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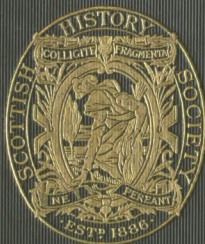
CHRONICLE  
OF  
HOLYROOD

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CHRONICLE OF HOLYROOD





A SCOTTISH CHRONICLE  
KNOWN AS  
THE CHRONICLE OF  
HOLYROOD

Edited by  
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## PREFACE

THE Chronicle of Holyrood is one of the two Scottish monastic chronicles that have survived from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It has hitherto been available in the Bannatyne Club edition (1828), and in the edition by Bouterwek (1863); but neither edition provides an accurate text or collates the two manuscripts of the chronicle.

The present edition contains the text of the Karlsruhe manuscript, collated with the incomplete Lambeth manuscript; also the later additions in the Karlsruhe manuscript, of which the passage under 1266 is here printed for the first time. A translation has been added of the chronicle from 1065-6 onwards, and of the additions.

A study of the chronicle's sources shows that it had no originally Scottish source for entries earlier than about 1128. For the half-century after the Norman Conquest, it derived material from sources that originated in the south or south-west of England; and it is therefore of interest for the study of minor English chronicles of that period. The chronicle has preserved a few pieces of information not generally found in English sources; including the establishment of thirty-six canons in Salisbury (1089), and the death of Eulalia abbess of Shaftesbury (1111). The "sheriff G." whose death is entered under 1125 was not, as has been supposed, one of the earliest-known Scottish sheriffs, but was Gilbert, sheriff of Surrey, Huntingdon, and Cambridge.

A comparison of the chronicle with the contemporary part of the Chronicle of Melrose shows that the two chronicles are probably related not directly, but through

the use of common sources. There may have been two distinct common sources, one that was used for items in the text of the Melrose chronicle, and another for items that were later added to the text; and the two sources were not necessarily used for the Chronicle of Holyrood at one time, or by one chronicler.

From internal evidence in the Chronicle of Holyrood, it appears that the chronicle reached its present form in the abbey of Coupar-Angus.

The list of events in the Scottish War of Independence, added at the end of the Karlsruhe manuscript, appears to be derived from a lost source, and may deserve more attention than it has received.

A. O. Anderson wishes to say that this book was planned as a collaborate edition; but that he was not at first free to undertake his part, and before he could do so, the research work of the edition had been done by M. O. Anderson, under her own direction and initiative. He is in entire agreement with the methods and results. He has verified the text of the chronicle, and variant readings, in every letter; has checked the translation; and has considered and approved all the notes. He has added some historical notes, separated from the others by square brackets, and marked with his initials; and has inserted in the introductory part of the edition a palaeographical note, over his own name.

We are indebted to Professor Dr Karl Preisendanz, formerly of the Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe, who gave us permission to edit the Karlsruhe manuscript of the chronicle, and who obtained for us the rotographs from which we have worked; and to Dr Kattermann, now of the same library, who has kindly answered a number

of questions about the manuscript volume in which the chronicle is bound.

We are indebted also to the authorities of Lambeth Palace Library, who have allowed us to consult the manuscript of the chronicle preserved there, and to have rotographs made of it.

We have made use of several manuscripts of chronicles in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; and we should have wished to thank the late Canon Sir Edwyn C. Hoskyns, Bt., librarian of that College, for permission to quote the manuscripts, for obtaining rotographs of some of their pages, and for his hospitable kindness to us when we visited the library.

Our thanks are due to the Leverhulme Research Fellowships trust, for a grant in aid of travelling expenses, which has enabled us to visit the British Museum and other libraries, and so to complete our work on the Introduction to the Chronicle of Melrose facsimile, and on the present edition of the Chronicle of Holyrood.

DUNDEE.

November, 1937.





## INTRODUCTION

THE work known as the Chronicle of Holyrood survives in two manuscript copies: one, which we call K, at Karlsruhe; the other, which we call L, at Lambeth. The text of this edition is that of K; the variations of L are fully noted (see below, p. 63).

**K.** This is a manuscript of 13 folios, forming folios 1-13 of the manuscript volume Karlsruhe 345, in the Badische Landesbibliothek at Karlsruhe, Baden; formerly the library of the Grand Duke of Baden.

The chronicle itself, copied in a thirteenth-century hand, occupies folios 1 to 11, and the greater part of 12 recto. Several later additions were made by different hands, at different times; they are all included in this edition.

At the foot of folio 12 recto, in a hand of the fourteenth century, is a notice of the death of king Alexander III of Scotland in 1286. Folios 12 verso and 13 recto contain an account, in a thirteenth-fourteenth century hand, of events of 1266 in the Holy Land. Folio 13 verso, the last page of K, contains in two hands of the fourteenth or fifteenth century notices of events (1296-1318) in the Scottish War of Independence, and the capture and loss of Berwick in 1355 and 1356.

For some notes on the writing of the manuscript, see below, pp. 55-61.

We have not been able to go to Karlsruhe to see the manuscript. Our text is transcribed from rotographs, or photostatic copies, made for us in 1932 through the

courtesy of Professor Dr Karl Preisendanz, then Keeper of the manuscripts there. For the purposes of the edition, these rotographs have been a satisfactory substitute for the manuscript, and have permitted us to make a correct transcript.

Dr Kattermann, now of the Badische Landesbibliothek, has kindly replied to a number of questions concerning the manuscript. He tells us that the folios of K are 22.5 cm. in height, and 15.5 cm. in breadth. Folios 1-8 are, he says, evidently one quire; the relationship of the remaining folios is no longer clearly visible, because of the modern binding, but Dr Kattermann conjectures that the collation is : 9 separate, 10-13, 11-12.

The other manuscripts contained in Karlsruhe 345 are of various dates and sizes. The volume was formerly numbered Durlach 38, and came to the library from the collection of Hermann von der Hardt (1660-1746), after his death. Finally, Dr Kattermann has referred us to the library catalogue, *Die Handschriften der grossherzoglich Badischen Hof- und Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe*; part IV (1896), pp. 38-39, contains an account of Karlsruhe 345, and a list of its contents.

K was edited by C. W. Bouterwek, under the title : *Monachi Anonymi Scoti Chronicon Anglo - Scoticum* (Elberfeld, 1863). Bouterwek omitted from his edition the added passage for 1266, which, so far as can be found, is here printed for the first time.

Bouterwek's edition contains a page of facsimiles, which are untrustworthy. His transcript of the text is very inaccurate. He gives also an introduction, with some account of the manuscript; and notes under the text.

L. The other copy of the Chronicle of Holyrood is contained in manuscript 440 in Lambeth Palace

Library, London. This copy was made by hands of the early thirteenth or late twelfth century (see below, pp. 55-61).

Lambeth 440 contains, besides L, an incomplete copy of Hugh of Fleury's Chronicle, attributed in the manuscript to Ivo of Chartres. The copy of Hugh of Fleury stops in the middle of a sentence, before the end of folio 121 verso. See Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS. in the library of Lambeth Palace, by M. R. James and Claude Jenkins, 1930. Compare *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *Scriptores*, ix, pp. 338-339; Potthast, *Bibliotheca*, i, p. 626.

The Chronicle of Holyrood begins on folio 122 recto, at the top of the page. It is contained in two quires. The first quire has eight folios. In the second quire there were six folios, but at some time after the book was bound the fourth folio was cut off to within about half an inch of the binding, and the fifth was cut off close to the binding; the sixth folio is blank. It is possible that the second quire also had originally eight folios, and that the middle two (which would have followed folio 132) have been lost.

The chronicle in its present state occupies folios 122-132. At the end of folio 132 verso, it breaks off in the middle of a sentence, in the year 1163. There is no trace of writing on the front of the first cut folio, which follows; though it is not impossible that there was writing on it which has been completely cut away, leaving only the blank margin. On the reverse side of the folio, there are traces of writing, in a hand that is almost certainly different from the hands in which the chronicle is written.

Apart from the evidence of K's text, it is clear that L's text of the chronicle is incomplete, since it stops in the middle of a sentence. Either the copying was

interrupted at the bottom of folio 132 verso, or it was continued on the folios that have been cut out or on the folios that may have been lost. In either case, the text did not continue as far as the blank folio at the end of the quire.

It has sometimes been suggested that L represents an earlier version of the chronicle than the version in K. But since L is incomplete, its present extent affords no evidence of the extent of its source. It is impossible to decide on other grounds whether or not L's source was of the same extent as K's copy of the chronicle (see below, pp. 8-9).

At the top of folio 2 of Lambeth 440, at the beginning of Hugh of Fleury's Chronicle, is written in a thirteenth-century hand: *Liber Sancte Marie de Sancto Servano ex dono Willelmi filii Dunecani quondam persone ipsius ecclesie*. ("The book of St Mary of St Serf, by the gift of William Duncan's son, formerly rector of that church.")

The Cistercian abbey of Culross, which was dedicated to St Mary and St Serf, is probably the place to which the note refers. The abbey was founded in 1217, by Malcolm earl of Fife (Chronicle of Melrose). There had been a church there before the abbey was founded (see Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, lx, pp. 67-70). After the abbey was built, there may have been a separate parish church at Culross; there are remains of a pre-Reformation parish church half a mile from the abbey buildings (see Ancient Monument Commission's volume on Fife, 1933, no. 149, and figure 27).

Malcolm earl of Fife, who founded the abbey of Culross, had a brother William, apparently earl Duncan II's son: see Miscellaneous Charters, edited by William Angus (Scottish History Society's Miscellany iv, 1926),

pp. 309, 336, 337. A William Duncan's son, not certainly the same, witnessed a charter of the same earl Malcolm, 1206×1208 (*Registrum episcopatus Moraviensis*, no. 50), and a charter of earl Duncan II, 1202 (*Carte monialium de Northberwic*, no. 6): from his position among the witnesses, this William was probably a churchman.

William Duncan's son, the rector of St Serf, may have been either earl Malcolm's brother, or some other member of his family.

The gift made by William Duncan's son included Hugh of Fleury's Chronicle; but whether it included also the Chronicle of Holyrood must remain uncertain. The handwriting in the two parts of the volume is similar, and of about the same date (see below, pp. 56, 58).

For our study of the text of *L* we have used roto-graphs made for us by R. B. Fleming and Co.; and we have consulted the manuscript on many points.

*L* was edited by Henry Wharton in his *Anglia Sacra*, i, pp. 152-162 (London, 1691), omitting the first two folios, and beginning at the year 596. Wharton named the work *Chronicon Coenobii S. Crucis Edinburgensis*; and from his time it has been known as the Chronicle of Holyrood.

The whole of *L* was edited, with Wharton's title, by Robert Pitcairn, for the Bannatyne Club (no. 20; 1828). For the part omitted by Wharton, the text was taken from a transcription by David Laing. Pitcairn says that the remainder was checked from the manuscript, by Henry Petrie. But the text is inaccurate, and in places misleading.

Joseph Stevenson published an incomplete translation of *L* in *Church Historians of England, Pre-Reformation series*, iv, part 1, pp. 61-75 (London, 1856). His trans-

lation, which contains serious errors, is based on Wharton's text, with the addition of a few passages from the early part of the chronicle that Wharton omitted.

The texts of the chronicle in the manuscripts K and L are closely related to one another. They have many errors in common: e.g., *bassionem* for *bassianum* (year 189), *anar'* for *Mar'* (538), *equalibet* for *equalibus* (616), *xxxv in* for *xxxviii* (64[2]), *mxlviii* for *mlxviii* (1068), *perturbanes* for *perturbantes* (1153), *duelm~ensem* for *du~elmensem* (1154), and the omission of some words at 1160 (see note under that year).

Several details of writing are the same in K and L. Superscript *o*, not normally written in the year-numbers in either manuscript, appears in *dcxxx<sup>o</sup>iii<sup>o</sup>*, *dcxxxiiii<sup>o</sup>*, and *dccxxxi<sup>o</sup>*, in both K and L. The dot, usually put between *Anno* and a following year-number, is omitted at year 685 in both manuscripts. In both, dots separating letters within the year-numbers occur more plentifully from *m.c.l.v.* onwards. A triangular type of *A*, which occurs very rarely in either manuscript, appears in both K and L at 449 and 1162.

Neither manuscript, apparently, is derived from the other. K has many textual errors and omissions peculiar to itself, and therefore cannot be the source of L. L also has some peculiar errors: e.g., *auta* for *aucta* (year 286), *vortingirno* for *vortigirno* (449), *inimicie* for *inimicitie* (679). L omits two words that are present in K, in passages derived from Bede: *usque* (189), and *jam* (688). L wrote an unfinished *mul-* at the end of a line (685), where K has *multis*; Bede here reads *multum*. The last hand of L is very inaccurate. Examples of errors that it contains, and that are not found in K, are: *tepha'* for *Stephani* (1153), *hore* for

*honore* (1154), *Untendunie* for *Huntedunie* (1157); the omission of *kal.* from the date of Arthur's death at 1154.

It appears therefore that neither K nor L is derived from the other; but that both are derived from a common manuscript source some of whose scribal peculiarities are retained in both. Probably neither K nor L is removed by many stages from their common source.

The common source evidently had a fairly large number of textual errors. Some of these were derived from earlier sources of the chronicle; see, for example, *sicut* at year 733.

In places, the writing of the common source seems to have been obscure. For instance, at 1153, the writers of K and L made attempts at copying an obscurely-written number, giving the age of Malcolm IV at his accession; and at 1159, in the account of the bishop of Moray's mission to Rome, an obscure word or two were copied by L and then partly erased, and were left blank in K (see notes at these years).

Some characteristics of the handwriting of their common source may be deduced from K and L.

The ligatures for *ae* and *ar* were easily confused in the common source. At 616, K has *carlin* (*ar*-ligature) for *cælin*; and L writes the word ambiguously, as though the scribe were not sure which was the true spelling. At 603, L corrects *arlfridus* (*ar*-ligature) to *ælfredus*.

K's source perhaps used a straight *d* in which the loop had a horizontal top projecting to the left, so that the letter was easily confused with *tl*. At 651, K writes *ingedingum* for *ingetlingum*; L writes *ingetlingum*, correctly. L occasionally writes a *d* somewhat of that form (see folio 126 recto, last line, year 664, *iduum*);



and it occurs at least once in K (folio 12 recto, line 15, year 1187, *domno*).

In the common source *e* and *c* were easily confused. Both K and L have *Hee* for *Hec* at 664. At 616, L wrote and erased an *e* before *cælin*, having presumably mistaken his source's *c* for *e*. Compare K's *Wlfherc* for *Wlfhere* at 659; and *dcæe* for *dcæc* at 690. Throughout L there is a resemblance between *e* and *c*.

K's source must sometimes have written a *u* in which the first stroke had a broad top, so that the letter resembled *ti*; this would account for K's reading *itini* for *iunni* at 731. L sometimes writes a *u* of that form. (See an instance on folio 126 recto, line 27.)

The writing of L evidently resembled in some points the writing of the common source; L may have been written not much later than the common source, and may perhaps have been a direct copy of it.

It is less likely that K's copy of the chronicle was made directly from the common source. K has a great many textual errors that are not in L; but since the last page of the chronicle in K (folio 12 recto, years 1186-1189) is relatively free from errors, it is possible that the writer of the chronicle in K was a more careful copyist than he appears, and that some of the errors were introduced by the writer of a manuscript intermediate between the common source and K.

It would follow that the writer of such an intermediate manuscript did not copy the last part of the chronicle, from 1186 to 1189, but that that part was added by a different hand; and that the end of the chronicle, from 1186, was not in the common source of K and L.

This is made more probable by the fact that at 1186 a new beginning was apparently made in the source of K (see below, p. 39). But the argument is too uncertain to decide the problem of whether or not L's

source was of the same extent as K's copy of the chronicle. That question must remain open.

There is some reason to think that K's source was a manuscript belonging to the abbey of Coupar-Angus, and was written there; and that K, at least as far as folio 13 recto, was written at Coupar-Angus (see below, pp. 47-48).

In the following discussion of the chronicle, I have ignored the additions at the end of K, which were written at different times by different hands, and have no connexion with the chronicle itself except for their historical nature. By "the chronicle," or "the Chronicle of Holyrood," I usually mean the chronicle that ends at 1189 in K, and that may have been of the same extent in the common source of K and L.

The chronicle has been generally known as "the Chronicle of Holyrood." But in the form in which we have it, it is almost certainly not a Holyrood chronicle. It probably reached its present form in the Cistercian abbey at Coupar-Angus (see below, pp. 37 ff.), and might legitimately be called "the Chronicle of Coupar." Such an innovation, however, would be likely to cause misunderstanding; and it might lead to confusion between the chronicle and the "Book of Coupar," a version of Bower's *Scotichronicon*.

There is some justification for continuing to use the familiar title. A Holyrood chronicle formed a basis of the Coupar one. The entries made at Coupar may be only a very small proportion of the whole; and the chronicle made at Holyrood seems to have included at least the most valuable part of the work, the part from 1150 to 1170. We have therefore retained the name "Chronicle of Holyrood."

The chronicle, though it is written in both manuscripts

without any marked break, is made up of two distinct parts. The first part extends from Julius Caesar's invasion of Britain to the death of Bede under 734; and the second part, from the year 1065-6 to the end in 1189.

The first part is principally derived from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. The last entry in this part, the deaths of Tatwine and Bede, may probably be derived from an early continuation of the same work; see below, note at 734.

The extracts from Bede were made according to a method. Bede's History is not written in strict chronological order, and year-numbers are often omitted in his text. To construct from it an annalistic chronicle, the compiler used the *Recapitulatio* at the end of the History (book V, chapter 24), where Bede gives a chronological list, with year-numbers, of important events of the History, and a few additional events.

The compiler sometimes copied only the entry in the *Recapitulatio*; sometimes he expanded it from the corresponding passage in the body of the History. Sometimes he used the *Recapitulatio* merely as an index, and copied only the passage in the History itself.

A few passages were copied from the History for which the *Recapitulatio* has no corresponding entries. These are usually adjacent to passages that the compiler had found from the *Recapitulatio*, and copied. But the entries in the Chronicle of Holyrood for 620, 624, and 634, are exceptional, and were presumably included in order to complete the series of archbishops of Canterbury.

Every item in the *Recapitulatio* is represented in the Chronicle of Holyrood, except those at 697 and 698; but these two years are omitted from the *Recapitulatio* in the group of Bede manuscripts to which the chronicle's

source belonged (the C-group; see Plummer, *Bede*, i, p. 355).

The compiler's aim was apparently to make a summary of the history of the church in Britain; and his choice of material was guided almost entirely by the *Recapitulatio*. The subject-matter of his extracts gives no indication of where this part of the *Chronicle of Holyrood* was made. But the confusion, at 616, of Bede's *Ælle*, king of the South-Saxons, with *Ælle*, king of Northumbria, suggests that the compiler belonged to the north.

Something might be learned of the history of the *chronicle* if we could tell what manuscript of Bede the compiler used. I have not been able to do this; but in my notes on the text I have given some readings of Bede manuscripts, showing to what group the compiler's source belonged. These readings are almost all taken from Plummer's edition; but I have referred also to a Vatican manuscript of Bede's *History* (Reg. Lat. 694), which Plummer had apparently not seen (see below, p. 41).

Plummer classified manuscripts of Bede's *History* by comparing them on certain points; many of these points do not occur among the extracts in the *Chronicle of Holyrood*. He also collated throughout four early manuscripts, M, B, N, C, of which C (Cotton Tiberius C ii) differs in a number of points from the rest. He classed as members of the C-group two important later manuscripts, D (Durham Chapter Library B ii 35) and W (Winchester Chapter Library 3), and other manuscripts connected with them.

The *Chronicle of Holyrood*'s source clearly belonged to the C-group. I have noted most of C's readings, where C differs from the other manuscripts and the *Chronicle of Holyrood* agrees with C. The manuscripts

with which C is contrasted in such notes are as a rule only M, B, N; Plummer does not usually give the readings of later manuscripts, such as D and W. At 655, the Chronicle of Holyrood's reading agrees with that of M etc., against C; but see below, 655 note.

D and W, and related manuscripts, have some peculiarities, of which the most important is the addition to the Recapitulatio (V 24) of certain passages, chiefly concerning St Wilfrid (Plummer, Bede, i, pp. civ ff.). These passages are included in the Chronicle of Holyrood (years 687, 692, 705). The source of the chronicle was evidently a manuscript of the DW-type; but it would be impossible, without a very wide investigation of manuscripts, to establish its relations more exactly. It agreed in some points with D rather than with W: e.g., *ibi* where W has *illis*, at 692. But at 687, as far as *rege*, it agreed with W in a passage omitted by D. See notes at these years.

A few passages that are not derived from Bede's Ecclesiastical History occur in the first part of the Chronicle of Holyrood.

Some words at the end of the account of Julius Caesar's invasion of Britain are taken, inaccurately, from Bede's Chronicle (see the note on p. 76).

There are notices of the birth of Christ, of portents associated with it, of the beginning of Christ's preaching, and of his death. These are partly, and perhaps wholly, derived from Jerome and Orosius; probably through some intermediate source, which I have not traced (see pp. 76-77).

Under the year A.D. 45 the chronicle says that St Martial was sent by St Peter into Gaul to preach the gospel. This statement, though not the wording, seems to be ultimately derived from the medieval life of St Martial attributed to Aurelianus (see year 45, note).

At 676, 685, and 687, the chronicle contains passages concerning St Cuthbert : his withdrawal to Farne Island, his ordination as bishop, and his death. These, and a passage at 1069 in the second part of the chronicle, are all derived from the *Brevis Relatio de S. Cuthberto*, a twelfth-century work compiled from earlier sources ; see Hinde's edition of Simeon of Durham (Surtees Society, 1868), pp. xli-xliii, 223-233. The passages at 676, 685, and 687, occur in that part of the *Brevis Relatio* which Hinde prints in full (pp. 224-225) ; but for comparison with the text of the *Chronicle of Holyrood* I have used a British Museum manuscript, Cotton Nero A ii (see below, p. 14).

Since the three passages on Cuthbert in the first part of the *Chronicle of Holyrood*, and the passage at 1069 in the second part, are derived from one source, they were presumably all introduced into the chronicle at the same time ; perhaps after some at least of the second part of the chronicle had been written, and the extracts from Bede had been added.

The second part of the *Chronicle of Holyrood*, beginning with the year 1065-6, is of a different kind from the first. It was not the work of a single compiler copying from original sources ; nor did it grow steadily from year to year. It consists of separate elements combined at different times, and forming an accumulation of annals rather than a single chronicle.

Three of the early entries are derived from known sources.

(1) The account at 1069 of Robert Cumin's death at Durham, and St Cuthbert's miraculous intervention against the avenging army, is taken from the twelfth-century *Brevis Relatio de S. Cuthberto*. Entries at 676, 685, and 687, in the first part of the chronicle, are taken from the same source ; see above.

Hinde printed part of the *Brevis Relatio* in full, in his edition of Simeon of Durham, pp. 223 ff. But he did not print the chapter from which the passage at 1069 is taken. That chapter was printed, from an imperfect manuscript (see Hinde, pp. xli-xliii), in the *Acta Sanctorum*, 20 March (iii, p. 134). It was reprinted, from the *Acta Sanctorum*, by Joseph Stevenson in his edition of Bede (English Historical Society (1841), ii, pp. 309-310). But the printed text differs in several places from that given in the *Chronicle of Holyrood*, and in the manuscripts that I have seen. For comparison with the *Chronicle of Holyrood* in all the passages that it derives from the *Brevis Relatio* I have therefore used a British Museum manuscript, Cotton Nero A ii (of the twelfth or early thirteenth century), instead of the printed texts.

(2) A notice at 1104, of the translation of St Cuthbert at Durham, is derived from the *Historia Translationum S. Cuthberti* (Hinde as above, p. 197; also in *Rolls Series* 75, i, p. 261). Several manuscripts (including Cotton Nero A ii) contain both the *Historia Translationum* and the *Brevis Relatio*; and such a manuscript was presumably the source of all the passages on St Cuthbert in the *Chronicle of Holyrood*.

The account of the translation of 1104 is missing in Cotton Nero A ii, and I have therefore used Hinde's text for that passage.

(3) A notice at 1101, of the coronation of Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem, is derived from the *Historia Hierosolymitana* of Fulcherius or Foucher of Chartres, II 6 (*Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux* iii (1866), p. 382; printed also in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 155, column 822). Fulcherius died in about 1127.

At 1168, the chronicle describes an eclipse in words

taken from the Continuation of Bede's History, year 734. The same passage of Bede's History was used by other chronicles to describe eclipses (see note on text, at 1168).

With the exception of these four passages, the sources of the second part of the Chronicle of Holyrood are not known. But different elements in the sources can be distinguished to some extent by a comparison with other chronicles.

It is not possible by such an analysis to account completely for the chronicle's contents. A comparison even of surviving manuscripts of English and Scottish chronicles is necessarily incomplete. The habits of chronographers cause uncertainty ; they were not always systematic in their use of sources. Most chronicles have survived in transcripts only ; and miscellaneous entries made in margins and blank spaces have, through copying, been absorbed into the texts. It cannot, for instance, be assumed that a single passage common to two chronicles marks any general relationship between them.

The second part of the Chronicle of Holyrood, to about 1150, contains scanty, usually brief, annals, generally of English events. I have compared the chronicle with published English chronicles, and also with a number of monastic chronicles in manuscript, particularly those in the Cottonian collection.

Some at least of the Chronicle of Holyrood's English annals were derived from a source that was used also in the chronicle called the Annals of Multifernan. According to their editor, Aquilla Smith, these Annals may really belong to the house of Strade in county Mayo, and are written in one hand to their end in 1274.

The Chronicle of Holyrood apparently represents more fully than the Annals of Multifernan the source that is common to them.



Several of the items common to the two chronicles were derived ultimately from a brief series of English annals that appears in several other monastic chronicles. I have not found the original version of the series, which I call for convenience X. It is probable that X was used by other chronicles besides those in which I have found traces of it.

The Chronicle of Holyrood contains about thirty entries derived from X. The Annals of Multifernan do not contain so many; but since they have other material in common with the Chronicle of Holyrood, besides what is derived from X, it is probable that the common source of the two chronicles contained at least as many entries from X as are preserved in the Chronicle of Holyrood.

I have found X, more or less fully represented, and combined with more or less of other material, in the Annals of Margam, Tewkesbury, Reading, Lewes, and perhaps the Annals of Merton; besides the Annals of Multifernan and the Chronicle of Holyrood. For the editions and manuscripts in which I have used these chronicles, see the List, below, pp. 67-68.

X must have been a list of very brief annals, such as were sometimes entered in Easter tables. The Annals of Reading (British Museum Ms., Reg. 8 E xviii) are entered in an Easter table; they are the earliest manuscript that I have seen of the group of chronicles that used X.

It is not possible to know certainly the extent of X; but it seems to have begun with the Norman Conquest, and to have ended at 1119.

The most remarkable entry in X was the battle at *Bleoduna* or *Bleduna*, under the year 1068 or 1069. The place is probably Bleadon in Somerset; see below, 1068 note. I have not found the place of this battle so named in any chronicles except those mentioned

above. The Annals of Merton do not contain the entry, and I have therefore hesitated to assume that X was one of their sources ; but see below, p. 19.

At 1080, X contained a notice of a gale that occurred at Christmas. This gale is not mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Florence of Worcester, or other important sources for the period. But it occurs in a number of monastic chronicles, including all the chronicles that used X, and the Annals of Merton. It occurs also in another group of chronicles, that used a source of Cluniac origin ; see below, pp. 25-26. The Annals of Lewes, and of Merton (under 1079), may have derived the entry from the Cluniac source, which they both used, and not from X.

The gale appears, under 1081, in the text of two early manuscripts of Robert de Torigni in the British Museum (Harleian 651 and Reg. 13 C xi). It appears also in the text of the Chronicle of Melrose, in the Annals of Hagheby, of Winchester (1081), of Waverley (1081), and of Plympton, and in the annals translated, from the British Museum manuscript Cotton Nero C vii, by Joseph Stevenson in Church Historians of England, iv, part 1 (1856), pp. 388-393.

The Annals of Waverley may perhaps have derived their notice of the gale (*ventus validus in nocte Natalis Domini*) from a source of the Chronicle of Holyrood. From the same source, they may have taken a Salisbury item at 1092 (see below, p. 22). There seems to be no further connexion between the Annals of Waverley and the Chronicle of Holyrood.

Gales and other natural phenomena, regarded as portents, were frequently the subject of additions in chronicles. The appearance of the Christmas gale in different chronicles should probably not be taken as in itself proof of any general relationship between them.

Except for the battle of Bleadon, and the gale at 1080, X seems to have contained little that is not recorded in the major chronicles of the time. It had, however, a notice of the accession of the antipope Wibert, or Clement III, under 1084. This occurs in the Annals of Margam and the Chronicle of Holyrood in identical words, and in the Annals of Lewes more briefly: *Wibertus fit papa*. It probably refers to Wibert's consecration (see 1084, note). Wibert's accession is not noticed in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle or in Florence of Worcester; Simeon of Durham has several notices concerning the intrusion of Wibert into the papal see, but he has no notice under 1084.

The wording of X was usually very brief and unremarkable. We may note, however, the distinctive wording of the entry, under 1096, of pope Urban's preaching of the first crusade; the entry is in almost identical words in the Chronicle of Holyrood, and the Annals of Multifernan, of Lewes, and of Merton. In the Annals of Margam it is given at greater length.

The wording of an entry at 1075 is distinctive. The Annals of Margam here read: *Rogerus et Radulfus de Waer voluerunt tradere regem Willelmum primum*. This is very similar to the Chronicle of Holyrood's version. This annal does not occur in the other chronicles of the group; but since the Chronicle of Holyrood and the Annals of Margam have no other apparent connexion except through X, it is probable that this annal was derived from X.

X was used by the different chronicles in different ways. In the Annals of Reading, an abbreviated version of X was entered in an Easter table by a hand of about the middle of the twelfth century. Almost all the annals entered by this hand are derived from X; but there are a few other annals, including two Worcester

events, and one of Glastonbury. A very similar version of X, with the same additions, was used by the Annals of Tewkesbury, which added also some Gloucester and local Tewkesbury items. In the Annals of Tewkesbury the date of Easter is entered at each year. It seems probable that the version of X used by the Annals of Reading and the Annals of Tewkesbury was entered in an Easter table.

In the other chronicles of the group, the annals derived from X are combined with more of other material, and it is impossible to tell from what kind of manuscript they were derived.

The Annals of Margam consist, for the period covered by X, of passages taken from William of Malmesbury, beside shorter annals. Not all the shorter annals are derived from X. Some of them relate to Winchester.

In the Annals of Lewes, X was used, with other material, to supplement a Cluniac source (see below).

The Annals of Merton are, for the period covered by X, copied chiefly from William of Malmesbury and Ralph de Diceto. There are also a number of shorter entries, usually distinguished from the longer ones by a paragraph-sign in the manuscript. Of the shorter entries, some are derived from the Cluniac source (see below, pp. 25-26); nearly all the remainder appear to be derived from X.

The version of X that was a source of the Chronicle of Holyrood and the Annals of Multifernan had, before it became their source, apparently received additions, some of which describe Salisbury events (see below). Both these chronicles contain also annals for the period, in addition to those derived from the source that was common to them.

X itself does not seem to have been derived from any source now known. Many of the events that it con-

tained are to be found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and more in Florence of Worcester. X may have been related to Florence of Worcester through common, perhaps Anglo-Saxon, sources. X placed the preaching of the first crusade in 1096; though the preaching was made at the council of Clermont, in November, 1095. Florence places the council of Clermont in Lent, 1096, presumably confusing it with the council then held by pope Urban at Tours. On the other hand, X placed the death of queen Edith and the conspiracy of the earls in 1075, and the execution of earl Waltheof in 1076; agreeing with the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, version E. But Florence of Worcester places these events in 1074 and 1075.

It is noticeable that all the versions of X that I have traced, except those in the Annals of Lewes and of Merton, appear in the chronicles of western monasteries (Margam and Tewkesbury), or have been combined with western annals.

Bleadon, which is apparently the place named by X as the site of a battle in 1068 or 1069, is in Somerset, and was the property of the monks of Winchester cathedral (see Luard's *Annales Monastici*, ii, p. 26).

It seems most likely that the original of X was made in some western monastery. The fact that traces of it have survived in so many different chronicles suggests that it may have come from an important centre, such as Winchester. But there is no evidence sufficient to fix its place of origin.

The adjoining table gives some idea of the probable contents of X, and the extent to which it was used by the different chronicles discussed above. I have included only those items of X that appear in the Chronicle of Holyrood, which, however, seems to represent X pretty fully, in so far as X can be deduced from these chronicles.

The year-numbers in the first column of the table are those under which the items appear to have stood in X. A question-mark placed before a year-number in the first column indicates that it is doubtful whether the item was contained in X.

The chronicles (see above, p. 16) are indicated by the first three letters of their place-names. The following abbreviations also are used: ab., 'archbishop of'; b., 'bishop of'; k., 'king of'; \*, 'election of'; §, 'consecration of'; †, 'death of.'

1068 or 1069	Battle in Bleadon	. Hol.	Mul.	Mar.	Tew.	Rea.	Lew.	..
		(1068)	(1069)	(1069)	(1068)	(1068)	(1068)	
1071	†Earl Edwin	. Hol.	..	Mar.	Tew.	..	Lew.	..
				(1070)				
1075	†Queen Edith	. Hol.	..	Mar.	Tew.	..	Lew.	Mer.
1075	Conspiracy of earls	. Hol.	..	Mar.	..	..	..	..
1076	†Earl Waltheof	. Hol.	Mul.	Mar.	Tew.	Rea.	Lew.	Mer.
								(1084)
1080	Gale	. Hol.	Mul.	Mar.	Tew.	Rea.	Lew.	Mer.
								(1079)
1083	†Queen Matilda	. Hol.	Mul.	Mar.	Tew.	..	..	..
1084	Wibert made pope	. Hol.	..	Mar.	..	..	Lew.	..
1089	†Lanfranc ab. Cant.	. Hol.	Mul.	Mar.	Tew.	Rea.	Lew.	Mer.
1089	Earthquake	. Hol.	..	Mar.	Tew.	Rea.	..	..
1093	*Anselm ab. Cant.	. Hol.	Mul.	Mar.	Tew.	Rea.	?Lew.	..
			(1094)					
?1093 or 1094	†Malcolm and Margaret	. Hol.	Mul.	Mar.	..	..	..	..
		(1094)	(1094)	(1093)				
1096	Crusade preached	. Hol.	Mul.	Mar.	?Tew.	?Rea.	Lew.	Mer.
1098	†Walchelin b. Winch.	. Hol.	..	..	Tew.	Rea.	Lew.	..
1098	Capture of Antioch	. Hol.	Mul.	Mar.	Tew.	..	..	Mer.
?1098	Comet	. Hol.	Mul.	..	..	..	Lew.	..
?1099	†Osmund b. Salisbury	. Hol.	..	..	Tew.	Rea.	..	..
1099	Capture of Jerusalem	. Hol.	Mul.	Mar.	Tew.	..	Lew.	Mer.
							(1098)	
?1100	†Thomas ab. York	. Hol.	..	Mar.	..	..	Lew.	..
1102	*Roger b. Salisbury	. Hol.	..	Mar.	..	..	Lew.	..
?1107	Henry took Normandy	. Hol.	Mul.	Mar.	..	..	..	..
			(1106)					
?1107	§Roger b. Salisbury	. Hol.	..	Mar.	..	..	..	..
1109	†Anselm ab. Cant.	. Hol.	Mul.	Mar.	Tew.	Rea.	Lew.	Mer.
1111	Capture of Paschal II	. Hol.	Mul.	..	Tew.	..	..	..
1118	†Pope Paschal II	. Hol.	Mul.	Mar.	Tew.	..	..	..
1118	†Queen Matilda	. Hol.	Mul.	Mar.	Tew.	..	Lew.	Mer.
1118	†Baldwin k. Jerusalem	. Hol.	Mul.	Mar.	..	..	Lew.	..
							(?1119)	
?1119	†Pope Gelasius II	. Hol.	Mul.	..	..	..	Lew.	..
1119	Earthquake	. Hol.	Mul.	Mar.	Tew.	Rea.	..	..

The source common to the Chronicle of Holyrood and the Annals of Multifernan had other entries in it besides those derived from X.

The Chronicle of Holyrood contains a number of Salisbury items. Only one of these, the establishment of canons in Salisbury in 1089, is included in the Annals of Multifernan, where it reads: *Osmundus constituit canonicos Salisbyrie*. I have found this statement in these two chronicles only.

At 1092, the Chronicle of Holyrood says that Osmund, with seven bishops, dedicated the church of Salisbury. I have found the seven bishops mentioned only in this chronicle and, with similar wording, in the Annals of Waverley, which read: *Osmundus episcopus Salesberie dedicavit ecclesiam suam cum septem episcopis* (Cotton manuscript, Vespasian A xvi, folio 69; compare Luard's *Annales Monastici*, ii, p. 202). For another entry common to the Chronicle of Holyrood and the Annals of Waverley, see above, p. 17.

The Chronicle of Holyrood has also a complete series of the bishops of Salisbury over a number of years: the death of Hermann, the succession and death of Osmund, the election of Roger, and his ordination; see years 1078, 1099, 1102, 1107.

The entry at 1111 of the death of Eulalia, abbess of Shaftesbury, which I have found only in the Chronicle of Holyrood, may perhaps also be connected with Salisbury, since Shaftesbury was within that diocese.

The number of these Salisbury items is remarkable, considering how sparsely the Chronicle of Holyrood covers this early period. It seems likely that the items form a series, and are derived ultimately from a Salisbury manuscript.

The Salisbury series does not seem to have been part of X. It does not appear, either as a whole, or through

any of its more distinctive items, in the other chronicles of the group, except the Annals of Multifernan. X agreed in its dates with version E of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Bodley, Laud 636), against version D (Cotton Tiberius B iv), at 1071, 1075, and 1076. But in placing the death of Hermann bishop of Salisbury in 1078, the Chronicle of Holyrood diverges from E, and agrees with D. (Compare below, pp. 24-25.)

Since the Annals of Multifernan contain the Salisbury item of 1089, and since they contain other material in common with the Chronicle of Holyrood, it is reasonable to suppose that the whole Salisbury series formed part of the source that is represented in both chronicles.

The death of Walcher bishop of Durham, at 1080, may also have been in the common source of the two chronicles. It is not mentioned in any of the other chronicles that used X. In the Annals of Multifernan, it is by an error associated with the gale of the same year: *Ventu valido Walterus Denelmensis episcopus occisus est* (p. 6).

Both the Chronicle of Holyrood and the Annals of Multifernan wrongly give the death of Malcolm III, king of Scotland, under 1094, instead of 1093. This may be compared with the entry that follows (of the preaching of the first crusade), dated 1096, an error for 1095. That entry and its false date are derived from X (see above, p. 21). There is, however, little evidence that the deaths of Malcolm and Margaret were entered in X, or that if they were entered they were placed under 1094. Their deaths appear in only one other chronicle of the group, the Annals of Margam, where they are placed correctly under 1093.

The Chronicle of Holyrood's note of a battle between Scots and English, under 1137, may be cognate with an entry in the Annals of Multifernan (see below, 1137



note). If the entries are not cognate, the common source of the two chronicles may have gone no further than 1119, the end of X.

The Chronicle of Holyrood contains a number of English items, in this early period, which are not in the Annals of Multifernan, and which there is no reason for attributing to X. Some of these items should be noticed.

The first entry of this part of the chronicle, the account under 1065 of Edward the Confessor's death and the Norman conquest, has not been traced to any source. It does not occur in similar form in the other chronicles that used X. The computation of the length of Edward's reign is the same as that given by Florence of Worcester. It should be noted also that the Chronicle of Holyrood and Florence do not necessarily disagree in the date of the battle of Hastings. The text of Thorpe's edition of Florence, following certain manuscripts, gives the date 22 Oct.; but some manuscripts of Florence give the correct date, 14 Oct., as in the Chronicle of Holyrood (compare British Museum, Additional Ms. 35,168, and Cotton Vitellius E xiii). But the passage in the Chronicle of Holyrood is not, as it stands, derived from Florence.

The Chronicle of Holyrood places the passage under 1065, although king Edward died on 5 Jan. 1066, and the chronicle normally begins the year at Christmas. Versions C and D of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Cotton, Tiberius B i and Tiberius B iv) also place Edward's death at the end of 1065. (In version C, several of the preceding years are begun at Easter, instead of at Christmas; see Charles Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ii (1899), p. cxl.)

This agreement of the Chronicle of Holyrood, in the annal for 1065, with versions C and D suggests that the

annal was perhaps connected with the chronicle's Salisbury series rather than with the source X; see above, p. 23.

The death of Mary countess of Boulogne, entered in the Chronicle of Holyrood under 1115, is not noted by Florence of Worcester or the other chief chroniclers of the period. It is noted, however, in several chronicles besides the Chronicle of Holyrood. The Annals of Lewes and of Merton give it without mentioning the day. The Annals of Northampton and of Southwark and the chronicle in Cotton Vespasian E iv give it with the date 31 May, as in the Chronicle of Holyrood. The work known as Matthew of Westminster gives it, in some manuscripts with no day, and in others with the day 18 April (see Rolls Series 95, ii, p. 44; i, pp. xii-xvi); and it occurs, also with the day 18 April, in the fifteenth-century Annals of Bermondsey, which used Matthew of Westminster as a source.

All these chronicles derived material from a common source that was apparently compiled in a Cluniac monastery in England. (See an article on the Annals of Northampton, by H. M. Cam and E. F. Jacob, in *English Historical Review* 1929, pp. 94-104, where the existence of the Cluniac source was pointed out, and the version used by the Annals of Northampton was said to have gone down to 1206.)

This source formed a basis for the Annals of Lewes and of Northampton. The Annals of Southwark used it less largely; they are said to be an ultimate source of the chronicle in Vespasian E iv (Felix Liebermann, *Ungedruckte Anglo-normannische Geschichtsquellen* (1879), pp. 178-180; compare N. Denholm Young, in *English Historical Review* 1934, pp. 85 ff.), and of Matthew of Westminster, as well as of Matthew Paris (Rolls Series 95, i, p. xxxix; Rolls Series 57, ii, p. xxix).

The Annals of Merton used the Cluniac source comparatively little.

I have found the death of Mary, countess of Boulogne, in 1115, entered only in those chronicles that used the Cluniac source, and in the Chronicle of Holyrood. There is, however, very little besides this entry to suggest a connexion between the Chronicle of Holyrood and the Cluniac source. Entries in the chronicle that could have been derived from that source are: the giving of Matilda, Henry I's daughter, to the emperor, under 1109; the comet at 1110; and the death of Gilbert the sheriff, at 1125. The death of Gilbert is the most significant of these items. It is entered also in the Annals of Merton, the Augustinian house that he founded (see below, 1125 note); and, more briefly, in Matthew of Westminster (Rolls Series 95, ii, p. 51).

These entries are insufficient to prove a connexion between the Chronicle of Holyrood and the Cluniac source. If any version of that source was used by the chronicle, it can hardly have been a version that went down to 1206 (see above). But the chronicle should be considered in any investigation of the Cluniac source. (Liebermann's lost southern-English source (*Neues Archiv für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, iv, p. 27) appears to have been among the materials used by the Cluniac source; but it does not seem to be connected with the Chronicle of Holyrood.)

The notice in the Chronicle of Holyrood of the death of Richard Gilbert's son in 1136 may probably be derived from the English sources of the chronicle. Most of the chronicles that enter Richard's death are of western origin: see, for instance, the Annals of Winchcomb, near Gloucester, in Cotton Tiberius E iv; a manuscript of John of Worcester, said to be connected with Gloucester (Weaver's edition; see below, 1136

note); and manuscript B of the *Annales Cambriae* (Rolls Series 20, p. 40). This fact is perhaps to be associated with the apparently western origin of the Chronicle of Holyrood's source X, and of additions to it (see above).

The last item in the Chronicle of Holyrood of which there is any good reason to suppose that it was derived from an English source is the battle under 1137 (see 1137, note).

It seems most likely that the Chronicle of Holyrood derived all its items of English origin from a single work, compiled from different sources, perhaps in a western monastery. But proof of this is lacking.

Annals from northern sources appear in the Chronicle of Holyrood from 1128 or earlier. From then onwards, the chronicle is to be compared with the text of the Chronicle of Melrose.

Since the Chronicle of Melrose is preserved in the original manuscript (Cotton Faustina B ix), it is possible, from the handwriting, to distinguish between the text, which was copied into the manuscript at different times, and the additions that were made in blank spaces, in margins, and between the lines.

For the period during which the Chronicles of Holyrood and Melrose are related, the text of the Chronicle of Melrose was written, towards the end of the twelfth century, by a single hand (C1). Not long after, additions were made in this part of the chronicle by a similar hand, or group of hands (C2). (See the facsimile edition, pp. xxxi-xxxiii.) Both C1, from 1128, and C2, from 1096, contain entries that appear also, with identical or similar wording, in the Chronicle of Holyrood.

The question of the exact relationship between the two chronicles is probably unanswerable. It is complicated by the fact that, although the Chronicle of

Melrose is an original manuscript, the Chronicle of Holyrood survives only in copies, and we cannot be sure how faithfully these represent the chronicle that was their source.

It can be said that, taking the Chronicles of Melrose and Holyrood as we have them, their common entries are not to be explained as a whole by supposing that either chronicle derived them from the other. It is not so certain that there may not have been direct borrowing in some parts.

It is necessary to distinguish between the entries made in the Chronicle of Melrose by C1 and those added by C2.

Entries that are, or may be, common to the Chronicle of Holyrood and C1 fall into two groups. The first contains a few entries that are certainly cognate: the foundation of Holyrood (1128); the death of Angus earl of Moray (1130); the imprisonment by king Stephen of bishop Roger and his kinsmen (1138); and probably the capture of Stephen at Lincoln (1140).

The first three entries are worded identically in C1 and the Chronicle of Holyrood. At 1140, the first few words (to *Lincolnie*) are practically identical; but the words that follow differ in the two chronicles, though the Chronicle of Holyrood's account could have been derived from that given by C1. C1's account may possibly have been put together from more than one source.

The common entries at 1138 and 1140 are, in both chronicles, placed a year too early, as the events they describe happened in 1139 and in Feb. 1141. The Chronicle of Holyrood's notice of a battle at 1137 may also stand a year too early; see 1137 note. The year-number 1140 for the capture of Stephen could only be correct if, in the source of the entry, the year<sup>e</sup> was

begun in March. Both chronicles regularly begin the year at Christmas. It is probable that 1140 is, like 1138, an error. Whether it is an error, or an isolated instance of the year's beginning in March, the year-number suggests, even more strongly than the wording, that the entries of Stephen's capture are cognate in the two chronicles.

The wording of the cognate entries of this group does not show whether they were derived by one chronicle from the other, or by both from a common source. If there was borrowing by either chronicle from the other, it is difficult to see why it should have been of such limited extent. There is nothing certainly cognate earlier than 1128; nor anything identically worded later than 1140, although C1 goes down to 1171.

Though direct borrowing cannot be considered impossible, it seems more likely that the cognate entries were derived by both chronicles from a common source.

C1's principal source to 1129 was a version of Simeon of Durham's *Historia Regum*. From there to about 1152, it was apparently a Northumbrian continuation of Simeon, resembling the continuation by John of Hexham (*Chronicle of Melrose*, facsimile edition, pp. xi-xii). The *Chronicle of Holyrood* derives nothing from the *Historia Regum*. The items that are cognate in the *Chronicle of Holyrood* and C1 may have been part of the Northumbrian continuation. But it is not certain that they are not derived from a separate source.

It is perhaps significant that the cognate entries are written, in the *Chronicle of Melrose*, either at the beginning or at the end of the year-sections. This is consistent with their having been derived from a separate source.

There are other items which could have been derived

from the common source; including a notice at 1136 of the dedication of the church of Glasgow, in which the Chronicle of Holyrood supplies a date not given by the Chronicle of Melrose. But there is nothing in the wording of such items to prove a common origin. The death of king Alexander I in 1124 is given by both chronicles with the date 25 April; and, since chronicles disagree as to the date (see below, 1124 note), this may indicate that the two entries are related.

C1 has an entry at the end of year 1080: *Ventus validissimus in natale domini*. This is similar to an entry in the Chronicle of Holyrood at the same year, derived from the chronicle's source X. The entry occurs, in the same and similar forms, in a number of other monastic chronicles. (See above, p. 17.) It would be very unsafe to assume that it is more than remotely cognate in the Chronicle of Holyrood and C1.

After some years in which there does not appear to be any cognate material in C1 and the Chronicle of Holyrood, there is a second group of entries, apparently of common origin, between 1159 and 1165. These are: the death of Robert bishop of St Andrews in 1159; the election and consecration of Arnold as bishop of St Andrews in 1160; the election and benediction of John as abbot of Kelso, in place of Arnold, in 1160; Arnold's death in 1162; the election of Richard to the see of St Andrews in 1163; his consecration in 1165; perhaps also the mission of William bishop of Moray to Rome, in 1159, which also concerned St Andrews (see below, 1159 note). The notice in the Chronicle of Holyrood at 1160, concerning priors of St Andrews, might be one of the same group, though it is not given by C1 but by C2, in the Chronicle of Melrose; see below.

The wording of these entries in the two chronicles is

not the same ; but the facts that they give correspond very closely.

There is some reason to think that the entries formed a series which C1 derived from a source distinct from its principal source for the period. From 1153 to 1165, C1 is derived almost entirely from a source that was used also by Roger of Howden, and which has been called the "Scottish source" to distinguish it from the Northumbrian sources of the chronicle (*Chronicle of Melrose*, facsimile edition, pp. xii-xiii). During these years, the only items in C1 that are not represented in Howden are : entries corresponding to those in the *Chronicle of Holyrood* that are noted above, at 1159, 1160, 1162, 1163, and 1165 ; St Andrews items at 1161, not contained in the *Chronicle of Holyrood* ; a Melrose succession, at 1159 ; the death of Hugh de Morville, at 1162 ; and entries concerning Thomas Becket, at 1161 and 1164 ; but these last may have been in Howden's source.

