

Notes and Comments

'House' and 'Pennyland' in the Highlands and Isles

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In ancient Dalriada a tribal land was described in terms of the number of houses it contained (Bannerman 1974: 43, 49). 'House' was obviously a technical term, and I shall try to show: (1) that it was the Dalriadic equivalent of the Irish *Ocaire's* house: (2) that it was the standard 'pennyland' of the West Highlands and Isles; and (3) that the pennyland denomination was most probably derived from grants made to the mediaeval church.

1 House of 'Ocaire' and Dalriadic House

(1) *House of the 'Ocaire'*

In the ancient Irish social organisation as described in *Uraicecht Becc* [hereafter referred to as *UB*] (*ALI V*) and more systematically in *Crith Gablach* [*CG*] (*ALI IV*; Binchy 1941), the lowest grade of freeman commoner who attended the assemblies and owed military service was the *Ocaire*. His house was defined in *CG* as consisting of 7 *cumals* of land; and a *cumal* in this context meant land sufficient to maintain 3 cows and their followers. The house of 7 *cumals* was thus equal to 21 cow-soums.

It was also defined in terms of its rental value. A land of 7 cow-soums paid one cow as annual rent and was therefore called a cowland. The *Ocaire's* house was thus a 3-cowland holding; and it is the description in terms of cowlands which is relevant for a comparison with the Dalriadic house.

In each house there were normally two families: that of the *Ocaire* as principal tenant, and that of his sub-tenant or *cele* (Binchy 1941: 82). The houses were grouped under chiefs and chieftains whose authority could be described in terms either of the number of their tenants or the number of their houses. Thus (*ALI IV*: 317-29):

	<i>Tenants</i>			<i>Houses</i>	
the <i>Aire Forgill</i> had	20	<i>soer</i> + 20 <i>daer</i>	} or {	20	
<i>Aire tuise</i>	15	+ 15		15	
<i>Aire ard</i>	10	+ 10		10	
<i>Aire deso</i>	5	+ 5		5	

(ii) The 3-Cowland Holding of Islay

The Irish *Ocaire's* house had its counterpart in Islay. This is evident from relics of the old order embedded in charters and rentals, mostly of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The examples are not numerous, but they belong beyond reasonable doubt to the Irish pattern. Thus:

<i>Tenements</i>	<i>Cowlands</i>	
Machrie	9	(<i>BI</i> rentals 1686 and 1733)
Proaig	6	(<i>RMS</i> XIV, No. 307; and <i>BI</i> , pp. 32-3)
Glenastle, U	4	(<i>BI</i> rentals 1733)
Glenastle, L	3	(<i>BI</i> rentals 1733 and 1741)
Cornabus and Kilnaughtan	6	(<i>BI</i> rentals 1733 and 1741)

It will be noted that, with the exception of Upper Glenastle, these holdings were single or multiples of 3-cowland groups. But did these holdings contain 21 cow-soums? There are, in fact, 5 such holdings with boundaries so naturally determined that they have remained the same from time immemorial. For all 5 there are lines on the 25-inch-to-the-mile Ordnance Survey Map which apparently mark off the old individual holdings from the common moorlands. If this be a correct inference from the map, then Upper Glenastle was 137 imperial acres and Lower Glenastle about 107. Immediately adjoining Glenastle are the lands of Cragabus—Upper, Middle and Lower. These are not shown in cowlands; but they appear as 6 horsegangs which are known to be equal to 9 cowlands; and the three holdings together, excluding the common moorland, had a total of 318 acres.

We have thus an average of about 110 acres to the holding; and the question is whether this would be equivalent to 21 cow-soums. A cow-soum signified maintenance for a cow and followers, commonly a 1-year and a 2-year old (3 beasts in all); and consequently the 3-cowland holding should have provided maintenance for 63 animals. From the point of view of modern animal husbandry, 110 acres would be quite inadequate. But a member of an Islay farming family has drawn my attention to the ancient practice of overstocking with small, light cattle. He also pointed out that there would never be in reality the full nominal complement of 63 beasts. Something like 48 would be the maximum at any given time.

In view of these considerations, 110 imperial acres can be accepted as an Islay equivalent of the Irish 3-cowland holding; and this conclusion is in line with the fact that the Islay holding commonly, perhaps normally, contained 2 tenants. The 1733 rentals show Machrie with 6, Cragabus with 6, Cornabus and Kilnaughtan with 4, Upper and Lower Glenastle each with 2.

We can take it, then, that the Islay house is to be equated with the house of the Irish *Ocaire*.

