could still be meaningful to some of the Clan Campbell elite. Ultimately, it shows the necessity of continuing research on MacGilleoin's diverse and substantial corpus to gain a more complete understanding of the seventeenth-century Gaelic literary and linguistic landscape.

Appendix 1: Summary Manuscript Catalogues

For each manuscript, the following information has been provided: reference to the manuscript in published catalogues, the date, a brief description, details of provenance, colophons and select marginalia, and a list of contents. The information provided is a synthesis of information available in the catalogues and is meant as a reference for the reader. For a guide to abbreviations, please see the list at the beginning of this thesis.

1 NLS 72.1.36

Catalogues: *NLS Catalogue;* MacKechnie Catalogue, 176-9; MacKinnon Catalogue, 91, 116-7, 142-6; Kühns, 82-3.

Date: 1690-1: Part I by 29 November 1690, Part II by 9 December 1690, and Part III by 24 January 1691. It was finished by or after 7 March 1691.

Description: Folios: 15r-135v. There is damage at the beginning and end of the manuscript: only a fragment remains of ff.1-14. Text is lost at the corners of ff.15-42 and folios after f.129, with substantial loss of text at ff. 15-18 and ff. 134-135 merely fragmentary. Twelve additional leaves are traceable in the binding. The Rev. Donald MacKintosh transcribed much of the manuscript into what is now NLS Adv.MS.72.3.11.[815] The transcription includes an additional twelve pages, now lost from the beginning of the original manuscript.

Parts I and II are paginated. Part III was foliated and placed first for binding, at which time the foliation was carried over to Parts I and II, and titles were added to the tales BBA, BCC, CCR, DGP. The same ink is used for the foliation and titles.[816] MacGilleoin's *probationes pennae* can be found on the endpapers of Parts I and II, and jottings from Cailean, mostly unreadable, appear on some of the endpapers.

Provenance: The whereabouts of the manuscript after its writing are unknown until it passed into the hands of Major MacLachlan of Kilbride (fl. 1775-1803). Part III was, either during or before MacLachlan's possession, separated from Parts I and II: he inscribed 'This Manuscript be[longs to John] McLachlan Kilbride' on ff.128v-129r (at the end of Part II) and 'This Manuscript is the Property of John McLachlan of Kilbride' on f.95v (the beginning of Part I)—i.e. the beginning and end of the manuscript without Part III. The three parts were together again by 1804 when MacKintosh made his transcription. The manuscript was one of five manuscripts left with the Advocate's Library of the Highland Society of Scotland by MacLachlan for consideration in the 1805 report on the

[815] NLS, 'Transcripts of Gaelic Manuscripts'.
[816] For more details, see *NLS Catalogue*, Adv.MS.72.1.36.

authenticity of the Poems of Ossian.[817] The manuscript was missing from the Highland Society in 1861 and was marked as 'returned' sometime later. It was deposited into the Advocates' Library collection of Gaelic manuscripts in the nineteenth century and deposited into the NLS upon its creation in 1925. In 1962, the manuscript was rebound with the original paper cover inserted after the text.

The Report on Ossian states that the manuscript 'was written at Aird-Chonaill upon Lochowe', and the manuscript is referred to as 'The Ardchonaill MS' in J.F. Campbell's printed collection *Leabhar na Feinne*.[818] The manuscript is also refered to as 'the Ardchonaill manuscript' in multiple secondary sources, likely in response to the Report on Ossian and Campbell's work, the most recent of these from 2005.[819] Ardchonnell [Àird Chonaill] belonged to Major MacLachlan and was almost 12km from Inveraray and about 55km from Kilberry. The Report does not state the source of this information: it is possible that it was provided by Major MacLachlan or others of the family. It also could have been inferred: the manuscript may have been part of a lawsuit between the Major's sisters after his death in 1803 regarding the estate of Ardchonnell and its heirship-moveables, including 'a valuable Gaelic manuscript'.[820]

Colophons and Marginalia: All of the colophons and marginalia can be found in Black, NLS Catalogue, so a complete list is not included here. MacGilleoin's signature occurs throughout the manuscript, as do dates between 29 November 1690 and 7 March 1691. Marginalia listed below include pedigrees for Cailean Campbell and instances of his hand appearing in the manuscript. A colophon by an Irish soldier/scribe is also included.

> 79r: 'Eogan M*a*c G*h*illeoin le mo laim*h* do cr*i*oc*h*nuid*h* in e*cht*rasa da sg*r*iob*h*ad*h* in se*cht*mad*h* la do*n* m*h*ios M*hair*t aon m*h*ile se ced aon deg 7 c*eth*re fit*h*id dan*n*alad*h* ar ttig*h*earna Iosa C*r*iosd. Caillain Caimpbel leis in leis in leab*har*an .i. Caillain m*a*c Donch*aidh* m*h*ic Dug*h*il m*h*ic C*h*aillain oig'.
>
> 82v1: 'Bena*cht* chugaib*h* a ~~triath~~ t*h*ig*hear*na ar son na hait*h*ne do rin sib*h ar* an dan so 7 tea*cht*aire do c*hu*i*r* da i*ar*uid*h* seac*h* moran do c*hac*h oile do c*h*uala é 7 se is lo*cht* liom air anois olcas na sg*r*iob*h*neora*cht*a o iom*ar*caid*h* deit*h*fire 7 nar sgribhas an oireadsa do G*h*aoid*h*ealg o tangas a nalbuin 7 ni hiongnad*h* sin oir ni bfuil moran do lu*cht* tuigse an san c*hu*i*r*t a bfuilim anois ni beg sin a*cht* tab*har* mo beno*cht* deoin m*h*ac m*h*aig*h*isdir Dom*h*nall.
>
> Do ts*her*bon*n*tuig*h* fein go fead*h* a c*h*um*h*a*cht*,
>
> Muris O M*h*uilg*h*irig*h*'.[821]

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[817] MacKenzie, *Report*, 295–96.
[818] MacKenzie, *Report*, 293; Campbell, *Leabhar na Feinne*, v.
[819] Hector MacLean, *Ultonian Hero-Ballads Collected in the Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland, from the Year 1516, and at Successive Periods till 1870* (Glasgow, 1892), 159; Thomson, 'Macpherson's Ossian', 119; Thomson, 'James MacPherson', 25; Bold, 'Ossian', 193.
[820] William Maxwell Morison, *The Decisions of the Court of Session, from Its First Institution to the Present Time, Digested under Proper Heads, in the Form of a Dictionary...with Additions in Notes*, 42 vols (Edinburgh, 1811), VII, Appendix, Part I, 'Heir Portioner' no. 3, after 5383.
[821] He was likely to have been the copyist of the preceding poem, *Rug eadrain ar iath nAlban*, in MacGilleoin's exemplar, rather than the author, and was one of the Irish soldiers who took part in the wars of the Covenant in Argyll: Watson, 'Unpublished Gaelic Poetry', 141, 152–59; *NLS Catalogue*, NLS Adv.MS.72.1.36; MacKechnie Catalogue, 177.

95r: The signature 'Collin Campbell' and scribblings.

104r: 'Finis 29 Novemb*er* 1690.' 'Caillan Caimpbeil leis in leis in leab*har*si .i. Caillan M*a*c Donch*aidh* m*h*ic Dug*h*il m*h*ic C*h*aillain oig.'

110v: 'Finis .i. Finid crioc*h*nugh an sgela sin an naoiem lo do mi dece*m*b*er* 1690. Gac*h* nec*h* do leig*h*ios e, tugad*h* e b*h*enoc*ht ar* an sg*r*iobnior. Amen. *etc* Caillain Caimpbel m*a*c Donch*aidh* m*h*ic Dug*h*il m*h*ic C*h*aillain Oig m*h*ic Mhaig*h*ist*ir* Arc*h*ibald leis an leis an leoib*h*rain.'

115a r (faded): The signature 'Collin Campbell is the owner of this book' and largely unreadable Gaelic text.

Contents (folios): Orthography is taken directly from the manuscript where possible. Standardisations can be found in Appendix 2.

Part III:

15r: *Eachtra Chonaill Ghulban* (CG).

79r17: *Ni me tenga lem let*, 3 qq.

79v1: *Triath na nGaoidheal Giolla Espag*, 37 qq. Addressed to 'Gille-easbuig Gruamach', the Marquis of Argyll.[822]

81r10: *Rug eadrain ar iath nAlban*, 26 qq. Addressed to the Marquis of Argyll. It is followed by a colophon (see above).

82v12, 83r17: *Bregach sin, a bhen, beg an seal do bhaois*, 12 qq.

83r: *Go mbenuigh Dia in tighe 's a mhuinter*, 15 lines.

83v1: *A Chonuill, ca sealbh na cinn* (*Laoidh na gCeann*; LnC), 27 qq. This is a ballad that usually appears within the section of *Oidheadh Con Chulainn* (OCC) known as *Deargruathar Chonaill Chearnaigh* (the Story of Conall Cearnach's Revenge), but it appears independently here.

85r1-85r17: *Na maoi h'uaisle oruim fein*, 8 qq.

85r18: *Innis disi giodh be me*, 3 qq.

85v1-85v14: *Soraidh slan don aoidhche reir*, 6 qq. By Niall Mór MacMhuirich (c. 1596-1626).

A translation can be found in MacKinnon Catalogue, 116. 'A blessing to you, my Lord, for your appreciation of this poem, and for sending a messenger for it,--so different from many others who heard it. My chief regret now is that, because of excessive haste, the handwriting is so inferior. (But) I have not written this much of Gaelic since I came to Scotland, nor is this surprising, for in the district in which I now am, there are not many who understand the language. No more at present, but give my blessing to John, son of (the Rev.) Mr. Donald.--Your own servant to the extent of my power, M. O' M.'. MacKinnon's translation of 'cúirt' as 'district' may more appropriately be translated as 'court' or perhaps 'area': Dwelly, s.v. cùirt.

[822] Ronald Black states that it is addressed to Gilleasbaig, 9th Earl of Argyll: *NLS Catalogue*, NLS Adv.MS.72.1.36.

85v15: *Mairg ni uaill as óige*, 4 qq.

86r1: *Sgéala Muicce Mhic Dá Thó* (SMD). This is a later version of *Scéla Mucce Meic Da Thó* (ScM).

92r1: *Súd í in tshlatog mheduigh m'aicid*, 3 qq.

92v1: *Is fuath liom óinsach gan óiran*, 26 qq., 28 stanzas.

93v8: *Ni bfuigheadh misi bas duit*, 5 qq.

94r1: *A dhuine, cuimnidh an bas*, 9 qq.

Part I:

95v: 2 Proverbial Quatrains.

96r: *Bruighion Bheg na hAlmhain* (BBA).

104v: *Bruighion Chéisi Coruin* (BCC).

111r1: *Greis ar chaithrem an fhir mhoir* (*Dearg mac Draoidhbhill/Laoidh an Deirg*; LaD), 67 qq.

114r1: *Is maith mo leaba, is olc mo shuain*, 14 qq. On the committal of the Marquis of Argyll to the Tower of London, 1660.

114v9: *Innis disi giodh be me*, 3 qq.

114v15: 11 Single Stanzas.

Part II:

116r1: *An Ceithearnach* (CCR).

127v1: *Murchadh Mac Brian 7 an Dirioch* (DGP).

2 TCD 1362

Catalogues: TCD Catalogue, 199; TCD Online Catalogue, s.v. 'IE TCD MS 1362 – Irish romance tales' and 'IE TCD MS 1362a - The original binding of TCD MS 1362'; Kühns, 104-5.

Date: 1691-2 (c. Nov 1691-July 1692).