The *Chronicle of Holyrood* does not seem to have used the Scottish source that was used by Howden ; and Howden has none of the St Andrews items, which are in the *Chronicle of Holyrood*. This suggests that the St Andrews series was derived by C1 not from the Scottish source, but from a separate source. And since the series is represented to an almost equal extent in C1 and the *Chronicle of Holyrood*, the impression that the St Andrews items are related in the two chronicles is to some extent confirmed.

The St Andrews entries are usually fuller in C1 than in the *Chronicle of Holyrood*. But in the entry at 1162, of the death of Arnold bishop of St Andrews, the *Chronicle of Holyrood* gives the day of Arnold's death, and calls him legate ; these details are not in the *Chronicle of Melrose*.



It appears therefore that the St Andrews series was not derived by either chronicle from the other. Presumably both chronicles derived the facts from a list of St Andrews events. The list may perhaps have originated in the Augustinian priory of St Andrews. It was apparently used by a Holyrood editor of the Chronicle of Holyrood, not introduced into the chronicle at a later stage; for the words "nephew of Alwin, abbot of Edinburgh" appear in the notice of Richard's election as bishop of St Andrews in 1163, in the Chronicle of Holyrood, and not in the corresponding notice in the Chronicle of Melrose. Alwin had resigned the abbacy of Holyrood more than ten years before, and had died in 1155. It seems probable therefore that these words were an addition made at Holyrood.

It is not clear that the St Andrews series was part of the source discussed above, from which C1 and the Chronicle of Holyrood derived identically-worded items between 1128 and 1140. The question is of some importance; for if the two groups of items were contained in one source, presumably the earlier group, as well as the St Andrews series, was inserted in the chronicle at Holyrood, not added at a later stage. If the two groups were contained in separate sources, the earlier group might have been entered at any stage. Since items of the earlier group appear in the same words in the two chronicles, and the items of the St Andrews group appear in different words, it is difficult to assume that the two chronicles copied both groups from one source.

The special relationship between the Chronicle of Holyrood and the additions made by C2 in the Chronicle of Melrose is confined to a few entries, which appear in the same or practically the same words in both chronicles.

Four of the early entries of C2 are : *Urbanus papa iter Jerosolimis predicavit* (1096); the words *et Baiocas incendit*, added to C1's account of king Henry I's expedition to Normandy (1105); *Ordinatio Rogeri episcopi Salesbirie* (1107); and *Gundulfus episcopus Rofensis obiit, et Radulfus ei successit* (1108).

In the Chronicle of Holyrood these entries appear in almost identical words, except that *Rofensis* is omitted at 1108.

The entry at 1096 occurred in the same words in the Chronicle of Holyrood's source X. The entry at 1107 was probably in X; or was perhaps one of the Salisbury series that was combined with X (see above, pp. 22-23). All four entries were probably derived by the Chronicle of Holyrood from its English source, and therefore not from the Chronicle of Melrose. C2 presumably derived them from the same source.

At 1104, C2 added the words *post annos depositionis ejus cccc<sup>tos</sup> xviii* to C1's account of the translation of St Cuthbert. The same words occur in the Chronicle of Holyrood's account of the translation, and are there taken from the *Historia Translationum S. Cuthberti*. C2 may possibly have taken the words directly from the same source.

From 1108 to 1156 there is no sign of relationship between the Chronicle of Holyrood and C2. At 1156, C2 has an entry : *Dovenaldus filius Malcol[mi] apud Witerne captus est, et incarceratus in turre de Rokesburg, cum patre suo*. The Chronicle of Holyrood has this entry at 1156 in the same words, except that it omits *in turre de Rokesburg*. It is evident that, if the sentence was copied by one chronicle from the other, it must have been copied from C2, not from the Chronicle of Holyrood.

C2 has a similarly worded entry at 1134, describing

the imprisonment of Malcolm, Donald's father. It may have been derived from the same source as the entry at 1156. It is not in the Chronicle of Holyrood.

These two statements are not known to occur in any other early chronicle.

At 1160, C2 has an entry: *Obiit Robertus prior Sancti Andree. Cui successit Walter cantor ejusdem ecclesie*. The Chronicle of Holyrood has an entry at 1160, of which part is missing in the surviving manuscripts of the chronicle. It is most probable that the original entry was similar to that of C2 (see below, 1160 note).

C2 has a notice, at 1162, of the foundation of the church of St Andrews; this is not in the Chronicle of Holyrood.

It is possible that these two St Andrews entries may have been made by C2 from the St Andrews series that was used by C1 and the Chronicle of Holyrood. We know that C1's sources, or versions of them, were to some extent used by C2, to correct and amplify the text of C1 (see Chronicle of Melrose, facsimile edition, pp. xii, xiv).

There is an entry by C2, *Obiit Willelmus episcopus Muravensis*, inserted in the margin of the Chronicle of Melrose, opposite year 1161. This may possibly also be taken from the St Andrews series, which was perhaps the source of accounts of that William's mission to Rome in 1159, given by the Chronicle of Holyrood and C1. The death of William bishop of Moray is placed by the Chronicle of Holyrood under 1162, with the date 24 January.

If C2's entries at 1160 and 1161 are derived from the St Andrews series used by C1, they do not signify any independent relationship between C2 and the Chronicle of Holyrood.

The items that are certainly cognate in the Chronicle of Holyrood and C2 are those between 1096 and 1108 that are noted above, and the entry at 1156. Those of 1096-1108 must have been derived by C2 from a source of the Chronicle of Holyrood. The entry at 1156 could have been taken by that chronicle from C2; but may have been derived by both from a common source.

It is not impossible that all the cognate entries might have been contained in the Holyrood chronicle that was a basis of the present Chronicle of Holyrood; and that C2 might have derived them from that source. But we should then expect to find, among the entries made by C2, some of the items connected with Holyrood that the Chronicle of Holyrood contains. C2 has no such items, although there are spaces in the manuscript of the Chronicle of Melrose where C2 could have entered them.

The Melrose editor of C1 seems to have used material that was also used at Holyrood (see above). But there is no sufficient evidence that he knew the sources that were common to the Chronicle of Holyrood and C2.

There is therefore nothing to connect those sources with Holyrood. It is possible that the parts of the existing Chronicle of Holyrood that are derived from them were introduced at Coupar-Angus, where the chronicle seems to have reached its present form (see below, p. 41).

At about 1150 the character of the Chronicle of Holyrood changes. From 1065 to 1150 it is brief and fragmentary; the entries are miscellaneous, and many years are omitted. From 1152 to 1170 there are entries under every year, they are numerous, and most of them concern Scottish affairs.

This change coincides with the beginning of entries

relating to Holyrood: notices of abbots of Holyrood, at 1150 and 1152, in neither of which Holyrood is mentioned by name, and at 1155 and ? 1172; notices of land given to Holyrood, at 1154 and 1160; and notices, at 1160 and 1161, concerning Fergus, prince of Galloway, who became a canon in Holyrood. There are notices of archdeacons of Lothian at 1163 and 1164. The words *nepos Alwini abbatis de Edenesburch*, at 1163, were apparently added at Holyrood to an item of the St Andrews series included in the chronicle.

The notice of the foundation of Holyrood, at 1128, was apparently not an original item of the Holyrood chronicle, but was derived from a source that was used also by the Chronicle of Melrose. See above, pp. 28-30.

Since the appearance of Holyrood material after 1150 coincides with a change in the character of the chronicle, it is not improbable that the bulk of the chronicle for this period may have been originally composed in Holyrood.

Some of the chronicle's statements agree with those of the Chronicle of Melrose and Roger of Howden. The chief examples of this are a papal succession wrongly placed in 1155, and the statement under 1159 that king Malcolm IV was knighted at Tours; see notes under these years. These and other items are taken by Howden and the Chronicle of Melrose from their common "Scottish source." The Holyrood chronicle and the Scottish source may perhaps have derived some of their facts ultimately from the same sources, or possibly from oral report. But wide divergences in details and in wording make it very improbable that there was any nearer relationship between them.

Possible misdating of Holyrood items at 1150 and 1171 (see notes) is almost certainly the result of textual

error, and is no indication that this part of the chronicle was not originally composed in Holyrood.

The end of the existing chronicle seems to have been composed at the Cistercian monastery of Coupar-Angus. But it is not certain at what point the Holyrood chronicle ended, and the Coupar continuation began.

The notice at 1168 of the killing of three men "by treachery of the Scots" seems likely to have been composed south of the Forth, and so perhaps at Holyrood.

The last entry concerning Holyrood is the death of the abbot William, which in the manuscript (K) appears under 1171, but which may belong to 1172 (see 1171 note).

At 1164 there is a notice of the coming of the convent to Coupar, which says that the bishop of Dunkeld reverently received the convent, and blessed the abbot. At 1170 there is a notice of the death of Fulk, the first abbot of Coupar, with the date, and the words *Requiescat in pace. Amen. Amen. Amen.*; followed by the succession of Ralph.

The wording of these two entries strongly suggests that they were made at Coupar. But they could have been inserted at Coupar into the text of a Holyrood chronicle. The notice at 1164 has the appearance of having been first written down some little time after the event; the day of the year is not given, and the details are such as might have been supplied from recollection.

At 1186 the chronicle contains an account, occupying four lines of the manuscript, of the capture of an outlaw and the killing of his men within the abbey of Coupar. This account reads as if it had been composed at Coupar, and had been written down not long after the event. It was not likely to have been entered in a list

of local events, such as might afterwards be inserted in a chronicle ; it seems more likely to have been written as part of a chronicle that was already at Coupar.

The last entry in the chronicle is the death, under 1189, of Ralph abbot of Coupar, and the succession of Adam.

The presumption is that Coupar acquired a copy of the Holyrood chronicle, at some time not earlier than 1171, and possibly not much later than the end of 1186 ; that Coupar entries were inserted in the text at 1164 and 1170 ; and that the end of the extant chronicle, at least from 1186 onwards, was composed at Coupar.

The chronicle that was acquired by Coupar ended presumably before the account of the incident at Coupar, under 1186 ; but not before the entry of the death of William abbot of Holyrood, under 1171.

The year-number 1171 is written at the beginning of folio 11 verso of K ; the rest of the first line, and the greater part of the second, are left blank. The next words are : *Willelmus abbas de Monte Dolofroso* (intended to mean, of Edinburgh). Presumably the word *Obiit*, and perhaps the date 1172, have dropped out (see 1171, ? 1172, notes).

At the same place there is a change in the style of the chronicle. After 1170 fewer events are given, and those are chiefly events of public importance.

The dislocation of the text suggests that some change occurred here, perhaps in the original manuscript. And the altered style of the chronicle suggests a change of editor.

Another dislocation of the text occurs in the middle of the same page, where nearly a line is left blank after the year-number 1176, and events of 1176, 1177, and 1178, are entered under 1177, 1178, and 1179.

From 1178 onwards, the year-numbers in the manu-

script are usually written with superscript *o*; before 1178, they are written without *o*. The change probably indicates a change of scribe in the original, or some intermediate, manuscript. (Compare above, p. 6.)

Another change occurs at the beginning of folio 12 recto, the last page of the chronicle. The year-number 1186 is there preceded by the words *Anno ab incarnatione domini*; the last previous instance of this form is the *Anno ab incarnatione* at 1065. The word *Anno* at the beginning of 1186 and 1187 has a large capital *A*, for the first time since the annal for 1071; and both year-numbers are followed by colons. The year 1187 begins on a new line.

These changes in the manuscript suggest that a new stage of the chronicle began at 1186. From 1186 to the end, the chronicle is composed in a different style, fuller and more literary than the terse style of the preceding annals. Events of 1187, 1188, and 1189, are run together in a continuous narrative, and some of these events are confused.

It is noticeable that the last page of the chronicle (folio 12 recto, years 1186-1189) is relatively free from scribal errors. Throughout the rest of the chronicle, in *K*, the scribal errors average more than eight to a manuscript page; there are nowhere fewer than five (folio 9 verso). Many of the errors were derived from the common source of *K* and *L*; and others were introduced at a later stage, probably in a manuscript intermediate between *K* and the common source. Although the greater accuracy of the last page is not certainly significant, it does suggest that *K*'s source from 1186 was written in a different and more easily-legible hand than the rest; or that this part of the chronicle had gone through fewer stages of transcription before it was copied by *K*. (Compare above, pp. 8-9.)



The most likely places for the end of the Holyrood chronicle and the beginning of a Coupar continuation would appear to be in 1171 or at 1186, since at these points the character of the chronicle changes.

In favour of the earlier point is the fact that the chronicle does not mention John, abbot of Holyrood, who succeeded William not later than 1174. On the other hand, the interest in the St Andrews episcopal controversy, that appears under 1179, 1180, 1182, and 1183, might have been expected of Holyrood rather than of Coupar, and suggests that the Coupar continuation may not begin before the annal for 1183.

From 1185 onwards, when the days of events are given, they are placed before the events, and not after them, as in the rest of the chronicle. This suggests that the notes under 1185 belong to the end of the chronicle, and were therefore entered at Coupar. The preceding annal, the coming of the convent to *Rothin* in 1184, may also have been a Coupar entry. It was marked in the margin of K with a later rubric that was probably written while K was at Coupar; see 1184, 1164, notes. This would take back the beginning of the Coupar continuation to the annal for 1184 at the latest.

It is uncertain how much of the present chronicle was acquired by Coupar from Holyrood, and how much was added at Coupar.

The chronicle that came from Holyrood seems to have contained, at least, most of the contents of the present chronicle from 1150 to 1171, or (perhaps more probably) to 1183; and to have included the St Andrews series (1159-1165) which appears also in the text (C1) of the Chronicle of Melrose. It may have contained also the earlier group of items, from 1128 or 1124, that are cognate with items in C1. (See above, pp. 28-32).

The Coupar additions included those at 1164 and 1170 relating to Coupar; and the end of the chronicle, probably from 1184, or perhaps earlier.

There remains a great part of the chronicle, that might have been introduced either at Holyrood or at Coupar.

It cannot be shown that the successive editors who had charge of the chronicle at Holyrood used the sources that were common to the present chronicle and the C2 group of additions in the Chronicle of Melrose. (See above, pp. 27, 32-35.) Those sources apparently included the English material of the present Chronicle of Holyrood, from 1065. If they were not used at Holyrood, the material derived from them may probably have been introduced into the chronicle at Coupar. Coupar and Melrose were both Cistercian houses, and Melrose monks became abbots of Coupar in 1171 and 1189. The same sources are in fact more likely to have been used by Melrose and Coupar than by Melrose and Holyrood.

The first part of the chronicle (consisting chiefly of extracts from Bede's History), the passages on St Cuthbert at 676, 685, 687, 1069, and 1104, and the passage from Fulcherius at 1101, may have been introduced at any stage.

I have partly compared the extracts from Bede with rotographs of a thirteenth-century manuscript of Bede's History (Vatican Ms. Reg. Lat. 694), which belonged to the abbey of Coupar (compare H. M. Bannister, Specimen Pages of two Manuscripts of the Abbey of Coupar-Angus in Scotland; Rome, 1910). That manuscript's version of Bede was not the same as the version that was used for the extracts in the Chronicle of Holyrood. The manuscript belongs, like the chronicle's source, to the DW group of Bede manuscripts; but it closely resembles Plummer's O<sub>19</sub>, a manuscript which is related

to W, but which has peculiar readings not shared by the Chronicle of Holyrood. (See below, notes at years 692 and 705; also note on *sicut* at 73[3].) See above, pp. 11-12.

At 1168, in the part of the chronicle associated with Holyrood, there is a notice of an eclipse in that year. It is taken from the account of an eclipse at 734, in the Continuation of Bede's History. The account at 734 is included among the chronicle's extracts from Bede, and there contains two peculiar readings. But these readings do not occur in the passage at 1168.

There is, then, no positive evidence connecting the first part of the chronicle either with Holyrood or with Coupar. It is not certain that the two parts of the chronicle were originally intended to form one work; but they were certainly regarded so by the writers of both the surviving manuscripts, and presumably by the writer of the common original of those manuscripts.

The most valuable part of the chronicle is that between 1150 and 1170, which is associated with Holyrood.

Chronicle evidence for this period of Scottish history is scarce. John of Hexham's chronicle ends at 1153. The English chroniclers of the next twenty years seldom notice Scottish events except those concerning the relations between the kings of Scotland and of England. The Chronicle of Melrose is chiefly derived, for the period, from a source that was used also by Roger of Howden (see above, p. 31). That source, and the Chronicle of Holyrood, are the chief sources of information about Scottish internal affairs at this time. The Chronicle of Holyrood has preserved notices of several events that would otherwise be unknown: see, for instance, years 1153, 1154, 1157, 1160, 1161, 1163, 1168.

The earlier and later parts of the chronicle do not contain so much that is not recorded elsewhere. From

its English sources, the chronicle preserves a few statements not found in the chief sources : see, for instance, years 1068, 1089 and 1092, 1111, and 1125.

From 1170 onwards, the chronicle supplies little that is not found in the Chronicle of Melrose, which at that point, or earlier, becomes an original work. An interesting exception is the Coupar incident described in the Chronicle of Holyrood at 1186.

The Chronicle of Holyrood often gives independent support to other chronicles, particularly to the Chronicle of Melrose ; and it is then of historical value, even if it adds nothing to their statements.

It does not appear that many different sources were drawn upon directly for the Chronicle of Holyrood ; or that any use was made of the chief twelfth-century sources such as Florence of Worcester, Simeon of Durham, and William of Malmesbury. Durham manuscripts may have been used for the extracts from Bede's Ecclesiastical History, and from the *Historia Translationum S. Cuthberti* and the *Brevis Relatio de S. Cuthberto*. The southern-English material from 1065-6 to ? 1137 may have been derived from a separate manuscript.

The Chronicles of Melrose and Holyrood are the only Scottish chronicles of their kind that are known to have survived. In England, the practice of keeping chronicles, a practice that had almost ceased during the disordered reign of Stephen, revived in the latter part of the twelfth century. Melrose, Holyrood, and Coupar, began to keep chronicles at about this time. The source used (about 1137-1170) by Howden and the Chronicle of Melrose may have been made in some monastery in the south of Scotland (see the Chronicle of Melrose, facsimile edition, pp. xii-xiii).

In the thirteenth century, chronicle-making spread widely among the English monasteries ; and it might

have been expected to do the same among Scottish monasteries. It is not impossible that traces of lost Scottish chronicles might be found, perhaps by a study of later writers.

The Holyrood chronicle was used by John of Fordun in the fourteenth century. Fordun gathered materials for Scottish history, from 1153 onwards, under the title *Gesta Annalia* (see Skene's edition, i, pp. xxxi-xxxiii). Among the sources that he used were the chronicles of Holyrood and Melrose. Sometimes he combined the accounts of the two chronicles.

It may be useful to give a list of the passages in the Chronicle of Holyrood that were used by Fordun, with references to Skene's edition.

Passages verbally copied from the chronicle are :

- 1153 Somerled's invasion of Scotland (i, p. 254).
- 1159 Knighting of king Malcolm IV (i, p. 255).
- 1160 King Malcolm's subjugation of Galloway (i, p. 256).
- 1164 Somerled's defeat and death (i, p. 257 ; combined with the Chronicle of Melrose).

Other passages probably used by Fordun are :

- 1157 Peace between king Malcolm and Malcolm Macheth (i, p. 255).
- 1157 Exchange of lands between king Malcolm and king Henry II (i, p. 255).
- 1160 Fergus, prince of Galloway, became a canon at Holyrood (i, p. 256).
- 1162 Marriage of king Malcolm's sister Ada to the count of Holland (i, p. 256).

The day of earl Henry's death in 1152 may also be taken by Fordun (i, pp. 233, 435) from the Chronicle of Holyrood. The imprisonment of Donald Malcolm's son in 1156 (i, p. 255) is more probably taken from the

Chronicle of Melrose. Fordun's very imaginative account (i, p. 256) of the transplanting of the people of Moray is probably based on the Chronicle of Holyrood's brief statement at 1163.

Since Fordun includes the statement that Fergus became a canon in Holyrood, he presumably used the Holyrood chronicle itself, and not merely a source of it.

Fordun used almost all the material in the Chronicle of Holyrood that concerns the secular history of Scotland, down to 1164; but he does not seem to have used the chronicle beyond that date. His work does not include many purely ecclesiastical or monastic events; but the Chronicle of Holyrood contains items after 1164 which he might have been expected to use if they had been in his source. Although he evidently collected what facts he could find about Malcolm Macheth (i, pp. 254-255), he does not mention that Malcolm was made earl of Ross. Unless he omitted this fact as incompatible with his theories about Malcolm (compare below, p. 130), the omission suggests that the version of the Holyrood chronicle that he used did not contain the present chronicle's entry of the death of Malcolm Macheth as earl of Ross, in 1168.

The fifteenth-century continuator of Fordun, known as Walter Bower, added to Fordun's text a number of ecclesiastical and monastic items. Among these are a few taken from the Chronicle of Holyrood:

1150 Succession of abbots of Holyrood; Bower's passage is confused in its dates (*Scotichronicon*, V, 43; i, p. 296, in Goodall's edition).

1154 Succession of abbots of Dunfermline (VII, 60; i, p. 443).

1162 (not certainly taken from the Chronicle of Holyrood) Death of Isaac prior of Scone, and succession of Robert (*ibid.*).

Since the continuator's work is fuller than Fordun's, and includes a wider range of subjects, it is the more significant that he does not use the Chronicle of Holyrood beyond 1162.

It seems necessary to conclude that the extant Chronicle of Holyrood was not known to Fordun or his continuator; and perhaps that the Holyrood chronicle that they used stopped before 1168.

Andrew of Wyntoun, who wrote early in the fifteenth century, and who made considerable use of the Chronicle of Melrose, did not use any part of the Chronicle of Holyrood.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, or later, a manuscript book was compiled at Holyrood (see The Holyrood Ordinale, in the Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, vii, 1916).

If the Holyrood chronicle had been known to the compilers of the book, they would presumably have used it for their list of abbots of Holyrood (*ibid.*, p. 69). But the list makes no use of the facts given in the chronicle, and is exceedingly erroneous. It omits Osbert; and between Alwin and William it inserts a Walter, with an abbacy of twenty-two years (compare below, 1150-1152).

The legend of the foundation of Holyrood abbey, which appears for the first time in the Holyrood book, says that king David began to found the abbey (*incepit . . . fundare*) in 1128. The statement resembles the notice of the foundation, given under 1128, in the Chronicle of Holyrood. But the notice appears in the Chronicle of Melrose also, in identical words (*Cepit fundari ecclesia . . .*); and the Chronicle of Melrose may have been the source of the statement in the legend.

There is no evidence that the Holyrood chronicle was

known at Holyrood at the time when the manuscript book was compiled there.

The Coupar items in the text of the Chronicle of Holyrood seem to show that the end of the existing chronicle was composed at Coupar-Angus (see above, pp. 37-38). Apart from this, there is some slight evidence that the chronicle in K was written at Coupar, and was copied from a Coupar manuscript.

At 1164, in the notice of the convent's coming to Coupar, K's text contains the words *scilicet F.*, referring to Fulk, the first abbot. These words read as if they had been copied from a gloss in the source; the gloss would most probably have been made at Coupar.

In the Coupar entry at 1186, the words *scilicet nepos* are added above the line in K, perhaps by the text hand. They also may have been a gloss made at Coupar, either in K's source or in K itself; see 1186 note.

Not long after K's copy of the chronicle was written, the words *Nota Fulco* were added in the margin at 1164, referring to the first abbot of Coupar, and amplifying the *scilicet F.* of the text. Probably in the latter part of the fourteenth century, a rubric was written in the margin at 1164: *Conventus venit ad Cuprum*. This, and the *Rothyn* rubric (of earlier date) at 1184, are the only rubrics in the manuscript. It appears that K may have been kept in the abbey of Coupar until the second half of the fourteenth century or later.

The Chronicle of Holyrood is followed in K by a notice, in a later hand, of the death of king Alexander III in 1286 (see 1285 note). Then follows, in a different hand, an account of events in the Holy Land in 1266 (see 1266 note). Both these hands are probably earlier than that of the Coupar rubric at 1164. If the manuscript



belonged to Coupar until that rubric was written, it is probable that the events of 1286 and 1266 were entered at Coupar.

The source of the account at 1266 has not been traced. It may have been a letter. Details at the end suggest that the author of the original may have been a Hospitaller, or someone connected with the Hospital.

Many continental chronicles mention the disasters suffered by the Christians in 1266 at the hands of the sultan Bibars. The disasters are not mentioned in the Chronicle of Melrose; and they seem to be unnoticed by the English chroniclers, who at this time were chiefly concerned with Simon de Montfort.

The principal sources of information on these events are: (1) a French Continuation of William of Tyre (*Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux* ii, p. 454), from a manuscript written in 1295 (*ibid.*, pp. xix-xx); (2) Marinus Sanutus Torsellus's *Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis* (Bongars, ii, p. 222); (3) Makrisi and other eastern writers (Reinaud's *Extraits*, in Michaud's *Bibliothèque des Croisades*, iv (1829), pp. 494 ff.); (4) Chronicle of Limoges (Bouquet's *Recueil*, xxi, pp. 773-774); (5) a copy of a letter from the Holy Land (*Nouveaux Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts du Belgique*, xxv (1850), *Notice sur un manuscrit de l'Abbaye des Dunes*, pp. 18-19). See also the *Chronique du Templier de Tyr* (Société de l'Orient Latin, Publications, Série Historique, v, pp. xxiii, 179-182); and the *Annales de Terre Sainte* (Archives of the same society, ii, part 2, pp. 452-453). For a modern particular account of the events, see the article by R. Röhricht: *Les Combats du Sultan Bibars contre les Chrétiens en Syrie* (Société de l'Orient Latin, Archives, ii, part 1 (1884), p. 365).

The account in K contains nothing material that is

not given in these sources. A detail that I have not found elsewhere is the carrier pigeon that was sent by the Hospitallers to the Hospital with news of their success near Acre. K's account is in several places incorrect ; see 1266 notes.

On folio 13 verso, the last page of K, a hand of the fourteenth-fifteenth century has entered a list of battles and other events in the Scottish War of Independence, beginning with the capture of Berwick by the English in 1296, and ending with its capture by the Scots in 1318. Another hand, of the same or a slightly later date, has entered near the foot of the page notes of the capture of Berwick by the Scots in 1355, and its surrender soon afterwards to king Edward III. See note at 1296.

The entries made by the first hand are notes taken, probably, from a single work. The year and day of each event are given ; but most of the battles are merely named, without any indication of who fought or who won them. The list seems to have been made for the convenience of the writer, rather than for the information of other people.

I have found no possible source of the list among printed chronicles. The list appears to be the only authority for the day on which the castle of Forfar was captured by the Scots in 1308.

The handwriting of the list is probably later than that of the Coupar rubric in K, at 1164. K may have been no longer at Coupar when the list was entered in it ; but the choice of subject-matter suggests that the list was made somewhere in Scotland. It does not, however, show any particular affinity with Fordun, or later Scottish writers, except possibly in two erroneous entries at 1306 and 1318.

The date of the battle of Methven in 1306 is given

by K and by Fordun as 19 June; the same date is given by the Annals of London. But the battle was fought on the Sunday after Midsummer, i.e. 26 June (see 1306 note); 19 June was the Sunday before Midsummer. The error may have resulted from a mistake, or different mistakes, made in copying, or in the use of a calendar. Fordun and the Annals of London appear to be quite unrelated.

Under 1318, K places the capture of Berwick on "the fifth before the Ides of April" (9 April). Fordun places it on "the fifth before the Kalends of April" (28 March). K's reading is almost certainly too late a day, since by 13 April king Edward II, at Mortlake, had heard that Berwick was taken. In K, "Ides" might have been an error for "Kalends." The correct date is perhaps 2 April (see 1318 note).

These two points suggest the possibility of some relationship between K's list and Fordun. If there was any relationship, it must have been indirect. K's list is not taken from Fordun, and there is no evidence that Fordun knew either the list or an immediate source of it.

In one important point, K's list disagrees with Fordun, and agrees with the English chroniclers. Fordun says that Robert de Bruce was crowned king, in 1306, on "the sixth before the Kalends of April" (27 March). K, and the English chroniclers, say that he was made king on the day of the Annunciation (25 March). Fordun's date was repeated by later Scottish historians, who used his work either directly or through Bower's *Scotichronicon*; and it has been usually accepted by modern writers.

Fordun, who wrote in about 1360, is too late to be a good authority for a date in 1306. The date that he gives has been accepted, presumably because he was a Scot and might be supposed to have had access to

Scottish sources. It is therefore significant that K's list agrees in this point with the English chroniclers against Fordun.

In the absence of direct evidence, the date 25 March should be accepted in preference to Fordun's date.

The last entries in K are the two notes at the foot of folio 18 verso, for the year 1355-6. These notes were entered probably later than the list, at the end of the fourteenth century, or the beginning of the fifteenth.

M. O. ANDERSON.



## CHRONOLOGICAL NOTE

The year begins on 25 March in the fourteenth-century note of the death of king Alexander III, and in the fourteenth or fifteenth-century notes for the years 1296 to 1356.

The chronicle itself, from 1065 to 1189, regularly begins the year before 25 March, and, at the year 1185, before 1 January. Presumably, therefore, the chronicle follows the normal usage of British chronicles of its time, and begins the year on 25 December.

There are a few exceptions in the chronicle. The death of Edward the Confessor (5 Jan. 1066) is placed under 1065. This is not merely an error in the year-number, for the chronicle goes on to say that William of Normandy came to England "in the following year," i.e. 1066. Versions C and D of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle also place Edward's death under 1065 (see above, p. 24). Here the source apparently began the year at Easter or on 25 March.

The battle of Lincoln (2 Feb. 1141) is placed by the Chronicle of Holyrood under 1140. This is probably an error in the year-number, shared with the Chronicle of Melrose (see above, p. 28). The death of William, king Henry II's brother (30 Jan. 1164), is placed under 1163; as this is an isolated instance, it is most probably an error.

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## NOTE ON THE MANUSCRIPTS

The manuscripts of the chronicle, K and L, (for which see the beginning of the Introduction) are copies, removed by different degrees from their nearest common original ; and that common original may not have been the earliest manuscript of the chronicle that it contained. The chronicle in the common original was longer than L, and may have been shorter than K.

From the readings of K and L it may sometimes be possible to make deductions with regard to their common source, as has been shown above ; but the writing of K and L gives us in general no information about the history of the chronicle. If Coupar hands were known, it might be instructive to compare K and L with them.

The manuscripts are straightforward work of scribes, copying from completed exemplars ; there are, within the chronicle to 1189, no pauses for the accumulation of new material. There is no reason to suppose that either K or L was not originally a complete copy of its exemplar.

In both manuscripts, spaces were left blank for initial letters, which were afterwards supplied in colour. These spaces extended into three lines at the beginning of both manuscripts ; into two lines, at the beginnings of annals in both manuscripts down to the annal for 428. Afterwards the initial letters do not exceed one line, except in L at the annals for 597, 687, 688, 690, 708, 729, 731, 1065, in all of which the space for the initial extends into two lines.

The annal for 1071 is the last that begins with *Anno*



before the year-number, in both manuscripts ; but in K, on the page (folio 11 verso) after that in which the foundation of Coupar is entered, the annals for 1177 and 1178 again begin at the beginnings of lines ; and on the following page (folio 12 recto) the annals for 1186 and 1187 again begin the line with the word *Anno* before the year-number.

The first letter of *Baldewinus rex Jerusalem*, at 1118 in K (folio 9 verso, line 6), and of *Conventus venit ad Cupro*, at 1164 (folio 11 recto, line 5), is written beyond the marginal line.

L is written in formal hands that closely resemble one another, down to 1153 on folio 131 verso (*Junii*, in the date of king David's death) : these may be designated together L1, for the purposes of this note. The chronicle that precedes L in the same manuscript volume is written in similar hands, by different writers. After L1, the rest of L is written in a less formal hand, which we may designate L2 (folios 131 verso to 132 verso).

The chronicle proper in K is written, notwithstanding fluctuations, probably by one hand, which may for the purposes of this note be designated K1. It occupies folios 1 to 12 recto. Additions were made, on folio 12 recto, for year 1285-6, written in the fourteenth century (K2) ; on folios 12 verso and 13 recto, for year 1266, written late in the thirteenth or early in the fourteenth century (K3) ; and on folio 13 verso, for years 1296 to 1318 (K4), and for year 1355-6 (K5), written in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries.

K1 was probably written at Coupar (see above, p. 47), and before the middle of the thirteenth century. L1 and L2 were perhaps written about a generation earlier ; in the beginning of the thirteenth century, or at the end of the twelfth century. The characteristics and

variations of the hands are compatible with these dates, but the dates cannot be very exactly fixed.

The writing of K1 resembles section G of the Chronicle of Melrose (see the facsimile edition, pp. 50-58); the writing of L1 may be compared with section C1 (*ibid.*, pp. 21-24, 27-39), but is probably a little later than C1.

The manuscripts K and L were both presumably written in Scotland. Not many books of their time, written in Scotland, are known to have survived; K and L must be included in any study of Scottish bookhands of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The writing of charters in Scotland was apparently modelled upon the writing of English charters, and probably Scottish bookhands also were learned from England. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, successive changes of fashion in writing passed westwards from Europe to England, and reached Scotland very soon afterwards.

The writing of K and L is not distinguished by any marked peculiarities from Anglo-Norman writing of the same time.

The hands of L show very little breaking of the minims; K's writing is of a later phase in this respect. In another respect K is of an earlier phase than L: the later spelling *ci*, for *ti* before a vowel, occurs more often in L1 and L2 than in K1.

The digraph *æ* occurs in both manuscripts, in proper names (compare *Galwaiaæ*, *Galwæie*, in L2, 1160, 1161; and *ætholie* in K, 1186). In the form *e* with subscript *a* (an archaic form when K was written) it occurs in *æcclesia* (K, 1150; similarly also K, 664, 668, 692).

At the ends of lines in L2, the hyphen is written entirely, or almost entirely, below the line; so that it sometimes looks as if it were an accent over the line below.

The accents that appear in L, and probably also those in K, follow the normal usage of their time in Anglo-Norman manuscripts. The apex (or acute accent) survives as a sign of length of a vowel, when it is written over vocalic monosyllables; and, in words of more than one syllable, usually indicates stress.

These accented monosyllables occur:—*á* (e.g., K, years 189, 409; L2, 1159, 1160), *é* (K, A.U.C. 752, A.D. 633), *hí* (L, 449), and *Hí* ("Iona"; L, 565).

The accents in *illó* (L, 688) and *uná* (KL, 690; L, 1101), although primarily indicating length, serve to distinguish these adverbs from the same forms used as ablatives. In *tran[s]fúgit* (L, 633) the accent distinguishes the perfect from the present tense of the verb. An accent over the syllable that precedes *-que* shows that that word is the enclitic (K, 394, 690; see below).

Definite instances of stress-accent are:—*tránsfugas* (L, 43); *sarcófago* (L, 687); *Sáxonum* (L, 688); *sepul-túsque* (K, 690, see note on text); *cómite* (L2, 1153). Accents that might represent either length of vowel or stress are therefore to be taken as stress-accents:—*latéque* (K, 394); *potuére* (L, 690); *redundavére* (KL, 729); *inpúne* (L, 1069); *canónicum* (L2, 1160).

It is to be noticed that accents similarly used occur in the manuscript that precedes L in the same volume (e.g., *réddite*, *redíte*), and that they are similarly written, often with the pen nearly empty of ink; and in ink of a brown tinge, but probably the same as in the text.

From the twelfth century onwards, an apex was often used, with no implication of stress or quantity, as a distinctive mark over *i*, especially where *i* stands beside *n* or *m*. This formal apex began to be used before the digraph *e* with subscript *a*, for *æ*, had given place to simple *e* (compare Cotton Titus C xvii); and therefore before the writing of K and L. But it seldom

occurs in L, and perhaps never in K, over a single *i*. One instance is *Nortanhímbrorum* (L, 603); and other instances may be *incolunt* (L, 616) and *iniit* (L2, 1153), but the accents over *reliquid* (L, 670, 708), and *insignitur* (L2, 1154), probably represent stress, and the accent over *Dunfermelín* (L2, 1164) may represent stress or (if under the influence of the vernacular script) length of vowel (compare *Dunfermelín* in National Library of Scotland Ms. 34.1.3a, old part, folio xiiii recto; and *Strivelín*, *Balcrístín*, and *Breithín*, *ibid.* folio vi recto).

Accents are only occasionally used, and only by some writers. The syllable to which an accent is given is not always the syllable that should have the principal stress; a subsidiary stress may receive it (compare *cóncitato* in Cotton Nero C vii, folio 47 verso). An accent is more often given to a syllable with subsidiary stress when that comes after the principal stress, and especially when the syllable contains a vowel that was originally long. This happens rather frequently in the last syllable of vernacular place-names.

An accent written over a syllable that should have only subsidiary stress occurs in the Chronicle of Holyrood, in *Eorcangóte* (L, 640). A few subsidiary-stress accents are written over place-names in the Chronicle of Melrose, in which, apart from some vocalic monosyllables, place-names are the only words that receive accents (see the facsimile edition, p. lxxix). Instances of this accentuation are:—*Hadintún* (Chronicle of Melrose, 1180); *Li[n]tún* (National Manuscripts of Scotland, i, no. 27); *Blachapól* (National Library of Scotland Ms. 34.4.11, folio xxxiiii verso); *Alnewíc* (Annals of Northampton, 1148, 1152, 1174). In these, the principal stress should not normally be on the final syllable. The subsidiary stress on a vowel that had been long would retain the quality of the vowel, more

or less shortened. But in many names of Celtic origin the last syllable did bear the principal stress:—for instance, *Dunscáth* (Chronicle of Melrose, 1179); *Kentír* (Ms. 34.1.3a, folio xiii verso); and perhaps *Linlitcú* (foundation charter of Holyrood).

Over monosyllables that contain consonants an accent, when it is used, in Anglo-Norman manuscripts, is most often a distinguishing mark. When two words similarly spelt have vowels of different lengths, the word with the long vowel is distinguished with an accent. In other monosyllables over which an accent is written, the accent should have been intended to mark length of vowel:—for instance, *Cán* (Ms. 34.1.3a, folio ix verso); *Rós* (Chronicle of Melrose, 1179); and perhaps *Brús* (ibid., 1183).

Both for palaeographical and for linguistic purposes, a collection of the data would be useful. They are widely scattered. There were, no doubt, variations in usage; and errors sometimes occur (compare *ariétinas* in the foundation charter of Holyrood; *parietum* in Cotton Nero C vii, folio 54 verso). The accents are commonly not represented in editions, and are often invisible in facsimiles.

The Irish script, in which Scottish Gaelic was written (compare the facsimiles of additions in the Book of Deer, Spalding Club 1869, or the same in National Manuscripts of Scotland, i, no. 1), and the Anglo-Irish script in which Anglo-Saxon was written, used accents to indicate length of vowel, even when the language written was Latin. This was a survival of the earlier usage; and it might be expected to have had some influence on the spelling of vernacular names, in Anglo-Norman writing. (Instances from the Book of Deer are:—*Vóx*, folio 17, *lúx*, folio 42; *hás*, folio 28 verso; *tenebrís*, folio 42; *hiruphín*, folio 28 verso.)

In K and L, a double apex was written over the double vowels *ii*, *ee*, *oo*, *aa*. Instances are:—*iniiit* (L2, 1153); *juníi* and *filíi* (K, 1153); *Bethléém* (K, 1101); *Andréé* (L2, 1162; and frequently); *Malcaéél* (K, 1168; here the accents do not mark diaeresis); *cóópertus* (K, 73[3]); *Ysáác* (K and L2, 1162).

A single apex might be used as a mark of diaeresis (compare *mortuús*, in the Annals of Inisfallen, facsimile edition, folio 43 verso, columns 1 and 2). The double apex is very widely used, and was probably regarded as a mark of diaeresis (e.g., *méeé*). Cases in which it stands over a vowel that has been doubled to indicate length result very probably from false analogy (e.g., *héeé*). Compare *ndám* (Ms. 34.1.3a, folio xiiii); *Béeéth* (ibid., folio ix).

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## METHODS OF THE EDITION

The text of the chronicle in this edition is that of the Karlsruhe manuscript (K), which is the more complete (see above, pp. 1-6).

I have emended K's text (1) where K omits a necessary letter or letters, or has some other obvious scribal error; (2) where K disagrees with a known source of the chronicle, and L agrees with the source. I have retained K's reading, where it disagrees with a known source but is supported by L; provided that the reading of K and L makes good sense.

Square brackets are printed round all letters that I have supplied to take the place of letters that are missing or erroneous in K.

Emendations of the text are accompanied by foot-notes. But I have not as a rule noted simple omissions by either manuscript. Thus, if a letter is printed in square brackets, and L's reading only is noted, it means that the letter is omitted by K; if there is no note, it means that the letter is omitted by both K and L.

L has been fully collated with K, and all variations are noted; except that I have not noted such variations in spelling as *ti* and *ci*, *i* and *y*.

K's abbreviations are expanded in the printed text, except in one or two words where the meaning of an abbreviation-sign is in doubt.

The name of Northumbria is usually spelt *Norham-humbria* etc. by K, and by L in the part of the chronicle from 1065 onwards; *Norhanhumbria* etc. by L in the first part of the chronicle, to 734. When the name is



spelt with a bar over the first *a*, I have represented the bar by *m* or *n* according to the usage of each manuscript in that part of the chronicle.

Numbers in the text are printed as words wherever the writing of the manuscript justifies it. Thus, *iii*<sup>o</sup> is printed *tertio*, but *iii* is left unexpanded.

The abbreviation *kl'* has been regularly expanded as *kal.*, since it is often doubtful whether it stands for *kalendas* or *kalendarum*.

The letter *e* with *a* subscript (*ε*) is represented in print as *æ*. Consonantal *i* is represented as *j*; and consonantal *u* as *v*.

A tilde (~) printed after a letter represents the bar abbreviation-sign written above that letter in the manuscript. Some other abbreviation-signs are represented by an apostrophe (').

In punctuation and the use of capitals, I have followed modern usage. But I have paid close attention to the punctuation of the manuscripts.

Passages in the text that are verbally derived from known sources are printed in small type. A single version of each source has been selected for comparison with the chronicle; and references to the version used are printed in the margin. Any deviations from the sources are printed in larger type. The larger type is used also for all passages that are not derived from known sources; but passages printed in large type are not necessarily original to Holyrood or to Coupar.

I have not, as a rule, given historical notes on the borrowed parts of the chronicle; and I have given few notes on other than Scottish affairs, except to check the chronicle's accuracy by comparison with other sources. Notes on Scottish affairs have been given where the text seemed to need explanation, or where something could usefully be added to existing accounts.

Notes by A. O. Anderson are printed within square brackets, and signed A. O. A.

I have added a translation of the chronicle from 1065-6 onwards, and of the additions in K. I have not thought it necessary to include a translation of the first part of the chronicle, because that part consists almost entirely of extracts from Bede.

The sign  $\times$  after a date means "not earlier than . . ."; before a date, "not later than . . ."; between dates, "not earlier than . . . and not later than . . .".

A hyphenated year-number is occasionally used to indicate a year that begins on 25 March (e.g., on p. 150, 1166-7 means "25 Mar. 1166 to 24 Mar. 1167"). Year-numbers without hyphens, in the Introduction and Notes, mean years beginning on 1 January, unless they are otherwise explained.

In references, small roman numbers give the number of a volume. Serial numbers are shown in arabic figures. Page-numbers are preceded by p. or pp.

The abbreviations used need no explanation. They include:—A.U.C., "from the foundation of Rome"; C.C.C.C., "Corpus Christi College Cambridge"; Ms., Mss., "manuscript", "manuscripts"; ff., "and following pages"; ll., "lines"; St, "Saint"; S., *sanctus*, in the appropriate case and gender; B., "Blessed" (*beatus*).



## LIST OF BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS

This list is intended merely for the identification of manuscripts and printed books referred to in this edition. The list does not include works that are already sufficiently described in the places where they are mentioned. It is not a bibliography of the subject.

Names and titles are arranged in the alphabetical order of the first words by which we refer to them.

In this list, B. Cl.=Bannatyne Club; and R. S.=Rolls Series (i.e., *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages*, published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls).

*Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur*. Edited by J. Bolland, etc. (Antwerp, etc., 1643—).

Andrew of Wyntoun : *The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland*. Edited by David Laing, *Historians of Scotland* i, iii, ix (Edinburgh, 1872-1879).

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Edited by B. Thorpe, R. S. 23 (1861).

*Annals of Bermondsey*. Edited by H. R. Luard in *Annales Monastici*, R. S. 36, iii (1866), pp. 423-487.

*Annals of Hagheby*. British Museum Ms., Cotton Vespasian B xi, folios 1 ff.

*Annals of Lewes*. British Museum Ms., Cotton Tiberius A x, folios 145-176.

*Annals of London*. Edited by W. Stubbs in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, R. S. 76, i (1882), pp. 1-251.

*Annals of Margam*. Edited by H. R. Luard in *Annales Monastici*, R. S. 36, i (1864), pp. 3-40.

*Annals of Merton*. Corpus Christi College Cambridge Ms. 59, folios 151 verso-173 recto.

*Annals of Multifernan*. Edited by Aquilla Smith, Irish Archaeological Society, *Tracts relating to Ireland*, ii, no. 2 (Dublin, 1843).

- Annals of Northampton. Corpus Christi College Cambridge Ms. 281(2).
- Annals of Plympton. British Museum Ms., Additional 14,250, folios 148-150 ; compare Felix Liebermann, *Ungedruckte Anglonormannische Geschichtsquellen* (Strassburg, 1879), pp. 25-30.
- Annals of Reading. British Museum Ms., Reg. 8 E xviii, folios 94-96 ; compare Liebermann, as above, pp. 9 ff.
- Annals of Southwark. British Museum Ms., Cotton Faustina A viii, folios 119 ff.
- Annals of Tewkesbury. Edited by H. R. Luard in *Annales Monastici*, R. S. 36, i (1864), pp. 43-180. British Museum Ms., Cotton Cleopatra A vii.
- Annals of Waverley. British Museum Ms., Cotton Vespasian A xvi ; compare Luard's *Annales Monastici*, R. S. 36, ii (1865), pp. 129 ff.
- Annals of Winchcomb. British Museum Ms., Cotton Tiberius E iv, folios 1 ff.
- Annals of Winchester. Edited by H. R. Luard in *Annales Monastici*, R. S. 36, ii (1865), pp. 3 ff.
- Bain, Joseph : *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, preserved in H.M. Public Record Office, London (Treasury Commissioners ; Edinburgh, 1881-1888).
- Bede : *Chronica*. Edited by Theodor Mommsen in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi* xiii.
- Bede : *Historia Ecclesiastica*. See Plummer.
- Bellenden, John : *The History and Chronicles of Scotland*, translated from the Latin of Hector Boece (Edinburgh, 1821).
- Benedict of Peterborough : *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*. Edited by W. Stubbs, R. S. 49 (1867).
- Bongars, J. : *Gesta dei per Francos* (Hannover, 1611).

- Bouquet, Martin ; and others : *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France* (Paris, 1738-1876).
- Bouterwek, C. W. : *Monachi anonymi Scoti Chronicon Anglo-Scoticum* (Elberfeld, 1863).
- Bower, Walter : *Scotichronicon*. Edited by Walter Goodall (Edinburgh, 1759).
- Brevis Relatio de S. Cuthberto. See Nero A ii.
- Carte monialium de Northberwic. Edited by Cosmo Innes, B. Cl. 84 (Edinburgh, 1847).
- Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores. Edited by J. Dowden, *Scottish History Society* 42 (Edinburgh, 1903).
- Chronicle of Lanercost. Edited by Joseph Stevenson, B. Cl. 65 (Edinburgh, 1839).
- Chronicle of Limoges. Edited in Bouquet's *Recueil*, xxi.
- Chronicle of Melrose. Facsimile, edited by A. O. Anderson, M. O. Anderson, and W. C. Dickinson (London, 1936).
- Chronicle of Peterborough. Edited by Thomas Stapleton, Camden Society (London, 1849).
- Continuation of William of Tyre. See William of Tyre.
- Diceto. See Ralph de Diceto.
- Dowden, John : *The Bishops of Scotland*. Edited by J. Maitland Thomson (Glasgow, 1912).
- Dowden, John : *The Medieval Church in Scotland* (Glasgow, 1910).
- Dunbar, Sir Archibald H. : *Scottish Kings* (Edinburgh, 1906).
- Early Sources of Scottish History, A.D. 500 to 1286. By A. O. Anderson (Edinburgh, 1922).
- English Chroniclers. *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers, A.D. 500 to 1286*. By A. O. Anderson (London, 1908).
- Florence of Worcester : *Chronicon ex Chronicis*. Edited by B. Thorpe, *English Historical Society* (London, 1848-1849).