(iii) House Groups of Dalriada

I have not found any direct evidence linking the individual house of Dalriada to that of the *Ocaire*, but evidence is indirectly provided through the system of house grouping. As we have seen, the Irish system, as standardised in *CG*, gave the principal group as 20. In Dalriada the following are recorded for the lands of Loarn (Bannerman 1974: 43, 49):

Coildub	30 houses	Fardalach	20 houses
Eogan Garb	30	Baotan	20
Fergna	15	Cormac	20
Eogan	5	Bledan	} 20
Baitan	5	Cronan	

The sub-grouping of the 20-house group is not shown, but we may assume that it had been of the form 15, 10, 5. Indeed, Adomnan (Anderson 1961: II. 20, 21) provides evidence for the 5-house group in both Lochaber and Ardnamurchan, but I leave the reader to work out the implications of what he actually says. Our more immediate concern is with the standard major group. That of 30 houses, as found in Loarn, was not common; but it was the basis of the Islay system as shown in an inventory incorporated in *Senchus Fer n Alban* (Bannerman 1974: 42, 48). This system had been adopted in response to a change in agricultural practice; but we shall see that originally in Islay, as in mainland Dalriada, the standard group for administrative purposes had been that of 20 houses.

This is shown most clearly in the rules for the naval array, each 20-house group providing a galley of 14 oars. The requirement is, by happy chance, preserved in a seventeenth-century charter. In a 1617 charter to Campbell of Calder (*RMS* 1614; *BI* 1894: 353ff.) the lands of Losset, near Port Askaig, were included; and the terms of the old *reddendo* for these lands were preserved: *Unam cymbam cum quatuordecem 'ores', vel pro dicta cymba decem libras monete*. (A birlinn of 14 oars, or in lieu of the said birlinn ten pounds in money).

Now, ten pounds was the value in 'Old Extent' of a 20-house group in Islay. On the transfer of the Hebrides to the Scottish crown in 1266 there was a valuation of Islay which simply translated the existing cow values into current monetary terms. We know that this must have happened about 1266 because the West Highland cow was then worth $\frac{1}{4}M$ (*ER* 1878, for 1264-6; cf. McKerral 1944: 66), making the Islay 3-cowland house a $\frac{3}{4}M$ (10s.) land. Thus (*BI* 1733 rental):

Machrie	} 9 cowlands became a 30s. land		
Cornabus and		6	20s.
Kilnaughtan			
Glenastle, U		4	13s. 4d
Glenastle, L	3	10s.	

In the 1722 local rental the lands of Losset are shown as having an old extent of £10—the valuation of a 20-house group; and what Campbell is required to furnish is a war galley of 14 oars or the assessed value of a 20-house group.

It is worthy of note that a 14-oared vessel with a complement of 40 men seems to have been the typical war galley of the eleventh century, judging by an entry in the *Annals of Ulster* under the year 1098 when 3 Hebridean ships with 120 men were vanquished by the men of Ulster.

Such a war galley was certainly the requirement for the naval array from a Dalriadic 20-house group (Bannerman 1974: 42–3; 48–9), the formula being: *vii. vii. sese cach xx tech* or *da shecht sess cach xx tech*. It is true that, reading *sese* or *sess* as 'bench', the formula has been understood to mean 2 vessels, each of 7 benches. But this interpretation must be ruled out for two reasons. First, *sess* did not at that time mean a bench; it was the seat of the individual rower. Cormac's *Glossary* gives: *Sess ethair quasi sos ind fir imramae* (support for the rower—lit. man of rowing). The editor, Dr O'Donovan, adds 'sess is now used for a bench'.

Secondly, 20 houses could not have provided two vessels, each of 14 oars. The full complement for one was 40 (strictly 42) men, 3 to the oar (*BI* 1894: 360 note; and *B&S* 1951: 226), exactly what could be provided by 20 houses, each with its two tenants.

The Dalriadic war vessel must have been, like the Norse Gokstad ship (Sawyer 1962: 68–77), without benches, the rowers accommodated on improvised seats; and the formula *vii.vii.sese* is somewhat akin to the Norse 'x rowing at the board' (*i.e.* x starboard, x larboard).

Let us summarise our conclusions so far. It is apparent that the main framework of the Irish social system had been brought over to Dalriada. Essential characteristics were the house and the 20-house group. As to the house, the evidence, though indirect, is conclusive: the *Ocaire's* house had its equivalent in the Islay 3-cowland holding; 20 Islay houses provided a war galley of 14 oars: this was also the requirement from Dalriada which could be met only if the Dalriadic house were the equivalent of that of Islay, and hence equal to that of the *Ocaire*.