Description: Pages: 278. Fragile with the spine falling apart and edges frayed, but no loss of text. There is foliation in ink and pagination in pencil. Page number 223 is repeated. There are many signatures, *probationes pennae*, and doodles at the front and back of the manuscript. The original binding was made up of scrap paper and are kept separately in the TCD archives.

Provenance: Although written for Cailean Campbell, it was Eoghan MacGilleoin who gave the manuscript to Edward Lhuyd in 1700, perhaps c. 3 January 1700 when MacGilleoin wrote a letter to Lhuyd (see Chapter 1). Lhuyd wrote in Welsh on page 4:

'Yn ycheldir Prydein a cowsom y Lhyvr ymma gan yn Hugh Mc Lên o Gil y chynni yn y Kyntir yn Swydh Argile, Ao. Dom. 1700. A'r lywr hwnnw ai hyscrivennasae ai Law i hŷn alhan o hen lwyr' ('We acquired this book in the highlands of Britain from Hugh McLên from Cil y chinni [Kilchenzie] in the county of Argyle AD 1700. And this book he had written it with his own hand out of an old book').[823] The manuscript was deposited in the Trinity College Library in October 1786 from the Library of Sir John Sebright with 43 other manuscripts from Lhuyd's collection.

TCD 1362 is a copy of NLS 72.2.9: see Chapter 2 for more information about the NLS manuscript and a discussion of MacGilleoin's copy in comparison to his exemplar.

Colophons and Marginalia (pages): The catalogues do not include a list of colophons and marginalia, so they have been included here in full. This manuscript is the only one in which MacGilleoin also signs as Hugh MacLean.

1: Lists of days in May, June, and the beginning of July, presumably when the manuscript was written, and 'Cat g*ar*us 2 la july 1692'. It looks like 'April 9th 1692' is along the left side, although some of it is obscured by the binding: 'A…il 9th 1…92'. There are multiple instances of the *probationes pennae* 'Cionus sin a phinn a bfiont*ar* lin do lo*cht*' and variations such as 'Cionnus sin a phin'. It is not all readable. There is also 'Eoghan m*a*c ghilleoin do sg*r*iobh an …', 'Caillain Caimpbell a [faiceis] an …', and some single words/short phrases: 'Dugall', 'Cionnus', 'blèabe', 'What', '[d]oeghuibh uile', and 'thomas mc'. Doodles and numbers/simple equations are interspersed with the words.

2: 'S', 'Beno*cht* uaimse le failt [*etc*]', and 'Beno*cht* uaimsi le fuaran *ar* gus an ti nac bfacus riamh is ionmhuin anú genoil; i'

3: 'Hew McLaine', 'May the 5th 1696', and 'Hew McLaine writter…' in secretary hand. 'Cionnus sin'. '3'. 'Is ionmhuin'. 'Cionnus sin Giliecholum Mac m'. A doodle.

4: 'HewMcLaine with my hand &' (secretary hand). Edward Lhuyd's note in Welsh (see above).

57: Bottom of the page: 'Eoghan'.

84: Signed 'Eog*han* M*a*c Ghilleoinn le mo laimh' at line 13. Doodles at the bottom of the page, including a hand.

160: 'In seism*eadh* la do mhi July dandal*adh ar* ttig*er*na aon mile se .c. dha dheg 7 ceit*er*e fichit do c*r*iocn*adh* liomsa in leabar ainsi i bf[*had*] toiria*cht* na tanna do sg*r*iobh*adh*' and 'Eoghan M*a*c gilleoin le mo laimh aig an peand 1692'.

161: 'Caillan caimpbel m*a*c doncha*dh* m*a*c Duphghoill m*a*c cailin oig m*a*c caillin mor m*a*c maigist*ir* Archibal .i. m*a*c maighstir gilleasbuig leis an les an leabh*ar*'.

270: 'fuicearlan m*a*c fice faice ficoice fe faice faoi' and 'Caillain Caimpbel leis mo laimh ag an peand in cuig*eadh* la do mi nouemb*er* aon mile se ced ceit*er*e fithid 7 aon deg 1691'.

[823] Kühns, 104.

272: 'Heugh MacLaine writter of this book' (secretary hand) and 'Heugh m*a*cLainne uriter of this irish histori' (*corra-litir*).

273: 'Hew McLaine w^{t} my hand & evermore at Gods Comand' (secretary hand) and 'Eoghan m*a*c gilleoin le mo laimh aig an phend' (*corra-litir*).

Contents (pages):

5: Táin Bó Cúailnge (TBC).

163: Cath Ruis na Ríg (CRR).

190: *Oidheadh Con Culainn* (OCC), including LnC.

3 TCD 1307

Catalogues: TCD Catalogue, 84-85, 338; TCD Online Catalogue, s.v. 'IE TCD MS 1307 - Two metrical glosses in Irish'.

Date: October 1698.

Description: 8 paper folios with a title page and two vellum folios acting as a cover.[824]

Provenance: The manuscript was written for Lachlann Campbell in Campbeltown in 1698. It was in Lachlann's possession for about four years before being passed onto Edward Lhuyd in mid-1702 (see Chapter 3). It remained in Lhuyd's collection until it was acquired by TCD.

Colophons and Marginalia (folios): There are no colophons, but there is a title page and a note on the last page (see section 3.1.1).

1r: Forus Focal *etc* / Iod*h*on / Miniug*h*ad*h* na sen f*h*ocal cruaid*h* do-t*h*uigsi na teng*h*a gaoig*h*ligh / Do sgriob*h*ad*h* iona Caimpbeltoun le Eoghan M*a*c Gilleoin c*h*um fog*h*naimh M*h*aistir loc*h*lain Caimpbeil 1698 [etc]

8v: Lochlan Caimbel leis an leab*h*ran so / Noc*h* do sg*r*iobh*adh* le Eog*h*an M*a*c G*h*illeoin in tres la do m*hí* Octob*er*, aon m*h*ile se ceud o*cht* bliag*h*na dég 7 ceit*h*re fic*h*id *etc* / FINID

Contents (folios/pages): The manuscript contains two metrical glossaries (see Chapter 3).

Paper Folios

2r/1: *Forus Focal*, 76 qq.

4v/6: *Deirbhsiur* glossary, 62 qq.

Vellum Folios

Stair Fortibrais.

[824] The vellum folios are now part of TCD MS 1303: TCD Online Catalogue, s.v. 'IE TCD MS 1303'.

4 NLS 14873

Catalogues: NLS Online Catalogue, s.v. 'Manuscript of "Táin Bó Cuailnge" and Other Tales, Written by Eoghan Mac Gilleoin'; Ronald Black, *Catalogue of Gaelic Manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland*, unpublished.

Date: 1692-1698.

Description: Folios: 86. The manuscript is currently damaged and in need of conservation, with lost and illegible text throughout. It breaks off incomplete at f.86. It can be accessed on microfilm, but due to the damage to the manuscript, the microfilm is also difficult, and in some places impossible, to read.[825] The original coarse skin cover and binding remain. Folios are missing from both the beginning and end of the manuscript.

Provenance: From Eoghan MacGilleoin, the manuscript passed, directly or indirectly, to 'John Mcneill Uug' (f.66v) in Daralachan (1 mile from Kilchenzie) in or by 1714. A Donald MacNeill also had possession of the manuscript (ff.52v, 66v), probably after John. It was once in the possession of Uilleam MacMurchy, who wrote 'Leabhar Lachlainn Mic Neill Fear Chillmoludhag / Lachlann Mac Neill' (Lachlan MacNeill of Kilmaluag's book) in *corra-litir* along the bottom of f.52v.[826]

By 1808, it was in the Duke of Atholl's possession (f.66v) and was already in its present damaged state. It was preserved in Blair Castle until 1965, when it was placed on permanent loan to the NLS.

Colophons and Marginalia: All the colophons and marginalia can be found in the NLS Online Catalogue. They include signatures from MacGilleoin and dates ranging from 9 August 1692 (f. 2r) through 6 January 1698 (f. 74v). There is also a 1714 bill in English between a 'John McNeill in Daralachan' in Kintyre and Angus McMillan there (f.56v), and a 1720 note, some of which is illegible, that 'John McNeill is the true ouner of this Irish Historry' and his pedigree is 'John M^{c}Niell M^{c}Gilcolom M^{c}Eachin M^{c}Gilcolom M^{c}Niell bui' (f.52v).

There are two other instances of English marginalia. 'In my defence God me defend' is on f.57r. On f.58v is a short poem: 'You English men leave of your prank That kilt your king and then gave thanks fiy for shame proceed no further I never saw thanksgiveing yet for murther', followed by 'the Eirishmans verse in Lonon when King Charles was beheaded' (see NLS Online Catalogue).

Contents (folios):

1r: *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (TBC). Stowe version. The beginning corresponds with l.1367 of O'Rahilly's edition.

53r: *Cath Ruis na Ríogh for Bóinn* (CRR).

67r: *Cernach Ui Dhomhnaill* (CCR).

75r: *Murchadh mac Briain & an Díthreabhach* (DGP).

[825] NLS, MF.Sec.MSS.565.
[826] NLS, 'Manuscript Written by Eoghan Mac Gilleoin' indicates that this is 'Kilmalvag' in Killean parish rather than Kilmaluag.

Appendix 2: Prose Tales

What follows is a key resource for those with research interest in MacGilleoin's manuscripts and Gaelic prose tales because it consolidates into a single reference point lists of the manuscripts, editions, and translations of the prose tales in Eoghan MacGilleoin's manuscripts. This provides manuscript data for readers, which they are directed to within the main body of the thesis where relevant, and provides a starting point for further research into individual tales or groups of tales. Due to space constraints, if there are more than ten manuscripts for one tale, the list includes only those found in published editions and/or produced prior to and including 1750: the resulting list may still number more than ten. The number of manuscripts post-1750 and undated are noted and attached footnotes indicate where a full list of manuscripts can be found. Short summaries of the tales are also provided for those unfamiliar with the tales. Abbreviations are used for archives and repeated sources: please consult the list at the beginning of the thesis.

1 *Bruighion Cheisi Coruin* (BCC)

NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 104v. *[Bruidhean Chéise Corainn (Coradh)]*

Manuscripts

1. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36 [1690-1].
2. TCD, MS 1376 (H.5.4) [1699-1702].
3. BL, Egerton 133 [1711].
4. TCD, MS 1297 (H.2.6) [1716].
5. RIA, 24 I 23 [1725].
6. Mons. O'Laverty's MS Collection, St Malachy's College, Belfast, MS AG [1740-41].
7. NLI, G82 [1744].
8. RIA, 12 F 7 [1749].

9. NLI, G35 [1750].

10. Maynooth, MS 3 e 18 [1797].[827]

11. BL, MS Additional 18747 [c. 1800].

12. Maynooth, MS 3 d 5 [1817].

There are 57 other manuscripts: 33 undated, 23 from the eighteenth century, and 1 from the nineteenth century.[828]

Editions

1. *Silva Gadelica*, I, 306-9 (from BL MS Add 18747).

2. *Gadaidhe Géar*, 69-79 (from Maynooth MS 3.e.18 with readings from MS 3.d.5).

3. *Trí Bruidhne*, 3-15 (from NLS Adv.MS.72.1.36).

4. Máirin Ní Eadhra, *An Claidheamh Soluis* (Dublin: 1899-1917), 19-26 May 1906.[829]

Translations

1. *Silva Gadelica*, II, 343-347 (from BL MS Add 18747).

Summary[830]

Finn and Conán Maol set up camp atop Keshcorran during a great hunt. Conarán of the Tuatha Dé Danann, lord of Keshcorran, orders his daughters to go after the Fiana. The daughters go to the door of their cave/mansion and spin threads anticlockwise.[831] The daughters take strength from and bind Finn and four battalions of the Fiana. The daughters scout the area, and they see Goll mac Morna coming towards them. He kills two daughters and restrains the third. She swears to release the Fiana, but before they can leave, Goll must kill her. He then plunders and burns the otherworld mansion, and afterwards, Finn gives his daughter Caon to Goll in marriage.