- Foedera. Edited for the Record Commission (London, 1816-1869).
- Fordun, John of : *Chronica gentis Scotorum* (including *Gesta Annalia*). Edited by W. F. Skene, *Historians of Scotland* i, iv (Edinburgh, 1871, 1872).
- Gervase of Canterbury : *Historical Works*. Edited by W. Stubbs, *R. S.* 73 (1879-1880).
- Gray, Sir Thomas : *Scalacronica*. Edited by Joseph Stevenson, *Maitland Club* 40 (Edinburgh, 1836).
- Haddan, A. W., and Stubbs, W. : *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 1869-1878).
- Henry of Huntingdon : *Historia Anglorum*. Edited by Thomas Arnold, *R. S.* 74 (1879).
- Hinde, J. H. : edition of Simeon of Durham, *Opera et Collectanea*, i, Surtees Society (1868); including the *Historia Translationum S. Cuthberti*, and Extracts from the *Brevis Relatio de S. Cuthberto*.
- Historia Translationum S. Cuthberti*. See Hinde.
- Holyrood Abbey, foundation charter of. Original manuscript, in the City Council Chambers, Edinburgh.
- Howden (or Hovedene). See Roger of Howden.
- Jaffé, P. : *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* (to 1198). Edited by W. Wattenbach (Leipzig, 1885-1888).
- John of Hexham : continuation of Simeon of Durham's *Historia Regum*. See Simeon.
- John of Worcester : continuation of Florence of Worcester's *Chronicon*. Edited by J. R. H. Weaver, *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Oxford, 1908).
- Jordan de Fantosme : *Chronique de la guerre entre les Anglois et les Écossois* (1173-1174). Edited by R. Howlett, *R. S.* 82, iii (1886), pp. 202-377.
- L' Art de Vérifier les Dates* (Paris, 1818-1844).
- Lawrie, Sir Archibald : *Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William* (Glasgow, 1910).

- Lawrie, Sir Archibald : *Early Scottish Charters* (Glasgow, 1905).
- Liber cartarum prioratus S. Andree in Scotia.* Edited by Thomas Thomson, B. Cl. 69 (Edinburgh, 1841).
- Liber cartarum Sancte Crucis.* Edited by Cosmo Innes, B. Cl. 70 (Edinburgh, 1840).
- Liber ecclesie de Scon.* B. Cl. 78 (Edinburgh, 1843).
- Liber S. Marie de Calchou.* Edited by Cosmo Innes, B. Cl. 82 (Edinburgh, 1846).
- Liber S. Marie de Melros.* Edited by Cosmo Innes, B. Cl. 56 (Edinburgh, 1837).
- Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc.* Edited by Cosmo Innes and Patrick Chalmers, B. Cl. 86 (Edinburgh, 1848, 1856).
- Luard, H. R. : *Annales Monastici*, R. S. 36 (1864-1869).
- Marinus Sanutus Torsellus : *Liber secretorum fidelium Crucis.* Edited by J. Bongars, ii (see above).
- Matthew of Westminster (so-called) : *Flores Historiarum.* Edited by H. R. Luard, R. S. 95 (1890).
- Matthew Paris : *Chronica Majora.* Edited by H. R. Luard, R. S. 57 (1872-1883).
- Michaud, J. F. : *Bibliothèque des Croisades* (Paris, 1829).
- Migne, J. P. : *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina* (Paris, 1844-1864).
- Monumenta Germaniae Historica* : *Auctores Antiquissimi* (Berlin, 1877 etc.) ; *Scriptores* (Hannover, 1826 etc.).
- National Manuscripts of Scotland, Facsimiles of.* Edited by Cosmo Innes. H.M. Stationery Office (1867-1871).
- Nero A ii. British Museum Ms., Cotton Nero A ii, containing the *Historia Translationum S. Cuthberti* and the *Brevis Relatio de S. Cuthberto.*
- Nicholas Trivet : *Annales.* Edited by Thomas Hog, English Historical Society (London, 1845).



- Ordericus Vitalis : *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Edited by Auguste le Prevost, Société de l'Histoire de France (Paris, 1838-1855).
- Palgrave, Sir Francis : *Documents and Records Illustrating the History of Scotland*, i, Record Commission (1837).
- Pingré, A. G. : *Cométographie* (Paris, 1783-1784).
- Pitcairn, Robert : *Chronicon Coenobii S. Crucis Edinburgensis*, B. Cl. 20 (Edinburgh, 1828).
- Plummer, Charles : edition of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (Oxford, 1896).
- Potthast, August : *Bibliotheca Historica Medii Ævi* (Berlin, 1896).
- Ralph de Diceto : *Ymagines Historiarum*. Edited by W. Stubbs, R. S. 68 (1876).
- Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Académie des Inscriptions (Paris, 1841 etc.). Volumes iii, iv, v, ix, and xiii, of the Recueil contain the series of *Historiens Occidentaux*, i-v.
- Reginald of Durham : *Libellus de admirandis beati Cuthberti virtutibus*. Edited by James Raine, Surtees Society (1835).
- Registrum de Dunfermelyn. Edited by Cosmo Innes, B. Cl. 74 (Edinburgh, 1842).
- Registrum episcopatus Glasguensis. Edited by Cosmo Innes, B. Cl. 75 (Edinburgh, 1843).
- Registrum episcopatus Moraviensis. Edited by Cosmo Innes, B. Cl. 58 (Edinburgh, 1837).
- Registrum monasterii de Passelet. Edited by Cosmo Innes, Maitland Club 17 (Edinburgh, 1832).
- Registrum monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth. Edited by Sir W. Fraser, Grampian Club 4 (Edinburgh, 1872).
- Registrum S. Marie de Neubotle. Edited by Cosmo Innes, B. Cl. 89 (Edinburgh, 1849).

- Reinaud, J. T. : *Extraits des Historiens Arabes, relatifs aux Guerres des Croisades* ; volume iv of Michaud's *Bibliothèque des Croisades* (see above).
- Robert de Torigni (or Robert de Monte) : *Chronica*. Edited by Richard Howlett, R. S. 82, iv (1889).
- Roger of Howden (or Hovedene) : *Chronica*. Edited by W. Stubbs, R. S. 51 (1868-1871).
- Rogers, Charles : *Rental Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar-Angus, with the breviary of the Register, Grampian Club 17* (London, 1879-1880).
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- Wyntoun. See Andrew of Wyntoun.



## TEXT OF THE CHRONICLE

<sup>1</sup> Anno ab urbe Roma condita sexcentesimo nonagesimo Bede, Hist., I 2  
tercio, ante vero dominice incarnationis tempus anno  
quadragesimo,<sup>2</sup> Gayus Julius, functus gradu consulatus cum Lucio Bibulo, dum contra Germanorum Gallorumque gentes<sup>3</sup> qui Reno tantum flumine dirimebantur bellum gereret, venit ad Morianos, unde in Britanniam proximus et brevissimus t[ra]nsitus<sup>4</sup> est; et, navibus onerariis atque actuariis circiter octoginta preparatis, in Britanniam transvehitur; ubi, acerba primum pugna fatigatus, deinde adversa tempestate correptus, plurimam cla[s]sis<sup>5</sup> partem et non parvum numerum militum equitum vero pene omnem dispersit.<sup>6</sup> Regressusque in Galliam ac sexcentas naves fieri imperavit. Quibus iterum in Britanniam primo vere transvectus, dum ipse in hostem cum exercitu pergit, naves in anchoris stantes tempestate correpte vel collise inter se vel arenis illise ac dissolute sunt; ex quibus quadraginta perierunt, cetera cum magna difficultate reparate sunt. Cesaris equitatus primo congressu victus a Britannis, secundo prelio cum magno discrimine suorum victos Britannos in fugam vertit. Interea Trinovantum firmissima civitas cum Androgio duce, datis quadraginta obsidibus, Cesari sese dedit. Quod

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<sup>1</sup> K begins the chronicle with a large decorated A. The references to Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* are to Plummer's edition (1896); see above, pp. 10-12.

<sup>2</sup> *quadragesimo*: this is an error for Bede's *LX<sup>mo</sup>*. But Bede's dates here are wrong; see Plummer, *Bede*, ii, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *gentes*: K, *g<sup>-</sup>s*.

<sup>4</sup> *t[ra]nsitus*: L, *transitus*.

<sup>5</sup> *classis* in L; *clausis* in K.

<sup>6</sup> *dispersit*: Bede, *disperdidit*.

- exemplum secute urbes alie complures in fedus Romanorum venerunt. Et illis sic victis stipendiarios fecit.<sup>1</sup>
- Bede, Chron., p. 280
- Orosius, col. 1064 <sup>2</sup> Anno ab urbe condita septingentesimo quinquagesimo secundo, Christus | nascitur in Bethleem Jude, anno Octoviani Cesaris Augusti quadragesimo secundo, olimpiadis vero centesimo nonagesimo tercio<sup>3</sup>; pax orbi in adventu vere pacis nuntiatur. His diebus in Roma<sup>4</sup> trans Tyberim de taberna meritoria fons olei é terra exundavit ac per totum diem largissimo rivo fluxit, | significans ex gentibus Christi gratiam.<sup>5</sup> | Tunc etiam circulus<sup>6</sup> ad speciem celestis arcus circa solem apparuit.<sup>7</sup> | Imperavit autem Octavianus Augus[t]us<sup>8</sup> quinquaginta et sex annis.
- Jerome, col. 559
- Orosius, col. 1047
- Jerome, col. 542
- Orosius, col. 1053
- Jerome, col. 539

<sup>9</sup> Anno ab incarnatione domini tricesimo, imper[ii]<sup>10</sup> autem Tyberii Cesaris quinto decimo,

<sup>1</sup> *Et illis . . . fecit* : This sentence is derived ultimately from Eutropius, but perhaps through Bede's Chronicle (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Auctores Antiquissimi, xiii, p. 280). Bede's Chronicle reads : *victos obsidibus acceptis stipendiarios fecit*. The reading of the Chronicle of Holyrood is corrupt.

<sup>2</sup> I have found no immediate source for this and the following year-section. They seem to be ultimately derived from Jerome's Interpretatio Chronicæ Eusebii (Migne's Patrologia Latina 27), and Orosius's History (Migne's Patrologia Latina 31). The words that are taken from Jerome and Orosius are here printed in small type. See above, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> The year of Octavian, and the olympiad, are probably both taken from Jerome. Jerome says that Christ was born in the third year of the 194th olympiad. The Chronicle of Holyrood's text is corrupt, and should read : *olimpiadis vero centesime nonagesime quarte tercio*.

<sup>4</sup> In K, there is a pen-mark after *roma*, which looks as if the scribe had begun to write *romæ*.

<sup>5</sup> Jerome places this event 39 years before the birth of Christ, in the third year of Octavian.

<sup>6</sup> In K, a hole in the parchment divides the word *circulus*, whose parts are joined with a horizontal line.

<sup>7</sup> *circa solem apparuit* : Orosius reads, *orbem solis ambiit*. He says that this happened soon after the death of Julius Caesar.

<sup>8</sup> *Augus[t]us* : L, *augustus*.

<sup>9</sup> K has here a decorated A.

<sup>10</sup> *imperii* in L ; *imperavit* in K, with *avit* deleted by a medial line.

idem dominus noster Jesus Christus predicationis sue sumpsit initium. Octavo quoque et decimo prefati<sup>1</sup> imperatoris anno, Jesus Christus filius dei pro nobis sese morti offerens crucifixus est. Imperavit autem Tyberius viginti Jerome, col. 565 et tribus annis.<sup>2</sup>

Anno ab incarnatione domini quadragesimo tercio,<sup>3</sup> ab urbe Bede, Hist., I 3 vero condita [septingentesimo]<sup>4</sup> nonagesimo octavo, Claudius imperator ab Augusto quartus, cupiens utilem se rei publice ostentare principem, bellum ubique et victoriam undecunque quesivit. Itaque expeditionem in Britanniam movit, que excitata in tumultum propter non redibitos transfugas videbatur; et transvectus in insulam est, quam neque ante Julium Cesarem neque post eum quisquam adire ausus fuerat. Ibi sine ullo prelio ac sanguine, intra paucissimos dies plurimam<sup>5</sup> insule partem in deditionem<sup>6</sup> recepit. Orchadas etiam insulas ultra Britannia[m]<sup>7</sup> in oceano positas Romano adjecit imperio, ac sexto quam profectus erat mense Romam rediit. Quo etiam anno fames gravissima per Syriam facta est, que in Actibus Apostolorum per<sup>8</sup> prophetam Agabum predicta esse memoratur.

<sup>1</sup> *prefati* : K, *prefatis*, with *s* deleted by underpointing.

<sup>2</sup> Jerome also says that Christ began to preach in the year A.D. 30, the 15th year of Tiberius; and was crucified in the 18th year of Tiberius. But the Chronicle of Holyrood's words are not those of Jerome. Probably it derived the passage from some intermediate source, which I have not traced.

<sup>3</sup> *quadragesimo tercio* : this is the correct date for the beginning of Claudius' campaign, but in the chronicle it is presumably an error for Bede's XLVI (i, p. 15). Bede's date refers to the end of the campaign, which was actually completed in A.D. 44.

The year A.U.C. 798 corresponds to A.D. 45-46.

<sup>4</sup> *septingentesimo* in L. *lxx<sup>o</sup>* in K; for similar errors in K see below, years 409 and 1104.

<sup>5</sup> *plurimam* : L, *plrimam*.

<sup>6</sup> In L, *m* of *dedicionem* is badly formed as the result of an alteration.

<sup>7</sup> *Britannia[m]* : L, *britanniam*.

<sup>8</sup> In K, *per* is added above the line, probably by the text hand.

Anno ab incarnatione domini quadragesimo quinto, misit beatus Petrus apostolus<sup>1</sup> Galliam sanctum Martialem episcopum et alios divini verbi ministros, qui genti Francorum verbum dei evangelizarent.<sup>2</sup>

Bede, Hist., I 4 Anno ab incarnatione domini centesimo quinquagesimo [sexto],<sup>3</sup> Marcus Antoninus Verus quartus decimus ab Augusto regnum cum Aurelio Com[m]odo<sup>4</sup> fratre suscepit. Quorum temporibus, cum Eleuther vir sanctus pontificatui Romane ecclesie preesset, misit ad eum Lu[c]ius<sup>5</sup> Britanorum<sup>6</sup> rex epistolam, obsecrans ut per ejus mandatum Christianus efficeretur. Et mox effectum pie postulationis consecutus est, susceptamque fidem Britanni, usque in tempora Dioclitiani<sup>7</sup> principis, in-violatam integramque quietam pace servabant.

I 5 Anno ab incarnatione domini centesimo octogesimo nono, Severus septimus decimus ab Augusto<sup>8</sup> imperium adeptus decem et septem annis tenuit. Hic natura sevus,<sup>9</sup> multis semper bellis lassessitus,<sup>10</sup> fortissime quidem rem

<sup>1</sup> In L, *l'* of *apl's* has been added above the line by the text hand.

<sup>2</sup> *evangelizarent* : L, *evangelizarent*.

The source of this entry has not been traced. The statement is derived ultimately from the Life of St Martial attributed to Aurelianus (Journal of the British Archaeological Association, xxviii (1872), pp. 353-390). According to the Life, St Peter and St Martial went to Rome from Antioch in the second year of the emperor Claudius; and in the second year after their arrival in Rome, St Peter sent St Martial, with two companions, as missionaries into Gaul. Since Claudius became emperor in A.D. 41, the Chronicle of Holyrood's date could have been deduced from the account given in the Life.

<sup>3</sup> *sexto* in L; *v<sup>to</sup>* in K.

<sup>4</sup> *Com[m]odo* : L, *commodo*.

<sup>5</sup> *lucius* in L; *lutius* in K.

<sup>6</sup> *Britanorum* : Bede, *Brittaniarum*.

<sup>7</sup> *Dioclitiani* : Bede, *Diocletiani*.

<sup>8</sup> *ab Augusto* : in K, these words are separated by a hole in the parchment; see above.

<sup>9</sup> *sevus* is corrected from *seve*, in K.

<sup>10</sup> *lassessitus* : L, *lassescitus*.

publicam set, laboriosissime rexit. Victor ergo civilium bellorum que ei<sup>1</sup> gravissima occurrerant, in Britannias defectu pene omnium so[c]iorum<sup>2</sup> trahitur. Ubi, magnis gravibusque preliis [sepe]<sup>3</sup> gestis, receptam partem insule á ceteris indomitis gentibus,<sup>4</sup> magnam fossam firmissimumque vallum crebris insuper turribus communitum<sup>5</sup> á mari usque<sup>6</sup> ad mare duxit. Ibique apud Eboracum<sup>7</sup> oppidum morbo obiit. Reliquid duos filios, Bassionem<sup>8</sup> et Getam; quorum Geta [hostis] publicus iudicatus interiit, Bassianus Antonii<sup>9</sup> cognomine assumpto regno potitus est.

Anno ab incarnatione domini ducentesimo octogesimo<sup>10</sup> I 6 sexto, Diocletianus tricesimus tercius ab Augusto imperator, ab exercitu e[li]ectus,<sup>11</sup> annis viginti fuit, Maximianumque<sup>12</sup> cognomento Herculium so[c]ium<sup>13</sup> creavit imperii. Diocletianus autem in oriente, Maximianus vero Herculius<sup>14</sup> in occidente, vastari ecclesias, affligi interfici Christianos, decimo post Neronem loco preceperunt; que persecutio<sup>15</sup> omnibus fere ante actis diuturnior atque immanior fuit. Nam per x<sup>16</sup> annos

<sup>1</sup> In L, *que es* has been erased before *que ei*.

<sup>2</sup> *sociorum* in L; *sotiorum* in K.

<sup>3</sup> *sepe* supplied from L.

<sup>4</sup> A verb has been omitted after *gentibus*. Bede has: . . . *vallo distinguendam putavit*.

<sup>5</sup> In L, the first *u* of *communitum* has been substituted above the line for *o*, deleted in the text, by the text hand.

<sup>6</sup> *usque* is omitted by L.

<sup>7</sup> *eboracum* in L; *eboriacum* in K.

<sup>8</sup> *Bassionem*: read *Bassianum*.

<sup>9</sup> *Antonii*: L, *antonini*. Bede, *Antonio*.

<sup>10</sup> *ducentesimo octogesimo* in L; *ducentesimo octogesimo* in K.

<sup>11</sup> *electus* in L; *ejectus* in K.

<sup>12</sup> In L, the first *i* of *maximianumque* has been added above the line, probably by the text hand.

<sup>13</sup> *socium* in L; *sotium* in K.

<sup>14</sup> *Herculius*: K, *hercul'*; L, *hercl'is*.

<sup>15</sup> *persecutio*: L, *persequutio*.

<sup>16</sup> *x*: L, *decem*.



incendiis ecclesiarum, proscriptionibus innocentum, cedi-  
bus martyrum, incessabiliter aucta<sup>1</sup> est.

I 9 Anno ab incarnatione domini trecentesimo septuagesimo octavo,<sup>2</sup> Gratianus quadragesimus ab Augusto post mortem Valentis sex annis imperium tenuit, quamvis jamdudum antea cum patruo Valente et cum Valentiniano fratre regnaret.

V 24 Anno ab incarnatione domini trecentesimo octogesimo primo, Maximus in Britannia creatus imperator in Gallia[m] transiit et Gratianum interfecit.

I 10 Anno ab incarnatione domini trecentesimo nonagesimo quarto, Archadius filius Theodosii<sup>3</sup> cum fratre suo Honorio quadragesimus tercius ab Augusto regnum suscipiens, tenuit annis<sup>4</sup> tredecim. Cujus temporibus Pelagius Bre[t]to<sup>5</sup> contra auxilium gratie superne venena sue perfidie longe latèque dispersit.

V 24 Anno ab incarnatione domini [quadringentesimo]<sup>6</sup>

I 11 nono, | fracta est Roma<sup>7</sup> á Gothis, anno millesimo centesimo sexagesimo quarto sue conditionis. Ex quo tempore, Romani in Britannia regnare cessarunt, post annos ferme [quadringentos]<sup>8</sup> septuaginta<sup>9</sup> ex quo Gaius Julius Cesar eandem insulam adiit.

<sup>1</sup> *aucta* : L, *aucta* ; Bede, Ms. C, *aucta*, other Mss., *acta*.

<sup>2</sup> *octavo* : Bede, VII.

<sup>3</sup> *Theodosii* : L, *teodosii*.

<sup>4</sup> *annis* : Bede, *annos*.

<sup>5</sup> *Bre[t]to* : K, *brecto* ; L, *brito*, corrected apparently from *brecto* by partial erasure of *ec*.

<sup>6</sup> *quadringentesimo* in L, altered from *quadringesimo* at the time of writing. K, *xl<sup>to</sup>* ; see years 43 and 1104.

<sup>7</sup> *Roma* is repeated in K.

<sup>8</sup> *quadringentos* in L ; *xl<sup>tos</sup>* in K. See note above.

<sup>9</sup> *septuaginta* : in K, the *l* of *lxx<sup>ta</sup>* has been altered from *x*.

After *septuaginta* the writer of L wrote and deleted *novem*, probably through reading the following *ex* as *ix*.

<sup>1</sup> Anno ccccxxiii, Theodosius <sup>2</sup> junior post Honorium, xlv I 13  
ab Augusto, regnum suscipiens xxvi annis tenuit. Cujus  
anno imperii viii Pal[l]adius <sup>3</sup> ad Scottos <sup>4</sup> in Christum  
credentes <sup>5</sup> á pontifice Romane ecclesie Celestino primus  
mittitur episcopus.

Anno ccccxlix, Mar[c]ianus <sup>6</sup> cum Valentiniano xlv ab I 15  
Augusto regnum adeptus septem <sup>7</sup> annis tenuit. Tunc  
Anglorum sive Saxonum gens, invitata á Vortigirno <sup>8</sup>  
rege Britannie, tribus longis navibus advehitur; et in  
orientali parte insule, jubente eodem rege, locum manendi,  
quasi pro patria pugnatura, re autem vera hanc ex-  
pugnatura, suscepit. <sup>9</sup> Advenerant <sup>10</sup> autem de tribus  
Germanie populis fortioribus, id est Saxonibus, Anglis,  
Wigtis. De Wightarum <sup>11</sup> origine sunt Cantuarii et  
Wightuarii, <sup>12</sup> hoc est [ea gens] <sup>13</sup> que Vectam te[n]et <sup>14</sup>  
insulam. De Saxonibus venerunt <sup>15</sup> orientales Saxones,  
meridiani Saxones, occidui Saxones. P[or]ro <sup>16</sup> de Anglis

<sup>1</sup> From this point K and L no longer have *ab incarnatione domini* in the year-numbers of the annals. This change is not derived from those versions of Bede on which Plummer based his text. From here onwards K, and usually L, write continuously, without a new line for each year.

<sup>2</sup> *Theodosius*: L, *teodosius*.

<sup>3</sup> *Pal[l]adius*: L, *palladius*.

<sup>4</sup> In K, the first *t* of *scottos* is inserted above, in the text hand.

<sup>5</sup> In L, *r* of *credentes* is written above the line by the text hand.

<sup>6</sup> *marcianus* in L; *martianus* in K.

<sup>7</sup> *septem*: L, *vii*.

<sup>8</sup> *Vortigirno*: L, *vortingirno*. Bede, *rege praeſato* (referring to the previous chapter).

<sup>9</sup> *suscepit*: so Bede, Ms. C etc.; Ms. M etc., *suscipit*.

<sup>10</sup> In K, a sign for *er* of *Advenerant* has been written by an error on each side of the *a*.

<sup>11</sup> *Wigtis* . . . *Wightarum*: Bede, *Iutis* . . . *Iutarum*. See Plummer, Bede, ii, p. 29.

<sup>12</sup> *Wightuarii*: Bede, *Victuarii*.

<sup>13</sup> *ea gens* supplied from L.

<sup>14</sup> *te[n]et*: K, *teitet*; L, *tent*, corrected to *tenet*.

<sup>15</sup> *venerunt*: Bede, *venere*.

<sup>16</sup> *P[or]ro*: L, *Porro*.

venerunt orientales Angli, mediter[r]anei Angli,<sup>1</sup> Merci, tota<sup>2</sup> Northanhimbrorum progenies, ceterique populi Anglorum<sup>3</sup> sunt orti. Duces fuisse perhibentur<sup>4</sup> eorum primi duo frat[re]s,<sup>5</sup> Hengist et Horsa. Erant hi autem<sup>6</sup> duo fratres filii Wicthgils. Cujus pater Witta, cujus pater Wecthta, cujus pater Woden, de cujus stirpe multarum provinciarum reg[i]um<sup>7</sup> genus originem duxit.

V 24 Anno dxxxviii, eclips[s]is<sup>8</sup> solis facta est, xiiii kal. [Martias],<sup>9</sup> ab [h]ora<sup>10</sup> prima usque ad terciam.

Anno dxi, iterum facta est eclipsis solis, xii kal. Julii,<sup>11</sup> et apparuerunt stelle pene hora dimidia ab hora diei tertia forte usque ad sextam.<sup>12</sup>

Anno dxlvii, Ida regnare cepit, á quo regal[i]s<sup>13</sup> Nortanhimbrorum prosapia originem tenet, et duodecim<sup>14</sup> annis in regno permansit.

Anno dlxv, Columba pater<sup>15</sup> de Ybernia<sup>16</sup> venit Britan-

<sup>1</sup> *Angli*: K, *angl'i*, i.e. *angeli*. This error, which occurs often in K, and sometimes in L, suggests that the common source wrote *gl* with the tongue of the *g* crossing the *l*; as in K, folio 2 verso, line 23.

<sup>2</sup> *tota*: L, *totat* with final *t* erased.

<sup>3</sup> *Anglorum*: K, *angl'orum*.

<sup>4</sup> *perhibentur*: L, *peribentur*.

<sup>5</sup> *frat[re]s*: K, *fr~* (i.e. *frater*); L, *fr~s*, correctly.

<sup>6</sup> *Erant hi autem*: in K, *hi* is inserted above, probably by the text hand. L, *erant autem hi*. Bede, *Erant autem filii*.

<sup>7</sup> *regium* in L; *regnum* in K.

<sup>8</sup> *eclipsis* in L; *ecliplis* in K.

<sup>9</sup> *Martias* in Bede; K and L, *anar'*.

<sup>10</sup> [h]ora: L, *hora*.

<sup>11</sup> *Julii*: so Bede, Ms. C; other Mss., *Julias*.

<sup>12</sup> *forte . . . sextam*: These words are not in the text of Bede, and they seem to have been added by some one who misunderstood Bede's meaning.

<sup>13</sup> *regal[i]s*: K and L, *regales*.

<sup>14</sup> *duodecim*: L, *xii*.

<sup>15</sup> *pater*: Bede, *presbyter*, which may have been written *pr~* in the source of K and L. K reads *p~r*, a normal abbreviation of *pater*.

<sup>16</sup> *Ybernia*: L, *hibernia*. Bede, V 24, in the *Recapitulatio*, *Scottia*; but in the corresponding passage in III 4, *Hibernia*.

niam ad docendos Pictos,<sup>1</sup> et in Hi<sup>2</sup> insula monasterium fecit.

Anno dlxxxii, Mauri[c]ius<sup>3</sup> ab Augusto liiii imperium sus- I 23  
cipiens xxi annis tenuit. Cujus anno regni x Gregorius,  
vir doctrina et actione precipuus, pontificatum Rom[an]e<sup>4</sup>  
et apostolice sedis [s]ortitus,<sup>5</sup> rexit annis xiii et mensibus  
vi et diebus<sup>6</sup> x.

Anno dxcvi, Gregorius papa, | divino ammonitus instinctu,<sup>7</sup> V 24 I 23  
anno xiiii prefati<sup>8</sup> principis, adventus vero Anglorum  
in Britanniam anno circiter cl, misit servum dei Augus-  
tinum et alios plures cum eo monachos timentes deum,<sup>9</sup>  
predicare verbum dei genti Anglorum.

Anno dxcvii, venerunt<sup>10</sup> Britanniam prefati doctores ; qui V 24  
fuit annus cl [adventus Anglorum] in Britanniam.

Anno dci, misit papa<sup>11</sup> Gregorius pallium Britanniam  
Augustino jam facto<sup>12</sup> episcopo, et plures verbi ministros, |  
in quibus primi et precipui erant Mellitus, Justus, I 29  
Paulinus, Rufinianus.

Anno dciii,<sup>13</sup> Edan, rex Scottorum qui B[ri]tanniam<sup>14</sup> I 34

<sup>1</sup> *pictos* is repeated in both K and L.

<sup>2</sup> *in Hi* : K, *in inhi* ; L, *in in hi*. In L, the second *in* is deleted with a point above and a point below. Bede, *in insula Hii*.

<sup>3</sup> *mauricius* in L ; *mauritiu* in K.

<sup>4</sup> *romane* in L, and Bede ; *rome* in K.

<sup>5</sup> *sortitus* in L ; *fortitus* in K.

<sup>6</sup> *annis . . . mensibus . . . diebus* : Bede, *annos . . . menses . . . dies*.

<sup>7</sup> *instinctu* : L, *instingtu*, with *g* apparently corrected to *c*.

<sup>8</sup> *prefati* : Bede, *eiusdem* (i.e. Mauricius).

<sup>9</sup> *deum* : Bede, *Dominum*.

<sup>10</sup> *venerunt* : Bede, *venere*.

<sup>11</sup> In L, the second *a* of *papa* is added above the line.

<sup>12</sup> In K, *f* of *facto* is perhaps altered from *s*.

<sup>13</sup> *Anno dciii* : In Bede, the year-number is not given here, but occurs in the sentence beginning *Quod videlicet* ; see below. The chronicle perhaps derives it from Bede's *Recapitulatio* (V 24).

<sup>14</sup> *B[ri]tanniam* : L, *britanniam*.

inhabitant,<sup>1</sup> venit contra Ælfridum<sup>2</sup> Nortamhimbrorum cum inmenso ac forti exercitu, set cum paucis victus aufugit. Siquidem in loco celeberrimo qui dicitur Dexastan, id est dextera<sup>3</sup> lapis, omnis pene ejus est cesus exercitus. Quod videlicet bellu[m]<sup>4</sup> Ælfridus<sup>5</sup> anno undecimo<sup>6</sup> regni sui perfecit, porro anno Focatis, qui tunc<sup>7</sup> Romani regni apicem tenebat, primo. Regnavit autem prefatus Ælfridus rex<sup>8</sup> xxiiii annis.

- V 24 Anno dciiii, orientales Saxones fidem Christi percipiunt,  
 II 3 sub rege Sigeberto,<sup>9</sup> antistite Mellito. | <sup>10</sup> Ordinavit sanctus Augustinus duos episcopos, Mellitum et Justum : Mellitum ad predicandum provincie orientalium Saxonum quorum metropolis Lundonia civitas est ; Justum vero in ipsa Cantia ordinavit, in civitate que Rovecestria cognominatur.<sup>11</sup> Eodem tempore defunctus est deo dilectus pater Augustinus, septimo<sup>12</sup> kal. Junii, [E]ilberto<sup>13</sup> rege regnante. | Successit Augustino in episco-

<sup>1</sup> *inhabitant* in L; *inhabitabant* in K.

<sup>2</sup> *Ælfridum*: Bede, *eum*, referring to an earlier part of the chapter. In the chronicle, *regem* has probably dropped out of the text.

The form *Ælfridus* occurs regularly in the chronicle, representing Bede's *Aedilfrid* or *Æðilfrid*.

In both K and L the *l* is here very short, in K resembling an *i*.

<sup>3</sup> *Dexastan* . . . *dexta*: Bede, *Degsastán* . . . *Degsa*.

<sup>4</sup> *bellu[m]*: L, *bellum*.

<sup>5</sup> In L, *æ* of *ælfridus* has been corrected from *ar*-ligature.

<sup>6</sup> *undecimo*: L, *xi*.

<sup>7</sup> *tunc*: Bede, *tum*.

<sup>8</sup> *Regnavit* . . . *rex*: The length of Æthelfrith's reign is given by Bede after *sui* in the previous sentence; see above.

<sup>9</sup> *Sigeberto*: Bede, Ms. D etc., *sigbercto*; other Mss., *sabercto* and similar forms.

<sup>10</sup> In Bede, II 3, the following events, and the conversion of the East Saxons, are placed under the year 604.

<sup>11</sup> Bede, *quam gens Anglorum* . . . *Hrofæscæstræ cognominat*.

<sup>12</sup> *septimo*: L, *vii*.

The whole date of Augustine's death is taken from his epitaph quoted by Bede at the end of II 3.

<sup>13</sup> *eilberto* in L; *cilberto* in K. The name appears below as *Ælbertus* and *Æilbertus*. It represents Bede's *Aedilberct*, etc. Bede has here *eodem rege*.

patu[m] Laurentius ; quem ipse iccirco adhuc vivens ordinaverat, ne se defuncto<sup>1</sup> status ecclesie tam rudis vel ad horam pastore destitutus vacillare inciperet.

Anno dcv, beatus papa Gregorius, postquam Rom[an]e<sup>2</sup> II 1, p. 73 sedem apostolice ecclesie xiii annos, menses vi,<sup>3</sup> dies x, gloriosissim]e<sup>4</sup> rexit, defunctus est, atque ad eternam regni celestis sedem translatus. | Rexit autem ecclesiam p. 79 temporibus imperatorum Mauricii et Focatis ; secundo autem ejusdem Focatis anno transiit ex hac vita.

Anno dexvi, qui est annus vicesimus primus ex quo II 5 Augustinus cum so[c]iis<sup>5</sup> ad predicandum genti Anglorum<sup>6</sup> missus est, Æilbertus rex Cantuariorum post regnum temporale, quod quinquaginta et tribus<sup>7</sup> annis gloriosissime tenuerat, eterna celestis regni gaudia subiit. Qui tercius quidem in regibus gentis Anglorum cunctis<sup>8</sup> australibus eorum provinciis, que Humbre fluvio et contiguis ei terminis sequestrantur á borealibus, imperabat<sup>9</sup> ; set primus omnium celi regna conscendit. Nam primus imperium hujusmodi Ælle<sup>10</sup> rex Humbrensium<sup>11</sup> Saxonum ; secundus C[æ]lin<sup>12</sup> rex occidentalium<sup>13</sup> Saxo-

<sup>1</sup> In K, a sign resembling *c* is written over the *t* of *defuncto* ; possibly it is a half-formed *us*-sign, made in error before the *o* was written.

<sup>2</sup> *romane* in L, as Bede ; *rome* in K.      <sup>3</sup> *vi* : L, *sex*.

<sup>4</sup> *gloriosissime* in L, as Bede ; *gloriose* in K.

<sup>5</sup> *sociis* in L ; *sotiis* in K.      <sup>6</sup> *Anglorum* : L, *angl'orum*.

<sup>7</sup> *tribus* : Bede, VI. See Plummer, Bede, ii, p. 85.

<sup>8</sup> *cunctis* is written twice in L, once at the end of folio 124 recto, and again at the top of folio 124 verso.

<sup>9</sup> *imperabat* : Bede, *imperavit*.

<sup>10</sup> *Ælle* : so Bede, Ms. C ; other Mss., *Aelli*.

<sup>11</sup> *Humbrensium* : Bede, *Australium*. The source of the chronicle has confused Ælle king of Sussex with Ælle king of Northumbria.

<sup>12</sup> *C[æ]lin* : K, *carlin* (with *ar*-ligature). L has *cælin*, but with an *æ* different from the writer's usual *æ*, and somewhat resembling an *ar*-ligature ; this was no doubt closely copied from the source.

Before this word, L has an erased *e*.

<sup>13</sup> At the top of folio 3 verso in K, a design is drawn in the outer margin, and in the upper margin are apparently the Roman numbers *i* to *viii*, in a fine hand ; probably not by the writer of the text.

num, qui lingua ipsorum Ceaulin vocabatur; tercius, ut diximus, Ælbertus rex Cantuariorum; quartus Redwald rex orientalium Anglorum, qui etiam vivente Ælberto eidem sue genti ducatum prebebat, [obtinueit].<sup>1</sup> Quintus Eadwinus rex Norhamhimbrorum gentis, id est ejus que ad borealem Humbre fluminis plagam [inhabitat], majore potentia cunctis qui Britanniam incolunt Anglorum<sup>2</sup> pariter et Britonum populis prefuit, preter Cantuariis tantum; necnon et Mevanias, Britonum insulas que inter Hiberniam et Britanniam site sunt, Anglorum subjecit imperio. Sextus Oswaldus, et ipse No[r]hamhimbrorum<sup>3</sup> rex Christianissimus, hi[s]dem finibus regnum tenuit. Septimus Oswinus<sup>4</sup> frater ejus, equalib[us]<sup>5</sup> pene terminis regnum nonnullo tempore cohercens, Pictorum quo[que]<sup>6</sup> ac Scottorum gentes, que septemtrionales Britannie fines tenent, maxima ex parte perdomuit ac tributarias fecit. Defunctus vero est rex Ælb[er]tus<sup>7</sup> die vicesimo quarto mensis Februarii,<sup>8</sup> post viginti et unum annos accepte fidei, atque in porticu sancti Martini intra<sup>9</sup> ecclesiam beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli sepultus, ubi et Berte regina condita est. Erat autem idem Ælbertus filius Irminrici, cujus pater [Octa], cujus pater Oeric cognomento Oyse,<sup>10</sup> [cujus pater Hengist, qui cum filio suo Oyse,]<sup>11</sup> invitatus á Vortigerno,<sup>12</sup> Britanniam primus intravit. At vero post mortem Ælberti filius ejus Edbald regni gubernacula suscepit.

<sup>1</sup> *obtinueit* is supplied from L.

<sup>2</sup> *Anglorum*: K, *angl'orum*.

<sup>3</sup> *No[r]hamhimbrorum*: L, *nohanhinbrorum* (the second *n* represented by a bar over *a*).

<sup>4</sup> *Oswinus*, here and below, is an error (probably Northumbrian) for Bede's *osuuu* (Ms. C).

<sup>5</sup> *equalib[us]*: K and L, *equalibet*.

<sup>6</sup> *quo[que]*: L, *quoque*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ælb[er]tus*: L, *ælbertus*.

<sup>8</sup> *Februarii*: L, *febrarii*.

<sup>9</sup> *intra*: Bede, *intro*.

<sup>10</sup> *Oyse*, here and below: Bede, *Oisc*.

<sup>11</sup> The words in square brackets are supplied from L.

<sup>12</sup> In K, the first *r* of *vortigerno* is made like an incompletely formed *x*.

<sup>1</sup> Anno dccc,<sup>2</sup> beatus archiepiscopus Laurentius regnum II 7  
 celeste con[s]cendit,<sup>3</sup> atque in ecclesia sancti apostoli  
 Petri juxta predecessorem<sup>4</sup> suum Augustinum sepultus  
 est, quarto die<sup>5</sup> nonarum Februari[ar]um<sup>6</sup>; post [quem]<sup>7</sup>  
 Mellitus, qui erat Lundonie episcopus, sedem Dorvernensis  
 ecclesie tercius ab Augustino suscepit. Justus autem  
 adhuc superstes Rofensem regebat ecclesiam.

Anno dccciii, Mellitus archiepiscopus,<sup>8</sup> postquam annis  
 v rexit ecclesiam, Eadbaldo regnante, migravit ad celos,  
 sepultusque est cum patribus suis in sepedicto monasterio  
 et ecclesia<sup>9</sup> beatissimi<sup>10</sup> apostolorum principis, die viii  
 kalendarum Maiarum. | Cui statim successit in ponti- II 8  
 ficatum Justus, qui erat Rofensis ecclesie presul.<sup>11</sup>  
 Illi autem ecclesie Romanum consecravit episcopum,  
 data sibi auctoritate<sup>12</sup> ordinandi episcopos a pontifice  
 Bonefacio.

Anno dcccv, Paulinus á Justo archiepiscopo ordinatur V 24  
 genti Norhamhimbrom antistes, | sub die xii kalendarum II 9, p. 98  
 Augustarum.

<sup>1</sup> L has a paragraph-sign of harp shape before *Anno*, written before the following line was written. A similar sign is used below (folio 124 verso, last two lines), as a mark of head-under-wing.

<sup>2</sup> The year of Laurence's death is not given by Bede. But in the same chapter, Bede refers to a letter from pope Boniface V to Laurence's successor Mellitus, and to Justus bishop of Rochester, and apparently dates the letter 619. The source of the chronicle perhaps attached this date to the death of Laurence, and the chronicle's *dccc* is perhaps an error for *dcccix*.

<sup>3</sup> con[s]cendit : L, conscendit.

<sup>4</sup> predecessorem : Bede, prodecessorem.

<sup>5</sup> quarto die : L, die iiii, as Bede.

<sup>6</sup> Februari[ar]um : L, februariorum.

<sup>7</sup> post [quem] : K and L, postquam.

<sup>8</sup> Mellitus archiepiscopus : Bede, hic.

<sup>9</sup> ecclesia in L; ecclesiam in K.

<sup>10</sup> beatissimi : L, beatissim.

<sup>11</sup> presul : Bede, episcopus.

<sup>12</sup> auctoritate : L, autoritate.



V 24 II 9, p. 99 Anno dcccvi, Eanfled filia Eadwini regis | baptizata est cum  
V 24 xii<sup>1</sup> aliis<sup>2</sup> de familia ejus, | in sabbato pentecoste[s].<sup>3</sup>

II 14 Anno dcccvii, accepit rex Edwinus, cum cunctis gentis sue nobilibus ac plebe perplurima,<sup>4</sup> fidem et lavacrum sancte regenerationis, anno regni sui xi, [qui est] ab adventu Anglorum in Britanniam annus<sup>5</sup> circiter centesimus octogesimus. Baptizatus est autem Eboraci die<sup>6</sup> sancto pasche, pridie idus Aprilis, et in ecclesia sancti Petri apostoli et quam ibidem ipse de ligno, ubi<sup>7</sup> catheziza-[re]tur<sup>8</sup> atque ad percipiendum baptismum imbueretur, citato opere construxit; in qua etiam civitate ipsi doctore atque antistiti suo Paulino sedem episcopatus donavit.

II 20 Anno dccc<sup>o</sup>iii<sup>o</sup>, Eadwinus, cum decem et septem annis<sup>9</sup> genti Anglorum<sup>10</sup> simul et Britonum gloriosissime preeset, é quibus vi etiam annis ipse Christi regno militavit, rebellavit adversus eum Cedwalla rex Britonum, auxilium prebente illi Penda,<sup>11</sup> viro strenuissimo de regio genere Merciorum, qui et ipse ex eo tempore gentis ejusdem regno annis viginti duobus varia sorte prefuit; et, conserto gravi prelio in campo qui vocatur Hatfeld, occisus est Edwinus, die iiii iduum Octobrium, cum esset annorum quadraginta et octo; ejusque totus vel interemptus est vel dispersus exercitus.<sup>12</sup> In quo [etiam]<sup>13</sup> bello ante

<sup>1</sup> xii: so Bede, II 9, in Ms. C; other Mss., XI. But all Mss. have XII in V 24 (i, p. 353).

<sup>2</sup> aliis: L, a aliis.

<sup>3</sup> pentecoste[s]: K, pentecosten; L, pentecost~.

<sup>4</sup> perplurima: K and L, per plurima.

<sup>5</sup> annus is repeated in K.

<sup>6</sup> An oval hole in the parchment of K extends through eight lines from die to prebente.

<sup>7</sup> ubi: Bede, cum, but the word is omitted in Bede Ms. C; a later hand in C inserts antequam.

<sup>8</sup> catheziza[re]tur: K, cathezizantur; L, catezizaretur.

<sup>9</sup> In L, is of annis was altered from o at the time of writing.

<sup>10</sup> Anglorum: K and L, angl'orum.

<sup>11</sup> In K, penda is partly altered from penna.

<sup>12</sup> exercitus: L, exercitus.

<sup>13</sup> etiam is supplied from L.

illum unus filius ejus Osfridus, juvenis bellicosus, cecidit ; alter Eadfridus, necessitate cogente, ad Pendam regem transfugit, et ab eo postmodum, regnante Oswaldo, con[tra] fidem<sup>1</sup> juris jurandi peremptus est. | Eadwino V 24 itaque rege perempto,<sup>2</sup> Paulinus Cantiam rediit.

Anno dcxxxiiii<sup>o</sup>,<sup>3</sup> Justus archiepiscopus ad celestia regna II 18 sublatu<sup>4</sup> est, quarto iduum Nove[m]brium<sup>5</sup> die, et Honorius pro illo est in presulatum electus. Qui ordinandus<sup>6</sup> venit ad Paulinum et, occurrente sibi illo in Lindocolino, quintus ab Augustino Dorvernensis ecclesie consecratus<sup>7</sup> est antistes. Cui etiam papa Honorius misit pallium et litteras in quibus decernit<sup>8</sup> hoc ipsum, quod in epistola ad Eadwinum regem missa decreverat, ut, cum Dorvernensis [vel Eburacensis] antistes de hac vita transierit, his<sup>9</sup> qui superest<sup>10</sup> consors ejusdem gradus<sup>11</sup> habeat potestatem alterum ordinandi in loco ejus qui transierat sacerdotem, ne sit necesse ad Romam<sup>12</sup> usque civitatem, per tam prolixa terrarum<sup>13</sup> et maris spatia, pro ordinando archiepiscopo semper fatigari.

Anno dcl, Eadbaldus rex Cantuariorum, transiens ex hac III 8 vita, [E]arconberto<sup>14</sup> filio regni gubernacula reliquit, que

<sup>1</sup> *contra fidem* in L ; *confidem* in K.

<sup>2</sup> *perempto* : L, *peremto*.

<sup>3</sup> *Anno dcxxxiiii<sup>o</sup>* : The chronicle apparently takes this date from the end of Bede's chapter, where it is given as the date of pope Honorius I's letter ; see below. It is not the true date of Justus's death ; see Plummer, Bede, ii, p. 110.

<sup>4</sup> *sublatus* : L, *sullatus*. Bede, Mss. C, W, D, *sublatus* ; other Mss., *sublevatus*.

<sup>5</sup> *Nove[m]brium* : L, *novembrium*.

<sup>6</sup> *ordinandus* : K, *ordinand*'.

<sup>7</sup> *consecratus* : L, *cosecratus*.

<sup>8</sup> *decernit* in L ; *decervit* in K.

<sup>9</sup> *his* : for Bede's *is*.

<sup>10</sup> In K, *est* is deleted with a point, before *superest*.

<sup>11</sup> In L, a of *gradus* is written above the line.

<sup>12</sup> *Romam* : so Bede, Ms. C ; other Mss., *Romanam*.

<sup>13</sup> *terrarum* is repeated in K.

<sup>14</sup> [E]arconberto : K and L, *carconberto*.

ille suscepta xxiiii annis et aliquot mensibus nobilissime tenuit. Hic primus regum Anglorum in toto<sup>1</sup> regno suo ydola relinqui ac destrui, simul et jejunium xl dierum observari, principali auctoritate<sup>2</sup> precepit; que ne facile a quopiam poss[e]t<sup>3</sup> contempni, in transgressores dignas et [compet]entes<sup>4</sup> punitiones proposuit. Cujus filia<sup>5</sup> Eorcangote,<sup>6</sup> ut condigna parenti soboles, magnarum fuit virgo virtutum, serviens domino in monasterio quod in regione Francorum constructum est ab abbatisa nobilissima, vocabulo [F]ara,<sup>7</sup> in loco qui dicitur In Brigge. Nam eo tempore, needum multis in regione Anglorum monasteriis constructis, multi de Britannia, monastice<sup>8</sup> conversationis gratia, Francorum vel Galliarum monasteria adire solebant; set et filias suas eisdem erudiendas ac sponso celesti copulandas mittebant, maxime in Brige, et [in] Cale,<sup>9</sup> et in Andilegum monasterio.<sup>10</sup>

V 24 III 9 Anno dclx[ii], | occisus est Oswa[l]dus<sup>11</sup> Christianissimus rex Norhamhimbrorum, commisso gravi prelio, a pagana gente paganoque<sup>12</sup> rege Merciorum Penda, á quo et predecessor<sup>13</sup> ejus Edwinus peremptus fuerat, in loco qui li[n]gua<sup>14</sup> Anglorum nunc[u]patur<sup>15</sup> [M]aserfeld,<sup>16</sup> anno

<sup>1</sup> A hole in the parchment of K extends through eight lines from *toto* to *needum*. See note above.

<sup>2</sup> *auctoritate*: L, *autoritate*.

<sup>3</sup> *poss[e]t*: K and L, *possit*.

<sup>4</sup> *competentes* in L; *contempnentes* in K, attracted to *contempni* above.

<sup>5</sup> *filia*: K and L, *filiam*.

<sup>6</sup> *Eorcangote*: Bede, Ms. C, *eorcongote*; other Mss., *Earcongote* and similar forms.

<sup>7</sup> [F]ara: K and L, *sara*.

<sup>8</sup> *monastice*: L, *monachice*; Bede, Ms. C, *monasticae*, other Mss. *monachicae*.

<sup>9</sup> *in cale* in L; *nicale* in K.

<sup>10</sup> *m* of *monasterio* has been altered in K.

<sup>11</sup> *oswaldus* in L; *oswandus* in K.

<sup>12</sup> *paganoque* in L; *paganorumque* in K.

<sup>13</sup> *predecessor*: Bede, *prodecessor*.

<sup>14</sup> li[n]gua: L, *lingua*.

<sup>15</sup> *nunc[u]patur*: K, *nuncipatur*; L wrote *nuncupatus*, and corrected it to *nuncupatur*, but without deleting *us*.

<sup>16</sup> *maserfeld* in L; *in aserfeld* in K.

etatis sue xxxv[iii], die<sup>1</sup> quinto mensis Augusti. | Sus- III 14  
cepit regni terrestris sedem pro eo frater ejus Oswinus,<sup>2</sup>  
juvenis xxx circiter annorum, et per annos viginti et  
octo labor[i]osissime<sup>3</sup> tenuit.

Anno dextliiii, reverentissimus pater<sup>4</sup> Paulinus, quondam  
quidem Eboracensis set tunc Rofensis episcopus civitatis,  
transivit ad dominum, sexto iduum Octobrium die.  
Qui xix annis, mensibus duobus, diebus<sup>5</sup> xxi, episco-  
p[at]um tenuit; sepultusque est in secretario beati  
Andree apostoli. In cujus locum Honorius archiepiscopus  
ordinavit Ythamar,<sup>6</sup> oriundum quidem de gente Can-  
tuariorum, set vita et eruditione antecessoribus suis  
equandum.