As to the 20-house group, we have noted that this was not the only major group found in Dalriada, Loarn showing groups of 30. But this was no different from the position in Ireland where, according to *UB*, the number might be 20, 25 or 30. But the group had been standardised by the time of *CG*; and this was clearly the administratively important arrangement in Dalriada.

Now, the house having such a vital place in the social system, one might have expected to find references to it in all the areas colonised by the Scots, not only in the Kingdom of Dalriada but also in the West Highlands north of the kingdom and in the Isles. But so far from finding references to this land denomination in the north and west generally, it had actually disappeared from notices of Dalriada itself by the

end of the thirteenth century. The explanation seems to be, not that the social system had become radically changed, but that in our extant records, written in Latin or English, the term *teach* or *tigh* had been replaced by 'pennyland'. If this is the explanation, then we should find, as we move north and west, farther away from Lowland influence, evidence of a pennyland system with the basic characteristics of the old house system.

2 'House' and 'Pennyland'

(i) Pennyland Areas

We look first at the distribution of pennylands over the West Highlands and Isles. This is pretty well documented in *Origines Parochiales Scotiae* [OPS] volume II, covering the mediæval dioceses of Argyll, Ross, Caithness and The Isles.

Argyll (OPS II, Pt I and Pt II App.). Apart from a few exceptional areas (the only significant one being an eastern strip from above Loch Eck in Cowal to the Moor of Rannoch), pennylands are found throughout, *i.e.* from Kintyre to Glenelg.

Ross (*op.cit.* II, Pt II) I have found completely barren of pennyland references.

Caithness (*op.cit.* II, Pt II) yielded none in the part of the diocese corresponding to the modern county of Sutherland, apart from two tiny islets off the north coast; but in Caithness proper, they appear in great numbers.

The Isles (*op.cit.* II, Pt I and Pt II App.) have pennylands in most areas; but, surprisingly, they are entirely missing from the Islay group (Islay, Colonsay, Jura and Gigha) and from Bute.

While the barren areas pose interesting questions, we are concerned only with those in which the pennyland denomination occurs. There is apparently at least one example of a one-to-one relation between house and pennyland. About the year 1290 John son of Lagman gave Sir Colin Cambel two pennylands, Kames and Achadachoun, for payment of the king's forinsec service, and 'for finding at the gatherings of Argyll two men with their victuals, as was customary in the country.' (OPS II, Pt I: 53). The two men would, of course, be the principal tenants—the *Ocaires*. But what will be really significant is any evidence of social structure corresponding to the old house-group system.

(ii) Pennyland Groups

Diocese of Argyll. In Kintyre and Knapdale the pennylands occur as single units or in groups of 2 or 3, and the public records contain no surviving traces of a regular system. This is hardly surprising in view of the long history of Lowland immigration. The same is true of eastern Cowal where the pennylands are mostly associated with gifts to the church.

But as we move further west into Strathlachlan, we find (c. 1300–2) a group of 10 pennylands; and still further, in Craignish, there was a grant (1412) of 5, 5, 5, 1, 5, 3 by Campbell of Lochawe.

The Deanery of Lorn is rich in material. In the parish of Kilchrenan there was a charter (1432) for 2, 4, 5, 5, 5. In Inishael we find (1375) a list of 5, 5, 5; and in Ardchattan (1321–2) lands of Benderloch are given as 3, 3, 5, 5, 5.

Lismore had a 20 pennyland group of which 14½ were given to the Bishop of Argyll in 1251 and the adjacent 5½ in 1304.

In Glennevis we find the denomination *davach* (1456) equated with 20 pennylands (1536) and an extent of 10M (1537–8). In Kilmonivaig (1564) three groups are recorded, each of 5 pennylands.

In the Deanery of Morvern, parish of Kilmalie, the pennylands of Locheil and half-*davach* of Kilmalie are given (1492 and 1528) as 30 marklands, the one-and-a-half of Locharkaig being also shown as 30 marklands. But 20M to the *davach* is quite preposterous, the usual extent in this area being 10M, and as low as 6M or 4M elsewhere. The explanation of this over-assessment is most probably that, by a scribal error, 'markland' has been written for 'pennyland'. If we allow this correction, we have a total of three *davachs* each of 20 pennylands. Also in the parish of Kilmalie is the 20-pennyland group of Glengarry.