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[827] Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales*, 252, refers to this manuscript as 'Murphy 52'.
[828] Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales*, 252; *Gadaidhe Géar*, 151.
[829] *An Claidheamh Soluis* is found online at <https://issuu.com/cnag/docs/1906a>, and BCC is found at pages 159-160 (19 May 1906, pp 5-6) and page 166 (26 May 1906, p 4) [accessed 14 September 2018].
[830] This summary is based on the text and translation in *Silva Gadelica*.
[831] Alternatively, they 'placed three great irons around three briar-trunks and began to twist them withershins': see Ó hÓgáin, *Fionn Mac Cumhaill*, 204.

2 *Bruighion bheg na halmunn* (BBA)

NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 96r. [*Bruidhean Bheag na hAlmhaine*]

Manuscripts

1. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.34 [c. 1603].
2. RIA, MS B iv 1 [1675].
3. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36 [1690-1].
4. TCD, MS 1376 (H.5.4) [1699-1702].
5. TCD, MS 1351 (H.4.10) [seventeenth century].
6. NLI, MS G 94 [1701].
7. TCD, MS 1297 (H.2.6) [1716].
8. RIA, MS 24 I 23 [1725].
9. Henry Morris's MS Collection, UCD, MS 7 [1732].
10. Henry Morris's MS Collection, UCD, MS 8 [1733].
11. Mons. O'Laverty's MS Collection, St Malachy's College, Belfast, MS AG [1740-41].
12. RIA, MS 12 F 7 [1749-50].

There are 33 other manuscripts: 17 undated, 9 from the eighteenth century, and 7 from the nineteenth century.[832]

Editions

1. *Silva Gadelica*, I, 336-342 (from BL MS Add 18747).
2. *Gadaidhe Géar*, 1-13 (from Maynooth MS 3.e.18 with readings from MS 3.d.5).
3. *Trí Bruidhne*, 16-39 (from NLS Adv.MS.72.1.36).

[832] Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales*, 251.

Translation

1. *Silva Gadelica*, II, 378-385 (from BL MS Add 18747).

Summary[833]

Finn, Goll mac Morna, and other Fiana are at a great feast in Leinster's Almhain. Fergus Truelips performs poetry, and Goll gives him riches, and gives riches to other poets and learned men all night. The riches Goll was using were tribute from Lochlann, and Finn asks how long he has had tribute from them, because Finn also has tribute from them. After a brief conversation, a fight breaks out between not just Finn and Goll, but also their sons and loyal followers, which lasts all night. Finally, at sunrise, Fergus and the other learned men assuage the fighting men. Finn agrees to peace if Goll agrees to let the king(s) of Ireland decide the matter, to which Goll agrees. The two groups live and eat together in Almhain for two weeks before going to Tara for a judgement from a panel of leaders. In the end, they were both exempt from consequence or retribution, clan Morna because they were first aggrieved, and the Fiana because of their greater losses. Thus, peace was made.

3 *Eachtra Conaill Gulban* (CG)

NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 15r. [*Imtheacht/Tóraidheacht Chonaill Ghulban*]

Manuscripts

1. Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels, MS 6131-6133 [early seventeenth century].
2. NLI, MS G131 [c. 1650-59].
3. RIA, MS 23 M 26 [1684].
4. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36 [1690-1].
5. RIA, 23 M 10 (1706).
6. NLI, G 80 [1737].
7. TCD, MS 1411 (H.6.7) [1737].

[833] This summary is based upon the text and translation in *Silva Gadelica*. There is also a summary in Ó hÓgáin, *Fionn Mac Cumhaill*, 197–98.

8. TCD, MS 1284 (H.1.10) [1742].

9. Stonyhurst College (S.J.), Whalley, Lancashire: MS. A ii 20, vol. 1 [1733].

Other Manuscripts: 29 undated, 16 eighteenth century, 11 nineteenth century.[834]

Editions

1. Gustav Lehmacher, 'Eine Brüssler Handschrift Der Eachtra Conaill Gulban', *ZCP* 14 (1923), 212-269 (from Brussels, MS 6131-6133; 'Possibly a copy of NLI G131').[835]

2. Unpublished typescript edition as MA thesis for UCD by Riobard Ó Scannlain (IFC 1121), (from RIA 23 M 10).[836]

Translations

1. [German] Gustav Lehmacher, 'Eine Brüssler Handschrift Der Eachtra Conaill Gulban', *ZCP* 14 (1923), 212-269.

2. Alan Bruford, 'Eachtra Chonaill Gulban: An Irish Hero-Tale in Manuscript and Oral Tradition', *Béaloideas*, 31 (1963), 1–50, at 5-10 (detailed English summary).

Summary[837]

Niall of the Nine Hostages departs Ireland to assist the German Emperor against a Turkish invasion. After his two brothers refuse, Conall is left to guard Ireland. Conall's love for Eithne, princess of Leinster, motivates much of the remaining plot as he pursues her after her abduction by Macaomh Mór. After a stop in Lochlann, a battle in Crete and a series of duels, Macaomh Mór yields Eithne to Conall, but on the condition that Conall and his men help Macaomh Mór win the king of Caledonia's daughter. While they are away fighting for the woman, the king of Greece abducts Eithne from Sorcha. They retrieve her again after a battle, and then go save Niall and the Emperor from the Turks.

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[834] Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales*, 253–54.
[835] Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales*, 258.
[836] Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales*, 254.
[837] This summary is based upon Bruford, 'Eachtra Chonall Gulban'.

4 *An Ceithirneach O Domhnullan* (CCR)

NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 116r; NLS, MS.14873, 67r. [*Eachtra (Imtheachta) an Cheithearnaigh Chaoilriabhaigh; Ceithearnach Uí Dhomhnaill*]

Manuscripts

1. A manuscript in Giessen University Library, Hesse, Germany [1684].[838]
2. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36 [1690-1].
3. NLS, MS.14873 [c. 1692-8].
4. TCD, MS 1376 (H.5.4) [1699-1702].
5. RIA, 23 I 7 [1705].
6. A manuscript formerly belonging to Osborn Bergin [1705].[839]
7. TCD, MS 1354 (H.4.13) [c. 1710].
8. BL, Egerton 164 [1716].
9. NLI, G130 [1725-27].
10. BL, Egerton 156 [1727].
11. RIA, 24 B 28 [1728].
12. Henry Morris's MS Collection, UCD, MS 8 [1733].
13. NLS, MS.72.2.5 [1738].
14. BL, Egerton 166 [1740; copy of BL Egerton 156].
15. CUL, Add. 3085 [1744].
16. RIA, 23 A 45 [1745].
17. RIA, 12 F 7 [1749].

[838] Ludwig Christian Stern, 'Notice D'un Manuscrit Irlandais de La Bibliothèque Universitaire de Giessen', *Revue Celtique*, 16 (1895), 8–30, at 15.
[839] Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales*, 253.

18. NLI, G35 [1750].

Other manuscripts: 19 undated, 13 from the eighteenth century, and 1 from the nineteenth century.[840]

Editions[841]

1. *Silva Gadelica*, I, 276-289 (from BL MS Add 18747).

2. Énrí Ua Muirgheasa, *Ceithearnach Uí Dhomhnaill : nó eachtra an cheithearnaigh chaoil-riabhaigh do réir druinge* (Dublin, 1912), (from two MSS written by Pádraig Ó Pronntuigh Mhic Néill, one in 1733 and the other in 1763, with some insertions from the *Silva Gadelica* edition).

Translations

1. *Silva Gadelica*, II, 311-324 (from BL MS Add 18747).

Summary[842]

A kern (i.e., light-armed Irish foot soldier) wearing narrow stripes travels around Ireland visiting and playing humorous and often violent tricks on chiefs. He always rights the tricks before he leaves, reviving and healing those harmed. After the last visit recounted in the tale, he is not seen again.

5 *Murchadh Mac Brian 7 an Dirioch* (DGP)

NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 127v; NLS, MS.14873, 75r. [*Díthreabhach Glinne an Phéice; Murchadh mac Briain agus an Díthreabhach*]

Manuscripts

1. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36 [1690-1].

2. NLS, MS.14873 [1692-8].

3. Maynooth, 3 D 2 (M 18) [1817].

4. RIA, MS 24 B 35 [c. 1841; copy of the Maynooth Manuscript].

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[840] Bruford, *Gaelic Folk-Tales*, 253.
[841] An oral version of the tale with translation can be found in Campbell, *Popular Tales*, I, pp. 289-319.
[842] This summary is based upon the text and translation in *Silva Gadelica*.

Editions

1. *Gadaidhe Géar*, 81-89 (from Maynooth, 3 D 2).

2. Alan Bruford, 'Murchadh Mac Briain Agus an Díthreabhach', *Éigse* 12 (1969), 301-326 (from NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36).

Translations

1. Alan Bruford, 'Murchadh Mac Briain Agus an Díthreabhach', *Éigse* 12 (1969), 301-326 (from NLS Adv.MS.72.1.36).

Summary[843]

After following a hound and stag while on a hunt, Murchadh meets a hermit (or man in a habit) chopping wood. The hermit invites him to his castle, where Murchadh is treated badly. The hermit explains how he won the stag, hound, and his wife in battle, and how he retrieved her when she was abducted. In the morning, Murchadh wakes to find the castle is gone, but the stag and hound are beside him.

6 *Oidheadh Con Culainn* (OCC) and *Laoidh na gCeann* (LnC)

TCD, MS.1362, 190 (OCC); NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 83v (LnC). [including *Brislech Mór Maige Muirthemne*, *Deargruathar Chonaill Chearnaigh*, and *Laoidh na gCeann* (LnC)]

Manuscripts

According to Julia Kühns, 105 manuscripts are known to contain OCC or an independent copy of LnC. The distribution across centuries is:[844]

- 2 MSS - 16th century
- 7 MSS - 17th century
- 47 MSS - 18th century
- 49 MSS - 19th century

[843] This summary is based on Bruford, 'Murchadh Mac Briain'.
[844] Kühns, 51. A detailed list of manuscripts can be found at 48-49.

Of those 105 manuscripts, the manuscripts in the following list are earlier than and/or connected to MacGilleoin's manuscripts. Manuscripts listed in italics are damaged, with incomplete text and possibly missing sections.[845]

1. *NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.45* [sixteenth century?].
2. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.37 [1512-1542].
3. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.38 [1608-1621].
4. *RIA, C vi 3* [1633?].
5. *NLS, Adv.MS.72.2.9* [c. 1650].
6. RIA, 23 M 25 [1684].
7. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36 [1690-1691].
8. TCD, MS 1362 [1691-1692].
9. NLS, Adv.MS.72.2.2 [c. 1748].

Editions (OCC)

1. John Hogan and J.H. Lloyd, 'Dearg-Ruathar Chonaill Chearnaigh', *Irisleabhar Na Gaedhilge/The Gaelic Journal*, 11 (1901), 1–3, 17–19, 33–38, 49–52, 65–67.

2. John Hogan and J.H. Lloyd, 'Brislech Mhór Mhaighe Mhuirtheimhne', *Irisleabhar Na Gaedhilge/The Gaelic Journal*, 11 (1901), 81–83, 128, 132–35, 145–47, 161–64, 177–80.

3. John Hogan and J.H. Lloyd, 'Brislech Mhór Mhaighe Mhuirtheimhne', *Irisleabhar Na Gaedhilge/The Gaelic Journal*, 17 (1907), 305–83.