Anno deli, occisus est Oswinus rex, | xiii kalendarum Sep- V 24 III 14  
tembrium die, anno regni ejus nono, in loco qui dicitur  
In Ge[tl]ingum.<sup>7</sup> Set et antistes Aidanus non plus  
quam xii post occisionem regis quem amabat dies,<sup>8</sup> id est  
pridie kal. Septembris, de seculo sublatu<sup>9</sup> perpetua  
laborum suorum á domino premia recepit.

Anno deliii, Honorius archiepiscopus, postquam metas III 20  
sui cursus implevit, ex hac luce migravit, pridie kalen-  
darum Octobrium die. Et cessante episcopatu per  
annum et sex menses, electus est archiepiscopus cathedre  
Dorvernensis sextus Deusdedit,<sup>10</sup> de gente occidentalium

<sup>1</sup> xxxv[iii], die: K and L, xxxv in die.

<sup>2</sup> Oswinus: read Oswiu.

<sup>3</sup> labor[i]osissime: L, laboriosissime.

<sup>4</sup> pater is repeated in L.

<sup>5</sup> annis . . . diebus: Bede, annos, menses duos, dies.

<sup>6</sup> Ythamar: L, ytamar. So also below.

<sup>7</sup> ingetlingum in L; ingedingum in K.

<sup>8</sup> xii . . . dies: Bede, XII<sup>o</sup> . . . die.

<sup>9</sup> sublatus: K, sublimatus, with *im* deleted by a line; L, sullatus.  
Bede, Ms. C, sublatus; other Mss., ablatus.

<sup>10</sup> Deusdedit: K, deus dedit. In L, a fine line joining *s* and *d* shows  
that the name is written as one word. In L, *u* is written above  
the line, by the text hand.

Saxonum. Quem ordinaturus<sup>1</sup> venit illuc Ythamar antistes ecclesie Rofensis. Ordinatus est autem die vii kalendarum Aprilis, et rexit ecclesiam annis ix et mensibus quatuor<sup>2</sup> et duobus diebus.<sup>3</sup> Et ipso defuncto,<sup>4</sup> Ythamar consecravit pro eo Damianum, qui de genere australium Saxonum erat oriundus. | Midelang[l]i,<sup>5</sup> id est mediter[r]anei Angli, sub principe Peada filio Penda regis fidem et sacramenta veritatis perceperunt.

V 24 Anno dclv, Penda periit,<sup>6</sup> et Mere[i]i facti sunt Christiani.

Anno dclix, Wlfher[e]<sup>7</sup> filius Penda[n] sublevatus<sup>8</sup> est in regnum Merciorum, regnavitque decem et septem annis.<sup>9</sup>

III 27 Anno dclxiiii, facta est<sup>10</sup> eclipsis solis, die tercio<sup>11</sup> mensis Maii, hora circiter decima diei. Quo etiam anno subita

<sup>1</sup> In L, *i* of *ordinaturus* is written above the line by the text hand.

<sup>2</sup> *quatuor*: L, *iiii*.

<sup>3</sup> *annis . . . diebus*: Bede, *annos . . . menses . . . duos dies*.

<sup>4</sup> *ipso defuncto*: Both K and L have a colon after *defuncto*, clearly understanding Ythamar to be the subject of the sentence. Bede, i, p. 169, *ipse, defuncto Ithamar, consecravit*.

<sup>5</sup> *Midelang[l]i*: L, *Midelangli*.

<sup>6</sup> *Penda periit*: so Bede, in most Mss. Bede Ms. C, *penda rex merciorum occisus est*. Plummer does not here give the readings of Ms. D etc., which belong to the C-group, and with which the source of the Chronicle of Holyrood was closely connected. But two British Museum manuscripts (Harleian 4124, and Additional 25,014), classed by Plummer as of the D-group, have the reading *Penda periit*. See above, pp. 11-12.

<sup>7</sup> *wlfhere* in L; *wlfherc* in K.

<sup>8</sup> *sublevatus*: L, *sullevatus*.

<sup>9</sup> This annal appears in Bede, Ms. C, as an addition, and in the D and W groups of Mss. related to C; it does not occur in other Mss. of Bede. See Plummer, Bede, i, p. 354, note. In Bede, the date is 658. The facts with which the Chronicle of Holyrood fills out the annal are derived from Bede, III 24.

<sup>10</sup> *est* is repeated in L. Bede, *erat*.

<sup>11</sup> *tercio*: In both manuscripts there is a wider space between the first and second *i* of *iii*<sup>o</sup> than between the second and third; as if each writer were closely copying his source, and in doubt whether it read *ui*.

pestilentie lues, depopula[tis]<sup>1</sup> prius australibus Britannie plagis, Northamhimbrorum quoque provinciam corripuens atque acerba clade diutius<sup>2</sup> longe lateque descivens, magnam hominum multitudinem stravit. He[c]<sup>3</sup> plaga Hiberniam quoque insulam pari clade premebat. |  
<sup>4</sup> Deusdedit sextus Dorvernensis æcclesie<sup>5</sup> episcopus IV 1 obiit, pridie ydum Juliarum. Set et Erchonbertus rex Cantuariorum, eodem mense ac die defunctus, Etberto<sup>6</sup> filio ejus sedem regni<sup>7</sup> reliquit, quam ille susceptam per xix<sup>8</sup> annos tenuit. | Colman<sup>9</sup> cum Scottis ad suos V 24 reversus est, et Cedda et<sup>10</sup> Wilfridus Northamhimbrorum ordinantur episcopi, | cessante<sup>11</sup> episcopatu Dorvernensis ecclesie non paucio<sup>12</sup> tempore.

Anno dclxviii, Theodorus monachus natus Tarso Cili[c]ie,<sup>13</sup> vir et seculari et divine<sup>14</sup> litterature et Grece et Latine instructus, probus moribus et etate venerandus, id est annos habens etatis quadraginta et sex,<sup>15</sup> ordinatus est Dorvernensis episcopus á Vitaliano papa, sub die vii kalendarum Aprilium dominica; et ita una cum

<sup>1</sup> *depopula[tis]*: K and L, *depopulans*.

<sup>2</sup> In L, the first *i* of *diutius* is written above the line.

<sup>3</sup> *He[c]*: K and L, *Hee*.

<sup>4</sup> Bede, in IV 1, gives no year-number, but says that Deusdedit and Eorconbeorht died in the year of the eclipse and pestilence, i.e. 664. But the chronicle may take the year of their deaths from Bede's Recapitulatio, in V 24, where Eorconbeorht's death is placed under 664.

<sup>5</sup> *æcclesie*: L, *ecclesie*.

<sup>6</sup> *Etberto*: read *Ecberto*, representing Bede's *Ecgebercto*.

<sup>7</sup> *regni* is repeated in L.

<sup>8</sup> *xix*: Bede Mss. C and B have the same number, in both corrected from *novem*; other Mss. read *viii*. See Plummer, Bede, i, p. 201, note.

<sup>9</sup> *Colman*: K, *Colma*<sup>n</sup>, the bar possibly deleted.

<sup>10</sup> *et*: Bede, *ac*.

<sup>11</sup> In L, *Cessa* of *Cessante* is written with a finer pen, possibly by the text hand.

<sup>12</sup> In K, *u* of *paucio* is corrected from *c*.

<sup>13</sup> *cilicie* in L; *cilitie* in K.

<sup>14</sup> *divine*: L, *divinæ*. Bede reads *divina litteratura*.

<sup>15</sup> *quadraginta et sex*: K and L, *xl et vi*; Bede, *LX et VI*.

IV 2 so[c]iis,<sup>1</sup> vi kal. Junii, missus est. | Pervenit autem Theodorus ad æcclesiam<sup>2</sup> suam, secundo postquam consecratus est anno, sub die vi kalendarum Juniarum dominica, et fecit in ea annos viginti et unum, menses iii, dies xxvi.

IV 5 Anno delxx, qui est secundus annus ex quo Britanniam venit Theodorus,<sup>3</sup> Oswinus<sup>4</sup> rex Northamhimbrorum<sup>5</sup> pressus<sup>6</sup> est infirmitate qua et mortuus est, anno etatis sue lviii.<sup>7</sup> Qui in tantum eo tempore tenebatur amore Romane et apostolice institutionis, ut si ab infirmitate salvaretur, etiam Romam venire ibique ad loca sancta vitam finire d[is]poneret,<sup>8</sup> Wilfridumque episcopum ducem sibi itineris fieri, promissa non parva pecuniarum donatione, rogaret. Qui defunctus die quinto<sup>9</sup> kalendarum Marciarum Egfridum filium regni heredem reliquit.

V 24 IV 5 Anno delxxiii, Egbertus rex Cantuariorum obiit | mense Julio, successitque in regnum frater<sup>10</sup> ejus Lothere, V 24 quod ipse annos xi et menses vii tenuit. | Et synodus IV 5 facta est ad Hereford,<sup>11</sup> | die vicesimo quarto mensis V 24 Septembris,<sup>12</sup> | presente Egfrido rege, presidente archiepiscopo Theodoro.<sup>13</sup>

Anno delxxv, Wlphere Mer[c]iorum<sup>14</sup> rex, postquam [decem et septem]<sup>15</sup> annos regnaverat, defunctus est, Ethilredo fratri suo relinquens imperium.

<sup>1</sup> *sociis* in L; *sotiis* in K. Bede reads *cum Hadriano*.

<sup>2</sup> *æcclesiam*: L, *ecclesiam*.

<sup>3</sup> *Theodorus*: L, *teodorus*.

<sup>4</sup> *Oswinus*: read *Oswiu*.

<sup>5</sup> *Northamhimbrorum*: L, *nothanhimbrorum*.

<sup>6</sup> *pressus*: L, *pressu*.

<sup>7</sup> *lviii*: L, *lviii*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> *disponeret* in L; *deponeret* in K.

<sup>9</sup> *quinto*: Bede, XV.

<sup>10</sup> *successitque . . . frater*: Bede, *succedente . . . fratre*.

<sup>11</sup> *Hereford*: Bede, *Herutforda* and *Herudforda*, i.e. Hertford.

<sup>12</sup> The date of the council of Hertford is taken from the decrees of the council given by Bede, IV 5.

<sup>13</sup> *Theodoro*: L, *teodoro*.

<sup>14</sup> *merciorum* in L; *mertiorum* in K.

<sup>15</sup> [*decem et septem*]: *x et vii* in L; *xviii* in K.

Anno dclxxvi, Ethelredus rex Merciorum, adducto maligno IV 12 exercitu, Cantiam vastavit, et ecclesias et<sup>1</sup> monasteria sine respectu divini timoris fedavit. | Eodem anno insulam Pharne<sup>2</sup> vir domini Cuthbertus [intravit], et Nero A ii, fo. 87 per ix annos mira animi alacritate domino militabat.<sup>3</sup>

Anno dclxxviii, qui est annus imperii Egfridi viii, apparuit Bede, Hist., IV 12 mense Augusto stella que dicitur cometa; et tribus mensibus permanens matutinis horis oriebatur, excelsa[m] radiantis flam[m]e<sup>4</sup> quasi columpnam preferens. Quo etiam anno, orta inter ipsum regem Egfridum et reverentissimum antistitem Wilfridum dissensione, pulsus est idem antistes á sede sui episcopatus; | et pro eo Bosa, V 24 & IV 12 Eatha, et Eaded, ordinati<sup>5</sup> sunt antist[it]es<sup>6</sup> á Theodoro archiepiscopo.<sup>7</sup>

Anno dclxxix, | anno regni Egfridi<sup>9</sup> nono, conserto gravi V 24 IV 19[21]<sup>8</sup> prelio inter ipsum et Ethelredum<sup>10</sup> regem Merciorum juxta fluvium Trente, occisus est Elwinus<sup>11</sup> frater regis Egfridi, juvenis<sup>12</sup> circiter xviii annorum utrique provincie

<sup>1</sup> *et*: Bede, *ac*.

<sup>2</sup> *Pharne*: L, *farne*.

<sup>3</sup> This is the first of several passages concerning St Cuthbert; compare below, 685, 687, 1069, 1104. All but the last of these passages are taken from the *Brevis Relatio de Sancto Cuthberto*, a twelfth-century work compiled from various known sources. The text with which I have compared the Chronicle of Holyrood is that of the British Museum manuscript, Cotton Nero A ii. For a printed text, see Hinde's edition of Simeon of Durham, pp. 224-225. See above, pp. 13-14.

<sup>4</sup> *excelsa[m] . . . flam[m]e*: K, *excelsa . . . flamme*; L, *excelsa . . . flamme*.

<sup>5</sup> In K, *ordinati* is written apparently over a flaw or erasure.

<sup>6</sup> *antist[it]es*: L, *antistites*.

<sup>7</sup> *et pro . . . archiepiscopo*: This is a composite passage, of words taken from Bede, IV 12 and V 24.

<sup>8</sup> For the numbering of the chapters of Bede, here and below, see Plummer, Bede, i, pp. xciv, 232-233.

<sup>9</sup> In K, *fri of egfridi* is added above the line.

<sup>10</sup> *Ethelredum*: L, *etelredum*.

<sup>11</sup> *Elwinus*: for Bede's *Aelfuini*.

<sup>12</sup> *juvenis*: L, *juenis*.



multum amabilis. Nam et sororem ejus que dicebatur Ostridh'<sup>1</sup> rex Eailredus habebat uxorem. [Cum]<sup>2</sup> materies belli acrioris et inimicitie<sup>3</sup> inter<sup>4</sup> reges populosque feroces videretur exorta, Theodorus<sup>5</sup> deo dilectus<sup>6</sup> antistes divino functus auxilio salutifera exortatione<sup>7</sup> ceptum tanti periculi funditus extinguit incendium; adeo ut, placatis<sup>8</sup> alterutrum regibus ac populis, nullius anima hominis pro interfecto regis fratre, set debita tantummodo<sup>9</sup> multa pecunie, regi ultori daretur. Cujus federa pacis multo exinde tempore inter eosdem reges eorumque<sup>10</sup> regna durarunt.

- V 24 Anno dclxxx, sinodus [f]acta<sup>11</sup> est in campo Hetfelda de fide catholica, presidente archiepiscopo Theodoro,<sup>12</sup> in quo affuit Johannes abbas Romanus. Facta est synodus  
 IV 15[17] sub die xv kal.<sup>13</sup> Octobris, anno decimo<sup>14</sup> Egfridi regis Humbronensium, Ethilredi<sup>15</sup> regis Mercinensium sexto, et Aldulfi<sup>16</sup> regis Estanglorum<sup>17</sup> decimo septimo, et  
 V 24 Lotarii regis Cantuariorum vii<sup>18</sup> anno regni ejus.<sup>19</sup> | Quo

<sup>1</sup> Ostridh': L, ostridh; Bede, Ms. C, osthryð.

<sup>2</sup> Cum in L; Nam in K.

<sup>3</sup> inimicitie: L, inimicie.

<sup>4</sup> inter: K, interi, with i deleted by a point.

<sup>5</sup> Theodorus: L, teodorus.

<sup>6</sup> There is a hole in the parchment of K, extending through two lines, from *dilectus* to *periculi*.

<sup>7</sup> exortatione: L, exhortacione.

<sup>8</sup> placatis: Bede, pacatis.

<sup>9</sup> tantummodo: Bede, solummodo. K writes an unnecessary o above the n.

<sup>10</sup> In L, *que* of *eorumque* is added above the line.

<sup>11</sup> [f]acta: K, sc<sup>a</sup> (i.e. *sancta*).

<sup>12</sup> Theodoro: L, teodoro.

<sup>13</sup> kal.: L, kalendarum.

<sup>14</sup> decimo: L, x.

<sup>15</sup> Ethilredi: L, etilredi.

<sup>16</sup> In L, the second l of *aldulfi* has been altered from i.

<sup>17</sup> Estanglorum: Bede, Estranglorum.

<sup>18</sup> vii: L, vii<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> This passage, dating the council of Hatfield, is adapted from the beginning of the synodal letter quoted by Bede.

etiam anno | religiosa<sup>1</sup> Christi famula Hilda, abbatissa IV 21[23] monasterii quod dicitur Streneshalch, post multa que fecit in terris opera celestia, ad percipienda premia vite celestis de terris ablata transivit, die xv kal.<sup>2</sup> Decembrium, cum esset annorum lxvi; quibus equa partitione<sup>3</sup> divisus,<sup>4</sup> xxxiii primo[s] in seculari habitu nobilissime conversata complevit, et totidem sequentes nobiliter in monach[ica]<sup>5</sup> vita domino consecravat. Nobilis etiam natu erat: hoc est filia nepotis Edwini regis, vocabulo Hereric.

Anno dclxxxiii<sup>o</sup>, Egfridus rex Northamhimbriorum, misso IV 24[26] Hiberniam<sup>6</sup> exercitu cum<sup>7</sup> duce Berchto, vastavit misere gentem innoxiam et nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam, ita ut ne ecclesiis quidem aut monasteriis manus parceret hostilis.

Anno dclxxxv,<sup>8</sup> Egfridus<sup>9</sup> rex, cum temere<sup>10</sup> exercitum duxisset ad vastandam Pictorum provinciam, multis<sup>11</sup> prohibentibus amicis et maxime beate memorie Cuthberto qui nuper fuerat ordinatus episcopus, introductus est simulantibus fugam hostibus in angustias inaccessorum<sup>12</sup> montium, et cum magna<sup>13</sup> parte copiarum quas secum adduxerat extinctus est, anno etatis sue xl, regni autem xv, die terciodecimo kalendarum Juniarum. Successit autem Egfrido in regnum Alfridus, vir in scripturis

<sup>1</sup> *religiosa*: so Bede, Ms. C; other Mss., *religiosissima*.

<sup>2</sup> *kal.*: L, *kalendarum*. <sup>3</sup> *partitione*: Bede, *partione*.

<sup>4</sup> *divisus*: K has an erroneous *us*-sign after the first *s*.

<sup>5</sup> *monachica* in L, as Bede; *monachali* in K.

<sup>6</sup> In L, there is a meaningless stroke between *h* and *i* of *hiberniam*.

<sup>7</sup> *exercitu cum*: Bede, *cum exercitu*.

<sup>8</sup> *Anno dclxxxv*: Bede, *anno post hunc proximo*; the date 685 is given later in the chapter, after *Quo videlicet anno* (see below). But the chronicle probably derives the year-number from Bede's Recapitulatio, in V 24.

<sup>9</sup> *Egfridus*: Bede, *idem*.

<sup>10</sup> In K, *temere* is erroneously written, as if *ten'ie*.

<sup>11</sup> *multis*: L, *mul-*, at the end of a line; *tis* is omitted. Bede, *multum*.

<sup>12</sup> In K, the first *s* in *inaccessorum* is added above the line.

<sup>13</sup> *magna*: Bede, *maxima*.

doctissim[us],<sup>1</sup> qui frater<sup>2</sup> ejus et filius Oswini<sup>3</sup> regis esse dicebatur; destructumque regni statutum,<sup>4</sup> quamvis intra fines angustiores, nobiliter recuperavit.<sup>5</sup> Quo videlicet anno Loterius Ca[n]tuariorum<sup>6</sup> rex, cum post Egbertum fratrem suum qui ix annis regnaverat ipse xii annis regnasset, mortuus est<sup>7</sup> viii iduum Februari[ar]um. Vulneratus namque est in pugna australium Saxonum quos contra eum Edricus filius Egberti aggregaverat,<sup>8</sup> et inter medendum defunctus; ac post eum idem Hedricus<sup>9</sup> anno uno ac dimidio regnavit. Quo defuncto, regnum aliquot temporis spacium reges dubii vel externi disperdiderunt,<sup>10</sup> donec legitimus rex Wichtredus, id est filius Egberti, confortatus in regno, religione simul et industria gentem suam ab extranea invasione liberaret. | Ipso etiam anno quo finem vite accepit rex Egfridus, episcopum fecerat ordinari Lindisfarnensium ecclesie virum sanctum et venerabilem Cuthbertum. | Ordinatus est autem Eborace<sup>11</sup> á Theodoro<sup>12</sup> Dorobernensi archiepiscopo, vii kal. Aprilis, ipso die pasche, convenientibus ad consecrationem ejus vii episcopis,<sup>13</sup> presente prefato rege Egfrido, quinto decimo anno regni ejus.<sup>14</sup>

IV 25[27]

Nero A ii, fo. 87

Bede, Hist., V 24 Anno dclxxxvii, Wilfridus, á sede repulsus ab Egfrido rege,<sup>15</sup> |<sup>1</sup> *doctissimus* in L; *doctissimis* in K.<sup>2</sup> In L, *f* of *frater* is altered from *s*.<sup>3</sup> *Oswini*: read, *Oswiu*.<sup>4</sup> *statutum*: Bede, *statum*.<sup>5</sup> *recuperavit* and *Egbertum*, in the first two lines of folio 6 verso, are written on both sides of a hole in the parchment of K.<sup>6</sup> *Ca[n]tuariorum*: L, *cantuariorum*.<sup>7</sup> *est*: Bede, *erat*.<sup>8</sup> *aggregaverat*: Bede, *adgregarat*.<sup>9</sup> *Hedricus*: L, *edricus*.<sup>10</sup> K writes *disperni* before *disperdiderunt*, erroneously.<sup>11</sup> *Eborace*: Nero A ii, *Eboraci*.<sup>12</sup> *Theodoro*: L, *teodoro*.<sup>13</sup> *episcopis*: L, *episcopopis*.<sup>14</sup> Compare years 676, 687, 1069, 1104; and pp. 13-14.<sup>15</sup> The words *Anno . . . rege*, from Bede V 24, are found only in Bede Mss. W, O<sub>2</sub>, O<sub>19</sub> (Plummer, Bede, i, p. 355). They are not, according to Plummer, in Ms. D. See above, p. 12.

post longum exilium in episcopatum Hagustaldensis V 3 ecclesie est receptus. Sanctus itaque Cuthbertus, sciens in spiritu appropinquare diem sui transitus, Nero A ii, fo. 88 repetiit [insulam]<sup>1</sup> mansionemque suam. Prima igitur ebdomada quadragesime, feria quarta, cepit egrotare; et rursus<sup>2</sup> quarta<sup>3</sup> feria post mediam quadragesimam, tribus continuis ebdomadibus in infirmitate decoctus, instante nocturne<sup>4</sup> orationis tempore, perceptis sacramentis salutaribus, xiii kal. Aprilis, migravit ad dominum, luna prima, anno episcopatus sui iii, anachoreseos xii,<sup>5</sup> monachatus sui xxx[vii],<sup>6</sup> ex quo autem rex Oswaldus et Aidanus episcopus pontificalem sedem in Lindisfarnea insula<sup>7</sup> instituerunt liiii.<sup>8</sup> Corpus illius ad beati Petri apostoli ecclesiam que in eadem insula est sita delatum est; ibique ad dexteram altaris petrino in sarcophago<sup>9</sup> repositum.<sup>10</sup>

Anno dclxxxviii, | anno autem regni Alfridi [tercio],<sup>11</sup> Bede, Hist., V 24 Cadwalla rex occidentalium Saxonum, cum genti sue V 7 duobus annis strenuissime preesset, relicto imperio propter dominum regnumque perpetuum, venit<sup>12</sup> Romam, [hoc]<sup>13</sup> sibi glorie singularis desiderans adipisci, ut ad limina beatorum apostolorum fonte baptismatis ablueretur, in quo solo didicerat<sup>14</sup> generi humano patere vite

<sup>1</sup> *insulam* is supplied from L.

<sup>2</sup> *rursus*: Hinde's text, by an error, reads *reversus*.

<sup>3</sup> *quarta*: L, *iiii*.

<sup>4</sup> In K, *c* of *nocturne* is added above the line.

<sup>5</sup> *xii*: Nero A ii reads *tercio decimo*.

<sup>6</sup> *xxxvii* in L, altered from *xxxiiii*, probably by the text hand. K reads *xxxiiii*.

<sup>7</sup> In L, a hyphen after *lindisfarnea* connects it with *insula* in the following line.

<sup>8</sup> *liiii*: L, *liiii*<sup>o</sup>. Nero A ii reads *quingagesimo tercio*.

<sup>9</sup> *sarcophago*: L, *sarcófago*.

<sup>10</sup> Compare 676, 685, 1069, 1104; and pp. 13-14.

<sup>11</sup> [*tercio*]: L, *iii*<sup>o</sup>; K, *quarto*.

<sup>12</sup> In L, *i* of *venit* is added above the line, by the text hand.

<sup>13</sup> *hoc* is supplied from L.

<sup>14</sup> In K, the second *d* of *didicerat* is erroneously written *δ*.

celestis introitum; simul etiam sperans quia mox baptizatus, carne solutus, ad eterna gaudia jam mundus transiret; quod jam<sup>1</sup> utrumque ut mente<sup>2</sup> disposuerat, domino juvante,<sup>3</sup> co[m]pletum<sup>4</sup> est. Etenim illo perveniens, pontificatum agente Sergio, baptizatus est, die sancto sabbati paschalis, et in albis adhuc positus, languore<sup>5</sup> correptus, xii kalendarum Maiarum die, solutus á carne, et beatorum est regno sociatus in celis. Qui vixit ann[o]s<sup>6</sup> xxx, imperante domino Justiniano piissimo Augusto, anno consulatus ejus quarto.<sup>7</sup> Successit in regnum Yne de stirpe regia, tenuitque imperium xxxvii<sup>8</sup> annis.

V 8 Anno dcx[c],<sup>9</sup> Theodorus<sup>10</sup> beate memorie archiepiscopus senex et plenus dierum, [id est]<sup>11</sup> annorum lxxxviii, defunctus est; quem se numerum annorum fuisse habiturum, jam dudum sompni revelatione ed[o]ctus,<sup>12</sup> suis predicare<sup>13</sup> solebat. Mansit autem in episcopatu<sup>14</sup> annis xxii, sepultusque<sup>15</sup> in ecclesia sancti Petri in qua omnium episcoporum Dorobernensium sunt corpora deposita. De quo uná cum consortibus<sup>16</sup> ejusdem sui

<sup>1</sup> *jam* is omitted by L.

<sup>2</sup> In K, *t* of *mente* is corrected from *d*.

<sup>3</sup> *juvante*: L, *juante*.

<sup>4</sup> *co[m]pletum*: L, *completum*.

<sup>5</sup> *languore*: L, *langore*.

<sup>6</sup> *annos* in L; *annis* in K.

<sup>7</sup> This sentence is an imperfect quotation from Ceadwalla's epitaph given by Bede. It omits the necessary verb *depositus est*.

<sup>8</sup> *xxxvii*: L, *xxx septem*.

<sup>9</sup> *dcxc* in L; *dcxe* in K.

<sup>10</sup> *Theodorus*: L, *teodorus*.

<sup>11</sup> *id est* is supplied from L.

<sup>12</sup> *edoctus* in L; *eductus* in K.

<sup>13</sup> *predicare*: so Bede, Ms. C; other Mss., *predicere*.

<sup>14</sup> *episcopatu*: L, *episcoatu*.

<sup>15</sup> In K, an acute accent stands after the *us*-sign of *sepultusque* (see above, p. 58).

<sup>16</sup> In K, *o~s* of *consortibus* is corrected from *o~r*. In L, *suis* is written after *consortibus*, and deleted with underlining.

gradus recte ac veraciter<sup>1</sup> dici potest quod<sup>2</sup> corpora eorum<sup>3</sup> in pace sepulta sunt, et nomen eorum vivet in generationes et generationes. Ut enim [breviter] dicam, tantum profect[us]<sup>4</sup> spiritalis, tempore presulatus [illius],<sup>5</sup> Anglorum<sup>6</sup> ecclesie,<sup>7</sup> quantum nunquam<sup>8</sup> antea potuere, ceperunt.

Anno dexcii, successit Theodoro in episcopatum Berchtwald, qui erat abbas<sup>9</sup> in monasterio quod, juxta hostium<sup>10</sup> aquilon[al]e<sup>11</sup> fluminis Genlade positum, Racwlfus<sup>12</sup> nuncupatur<sup>13</sup>; vir et ipse scientia scripturarum imbutus set et ecclesiasticis sim[ul]<sup>14</sup> ac monasterialibus disciplin[is]<sup>15</sup> summe instructus, tametsi predecessori<sup>16</sup> suo minime comparandus. Qui electus est quidem in episcopatum die primo mensis Julii, regnantibus in Cantia Wichtredo et Suefhardo. Ordinatus est<sup>17</sup> autem anno sequente, tertia<sup>18</sup> die kalendarum Juliarum dominica, á Godwino<sup>19</sup> metropolitano episcopo Galliarum; et sedit in sede<sup>20</sup> sua ii kalendarum Septembrium<sup>21</sup> die<sup>22</sup> dominica. Qui inter

<sup>1</sup> *veraciter* : L, *veratiter*.

<sup>2</sup> *quod* : Bede, *quia*.

<sup>3</sup> *eorum* : Bede, *ipsorum*.

<sup>4</sup> *profect[us]* : K and L, *profecto*.

<sup>5</sup> *illius* is supplied from L.

<sup>6</sup> *Anglorum* : K, *angl'orum*.

<sup>7</sup> In K, a fine line is drawn through the words *presulatus* to *ecclesie*; perhaps by a later hand.

<sup>8</sup> *nunquam* : L, *nuncquam*.

<sup>9</sup> *abbas* : K, *abb'as*.

<sup>10</sup> *hostium* : i.e. *ostium*.

<sup>11</sup> *aquilon[al]e* : L, *aquilonale*.

<sup>12</sup> *Racwlfus* : Bede, *Racuulfe*, i.e. *Reculver*.

<sup>13</sup> *nuncupatur* : L, *nuncupatur*.

<sup>14</sup> *simul* in L; *simil'* in K.

<sup>15</sup> *disciplinis* in L; *discipline* in K.

<sup>16</sup> *predecessori* : L, *predecessori*.

<sup>17</sup> *est* in Bede Ms. C; omitted in other Bede Mss.

<sup>18</sup> *tercia* : Bede, *tertio*.

<sup>19</sup> *Godwino* : so Bede Ms. C; other Mss., *Godwine*.

<sup>20</sup> *in sede* is repeated in L.

<sup>21</sup> *septembrium* in L; *septeimbrium* in K.

<sup>22</sup> *ii . . . die* : Bede, *pridie* . . . .



V 24 multos quos ordinavit antist[it]es,<sup>1</sup> etiam Ge[f]mundo<sup>2</sup> Rofensis æcclesie<sup>3</sup> presule defuncto Tobiam pro illo consecravit, virum Latina lingua et Greca et Saxonica atque eruditione multipliciter instructum.<sup>4</sup> | <sup>5</sup>Wilfridus ab Alfrido rege iterum expulsus est, et xiii annis<sup>6</sup> exulabat; et prim[o]<sup>7</sup> Romam adiit, et inde rediit, et in mediter[r]aneorum Anglorum<sup>8</sup> regione morabatur. Multaque diu loca pervagatus Romam adiit. Britan[n]iam<sup>9</sup> rediit, divertens ad australium Saxonum pagano adhuc cultura dediti<sup>10</sup>; ibi<sup>11</sup> in illa patria per v annos docebat evangelium.<sup>12</sup>

Anno dcciii,<sup>13</sup> Æthelredus, postquam xxx<sup>14</sup> annis<sup>15</sup> Merciorum<sup>16</sup> genti prefuit, monachus factus Coenredo regnum dedit.

<sup>1</sup> antist[it]es: L, antistites.

<sup>2</sup> Gefmundo in L; Gesmundo in K, with *s* written as in *st*-ligature. Bede, Gebmundo.

<sup>3</sup> æcclesie: L, ecclesie.

<sup>4</sup> instructum: L has an unnecessary *us*-sign after the second *t*.

<sup>5</sup> Wilfridus . . . evangelium is peculiar to the group of Bede Mss. D, W, etc. (Plummer, Bede, i, p. 355). Wilfridus is given by Plummer in square brackets. In the Coupar Ms. of Bede (Vatican Ms. Reg. Lat. 694), which Plummer does not cite, Wilfridus is placed, by transposition signs, after *expulsus est*. See above, p. 12.

In L, Wilfridus is corrected from Wilfridum.

<sup>6</sup> annis: Bede, annos.

<sup>7</sup> prim[o]: K and L, prima.

<sup>8</sup> L has a half-formed abbreviation-sign on the *l* of *anglorum*.

<sup>9</sup> Britan[n]iam: L, britanniam.

<sup>10</sup> australium . . . dediti: This passage is corrupt. It has the same form in Bede Mss. of the group in which it occurs. The Coupar Ms. of Bede agrees with the intelligible reading of O<sub>19</sub>, a twelfth-century Ms. of the W-group (Plummer, Bede, i, p. cxii).

<sup>11</sup> ibi: so Bede, Mss. D and O<sub>9</sub> (a late Ms. of the D-group); other Mss. cited by Plummer, *illis*. Coupar Ms. of Bede, *ibi*.

<sup>12</sup> evangelium: L, ewangelium.

<sup>13</sup> dcciii: so Bede, Mss. D, W, etc.; other Mss., DCCIIII.

<sup>14</sup> xxx: so Bede, Ms. C; other Mss., XXXI.

<sup>15</sup> annis: Bede, annos.

<sup>16</sup> merciorum in L; mertiorum in K.

Anno dcev, Alfridus rex Norhamhimbrorum defunctus est,  
 | anno regni sui vicesimo needum impleto, cui succedens V 18  
 in imperium filius suus Osred, puer viii circiter annorum,  
 regnavit annis xi. | <sup>1</sup> Et Wilfridus episcopus in suam V 24  
 receptus <sup>2</sup> est sedem, et iiii <sup>3</sup> annos, id est usque ad diem  
 obitus sui, vita[m] <sup>4</sup> duxit in pace, sicque eximius virtute <sup>5</sup>  
 venerabilis vi[c]tor <sup>6</sup> con[s]cendit <sup>7</sup> Alti tronum, | anno V 19, p. 322  
 xlv <sup>8</sup> accepti ep[iscop]atus, <sup>9</sup> corpusque ejus perlatum est  
 in monasterium ipsius quod dicitur <sup>10</sup> Ripum, <sup>11</sup> et juxta  
 honorem tanto pontifici congruum in ecclesia beati  
 apostoli Petri sepultum.

Anno dcccviii, <sup>12</sup> imperii autem regis Osredi quarto, Coenred p. 321  
 qui regno Mer[c]iorum <sup>13</sup> nobilissime tempore aliquanto  
 prefuerat nobilius multo regni scepra <sup>14</sup> reliquid. <sup>15</sup> Nam  
 venit Romam, ibidem <sup>16</sup> attonsus, pontificatum habente

<sup>1</sup> *Et Wilfridus . . . tronum*: This passage is peculiar to Bede Mss. D, W, etc. (Plummer, Bede, i, p. 356).

<sup>2</sup> *receptus*: K, *recepptus*.

<sup>3</sup> In K, iiii appears to be altered from iii.

<sup>4</sup> *vita[m]*: L, *vitam*.

<sup>5</sup> *virtute*: so most of the Bede Mss. that contain this passage. Bede Ms. D. *vir virtute*. The Coupar Ms. of Bede, agreeing with O<sub>19</sub>, *vir vile* (cf. note at 692, above).

<sup>6</sup> *victor* in L; *vittor* in K.

<sup>7</sup> *con[s]cendit*: L, *conscendit*.

<sup>8</sup> *anno xlv*: Bede, *post XL et V annos*.

<sup>9</sup> *ep[iscop]atus*: L, *episcopatus*.

<sup>10</sup> In L, the second *i* of *dicitur* is added above the line.

<sup>11</sup> *Ripum*: Bede, *Inhrypum* (i.e. Ripon).

<sup>12</sup> *dcccviii*: The year is not given in Bede V 19. In the Recapitulatio (V 24) it is given as 709; but that annal is wanting in the group of Mss. C, D, W, etc., to which the source of the Chronicle of Holyrood belonged. The date 708 may have been deduced from the words *Anno . . . Osredi quarto* and Bede's statement in his preceding chapter that Osred succeeded in 705. Osred's fourth year would be 708-709.

<sup>13</sup> *merciorum* in L; *meritiorum* in K.

<sup>14</sup> K wrote and deleted an unnecessary *a* after *scepra*.

<sup>15</sup> In L, the second *i* of *reliquid* is added above the line, by the text hand.

<sup>16</sup> *ibidem*: Bede, *ibique*.



Constantino, ac monachus factus, ad limina apostolorum in precibus jejuniis et elemosinis usque ad diem permansit ultimum; succedente<sup>1</sup> Coelredo<sup>2</sup> filio Ethlredi in regnum, qui ante ipsum Coenredum idem regnum tenebat.

V 24 Anno dccxi, Bert[f]rihtus<sup>3</sup> prefectus cum Pictis pugnavit.

Anno dccxvi, Osred rex Norhamhimbrorum interfectus est, et Coenred successit<sup>4</sup>; et rex Merciorum Ceolred defunctus est; et vir domini Egbertus Hienses<sup>5</sup> monachos ad catholicum pasc[a]<sup>6</sup> et ecclesiasticam correxit<sup>7</sup> tonsuram.

V 23 Anno dccxxv, qui erat annus septimus Osrici regis qui Coenredo successerat, Wihtredus filius Egberti rex Cantuariorum defunctus est, ix die kalendarum Maiarum, et regni quod per triginta quatuor<sup>8</sup> semis annos tenebat filios tres, Ælbertum, [Eadbertum,]<sup>9</sup> et Alfricum,<sup>10</sup> reliquid heredes. Anno quoque proximo Tobias Rofensis ecclesie presul defunctus est, vir ut supra memini[m]us<sup>11</sup> doctissimus. Erat enim discipulus beate memorie magistrorum Theodori archiepiscopi et abbatis Adriani, unde [ut]<sup>12</sup> dictum est, cum eruditione litterarum vel ecclesiasticarum vel generalium, ita Grecam quoque cum Latina didicit linguam ut tam notas ac<sup>13</sup> familiares sibi eas quam nativitatibus sue haberet loquelam. Sepultus

<sup>1</sup> In K, *succedente* is corrected from *succedende*.

<sup>2</sup> *Coelredo*: read *Ceolredo*.

<sup>3</sup> *Bert[f]rihtus*: K and L, *bertsrihtus*.

<sup>4</sup> Coenred's succession appears to be taken from Bede V 22.

<sup>5</sup> *Hienses*: K and L, *hienenses*.

<sup>6</sup> *pasc[a]*: K and L, *pasce*.

<sup>7</sup> *correxit*: K, *correxit*.

<sup>8</sup> *triginta quatuor*: L, *xxxi*.

<sup>9</sup> *Eadbertum* is supplied from L.

<sup>10</sup> *Alfricum*: Bede, *Alricum*.

<sup>11</sup> *meminimus* in L; *meminius* in K.

<sup>12</sup> *ut* is supplied from L.

<sup>13</sup> In K, the *a* of *ac* is erroneously written, as if the scribe had begun to write an *st*-ligature.

vero est in porticu sancti Pauli apostoli, quam intra<sup>1</sup> ecclesiam sancti Andree<sup>2</sup> sibi ipse in locum sepulture<sup>3</sup> fecerat. Post quod<sup>4</sup> episcopatus officium Aldulfus,<sup>5</sup> Berhtwaldo archiepiscopo consecrante, suscepit.

Anno dcccxxix, apparuerunt comete due circa solem, multum intuentibus terrorem incutientes; una quippe solem precedebat mane orientem, altera vespere sequebatur occidentem, qua[si]<sup>6</sup> orienti simul et occidenti dire cladis presage; vel certe una diei, altera noctis, precurrebat exortum,<sup>7</sup> ut utroque tempore mala mortalibus imminere signarent. Portabant autem faciem<sup>8</sup> ignis contra aquilonem, quasi ad accendendum adclinem. Apparebant mense Januario, et du[a]bus<sup>9</sup> ferme septimanis permanebant. Quo tempore gravissima Saracenorum lues Gallias misera cede vastabat; et ipsi non multo post in eadem provincia dignas sue perfidie penas luebant. Quo anno vir domini Egbertus ipso die pasche, | viii kal. V 22 Maii, | migravit ad dominum; et mox peracto pascha, V 23 hoc est vii idus Maii,<sup>10</sup> Osricus rex Norhanhinbrorum<sup>11</sup> vita [de]cessit,<sup>12</sup> cum ipse regni quod xi anni[s]<sup>13</sup> gubernabat successorem pro eo<sup>14</sup> Ceo[l]ulfum<sup>15</sup> decrevisset, fratrem illius qui ante se regnaverat Coenredi regis. Cujus regni et principia et processus tot ac tantis redundavére rerum adversantium motibus ut quid de his

<sup>1</sup> *intra*: Bede, *intro*.

<sup>2</sup> In K, *Andree* is corrected from *Andrea*.

<sup>3</sup> *sepulture*: Bede, *sepulchri*.

<sup>4</sup> *quod*: Bede, *quem*.

<sup>5</sup> In K, the first *l* of *Aldulfus* is added above the line.

<sup>6</sup> *qua[si]*: L, *quasi*.

<sup>7</sup> In K, the *x* of *exortum* is added above the line.

<sup>8</sup> *faciem*: Bede, *facem*.

<sup>9</sup> *du[a]bus*: K and L, *duobus*.

<sup>10</sup> *idus Maii*: so Bede, Ms. C; other Mss., *Iduum Maiarum*.

<sup>11</sup> *Norhanhinbrorum*: L, *norhanhimbrorum*.

<sup>12</sup> *decessit* in L; *accessit* in K.

<sup>13</sup> *anni[s]*: L, *annis*.

<sup>14</sup> *pro eo*: Bede, *fore*.

<sup>15</sup> *Ceo[l]ulfum*: K and L, *ceonulfum*.

scribi debeat, quem[v]e<sup>1</sup> habitura [sint]<sup>2</sup> singula finem,  
necdum scire<sup>3</sup> valeat.

Anno dccxxxi<sup>0</sup>, Ber[ht]waldus<sup>4</sup> archiepiscopus, longa consumptus etate, defunctus est die [v]<sup>5</sup> iduum Januari[ar]um<sup>6</sup>; qui sedem annis xxxvii, mensibus vi, diebus xiiii, gubernabat.<sup>7</sup> Pro quo anno eodem factus est archiepiscopus vocabulo Tatwinus de provincia Merciorum. Consecratus est autem in Dorvernensi civitate á viris venerabilibus Daniele Ventano<sup>8</sup> et I[n]gwaldo Lundeniensi<sup>9</sup> et Aldulfo Rofensi antistitibus, die x J[u]nii<sup>10</sup> mensis dominica, vir religione et prudentia insignis, sacris quoque litteris nobiliter<sup>11</sup> instructus; anno adventus Anglorum<sup>12</sup> in Angliam<sup>13</sup> circiter cclxxxv.<sup>14</sup>

Bede, Hist. Cont., Anno dccxxx[iiii], eclipsis solis facta est xviii<sup>15</sup> kalendarum Septembrium circa horam diei terciam, ita ut pene totus orbis solis, quasi nigerrimo et horrendo sicut,<sup>16</sup> videretur<sup>17</sup> esse coopertus.

<sup>1</sup> quemve in L; quemne in K.

<sup>2</sup> sint is supplied from L.

<sup>3</sup> scire: Bede, sciri.

<sup>4</sup> Ber[ht]waldus: L, berhtwaldus.

<sup>5</sup> v is supplied from L. It occurs only in Bede Ms. C, and some Mss. related to C, including D. (Plummer, Bede, i, p. 349, note.)

<sup>6</sup> Januari[ar]um: L, januariarum.

<sup>7</sup> sedem . . . gubernabat: Bede, sedit annos XXXVII, menses VI, dies XIII.

<sup>8</sup> Ventano: L, wentano.

<sup>9</sup> After Lundeniensi, the chronicle omits Bede's et Alduino Lyccitfeldensi.

<sup>10</sup> junii in L; itinii in K.

<sup>11</sup> In K, nobiliter is corrected from nobiter.

<sup>12</sup> Anglorum: L, angl'orum.

<sup>13</sup> Angliam: Bede, Brittaniam.

<sup>14</sup> K wrote and deleted with a point a third c in cclxxxv.

The words anno to cclxxxv are taken from the end of Bede's chapter, where they apply to the year 731, in which he wrote.

<sup>15</sup> xviii: so Bede, Mss. C, W, O<sub>2</sub> (which Plummer says is a transcript of W); other Mss., XVIII.

<sup>16</sup> sicut: so Bede, Mss. C, O<sub>2</sub>, D; most other Mss. cited by Plummer, scuto. Coupar Ms. of Bede, tegmine.

<sup>17</sup> videretur: so Bede in Plummer's text, apparently from Ms. C. Bede Mss. M, W, O<sub>2</sub>, videtur.

Anno dcccxxiiii,<sup>1</sup> luna sanguineo colore<sup>2</sup> perfusa quasi hora integra, ii kal. Februarii, circa gallicantum<sup>3</sup>; dehinc nigredine subsequente ad lucem primam<sup>4</sup> reversa<sup>5</sup> est. In eodem vero anno Tatwinus archiepiscopus et Beda doctor celi conscenderunt palatia.<sup>6</sup>

Anno ab incarnatione millesimo sexagesimo quinto, sanctus Eadwardus<sup>7</sup> rex filius Ethelredi regis et filius Emme filie Ricardi ducis Normannie et frater Eadmundi Irneside ex parte patris, exactis in regno viginti tribus annis et mensibus vi et xxvii<sup>8</sup> diebus, in vigilia<sup>9</sup> epiphanie felici morte vitam laudabilem terminavit; et secundo die Haraldus con-

<sup>1</sup> dcccxxiiii: Bede Mss. W, O<sub>2</sub>, DCCXXXIII<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> colore: Bede, rubore.

<sup>3</sup> K wrote, and deleted with a point, an *i* after *t* of gallicantum.

<sup>4</sup> primam: Bede, propriam.

<sup>5</sup> In Bede Ms. C, and some related Mss., the annals for 733 and 734, as far as *reversa*, are given at the end of the Recapitulatio, V 24, instead of in a continuation (Plummer, Bede, i, p. 356, note, and ii, p. 345).

<sup>6</sup> The deaths of Tatwine and Bede are not given in most Mss. of Bede's History. They are included in a Continuation to 766, which is in only three Mss. mentioned by Plummer: a late Ms. (British Museum Additional no. 10,949), from which he printed it; and two Phillipps Mss. which he had not seen. (See Plummer, Bede, i, pp. civ, 361; and Petrie, Monumenta Historica Britannica, p. 288.) This Continuation places Bede's death in 735. In entering both deaths under 734, the Chronicle of Holyrood agrees with the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles ABCDEF; see Plummer, Bede, i, pp. lxxi-lxxii. There is nothing to show whether they were in the Ms. of Bede which was a source of the Chronicle of Holyrood, or were added from some other source.

In both K and L the end of a line is left blank after *palatia*, and the following entry begins on a new line with, in L, a capital A larger than usual.

<sup>7</sup> Eadwardus: L, edwardus.

<sup>8</sup> xxvii: L, xx et vii.

<sup>9</sup> vigilia: 5 Jan. 1066. See p. 24.

secratus est in regem. <sup>1</sup>In sequenti vero anno Willelmus comes Normannie venit in Angliam, et pugnavit contra eundem Haraldum regem, et vicit eum cum exercitu suo apud Hastinge, ii idus Octobris<sup>2</sup>; et in proxima nativitate domini sublimatus<sup>3</sup> est in regem.

Anno m[lx]viii,<sup>4</sup> bellum in Bleduna.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In K, a crudely-drawn hand in the outer margin marks this sentence.

<sup>2</sup> ii idus Octobris: 14 Oct. See p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> sublimatus: L, sullimatus.

<sup>4</sup> m[lx]viii: K and L, mælviii.

<sup>5</sup> bellum in Bleduna: in L, the m of Bellum has been written partly on an erasure.

This, and many other items, to 1119, appear to be derived from a source used by several monastic chronicles. We call this source X; see pp. 16 ff.

The place of this battle is named only, so far as we have found, in the chronicles that used X. The name is spelt *Bleduna* and *Bleoduna*; *Bledima* in the Annals of Multifernan is an error for *Bleduna*, in the manuscript or in the edition. The name is probably to be identified with the modern Bleadon, on the river Axe in Somerset; this appears as *Bledone* in Domesday Book, and as *Bleodona* in a Winchester chronicle, C.C.C.C. 339, folio 21 recto, year 1054 (see Luard's *Annales Monastici*, ii, pp. xi, 26). Compare earlier spellings of Bleadon in Ekwall's *Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-names*.

According to Luard (*Annales Monastici*, i, pp. 3, 43), the site of the battle was Blaydon-on-Tyne. But the earliest known spelling of that name is *Bladon* or *Bladone* in the fourteenth century, in *Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense*, iii, Rolls Series 62 (see Mawer's *Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham*). This could not have represented an older *Bleodone*.

The chronicles give the date of the battle as 1068 and 1069; the source more probably had 1068. The battle was perhaps that mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Cotton Tiberius B iv) under 1067, and in Florence of Worcester under 1068. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Harold's sons, invading England, were driven away from Bristol, and sailed to Somerset, where they landed and fought a battle against Eadnoth. Bleadon, on the right bank of the river Axe, and about two miles from the mouth, is a likely site for the battle. It is most probable that the battle of *Bleduna* was the battle against Eadnoth.