Ardgour (1372–3) is put at 2 *unciates*.

The significant records of Ardnamurchan are late, but they indicate groups of 20 pennylands. Thus, 73½ marklands (1541) are equated with 147 pennylands (1723), giving ½M to the pennyland, and so the usual 10M for a 20 group.

Sunart, old parish of Elanfinan, was 3 *unciates* (1392) = 30 marklands (1499) = 60 pennylands (1723). In this last named year there were thirteen holdings of which ten were of 5 pennylands.

The term *unciate* is used with reference to Garmoran as a whole, but for the separate parishes, Moidart, Arisaig, Morar and Knoydart, it is *davach*. Arisaig, including Moidart and South Morar, is found to have 20 pennylands to the *davach* once a confusion with 'markland' has been cleared up (1309). The same applies to Knoydart.

In Glenelg we have a list of twelve half-*davachs*, each of 10 pennylands. (*OPS* II, Pt II App. p. 829).

Diocese of The Isles. Arran shows a tenpennyland (1405). Mull abounds in pennylands, and we find the term *unciate* (1343 and 1390); but the pennyland groups throughout the island are so fragmented that there is no indication of their system.

The islands of Eigg and Rum (parish of Kildonan) are given in 1309 as 6 *davachs*, each of 20 pennylands with an extent of 6M.

In Skye, from 1489 on, the *unciate* or *tirunga* of Trotternish was 20 pennylands. The MacLeod estates (*Dunvegan* I: 1–3; II: 79 ff.) are shown in pennylands and

unciates. The fragmentation of the groups is such that we can only estimate the *unciate* to have been 20 pennylands.

The *OPS* material for the Outer Isles is supplemented by Captain Thomas RN (Thomas 1885-6: 210 ff.). In Barra the principal denomination was the *tirung*, number of pennylands not given. In South Uist we have the *davach* (1309), *unciate* (1427), and *tirung* (1655). Land in Harris was computed (1792) in pennylands, and a tacksman might hold 20. In Lewis pennylands were 20 to the *tirunga*; and a MacLeod charter (1590) made a grant of six *davachs* totalling 120 pennylands (20, 30, 20, 20, 20, 10).

(iii) *The 'House'-'Pennyland' System*

The natural conclusion to draw from our survey is that the social organisation brought over from Ireland, which grouped houses under chieftains and chiefs of 5, 10, 15 and 20, was not confined to the Kingdom of Dalriada proper, but was carried up north and over to the Isles. The name 'house' (*tigh*) which designated the actual holding disappeared and was replaced by 'pennyland', signifying that the house had become subject to a levy of one penny.

3 Origin of the Name 'Pennyland'

As to the origin of this name, there are two broad alternatives. First, the penny per house might have come by sub-division of a comprehensive levy on the house-group as a whole; or, secondly, it might have been a direct imposition on each individual house.

(i) *The Sub-division Theory*

Taking the first of these alternatives, we may assume that the group levy would have been associated with one or other of the group names: markland extent, *davach*, *unciate*, *tirunga*.

(a) The *markland extent* can be readily dismissed. Although the most common assessment was 10M to the 20 pennylands, it was 6M in some cases and as low as 4M in Glenelg and Trotternish. Further, it varied greatly for the same lands over the centuries. Finally, it is difficult to see how even 1M (160 pennies) could have been sub-divided to yield 20 pennies.

(b) *Davach* is the Gaelic *dabhach*: 'a vessel, a vat, a land measure of four ploughlands' (Irish, *vide* Dinneen 1934); 'vat, large tub, district of a country to carry 60 head of cattle, 1 or 4 ploughgates according to locality and land' (Scottish, *vide* Dwelly 1941). The *davach* must have been employed as a grain measure, perhaps varying in capacity in different parts of the country; and associated with the ploughgate, its use as a land denomination clearly belongs to a primarily agricultural economy, as *e.g.* in Moray and Ross where it entered into place-names such as Dochgarrach and Dochfour.

A clue to the extension of this name to the primarily pastoral economy of the west is suggested in the records of Muckairn (*OPS II*, Pt I: 133). In 1532 there were nineteen holdings with a total of 119 pennylands (118 + 1 belonging to the Abbot of Iona). As seven holdings were of 5 and three of 10 pennylands, just over half of the nineteen conformed to the regular group pattern; and since the extent was given as 60M, it is fair to assume that the total should have been 120. A MS note gives the lands as 25 ploughgates. This would work out at the awkward arrangement of $4\frac{1}{3}$ pennylands to the ploughgate; and as none of the holdings was of this size and the majority conformed to the regular group pattern, we may take it that the number of ploughgates was 24, giving 5 pennylands to the ploughgate.