4. Seosamh Laoide, *Dearg-ruathar Chonaill Chearnaigh Sgéal Rudhraigheachta* (1907) and *Brisleach Mhór Mhaighe Muirtheimhne* (1915).

5. Patrick O'Neill, 'Aidead Conculainn' in Patrick O'Neill, Pádraig Ó Fithcheallaigh, and Tomás de Róiste (eds.), *Mil na mBeach* (Dublin, 1911), 48-56 (partial edition from two Maynooth manuscripts).

[845] Kühns, 59–60.

6. A.G. Van Hamel, 'Aided Con Culainn' in *Compert Con Culainn and other Stories* (Dublin, 1933), 69-133 (from the incomplete NLS MS 72.1.45, with readings from RIA MS 23 K 37).

Editions of Laoidh na gCeann

1. J. F. Campbell, *Leabhar na Feinne* (Dublin, 1872), (from NLS Adv.MS.72.1.36, NLS Adv.MS.72.1.37, NLS 72.3.10, and one oral version collected by Alexander Carmichael).

2. Alexander Cameron, *Reliquiae celticæ: texts, papers and studies in Gaelic literature and philology*, 2 vols (Inverness, 1892-94), I, 66-71, 113-114 and II, 365-368 (edition and translation from NLS Adv.MS.72.1.37; editions from NLS Adv.MS.72.1.36, Adv.MS.72.1.38, and Adv.MS.73.2.2).

3. Neil Ross, *Heroic Poetry from the Book of the Dean of Lismore* (Edinburgh, 1939), 106-115 (edition and translation from NLS Adv.MS.72.1.37).

4. James MacGregor, *The Dean of Lismore's Book: a selection of ancient Gaelic poetry from a manuscript collection*, ed. by Thomas MacLauchlan and William F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1862), 40-49 (from NLS Adv.MS.72.1.37).

Translations (OCC)

1. John Hogan and J.H. Lloyd, 'Brislech Mhór Mhaighe Mhuirtheimhne', *Irisleabhar Na Gaedhilge/The Gaelic Journal*, 17 (1907), 305–83.

2. Alexander Cameron, *Reliquiae celticæ: texts, papers and studies in Gaelic literature and philology*, 2 vols (Inverness, 1892-94), I, 66-71 (from NLS Adv.MS.72.1.37).

3. Standish Hayes O'Grady (trans.), 'The Great Defeat on the Plain of Muirthemne before Cuchullin's Death', in Eleanor Hull (ed.), *The Cuchullin Saga in Irish Literature*, (London, 1898), 236-249 (from BL Egerton 132).

4. Lady Gregory, *Cuchulain of Muirthemne* (1902).

5. [French] Christian-J. Guyonvarc'h, 'La mort de Cúchulainn. Version A', *Ogam* 13 (1961) and *Ogam* 14 (1962).

Summary[846]

The children of three warriors killed by Cú Chulainn seek revenge for their fathers' deaths: the six children of Calatín; Lugaid son of Curói mac Daire king of North Munster; and Erc son of Cairpre.[847] While the Ulstermen are under their curse that keeps them from fighting, Conchabar and others try to keep Cú Chulainn from entering a battle in which he would die. For two days, they keep him away, but Calatín's children trick him into entering the battle. Afterwards, he heads southwards. Along the way, he stops at the house of his old nurse for a drink, and then encounters three crones (Calatín's daughters). While there, the crones convince him to break one of his *geasa* (oaths), and his left hand and thigh sieze up. Cú Chulainn encounters three groups of men and three satirists that ask for his spear. After killing the men, Cú Chulainn throws the spear to kill the satirists. The spear is picked up by Lugaid or Erc each time, and they strike Cú Chulainn's charioteer and horse before striking him. Cú Chulainn, having been left to die alone, ties himself so that he will die standing. Lugaid cuts off Cú Chulainn's head: Cú Chulainn drops his sword, cutting off Lugaid's hand. They cut Cú Chulainn's hand off in revenge. They take Cú Chulainn's head and hand to Tara. Conall Cernach finds Cú Chulainn's horse and knows Cú Chulainn is dead. He and his men find Cú Chulainn's body, and he vows to avenge Cú Chulainn that same day. Conall hunts down Lugaid. They fight one-handed, and Conall kills Lugaid with the help of his horse.

7 *Sgéala Muice Meic Dhá Thó* (SMD)

NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 86r. [*Sgéala Muice Meic Dhá Thó* (SMD) is a later version of *Scéla Mucce Meic Da Thó* (ScM)]

Manuscripts (ScM)

1. TCD, MS 1339 (H 2. 18; Book of Leinster) [second half of the twelfth century].
2. BL, MS Rawlinson B 512 [fifteenth-sixteenth century].
3. BL, MS Harleian 5280 [early sixteenth century].

[846] This summary is based on Alexander Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticæ: texts, papers and studies in Gaelic literature and philology*, 2 vols (Inverness, 1892-94), I, 66-71 and Standish Hayes O'Grady (trans.), 'The Great Defeat on the Plain of Muirthemne before Cuchullin's Death', in Eleanor Hull (ed.), *The Cuchullin Saga in Irish Literature* (London, 1898).
[847] Ruth Lehmann, 'Poems from the Death of Cú Chulainn', *ZCP*, 49–50 (1997), 432–39, at 433.

4. TCD, MS 1337 (H 3.18) [1616].

Manuscripts (SMD)

1. RIA, MS 24 P 12 [before 1648].
2. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36 [1690-1].
3. NLI, MS G 448 [1712].
4. TCD, MS 1412 (H 6. 8) [1777].
5. NLS, MS 72.3.11 (copy of NLS Adv.MS.72.1.36) [1801-1804]

Editions and Translations (ScM)

1. Rudolf Thurneysen (ed.), *Scéla mucce Meic Dathó*, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series, 6 (Dublin, 1935), (edition from the Book of Leinster, TCD 1337, and Harleian 5280)
2. [German] Ernst Windisch, *Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch*, 4 vols (Leipzig: 1880-1909), I (from the Book of Leinster).
3. Annie M. Scarre, 'Scél Muicce Maic Dá Thó', in Osborn Bergin, R. I. Best, Kuno Meyer, and J. G. O'Keeffe (eds.), *Anecdota from Irish manuscripts*, (Dublin, 1913), V, 8–17 (edition from TCD 1337).
4. Kuno Meyer, *Hibernica minora, being a fragment of an Old-Irish treatise on the Psalter with Translation, Notes and Glossary and an Appendix Containing Extracts Hitherto Unpublished from MS. Rawlinson, B. 512 in the Bodleian Library*, Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Series, 8 (Oxford, 1894).
5. Jeffrey Gantz, *Early Irish myths and sagas* (Harmondsworth, 1981), (edition from the Book of Leinster).
6. A. H. Leahy, 'Heroic romances of Ireland', *Irish Saga Library*, 2 vols, (London, 1905–1906), II (edition from the Book of Leinster as printed by Windisch, with some readings from the Harleian MS).

7. John T. Koch and John Carey (eds.), *The Celtic Heroic Age: Literary sources for ancient Celtic Europe and early Ireland & Wales* (Aberystwyth, 2003), (edition and translation; reprint of Meyer, *Hibernica minora*).

8. [Dutch] Maartje Draak and Frida de Jong, *Van helden, elfen en dichters: de oudste verhalen uit Ierland* (Amsterdam, 1979).

9. [German] Johan Corthals, *Altirische Erzählkunst*, Forum Celticum: Studien zu keltischen Sprachen und Kulturen 1 (Münster, 1996).

Editions and Translations (SMD)

1. William J. Watson, 'The Edinburgh Version of Scel Mucci Mic Da Tho', *ZCP* 17 (1928), 213-222 (edition from NLS Adv.MS.72.1.36).

2. Caoimhín Breatnach, *Patronage, Politics and Prose: Ceasacht Inghine Guile, Sgéala Muice Meic Dha Thó, Oidheadh Chuinn Chéadchathaigh*, Maynooth Monographs 5 (Maynooth,1996), (edition and translation from RIA 24 P 12 with readings from NLI G 448).

Summary[848]

Mac Dá Thó, a landowner in Leinster, had Ailbhe, a famous hound who could circuit Leinster in one day. Both Ailill and Medb from Connacht and Conchabhar of Ulster sent messengers to make an offer for the hound. After three days without eating or sleeping from indecision, Mac Dá Thó meets with the messengers for each group separately, telling them both that he will give them the hound, but they must return on a specified day with champions and warriors. On that day, the Connachtmen and Ulstermen arrive. They enter Mac Dá Thó's banqueting hall and dispute who will carve the pig, ultimately leading to a fight. Mac Dá Thó releases the hound, who follows the Ulstermen and attacks the Connachtmen. The hound is killed by Ailill and Medb's charioteer, and the two groups return to their lands.

8 *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (TBC)

NLS, MS.14873, 1; TCD, MS.1362, 5.

[848] This summary is based on Breatnach, *Patronage*.

Manuscripts (Recension I)

1. RIA, MS 23 E 25 [eleventh-twelfth century; Lebor na hUidre].
2. TCD, MS 1318 (H.2.16) [late fourteenth-early fifteenth century; Yellow Book of Lecan].
3. BL, MS Egerton 114 [fifteenth-sixteenth century].
4. BL, MS Egerton 1782 [1516-1518].
5. Maynooth, MS C 1 [1587].

Manuscripts (Recension II)

1. TCD, MS 1339 (H.2.18) [twelfth century; Book of Leinster].
2. RIA, MS Stowe 984 [c. 1633].
3. RIA, MS C vi 3 [seventeenth century].
4. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36 [1690-1].
5. NLS, Adv.MS.72.2.9 [mid-seventeenth century].
6. TCD, MS 1287 (H.1.13) [1746].
7. BL, Egerton 209 [eighteenth century; fragment].
8. BL, Egerton 106 [eighteenth century; fragment].
9. BL Add. 18748 [c. 1800, from a 1730 original].

Manuscripts (Recension III)

1. TCD, MS 1319 (H.2.17) [fourteenth-fifteenth century; fragment].
2. BL, Egerton 93 [fifteenth century (?); fragment].
3. TCD, MS 1314/1 (H.2.12, no.15) [fragment].

Editions and Translations (Recension I)

1. Cecile O'Rahilly, *Táin bó Cúailnge: Recension I*, (Dublin, 1976), (edition and translation).

2. John Strachan and J.G. O'Keeffe, *The Táin Bó Cúailnge from the Yellow Book of Lecan: with variant readings from the Lebor na Huidre* (Dublin and London, 1912), (edition).

3. Ernst Windisch, 'Táin bó Cúailnge nach der Handschrift Egerton 1782', *ZCP* 9 (1913), 121–158 (edition).

4. Pádraig Ó Fiannachta, *Táin Bó Cuailnge: the Maynooth manuscript* (Dublin, 1966), (edition).

5. Ciarán Carson, *The Táin. Translated from the old Irish epic Táin Bó Cúailnge* (London: 2007), (translation).

Editions and Translations (Recension II)

1. Cecile O'Rahilly, *Táin bó Cúalnge: from the Book of Leinster*, Irish Texts Society 49 (Dublin, 1967), (edition and translation).

2. Ernst Windisch, Ernst, *Die altirische Heldensage Táin Bó Cúalnge nach dem Buch von Leinster* (Leipzig, 1905), (edition and translation).