<sup>1</sup>Anno mlxix, ex quo corpus beati Cuthberti ab Alduno Nero A ii, fo. 95  
 episcopo in Dunelmum est perlatum lxxx[iii],<sup>2</sup> tercio  
 vero regni Willelmi anno, idem Willelmus rex  
 Anglorum quendam Robertum cognomine Cumin populis  
 Norhamhimbrorum prefecit comitem. Qui cum dec  
 hominibus Dunelmum veniens et ibi<sup>3</sup> per domo[s]<sup>4</sup>  
 hostiliter agens occisus est ibi cum suis omnibus preter  
 unum qui vulneratus evasit, v kal. Feb'.<sup>5</sup> Unde rex  
 offensus ducem quendam qui ejus mortem ulcisceretur  
 cum exercitu direxit. Cum autem ad Alvertuniam<sup>6</sup>  
 venissent, et jam<sup>7</sup> mane fact[o]<sup>8</sup> Dunelmum profecturi  
 essent, tanta nebularum densitas est orta ut vix astantes  
 sese alter utrum videre, viam nec ullomodo<sup>9</sup> valebant  
 invenire. Stupentibus illis quid hoc esset, et conferenti-  
 bus<sup>10</sup> invicem quidnam facerent, affuit qui diceret homines  
 illos quendam in urbe sua sanctum habere, nomine  
 Cuthbertum, qui eis in adversis semper protector  
 adesset; quos nemo impune,<sup>11</sup> illo<sup>12</sup> vi[n]dicante,<sup>13</sup> ledere  
 valeret. Quibus auditis, ad propria sunt reversi.<sup>14</sup>

Anno mlxxi, Eadwinus dux occisus est.

<sup>15</sup>Mlxxv, obiit Eaditha regina. Roggerus<sup>16</sup> et  
 Radulfus duces voluerunt tradere regem.

<sup>1</sup> In L, this year-section is marked in the outer margin with a later  
*Nota*, and an ornamental bracket.

<sup>2</sup> lxxxiii in L; lxxx in K. Nero A ii reads *octogesimo tercio tercio*  
*regni*; and a rubricator has erroneously deleted the second *tercio*.

<sup>3</sup> ibi : Nero A ii, ubi.

<sup>4</sup> domo[s] : L, domos.

<sup>5</sup> v kal. Feb' : 28 Jan. 1069.

<sup>6</sup> Alvertuniam : Nero A ii, alvertunam.

<sup>7</sup> et jam : K and L, etiam.

<sup>8</sup> mane fact[o] : K and L, manefactum, in L altered to *manefacto*.

<sup>9</sup> nec ullomodo : Nero A ii, vero nullo modo.

<sup>10</sup> conferentibus : in L, the second n is added above the line.

<sup>11</sup> impune : L, inpüne.

<sup>12</sup> illo in L; illos in K.

<sup>13</sup> vi[n]dicante : L, vindicante.

<sup>14</sup> Compare 676, 685, 687, 1104; and pp. 13-14.

<sup>15</sup> In both manuscripts the *Anno* at the beginning of year-sections is  
 dropped from now on, and decorated initials cease. See 1186.

<sup>16</sup> Roggerus : L, Rogerus.

Mlxxvi, Walthevus comes decollatus est.

Mlxxviii,<sup>1</sup> obiit Hermannus episcopus Sereberie, et Osmundus successit.

Mlxxx, ventus validus in natale domini.<sup>2</sup> Walcherus episcopus Dunelmensis occisus est.

Mlxxxiii, obiit Matilda [regina].<sup>3</sup>

Mlxxxiiii, Wibertus papa sedem accepit.<sup>4</sup>

Mlxxxvii, obiit Willelmus rex Anglorum, et Willelmus filius regnum suscepit.

Mlxxxix, Osmundus episcopus constituit canonicos xxxvi in ecclesia Salisberiensi.<sup>5</sup> Obiit Lam-

<sup>1</sup> *Mlxxviii*: in L, the *l* is written above the line. For the date, see p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *regina* is supplied from L.

<sup>4</sup> Wibertus (for whom see Jaffé's *Regesta Pontificum*, edited by W. Wattenbach, i, pp. 649-655), archbishop of Ravenna, was set up as antipope by the emperor Henry IV: he was elected 25 June 1080, and consecrated as pope Clement III at Rome, 24 Mar. 1084 (Ekkehard, *Chronicon Universale*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *Scriptores*, vi, pp. 203-205).

<sup>5</sup> *Salisberiensi*: L, *salesberiensi*.

In L, this entry is marked with a *Nota* in the outer margin, in the same hand as that at 1069. A large faint *Nota* in a late hand in the outer margin of K seems rather to be connected with the annal for 1087.

The Chronicle of Holyrood and the related Annals of Multifernan seem to be the sole authorities for this statement concerning the canons of Salisbury (see p. 22). The foundation charter of Osmund to Salisbury, included in the thirteenth-century *Registrum S. Osmundi* (Rolls Series 78, p. 198), purports to have been written in 1091 (*ibid.*, p. 213). This charter speaks of the canons as then established: *Ego Osmundus . . . notifico . . . ecclesiam Sarum me construxisse et in ea canonicos constituisse*. If this is correct, it is still possible that the canons had already been established in 1089, as the chronicle says.

The church was dedicated in 1092 (see Florence of Worcester,

francus archiepiscopus. Terremotus factus est.

Mlxlii,<sup>1</sup> Osmundus dedicavit ecclesiam Salesberiensem cum vii episcopis.<sup>2</sup>

Mxciii, Anselmus ad archiepiscopatum electus est.

Mxciiii,<sup>3</sup> obierunt Malcolmus rex Scottorum, et Margareta<sup>4</sup> regina.<sup>5</sup>

and below). According to William of Malmesbury, there were canons in Salisbury in the time of Osmund (*Gesta Pontificum*, Rolls Series 52, p. 184). Osmund died in 1099 (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and *Florence of Worcester*). Bartholomew Cotton's statement that an order of canons was constituted in Salisbury in 1106 is therefore erroneous.

<sup>1</sup> *Mlxlii* : L, *mlxxxvii*.

<sup>2</sup> *vi episcopis* : L, *septem episcopis*.

The statement that there were seven bishops at the dedication of the church of Salisbury seems to be peculiar to the *Chronicle of Holyrood* and the *Annals of Waverley* (*Luard's Annales Monastici*, ii, p. 202); see above, p. 22. *Florence of Worcester* names two bishops who assisted in the dedication.

<sup>3</sup> *Mxciiii* : an error for *mxciii*; the same error occurs in the *Annals of Multifernan*. See p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Margareta* : L, *Margarita*.

<sup>5</sup> This is the first Scottish item in the chronicle. The deaths of the kings Edgar and Alexander I, sons of Malcolm and Margaret, are entered at 1107 and 1124; but material that is certainly derived from Scottish sources does not appear before 1128. Malcolm's immediate successors, Donald Bán his brother, and Duncan II, Malcolm's son by Ingibjorg, are not mentioned.

[Duncan II's brother, Malcolm, may possibly have been a son of Malcolm III and Ingibjorg (see *Early Sources*, ii, p. 26); but Donald Malcolm's son, who is in Irish sources called "king of Scotland" at his death in 1085 (*ibid.*, ii, p. 47), and whose father is implied to have been "king" of Scotland (*ibid.*, ii, p. 160), was more probably not a son of king Malcolm III (as in *Early Sources*), but of Malcolm Maelbrigte's son, who also is in an Irish chronicle called "king of Scotland" at his death in 1029 (see *ibid.*, i, pp. 571, 580). These "kings" were apparently hereditary mormaers of Moray. A.O.A.]



Mxcvi,<sup>1</sup> Urbanus papa iter Jerosolimis predi-  
cavit.<sup>2</sup>

Mxcviii, obiit Walchelinus episcopus.<sup>3</sup> Anti-  
ochia [a] Christiani[s]<sup>4</sup> capta est. Cometa<sup>5</sup>  
apparuit.

<sup>6</sup> Mxcix, obierunt Osmundus episcopus, et Ur-  
banus papa. Jerusalem á Christianis capta  
est.

Mc, obierunt Willelmus rex junior, et Thomas  
archiepiscopus senior.<sup>7</sup> Henricus regnum ac-  
cepit.

Fulcherius, p. 382 Mci, die natalis domini,<sup>8</sup> in basilica beate Marie<sup>9</sup> apud

<sup>1</sup> *Mxcvi* : in L, the *i* has been added.

<sup>2</sup> This entry presumably refers to the council of Clermont, at which pope Urban II preached the first crusade. The council was held in November 1095. Florence of Worcester places it in Lent, 1096. This error in common suggests a connexion between Florence of Worcester and X, from which the words of the Chronicle of Holyrood are here derived. See p. 20.

This is the first of several items in the Chronicle of Holyrood that appear also, as additions, in the Chronicle of Melrose. See p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Walchelin bishop of Winchester.

<sup>4</sup> [a] *Christiani[s]* : L, *a christianis*.

<sup>5</sup> *Cometa* : K, *co~meta*.

There was a comet in 1098, on about 3 June, when Antioch fell. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Florence of Worcester, who do not mention a comet in June, describe an unusual light in the sky at the end of September, which is perhaps an erroneous repetition of the comet already mentioned by them in 1097 (see Pingré, *Cométographie*, i, pp. 381-383). If, as is possible, the source of the Chronicle of Holyrood was related to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Florence, the Chronicle of Holyrood perhaps shares here the error of those chronicles.

<sup>6</sup> In K, this year is marked with a *Nota* in the outer margin, similar to the one at 1089 ; it probably refers to the death of king William in 1100.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas archbishop of York.

<sup>8</sup> *die natalis domini* : 25 Dec. 1100. This passage is derived from Fulcherius's *Historia Hierosolymitana*, II 6 ; see above, p. 14.

<sup>9</sup> *Marie* : K, *m~arie*.

Bethleem, a Daiberto patriarcha<sup>1</sup> una<sup>2</sup> cum episcopis, cleroque ac populo assistentibus, [Baldwinus] in regem honorifice [sub] sacra unctione sullimatus et coronatus est.

M[c]ii,<sup>3</sup> Rogerus<sup>4</sup> ad episcopatum Seresberie electus est.

Mciii[i],<sup>5</sup> facta est incorrupti corporis sancti Cuthberti Hist. Translationum, p. 197  
translatio<sup>6</sup> sive manifestatio, post anno[s]<sup>7</sup> depositionis ejus [quadringentos]<sup>8</sup> decem et octo, [et]<sup>9</sup> v menses, et xii dies; qui est quintus annus Henrici regis regni, episcopatus vero Ranulfi sextus.<sup>10</sup>

Mev, Henricus rex B[aio]cas<sup>11</sup> incendit.

Mevi, Henricus rex Normanniam adquisivit.<sup>12</sup>  
Cometa apparuit in mense Feb'.

<sup>1</sup> *Daiberto patriarcha*: in Fulcherius, *patriarcha memorato*; but the name is taken from a previous passage.

<sup>2</sup> *una*: L, *unā*.

<sup>3</sup> *M[c]ii*: L, *mcii*.

<sup>4</sup> *Rogerus*: in K, a *us*-sign was written over the *g*, and altered to a superfluous *er*-sign.

<sup>5</sup> *Mciii[i]*: L, *mciiii*. In L, this entry is marked with parallel lines in the margin.

<sup>6</sup> *translatio*: L, *tranlacio*.

<sup>7</sup> *anno[s]*: L, *annos*.

<sup>8</sup> [*quadringentos*]: L, *quadringentos*. K, erroneously, *l<sup>tos</sup>*, perhaps for *x<sup>tos</sup>*; compare above, at years 43 and 409.

<sup>9</sup> *et* supplied from L.

<sup>10</sup> This passage is derived from the *Historia Translationum Sancti Cuthberti* (Hinde's edition of Simeon of Durham, Surtees Society (1868), p. 197). It was presumably taken from a manuscript that contained also the *Brevis Relatio de Sancto Cuthberto*, from which the Chronicle of Holyrood derived passages at 676, 685, 687, and 1069. See above, pp. 13-14.

<sup>11</sup> *baiocas* in L; *boiacas* in K.

<sup>12</sup> *adquisivit*: in L, the first *i* is added above the line, by the text hand.

The source that we call X seems to have had Henry's acquisition of Normandy under 1107, erroneously (see above, p. 21). The chronicle's date 1106 is correct; but if it is taken from X, it is probably an accidental deviation from the source.

Mcvii, ordinatio Rogeri<sup>1</sup> episcopi Seresberie.  
Obiit Eadgarus rex Scotie.

Mcviii, obiit Gundulfus episcopus,<sup>2</sup> et Radulfus  
successit.

Mcix, obiit Anselmus archiepiscopus. Et Hen-  
ricus<sup>3</sup> rex Anglie dedit imperatori filiam suam.<sup>4</sup>

Mcx, cometa apparuit in mense Junio.

Mcxi, Boiamundus<sup>5</sup> obiit, et Eulalia abbatissa.<sup>6</sup>  
Papa Pascalis captus est Rome.

<sup>1</sup> *Rogeri* : in L, the *o* is added above the line.

<sup>2</sup> Gundulf, bishop of Rochester.

<sup>3</sup> *Henricus* : L, *hericus*.

<sup>4</sup> The marriage between the emperor Henry V and Matilda, daughter of king Henry I of England, was arranged with the emperor's ambassadors at Whitsuntide, 1109 (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle). The formal betrothal did not take place until April, 1110.

<sup>5</sup> Bohemond, prince of Antioch. His death is not taken from Fulcherius.

<sup>6</sup> Eulalia's death is not mentioned elsewhere, so far as we have found.

A Eulalia became abbess of Shaftesbury in 1074 (Winchester annals in Luard's *Annales Monastici*, ii, p. 30). This abbess appears as *Eulalia* and *Eularia* in copies of charters, contained in a fifteenth-century register of Shaftesbury abbey (Harleian Ms. 61, folios 23, 24). She is there said to have been abbess in 1089; although the charters are spurious, and are not good evidence of date, they show that the name of an abbess Eulalia was preserved at Shaftesbury, whether in tradition or in writing.

A very late Chronicle of the Founders of Tewkesbury (Cotton Cleopatra C iii, folios 222-223) says that Cecilia, daughter of Robert Fitz Hamon, was made abbess of Shaftesbury, after her father's death in March 1107. Even if this statement is true, it is not inconsistent with Eulalia's having died as late as 1111.

Three letters from Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, to an abbess Eulalia in England and her nuns, are printed in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 159, columns 161, 269, 270 (Epistolae, Lib. III, no. CXXV, Lib. IV, nos. CXXVIII, CXXIX). The second and third of these letters were perhaps written between 1103 and 1106, while Anselm was out of England; and the first, soon after his return in the autumn of 1106. Eulalia was apparently not a common name in England. It is most probable that Anselm's correspondent was the abbess of Shaftesbury, and the Eulalia whose death is recorded here.

Mexiiii, obiit Thomas archiepiscopus junior.<sup>1</sup>

Mexv, obiit Maria comitissa de Bolonia, ii kal. Junii.<sup>2</sup>

Mexviii, obierunt Pascalis papa, et Matildis regina Anglie, et Arnulfus [patriarcha],<sup>3</sup> et Baldewinus rex Jerusalem.

Mexix, obiit Gelasius papa. Et terra mota est quarto<sup>4</sup> kal. Octobris.

Mcxx, Willelmus filius Henrici regis, et Ricardus frater ejus, et Ricardus comes de Cestria, cum multis nobilibus naufragio perierunt.

Mcxxii, obiit Radulfus archiepiscopus Cantuarie.

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas II, archbishop of York.

<sup>2</sup> ii kal. Junii : 31 May.

Mary, a daughter of king Malcolm III of Scotland, married Eustace count of Boulogne. Her death is given on 31 May 1115 by several other chronicles using a common source. The Chronicle of Holyrood may derive the date ultimately from a related source, and may not be an independent authority. See pp. 25-26.

The Annals of Bermondsey (Luard's *Annales Monastici*, iii, p. 432) give the date of Mary's death as 18 April 1115. She was a benefactress of Bermondsey, and was buried there; but the Annals of Bermondsey are late, and inaccurate even for local events (see Miss Rose Graham, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, New Series 32, p. 157).

Mary's death is entered with the same date, 18 Apr. 1115, in some manuscripts of the chronicle called Matthew of Westminster, one of the sources of the Annals of Bermondsey (Rolls Series 95, ii, p. 44; i, pp. xii-xvi). Matthew of Westminster appears to have used as a source the Annals of Southwark, one of the chronicles which give the date of Mary's death as 31 May. Matthew's deviation from this source cannot be accepted without earlier authority.

The evidence for the date 31 May is to be preferred.

<sup>3</sup> *patriarcha* is supplied from L.

Arnulf was patriarch of Jerusalem.

<sup>4</sup> *quarto* : L, *iiii*. 28 Sep.

Mcxiii, obierunt Johannes episcopus Batonie,  
et Robertus episcopus Lincolnie.

Mcxiiii, obiit bone memorie Alexander rex Scot-  
torum, vii kal. Maii.<sup>1</sup>

Mcxv, magna fames, et magnum concilium.<sup>2</sup>  
Obiit G[illebertus]<sup>3</sup> vicecomes.

Mcxviii, cepit fundari ecclesia Sancte Crucis de  
Edenesburch.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> vii kal. Maii: 25 Apr. In the Chronicle of Melrose, 25 Apr.; Simeon of Durham, 26 Apr.; Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 23 Apr.; John of Worcester, 25 Apr. 1123. The Chronicles of Holyrood and Melrose may derive the date from a common source. See above, pp. 29-30.

<sup>2</sup> A council was held at Westminster by the legate John of Crema, on 9 Sep. 1125 (see Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, i, p. 318).

<sup>3</sup> G[illebertus]: K, G'; L, G., with a long head.

Gilbert was sheriff of Surrey, Huntingdon, and Cambridge. See J. H. Round, *The Commune of London* (1899), pp. 121-123; and W. A. Morris, *The Mediaeval English Sheriff to 1300* (1927). He founded the Augustinian priory of Merton in Surrey, and died 26 July 1125 (*Annals of Merton*, under year 1125, folio 155: *Obiit Gilebertus vicecomes fundator ecclesie Sancte Marie de Meritona, vii kal. Augusti*).

A manuscript in the College of Arms (Arundel 28) is said to contain, besides an account of the foundation of Merton priory, a *Carmen seu Epitaphium* in honour of Gilbert, a letter concerning his death, and an account of a brother to whom he appeared in sleep (Catalogue of Arundel Mss. in the College of Arms, privately printed, 1829).

See above, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> This is the first of several entries cognate with entries in the Chronicle of Melrose (text hand). These occur down to 1165. The entry for 1128 is probably not part of the original Holyrood material contained in the Chronicle of Holyrood. See pp. 28, 36.

The abbey of Holyrood in Edinburgh was a church served by Augustinian canons. It is not certain whether the entry here means that the whole establishment began to be built in 1128, or refers to the church only.

In king David's great charter to Holyrood, the king gave to the abbot and convent the privilege of taking from certain of

his woods and forests as much timber as they wanted *ad edificationem ecclesiae suae et domorum suorum* (see the charter in the Council Chambers, Edinburgh; compare the facsimile in *Liber cartarum S. Crucis*, facing p. 1; see also *ibid.*, no. 1, and Lawrie's Charters, p. 118). It appears from this that when the privilege was given the church and buildings were unfinished, but canons were already there. The existing charter is perhaps a later engrossment, but the original charter seems to have been given not later than 1136 (before king David's son Henry became earl, and while Gillemichel was still earl of Fife).

The part of the chronicle that contains original Holyrood items begins at 1150; but neither the chronicle nor any other source mentions the dedication of the church. Perhaps, therefore, the church was finished and dedicated before 1150.

The establishment mentioned in the chronicle at 1128, and in the foundation charter (*ecclesiae Sanctae Crucis Edwinesburgensi*), was presumably on the present site of Holyrood.

The monastery is often called *de castello puellarum*, in this chronicle and in charters; and is apparently called by John of Hexham the monastery of *Crag* (Rolls Series 75, ii, p. 330). The name *de Castello Puellarum* seems to have led Father Richard Augustine Hay, in the seventeenth century, to put forward a theory that the canons of Holyrood were at first housed in Edinburgh castle, and were still there in the time of Malcolm IV (Diplomata, i, p. 292, in National Library of Scotland Ms. 34.1.10). This theory has been often repeated; but there seems to be no ground for it.

The great charter to Holyrood, given by king David I (see above), grants to the church of Holyrood at Edinburgh, and to the canons regular serving God in it, "the church of the castle" and other possessions. This proves that the church of Holyrood was not the castle church at the time when the charter was given. In the same charter David grants to the canons permission "to build (*herbergare*) a borough between the same church [of Holyrood] and my borough [of Edinburgh]." The abbey church was therefore outside the castle borough, at least as early as the end of David's reign. There is no evidence that the canons served in the castle church either after or before the foundation of Holyrood.

The church of Holyrood was built on the site of an older church (see W. T. Oldrieve, in the Scottish Ecclesiological Society's Transactions, iii (1909-1912), p. 329).

The legend of the foundation of Holyrood abbey is well known. King David I, it is said, hunting near Edinburgh on the day of the Exaltation of the Cross, was attacked by a beautiful stag,

Mexxix, obiit Willelmus<sup>1</sup> episcopus Wintonie,  
et Henricus consecratus est.

Mexxxx, Anegus comes Moraviensis<sup>2</sup> á Scottis  
interfectus est.<sup>3</sup>

Mexxxiii, eclipsis facta est nonis<sup>4</sup> Augusti.

and reaching up to grasp its horns he found a cross placed in his hands. He afterwards built a monastery on that spot, and dedicated it to the Holy Cross.

The legend seems to be adapted from that of St Eustace or of St Hubert. The earliest suggestion of it in connexion with Holyrood appears to be the representation of the stag with a cross between its horns, on the seal of the abbey in the time of king James I (*Liber cartarum S. Crucis*, pp. xi-xii). The earliest written version of the legend is contained in a manuscript book belonging to Holyrood abbey (*Bannatyne Miscellany*, ii, pp. 14-17; and *The Holyrood Ordinale*, Book of the Old Edinburgh Club, vii (1916), pp. 64-66). From facsimiles (*ibid.*, p. 25; and *Liber cartarum S. Crucis*), it seems that the book was probably written late in the fifteenth, or possibly early in the sixteenth, century. This version of the legend was translated and abridged, perhaps 1531×1533 (see *Scottish Historical Review*, xvii, pp. 5-15), as an addition to Bellenden's translation of Boece. The version in Bellenden has made the legend familiar.

<sup>1</sup> *willelmus* in L; *willelimus* in K.

<sup>2</sup> *Moraviensis*: L, *muraviensis*.

<sup>3</sup> So also in the Chronicle of Melrose (text hand). See above, p. 28.

Angus, mormaer of Moray, was a grandson of Lulach, king of Scotland from 1057 to 1058. Angus had, therefore, some claim to the Scottish throne. He was killed in rebellion against king David (*Ordericus Vitalis*, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, iii, pp. 403-405). Malcolm Macheth took part in the same rebellion; see below, under 1157. For Angus' claim to the throne, and for his death, see *Early Sources*, i, pp. 580, 571 note; ii, pp. 173, 174; and *English Chroniclers*, pp. 166-167.

<sup>4</sup> *nonis*: K and L, *N<sup>o</sup>*; 5 Aug. Perhaps read *iiii nonas*, 2 Aug., 1133, the day when the eclipse occurred (*L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*). The Chronicle of Melrose gives the date 2 Aug.; John of Hexham, 3 Aug.; William of Malmesbury, 5 Aug., but in 1132. The Chronicle of Holyrood does not seem to derive material from William of Malmesbury.

**Mcxxxv**, obiit Henricus rex Anglie, iiii nonas<sup>1</sup>  
Decembris, et Stephanus ei successit.

**Mcxxxvi**, Willelmus Cantuariensis archiepi-  
scopus obiit, et Ricardus filius Gilleberti.<sup>2</sup>  
Dedicatio Glascuensis ecclesie, nonis<sup>3</sup> Julii.

**Mcxxxvii**, quintodecimo kal. Decembris,<sup>4</sup> fuit  
bellum inter Scottos<sup>5</sup> et Anglos.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *nonas*: K and L, *N*<sup>o</sup>; 2 Dec. Henry died, apparently, on the night between 1 and 2 Dec. 1135. Chronicles differ as to the day. The Chronicle of Melrose, John of Hexham, John of Worcester, give the date 2 Dec.

<sup>2</sup> Richard de Clare, brother of Gilbert first earl of Pembroke (see J. H. Round, in the Dictionary of National Biography, x (1887), or iv (1908), pp. 389-390, 375-376; and Feudal England, pp. 472 ff.).

Richard was killed by the Welsh, on 15 Apr. 1136 (interpolation in the text of John of Worcester, in Trinity College Dublin Ms. 503, E. 6. 4; Thorpe's edition of Florence of Worcester, ii, p. 97; see J. R. H. Weaver's edition of John of Worcester (1908), pp. 5-7, 41). There is a full account of the affair in the Gesta Stephani (Rolls Series 82, iii, p. 12).

<sup>3</sup> *nonis*: K and L, *N*<sup>o</sup>; 7 July.

<sup>4</sup> *quintodecimo kal. Decembris*: 17 Nov.

This date does not belong to the event that follows it; see below. An event preceding it may possibly have fallen out of the text. More probably the date has been drawn into the text from a marginal jotting, and misplaced. A Holyrood item at 1150 has the same date, but that date could hardly have been repeated at 1137. A more possible explanation is that the date *xii kal. Decembris* was added to the first item of 1136, the death of William archbishop of Canterbury, who died 20 Nov. 1136, according to an interpolation in John of Worcester (Weaver's edition, p. 41, note); and that the addition was misread as *xv kal. Decembris*, and copied in the wrong place.

<sup>5</sup> *Scottos*: L, *scotos*.

<sup>6</sup> The notice of the battle is not to be connected with the date that precedes it; see note above. No event is known to have occurred on 17 Nov. 1137. A truce, made between the English and Scottish kings in Lent, 1137, was broken off about Advent (28 Nov.), but no hostilities are mentioned in the sources (see Richard of Hexham, Rolls Series 82, iii, pp. 150-151).

Under 1137 the Annals of Multifernan read: *Bellum inter*



Mcxxxviii, episcopus Saleberie,<sup>1</sup> et episcopus  
Lincolnie, et cancellarius, capti sunt a rege  
Stephano.<sup>2</sup>

Mcxi, Stephanus rex capitur<sup>3</sup> Lincolnie á comite  
Glocestrie et á ceteris qui sustentabant partem  
imperatricis.<sup>4</sup>

Mcxlvi, obiit Johannes episcopus de Glasco.<sup>5</sup>  
Iter Jerosolimis secundo predicatur.

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*Anglicos et Scottos apud Childerhou.* This is presumably the battle of Clitheroe; but that battle was fought on 10 June 1138 (English Chroniclers, pp. 187, 198-199). The Chronicle of Holyrood and the Annals of Multifernan used a common source down to 1119, and the battle of Clitheroe may have been an addition in this source. If so, the entry *fuit . . . Anglos* in the Chronicle of Holyrood may be taken from the same source, and refer to the battle of Clitheroe. The words *Bellum inter Anglicos et Scottos* occur also in the Chronicle of Peterborough, under 1137; compare below, 1168 note.

But the Chronicle of Holyrood's entry at 1137 is possibly taken from the source that was common to the Chronicles of Holyrood and Melrose (text hand), and which apparently dated events of 1139 and 1141 a year too early; see p. 28. If that is so, the entry may probably refer to the battle of the Standard, which was fought on 22 Aug. 1138.

<sup>1</sup> *Saleberie*: L, *salesberie*.

<sup>2</sup> *Stephano*: K, *Steph'ano*.

This annal occurs, in the same words, in the Chronicle of Melrose, at the end of year 1138; see above, p. 28.

Roger bishop of Salisbury, Roger's nephew Alexander bishop of Lincoln, and Roger's son Roger, the chancellor of king Stephen, were arrested by king Stephen in June 1139 (see William of Malmesbury, and *Gesta Stephani*; Rolls Series 90, ii, pp. 548-549, and 82, iii, pp. 49-50).

<sup>3</sup> *rex capitur*: in L, *capitur rex*, altered to *rex capitur* by transposition-signs.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the Chronicle of Melrose, under 1140; see above, p. 28.

The battle of Lincoln was fought on 2 Feb. 1141.

<sup>5</sup> John bishop of Glasgow died after 3 May, and before 24 Aug., 1147 (see *Early Sources*, ii, p. 207). He was succeeded by Herbert, abbot of Kelso, who died in 1164. See 1164 and note.

<sup>1</sup> Mcl, dedicata est æcclesia<sup>2</sup> de Dunfermelin. Alwinus abbas<sup>3</sup> á cura pastoralí se sponte deposuit, et Osbertus eandem suscepit. Obiit etiam ipse Osbertus abbas<sup>3</sup> eodem anno, xv kal. Decembris.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> About this point a chronicle composed at Holyrood becomes a basis of the chronicle. See above, p. 35; and compare note at 1152, below.

<sup>2</sup> *æcclesia*: L, *ecclesia*.

The nave of this church is still partly standing; it was superimposed on an earlier and much smaller church (see Historical Monuments Commission, Fife (1933), p. 106). The earlier church was presumably the one that was built and endowed by queen Margaret (Turgot's *Life of queen Margaret*, Surtees Society 51 (1868), pp. 238-239, 254). It was dedicated to the Holy Trinity. A priory of monks was attached to the early church: Peter, "monk and prior of the church of Dunfermline," is mentioned by Eadmer under 1120 (Rolls Series 81, p. 279). King David I refounded the monastery as a Benedictine abbey in 1128, and brought Geoffrey, prior of Canterbury, to be its abbot (John of Worcester, Weaver's edition, p. 28). Geoffrey was the first abbot of Dunfermline (see below, year 1154).

New building under the charge of the prior of Dunfermline is mentioned in a writ of king David (Registrum de Dunfermelyn, no. 18; Lawrie's Charters, no. 85). The writ may have been issued at the same time as a charter was given to the abbot and monks of Dunfermline, releasing their vassals from service in building-work (1128×1136). (Registrum de Dunfermelyn, no. 31; Lawrie's Charters, no. 84.)

David I made a grant of land to the church of Dunfermline on the day on which the church was dedicated. The charter recording this grant (Registrum de Dunfermelyn, no. 3; Lawrie's Charters, no. 224) was witnessed by Alwin, the first abbot of Holyrood (see below). Apart from the evidence of the chronicle, this charter can be dated 1147×1152. The grant is included in a confirmation-charter given by David to Dunfermline 1147×1153 (Registrum, no. 2; Lawrie, no. 209).

<sup>3</sup> *abbas*: K, *abb'as*.

<sup>4</sup> *xv kal. Decembris*: 17 Nov.

Since the election of Osbert's successor (as abbot of Holyrood) is the first entry in 1152, it appears likely that Osbert's death ought to have been placed in 1151, and that the whole passage, from

Mclii, Willelmus abbas<sup>1</sup> electus est. Obit

*Alwinus* to *Decembris*, should form an annal for that year. The year-number 1151 may have been omitted: we cannot assume that *Mcl* above is an error for *Mcli*.

If this was the same Osbert who was prior of Holyrood, he did not become abbot until after 25 Oct. 1150, when he witnessed a charter as prior (see Lawrie's Charters, no. 213). As abbot of Holyrood he witnessed a confirmation charter (*ibid.*, no. 185; Liber S. Marie de Calchou, no. 445). He is not included in the very erroneous list of abbots given in the Holyrood book (Holyrood Ordinale, p. 69; see above, p. 46).

Alwin was the first abbot of Holyrood; see 1155. Richard, bishop of St Andrews, was his nephew; see 1163. Alwin and his successor may have been the Alwin, chaplain of earl David, and Osbert chaplain (presumably of earl David), who witnessed charters of David I before he became king (×1124): see Lawrie's Charters, nos. 35 and 53. See also the charter in Scottish Historical Review, xiv, pp. 371-372.

According to the Holyrood book (p. 64; see above) Alwin, the first abbot of Holyrood, had been a canon of Merton near London before he became David's chaplain. The Augustinian priory of Merton was founded in 1117 (Luard's *Annales Monastici*, ii, pp. 45, 216). The statement of the Holyrood book cannot be accepted without confirmation. The statement occurs in the legendary and unhistorical account of the foundation of Holyrood, for which that book (fifteenth-sixteenth century) seems to be the earliest authority.

Alwin witnessed, as abbot of Holyrood, the grant made by king David to Dunfermline abbey at the dedication of its church, which is placed by the chronicle in 1150; see note above.

<sup>1</sup> *abbas*: K, *abb'as*.

William became abbot of Holyrood some time before the death of king David, who died 24 May 1153. William witnessed a charter (Liber cartarum prioratus S. Andree, p. 125) along with Isaac, abbot of Stirling, whose successor Alfred witnessed a charter in the lifetime of king David (*ibid.*, 184; these charters are in Lawrie's Charters, pp. 447 and 183). For William's death, see below, ?1172.

Alwin, Osbert, and William, are called abbot, without the name of their house. The fact that the name of Holyrood is not mentioned is a good reason for supposing that these items were part of an original Holyrood chronicle.

Matildis regina Anglie, v nonas Maii.<sup>1</sup> Obit  
Henricus comes Northamhumborum, filius  
David regis Scotie, ii idus Junii.<sup>2</sup> Ascalon á  
Christianis capta est.<sup>3</sup>

Meliii, obiit pie memorie David rex Scottorum,  
ix kal. Junii, dominica<sup>4</sup> [ante]<sup>5</sup> ascensionem  
domini.<sup>6</sup> Cui successit in regnum Malcolm<sup>7</sup>  
nepos ejus, etate [xii]<sup>8</sup> annorum,<sup>9</sup> filius Henrici

<sup>1</sup> *v nonas Maii*: 3 May. The same date is given in a twelfth-century Lincoln obituary (Rolls Series 21, vii, p. 157).

Matilda was the wife of king Stephen, and niece of king David.

<sup>2</sup> *ii idus Junii*: 12 June. This is the better authority for the day of Henry's death: Fordun's date is probably derived from it (see above, p. 44). The Carlisle extracts of 1291 date Henry's death on the Ides of June (13 June; Palgrave, Documents and Records, i, p. 72).

<sup>3</sup> This is an error. Ascalon was surrendered to the Christians after a long siege, on 12 August 1153 (William of Tyre, in the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, i, part 2, p. 813).

<sup>4</sup> *dominica*: L, *Domica*.

<sup>5</sup> *ante* in L; *au* (i.e. *autem*) in K.

<sup>6</sup> Rogation Sunday, 24 May, 1153.

<sup>7</sup> *Malcolm*: K possibly *malcolin*.

<sup>8</sup> [xii]: In both K and L, the number is unintelligibly written, as if *q* with an oblique stroke through its tail, followed in L by two minims, perhaps *u*, and in K by minims that have been altered to *xii*. It is impossible to tell from photographic copies of the manuscript whether or not the alteration in K is by the text hand.

Malcolm was twelve years old at his accession, and was in his twenty-fifth year when he died on 9 Dec. 1165 (Chronicle of Melrose).

[A note of Malcolm's birth, with no date, was added to the annal for 1141 in the Chronicle of Melrose. It was placed after an eclipse that was dated in the original text 20 Mar. 1141, but that occurred actually on 20 Mar. 1140. The added note was written much later than the text in which it is inserted. It is not evidence for the day, and not good evidence for the year, of Malcolm's birth.

Similarly a note of William's birth has been added at the end of the annal for 1143, much later than the text. In both cases, the birth-years have probably been deduced from the kings' ages entered in the Chronicle of Melrose at their deaths, under 1165 and 1214, and the annotators have added nothing to the evidence of the chronicle. A. O. A.]

<sup>9</sup> *annorum*: L, *anorum*.

predicti comitis Northumbrie. Obiit Eugenius papa, cui successit Anastasius; et abbas B[ernardus] Clarevallis; et Eustachius comes, filius Stephani<sup>1</sup> regis Anglorum; Radulfus<sup>2</sup> quoque comes Cestrie; et Symon comes Northantunie<sup>3</sup>; Henricus etiam archiepiscop[us]<sup>4</sup> Eboracensis. Stephanus rex Anglie<sup>5</sup> cum Henrico nobilissimo comite Andegavie pacem et fidem perpetu[a]m,<sup>6</sup> in die festo sancti Leonardi abbatis,<sup>7</sup> iniit. Eo die<sup>8</sup> apud<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Stephani*: L, *tepha*'.

<sup>2</sup> *Radulfus*: K and L, *Rad*'. Read *Ranulfus*.

Ranulf de Gernons, earl of Chester, did homage to king David in 1149, while they were in opposition to king Stephen (John of Hexham, Rolls Series 75, ii, pp. 322-323). His sister had married Richard Gilbert's son, whose death is entered above at 1136 (see Dictionary of National Biography as there cited).

<sup>3</sup> *Northantunie*: L, *northamtunie*.

[Simon II de Senlis was the son of Simon I de Senlis, earl of Northampton and Huntingdon, and countess Matilda, afterwards the wife of king David and mother of earl Henry. Matilda is said by Fordun to have died 1130×1131: the suggestion that she might have been alive in 1147 (Early Sources, ii, pp. 149, 151) is improbable considering her age. Simon's claim to Northampton, Huntingdon, and Northumbria, was prior to Henry's.

For a time, Simon II held the earldom of Northumbria, before that was given in 1139 to his step-brother earl Henry; and in 1141 he seems to have received the earldom of Northampton and Huntingdon, which he held until his death. (Early Sources, ii, pp. 157-158, 151-153.) A. O. A.]

<sup>4</sup> *archiepiscop[us]*: K and L, *archiepiscopi*.

<sup>5</sup> In K, an abbreviation-sign after the *l* of *anglie* has been erased.

<sup>6</sup> *perpetu[a]m*: K and L, *perpetuum*.

<sup>7</sup> *die . . . abbatis*: 6 Nov. The agreement between king Stephen and Henry, afterwards king Henry II, is placed by Robert de Torigni on the same day: *viii Id. Nov.* (Rolls Series 82, iv, p. 177). The resulting treaty is in *Foedera*, i, p. 18.

<sup>8</sup> *Eo die*: In K and L, there is no mark of punctuation before *eo*. Perhaps *Eo die* is an error for *Eodem anno*.

<sup>9</sup> *apud*: L, *apput*.

Scotiam Sumerlede<sup>1</sup> et nepotes sui, filii scilicet Malcolmi,<sup>2</sup> a[s]so[c]iatis<sup>3</sup> sibi plurimis, insurrexerunt<sup>4</sup> in regem Malcolm, et Scotiam in magna parte perturban[t]es inquietaverunt.

Mcliiii, Willelmus archiepiscopus Eboracensis, permittente piissimo papa Anastasio, ad archiepiscopalem cathedram cum su[m]mo honore<sup>5</sup> reversus est, et inter vii<sup>6</sup> septimanas<sup>7</sup> defunctus est.<sup>8</sup> Hugo etiam, Rome consecratus, Du[n]elmensem<sup>9</sup> episcopatum suscepit.<sup>10</sup> Maxima fames et pestilentia animalium apud

<sup>1</sup> *Sumerlede*: Somerled, Gillebrigte's son, lord of Argyll. The Chronicle of Holyrood is the authority for his rebellion in 1153. The fact and date of the rebellion are to some extent confirmed by the Chronicle of Melrose, which describes him thus at his death in 1164: *Sumerledus regulus Eregeithel, jam per annos duodecim contra regem Scotie Malcolmum dominum suum naturalem impie rebellans*. But he seems to have been reconciled with king Malcolm for a time. A charter of king Malcolm, of 25 Dec. 1160, is dated on the Christmas after their reconciliation: *apud Pert in natali domini proximo post concordiam Regis et Sumerledi* (Registrum episcopatus Moraviensis, p. 453). Compare below, p. 137.

The foundation of the Cistercian abbey of Saddell, in Kintyre, appears to have been dated in 1160 in the Cistercian List (Journal of the British Archaeological Association, xxvi, p. 361), within this period of reconciliation.

<sup>2</sup> *Malcolmi*: Malcolm Macheth had apparently married a sister of Somerled. See below, 1156 and 1157.

<sup>3</sup> *a[s]so[c]iatis*: K, *asotiatis*; L, *asociatis*.

<sup>4</sup> *insurrexerunt*: L, *insurexerunt*.

<sup>5</sup> *sumo honore* in K; *summo hore* in L.

<sup>6</sup> *vii*: L, *septem*.

<sup>7</sup> In L, the first *a* of *septimanas* has been corrected from *o*.

<sup>8</sup> The Annals of Northampton (folio 20 verso) say that archbishop William returned to York on 9 May, Rogation Sunday; and died of poison thirty days later, on Tuesday, 8 June 1154.

<sup>9</sup> *Du[n]elmensem*: K and L, *duelmensem*.

<sup>10</sup> Hugh of Puiset was enthroned in the see of Durham 2 May 1154, according to a fragment printed in Rolls Series 75, i, p. 169. He had been consecrated at Rome on Sunday, 20 Dec. 1153 (*ibid.*, and the Chronicle of Melrose).

Scotiam facta est. Arturus, regem Malcolm proditurus, iii kal. Marcii<sup>1</sup> duello periit. Obit Gaufridus primus abbas de Dunfermelin; et nepos<sup>2</sup> ejus Gaufridus in loco ejus successit.<sup>3</sup> Rogerus de Ponte Episcopi in archiepiscopum Eboracensem<sup>4</sup> consecratus est.<sup>5</sup> Obit Stephanus<sup>6</sup> rex Anglie, viii kal. Novembris<sup>7</sup>; et Henricus dux Normannie,<sup>8</sup> xiiii kal. Januarii,<sup>9</sup> regni diademate insignitur. Obit Dunecan comes de Fif.<sup>10</sup> Malcolm rex dedit ecclesiam de

<sup>1</sup> *iii kal. Marcii*: 27 Feb. 1154. L, *iii marcii*; the *iii* is added above *duello*, and *marcii* is added in the margin, and marked to stand above the line after *iii*; and in *duello*, the second *l* is inserted above the line. These additions are perhaps in the text hand of L.

Nothing is known of this Arthur.

<sup>2</sup> *nepos*: L, *ne pos*.

<sup>3</sup> For Geoffrey I, abbot of Dunfermline, see note at 1150 above. Geoffrey II died in 1178 (Chronicle of Melrose); his death is not mentioned in the Chronicle of Holyrood.

<sup>4</sup> *Eboracensem*: L, *eboracensem*.

<sup>5</sup> Roger of Pont-l'Évêque, archdeacon of Canterbury, was consecrated as archbishop of York 10 Oct. 1154 (see Gervase of Canterbury, i, pp. 158-159; Ralph de Diceto, i, p. 298).

<sup>6</sup> *Stephanus*: L, *Stphanus*.

<sup>7</sup> *viii kal. Novembris*: 25 Oct.; the accepted date. So also Robert de Torigni and the Annals of Northampton. 24 Oct. is the date given by Henry of Huntingdon.

The writer of L, jumping from *kal.* to *kal.*, omitted the words *Novembris* to *xiiii kal.* He afterwards erased the half-line *Januarii regni diadem-*, following *viii kal.*, and wrote in a smaller style, over the erasure and into the margin, the words *novembris* to *diadema*; the last *a* was then erased, and a line was drawn to connect *diadem* to *ate* at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>8</sup> *Normannie*: L, *normanie*.

<sup>9</sup> *xiiii kal. Januarii*: 19 Dec. So also Robert de Torigni (Rolls Series 82, iv, p. 182).

<sup>10</sup> Duncan I, earl of Fife, was probably a son of earl Gillemichel, whom he appears to have succeeded not later than 1136 (Registrum episcopatus Glasguensis, no. 3; cf. Liber cartarum prioratus S. Andree, p. 182). If the death of Duncan I is correctly dated by the chronicle in 1154, his successor, Duncan II, would appear to have become earl not later than 1159 (Liber S. Marie

Travernent<sup>1</sup> canonicis de Castello Puellarum.<sup>2</sup> Cristianus in episcopum Galwaie,<sup>3</sup> eodem die quo et rex Anglie<sup>4</sup> Henricus,<sup>5</sup> ab archiepiscopo Rotomagensi apud [B]ermundeseiam<sup>6</sup> consecratus est.<sup>7</sup>

de Calchou, pp. VI, VII; cf. Registrum de Dunfermelyn, nos. 35, 40, 91).

After the death of earl Henry in 1152 (see above), king David entrusted Malcolm, Henry's eldest son, to earl Duncan I, whom he bade conduct Malcolm through the provinces of Scotland, proclaiming him as David's heir (John of Hexham, Rolls Series 75, i, p. 327).

<sup>1</sup> *Travernent*: Tranent in Haddingtonshire. For Malcolm IV's charter granting the church of Tranent to Holyrood see Liber cartarum S. Crucis, no. 18. Robert bishop of St Andrews also made a grant of the church to Holyrood (*ibid.*, no. 19). Both these charters are datable 1153×1159. Thor son of Swein granted to Holyrood whatever right of donation he had appeared to have in the church of Tranent, in a charter datable 1153×January, 1162 (*ibid.*, no. 11; Lawrie's Charters, no. 214).

<sup>2</sup> In L the second *l* of *puellarum* is added above the line.

<sup>3</sup> *Galwaie*: L, *Galwaie*, the first *e* altered from *i*.

<sup>4</sup> *Anglie*: L, *a<sup>~</sup>nglie*.

<sup>5</sup> Henry II was crowned 19 Dec. 1154.

<sup>6</sup> *bermundeseiam* in L; *Germundeseiam* in K. The late and untrustworthy Annals of the Cluniac monastery at Bermondsey have no reference to this event.

<sup>7</sup> Hugh archbishop of Rouen was present at the coronation of Henry II in London in 1154 (Robert de Torigni, Rolls Series 82, iv, p. 182, under year 1153). According to Robert de Torigni, Roger archbishop of York also was present at the coronation, with the English bishops. According to Benedict of Peterborough (i, pp. 166-167), Christian in 1177 declared that he had been consecrated by Roger archbishop of York. This, with the Chronicle of Holyrood's statement that Christian was consecrated by Hugh, suggests that Roger had been present at the consecration. Roger, who had been consecrated 10 Oct. 1154 (see above), had not received the pall at the time of Christian's consecration; but he must have set out for Rome to receive it, very soon afterwards. (See Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, ii, pp. 231-232.)

Christian is named second among the bishops of Scotland to whom pope Adrian IV sent his mandate, of 27 Feb. 1155, bidding them offer obedience to Roger, archbishop of York, as their



Melv, obiit Annastasius papa, cui successit Adrianus.<sup>1</sup> Obiit Ailwinus abbas primus ecclesie Sancte Crucis.<sup>2</sup>

Melvi. Dofnaldus filius Malcolm apud Witerne captus est, et cum patre suo incarceratus.<sup>3</sup>

metropolitan (ibid.). This suggests that at that time Christian had not professed obedience to Roger. Christian attended at Northampton in Jan. 1176, with the Scottish bishops, who, led by Herbert, bishop of Glasgow, refused obedience to York (Howden, ii, pp. 91-92). When Christian professed obedience to York is not known.

In 1177, the legate Vivian summoned a council of the Scottish church; and Christian absented himself, on the ground that he was a suffragan of York, and that Roger held the papal legation in that province. For this, Christian was suspended, but the suspension had no effect (Benedict of Peterborough, as above; Howden, ii, p. 135).

[Christian's predecessor in Whithorn, Gillaaldan, had been consecrated (? 1126) by Thurstan, archbishop of York; and his successors were subordinate to York. The Scottish bishops' plea that their church was subject not to the English church, but directly to the pope, was established by the bull *Cum universi* (see below, 1175 note). In it, the Scottish sees are named, but the bishopric of Galloway is not included among them.

The bishop of Glasgow, however, claimed that part of the territory of Galloway was within his diocese (*Registrum episcopatus Glasguensis*, nos. 17, 32). A. O. A.]

<sup>1</sup> *Adrianus*: L, *adrianus*.

Anastasius IV died 2 Dec. 1154, and Adrian IV was elected on the following day (Boso, quoted by Jaffé). The succession is entered under 1155 in the Chronicle of Melrose, Howden, and the Annals of Northampton, which are here related to one another (see Chronicle of Melrose, facsimile edition, pp. xii, xxxi).

<sup>2</sup> In the outer margin of L, opposite the end of this annal, there is a note, *d'*, unexplained.

Alwin's resignation is entered above, under the year 1150.

<sup>3</sup> For Malcolm Macheth see the following year. The Chronicle of Melrose contains a cognate account of this event, in an additional hand (see above, p. 33).

Donald may have been Malcolm's son by a sister of Somerled. See above, year 1153.

Mclvii. Malcolm Mabeth<sup>1</sup> cum rege Scottorum

<sup>1</sup> *Mabeth*: L, *mac het*. Fordun, who used a version of the Holyrood chronicle, calls him *Malcolmus Macheth*. Witnessing a charter (Registrum de Dunfermelyn, no. 40; National Library of Scotland Ms. 34. 1. 3a, old part, folio x), he appears as *Melcolm~ Maceth*. The first *h* in the spelling *Macheth* was presumably silent, but we retain it, because that spelling is familiar.

[General study of the text of the chronicle shows that K's readings of Malcolm's epithet (*Mabeth* at 1157, *Machbeth* at 1168) must be regarded as scribal errors, not as possible variants of the name. (They were unfortunately accepted as possible variants in the Scottish Historical Review, vii, pp. 32 ff.)

The epithet *Maceth* or *Macheth* looks like "son of Aed" (*mac Aeda*), and is historically unexplained. It is possible that the epithet was already used as a family name.

Although Malcolm was associated with Angus, earl of Moray, in his rebellion in 1130, Malcolm's connexion with earl Angus is unknown. Fordun's account is not evidence; but his statement that Malcolm was not the son of Angus is probably true.

Ordericus Vitalis and Robert de Torigni say that Malcolm was Alexander I's illegitimate son, and imply that Malcolm tried to take the kingdom from David. Ailred of Rievaulx should be the best authority; he is said to have been at one time king David's steward (see the Scottish Historical Review, xxiii, pp. 34-41). Ailred calls Malcolm "the heir of his father's hatred and persecution" (*paterni odii et persecutionis haeredem*; Rolls Series 82, iii, p. 193). In its context, this should mean that Malcolm's father had hated and persecuted David, and was then dead. This, in its context, would agree with the statement that Malcolm was a son of Alexander.