This is rather surprising because the Irish ploughland noted in *CG* was of 4 houses operating a plough-team of 4 oxen. However, this was a relic of the past; and it is evident from *CG* itself that practice was changing, partly because chiefs and chieftains were no longer, as in *UB*, restricted to 4 houses for personal property. They had become landlords over the free commoners occupying the houses in their groups. It seems that in Muckairn the 5-house group had become the agricultural combine.

It cannot have been unique in this respect. Indeed, the frequency with which the 5-pennyland group occurs in the records suggests that the practice was common. As an agricultural combine it would most likely have been called a *treabh*, the name used in Islay for the co-operative ploughland (Bannerman 1974: 42, 48). The Lowland substitute term 'ploughgate' naturally encouraged the use of the other agricultural denomination, *davach* for the 20-house group.

But this could only explain the introduction of the *davach* denomination to the pennyland area. It cannot explain the origin of the name 'pennyland'.

(c) The *ounceland* denomination is found in the Hebrides in the form *tirunga* or *unciate* and as *unciate* in Ardgour, Sunart and Garmoran. It is generally believed to be of Norse origin. We, however, are primarily concerned not with its origin but only with its relation to the pennyland, with the question whether the penny was levied as a sub-division of the ounce.

I have found no evidence in the published records of the *ounceland* denomination in the west Highland mainland other than in the three districts just mentioned. It is true that some time before 1475 the Lord of the Isles granted to the Abbey of Saddle the lands of Kellipoll in Kintyre said to be 'a twelve *unciate*' (*OPS II*, Pt I: 11). But Kellipoll is later shown to be an 8/4d. land. The correct entry would therefore have been 'a twelfth (*uncia*) of land', 8/4d. being the twelfth of a £5 land for which there is some evidence in Kintyre.¹

There are difficulties in relating *ounceland* to pennyland even in areas where both denominations are present. Thus in Orkney the *ounceland* (*uriland*) was equated with 18 pennylands; but Captain Thomas RN (Thomas 1883-4: 358) found no record of such a sub-division of the Norse ounce of 412.59 grains. He thought that the penny in question would have been the old English penny of 22.5 grains, 18 of which (405

grains) were only a little short of the Norse ounce. The group having to pay one ounce, the burden could be spread by a charge of one English penny on each holding.

This seems a reasonable suggestion until we follow it further. In the west Highlands and Hebrides the ounceland is equated with 20 pennylands. The difficulty is aggravated for the few areas in which the ounceland was 24, in Benbecula, North Uist and Tiree. In Benbecula rents of pennylands were stated (1576) in terms of 'males' of grain. In North Uist there were (1561) the 24 pennylands of Unganab (the abbot's ounceland) for the half of which Macdonald of Sleat paid (1576) '48 males of bear of the custom and use of Uist'. In Tiree a local rental of 1662 (*SHR* 1911, vol. 9: 344) gives: '*Tirunga* = 6M = twenty pennylands = 48 mailies'. 'Twenty' is written '20', but the reference must be to the Norse long score, 24. The use of the denomination 'mailie' in the Hebrides presumably derives from a Norse grain measure,² the male, as is evident from a charter giving the old rent for Tiree, each *tirunga* paying 48 'males' of meal (*CRA* 1847: 161, 178-9). Apparently Benbecula, North Uist and Tiree had been found by the Norse colonists especially suitable for cereal crops; and to promote more intensive cultivation the 20-house group was re-constituted as 24.

We have, then, in Orkney an ounceland of 18 pennylands, and in the Hebrides one of 20 and still another of 24 pennylands. This means that, if the penny levy is a sub-division of the ounce levy, we are dealing either with ounces of three different values, or with pennies of three different values.

Suppose the ounce to be of constant value, then we are calling its 18th, 20th and 24th parts by the same name; but there is no known ounce which was sub-divided in all these three ways. Suppose, on the other hand, the penny to be of constant value, say the old English penny of 22.5 grains, then we have ounces of three different values. What are they?