3. Cecile O'Rahilly, *The Stowe version of Táin Bó Cuailnge* (Dublin, 1961), (edition).

4. Joseph Dunn, *The ancient Irish epic tale Táin bó Cúalnge* (London, 1914), (translation).

5. Thomas Kinsella, *The Tain: translated from the Irish epic Táin Bó Cuailnge* (London, 1969), (translation).

6. Ciarán Carson, *The Táin. Translated from the old Irish epic Táin Bó Cúailnge* (London, 2007), (translation).

7. Standish Hayes O'Grady, 'The Táin bó Cuailgne', in Eleanor Hull, *The Cuchullin saga in Irish literature: being a collection of stories relating to the hero Cuchullin*, (London, 1898), 109–227 (translation).

Editions and Translations (Recension III)

1. Max Nettlau, 'The fragment of Tain Bó Cuailnge in MS. Egerton 93 (ff. 26a 1-35b 2) [part 1]', *Revue Celtique* 14 (1893), 254–266 (edition).

2. Max Nettlau, 'The fragment of Tain Bó Cuailnge in MS. Egerton 93 (ff. 26a 1-35b 2) [part 2]', *Revue Celtique* 15 (1894), 62–78, 198–208 (edition).

3. Rudolf Thurneysen, 'Táin bó Cúailghni nach H.2.17', *ZCP* 8 (1912), 525–554 (edition).

4. Feargal Ó Béarra, 'Táin bó Cuailnge: Recension III', *Emania* 15 (1996), 47–65 (translation).

Summary[849]

Ailill and Medb debate about who has better/the most things, and they realised that they are equal except a bull that Ailill had but Medb did not. Medb begins a cattle raid on the Ulstermen to acquire their bull. The Ulstermen, as the result of a curse, are in pangs akin to those caused by childbirth and cannot fight. Cú Chulainn defends the land alone, although some refuse to fight him because he is too young, until the Ulstermen are able to fight. The bull is taken, however, and on its journey to return home, it grows exhausted and dies.

9 *Stair Fortibrais* (SF)

TCD, MS.1307, two vellum folios.

Manuscripts

1. RIA, MS 23 O 48 [1437; *Liber Flavus Fergusiorum*].

2. BodL, MS Laud Misc. 610 [1453-1454; Leabhar na Rátha].

3. TCD, MS 1304 (H.2.12, no. 3) [1475].

4. BL, MS Egerton 1781 [c. 1484-1487].

5. TCD, MS 1298 (H. 2. 7) [fifteenth century].

6. TCD, MS 1319 (H.2.17) [fifteenth century].

7. King's Inns Library, MS 10 [fifteenth century].

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[849] This summary is based on Standish Hayes O'Grady, 'The Táin bó Cuailgne', in Eleanor Hull, *The Cuchullin saga in Irish literature: being a collection of stories relating to the hero Cuchullin*, (London, 1898), 109–227.

8. RIA, MS 24 P 25 [1514; *Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne*].

9. TCD, MS 1307 (H.2.12, no. 6) [1698].

Edition/Translation

1. Whitley Stokes, 'The Irish version of *Fierabras*', *Revue Celtique* 19 (1898), 14-57, 118-167, 252-291, 364-393 (abridged; based upon British Museum, Egerton 1781, with readings from Bodleian, Laud 610 and TCD 1298).[850]

Summary[851]

Emperor Charlemagne (Charles the Great), his army, and his knights fight against Admirandus, said to have dominion over the Jews, and his army to reclaim the relics of the saints and the Crown of Christ, which had been stolen from Rome. They first achieve victory over Fortibras, Admirandus's son, who converts to Christianity and thereafter fights on Charles' side. Some of Charles' knights are captured by Admirandus. While Charles mobilises to rescue them, Admirandus's daughter Floripas reveals that she is in love with one of the knights, and she assists with fighting against her father. Through battles, duals, giants, and miracles, Charles and his army place Fortibras on the throne that was once his father's, regain the relics, and leave the relics at St. Denis in Paris.

10 *Cath Ruis na Ríg* (CRR)

NLS, MS.14873, 53; TCD, MS.1362, 163.

Manuscripts

1. TCD, MS 1339 (H 2.18) [twelfth century; The Book of Leinster].

2. BL, MS Egerton 106 [1715].

3. RIA, MS 23 K 37 [1715].

4. RIA MS E IV 3 [1727; Stowe, The Book of Ó Lochlainn].

5. TCD, MS 1362 (H.4.21) [1692-1696].

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[850] The other pre-sixteenth century manuscripts do not deviate significantly from this edition: Davies, '"Fierabras" in Ireland', 187.
[851] This summary is based on Stokes, 'The Irish Version'.

There are also reportedly two manuscripts belonging to John Colgan and a MS of Maynooth from before 1795.[852]

Editions and Translations

1. Richard Irvine Best, and M. A. O'Brien, *The Book of Leinster, formerly Lebar na Núachongbála*, vol. 4 (Dublin, 1965), (diplomatic edition from the Book of Leinster).

2. Edmund Hogan, *Cath Ruis na Ríg for Bóinn*, Todd Lecture Series 4 (Dublin, 1892), (edition and translation from the Book of Leinster and Stowe, The Book of Ó Lochlainn).

Summary[853]

Conchobar vows revenge on Medb for the loss of his bull during the Battle of Gairech, which occurs in TBC. He agrees to wait for the next summer, when his warriors would be healed from their previous battle and send for Conall Cernach and foreign help. Medb learns of his preparations and offers reparations that are declined. When they meet in battle, Medb and the Leinstermen initially prevail, but Cú Chulainn arrives and kills Cairbre, leader of the Leinstermen. This turns the battle, and Conchobar and the Ulstermen are victorious.

[852] A. G. van Hamel Foundation for Celtic Studies, 'Cath Ruis Na Ríg', *CODECS: Online Database and e-Resources for Celtic Studies* <https://www.vanhamel.nl/codecs/Cath_Ruis_na_R%C3%ADg> [accessed 4 December 2020].
[853] This summary is based on Edmund Hogan, *Cath Ruis na Ríg for Bóinn*, Todd Lecture Series 4 (Dublin, 1892).

Appendix 3: Poetry

As Appendix 2 did for the prose tales, this appendix provides an overview of and reference point for the manuscripts, editions, and translations of the poetry in Eoghan MacGilleoin's manuscripts. *Laoidh na gCeann* (LnC) can be found in Appendix 2, under *Oidheadh Con Culainn* (OCC). Not all the poems have published editions. For poems without editions, I have provided a transcription from NLS 72.1.36. Due to damage to the manuscript, some words are currently unreadable. Many of these were still readable c. 1804 when Donald MacKintosh made modernised transcriptions from the manuscript into NLS 72.3.11.[854] Sections from MacKintosh's transcriptions are underlined below where they appear in the transcriptions. The orthography of the first lines, which are used as titles where no title is available, follows the orthography seen in MacGilleoin's manuscript and are not standardised. Poems are organised alphabetically.

1 A dhuine, cuimnidh an bas

NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 94r.

Manuscripts[855]

1. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 9 quatrains [1690-1691].
2. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.48 [seventeenth century].
3. NLS, MS 72.3.11 (copy of NLS 72.1.36) [1801-1804].

Transcription

[1] A d*h*uine cuimn*idh* an bas

Sa d*h*áil ag te*cht* gac*h* aon lá

Sgo mbeirt*ar* bréit*h ar* do g*h*níom*h*

Gan c*h*leat*h* re hóig*h*re an*ar*dri

[854] NLS, 'Transcripts of Gaelic Manuscripts'.
[855] Simms and Hoyne, 'Bardic Poetry Database', s.v. #52.

[2] T*h*ig mac an dúine san ú*ar*

Nac smúaintin tu ac*h*ré d*h*iomb*h*uan

D' i*ar*uid*h* cúnt*as* c*r*uaíd*h* in cás

T*r*uág*h* n*ar* d*h*iult an séac*h*ran

[3] Fu*ar* tú is cúim*h*n*idh ar* do c*h*éil

Na sg*r*iobtu*ir*a a b*h*eit*h* da nreir

Do d*h*enam*h* mait*h* buana d*h*uit

No pianta c*r*uaid*h* as do c*h*omhair

[4] An corp d*ar* m*h*ian let a t*h*oil

Aduab*har* do c*h*ól is do d*h*ruis

As g*err* go mbia *ar* leis daol

Fa lig t*r*uim na luig*h*e an uir

[5] Do s*h*eirb*h*is go mait*h* sgo holc

Do smúainte s gac*h* in adub*ar*t

Bíaid*h* a méab*hair* m*e*ic na hóig*h*e

Fad c*h*om*hair ar* sliab*h* síeon

[6] Dean ait*h*rige glan ag so a hám

A duine aca dallad lo*cht*

Na leig fiac*h*an de g*an* díol

Sul arac*has* cr*í*oc*h ar* do c*h*orp

[7] Sna mílte ag siubhal le hu*air*

Nac*h* smuain la na huaid*h*eag*h*a

Ca fios nac*h* bian*n* tusan t*r*ead

A d*h*uine cu*i*r srian red chorp

[8] Smuain g*a*c aon la fed*h* do rét*h*

Gurab e do c*hr*ioc*h* fein anoc*ht*

Na leig eire haimsire an diosg

g*err* go ttig te*ch*ta on riog*h* ort

[9] Clao tuab*har* le menmna iseal

Den cuim*h*ne *ar* do c*r*ioc*h* san chruine

I*ar*uim ort as u*cht* na t*r*ionoid

Na bi go dim*h*aoin a d*h*uine

A Duine cuim*h*n*idh* an bas

2 Bregach sin, a bhen, beg an seal do bhaois

NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 82v12, 83r17. Poet: Anluan MacAodhagáin.

Manuscripts:[856]

1. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 12 quatrains [1690-1691].
2. NLI, MS G140 [1724-1740].
3. BL, Egerton 128 [1748-1749].
4. TCD, MS 1291 (H.1.17) [1755-1757].
5. RIA, MS 23 D 16 (506), 12 quatrains [eighteenth-nineteenth centuries].
6. NLS, MS 72.3.11 (copy of NLS 72.1.36) [1801-1804].

[856] Simms and Hoyne, 'Bardic Poetry Database', s.v. #348.

Editions

1. Lambert McKenna, 'Filidhecht', *Timthiridh Chroidhe Neamhtha Iosa* 8 (1918), 31-32 (from RIA 23 D 16).

2. Tomás Ó Rathile, *Laoithe Cumainn* (Baile Átha Cliath/Dublin, 1925), 24–26.

3. Thomas F. O'Rahilly, *Dánta Grádha: Anthology of Irish Love Poetry*, 1350-1750 (Cork, Ireland, 1926), 136–37.

4. Lambert McKenna, *Dioghluim Dána* (Baile Átha Cliath/Dublin, 1938), 27-28.

3 Deirbhsiur Glossary

TCD, MS.1307, 4v/6. See section 3.1.1.1 and 3.3.2.3.

Manuscripts

1. RIA, MS 23 P 3 (1242), Fragment A, 49 quatrains [1467].

2. NLS, MS 72.2.14, 59 quatrains [sixteenth century].

3. TCD, MS 1307, 62 quatrains [1698].

4. RIA, MS 23 M 16, 59 quatrains [1768].

5. RIA, MS 23 L 21 [c. 1787].

6. RIA, MS 23 O 39 [1805-1832].

7. NLI, MS G 433, 54 quatrains [eighteenth-nineteenth centuries].[857]

Editions

1. Whitley Stokes, 'On the Metrical Glossaries of the Mediaeval Irish', *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 29 (1893), 1–120, at 22-31.

2. Whitley Stokes, 'On the Metrical Glossaries of the Mediaeval Irish', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 22 (1891), 1–120, at 22-31.

[857] It is titled 'Foras Focail sonn', but the first line is *Deirbhshiúr don eagna an éigsi*: National Library of Ireland, Nessa Ní Shéaghdha, Pádraig Ó Macháin (eds.), *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland*, 13 vols (Dublin, 1961–1996), IX (1986), 97.