The facts that Malcolm was kept alive for twenty-three years, and that he received in ? 1162 an earldom of Ross, support the statement of his relationship to David. A. O. A.]

Ordericus Vitalis (iii, pp. 403-405) says that Malcolm, king Alexander I's illegitimate son, twice rebelled against king David, once together with Angus earl of Moray (see year 1130, above). Malcolm was captured in 1134, and imprisoned in Roxburgh (Chronicle of Melrose); by the aid of an English force that joined king David at Carlisle (Ailred of Rievaulx; English Chroniclers, pp. 193-194). Before that date he had married a sister of Somerled: two sons of Malcolm, nephews of Somerled (*nepotes*; the dates hardly permit that they should have been his grandsons), joined Somerled in an attack upon Scotland in 1153 (see above). Malcolm's

son Donald was captured in 1156 (see above), and imprisoned with his father in the tower of Roxburgh (Chronicle of Melrose). In the following year, Malcolm Macheth made peace with the king, according to the Chronicle of Holyrood; there can be no doubt that this is the same Malcolm who is mentioned above.

Apparently after the reconciliation, and not later than 1159, Malcolm Macheth at Edinburgh witnessed a grant by king Malcolm IV to the monks of Dunfermline (*Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, no. 40).

The Chronicle of Holyrood calls Malcolm Macheth "earl of Ross" at his death in 1168. The *Orkneying Saga* in *Flateyriarbók* calls him "earl of Moray" (*Rolls Series* 88, i, p. 221). King Malcolm IV addressed a writ (*Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, no. 43) to him as "Malcolm earl of Ross," commanding him to give protection to the monks of Dunfermline and their possessions. The priory of Urquhart, a Dunfermline possession (see *ibid.*, no. 33), was presumably within the territory of his earldom. The writ can be dated 1160×1162. It follows from this that Malcolm was made earl of Ross not later than 1162.

After the death in 1290 of queen Margaret of Scotland, Florence V count of Holland claimed that the earldom of Ross had been conferred upon his ancestor, count Florence III, as dowry, at his marriage with Ada, king Malcolm's sister [in 1162]; and that the earldom had been wrongfully taken away again (*Palgrave, Documents and Records*, pp. 20-21). This suggests that Malcolm was not made earl of Ross until 1162.

[We have found no charter evidence to prove that Malcolm was earl of Ross before 1162. The "earl Malcolm" who appears 1160×1161 (*Liber cartarum prioratus S. Andree*, p. 199) was earl of Atholl; so also probably was the "earl Malcolm" in the formal confirmation to Dunfermline, of 1155×1159 (*Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, no. 35), contrary to the note in *Early Sources*, ii, p. 182.

The appointment of Malcolm to an earldom of Ross, instead of the old mormaerdom of Moray, may possibly have something to do with the alleged transference of men of Moray in 1163; but we can only guess at the circumstances and purpose of that move.

For Malcolm Macheth, and Fordun's confusion of him with Wimund, see *Early Sources*, ii, p. 233, with the following emendations in lines of the notes:—line 24, for "then" read "(×1162)"; line 26, for "[Malcolm]" read "Malcolm"; line 30, for "year 1206" read "p. 238"; line 31, for "1161" read "1162"; line 33, for "238" read "249"; line 39, for "year 1206" read "pp. 238, 369." A. O. A.]

pacificatus est. Rex Anglie Henricus exercitum duxit in Walliam,<sup>1</sup> et ibi Eustachius filius Johannis cum pluribus<sup>2</sup> aliis cecidit.<sup>3</sup> Tandem Walenses pacem cum rege fecerunt.<sup>4</sup> Rex Scotie reddidit<sup>5</sup> regi Anglie Northamimbriam<sup>6</sup> et Cumberlandiam. Rex autem Anglie reddidit<sup>7</sup> ei comitatum Huntedunie.<sup>8</sup> Fratres

<sup>1</sup> *Walliam* : L, *waliam*.

<sup>2</sup> *pluribus* : L, *plurbus*.

<sup>3</sup> The sentences are not divided in L, and are wrongly divided in K, where a punctuation-point after *tandem* should stand before it.

<sup>4</sup> Among the notices of this campaign, see the narrative of William of Newburgh (Rolls Series 82, i, pp. 106-109).

<sup>5</sup> *reddidit* : L, *redidit*.

<sup>6</sup> In L, *northamimbriam* was corrected at the time of writing, perhaps from *northamimbrias*.

<sup>7</sup> *reddidit* : L, *redidit*.

<sup>8</sup> *Huntedunie* : L, *untendunie*.

[Cumbrian territory, besides the earldom of Huntingdon, had been retained by king David in the agreement of 1136. In 1139 Northumberland, as well as English Lothian, the Cumbrian lands, and the earldom of Huntingdon, had been received by David's son earl Henry, in subjection to king Stephen. King David had some claim to all those lands, through his wife, Matilda, then probably no longer alive, the daughter of earl Waltheof. But in 1141, Huntingdon was forfeited, and the northern lands were held by earl Henry in subjection to king David, in the interest of the empress Matilda and her son, later king Henry II. Henry was said to have promised those territories to the Scots in return for their support of his claim to the throne of England.]

When David's son, earl Henry, died, David gave Northumberland and Cumbria to his younger grandson, William, in the expectation that they would be held in subjection to Henry II.

Those lands were taken away by king Henry II in 1157. The earldom and honour of Huntingdon were restored to king Malcolm ; but the castle of Northampton, with the title of earl, remained with Simon III de Senlis, who had had them from the first year of king Henry's reign (Early Sources, ii, pp. 153-155). Compare above, 1153 note.

According to Robert de Torigni, the exchange of territories was made soon after Henry II's return, after 7 Apr. 1157, to England (English Chroniclers, p. 239). In the same year (between

plures Templi<sup>1</sup> Jerosolimorum in prelio cor-  
ruerunt.<sup>2</sup>

Mclviii. [Obiit]<sup>3</sup> G[a]ufridus frater Henrici  
re[gis]<sup>4</sup> Anglie.<sup>5</sup>

Mclix. Obiit bone<sup>6</sup> memorie Robertus epis-  
copus Sancti Andree.<sup>7</sup> Rex Scotie Malcol-

July and September), at Chester, king Malcolm became the vassal of Henry II in the same manner as king David had been the vassal of Henry I (Chronicle of Melrose; see Early Sources, ii, pp. 233-234). No homage by David for Scotland is recorded. As Henry's vassal he swore loyalty to Henry's daughter, Matilda the empress, on 1 Jan. 1127 (Simeon of Durham, ii, p. 281).

The agreement of 1139 had been made because David did not wish to violate his oath to Matilda. He retained English lands vicariously, without doing homage to her supplanter, king Stephen; and afterwards took some of them into his own dominion. These circumstances produced a new phase in Anglo-Scottish relations.

The lands that had been obtained (in 1018) and that were held under king Cnut (? 1025-1035; see Early Sources, i, pp. 545-549) were still regarded by the Scots as English territory. The tenure of English lands was always a condition of their acceptance of the overlordship of English kings; whose dominance had been continued by the aid they had given to Scottish kings at their accession. In the case of Henry II the debt was reversed: the support of king David had helped him to obtain the throne of England.

In the reigns of Stephen and Henry II the Scots had a favourable occasion for a change that they desired, to give homage for English lands only, instead of homage in return for the tenure of English lands. Compare 1175, note. A. O. A.]

<sup>1</sup> *Templi*: L, *t<sup>e</sup>pli*.

<sup>2</sup> *corruerunt*: L, *coruerunt*.

Among other sources, see Robert de Torigni's account of this affair (Rolls Series 82, iv, p. 194).

<sup>3</sup> *Obiit* is supplied from L.

<sup>4</sup> *regis* in L; *rex* in K.

<sup>5</sup> *Anglie*: L, *anlie*.

<sup>6</sup> *Bone* in K and L. In K, the capital is altered from a minuscule *b*.

<sup>7</sup> This is the first of a series of events, concerning St Andrews, that apparently formed a common source of the chronicles of Holyrood and Melrose; see above, p. 30.

Robert, prior of the Augustinian canons of Scone, was elected

mus<sup>1</sup> ivit cum rege Anglie Henrico ad Tholosam,<sup>2</sup>  
et ab [eodem]<sup>3</sup> rege Henrico gladio militie  
ac[cinc]tus<sup>4</sup> est in Turonensi [? civitate].<sup>5</sup>

to the bishopric of St Andrews in Dec. 1123 or Jan. 1124 (Simeon of Durham, ii, p. 275).

[According to John of Worcester (Weaver's edition, pp. 25-26), Robert bishop of St Andrews was consecrated at York in 1128. But he appears already as bishop of St Andrews on 17 July 1127, the date of his quit-claim to Coldingham; according to the notitia in the Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis (Surtees Society no. 13, pp. 67-68 and 59; and no. 136, Facsimile, folios 44 and 47), and the charter in National Manuscripts of Scotland, i, no. 27 (facsimile), and Lawrie's Charters, no. 73. The charter is presumably a copy, since it contains errors that do not appear in the Liber Vitae. The writing of both these documents is probably later than 1127.

The concession recorded in the notitia was made in a convocation before the door of the church of St John Evangelist in Roxburgh; in the presence of king David, and of Thurstan archbishop of York. Among the others that were present were bishops Ranulf of Durham and John of Glasgow. Both of these appear also among the witnesses of declarations (undated) that David and Thurstan made simultaneously, of the conditions under which Robert had been consecrated by Thurstan (Lawrie's Charters, nos. 75, 76). It seems probable therefore that Robert was consecrated at Roxburgh, on or before July 17 (a Sunday), 1127.

Other witnesses of the declarations were Nicholas, prior of Scone, Robert's successor in that office; and Herbert abbot of Roxburgh. Herbert appears to have obtained that title in 1127 (see below, note under 1164). A. O. A.]

Bishop Robert's foundation-charter of the Augustinian priory of St Andrews is dated 1144, i.e. 1144-5 (Liber cartarum prioratus S. Andree, pp. 122-123, and Lawrie's Charters, no. 162). He was succeeded in the bishopric by Arnold, abbot of Kelso (see 1160, below).

<sup>1</sup> In L, the *us*-sign is placed before, instead of after, the second *m* of *malcolmus*.

<sup>2</sup> *Tholosam*: L, *tolosam*.

<sup>3</sup> [*eodem*]: K, *ed'e*; L, *ed~e*.

<sup>4</sup> *ac[cinc]tus*: L, *acctus*.

<sup>5</sup> *civitate* is supplied from Fordun, who took this passage from the Holyrood chronicle. See above, p. 44.

For king Henry II's expedition to Toulouse, see Robert de Torigni (Rolls Series 82, iv, pp. 201-203), and the authorities

Obiit Willelmus comes Bolonie, filius Stephani regis. Obiit Adrianus papa<sup>1</sup>; cui successit Alexander, expulso Octaviano<sup>2</sup> qui in sedem<sup>3</sup> apostolicam prophane<sup>4</sup> aspi[r]avit. Willelmus episcopus Moravensis,<sup>5</sup> missus Romam a rege Malcolmo, á prefato papa Alexandro cum summo<sup>6</sup> honore susceptus, ad Scotiam cum

referred to below; Lawrie's Annals, pp. 40-48; Early Sources, ii, pp. 240-243.

About the middle of Lent, 1159 (Robert de Torigni), Henry summoned his army, to assemble at Poitiers on 24 June. King Malcolm sailed over to Normandy with forty-five ships on 16 June (15 June in Bouquet), and joined Henry at Poitiers, where the army was collecting. After 24 June, Henry moved his army towards Toulouse. (*Continuatio Beccensis*, Rolls Series 82, iv, pp. 322-323, and Bouquet's *Recueil*, xiii, p. 302, note.)

Malcolm was knighted by Henry at Périgueux (between Poitiers and Toulouse), about St Martial's day (30 June), according to Geoffrey of Vigois (*Bouquet's Recueil*, xii, p. 439). Geoffrey is the best authority for the knighting of king Malcolm. He writes as if he had been present when Gerald bishop of Limoges led the procession on St Martial's day (1159, in the abbey of St Martial at Vigois). Geoffrey was then a novice, and became a monk in that abbey on 12 May, 1160 (*ibid.*, pp. 439-440). Vigois is about thirty miles east-north-east from Périgueux.

According to Geoffrey of Vigois (u.s.), Henry dismissed his army at Toulouse, and "with the king of the Scots passing through Uzerche came to Limoges, about the feast of the archangel Michael" (29 Sep. 1159). Uzerche is only a few miles from Vigois. Limoges is thirty miles further on that route to Tours. Malcolm probably returned by Tours.

The Chronicle of Holyrood says that he was knighted at Tours. The Chronicle of Melrose and Howden, using a common source, say that he was knighted at Tours on the way back from Toulouse. Those statements are apparently errors; and the account of Geoffrey is to be preferred.

<sup>1</sup> In L, the last letter of *papa* has been partly erased, and left for correction.

<sup>2</sup> *Octaviano*: L, *octoviano*. This was the antipope Victor IV (Sep. 1159-April 1164; Jaffé).

<sup>3</sup> *sedem*: L, *sed'e* (cf. *eodem* above).

<sup>4</sup> *prophane*: K, *proph'ane*; L, *profane*.

<sup>5</sup> *Moravensis*: L, *muravensis*.

<sup>6</sup> *summo*: L, *sumo*.

gratia et [? generali legatione]<sup>1</sup> sedis apostolice remissus<sup>2</sup> est.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *generali legatione* is a conjectural reading. K leaves a blank space between *et* and *sedis*. L had *gl'iacio~e*, which should stand for *gloriacione*; the *g*, the abbreviation-sign on the *l*, and the *a*, have been erased, but an intelligible reading has not been supplied. Wharton's reading from L, *electione*, is certainly wrong. It was followed by Pitcairn, and by Bouterwek in his text of K.

A word or two here were evidently obscure in the common source of K and L.

<sup>2</sup> *remissus*: L, *remisus*.

<sup>3</sup> The Chronicle of Melrose has a similar but fuller account of William's mission to the Roman court. That account was perhaps derived from a source of the Chronicle of Holyrood; see above, pp. 30 ff. Another emissary, sent with William, was Nicholas the king's chamberlain (see below, 1165 note).

William's mission seems to have been to ask that the bishopric of St Andrews should be raised to an archbishopric (see Early Sources, ii, p. 244). This was not done, but instead William was made papal legate in Scotland; he was to continue in that office only if, as the pope recommended, he were elected to the see of St Andrews. (See the original letter of pope Alexander III to the archdeacon, prior, and clergy, of St Andrews, dated 27 Nov. [1159], no. 2 in National Library of Scotland Ms. 15. 1. 19. Compare Lawrie's Annals, pp. 52-54; or Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, ii, pp. 233-234.)

The recommendation was not followed. Arnold abbot of Kelso was elected to the bishopric of St Andrews on 13 Nov. 1160, and was consecrated by bishop William on 20 Nov. (Chronicle of Melrose). William was still legate when he witnessed charter no. 41 in the Registrum de Dunfermelyn, at Perth, after 6 Jan. 1161, the day on which, according to the Chronicle of Melrose, John became abbot of Kelso in succession to Arnold. In 1161, the pope gave the legation to Arnold, who was afterwards deprived of that office (Chronicle of Melrose).

The Chronicle of Holyrood calls William legate of the apostolic see at his death, which it dates 24 Jan. 1162. But we know of no evidence that he regained the legation after Arnold ceased to hold it. Arnold also is by the chronicle called legate at his death (see 1162, below).

A marginal addition in the Chronicle of Melrose places the death of William bishop of Moray opposite the year 1161. This may have been derived from a source of the Chronicle of Holyrood



Mclx. Rex Malcolmus duxit exercitum in Galwaiam  
ter, et inde, dev[ict]is inimicis suis fed[er]atis,<sup>1</sup>

(see above, p. 34), and in that case its evidence for the year of William's death would appear to be less good than that of the Chronicle of Holyrood; since marginal additions were easily misplaced.

The Annals of Northampton also place the death of William, bishop of Moray and legate, in 1161. But since they appear to have used the Chronicle of Melrose as a source, they can hardly be taken as confirmation of its date.

We have not found other evidence that would prove whether William died in 1161 or 1162. Probably the Chronicle of Holyrood's date, 1162, is to be preferred.

William was succeeded as bishop of Moray by Felix (see Dowden's Bishops, p. 145). The date of Felix's succession is not known. Bower's statement (Goodall's edition, i, p. 461) that the see of Moray was vacant in 1164 may have been deduced from the fact that the chronicles mention no bishop of Moray between the death of William and the election of Simon de Toeni in 1171 (Chronicle of Melrose).

<sup>1</sup> dev[ict]is . . . fed[er]atis: K, devcct<sup>us</sup>is . . . fedatis. L reads, in different order: *innimicis suis devictis federatis*, with a colon after *devictis*. The difference between the two readings is probably the result not of a scribal error, but of deliberate alteration. The more natural interpretation of K would be: "after he had subdued his confederate enemies"; but L appears to mean: "after he had made a treaty with his conquered enemies." Fordun uses this passage of the Chronicle of Holyrood, and his reading (apparently *tandem devictis federatis ac subjectis*; see Skene's edition, i, p. 256) seems to confirm K's meaning; but Bower (Goodall's edition, i, p. 450) adds to Fordun's words *ipsis* before *devictis*, and thus agrees with L.

[The Chronicle of Melrose, under 1160, describes the campaign in relation to other events: "Malcolm king of the Scots came from the army at Toulouse. And when [Malcolm] had come into the city that is called Perth, earl Ferthet (*Fereteatht*) and five other earls, incensed against the king because he had gone to Toulouse, besieged the city, and wished to take the king; but their presumption did not at all prevail. King Malcolm went with a large army thrice into Galloway, and at last subdued them." Howden (Rolls Series 51, i, p. 217) gives the same passage, taken from the same source (see above, p. 31), with several slight variations; and instead of the last word, "them," reads: "it to

cum pace et sine dampno<sup>1</sup> suo remeavit. Fergus princeps Galwaie<sup>2</sup> habitum canonicum in ecclesia<sup>3</sup> Sancte Crucis de Ednesburch su[s]cepit,<sup>4</sup> et eis villam que dicitur Dunrodden dedit.<sup>5</sup> Ernaldus abbas de Chelcou in episcopum Sancti Andree electus est, et a

himself." But there seems to be no doubt that in the Chronicle of Melrose the earls (or some of them) are meant.

Their attempt had been to coerce, not to depose, the king. The statement in the Chronicle of Holyrood that Malcolm suffered no loss suggests that his opponents avoided battle.

Peace was restored before the end of the year. Christmas, 1160, is spoken of as the Christmas after the king's reconciliation with Somerled (see above, 1153, note). Then or not long afterwards several earls were present with the king at Perth. This is shown by three charters of which they were witnesses, and of which so many other witnesses were the same that they can hardly belong to different times (they are p. 129, pp. 130-132, and p. 199, in *Liber cartarum prioratus S. Andree*). Of these, the first two are after 20 Nov. 1160, and, if of the same assembly as the third, probably after Christmas 1160; the third, at Perth, is after 6 Jan. 1161, and before 12 May 1161, when, according to the Chronicle of Holyrood, Fergus died (see below): provided that in the third charter Fergus is not named in error for Ferthet.

Five earls and the lord of Galloway were then at Perth with king Malcolm:—Ferthet, earl of Strathearn (p. 129; *Fercheth*, earl of Strathearn, p. 132); Malcolm (p. 199), earl of Atholl (pp. 129, 132); Gillebrigte, earl of Angus (pp. 129, 132); Duncan, earl of Fife (pp. 129, 132); Cospatricius, earl of Lothian (p. 132); and earl Fergus (p. 199; see below). A.O.A.]

<sup>1</sup> *dampno*: L, *damno*.

<sup>2</sup> *Galwaie*: L, *galwaicæ*.

<sup>3</sup> *ecclesia*: L, *eclesia*.

<sup>4</sup> *sucepit* in K; *suscipit* in L.

<sup>5</sup> [An "earl Feregus" appears as witness of a charter by king Malcolm IV at Perth, after 6 Jan. 1161 (*Liber cartarum prioratus S. Andree*, p. 199; see above). If that is correct, Fergus was probably not yet a canon at Holyrood on 6 Jan. 1161. He seems to have retained the lordship of Galloway until his death, after which the territory was divided (see 1161, note).

Fergus lord of Galloway may possibly have been one of the six earls who combined against king Malcolm at Perth in 1160 (see above). The campaigns in Galloway followed that rebellion. But he had evidently been reconciled with the king before the time

Willelmo Muraviensi episcopo et apostolice sedis legato in ipsa ecclesia<sup>1</sup> Sancti Andree [? consecratus est].<sup>2</sup> [? Obiit Robertus prior Sancti Andree,]<sup>3</sup> et Walterus in ejus locum surrexit. Johannes in abbatem de Chelchau electus<sup>4</sup> est, et ab Hereberto Glascuensi episcopo benedictus.<sup>5</sup>

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of the charter mentioned above ; if, as we must assume, his name is correctly entered there.

For an account of Fergus see Lawrie's Annals, pp. 67-68. A.O.A.]

Fergus's gift of Dunrod to the canons of Holyrood was confirmed by Christian bishop of Whithorn before 1167 (*Liber cartarum S. Crucis*, no. 25). The gift is referred to in a writ of king Malcolm IV (x1164 ; *ibid.*, no. 26), in which he says that he has granted his firm peace to all who go or shall go to Galloway, in order to sojourn and dwell in the land of Dunrod which Fergus gave to the church of Holyrood in Edinburgh.

King William's confirmation charter to Holyrood (*ibid.*, no. 27) mentions as gifts of Fergus to Holyrood : Dunrod, with its church ; and the island of Trail, with the land of Galtway. These lands have now been included in the parish of Kirkcudbright.

Fergus and his descendants, Uhtred, Roland, and Alan, are mentioned in a prayer for the souls of benefactors of Holyrood, in the fifteenth-sixteenth century Holyrood book (*Holyrood Ordinale*, p. 2 ; see above, p. 46).

<sup>1</sup> *ecclesia* : L, *eclesia*.

<sup>2</sup> Some words are here lacking in K and L, and were therefore missing in their common source. See the next note. The words *consecratus est* are necessary to the sense. The Chronicle of Melrose has a fuller account of Arnold's consecration. The two accounts are perhaps related ; see above, p. 30. See 1159.

<sup>3</sup> The words *Obiit . . . Andree*, which are required by the sense, have been supplied from the Chronicle of Melrose, where an addition to the text reads : *Obiit Robertus prior Sancti Andree, cui successit Walter cantor ejusdem ecclesie*. That addition is one of the C2 group, which apparently used a source of the Chronicle of Holyrood ; see above, p. 34. Several words were apparently lacking here in the common source of K and L ; probably because a scribe's eye jumped from *Andree* to *Andree*.

<sup>4</sup> *electus* : L, *elctus*.

<sup>5</sup> John, cantor of the abbey of Kelso, was elected abbot on 29 Nov. 1160, and was blessed as abbot on 6 Jan. 1161, according to the Chronicle of Melrose.

Melxi. Obit Teodbaldus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus. Obit Fergus princeps Galwaie,<sup>1</sup> iiii idus Mai.<sup>2</sup>

Melxii. Obit Willelmus Muravensis<sup>3</sup> episcopus et apostolice sedis legatus, ix kal. Fe[b]ruarii.<sup>4</sup> Thomas cancellarius<sup>5</sup> regis Anglie<sup>6</sup> in archiep[iscop]atum<sup>7</sup> Cantuarie consecratus est. Ada<sup>8</sup> sorror<sup>9</sup> Malcolmi regis Scotie nupsit Florentio nobili comiti Hothlandie.<sup>10</sup> Obit Ysaac<sup>11</sup> prior de Scona,<sup>12</sup> et Robertus canonicus de Jedeuad'e<sup>13</sup> primus abbas in eadem

<sup>1</sup> *Galwaie*: L, *Galwaie*.

<sup>2</sup> *iiii idus Mai*: 12 May. For Fergus see 1160, note. Although a canon in Holyrood at the time of his death, Fergus is still called prince of Galloway. The division of Galloway between his sons, Uhtred and Gilbert, took place after his death, according to William of Newburgh (Rolls Series 82, i, p. 186).

<sup>3</sup> *Muravensis*: L, *muraviensis*.

<sup>4</sup> *ix kal. Fe[b]ruarii*: 24 Jan. 1162. In K, *fer'*; in L, *febr'*.

The Chronicle of Melrose has a note of William's death at 1161. See above, 1159, note.

<sup>5</sup> In L, the second *l* of *cancellarius* is added above the line.

<sup>6</sup> *Anglie*: K, *angl'ie*.

<sup>7</sup> In K, *archiepatum*; the *archi* is added above the line, by the text hand. In L, *archiepiscopum*.

<sup>8</sup> In L, *Ada*, altered from *elda* by erasure of the upper part of the *e* and by an addition to the upper part of the *l*, so as to make an *A* of triangular type. This form of *A* occurs here in K also, and in a few other places in both manuscripts. It was presumably used here by their common source.

The Bannatyne Club edition of L reads *Elda*.

<sup>9</sup> *sorror*: L, *soror*.

<sup>10</sup> In L, there is an erased sign over the *t* of *hothlandie*.

For this marriage see Early Sources, ii, pp. 249-250, corrected by the note on Malcolm Macheth above, under year 1157.

<sup>11</sup> *Ysaac*: accents over *aa*, in K and L, mark diaeresis. See above, p. 61.

<sup>12</sup> In L, *scona* is corrected from *scone*, by deletion of *e* and substitution of *a* above.

<sup>13</sup> *iedeuad'e*, with round *d*'s, in both K and L. This may stand for *Jedeuaðe*, i.e. "Jed ford" (see the New English Dictionary, under Wath). The place intended is presumably Jedburgh, which in

*ecclesia constitutus est.*<sup>1</sup>    *Obiit Ernaldus epis-*

the twelfth and thirteenth centuries usually occurs in various spellings of *Jeddeworth* ("Jed town"). Both Jedburgh and Scone were Augustinian houses.

- <sup>1</sup> Robert became abbot of Scone before 5 Dec. 1164, when pope Alexander III gave to him and the canons of Scone a privilege of protection confirming their possessions (*Liber ecclesie de Scon*, no. 18; Lawrie's *Annals*, pp. 91-94).

Robert is said by Bower (Goodall's edition, i, p. 443) to have been prior of Restennet when he succeeded as abbot of Scone. The authority of Bower, who wrote in the fifteenth century, cannot be preferred to that of the *Chronicle of Holyrood*, which says that Robert was a canon of Jedburgh when he became abbot of Scone. The two statements are not necessarily contradictory. Restennet was a possession of Jedburgh (see Sir William Fraser's *Carnegies earls of Southesk*, ii, pp. 475-476).

[A Robert was prior of Restennet in 1165, when he witnessed a charter given at Perth by king Malcolm IV, while Nicholas was chancellor (*National Library of Scotland Ms. 34.1.2, folio 144 verso*; *Registrum monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth*, no. 194). It is possible that Bower might have confused this prior Robert with the Robert who became abbot of Scone; and that in fact the prior and the abbot were different men. But there are several uncertainties here. Two Roberts in succession might have been priors of Restennet. The *Cambuskenneth Register* in which the charter occurs is a late copy; certified, but with many errors. If "Nicholas chancellor" were an error for "Nicholas chamberlain," the date of the charter would be  $\times 1165$  (see 1165 note), and there would be no chronological difficulty in identifying the prior of Restennet with the abbot of Scone: but we cannot assume this error in the *Cambuskenneth Register*, solely on the authority of Bower.

Probably the *Chronicle of Holyrood* is right in calling Robert a canon of Jedburgh when he became abbot of Scone; but Bower's statement that he was prior of Restennet needs confirmation. A. O. A.]

A charter (*Liber ecclesie de Scon*, no. 5) given to the church of Scone by king Malcolm IV at Stirling in the eleventh year of his reign (24 May 1163  $\times$  23 May 1164) says that after the church of Scone had been devastated by fire, the king had appointed an abbot in it, for the stability and advancement of that church. The genuineness of the charter is to some extent confirmed by the list of possessions in the privilege granted by pope Alexander III (see above).

copus Sancti Andree et apostolice sedis legatus,  
 idus Septembris.<sup>1</sup>

Melxiii. Henricus rex Anglie,<sup>2</sup> pacatis transmarinis partibus,<sup>3</sup> in Angliam rediit.<sup>4</sup> Ricardus capellanus regis Scotie, nepos Alwini abbatis de Edenesburch,<sup>5</sup> [in] episcopum Sancti Andree electus est.<sup>6</sup> Rex Malcolmus dedit fratrem suum David et alios pueros nobiles regni sui obsides in manu regis Anglie.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *idus Septembris*: If *idus* is an error for *idibus*, the day is 13 Sep. But if a number has been omitted before *idus*, the day is 6 Sep. x 12 Sep. L reads *septembris*. K and L write *Idus*, as if beginning a new sentence.

The Chronicle of Melrose, under 1161, says that Arnold ceased to hold the office of legate, before his death. See above, note at the end of 1159.

<sup>2</sup> *Anglie*: K, *angl'ie*.

<sup>3</sup> *partibus* is the last word of L. It is at the end of the last remaining folio, 132 verso; the two succeeding folios have been cut away. See above, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Henry II returned from Normandy in Jan. 1163, after an absence of nearly four and a half years. (See Ralph de Diceto; Robert de Torigni.)

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 32.

Richard refers to Alwin as his uncle, in his grant of the church of Falkirk to Holyrood, 1166-7 (*Liber cartarum S. Crucis*, pp. 209-210).

<sup>6</sup> Richard was consecrated in 1165; see below.

<sup>7</sup> King Malcolm did homage to Henry II and his son Henry at Woodstock on 1 July 1163 (Ralph de Diceto, *Rolls Series* 68, i, p. 311). Robert de Torigni (*Rolls Series* 82, iv, p. 218) says that Malcolm gave to Henry "as hostages, his younger brother David and certain of the sons of his barons, for adherence to the peace, and for his castles that the king wished to have." The Chronicle of Holyrood adds nothing to Robert's account, but is probably independent of him. The Chronicle of Melrose, using a source in common with Howden, says that there was "firm peace" between Malcolm and Henry; but does not mention homage or the giving of hostages.

Apparently about the same time, at Woodstock, king Malcolm and his brother William were witnesses of king Henry II's con-

Obiit Thoro archidiaconus Laodonie.<sup>1</sup> Et rex Malcolmus Murevienses transtulit.<sup>2</sup> Obiit

firmation to the monastery of Nuneaton in Warwickshire (Dugdale's *Monasticon*, i (1655), p. 519; R. W. Eyton, *Court, Household and Itinerary of king Henry II* (1878), p. 63).

David returned to Scotland not later than 1168. He witnessed, along with Ralph Malchael, a charter given by king William at St Andrews (*Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, no. 50); according to the chronicle, Ralph died in 1168 (see below). David seems to have been in Scotland when king William, at Stirling, gave a grant to the bishopric of Glasgow, between 1166 and the beginning of 1170 (*Registrum episcopatus Glasguensis*, no. 29); papal confirmation of the grant was given on 5 April 1170 (*ibid.*, no. 26).

See 1170, below.

<sup>1</sup> For *Thoro*, Bouterwek erroneously reads *Horo*.

Thorald or Thor, archdeacon of Lothian, appears in charters from about 1144 onwards (1144-5, *Liber cartarum prioratus S. Andree*, pp. 122-123). He is a witness to a charter (*Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, no. 96) given by Richard bishop of St Andrews, and therefore not before 28 Mar. 1165, the date of Richard's consecration. Thorald's successor Andrew appears as archdeacon in a charter of the same bishop (*Liber cartarum prioratus S. Andree*, pp. 141-144), datable 1165×1166. The evidence of these charters is that Thorald died or ceased to hold office 1165×1166; and this evidence must be preferred to the chronicle's statement that he died in 1163, and that Andrew succeeded him in 1164 (see below).

"Thor, archdeacon of Lothian, and Thuroldus, a very prudent man of the island of Lindisfarne," are said by Reginald of Durham (a writer of the latter part of the twelfth century) to have been brothers of a certain William, son of Malger; and to have been very well known (James Raine's edition, *Surtees Society* 1, 1835).

<sup>2</sup> It is not clear how this statement should be interpreted. Fordun, writing in the fourteenth century, says that king Malcolm collected an army, and transferred the rebel nation of Moray (*rebellem Moraviensium gentem . . . transtulit*) to the other districts, on both sides of the mountains, so that not one remained; and placed in Moray a peaceful population (i, pp. 256-257). This is the foundation of later, increasingly imaginative, accounts.

This passage of Fordun has been widely accepted, as confirming and interpreting the words of the Chronicle of Holyrood. But it seems to be merely an elaboration of the chronicle's statement (see above, p. 45). This would be in accordance with Fordun's usual historical method. (Compare, for instance, his account of

Willelmus frater regis Anglie.<sup>1</sup>

Melxiii<sup>to</sup>, Octavianus antipapa interiit, et Wido [C]remensis scisma illius fovens in loco ejus successit.<sup>2</sup> Magister Andreas ar[c]hidiaconus<sup>3</sup> Laodonie<sup>4</sup> factus est.<sup>5</sup> Sumerlede regis Scotie adversarius cum maxima classe apud Remfriū predaturus applicuit, et ipse ibi et filius ejus cum innumerabili multitudine suorum interfectus est.<sup>6</sup> Conventus venit ad

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the rebellion of 1160, in chapters II and III of the *Gesta Annalia*.) Fordun must not therefore be allowed to influence our interpretation of the chronicle.

[The Chronicle of Holyrood may perhaps be understood to mean that there was an extension in Moray of the policy of plantation, which had possibly begun there before (as in the case of Berowald the Fleming, *Registrum episcopatus Moraviensis* p. 453); and that this extension resulted from a rebellion in Moray, possibly after king Malcolm's homage at Woodstock. But the words may also mean other things. It would even be difficult to say with certainty that they cannot mean "translated men of Moray" who had suffered martyrdom, or "changed the place of [the bishops] of Moray" (compare *Early Sources*, ii, p. 368). To build upon any interpretation of the words would be exceedingly unsafe. See 1157 note. A. O. A.]

<sup>1</sup> William, brother of Henry II, died 30 Jan. 1164 (Robert de Torigni). This event should probably have been entered at the beginning of 1164, since the Chronicle of Holyrood normally begins the year at Christmas.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, year 1159. Wido of Crema was the antipope Paschal III (Apr. 1164–Sep. 1168; Jaffé).

<sup>3</sup> ar[c]hidiaconus: K, ardhidiaconus.

<sup>4</sup> In *Laodonie*, the abbreviation-sign for *n* is misplaced, so that the apparent reading is *Laodoine*.

<sup>5</sup> Andrew's appointment is wrongly placed here. He became archdeacon of Lothian 1165×1166 (see 1163, note). Compare *Early Sources*, ii, p. 252.

<sup>6</sup> See 1153, note.

For accounts of this affair, see *Early Sources*, ii, pp. 254–258. The Chronicle of Melrose says, under 1164: "And Somerled, regulus of Argyll, who had now been for twelve years in impious rebellion against Malcolm, king of the Scots, his natural lord, after landing at Renfrew, bringing with him a large army from



Cupro,<sup>1</sup> et á Gregorio episcopo de Dunkelde susceptus est venerabiliter, et abbas benedictus, scilicet F[ulco].<sup>2</sup> Obiit bone memorie Here-

Ireland and various places, was at last through divine vengeance killed there by a few fellow-provincials, and with him his son and innumerable people." The account given by Howden (Rolls Series 51, i, p. 224), briefer and with a few variations, is derived from the source of that passage (see above, p. 31).

<sup>1</sup> *Cupro*: read *Cuprum*.

<sup>2</sup> *F[ulco]*: the text of K reads *F*. In the inner margin a cursive hand, not much later than the hand of the text, has written *Nota fulco*, and connected the name by carets with its place in the text. The name *fulco* is written in full in the text on the same page, under 1170. In the outer margin of 1164 a rubric, *Conventus venit ad Cuprum*, is written apparently in a hand of the latter part of the fourteenth century. These marginal additions were probably made at Coupar.

The words *scilicet F*. may originally have been a gloss, copied into the text. The original gloss would presumably have been made at Coupar.

This entry is the first of several items in the chronicle that describe events in the Cistercian abbey of Coupar-Angus (now in Perthshire). See above, p. 37.

The Chronicle of Melrose under 1164 says: "The abbey of Coupar was made, which king Malcolm made"; and an addition in the margin, marked to stand at the end of the sentence, reads: "on the fourth day before the Ides of July" (12 July, a Sunday in 1164).

A list of Cistercian foundations places the foundation of the house of Coupar in 1164 (Journal of British Archaeological Association, xxvi, p. 361).

The Life of Waltheof, abbot of Melrose, written 1207×1214, says that king Malcolm promised Waltheof that he would found a Cistercian abbey, and he appointed Coupar as the place. But the foundation was postponed for a while "on account of unavoidable and urgent business"; and in the mean time Waltheof died (in 1159, according to the Chronicle of Melrose), leaving the work of the foundation to be done by his successor William, abbot of Melrose (Acta Sanctorum, 3 Aug., i, p. 262).

King Malcolm granted a charter (Rogers's Register of Cupar Abbey, Grampian Club 17, i, p. 319) confirming his whole land of Coupar "to God, and St Mary of Coupar, and the monks serving God there." "Arnold, legate of Scotland," was a witness to

bertus episcopus Glascouensis,<sup>1</sup> et I[n]gelramus cancellarius regis ad episcop[at]um electus est, et ab Alexandro papa consecratus est.<sup>2</sup> Thomas

the charter, which can therefore be dated 1161×1162. It follows from this that there were already monks at Coupar not later than 1162. The establishment was apparently completed in 1164.

The church of St Mary of Coupar was dedicated on 15 May 1233 (Chronicle of Melrose). On 9 July 1233 king Alexander II confirmed to the monks of Coupar the lands with which he had endowed that church, which he had caused to be dedicated (Rogers's Register of Cupar Abbey, i, pp. 325-326).

Fulk, the first abbot of Coupar, died in 1170 (see below). He witnessed a confirmation given by king William to the canons of St Andrews, at Alyth, 1165×1171 (Liber cartarum prioratus S. Andree, pp. 222-223).

<sup>1</sup> [Herbert was elected to the bishopric of Glasgow after 3 May 1147 (see 1147, note); and was consecrated by pope Eugenius III at Auxerre on 24 Aug. 1147 (Chronicle of Melrose), a Sunday.

Herbert had been a Tironian monk at Selkirk. He became abbot there in 1119, and was abbot when the monastery was transferred to Kelso (additions to the Chronicle of Melrose; facsimile edition, pp. xxxv-xxxvi, 31).

The transference was made in 1127. It is noticed in an addition to Simeon of Durham's *Historia Regum*, under the first of two year-sections numbered 1128; but the other events of that year-section belong to 1127, and its year-number has been altered from 1127, erroneously. (Corpus Christi College Cambridge Ms. 139, folio 130 verso, bottom margin.) Herbert appears as abbot of Roxburgh on 17 July 1127 (see above, 1159, note). The monastery was then at Kelso, which was close to Roxburgh. Herbert is called "abbot of Roxburgh" until 3 May 1147 (Lawrie's Charters, no. 178). But the church of Kelso had been built not later than 1133, and perhaps in 1127 (Liber S. Marie de Calchou, no. 443; Lawrie's Charters, no. 82). A. O. A.]

<sup>2</sup> [Ingram was consecrated at Sens by pope Alexander III on 28 Oct. 1164 (Chronicle of Melrose). On 1 Nov., at Sens, the pope wrote a letter of commendation to the dean (Solomon) and canons of Glasgow, saying that he had consecrated Ingram as their bishop, notwithstanding the opposition of the archbishop of York, and that he commended the bishop, with the full favour and benediction of the apostolic see, to them as to his spiritual sons. (Registrum episcopatus Glasguensis, no. 19; Lawrie's Annals, pp. 84-85.)

Probably "spiritual sons" of the bishop is the true reading;

not "special sons" of the apostolic see, as in *Early Sources*, ii, p. 253, and *Lawrie's Annals*, p. 86. But the letter of commendation implies the direct relationship that is expressed in the privilege of 1175, and later privileges, in which the pope calls the church of Glasgow the "special daughter" of the apostolic see. See below, under 1175. That expression alone does not fully describe the relationship. When the abbot of Kelso received the privilege of wearing the mitre (apparently in 1165, according to an addition in the *Chronicle of Melrose*) pope Alexander III wrote that the church of Kelso was the "special daughter" of the Roman church (*Liber S. Marie de Calchou*, no. 467).

The letter of commendation of Ingram was a rebuff to Roger archbishop of York, who had earlier in the same year, 1164, received the papal legation over England (*Rolls Series* 67, v, pp. 85-88; *Migne, Patrologia Latina*, cc, columns 285-286), and had attempted to include Scotland in his legation (addition in the *Chronicle of Melrose*).

Pope Alexander III had from the first shown favour to the Scottish church in its dispute with York. Ingram may have pressed upon his attention the special claims of Glasgow. But the suggestion that Ingram may have remained with the pope until July, 1165, (in *Haddan and Stubbs, Councils*, ii, p. 37; *Lawrie's Annals*, pp. 86-87; compare *Early Sources*, ii, p. 253) rests upon the misdating of pope Alexander's letter of 2 June, at Ferentino (*Registrum episcopatus Glasguensis*, no. 22), in the year 1165, instead of 1175, to which year it is restricted by its place of writing. See below, p. 159.

Ingram was apparently a clerk of earl Henry, 1139×1147, when Henry gave his charter to the church of Tiron; confirming king David's grant of free trade and fishing for one ship in Scotland, and conferring the same privilege in Northumbria (*Merlet, Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la S. Trinité de Tiron*, ii, p. 14; *Lawrie's Charters*, no. 137). He became earl Henry's chancellor (1139×1152, *Lawrie's Charters*, nos. 135, 246). As chancellor of the earl, he witnessed along with Walter de Bidun chancellor of the king (1147×1151, *ibid.*, no. 230; 1150×1152, *ibid.*, no. 244; cf. no. 195, 1147×1152).

Ingram continued to be chancellor after the death of earl Henry in 1152, and after the loss of Northumbria in 1157. As chancellor, presumably in part of southern Scotland, he witnessed along with Ascelinus archdeacon of Glasgow (1153×1160, *Liber S. Marie de Melros*, no. 5; 1153×1162, *Liber S. Marie de Calchou*, no. 415, and 1160×1162, no. 436).

Ingram probably became archdeacon when Ascelinus ceased to be archdeacon of Glasgow, 1160×1162; and for a time he wit-

archiepiscopus Cantuariensis propter inimicitias regis in Gallia[m] transfretavit.<sup>1</sup>

nessed as archdeacon, not as chancellor. Ingram appears as archdeacon 1160×1162 (*Liber S. Marie de Calchou*, nos. 439, 440, 451), and 1161×1162 (*Registrum episcopatus Glasguensis*, no. 16; and *Liber cartarum S. Crucis*, no. 15); and was almost certainly archdeacon in 1161, since he witnessed as archdeacon, after Walter the chancellor, king Malcolm's charter to Jedburgh abbey (at Roxburgh, 6 Jan. 1161×24 Jan. 1162; text and facsimile in Sir William Fraser's *Carnegies earls of Southesk* (1867), ii, pp. 475-476). In bishop Arnold's confirmation of that charter (*ibid.*, p. 476; *Genealogist*, New Series, xvii (1901), p. 107), of the same limit-dates, Ingram appears as archdeacon of Teviotdale.

Walter was still chancellor on 24 June 1161 or 1162, according to the charters of king Malcolm IV to Walter the Steward (*History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*, xxiv, pp. 126, 139).

Ingram succeeded Walter as chancellor of the king of Scotland, 1161×1163 (*Registrum monasterii de Passelet*, p. 1; *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, no. 162), and perhaps 1161×1162 (Rogers's *Register of Cupar Abbey*, i, no. 1; *Registrum S. Marie de Neubottle*, p. xxxvi and no. 155). He was still chancellor 1163×1164 (*Liber cartarum prioratus S. Andree*, pp. 193-194, 201-202); and without doubt until he was consecrated bishop by the pope, as the *Chronicles of Holyrood and Melrose* say.

Ingram held the bishopric of Glasgow until his death on 2 Feb. 1174 (*Chronicle of Melrose*). He had brothers named Simon (*Registrum monasterii de Passelet*, p. 2), and William (*Liber S. Marie de Calchou*, no. 304).

The previous chancellor of the king, Walter, had obtained that office 1147×1151 (*Registrum monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth*, no. 51, with *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, no. 3; see also above). In a few charters he is called Walter de Bidun (see above; and compare *Liber S. Marie de Calchou*, nos. 373 (1147×1152), and 376 (1153×1162); *Liber cartarum prioratus S. Andree*, p. 197 (1153×1159); *Lawrie's Charters*, no. 244 (1150×1152); and a charter quoted in *Lawrie's Annals*, p. 39 (1153×1160), of ?1158). He may have been the same person as the later chancellor Walter, who is regularly called Walter de Bidun, who became chancellor after the death in 1171 of chancellor Nicholas (see below), and who was elected to the bishopric of Dunkeld, and died, in 1178 (*Chronicle of Melrose*). A. O. A.]

<sup>1</sup> For Thomas Becket see 1170, below.

Mclxy. Rex Scotie Malcolmus dedit cancellariam suam Nicholao clerico suo.<sup>1</sup> Ricardus electus Sancti Andree consecratus est ab episcopis Scotie, in ipsa ecclesia Sancti Andree, v kal. Aprilis.<sup>2</sup> Obiit bone memorie Malcolmus

<sup>1</sup> [Nicholas had been a clerk of kings David and Malcolm IV (in 1150, Liber S. Marie de Calchou, no. 445; and until 1159, *ibid.*, p. III).

Nicholas was king Malcolm's chamberlain, in 1159, when he went to the Roman court as the king's emissary (Chronicle of Melrose); although the pope, Alexander III, in his letter to St Andrews of 27 Nov. 1159, refers to him as "master Nicholas" only. For a couple of years, Herbert, who had been king David's chamberlain, continued to be chamberlain in Scotland (1160-1, Liber cartarum prioratus S. Andree, p. 207; 1160×1161, Liber cartarum S. Crucis, no. 15); but afterwards (probably from 1161) Nicholas was chamberlain alone, until in the end of Malcolm's reign he was made chancellor. The next chamberlain appears to have been Philip de Valognes.

Nicholas became king Malcolm's chancellor in succession to Ingram in 1165 (chamberlain, Liber cartarum S. Crucis, p. 208; chancellor, Registrum episcopatus Glasguensis no. 15, Liber S. Marie de Melros no. 39, Liber ecclesie de Scon no. 15); and held the same office under king William, until at least as late as 1169 (Liber cartarum S. Andree, pp. 220-221). He died in 1171 (Chronicle of Melrose). He appears to have been followed in the chancellery by Walter de Bidun (see above).

Nicholas was a brother of Adam chaplain of Roxburgh (Registrum episcopatus Glasguensis, no. 12; 1153×1159). In the Life of abbot Waltheof (Acta Sanctorum, 3 Aug., i, p. 270; compare Lawrie's Annals, pp. 49, 51) Jordan of Furness says that Nicholas and his brother were of illustrious birth; and calls Nicholas, at Rome in 1159, clerk of the king, and chancellor. The latter title is given by Jordan proleptically.

In king Malcolm's grant to Dunfermline of the chapel of Inverkeithing, at Dunfermline, 1160×1162, (Registrum de Dunfermelyn, no. 46) "Nicholas, chancellor," appears as a witness. This was presumably a scribal error for "chamberlain."

See also Early Sources, ii, p. 259; and Lawrie's Annals, pp. 121-122. A. O. A.]

<sup>2</sup> v kal. Aprilis: 28 Mar. For Richard's election see 1163. The Chronicle of Melrose has a rather fuller, and possibly cognate, account of his consecration; see above, p. 30.

The earlier bishops of the St Andrews diocese, Turgot and

rex Scottorum, quinto idus Decembris<sup>1</sup>; et Willelmus frater ejus in regem sublimatus est, in vigilia<sup>2</sup> natalis domini.

Mclxvi. Obierunt Robert episcopus Banonie,<sup>3</sup> et Robert [? abbas] Sancti A[l]bani.<sup>4</sup>

Mclxvii. [Obierunt] Robertus episcopus Lincolnensis, et Robertus episcopus Herefordensis.<sup>5</sup>

Robert, had been consecrated by archbishops of York, though without acknowledging the superiority of York over the Scottish church (Simeon of Durham, ii, pp. 204, 241; and above, note on Robert at 1159); and Arnold had been consecrated by the bishop of Moray acting as papal legate (see 1159, note, and 1160).

Richard was the first diocesan bishop of St Andrews to be consecrated by other bishops of Scotland. After his death, the rival claimants, Hugh and John, were both consecrated by Scottish bishops: Hugh by authority of the king, and John by authority of a legate of the pope (see 1179, note, and 1180).

It is not known whether the pope, Alexander III, gave his consent for Richard's consecration. Alexander had already shown himself favourable to the Scottish church (see note at 1159 on the bishop of Moray's mission to the Roman court). Whether the pope's consent was obtained or not, the manner of Richard's consecration seems to mark a new stage in the opposition of the Scottish church to the claims of York.

For Richard's death, see 1179.

<sup>1</sup> *quinto idus Decembris*: 9 Dec.

<sup>2</sup> *vigilia*: 24 Dec.

<sup>3</sup> *Banonie*: read *Batonie*, i.e. "of Bath." Robert bishop of Bath died in 1166, according to Robert de Torigni. Compare the Annals of Winchester and of Tewkesbury (Luard's *Annales Monastici*, ii, p. 59; i, p. 49).