What, in the first place, is the ounce which was sub-divided into 18 English pennies? Thomas suggested the Norse ounce of 412.58 grains since $22.5 \times 18 = 405$, only a trifle less than the full ounce. Now this assumes not only familiarity with English coinage but also knowledge of the respective values of the Norse and English ounces; and if we say that the penny levy was imposed as a sub-division of the Norse ounce, this implies that the assessor was using simultaneously two different ounces, the English being brought into play because the Norse one had never in fact been so subdivided. It assumes further a steady supply of English pennies from the individual tenants. But surely their rents would have been paid in kind (cattle or other farm produce), a suitable portion of the total being earmarked to meet the ounce levy. There would have been no place in the economic or fiscal system for English pennies. Of course the ounceland *did* consist of 18 pennylands, but the ounce and penny levies must have been completely unrelated.

When we turn to the *tirunga* of 24 pennylands it may seem relevant that there was indeed a penny, the Irish screpall, *denarius Gallicus*, which was a twentifourth of an ounce. It was the Roman *scripulum* of 24 wheatgrains with 24 to the ounce. But the

English penny of 22.5 grains Troy was equal to 32 wheat grains of the Roman ounce. Consequently 24 English pennies would have amounted to 768, as against the 576 of the Roman ounce. So far as I am aware there has never been an ounce of 768 wheat-grains. So *either* the 24 pennylands of Uist and Tiree are unrelated to any known ounce, *or* the penny in these areas was not the English penny but the *denarius Gallicus*. It is highly improbable that this monetary system obtained in a very restricted area so strongly affected by Norse influence.

Finally, we come to the *tirunga* of 20 pennylands. Here the penny levy is precisely a twentieth of the English 450 grains ounce. There are three possibilities. First, the penny levy was simply a subdivision of the ounce; second, the unceland was so called because a levy of 20 pennies amounted to an ounce for the 20-house group; third, the ounce and the penny levies were completely unrelated, imposed at different times and for different reasons.

This last possibility seems not only the most probable but also the only one for which there is any kind of evidence. It is the most probable because it can cover all three types of pennyland areas. The explanation will be that some authority, possibly a Norse king or Orkneyan earl, levied the ounce on each standard group in Orkney, the Hebrides and parts of the western mainland, irrespective of the number of holdings in the standard group; and that at some other time the penny was levied on each individual holding.

(ii) *The Direct Levy*

It is true that we have no evidence of the ounce levy, but there is clear evidence of the penny levy on individual holdings in the form of grants to the mediaeval church. Thus, 'Before 1181 Harald earl of Catenes and Orkney granted to the see of Rome one penny yearly from each inhabited house within the earldom of Catenes' (*OPS II*, Pt II: 589). Presumably the grant had also been made for Orkney. At the other end of the kingdom, namely in Kintyre, sometime before the year 1200, Reginald son of Somerled, granted to the monastery of Paisley 'one penny in perpetuity from every house on his territories from which smoke issued' (*OPS II*, Pt I: 2). That the grant was to Paisley Abbey probably explains why there are no pennylands in Islay which, although in Reginald's territories, was closely associated with the Benedictine Abbey of Iona. In the Isle of Man there was apparently a grant called the 'smoke penny' payable to the bishop.

These grants are suggestive of the tax known as 'Peter's Pence' which was imposed by the pope on 'every hearth or house' in England at the beginning of the tenth century. It spread to other countries of Europe but does not appear to have been extended to Scotland. It must, however, have been well known to the great monastic orders which were becoming established in western Scotland from the twelfth century onward under the patronage of the family of Somerled. An essential difference

between Peter's Pence and the above-noted grants is that, while the former was an imposed papal levy, the latter were individually initiated gifts, only one of which was directed to Rome. No doubt the sons of Somerled and the kings of Man were gently reminded that true charity begins at home.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I am grateful to the Reader of this paper for a number of helpful comments, which have been included in the text and in the following Notes.

NOTES

- 1 I am indebted to the Reader for the information that there is evidence for ouncelands in Knapdale or Kintyre in an unpublished charter of c. 1262 by Dougall MacSween [OPS II Pt. 1: 29]. (Although this should not affect the substance of my argument, since I do not consider the ounce and penny levies to be related, it is likely to be of considerable significance for the social and political history of the area.)
- 2 I assumed that the 'male' was introduced to the Hebrides, not from Ireland or Lowland Scotland, but by the Norse colonists, since it appears to have been associated only with the areas in which the *tirunga* had 24 pennylands, the 'long score' commonly, though not exclusively, used by the Norse. The Reader, however, observes that the term 'male' (as a measure) occurs in a thoroughly vernacular context, in eleventh–thirteenth centuries, in the form 'mela' or 'male', throughout eastern Scotland between the Forth and the Moray Firth.
(For variant forms, history and meanings see the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, s.v., and *mele*, n².)

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