4 Forus Focal

TCD, MS.1307, 2r/1. See section 3.1.1.1 and 3.3.2.3.

Manuscripts

8. TCD, MS 1339 (Book of Leinster) [sixteenth century].
9. RIA, MS D ii 1 (Book of Uí Mhaine) [1394].
10. UCD, Additional Irish MS 14 (fragment) [seventeenth century].
11. Cambridge University Library, MS Additional 3083 (8) [1685/6].
12. TCD, MS 1307 (H.2.12, no. 6), 76 quatrains [1698].
13. TCD, MS 1331 (H.3.12) [1706].
14. RIA, Stowe MS III [1734].
15. TCD, MS 1284 (H.1.10) [1747].
16. RIA, MS 23 L 21 [c. 1787].
17. RIA, MS 23 G 23, 68 quatrains [c. 1794-1831].

Editions

1. Whitley Stokes, 'On the Metrical Glossaries of the Mediaeval Irish', *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 22 (1891), 1–120, at 8-22.
2. Whitley Stokes, 'On the Metrical Glossaries of the Mediaeval Irish', *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, 29 (1893), 1–120, at 8-22.

5 Go mbenuigh Dia in tighe 's a mhuinter

NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 83r. Although no edition of this poem is published, there are published examples of house blessings/poet's blessings. The published examples of which I am aware are found in the list below.

Manuscripts

1. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36 [1690-1691].
2. NLS, MS 72.3.11 (copy of NLS 72.1.36) [1801-1804].

Published House Blessings

1. Rev. Donald MacLeod, *Beannachadh Baird*. In Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae; the Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*, 7 vols (Edinburgh, 1915), VII, 168-69; Rev. Donald MacLeod, 'A Hebridean Epithalamium', *An Gaidheal; Paipeir-Naidheachd Agus Leabhar-Sgeoil Gaidhealach*, 2.14 (1874), 63–64; Alexander MacKenzie, *History of the Macleods: With Genealogies of the Principal Families of the Name* (Inverness, 1889), 266–67.
2. *Beannachadh-Bàird Do'n Ghobhain Mac-Griogair*. In Donald MacPherson, *An Duanaire: A New Collection of Gaelic Songs and Poems Never Before Printing* (Edinburgh, 1868), 36–37.
3. Uilleam MacMurchy, *Cuid Nolluic*, first line: 'Gu bennigh dia an bhruighin'. See *NLS Catalogue*, NLS MS 72.2.15, (2).
4. Iain MacAoidh (Am Piobaire Dall), *Beannachadh Bàird*. In Ronald Black (ed.), *An Lasair: Anthology of 18th Century Scottish Gaelic Verse* (Edinburgh, 2001), 122–25.
5. Mícheál Mac Craith, 'An Intinn Ghaelach Agus an Diagacht', *Comhar*, 51.5 (1992), 116–29, at 124.

Transcription

Go mbenuig*h* dia an tig*h*e sa muint*er*

a b*h*fuil sib*h* gu mo c*h*luintin

Go benaig*h* dia in tól subac*h* is e samhac*h*:

gan t*ar*uing sgine no claoid*h*iom gan luais laim*h*e

Aon duine ni bruig*h*ion no trodan *ar* bh*ar* meisge

cuirt*hair* amac*h* e *ar* in dor*as*: dol uisce

Se dia mo g*n*aidh mo t*hr*iall don uir

mo c*h*or mo lam*h* mo rosc mo s*h*uil

mo c*h*roid*h* mo b*heacht* ~~cuillinis~~ mo raod*h*arc is mf*h*alt

cuillin is nert uira na mbo*cht*:

c*h*o noil coimes dod g*h*loir boine os cion aigh

Beir tu in tub*h*al asa b*h*lait*h*

ni tu crud*h*an don c*h*raoib*h*

beir tu meas is torad*h* as na coilta fiag*h*ac*h*

ni tu leica corac*h*

D*h*uisce na sliab*h* dom*h*uin oirne ari

feuc*h* rom*h*an in tat*h*

ata sin uile dall dia go huil*adh* lin:

c*r*iosd maille rin*n*

la anuirt aid*h* t*h*all

fu*ar* tu pian is pais ts*h*inad*h* mall do c*h*orp

c*h*eisad*h* t*h*u re cn*a*n*n*

b*h*uail an dail as*h*leg*h*

*ar*son ac*h*inid s*h*luaig*h*

fu*ar* is gac*h* pian

ar liom gu*r* olc an ceart gan b*h*i let a d*h*ia

go benaig*h* dia in tig*h*e sa m*h*uint*er*

6 Greis ar chaithrem an fhir mhoir (Laoidh an Deirg; LaD)

NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 111r.

Manuscripts

1. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 67 quatrains [1690-1691].
2. NLS, Adv.MS.72.2.5, 54 quatrains [1738].
3. NLS, Adv.MS.72.3.9 [1774-1783].
4. NLS, Adv.MS.72.3.10 [1774-1783].
5. NLS, Adv.MS.72.2.7, 61 quatrains [1801].

6. NLS, Adv.MS.72.3.11, 68 quatrains (mostly accurate copy of NLS 72.1.36)[858] [1801-1804].

7. NLS, Acc.2152, MacNicol Collection, no. 13 [eighteenth-nineteenth centuries].

8. NLS, Adv.MS.73.2.16 [1794-1872].

9. EUL, Carmichael Watson Collection (Coll-97), CW 45 [eighteenth-nineteenth centuries].

Editions

1. John Francis Campbell, *Leabhar na Feinne: heroic Gaelic ballads collected in Scotland chiefly from 1512 to 1871* (London, 1872), 107-112 (from NLS Acc.2152 no. 13, 72.3.9, and 72.3.10) and 121-123 (from NLS 72.3.11).[859]

7 Innis disi giodh be me

NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 85r17 and 114v9. For a transcription, translation, and discussion of this poem, see section 4.3.2.

Manuscripts

- NLS, MS Adv.MS.72.1.36 [1690-1691].

- NLS, MS 72.3.11 (copy of NLS 72.1.36) [1801-1804].

Editions

- Thomas F. O'Rahilly, *Dánta Grádha: Anthology of Irish Love Poetry*, 1350-1750 (Cork, Ireland, 1926), 75.

- John MacKechnie, *The Owl Remembers: Gaelic Poems Selected and Edited with Notes* (Stirling, 1933), 50-51 (from NLS Adv.MS.72.1.36).

8 Is fuath liom óinsach gan óiran

NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 92v. See section 4.3.1.

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[858] The accuracy of the transcripts in NLS 72.3.11 'cannot always be relied upon': MacKinnon Catalogue, 264.
[859] Other ballads related to Dearg and LaD are found on 112-121.

Manuscripts

The manuscripts included below include poems beginning with 'is fuath liom', 'fuath liom(sa)', or 'is fuath orm', but only the NLS manuscripts have been compared in full and confirmed to share lines. Stanza 3, line 1 in NLS 72.1.36 corresponds the first line of the poem or a stanza within the poem in RIA 23 O 64, 23 N 14, and 23 N 11.

1. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.37, The Book of the Dean of Lismore, 6 quatrains [c. 1512-1542].

2. RIA, MS 23 E 29, Book of Fermoy, 'Fuath liomsa fuatha Chormaic' [fifteenth century].

3. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 28 stanzas [1690-1691].[860]

4. BL, Egerton 174, 'Fuath liom fanmhuin o aifrionn', 16 quatrains [first half of the eighteenth century].

5. RIA, MS 23 O 64, 'Fuath liom Domhnach gan Dinnéar', 13 quatrains [c. 1771].

6. RIA, MS 23 N 14, 'Fuath liom bagún gan arán', 11 quatrains and 'Fuath liom fuatha Chormuic' (headed 'Fuatha chSheághuin Éadtruim' but containing only a few quatrains from that poem as found in RIA 23 N 11), 18 quatrains [1786].

7. RIA, MS 4 A 46, 'Is fuath liom ró-laigheadh mo spóilín', 3 lines (defective), and 'Is fuaith liom bagún gan arán', c. 11q [c. 1793].

8. RIA, MS 23 E 16, 'Fuath liomsa fuath Chormuic', 2 quatrains crossed out [1797].

9. RIA, 23 N 11, 'Fuath liómsa fuatha Chormaic', 16 quatrains, and 'Fuath lióm Dómhnach gan Dínéir', 11 quatrains [eighteenth century].

10. Maynooth, M58(b), 'Is fuath líom Dounach gan dionaghar', 2 quatrains [eighteenth century].

11. NLS, MS 72.3.11 (copy of NLS 72.1.36) [1801-1804].

[860] Ronald Black lists 26 quatrains, but there are an additional two couplets, so I have listed 28 stanzas. *NLS Catalogue*, Adv.MS.72.1.36.

12. RIA, MS 23 G 25, ‘Fuath liom bagún gan arán’ (headed ‘Fuatha Chormuic Mic Airt’), 11 quatrains, ‘Fuath liom fuatha Chormuic’, 18 quatrains, and ‘Fuath liom gan dul cum aifrinn’, 8 quatrains [1810].

13. BL, Egerton 175, ‘Fuath liomsa fuatha Chormaic’, 16 quatrains [1821].

14. GUL, MS Gen 1042, no.140(h), ‘Is fuath leom ceile bhiodh carrach’, 1 quatrain [1893-1902].

15. GUL, MS Gen 1042, no.145(a), headed ‘Fuath na h-uiseag’, begins ‘Ceithir nithe gùn tug mi fuath’, 11 quatrains [1893-1902].

16. RIA, MS 23 O 79, ‘Is fuath liom fanmhain ó Aiffraionn’, 14 quatrains [nineteenth century].

17. RIA, MS 23 O 73, ‘Fuath liomsa fuatha Chormaic’, 16 quatrains [nineteenth century].

18. BL, Egerton 111, ‘Fuath liom fanamhain ó aifrionn’, 16 quatrains [nineteenth century].

Editions and Translations

1. Meg Bateman and Wilson McLeod, *Duanaire Na Sracaire: Songbook of the Pillagers*, rev. edn (Edinburgh, 2019), 358-359 (from NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.37).

2. James MacGregor, *The Dean of Lismore’s Book: a selection of ancient Gaelic poetry from a manuscript collection*, ed. by Thomas MacLauchlan and William F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1862), 78, 79, 104-105, (transcription, translation, modern Gaelicisation from NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.37).

3. Alexander Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticae*, ed. by Alexander MacBain and John Kennedy, 2 vols (Inverness, 1892, 1894), I (1892), 94.

4. William J. Watson (ed.), *Scottish Verse from the Book of the Dean of Lismore*, Scottish Gaelic Texts 1 (Edinburgh, 1937), no.XXXIV.

5. Kennedy, Rev. John, ‘Some Unpublished Gaelic Ballads from the McLagan MSS.--No. I.’, *TGSI*, 21 (1896–1897), 214–29, 219, 221-222 (from GUL, MS Gen 1042, no.140 and no.145).

Transcription

[1] Na fuat*h*a d*h*lig*h*th*us*

na d[ao]ine loc*h*dac*h* nac*h* b*h*i rel...