<sup>4</sup> *A[l]bani*: K, *Abbani*. Robert, abbot of St Albans, died in 1166, according to the Annals of Winchester and of Tewkesbury (as above).

<sup>5</sup> Robert de Torigni places the deaths of Robert bishop of Lincoln and Robert bishop of Hereford a little while before Lent 1167, i.e. before 22 Feb. 1167. Howden (i, p. 269) says that Robert bishop of Lincoln died on 8 Jan. 1167; Diceto (i, p. 329) says, on 26 Jan. 1167. The Annals of Winchester and of Tewkesbury place his death in 1166, but they are of less good authority for the date. The death of Robert bishop of Hereford is placed in 1167

Obiit Mathildis imperatrix, mater Henrici regis Anglie, iiii idus Septembris.<sup>1</sup>

Mclxviii. Henricus rex Anglie dedit filiam suam duci Saxonico.<sup>2</sup> Obiit Robertus comes Legercestrie.<sup>3</sup> Patricius comes interfectus est.<sup>4</sup> Luna sanguineo rubore perfusa quasi hora integra, xiii kal. Octobris,<sup>5</sup> circa gallicantum; dehinc nigredine subsequente ad lucem propria[m] reversa est. Radulfus Malcaael,<sup>6</sup> et Ricardus filius Baldewini, et

Bede, Hist. Cont.,  
p. 361

by the Chronicle of Melrose; on 26 Feb. 1167 by the Annals of Tewkesbury; in 1166 by the Annals of Winchester.

Probably 1166-7 is the right year for both deaths. But K's omission of *obierunt* creates a slight doubt whether these items stood under 1167 or 1166 in K's source.

<sup>1</sup> *iiii idus Septembris*: 10 Sep. So also in Robert de Torigni.

<sup>2</sup> See Robert de Torigni.

<sup>3</sup> Robert de Beaumont, earl of Leicester, was a half-brother of Ada, the wife of Henry earl of Northumbria, and mother of the kings Malcolm and William. See *Early Sources*, ii, p. 155.

<sup>4</sup> Patrick, the first earl of Salisbury. See Robert de Torigni, and *Early Sources*, ii, p. 265.

<sup>5</sup> *xiii kal. Octobris*: 19 Sep. The eclipse occurred at 2 a.m. Paris time (*L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*).

This passage, except for the date, is copied from the notice of an eclipse of 734 in the Continuation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History; compare 734 above. The passage at 1168 is derived from a usual text of the Continuation, and not from the text of Bede that was used for the first part of the Chronicle of Holyrood, and that contained some unusual readings at 734. See above, pp. 11-12, 42.

The Chronicle of Peterborough under 1168 says: *Hic luna, amissa sua luce, sanguineo rubore perfusa est*. Compare above, 1137 note.

The same passage of Bede is used by the Annals of Plympton, to describe eclipses under years 1136 and 1161.

<sup>6</sup> Ralph Malchael appears as a witness in two charters (*Liber cartarum prioratus S. Andree*, pp. 217-218, and *Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, no. 50), given by king William, at Edinburgh and at St Andrews, Dec. 1165-1171 (while Nicholas was chancellor).

In these charters Ralph's second name appears as *Malcheel* and *Mal chael*. The name is Norman French: *mal-chael* "bad whelp," translated *Maluscatulus* (J. H. Round, *Calendar of Documents in France*, nos. 59, 484).

Ralph's name is placed among the names of laymen.

magister Imerus,<sup>1</sup> fraude Scottorum interfecti sunt, ix kal. ejusdem.<sup>2</sup> Obiit Malcolm Machbeth comes de Ros.<sup>3</sup>

Melxix. Obiit Gregorius episcopus Dunchelde.<sup>4</sup>

Melxx, David frater regis Scotie accepit arma ab Henrico seniore rege Anglie, ii kal. Januarii.<sup>5</sup> Eodem anno Henricus, predicti Henrici filius, coronatus apud Lundoniam rex totius Anglie, patre suo vivente, xviii kal. Julii.<sup>6</sup> Eodem anno Thomas archiepiscopus Cantuarie<sup>7</sup> ab exilio est revocatus, Henrico regi reconciliatus, et postea interfectus á militibus Henrici regis in ecclesia Cantuarie, iiii kal. Januarii.<sup>8</sup> Obiit pie memorie Fulco primus abbas Sancte Marie

<sup>1</sup> An *Imerus clericus* witnessed a charter (Liber S. Marie de Melros, no. 151), given by king William at Lanark, Dec. 1165×1170 (before Richard the king's chaplain became bishop of Dunkeld; see 1169, 1179, notes).

<sup>2</sup> *ix kal. ejusdem*: 23 Sep. The wording of the date suggests that this incident was associated by the chronicler with the lunar eclipse noted before it. Nothing further is known of it. See above, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> The Chronicle of Holyrood is the only authority for this, and for the identification of Malcolm the earl of Ross with Malcolm Macheth. See 1157, note.

<sup>4</sup> *Dunchelde*: K, *du`ch'e*. Gregory was succeeded by Richard, chaplain of the king; see below, 1179.

<sup>5</sup> *ii kal. Januarii*: 31 Dec. 1169. But *Januarii* is presumably an error for *Junii*, which would give the date 31 May. The Chronicle of Melrose says that David was knighted on the octaves of Pentecost, i.e. 31 May 1170.

King William and David were both present in Henry's court at Windsor, at Easter 1170. They did homage to Henry the younger on 15 June 1170, the day after he had been crowned king at Westminster (Benedict of Peterborough, i, pp. 4, 6).

<sup>6</sup> *xviii kal. Julii*: 14 June.

<sup>7</sup> *Cantuarie*: K, *cant`*.

<sup>8</sup> *iiii kal. Januarii*: 29 Dec. 1170. For the impression made in Scotland by the death of Thomas Becket see the passage beginning *O scelus nephandum* in the Chronicle of Melrose under 1171.

Compare below, 1174, note.



de Cupre, xiii kal. Januarii.<sup>1</sup> Requiescat in pace. Amen. Amen. Amen.<sup>2</sup> Cui succedit Radulfus.<sup>3</sup>

Mclxxi.<sup>4</sup>

[?Mclxxii. Obiit] Willelmus abbas<sup>5</sup> de Monte Dolo-

<sup>1</sup> xiii kal. Januarii: 20 Dec.

<sup>2</sup> For Fulk, see 1164 above. This entry was presumably composed at Coupar; see p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Ralph, a monk of Melrose, was blessed as abbot of Coupar by Richard bishop of St Andrews, at Coldingham, on 2 Feb. 1171 (Chronicle of Melrose). For the death of Ralph, see 1189 below.

<sup>4</sup> Folio 11 verso of K begins with the year-number *Mclxxi*. The rest of the first line, and the greater part of the second, are blank. *Willelmus abbas de* completes the second line.

The writer of K apparently did not understand what he was copying; he wrote *concordatur* with a small *c*, as if he thought that *Willelmus* was the subject. Something had presumably dropped out of his exemplar, or was illegible in it.

King Henry's reconciliation with the church took place in 1172 (see below). The year-number 1172 is not given in K; there is a strong presumption that it was part of what has been lost before *Willelmus*, and that the entry concerning the abbot William also belongs to the year 1172 (see below).

<sup>5</sup> *Willelmus abbas*: The only Scottish abbot at this time whom we know to have been called William was the abbot of Holyrood, who succeeded in 1152 (see above), and died between 1165 and 1174. W., abbot of Holyrood, witnessed a charter (*Liber cartarum prioratus S. Andree*, pp. 217-218) given by king William at Edinburgh, 9 Dec. 1165 × 23 Sep. 1168. John, abbot of Holyrood, who succeeded William, witnessed two documents confirming the settlement of a dispute between Melrose and Dunbar (*Liber S. Marie de Melros*, nos. 51 and 52). The confirmations are of the same time as the settlement, which is dated 1173, i.e. 1173-4 (*ibid.*, no. 50). John therefore became abbot probably not later than 1173.

For the name *Mons Dolorosus* see the following note.

The abbot William here noticed by the chronicle was almost certainly the abbot of Holyrood. The notice was most probably of his death, which is not mentioned elsewhere in this or other chronicles. Presumably the word *Obiit*, as well as the year-number 1172, has been lost (see above).

If this interpretation is, as we believe, correct, the entry is the last that is certainly connected with Holyrood in the chronicle. See above, pp. 37, 38, 40.

froso.<sup>1</sup> Concordatur rex Anglie cum cardinalibus pro morte Thome archiepiscopi Cantuarie.<sup>2</sup>

Mclxxiii. Rex Willelmus Scottorum congregato exercitu Karleolum adiit, ferro et igne diversa loca destruxit; feria secunda infra octavas assu[m]ptionis Sancte Marie<sup>3</sup> incepit.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Dolofroso*: read *Doloroso*.

[The name *Mons Dolorosus* is derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, where it is said that *Mons Dolorosus* was a fourth town founded by Ebraucus; the others were York, Dumbarton, and Edinburgh. See A. Griscom's edition (1929), p. 259; Giles's edition, p. 27. This is the reading also of Cotton, Titus C xvii (folio 6 verso:—*Condidit etiam Ebraucus urbem Alchud versus Albaniam, et oppidum Agned quod nunc Castellum Puellarum dicitur, et Montem Dolorosum*), and of the other twelfth and early thirteenth-century Latin manuscripts of Geoffrey that are in the British Museum. But some Welsh manuscripts were translated from an early Latin version of Geoffrey, and a good representative of these (Jesus College Oxford, Welsh Ms. lxi), translated into English by Canon R. E. Jones in Griscom's edition, p. 259, reads: "the castle of mount Angned, which today is called the castle of the maidens or the hill of mourning." That misrendering may have been known to the composer of this part of the Chronicle of Holyrood, since he appears to use *Mons Dolorosus* as a synonym for Edinburgh. A. O. A.]

<sup>2</sup> *Cantuarie*: K, *Cant*~. King Henry II made satisfaction for the death of Thomas Becket, on 27 Sep. 1172 (Benedict of Peterborough, i, pp. 32-33; Howden, ii, pp. 35-39).

<sup>3</sup> *feria . . . Marie*: Monday, 20 Aug., 1173.

<sup>4</sup> William's invasions of England in 1173 and 1174 were made in support of Henry the younger in his rebellion against Henry II. Henry II had caused William and his brother David to do homage to the younger Henry in 1170 (see above). William's choice of allegiance in 1173 was decided by his hope of regaining Northumbria, which Henry II had taken away in 1157, and now refused to restore (Jordan de Fantosme, ll. 292-383). The younger Henry granted to William, "for his homage and service, the whole of Northumberland as far as the Tyne"; and to David he granted on the same terms the earldom of Huntingdon, and gave him in addition "the whole of Cambridgeshire" (Benedict of Peterborough, i, p. 45; compare above, 1157, note). These lands, in so far as William and David held them, were forfeited in 1174.

The words of the Chronicle of Holyrood appear to mean that

Mclxxiiii. Iterum et tercio inito exercitu rex  
Willelmus exiit ad destruendam Norhumbriam,<sup>1</sup>

William's invasion of England began on Monday 20 Aug. 1173. Jordan de Fantosme (ll. 468-477) describes the mustering of William's army at Caddonlee, Selkirkshire, but he mentions no date. William went first to attack Wark, and was there for some little time (*aliquantulum*: Chronicle of Melrose). After making a truce there, he went to several other castles, but apparently did not stay long at any (Jordan de Fantosme, ll. 478-629). He then laid siege to Carlisle, but made a hasty retreat to Scotland when he heard that a strong English force was approaching (Chronicle of Melrose; William of Newburgh, Rolls Series 82, i, pp. 177-178; Jordan de Fantosme, ll. 610-759). The south of Scotland was invaded by Richard de Lucy and Humphrey de Bohun; but they made a truce with William when they received news, apparently of the earl of Leicester's landing in England (Benedict of Peterborough, i, p. 61). Leicester landed on 29 Sep., according to Ralph de Diceto, i, p. 377.

The unpublished Annals of Northampton say, under 1173 (folio 22): "In the same year, the king of Scotland entered England in the month of August, and began to plunder and burn towns, supported by the counsel and aid of Roger de Mowbray. And Richard de Lucy went against him with an army; but he made a truce, and returned: and he had heard that the earl of Leicester with Flemings had landed, in support of the younger king." This was followed by the battle of Fornham, near Bury St Edmunds, fought on 16 or 17 Oct. (Benedict and Diceto).

It is not impossible that William's invasion did begin on 20 Aug., as the Chronicle of Holyrood seems to say. But the sentence appears incomplete; and the missing words may have described a different event, to which the date may have belonged. The date cannot with certainty be taken as belonging to William's campaign.

On 20 Aug. 1173, Henry II's army began a short siege of Dol, in Brittany; the taking of Dol on 26 Aug. resulted in the capture of Hugh le Meschin, earl of Chester, and many other rebels, and ended the rebellion in Normandy, for a time (Benedict of Peterborough, i, pp. 56-58).

<sup>1</sup> For William's first expedition into England, see 1173. The chronicle here seems to mean that in 1174 William twice put himself at the head of his army; but it does not appear from other sources that he made two invasions in this year. A truce had been made in the autumn of 1173, to last until St Hilary's day (13 Jan.); and it had then been extended to Low Sunday (31 Mar. 1174;

et secundo idus Julii die sabbati<sup>1</sup> apud Alnewich captus est. Junior rex Henricus cum patre, et Willelmus rex Scotie, et rex Francie, concordaverunt.<sup>2</sup>

Benedict of Peterborough, i, p. 64). Immediately after Low Sunday, William invaded Northumberland. For his exploits of 1174, see English Chroniclers, pp. 249-251, and Jordan de Fantosme, ll. 1145-1714.

For the part played in the war by David, William's brother, see Fantosme, ll. 1102-1144. David had possession of the castle of Huntingdon in 1173 (Benedict of Peterborough, i, p. 48; and see above, 1173 note). Fantosme, speaking of May 1174, says that William had promised David all Lennox and the honour of Huntingdon, in return for his assistance against Henry II (ll. 1106-1112); in the same passage (l. 1102) Fantosme calls David "earl." His poem was written between 1174 and 1183, and may very possibly have been composed for recitation at court soon after the reconciliation of Henry II and his son Henry, in 1175.

[The county of Lennox was included in king William's charter of lands to David and his heirs, 1178×1182 (Chartulary of Lindores, no. 1). David may have had Lennox before that charter; but it is doubtful whether he ever had with it the title of earl.

Probably Fantosme gave him the title that went with the honour of Huntingdon, but David can hardly have been invested in the earldom by Henry the younger. He became earl of Huntingdon in 1185. A. O. A.]

<sup>1</sup> *die sabbati*: Saturday, 14 July; but Saturday, 13 July 1174, is the right date (see English Chroniclers, p. 254). For accounts of William's capture, see *ibid.*, pp. 251-254; Early Sources, ii, pp. 284-291; Jordan de Fantosme, from line 1731 onwards.

William's capture was attributed to the miraculous intervention of St Thomas Becket. William himself adopted this view; and in 1178 founded the abbey of Tironian monks at Arbroath in honour of St Thomas. See Early Sources, ii, p. 298.

[The monks and their abbot were brought from Kelso; but the abbot of Kelso declared that he had no authority over the abbey of St Thomas (Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc, i, no. 2; compare also below, p. 164). A. O. A.]

<sup>2</sup> King William's capture practically ended, in England, the revolt against king Henry II. Henry's sons made peace with their father, by the advice of king Louis VII, on 30 Sep. 1174; see Benedict of Peterborough, i, pp. 77-79.

King William, the earls of Leicester and of Chester, and Ralph

## Mclxxv. Rex Willelmus mense Februarii con-

de Fougères, prisoners of king Henry II, and their hostages, were excluded from the treaty, in which it is said that they had already made a settlement with the king (see the treaty in *Foedera*, i, part 1, p. 30; compare the announcement on p. 31, taken from *Ralph de Diceto*, i, pp. 394-395).

This is the first indication of a settlement between Henry II and William. The final settlement was embodied in the treaty of Falaise (*Foedera*, as above, pp. 30-31), which is dated by *Diceto* (i, p. 396) at Valognes, on 8 Dec. 1174.

*Diceto* says that William was visited at Falaise by many of his friends; and that his settlement with Henry was made with the advice of "the bishops and abbots, earls and barons" of Scotland. The treaty mentions, as Scottish parties to the settlement who were apparently present when it was made, king William, his brother David, Richard bishop of St Andrews, Richard bishop of Dunkeld, Geoffrey abbot of Dunfermline, Herbert prior of Coldingham, and nobles and other vassals of William. Presumably these last were, or at least included, the twenty earls and barons named in the treaty, together with William's brother David, as hostages who had been given to Henry in security for the surrender of certain castles (Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling). When the castles had been surrendered, William and his hostages were to be released, and the nobles were to give their sons or nearest heirs as hostages.

William did homage and fealty to Henry II and his son Henry, for Scotland and all his other lands. Those nobles and churchmen who were present also apparently did fealty.

One of the chief matters dealt with in the settlement was the position of the Scottish church. William, David, and William's barons and other vassals, conceded that the church of Scotland should make to the church of England such subjection as it ought to make, and had been accustomed to make in the time of king Henry's predecessors. The four churchmen conceded that the church of England should have such right in the church of Scotland as she ought to have; and that they would not oppose that right. The wording of these concessions did not commit the Scots to any definition of the rights of the English church. Compare below, under 1175 and 1177.

The settlement provided that all the bishops and clergy of Scotland were to make the same concession as had been made by the four churchmen named in the treaty; and were to do fealty to Henry II and his son, as Henry's other bishops were

cordatus repatriavit,<sup>1</sup> et in mense Augusti rex cum suis ad Eboracum regi Anglie occurrit.<sup>2</sup>

accustomed to do. Those earls, barons, and other Scottish vassals, who were not present at the settlement, were to do homage and fealty to king Henry and his son. These clauses of the settlement were fulfilled at York in Aug. 1175 (see below).

The text of the treaty may have been drawn up in Dec. 1174. It is dated at Falaise, and was apparently witnessed in Normandy. But the surviving version is that which was read and sealed at York, and it may have been modified from the original version. It says that the king of Scotland "has delivered" his castles to the king of England; but the treaty implies that at the time of the settlement the castles had not been delivered. See below.

<sup>1</sup> According to Diceto (i, p. 398) William was removed from Normandy to England on 11 Dec. 1174, that is three days after the treaty.

The earlier English chronicles, and the Chronicle of Melrose, do not mention the date of king William's return to Scotland; see Early Sources, ii, p. 293. The Annals of Northampton (folio 22) say that he was allowed to go free in the month of February, 1175. The Bridlington chronicle (Palgrave's Documents and Records, p. 63) says that he was set free on 15 Feb. 1175. According to the terms of the treaty of Falaise, William was to be released after certain castles had been surrendered to king Henry (see 1174 note); this was confirmed with the rest of the treaty in Aug. 1175. Presumably the castles had been surrendered not later than February, 1175. Compare D. W. Hunter Marshall, in Scottish Historical Review, xxv, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> The principal authorities for the submission at York are Benedict of Peterborough (i, pp. 94-96), Roger of Howden (ii, pp. 79-82), Robert de Torigni (Rolls Series 82, iv, pp. 267-268), Chronicle of Melrose; see also English Chroniclers, p. 259, and Early Sources, ii, pp. 293-294.

Benedict, Howden, and William of Newburgh (i, p. 198), say that the submission was made in St Peter's church at York; Edward I (Foedera, i, part 2, p. 933) says that William deposited on the altar of the church of St Peter his head-gear, lance, and saddle. But the Annals of Northampton say that the surrender and homage were sworn to Henry II in the chapel of St Andrew within the archbishop's palace (folio 22, under 1175):—*Mense vero Augus[ti], in die sancti Laurentii* [10 Aug.], *venerunt reges pater et filius Eboracum, et fuerunt ibi x diebus; ubi venientes ad eos duces et primatus* [read *primates*] *atque episcopi Scotorum cum rege*

*suo, deditionem suam et homin[is]um regi Anglie seniori juraverunt in capella sancti Andree infra curiam archiepiscopi.*

The date given here (10-19 Aug.), and in Benedict (10 Aug. x; i, p. 94), agrees with that of the Bridlington chronicle (Palgrave's Documents, i, p. 65), which says that the submission was made on Sunday 17 Aug. 1175. That chronicle is a 1291 abstract of a chronicle that contained independent and perhaps contemporaneous material for these events; and it was perhaps the source of the date given by Edward I (as above, p. 932) as 16 Aug.

King William and his vassals went to York to carry out certain terms of the agreement made at Falaise; see 1174. The treaty embodying that agreement was publicly read, and sealed with the seals of king William and his brother David (Benedict and Howden).

William and David did homage, and swore fealty, to king Henry II and his son Henry for all their holdings, and expressly for Scotland and Galloway. The Scottish bishops and abbots swore fealty; but they did not do homage (Robert; compare Dowden's *Medieval Church in Scotland*, pp. 191-192). The bishops took an oath that they would make to the church of England the same subjection that their predecessors used to make and that they ought to make; see below, and under 1177. The Scottish earls and barons did homage and fealty to king Henry and his son.

[The feudal subjection of Falaise was annulled by the treaty of Canterbury, on 5 Dec. 1189 (Foedera, i, part 1, p. 50), in which king Richard, on payment of a ransom of 10,000 marks, restored the relationship that had existed between the kingdoms before the capture of William, but without defining what that relationship was. Each side interpreted the treaty in its own way. The Scots asserted that they were independent of England except for the homage that they owed for English lands. That view was shared by Benedict of Peterborough (ii, p. 98) and others (compare *Early Sources*, ii, p. 295). It may have been king William's understanding of the bargain (*ibid.*, ii, p. 322); but if it was king Richard's, it is not so expressed in the treaty.

There had been some rather compromising episodes before the treaty of Falaise (in 1157, 1159, 1163; 1166, 1170), and in bargaining with king John for Northumberland and Cumbria William was led into a compromising homage in 1200, and a compromising peace in 1209. But William did not get those lands. His successors, Alexander II and III, persisted in the refusal of homage except for English territory. The English kings, Henry III and Edward I, equally adhered to their claim to homage for the Scottish kingdom.

At the time when Edward I wished to impose his overlordship upon Scotland, the grounds of the conflicting claims were not remembered on either side, and were sought in chronicles and records. A. O. A.]

# Episcopus de Glasgau Jocelinus consecratur,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Jocelin, prior of Melrose, had succeeded William as abbot of Melrose, on 22 Apr. 1170. He was elected to the bishopric of Glasgow at the instance of the clergy and people, and with assent of the king, at Perth, on 23 May 1174, and was consecrated by mandate of the pope by Eskil, archbishop of Lund and papal legate, at Clairvaux in 1175 (Chronicle of Melrose).

Authority for his consecration was given in pope Alexander III's letter of 16 Dec. 1174, from Ferentino, directed to the abbot of Jedburgh and other abbots "in the patrimony of B. Kentigern" (Registrum episcopatus Glasguensis, no. 35). These words perhaps imply that Alexander admitted the independence of the Glasgow diocese because Kentigern had been bishop in Glasgow without subordination to York.

The pope's letter of commendation of Jocelin was written on 10 Apr. [1175], at Ferentino (ibid., no. 36). He sent also to the canons of Glasgow a mandate dated at Ferentino, 2 June [1175], bidding them show obedience to their bishop, whom he had ordered to treat them kindly, to conduct ecclesiastical affairs with their counsel, and to uphold their dignities and rights (ibid., no. 22; Lawrie's Annals, pp. 86-87). This letter has been wrongly assigned to the year 1165, and regarded as a second letter of commendation of Ingram; but pope Alexander III was apparently not at Ferentino in 1165 (see Jaffé, Regesta Pontificum, for the movements of the pope). The letter certainly belongs to the time of Jocelin. Compare above, p. 146.

In his letters to Jocelin, pope Alexander III uses the friendliest language. See, for instance, the special privilege granted to Jocelin in 1175 (ibid., no. 37). At Jocelin's request, he gave a privilege granting protection to the church of Glasgow and its possessions, and for the first time defining the position of the Glasgow church, which he described as his special daughter "with no intermediary" (*nullo mediante*; ibid., no. 32, 30 Apr. [1175], at Ferentino); a phrase that recurs in later bulls.

This is the first explicit statement of the direct dependency of Glasgow on Rome. It was presumably made after the terms of the treaty of Falaise were known. Under that treaty, attempts were made to place the Scottish bishops under subjection to the English church: pope Alexander condoled with them, and released them from the oath that they had taken (ibid., no. 38; dated at Anagni, 30 July 1176). His attitude to the Scottish claims was favourable, until the heat of the dispute over St Andrews,



when he wrote in 1180 or 1181 to king William: "Also take this for certain that if thou determine to be obdurate in thy violence, as we have laboured that thy kingdom should have liberty, so we shall endeavour that it may return into its former subjection" (Benedict of Peterborough, i, p. 263; Howden, ii, pp. 211-212. Alexander's letters referred to in this note appear also in Haddan and Stubbs's Councils).

The declaration with regard to Glasgow gave Glasgow an outstanding position among Scottish sees. If an archbishopric or a papal legation had been set up in St Andrews, that would have appeared to infringe Glasgow's privilege, and Glasgow might have been expected to claim exemption from its authority; it would also have involved a decision on the claims of York to superiority over the other Scottish sees (excepting Galloway). That decision was deferred. The Scottish sees remained provisionally in direct subjection to Rome, but without a declaration of their status, until king William received the bull *Cum universi* (Benedict of Peterborough, ii, pp. 234-235; Howden, ii, pp. 360-361, iii, pp. 172-174; English Chroniclers, pp. 299-300; Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum*, ii, p. 541, no. 16173). In it, the pope decreed (*duximus statuendum*) that the Scottish church "ought to be subject to the apostolic see, whose special daughter she is, with no intermediary"; including the sees of St Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Dunblane, Brechin, Aberdeen, Moray, Ross, and Caithness.

The evidence for the date of this letter is conflicting. In the discussion of its authorship (Scottish Historical Review, xxiii, pp. 171-177; xxv, pp. 335-341) by Professor R. K. Hannay and myself, weight was not given to the letter of pope Innocent III, apparently directed to two Scottish bishops, and dated at the Lateran, 13 June 1212 (Lawrie's Annals, pp. 373-374; Baluze's *Epistolae Innocentii III* (1682), ii, p. 648; Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, ccxvi, columns 634-635). In the first line of Lawrie's text of the letter, *A.* is a misprint for *H.*, i.e. "Henry."

In this letter the pope says that messengers from the church of Dunkeld, which "looks to the apostolic see, with no intermediary," requested him to confirm the election of John, archdeacon of Lothian (see Chronicle of Melrose, under 1211), and cause him to be consecrated as bishop of Dunkeld; but a messenger of [William Malvoisin] the bishop of St Andrews protested that "by the custom hitherto observed" the bishop of St Andrews, as bishop of Scotland, had the right to consecrate, and that the elect should be sent to him for consecration. In reply the messengers of Dunkeld "alleged the privilege of pope Celestine, of good memory, and ourselves, in which it is expressly contained that all the bishoprics of Scotland are immediately subject to the apostolic

Mclxxvi.<sup>1</sup>Mclxxvii, Vivianus cardinalis venit<sup>2</sup> Scotiam,  
et visitavit Hiberniam.<sup>3</sup>

see; among which bishoprics this one also is enumerated"; and the dispute was decided in their favour.

In appealing to the bull *Cum universi*, the messengers from Dunkeld would undoubtedly have cited it in the earliest form known to them. They attributed it to Celestine III, and pope Innocent III repeats that attribution. This verifies the text preserved by Bower (Goodall's edition, i, p. 521) of Innocent's confirmation of the bull, made "*ad exemplar* of our predecessor pope Celestine, of happy memory"; and is the strongest surviving evidence that the original privilege was given by Celestine III, and not (as in Benedict and Howden) by Clement III.

That the bull was given by Celestine III may therefore be accepted, until further evidence is found to decide the problem. The date of *Cum universi* would in that case have been 13 Mar. 1192. A. O. A.]

<sup>1</sup> A line is left blank in K after the year-number 1176. Events of 1176 are given under 1177, of 1177 under 1178, and of 1178 under 1179. No events of 1179 are given. See above, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *venit* is added above the line in K.

<sup>3</sup> See 1176 note.

Vivian, presbyter cardinal S. Stephani in Monte Coeliano, came to Scotland as the legate of pope Alexander III. King William and the Scottish bishops had requested that a cardinal might be sent to investigate the claims of the English church over the church of Scotland (Benedict of Peterborough, i, p. 117). Vivian landed in England about 22 July 1176, and came to Scotland soon after (*ibid.*, p. 118). On 30 July 1176, the pope addressed a friendly letter to the Scottish bishops, saying that he had forbidden the archbishop of York to exercise metropolitan rights over them until the pope himself had decided the matter; and that he had bidden king Henry not to exact fealty from them (*Registrum episcopatus Glasguensis*, no. 38; compare above, pp. 156-158). Vivian crossed to the Isle of Man on 24 Dec. 1176, and to Ireland about 6 Jan. 1177 (Benedict, i, pp. 136-137).

On 3 June 1177, at Winchester, Vivian obtained from king Henry a letter of protection; and returned to Scotland to complete his legation. He held a council at Edinburgh about 1 Aug. 1177; and was afterwards recalled to Rome on account of his oppressive conduct (*ibid.*, pp. 166-167; compare Chronicle of

Melxxviii<sup>o</sup>, de Hibernia rediit Vivianus Scotiam, et concilium tenuit apud Castellum Puellarum, et post rediit Romam.<sup>1</sup> Walterus<sup>2</sup> dapifer regis obiit.

Melrose at 1176, and the pope's letter in *Cartularium de Rievale*, Surtees Society (1889), pp. 198-199).

In the council at Edinburgh, Vivian suspended Christian bishop of Galloway from office (see 1154 note).

There is no record of any decision reached as a result of this council, regarding the claims of the English church. For the final settlement of the dispute see above, pp. 159-161.

<sup>1</sup> See 1177, note.

<sup>2</sup> *Walterus*: K, *Walt*~.

Walter's death should probably have been placed under 1177; see 1176 note. The Chronicle of Melrose at the end of its annal for 1177 says: "Walter Alan's son, the steward (*dapifer*) of the king of the Scots, [and] our associate (*familiaris*), died; may his blessed soul live in glory."

Walter Alan's son witnessed many charters in the reigns of David, Malcolm IV, and William. In the reigns of Malcolm and William he is often, but not always, called "steward" (*dapifer*). He had been David's steward also. This is shown by a copy, made by Sir John Skene in 1595, of a charter dated at Roxburgh, 24 June, and given, as the names of the witnesses show, in 1161 or 1162. In this charter king Malcolm says that after he received arms (i.e. June 1159×; see above) he gave his stewardship (*Senescalcia*) to Walter hereditarily, to be held as fully as Walter had held David's stewardship. (For Skene's text, and a discussion of the misleading transcript of it made by Sir James Balfour, see the article "Birkenside and the Stewardship of Scotland," by George Neilson, *History of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club*, xxiv (1919-1922), pp. 126-147, with facsimiles.)

Walter was succeeded as the king's steward by his son Alan. In the time of Alan's son, Walter, the title *senescallus*, less often used before, took the place of the usual *dapifer*, and became the regular name of the office and family of Steward (see *Early Sources*, ii, p. 297).

Malcolm's charter, of 24 June 1161 or 1162, confirms to Walter the lands that king David had given to him.

The charter confirms also the grants that Malcolm himself had made to Walter. These include: "in every one of my boroughs, and in every demesne lodging of mine (*dominica gista mea*), throughout my whole land, an entire toft, for him to make his dwellings there, and with every toft twenty acres of land." On the day

## Mclxxix. Ricardus episcopus de Dunkelde obiit

when Malcolm was buried at Dunfermline (soon after 9 Dec. 1165), Walter gave to Dunfermline abbey his land in Dunfermline, "that is, twenty acres and one toft" (*Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, no. 161; compare no. 52).

In another charter given at Roxburgh, about the same time (24 June 1161 or 1162), king Malcolm confirmed to Walter certain of the same lands that are named also in the larger charter, saying that he had given them after he received arms; and gave also the land of Mow in Roxburghshire (Neilson's article as above, with facsimile of the original charter). Walter's wife, Eschina of London, calls herself "lady of Mow" in a grant to the priory of Paisley (*Registrum monasterii de Passelet*, p. 75).

Out of the lands that Malcolm IV had confirmed to him in 1161 or 1162 Walter provided for a priory that he established on an island (King's Inch) beside Renfrew, before the death of Malcolm (see *ibid.*, p. 249). This was probably the establishment made when Walter received a prior and twelve monks (Gilbertines) of the Cluniacensian order, from Wenlock in Shropshire; and undertook to endow a house for them in Paisley (1161×1164, at Fotheringay; *ibid.*, pp. 1-2). Walter afterwards gave to the new house at Paisley the lands that he had granted to the monks at Renfrew, and many more (*ibid.*, pp. 5-7). The convent was installed at Paisley in 1169, according to the Chronicle of Melrose.

[Some monks of the original foundation had lived beside the mill at Renfrew (pope Alexander III, 25 Mar. 1173; *Registrum monasterii de Passelet*, pp. 408-410). William of Bondington, bishop of Glasgow, says that the monastery had existed at Paisley for eighty years and more before an abbot was appointed; implying that the monastery was in existence ×1140. That was apparently an error. The monastery was established at Paisley eighty years or more before the time of the bishop's letter (1246×1249; *ibid.*, pp. 15-16). The priory was raised to an abbacy 1219×1220 (see *Early Sources*, ii, p. 441).

Shropshire, from which Walter brought his monks, may have been the county from which Walter himself had come. His father and his brother, William, are thought to have held lands in Shropshire (see the accounts in Chalmers, *Caledonia*, i, pp. 572 ff.; iii, pp. 777 f. (in the re-issue, the same pages in volumes ii and vi); and J. H. Round, *Studies in Peerage and Family History* (1901), pp. vii, 115-131, and *Origin of the Stewarts*, in *The Genealogist*, New Series, xviii (1902), pp. 1-16).

Walter's brother, Simon, witnessed his announcement at Fother-

in quadragesima.<sup>1</sup> Et post in estate obiit Ricardus episcopus Sancti Andree.<sup>2</sup> De electione Johannis et consecratione H[ugonis]<sup>3</sup> fit scisma.<sup>4</sup>

ingay (above). Walter's widow, Eschina, married Henry, who is called lord of Mow (Liber S. Marie de Calchou, no. 153 (1162×1201); nos. 147 and 166 (1198×1214), 178); not earlier than 1186 (ibid., no. 146). A. O. A.]

<sup>1</sup> *quadragesima*: 14 Feb.×31 Mar. 1179; but 22 Feb.×8 Apr. in 1178, which is probably the correct year. See 1176 note. The Chronicle of Melrose places the death of Richard bishop of Dunkeld in 1178, and in the same year records the death of Walter de Bidun, the king's chancellor, "elect of the church of Dunkeld."

<sup>2</sup> See 1176 note.

Benedict of Peterborough (i, p. 250) places the death of Richard bishop of St Andrews under 1180; and Bower, under both 1177 and 1178 (see Lawrie's Annals, p. 220). The correct date is probably 1178, as in the Chronicle of Melrose and the Annals of Northampton (folio 22 verso). The Chronicle of Holyrood says that Richard died "in summer"; in a Durham obituary, printed with the Liber Vitae of Durham, Surtees Society (1841), p. 143, his death is entered under 13 May.

Richard had died before 24 Mar. 1179. This is shown by the release from obedience, dated in the year of the Incarnation 1178 (i.e. 1178-9), given by John abbot of Kelso to his monk Reginald, who had, he says, been elected abbot of Arbroath, and blessed by Matthew bishop of Aberdeen, while the see of St Andrews was vacant (Liber S. Thome de Aberbrothoc, i, no. 2). Probably Richard died about 13 May 1178.

<sup>3</sup> *H[ugonis]*: K, *hit*, as if "of Iona." The abbreviation *hu.* appears below, in year 1183, for *Hugo*.

<sup>4</sup> For the dispute over the bishopric of St Andrews, see the Chronicle of Melrose, years 1178, 1180, 1182; Benedict of Peterborough, i, pp. 250-251, 263-266, 276-294; Roger of Howden, ii, pp. 208-212, 259-282.

The accounts in Benedict and Howden are to a great extent identical. Certain events that are placed by them under 1180 probably, for historical reasons, belong to 1181 (see below). These events are fitted differently into the two narratives, which consequently appear to be divergent for the affairs of 1180. Both chroniclers seem to have tried to adapt their accounts to the

undated papal letters that they quote; they seem to have used one or two other letters that they do not quote.

After the death of Richard, bishop of St Andrews, in 1178 (see above), the canons of St Andrews elected John the Scot to succeed him. According to the *Annals of Northampton* (folio 22 verso, year 1178), king William was not consulted in the election, and was offended. It was customary to obtain the king's consent in the election of bishops (see Dowden's *Medieval Church in Scotland*, pp. 45-52); the omission in this case was presumably deliberate, and explains William's subsequent conduct. Disregarding the election of John, William appointed to the bishopric his own chaplain, Hugh; and caused him to be consecrated, in the church of St Andrews (*Chronicle of Melrose*), by some of the Scottish bishops (Howden).

Hugh's election was quashed by pope Alexander III, because Hugh had been intruded by lay authority (see Alexander III's letter, in Howden, ii, pp. 209-210).

Before Hugh was consecrated, an appeal had been made to the pope (*ibid.*). John went in person to the pope; and in 1180 returned to Scotland with Alexius, or Alexis, subdeacon of the Roman church, the pope's legate. Alexius made an inquiry, declared that John had been canonically elected, and deposed Hugh. But Hugh refused to give up the symbols of office, and was excommunicated by Alexius; the excommunication was confirmed by pope Alexander. Hugh departed for Rome.

Alexius excommunicated also a certain Jocelin, because he had received the church of Dairsie from Hugh after Hugh's election had been quashed by the pope. The church was returned to the prior of St Andrews, some weeks at least before 21 Nov. 1180 (see *Liber cartarum prioratus S. Andree*, pp. 82-83; the original letter of Alexius is Cotton Charter xviii 35).

[It is implied that in return for the benefice, Jocelin endeavoured to influence king William in favour of Hugh. This priest Jocelin must not be confused (as in *Early Sources*, ii, p. 304) with Jocelin, the bishop of Glasgow. A. O. A.]

John was consecrated as bishop of St Andrews, in the church of Holyrood (*Chronicle of Melrose*), on 15 June 1180 (see below), by his uncle, Matthew bishop of Aberdeen, "in the presence of our legate and of four bishops, a fifth being sick but giving consent in writing" (pope Alexander III's letter as above, in Howden, ii, p. 210).

Very soon afterwards, according to the *Chronicles of Holyrood and of Melrose*, John and Matthew were compelled by the king's anger to leave Scotland. Howden implies that some time elapsed before their banishment. He says that they were banished after

king William had received from the pope a letter (ii, pp. 211-212) that was written after the pope had heard of John's consecration. But Howden's implication is incorrect. The letter was probably written in 1181.

John and Matthew went with the legate Alexius to king Henry II in Normandy.

In the early part of 1181, an attempt by king Henry to arrange a settlement broke down, because the pope would not agree to let John accept another bishopric in place of St Andrews. It seems probable that it was after this compromise had been proposed that pope Alexander strictly forbade John to accept any bishopric but St Andrews. In that case, Benedict (i, p. 264) and Howden (ii, p. 211) are wrong in placing this prohibition in 1180. They connect it with the statement that the pope appointed Roger, archbishop of York, as his legate in Scotland, and bade him, with Hugh bishop of Durham, excommunicate king William, and lay Scotland under an interdict, unless William would allow John to hold the bishopric of St Andrews in peace. This appointment of Roger probably also belongs to 1181. It is unlikely that it was made while the legate Alexius was in Scotland. And the pope would probably not have appointed Roger until king William had shown himself very obstinate; for Roger had been the principal adversary of the Scottish church's claim to independence, and pope Alexander had supported the Scottish church against him (see above, pp. 146, 149, 159, 161).

A letter of the pope to king William, placed in 1180 by Benedict (i, p. 263) and Howden (ii, pp. 211-212), probably also belongs to 1181. It warns William that unless he gives peace and security to John within twenty days of receiving the letter, Roger archbishop of York, legate in Scotland of the apostolic see, has been commanded to lay Scotland under an interdict, and to excommunicate the king.

Howden gives under 1180 another letter of pope Alexander, addressed to the bishops, abbots, and clergy, of Scotland, and the prior, canons, clergy, and people, of St Andrews (ii, pp. 209-210). It recalls the mission of Alexius, and John's consecration (compare above); and orders those to whom it is addressed to bring John back to his see within eight days of receiving the letter: otherwise, the pope will confirm the sentence which Hugh bishop of Durham "will have passed upon the disobedient and rebellious." This letter is certainly out of place where it stands in Howden, and may also belong to 1181.

Howden says (ii, p. 212) that in 1180 Roger archbishop of York, Hugh bishop of Durham, and the legate Alexius, pronounced the sentences of excommunication and interdict on king William and

his kingdom. This is largely a duplication of the statement made by both Howden and Benedict under 1181 (see below). Howden's statement at 1180 may probably have been based on his belief that the two threatening letters of the pope were written in that year. If this is so, his statement cannot be taken as confirming the date at which he places the letters; and the fact that the letters were wrongly placed under 1180 would vitiate his statement.

On 26 July 1181, king William, who had been in Normandy with king Henry II, returned to England (Benedict, i, p. 277; Howden, ii, p. 260). On his way to Scotland he was met by John bishop of St Andrews and Hugh bishop of Durham, but no agreement was reached. The bishop of Durham then commanded, by authority of the pope, that the clergy of St Andrews should make subjection to John; and threatened to pass a sentence of interdict on the disobedient and rebellious. Roger archbishop of York issued a similar command to all the clergy of Scotland. But those who tried to obey were, according to Benedict and Howden, exiled by king William, with their sons and relatives. Roger then excommunicated king William, and with the bishop of Durham laid Scotland under an interdict.

These sentences were apparently not confirmed by pope Alexander III, who died 30 Aug. 1181 (see below). They were pronounced before 11 Nov. 1181, when Roger was very ill (Benedict): he died ? 21 Nov. 1181 (see below).

After Roger's death, king William sent ambassadors to pope Lucius III, who annulled the sentences in March 1182 (Howden, ii, pp. 267-269), and sent to William the golden rose, as a mark of William's restoration to the favour of the Roman see (Chronicle of Melrose).

Pope Lucius appointed Roland, archbishop-elect of Dol, and Silvan, abbot of Rievaulx, to go to Scotland and make another inquiry into the dispute. Roland and Silvan discussed the matter with king William "for a very long time" (*diutissime*; Benedict); in a general council, lasting three days (Chronicle of Holyrood). Hugh had returned from the pope with king William's ambassadors, but was apparently not present at the council (Benedict); John also was not present.

It was agreed in the council, according to Benedict, that Hugh should renounce the bishopric of St Andrews; and that John should give up his claim to St Andrews, taking instead the bishopric of Dunkeld, the king's chancellorship, and certain other revenues (see the letter referred to below). But Hugh would not forgo his claim, denounced as a forgery a papal letter that had been obtained against him, and appealed to the pope.

John would not accept the proposed agreement because he



Melxxx<sup>o</sup>, Ale[x]is<sup>1</sup> legatus de Roma venit, et eo mediante magister Johannes consecratur apud Castellum Puellarum, in octavis pentecostes<sup>2</sup>; et post dies paucos iterum, rege Willelmo resistendo, Johannes exulatur, et scisma efficitur.<sup>3</sup>

M<sup>o</sup>c<sup>o</sup>lxxxix<sup>o</sup>, obiit pie memorie Alexander tercius papa,<sup>4</sup> et Lucius tercius successit. Et Rogerus archiepiscopus Eboraci obiit.<sup>5</sup>

Melxxxii<sup>o</sup>, Willelmus rex Scotie tribus diebus generale concilium tenuit cum legatis domni

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could not obtain an assurance that Hugh should not retain St Andrews. Roland and Silvan fixed a term, 1st Oct. [1182], for John and Hugh to appear before the pope. (See their letter to pope Lucius III, in Howden, ii, pp. 271-272.)

John and Hugh came to pope Lucius III at Velletri in 1183, therefore not later than June (Jaffé). The pope, after taking the bishopric of St Andrews into his own hand, gave it back to Hugh, and granted the bishopric of Dunkeld to John, together with the other things that the king of Scotland had offered him (see letter as above).

The controversy continued, however, under pope Lucius's successors, Urban III and Clement III. In 1188 king William received John into his favour, and John finally renounced his claim to the bishopric of St Andrews. Hugh, who had meanwhile been deposed from St Andrews, went to Rome, was absolved, and died (Aug. 1188). (See Benedict, ii, pp. 43-44; Howden, ii, p. 353.)

<sup>1</sup> Ale[x]is: K, *aleyis*.

The chronicle here returns to the correct year-numbers. See 1176 note.

<sup>2</sup> *in octavis pentecostes*: Sunday, 15 June in 1180, when Whitsunday fell on 8 June. The Chronicle of Melrose may have meant to give the same day: *octavas pentecosten scilicet vi idus Junii* [8 June].

<sup>3</sup> See 1179 note.

<sup>4</sup> Pope Alexander III died 30 Aug. 1181 (Chronicle of Melrose; Jaffé). Benedict of Peterborough says, erroneously, that he died on 20 Sep. For Alexander's relations with the Scottish church, see above, pp. 146, 149, 159, 161, 166.

<sup>5</sup> Roger archbishop of York died, according to the Chronicle of Melrose, on 22 Nov. 1181; according to Benedict of Peterborough (i, p. 283), on Saturday, 22 Nov. 1181, at dusk. But 22 Nov. 1181 was a Sunday. Perhaps Roger died about 5 p.m. of Saturday, 21 Nov., reckoned as the beginning of 22 Nov.

Lucii pape, de concordia Johannis et Hugoni[s]  
episcoporum.<sup>1</sup>

Mclxxxiii, magister Johannes et Hugo episcopi  
Romam redierunt.<sup>2</sup> Obiit rex Anglie junior.<sup>3</sup>

Mclxxxiii<sup>0</sup>, Conventus venit ad Rothin.<sup>4</sup>

Mclxxxv, iiii kal. Januarii,<sup>5</sup> obiit Andreas Ka-  
theniensis episcopus. Kal. Maii<sup>6</sup> circa hora[m]  
nonam<sup>7</sup> eclipsi[s]<sup>8</sup> solis facta est, sub rege  
Willelmo Scottorum.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the conference between king William and the legates Roland archbishop-elect of Dol and Silvan abbot of Rievaulx, see above, year 1179 note.

<sup>2</sup> See 1179 note.

<sup>3</sup> Henry the younger, son of king Henry II, died 11 June 1183 (Benedict of Peterborough, i, p. 301).

<sup>4</sup> In the outer margin of K, opposite this annal, a somewhat later hand (perhaps of the fourteenth century) has written: *Conventus venit ad Rothyn*. The rubric may have been written at Coupar (see above, p. 47). It suggests that the place was known to the rubricator; but the place has not been identified.

<sup>5</sup> *iiii kal. Januarii*: 29 Dec. 1184, the year beginning at Christmas. The Chronicle of Melrose dates Andrew's death on 30 Dec.

<sup>6</sup> *Kal. Maii*: 1 May 1185.

<sup>7</sup> In K, there is a point after *nonam*, followed by a capital letter, as if the scribe thought that the day and hour were connected with the death of the bishop of Caithness.

A total eclipse of the sun occurred on 1 May 1185, at 1 p.m., Paris time (*L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*).

<sup>8</sup> *eclipsi[s]*: K, *Eclipsim*.

<sup>9</sup> *sub rege Willelmo Scottorum*. This phrase does not explain itself; but we need not assume that the text is incomplete. In 1184, there was widespread alarm over the expected conjunction of the planets in September 1186, to be preceded by portents (see the prophecies in Benedict of Peterborough, i, pp. 324-328; Roger of Howden, ii, pp. 290-298). An eclipse occurring in the interval might have attracted unusual attention, and in Scotland might have been thought to portend some harm to king William. But the phrase has rather the appearance of having been composed after the death of William, i.e. after 1214. Compare the notice of a comet, under 1106, in the Annals of Margam (*Luard's Annales Monastici*, i, p. 9): *in diebus regis Henrici primi Anglorum*.

<sup>1</sup> Anno ab incarnatione domini m<sup>o</sup>c<sup>o</sup>lxxx<sup>o</sup>vito, Willelmus rex Scotie de manu Henrici regis Anglie accepit et desponsavit Ermingildam,<sup>2</sup> quadam feria vi<sup>3</sup> in autumpno. Magister Baldewinus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis officium desponsationis<sup>4</sup> illi fecit apud Wudestoc, et dominus Jocelinus Glascuniensis presul benedictionem super regem et reginam complevit in camera.<sup>5</sup> In subsequenti hyeme, scilicet xv kal. Decembris,<sup>6</sup> per vim Malcolmi comitis Ætholie<sup>7</sup> violata est pax sancte ecclesie apud Cupro;<sup>8</sup> quia Adam, cognomento et<sup>9</sup> filius Duvenaldi,<sup>10</sup> captus est, qui uthlagus regis fuit; et quidam so[c]iorum,<sup>11</sup> scilicet nepos<sup>12</sup> ejus,

<sup>1</sup> A new beginning seems to have been made here in K's source; see above, p. 39. A dark stain has penetrated folios 12 and 13, from top to bottom, about two inches from the inner margin.

<sup>2</sup> *Ermingildam*: in K, an *i* between *n* and *g* was deleted with a point.

Ermengarde was a daughter of viscount Richard of Beaumont, whose mother was Constance, an illegitimate daughter of king Henry I (see *Early Sources*, ii, p. 311).