[2] Is fuat*h* lio*m* oinsac*h* gan óiran

Is fuat*h* liom oc*h*án g*an* tinn*eas*

Is fuat*h* liom dug*h*all g*h*an b*h*eairla

Is fuat*h* liom té dan g*an* b*h*ínn*eas*

[3] f*uath* liom dom*h*nac g*an* din*n*er

Is f*uath* liom síor g*h*reis do c*h*áilidh

Is f*uath* liom ben c*h*orc*ra* ims*h*lúat*h*

Is f*uath* liom am*h*lan mná báile

[4] F*uath* liom caig*ar* re bod*har*

Is f*uath* liom logu*ir* a ccóisir

Is f*uath* liom céile c*ar*ac*h*

Is f*uath* lio*m* caillec*h* ga pósad*h*

[5] Is f*uath* liom dr*och* ben aig fer máit*h*

Is f*uath* liom flait*h ar* mbi g*r*uaim

Is f*uath* liom liuntana *agus* e dáor

Is f*uath* lio*m* duine caoin g*an* stuaim

[6] Is f*uath* liom cenfed*h*na gealtac*h*

Is f*uath* liom cearcil nac luban

Is f*uath* liom baintig*er*na lab*har*

Is f*uath* liom ab*h*uil gan ud*h*lan

[7] Is f*uath* liom milid*h* bodaig*h*

Is f*uath* lio*m* cen cogaid*h* sesg*ar*

Is f*uath* lio*m* sag*air*t g*an* m*h*enmna

Is f*uath* lio*m* geim*h*rid*h* gan sneac*ht*a

[8] Is f*uath* liom saob*h*nós gan aod*h*b*har*

Is f*uath* lio*m* faoluint g*an* tuigsi

Is f*uath* lio*m* f*er* bruidoil anf*h*an

Is f*uath* lio*m* sam*h*r*aidh* gan uisge

[9] Is f*uath* liom d*roch* p*h*eit*h* ga daorad*h*

Is f*uath* lio*m* faoillac*h* gan reoiag*h*

Is f*uath* lio*m* ben m*h*áit*h* gan ear*r*ad*h*

Is f*uath* liom ear*r*ic*h* gan t*r*eoaig*h*

[10] Is f*uath* liom coman g*an* lenm*h*uin

Is f*uath* lio*m* senb*h*en *ar* c*h*uirad*h*

Is f*uath* liom snam*haidh* gan aod*har*t

Is f*uath* liom faoib*har* ga*n* tuirad*h*

[11] Is f*uath* liom loc*h*an *ar* l*ar* nies

Is f*uath* lio*m* gan clac*h*an t*har*is

Is f*uath* liom nid nat*hrach* gan dris

Is f*uath* liom balac*h* *ar* bain*us*

[12] Is f*uath* lio*m* cen cleire cesa*cht*ac

Is f*uath* lio*m* easb*h*uid*h* n*a*c ds*h*uasgluin

Is f*uath* liom duth*aich* gan sag*air*t

Is f*uath* lio*m* tagra is i duaibhsiul

[13] Is f*uath* liom sag*ar*t ri clesan

Is f*uath* lio*m* measan aig cailidh

Is f*uath* lio*m* banaltra c*h*iosac*h*

Is f*uath* lio*m* cioc*h*an gan b*h*aine

[14] Is f*uath* lio*m* gút*h* mo*r* ag methac*h*

Is f*uath* lio*m* f*er* sgethac meisgac*h*

Is f*uath* liom t*r*oidan an tteampul

Is f*uath* liom cennm*er*t g*an* m*h*isnac*h*

[15] Is f*uath* lio*m* cl*ar*sior g*an* ingnin

Is f*uath* liom ímpid*h* nac gab*h*ta

Is f*uath* lio*m* sginn*ar* g*an* iallac*h*

Is f*uath* lio*m* fiad*h*ac*h* ga d*h*athad*h*

[16] Is f*uath* liom f*er* suirg*h*ec*h* faitac*h*

Is f*uath* liom asladh ar calidh

Is f*uath* liom sluag*h* c*r*eac*h* gan b*ra*tac*h*

Is f*uath* liom m*ár*ac*h* gan f*har*uid*h*

[17] Is f*uath* liom f*er* gionnac*h* droc*h* néal

Is f*uath* liom droch b*h*en ga cum*h*dha

Is f*uath* lio*m* maig*h*dion gan náire

Is f*uath* liom glaim*h*th*h*ec*h* a com*h*ruin

[18] Is f*uath* liom f*er* súirg*h*ech is e táis

Ar m*h*naoi s*h*uilbhir na rosc máll

Is nu*ar da* bfuig*h*ed*h* i an céd

Is f*uath* an boad*h* b*h*i *ar* c*h*áill

[19] Is f*uath* lio*m* iorna gan c*h*on*n*

Is f*uath* liom long*h* a bet*h* gan stiuirdion

Is f*uath* lio*m* duine lo*cht*ac*h* séarb*h*

Is f*uath* lio*m* talam*h* d*er*g gan siol

[20] Is f*uath* lio*m* t*r*oidan na mbfer p*air*t

Is f*uath* lio*m* miosguin mna gaoil

Is f*uath* liom fu*irac*h*t* fada a ccíll

Ar droc*h* coman is *ar* liun daor

[21] Is f*uath* lio*m* dubrón a ttec*h* anóil

Is f*uath* liom baile mo*r* gan gean

Is f*uath* liom ab*h*eit*h* maon*ar* at*r*iall

Is f*uath* lio*m* cli*ar* ga mbí sean

[22] Is fuath liom inid g*an* f*h*éolac*h*

Is f*uath* lio*m* f*er* ceol mu*r* baigoil

Is f*uath* liom uiam *da* eígin

Is f*uath* liom feile ga b*h*agra

[23] Is f*uath* liom comt*hsh*ealg gan g*h*allan

Is f*uath* lio*m* galla gan chursa

Is f*uath* liom tálla gan g*har*d*us*

Is f*uath* liom g*ar*lac*h* ga pusa

[24] Is f*uath* lio*m* gealladh b*r*eige
Is f*uath* liom eigin gan tearuin
Is f*uath* liom tenga ta tíllad*h*
Is f*uath* liom cinid*h* gan leannmhuinn

[25] Is f*uath* liom sat*ar* ga d*h*oc*h*uinn
Is f*uath* lio*m* tocu*ir*e do ts*h*en m*h*naoi
Is f*uath* liom coille gan aillain
Is f*uath* lio*m* caillec*h* na tenriot*h*

[26] Is f*uath* dom f*h*uat*h*ib*h* os manmuin
Is f*uath* do mánmuin a bpecad*h*
Is f*uath* liom duine g*an* f*h*oinnio*cht*
Is f*uath* liom cón*n*ad*h* g*an* secad*h*

[27] Tri neit*h*anan *da* ttiub*acht* fuat*h*
Do m*h*naoi luat*h* sdo c*h*ú m*h*all
A m*a*caom uásil n*a*c biod*h* glic
Is p*h*eit nac béradh a c*h*lan

[28] Is fuat*h* liom filid*h* gan tuigsi,
7 sin duitsi nis fuat*h* liom.

9 Is maith mo leaba, is olc mo shuain

NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 114r. See section 4.3.3.

Manuscripts

1. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 13 quatrains [1690-1691].

2. NLS, MS 7195 [1681-1879].

3. NLS, MS 72.3.11 (copy of NLS 72.1.36) [1801-1804].

4. EUL, Carmichael Watson Collection, 136, ff. 34a-35a (copy of NLS 72.1.36) [nineteenth-century].[861]

5. EUL, Carmichael Watson Collection, 137, ff. 47a-49a (copy of NLS 72.1.36) [nineteenth-century].[862]

Edition

1. John Francis Campbell, *Leabhar na Feinne: heroic Gaelic ballads collected in Scotland chiefly from 1512 to 1871* (London, 1872), 211 (from NLS 72.1.36).

2. John A. MacLean, 'The Sources, Particularly the Celtic Sources, for the History of the Highlands in the Seventeenth Century' (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1939) <https://abdn.alma.exlibrisgroup.com/view/delivery/44ABE_INST/12152480700005941> [accessed 30 March 2021], 220-221 (partial, 5 verses, edition and translation).

10 Mairg ni uaill as óig

NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 85v15. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.48 attributes the poem to 'Giolla colluim mcilebhride mhic Phersoin chille comain do roin anlaoidhsi', and the Book of O'Conor Donor attributes it to 'Athairn'.[863] It is prefixed to *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh,* attributed to Athairne MacEoghain.[864] See section 4.3.1.

Manuscripts

1. Clonalis House, Castlerea, The Book of O'Conor Don (8 quatrains) [c. 1631].

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[861] Original folios are 32a-33a in MacKechnie Catalogue, I, 494.
[862] Original folios are 46a-48a in MacKechnie Catalogue, I, 494.
[863] Simms and Hoyne, 'Bardic Poetry Database', s.v. #1271; Cameron, *Reliquiae Celticae,* I, 136.
[864] Bateman and McLeod, *Duanaire,* 59; Thomson, *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh*, 216–20.

2. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36 (4 quatrains) [1690-1691].

3. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.48 (9 quatrains) [seventeenth century].

4. TCD, MS 1390 (H.5.18; 8 stanzas) [1736].

5. RIA, MS 23 A 8 (8 quatrains) [1746].

6. NLS, MS 72.3.11 (copy of NLS 72.1.36) [1801-1804].

Editions and Translations

1. Meg Bateman and Wilson McLeod, *Duanaire Na Sracaire: Songbook of the Pillagers*, rev. edn (Edinburgh, 2019), 58-61.

2. *Reliquiae Celticae*, ed. by Alexander MacBain and John Kennedy, 2 vols (Inverness, 1892), I, 136.

3. R. L. Thomson (ed.), *Adtimchiol an Chreidimh: The Gaelic Version of John Calvin's Catechismus Ecclesiae Genevensis: A Facsimile Reprint, Including the Prefixed Poems and the Shorter Catechism of 1659, with Notes and Glossary, and an Introduction*, Scottish Gaelic Texts, 7 (Edinburgh, 1962), 216–20.

4. John MacKechnie, *The Owl Remembers: Gaelic Poems Selected and Edited with Notes* (Stirling, 1933), 22-23 (from NLS 72.1.36).

11 Na maoi h'uaisle oruim fein

NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 85r. The poem is often attributed to John Carswell, including in the MacLagan manuscript, but is has also been suggested that he was not the author and it was instead 'the work of a Scottish amateur, writing before 1690'.[865]

Manuscripts

1. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 8 quatrains [1690-1691].

2. GUL, MS Gen 1042/30, first line: 'Treig tUaisle 's na bith rinn', which is close to line 5 of NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36 (6.5 quatrains: 15/26 lines have counterparts in

[865] O'Sullivan, 'Developments in Love Poetry', 111; Ó Baoill, *Scottish Gaelic Vernacular Verse*, 5; Thomson, *Foirm Na N-Urrnuidheadh*, lxxxviii.

NLS 72.1.36), language adapted to vernacular Scottish Gaelic [eighteenth century].[866]

3. NLS, MS 72.3.11 (copy of NLS 72.1.36) [1801-1804].

Edition and Translation

1. John MacKechnie, *The Owl Remembers: Gaelic Poems Selected and Edited with Notes* (Stirling, 1933), 74-76 (from NLS Adv.MS.72.1.36).

12 Ni bfuigheadh misi bas duit

NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 93v8.

Manuscripts

1. NLS 72.1.2, Ni bfuighe misi bas duith, 1 quatrain [sixteenth-seventeenth century].
2. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 5 quatrains [1690-1691].
3. RIA, MS 23 Q 3, Ní bhfágh mesi bas duit, 6 quatrains [nineteenth century].
4. RIA, MS 23 P 14, Ní bhfuighe mise bás duit, 6 quatrains [nineteenth century].
5. NLS, MS 72.3.11 (copy of NLS Adv.MS.72.1.36) [1801-1804].