<sup>3</sup> *quadam feria vi*: Friday, 5 Sep. 1186 (*Chronicle of Melrose and Benedict of Peterborough*).

<sup>4</sup> *desponsationis*: in K, the *a* has been corrected from *i*.

<sup>5</sup> For king William's marriage, compare *Benedict of Peterborough*, i, pp. 347-348, 350-351; *Chronicle of Melrose*, under year 1186; *Early Sources*, ii, p. 311 note.

<sup>6</sup> *xv kal. Decembris*: 17 Nov. 1186.

<sup>7</sup> Malcolm, earl of Atholl, witnessed a number of royal charters from ×1161, or ×1159, onwards (see above, p. 130). See *Early Sources*, ii, pp. 139, 182. Earl Malcolm granted to the monks of Coupar wood from the forests of Atholl, for their buildings (*Rogers's Register of Cupar Abbey*, i, p. 331).

<sup>8</sup> *Cupro*: read *Cuprum*.

<sup>9</sup> In K, *et* is written with a large &-sign, a form unusual to the scribe; he may have taken it for a proper name.

<sup>10</sup> Adam, Donald's son, has not been identified. He may have been a son of Donald, William's son, who was at this time in revolt against king William, and who was killed in the following year (see below).

<sup>11</sup> *so[c]iorum*: K, *sotiorum*.

<sup>12</sup> *scilicet nepos* is written above *sotiorum* in K, perhaps by the text hand; see above, p. 47.

ante altare decollatus; ceteri vero, numero quinquaginta octo, in abbatis hospicio exusti et occisi fuerunt.

Anno m<sup>o</sup>c<sup>o</sup>lxxxvii<sup>o</sup>, scilicet secundo kal. Augusti, feria sexta,<sup>1</sup> apud Ros occisus est Duvenald filius Willelmi, adversarius Willelmi regis Scotie, et multi potentes adversarii cum ceteris occubuerunt, et pax diu turbata reddita est regi et regno per dei misericordiam et virtutem.<sup>2</sup> . . . die sabbati,<sup>3</sup> factum est discrimen belli inter Christianos et paganos, et capta est crux vera Jerosolimis,<sup>4</sup> et Christianitas graviter confusa. Eodem anno<sup>5</sup> a domno papa missus est Hen-

<sup>1</sup> *secundo* . . . *sexta*: Friday, 31 July 1187.

<sup>2</sup> Donald, William's son, was a probably illegitimate son of William, son of king Duncan II, son of king Malcolm III and Ingiborg. See Early Sources, ii, pp. 4-5, 25-26 (see above, 1094 note), 89, 91-92; Roger of Howden, ii, p. 263 note. Donald laid claim to the throne of Scotland. In 1181, he rebelled while king William was in Normandy (Benedict of Peterborough, i, pp. 277-278). For Donald's death, compare Chronicle of Melrose, year 1187; Benedict, ii, pp. 7-9. See also Early Sources, ii, pp. 389-390, 404, 471.

<sup>3</sup> *die sabbati*: a Saturday. In K, a space is left between *virtutem* and *die*, presumably for a date.

The battle of Tiberias, or of Hittin, in which the army of Saladin heavily defeated the Christians and captured the Cross, was fought in 1187, on 4 July [a Saturday], according to a letter written soon afterwards by Almeric, patriarch of Antioch, to king Henry II of England (Benedict of Peterborough, ii, pp. 37-38; Roger of Howden, ii, pp. 340-342); so also the Libellus de Expugnatione Terrae Sanctae (Rolls Series 66, pp. 222, 224). Compare Reinaud's Extraits, p. 194.

<sup>4</sup> *Jerosolimis*: The Cross (*lignum Crucis*) was captured at Tiberias, not at Jerusalem (see above). The defenders of Jerusalem capitulated on 2 Oct. 1187, and surrendered the city to Saladin on 3 Oct. (see the Libellus de Expugnatione, as above, pp. 247, 249).

These misfortunes occasioned the third crusade.

<sup>5</sup> *Eodem anno*: i.e. in 1187; but this is an error. Henry, cardinal bishop of Albano, acted as legate of pope Clement III at a conference between king Philip Augustus of France and king Henry II of England, in Nov. 1188 (Benedict of Peterborough, ii, p. 50). The Chronicle of Holyrood has probably confused the conference

ricus episcopus et cardinalis, quondam abbas Clarevallis, ad Philippum regem et ad Henricum regem Anglie. Qui, audita apostolica mandatione, et comperta totius sancte ecclesie necessitate, deo inspirante, pariter crucem sumpserunt et multi alii cum eis. Set statim post ea Henricus rex Anglie, deposita cruce, solita werre machinamenta intulit Philippo regi Francie, et in subsequenti anno obiit, scilicet anno ab incarnatione domini mclxxxix<sup>1</sup>; et Ricardus filius ejus successit in regnum. Kal. Augusti,<sup>2</sup> obiit Radulfus abbas de Cupre<sup>3</sup>; cui successit Adam.<sup>4</sup>

### Anno m<sup>o</sup>cc<sup>o</sup> octogesimo quinto, decimo quarto

in November with the one held on 21 Jan. 1188 at which the kings of France and England took the cross (*ibid.*, ii, pp. 29-30). They were urged to this by the archbishop of Tyre.

The truce made between the kings when they took the cross was broken by Philip, and Henry II went to Normandy on 11 July 1188, prepared to make war (*ibid.*, ii, p. 40; Roger of Howden, ii, p. 343).

<sup>1</sup> Henry II died 6 July 1189.

<sup>2</sup> *Kal. Augusti*: 1 Aug.

<sup>3</sup> *Cupre*: K, *Cup'*.

For Ralph's succession as abbot of Coupar, see 1170. The Chronicle of Melrose, under 1189, says: "Ralph, the second abbot of Coupar, died on Thursday, 1 Aug.; Adam, subprior of Melrose, succeeded him." But 1 Aug. 1189 was a Tuesday.

For charters in which Ralph abbot of Coupar appears as a witness, see Rogers's Register of Cupar Abbey, i, pp. 2-3. He witnessed, probably in 1189, a charter given to the church of Dunfermline by Malcolm earl of Atholl (*Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, no. 147). The charter was probably given at the same time as a confirmation by king William (*ibid.*, no. 58). The confirmation charter was witnessed by Hugh, the king's chancellor, and was probably therefore given 1189×; see *Early Sources*, ii, p. 320.

<sup>4</sup> Adam resigned the abbacy of Coupar in 1194, according to a thirteenth-century addition in the Chronicle of Melrose.

Here the chronicle proper ends, near the foot of folio 12 recto of K. It is noteworthy that it does not mention the treaty of Canterbury (Dec. 1189). What follows in K is added by different later hands; see above, p. 56.

kal. Aprilis,<sup>1</sup> obiit Alexander rex Scocie casu fort[uit]o<sup>2</sup> in itinere versus Kyngorn~.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Anno domini m<sup>o</sup>cc<sup>o</sup>lx<sup>o</sup>vi, die Mercurii,<sup>5</sup> secunda die mensis Julii,<sup>6</sup> sodanus de Babilonia<sup>7</sup> sedem suam posuit ante civitatem de Acon; et tenuit ibi partem hostis sui per xv dies,<sup>8</sup> usque ad cc.m. viros cum armis et equitaturis, et cccc.m. viros peditum; et aliam partem hostis sui misit in terras Syri<sup>9</sup> et Sidonis. Terram vero de Acon depredavit, et mangnam partem in-

<sup>1</sup> *decimo quarto kal. Aprilis*: 19 Mar. 1286 (the year beginning 25 March). For the day of Alexander III's death, see Early Sources, ii, p. 688 notes.

<sup>2</sup> *fort[uit]o*: K apparently *fortuico*; but the first stroke of the *u* is hidden by a fold of the parchment, and is invisible in the rotograph.

<sup>3</sup> This entry is made at the foot of folio 12 recto of K, in a semi-cursive hand of the fourteenth century.

For accounts of the death of Alexander III, see Early Sources, ii, pp. 687-692; English Chroniclers, p. 384.

<sup>4</sup> The entry for 1266 occupies, in K, folio 12 verso and seven lines of folio 13 recto. It is in a very small cursive hand of the thirteenth-fourteenth century; and was perhaps written at Coupar (see above, p. 47). It is not included in Bouterwek's edition of K.

Published materials for the crusades do not seem to contain this account, or any account from which it could have been derived.

For the principal sources for these events, see above, p. 48.

<sup>5</sup> *die Mercurii*: Wednesday.

<sup>6</sup> *Julii*: read *Junii*. 2 June 1266 was a Wednesday. The Continuation of William of Tyre places the beginning of this siege of Acre on 2 June; Marinus Sanutus places it on 1 June.

<sup>7</sup> *sodanus de Babilonia*: Bibars, or Baibars, sultan of Egypt; he died in 1276. See Cambridge Medieval History, iv (1927), p. 176.

<sup>8</sup> *xv dies*: According to the Continuation of William of Tyre, and Marinus Sanutus, Bibars besieged Acre for eight days. According to Makrisi (Reinaud, p. 495), the siege of Safed began on 8 Ramadan [13 June 1266]; i.e., after Acre had been besieged for about eleven days (see above).

<sup>9</sup> *Syri*: i.e. "of Tyre," from the alternative form *Sur*.

cendit; terram vero Tyri et Sydonis depredavit, et mangnam partem ingne succendit. Idem sodanus in dictis terris mmm Christianos cepit, et apud Babiloniam ad prisonam transmisit. Tamen predictus sodanus dominum terre Tyri [f]ratrem<sup>1</sup> suum appellavit.<sup>2</sup> Completis itaque xv diebus,<sup>3</sup> cum omnibus hostibus suis iter suum versus castrum de Sapheto arripuit; ibi firmiter sedem suam affixit. Totum hostem de lege Mauhmeth, usque ad c et quatuor viginti mille viros, ad se venire fecit. Tantum ibidem Christianos inpunnavit quod, die<sup>4</sup> proxima ante festum sancti Jacobi apostoli anni suprascripti, fratres<sup>5</sup> et custodes predicti castri pacem cum dicto sodano confirmaverunt<sup>6</sup>; ita scilicet quod fratres et custodes castri predicti, cum omnibus Christianis qui erant in dicto castro, cum vita et membris exire deberent, et in pace cum bonis suis in civitatem de Acon gressus dirigere, et castrum dicto sodano plenarie cum pertinenciis reddere. Cum vero dicti Christiani de dicto castro exirent, predictus sodanus omnes fratres et custodes, tam clericos quam laycos, omnes capitis abtruncatione finire precepit, usque ad

<sup>1</sup> [f]ratrem: K, sratrem.

<sup>2</sup> This presumably refers to the agreement of friendship made some time before, between Bibars and the lord of Tyre; see Reinaud, p. 499.

<sup>3</sup> xv diebus: see above.

<sup>4</sup> die: 24 July 1266; i.e., after Safed had been besieged for about six weeks. A letter from the Holy Land (see above, p. 48) says that the siege lasted for six weeks. The Continuation of William of Tyre says that Safed surrendered on 22 July; the Chronicle of Limoges, on 25 July; Marinus Sanutus, on the 24th day of the month, apparently meaning June, an error.

<sup>5</sup> fratres: Knights Templars, by whom Safed was at this time held.

<sup>6</sup> confirmaverunt: in K, or appears to have been written above the line, as though altering the word to conformaverunt.

numerus m.vii<sup>c</sup> <sup>1</sup> virorum, exceptis <sup>2</sup> mulieribus et pueris, et aliis qui legi <sup>3</sup> dei renunciarunt et ad legem de Machmet se tenuerunt. <sup>4</sup> Postea vero idem sodanus misit hostem suum apud terram Trypole, <sup>5</sup> et magnam partem dicte terre vastavit et depredavit, et duo castra vi sibi applicuit, quorum unum Golyad <sup>6</sup> alterum Arches <sup>7</sup> vocatur; quatuor autem mille <sup>8</sup> Chris-

<sup>1</sup> m.vii<sup>c</sup>: The number of Christians said to have been killed at Safed varies from 600 (Marinus Sanutus) to 3000 including women and children (Chronicle of Limoges).

<sup>2</sup> *exceptis* may have either of the contrary meanings, "with the exception of" or "besides." The second meaning is probably implied by the context. According to the Chronicle of Limoges, women and children were killed at Safed. But the source of our text probably did not intend to imply that the converts to Mahometanism were put to death. The account is probably confused.

<sup>3</sup> *legi* has been altered from *legem* in K.

<sup>4</sup> The Continuation of William of Tyre, and the Chronicle of Limoges, mention only one apostate, Leo, who had made the negotiations with the sultan for the surrender of Safed. A continuation of the *Chronica Minor* of Erfurt (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *Scriptores*, xxiv, p. 205) says that there were eight apostates.

<sup>5</sup> *Trypole*: Tripoli in Syria. In K, the name is abnormally written, with a sign like a *us*-sign over the *p*.

The expedition to Tripoli is wrongly placed here. The letter from the Holy Land (see above, p. 48) places it on 2 June; Marinus Sanutus, on the 5th of "the same month," apparently meaning June: i.e., while the sultan was still besieging Acre.

<sup>6</sup> *Golyad*: This name has the same form (*Goliad*) in the letter from the Holy Land (as above); it appears as *le Gouliat* in the *Annales de Terre Sainte*. Röhrich, p. 382 (see above, p. 48), spells the name *Koleia*. The place is presumably that marked as *Coliath*, a castle, north-east of Tripoli, belonging to the Hospitallers, in Spruner and Menke's *Hand-Atlas für die Geschichte des Mittelalters* (1880), map no. 85; and Sir George Adam Smith's *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (1915), map no. 57.

<sup>7</sup> *Arches*: Arka, north of Tripoli.

<sup>8</sup> *quatuor . . . mille*: The letter from the Holy Land (as above) says that more than 3000 Christian prisoners were taken in the castles in Tripoli.



tianos de dicta terra apud Babiloniam ad prisonam transmisit. Predictus autem sodanus cum omni exer[c]itu suo versus terram de Armenia se direxit, et eandem intravit; partem ingne combussit, et totam terram preter montana destruxit; Christianos in dicta terra, ad numerum qua[d]raginta<sup>1</sup> milia virorum, interfecit, et inprisonavit unum filium regis dicte terre qui vocatur Leo,<sup>2</sup> et ad Babiloniam transmisit; alium vero filium<sup>3</sup> dicti regis occidit. Quid plura? Prefatus sodanus pro voluntate<sup>4</sup> sua omne dominium et omnem potestatem tocius terre orientalis sibi subjugavit. Idem sodanus cum omni exercitu suo reversus est in Damascum.<sup>5</sup> Et sciendum est quod, d[i]e Veneris<sup>6</sup> proxima ante festum omnium sanctorum anno suprascripto, exierunt fratres Hospitalis, Templi, et aliarum domorum, et communia de Acon, usque vii<sup>m</sup> virorum, nocturno tempore; et predam optimam a Saracenis ceperunt.<sup>7</sup> Et fratres Hospitalis columbam eorum<sup>8</sup> cum litteris de facto suo ad hospicium miserunt. Set quedam legio Saracenorum in montanis decepcione obsidebat eis, et dictam predam vi ab eis abstulit, et celi milites, tam<sup>9</sup> de Hospitali quam de aliis, interfecerunt; set

<sup>1</sup> qua[d]raginta: K, q<sup>a</sup>q<sup>a</sup>gi~ta; the second q is an error for d.

<sup>2</sup> Leo succeeded to the throne of Armenia as Leo III, in 1270 (Cambridge Medieval History, iv, pp. 175-176).

<sup>3</sup> alium . . . filium: the Continuation of William of Tyre names him Thoros.

<sup>4</sup> voluntate: in K, v has been corrected from p.

<sup>5</sup> Bibars returned to Damascus on 26 Sep. 1266, according to Röhricht.

<sup>6</sup> d[i]e Veneris: Friday, 29 Oct. 1266.

<sup>7</sup> This expedition was made, into the district of Tiberias, with the aid of a force which Hugh de Lusignan had brought from Cyprus (Röhricht).

<sup>8</sup> eorum is written above cum in K.

<sup>9</sup> tam is inserted above the line, in K.

numerus predictum occisorum nescierunt.<sup>1</sup>  
Et hec confusio Christianorum facta fuit fere  
per duas leugas extra civitatem de Acon.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Anno millesimo cc<sup>o</sup> nonogesimo sexto, tercio

<sup>1</sup> set . . . *nescierunt*: these words need explanation. Perhaps the text does not here represent its source completely.

According to the Continuation of William of Tyre, more than 500 Christians in all were killed in this affair, including both knights and others.

<sup>2</sup> These events of 1266 caused great concern in Europe. According to the Chronicle of Limoges, it was the execution of the Christians at Safed that caused Louis IX to undertake the last crusade. (See also a letter of pope Clement IV, dated 31 Dec. 1266, in Martène and Durand, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, ii (1717), columns 434-436.)

The entry for 1266 ends on folio 13 recto, line 7, of K. The lower part of the page is blank; but below the writing, two words, the first beginning with *G*, have been written and rubbed out. The words are not legible in our rotograph. Dr Kattermann of the Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe, tells us that they are not legible in the manuscript. Since apparently the same two words are written at the foot of folio 13 verso, they are presumably not connected with the entry for 1266.

<sup>3</sup> The annals on folio 13 verso, for years 1296-1318, are written in a rather florid semi-cursive hand, of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. These annals occupy about half the page. After a blank of about a quarter of the page, notes for 1355 (i.e. 1355-6) have been entered, in a somewhat similar hand.

The blank spaces of the page contain several later scribbblings. At the top of the page, in a cursive hand, is written: *Anno domini mmm* (?) *Anno domini millesimo*; probably a trial of the pen. After the entry for 1318, a line containing an apparently meaningless jingle has been erased. At the foot of the page, two words, apparently the same that were written on folio 13 recto, have been written and rubbed out.

See above, pp. 49-51. The entries under years 1302, 1312, 1313, and the second entry under 1355, show that the writers of these annals began the new year on 25 March. In the notes I have numbered years according to the modern style, beginning the new year on 1 January.

kal. Aprilis,<sup>1</sup> capta fuit villa de Berwic' per Anglos<sup>2</sup>; et eodem die ad mensem<sup>3</sup> factum fuit bellum de Donbar.

Anno et cetera<sup>4</sup> lxxxx<sup>o</sup> septimo, bellum de Strivelyn per W[illelmum] Waleys, die sanctorum Proti et Jacincti.<sup>5</sup>

Anno et cetera nonogesimo octavo, in festo Magdalene,<sup>6</sup> bellum Varie Capelle.

Anno et cetera ccc<sup>o</sup> secundo, bellum de Roslyn', in festo beati Mathie apostoli.<sup>7</sup>

Anno et cetera ccc<sup>o</sup> sexto, in die an[n]unciacionis<sup>8</sup> dominice, dominus Robertus de Bruys factus

<sup>1</sup> *tercio kal. Aprilis*: 30 Mar. 1296.

<sup>2</sup> *per Anglos* is added above the line in K.

<sup>3</sup> *eodem die ad mensem*: The day intended is probably 27 Apr. 1296, four weeks after the capture of Berwick. The Scots were defeated at Dunbar on 27 Apr., according to a diary of the expedition of king Edward I to Scotland in 1296 (Bannatyne Miscellany, i, p. 273); the Chronicle of Lanercost (p. 176); "Matthew of Westminster," Eton Ms. (Rolls Series 95, iii, pp. 286-287); and Fordun (i, p. 325).

Walter of Hemingburgh (ii, p. 103) dates the defeat on Friday, three weeks after the capture of Berwick (i.e. Friday 20 Apr.); and Nicholas Trivet (pp. 346-347), before 14 April. But the date 27 April is to be accepted.

<sup>4</sup> *Anno et cetera*: Above these words, the same words were written and erased.

<sup>5</sup> *die . . . Jacincti*: 11 Sep.

<sup>6</sup> *in festo Magdalene*: 22 July, when Wallace was defeated.

<sup>7</sup> *in festo . . . apostoli*: 24 Feb. 1303, when an English army was defeated.

<sup>8</sup> *die an[n]unciacionis*: 25 Mar. 1306. Fordun (i, p. 340), and his derivatives, say that Bruce was crowned on 27 Mar. 1306, and this date seems to have been accepted by modern writers. But Walter of Hemingburgh (ii, p. 247), Nicholas Trivet (p. 407), Gray's Scalacronica (p. 130), Annals of London (Rolls Series 76, i, p. 144), "Matthew of Westminster" (iii, p. 129), and the Chronicle of Lanercost (p. 203), give the date of Bruce's coronation as the day of the Annunciation (25 Mar.); their evidence supports that of K, and is probably to be preferred to Fordun's.

est rex Scocie, apud Sconam.<sup>1</sup> Eodem anno, in festo sanctorum Gervasii et Protasii,<sup>2</sup> bellum de Methfen<sup>3</sup>.

Anno et cetera octavo, in die natalis domini ad vesperam,<sup>3</sup> captum fuit castrum de Forfare.

Anno et cetera duodecimo, capta est villa de Perth~, in crastino epiphanie.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *apud Sconam* has an oblique stroke before and after it, and is probably intended to be transposed to the place of an oblique stroke after *dominice*, above.

<sup>2</sup> *in festo . . . Protasii*: 19 June. This agrees with Fordun (i, p. 341) and his derivatives, and with the Annals of London (Rolls Series 76, i, p. 148); but is apparently wrong. Walter of Hemingburgh (ii, p. 249) gives the day of the battle of Methven as the Sunday after St John the Baptist's day (Sunday 26 June, 1306). A record, dated 4 Aug. 1306, of sentences passed upon Scottish prisoners, gives the date as the Sunday after Midsummer day (Sunday 26 June 1306), and this is presumably correct (Bain, ii, no. 1811). See above, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> *die . . . ad vesperam*: 25 Dec. 1308, before 6 p.m., is probably the time intended. The account in Barbour's Bruce (edited for the Scottish Text Society by W. W. Skeat, i, p. 220) implies that the Scots assaulted the castle of Forfar after dark. The manuscript of the Chronicle of Holyrood is, so far as can be found, the only authority for the exact date of the Scots' capture of Forfar.

The castle was still in the hands of the English not long before 3 Dec. 1308, when king Edward II at Westminster gave orders that his clerk, John de Weston, constable of the castle of Forfar, was to have all the provisions that he needed to defend the place (*Rotuli Scotiae*, i, p. 61; compare E. M. Barron, *Scottish War of Independence* (1934), p. 333). John de Weston became king Edward's chamberlain in Scotland before 15 Mar. 1309 (*Rotuli Scotiae*, i, pp. 62-63).

<sup>4</sup> *in crastino epiphanie*: 7 Jan. 1313. Fordun (i, p. 346) gives the day as 8 Jan., agreeing with the Chronicle of Lanercost, which says that Perth was taken by the Scots on "the Monday within the octaves of the Epiphany" (8 Jan. 1313; not 10 Jan., as in the Bannatyne Club edition, p. 221). The town was taken by night, possibly the night of 7-8 Jan. 1313.

Anno et cetera terciodecimo, undecimo kal.  
 Marcii,<sup>1</sup> captum fuit castrum de Roxburg'.  
 Anno eodem, pridie idus Marcii,<sup>2</sup> captum fuit  
 castrum de Edynburg'.

Anno et cetera quartodecimo, in vigilia et die<sup>3</sup>  
 beati Johannis Bapthiste, bellum de Bannok.

Anno et cetera octavodecimo, quinto idus Aprilis,<sup>4</sup>  
 capta fuit villa de Berwic' per Scotos.

<sup>5</sup> Anno domini et cetera quinquagesimo quinto,

<sup>1</sup> *undecimo kal. Marcii*: 19 Feb. 1314. The capture of the castle of Roxburgh by the Scots is placed by Fordun (i, p. 346) on the night of Shrove Tuesday, under 1313 (i.e. 19 Feb. 1314). The Chronicle of Lanercost places it on Ash Wednesday, under 1313 (i.e. 20 Feb. 1314; not 28 Feb., as in the Bannatyne Club edition, p. 223). The Gesta Edwardi (Rolls Series 76, ii, p. 45) places it on 19 Feb. (compare below).

In Dunbar's Scottish Kings (p. 133), the captures of Edinburgh and Roxburgh castles are, by an error, placed under 1312-3, instead of 1313-4. Most later accounts place them correctly in 1314, but give the date of the capture of Roxburgh as if it were Shrove Tuesday or Ash Wednesday 1313 (27 or 28 Feb.). The correct date is 19 or 20 Feb. 1314. The attack was perhaps made on the night of 19-20 Feb. 1314.

<sup>2</sup> *pridie idus Marcii*: 14 Mar. 1314. Fordun (i, p. 346) also says that the Scots took Edinburgh castle on 14 Mar. 1314. The Gesta Edwardi (as above) says, under 1313, "from the 19th day of the month of February [1314] to the 24th day of March [1314], the castles of Roxburgh and Edinburgh were taken." Compare note above.

<sup>3</sup> *vigilia et die*: 23 and 24 June.

<sup>4</sup> *quinto idus Aprilis*: 9 Apr. Fordun (i, p. 348) gives the date as 28 Mar. (see above, p. 50). The correct date is perhaps Sunday 2 Apr. 1318, as in the Chronicle of Lanercost (p. 234), and the Annals of St Paul's (Rolls Series 76, i, p. 282).

King Edward II had heard of the capture of Berwick by 13 Apr. 1318, when he was at Mortlake in Surrey (Foedera, ii, part 1, p. 360).

<sup>5</sup> The two entries for 1355 are bracketed together in the manuscript. See 1296, note.

capcio Be[r]wic' per Scottos, octavo idus  
N[o]vembris.<sup>1</sup>

Anno domini et cetera quinquagesimo quinto,  
capcio Beruic' per regem Anglie.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *octavo idus N[o]vembris*: 6 Nov. So also in Robert of Avesbury's *De Gestis Edwardi Tertii* (Rolls Series 93, p. 431). I have not found the date mentioned elsewhere. King Edward III had heard of the capture of Berwick by 23 Nov. 1355, when he was at Eltham (*Rotuli Scotiae*, i, pp. 782-783).

<sup>2</sup> Berwick was taken by king Edward III on 13 Jan. 1356, according to the *Continuation of Adam de Murimuth* (English Historical Society edition, p. 186); Thomas Walsingham (*Rolls Series* 28, i, p. 281); Robert of Avesbury (as above, p. 450). See Bain, iii, p. 292, no. 1598.



## TRANSLATION

This translation includes the part of the chronicle from 1065-6 to the end, and the additions in the Karlsruhe manuscript. It does not include the earlier part of the chronicle, to 734. That part is principally composed of extracts from Bede's Ecclesiastical History; it is chiefly of interest for the textual readings, which cannot be reproduced in a translation, and for the manner in which the extracts were made (see above, pp. 10-11).

Square brackets are used in the translation (1) to indicate words that are missing in the text of the Karlsruhe manuscript; (2) to supply correct dates where the dates in the text are wrong; (3) to interpret dates and identify persons.

For notes on the chronicle the reader is directed to the footnotes under the Latin text. Asterisks inserted in the translation draw his attention especially to footnotes that should be consulted, where doubtful points in the subject-matter of the chronicle are taken up, and where questions of historical interest are discussed.

In the year from the Incarnation 1065, St Edward the king, son of king Ethelred, and son of Emma daughter of Richard duke of Normandy, and brother of Edmund Ironside on the father's side, after completing in the kingdom twenty-three years, six months, and twenty-seven days, on the vigil [5 Jan. 1066] of Epiphany ended a praiseworthy life with a happy death. And on the following day Harold was consecrated king.

In the following year [1066] William count of Normandy came to England, and fought against king Harold, and defeated him with his army at Hastings, on the second before the Ides of October [14 Oct.]. And at the next Nativity of the Lord he was created king.

In the year 1068, a battle in Bleadon.\*

In the year 1069, the eighty[-third] year after the body of the blessed Cuthbert was brought to Durham by bishop Ealdhun, and the third year of the reign of

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\* See the footnote under the Latin text.



William, the same William king of the English set up as earl over the peoples of the Northumbrians a certain Robert, surnamed Cumin. He, coming to Durham with seven hundred men, and acting there with hostility from house to house, was killed there with all his men except one who escaped wounded, on the fifth before the Kalends of February [28 Jan.].

The king, offended by this, sent a certain earl with an army, to avenge his death. But when they had reached Allerton, and at dawn were setting out for Durham, there rose so thick a mist that they could hardly see one another standing by, nor by any means find their way. While they wondered greatly what this might be, and were discussing among themselves what they should do, there came a man who said that those people had in their town a saint named Cuthbert who was ever present as their protector in adversity; and that, with him to avenge, no one could injure them unharmed. When they heard this, they returned home.\*

In the year 1071, earl Edwin [of Mercia] was killed.

1075. Queen Edith died. The earls Roger [of Hereford] and Ralph [of the East Angles] purposed to betray the king.

1076. Earl Waltheof [of Northumbria] was beheaded.

1078. Hermann bishop of Salisbury died, and Osmund succeeded.

1080. A strong wind at Christmas. Walchere bishop of Durham was killed.

1083. [Queen] Matilda died.

1084. Pope Wibert received the see.

1087. William king of the English died, and William his son received the kingdom.

1089. Bishop Osmund established thirty-six canons in the church of Salisbury.\* Archbishop Lanfranc [of Canterbury] died. An earthquake occurred.

1092. Osmund with seven bishops dedicated the church of Salisbury.

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\* See the footnote under the Latin text.

1093. Anselm was elected to the archbishopric [of Canterbury].
- 1094 [read : 1093]. Malcolm king of the Scots, and queen Margaret, died.
- 1096 [read : 1095]. Pope Urban preached a journey to Jerusalem.
1098. Bishop Walchelin [of Winchester] died. Antioch was taken by the Christians. A comet appeared.
1099. Bishop Osmund [of Salisbury] and pope Urban died. Jerusalem was taken by the Christians.
1100. King William the younger, and archbishop Thomas the elder [of York], died. Henry received the kingdom.
1101. On Christmas day [25 Dec. 1100],\* in the church of the blessed Mary at Bethlehem, [Baldwin] was honourably ordained with sacred unction, and crowned, as king, by the patriarch Daibert, with the bishops, in the presence of clergy and people.
1102. Roger was elected to the bishopric of Salisbury.
- 110[4]. A translation or manifestation of the uncorrupted body of St Cuthbert was made, [four hundred] and eighteen years, [and] five months, and twelve days, after his burial; which is the fifth year of the reign of king Henry, and the sixth of the episcopate of Ranulf.\*
1105. King Henry burned Bayeux.
1106. King Henry acquired Normandy. A comet appeared in the month of February.
1107. Ordination of Roger bishop of Salisbury. Edgar king of Scotland died.
1108. Bishop Gundulf [of Rochester] died, and Ralph succeeded.
1109. Archbishop Anselm died. And Henry king of England gave his daughter to the emperor.
1110. A comet appeared in the month of June.
1111. Boiamund [prince of Antioch] died; and Eulalia the abbess [of Shaftesbury].\* Pope Paschal was captured in Rome.

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\* See the footnote under the Latin text.

1114. Archbishop Thomas the younger [of York] died.
1115. Mary countess of Boulogne died, on the second before the Kalends of June [31 May].\*
1118. Pope Paschal, and Matilda queen of England, and Arnulf [the patriarch], and Baldwin king of Jerusalem, died.
1119. Pope Gelasius died. And there was an earthquake on the fourth before the Kalends of October [28 Sep.].
1120. King Henry's son William, and Richard his brother, and Richard earl of Chester, with many nobles perished by shipwreck.
1122. Ralph archbishop of Canterbury died.
1123. John bishop of Bath, and Robert bishop of Lincoln, died.
1124. Alexander of good memory, king of the Scots, died on the seventh before the Kalends of May [25 April].\*
1125. A great famine, and a great council. G[ilbert]\* the sheriff died.
1128. The church of Holyrood in Edinburgh began to be founded.\*
1129. William bishop of Winchester died, and Henry was consecrated.
1130. Angus earl of Moray was killed by the Scots.\*
1133. An eclipse occurred on the Nones of August [5 Aug.].\*
1135. Henry king of England died, on the fourth before the Nones of December [2 Dec.]; and Stephen succeeded him.
1136. William archbishop of Canterbury died, and Richard Gilbert's son.\* Dedication of the church of Glasgow on the Nones of July [7 July].
1137. On the fifteenth before the Kalends of December [17 Nov.] there was a battle between Scots and English.\*
- 1138 [read : 1139]. The bishop of Salisbury, and the bishop of Lincoln, and the chancellor, were captured by king Stephen.

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\* See the footnote under the Latin text.

- 1140 [read : 1141]. King Stephen was taken prisoner at Lincoln by the earl of Gloucester and by the others who supported the cause of the empress.
1147. John bishop of Glasgow died. The journey to Jerusalem was preached for the second time.
1150. The church\* of Dunfermline was dedicated. Alwin the abbot [of Holyrood] voluntarily deposed himself from the pastoral charge, and Osbert received it. The abbot Osbert himself died in the same year, on the fifteenth before the Kalends of December [17 Nov.].\*
1152. William was elected abbot [of Holyrood]. Matilda queen of England died on the fifth before the Nones of May [3 May]. Henry earl of the Northumbrians, the son of David king of Scotland, died on the second before the Ides of June [12 June]. Ascalon was taken by the Christians [in 1153].
1153. David of pious memory, king of the Scots, died on the ninth before the Kalends of June, the Sunday [24 May] before the Lord's Ascension. He was succeeded in the kingdom by his grandson Malcolm, [twelve] years old,\* son of the aforesaid Henry earl of Northumbria. Pope Eugenius died, and was succeeded by Anastasius. And the abbot Bernard of Clairvaux [died]; and count Eustace, the son of Stephen king of the English; Ralph also, the earl of Chester; and Simon earl of Northampton\*; and Henry, the archbishop of York. Stephen king of England made peace and a lasting agreement with Henry, the most noble count of Anjou, on the festival of St Leonard the abbot [6 Nov.]. On that day [?], in Scotland, Somerled\* and his nephews, the sons of Malcolm [Macheth], allied with themselves very many men, and rebelled against king Malcolm, and disturbed and disquieted Scotland to a great extent.
1154. William archbishop of York, with permission of the most pious pope Anastasius, returned with the highest honour to the archiepiscopal chair, and within

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\* See the footnote under the Latin text.

seven weeks he died. And Hugh, consecrated in Rome, received the bishopric of Durham. A very great famine, and a pestilence among animals, occurred in Scotland. Arthur, who was about to betray king Malcolm, perished in [trial by] combat, on the third before the Kalends of March [27 Feb.]. Geoffrey, the first abbot of Dunfermline, died; and his nephew Geoffrey succeeded in his place. Roger of Pont-l'Évêque was consecrated as archbishop of York. Stephen king of England died, on the eighth before the Kalends of November [25 Oct.]; and on the fourteenth before the Kalends of January [19 Dec.] Henry duke of Normandy was crowned with the diadem of the kingdom. Duncan earl of Fife died. King Malcolm gave the church of Tranent\* to the canons of Maidens' Castle [i.e., Holyrood]. Christian was consecrated as bishop of Galloway by the archbishop of Rouen, at Bermondsey, on the same day on which Henry [was consecrated] king of England.\*

1155. Pope Anastasius died, and was succeeded by Adrian [in 1154]. Alwin, the first abbot of the church of Holyrood, died.
1156. Donald Malcolm's son was captured at Whithorn, and imprisoned with his father.
1157. Malcolm Macheth\* was reconciled with the king of the Scots. Henry king of England led an army into Wales, and there Eustace John's son fell with many others. At last the Welsh made peace with the king. The king of Scotland restored to the king of England Northumbria and Cumberland; and the king of England restored to him the earldom of Huntingdon.\* Many brothers of the Temple of Jerusalem fell in battle.
1158. Geoffrey, the brother of Henry king of England, [died].
1159. Robert of good memory, bishop of St Andrews, died.\* Malcolm king of Scotland went with Henry

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\* See the footnote under the Latin text.

king of England to Toulouse, and he was girt by king Henry with the sword of knighthood, in the [city] of Tours.\* William count of Boulogne, the son of king Stephen, died. Pope Adrian died; and he was succeeded by Alexander, after Octavian, who profanely aspired to the apostolic see, had been expelled. William bishop of Moray, who had been sent to Rome by king Malcolm, was received by the aforesaid pope Alexander with the highest honour, and was sent back to Scotland with the favour and [? general legation] of the apostolic see.\*

1160. King Malcolm three times led an army into Galloway; and after he had subdued his confederate enemies,\* he returned thence with peace and without loss to himself. Fergus prince of Galloway took the canonical habit in the church of Holyrood in Edinburgh, and gave to [the canons] the vill that is called Dunrod.\* Arnold abbot of Kelso was elected bishop of St Andrews, and [was consecrated] by William bishop of Moray and legate of the apostolic see, in the church of St Andrew. [? Robert prior of St Andrews died,]\* and Walter was raised in his place. John was elected abbot of Kelso, and was blessed by Herbert bishop of Glasgow.

1161. Theobald archbishop of Canterbury died. Fergus prince of Galloway died, on the fourth before the Ides of May [12 May].

1162. William, bishop of Moray and legate of the apostolic see, died on the ninth before the Kalends of February [24 Jan.].\* Thomas [Becket] the chancellor of the king of England was consecrated to the archbishopric of Canterbury. Ada, sister of Malcolm king of Scotland, married Florence, the noble count of Holland. Isaac prior of Scone died, and Robert, a canon of Jedburgh, was appointed the first abbot in that church.\* Arnold, bishop of St Andrews and legate of the apostolic see, died on the Ides [?] of September [? 13 Sep.].\*

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\* See the footnote under the Latin text.

1163. Henry king of England, after establishing peace beyond the sea,\* returned to England. Richard chaplain of the king of Scotland, and nephew of Alwin abbot of Edinburgh, was elected bishop of St Andrews. King Malcolm gave his brother David, and other noble boys of his kingdom, as hostages into the hand of the king of England.\* Thoro archdeacon of Lothian died.\* And king Malcolm transferred men of Moray.\* William, brother of the king of England, died [in 1164].

In 1164, Octavian the antipope died, and Wido of Crema, fostering his schism, succeeded in his place. Master Andrew was made archdeacon of Lothian.\* Somerled, the opponent of the king of Scotland, landed with a great fleet at Renfrew, to plunder; and there he was killed with his son, and an innumerable host of his people. The convent came to Coupar, and was reverently received, and the abbot was blessed (namely F[ulk]), by Gregory bishop of Dunkeld.\* Herbert of good memory, bishop of Glasgow, died\*; and Ingram, the king's chancellor, was elected to the bishopric, and was consecrated by pope Alexander.\* Thomas archbishop of Canterbury crossed over to France, on account of the king's hostility.

1165. Malcolm king of Scotland gave his chancellorship to Nicholas, his clerk.\* Richard, the bishop-elect of St Andrews, was consecrated by the bishops of Scotland in the church of St Andrew, on the fifth before the Kalends of April [28 Mar.]\* Malcolm of good memory, king of the Scots, died on the fifth before the Ides of December [9 Dec.]; and William his brother was created king, on Christmas eve.

1166. Robert bishop of Bath, and Robert [abbot] of St Albans, died.

1167. Robert bishop of Lincoln, and Robert bishop of Hereford, [died]. The empress Matilda, mother of Henry king of England, died on the fourth before the Ides of September [10 Sep.].

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\* See the footnote under the Latin text.

1168. Henry king of England gave his daughter to the duke of Saxony. Robert earl of Leicester died. Earl Patrick [of Salisbury] was killed. The moon was suffused with a blood-red colour for nearly a whole hour, on the thirteenth before the Kalends of October [19 Sep.],\* about cockcrow; then blackness followed, and she returned to her proper light. Ralph Malchael,\* and Richard Baldwin's son, and master Imerus, were killed by treachery of the Scots, on the ninth before the Kalends of the same month [23 Sep.]. Malcolm Macheth, earl of Ross, died.\*
1169. Gregory bishop of Dunkeld died.
1170. David, the brother of the king of Scotland, received arms from the elder Henry king of England, on the second before the Kalends of January [read : June, i.e. 31 May].\* In the same year Henry, son of the aforesaid Henry, was crowned at London as king of all England, his father being alive, on the eighteenth before the Kalends of July [14 June]. In the same year Thomas archbishop of Canterbury was recalled from exile, and reconciled with king Henry, and was afterwards killed by king Henry's knights, in the church of Canterbury, on the fourth before the Kalends of January [29 Dec.]. Fulk of pious memory, the first abbot of St Mary of Coupar, died on the thirteenth before the Kalends of January [20 Dec.]. May he rest in peace. Amen. Amen. Amen. He was succeeded by Ralph.
- 1171.\*
- [? 1172.] William\* abbot of Mons Dolorosus\* [? died]. The king of England made peace with the cardinals concerning the death of Thomas archbishop of Canterbury.
1173. William king of the Scots collected an army and went to Carlisle; he destroyed various places with fire and sword; he began on the Monday [20 Aug.] within the octaves of the Assumption of St Mary.\*

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\* See the footnote under the Latin text.



1174. A second and a third time entering his army king William went out to destroy Northumbria,\* and on the second before the Ides of July, a Saturday, [14 July; read: Sat. 13 July]\* he was captured at Alnwick. The younger king Henry made peace with [Henry II] his father; so also did William the king of Scotland, and the king of France.\*
1175. King William, having made peace, returned to his country in the month of February\*; and in the month of August, the king with his people met the king of England at York.\* Jocelin was consecrated bishop of Glasgow.\*
- 1176.\*
- 1177 [read: 1176]. The cardinal Vivian came to Scotland, and visited Ireland.\*
- In 1178 [read: 1177], Vivian returned from Ireland to Scotland, and held a council at Maidens' Castle [i.e., Edinburgh], and afterwards went back to Rome. Walter,\* the king's steward, died.
- 1179 [read: 1178]. Richard bishop of Dunkeld died in Lent. And afterwards, in summer, Richard bishop of St Andrews died.\* A schism arose from the election of John and the consecration of Hugh.\*
- In 1180, the legate Alexius came from Rome, and through his mediation master John was consecrated at Maidens' Castle, on the octaves [15 June] of Pentecost; and after a few days John was again exiled, through the opposition of king William, and a schism occurred.
- In 1181, pope Alexander III of pious memory died, and Lucius III succeeded. And Roger, the archbishop of York, died.
- In 1182, William king of Scotland held a general council for three days with the legates of the lord pope Lucius, for settlement of the dispute between the bishops John and Hugh.
1183. The bishops, master John and Hugh, went again to Rome. The younger king of England died.

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\* See the footnote under the Latin text.

In 1184, the convent came to Rothin.

1185. On the fourth before the Kalends of January [29 Dec. 1184],\* Andrew bishop of Caithness died. On the Kalends of May [1 May], about the ninth hour, there was an eclipse of the sun, in the time of William king of the Scots.\*

\*In the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1186, William king of Scotland received from the hand of Henry king of England, and married, Ermingilda, on a certain Friday [i.e. 5 Sep. 1186] in autumn. Master Baldwin, the archbishop of Canterbury, performed for him the ceremony of marriage at Woodstock, and sir Jocelin, the bishop of Glasgow, completed the benediction over the king and queen in their chamber. In the following winter, on the fifteenth before the Kalends of December [17 Nov.], the peace of holy church was broken at Coupar through the violence of Malcolm earl of Atholl.\* For Adam, surnamed also Donald's son,\* who was the king's outlaw, was captured; and one of his companions, his nephew, was beheaded before the altar; and the others, numbering fifty-eight, were burned and put to death in the abbot's guest-house.

In the year 1187, on the second before the Kalends of August [31 July], a Friday, Donald William's son, the opponent of William king of Scotland, was killed in Ross; and many powerful opponents fell with the rest, and peace long disturbed was given again to the king and the kingdom through God's mercy and strength.\* . . . on a Saturday,\* a decisive battle was fought between Christians and pagans, and the true cross was captured at Jerusalem,\* and Christianity was seriously confounded. In the same year\* Henry, bishop and cardinal, formerly abbot of Clairvaux, was sent by the lord pope to king Philip and to Henry king of England. When they had heard the apostolic mandate, and learned the necessity that affected the whole of holy church, by God's

\* See the footnote under the Latin text.

inspiration they both alike took the cross, and many others with them. But immediately afterwards Henry king of England laid down the cross, and carried his usual contrivances of war against Philip king of France; and in the following year he died, in the year from the Incarnation of the Lord 1189; and his son Richard succeeded to the kingdom. On the Kalends of August [1 Aug.], Ralph abbot of Coupar died\*; and he was succeeded by Adam.

In the year 1285, on the fourteenth before the Kalends of April [19 Mar. 1286], Alexander king of Scotland died by an accidental fall on the way to Kinghorn.\*

\*In the year of the Lord 1266, on Wednesday, the second day of the month of July [read: June], [Bibars] the sultan of Babylonia took up a position before the city of Acre. He kept part of his army there for a fortnight, to the number of two hundred thousand men with arms and horses, and four hundred thousand foot soldiers. Another part of his army he sent into the lands of Tyre and Sidon. He plundered the land of Acre, and set fire to a great part; and he plundered the land of Tyre and Sidon, and burned a great part with fire.

The same sultan captured three thousand Christians in the said lands, and sent them to prison in Babylonia. But the aforesaid sultan called the lord of the land of Tyre his brother.

When a fortnight had passed, he set out with all his armies on the way towards the fortress of Safed; there he took up a firm position. He caused the whole army of the law of Mahomet to come to him, to the number of a hundred and four score thousand men. There he pressed the Christians so hard that on the day [24 July] before the feast of St James the Apostle, of the year above-written, the brothers and guardians of the aforesaid fortress concluded a peace

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\* See the footnote under the Latin text.

with the said sultan, providing that the brothers and guardians of the aforesaid fortress, with all the Christians who were in the said fortress, should go out with life and limbs, and turn their steps in peace, with their possessions, to the city of Acre, and surrender completely to the said sultan the fortress with its appurtenances.

But when the said Christians went out from the said fortress, the aforesaid sultan ordered the execution by beheading of all the brothers and guardians, clergy as well as laymen, to the number of one thousand seven hundred men; excluding\* women and children, and others who renounced the law of God, and adopted the law of Mahomet.

After that, the same sultan sent his army to the land of Tripoli, and wasted and plundered a great part of the said land, and seized by force two fortresses, of which one is called Goliad, and the other Arches. He sent four thousand Christians from the said land to prison in Babylonia.

And the aforesaid sultan with his whole army set out towards the land of Armenia, and entered it. He consumed a part with fire, and destroyed the whole land, excepting the mountainous regions. He killed the Christians in the said land, to the number of forty thousand men; and he imprisoned one son (called Leo) of the king of the said land, and sent him to Babylonia, and another son of the said king he killed.

Why say more? The aforesaid sultan subdued to himself at his pleasure all dominion and all power in the whole eastern land.

The same sultan with all his army returned to Damascus.

And it is to be known that on the Friday [29 Oct.] before the feast of All Saints, in the above-written year, the brothers of the Hospital, of the Temple, and of other houses, and the community of Acre, to

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\* See the footnote under the Latin text.

the number of seven thousand men, went out in the night-time; and took an excellent spoil from the Saracens. And the brothers of the Hospital sent their pigeon to the hospital, with a letter saying what they had done. But a certain legion of Saracens beset them by a trick in mountainous country, and took the said spoil away from them by force, and killed two hundred and fifty-two knights, of the Hospital as well as of other houses; but they did not know the aforesaid number of the killed.\* And this confusion of the Christians happened about two leagues outside the city of Acre.

\*In the year 1296, on the third before the Kalends of April [30 Mar.], the town of Berwick was taken by the English. And on the same day a month later [27 Apr.]\* was fought the battle of Dunbar.

In the year etc. 97, the battle of Stirling [was fought] by William Wallace, on the day of Saints Protus and Jacinctus [11 Sep. 1297].

In the year etc. 98, on the feast of Magdalen [22 July 1298], the battle of Falkirk.

In the year etc. 302, the battle of Roslin, on the feast of the blessed apostle Mathias [24 Feb. 1303].

In the year etc. 306, on the day of the Lord's Annunciation [25 Mar. 1306],\* sir Robert de Bruce was made king of Scotland, at Scone. In the same year, on the feast of Saints Gervasius and Protasius [19 June 1306],\* the battle of Methven.

In the year etc. 8, on Christmas day, in the evening [25 Dec. 1308],\* the castle of Forfar was taken.

In the year etc. 12, the town of Perth was taken, on the day [7 Jan. 1313] after Epiphany.

In the year etc. 13, on the eleventh before the Kalends of March [19 Feb. 1314],\* the castle of Roxburgh was taken. In the same year, on the day before the Ides of March [14 Mar. 1314], the castle of Edinburgh was taken.

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\* See the footnote under the Latin text.

In the year etc. 14, on the vigil and day of the blessed John the Baptist [23-24 June 1314], the battle of the Bannock.

In the year etc. 18, on the fifth before the Ides of April [9 April 1318],\* the town of Berwick was taken by the Scots.

In the year of the Lord etc. 55, capture of Berwick by the Scots, on the eighth before the Ides of November [6 Nov. 1355].\*

In the year of the Lord etc. 55, capture of Berwick by the king of England [on 13 Jan. 1356].

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\* See the footnote under the Latin text.



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7. Two stated Meetings of the Council shall be held each year, one on the last Tuesday of May, the other on the Tuesday preceding the day upon which the Annual General Meeting shall be held. The Secretary, on the request of three Members of the Council, shall call a special meeting of the Council.

8. Editors shall receive 20 copies of each volume they edit for the Society.

9. The owners of Manuscripts published by the Society will also be presented with a certain number of copies.

10. The Annual Balance-Sheet, Rules, and List of Members shall be printed.

11. No alteration shall be made in these Rules except at a General Meeting of the Society. A fortnight's notice of any alteration to be proposed shall be given to the Members of the Council.

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