Edition

1. Thomas O'Rahilly, *Dánta Grádha: an Anthology of Irish Love Poetry (A.D. 1350-1750)*, (Cork, Ireland, 1926), 132.
2. John MacKechnie, *The Owl Remembers: Gaelic Poems Selected and Edited with Notes* (Stirling, 1933), 48-49 (from NLS Adv.MS.72.1.36).
3. Douglas Hyde, *Abhráin Grádh Chúige Connacht or Love Songs of Connacht* (Baile Átha Cliath/Dublin, 1909), 138–39.

13 Ni me tenga lem let

NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 79r17.

[866] MacKechnie Catalogue, I, 74.

Manuscripts

1. RIA, MS 23 D 38, Ni mise teanga liom lat, 1 quatrain.
2. RIA, MS 23 A 45, Ni me teangaidh liom leat, 1 quatrain.
3. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 3 quatrains [1690-1691].
4. NLS, MS 2152/6, now missing, Ni mi Teanga leom is leat, 1 quatrain [1778-1788].

Edition

1. Thomas F. O'Rahilly, *Dánfhocail: Irish Epigrams in Verse* (Dublin, 1921), 35, under the heading 'Feall' (treachery): two single quatrains, one beginning 'Ní mise teanga-liom-lat' and the other 'Ní me an teanga-liom-leat'.

Transcription

[1] Ni me tenga lem let

c*h*o b*h*eit*h*im la uait is c*h*ugad*h*

cho ransuim g*r*innel mo gn*a*idh

s cho choigl7 cul mo c*h*ompan

[2] Saoil*adh* le neoil*us* b*h*eg

n*a*c glic a*cht* g*ach* ni ad*er*id

le nlab*h*ra g*r*ian*a*c nac glan

agi*ar*uid*h* anma n*a*c bfog*a*rr

[3] B*h*ion*n* denta do d*hr*eam*h*uib*h*

n*a*c biod*h* iuluir anean ceanguidh

Meas cur *ar* ciord g*a*c fir

mu*r* seing ag dul annui dh

14 Proverbial quatrains

NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 95v. Two quatrains, beginning 'Nech sin bhios corach do ghnath' and 'Mur fhado tinne fuidh loch'.

Manuscripts

1. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36 [1690-1691].

2. NLS, MS 72.3.11 (copy of NLS 72.1.36) [1801-1804].

Edition[867]

1. *The History of the Feuds and Conflicts among the Clans in the Northern Parts of Scotland and in the Western Isles; from the Year M.XXXI unto M.DC.XIX* (Glasgow, 1764), 132.

2. John MacKechnie, *The Owl Remembers: Gaelic Poems Selected and Edited with Notes* (Stirling, 1933), 20-21 (from NLS Adv.MS.72.1.36).

3. Thomas O'Rahilly, *Dánfhocail: Irish Epigrams in Verse* (Dublin, 1921), 47.

4. Alexander Nicolson (ed.), *Collection of Gaelic Proverbs and Familiar Phrases Based on Macintosh's Collection* (Edinburgh, 1881), 11, 60.

15 Rug eadrain ar iath nAlban

NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 81r10. See section 4.3.3.

Manuscript[868]

1. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 26 quatrains [1690-1691].

2. NLS, MS 72.3.11 (copy of NLS 72.1.36) [1801-1804].

3. EUL, Carmichael Watson Collection, 136, ff. 29a-32a (copy of NLS 72.1.36) [nineteenth-century].[869]

4. EUL, Carmichael Watson Collection, 137, ff. 38a-43a (copy of NLS 72.1.36) [nineteenth-century].[870]

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[867] *The History of the Feuds and Conflicts among the Clans in the Northern Parts of Scotland and in the Western Isles; from the Year M.XXXI unto M.DC.XIX.* (Glasgow, 1764).
[868] Simms and Hoyne, 'Bardic Poetry Database', s.v. #1659.
[869] Original folios are 30a-32a in MacKechnie Catalogue, I, 494.
[870] Original folios are 37a-43a in MacKechnie Catalogue, I, 494.

Edition and Translation

1. William J. Watson, 'Unpublished Gaelic Poetry IV, V', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 3 (1929-1931), 139-159 (from NLS 72.1.36).

16 Single stanzas

NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 114v15. There are eleven of these stanzas; most are readable, although damage to the manuscript has led to the last lines of (k) being unreadable. Stanza (e) is very similar to stanza 8 of *Truagh liom-sa a chompain do chor* by Giolla Brighde Ó hEodhusa (d. 1614), with one line differing; the poem is found in 5 manuscripts, all of which date from the seventeenth century (see section 4.4.4).[871]

Manuscripts

1. NLS, MS Adv.MS.72.1.36 [1690-1691].
2. NLS, MS 72.3.11 (copy of NLS 72.1.36) [1801-1804].

Transcriptions

(a) Na s*r*ot*h*a is edoimne
is iad lob*hr*u*s* go dan*n*a
ínn fein ni m*h*olfamu*r*
balb*h* b*h*ios na linte lána

(b) A fir is *ar*de menmna
M*h*eall*us* gile g*r*uaid*h*e
O damn*adh* ort haille
Olc an tairb*h* *ar* uaille

(c) Dec*ar* anois no naois oige
Lam*h* fa*m* t*h*egasg at*r*ion<u>oid</u>

[871] Simms and Hoyne, 'Bardic Poetry Database', s.v. #1890.

(d) A d*h*uine oig leis n*a*c aill mosglad*h*

Ameasg do c*h*onaig*h*e

Ad c*h*aduil giod*h* fad t*h*aoise

Do g*h*aduig tf*er* aon aoise

(e) Mas i an tuigsi mas í an toil

Ata go do c*h*u*ir*si t*ar* ro c*h*eil

Leig ormsa an tuigsi c*h*osg

Is biad*h* c*h*osg do t*h*oile ort fein

(f) Srian re do t*h*oil sna tí go dian

Sna haom uile re tai*m*h ri*ar*

Is do c*h*aide tir abet*h* let

Sín tf*h*oig*h*idin le tuab*har*

(g) Ni bian búr beo gan án

Ni dual ras farat*h*agraon

Fál fiod*adh* fa c*h*am na gcúan

Ni br*uith*en gual coir g*un* aoidh

(h) Ban tiob*h*ra

7 lialibhra

Ni len*us* in lia lib*h*ra

Tenluac*h* nam ban tiob*h*ra

(i) Ciall is mait*h* c*h*on ~~anin*nidh*~~ an ínnidh

Sliab*h* is mait*h* c*h*on aneall*aidh*

Ioc*h*d is mait*h* c*h*on na cloin*n*e

C*h*o b*h*i slio*cht ar* f*er* feille

(j) Coll ailm coll cu*rtar* adb*h*eil[872]

f*h*ir n*a*c airis sgel *ar* c*h*oir

ar eguil ab*h*e*th* g*un* spréid*h*

cuirt*ar* ancló geir na t*h*oir

(k) Bet*h* ón dúir b*er*uin duit

A b*h*en t*h*ain*a*c don tig*h ar* c*h*u*ar*t

Pepoe ... tin*n*e

bail liom ad fag*h*ail uain

17 Soraidh slan don aoidhche reir

NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 85v. This poem was written by Niall Mór MacMhuirich, possibly in the context of the marriage between Iain Muideartach, the son of the Captain of Clanranald, and the daughter of Ruairi Mór MacLeod of Dunvegan.[873]

Manuscripts

1. Clonalis House, Castlerea, The Book of O'Conor Don [c. 1631].
2. RIA, MS 23 D 4 (6 quatrains) [before 1681].
3. NLS, MS Adv.MS.72.1.36 (6 quatrains) [1690-1691].
4. Red Book of Clanranald, (6 quatrains) [c. 1700].
5. NLS, MS 72.3.11 (copy of NLS 72.1.36) [1801-1804].
6. Maynooth MS 2 G 13 (6 quatrains) [nineteenth century].

[872] NLS 72.3.11 has 'adbeul'.
[873] Clancy, 'Fond Farewell', 111–13.

Editions and Translations

1. Thomas O'Rahilly, *Dánta Grádha: an Anthology of Irish Love Poetry (A.D. 1350-1750)*, (Cork, Ireland, 1926), no. 38.

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3. Thomas Owen Clancy, 'A Fond Farewell to Last Night's Literary Criticism: Reading Niall Mór MacMhuirich', *Cànan & Cultar/Language & Culture, Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig* 4, ed. by Gillian Munro and Richard A.V. Cox (Edinburgh, 2010), 109-125 (115-116, 122-123), (including from NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36).

4. Peter MacKay and Iain S. MacPherson (eds.), *An Leabhar Liath = The Light Blue Book: 500 Years of Gaelic Love and Transgressive Verse* (Edinburgh, 2016), 82-85.

18 Sud i in tshaltog mheduigh m'aicid

NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 92r.

Manuscripts

1. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 4 quatrains [1690-1691].

2. NLS, MS 72.3.11 (copy of NLS 72.1.36) [1801-1804].

Transcription

[1] Súd í in ts*h*latog · m*h*eduig*h* maicid

c*h*rann*r*a*dh* nosna l*ar* mo c*h*leib*h*

beilin blasta · g*r*uaid*h* d*e*rg g*harr*th*adh*

c*r*uib*h* slím fada is maoit*h*e mear

[2] troig*h* c*h*aon ~~fada~~ t*h*ana

corp seng remu*r* d*h*a c*h*ic*h* geala l*ar* a cleib*h*

S*ar* f*h*as ad*e*ruib*h* · riam*h* c*h*un talam*h*

do f*h*iucfa in tana*m* an ti rug sgeimh

{line}

[3] Seng fu*ar* do c*h*orp · is gorm snuad*h* do ~~corp~~ rosc
scam cuac*h*ac ts*h*olt · fas go feur
sgu*r* gile do c*h*orp no blait*h* na nos
ceis *ar* loc*h* no canac*h* ints*h*leib*h*

[4] sne*cht*a na haoid*hch*e is am*h*uil a taoib*h*si
g*r*uaidh m*ar* g*h*ris a geir*adh* laoi
ni bfuil maisi no sgeim*h*e taitnem*h*
no reim*h* *ar* orduig*h* an sh[aoghal][874] nac*h* ranf*ar* leig*h*

(line)

[5] M*ar* f*h*aoilan m*har*a sud i asam*h*uil
is t*r*uag gan misi is tu*ar* snam*h*
gan b*h*aita gan c*h*oita · g*an* long f*h*ada
bi c*h*ois pu*ir*ta anail onspan

[6] Oillain m*ar*a b*h*i n*ar* naica
go siublain letsa a d*h*iog*h*r*us* g*h*raid*h*
boch is cu*ir*tail · gas da lut*h*mu*r*
tapuid*h* m*h*uinfuin cleas duit c*h*ul le l*ar*

[874] NLS 72.3.11 does not include '*ar* orduigh an sh[aoghal]'.

19 Triath na nGaoidheal Giolla Espag

NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 79v. See section 4.3.3.

Manuscript[875]

1. NLS, Adv.MS.72.1.36, 26 quatrains [1690-1691].

2. NLS, MS 72.3.11 (copy of NLS Adv.MS.72.1.36) [1801-1804].

3. EUL, Carmichael Watson Collection, 136, ff. 32a-34a (copy of Adv.MS.NLS 72.1.36) [nineteenth-century].[876]

4. EUL, Carmichael Watson Collection, 137, ff. 30a-37a (copy of Adv.MS.NLS 72.1.36) [nineteenth-century].[877]

Edition and Translation

1. William J. Watson, 'Unpublished Gaelic Poetry IV, V', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 3 (1929-1931), 139-159 (from NLS Adv.MS.72.1.36).

[875] Simms and Hoyne, 'Bardic Poetry Database', s.v. #1870.
[876] Original folios are 27a-30a in MacKechnie Catalogue, I, 494.
[877] Original folios are 29a-36a in MacKechnie Catalogue, I, 494.

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